

IMPACT OF EMPIRE (ROMAN EMPIRE)

3

THE REPRESENTATION AND
PERCEPTION OF
ROMAN IMPERIAL POWER

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD WORKSHOP
OF THE INTERNATIONAL NETWORK
IMPACT OF EMPIRE
(ROMAN EMPIRE, c. 200 B.C. - A.D. 476)
NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE IN ROME,
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PREFACE

This volume presents the proceedings of the third workshop of the international thematic network 'Impact of Empire', which concentrates on the history of the Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C. - A.D. 476, and, under the chairmanship of Lukas de Blois (University of Nijmegen), brings together ancient historians, archaeologists, classicists and specialists on Roman law from some 28 European and North American universities. The proceedings of the first two workshops, held at Leiden, June 28-July 1, 2000, and Nottingham, July 4-7, 2001, have been published in this series as *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire* (Gieben, Amsterdam 2001), and *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire* (Gieben, Amsterdam 2002). The third workshop, on the representation and perception of Roman imperial power, was held at the Netherlands Institute in Rome on March 20-23, 2002. A series of further annual workshops has been planned.

The third workshop of the network was funded by the Netherlands Organisation of Scientific Research (NWO), the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), the Research School of Classics in The Netherlands (OIKOS), the University of Nijmegen, and the Netherlands Institute in Rome.

Lukas de Blois, Gerda de Kleijn, Stephan Mols (all from the University of Nijmegen), and Nathalie de Haan (Netherlands Institute in Rome) acted as organisers for the workshop and wish to thank the staff of the Netherlands Institute in Rome for their assistance. Lukas de Blois (Nijmegen), John Rich (Nottingham), Anthony Birley (Düsseldorf), Werner Eck (Cologne), Elio Lo Cascio (Naples) and Eric Moormann (Nijmegen/Amsterdam) acted as chairmen of the various sessions of the workshop. Anthony Birley (Düsseldorf), David Lambert (Oxford), Michael Peachin (New York), and Antonio Polichetti (Naples/ Campobasso) kindly corrected the English and Italian of some of the contributions in this volume.

The editors,
Nijmegen, The Netherlands, June 2003

INTRODUCTION

By

LUKAS DE BLOIS AND OLIVIER HEKSTER

“Politics is an art of unification; from many it makes one. And symbolic activity is perhaps our most important means of bringing things together, both intellectually and emotionally ... The state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived.”¹

One of the major changes from Republic to Empire was, inevitably, the creation of the emperor and his court. It is therefore clear that when the impact of the Roman Empire is analysed, the impact of the emperor and those surrounding him is a central feature. When doing so, analysis of the representation and perception of the emperor, and indeed of the ‘new’ imperial structure and ideology as a whole, become obvious topics for attention.

Representation and perception of ‘Empire’ is a multifaceted area of research, which greatly helps our understanding of Roman society. Take, for instance, Pliny’s reaction after Domitian’s death, expressed in the mutilation of imperial statues: ‘It was our delight to dash those proud faces to the floor, to smite them with the sword, and savage them with an axe, as if blood and agony could follow from every blow’.² More illuminating, perhaps, is the case of Cn. Piso. After all, the *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (SCPP), reported an important story, which must – at least in this form – have been new to the biggest part of its audience, and put forward all sort of explicit values in the telling.³ The plebs is praised ‘because it joined with the equestrian order in demonstrating its devotion towards our Princeps’ (155-6), whilst it is hoped that: ‘all who were soldiers in the service of our

¹ M. Walzer, ‘On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought’, *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (1967), 191-204, at 194.

² Pliny, *Panegyricus* 52.4.

³ M. Griffin, ‘The Senate’s story’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 87 (1997), 249-263, with translation on pp 250-253. See especially W. Eck, A. Caballos Rufino & F. Fernández, *Das Senatus Consultum De Cn. Pisone Patre* (Munich 1996); C. Damon & S Takács, eds., ‘The *Senatus Consultum De Cn. Pisone Patre*. Text, Translation, Discussion’, *American Journal of Philology* 120.1 (1999).

Princes will continue to manifest the same loyalty and devotion to the Imperial house, since they know that the safety of our empire depends on the protection of that House' (160-162). This value-laden document was deliberately disseminated:

“These decrees of the Senate, inscribed on bronze, should be set up in whatever place seems best to Tiberius Cae(sar) Aug., and likewise ... in the most frequented city of each province and in the most frequented place in that city, and ... in the winter quarters of each legion where the standards are kept” (169-173).

The image of a just and benevolent imperial family, whose welfare effects everyone, and that of the vices of Cn. Piso, who tried to oppose them, is spread throughout the empire. Indeed, the SCPP declared ‘that the statues and portraits of Cn. Piso Senior, wherever they may have been placed, be removed’.⁴ This was exactly what the people did: ‘[They] had, in fact, dragged [Piso’s] effigies to the Gemonian Stairs, and were engaged in dismembering them’.⁵ Imperial representation has strong political connotations, and the reception of such representation – positive and negative - can indicate consent or objections to whomever put forward the imagery.⁶

The importance of art for looking at representation and perception has been self-evident since the publication of the seminal books on the subject by Paul Zanker and Tonio Hölscher.⁷ Their notion of *Bildprogramm* has been refined by the addition of the viewer (or better, a variety of different viewers) in the work of Jas Elsner.⁸ Visual imagery, in this understanding, functioned like a recognisable ‘language’, with the purpose of conveying a message, or, perhaps better, invoking an ‘aura’, which would

⁴ *Senatus Consultum de Pisone Patre* 75-76; H. Flower, ‘Rethinking “*Damnatio Memoriae*”: The case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso Pater in AD 20’, *Classical Antiquity* 17 (1998), 155-187; 160. Cf. A. Gregory, ‘Powerful images: Responses to Portraits and the Political uses of Images in Rome’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994), 80-99.

⁵ Tacitus, *Annals* 3.14.6.

⁶ Cf. D. Freedberg, *Iconoclasts and their Motives* (Maarsse 1985) and idem, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago-London 1989), 407-428. See also E. Kitzinger, ‘The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), 83-150. 7 P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (Munich 1987); T. Hölscher, *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System* (Heidelberg 1987).

⁸ J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer. The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge 1995).

be intelligible to the heterogeneous population that constituted the Roman Empire.⁹ Indeed, important political figures from the late Republic onwards used buildings, sculptural images and the images on coins with such a purpose. In doing so, they interacted with long-standing traditions, either aligning themselves with or distinguishing themselves from traditions of royal imagery.¹⁰ Whether this ‘language’ could be understood was, of course, intrinsically dependent on the interpretation of the symbols used, ‘on the ways art is viewed and perceived in a society’.¹¹

But representation and perception can be looked at in much broader terms as well. Indeed, one of the main purposes of Cliff Ando’s monumental *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley – Los Angeles 2000) is to show, by an analysis of imperial representation and public perception of that representation, how people living within the Roman Empire had a positive ‘ideological consciousness’ about ‘being Roman’. Ando uses a wide variety of evidence, and emphasises the importance of looking at representation in the widest possible terms. But it is this width of the subject that makes it impossible for one person to incorporate all aspects of such a complex phenomenon.

These proceedings, therefore, bring together scholars specialising in different subjects, each approaching the problem of the impact of representation and perception of ‘Rome’ and Roman imperial power on the heterogeneous population of the Empire. In doing so, they illustrate the different approaches, methodologies and attitudes that can (and perhaps need to) be taken into account when analysing the representation and perception of Roman imperial power.

Section 1 of the first part of the volume concentrates on the representation and perception of Roman imperial power through particular

⁹ Cf. Hölscher 1987, op.cit. (n. 7), 74: ‘Das Formensystem der römischen Kunst hatte eine spezifische Leistung darin, daß es die Ansprüche einer gebildeten Elite ebenso zu erfüllen vermochte wie die Bedürfnisse der breiten Reichsbevölkerung. Die Bildsprache konnte sowohl als Ausdruck historischen Bildung und elitären Lebensführung wie auch als allgemein verständliches visuelles Kommunikationssystem dienen’. But cf. E. H. Gombrich, ‘The visual image: its place in communication’, in: Idem, *The Image & the Eye. Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London 1982), 137-161, for the difficulties in using imagery for unambiguous communication.

¹⁰ Cf. R. Fowler & O.J. Hekster, eds., *Imaginary Kings: Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*, forthcoming 2004.

¹¹ J. Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (Oxford 1998), 53. Cf. F. I. Zeitlin, ‘Visions and revisions of Homer’, in S. Goldhill, ed., *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire* (Cambridge 2001), 195-266; 211-213.

media: inscriptions, coins, monuments, ornaments, and insignia, but also nicknames and death-bed scenes. This section contains contributions by Géza Alföldy (inscriptions), Olivier Hekster (coins), Fernando López-Sánchez (coins), Henner von Hesberg (ornaments), Christer Bruun (imperial nicknames), Anton van Hooff (the imperial art of dying), and Rudolf Haensch (insignia). In the second section of part 1 of this volume John Richardson, Lukas de Blois, Willem Zwolve and Concepción Neira Faleiro focus upon *imperium*, empire, and the emperor in literary, juridical and administrative texts.

Part 2 of this volume pays attention to the representation and perception of Roman imperial power in the city of Rome and the provinces. It contains papers by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (on the streets of Rome as a representation of imperial power), Gerda de Kleijn (on the emperor and public works in Rome), Silvio Panciera (on gods that were explicitly called Augustan in inscriptions from the *urbs*), Paula Botteri (on the presentation of Augustus' deeds, his *Res Gestae*, in Asia Minor), Angelos Chaniotis (on inscriptions from Aphrodisias), Bernard Stolte (the emperor on circuit in the eastern provinces), Janneke de Jong (on papyrus texts from Roman Egypt), Werner Eck (the presence of imperial power in Roman Cologne), Andreas Kriekhaus (on a noble family from Spain), and Danielle Sloopjes, on provincials' images of Roman governors in the later empire.

In Part 3 of this volume several contributors offer studies of the representation of power by individual emperors. They concentrate on Augustus (John Rich), other Julio-Claudian emperors (Yves Perrin), Nero (Eric Moormann), Trajan (Jon Coulston), Hadrian (Anthony Birley, Caroline Vout and Stephan Mols), the emperors of the tumultuous year A.D. 238 (Karen Haegemans), and Constantine the Great (Henk Singor).

Oxford/ Nijmegen, June 2003

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ABSA = Annual of the British School at Athens
ACO = E. Schwartz, ed., *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* (Berlin/Leipzig 1922-)
AE = *Année épigraphique*
ANRW = W. Haase & H. Temporini, eds., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (Berlin/ New York 1972 -)
BGU = *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*
BMCRE = H. Mattingly & R.A.G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*
CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History*
CCL = *Corpus christianorum series Latina* (Turnhout 1953-)
ChLA = A. Bruckner & R. Marichal, eds., *Chartae Latinae antiquiores* (Basel 1954-)
CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CIS = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
CJ = *Codex Iustinianus*
CTh = *Codex Theodosianus*
Dig. = *Digesta*
EDH = *Epigrafische Datenbank Heidelberg*
FIRA = S. Riccobono, *et al.*, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani* (1940-1943)
GIF = *Giornale italiano di filologia*
HA = *Historia Augusta*
HEp. = *Hispania antiqua epigraphica* (1954 -)
ICVR = I.B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (Roma 1857-1915)
IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGBulg = G. Mikailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* (Sofia 1956-1987).
IGR(R) = R. Cagnat, *et al.*, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*
ILLRP = *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*
ILS = H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
Inscr. Ital. = I.It. = *Inscriptiones Italiae*
IOlymp = W. Dittenberger & H. Purgold, *Inchriften von Olympia* (Berlin 1896)

- LP = L. Duchesne, ed., *Le liber pontificalis*, tome premier (Paris 1955)
- LTUR = E.M. Steinby *et al.*, *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*. Vol. I-VI (Roma 1993-1999)
- LTUR Suburbium = *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*. Suburbium. Vol. I- (Roma 2001-)
- MAMA = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* I- (1928-)
- O. Bodl. = Greek Ostraka in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and various other collections
- O. Leid. = R.S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Greek Ostraka*. A catalogue of the Greek Ostraka in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden
- OGIS = W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
- P. Cair. Masp. = *Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Papyrus grecs d' époque Byzantine I-III* (Cairo 1911-1916)
- P. Dura = C. Bradford-Welles, *et al.*, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report V 1, The Parchments and Papyri* (1959)
- P. Fay. = B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, D.G. Hogarth, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri* (London 1900)
- P. Flor. = *Papiri greco-egizii, Papyri Fiorentini* (Milan 1906-1915)
- P. Freer = L.S.B. MacCoull, *Greek and Coptic Papyri in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington D.C. 1973)
- P. Fuad Univ. = D.S. Crawford, *Fuad I University Papyri* (Alexandria 1949)
- P. Giss. = O. Eger *et al.*, *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen* (Leipzig-Berlin 1910-1922)
- P. Got. = H. Frisk, *Papyrus grecs de la bibliothèque municipale de Gothembourg* (Göteborg 1929)
- P. Heid. = *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung*
- P. Oxy. = B.P. Grenfell & A.S. Hunt, *et al.*, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
- P. Ross-Georg. = *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen* (Tiflis 1927-1935)
- P. Ryl. = C.H. Roberts & E.G. Turner, *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (1911-1927)
- PSI = *Papiri Greci e Latini*. Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto (Florence 1912 -)
- P. Tebt. = B.P. Grenfell *et al.*, *The Tebtynis Papyri*
- P. Yadin = N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar-Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem 1989)
- PG = *Migne, Patrologia Graeca*
- PIR² = E. Groag, *et al.*, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (1933 -)

PLRE = Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (Cambridge 1971-1992)
RAC = Rivista di archeologia cristiana
RE = Pauly-Wissowa, Realenzyklopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
RIC = The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vols. I-X (London 1923-1994)
RPC = A. Burnett *et al.*, Roman Provincial Coinage (London 1992-)
RS = M.H. Crawford *et al.*, Roman Statutes (London 1996).
SB = F. Preisigke *et al.*, Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten (Strassburg 1915-)
SChr = Sources Chrétiennes
SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SHA = Scriptores Historiae Augustae
Sylloge = W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum
TAM = Tituli Asiae Minoris (Wien 1901-)
ZRG = Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (Romanistische Abteilung)

I

**THE REPRESENTATION AND PERCEPTION
OF ROMAN IMPERIAL POWER**

PARTICULAR MEDIA

DIE REPRÄSENTATION DER KAISERLICHEN MACHT IN DEN INSCHRIFTEN ROMS UND DES IMPERIUM ROMANUM

Von
GÉZA ALFÖLDY

Silvio Panciera
septuagenario
amico optimo et
praestantissimo

Vor kurzem schrieb Silvio Panciera: „In passato si è molto insistito, contrapponendola alla "soggettività" della narrazione storica, sulla presunta "oggettività" della comunicazione epigrafica. Non così negli ultimi anni, in cui, se mai, si è andato sempre più evidenziando quanta parte abbia la volontà di autorappresentazione (soggettiva quant'altra mai) nella scelta di realizzare un'iscrizione in un certo modo, su un certo monumento ed in un certo luogo."¹ Diese Art der epigraphischen Kultur Roms, die sie etwa von der archivarischen Dokumentation von Daten in den altorientalischen Keilschriftenkulturen oder in der kretisch-mykenischen Welt unterscheidet, war bereits während der Republik unverkennbar. Nach eher bescheidenen Anfängen entfaltete sich aber diese epigraphische Kultur in großem Stil erst seit Augustus, der die Bedeutung des Mediums „Inschrift“ – oder besser gesagt: die publizistische Wirksamkeit von Monumenten, zu denen auch eine Inschrift gehörte – viel besser als seine Vorgänger erkannte. Erst unter Augustus – damals aber explosionsartig – begann in Rom und auch in den Provinzen die Ausbreitung einer epigraphischen Kultur in einem noch nie dagewesenen Umfang. Sie zielte darauf, daß die Wertvorstellungen und das Selbstverständnis der Herrschenden, aber auch der sich daran orientierenden breiteren Bevölkerungsmassen durch einprägsame Botschaften zum Ausdruck gebracht und zugleich auf Dauer bewahrt wurden.² Im Mittelpunkt

¹ S. Panciera, in: G. Alföldy – S. Panciera (Eds.), *Inchriftliche Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellung in der römischen Welt* (Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 36), Stuttgart 2001, 8. – Armin U. Stylow danke ich für bibliographische Hinweise.

² Über die explosionsartige Entwicklung der epigraphischen Kultur Roms unter Augustus siehe G. Alföldy, *Gymnasium* 98, 1991, 289-324 = *Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, Archeologia, Antropologia. Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Archeologiche, Antropologiche dell'Antichità. Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"* 5, 1991 [1994], 573-600 (italienisch); der gleiche Beitrag in polnischer

dieser epigraphischen Kultur stand, entsprechend dem soziopolitischen Gefüge des Imperium Romanum, die Verherrlichung der Kaiser mit ihrer Macht, die ihnen die Möglichkeit bieten sollte, ihre Tugenden zugunsten der *res publica* zu entfalten und deren Schicksale durch geeignete Maßnahmen zu lenken.³

Die zentrale Bedeutung, die in der Selbstdarstellung von Herrschern der Thematisierung ihrer Macht zukommt, ist schon in den *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* voll zu erkennen.⁴ Mag dieses Dokument als ausführlicher Tatenbericht noch so einzigartig sein, für die Botschaften, die durch Inschriften verkündet wurden, ist es doch vielfach kennzeichnend. Nach der Überschrift handelt es sich um die *res gestae*, durch die *Augustus orbem*

Sprache: August i inskripcije: tradycja u innowacje. Narodtyny epigrafiki imperialnej (Xenia Posnaniensia III), Poznań 1994. Über diese Entwicklung in Hispanien siehe F. Beltrán Lloris (Ed.), *Roma y el nacimiento de la cultura epigráfica en Occidente. Actas del Coloquio Roma y las primeras culturas epigráficas del Occidente mediterráneo (siglos II a. E. – d. E.)* (Zaragoza, 4 a 6 de noviembre de 1992), Zaragoza 1995, darin u. a. mit Beiträgen von M. Mayer, G. Alföldy, J. M. Abascal, A. U. Stylow u. a. Für die Entwicklung der epigraphischen Kultur Hispaniens siehe auch G. Alföldy, in: M. Almagro-Gorbea – J. M. Álvarez Martínez et al., *Hispania. El legado de Roma*, Zaragoza 1998, 289-301 = in: dies., *Hispania. El legado de Roma*, Zaragoza 1999, 324-337; vgl. außerdem dens., in: L. Hernández Guerra – L. Sagredo San Eustaquio – J. M.^a Solana Sáinz (Eds.), *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de Historia Antigua "La Península Ibérica hace 2000 años"* Valladolid 23-25 de Noviembre 2000, Valladolid 2001 [2002], 61-74; A. U. Stylow, in: G. Urso (Ed.), *Hispania terris omnibus felicior. Premesse ed esiti di un processo di integrazione. Atti del convegno internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 27-29 settembre 2001*, Pisa 2002, 163-181.

³ Zur Repräsentation der kaiserlichen Macht durch die epigraphischen Denkmäler siehe etwa M. Horster, *Bauinschriften römischer Kaiser. Untersuchungen zu Inschriftenpraxis und Bautätigkeit in Städten des westlichen Imperium Romanum in der Zeit des Prinzipats* (Historia Einzelschriften 157), Stuttgart 2001, vgl. dazu G. Alföldy, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15, 2002, 489-498 und *Epigraphica* 64, 2002, 113-145 (Bauinschriften); J. M. Højte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases. An Epigraphical Contribution to the Understanding of Roman Imperial Portrait Statues*, unpubl. Manuskript Aarhus 2001 (Basen von Kaiserstatuen mit Inschriften von Augustus bis Commodus). Zur Rolle der verschiedenen Medien in der Selbstdarstellung der Herrscher siehe bes. A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, 3. Aufl. Darmstadt 1980 (Nachdruck der bahnbrechenden Studien des Autors aus den Jahren 1934 und 1935 aufgrund der Synoptik verschiedener Mittel der kaiserlichen Selbstdarstellung); P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987 (Denkmäler der Kunst); M. Alföldi, *Bild und Bildersprache der römischen Kaiser. Beispiele und Analysen* (Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 81), Mainz am Rhein 1999 (Münzbilder und weitere bildliche Darstellungen); vgl. noch W. Kuhoff, *Felicior Augusto melior Traiano. Aspekte der Selbstdarstellung der römischen Kaiser während der Prinzipatszeit*, Frankfurt am Main 1993 (Verwendung verschiedener Medien für einige Themen der Selbstdarstellung); für die Kunst der Spätantike unter diesem Aspekt siehe jetzt auch E. Mayr, *Rom ist dort, wo der Kaiser ist. Untersuchungen zu den Staatsdenkmälern des dezentralisierten Reiches von Diocletian bis zu Theodosius II* (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, Monographien 53), Mainz 2002.

⁴ Zu den *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* siehe jetzt zusammenfassend D. Kienast, *Augustus, Prinzeps und Monarch*, 3. Aufl., Darmstadt 1999, 208 ff. mit Bibliographie. Als Edition wird hier H. Volkmann, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti. Das Monumentum Ancyranum*, 3. Aufl., Berlin 1969 benutzt.

terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit, ergänzt durch seine *impensae* zugunsten der Römer. Somit wird bereits am Anfang die einzigartige Machtstellung des Augustus verherrlicht, die zugleich Roms Macht verkörpert. Bekanntlich sagt zwar Augustus kurz vor dem Ende seines Berichts, daß er nach Abschluß der Bürgerkriege die *res publica* aus seiner *potestas* in diejenige von Senat und Volk übergab und daß seine *potestas*, im Gegensatz zu seiner *auctoritas*, mit der er alle Menschen übertraf, nicht größer war als die seiner Amtskollegen.⁵ Der Gesamteindruck des Lesers, der sich nicht so sehr für die subtilen Feinheiten konstitutioneller und ideologischer Kategorien, sondern für die Realitäten interessierte, dürfte jedoch ein anderer gewesen sein. Er konnte hier lesen, daß Augustus 13 Male Konsul und 37 Male Inhaber der *tribunicia potestas* war (die Konsulate des Augustus werden in den *Res Gestae* übrigens insgesamt gleich 17 Male, seine tribunizische Vollmacht fünfmal erwähnt),⁶ daß er 21 Male als *imperator* gefeiert wurde,⁷ daß er auch in den Jahren, in denen er nicht Konsul war, mit konsularischem *imperium* handeln konnte.⁸ Dazu kamen die Hinweise auf seine vielen Siege und Triumphe, die „sein“ Heer, wenn nicht unter seiner persönlichen Führung, dann von seinen Legaten auf seinen Befehl und unter seinen Auspizien erzielte;⁹ darauf, daß in seinen Triumphzügen nicht weniger als neun gefangene Könige oder Kinder von Königen geführt wurden und daß neun andere Könige oder Königssöhne unter seinen Schutz flohen,¹⁰ auf die *manibiae*, aus denen er Prachtbauten finanzierte.¹¹ Selbst seine *impensae* und die dadurch möglich gewordenen Leistungen stellten mit ihren Dimensionen zumindest wirtschaftliche Macht dar.¹² Wo bei all dem die Grenze zwischen konstitutionell definierter *potestas* und persönlicher *auctoritas* verlief, dürfte den meisten Untertanen unklar und auch kaum von Interesse gewesen sein. In ihren Augen muß auch die *auctoritas* des *pater patriae* als Macht gegolten haben, der sie sich

⁵ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 34. Zum augusteischen Begriff der *auctoritas* vgl. zusammenfassend L. Wickert, RE XXII 2, 1954, 2287-2290.

⁶ Gesamtzahl der Konsulate und der Verleihungen der *tribunicia potestas*: *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 4. Weitere Hinweise auf die Konsulate des Augustus: ebd. 1. 8 (*bis*). 15 (*sexties*). 16. 20 (*bis*). 21. 22. 34. 35; weitere Hinweise auf die tribunizische Vollmacht: ebd. 6. 10. 15 (*bis*).

⁷ Ebd. 4, vgl. auch 21.

⁸ Ebd. 8.

⁹ *Exercitus meus*: ebd. 30; der Terminus ist dem kurz davor erwähnten *exercitus populi Romani* vergangener Zeiten deutlich gegenübergestellt. Vgl. auch den Terminus *classis mea*, ebd. 26. Feldzüge *iussu* und *auspiciis* des Augustus als Oberbefehlshabers: ebd. 4. 26. 30.

¹⁰ Ebd. 4 und 32.

¹¹ Ebd. 15 und 21.

¹² Ebd. 15-23 und add. 1.

unterordnen mußten, von der sie abhängig waren, von deren Träger sie jedoch erwarteten, daß er sie beschützt und ihre Interessen vertritt.

Dem Leser der *Res Gestae* mußten aber sicher nicht nur die erwähnten und die übrigen Textinhalte als Indizien für eine noch nie dagewesene Macht erscheinen. Die Größe des Augustus wurde auch dadurch unterstrichen, daß dieser Text in einer bisher ungewohnten Weise auf zwei Erzpfeilern eingraviert war, die schon durch ihre Form und Größe beeindruckten.¹³ Und sie standen am Eingang des Mausoleums des Kaisers, des damals größten, u. a. mit zahlreichen Inschriften versehenen Grabmonumentes in Rom,¹⁴ in unmittelbarer Nähe von zwei Obelisken, die selbst als Symbole der Herrschaft galten. Außerdem gab es von hier einen direkten Sichtkontakt zum *solarium Augusti* mit dem Montecitorio-Obelisken als Gnomon, das nicht nur die irdische Macht (u. a. durch den Hinweis auf die Unterwerfung Ägyptens durch Augustus in der Inschrift des Obelisken), sondern auch die kosmische Größe des Herrschers verkündete.¹⁵ Es sei hier angemerkt, daß die Ancyraner Kopie der *Res Gestae* an einer Seitenwand des Augustustempels zu lesen war, der sich dort an einer beherrschenden Stelle der Stadt erhebt; die Antiochenser Kopie wurde ebenfalls an einer prominenten Stelle der Stadt, im Bezirk des Herrscherkultes, zur Schau gestellt; die Kopie von Apollonia in Pisidien wurde innerhalb eines Temenos des Kaiserkultes auf einem großen Sockel eingemeißelt, auf dem die Statuen von Divus Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, Germanicus und Drusus minor standen.¹⁶

Die Verknüpfung von Text, äußerem Glanz der Inschrift, Inschriftenträger, architektonischem Rahmen und Einbindung in einen

¹³ Ebd., Praef.

¹⁴ Zu diesem Monument siehe H. von Hesberg – S. Panciera, Das Mausoleum des Augustus. Der Bau und seine Inschriften (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen N. F. 108), München 1994; die Inschriften des Mausoleums auch in CIL VI 40356-40410.

¹⁵ E. Buchner, Römische Mitteilungen 83, 1976, 319-365 und ebd. 87, 1980, 355-373; ders., Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus, Mainz am Rhein 1982; ders., in: E. M. Steinby (Ed.), Lexicon Topographicum urbis Romae III, Roma 1996, 35-37; Inschrift auf dem Sockel des Montecitorio-Obelisken: CIL VI 701-702 = ILS 91. Vgl. G. W. Bowersock, in: K. A. Raafaub – M. Toher (Eds.), Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate, Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford 1990, 383-385.

¹⁶ Volkmann, a.a.O. (Anm. 4) 4 f. mit älterer Literatur; H. Hänlein-Schäfer, Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers (Archaeologica 39), Roma 1985, 185-196. 270. 289 f.; zur Ausstellung der drei Kopien der *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* in den genannten Städten siehe jetzt P. Botteri, in diesem Band, zu Antiochia unlängst auch St. Mitchell – M. Waelkens, Pisidian Antioch. The Site and its Monuments, London 1998, 113-173.

breiteren räumlichen Kontext eignete sich bestens dazu, das Gefühl hervorzurufen, daß hier eine noch nie dagewesene Macht verherrlicht wurde. Diese Wirkung verstärkte sich dadurch, daß die *Res Gestae* zumindest in der Provinz Galatia, anscheinend dank der Initiative des dortigen Statthalters,¹⁷ durch Kopien auch einem Publikum außerhalb Roms und Italiens unmittelbar bekanntgemacht wurden. Mit all dem waren die *Res Gestae* ein durchaus repräsentatives Beispiel für die Lobpreisung von Herrschern durch Monumente mit entsprechenden Inschriften.

Über die inhaltlichen Elemente in den sog. „Kaiserinschriften“, durch die die Vormachtstellung der Herrscher hervorgehoben wird, genügen hier Stichworte. Einzigartig war schon ihre Nomenklatur, beginnend mit dem Namen des Begründers des Prinzipats *Imperator Caesar Divi filius Augustus*, einem noch nie dagewesenen Namen.¹⁸ Wie die nicht seltene Variante *Caesar Augustus* – nur ein *nomen* und *cognomen*, ohne das *praenomen*, eine damals unübliche Namenskombination – zeigt, entsprach die Nomenklatur des Ersten Princeps in den Augen seiner Zeitgenossen auch rein formell nicht einfach dem traditionellen System der *tria nomina* eines Bürgers, sondern war etwas Außergewöhnliches,¹⁹ wie erst recht die späteren Kaisernamen mit den langen Ahnenreihen und den Siegerbeinamen. Die Hinweise auf die Machtbefugnisse und Vorrechte der Kaiser in ihrer Titulatur, u. a. mit der Nennung der imperatorischen Akklamationen, der tribunizischen Gewalt und der Konsulate einschließlich der entsprechenden Iterationsziffern, seit Lucius Septimius Severus regelmäßig auch der prokonsularischen Vollmacht, brachten ihre Machtfülle zum Ausdruck. Zumindest ursprünglich müssen mit diesen Rangtiteln klare Vorstellungen über die kaiserliche Macht verbunden gewesen sein. So nannte sich Augustus im kürzlich gefundenen Edikt aus El Bierzo in Hispanien im Gegensatz zur gängigen Praxis auch *proconsul*, um zu betonen, daß er seine Maßnahmen, die er damals, von Rom abwesend, für peregrine Gemeinden in einer seiner Provinzen traf, auf diese Amtsgewalt stützte.²⁰ Man konnte aber die Rangtitel ganz weglassen oder den Kaiser nur als *pater patriae* rühmen,

¹⁷ W. Eck – A. Caballos – F. Fernández, *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (Vestigia 48), München 1996, 285 f.

¹⁸ Grundlegend R. Syme, *Historia* 7, 1968, 172-188 = ders., *Roman Papers I*, Oxford 1979, 361- 377, deutsch in: W. Schmitthenner, *Augustus* (Wege der Forschung CXXVIII), Darmstadt 1969, 264-290.

¹⁹ G. Alföldy, *Gymnasium* 98, 1991, 316 f.

²⁰ Siehe dazu G. Alföldy, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 131, 2000, 177-205, bes. 193 f. = *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica IV* 2001, 6, 365-417, bes. 392-395 (revidierte Fassung in italienischer Sprache).

wie dies beispielsweise schon die Einwohner der Baetica bei der Stiftung ihrer goldenen Statue auf dem Augustusforum taten,²¹ damit wurde ebenso die *patria potestas* wie auch die einzigartige *auctoritas* des Princeps angesprochen. Selbst die Nomenklatur des Monarchen konnte auf den einzigen Namen *Augustus* beschränkt werden, denn seine grenzlose Vormachtstellung war für die Untertanen schon dadurch hinreichend vergegenwärtigt.²² Auch spätere Kaiser wurden in den Inschriften, vor allem wenn sie in den epigraphischen Dokumenten ihrer Untertanen als deren Wohltäter verherrlicht wurden, innerhalb der zur Titulatur gefestigten Nomenklatur des Ersten Princeps *Imp. Caesar ... Augustus* oder *Imp. ... Augustus* oft mit einem einzigen Namen wie z. B. *Traianus*, *Hadrianus*, *Antoninus* usw. genannt. Wer in einer Inschrift einer derartigen Nomenklatur begegnete, dem war es klar, daß der so genannte Mann kein gewöhnlicher Mensch, sondern der Herr über alle Menschen war.

Noch deutlicher als die stereotypen Rangtitel mit Hinweis auf die tribunizische Vollmacht o. ä., deren Bedeutung später mehr und mehr verloren ging, dürften die Macht der Kaiser in den Augen der Untertanen ihre zunehmend gebrauchten inoffiziellen Beinamen und, wie auch in den *Res Gestae*, die konkreten Hinweise auf ihre Taten veranschaulicht haben.²³ Die lange Reihe der epigraphisch bezeugten Beinamen, die seit Trajan erkennbar zunahm, seit den Severern eine inflationäre Entwicklung aufwies und somit allmählich entwertet wurden, ist allgemein bekannt. Besonders unterstrichen sie u. a. die Sieghaftigkeit und damit die militärische Macht der Kaiser. Bezeichnend sind etwa die Steigerung und

²¹ CIL VI 31267 cf. p. 3778. 4340 f. (mit weiterer Bibliographie) = ILS 103, siehe dazu ausführlich G. Alföldy, in: H.-J. Drexhage – J. Stüskes (Hrsg.), *Migratio et Commutatio. Studien zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*. Thomas Pekáry zum 60. Geburtstag, St. Katharinen 1989, 226-234 = ders., *Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana di Roma* (Vetera 8), Roma 1992, 67-75, auch mit Hinweisen auf weitere Inschriften des Augustus, in denen aus seiner Rangtitulatur nur die Bezeichnung *p(ater) p(atriciae)* erscheint. Auch spätere Herrscher wurden nicht selten in der gleichen Weise verherrlicht, unter ihnen besonders häufig Antoninus Pius.

²² So z. B. in der Dedikationsinschrift für eine Statue des Augustus in Saguntum: CIL II²/14, 305.

²³ Zu den inoffiziellen Beinamen der römischen Kaiser siehe bes. A. Alföldy, a.a.O. (Anm. 3) 204-213; R. Frei-Stolba, *Museum Helveticum* 26, 1969, 18-39; reiche Materialsammlung auch unter Berücksichtigung anderer Quellen bei F. Taeger, *Charisma, Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes II*, Stuttgart 1960, 226-473. Speziell für das 3. Jahrhundert siehe außerdem M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology*, A. D. 235-284 (*Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia XXIX*), Amsterdam 1990; für die Späte Kaiserzeit siehe auch A. Chastagnol, in: A. Donati (Ed.), *La terza età dell'epigrafia. Colloquio AIEGL – Borghesi* 86 (Bologna, ottobre 1986) (*Epigrafia e Antichità* 9), Faenza 1988, 12-38; Th. Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus. Herrscherpropaganda in der zeitgenössischen Überlieferung* (*Historia-Einzelschriften* 64), Stuttgart 1990, u. a. mit den Listen 265-270 und 274-276.

der Wandel der Siegerbeinamen *invictus* (seit Commodus und Septimius Severus), *super omnes retro principes invictus* oder *invictissimus* (seit Caracalla), *victoriosus* und *victoriosissimus* (seit Aurelian), *victor* statt *invictus* (regelmäßig seit 324, ohne daß der heidnisch klingende Beinamen *invictus* bzw. sein Superlativ damals ganz aufgegeben worden wären), bis zu *ubique vincens* (zur Bezeichnung ausgerechnet des Arcadius und Honorius, unter denen ein großer Teil des Reiches verloren ging).²⁴ Unbegrenzte Macht suggerierte z. B. die Lobpreisung der Herrscher als *restitutor orbis* (seit Severus Alexander).²⁵ Die Hinweise auf die kriegerischen Taten der Kaiser folgten zunächst z. T. dem Vorbild der *Res Gestae*, z. B. die Inschrift auf dem wegen des britannischen Sieges errichteten Claudiusbogen in Rom, in der ähnlich wie in den *Res Gestae* der Kaiser als derjenige gelobt wird, der fremde Völker unter die Hoheit des römischen Volkes brachte und in der ebenfalls von besiegten Königen die Rede ist.²⁶ Auch die Hinweise auf die Finanzierung großer Bauten aus den *manubiae*, so in der rekonstruierten Bauinschrift des Colosseum²⁷ oder in der verlorenen Bauinschrift des Trajansforums,²⁸ folgten dem augusteischen Vorbild. Die überdimensionale Macht der Herrscher wurde aber auch dann deutlich, wenn er z. B. als Bezwingen von Raum und Natur erschien. Augustus rühmte sich in den Inschriften der Meilensteine an der *via Augusta*, diese nach ihm benannte Straße Hispaniens *usque ad Oceanum*, bis zum Ende der Welt, d. h. bis Gades, ausgebaut zu haben.²⁹ Erwähnt seien hier auch die Inschriften von

²⁴ Zu den Formeln *super omnes retro principes invictus* o. ä. siehe A. Scheithauer, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 72, 1988, 155-177; zur Übernahme des Beinamens *Victor* statt *Invictus* durch Konstantin A. Chastagnol, Latomus 25, 1966, 537-552. Arcadius und Honorius als *ubique vincentes*: CIL VIII 5341 = ILS 5907 mit add.

²⁵ Siehe dazu G. Alföldy, in: W. Eck (Hrsg.), Religion und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Kolloquium zu Ehren von Friedrich Vittinghoff, Köln – Wien 1989, 60-63 = dens., Die Krise des Römischen Reiches. Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung. Ausgewählte Beiträge (Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 5), Stuttgart 1989, 354-356.

²⁶ CIL VI 40416 (920 cf. 31203 = ILS 216).

²⁷ G. Alföldy, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 109, 1995, 195-226 = in: R. Rea (Ed.), Rota Colisei. La valle del Colosseo attraverso i secoli, Milano 2002, 14-35; CIL VI 40454; vgl. jetzt L. H. Feldman, Biblical Archaeology Review 27, 4, 2001, 20-31 und 60-61; G. Alföldy, ebd. 27, 6, 2001, 16 f.

²⁸ Gellius, Noctes Atticae 13,25,1; vgl. G. Alföldy, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 109, 1995, 220 mit Literatur.

²⁹ Meilensteine des Augustus an der *via Augusta* und diejenigen seiner ersten Nachfolger, die den Ausbau dieser Straße vervollständigten, mit ähnlicher Beschriftung: CIL II 4701 = ILS 102 und CIL II 4703 usw., siehe P. Sillières, in: R. Étienne (Ed.), Épigraphie hispanique. Problèmes de méthode et d'édition (Publications du Centre Pierre Paris 10), Paris 1984, 275 und bes. dens., Les voies de communication de l'Hispanie méridionale (Publications du Centre Pierre Paris 20), Paris 1990, 57 und im Katalog 68-118; zum Verlauf und zum Ausbau dieser Straße siehe ebd. 260-338. 580-589; vgl. jetzt A. U. Stylow – R. Atencia Páez – J. C. Vera, in: Akten des Kolloquiums „Siedlung und Verkehr“,

Tiberius, Claudius, Domitian und Trajan in der Donauschlucht am Eisernen Tor an der zuerst als Holz- und Seilkonstruktion errichteten, unter Trajan in die Felswand gehauenen Straße,³⁰ die Inschrift desselben Herrschers, die die Regulierung der Donau in der genannten Schlucht verewigt,³¹ oder an die Inschrift der Trajanssäule, wonach Trajan, um für sein *forum* Platz zu schaffen, einen Berg abtragen ließ.³²

Als Botschaften der Macht erst recht aussagekräftig sind die Inschriften, die, schon seit den Lebzeiten des Augustus, vom Kult des *numen Augusti*, der göttlichen Macht des Herrschers, zeugen.³³ Gleiches gilt für die Inschriften, die auf den Kaiserbasen seit dem frühen 3. Jahrhundert die Bereitschaft der Untertanen bekunden, im Sinne der *devotio* ihr Leben für das *numen* des Kaisers zu opfern;³⁴ das hat freilich, wenn auch in anderer Weise, nach dem Text des auch epigraphisch festgehaltenen Treueeides für den Kaiser von den Untertanen schon Augustus abverlangt.³⁵ Die Inschrift aus Rom, die dort an Caracallas 25. Geburtstag, anlässlich seiner Rückkehr von dem siegreichen Feldzug in Britannien, von einem Verein kleiner Leute *Deo Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurel(io) Divi Septimi Severi f(ilio), O]ptimo Antonino Pio, sideribu[s in terram delapso, T]onitratori Aug(usto), orbis terrarum [propagatori, domino] maximo* mit dem Wunsch gesetzt wurde, daß er hundert Jahre lang glücklich regieren möge, zeigt, wie weit die

Festschrift Heinz E. Herzig, im Druck (A. U. Stylow danke herzlich ich für die Überlassung des noch ungedruckten Manuskriptes). Zur Benennung von Infrastrukturanlagen wie Straßen und Aquädukten nach Augustus vgl. G. Alföldy, *Gymnasium* 98, 1991, 301 und dens., *Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana* (Anm. 21) 63.

³⁰ J. Šašel, *Opera Selecta* (Situla 30), Ljubljana 1992, 259-276.

³¹ J. Šašel, *Journal of Roman Studies* 63, 1973, 80-85 = ders., *Opera Selecta* (Anm. 30) 298-304.

³² CIL VI 960 cf. p. 4310 f. (mit Bibliographie) = ILS 294.

³³ Siehe dazu bes. D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire II* 1, Leiden – New York – København – Köln 1991, 375-422, außerdem dens., *Britannia* 25, 1994, 127-141; Überblick über die frühere Literatur bei W. Pötscher, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II* 16, 1, Berlin – New York 1978, 380-387. Vgl. jetzt G. Alföldy – J. M. Abascal, in: J. M. Abascal – G. Alföldy (Eds.), *El Arco romano de Medinaceli (Soria, Hispania citerior)* (Bibliotheca Archaeologica Hispanica 18), Madrid 2002, 99-102.

³⁴ Zur einschlägigen Formel *numini maiestatique eius devotissimus* o. ä. siehe bes. H.-G. Gundel, *Epigraphica* 15, 1953 (1955), 128-150; weitere Literatur in CIL VI p. 4320 (zu CIL VI 1057-1058) und unter CIL VI 40621.

³⁵ P. Herrmann, *Der römische Kaisereid. Untersuchungen zu seiner Herkunft und Entwicklung* (Hypomnemata 20), Göttingen 1968. Vgl. M. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich*, Stuttgart 2001, 225-227.

Anbetung des bereits zu Lebzeiten vergotteten Kaisers schon lange vor Aurelian gehen konnte.³⁶

Zahlreiche Inschriften, die der Lobpreisung der Herrscher dienten, illustrierten Größe und Glanz der kaiserlichen Macht auch durch ihr äußeres Erscheinungsbild. Oft fällt schon die Größe der Buchstaben auf. Den „Rekord“ hält die Inschrift Agrippas, immerhin eines Kollegen des Augustus in der Ausübung der Macht, auf dem Pantheon, mit rund 70 cm hohen Buchstaben. Hier sei die Buchstabenhöhe einiger Bauinschriften von Kaisern und Mitgliedern des Kaiserhauses aus Rom und einigen Provinzen genannt. Bauinschrift des von Tiberius restaurierten Castor- und Pollux-Tempels: bis zu 53 cm; Hadriansbogen bei Scythopolis in Judäa: bis zu 41 cm; Titusbogen: bis zu 40 cm; Augustusmonument in La Turbie: bis zu 37 cm; Bogen von Medinaceli in Spanien: ungefähr 35 cm; Aquädukt von Segovia: 32 bis 35 cm; Inschrift des Tiberius vom *forum Romanum*: bis zu 34 cm; Severusbogen in Rom: ungefähr 30 cm; Claudiusbogen ebenda: ca. bis zu 30 cm; Trajansinschrift auf der Tajo-Brücke bei Alcantará in Lusitanien: bis zu 30 cm; Inschrift vom *Nerva-forum*: 28/30 cm; Siegesmonument von Actium: 28 cm; Inschrift des Augustus vom *forum Romanum*: bis zu 26,5 cm; Mars-Ulter-Tempel: 23 cm.³⁷ Die Buchstaben nichtkaiserlicher Inschriften waren, bis auf ganz wenige Ausnahmen, kleiner. Zugleich kennen wir einige Inschriften, in denen der Name eines Kaisers sozusagen nur *en passant* genannt, aber mit größeren Buchstaben als der übrige Text geschrieben wird; ähnlich sind in der erwähnten Inschrift Caracallas seine eigenen Worte durch größere Buchstaben hervorgehoben.³⁸ Zahlreiche Inschriften der Kaiser beeindruckten den Betrachter auch dadurch, daß sie aus vergoldeten Bronz Buchstaben bestanden. Diese luxuriöse Technik diente vor allem der Verherrlichung der kaiserlichen Herrschaft. Nicht zufällig breitete sich der

³⁶ CIL VI 40638 (= 1080), siehe ausführlich G. Alföldy, in: G. Bonamente – M. Mayer (Eds.), *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Barcinonense MCMXCIII. Atti dei Convegni sulla Historia Augusta (Historiae Augustae Nova Series IV)*, Bari 1996, 9-36.

³⁷ Die angeführten Daten siehe bei Horster, a.a.O. (Anm. 3) 15 mit Anm. 39 bzw. bei W. Eck – G. Foerster, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12, 1999, 304; für die stadtrömischen Inschriften siehe die Angaben in den *Addenda et corrigenda* zu den bereits früher edierten bzw. unter den neu edierten Inschriften im Band CIL VI 8, 2; Segovia und Medinaceli: G. Alföldy, *Die Bauinschriften des Aquäduktes von Segovia und des Amphitheaters von Tarraco (Madri der Forschungen 19)*, Berlin – New York 1997, 22. 25. 41 sowie Alföldy – Abascal, in: J. M. Abascal – G. Alföldy (Eds.), *El Arco romano de Medinaceli* (Anm. 33) 87.

³⁸ Siehe Anm. 36. Mit größeren Buchstaben wird z.B. der Name des Augustus in der *Cursus – honorum* – Inschrift eines Senators seiner Zeit hervorgehoben: M. Buonocore, *L' Abruzzo e il Molise in età romana. Tra storia ed epigrafia II* (Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria, Studi e Testi 21/2), *L' Aquila* 2002, 886-900 mit Fig. 60.

Gebrauch der *litterae aureae*, wie diese Buchstaben hießen, seit dem Jahre 17 v. Chr. aus, als mit den *ludi saeculares* die neue *aurea aetas* eingeläutet wurde. Wie die Symbolik der *aurea templa* oder der *aurea Roma*, sollten auch die goldenen Buchstaben den Glanz des neuen Goldenen Zeitalters und seines allmächtigen Schöpfers vergegenwärtigen.³⁹

Freilich wurden Macht und Erhabenheit der Herrscher nicht nur durch die Größe oder den goldenen Glanz der Buchstaben, sondern oft auch durch die besondere Dimension der Inschriften verkündet. So betrug die Länge der Inschriften des Aquäduktes von Segovia ungefähr 17 m, des Mars Ultor-Tempels und des Castor- und Pollux-Tempels in Rom 21 bzw. 27 m. Die Inschrift des Augustusmonuments von Actium war fast 60 m lang. Das alles wurde weit übertroffen durch die Podiumsinschrift des Amphitheaters von Tarraco, die die Nomenklatur und Rangtitulatur Elagabals enthielt, mit ihrer Länge von 147 m.⁴⁰ Es ist eine Ironie der Geschichte, daß dieses größte epigraphische Monument der Antike zugleich eines der kurzlebigsten war: Die im Jahre 221 angefertigte Inschrift wurde schon ein Jahr später, nach Elagabals Sturz, vernichtet; erhalten blieben nur die Namen der göttlichen Vorgänger des Kaisers und am Schluß der Hinweis auf die Erneuerung des Bauwerkes.

Die meisten bisher erwähnten Beispiele machen deutlich, daß die Inschriften ihre Botschaft erst recht deshalb verkünden konnten, weil sie, wie schon die *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, oft zu außergewöhnlichen Monumenten gehörten, die ebenfalls die Größe der kaiserlichen Macht unterstrichen. Das gilt für die Kolossalstatuen, die in Rom als ein Privileg für die Herrscher galten; Beispiele sind etwa die Basen für monumentale Statuen Trajans auf

³⁹ Zu Inschriften dieser Art siehe – jeweils mit weiterer Literatur – G. Alföldy, Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz, ein historisches Monument der Antike (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1990, Bericht 2), Heidelberg 1990, bes. 21-27; dens., Gymnasium 98, 1991, 297-299; dens., Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 94, 1992, 231-248; dens., ebd. 109, 1995, 195-226, bes. 205 f.; dens., Bauinschriften (Anm. 37) 1-51, bes. 4-8 und 26-31; dens., Biblical Archaeological Review 27, 6, 2001, 16 f.; J. M. Abascal – G. Alföldy – R. Cebrián, Archivo Español de Arqueología 74, 2001, 117-130; Alföldy – Abascal, in: J. M. Abascal – G. Alföldy (Eds.), El Arco romano de Medinaceli (Anm. 33), bes. 80-98.

⁴⁰ Segovia: G. Alföldy, Bauinschriften (Anm. 37) 4. Inschriften des Mars Ultor- und des Dioskuren-tempels: Siehe bes. dens., Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana (Anm. 21) 17-24 bzw. 39-58 und CIL VI 40311 bzw. 40339. Monument in Actium: W. M. Murray – Ph. M. Petsas, Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 79, 4), Philadelphia 1989, 62 ff., bes. 74. Amphitheater von Tarraco: G. Alföldy, Bauinschriften 72. Weitere Angaben für die Länge kaiserlicher Bauinschriften bei Horster, a.a.O. (Anm. 3) 15-17.

seinem *forum*.⁴¹ Auch große Tempel, Bögen, Siegesdenkmäler, Amphitheater, Aquädukte, Brücken, aber auch Grenzbauten wie z. B. die Hadriansmauer, einzelne Festungen oder sogar Wachtürme, an denen Inschriften mit Namen der Herrscher Roms zu lesen waren, konnten Respekt vor den Machthabern erwecken, wie etwa die Bauinschriften der *aqua Claudia* an der Porta Maggiore⁴² oder des Kastells Aalen am rätischen Limes.⁴³ Gleiches galt für so außergewöhnliche Inschriftenträger wie Säulen oder Obelisken.⁴⁴ Als Beispiel sei hier der Vatikan-Obelisk genannt,⁴⁵ der ursprünglich in Alexandria stand, wo ihn im Frühherbst 30 v. Chr. Cornelius Gallus, damals *praefectus fabrum* Oktavians, mit einer lateinischen Inschrift versehen und einweihen ließ (nach dem Tode des Augustus wurde diese Inschrift bekanntlich durch eine Widmung an Divus Augustus und seinen Nachfolger Tiberius ersetzt). Dieses unter Caligula nach Rom gebrachte Monument zeigt uns exemplarisch, wie Textinhalt, Beschriftungstechnik, Inschriftenträger und architektonischer Kontext zusammen der Verherrlichung eines Machthabers dienen konnten. Im kurzen Text war gleich zweimal der Name des *Imperator Caesar Divi filius* zu lesen, auf dessen Befehl (*iussu*) das *forum Iulium*, ein nach ihm benannter Repräsentationsplatz, errichtet wurde; die Inschrift bestand aus *litterae aureae*, die damals, erst recht in Ägypten, ein Novum darstellten; der Obelisk galt als Symbol für die Macht göttlicher Herrscher; wie der Montecitorio-Obelisk mit einem Globus und Dorn an der Spitze verkündete er die Weltherrschaft und dürfte auf dem *forum Iulium* Alexandrias, als Vorbild für das *solarium Augusti* in Rom, der Gnomon einer riesigen Sonnenuhr gewesen sein. Wie auch sonst oftmals, wurde die Aussagekraft der Inschrift hier durch die optische Wirkung des Monuments erhöht. Umgekehrt war das volle Verständnis der Botschaft eines Bauwerkes erst dank seiner Inschrift möglich. Als der in Ovids *Fasti* vom Himmel herabgestiegene Mars seinen von Augustus auf dessen *forum* gebauten Tempel besichtigt, entzücken ihn zuerst die Fassade, dann die

⁴¹ CIL VI 959 a-c cf. p. 4310. Über monumentale Statuen und ihre Postamente bereitet B. Ruck (Heidelberg) eine Dissertation vor.

⁴² CIL VI 1256-1258 cf. p. 4365 mit Bibliographie = ILS 218.

⁴³ Siehe dazu G. Alföldy, Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg 14, 1989, 293-338 (mit einem Beitrag von V. Habicht-Weinges) und dens., in: P. Barceló – V. Rosenberger (Hrsg.), *Humanitas – Beiträge zur antiken Kulturgeschichte. Festschrift für Gunther Gottlieb zum 65. Geburtstag* (Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg 65), München 2001, 27-44. Zu ähnlichen Inschriften aus Limeskastellen vgl. M. Reuter, *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 48, 1995, 26-51.

⁴⁴ Säulen: Vgl. etwa die Inschriften der *columna Traiani* (siehe oben, Anm. 32) und der Säule des Antoninus Pius (CIL VI 1004 cf. p. 4315 mit Bibliographie). Obelisken in Rom: Siehe C. D'Onofrio, *Gli obelischi di Roma*, 2. ed., Roma 1967; vgl. J.-C. Grenier, in: E. M. Steinby (Ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum urbis Romae III*, Roma 1996, 355-359.

⁴⁵ G. Alföldy, *Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz* (Anm. 39) mit weiterer Literatur.

Innenausstattung des Bauwerkes. Dann kommt er aus dem Tempel heraus und liest die Inschrift; als er dort den Namen des Bauherrn, Augustus, sieht, kommt ihm der Tempel noch größer vor.⁴⁶

Die *Res Gestae*, die Obeliskten mit ihrem Umfeld und selbst die Inschrift des Mars Ultor-Tempels im Kontext des *forum Augustum* exemplifizieren auch die Bedeutung des breiteren architektonischen und topographischen Rahmens, in dem eine sog. „Kaiserinschrift“ ihre oft einzigartige Wirkung entfalten konnte. Hierfür gibt es viele weitere Beispiele. In Tarraco standen die mit Widmungsinschriften versehenen Herrscherstatuen innerhalb des monumentalen Bezirkes für den Provinziallandtag der Hispania citerior auf der obersten Terrasse der Stadt, vor dem Augustustempel; sie beherrschten die Stadt zusammen mit diesem Tempel.⁴⁷ Das Augustusmonument von La Turbie war in seiner imposanten Lage schon aus weiter Entfernung sichtbar.⁴⁸ Der Aquädukt in Segovia, der m. E. eine Inschrift Trajans trug, führte vor Augen, wie die kaiserliche Macht Raum und Natur überwinden konnte.⁴⁹

Genannt sei hier auch die bekannte Inschrift des Pontius Pilatus aus Caesarea in Israel, die uns den Schlüssel für das Verständnis der Herrschersymbolik im Hafen der genannten Stadt bietet.⁵⁰ Ich hoffe gezeigt zu haben, daß die Pilatus-Inschrift die Bauinschrift eines Leuchtturmes im Hafen Caesareas war, der an der Spitze der Nordmole stand und nach Tiberius als *Tiberieum* benannt wurde, entsprechend dem großen Leuchtturm an der Spitze der Südmole mit dem Namen *Druseum*, benannt nach Drusus, dem Bruder des Tiberius.⁵¹ Die Symbolik kann erst im breiteren Kontext begriffen werden. Wie wir von Flavius Iosephus wissen, standen vor beiden

⁴⁶ Ovidius, *Fasti* 5,567 f. Zu der – wiederhergestellten – Inschrift siehe die Angaben oben in Anm. 40.

⁴⁷ Siehe hierzu G. Alföldy, jeweils mit Hinweis auf weitere Literatur zur Topographie, in: I. Rodà (Ed.), *Tarraco, puerta de Roma. Exposición organizada por la Fundación "La Caixa"*, Tarragona, 13 de septiembre de 2001 – 6 de enero de 2002, Barcelona 2001, 30; dens., in: L. Hernández Guerra – L. Sagredo San Eustaquio – J. M.^a Solana Sáinz (Eds.), *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de Historia Antigua "La Península Ibérica hace 2000 años"* (Anm. 2) 71; vgl. dens., in: G. Brands et al. (Eds.), *Rom und die Provinzen. Gedenkschrift für Hanns Gabelmann (Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 53)*, Mainz 2001, 146 f.

⁴⁸ Zu diesem Monument siehe N. Lamboglia, *Le Trophée d'Auguste à La Turbie*, 3. ed., Bordighera 1965; J. Formigé, *Le trophée des Alpes (La Turbie)* (*Gallia Suppl.* 2), Paris 1966; zur Inschrift vgl. Šašel, *Opera Selecta* (Anm. 30) 288-297.

⁴⁹ Alföldy, *Bauinschriften* (Anm. 37) 1-51; siehe auch dens., *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 94, 1992, 231-248.

⁵⁰ G. Alföldy, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 18, 1999, 85-108 und ebd. 21, 2002, 133-148.

⁵¹ *Druseum*: Iosephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 1,412 und *Antiquitates* 15,336.

Molensspitzen jeweils drei auf Säulen gestellte Statuen,⁵² die wohl Augustus und Livia einmal zusammen mit Tiberius, das andere Mal zusammen mit Drusus darstellten. Der Hafen hieß *portus Augusti*; die Stadt wurde nach Augustus *Caesarea* benannt; ihr prächtigstes Bauwerk, auf einer Erhöhung über dem Hafen, war das *Augusteum*, das die Seefahrer nach Iosephus bereits aus der Ferne sehen konnten. Die Botschaft der Gesamtanlage einschließlich der Pilatus-Inschrift ist unmißverständlich. Wie die nach Tiberius und Drusus benannten Türme den Eingang in den Augustushafen der Cäsarenstadt mit dem Tempel des Augustus schützen, so wachen Tiberius und Drusus – der eine zu Pilatus' Zeiten als Herrscher, der andere aus dem Jenseits – über das Erbe des Augustus. Tagsüber wurde diese Assoziation durch den Anblick des Tiberieum und des Druseum mit den ihnen vorgelagerten Kaiserstatuen, aber auch mit Hafen, Stadt und Tempel des Augustus dahinter vermittelt. Bei Nacht konnte man das Licht der nach Tiberius und Drusus benannten Leuchttürme als ein Symbol für das kosmische Licht empfinden, das diese beiden leuchtenden Sterne des Herrscherhauses ausstrahlten: Sie, nach der *consolatio Liviae* die *concordia sidera*,⁵³ waren die Abbilder der wie sie auch nach dem Tod des jüngeren Bruders unzertrennbaren Brüder Castor und Pollux, deren Sternbilder den Seefahrern in der Nacht den Weg wiesen.

Ein eindrucksvolles Beispiel für die Herrschaftssymbolik ist auch der Bogen von Medinaceli 150 km nordöstlich von Madrid, über dem Tal, in dem die Straße Augusta Emerita – Caesaraugusta führte.⁵⁴ Der Bogen, Tor einer römischen Stadt vielleicht mit dem Namen Ocilis, ist aus der Ferne sichtbar; durch seine drei Durchgänge öffnet sich ein Blick auf die endlos wirkende Hochebene Kastiliens. Die aus *litterae aureae* komponierte Inschrift, deren Wiederherstellung nach einer genauen Aufnahme ihrer Verdübelungsspuren vor kurzem gelungen sein dürfte, verherrlichte auf der Stadtseite das *numen Augustum*, die göttliche Macht der Herrscher Roms, auf der Talseite das *numen* des regierenden Kaisers. Die Macht der Kaiser über die Oikumene hätte kaum klarer zum Ausdruck gebracht werden können als durch dieses Zusammenspiel von Text, goldenen Buchstaben, Monument und Landschaft.

⁵² Iosephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 1,413; zu den Fundamenten für diese Statuen siehe auch dens., *Antiquitates* 15,338.

⁵³ *Consolatio ad Liviam* (*Epicedion Drusi*) 283.

⁵⁴ J. M. Abascal – G. Alföldy (Eds.), *El Arco romano de Medinaceli* (Anm. 33).

Verstärkt wurde die Aussagekraft der „Kaiserinschriften“ auch durch ihre große Zahl. Nach der Zusammenstellung der einschlägigen Denkmäler durch J. M. Højte kennen wir aus dem Zeitraum von Augustus bis Commodus mehr als 2200 beschriftete Basen von Statuen der Augusti.⁵⁵ Zusammen mit den späteren Kaiserbasen und den Postamenten für Statuen der Augustae und Caesares kämen wir auf etwa 5000 Stücke. Wenn jeder allgemein anerkannte Kaiser in jeder Stadt eine Statue mit Inschrift bekam, wären das viele Zehntausende von Widmungen. Vielerorts gab es freilich mehr als nur eine Statue für einen Kaiser, so allein in Athen Hunderte von Hadriansstatuen.⁵⁶ Die stereotypen Inschriften der Meilensteine wiederholten die Nomenklatur und Titulatur der Kaiser, wenn auch nicht unbedingt Meile für Meile, so doch sehr häufig, beispielsweise in Hispanien entlang der *via Augusta* von ihrem Beginn in den Pyrenäen bis zu ihrem Endpunkt in Gades.⁵⁷ Von herausragenden Inschriften, die der Verherrlichung des Kaisershauses dienten, gab es auch Kopien an anderen Orten – nicht nur von den *Res Gestae*, sondern z. B. auch vom Ehrenschild des Augustus.⁵⁸ Dazu kamen die Abschriften offizieller Dokumente wie der Senatsbeschlüsse zu Ehren des verstorbenen Germanicus, die in allen Kolonien und wohl auch in allen Municipien publik gemacht wurden,⁵⁹ oder das *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, mehr eine Laudatio auf das Herrscherhaus als ein Gerichtsurteil, das in allen Städten der Baetica angeschlagen war.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Siehe oben Anm. 3. Zur großen Zahl der Kaiserstatuen, die auf entsprechend beschrifteten Postamenten standen, vgl. auch Th. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft, dargestellt anhand der Schriftquellen* (Das römische Herrscherbild III), Berlin 1985, bes. 4-12, 22-28, 42-65.

⁵⁶ Vgl. Pekáry, a.a.O. (Anm. 55) 7, 27, 35, 44 usw.

⁵⁷ Zu den Meilensteinen an dem in der Hispania citerior befindlichen Abschnitt dieser Straße siehe die Materialsammlung bei F. Palli Aguilera, *La Via Augusta en Catalunya, Bellaterra* 1985 sowie J. Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* (conventos Tarraconense, Cesaraugustano, Cluniense y Cartaginense), Zaragoza 1992. Meilensteine der *via Augusta* in der Baetica: Siehe Sillières, *Les voies de communication de l'Hispanie méridionale* (Ann. 29) 68-118 Nr. 1-61.

⁵⁸ Vgl. G. Alföldy, *Gymnasium* 98, 1991, 308 mit Anm. 49; dazu jetzt auch CIL VI 40365 (dort auch Näheres zu anderen Kopien) und 40366, ausführlich dazu Panciera, in: H. von Hesberg – S. Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus* (Anm. 14) 113-118 Nr. 9 und 171 f. Nr. LIV. Siehe noch Kienast, *Augustus* (Anm. 4) 96, u. a. mit Hinweis auf eine Kopie auch in Ostia.

⁵⁹ CIL VI 911 = 31199 mit weiterer Literatur; zu den Kopien siehe AE 1949, 215 = 1952, 164 (Tabula Hebana) und AE 1984, 508 = CILA II 927 (Tabula Siarensis), dazu ausführlich Á. Sánchez-Ostiz Gutierrez, *Tabula Siarensis. Edición, traducción y comentario* (Colección Mundo Antiguo, N. S. 4), Pamplona 1999; vgl. noch bes. J. González – J. Arce (Eds.), *Estudios sobre la Tabula Siarensis*, Madrid 1988.

⁶⁰ CIL II²/5, 900; siehe ausführlich Eck – Caballos – Fernández, *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (Anm. 17), zur Publikation der Kopien in der Baetica: 279-287, ebenso A. Caballos – W. Eck – F. Fernández, *El senadoconsulto de Gneo Pisón padre*, Sevilla 1996, zur Publikation der Kopien in der

Man kann hinzufügen: Ruhm und Macht der Kaiser Roms wurden hin und wieder sogar außerhalb des Reiches durch Inschriften verkündet. Erinnert sei hier an die Siegesinschrift im Felsen von Trenčín in der Slowakei, in Laugaricio im Quadenland, 120 km nördlich von der Donaugrenze, mit der Widmung *Victoriae Augustoru(m)*, dediziert im Winter 179/180 von einer Legionsabteilung, die vor dem für das nächste Frühjahr geplanten Feldzug gegen die Germanen dort überwintert hat.⁶¹ Bei solchen Dokumenten, so z. B. auch bei den im Kaukasus gesetzten Inschriften mit der Nennung der Kaiser Domitian, Mark Aurel oder Commodus,⁶² könnte man sich fragen, wer diese Texte überhaupt lesen konnte. Das trifft aber z. B. auch für den von Cornelius Gallus unmittelbar nach der Eroberung Ägyptens in Alexandria dedizierten Obelisken mit seiner lateinischen Inschrift zu, zumal Gallus sein eigenes Siegesdenkmal in Philae einige Jahre später gleichzeitig in lateinischer, griechischer und ägyptischer Sprache beschriften ließ, damit den Text dort jedermann verstehen konnte.⁶³ Die Frage nach der Rezeption der Inschriften stellt sich freilich, angesichts des weit verbreiteten Analphabetismus, für das ganze Imperium.⁶⁴ Was die Reichsbevölkerung betrifft, können wir wohl davon ausgehen, daß viele Menschen, die die lateinischen – oder im Osten die griechischen – Texte nicht lesen konnten, zumindest die wichtigsten Begriffe wie die überaus häufig vorkommende, auch durch die Münzen bekannt gewordene Nomenklatur bzw. Titulatur *Imp. Caesar Augustus* (oder *Autokrator Kaisar Sebastos*) dennoch

Baetica: 133-141; zu den Kopien in der Baetica siehe auch A. U. Stylow – S. Corso Pérez, Chiron 29, 1999, 23-28.

⁶¹ Siehe CIL III 13439 = J. Češka – R. Hošek, Inscriptiones Pannoniae superioris in Slovacia Transdanubiana asservatae (Opera Universitatis Purkynianae Brunensis, Facultas Philosophica 125), Brno 1967, Nr. 2; grundlegend dazu H.-G. Pflaum, Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain I, Paris 1960, 476-494 Nr. 181 bis, bes. 493.

⁶² AE 1951, 263; AE 1910, 161 = ILS 9117; CIL III 6052 = ILS 394; zu der an erster Stelle genannten Inschrift siehe bes. B. Isaac, The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East, 2. ed., Oxford 1992, 44 f. und F. Bertrand – B. Rémy, in: Y. Le Bohec – C. Wolff (Eds.), Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (17-19 septembre 1998), Lyon 2000, 255; zu den beiden anderen Inschriften E. L. Wheeler, ebd. 300.

⁶³ CIL III 14147,5 = IGRR I/II 1293 = OGIS II 654 = ILS 8995 = É. Bernand, Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae II. Haut et Bas Empire, Paris 1969, Nr. 128; vgl. Alföldy, Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz (Anm. 39) 96-100.

⁶⁴ Zu der – in der Forschung umstrittenen – Dimension der Lesefähigkeit bzw. des Analphabetismus in der römischen Welt siehe bes. W. V. Harris, Ancient Literacy, Cambridge, Mass. – London 1989, bes. 175-322; zur Problematik des Zusammenhanges zwischen der Verbreitung der epigraphischen Denkmäler und der Schriftlichkeit ebd. 265-273. 287 f.

erkennen konnten.⁶⁵ Außerdem konnte man die Kaisernamen in einigen Teilen des Reiches auch in der eigenen Sprache und Schrift einzelner Bevölkerungsgruppen, beispielsweise punisch oder in Hieroglyphenschrift, wiedergeben.⁶⁶ Der Gebrauch des Lateins für die Inschriften in soeben unterworfenen oder vorübergehend besetzten Gebieten erklärt sich dagegen wohl eher dadurch, daß so die Macht Roms zur Schau gestellt werden sollte: Der lokalen Bevölkerung muß zumindest soviel bekannt gewesen sein, daß die ihnen unverständlichen Schriftzeichen von der Präsenz der Römer und somit von der Macht Roms und seines Kaisers zeugen.⁶⁷

Ein Kaiser wurde jedenfalls durch unvergleichlich mehr Inschriften gerühmt als selbst ein hochangesehener Senator oder Ritter. Dazu kommt freilich noch zusätzlich, daß die Herrscher auch in vielen Inschriften der Untertanen als diejenigen verherrlicht wurden, denen diese ihren sozialen Aufstieg einschließlich Ämter und Privilegien zu verdanken hatten.⁶⁸ Zugleich nutzten die Herrscher dieses Medium für ihre eigenen Ziele in einer vielfach exklusiven Weise. Das zeigt sich nicht nur durch den Inhalt, die Größe, die Pracht oder die Plazierung ihrer epigraphischen Monumente, auch nicht nur durch ihre große Anzahl. In Rom gab es seit Augustus bis auf für einige Nutzbauten keine Bauinschrift mehr, die andere Bauherren als die Mitglieder des Kaiserhauses verherrlicht hätten.⁶⁹ Seit der mittleren

⁶⁵ Zu der Möglichkeit, daß ganz einfache epigraphische Texte oder stereotype Wendungen selbst von Analphabeten erkannt und identifiziert werden konnten, vgl. W. V. Harris, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 52, 1983, 107-111. Über eine „*alphabétisation pauvre, largement répandue*“ der Rezipienten von Inschriften siehe M. Corbier, in: *L'Urbs. Espace urbaine et histoire (I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. – III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*. Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et l'École Française de Rome (Rome, 8-12 mai 1985), Paris – Roma 1987, 59 f.

⁶⁶ Zu Bildern römischer Kaiser nach ägyptischer Auffassung – zu denen oft einschlägige Texte in ägyptischer Sprache und Schrift gehörten – siehe M. Alfoldy, a.a.O. (Anm. 3) 166-170 mit weiterer Literatur. Bilingue Inschriften zu Ehren des Augustus in lateinischer und punischer Schrift in *Lepcis Magna*: IRT 321-323.

⁶⁷ Es sei gestattet, auf eine moderne Analogie hinzuweisen. Die – nicht selten aus vergoldeten Bronzebuchstaben bestehenden – Inschriften, die nach 1945 auf den sowjetischen Sieges- und Gedenkmomenten der osteuropäischen Länder mit kyrillischen Buchstaben in russischer Sprache angebracht wurden, konnten zwar dort die meisten Menschen nicht lesen; ein Blick auf diese Monumente genügte jedoch, um sich die Herrschaftsvorstellung zu vergegenwärtigen, die diese Denkmäler und speziell auch ihre Beschriftung verkündeten.

⁶⁸ Siehe beispielsweise die zahlreichen Inschriften, in denen Offiziere und Soldaten des römischen Heeres die Kaiser als ihre persönlichen Wohltäter rühmen; dazu G. Alfoldy, in: A. Chanotis – P. Ducrey (Eds.), *Army and Power in the Ancient World* (Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 37), Stuttgart 2002, 123-150.

⁶⁹ W. Eck, in: F. Millar – E. Segal, *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*, Oxford 1984, 129-167, bes. 137-142 = ders., *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia. Scritti scelti, rielaborati ed aggiornati* (Vetera 10), Roma 1996, 271-298, bes. 276-278.

Regierungszeit des Augustus bekam dort auf den öffentlichen Plätzen und in den öffentlichen Bauten niemand mehr eine Ehrenstatue und somit auch keine Ehreninschrift außer den Vertrauten und Freunden der Herrscher, die die Errichtung derartiger Monumente für ihre führenden Anhänger – oft erst nach deren Tode – erlaubten.⁷⁰ Auch gab es nach Augustus keinen Meilenstein mehr, der eine andere Person als den Kaiser als Bauherrn einer *via publica* verewigt hätte.⁷¹ Die Liste der kaiserlichen Vorrechte in der Nutzung des Mediums „Inschrift“ ließe sich fortsetzen.

Alles in allem eigneten sich die inschriftlichen Monumente der römischen Welt bestens dazu, die Macht der Herrscher zu vergegenwärtigen. Die Kaiser nutzten für die Festigung ihrer Herrschaft nicht nur die Macht der Bilder, sondern, in engster Verbindung damit, auch die Macht der Worte, die nicht nur gesprochen, sondern in bleibender Form festgehalten wurden, um ebenso wie die Bilder für die Ewigkeit Geltung zu haben. Somit übten die inschriftlichen Monumente, die zur Verherrlichung der Kaiser und ihrer Herrschaft eingesetzt waren, ebenso wie die gesamte epigraphische Kultur der Römer, die ihre Wertvorstellungen und Verhaltensnormen für künftige Generationen dokumentierte, eine wahrhaftig nicht zu unterschätzende systemstabilisierende Funktion aus. Man könnte sagen: Wie etwa heute der Prozeß der Vereinigung Europas zu einem nicht unbedeutenden Teil ein Werk der Medien ist, die diesen Prozeß Tag für Tag weiter verfolgen und seine Bedeutung in die Köpfe und Herzen der Menschen einhämmern, so festigten sich, *mutatis mutandis*, auch die kaiserliche Macht in Rom und damit das Imperium Romanum dank dem Einfluß der Medien der damaligen Zeit. Der epigraphischen Kultur Roms fiel dabei eine ähnlich entscheidende Rolle zu wie den Monumenten, zu denen die Inschriften gehörten.

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⁷⁰ G. Alföldy, in: G. Alföldy – S. Panciera (Eds.), *Inscriptive Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellung* (Anm. 1) 11-46.

⁷¹ G. Alföldy, *Gymnasium* 98, 1991, 300 f.

COINS AND MESSAGES:
AUDIENCE TARGETING ON COINS OF DIFFERENT
DENOMINATIONS?

By
OLIVIER HEKSTER

Some Romans were aware of the images and legends on their coins. Passages from various literary texts make this clear. The examples are well known. The Gospel of Matthew, for instance, tells us how:

“They brought him a denarius, and he said to them, ‘whose portrait is this? and whose inscription?’ and they said to him: ‘Caesar’s’. Then he said to them, ‘Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s’.”¹

Sceptics could still argue that this passage actually shows a lack of awareness of images on coins from the part of the public, as the emperor’s portrait and inscription needed pointing out. Arrian, however, in a famous passage, goes further and explicitly connects value judgements on individual emperors with their particular coins. He takes it entirely for granted that people were aware of which emperor was depicted on which coin:

“The stamps with which a man comes imprinted on his disposition [are] like the stamps we look for on coins too: if we find them we accept their value, if we don’t, we chuck them out. ‘Whose stamp does this serterce bear? Trajan’s? Take it. Nero’s? Chuck it out, it will not pass, it is rotten.’” (Arrian, *Discourses of Epictetus* 4.5.15-17)

Even if people did not ‘chuck out’ the coins of ‘evil emperors’ (and they probably did not), the emphasis on awareness of the individuals depicted on coins is striking. It seems to imply more than mere economic awareness of the

* This paper has been greatly improved by the critical comments of Chris Howgego and Cathy King, who kindly read an earlier draft. They saved me from many mistakes, but should not be held responsible for any remaining blunders, nor for the opinions that are ventilated. My gratitude, also, to the participants of the workshop, especially Werner Eck and Richard Talbert. But most thanks should go to Thijs Goverde, who pointed out to me the possible relevance of ‘brands’ and ‘marketing’ as a modern parallel for my ideas on the Roman world.

¹ Matthew 22.21; Cf. Mark 12.17, Luke 20.24.

value of coins from the part of the authors.² People saw the images on coins and reacted to them in a variety of ways. Hence, for instance, Hadrian's putting down of the Bar Kokhba revolt (AD 132-5), was followed by a rabbinical prohibition for Jews to use coins of that emperor. His coins – though economically of course still valid modes of payment – had become tainted.³

Coins were an important medium in the Roman world. Were they consciously employed to reach specific audiences? This question is, of course, a central one to our understanding of Roman 'ideology' and its dissemination. Unsurprisingly, many scholars have already grappled with it, and it is thus with some trepidation that I would like to suggest a way in which the question could be answered.⁴ That is, one might want to look whether there was a diversification of messages between coins of different denominations. If so, one could argue that there was awareness amongst those who designed coins that different denominations could target different groups of audiences. In a way, this addresses an important problem formulated by A.H.M. Jones. Almost 50 years ago, he heavily criticized the notion of coins as 'propaganda', and noted: 'It would be a matter of some interest if numismatists could try to determine, on internal evidence, within the general probabilities of the situation, at what classes the propaganda on the coins was directed'.⁵ If different denominations sent out different messages to different audiences, Jones' challenge may have been met.

² Cf. Arrian, *Discourses of Epictetus* 3.3.3; Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 4.31; Dio Cassius 78.16.5; CTh 9.22, and Statius, *Silvae* 4.9.22 on a gift, which was only worth *plus minus asse Gaiano* – though this may refer to Claudius' invalidation of Gaius' coins: Dio Cassius 60.22.3; A.A.Barrett, 'The Invalidation of Currency in the Roman Empire: The Claudian Demonetization of Caligula's Aes', in: G. Paul & M. Ierardi, eds., *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Empire. E. Togo Salmon Papers II* (Ann Arbor 1999), 83-93. Perhaps also of relevance is the importance of destroying hated predecessors' coinage: Dio Cassius, 60.22.3; 78.12.6. Cf. Dio Cassius 64.6; G.A. Crump, 'Coinage and imperial thought', in: J.W.Eadie & J. Ober, eds., *The Craft of the Ancient Historian. Essays in Honour of Chester C. Starr* (Lanham 1985), 425-441; 430-431.

³ Similarly, the fact that the rebels issued their own coinage, with clear symbolic messages, shows how value-laden coinage can be. Coinage was used as a medium to broadcast the rebels' unity against the messages that Roman coins put forward; L. Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War* (Frankfurt am Main 1984). Cf. W. Eck, 'The Bar Kokhba revolt: the Roman point of view', *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999), 76-89.

⁴ I would like to make clear from the start that this article deals solely with imperial coinage. I am quite aware that Roman provincial coinage followed an entirely different model. For analysing central ideology, one must, however look to imperial coinage.

⁵ A.H.M. Jones, 'Numismatics and History', in: R.A.G. Carson & C.H.V. Sutherland, eds., *Numismatics and History. Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* (London 1956), 13-33; 15.

Many have, as said, discussed these matters, and significant contributions by, amongst others, Barbara Levick, Michael Crawford, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Cathy King, Peter Lummel and Carlos Noreña have paved the way.⁶ An important recent article by Andrew Meadows and Jonathan Williams has put forward the notion of ‘monumentality’ to understand coin types of the late Republic. They argue that ‘propaganda’ is not quite the right term, since the coins did not try to persuade but to remind people of certain aspects or events. Meadows and Williams may very well be right, but they never deny some sort of ‘communication of a message’. This article aims to look at whether such messages (whether they are called ‘propaganda’ or not) may have been consciously directed at specific audiences.⁷ Also still important to the present paper are Sutherland’s influential *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* and his later *The Emperor and the Coinage*, which still dominate debates.⁸ Sutherland – arguing strongly against Jones’ minimalist views on the purpose of coinage – showed after extensive analysis of a wide range of coins that the contents of coins, in the long range, remained more or less the same, independent of the value of the coins in question.

But recently, in an interesting article, William Metcalf has tried to show differentiation of messages in coins of different denominations. Using the figure of *Liberalitas* as an example, he argues that she was depicted differently on different types of coins. Precious metal coins, in his analysis, depicted *Liberalitas* as a personification, whereas *aes* coins show a *Liberalitas* scene. He concluded from this that:

⁶ B. Levick, ‘Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage’, *Antichthon* 16 (1982), 104-116; M. Crawford, ‘Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation of Public Opinion’, in: C. N. Brooke, *et al.*, eds., *Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to Philip Grierson* (Cambridge 1983), 47-64; A. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1986), 66-87; C. Howgego, *Ancient history from coins* (London 1995); C. King, ‘Roman Portraiture: Images of Power’, in: Paul/Ierardi 1999, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 123-136; P. Lummel, ‘Zielgruppen’ *römischer Staatskunst. Die Münzen der Kaiser Augustus bis Trajan und die trajanischen Staatsreliefs* (München 1991); C.F.Noreña, ‘The Communication of the Emperor’s Virtues’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001), 146-168. For a good overview of the discussion: B. Levick, ‘Messages on the Roman Coinage: Types and Inscriptions’, in: Paul/Ierardi 1999, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 41-60.

⁷ A. Meadows & J. Williams, ‘Moneta and the Monuments: Coinage and Politics in Republican Rome’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001), 27-49. One needs to remember that the situation in the Empire was noticeably different from the late Republic, with one man in power rather than several families fighting for prestige.

⁸ C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* (London 1951); *idem*, *The Emperor and the Coinage. Julio-Claudian Studies* (London 1976).

“The precious-metal coins, with their limited but longer circulation ... were confined ... to circulation among the higher classes of ancient society, and memorialized the emperor’s *liberalitas* itself. The *aes* coinage, with its primarily Italian and indeed urban circulation, largely among the lower classes, could quite properly focus on the event that led to the circulation of the money in the first place.”⁹

Metcalf’s differentiation in types of audiences is an important one, and, I believe, essentially right.¹⁰ This is not to say that the lower strata of society would never see precious-metal coins, or that every individual in the Roman Empire would fit into only one ‘target group’. Yet, though the boundaries between different audiences must have been somewhat blurred, it seems probable that one could at least distinguish between primary and secondary types of audience. Metcalf’s argument, however, fails to take into account a crucial point. Centrally issued precious-metal coins in the early empire were much smaller than bronzes, *quadrantes* aside, and the difference in size may well have been the important factor in deciding for a personification or a more space-taking scene. Audience targeting will have been, at best, a lesser consideration.

In fact, it appears that any search for overarching differences between coins of different denominations throughout the entire Principate, is doomed to fail. Legend types like *ANNONA* or *CERES*, which one would expect to be more relevant for people in need of food, appear almost exclusively in lower denomination coinage from the reigns of Claudius, Nero, Galba, Vitellius, Domitian and Nerva, but they are prominently displayed on all types of coins (including *aurei*) in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, Trajan and Hadrian.¹¹ Even

⁹ W.E. Metcalf, ‘Whose *Liberalitas*? Propaganda and audience in the early Roman Empire’, *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini* 95 (1993), 337-346. Cf. Noreña 2001, op.cit (n. 6), 160-164 on the quantitative representation of *liberalitas* on imperial *denarii*. Noreña’s article is an important step in the use of a quantitative approach in the study of iconography and representation, but as it focuses solely on *denarii*, it is unfortunately of little use for the present contribution.

¹⁰ Cf. the four different target groups described by Lummel 1991, op. cit. (n. 6), 8: senate; armies; plebs *urbana*; provinces.

¹¹ Claudius: *dupondii*: RIC 1², 127 no. 94; 129 no. 110. Nero: *sestertii*: RIC 1², 159 nos. 98-99, 161 nos. 137-142, 173 no. 372, 174 no. 389-393, 177 nos. 430-431, 180 nos. 493-497, 183 nos. 566-573. But cf. *aurei*: RIC 1², 151 no. 23, 152 nos. 29 and 35. Galba: *asses*: RIC 1², 246 nos. 291-292, 248 nos. 324-326, 251 nos. 420-421. Vitellius: *sestertii*: RIC 1², 275 nos. 131-132 and 144-145, 276 no. 155, 277 no. 166. Vespasian: *aurei*: BMCRE 2, 48 no. 274†, 51 nos. 290-297, 52 nos. 298-300, 93 no. 445†, 97 no. 465; *denarii*: nos. 52 no. 301, 92 no. 422, 93 no. 445‡; *sestertii*: BMCRE 2, 166 no.

the *congiarium*, recipients of which were strictly limited to the *plebs frumentaria*, was celebrated on high-value coins in the reigns of Trajan, Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus, though Nero, Titus and Nerva used the legend only on *sestertii*.¹² Such lack of consistent differentiation of messages on coins of different values over an extended period of time need not, however, imply absolute absence of audience targeting within individual reigns.

Jones formulated his criticism of the term ‘propaganda’ largely as a negative reaction to the use of modern preconceptions in analysing the Roman world. It is, thus, highly unlikely that he would be convinced by a response that uses modern parallels as a framework. Still, it is such a framework that I will put forward as a possible way ahead. It follows from the notions that are concerned with the marketing of so-called ‘brands’: e.g. Coca Cola, Levi’s, Virgin, or – with more classical connotations – Mars and Nike. Those brands, after all, try to do what emperors, in their way, were equally aiming for: to create a good name for themselves, for now and posterity, in an empire where most of the inhabitants would never physically see their ruler. Some citations from modern ‘rulers’ may exemplify the point. Richard Branson, founder of *Virgin*, has stated how one should ‘build brands not around products but around reputation’,¹³ whilst Phil Knights, CEO of Nike, pointed out in 1992 that he finally understood ‘that the most important thing we do is market the product’.¹⁴ Hector Liang, former chairman of *United Biscuits*, put it rather more bluntly: ‘Machines wear out. People die. But

715§, 172 nos. 730-731. Titus: *aurei*: BMCRE 2, 224 no. 6, 54-55 nos. 316-323; *denarii*: BMCRE 2, 225 no. 7; *sestertii*: 224 nos. 152-155, 294 no. 307*. Domitian: *sestertii*: BMCRE 2, 365 nos. 304-305, 368 nos. 323-324, 380 no. 371; *dupondii*: 360 no. 286*, 373 no. 347, 379 no. 368‡, 382 no. 381*, 389 no. 410‡; *asses*: 391 no. 415; *quadrantes*: BMCRE 2, 379 no. 370, 410 nos. 492-493. Nerva: *sestertii*: BMCRE 3, 14 no. 85‡, 17 no. 96‡, 19 no. 101. Trajan: *aurei*: BMCRE 3, 57 no. 174, 96 no. 468; *denarii*: BMCRE 3, 56 nos. 169-172; *sestertii*: 165-166, nos. 781-784, 183 no. 869, 203 no. 959‡, 207 nos. 972-973; *dupondii*: BMCRE 3, 187 nos. 885-886, 194 no. 918, 197 no. 927, 202 no. 959*, 211 no. 996. Hadrian: *denarii*: BMCRE 3, 288-289 nos. 379 -390, 300 nos. 488-489; *sestertii*: 479 nos. 1574-1582; *dupondii*: 437 no. 1334a, 439 nos. 1346-1347.

¹² Nero: RIC 1², 159 nos. 100-102, 161-162 nos. 151-162, 177 nos. 434-435, 175 no. 394, 180 nos. 504-506, 183 no. 576. Titus: BMCRE 2, 139 no. 629, and 263. Nerva: BMCRE 3, 14 no. 87, 17 no. 97. Trajan: *sestertii*: BMCRE 3, 147 no. 712, 161-162 nos. 768-770. Trajan: *aureus*: G. Spinola, *Il ‘congiarium’ in età imperiale. Aspetti iconografici e topografici* (Roma 1990), tav. XII, fig. 38.8. Antoninus Pius: *denarii*: BMCRE 4, 150 no. 1004; *sestertii*: 361 no. 2108, 362 no. 2111. Septimius Severus: *aureus*: Spinola, op. cit., tav. XIII figs. 55-56.

¹³ N. Klein, *No Logo* (London 2000), 24.

¹⁴ *Harvard Business Review* (July 1992), 92; Klein 2000, op. cit. (n. 13), 22.

what lives on are the brands'.¹⁵ Like Roman emperors, brands manage to survive because of what relevant people think of them. Canon camera commercials of the early 1990s sum it up: 'Image is everything'.¹⁶ Whilst artefacts are being produced at an undefined level – be they imperial portraits, or jeans – 'Headquarters ... is free to focus on the real business at hand – creating a corporate [or imperial] mythology powerful enough to infuse meaning into these raw objects just by signing its name'.¹⁷ Such a 'mythology', through advertisements that contain 'preferred meanings', ends up representing reality, rather than just reflecting it.¹⁸

These advertisements are not consistent over long periods – they change with the changes in dominant consumer groups. When in the 1990's the number of teenagers with large spending power started to increase, brand names tried to become 'cool'; with new messages in new media such as MTV, whilst retaining some of their old advertisements in more conservative media so as not alienate current consumers.¹⁹ Britain's 'New Labour' does very much the same, and Italy's Silvio Berlusconi has obviously realised how important it is to occupy all forms of broadcasting, to reach all possible audiences, with different messages, whether they want them or not. Also, at a more academic level, one can still see how 'audience targeting' should always be analysed in very specific contexts. For reasons not entirely clear to me, but most probably connected to creating a specific image (and boosting sales figures), Antony Barrett's excellent biography of Agrippina was published, in the same year (1996), under different titles in the UK and US. In Britain, the book is called *Agrippina, Sister of Caligula, Wife of Claudius, Mother of Nero*. In the States, the same work was issued as *Agrippina: Sex, Power and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*.

What follows from this, and what might make it relevant as a model for an analysis of Roman imperial coinage, is that one should be aware of particular messages that a broadcaster would want to convey to particular groups at specific moments. When circumstances change, advertisers start to target different groups in different ways. Would Roman emperors not try to do the

¹⁵ *Irish Times* (27-2'98); Klein 2000, op. cit. (n. 13), 196.

¹⁶ Klein 2000, op. cit. (n. 13), 197.

¹⁷ Klein 2000, op. cit. (n. 13), 21

¹⁸ N. Abercrombie & B. Longhurst, *Audiences. A Sociological Theory of Performance and Imagination* (London 1998), 11 and 14.

¹⁹ Klein 2000, op. cit. (n. 13), 118-21.

same? Rather than looking at overall patterns, therefore, it may be much more worth while to look at a more closely defined period, in a shorter time span, to see whether at least these denominations did matter.

The Civil War of AD 68-69, a period of great turmoil, forms an interesting test case. It is in such moments of transition that messages become more forceful. As Wallace-Hadrill phrased it: 'liveliness on coins reflects political instability'.²⁰ Similarly, I would argue, moments in which one needs specific layers of society as power bases are going to be the moments in which targeting those layers is of prime importance. Galba's coins seem to illustrate the point. His gold and silver types refer explicitly to the importance of his provincial support – CONCORDIA PROVINCIIARUM figured along GALLIA HISPANIA, HISPANIA, and SALUS GENERIS HUMANI.²¹ The latter seems to have been a specifically anti-Neronian statement in the Western provinces, which had already been used by Vindex.²² Coins of lower denomination on the other hand, aimed at the urban plebs of Rome, displayed more urban themes.²³ Again, this is not to say that none of the urban plebs would ever see coins of higher denomination, or that none of the soldiers would use smaller change. But one can assume a difference of primary audience – and the different types of legends on the different types of coins mirror that.

Otho did not even bother to strike bronze coinage. Partly, this must have been because the flood of small change produced by Nero and Galba was enough for economic needs.²⁴ But it coincides markedly with an emperor who tried to indulge the praetorians, and simultaneously win over the senate by following a strict constitutionalist line – as is showed, for

²⁰ Wallace-Hadrill 1986, op. cit. (n. 6), 70.

²¹ RIC 1², 222. CONCORDIA PROVINCIIARUM: *aurei*: RIC 1², 237 no. 104, 238 nos. 117-120; *denarii*: RIC 1², 234 nos. 35 and 49, 235 no. 54, 238 nos. 105-108, 125-126, 241 no. 149, 241-242 nos. 180-183. GALLIA HISPANIA: *denarii*: RIC 1², 233 nos. 15-18, 238 no. 109, 241 no. 154. HISPANIA: *aurei*: RIC 1², 242 no. 192, 243 no. 225; *denarii*: RIC 1², 240 no. 146, 232 nos. 1-3, 233 nos. 19-21, 234 no. 50, 237 no. 86, 240 no. 144, 241 no. 155, 242 nos. 190-191 and 193. SALUS GENERIS HUMANI: *aurei*: RIC 1², 240 no. 146, 242 nos. 206, 208 and 212-213, 243 no. 231; *denarii*: RIC 1², 237 nos. 96-97, 241 nos. 171-172, 242 nos. 205, 207, 209-211 and 214, 243 no. 232. Cf. GALLIA: *denarii*: RIC 1², 236 no. 85, and TRES GALLIAE: *denarii*: RIC 1², 237 nos. 89-92.

²² C.M. Kraay, 'The coinage of Vindex and Galba, AD 68, and the continuity of the Augustan Principate', *Numismatic Chronicle* 6th series 9 (1949), 129-149; 137-138; Suetonius, *Galba* 9.2; Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.30. Cf. also ILS 3827, an altar dedicated to *Salus Generis Humani* that was found near Le Puy and may date from the same years.

²³ *Supra* n. 10 for CERES and ANNONA. Also: SECURITAS P. ROMANI SC (*asses*: RIC 1², 255 nos. 491-495) and VICTORIA IMPERI ROMANI (*sestertii*: RIC 1², 255 no. 490).

²⁴ RIC 1², 258.

instance by Tacitus, *Histories*, 1.77. Otho, it appears, limited his primary messages to those who mattered most to him in the nearest future.²⁵ Vitellius, on the other hand, issued all denominations, and the differences in legends are noticeable. Gold and silver coins read, among others, CONCORDIA P(OPULI) R(OMANI), CONCORDIA PRAETORIANORUM, PONT(IFEX) MAXIM(US) and XV VIR(I) SACR(IS) FAC(IUNDIS). All of these legends are absent from the bronzes, which instead mentioned themes such as ANNONA AUGUSTI, CERES AUGUSTI, PAX AUGUSTI and ROMA RENASCENS. Furthermore, the legends on the low-value coins in Rome were much more diversified than those in Spain and Gaul. Was Vitellius perhaps trying to reach especially the Roman *plebs*?²⁶ In any case, the different legends broadcast, quite clearly, different messages for different audiences.

Finally, in the same year, Vespasian is depicted on a rare type with a radiate crown – as a victorious general. The surviving coins are an *aureus* and a *denarius*, now in Paris and London.²⁷ The *denarius* explicitly relates Vespasian's radiate image to the EXERCITUS MOESIC(US), whereas the Paris *aureus* has as reverse legend VICT(ORIA) AUG(USTI). The importance for Vespasian of the Moesian legions is clear.²⁸ It is possible that these two samples survive from locally issued donatives.²⁹ But in this context it is worth stressing the difference between the portrait of the radiated general that seems relevant to the troops, and the veristic old man, who would be so noticeable in later (non-military) portraiture.

While there was a war waging, it seems that specific support groups received different messages. Are similar patterns also discernable for other periods in which struggles for power took place without a war going on? The reign of the emperor Claudius forms an interesting test case. Claudius was not an emperor who is known for his strong power base, whether he was found cowering behind curtains or not. Indeed, the precious metal coinage from the

²⁵ C.L. Murison, *Galba, Otho and Vitellius: Careers and Controversies* (Hildesheim 1993); E. Keitel, 'Plutarch's Tragedy Tyrants: Galba and Otho', in: R. Brock & A.J. Woodman, eds., *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar 8, Roman Comedy, Augustan Poetry, Historiography* (Leeds 1995), 275-288. Cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 1.78 on Otho's undecided behaviour (*ipse in suspenso tenuit*) towards the name on Nero, popular among the people of Rome and the lower ranks of soldiers.

²⁶ See *infra*, appendices 1 and 2.

²⁷ BMCRE 2, lxviii and fig. 19.13; H. Mattingly, *British Museum Quarterly* 12 (1937/8), 5 fig. 6.12; M. Bergmann, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz 1998), Taf. 43, 7-8.

²⁸ E.g. Tacitus, *Annals* 2.85; B. Levick, *Vespasian* (London – New York 1999), 59-60.

²⁹ Bergmann, 1998, op. cit. (n. 27), 235.

first years of his reign clearly shows which group had got him to power: PRAETOR(IANUS) RECEPT(US), showing the emperor on the left, being greeted by a member of the praetorians.³⁰ The image seemingly conveys the message that the emperor only rules through the actions of the praetorians. A similar message follows from *aurei* and *denarii* mentioning IMP(ERATOR) RECEPT(US), and showing the *castra praetoria* with its goddess.³¹

It is clear, and long recognised, that these legends aimed to show Claudius' gratitude to the praetorians, who helped him come to power.³² Yet, it is noticeable that references to the praetorians are wholly absent from coins of lesser value. On these coins, rather, ANNONA and CERES were emphasised – perhaps not coincidental considering the harbour at Ostia that Claudius constructed from 42 to 46 AD.³³ The praetorians were celebrated on gold and silver coins that may well have formed the 'prime medium of military pay'.³⁴ On these coins, the absence of popular plebeian messages is noticeable. From 46 AD onwards, the PRAETOR(IANUS) RECEPT(US) legend disappears altogether, whereas two new types suddenly appear on high-value coins. One reads DE BRITANN(IS), whereas the other has as legend S(ENATUS) P(OPULUS)Q(UE) R(OMANUS) P(ATER) P(ATRIAE) OB C(IVES) S(ERVATOS). After 47/8, there are no longer references to the praetorians at all on Claudius' coinage, whereas the two more recent coin types continue. The legends and iconography on *semis*, *sestertii* and *dupondii*, on the other hand, did not change at all in these years.

Had Claudius, perhaps, become less dependent on the praetorians? He had brought some projects that were aimed at the populace at large to a successful end, and had survived senatorial uprisings. Perhaps he no longer

³⁰ RIC 1², 122 nos. 11-12 and 23-24, 123 no. 29. Cf. M. von Kaenel, *Münzprägung und Münzbildnis des Claudius* (Berlin 1986).

³¹ RIC 1², 122 nos. 19, 20 and 25-26, 123 nos. 36-37; A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (1980³), 215; Lummel 1991, op. cit. (n. 6), 58-59.

³² Th. Wiedemann, *The Julio-Claudian Emperors. AD 14-70* (Bristol 1989), 44-45; B. Levick, *Claudius* (London 1990), 39; Lummel 1991, op. cit. (n. 6), 58-59.

³³ Cf. *supra* n. 10. On the harbour, and its celebration in coinage, see Levick 1990, op. cit. (n. 32), 110, 219 notes 17-18 with references; M. R.-Alföldi, 'Die Bildersprache der römischen Kaiser', *Numismatica e antichità classiche* 30 (2001), 209-227; 222-223.

³⁴ RIC 1², 222; M. Hassall, 'The army', *CAH* 11² (2000), 320-343; 330. Cf. B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army* (Oxford 1984), 167; Von Kaenel 1986, op. cit. (n. 30), 259-261. Soldiers did, however, also use bronzes, which have been found in large numbers at excavations of military camps. It is simply not known how Roman soldiers were paid, but with a legionary centurion being paid around 13,500 *sestertii* under Augustus, and 108,000 *sestertii* under Maximinus Thrax (M.A. Speidel, 'Roman Army Pay Scales', *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 [1992], 87-106; 102, 106), it seems clear that at least silver coinage must have been regularly used.

felt he needed the praetorians as much as he had previously done. Whatever the reason – there seems to have been a change in the message on the coins of higher denomination, whereas the less valuable coins sent out a continuous, though separated, message.

Similarly, the context of Nero's reign, and the development in that emperor's representation over the years may explain some changes in coins of different denominations. Thus, the beginning of his reign saw, among other things, a temporary arrival of the legend EX S(ENATUS) C(ONSULTO) on the gold and silver coinage. Is this the senate celebrating amongst themselves about their regained influence, or a message from the *princeps* to the upper levels of society that he, more than his predecessors, would take the senate seriously? We cannot tell. But the legend is limited to coins of high denomination, and disappeared from *aurei* and *denarii* in AD 64 – never to reappear.³⁵ In the same year, the building of the *Domus Aurea* started, and the Colossus was planned.³⁶ Also, of course, Seneca lost his power. A year later, he was forced to commit suicide.³⁷ It seems clear that AD 64/5 marks a break in Neronian self-presentation: a break away from appeasing the senators, and towards pleasing the 'people'.³⁸

It is, in this light, worth noting that some typical 'popular' buildings, such as the harbour at Ostia and the Macellum were only depicted on low-value coins.³⁹

More examples of coins of different values consistently broadcasting different messages within individual reigns are of course needed. Ideally, one would like a structural analysis of the different legends and figures on different denominations in individual reigns – with attention to dates and the political-historical context in which coins were issued. That, of course, far exceeds the scope this article – if it is manageable at all. But it seems clear that looking at possible 'audience-targeting' with the needs and possibilities

³⁵ M. Griffin, *Nero. The End of a Dynasty* (London 1984), 122.

³⁶ Cf. Griffin 1984, op. cit. (n.35), 121-122. See now on the *Domus Aurea* the articles by E.M. Moormann and Y. Perrin in this volume.

³⁷ M. Griffin, *Seneca. A Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford 1976), 367-368.

³⁸ Cf. N. Hannestad, 'Nero and the potentialities of the emperor', in: N. Boncasa & G. Rizza, eds., *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato. Atti del II Conferenza Internazionale sul ritratto Romano* (Rome 1988), 325-329; J. Elsner & J. Master, eds., *Reflections of Nero. Culture, History & Representation* (London 1994).

³⁹ The harbour at Ostia: *sestertii*: RIC 1², 162 nos. 178-183, 181 nos. 513-514; Macellum: *sestertii*: RIC 1², 162-163 nos. 184-189; *dupondii*: 159 nos. 109-111, 175 nos. 399-402.

of the individual emperor in mind makes sense. Thus, rather than emphasising how, under Titus, CERES and ANNONA were displayed on *aurei*, and that therefore there is no consistent differentiation in messages on coins of higher or lower value, one could stress that the Flavians had another, perhaps more important, symbol to emphasise to the Roman plebs: the Colosseum. Just to note, all representations of the Colosseum on imperial coinage are on low value coins.⁴⁰

The awareness of ‘audience targeting’ through coins may even have been more sophisticated. Perhaps the possibility of using ambiguous abbreviations was employed as well. Some Romans were aware of such ambiguity, occasionally even intended:

“Tullius Tiro, Cicero’s freedman, wrote at great length in one of his letters, substantially as follows: ‘When Pompey was preparing to consecrate the temple of Victory, the steps of which formed his theatre, and to inscribe upon it his names and honours, the question arose whether *consul tertium* should be written, or *tertio*. Pompey took great pains to refer this question to the most learned men of Rome, and when there was difference of opinion ... Pompey asked Cicero ... to decide upon what seemed to him the most correct form’. Then Cicero was reluctant to pass judgement upon learned men, lest he might seem to have censured the men themselves in criticising their opinion. “He accordingly advised Pompey to write neither *tertium* or *tertio*, but to inscribe the four letters only, so that the meaning was shown without writing the whole word, but yet the doubt as to the form of the word was concealed’.”⁴¹

⁴⁰ BMCRE 2, 170 nos. 445-446, 262, nos. 190-191; Lummel 1991, op. cit. (n. 6), 76, 93 and 177 n. 575; H. K uthmann *et al.*, eds., *Bauten Roms auf M nzen und Medaillen* (Munich 1973), 52ff.; M.R. Alf ldi 2001, op. cit. (n. 33), 221; Lummel 1991, op. cit. (n. 6), 24, 27 and 93. Limitations of size (cf. *supra*, note 9, Metcalf) need not have been the reason for this, since detailed depictions of - for example - Trajan’s column feature also on the (smaller) coins of high denominations.

⁴¹ Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 10.1.7: *Tiro Tullius, Ciceronis libertus, in epistula quadam enarratus scripsit ad hunc ferme modum: “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. Eam rem Pompeius exquisitissime rettulit ad doctissimos civitatis, cumque dissentiretur ... rogavit ... Ciceronem Pompeius, ut, quod ei rectius videretur, scribi iuberet”. Tum Ciceronem iudicare de viris doctis veritum esse, ne, quorum opinionem inprobasset, ipsos videretur inprobasse. “Persuasit igitur Pompeio, ut neque tertium neque tertio scriberetur, sed*

Were abbreviations also used purposefully in designing coin-legends? This may well be the case. An example is formed by some coins of the usurper Carausius (AD 286-93).⁴² On his silver coinage, the exergue marks RSR and I.N.P.C.D.A have long been puzzling, but, in a recent article, Guy de la Bédoyère has put forward an interesting theory.⁴³ He notes how another coin type of Carausius reads EXPECTATE VENI and relates this to Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2.283, where, too, a long awaited one was to arrive.⁴⁴ With that in mind, it becomes noticeable how the two exergue marks stunningly follow Virgil's *Eclogues* 4.6-7: *redeunt Saturnia regna. Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto*. Virgil's passage also connects well with Carausius' emphasis on Rome reborn; a concept that was emphasised through legends that celebrated Carausius as the RENOVAT(OR) ROMAN(ORUM).⁴⁵ If this argument is right, only those with a very high degree of literacy could have understood the point. It is, thus, hardly surprising that these complicated legends only appeared on coins of higher denomination. Carausius aimed his message solely 'at least to those who mattered'.⁴⁶

Perhaps an earlier example of conscious use of ambiguous abbreviation can already be found in the reign of Commodus. In AD 190 or 191, whilst the emperor Commodus was busily reinventing his self-representation by invoking the Hercules *Commodianus*, and becoming the Hercules *Romanus*, a rare *aureus* was issued.⁴⁷ The iconography on the reverse was the same as the one of a new coin-type that was issued in sesterces, *dupondii*, and *asses*. It showed Hercules, naked to the waist, sacrificing over a lighted altar, holding cornucopiae, whilst his club, lion skin, and quiver were resting against a tree. But whereas the legends of all the issues of smaller denominations mention HERCULI COMMODIANO, the *aureus* reads HERC COM. The difference in size between the *aureus* and the *asses* is, in this case, not

ad secundum usque t fierent litterae, ut verbo non perscripto res quidem demonstraretur, sed dictio tamen ambigua verbi lateret". This passage was kindly brought to my attention by Cliff Ando.

⁴² On Carausius: P.J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus. The British Usurpers* (London 1994).

⁴³ BM 1900-11-5-10, RIC 5.2, 510, nos. 554-558; G. de la Bédoyère, 'Carausius and the marks RSR and I. N. P. C. D. A', *Numismatic Chronicle* 158 (1998), 79-88.

⁴⁴ De la Bédoyère 1998, op. cit. (n. 43), 82.

⁴⁵ RIC 5.2, 571.

⁴⁶ De la Bédoyère 1998, op. cit. (n. 43), 88.

⁴⁷ RIC 3, no. 221 (= BMCRE 4, no. 300). On Commodus' self-representation, and the role of Hercules in it, see: O.J. Hekster, *Commodus. An Emperor at the Crossroads* (Amsterdam 2002), 87-162 (87-111 for coinage); idem, 'Commodus-Hercules: the people's *princeps*', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20 (2001), 51-83.

very great, so lack of space on the gold coin need not have been the reason for the abbreviation.⁴⁸ Is this, perhaps, an occasion of ‘audience-control’? Rather than unequivocally imposing the Hercules *Commodianus* on those who would come to see the gold coin, a more ambiguous abbreviation was used.⁴⁹ For the legend COM might bring to mind the word *comes* as well as (and in fact perhaps even better than) *Commodianus*, as one can see in inscriptions⁵⁰ It is, thus, possible that the most outrageous claims of Commodus’ self-presentation were initially introduced on low-value coins, whilst those who saw the *aurei* (including, in all likelihood, the senatorial elite), were given the possibility to see these claims in a more conventional light. Having Hercules as *comes* was, after all, perfectly traditional.

There seems, then, to have been some sophistication in the use of abbreviations and legends on coinage, along with an apparent awareness of audiences of particular media in the Roman Empire.⁵¹ At least in some cases may thus be shown, in answer to Jones, ‘at what classes the propaganda on the coins was directed’.⁵² Some more *caveats* are still necessary – some differences may depend on different mints, and new money would only form a fraction of the types in circulation.⁵³ More problematic is the near-absence of

⁴⁸ *Size aureus*: RIC 3, no. 221 (= BMCRE 4, no. 300) 20mm.; 7.30g. Cf. *as*: RIC 3, no. 591 (= BMCRE 4, no. 677): 25mm.; 8.70g.

⁴⁹ If so, it was a temporary measure at most, as later, in AD 191-192, cities, legions, and even the senate itself was renamed *Commodianus*, leaving very little space for subtleties. But that need not mean there was never any subtlety in the first place; Hekster 2002, op. cit. (n. 47), 78 (with references) and 105f. Cf. also CONCOR(DIA) COMMODI(ANA) (BMCRE 4, NOS. 668, 675*) the *Flamen Comm(odianus)* (CIL 6.1577); the *ordo decurionum commodianor(um)* (CIL 14.2449 = ILS 400, addressed to Commodus as *Invictus Romanus Hercules*), and the FELIC(ITAS) COM(MODIANA) (BMCRE 4, p. 746). Cf. EDH no. HD000480 (= AE 1982.958).

⁵⁰ COM for *comes* or *comites*: EDH nos. HD030150, HD022151, HD008808, HD005966, HD023629, HD018443. COMM for *Commodus* or *Commodianus*: EDH nos. HD208836, HD032451. But cf. HD023999, HD013918 for COM abbreviating *Commodus*.

⁵¹ C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (2000), argues in a similar vein when discussing Vitellius’ use of V. AUG. on his coins. Vitellius’ message ‘at once acknowledged and legitimated the transfer of charismatic power from Augustus and his family to the office that he had created. In this process the use of *Augustus* as a title, and the ambiguity inherent in Latin abbreviations can only have smoothed the way’ (p. 294, with n. 73). Cf. J. Gagé, ‘Un theme de l’art impérial Romain. La Victoire d’Auguste’, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome, Antiquité*, 49 (1932), 61-92.

⁵² Cf. *supra* n. 5.

⁵³ C. Howgego, ‘The supply and use of money in the Roman world’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992), 1-31; 12-16; R. Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1994), 172-179. Still, if there is one thing that the introduction of the Euro made clear, it is that people scrutinise new coins much more than old ones. On the different mints, see now: R. Wolters, ‘Die Organisation der Münzprägung in julisch-claudischen Zeit’, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 106/7 (1999), 75-90.

geographical audience targeting. The mint of Lugdunum, for instance, must have supplied coins to the northwestern part of the Empire, but its coin-types regularly follow the Roman mint, depicting monuments that would have appealed to the inhabitants of the city of Rome, but far less so to people in the provinces.⁵⁴ The apparent absence of one obvious form of audience targeting does not, however, invalidate the concept as such. There also remains the problem of who decided on coin-types.⁵⁵ But by-passing that question, and placing a 'black-box' in the centre from which the coins emanated, it is noticeable that coins were not devoid of ideological messages, and that those messages make more sense when one defines the context in which, and the audience for which, they seem to have been intended.

Two final examples, one modern, one ancient, may show how important it can be to keep one's audience in mind, since not doing so might have unexpected consequences. Ernst Gombrich recounted the first one: 'Some years ago there was a story in the papers to the effect that riots had broken out in an underdeveloped country because of rumours that human flesh was being sold in a store. The rumour was being traced to food cans with a grinning boy on the label ... As a rule the picture of fruit, vegetable or meat on a food container does indicate its contents; if we do not draw the conclusion that the same applies to a picture of a human being on the container, it is because we rule out the possibility from the start'.⁵⁶ This audience did not rule out that possibility. The message went wrong. Somewhat, though not entirely, comparable, was the reaction of the people of the Roman Empire to Elagabalus' attempts to propagate his stone of Emesa on coins. It was not deemed a proper image for coin-types. Audiences reacted badly. Rather than trying to placate a specific group with a message that would appeal, the image was put forward without realising (or perhaps considering) what the reactions of different audiences would be. Elagabalus' coins did not convince the audience he was dependent on. Other emperors did a better job.

Oxford, September 2002

⁵⁴ Unless, of course, the coins were meant to emphasise the greatness of Rome.

⁵⁵ Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1986, op. cit. (n. 6), 68, with n.6 for references; Levick 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 58.

⁵⁶ E.H. Gombrich, 'The Visual Image. Its Place in Communication', *The Image and the Eye. Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London 1982), 137-162; 143.

APPENDIX 1: REVERSE LEGENDS OF VITELLIUS ON COINS OF
DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS IN THE PROVINCES ⁵⁷

Exclusively on high denominations

CONCORDIA PRAETORIANORUM	(<i>D</i> : no. 19)
SENAT P Q ROMANUS	(<i>Au</i> : no. 32)
I O MAX CAPITOLINUS	(<i>D</i> : nos. 31, 56)
VESTA P R QUIRITUM	(<i>Au</i> : no. 58; <i>D</i> nos. 33, 59-60, 65)
L VITELLI III COS CENSOR	(<i>Au</i> : no. 7)
LIBERI(S) IMP GERMANICI	(<i>Au</i> : no. 8; <i>D</i> : no. 57)
SECURITAS IMP GERM	(<i>Au</i> : nos. 11-2)
VICTORIA IMP GERMAN(ICI)	(<i>Au</i> : nos. 15-6)

Exclusively on low denominations

ROMA RENASCENS	(no. 45)
CONSENSUS HISPANIARUM	(no. 41)

Both on high and low denominations

VICTORIA AUGUSTI	(<i>Au</i> : nos. 13-4, 34-5, 38, 61; <i>D</i> : nos. 36-37, 62-3; <i>as</i> : no. 46)
LIBERTAS RESTITUA	(<i>Au</i> : no. 9; <i>D</i> : no. 10; <i>as</i> : nos. 43-4)
CONSENSUS EXERCITUM	(<i>Au</i> : nos. 4-5, 22, 26, 50, 64; <i>D</i> : nos. 6, 20-1, 23-5, 49, 51; <i>as</i> : no. 40)
FIDES EXERCITUM	(<i>Au</i> : no. 52; <i>D</i> : nos. 27-30, 47, 53-5; <i>as</i> : no. 42)
CLEMENTIA IMP GERMAN(ICI)	(<i>Au</i> : nos. 1-3, 16; <i>D</i> : no. 18; <i>as</i> : no. 39)

⁵⁷ All references to RIC I², 268-71

APPENDIX 2: REVERSE LEGENDS OF VITELLIUS ON COINS OF
DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS IN ROME ⁵⁸

Exclusively on high denominations	Exclusively on low denominations⁵⁹
FIDES EXERCITUM (<i>D</i> : no. 67)	ROMA (<i>Dp</i> : no. 130)
LIBERI IMP GERMANICI (<i>Au</i> : nos. 78, 104; <i>D</i> : nos. 79, 105)	SECURITAS P ROMANI (<i>as</i> : no. 175)
LIBERTAS RESTITUA (<i>Au</i> : no. 80; <i>D</i> : nos. 69, 81)	PAX GER ROM (<i>sest</i> : nos. 119-21)
IUPPITER VICTOR (<i>Au</i> : nos. 74, 92; <i>D</i> : nos. 68, 75, 93)	LIBERTAS AUGUSTI (<i>Dp</i> / <i>as</i> : no. 128)
L VITELLI III COS CENSOR (<i>Au</i> : nos. 76, 94, 96, 98; <i>D</i> : nos. 77, 95, 97, 99)	MARS VICTOR (<i>sest</i> : nos. 115-6, 136-7, 156, 167-8)
XVVIR SACR FAC (<i>Au</i> : nos. 85, 87, 108; <i>D</i> : nos. 70-1, 86, 88, 109)	L VITELLI CENSOR II (<i>sest</i> : nos. 114, 134)
PONT MAXIM (<i>Au</i> : no. 106; <i>D</i> : no. 107)	L VITELLI CENSOR III (<i>sest</i> : no. 135)
CONCORDIA P R (<i>Au</i> : nos. 72, 89; <i>D</i> : nos. 66, 73, 90; <i>ARQ</i> : no. 91)	I O MAX CAPITO (<i>as</i> : no. 127)
	VESTA (<i>Dp</i> / <i>as</i> : no. 154)
	HONOS ET VIRTUS (<i>sest</i> : no. 113)
	CONCORDIA AUG(USTI) (<i>sest</i> : no. 133; <i>Dp</i> : no. 126; <i>Dp</i> / <i>as</i> : nos. 161-2, 170; <i>as</i> : no. 171)
	PAX AUGUSTI (<i>sest</i> : nos. 117-8, 138-41, 157; <i>Dp</i> : nos. 146-8; <i>Dp</i> / <i>as</i> : nos. 149, 164; <i>as</i> : no. 172)
	AEQUITAS AUGUSTI (<i>as</i> : nos. 125, 160)
	ANNOA AUG (<i>sest</i> : nos. 131, 155, 166; <i>Dp</i> / <i>as</i> : no. 144)
	CERES AUG (<i>sest</i> : no. 132; <i>as</i> : no. 145)
	PROVIDENT (<i>as</i> : nos. 129, 150, 173-4)
Both on high and low denominations	
VICTORIA AUG(USTI) (<i>Au</i> : no. 111; <i>D</i> : no. 112; <i>ARQ</i> : no. 84; <i>sest</i> : nos. 124, 142-3; <i>as</i> : nos. 151-2, 156, 176)	
SPQR OB CS (<i>Au</i> : nos. 82; <i>D</i> : nos. 70, 83; <i>sest</i> : 122, 159)	

⁵⁸ All references to RIC I², 271-7

⁵⁹ All legends followed by SC.

LEFT AND RIGHT IN ROMAN COINS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES A.D.

By
FERNANDO LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ

Why Left and Right?¹

The great weakness of the Roman political system was always the lack of any constitutional mechanism to regulate the transfer of power.² Because of this, any regime with ambitions to endure had to base its claims on its efficiency and pragmatism. This is why action alone was not enough; the art of persuasion was at least as important.

In Roman iconography, left and right are not positions left to chance. If the Latin mind conceived of movement as being from left to right, then it is only logical to extrapolate that this will be mirrored in the plastic arts. It clearly occurs in writing, but also in icon-based narration. A right-facing position on Roman coins signifies initiative and constancy in the achievement of an objective, while a left-facing one denotes a pause, either temporary or permanent, in such an undertaking. This simple dichotomy tends to obviate full-frontal positions, the static nature of which makes them not suited to the language of narration.³

The patterns that govern the duality of right/initiative and left/resolution are mainly of a military nature. The *bellum/pax* division so beloved by modern-day scholars is not supported by the more Roman *domi/militiae*.⁴ Because of this, the dialectic between both concepts is one of continuity and not one of opposition, and the majority of monetary iconography is based on this fundamental premise.

¹ Translation from Spanish by Mark Temple, Editor ELT Dictionaries, Oxford University Press.

² J.A.S.Evans, 'Byzantine Kingship: the claim of dynastic right', *The Ancient World* 18, 1-2 (1988), 53: "If we compare the mini-dynasties of Imperial Rome with the royal families of medieval Europe such as the Capets and the Angevins, it must strike us that Rome had extraordinarily bad luck ... that was a product of Rome's unstable society ... At any rate, the would-be dynasties failed".

³ L. Kurhe, *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton 1999), 23: "Because coinage is a polyvalent symbol within a complex symbolic system, the struggle I endeavour to reconstruct is a struggle fought over and in representation".

⁴ G. Woolf, G. 'Roman peace', in J. Rich & G. Shipley, eds., *War and society in the Roman world*, (Londres-NewYork 1993), 173: "Central to understanding imperial uses of the notion of peace is ... these turned not so much on an opposition between *pax* and *bellum* as on an opposition between two moral and religious spheres, *domi* and *militae*...". J. Rüpke, *Domi militae. Die religiöse Konstruktion des Krieges in Rom*, Stuttgart 1990.

The *Soldatenkaisertum* in the fourth century

The period beginning with the crisis of the third century, when the emperor was obliged by external military pressures to pay more attention to army matters, is vital to understand the left-right dichotomy. However, it is very hard to place all the complex and numerous series of the third century in clear chronological order.

In the fourth century, on the other hand, it is possible for us to be more exact. The iconographic sequences are more structured and we can establish a general behavioural model. Owing to the short duration of the episode and the clarity of its coin series, the ideal starting point for such a reconstruction is the “usurpation” of Vetranio in 350.

After Magnentius took power in Gaul on the 18th of January 350,⁵ a certain Vetranio stirred up a revolt in Sirmium-Mursa on the first of March of that same year.⁶ The most orthodox, though not the only, viewpoint on this⁷ was that Vetranio wanted to save Illyricum on behalf of Constantius II, as “an invasion by Magnentius from Italy into Illyricum became a real danger to Constantius”.⁸

Vetranio did not, however, keep the Illyrian army ready for the triumphant arrival of the legitimate emperor Constantius II,⁹ but stirred up a revolt in the face of the very real possibility of an invasion of the Balkans from the west. It was not because of any divided loyalties between Magnentius and Constantius II, but in order to show the region’s independence from foreign powers that the Illyrian army rose up under Vetranio, *Magister Peditum* of Pannonia. For ten months Vetranio had a large number of coins minted in his name, showing himself as an autonomous emperor with the intention of remaining in power for a long time.¹⁰

⁵ O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste* (Stuttgart 1919), 197.

⁶ Seeck 1919, op. cit. (n. 5), 196.

⁷ B. Bleckmann, ‘Constantina, Vetranio und Gallus Caesar’, *Chiron* 24 (1994), 44, 54, gave a radically different interpretation of Vetranio’s revolt, considering him not as a puppet but as a fully-fledged emperor. See also J. F. Drinkwater, ‘The revolt and ethnic origin of the usurper Magnentius (350-353) and the rebellion of Vetranio (350)’, *Chiron* (2000), 131 ff.

⁸ Šašel, J., ‘The Struggle between Magnentius and Constantius II for Italy and Illyricum’, *Ziva Antika* 21 (1971), 207; O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt IV* (Stuttgart 1922), 92 ff; A. Demandt, *Die Spätantike, Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian*, 284-565 n. Chr. (Munich 1989), 83.

⁹ Drinkwater 2000, op. cit. (n. 21), 149: “The proclamation of Vetranio is therefore significant because it must reflect the depth of feeling in the Balkans..., and so suggests the implausibility of any early involvement by Constantina: Vetranio and his senior advisers will have acted by and for themselves”.

¹⁰ *Vot./V/Mult./X* on the reverse, RIC 8, Sis. 261-R4.

The depiction of Vetranio on his coins show his features in accordance with the standard tetrarchic model:¹¹ a large head, strong jawline, well-shaped beard, short hair, a thick-set neck, an air of responsibility and a smile of *facilitas* (Plates I, fig. 1-3). All this denotes an official who may be uncultured but who is accessible to his subordinates, the image of a man who has risen through the ranks. All this is a great contrast to the Apollinian portraits of the Constantinians.

Vetranio is shown being crowned by *Victoria* on the reverses of his most representative *solidi* (Pl. I, fig. 1), with the whole scene facing left. Most of these series were minted in Siscia or Sirmium, or sometimes in Thessalonica, with Magnentius' invasion looming.

The *Salvator Rei Publicae* inscription on Vetranio's *solidi* expresses the worries of the Illyrian army in a moment of crisis. It is not a question of Vetranio's usurping power, but simply of the highest powers being conferred on a general by his army in a time of political instability.

The left-facing posture signifies the plenitude and ratification of his power. While Vetranio's *solidi* are revealing, the same is true of his *centenionales*. The *Concordia Militum* series where Vetranio holds two *labara* (Pl. I, fig. 2) denotes the concord between the two opposing armies, the Gallic and the Danubian, and points out to us the man chosen by providence to forge this agreement. Vetranio is in a frontal position, midway between the two standards and facing left; according to a strict iconographical code, he is represented as the one destined to solve the military crisis (see the star on his head).

Nevertheless, the most common type of *centenionales* follows the militaristic model of *Salvator Rei Publicae*. The *Hoc Signo Victor Eris* coin series spread the image of Vetranio as a fully-fledged commander (Pl. I, fig. 3). It is all but certain that the event evoked here is the battle of Milvian Bridge on the 28th of October 312, and that the echo of this key Constantinian victory reached Naissus, the birthplace of Constantinism in the Danubian region, and so reminded the governing prince of the need to have the Illyrian army on his side.¹² The Sirmian military did not want a Gallic army in the Balkans and rejected the foreigner Magnentius.

¹¹ Drinkwater 2000, op. cit (n. 7), 137: "I would indeed suggest that hopes of reviving and exploiting tetrarchic principles were central to the thinking of those involved in what may be termed the 'Magnentian experiment'"; and on p. 138: "there may even have been some idea of projecting him as the new Diocletian".

¹² A. Baldini, 'Claudio Gotico e Constantine in Aurelio Vittore ed Epitome de Caesaribus', in G. Bonamente & F. Fusco, eds., *Costantino il Grande: Dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo. Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico, Macerata 18-20 Dicembre 1990* (Macerata 1991), 73 ff.

The *Hoc Signo Victor Eris centenionales*, with their thoroughly military character, were minted in large quantities in Siscia and in Sirmium between March 350 and March 351, and constitute a resistance to Western meddling in the Balkans, and an appeal to the values of Naissus, the regionalist values of self-defence.

Constantius II did not exercise full control over Illyricum until 350, and even then he did not hurry to occupy a region that had never fully bowed to his commands. This explains why he was so slow to go to meet Vetranio, ten full months after the insurrection, and in turn why the meeting between the two in Serdica,¹³ Illyricum's gateway to the East, was more like a customs operation than a friendly reception.

It was only after Constantius had gone to the effort of haranguing the soldiers in Naissus, treating them as *commilitones* (fellow soldiers)¹⁴ and not as a Porphyrogenitus emperor, that the army rallied to his call and Vetranio abdicated as a gesture of approval. The soldiers of another commander scrutinised Constantius carefully, rather than blindly following him.

To reach the consensus that made the abdication of Vetranio possible, Constantius had to make concessions to the Danubian military high command, and he did this by the immediate nomination as governor (15th of March 351), in the military capital Sirmium rather than in Siscia, of a Caesar, Constantius Gallus. It was only after this that Constantius II and Constantius Gallus could mint coins in the Balkans as military commanders at a critical historical moment (Pl. I, fig. 4, 5, 6).

A military *cursus honorum*

Were Vetranio's approach to coins unique, we would have no more than the story of a military coup in the year 350. But, in the Balkans, both Constantius Gallus and Constantius II chose exactly the same iconography as Vetranio. Were they too subscribing to a tradition of subordination to the power of the army?

The established and much-loved assumption of traditional historiographers is that, with Constantine's progressive taking of power between 312 and 324, a new world view was born. After the crises of the

¹³ Zonaras 13.7.

¹⁴ Proximity to the army in Ammianus Marcellinus 14.10.13: "... *commilitones mei fidissimi, accipite aequis auribus quae succinctius explicabo.*" Constantius II communicated far more with his army than has been supposed, R.C. Blockley, 'Constantius II and his generals', *Latomus* 168 (1980), 467 ff.

third century, Constantine had managed to heal the wounds,¹⁵ and the violent, pagan, militaristic ethos of before was replaced by urbanity, Christianity, and bureaucracy. However, coin series keep showing us, to the point of tedium, that most of the worries of the empire were centred on the military situation. The emperors of the third century had all come to power through regionalism and militarism,¹⁶ and this tendency did not only remain the same in the fourth century, but even appears to have increased. The example of Constantius' rise to become emperor of the entire Roman world is proof of this,¹⁷ coming about as it did through pure chance, and in particular the existence of Magnentius' military threat in the Balkans.

Throughout the fourth century the *de facto* division between East and West which we saw in the third century with Postumus and Gallienus remained strong. No emperor was able to maintain long-term control over both the Gauls and Illyricum, the two most important regions of the empire in military terms. As this situation was the result of mistrust between the two regions, the leader endorsed by the army was the one who provided the strongest guarantees for the continuing autonomy of the region; the army was not at odds with civil society, but was indeed the only body in that society capable of acting in a coordinated manner. All the emperors of the fourth century without exception owed their power to the patronage of one or more regional armies.¹⁸

When Vetrano is sworn in as supreme commander, and therefore as emperor, he chooses the highest of all iconographies, as if it were a military decoration (Pl. I, fig. 1). The inscription selected is that of *Salvator Rei Publicae*, because he is the spokesman of an army which sees itself as mediator and decisive player in the crisis brought on by the unstable Gauls. Constantius and Constans, on the other hand, prefer the inscription *Hoc Signo Victor Eris* (Pl. I, fig. 4, 6), because, thanks to their ties with Constantine, they can present themselves as the champions of the Illyrian army.

When Constans, the young son of Constantine, was promoted to the purple of military command in the year 337, a similar image of confirmation

¹⁵ J. Harries, 'Towards a new Constantine', *Ancient Society, Resources for Teachers* 15 (1985), 71 ff.; J. Gaudemet, 'Constantin, restaurateur de l'ordre', in *Studi in onore di S. Solazzi* (Naples 1948), 652 ff.

¹⁶ C. E. Sickle, 'Particularism in the Roman Empire during the Military Anarchy', *Ancient Journal of Philology* 51 (1930), 343 ff.

¹⁷ F. López Sánchez, 'La tutelle de l'armée illyrienne sur la dynastie constantinienne', *Cahiers Numismatiques* 151 (2002), 39 ff.

¹⁸ F. Heim, 'Vox exercitus, vox Dei. La désignation de l'empereur charismatique au IV^e siècle' *Revue des Études Latines* 68 (1990), 160 ff.

in power appears in his first Siscian *solidi*,¹⁹ the advance party of westward-heading Sirmium²⁰ (Pl. I, fig. 7). *Max. Avg.* makes it clear that, despite his youth, Constans enjoys a status higher than any of his brothers; being in charge of the fundamental Balkan region was enough for his army to accord him that position. Constantius II is also shown in Siscia in an honourable left-facing position (Pl. I, fig. 8), unlike Constantine II, the Western emperor.

The image of the emperor as military commander is facing left (Pl. I, fig. 7, 8), and this is due to the fact that the capability of both is recognised by the Illyrian army.²¹ The image is as emphatic as in 350-1, because the army has accepted them as worthy to lead.

In the year 340 we have a second confirmation of Constans' power. As Magnentius was to do ten years later, Constantine II invaded Italy, with the intention of coming to the rescue of the weakened Constantius II with troops prepared for the imminent Persian campaign.²² The idea of his crossing the Balkans on foot was greeted with extreme hostility by the Illyrian military high command, who decided to block Constantine's passage on the border of their territory, at Aquileia, where, in 340, the Gallic army was defeated and Constantine II killed.²³ In this battle Constans won not only the whole of the West, but also the full respect of his own army.

Before the decisive combat with Constantine II, Constans gave *donativa* among his men. Few of these coins have been found, but one double *solidus* clearly from this period shows the emperor facing left, crowned by *Victoria*, with the inscription *Gaudium Populi Romani* (Pl. I, fig. 9). This is the typical image of the army grouped around its commander, and, more than that, the image of an army which recognises him as in full possession of power (this is 340, and not 337), which explains the crowning by *Victoria*. This image corresponds to a moment just before the battle of Aquileia, and not just after, nor at any other time between 337 and 340. As in all codified language, it expresses more an attitude of mind - here the Illyrian

¹⁹ P. Bruun, 'Constans Maximus Augustus', in H. Huvelin, M. Christol & S. Gautier, eds, *Mélanges de numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire* (Wetteren 1987), 195: "Without any doubt Siscia was Constans' chief mint, and particularly in the years 337-340".

²⁰ The Sirmian military high command, created by the emperor Philip the Arabian (244-249), functioned as one of the most powerful of all military institutions. From its creation, a small number of high-ranking officials made or destroyed emperors, often against their own will (as in the case of Traianus Decius, Zosimus 1.21.2-3; Jordanes *Getica* 16.90) with the aim of resolving crises. See G. Brizzi, 'Soldatenkaiser, Illyricani ed altri problemi', *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 8 (1978), 94, 97.

²¹ López Sánchez 2002, op.cit (n. 17), 43.

²² *Itinerarium Alexandri* 1.4.

²³ December of 340; Hieronymus, *Chronica* 235^a; *Chronica minora* 1.236; *Epitome* 41.21; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.5; Zonaras 13.5.6.

army's view of Constans - than the specific reality of military victory. This is an important distinction, as in this case the left-facing orientation symbolises not a victory already achieved, but a desire to achieve that victory.

Constantine's subordination to the army

After the battle of Milvian Bridge in 312, it was the conquest of the Balkans, which made Constantine the most powerful man in the empire.

His campaigns against Licinius between 316 and 324 convinced the Illyrian military high command of his prowess as commander-in-chief.²⁴ Licinius was in fact the spokesman of the Illyrian army, as Vetrico was in 350,²⁵ and they shared the same tetrarchic traits and the same subordination to military power. Constantine too did not stray from this tetrarchic tradition.²⁶ His genius, though, was to present himself with the salvational character of a Claudius II or an Aurelian,²⁷ and not with the air of a Diocletian. While the language was different, their objectives were the same, and both men always tried to appear the representatives, and not the governors, of their army.

Constantine's two wars against Licinius, divided by the truce of 317, led to the use of an iconographic language more aggressive than that used previously in Trier. Going back to the third century tradition and leaving the tetrarchic collective one, he revived the militaristic meaning of the colour purple. In 321²⁸ he was depicted with globe and a spear at the ready on his left, crowned by *Sol* and with the inscription *Invicto Soli Comiti*, claiming his rightful place in the Balkans (Pl. I, fig. 10). In 323,²⁹ when Constantine was *Senior Augustus*, the image of the emperor crowned again by *Sol* is shown in Sirmium in a left-facing position (Pl. I, fig. 11).

In 317 Licinius brought out a large series in bronze to commemorate the pact with Constantine.³⁰ This series shows heavy-set features and large heads,

²⁴ Between 316 and 323 Constantine lived predominantly in Sirmium and Serdica, Seeck 1919, op. cit (n. 5), 165-172, describing Serdica at this time as "my Rome". See F. Millar, *The emperor in the Roman World (31 BC-AD 337)* (Oxford 1977), 12 ff.

²⁵ P. Bruun, 'The Negotiations of the Conference of Carnuntum', *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 8 (1979), 255 ff.; R. Andreotti, 'L'imperatore Licinio nella tradizione storiografica latina', in *Hommages à L. Herrmann*, Collection Latomus 44 (Bruxelles 1960), 105 ff.

²⁶ R.R.R. Smith, 'The public image of Licinius I: Portrait and imperial ideology in the early fourth century', *Journal of Roman Studies* (1997), 170 ff.

²⁷ T. Preger, 'Konstantinos Helios', *Hermes* 36 (1901), 457 ff.

²⁸ Same position in Sirmium in 316, before the truce with Licinius.

²⁹ Same position in Sirmium in 317, after the truce with Licinius.

³⁰ H. Mattingly, 'Jovius and Hercules', *Harvard Theology Review* 45 (1952), 131 ff.

short hair and a serious demeanour (Pl. I, fig. 12). The orientation is invariably to the left, owing to the decisive character of the new mutual agreement.

The pact of 317, in which Licinius II, the son of Licinius, and Constantine II and Crispus, sons of Constantine, were appointed Caesars, appears to have been imposed on Licinius by Constantine.³¹ Heredity certainly did not seem to be typical of the concerns of a tetrarchic commander. Constantine did, however, submit to the collective principle so vital to the Roman military mentality. In 324, after removing both Liciniuses from the scene, he minted numerous series in the same mode as Licinius in 317, albeit with the introduction of certain important differences.

The *castra* series which Constantine minted in bronze between 324 and 330 were in honour of Constantine II, Constantius II (Pl. I, fig. 14) and Crispus, as well as of himself (Pl. I, fig. 13). The features of all of these on the obverses are nevertheless Apollinian and not herculean or tetrarchic,³² and there is a star crowning the gate of the *castrum* in all of these series, something not found in Licinius' 317 coins (Pl. I, fig. 12) (same charismatic star with Vetrano in 350, see Pl. I, fig. 13). While these series were coined in various mints, Arles was the most important.³³

With this coinage, Constantine wanted, after his victory in 324, to combine the concepts of collectiveness and dynasty, and this is why he brought out significant series in bronze exalting his family and Arles (Pl. I, fig. 14), his symbolic capital in the West.³⁴ At the same time he shows, in this and in other pictures (*Gloria Exercitus*, Pl. I, fig. 15), the greatest respect for the army, to which he presents his full lineage.

Out of all those honoured by the military-dynastic coinings, Crispus is the one with the highest percentage of left-facing positions. This preference is common in his coin series and differs from those of his brothers. The choice of a naked torso and a Macedonian shield assimilates him into the Macedonian royal family (Pl. I, fig. 16), to which Constantine had wanted to become

³¹ A. Chastagnol, 'Les quinquennalia des trois Césars (Crispus, Licinius II, Constantin II) en 321', in J. Straub, *Romanitas-Christianitas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin-New York 1982), 367 ff.; A. Chastagnol, 'Les decennalia de Licinius', *Recueil d'hommages à Henri Stern* (Paris 1983), 97 ff.

³² S. E. Knudsen, *The portraits of Constantine the Great: Types and Chronology, A.D. 306-337*, (Ph.D Santa Bárbara 1988, An Arbor University Microfilms International 1991).

³³ T. Bayet, 'L'iconologie des enceintes et des portes de camp sur les monnaies du Bas-Empire romain', *Révue Belge de Numismatique* 150 (1994), 5 ff.

³⁴ S. T. Loseby, 'Arles in Antiquity', in C. Neil & S.T. Loseby, *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot 1996), 50; P. A. Février, 'Arles au IV^e et Ve siècles. Ville impériale et capitale régionale', in *XXV Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* (Ravenna 1978), 127 ff.

connected ever since the foundation of Constantinople as the new Troy. This typology is never adopted by either Constantius or Constantine II and highlights Crispus as the heir to the throne.³⁵

Dynasty and military advancement.

Military promotion is the highest form of palace accolade. In contrast to what is normally thought, there is a variety of evidence to suggest that Constantius II, for example, did consider Gallus and Julian as fit to wear the purple,³⁶ and that is why he decided to promote his Caesars through the ranks of the military.³⁷

Julian was only appointed Caesar in Milan after intensive military training in Gaul (A.D. 354). Constantius II himself appears in 355 (mint of Arles) on the same type of *miliarensis*, with standards ready for action (Pl. I, fig. 17), as Julian does (Pl. I, fig. 18); this is a gesture of solidarity with his nephew, promoted to the forefront of the army of the Gauls. As *miliarenses* were coins imbued with the iconography of founding and new beginnings, their minting by Constantius in 355 can only be understood in relation to the presentation of Caesar Julian before the army.

The majority of the *miliarenses* follow a very clear left-right orientation. Constantius Gallus, for one, had been depicted facing left on the reverses since the year 351 (Pl. I, fig. 19). He had always taken up a strong position of his own, and it was precisely this independence from Constantius that irritated the palace. He was promptly relieved of his command and executed.

Julian's career follows all the normal parameters of insertion into the imperial military structure. On the death of Constantius II and given the lack of any suitable rivals, Sirmium and Antiochia (Pl. I, fig. 20) decided to recognise his full sovereignty with a left-facing position (nine years later than Gallus!). His likeness also becomes more solidly-built and tetrarchic.

Julian's career was that of a man in a continuous state of self-justification. The army of the Gauls chose him as an Augustus so that he might

³⁵ F. López Sánchez, 'Procope et le bouclier macédonien (365-366 après J.-C.)', *Cahiers Numismatique* 156 (2003) 66ff; H.A. Pohlsander, 'Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End', *Historia* 33, 1 (1984), 79 ff.; P. Guthrie, 'The execution of Crispus', *Phoenix* 20 (1966), 235 ff.; D. Woods, 'On the Death of the Empress Fausta', *Greece & Rome* 45 (1998), 70 ff.

³⁶ N. Henck, 'From Macellum to Milan: The Movements of Julian the Apostate from A.D. 348 to 355', *Kodai* 10 (1999/2000), 111 ff.; Idem, *Images of Constantius II: 'ho philanthropos basileus' and imperial propaganda in the mid-fourth century A.D.* (Oxford 1998), unpublished dissertation, under the direction of J. F. Drinkwater. Henck rightly points out the problems of the reign of Constantius II.

³⁷ J. Béranger, 'Julian l'Apostat et l'héritage du pouvoir impérial', in *Bonner Historia Augusta Colloquium* 1970 (Bonn 1972), 75 ff.

provide an effective defence for the region,³⁸ and it is at this time (360, mint of Arles) that we see the appearance of the marching emperor, with a trophy over his shoulder and dragging a barbarian by his hair (Pl. I, fig. 21). Reusing an inscription commonly used by Constantine and Constans – *Virtus Exerc(itum) Gall(orum)* – Julian shows himself to be a dynamic emperor. In Sirmium (361), after the discharge of most of the Gallic troops,³⁹ the inscription becomes more general (*Virtus Exercitus Romanorum*), but the position is the same (Pl. I, fig. 22). In order to become fully accepted by a still distrustful Illyrian army, Julian then decided to attack on the Persian front.⁴⁰

The Persian campaign did not, however, ever meet the approval of the Illyrian military high command, worried about the removal of the garrison from the Balkans. Whether Julian was assassinated or not is of secondary importance, however, compared to the obvious hostility of the Palatine Guard, which was almost entirely composed of Illyrians. It was of course Procopius, the least Illyrian of the candidates, who was rejected unconditionally as Julian's successor, which in turn led to the short but very intense civil war described by Ammianus.⁴¹

Despite the fact that the Illyrian army was not in favour of it, the Persian campaign was seen as a victory once brought to a successful conclusion; both the invasion and the withdrawal were living proof of the power of Rome.⁴² On minting coins, Jovian paid due credit to both the region for which he fought – the East – and to the power behind the campaign – Illyricum.⁴³ In Sirmium, however, and not Antioch, a captive is shown humiliated by the emperor, who looks leftwards towards him (Pl. I, fig. 23).⁴⁴

³⁸ According to Ammianus' version, Julian did not want his troops in Paris to revolt (20.4.11), and the revolt was a spontaneous event (20.4.14) that ended when *Caesar assentire coactus est* (20.4.17); there is a similar vision of the events in Libanius *Oratio* 18. 96-99. Theophanes recalls how Julian, buoyed by his successes against the Barbarians, seized power and crowned himself with a diadem, *Chronica* 71 b-c.

³⁹ J. Szidat, 'Zur Ankunft Julians in Sirmium 361 n. Chr auf seinem Zug gegen Constantius II', *Historia* 24 (1975), 375 ff.

⁴⁰ M. Gawlikowski, 'L'empereur Julien sur les bords de l'Euphrate', *Des Sumériens aux Romains d'Orient. La perception géographique du monde, Antiquités Sémitiques II* (Paris 1997), 154: "Le terrain de confrontation entre Rome et la Perse était désormais dans le nord, du côté de Nisibe. En choisissant la route de l'Euphrate, Julien s'est de nouveau montré un homme du passé".

⁴¹ López Sánchez, op.cit. (n.35), 57ff; J.F. Matthews, *The Roman empire of Ammianus* (London 1989), 192; B. Bousquet, 'Le raz de marée du 21 juillet 365: du cataclysme local à la catastrophe cosmique', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquités*, 96 (1984), 423 ff.

⁴² Ammianus Marcellinus 25.7.5; Themistius 5.66; Festus, *Breviarium* 29.

⁴³ G. Wirth, 'Jovian. Kaiser und Karikatur', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 11 (1984), 353 ff. rehabilitates the political value of Jovian as the successor and the continuation of Julian's policies.

⁴⁴ K. Ehling, 'Des Ausgang des Persfeldzuges in der Münzpropaganda des Jovian', *Klio* 78 (1996), 186.

This position is fundamentally the same as that of Constantius in 337 (Pl. I, fig. 8), but with greater emphasis on the crushing nature of the victory.

The fact that the fourth century must be seen as a continuation of the tradition of “Soldatenkaisertum” is clear from some of the most representative series of the period.⁴⁵ The famous and extremely common bronze series of 348 minted by Constans and Constantius contain a dialogue between obverse and reverse, representing on one side the tasks already completed and on the other those yet to be done by the emperor.⁴⁶

The barbarian is energetically vanquished in the “fallen horseman” type, and on the obverse the emperor naturally faces right (Pl. I, fig. 24). Rome is conquering its greatest enemy, the Sassanid Persians, and once they are defeated and in chains - in another series of 348 - the obverse is facing left with globe in hand, with the reverse also to the left (Pl. I, fig. 25).

During the diarchy of the joint government of Valentinian and Valens, for example, the bust of Valentinian in full armour, is complemented on the obverse with an image of the transfer of power to Gratian by the *Senior Augustus*⁴⁷ in Trier in 367 (Pl. I, fig. 26). It is clear why there are no similar *solidi* relating to Valens. A fully-armed, left-facing bust therefore denotes a hereditary promotion through the military ranks (see also Pl. I, fig. 14, 16).

In order to rein in over-powerful generals, Pulcheria began to develop the model of the fifth century “par excellence” in 421.⁴⁸ With the background of the Persian war and the desire for influence over the West, Constantinople became the guiding light of the Roman world. Wanting to reaffirm the power of the threatened Theodosian dynasty, Pulcheria closed the door on any attempts to gain power on the part of the military.⁴⁹ He imposed semi-monastic mores in Constantinople and extolled the cult of

⁴⁵ F. Altheim, *Die soldatenkaiser* (Frankfurt am Main 1938); E. Frézouls, ‘L’accession au pouvoir des empereurs illyriens’, in E. Frézouls & H. Jouffroy, eds., *Les empereurs illyriens, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 11-13 octobre 1990* (Strasbourg 1998), 5 ff.; R. Syme, ‘Danubian and Balkan emperors’ *Historia* 22 (1973) = *Roman Papers* III (1984), 892 = 310: “The great military emperors who came out of Illyricum are often termed ‘Illyrian’; and some may even be assigned ‘Illyrian blood’. The term is vicious and misleading. It is also too vague and too narrow”.

⁴⁶ W. Portmann., ‘Die politische Krise zwischen den Kaisern Constantius II und Constans’, *Historia* 48,3 (1999), 301 ff.; J-P. Callu, ‘La dyarchie constantinide (340-350): les signes d’évolution’, in *Institutions, Société et Vie politique dans l’empire romain au I^{er} siècle ap. J-C-*, Collection de l’École Française de Rome 159 (1992), 40 ff.

⁴⁷ M. Fortina, *L’imperatore Graziano* (Torino 1953).

⁴⁸ K.G. Holum, ‘Pulcheria’s Crusade A.D. 421-22 and the Ideology of Imperial Victory’, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 18 (1977), 155.

⁴⁹ K.G. Holum, ‘Family life in the Theodosian House’, *Kleronomia* 6 (1976), 280 ff.

virginity.⁵⁰ The image of *Victoria* holding up a large cross expresses these totalitarian ideas, which are reinforced by the decisive right-facing orientation (Pl. I, fig. 27).

Every Western emperor affirmed his affiliation to East or West through the model chosen for the reverses of his coins. Although it is not so clear an expression as the image of *Victoria*, the emperor crushing underfoot the human-headed serpent was the Constantinopolitan model in its Ravenna version. In contrast to the aggressive, self-justifying posture of John, Avitus (Pl. I, fig. 28) or Glycerius, always facing right in the style of the Theodosians,⁵¹ Valentinian III (Pl. I, fig. 29), Leo and Libius Severus adopt the decisive model of the East, satisfied with its achievements. The Western supporters of the *Anicii* saw their aspirations to a militarised *basileia* frustrated,⁵² and with their defeat the Western emperors lost their very “raison d’être”. With them disappeared the notion of true, working *Romanitas*, the idea that a ruler was only a ruler in so far as he was able to resolve problems.

The left-right dialectic, as we have seen, was therefore the instrument most favoured by the authorities in the iconography of coins, a rich source of information on the narration of legitimacy in the Roman empire.

Zaragoza, September 2002.

⁵⁰ K. G. Holum, *Theodosian empresses. Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*, (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1982), 227: “by showing reverence here to the *Theotokos*, they secures the power of their *basileia*”.

⁵¹ F. López Sánchez, ‘Innovation et prestige dans le monnayage d’Avitus’, *Cahiers Numismatiques* 149 (Paris 2001), 23 ff.

⁵² F. López Sánchez, ‘Le monnayage d’Olybrius ou l’affirmation de l’occident face a l’orient’, *Cahiers Numismatique* 153 (2002) 31ff.

RÖMISCHES ORNAMENT ALS SPRACHE. DIE SANFTE GEGENWART DER MACHT

Von
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Mit der Okkupation der westlichen Territorien des Mittelmeerraumes und der angrenzenden Regionen durch die Römer kam eine Fülle neuartiger Objekte in diese Länder, die mit grundlegend veränderten Lebensformen verbunden waren. Die eine Gruppe von Objekten, vor allem Geschirr und Gerät, hing mit andersartigen Formen der Zubereitung und des Genusses von Nahrung zusammen, eine andere, Kleidung, Schmuck und Bewaffnung, eröffneten neue Möglichkeiten der Präsentation der eigenen Person, während schließlich die Bauten als dritte Gruppe öffentlichen und privaten Raum völlig neu definierten.¹

Im Gefälle der einzelnen Regionen oder auch im Verhältnis der zentralen Städte zum umliegenden Land lässt sich die Dynamik der Vorgänge an Hand der materiellen Zeugnisse meist vergleichsweise gut erfassen. Es brauchte seine Zeit, bis sich die Praktiken der neuen Kultur wirklich durchsetzten. Tacitus (*Agricola* 21) erläutert die Vorgänge am Wirken des Iulius Agricola in Britannien, und der Text bietet wie kein anderer die Möglichkeit, sich die verschiedenen Faktoren vor Augen zu führen, wenn gewiss auch vieles vereinfacht und aus römischer Sicht beschönigt ist. Schon im zweiten Jahr seiner Tätigkeit als Statthalter gelang es durch persönliche Gespräche und Unterstützung aus öffentlichen Mitteln, dass die Einwohner des Landes Tempel, öffentliche Plätze und Häuser in den Städten bauten. Die Söhne der Fürsten ließ er in den freien Künsten ausbilden, wodurch sich Formen römischer Beredsamkeit durchsetzten. So verstand man die römische Art (*habitus*) als Ehre und die Toga wurde häufiger getragen. Säulenhallen, Bäder und aufwendige Gelage (*conviviorum elegantiam*) kamen bald hinzu, die man als Lebenskunst (*humanitas*) verstehen konnte.

¹ Für das Anfertigen der Vorlagen für die Abbildungen danke ich A. Paetz gen. Schieck und A. Smadi. Vergleiche z.B.: Th. Blagg & M. Millett (Hrsg.), *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford 1990); U. Heimberg, 'Was bedeutet Romanisierung?', *Antike Welt* 1998, 19 ff. G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman – The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998), 7 ff. (mit weiteren bibliographischen Hinweisen). St. Altekamp & A. Schäfer, in *The impact of Rome on Settlement in the Northwestern and Danube Provinces*, *Kolloquium Berlin 1998/99* (Oxford 2001 = BAR, International Series 921).

Keine der Aktionen erfolgte gewaltsam und niemand wurde offensichtlich gezwungen. Agricola lobte nur die Eifrigen (*prompti*) und tadelte die Langsamen (*segnes*). Man kann sich gut vorstellen, dass zusätzlich ethnische Differenzen ausgespielt wurden, wenn es weiter heißt, dass der römische Statthalter der Intelligenz (*ingenia*) der Britannier dem Lerneifer (*studia*) der Gallier den Vorzug gab. Der Ansporn, die fremde Kultur zu übernehmen, lag nun in Ehrung (*honor*) und konkurrierendem Wetteifer (*aemulatio*), nicht im Zwang (*necessitas*), woran sich die Hoffnung knüpfen mochte, seine gesellschaftliche Stellung zu verbessern. Solche Vorgänge muss es in den Provinzen millionenfach gegeben haben, vielleicht nicht immer gleich glücklich durchgeführt, aber am Ende mit einem ähnlichen Ergebnis.

Innerhalb dieser Vorgänge möchte ich – beschränkt auf die Nordwestprovinzen und bezogen auf die Fragestellung des Kolloquiums – einen Bestandteil betrachten, der selten in diesem Zusammenhang gewürdigt, m.E. aber zentrale Bedeutung für den Vorgang der Akkulturation besaß. Denn alle die genannten Objekte, Architektur, Geräte und Bekleidungsstücke zeichnete ein ornamentaler Schmuck von einer spezifischen Besonderheit aus, die dem Eingeweihten im Einklang mit den anderen Qualitäten, d.h. der Grundform und der handwerklichen Ausführung – sofort verdeutlichte, zu welcher Kultur es zu rechnen war. Der Erwerb und die Verwendung eines solchen Objektes bedeuteten folglich einen Kontakt mit der fremden Kultur, der zunächst ganz unverbindlich und ohne das Ziel einer kulturellen Angleichung erfolgen konnte. Die Formen bildeten aber mit dem übernommenen Objekt eine Einheit und definierten in vieler Hinsicht erst dessen Wert, so dass gerade der ornamentale und zusätzlich der figürliche Schmuck einen Zusatz bildete, der von ihren neuen Benutzern in der Provinz erwünscht und erstrebt war.

Im Unterschied zu sprachlichen Äußerungen, mit deren Hilfe eine Verständigung über Inhalte erstrebt wird, dienten die Objekte anderen Zielen. Nutzte man sie, erwies man sich der fremden Kultur kundig, ohne sie eigens lernen zu müssen. Vielmehr konnte man sie einfach übernehmen und sie ohne Mühe in die eigene Umgebung einfügen. Nur vor dem Hintergrund der Bedeutung dieser Objekte in ihrer ursprünglichen Kultur ließ sich ihre Verwendung im neuen Umfeld beurteilen. Die Bevölkerung in den römischen Provinzen bewies folglich durch die Übernahme und den Gebrauch eine bestimmte *Romanitas*. Im Zusammenhang des Kolloquiums wäre nun zu fragen, ob in der Annahme oder Ablehnung römischen Dekors

bestimmte Regeln erkennbar sind, und ob darüber hinaus durch die Kaiser und seine Umgebung die Verbreitung bestimmter Formen von Dekor, sowohl von seinem Inhalt her, wie auch von seinen Formen, direkt oder auch indirekt gefördert wurde.

In der Architektur und dem Dekor von Objekten aus Stein, auf die ich mich hier konzentriere, verleiht das Ornament dem neuen Material eine unverwechselbare Qualität. Die Bauten stellen unmittelbar Träger eines kulturellen Wertesystems dar und sind nicht einfach nur der Ort, an dem bestimmte Dinge stattfinden. Eine derartige Einschätzung mag befremdlich erscheinen, wenn man an die Art der handwerklichen Ausführung in den Regionen der Nordwestprovinzen denkt. Oft handelt es sich um grobe, nach unserem Verständnis wenig attraktive Arbeiten. Immer weisen sie zum Zentrum, d.h. Rom oder Italien, deutliche Verbindungen auf, und markieren gegenüber der einheimischen Tradition vor Ort eine große Distanz.

Drei Fallbeispiele mögen andeuten, was für Faktoren den Umgang, das Verständnis und damit auch die Übernahme der Formen in die Provinzen bestimmten. Der Wert der Zeichen gestaltet sich in einem kommunikativen Zusammenhang je nach Umfeld neu, in Rom anders als in den Provinzen, unter Zivilisten anders als unter Militärs, wobei eine schier unendliche Zahl an Konstellationen denkbar ist. Der Wert der Zeichen bemisst sich darin aus ihrer Deutlichkeit im Sinne von Lesbarkeit, als Träger eines Inhalts und ihrer ästhetischen Qualität. Als erstes Beispiel mögen Gestaltungsweisen dienen, die im Zuge der kaiserlichen Bautätigkeit gefördert wurden, wie z.B. die korinthische Ordnung. Zu fragen wäre, warum sich daneben nicht auch andere Formen durchsetzen konnten. Als zweites Beispiel soll mit der Doppel-S-Sima eine Form betrachtet werden, die im kaiserlichen Ambiente, z.B. auf dem Palatin in Rom, vorkommt, von der aber auch behauptet wurde, sie entspräche in besonderer Weise lokalen Sehgewohnheiten vor Ort. Als drittes Beispiel sei das Nativitätszeichen des Augustus, der Capricorn, betrachtet, das auch in den Provinzen häufiger begegnet.

Grundsätzlich gilt es bei allen folgenden Überlegungen zu bedenken, dass vor Ort nichts an Architektur vorhanden war, das auch nur entfernt den Vergleich mit römischen Bauten aus Stein hätte aufnehmen können. Steinernen Bauten waren in Gallien spärlich und fehlten in Germanien völlig. Hierin scheinen Tacitus (*Germania* 16,2: *materia ad omnia utuntur et citra speciem aut delectationem*) und die anderen Schriftsteller nach Ausweis der

archäologischen Quellen nicht zu übertreiben.² Sogar Tacitus fällt es schwer, daraus eine positive Qualität von indigener Kultur abzuleiten, z.B. Einfachheit oder Schlichtheit, denn der Kontrast zu den römischen Lebensgepflogenheiten war einfach zu groß. Steinerne Bauten in einer Umgebung, die sie bisher nicht kannte, veränderten die Welt, verschoben die Dimensionen von Zeit und Raum und demonstrierten wie vielleicht kein anderes Mittel oder andere Form der Kommunikation im alltäglichen Erleben die Überlegenheit der fremden Kultur, ohne dass diese Überlegenheit dabei aggressiv ausgespielt wurde. Gewiss waren für die Erringung und Erhaltung der Macht Militär und Administration von entscheidender Bedeutung. Der Luxus von Kleidung und Gastmählern gipfelte unmittelbar im Genuss. Aber die Architektur schuf den bleibenden Rahmen. Sie trug dazu bei, die neuen Regeln für das Zusammenleben festzulegen. Tacitus verwies scharfsichtig auf Säulenhallen und Plätze, die zusammen mit den Tempeln den spezifischen, der römischen Kultur eigenen öffentlichen Raum schufen, der sich von dem privaten Raum der Häuser klar abhob.

In unserem Zusammenhang wären die Vorgänge auf verschiedenen Ebenen zu prüfen. Dass nach Möglichkeit Marmor oder entsprechende Materialien bevorzugt verwandt wurden, ist offensichtlich. Dabei handelte es sich um eine Frage des Prestiges der Städte, kaum um eine Forderung von Seiten der Zentrale.³ Dies wird allein an sehr widersprüchlichen Entwicklungen deutlich, denn in den großen Städten, vor allem den Kapitalen der Provinzen, werden Bauten aus weißen Steinen errichtet, in den kleineren Städten hingegen nicht durchgehend und dort behält man eher – falls schon ausgebildet und übernommen – traditionelle Formen aus der Zeit der späten Republik und der frühagusteischen Zeit noch weit bis in das 1. Jh. n.Chr. bei.⁴ In den Nordwestprovinzen ließ sich diesen Erwartungen nur unter großen Einschränkungen Rechnung tragen, einfach weil das passende Material fehlte. Zum neuen Material sollten die neuen Formen passen und dabei sah es schon anders aus.⁵ Ob die Vorgänge in irgendeiner Weise von

² Strabon, *Geographica* 4.4.3. Vgl. die Sammlung einschlägiger Nachweise in der Ausgabe von Tacitus, *Germania* durch G. Perl, *Griechische und lateinische Quellen zur Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas* II (Berlin 1990), 178 f.

³ P. Zanker, 'Einleitung', in P. Zanker & W. Trillmich (Hrsg.), *Stadt und Ideologie, Kolloquium Madrid 1987*, (München 1990 = Abhandlungen der bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften 103), 21 f.

⁴ J.B. Ward-Perkins, 'From Republic to Empire: Reflections on the Early Provincial Architecture of the Roman West', *Journal of Roman Studies* 60 (1970), 1 ff.; H. von Hesberg, 'Bauornamentik als kulturelle Leitform', in Zanker & Trillmich 1990, op.cit. (Anm.3), 341 ff.

⁵ H. Kähler, *Die römischen Kapitelle des Rheingebietes* (Berlin 1939), 4 ff. M. Trunk, 'Die Bauornamentik des römischen Theaters von Segóbriga', *Madriider Mitteilungen* 39 (1998), 151 ff.; H.

Mitgliedern der kaiserlichen Familie gefördert wurden, etwa durch entsprechende Architekten oder Bauhütten, ist umstritten, aber eher fraglich. Jedenfalls gibt es keinerlei Hinweise darauf.⁶ Hier geht es mir nur darum, den Grad der Bewusstheit zu umschreiben, mit dem die Beteiligten mit dem Formenrepertoire umgingen. Versuchte das Kaiserhaus eine bestimmte Formensprache umzusetzen und verstanden die Auftraggeber in den Provinzen diesen Stil als imperial?

Die beschriebene Qualität der Bauten unterstrich deren standardisiert wirkendes Ornament. Auf diese Weise verschränkten sich Sehgewohnheiten in Rom und Italien. Die Art der Formgebung wirkte regionalen Sonderformen entgegen. Vor allem verbreitete sich rasch die korinthische Ordnung mit der charakteristischen Säule und dazu passendem Gebälk. Die verbindliche Kraft, die in diesem Prozess deutlich wird – so meine These –, wäre nicht möglich gewesen, ohne das dauernde Vorbild der kaiserlichen Aktivitäten. Obwohl es sich um einen Dekor mit vergleichsweise komplizierten Details handelt, haben die Auftraggeber in den Provinzen nicht auf einfachere Muster wie die dorische⁷ oder die ionische Ordnung zurückgegriffen,⁸ oder den erstrebten Dekor reduziert. Der Dekor sollte vielmehr gängigem Standard entsprechen, auch wenn sich in der Qualität der Ausführung bisweilen Probleme ergaben.

Dieser Wunsch nach einer möglichst aktuellen Formgebung ist verschiedenen Erscheinungen ablesbar. In den Grenzprovinzen des Nordwestens z.B. lässt sich an keinem Monumenttypus mehr die Verwendung dorischer Friese nachweisen. Dies ist umso merkwürdiger, weil in den zentralen Westprovinzen bis in die augusteische Zeit hinein große

von Hesberg, 'Bauteile der frühen Kaiserzeit in Köln – Das Oppidum Ubiorum zur Zeit des Augustus', in *Festschrift G. Precht = Xantener Berichte* (2002), 13ff.

⁶ H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti – Eine Studie zu den Tempeln der ersten römischen Kaiser* (Rom 1985), 95 ff. Sehr allgemein appelliert Vitruv, *De architectura* 1 praefatio, an derartige Erwartungen. Vgl. zu den Werkstätten: H. Heinrich, *Subtilitas Novarum Sculpturarum – Untersuchungen zur Ornamentik marmorner Bauglieder der späten Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit in Campanien* (München 2002), 45 ff.

⁷ P. Broise, 'Éléments d'un ordre toscan provincial en Haute-Savoie', *Gallia* 27 (1969), 15 ff.; A. Paul, 'Toskanische Kapitelle aus Trier und Umgebung', *Trierer Zeitschrift* 57 (1994), 147 ff.; A. Schäfer, 'Die tuskanischen Kapitelle des römischen Köln', *Kölner Jahrbuch* 32 (1999), 689 ff.; Th.F.C. Blagg, *Roman Architectural Ornament in Britain* (Oxford 2002 = BAR, British Series 329), 126 ff.

⁸ Ionische Kapitelle fehlen in nachaugusteischer Zeit auch in Oberitalien, G. Cavalieri Manasse, *La decorazione architettonica romana di Aquileia, Trieste, Pola* (Aquileia 1978), 44 ff., und völlig im Bestand der nördlichen Grenzprovinzen. Blagg 2002, op.cit. (Anm.7), 18 ff.

öffentliche Bauten, z.B. Tempel oder vielleicht auch Hallen in Saintes,⁹ Nîmes,¹⁰ Malain (Burgund)¹¹ oder auch in Evora (Portugal)¹² mit Triglyphenfriesen geschmückt wurden. Sie waren zwischen 40 und 60 cm hoch und alternierend mit Bukranien und Pateren gefüllt. Darin entsprachen sie Mustern aus Mittel- oder Oberitalien, z.B. den Tempeln von Aquino,¹³ von Minturnae¹⁴ - allerdings mit anderen Motiven als Metopenschmuck - oder dem Dioskurentempel von Este.¹⁵ Der sog. Arc du Rhône oder die Frieze der Theater von Arles¹⁶ oder Barcelona¹⁷ belegen, dass sogar verschiedene Varianten der dorischen Frieze übernommen wurden, denn die Gestaltungsweise knüpft dort an Formen an, wie sie in Etrurien in späthellenistischer Zeit ausgeprägt wurden und sich dort bis in die frühe Kaiserzeit hielten.¹⁸ Das Siegesdenkmal von „La Turbie“ mit Waffendarstellungen¹⁹ belegt hingegen eine dritte, strenge Gestaltungsweise der Ordnung, die an stadtrömische Vorbilder anknüpft (Taf. II, Abb. 1 a). Die dorischen Frieze an Grabbauten in Narbonne (Taf. II, Abb. 1 b),²⁰ Lyon²¹ oder anderen Städten²² in den

⁹ É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine* 2 (Paris 1908), 282 Nr. 1364. J.Cl. Joulia, *Les frises doriques de Narbonne* (Brüssel 1988 = Collection Latomus 202), 224.

¹⁰ É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine* 1 (Paris 1907), 319 Nr. 480. Joulia 1988, op.cit. (Anm.9), 223 (mit weiteren Beispielen).

¹¹ É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine* 4 (Paris 1911), 426 Nr. 3566.

¹² V. De Souza, *Portugal, Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* (Coimbra 1990), 33 Nr. 75. Vgl. dazu Th. Hauschild, 'Èvora, Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen am römischen Tempel', *Madriider Mitteilungen* 35 (1994), 314 ff. derselbe, 'El templo romano de Évora', *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana* 1 (1992), 107 ff.

¹³ M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Aquinum* (Rom 1949), 39 f., Taf. 3.

¹⁴ J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae I. Monuments of the Republican Forum* (Philadelphia 1935), 64 Abb. 32.

¹⁵ M.J. Strazzula, *Le terracotte architettoniche della Venetia Romana* (Rom 1987), 357 ff. Nr. 429 ff., Taf. 85 f. Der Fries ist dort ca. 45 cm hoch. E. Baggio Bernardoni, in G. Tosi (Hrsg.), *Este Antica* (Este/Padua 1992), 326 ff., Abb. 240. Vgl. auch zahlreiche weitere Beispiele aus Oberitalien: Cavalieri Manasse 1978, op.cit. (Anm.8), 94 ff., 150 ff., Nr. 59 ff., 120 ff., Taf. 27 ff., 57 f.

¹⁶ A. von Gladiss, 'Der Arc du Rhône' von Arles', *Römische Mitteilungen* 79 (1972), 36 ff., 49 ff., Taf. 28 ff.

¹⁷ J. Puig i Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura Romana a Catalunya* (Barcelona 1934), 200, 295 ff., Abb. 258, 358. Die Triglyphen dort folgen mit ihren Tropfenleisten unten und oben Vorbildern im etruskischen Raum, z.B. dem Tempel in Fiesole, A. De Agostino, *Fiesole* (Rom 1949), 10 ff., 53 Nr. 2546, Abb. 47.

¹⁸ H. von Hesberg, 'Die Aufnahme der dorischen Ordnung in Etrurien', in *Die Aufnahme fremder Kultureinflüsse in Etrurien und das Problem des Retardierens in der etruskischen Kunst, Kolloquium Mannheim 1980* (Mannheim 1981), 189 ff.

¹⁹ J. Formigé, *Le trophée des Alpes (La Turbie)* (Paris 1949 = Supplément 2 à Gallia), 66 ff., Abb. 7, 46, 60. E. Polito, *Fulgentibus Armis – introduzione allo studio dei fregi d'armi antichi* (Rom 1998), 132 ff., Abb. 66.

²⁰ Joulia 1988, op.cit. (Anm.9), 16 ff.

²¹ É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine* 3 (Paris 1910), 40 Nr.1799. A. von Gladiss 1972, op.cit. (Anm.16), 36 ff.

gallischen Provinzen scheinen hingegen stärker Mustern verpflichtet zu sein, wie sie aus Oberitalien bekannt sind.²³ Damit zeichnet sich die für das 1. Jh. v. Chr. charakteristische Buntheit in der Übernahme von Motiven ab, die erst im Laufe der augusteischen Zeit in den Jahrzehnten um die Zeitenwende durch einheitlichere Muster abgelöst werden. In den germanischen Grenzprovinzen und Britannien²⁴ lässt sich daher die dorische Ordnung nicht nachweisen. Ein Fries aus Xanten ist nachantik und die Ergänzung des sog. Drususmonuments in Mainz bleibt in diesem Detail hypothetisch.²⁵ Lediglich das Fragment eines Frieses aus Augst fällt aus der Reihe. Es könnte nach der Gestaltung der Triglyphen und des Metopenschmucks zu einem augusteischem Grabbau gehört haben.²⁶

Die Verbreitung dorischer Schmuckformen wird gerne Militärs oder Veteranen zugeschrieben.²⁷ Schon H. Gabelmann wies aber darauf hin, dass der Gebrauch der Ordnung generell in der augusteischen Zeit aus der Mode kam, also mit einem umfassenden Geschmackswandel zusammenhängen muss²⁸ und nicht lediglich eine Erscheinung ist, die sich an ihrer Bindung an eine bestimmte Gruppe erklären ließe. Vor allem erklärt die These nicht, warum es vorher zu jener heterogenen Verwendung der Schmuckformen kam, in der sich keinerlei eindeutige Verteilung und Zuordnung abzeichnet. Die Verwendung an öffentlichen Bauten erscheint zudem rein fakultativ zu sein

²² Die Zugehörigkeit eines Fragments in Metz bleibt freilich hypothetisch. R. Billoret, 'Circonscription de Lorraine', *Gallia* 24 (1966), 291, Abb. 27.

²³ G. Mansuelli, 'Monuments de la vallée du Pô', *Monuments Piot* 53 (1963), 90 ff., Abb. 44, 47, 51 ff. H. Gabelmann, 'Der Sarkophag der Peducaea Hilara in Modena', *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* (1966), 37 ff.; J. Ortalli, 'Un nuovo monumento funerario romano di Imola', *Rivista di Archeologia* 2 (1978), 55 ff. A. Romualdi, 'Monterenzio', *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 35 (1981), 30 ff., Abb. 11 ff. Joulia 1988, op.cit. (Anm. 9). Vgl. auch M. Torelli, 'Monumenti funerari romani con fregio dorico', *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 2 (1968), 32 ff., Abb. B; M. Buonocore, 'monumenti funerari Romani con decorazione ad Alba Fucens', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 94, 2 (1982), 715 ff.; M. Rizzello, *Monumenti funerari Romani con fregi dorici della media valle del Liri* (Sora 1979). Vgl. auch Polito 1998, op.cit. (Anm. 19), 30 ff.

²⁴ Blagg 2002, op.cit. (Anm. 7), 16 ff.

²⁵ Joulia 1988, op.cit. (Anm. 9), 219 (Xanten). H.G. Frenz, 'Drusus maior und sein Monument zu Mainz', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 32 (1985), 413, Abb. 18.

²⁶ C. Bossert-Radtke, 'Die figürlichen Reliefs und Rundskulpturen aus Augst und Kaiseraugst', *Forschungen in Augst* 16 (Augst 1992) 107 Nr. 75 Taf. 59. Die engsten Parallelen finden sich in Aquileja: G. Cavalieri Manasse 1978, op.cit. (Anm. 8) 151ff. Nr. 122.124.125 Taf. 57f.

²⁷ L. Curtius, Ikonographische Beiträge zum Porträt der römischen Republik, *Römische Mitteilungen* 48 (1933), 198. Torelli 1968, op.cit. (Anm. 23), 47 f.; A. Roth Congès, in J.Cl. Bessac u.a. (Hrsg.), *Ugernum – Beaucaire et le beaucairois à l'époque romaine* 2 (Caveirac 1987), 93 Anm. 67 (mit weiteren Belegen). Joulia 1988, op.cit. (Anm. 9), 208.

²⁸ H. Gabelmann, Rezension zu D. Boschung, *Antike Grabaltäre*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher* 189 (1989), 622.

und ist in keinem Fall aus der Einflussnahme von Militärs erklärbar. Ähnlich verhält es sich bei den Grabbauten, man denke nur an die der Senatoren.²⁹

Dieser Geschmackswandel vollzog sich allem Anschein nach in Rom, denn dort fällt es schwer, Bauten mit dorischem Schmuck aus den Jahrzehnten der Zeitwende oder dem 1. Jh. n.Chr. namhaft zu machen. Ob der Wandel dabei durch die Mitglieder des Herrscherhauses aktiv propagiert wurde, lässt sich nicht sagen. Immerhin gibt es aus dieser Zeit kein Monument dieser Art, welches sich entsprechend zuweisen ließe.³⁰ Die Impulse gingen also von Rom aus, vor allem geprägt durch die Pracht in der öffentlichen Architektur und übertragen auf Grabmonumente. Die Ablehnung des Dekors hatte ihren Grund wohl in dessen vergleichsweise plumper Form mit mächtigen Triglyphen, die zu den Formen, wie sie beispielhaft im sog. Dritten Stil der Wandmalerei die Gestaltung bestimmten, nicht passten.³¹ Das macht eine der seltenen Ausnahmen aus dem 1. Jh. n.Chr. deutlich. In dem Chironbild der sog. Basilika von Herculaneum ist zwar ein dorischer Fries wiedergegeben,³² aber die Triglyphen sind zu kleinen Pilastern umgeformt und nur noch an den Guttae unter ihnen als Teile einer dorischen Ordnung kenntlich.

Einmal übernommen konnte sich die Form in Oberitalien und den zentralen Westprovinzen allerdings einige Zeit behaupten, wie u.a. Altäre in

²⁹ R. Fellmann, *Das Grab des Munatius Plancus bei Gaeta* (Basel 1957), 32 ff., 58 ff., Taf. 7.

³⁰ Neben anderen Bauten wären das Mausoleum (H. von Hesberg & S. Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus* (München 1994 = Abhandlungen der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften München 108), 24ff., Abb. 46, Taf. 9 ff.), das Haus des Augustus (P. Pensabene, *Elementi architettonici dalla Casa di Augusto sul Palatino*, *Römische Mitteilungen* 104 (1997), 149 ff., Abb. 16 ff., 26 ff. (mit verfehlter Rekonstruktion)), die *Basilica Aemilia* und der Partherbogen zu nennen (F. Toebelmann, *Römische Gebälke* (Heidelberg 1923), 13 ff.; H. Bauer, *Basilica Aemilia*, und E. Nedergaard, *Zur Problematik der Augustusbögen auf dem Forum Romanum*, in *Kaiser Augustus und die Verlorene Republik, Ausstellung Berlin 1988* (Berlin 1988), 202 ff., 225 ff., Abb. 91 ff., 127 ff.; Th. Mattern, *Gesims und Ornament* (Münster 2001), 18 f.). Die Bedeutung des Motivs zeigt sich aber auch indirekt in der Wiedergabe z.B. auf der Portlandvase, E. Simon, *Die Portlandvase* (Mainz 1957), 6, 9, Abb. 1, Taf. 1 f., während sie später z.B. nur verfremdet in der Wandmalerei zu finden ist (Anm. 32). Auf dem Relief mit der Wiedergabe des Palladionraubes hat die dorische Ordnung die Konnotation der historischen Architektur, St. Lehmann, *Mythologische Prachtreiefs* (Bamberg 1996), 61, 66 f., Taf. 20, 31.

³¹ F.L. Bastet & M. de Vos, *Proposta per una classificazione del terzo stile pompeiano* ('s-Gravenhage 1979), 121 ff.; W. Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen an römischen Wandmalereien von der späten Republik bis zur Zeit Neros* (Mainz 1987), 85 ff., Taf. 63, 105 ff.; P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (München 1987), 279 ff.

³² P. Herrmann (Hrsg.), *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums* (München 1904–1931), Taf. 82; Joulia 1988, op.cit. (Anm.9), 242. Vgl. auch ein Campanarelieff in Paris, H. von Rohden & H. Winnefeld, *Die antiken Terrakotten* 4.1. *Architektonische Römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin–Stuttgart 1911), 297, Taf. 119 (Auch dort sind die Triglyphen zu Pilastern mit Kapitellen umstilisiert).

Brescia, Oderzo und Modena aus claudischer Zeit³³ und Friese in Nîmes und Malain³⁴ wohl aus der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. belegen. Die einzelnen Motive der Triglyphenfriese wirken an diesen späten Beispielen zwar stark verfremdet und zu graphischen Zeichen reduziert, aber der Zusammenhang mit der lokalen Tradition bleibt unverkennbar. In denjenigen Regionen, in denen sich der dorische Dekor in spätrepublikanischer oder augusteischer Zeit etabliert hatte, konnte er für eine gewisse Zeit weiterhin benutzt werden, in den neu hinzugewonnen Provinzen kam er aber gar nicht erst auf. Dieses Ergebnis ist deshalb ein wenig überraschend, weil man in der Regel eine wellenförmige Verbreitung erwartet, in der die Formen von Rom oder Italien ausgehend am Ende die Grenzen des Reiches erreichen. Hier aber werden sie sozusagen von den modernen Formen auf ihrem Weg überholt. So könnte man umgekehrt ein Argument für die Annahme gewinnen, die Etablierung neuer Formen bediente sich jeweils der im Zentrum des Reiches aktuellen Formensprache, zumindest in einer Art Rückversicherung der Formenwahl.

Damit kommen erneut die Bauten des Augustus, der Angehörigen seiner Familie und seiner Umgebung ins Spiel. Dadurch, dass sie spätestens seit den Jahrzehnten um die Zeitenwende immer wieder die korinthische Form in reiner Ausprägung wählten, dürften sie schon für Rom und Mittelitalien eine verbindliche Wirkung erzielt haben, die in dieser einheitlichen Verwendung nach außen wirkte. Bauten, die in den Provinzen von Mitgliedern aus dem Umkreis des Kaiserhauses gestiftet wurden, mussten eine zusätzlich die Normen bestimmende Kraft gewinnen. Augustus selbst war in den Provinzen präsent,³⁵ ebenso Agrippa, der z. B. in St. Remy und Nîmes Tempel errichten ließ,³⁶ und weitere Mitglieder des Kaiserhauses bewohnten als Feldherrn entsprechend ausgestattete Residenzen in den

³³ H. Gabelmann, *Oberitalische Rundaltäre*, *Römische Mitteilungen* 75 (1968), 102, Taf. 24; E. Biaggio, M. de Min, F. Ghedini, D. Papafava, M. Rigoni & G. Rosada, *Sculture e mosaici Romani del Museo Civico di Oderzo* (Treviso 1976), 69 ff., Nr. 20. *Modena dalle Origini all'anno mille – Studi di Archeologia e Storia*, Ausstellung in der Galleria Civica di Modena 1989 (Modena 1989), 451 ff. Nr. 344, Abb. 504 f. Auf dem Grabaltar des Centurionen P. Clodius erscheint der dorische Fries nur auf der Rückseite. Joulia 1988, op.cit. (Anm.9), 238 f., 248, 251.

³⁴ Vgl. oben Anm. 10 und 11.

³⁵ S. Panzram, *Stadtbild und Elite: Tarraco, Corduba und Augusta Emerita zwischen Republik und Spätantike* (Stuttgart 2002), 33 ff.

³⁶ Glanum, Valetudotempel: H. Rolland, *Fouilles de Glanum 1947-56* (Paris 1958 = 11. Supplément à Gallia) 98 ff. Nîmes, Maison Carrée: R. Amy & P. Gros, *La Maison Carrée de Nîmes* (Paris 1979 = 38. Supplément à Gallia), 177 ff.; J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (Paris 1984), 394 ff. Vgl. auch A. Cooley, 'A new date for Agrippa's theatre at Ostia', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 67 (1999), 173 ff.

Lagern.³⁷ Die korinthische Ordnung hat dabei mit ihrem vegetabilen Schmuck den neuen Erwartungen auf eine Aurea Aetas mehr entsprochen und ausschließlich Anwendung gefunden.³⁸ Daraus lässt sich m.E. schließen, dass jeweils die in den Zentren der Macht bevorzugte Form bewusst angewandt und übertragen wurde. Eigenständige Entwicklungen in den Provinzen gab es nur, wenn die Grundformen schon in vor- oder früh-augusteischer Zeit etabliert worden waren.³⁹ Jenseits aller Vergrößerungen der Formen im Einzelnen bildeten die aus dem kaiserlichen Umfeld gestifteten Bauten so etwas wie einen Maßstab für die Aktualität und Stimmigkeit eines Ornaments.⁴⁰ Im Bereich der ornamentalen Formgebung liegen seit augusteischer Zeit die Möglichkeiten zu Variationen innerhalb solcher Grenzen. Allerdings zeichnen sich daran anknüpfend eine Fülle von lokalen Entwicklungen ab, die mit deutlichen Verschiebungen im Grundbestand der Formen führten. Offenbar setzten sich jeweils regionale Erscheinungen durch, die gewiss auch mit der Etablierung von ortsgebundenen Werkstätten zusammenhingen.⁴¹

Unter der Fülle von einschlägigen Einzelmotiven sei an dieser Stelle nur eines geprüft, das auf der einen Seite bei kaiserlichen Bauvorhaben in Rom vorkommt, andererseits als eine Form angesehen wurde, die in besonderer Weise der mentalen Disposition oder den Sehgewohnheiten einer provinziellen Bevölkerung mit keltischem Substrat entsprach. Ein frühes Beispiel für Simen mit dem Schmuck eines Doppel-S-Motivs bietet die Casa dei Grifi auf dem Palatin in Rom (Taf. II, Abb. 2 a).⁴² Unter den Campana-reliefs kommt das Motiv in der Folgezeit häufiger vor (Taf. II, Abb. 3)⁴³ und

³⁷ R. Förtsch, 'Villa und Praetorium. Zur Luxusarchitektur in frühkaiserzeitlichen Legionslagern', *Kölner Jahrbuch* 28 (1995), 617 ff.

³⁸ Gerne wird darin ein Ausdruck des Aurea Aetas-Gedanken gesehen, aber es verändert sich insgesamt die Ordnung, nicht nur der Friesdekor. Zu den Ranken: H.P. L'Orange, 'Ara Pacis Augustae. La zona floreale', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 1 (1962), 7 ff. P. Gros, *Aurea Templi. Recherches sur l'architecture religieuse de Rome à l'époque d'Auguste* (Paris 1976), 197 ff.; G. Sauron, *Quis Deum? L'expression plastique des idéologies politiques et religieuses à Rome* (Paris 1994), 515 ff.; G. Schörner, *Römische Rankenfriese* (Mainz 1995), 105 ff.; M. Matheaförtsch, *Römische Rankenpfeiler und -pilaster* (Mainz 1999), 97 ff. Zu den Girlanden: A. Rumpf, Rezension zu Th. Kraus, *Die Ranken der Ara Pacis*, in *Trierer Zeitschrift* 24 – 26 (1956-58), 267

³⁹ Ward-Perkins 1970, op.cit. (Anm.4).

⁴⁰ Besonders deutlich in Spanien.

⁴¹ Kähler 1939 op.cit. (Anm.5), 22 ff.

⁴² G.E. Rizzo, *Le pitture della „Casa dei Grifi“* (Rom 1936 = Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia 3. La pittura ellenistico-romana 3.1), 13, Abb. 12.

⁴³ Rohden & Winnefeld 1911, op.cit. (Anm. 32), 226 ff., Abb. 22, 459 ff., Taf. 42.

wird auch in der Casa di Augusto verwendet.⁴⁴ In Oberitalien begegnet die Form in verschiedener Form wieder, ohne dass alle Beispiele aufgezählt seien. Die augusteisch datierte Grabaedikula der Volumnier in Padua (Taf. II, Abb. 2 b) mag die Eigenarten der Verwendung in der Region verdeutlichen.⁴⁵ Denn im Gegensatz zur Gestaltung des Motivs in Rom und Mittelitalien fehlen die Palmetten als Aufsätze der Stengel zwischen den Voluten. Diese Unterschiede finden ihre Parallelen in Bronzeverkleidungen, die für beide Regionen in Fragmenten erhalten sind. An einem Fragment in Parma fehlen sie ebenfalls,⁴⁶ an einem Fragment aus Pompeji sind sie vorhanden.⁴⁷

Der Weg von Oberitalien bis an den Rhein lässt sich lückenlos an Hand zahlreicher Beispiele aufzeigen, etwa in Gallien in Arles,⁴⁸ Glanum,⁴⁹ Vienne,⁵⁰ Alesia (Taf. II, Abb. 4),⁵¹ Entrains und Alise-Sainte-Reine,⁵² Autun⁵³ oder Trier, in Germanien vor allem an Grabsteinen von Angehörigen des Militärs in Mainz (Taf. II, Abb. 5),⁵⁴ an einzelnen Reliefs und Giebeln in

⁴⁴ G. Caretoni, 'Terracotte Campane dallo scavo del tempio di Apollo Palatino', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 44 (1971-72), 132 f., Abb. 6; Pensabene 1997, op.cit. (Anm.30), 162, Taf. 28.1.

⁴⁵ F. Drexel, 'Ein Architekturmotiv', *Germania* 9 (1925), 35 ff. hatte schon die Belege umfassend zusammengestellt und auf die Herkunft aus Oberitalien und die Datierung in die frühe Kaiserzeit hingewiesen. F. Ghedini, *Sculture greche e romane del Museo Civico di Padova* (Rom 1980), 104 ff., Nr. 42.

⁴⁶ M.P. Rossignani, 'La decorazione architettonica in bronzo nel mondo Romano', *Contributi dell'Istituto di Archeologia, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Milano* 2 (1969), 61 f. Nr. 2 g, Taf. 26, 2. Vgl. aus Avenches einen bronzenen Akroter: M. Bossert, *Die figürlichen Reliefs von Avenches* (Lausanne 1998 = Aventicum VII, Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Schweiz), 50, Abb. 12. Offenbar handelt es sich bei dem hier betrachteten Motiv um eine auf Norditalien und die Nordprovinzen beschränkte Form, zu der es sehr wohl auch anderswo grundlegende Varianten gab.

⁴⁷ E. Pernice, *Gefäße und Geräte aus Bronze* (Berlin & Leipzig 1925 = F. Winter & E. Pernice [Hrsg.], *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji* 4), 18–19, Abb. 28.

⁴⁸ W. Altmann, *Die Grabaltäre der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1905), 208, Abb. 166. Espérandieu 1, 1907, op.cit. (Anm.10), 154 f. Nr. 196 (Auf der Abbildung ist das Motiv nur schwer zu erkennen).

⁴⁹ H. Rolland 1958, op.cit. (Anm. 36), 26, Taf. 6,1.

⁵⁰ E. Will, *La sculpture romaine au Musée Lapidaire de Vienne* (Vienne 1952), 59 Nr. 117, Taf. 8,2. Das Reliefbild des Tempels belegt, dass das Schmuckmotiv auch die Horizontalsima schmücken konnte.

⁵¹ P. Varène, 'Petit édifice d'Alesia a décor en spirales', *Gallia* 22 (1964), 63 ff.; A. Olivier, 'Corniches et couronnements gallo-romaines à Alèsia (Alise Sainte Reine, Côte-d'Or)', *Gallia* 46 (1989), 59 ff., Abb. 17 ff. (mit einer Fülle von Beispielen aus Gallien).

⁵² Espérandieu 3, 1910, op.cit. (Anm.21), 273, 306 Nr. 2310, 2379.

⁵³ Terrakottaedikula: *Autun, Augustodunum, Capitales des Éduens*, Ausstellung Autun 1987, 278 Nr. 565.

⁵⁴ W. Boppert, *Militärische Grabdenkmäler aus Mainz und Umgebung*, (Mainz 1992 = Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Deutschland II 5), 90 ff., 118 ff., 156 ff., Nr. 1, 27, 59, 114, 115, , 128, Taf. 1, 25, 55, 83 f., 91. H.G. Frenz, *Bauplastik und Porträts aus Mainz und Umgebung* (Mainz 1992 = Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Deutschland II 7), 118–121, Nr. 169–176, Taf. 81–83.

Bonn⁵⁵ oder Köln. Aus Köln wäre der bekannte, vielleicht dem 2. Jh. n.Chr. entstammende Giebel, zu nennen. Er bezog sich offensichtlich auf einen Tempel des Hermes, der möglicherweise wegen des architektonischen Dekors ein früheres Gebäude aus der Mitte des 1. Jhs. wiedergab.⁵⁶

In anderer Weise belegen die verbindliche Kraft eines vorherrschenden Ornaments einige ausgesprochen einfache Monumente der frühen Kaiserzeit in Trier.⁵⁷ Dort wird dasselbe Ornament als Schmuck von Sockeln und Altären eingeführt. Aufschlussreich sind dabei Neugestaltung und Kombination der Motive. Denn die klappsymmetrische Anordnung der S-förmigen Einzelglieder auf ein Lanzettblatt hin ist zugunsten einer schlichten Reihung aufgegeben, wobei jeweils an einer Ecke die „richtige“ Version vorkommt und erst danach in den einfachen Rapport übergeht. Zudem treten in anderen Feldern noch Ranken oder Figuren hinzu, die ebenfalls nicht – wie sonst üblich – symmetrisch von der Mitte ausgehen, sondern ebenfalls von einer Ecke. In einem Fall sind sie noch durch eine menschliche Figur bereichert, die ähnlich wie die Tiere zu den Ranken gehört und von ihnen eine Frucht in einen Korb zu pflücken scheint. An einen Winzer zu denken, besteht keine Not, vielmehr weisen die anderen Ranken ebenfalls auf Bilder glücklicher Natur hin, wie sie in Italien in der frühen Kaiserzeit, aber auch später, weit verbreitet sind. Schließlich wird ein Streifen mit einem auffallenden Ornament aus kubischen Figuren gefüllt, die in einer Art Kerbstil angelegt sind. Das Motiv mit den Doppel-S-Voluten kommt später in Britannien vor, allerdings selten.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ F. Koepf, *Germania Romana* III (Bamberg 1926), 54, Taf. 44, 3. G. Bauchenß, *Zivile Grabdenkmäler, Bonn und Umgebung* (Bonn 1979 = Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Deutschland III 2), 27 – 28 Nr. 21 Taf. 12 (mit weiteren Literaturhinweisen). Vgl. K. Woelcke, 'Eine römische Giebelverzierung aus Hedderheim', *Germania* 9 (1925), 33 ff. Abb. 1. W. Meier-Arendt, *Römische Steindenkmäler aus Frankfurt a.M.* (Frankfurt 1983 = Archäologische Reihe 1), 33 Nr. 7. Vgl. auch das Mithrasbild aus Dieburg, in G. Ristow, in O. Doppelfeld (Hrsg.), *Römer am Rhein, Ausstellung Römisch-Germanisches-Museum Köln* (Köln 1967), 169 f. Nr. A 123, Taf. 44.

⁵⁶ P. Hommel, *Studien zu den römischen Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1954), 57 ff., Abb. 14; P. Noelke, 'Ara et aedicula', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 190 (1990), 100 ff., 118 f., Abb. 15. Von Hesberg 2002, op.cit. (Anm.5), 29 f.

⁵⁷ W. Binsfeld, K. Goethert-Polaschek & L. Schwinden, *Götter- und Weihedenkmäler, Katalog der römischen Steindenkmäler des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier* (Mainz 1988 = Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Deutschland XII 1), 223 f., Nr. 459 f., Taf. 110. Vgl. aus späterer Zeit ein Beispiel aus Arlon: L. Lefèbvre, *Le Musée Luxembourgeois Arlon* (Brüssel 1990), 64 f. Nr. 40.

⁵⁸ Der Giebel eines Grabsteins in Chester: J.M.C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (London 1962), 158 f., Nr. 84, Taf. 91, bleibt allerdings eine Ausnahme: M. Mattern, 'Die reliefverzierten römischen Grabstelen der Provinz Britannia', *Kölner Jahrbuch* 22 (1989), 728 ff., 747 ff., Abb. 9 ff. Villa bei Chedworth: G. de la Bédoyère, *Roman Villas and the Countryside* (London 1993), 81, Abb. 67. Blagg 2002, op.cit. (Anm. 7), 75 f., Abb. 15.

Bleibt die Frage zu klären, warum sich dieses Schmuckdetail in einigen Teilen Oberitaliens und der Nordwestprovinzen solcher Beliebtheit erfreute. Es fand zwar Eingang in die Ausstattung des Augustushauses auf dem Palatin, weitere Hinweise auf eine Verwendung an Bauten des Kaiserhauses aber fehlen. Andererseits vermag eine Interpretation als Schmuckform, die besonders einem keltisch geprägtem Verständnis entspräche, nicht recht zu befriedigen, denn passende Parallelen liegen früher, bleiben ganz isoliert und belegen eigentlich nur, dass das Dekormotiv mit Doppel-S-Voluten eine untergeordnete Bedeutung im Repertoire keltischer Formen einnahm.⁵⁹ Auch die Arten der Vereinfachung etwa an den erwähnten Blöcken aus Trier sprechen dagegen, da in diesen Fällen die S-Form seriell gereiht, aber nicht in „keltischer“ Manier antithetisch angeordnet wird. Lediglich die Reduktion des Motivs um die Palmetten könnte man anführen, die im schon „keltisch“ geprägten Oberitalien erfolgte, aber es könnte sich ebenso gut um eine Vereinfachung handeln.

Während das Motiv sonst in Pannonien nicht begegnet, nehmen im frühen 2. Jh. n.Chr. in Aquincum Kaufleute aus Köln an ihren Grabmonumenten es wieder auf. Für die Gruppe der Kölner Händler handelte es sich folglich um mehr als einen beliebigen Schmuck, und sie verbanden mit ihm darüber hinaus eine Erinnerung an die Heimat.⁶⁰

Innerhalb des Umgangs mit der Form werden zwei Verfahrensweisen deutlich. Die Übernahme und Verbreitung vom Zentrum in den Norden Italiens, über Gallien an den Rhein und von dort nach Britannien, und die punktuelle Übernahme von Köln an die Donau. Das eine Mal fand das Motiv breite Akzeptanz, und dann wurde es auch an Bauten eingefügt. Die Frage müsste sich deshalb darauf konzentrieren, warum es an den großen Bauten angewandt wurde.⁶¹ Eine Antwort ist bei unserem jetzigen Kenntnisstand

⁵⁹ F. Schwappach, 'Frühkeltisches Ornament zwischen Marne, Rhein und Moldau', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 173 (1973), 80 f. Anm. 42, Abb. 26 ff. Der Stand der Kontroverse wird bei Boppert 1992, op.cit. (Anm. 53), 588, referiert. Keltisches Substrat wurde ja vielfach vermutet, z.B. bei der Verwendung von Masken; siehe H. Möbius, 'Interpretatio Celtica. Über Masken an provinzialrömischen Grabmalern', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 161 (1961), 141 ff., Taf. 27 ff., oder Köpfen in Oberitalien: Gabelmann 1968, op.cit. (Anm.33), 103 ff., wobei sich die Verbindungen zu keltischen Wurzeln ebenfalls als völlig ungewiss herausstellen.

⁶⁰ L. Nagy, 'Ein neues Denkmal der Agrippinenses Transalpini aus Aquincum', *Germania* 16 (1932), 288 ff. Vgl. jetzt zusammenfassend: P. Zsidi, 'Ein in Aquincum neugefundenes Grabmal', in: Akten des 4. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens, Hrgb. B. Djuric und I. Lazar (1997) 247-255 Taf. 72-74.

⁶¹ P. Gros, 'Les temples géminés de Glanum', *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise* 14 (1981), 136 ff., Abb. 27, 29. Die Tempel belegen, dass in einer Stadt zur gleichen Zeit unter verschiedenen Mustern gewählt werden konnte. Die Tempel in Glanum (Anm.49), Vienne (Anm.50), Alesia

aber nicht möglich, denn weder lassen sich deren Auftraggeber bestimmen noch fehlt für eine derartige Verwendung in Italien das Vorbild. Zur Übertragung des Motivs von den kleineren Anlagen auf die großen Bauten kam es ausschließlich in Gallien und in den Rheinprovinzen. Als zweiter Typ des Umgangs ist eine punktuelle Übertragung erkennbar, in der Ornament nicht einen beliebigen, auswechselbaren Schmuck bedeutet, sondern Teil von Selbstverständnis und Identität ausmacht.

Schließlich können Schmuckmotive inhaltliche Dimensionen mit sich führen. Ein beliebtes Motiv im Schmuck von kleineren Bauten der Nordwestprovinzen bildete der Capricorn, d.h. das entsprechende Monatszeichen, das aus einer Ziegenprotome mit einem Fischeschwanz bestand. In der Forschung besteht kein Zweifel, dass das Zeichen mit Augustus zu verbinden ist und auf diesen Kaiser verwies. Offenbar hatte der Herrscher es selbst als sein Glückszeichen verstanden (Sueton, *Divus Augustus* 94.12). Eine große Fülle von stadtrömischen Monumenten belegt eindeutig eine derartige Verbindung, allen voran die Gemma Augustea in Wien (Taf. II, Abb. 6a), auf der das Zeichen an prominenter Stelle über dem Princeps in Kombination mit einem Stern wiedergegeben ist. In der Münzprägung seit 28 v.Chr. und auf Gemmen wird es ebenfalls vielfältig wiederholt - bisweilen bereichert mit anderen Symbolen.⁶² In der Folge erscheinen neben dem Füllhorn und Stern auf Münzen, die seit 20 v.Chr. im Westen des Reiches geprägt wurden, als weitere Attribute Globus und Steuerruder. T. Hölscher bezog sie auf Fortuna Reddix.⁶³ In der Folge kam es zu symmetrischen Verdopplungen des Motivs um einen Globus im Zentrum. Dabei handelte es sich um eine Bildfassung, die offenbar speziell auf den Seesieg von Actium bezogen werden konnte, z.B. auf einem Kameo wohl spätaugusteischer Zeit in Wien. Auf der Vorderseite tragen Tritone den Globus mit den Capricornen, auf der Rückseite ist das Sternzeichen von einem Eichenkranz umrahmt (Taf. II, Abb. 6 b und c).⁶⁴ Ein Kapitell in Pozzuoli aus der frühen Kaiserzeit⁶⁵ oder Stirnziegel in der Architektur (Taf. II, Abb. 7 a

(Anm.51), Autun (Anm.53), Köln (Anm.56) oder Dieburg (Anm.55) geben aber keine eindeutiges Bild, aus dem sich ein Argument ableiten ließe, warum diese Form für sie gewählt wurde.

⁶² T. Hölscher, 'Ein römischer Stirnziegel mit Victoria und Capricorni', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 12 (1965), 68 ff.; Von Gladiss 1972, op.cit. (Anm.16), 80.

⁶³ Hölscher 1965, op.cit. (Anm.62), 66. Vgl. auch A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* (Bonn 1973), 36 ff., Taf. 4 ff.

⁶⁴ E. Simon, *Die Portlandvase* (Mainz 1957), 27 ff.; W.-R. Megow, *Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine XI. Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus* (Berlin 1987), 164 Nr. A 11, Taf. 7, 19.

⁶⁵ E. von Mercklin, *Antike Figuralkapitelle* (Berlin 1962), 255 Nr. 616, Abb. 1181. Ob hingegen in den Ziegenköpfen der Füllhörner auf einem Altar in Bologna sogleich der Capricorn erkannt wurde,

und b) übernahmen die Gestaltungsweise, wobei die Kombination von zwei Capricornen und Globus dort zusätzlich um einen Eichenkranz bzw. eine Victoria erweitert wurde.⁶⁶

Schon die erwähnten Stirnziegel fanden sich neben Rom und Mittelitalien in Städten Oberitaliens, z.B. in Luni, Rimini und in Sammlungen des Veneto.

Die Verbreitung des Motivs bezeugen in Oberitalien natürlich auch Gemmen und Münzen.⁶⁷ Zusätzlich wird die Beliebtheit durch die Wiedergabe im Giebelbereich von Grabstelen bestätigt, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jhs. entstanden sein dürften. Die Capricorne erscheinen dabei in symmetrischer Anordnung, aber für sich isoliert im Aufbau der Grabbauten und Stelen, in den Beispielen von Parma und Torre Uzzone schmücken sie das Giebelfeld und rahmen darin den auf eine Basis gestellten Globus (Taf. II, Abb.9 a).⁶⁸

In dieser Zuordnung wird das Motiv in den Provinzen übernommen. Für Cimiez bei Nizza in der Narbonensis ließe sich der Grabstein des *miles* Epicadus Velox aus der Ligurischen Cohorte anführen,⁶⁹ in dessen Giebel das Grundmotiv mit Capricornen und Globus wiederkehrt, für Arles ein isolierter Block mit einem einzelnen Capricorn und Lorbeerbaum, die man sich freilich auch symmetrisch gespiegelt vorstellen könnte,⁷⁰ und für Narbonne ein isolierter Block wohl von einem Grabdenkmal, auf dessen Front sich die Inschrift befindet, mit derselben Darstellung auf der Soffitte, bei dem hinter

erscheint mir nicht sicher. Siehe K. Lehmann-Hartleben, 'Ein Altar in Bologna', *Römische Mitteilungen* 42 (1927), 166 ff.

⁶⁶ F. Eichler & E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien* (Wien 1927), 52 ff. Nr. 7 Taf. 4; E.J. Dwyer, 'Augustus and the Capricorn', *Römische Mitteilungen* 80 (1973), 59 ff.; Hölscher 1965 op.cit. (Anm.61), 59 ff. L. Anselmino, *Antefisse - Terracotte architettoniche* (Roma 1977), 73 f., Taf. 2,5; 112 ff., Taf. 12,53; P. Pensabene & M.R. Sanzi Di Mino, *Museo Nazionale Romano III 1. Le terrecotte* (Roma 1983), 288 ff., Nr. 889 ff., Taf. 135. F. Gury, s.v. 'Zodiacus', in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae VIII* (Zürich - Düsseldorf 1997), 495.

⁶⁷ Vgl. Anselmino 1977, op.cit. (Anm.66); G. Sena Chiesa, *Gemme del Museo Nazionale di Aquileia* (Padua 1966), 376 ff., Nr. 1230 - 1244, Taf. 62 f.; G. Sena Chiesa, *Gemme di Luni* (Rom 1978), 123 ff., Nr. 157 - 161, Taf. 22 f.

⁶⁸ Parma: M. Corradi-Cervi, 'Parma - rinvenimenti romani', *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1949), 17, Abb. 9. F. Sacchi, 'L'immagine di Scilla nei monumenti funerarî antichi', *Quaderni del Centro Studi Lunensi*, 7, 2001, 60 Abb. 23 (mit der Deutung auf Skylla). L. Mercado & G. Paci, *Stele Romane in Piemonte* (Rom 1998 = Monumenti Antichi, Seria Micellanea 5), 59 f. Nr. 4, Taf. 38; 181 f. Nr. 107, Taf. 96 (Capricorne mit Globen zwischen den Pfoten); 204 f. Nr. 131, Taf. 104. Im östlichen Oberitalien lässt sich das Motiv unter den Steindenkmälern bisher nicht nachweisen.

⁶⁹ G. Laguerre, 'L'occupation militaire de Cemellum', *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise* 2 (1969), 168 f., Abb. 2.

⁷⁰ Éspanandieu 1, 1907, op.cit. (Anm.10), 159, Nr. 209.

dem rechten Tier gerade noch der Rest der Ähre eines Füllhorns zu erkennen ist.⁷¹ Beide Bilder entstanden wohl am Anfang des 1. Jhs. n.Chr.

Weitere Belege finden sich erst wieder in den Grenzstädten der Rheinprovinzen. Dabei ist vielfach darauf verwiesen worden, dass die 22. Legion den Capricorn als Feldzeichen führte.⁷² H.G. Frenz betonte allerdings zu Recht, dass einer ganzen Reihe von Legionen dieses Zeichen eigen war, der Bezug also keineswegs eindeutig ist.⁷³ Für Mainz konnte er analog zum Fahnenheiligtum von Carnuntum (Taf. II, Abb. 8 a) einen Giebel mit den Figuren von zwei Capricornen, Schild und barbarischem Gefangenem rekonstruieren (Taf. II, Abb. 8 b), den er überzeugend in flavische Zeit datiert.⁷⁴ Dabei weist der Giebel von Carnuntum durch die Angabe XIV tatsächlich auf diese Legion. Fragmente der Bogenarkade aus Mainz, in dessen Zwickeln einzelne Capricorne und Füllhörner wiedergegeben sind (Taf. II, Abb. 8 c), lassen hingegen die Verbindung offen.⁷⁵

Das andere bekannte Beispiel ist der Giebel von der Luxemburger Straße in Köln, der die beiden Capricorne zu Seiten eines Globus im Zentrum wiedergibt (Taf. II, Abb. 9).⁷⁶ Nach dem Fundort und der Art der Auffindung der Blöcke, die in der Antike wieder verwendet wurden, schmückte das Bauteil die Front eines Grabes. Ob es sich dabei wirklich um die Front eines tempelartigen Grabmals handelte, scheint mir fraglich zu sein. Vielmehr käme nach der Art der Gesimse und der Ausarbeitung der Rückseite eine isoliert stehende Fassade in Frage, wie sie aus vielen Nekropolen des römischen Reiches bekannt sind.⁷⁷ Dahinter hätte ein offener Bezirk gelegen. Eine Datierung hängt von verschiedenen Faktoren ab, der Zugehörigkeit des Kapitells, der Interpretation des Giebelschmucks als

⁷¹ Éspérandieu 1, 1907, op.cit. (Anm.10), 445 f., Nr. 740.

⁷² So verbindet Kähler 1939, op.cit. (Anm. 5), 28, 30 den Grabtempel mit der Legio XXII Primigenia, und kommt auf ein Datum entweder nach 40 n.Chr. und vor 92 n.Chr.

⁷³ Frenz 1992, op.cit. (Anm.54), 22, Anm. 146.

⁷⁴ Frenz 1992, op.cit. (Anm.54), 22 ff., 68 ff., Abb. 17 f., Taf. 20.

⁷⁵ Frenz 1992, op.cit. (Anm.54) 24 f., 121 ff., Abb. 20, Taf. 84 f.

⁷⁶ Hommel 1954, op.cit. (Anm.56), 60 ff. Abb. 15; bessere Abbildung bei H. Borger, *Das Römisch-Germanische Museum Köln* (München 1977), 62.

⁷⁷ H. von Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten* (Darmstadt 1992), 57 ff. Aus Oberitalien wäre z.B. Bezirk F aus der Nekropole von Ventimiglia zu nennen: siehe P. Barocelli, 'Albintimilium', *Monumenti Antichi* (1923), 53 f; F. Pallarés, 'I monumenti sepolcrali della Liguria occidentale', in M. Mirabella Roberti, *Monumenti sepolcrali romani in Aquileia e nella Cisalpina. Atti della XXVI Settimana di studi aquileiesi, 24-28 aprile 1995* (Trieste 1997), 425 f., Abb. 6.

Verweis auf eine Legion, aber die Ornamente vor allem der Akrotere legen einen Ansatz um die Mitte des 1. Jhs. n.Chr. nahe.⁷⁸

Dass das Zeichen konkret auf eine Legion verwies, belegen für die 14. Legion der Giebelschmuck im Fahnenheiligtum von Carnuntum (Taf. II, Abb. 8 a) und deren Ziegelstempel, auf denen zusätzlich ein Adler wiedergegeben ist.⁷⁹ Ferner ist der Bezug zur 2. Legion auf Inschriften gesichert, die deren Arbeiten am Antoninswall in England verewigten. Dort erschien unter dem Capricorn ein Pegasos.⁸⁰ Als Zeichen der Legion kommt der Capricorn meist nur einzeln vor, sehr wohl in Kombination mit anderen Zeichen, aber lediglich in Mainz in symmetrischer Verdoppelung.⁸¹

An den Denkmälern, deren Inschriften eine Verbindung des Weihenden oder Verstorbenen zu einem Truppenteil belegen, ist deshalb ein Bezug des Capricorn auf das Zeichen der Legion zweifelhaft. Denn deren Bildzeichen sind isoliert und machen deutlich, dass der Bezug auf die Legion durch die Inschrift erkennbar wurde. Nur im Umfeld der Legion war ein in seiner Bedeutung offenes Zeichen in seinem Bezug auf das Emblem der Legion assoziierbar, am Antoninswall in Schottland zum Beispiel der Eber mit der 20. Legion. Die häufige Verwendung dieses Tiers als Bildzeichen auf verschiedenen Monumenten hing mit der Stationierung dieser Legion vor Ort zusammen.⁸² In anderen Konstellationen waren die Bezüge weit weniger eindeutig, z.B. an einem Brunnenstein, den Mitglieder einer 26. Kohorte im 2. Jh. n.Chr. stifteten, und der sich heute im Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe befindet.⁸³ Sein Giebelfeld schmückt wieder das Motiv der symmetrisch dem

⁷⁸ Vgl. Bauten aus Glanum: H. Rolland 1958, op.cit. (Anm.36), 89 ff., Taf. 32, 36. In Köln wären Grabsteine des 1. Jhs. n.Chr. zu nennen. Siehe F. Fremersdorf, *Urkunden zur Kölner Stadtgeschichte aus römischer Zeit* (Köln 1963), 43, Taf. 29, 35.

⁷⁹ M. Junkelmann, *Reiter wie Statuen aus Erz* (Mainz 1996) 7 Abb. 10

⁸⁰ A. von Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen des römischen Heeres* (Wien 1885 = Abhandlungen des Archäologisch-Epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien 5), wiederabgedruckt in *Aufsätze zur römischen Heeresgeschichte* (Darmstadt 1972), 76, Abb. 94. L.J. F. Keppie & B.J. Arnold, *Scotland* (Oxford 1984 = *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, Great Britain 1, 4), 49 ff., Nr. 135, 152, 154, Taf. 34, 37, 38.

⁸¹ Von Domaszewski 1885, op.cit. (Anm.80), 54 ff., Abb. 55. Daher wäre auch die Rekonstruktion des Giebels in Carnuntum zu prüfen. Auf der linken fehlenden Hälfte ließe sich z.B. auch ein Adler rekonstruieren.

⁸² Keppie & Arnold 1984, op.cit. (Anm.80), 45 ff., Nr. 123, 148, 149, 156, 157, Taf. 32, 36, 37, 38. Stirnziegel: J.M.C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (Oxford 1964), 428, Taf. 98. Das Zeichen kommt im Umfeld der Legion auch vermehrt in isolierter Verwendung vor, dürfte aber in dieser Konstellation tatsächlich auf die Legion verweisen. Siehe Keppie & Arnold 1984, op.cit. (Anm.80), 18 f., Nr. 49–51, Taf. 16 f.

⁸³ F. Koepf, *Germania Romana* IV (Bamberg 1924), 62, Taf. 42, 2. B. Cämmerer, *Badisches Landesmuseum – Bildkatalog* (Karlsruhe 1968) 34 Taf. D 78.

Globus zugeordneten Capricorne. Wenn es wirklich über die Kohorte auf eine Legion verwiesen hätte, dann müsste man in Analogie zu Carnuntum oder zur Situation in Schottland entweder einen inschriftlichen Hinweis erwarten, wobei eine Zahlenangabe ausgereicht hätte, oder im Umfeld eine häufige Verwendung des Zeichens, welche die Etablierung des Bezugs sicherte.

Geht man von diesen Gepflogenheiten aus und berücksichtigt, dass auf den Grabsteinen in den Bildern niemals ein militärischer Aspekt thematisiert wird, dürfte das Zeichen der Capricorne in sepulkralem Zusammenhang kaum direkt auf die militärische Einheit weisen. Vielmehr wird das Motiv analog zu anderen zu lesen sein wie z.B. den Delphinen, die häufiger in gleicher Position zu finden sind. Mehrfach wird dabei das Tierkreiszeichen auch zu einem Meerwesen uminterpretiert.⁸⁴ Die Lupa Romana begegnet ebenfalls emblemhaft eingefügt mehrfach auf Grabdenkmälern, allerdings selten in den Nordwestprovinzen.⁸⁵

Denn ganz wie in Italien bleibt der Capricorn auch in den Provinzen ein Glückszeichen, das emblematisch verwandt werden kann. Am besten belegen diese Tatsache die Gemmen, z.B. in Xanten, wo zum einen das Bild mit anderen Elementen wie Füllhorn oder Steuerruder kombiniert wird und damit auf Fortuna oder Abundantia verweist, zum anderen die Belege bis in das 2. Jh. n.Chr. reichen. Der Bezug auf das Sternzeichen wird hingegen bildlich nicht mehr – etwa durch den Zusatz eines Sternes – thematisiert.⁸⁶

Im Gegensatz zu den Gemmen fällt allerdings im Schmuck der Grabanlagen auf, dass die weiteren Glückszeichen wie Füllhorn, Steuerruder oder Delphine dort seltener begegnen, die Konstellation der Zeichen also im Wesentlichen auf die Formel beschränkt bleibt, die in der augusteischen Zeit in der Folge wohl von Actium gefunden und seit dieser Zeit u.a. über geschnittene Steine, Münzen und Stirnziegel verbreitet wurde. Zu klären wäre, warum es auf den Grabanlagen vergleichsweise an Beliebtheit gewann. Es erinnerte schwerlich direkt an den ersten Princeps und dessen militärische Erfolge, auch kaum an eine Truppe, sondern die spezifische

⁸⁴ Megow 1987, op.cit. (Anm. 64), 172 ff., Nr. A 33, Taf. 7,20.

⁸⁵ K. Schauenburg, 'Die Lupa Romana als sepulkrales Motiv', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 81 (1966), 266 f. Anm. 20. C. Dulière, *Lupa Romana – Recherches d'iconographie et essai d'interprétation* (1979); P. Aichholzer, *Darstellung römischer Sagen* (1983), 89 ff. M. Kempchen, *Mythologische Themen in der Grabskulptur – Germania Inferior, Superior, Gallia Belgica und Raetia* (Münster 1995), 101 ff. Vgl. aber z.B. die Verwendung in der Patera eines dorischen Frieses in Saintes, Espérandieu 2, 1908 op.cit. (Anm.9), 282.

⁸⁶ G. Platz-Horster, *Die antiken Gemmen aus Xanten* (Bonn 1987), 44 ff., Nr. 81 (Seepferd und Capricorn); 135 a, 136, 144 (Altar, Adler, Delphine und Capricorne) Taf. 15, 28, 30. G. Platz-Horster, *Die antiken Gemmen aus Xanten II* (Bonn 1994), 126 ff., Nr. 146 f., 242, 311, Taf. 27, 45, 61.

Ausprägung der Doppelung hatte wohl auch kompositorische Gründe. Denn die symmetrisch angeordneten Capricorne begegnet ja vor allem in Giebel, keinmal einzeln wie bei den Emblemen der Legionen. Schließlich wird das Grundmotiv in der Verwendung auf einer Soffitte um die Füllhörner zu seinen Seiten bereichert.

Die Verwendung des Stiers am Theater von Arles, den A. von Gladiss als Tierkreiszeichen verstand und auf Caesar bzw. die Verbindung zur Venus zurückführte, belegt ebenfalls einen allgemeinen und nicht unmittelbar auf die Person des Princeps bezogenen Sinngehalt.⁸⁷ Das Zeitalter stand unter einem glücklichen Stern und war damit glücksbringend, so konnte der antike Betrachter den Bildzusammenhang an den Grabmonumenten wohl lesen.

Figürlicher oder ornamentaler Schmuck an den Bauten war alles andere als gedankenlos verwendeter Dekor. Vielmehr hatte sich ein spezifischer Modus der Anwendung etabliert, den die genannten Erscheinungen beispielhaft belegen sollten. Weder handelte es sich um eine gezielt verbreitete Propaganda, noch um Motive, mit den in irgendeiner Weise das Kaiserhaus oder ein einzelner Kaiser speziell zu verbinden waren. In allen Fällen hatten sich vielmehr die Formen gelöst und als eigenständige, frei verfügbare Motive etabliert. Das Kaiserhaus stellte mit seinen Aktivitäten hingegen eine Art stabilisierenden Faktor dar und gab sehr allgemein die Richtung vor. Die Gestaltung des Schmucks konnte dann durch vielerlei Umstände bedingt variiert werden. Der Wunsch nach Monumentalität bleibt aber bei allen Varianten das zentrale Anliegen. Entstehen sollte ein bleibendes Monument in Stein, dessen Dauer und Wirkung von der Präsenz des Ornaments betont wurde. Auf Ornament hat man nicht verzichtet, selbst wenn die geeigneten Handwerker gerade nicht greifbar waren.⁸⁸ Der Reichtum an Varianten und das Bemühen um Form erweist aber auch die Bedeutung dieses Schmucks. Eigenart der Muster und Qualität der Ausführung hingen in seinen Details von sehr unterschiedlichen Interessen und Möglichkeiten ab.

Die Impulse gingen dabei wohl in gleicher Weise von den Militärs wie der zivilen Bevölkerung aus. In den Lagern werden Steinbauten erst ab dem dritten Viertel des 1. Jhs. n.Chr. errichtet, wofür Vetera bei Xanten,

⁸⁷ Von Gladiss 1972, op.cit. (Anm.16), 79 ff. Vgl. die Verkleidung eines Katapultes der 4. Legion von Cremona mit Stier- und Bockskopf: F. Koepp, *Germania Romana* V (Bamberg 1930), 24, Taf. 38. A. Sartori, *Tesori della Postumia*, Ausstellung Cremona 1998 (Mailand 1998), 277, Nr. II 28.

⁸⁸ Ausnahmen wie der urtümliche Bau auf dem Donon d'Alsace bestätigen diese These, denn in ihm wurde wohl bewusst eine andere Formgebung intendiert. Siehe B. Schnitzler (Hrsg.), *Cinq siècles de civilisation romaine en Alsace* (Strassburg 1986), 81 ff.

Neuss oder auch die Alteburg bei Köln Beispiele abgeben, die insgesamt eine solche Veränderung bestätigen. Die Architektur der Lager entsprach offensichtlich in ihrem Schmuck den Bauten in den Städten, allerdings fällt auf, dass die Ornamente einfacher bleiben. Vom Anspruch her stand die Architektur der Lager der in den Städten nicht nach. Die Wohnhäuser der Offiziere ähnelten im Grundriss den luxuriösen Stadtpalästen in den Städten Italiens,⁸⁹ aber auch in den Nekropolen versuchte man, solchen städtischen Vorbildern nahe zu kommen. In Trier, Augst, Mainz oder Köln entdeckt man zur gleichen Zeit eine erstaunlich große Anzahl von Hinweisen auf beachtenswerte Steinbauten, die durch weitere Monumente wie Grabbegründungen, Altäre oder Basen ergänzt werden. Ferner deuten die Monumente an, dass sich neue lokale Normen etablierten.

In Mainz belegt die in ernerischer Zeit errichtete Jupitersäule zum einen, dass innovative Schübe entscheidend von der Zivilbevölkerung getragen wurden.⁹⁰ Denn das Werk, das als Inkunabel eines neuen qualitativollen Stils angesehen werden kann, wurde von den *canabarii*, den Bewohnern der *canabae* in Auftrag gegeben. Dass auf Seiten des Militärs eher noch der traditionelle Stil aus welchen Gründen auch immer bevorzugt wurde, belegt der Skulpturenschmuck des sog. Lagertores in Mainz.⁹¹ Zum zweiten zeigt die Säule eindrücklich, wie schnell Handwerker einheimischer Herkunft in der Lage waren, diesen neuen Stil auch umzusetzen oder sogar zu prägen,⁹² denn die Bildhauer *Samus* und *Severus* werden wegen ihres Patronyms *Vernicarus* als Abkommen eines Galliers gesehen. Ohne die Inschrift hätte man mit dem Schmuck der Säule gewiss nicht einheimische Bildhauer verbunden.

Die drei isolierten Durchgänge sollten vor allem zeigen, dass die Bauten der römischen Architektur eine grundsätzlich andere Welt schufen.⁹³ Die in Stein ausgeführten Anlagen standen für Dauerhaftigkeit, ihr Dekor für Gliederung und neue Ordnung. Die Umsetzung dieser Eigenschaften wurde erst erforderlich, aber auch erst möglich in dem Klima politischer Stabilität der Kaiserzeit, ohne dass es auf diesem Feld konzentrierte Aktionen von

⁸⁹ Förtsch 1979, op.cit. (Anm.37).

⁹⁰ G. Bauchenss, *Die grosse Jupitersäule aus Mainz* (Mainz 1984 = Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Deutschland II 2), 25 ff.

⁹¹ H. Büsing *Römische Militärarchitektur in Mainz* (Mainz 1982), 54 ff.; Frenz 1992, op.cit. (Anm.53).

⁹² M. Trunk, 'Ringblossen. Zur Herstellungstechnik korinthischer Kapitelle in Gallien', *Boreas* 15 (1992), 137 ff.

⁹³ Zanker 1990, op.cit. (Anm.3), 9 ff.

Seiten des Kaiserhauses erforderte. Damit schuf Architektur einen äußeren Rahmen, förderte den Einigungsprozess in der heterogenen Bevölkerung aus Römern und Provinzialen und ermöglichte ihr eine neue, lokal bezogene Identität. Die Art der Gestaltung schlug aber die einheimische Bevölkerung auch in ihren Bann, so schnell, dass schon in der zweiten oder dritten Generation nach der Eroberung geeignete Handwerker aus ihr rekrutiert werden konnten, die zu den Spitzenkräften vor Ort zählten und ihre römischen Meister übertrafen. Samus und Severus illustrieren somit von einer anderen Seite die von Tacitus beschriebenen Vorgänge der Akkulturation.

Köln, Dezember 2002

ROMAN EMPERORS IN POPULAR JARGON: SEARCHING FOR CONTEMPORARY NICKNAMES (I)¹

By
CHRISTER BRUUN

Popular culture and opposite views of the emperor

How was the reigning Emperor regarded by his subjects, above all by the common people? As is well known, genuine popular sentiments and feelings in antiquity are not easy to uncover. This is why I shall start with a quote from a recent work by Tessa Watt on English 16th-century ‘popular culture’:

“There are undoubtedly certain sources which can bring us closer to ordinary people as cultural ‘creators’ rather than as creative ‘consumers’. Historians are paying increasing attention to records of slanderous rhymes, skimmingtons and other ritualized protests of festivities which show people using established symbols in a resourceful way.”²

The ancient historian cannot use the same kind of sources, for instance large numbers of cheap prints, as the early modern historian can.³ But we should try to identify related forms of ‘popular culture’.

The question of the Roman Emperor’s popularity might appear to be a moot one in some people’s view. Someone could argue that in a highly

¹ This study contains a reworking of only part of my presentation at the workshop in Rome. For reasons of space, only Part (I) of the material can be presented and discussed here, while Part (II) (‘Imperial Nicknames in the *Historia Augusta*’) and Part (III) (‘Late-antique Imperial Nicknames’) will be published separately. These two chapters contain issues different from those discussed here, which makes it feasible to create the division. The nicknames in the *Historia Augusta* are largely literary inventions (but that work does contain fragments from Marius Maximus’ imperial biographies, see now A.R. Birley, ‘Marius Maximus: the Consular Biographer’, *ANRW* II 34.3 (1997), 2678-2757, esp. 2689 f. and 2736 for epithets and appellatives after Commodus’ death). For Late Antiquity, the conflict between traditionalists and Christians constitutes a new element (not surprisingly, many sources concern Julian the Apostate). An earlier paper on Imperial Nicknames was presented in June 1997 at the Universities of Münster, Göttingen, and FU Berlin. Two recent works by Eleanor Dickey, ‘Κύριε, δέσποτα, *domine*. Greek Politeness in the Roman Empire’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 121 (2001) 1-11, and *Latin Forms of Address from Plautus to Apuleius* (Oxford 2002), are of interest for my undertaking, but they are not directly relevant to the question of nicknames and epithets. I wish to thank the participants at all these events for helpful comments and am particularly indebted to Anthony Birley, Bruno Bleckmann, François Chausson, C.J. Classen, Jonathan Edmondson, Johannes Hahn, and Olivier Hekster. Last but not least, sincere thanks are due to Lukas de Blois, Gerda de Kleijn and the other organizers of the Rome workshop.

² T. Watts, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge 1991), 4.

³ For an exemplary study, see R. Cust, ‘News and Politics in Early-Seventeenth Century England’, *Past & Present* 112 (1986), 60-90, esp. 65-69.

stratified society such as the Roman world the common people would automatically feel only hostility towards their oppressors. Or one might consider the question equally uninteresting because people who regarded the emperor as one of their gods would never think of blaming or criticizing him. Both these views find some support in the ancient sources, a fact that shows the question to be rather more complicated and hence worth investigating.

In the collection of writings by the stoic philosopher Epictetus we find the following passage about the relation between the emperor and his subjects:

“In this fashion the rash are ensnared by the soldiers in Rome. A soldier, dressed like a civilian, sits down by your side, and begins to speak ill of Caesar, and then you too, just as though you had received from him some guarantee of good faith in the fact that he began the abuse, tell likewise everything you think, and the next thing is — you are led off to prison.”⁴

“Speak ill of Caesar” — here we find one contemporary view of the Emperor illustrated.⁵ But it is not the only one. Aelius Aristides, another Greek writer, writes in his famous ‘Praise of Rome’ in the following way about Roman governors in the provinces:

“No one is so proud that he can fail to be moved upon hearing even the mere mention of the Ruler's name, but, rising, he praises and worships him and breathes two prayers in a single breath, one to the gods on the Ruler's behalf, one for his own affairs to the Ruler himself.”⁶

This, then, is the opposite view held by the subjects (albeit we are here dealing with upper-class subjects). They pray for the wellbeing of the

⁴ Epictetus 4.13.5. Translation by W.A. Oldfather (Loeb Classical Library, henceforth LCL).

⁵ This is probably the source of the claim by P. Veyne, ‘The Roman Empire’, in P. Veyne (ed.), *A History of Private Life I. From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (Cambridge, Mass. 1987), 5-234, esp. 97, that Romans were wont to curse their emperor and the gods (no reference is given). Similarly also in Ambrose, *De Helia et Ieiuno* 12.41; see Sr. M.J.A. Buck (commentary and translation), *S. Ambrosii De Helia et Ieiuno* (Patristic Studies 19, Washington, D.C. 1929), 74 f.: “Men without a tunic, without even funds for the following day, lounge at the doorways of taverns. They pass judgement on emperors and officers of state; indeed they seem to themselves to reign, and to command armies” (*de imperatoribus et potestatibus iudicant, immo regnare sibi videntur et exercitibus imperare*).

⁶ Aelius Aristides, *Eis Rhomen* 31-32. Transl. by J.H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power. A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 43.4), Philadelphia 1953, 899 chapter 32.

emperor, and they pray directly to the Emperor, who in many ways is similar to a god even while still dwelling among his subjects on earth. But being a god did not make the emperor immune from criticism; for this we can once more rely on Epictetus:

“But no, you sit trembling with fear something will happen, and lamenting, and grieving, and groaning about other things that are happening. And then you blame the gods! Although you have these faculties free and entirely on your own, you do not use them, nor do you realize what gifts you have received, and from whom, but you sit sorrowing and groaning, some of you blinded toward the giver himself and not even acknowledging your benefactor, and others — such is their ignoble spirit — turning aside to fault-finding and complaints against God.”⁷

It is thus apparent that whether a Roman emperor was regarded as man or god, he would not have been beyond criticism, and therefore investigating the popularity of Rome’s rulers is a meaningful task. Moreover, we can begin by excluding the ‘ruler cult’⁸ from our considerations, as we have now seen in Epictetus that common people might curse gods as well as human beings. We cannot a priori assume that Roman emperors would have been immune from imprecations or profanities.

Emperors, the aristocracy, and the common people

The popular appeal of the Roman emperors is clearly a very wide topic. At least since Fergus Millar’s *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1979; Ithaca, N.Y. 1992, 2nd ed.) there has been an awareness of the structural importance of the emperor as an institution in the Roman world. Yet a study of the popularity of the emperors was not part of Millar’s enterprise.

Many works discuss the relations between the rulers and their subjects in the Roman world, but traditionally the focus has been on the often troubled

⁷ Epictetus 1.6.38, 42. Translation by W.A. Oldfather (LCL).

⁸ Various aspects have been illuminated by S. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984); D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire I-II* (Leiden 1987-1992); U.-M. Liertz, *Kult und Kaiser. Studien zu Kaiserkult und Kaiserverehrung in den germanischen Provinzen und in Gallia Belgica zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 20, Rome 1998); M. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart 1999) See now also the contribution by Professor Panciera in this volume, with some sceptical comments on the concept of ‘ruler cult’.

relations between the emperors and the upper class.⁹ It is a commonplace that the senatorial aristocracy found it difficult to accept one-man rule; and even the 'good' emperor Vespasian had to deal with a Stoic opposition in the Senate. There is not much new to be found in this regard; Tacitus' view of the Principate is well known and so is, at the other end of the spectrum, the loyal Pliny's view of 'good emperors' such as Trajan — to mention two representative sources.

The study of the relations between the emperors and the common people, the anonymous masses of the empire, is a more recent phenomenon, and it is certainly much more difficult to approach and correctly define the feelings and opinions of the lower strata in the Roman world. Zvi Yavetz's pioneering *Plebs and princeps* (Oxford 1969) has been followed by several useful and enlightening works.¹⁰ While the literary sources and modern scholarship mostly focus on Rome, some scholars have studied the popular movements elsewhere, in particular in Alexandria and Antiochia in connection with imperial visits.¹¹

From Rome itself we have information, apparently in origin deriving from non-literary sources, indicating how some of the emperors were

⁹ The classic work by Gaston Boissier, *L'opposition sous les Césars* (Paris 1905, 5th ed.), focuses on the opinions of the aristocracy, as does R.A. Bauman, *Impietas in principem* (München 1974). There is nothing relevant for my topic in C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley 2000), chapter 5 'Roman Emperors and Public Opinion'. On the Fondation Hardt Colloquium on 'Opposition et Résistance', see the next note.

¹⁰ See, e.g., Z. Yavetz, 'The Urban Plebs in the Days of the Flavians, Nerva and Trajan', in A. Giovannini (ed.), *Opposition et résistance à l'empire romain d'Auguste à Trajan* (Entretiens Fondation Hardt 33, Vandoeuvres - Genève 1987), 135-181; J. Sünkes Thompson, *Aufstände und Protestaktionen im Imperium Romanum. Die severischen Kaiser im Spannungsfeld innenpolitischer Konflikte* (Bonn 1990), 95-134; 155-166; E. Flaig, *Den Kaiser herausfordern. Die Usurpation im Römischen Reich* (Frankfurt a.M. 1992), 38-93 (with an ambitious emphasis on historical methodology, but perhaps less sensitive to traditional 'Quellenkritik'); J. Sünkes Thompson, *Demonstrative Legitimität der Kaiserherrschaft im Epochenvergleich. Zur politischen Macht des stadtrömischen Volkes* (Historia Einzelschriften 84, Stuttgart 1993). For events in A.D. 20, see W. Eck, 'Plebs und Princeps nach dem Tod des Germanicus', in I. Malkin - Z.W. Rubinsohn, eds., *Leaders and Masses in the Roman World. Studies in Honor of Zvi Yavetz* (Leiden 1995), 1-10; L. de Blois, 'Volk und Soldaten bei Cassius Dio', *ANRW II* 34.3 (1997), 2650-2676, esp. 2658-2660 discusses Dio's view on the relation between people and *princeps*. Regardless of her title, M. Griffin, 'Urbs Roma, plebs and Princeps', in L. Alexander (ed.), *Images of Empire* (Sheffield 1991), 19-46, is, *contra* Yavetz, much less inclined to attribute importance to movements by the people.

¹¹ For Caracalla's visit to Alexandria in A.D. 215, see recently Sünkes Thompson 1990, op.cit. (n.10), 159-163 and C. Bruun, 'Pericula Alexandrina: The Adventures of a Recently Discovered Centurion of the *legio II Parthica*', *Arctos* 29 (1995), 9-27. On the emperor Julian and the people of Antiochia, see M. Gleason, 'Festive Satire: Julian's *Misopogon* and the New Year at Antioch', *Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986), 106-119, with the comments by H.-U. Wiemer, *Libanios und Julian. Studien zum Verhältnis von Rhetorik und Politik im vierten Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Vestigia 46, München 1995), 194-197; 208-210.

regarded by the *plebs*: popular chants, anecdotes, graffiti — most of them recorded by intellectuals and handed down in literary texts, of course; Mireille Corbier paid close attention to these expressions of opinion in the Capital some time ago.¹² As a complement to the missing original evidence from Rome, many first-hand sources are found in Pompeii, where graffiti and inscriptions provide a number of references to the rulers and their families; many positive and some negative.¹³

A verbal expression of opinion is mentioned in a familiar passage from Suetonius' biography of Caesar:

“That he did not refrain from adulterous affairs in the provinces is shown in particular by this couplet, which was also shouted by the soldiers in his Gallic triumph: ‘Men of Rome, keep close your consorts, here’s a bald adulterer. Gold in Gaul you spent in dalliance, which you borrowed here in Rome.’¹⁴

We seem to be dealing with just the kind of popular verse that Tessa Watts was referring to in the introductory quote, although the verse is transmitted by the learned Roman knight Suetonius.¹⁵

The text is interesting in that Caesar's soldiers are clearly proud of him and indeed they celebrate a triumph together. Yet they attribute less than flattering epithets to him. This is in fact not very surprising, because it was Roman custom to present derogatory *ioci* during a triumph, overturning the social roles, as at the Saturnalia.¹⁶ More important is the wording of Caesar's

¹² M. Corbier, ‘L'écriture dans l'espace public romain’, *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire I. siècle av. J.-C. - III. siècle après J.-C.* (Coll. EFR 98, Rome 1987), 27-60, esp. 53-57 (on Rome).

¹³ See, e.g., CIL IV 1074 *Iudicii Augusti Augustae feliciter ...*, with the recent comment by L. Falanga, ‘Sul significato di *fidelis in p.* e su altre iscrizioni pompeiani’, *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 1 (1987), 209-219, esp. 209 (probably Nero and Poppaea). In general on references to the rulers in Pompeian inscriptions, see J. Carcopino, ‘Un procureur méconnu de Néron’, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1960), 150-58, esp. 253-55. Carcopino's main argument is that CIL IV 8075 *Cicuta ab rationibus Neronis Augusti* (= AE 1962.133) is a reference to Nero's benefitting financially from poisoning his enemies. More recently, P. Cugusi, ‘Spunti di polemica politica in alcuni graffiti di Pompei e di Terracina’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 61 (1985) 23-29, esp. 23-27, has argued for an anti-Augustan interpretation of CIL IV 6893 = *Carmina Latina epigraphica* 2050.

¹⁴ Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 51. The Latin verse goes: *Urbani, servate uxores: moechom calvom adducimus / Aurum in Gallia effutuisti; hic sumpsisti mutuum*. Translation by J.C. Rolfe (LCL), slightly modified.

¹⁵ Cf. that a good case for reading a direct, and insulting, reference to Domitian in the popular verse cited by Suetonius, *Domitianus* 14 has been made by C. Faraone, ‘A proposito di un ‘olpe campana’ del Museo di Capua’, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia d'Archeologia* 59 (1986-1987), 111-117.

¹⁶ On *ioci militares* and *cantilenaes* during triumphs, see I. Kempff, ‘Romanorum sermonis castrensis reliquiae’, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* Suppl. 26 (Leipzig 1901), 342-400, esp. 357-360; H.

epithets: *moechus calvus*. The adjective *calvus* is also used as a Roman name, a *cognomen*,¹⁷ which brings us to the topic of nicknames.

The importance of nicknames and how to identify them

The approach to 'popular culture' that I have chosen leads us to naming practices. When people bestow names on other people, these names tend to reflect the feelings of the giver towards that other person, and by definition this applies most of all to nicknames. In the following I will investigate the question of popularity by focusing on nicknames and popular epithets of the Roman emperors.¹⁸

There is another investigative thread in this study as well. It is commonly thought that the *cognomina* used by the Roman republican aristocracy often had their origin in nicknames given by the soldiers and the common people. A common explanation, which most eloquently has been argued by Andreas Alföldi, assumes that the aristocracy accepted nicknames given by their inferiors whether they were positive or derogatory (he believes the latter to have been very common), perhaps as a way of courting popular favour.¹⁹ Since many of the traditional aristocratic *cognomina* originated during a period for which contemporary sources do not exist, the theory is difficult to prove or disprove. A second purpose of the present investigation is to study a period of Roman history when contemporary evidence is easier to uncover than for the republican period. (Referring back to the Roman Republic is perhaps not besides the point in the context of a discussion about the 'Impact of Empire'.) Besides investigating the popularity of the emperors in the light of nicknames, I am interested in how the Roman rulers behaved in relation to nicknames and epithets given them by the people, and whether

Versnel, *Triumphus. An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden 1970), 95-96.

¹⁷ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965), 35. Of course, the *cognomen Calvus* is never used by or for Caesar, which illustrates one of the points I shall be making.

¹⁸ There is a rich literature on the use of nicknames by scholars working in psychology, social psychology and anthropology. For political nicknames see, for instance, A. Rynell, 'Some Political Nicknames in Caricatures under George III', *Studia Neophilologica* 14 (1941/42), 343-356. For an introduction to modern research on nicknaming see J. Morgan *et al.*, *Nicknames. Their Origins and Social Consequences* (London - Boston 1979), and the special issue on nicknaming of the journal *Names* 38 (1990), containing among others the following studies: T.J. Holland jr., 'The Many Faces of Nicknames', 255-272; P.L. Leslie & J.K. Skipper jr., 'Toward a Theory of Nicknames: a Case for Socio-Onomastics', 273-282; E.D. Lawson, 'Nicknames: an Annotated Bibliography', 323-363.

¹⁹ A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor 1965), 82 f.; Idem, 'Les *cognomina* des magistrats de la République romain', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à A. Piganiol* II (Paris 1966), 709-722, esp. 710; Idem, *Römische Frühgeschichte. Kritik und Forschung seit 1964* (Heidelberg 1976), 108 f.

there was any interest in adopting them (while of course remembering that the social position of the ruling elite during the Republic cannot quite be compared with the *princeps*' unique position).

The title of this study contains the qualification 'contemporary', and by this I mean 'contemporary with the emperor for whom the nickname is intended'. When investigating how a Roman emperor was regarded during his reign, contemporary nicknames are of particular value. Nicknames coined after the reign of an emperor strictly speaking only testify to how posterity perceived him.

The assumption that nicknames of a public figure might tell us something about that person's public appeal is, I believe, quite uncontroversial. What the nicknames tell us is, however, not always self-evident. Several questions need to be considered: (1) Who is using the nickname, (2) in what context, and (3) what is the value of the nickname — is it positive or negative, laudatory or pejorative? Before surveying the material, we also need to agree on what constitutes a nickname.

In this paper I am adopting two very simple principles when studying nicknames. Firstly, I am interested in names, appellatives, not in mere epithets. The context must clearly indicate that we are dealing with a name, which means that we are looking for phrases such as *dicitur*, *appellatus est*, *cui erat cognomentum*, or Greek equivalents. For completeness, also certain unusual cognomina that seem to have been acquired during an emperor's reign are included, as they might have nicknames as their origin.

Secondly, simple epithets will nevertheless be included when they appear in a context outside the literary circles of the upper classes. We are focusing on the popular reputation of the emperors and it is reasonable to assume that an epithet that circulated among the people might have given origin to a nickname. A quote from a poem by the late-antique writer Ausonius will illustrate the criteria here adopted:

Primus regalem patefecit Iulius aulam
Caesar et Augusto nomen transcripsit et arcem.
privignus post hunc regnat Nero Claudius, a quo
Caesar, cognomen Caligae cui castra dederunt.
Claudius hinc potitur regno. post quem Nero saevus,
ultimus Aeneadam. post hunc tres, nec tribus annis;
Galba senex, frustra socio confisus inertis;
mollis Otho, infami per luxum degener aevo,
nec regno dignus nec morte Vitellius ut vir.
his decimus fatioque accitus Vespasianus

et Titus imperii felix breuitate. secutus
frater, quem Calvum dixit sua Roma Neronem.²⁰

Ausonius' poem illustrates how my criteria work: it presents two instances of relevant nicknames, namely *cognomen Caligae* for Gaius and *Calvus Nero* for Domitian. Caliga is expressly defined as a *cognomen*, and for both these appellatives we find phrases that qualify them as having been in common usage: *cui castra dederunt* and *quem sua Roma dixit*, respectively.²¹ To return to the earlier passage by Suetonius: there we find two significant epithets for Caesar, *moechus* and *calvus*, both said to have been used by the soldiers.

Not considered, on the contrary, are Ausonius' epithets *saevus* for Nero, *senex* for Galba, or *mollis* for Otho, since, in the absence of any further evidence, there is nothing to indicate that they are anything more than the products of the poet's literary creativity. Therefore most of the epithets relating to Roman emperors found in ancient literature, and in official correspondence directed at the emperors, are outside the scope of my investigation.²² Negative epithets belong to the category of 'Schimpfwörter', on which there are good studies,²³ while laudatory and flattering epithets belong in the tradition of panegyric. This is, admittedly, to some extent a mechanical way of collecting the evidence, but in the present context I have not found a more manageable way.

Driven by the search for spontaneous (to the extent that such a phenomenon exists) expressions of sentiment by others than the imperial elite, I

²⁰ Ausonius, *Monosticha de ordine imperatorum*. The text is from the Teubner edition by S. Prete, *Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis opuscula* (Leipzig 1978), 202 f. (= R.P.H. Green (ed.), *Decimi Magni Ausonii opera* (Oxford 1999), 182: *De ordine imperatorum*). Translation: "Iulius Caesar was the first to open the royal hall, and he carried over to Augustus the name and the citadel. After him ruled his son-in-law Nero Claudius, after whom came a Caesar to whom the military camp gave the surname Caliga (military boot). After that Claudius took over power. After him the fierce Nero, the last offspring of the family of Aeneas. After him three rulers, in not even three years: the old Galba, in vain trusting a passive associate; the soft Otho, ignoble on account of the luxury in a shameful age, as was Vitellius, a man not worthy of the reign nor dignified in death. To these, tenth in order, Vespasian was called up by fate, and Titus, fortunate because of the brevity of his reign. His brother followed, whom Rome of his day called the bald Nero."

²¹ We are only at the first stage of the investigation here; the obvious next step is to evaluate whether the claim that the names were in popular usage is plausible.

²² Such epithets are, for instance, 'pseudo-Paeon' for Gaius (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 110: ὁ ψευδώνυμος Παϊόν), *portio Neronis de crudelitate* for Domitian (Tertullianus, *Apologeticum* 5), *Subnero* for Commodus (Tertullianus, *De pallio* 4.5), and *latro Rutupinus* for Magnus Maximus (Ausonius 21.9 in Prete 1978, op. cit. (n.20) 196 = Green 1999, op. cit. (n.20) 191).

²³ See I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter und verwandte sprachliche Erscheinungen* (Heidelberg 1965), esp. 165-189; S. Koster, *Die invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Meisenheim am Glan 1980).

also exclude epithets voted by the Senate, for instance Trajan's *Optimus*²⁴ which in most cases are conventional 'Siegerbeinamen' (such as *Germanicus*),²⁵ and unofficial but standardized honorary epithets given to the Roman emperors in various public inscriptions all over the empire — *indulgentissimus*, *fortissimus*, *clementissimus*, *piissimus*, and so on — even though in some of the cases Andrea Scheithauer has collected (from Marcus Aurelius onwards) these inscriptions were erected by local groups and collectives (but the authors of these texts are mostly imperial administrators).²⁶

There are many other standardized unofficial epithets (common, yet unofficial in the sense that the emperor would not use them himself) used frequently for emperors in the East, such as *Panellenios* or *Olympios*,²⁷ further divine epithets,²⁸ and traditional Greek epithets like *soter* (saviour), *ktistes* (founder), and *evergetes* (benefactor) that will likewise not be commented upon here.²⁹ Other standardized epithets can be found in petitions to various emperors.³⁰ Finally, attempts by the emperors themselves to appropriate names and certain *cognomina* of their predecessors, in particular the *nomen Antoninorum*, are not discussed.³¹

²⁴ Trajan was hailed as *Optimus* by the Senate in A.D. 98 (Plinius, *Panegyricus* 2.7), but as shown by R. Frei-Stolba, 'Inoffizielle Kaisertitulaturen im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.', *Museum Helveticum* 26 (1969), 18-39, esp. 21 f., the epithet had been used unofficially for several previous emperors. On *Optimus* as part of Trajan's official nomenclature, see recently E.I. Paunov & M.M. Roxan, 'The Earliest Extant Diploma of Thrace, A.D. 114 (= RMD I 14)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 119 (1997), 269-279, esp. 273 f.

²⁵ P. Kneißl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser. Untersuchungen zu den Siegerbeinamen des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen 1969).

²⁶ A. Scheithauer, 'Super omnes retro principes ... zur inoffiziellen Titulatur römischer Kaiser', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 72 (1988), 155-177. An earlier valuable survey of unofficial yet commonly used epithets is by Frei-Stolba 1969, op.cit. (n.24), in particular on *optimus*, *maximus*, *sacratissimus*, *sanctissimus*, *indulgentissimus*, *liberalissimus*.

²⁷ On 'Olympios', see H.A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs. 'Acta Alexandrinorum'* (Oxford 1954), 132 (mostly used for Hadrian); A.R. Birley, *Hadrian the Restless Emperor* (London 2000, 2nd ed.), 220.

²⁸ Two random examples: Nero is called 'Zeus Eleutherios' in SEG 47 (1997), 473; Titus is called 'neos Apollon' in SEG 23 (1967), 450; cf. n. 41 below.

²⁹ The indices of any issue of the *SEG* will reveal how commonly these epithets were applied to Roman emperors. The only case included below refers to Vespasian and is told by Josephus; the situation is unusually vivid and direct. Another literary example appears in Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 4 ('soter' and 'evergetes' for Caligula).

³⁰ See T. Hauken, *Petition and Response. An Epigraphic study of Petitions to Roman Emperors 181-249* (Bergen 1998), esp. nos. 3, 4, and 6. In these Greek documents, the emperor(s) are addressed with a variation on 'greatest and most divine of emperors ever'. Hauken at page 155 comments that ἀλωπότερος ('most happy, carefree') appears only once, in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* X 14.

³¹ See, e.g., Macrinus' attempt, in a letter to the Senate, to appropriate the cognomina *Severus*, *Pius*, and *Felix* (Cassius Dio 79(78).16.2). On the *nomen Antoninorum*, which plays such a large role in the *Historia Augusta*, see W. Hartke, *Römische Kinderkaiser. Eine Strukturanalyse römischen Denkens und*

Interpreting popular culture

Interpreting nicknames is not always straightforward. In Berlin, a few years ago, it was pointed out to me that a nickname used for the former East German leader Walter Ulbricht was 'Der Spitzbart' (in English perhaps 'Old Goatee'). In German this nickname has no particular connotations, it seems to me, either positive or negative. But I was assured that at the time it was throughout interpreted as pejorative.

A non-literary example of what might be called popular culture in the Roman world illustrates the need for interpretation.



Inscribed brick from Intercisa (from Vágó & Bóna 1976, op. cit. (n.32), pl. 30)

This is a drawing on a Roman brick from Intercisa in Pannonia, showing two figures who according to the text are Roman emperors (the text mentions three). Ramsay McMullen argued that we are dealing with caricatures, and that the drawing in reality expresses popular discontent with the rulers.³²

This is an interesting interpretation but difficult to accept. If one considers the physical context, the surface, the available tools, and the normal result from graffiti on bricks, then one will arrive at the opposite conclusion; surely this crude drawing is on the contrary a sign of loyalty, an indication of the respect that the Tetrarchs enjoyed also in a brick manufacture on the Pannonian *limes*. This of course is what most scholars who have discussed the drawing have concluded.³³

The issue of 'imperial caricatures'³⁴ reminds one of the mention by Fronto in one of his letters to the young future emperor Marcus, that Rome was full of bad portraits of the imperial family.³⁵ Again, the features of emperors and princes were surely not distorted on purpose but due to faulty craftsmanship, while the fact that these objects were so ubiquitous gives an indication of the taste of the common people. A modern-day parallel is provided by the pictures of the Saviour (with blinking eyes, in the kitchiest of ways) and of the Pope peddled around the Vatican.

The conclusion which imposes itself is that when studying popular culture one needs to be perceptive: what seems innocuous might be meant as critique, and what looks offensive might be intended as a compliment.

³² R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven & London 1988), 114 f. For the original publication, see E.B. Vágó & I. Bóna, *Die Gräberfelder von Intercisa I. Der spätrömische Südostfriedhof* (Budapest 1976), 185 with pl. 30; pl. XX. The original editors first suggested that the drawing was meant to be 'spöttisch'.

³³ See, e.g., T. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft dargestellt anhand der Schriftquellen* (Das römische Herrscherbild III.5, Berlin 1985), 103. One may compare the drawing, on another brick from Pannonia (Kisdorog), of a figure called ARIO (Areius?) or ARSO; again surely not for denigrating purposes; see *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina. Das römische Leben im Spiegel der Kleininschriften* (Exhibition catalogue, Pécs 1991), 178 f. Concerning visual evidence, the presence of the emperor in a recently discovered fragmentary wallpainting from Paris, argued by H. Eristov, 'Un témoignage de loyalisme impérial dans un décor peint?', *Gallia* 51 (1994), 217-232, might according to the author be evidence of 'imperial loyalism'.

³⁴ A related case is the rough graffiti portrait of man with the inscription CAICAP from Terracina, presented by H. Solin, 'Caesar und P. Clodius Pulcher in Terracina', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 43 (1981), 357-361, esp. 360 (with discussion).

³⁵ Fronto, *Ad Marcum Caesarem* 4.12.4.

Imperial nicknames, popular epithets and acquired *cognomina* from Augustus to the third century³⁶

Emperor	nickname etc.	source	used by
Augustus ³⁷	Thurinus	Suetonius, <i>Augustus</i> 7.1	given in childhood, used by M. Antonius
	puer	Suetonius, <i>Augustus</i> 2	— (<i>alii iactassent</i>)
	Kaipias (Καιπίας) ³⁸	Cassius Dio 45.1.1	—
	pater patriae	Ovidius, <i>Fasti</i> 2.127-28; Suetonius, <i>Augustus</i> 58.1-2;	<i>plebs</i> and Senate
	‘father’	Cassius Dio 56.9.3	the <i>equites</i>
	Apollo Tormentor	Suetonius, <i>Augustus</i> 70.2	the people
	Augustus ³⁹	Suetonius, <i>Augustus</i> 7.2	the Senate, proposed by Munatius Plancus
	‘avertor of evil’ (ἀλεξίκακος)	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> 144	—
	‘fortune’s gem’ (κόσμος τύχης)	Petrus Patricius fr. 191 ⁴⁰	Constantinus I
Tiberius	Callipedes	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 38	<i>vulgo vocaretur</i>

³⁶ The following list has no precedents, as far as I know, but Kempff, *op. cit.* (n.16), 354-357 lists some imperial nicknames and epithets. For the nicknames in the *Historia Augusta* and for later nicknames see the Introductory note above. It would be futile to claim completeness for the list, but it ought to contain enough material for a meaningful discussion of the topic.

³⁷ After his testamentary adoption, *Octavianus* was part of the young Caesar’s nomenclature, but the future emperor never used that name as it bore witness to his origin; see D. Kienast, *Augustus Prinzeps und Monarch* (Darmstadt 1999, 3rd ed.), 9. On Octavian’s nomenclature during the triumviral period, see in detail C. Rubincam, ‘The Nomenclature of Julius Caesar and the Later Augustus in the Triumviral Period’, *Historia* 41 (1992), 88-103.

³⁸ The *cognomen* Καιπίας is mysterious, and it appears nowhere else. The text may be corrupt, as has often been suggested, see recently Kienast 1999, *op. cit.* (n.37), 9 f. A possible explanation, advanced earlier, was repeated by V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* II (Leipzig 1891), 20: the Latin name for Thurii was Copiae; perhaps a Greek ethnic derived from Copiae might explain the name.

³⁹ Suetonius, *Augustus* 7.2., relates that the Princeps declined the cognomen *Romulus*. According to Suetonius, *Augustus* 53.1, Augustus strongly opposed being addressed as *dominus* (master, lord), and when it occurred, he forbade it. Cf. Dickey (2001), *op.cit.* (n.1), 2.

⁴⁰ U.P. Boissvain, C. de Boor & Th. Büttner-Wobst, eds., *Exerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti* IV (Berlin 1906), 271.

	Biberius Caldius Mero	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 42; anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 2.2; cf. Cassius Dio book 58 fr. 5 ⁴¹	<i>in castris; a iocularibus</i>
	Caprineus	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 43.2	<i>vulgo dictitabant</i>
	Tiberiolus meus	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 6.5	Cotta Messalinus
	‘the Elder’ (ὁ πρεσβύτερος)	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> 142	—
	Atreus	Cassius Dio 58.24.4	Tiberius himself
	Agamemnon	Cassius Dio 59.19.2	Agrippina the Younger
	‘bloodstained mud’ πηλὸς αἷματι πεφυρμένος	Cassius Dio 58 fr. 3 (see n.41)	—
Gaius	Caligula	Seneca, <i>De constantia sapientis</i> 18.4; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 1.41; <i>ibid.</i> 1.69; Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 9.1; Cassius Dio 57.5.6; <i>ibid.</i> 62(62).4.1; Athenaeus 4.148d; Eutropius 7.12.1; other later sources	a centurion / <i>legiones militari vocabulo</i> / (the legions), Agrippina's wish / <i>castrensi ioco</i> / the soldiers / Boudicca / — / — (<i>cognomento C.</i>)
	Gaius	Seneca, <i>De constantia sapientis</i> 18.4	Herennius Macer
	sidus, pullus, pupus, alumnus	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 13	the people of Rome (and along the road from Misenum)
	Pius, Castrorum filius, Pater exercituum, Optimus maximusque Caesar	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 22.1	<i>cognominibus adsumptis</i> (own initiative), <i>vocabatur</i>
	Latiaris Iuppiter ⁴²	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 22.2; Cassius Dio 59.28.5;	<i>quidam salutarunt</i> / he himself

⁴¹ U.P. Boissvain (ed.), *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt* II (Berlin 1955), 616.

⁴² On Jupiter (*Zeus*) as appellative for Gaius, see also Cassius Dio 59.28.8; 30.1a.

	Bacchus, Evaeus, Lycaeus ⁴³	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> 96	choirs chanting
	Ares	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> 97	—
	‘young Augustus’ (νεανίσκος Αὔγουστος)	Cassius Dio 59.13.6	the people in the circus
	Britannicus ⁴⁴	Cassius Dio 59.25.5 ^a	—
	‘big humbug’ (μέγα παραλήρημα)	Cassius Dio 59.26.9	a Gallic shoemaker
Nero	‘matricide’ (μητροκτόνος)	Suetonius, <i>Nero</i> 39.2; Cassius Dio 62(61).16.2 ² ; 62(62).18.4	<i>dictum</i> or <i>carmen</i> by the public
	Pacan	Suetonius, <i>Nero</i> 39.2	<i>carmen</i> by the public
	‘beautiful Caesar, Apollon, another Pythian’ ⁴⁵	Cassius Dio. 62(61).20.5	his soldiers
	‘mistress Domitia Nero’ ⁴⁶	Cassius Dio 62(62).6.5	Boudicca
	‘Pythian Victor, Olympian Victor, Victor of the ‘Grand Slam’, Universal Victor’ ⁴⁷	Cassius Dio 62(63).10.1	his soldiers

⁴³ Cf. the notice in Cassius Dio 59.26.5-6 that Gaius impersonated various gods: Jupiter, Neptune, Herakles, Bacchus, Apollo, Juno, Diana, and Venus, which would mean that he temporarily assumed their names too. In fact Athenaeus 4.148d says that Gaius was called ‘new Dionysos’ and dressed like the god. From the context it is clear that he continued an Hellenistic tradition; for instance Marcus Antonius had given orders to be proclaimed as Dionysus before him (Athenaeus 4.148c).

⁴⁴ The passage (Joannes Antiochenus fr. 82 M) claims that the epithets *Germanicus* and *Britannicus* were given in mockery. The former name was however part of Gaius’ official nomenclature.

⁴⁵ ὁ καλὸς Καίσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, εἰς ὡς Πύθιος.

⁴⁶ ἡ Νερονίς ἢ Δομιτία.

⁴⁷ Πυθιονίκης, Ὀλυμπιονίκης, περιοδονίκης, παντονίκης.

	‘Olympian Victor, Pythian Victor, Hercules, Apollo, Only Victor of the ‘Grand Slam’, Only one from the beginning of time, Divine Voice’ ⁴⁸	Cassius Dio 62(63).20.5	the people of Rome, the Senate
	malus citharoedus	Suetonius, <i>Nero</i> 41.1	Julius Vindex, rebel
	Ahenobarbus	Suetonius, <i>Nero</i> 41.1	Julius Vindex, rebel
	Thyestes, Oedipus, Alcmeon, Orestes	Cassius Dio 63(63).22.6	Julius Vindex, rebel
Sulpicius Galba	Cupido	Suetonius, <i>Galba</i> 20.2	Otho’s soldiers
Otho	Nero	Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i> 1.78; Suetonius, <i>Otho</i> 7.1; Plutarchos, <i>Otho</i> 3.1; cf. 3.2	<i>populus et miles / ab infima plebe / the crowd in the theatres</i>
	‘father’	Cassius Dio 63(64).14.1	his soldiers
Vespasianus ⁴⁹	Vespasianus ⁵⁰	Suetonius, <i>Vespasianus</i> 15	Helvidius Priscus
	‘saviour, benefactor’	Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i> 3.459	the people of Tarichaeae
	Cybiosactes	Suetonius, <i>Vespasianus</i> 19.2	the people of Alexandria
Domitianus	calvus Nero	Ausonius, <i>de XII Caesaribus</i>	<i>dixit sua Roma</i> ⁵¹
	dominus et deus	Cassius Dio 67(67).4.7; 13.4; Eutropius 7.23.2	D. was pleased to be called / <i>se appellari iussit</i>
Traianus	locupletator	CIL VI 958 = VI 40500	<i>cultores Larum et</i>

⁴⁸ Ὀλυμπιονίκης, Πυθιονίκης, ..., ὡς εἰς περιοδονίκης, εἰς ἅπ’ αἰῶνος, ἱερὰ φωνή.

⁴⁹ According to Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 4.3 he was commonly (*vulgo*) called *mulio* before he became emperor, on account of his business activities. On the nickname, see now A.B. Bosworth, ‘Vespasian and the slave trade’, *Classical Quarterly* 52 (2002) 350-357.

⁵⁰ Suetonius specifies that the Stoic Helvidius continued to address the Emperor *privato nomine*.

⁵¹ The same expression already appears as an invective in Iuvenalis 4.38, and it is of course possible that this is what Ausonius means by *sua Roma*.

⁵² The OLD and the ThLL register only two other occurrences of the rare word *locupletator* as an attribute

	civium ⁵²		<i>imaginum domus Augustae</i>
	herba parietina/parietaria	Ammianus Marcellinus 27.3.7; anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 41.13; cf. Petrus Patricius fr. 191 (see n.40)	— (<i>cognominarunt</i>) / Constantinus I / Constantinus I
	Crinitus	Eutropius 8.2.1; Ioh. Lydus, <i>De mensibus</i> 4.18	— / —
Hadrianus	Graeculus	anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 14.2	<i>a plerisque</i>
	‘painting tool’ (ἐργαλείον ζωγραφικόν)	Petrus Patricius fr. 191 (see n.40)	Constantinus I
Antoninus Pius	Pius	Cassius Dio 70(70).2.1; Aurelius Victor 15.1; anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 15.1; Eutropius 8.8.1, 3	the Senate / — (<i>cognomentum Pii / postea cognominatus / nominatus, dictus est</i>)
	‘cumminsplitter’ (κυμινοπρίστης)	Cassius Dio 70.3.3 ⁵³	scoffers (οἱ σκώπτοντες)
Marcus	Verissimus	AE 1940, 62; ⁵⁴ Cassius Dio 69(69).21.2	<i>a collegium</i> in Ostia / Hadrian
	‘laughable’ (καταγέλαστος)	Petrus Patricius fr. 191 (see n.40)	Constantinus I
Commodus ⁵⁵	Herakles ⁵⁶	Athenaeus 12.537f; Cassius Dio 73(72).15.2, 5; Herodianos 1.15.8	Commodus himself / (Herodian: he wants use to stop)

for an emperor, in both cases for Hadrian. This means that the tribute by the *cultores Larum* is the first known case, and moreover the other expressions are not identical. On the coin BMC I 3, 415 no. 1193 (from A.D. 119/121, struck in Rome) Hadrian is called *locupletator orbis terrarum*, while the Ostian inscription CIL XIV 2799 addresses Hadrian and Sabina as *locupletatores municipii*. It seems that the Roman cultic organization was the first to use an epithet which then enjoyed a brief popularity.

⁵³ U.P. Boissvain (ed.), *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt* III (Berlin 1955), 244.

⁵⁴ Further instances will be referred to below in n. 70.

⁵⁵ Not included is *Sextus* for Commodus, once suggested on the basis of a passage in Galenos (14.651-657 Kühn) by A.R. Birley, ‘A nickname for Commodus and the date of Fronto’s death’, *Chiron* 2 (1972), 463-473, on which V. Nutton, ‘Sextus or Commodus?’, *Chiron* 3 (1973), 429-437.

⁵⁶ The rare appellatives *Pacator Orbis* and *Invictus Romanus Hercules* are not registered by Kienast 1999, op. cit. (n.37), 147-149, but they are found in two inscriptions and some papyri, see M.P. Speidel, ‘Commodus the God-Emperor and the Army’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993), 109-114, esp. 111

	Amazonius, Exsuperatorius (Ἵπεραίρωτος)	Cassius Dio 73(72).15.4	Commodus himself
	‘Golden one, Herakles, god’ (ὁ χρυσοῦς)	Cassius Dio 73(72).16.1	— indefinite
	‘lord, the first, the most fortunate of all, Amazonian’ ⁵⁷	Cassius Dio 73(72).20.2	the senators
	Scaeva (‘lefthanded’) (?) ⁵⁸	Herodianos 1.15.8	Commodus himself
	‘champion of the <i>secutores</i> , only lefthanded gladiator to conquer twelve times one thousand opponents’ ⁵⁹	Cassius Dio 73(72).22.3	Commodus himself
	‘victor of a thousand gladiators’ ⁶⁰	Herodianos 1.15.9	Commodus himself
	‘criminal, tyrant, gladiator, charioteer, lefthanded, ruptured’ ⁶¹	Cassius Dio 74(73).2.2	the people of Rome
Helvius Pertinax	Pertinax	anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 18.1	— (<i>cognomentum sortitus est</i>)

n.14. They are borderline cases for our purpose, but as shown by O. Hekster, ‘Commodus-Hercules: The People’s Princes’, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20 (2001) 51-83, esp. 72-77, their use is a response to Commodus’ ruler propaganda. Cassius Dio 73(72).15.5 quotes a letter from Commodus containing these titles, as already pointed out by Dessau in ILS 400 (= CIL XIV 3449).

⁵⁷ Κύριος, πρῶτος, πάντων εὐτυχεστάτος, Ἀμαζόνιος.

⁵⁸ On the possible use of this name, see the comment by C.R. Whittaker in the Loeb edition, p. 105, with references.

⁵⁹ Πρωτόπαλος σεκουτόρων, ἀριστερὸς μόνος νικήσας δωδεκάκις χιλίους.

⁶⁰ Μονομάχος χιλίους νίκησα. On the confusion about what Commodus wanted the inscription on the Colossus in Rome to read, see the comment by C.R. Whittaker in the Loeb edition of Herodianos p. 107.

⁶¹ Ἀλιτήριος, τύραννος, μονομάχος, ἀρματηλάτης, ἀριστερὸς, κηλήτης, SHA, *Commodus* 18-19 describes the reaction of the Senate, based on Marius Maximus’ biography; cf. Birley 1997, op. cit. (n.1), 2689 f.; 2736.

	Chrestologus	anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 18.4	— (<i>appellavere</i>)
Didius Julianus	Commodus	Cassius Dio 74(73).12.1	his soldiers
	‘stealer of empire, parricide’ ⁶²	Cassius Dio 74(73).13.3	the people of Rome
Pescennius Niger	‘the new Alexander’	Cassius Dio 75(74).6.2 ^a	his soldiers
Septimius Severus	Pertinax	Aurelius Victor 20.10; Eutropius 8.18.3	himself or his critics / <i>se appellari voluit</i>
Imp. Antoninus	Caracalla	Aurelius Victor 21.1; anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 21.2; Eutropius 8.20.1	— (<i>dictus</i> ; <i>cognominatus est</i>); —
	Caracallus	Cassius Dio 79(78).3.3; 79(78).9.3; etc.	— (on campaign) / some people
	‘comrade, brother-in-arms’ (συστρατιώτης)	Herodianos 4.7.6	the Emperor wanted his soldiers to call him
	sideribus in terram delapsus Tonitrator Augustus	<i>CIL</i> VI 40638 (= VI 1080) ⁶³	<i>corpus piscatorum et urinatorum</i> in Rome
	Bassianus	Cassius Dio 79(78).9.3	some people
	Magnus, Alexander	anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 21.4	<i>se iussit appellari</i>
	Tarautas	Cassius Dio 79(78).9.3; 79(78).10.3; 79(78).11.4; etc.	some people
	‘the Ausonian beast’ (ὁ Αὐσονίος θῆρ)	Cassius Dio 78(77).16.8; 78(77).23.4	the people of Pergamon

⁶² Τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἄρπαξ, πατροφόνος.

⁶³ The wording is adopted from the new rendering of the inscription by G. Alföldy, ‘*Nox dea fit lux!* Caracallas Geburtstag’, in G. Bonamente & M. Mayer, eds., *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Barcinonense 1993* (Bari 1996), 9-36, esp. 23-25 (with a comma between *delapsus* and *Tonitrator*). In the inscription, the emperor is also saluted as *orbis terrarum propagator* and *dominus maximus*, but as Alföldy, p. 25 n. 44 showed, these epithets are formulaic. The former epithet is e.g. given to Trajan in *CIL* VI 958 = VI 40500 mentioned above in this table.

	“a temperate man” ὁ σώφρων	Cassius Dio 78(77).24.2	the Emperor called himself
M. Aurelius Antoninus	Bassiana	anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 23.3	himself; <i>se iusserat appellari</i>
	Heliogabalus	Aurelius Victor 23.1; anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 23.1-2	— (<i>dictus / dictus est</i>)
	Tiberinus	Cassius Dio 80(79).1.1; 21.3; anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 23.7	— / — (<i>appellatus est</i>)
	Tractitius	anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 23.7	— (<i>appellatus est</i>)
	Sardanapallos	Cassius Dio 80(79).1.1; 2.4	—
	Assyrios	Cassius Dio 80(79).1.1; 11.2	—
	Pseudantoninus	Cassius Dio 80(79).1.1; 7.3; etc.	—
	Gynnis, ‘womanish man’	Philostratos, <i>Vitae sophistarum</i> 625	[Aelianus a philosopher]
	‘Antoninus the catamite’ (Ἄντωνεῖνος ὁ κόρυφος)	<i>P. Oxy</i> vol. 46, no. 3298	— (unknown writer)
	‘the unholy little Antoninus’ (ἀνόσιος Ἄντωνίνοσ μικρός) ⁶⁴	<i>P. Oxy</i> vol. 46, no. 3299	— (unknown writer)
Severus Alexander	Severus	Aurelius Victor 24.4	<i>milites</i>
	‘little woman, timid boy a slave to his mother’ ⁶⁵	Herodianos 6.9.5	the soldiers of Maximinus
	Marcellus	anonymus, <i>Epitome de</i>	— ⁶⁶

⁶⁴ J. Rea in *P. Oxy* 46, p. 72 points out that Heliogabalus sometimes appears a Ἄντωνίνοσ μικρός in papyri, in order to distinguish him from Caracalla, Ἄντωνίνοσ μέγασ. I have not been able to access A. Lukasewicz, ‘Kaiser Elagabal in den Papyrusurkunden. Historiographie, Papyri und öffentliche Meinung’, in *Studia G. Kolendo dicata* (1995) 171-76.

⁶⁵ Τὸ γύναιον μικρολόγον, μειράκιον δειλὸν μητρὶ δουλεῖον.

⁶⁶ The SHA, *Alexander Severus* 4.6 claims that it was an oracle (a *sors Praenestina*) which predicted that he would be ‘Marcellus’ (*tu Marcellus eris*).

		<i>Caesaribus</i> 23.4	
C. Iulius Maximinus	Thrax	anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 25.1	—
Gordianus I	Africanus	Herodianos 7.5.8	a crowd in Thysdrus
Julius Philippus	Arabs Traconites	Aurelius Victor 28.1	—
Valerianus	Colobius	anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 32.1	— (<i>cognomento Colobius</i>)
Probus	Equitius	anonymus, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> 36.2	—

Evaluating the evidence

The survey shows that nicknames and (alleged) popular epithets are ubiquitous in ancient texts of an historical character. They appear with some frequency in works of imperial biography (Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, the anonymous *Epitome de Caesaribus*, etc.), as well as in Philo's account dealing with events in the reign of Gaius, and in works of history (but the distinction between history and biography was difficult to maintain during the empire), in particular in Cassius Dio.⁶⁷ Besides Otho's appellative 'Nero', the surviving writings of Tacitus only mention one nickname (*Caligula*), a feature that may be significant; the historian perhaps thought such information unworthy of attention. Nicknames are also mentioned in, e.g., the prose writings of Seneca, Athenaeus and Philostratos. All in all, the list above, containing almost 130 nicknames or popular epithets from the outset of the Principate to the mid-third century A.D., is a sign that we are dealing with a significant phenomenon, even though sources other than literary ones contribute very little.

Outside the world of literary texts, there are two references to M. Antoninus (*Heliogabalus*), both denigrating, found in two papyri dated many decades after the emperor's death. In inscriptions, honorary or hypochoristic imperial epithets are found only three times, twice in Rome and once in Ostia. The earliest case is the epithet *locupletator civium* given to Trajan by the *cultores Larum et imaginum domus Augustae*, obviously an association extremely close to the ruler. A more unusual inscription from Rome, in which the *corpus piscatorum et urinatorum* salutes the emperor Caracalla with an

⁶⁷ For Dio, the question of accuracy in the Byzantine excerpts and epitomes of his work is important. According to F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford 1964), 1-3, we should be able to rely on the text as far as our objective is concerned.

appellative that seems to be of their own making (*sideribus in terram delapsus Tonitrator Augustus*), was recently analyzed by Géza Alföldy, who indeed called it “ein einzigartiges Dokument der Frömmigkeit ‘kleiner Leute’”.⁶⁸ Thirdly, an undefined professional *collegium* in Ostia set up a large inscription in or shortly after A.D. 154, in which the future emperor Marcus Aurelius (at that time officially called Aurelius Caesar Augustus) is thrice referred to as *Verissimus Caesar*.⁶⁹ The epithet can also be found in two provincial coin issues, and is used in many late-antique sources,⁷⁰ but for the first time in a surviving literary text by Cassius Dio, who claims that Hadrian used the epithet for the young Marcus. That obviously gives a date before July 138, when the young prince was still in his teens.⁷¹ By 154, when the Ostian inscription was set up, Marcus was no longer a boy, but indeed a designated heir to the throne. The use of the unofficial name *Verissimus*, which may have originated some two decades earlier with Hadrian but never became part of the nomenclature of Marcus as prince or as emperor, is likely as close to spontaneous nicknaming of imperial family members one can hope to get in public inscriptions on stone.

That inscriptions should otherwise be absent from the list of sources (once we uphold the distinctions outlined above in section 3) is at first glance surprising, but from Suetonius and other authors one gets the impression that popular verses which can be expected to have contained epithets and nicknames normally were applied in secrecy and probably appeared overnight,⁷² which means that they were mostly painted or perhaps inscribed on wood or other perishable material; both methods were quick and cheap. This may explain why the epigraphic evidence for nicknames is so meagre.⁷³

⁶⁸ Alföldy 1996, op. cit. (n.63), 27. The epithet *Tonitrator* is, according to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, once found as an epithet of Jupiter (*CIL* III 2766a). The Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg registers our case as the only epigraphically attested example of *Tonitrator*.

⁶⁹ The text was published by G. Calza, ‘Un documento del culto imperiale in una nuova iscrizione ostiense’, *Epigraphica* 1 (1939), 28-36, with comments on the epithet *Verissimus* on p. 35.

⁷⁰ For a collection of the sources, see *PIR*² A 697.

⁷¹ For the nomenclature and dates of the emperor Marcus, see D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (Darmstadt 1996, 2nd ed.), 139.

⁷² As appears from, e.g., Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 80.2-3, Cassius Dio 62(61).16.2^a; see in general Corbier 1987, op. cit. (n.12), 53-56.

⁷³ One might, *a priori*, think that curse tablets could provide us with imperial denigrating epithets. But the issues addressed in the preserved curse tablets are often very down-to-earth: retrieving a stolen piece of clothing, the fortunes of a racehorse, or amorous concerns; see A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* (Paris 1904), esp. 431-47 for the individuals occurring in them, and, for recent discoveries, R.S.O. Tomlin, ‘The Curse tablets’, in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath II. Finds from the Sacred Spring* (Oxford 1988), 59-277 (index of names on p. 261). Certainly one would never invoke the curse of the gods of the Underworld on another god, i.e. the emperor. (Cf. that Germanicus Caesar was

The survey also shows that nicknames or epithets appear in connection with almost every emperor. The exceptions are Marcus and Septimius Severus, for whom no real nicknames relating to their reign are known, and, above all, Claudius. With his known physical disabilities (ridiculed in the *Apocolocyntosis*), one would have thought that Claudius should have been a perfect target for biting epithets and nicknames — this is how Alföldi explains the many Republican aristocratic cognomina that refer to physical traits⁷⁴ — but in fact we hear of nothing.

The next question that needs to be faced is how accurate our sources are when claiming that a certain emperor was called by a particular nickname or epithet. In most cases, the scarcity of information makes it difficult and almost pointless to engage in a detailed discussion of historical accuracy (which the space in any case would not allow; but see the concluding chapter), and the question of authenticity has not troubled previous scholarship much. One could argue that some of the nicknames and epithets in our list have too much of a literary and intellectual flair for them to have been in popular use (for instance Biberius Caldius Mero, or the mythological nicknames given Nero), but comparative evidence, from seventeenth-century England, supports the common use of this kind of epithets too.⁷⁵

The main task here is to analyze the meaning and establish the emotional content of the names and epithets. A few of them, however, need no particular discussion: some were either inherited or were officially bestowed on a ruler, a fact which is misrepresented in the relevant sources,⁷⁶ while in the case of (Maximinus) Thrax and (Philippus) Arabs we are dealing with epithets/nicknames that seem to have been introduced by authors who postdate the emperors by over a century, each epithet found in only one source.⁷⁷ The bulk of the material can be divided in four groups.⁷⁸ (1)

allegedly the victim of curse tablets in Syria in A.D. 17; see Cassius Dio 57.18.9; Suetonius, *Caligula* 3.3: *devotionibus*. But as a Roman ‘prince’ Germanicus did not have divine status.)

⁷⁴ Cf. n. 19 above.

⁷⁵ See Cust 1986, op. cit. (n.3), 66-69.

⁷⁶ *Pius*, for the emperor Antoninus, *Pertinax*, for Pertinax and Septimius Severus, and *Severus*, for Severus Alexander are such cases; see Kienast 1996, op. cit. (n.71), 134; 152; 156; 177. See also Suetonius, *Tiberius* 17, which records suggestions by various senators that Tiberius be given the *cognomina Pannonicus, Invictus*, and *Pius*. This happened before he was emperor, and Augustus vetoed the proposal.

⁷⁷ The references to foreign ethnicities are surely meant to be unflattering. It is noteworthy that these single mentions have succeeded in influencing the way in which these emperors are commonly referred to in modern times.

⁷⁸ In addition, the interpretation of some nicknames and epithets is debated, and the restricted space does not permit a full review. For Valerianus *Colobius* see most recently A.R. Birley, ‘Fiction in the Epitome?’,

laudatory nicknames, (2) names apparently neutral, (3) names containing relatively mild criticism of some kind, and, finally, (4) highly derogatory nicknames.

(1) A fair number of nicknames or epithets have a flattering meaning, and some of these have a similar origin: the wish of the emperor to be called by particular nicknames or epithets.⁷⁹ This is told of Gaius,⁸⁰ Domitian, Commodus, and Caracalla. In addition, it seems that the positive epithets attributed to Nero and Commodus by the senate were not sincere but due to pressure. We have here, surely not by coincidence, a list of some of the very worst emperors our sources know. One gets the impression that only 'bad emperors' felt the need to influence the way their subjects addressed them, either because only tyrants anticipated that, unless they dictated what they should be called, pejorative nicknames would mark them, or because it was a sign of a 'bad' ruler to limit the freedom of his subjects to choose spontaneously whatever informal address they wanted to use.⁸¹ Several of these appellatives claim divine or semi-divine status for the emperor, which always was a contentious issue that the senatorial order found difficult to stomach.⁸² Viewed in this light, the series of positive allegedly self-imposed appellatives makes one wonder whether we might not after all, at least occasionally, be dealing with literary conventions; this question will be discussed below.

Among the positive nicknames and epithets there are however also several which according to the sources have an origin with the people of Rome, the Senate, or military units. In chronological order, *Augustus* and *pater patriae* for Octavian have been included, since he was the first emperor

G. Bonamente & M. Mayer, eds., *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Barcinonense 1993* (Bari 1996), 67-82, esp. 72 f. with previous suggestions. For Probus *Equitius* see B. Bleckmann, *Die Reichskrise des III. Jahrhunderts in der spätantiken und byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung. Untersuchungen zu den nachdionischen Quellen der Chronik des Johannes Zonaras* (München 1992), 235 n. 66.

⁷⁹ In the following discussions, the additional information adduced is drawn from the passage that provides the name, unless otherwise indicated.

⁸⁰ The interpretation of *Latiaris Juppiter* has caused some debate. Some scholars think that criticism of Gaius may have been implied, see D. Wardle, *Suetonius' Life of Caligula. A Commentary* (Coll. Latomus 225, Bruxelles 1994), 210 f.; D.W. Hurley, *An Historical and Historiographical Commentary on Suetonius' 'Life of C. Caligula'* (Atlanta 1993), 87 f.; C.J. Simpson, 'The Cult of the Emperor Gaius', *Latomus* 40 (1981) 489-511, esp. 498.

⁸¹ Good emperors endured jests and criticisms, see A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Civilis Princeps: Between Citizen and King', *Journal of Roman Studies* 72 (1982), 32-48, esp. 39 with some references; one might add, e.g., Seneca, *De constantia sapientis* 19.1-2, Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 20, and Cassius Dio 52.31.5-8 (the Speech of Maecenas).

⁸² Cf. however the divergent notice in Cassius Dio 78(77).5.1 that Caracalla did not want to be named after Herakles or any other god. Jupiter Latiaris for Gaius is not necessarily a compliment, see n. 80 above.

to be so addressed by the *plebs* and the Senate. Philo, who was only a visitor in Rome, relates positive epithets for Augustus and Tiberius (without indicating the origin). Gaius was given many pet names by the people early in his reign; later, the choirs were chanting mythologically inspired appellatives. The controversial Nero was praised as *Paeon* in popular verses, and the people of Rome and his soldiers invented a series of flattering epithets and nicknames. There are other positive epithets bestowed by military units: Otho was called *Nero* and ‘father’ by his troops, while Didius Julianus was called *Commodus* by his army — all complimentary addresses — as was the appellative ‘the new Alexander’ given to Pescennius Niger, likewise by the soldiers.

For the great general Trajan no military nickname is recorded, while his unofficial distinction *Optimus* (no real nickname) eventually became part of his official titulature.⁸³ The emperor Antoninus acquired the cognomen *Pius* early in his reign; the procedure is unknown. *Verissimus* was used for Marcus while he was emperor designate, as seen in the guild inscription discussed above. No nickname is known for Septimius Severus, while Caracalla was hailed as *Tonitrator Augustus* ‘who had descended from heaven’ by a guild in Rome. The name *Marcellus* is said in a late source to have been used as an appellative for Severus Alexander, which, if true, ought to be positively interpreted.⁸⁴ Gordianus I was given the complimentary epithet *Africanus* by a crowd in Thyrsus.

(2) The next group to analyze consists of seemingly neutral nicknames and epithets. Since there can, by definition, not be any neutral nicknames — the fact that a nickname or a special epithet is employed testifies to a particular relation between the person named and the user of the name — there is obviously more than one level of meaning to consider in this group.

Among nicknames neutral in appearance we find *Thurinus* for Augustus ‘someone who originates from Thuri’ (or ‘someone who has achieved a victory at Thuri’, referring to his father⁸⁵), and *Ahenobarbus* for Nero (literally ‘Bronzebeard’, but it was an old cognomen in the family of his father). Both these names were however used by political enemies as invectives (namely by Marcus Antonius and Julius Vindex, respectively), for they could be taken to indicate a common or non-imperial background.⁸⁶

⁸³ For *Optimus*, see above n. 24.

⁸⁴ This looks like a reference to the Republican Claudii Marcelli, among whom one for instance thinks of Claudius Marcellus ‘the sword of Rome’ in the Second Punic War (Plutarchos, *Fabius Maximus* 19).

⁸⁵ Suetonius gives both explanations.

⁸⁶ Suetonius, *Augustus* 2.3 stresses that Marcus Antonius taunted Augustus for having a Thurian origin.

Caligula and *Caracalla/Caracallus* belong in this group too, as does the cognomen *Bassianus* used for Caracalla. The use of *Bassianus* is similar to that of *Thurinus*: Cassius Dio mentions the name, which he implies was in common use, in order to point at the non-imperial origin of Caracalla.

It is interesting to note that the names Caligula and Caracalla, together with *Heliogabalus* (an invective; see below), are imperial nicknames that became permanent. They were apparently used during the ruler's life (at least in some contexts), they appeared in literary texts soon after, and these names have ever since been in common use when referring to the respective emperor. In origin, *Caligula* was certainly intended rather as a 'term of endearment', as it originated as a nickname used by the soldiers for the son of their commander, a practice which his ambitious mother apparently encouraged. There seems to have been a similar situation in the creation of the nickname *Caracalla/us*, as it appears among the soldiers and refers to a piece of clothing that the emperor wore and dressed his soldiers in.⁸⁷ However, Cassius Dio also indicates that *Caracallus* was used outside the army, and he mentions it in the same context as *Bassianus* and *Tarautas* (a pejorative nickname). In any case, these two semantically neutral names, which originally constituted a bond between the rulers and their soldiers,⁸⁸ were taken up by the later hostile (literary) tradition and were even, one could add, singled out as especially fitting denigratory nicknames. Neither nickname had a dignified ring to it, and in the eyes of the aristocracy it must have been particularly damaging for an emperor's reputation that he had debased himself in this way, courting the favour of the commoners (or the soldiers). From here arose both the necessity and the opportunity to 'turn' the value of these names. It is interesting that Gaius himself, according to Seneca, was sensitive to being called Caligula to his face by a centurion once he had become emperor (nor did he like being addressed as *Gaius*); surely for the same reason he did not appreciate the hypocharistic 'young Augustus'.⁸⁹ Augustus

The name *Thurinus* has caused much discussion, see recently Kienast 1999, op. cit. (n.37), 9 f. with further references. On *Ahenobarbus*, cf. K.R. Bradley, *Suetonius' 'Life of Nero': An Historical Commentary* (Coll. Latomus 157, Bruxelles 1978), 253. Note that according to Petrus Patricius (Cassius Dio 63.23.2 Boiss. = Excerpta Vaticana 76, p. 215 Mai = p. 197 Dind.) Julius Vindex used the name *Domitius* when speaking about the emperor.

⁸⁷ Cf. that in SHA, *Diadumenianus* 2.8 the author has Macrinus make the joke that his son Diadumenianus ought to be called *Paenuleus* or *Paenularius* for having given out *paenulae* to the soldiers.

⁸⁸ In the same way as the appellative 'fellow soldier, comrade', which Caracalla according to Herodian wanted his soldiers to use.

⁸⁹ Note that according to Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 19.33 one *Pompedius* (probably *Pomponius*) was accused of applying opprobrious epithets to Gaius.

reacted negatively to being called ‘boy’, but that epithet was indeed meant to be denigrating.

(3) Nicknames or epithets that contain an overt but rather mild criticism make up a third group. Three nicknames for Tiberius, *Biberius Caldus Mero*, are witty and satirical — *ob vinolentiam* — while *Callipedes* is ironical (the emperor was criticized for being slow). *Caprineus* is of course a *double entendre*, referring both to Tiberius’ dwelling on Capri and to activities that Suetonius describes in some detail (cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 45). Gaius is said to have been called ‘big humbug’ by a Gallic shoemaker he happened to meet, while the nickname *herba parietina* is meant as a rebuke for Trajan (coined several centuries later, it seems), since he allegedly inscribed his name on the buildings erected by others. Even for the inoffensive Antoninus Pius a nickname containing some criticism is recorded, ‘Cumminsplitter’, from being a stickler for detailed investigations (given by those whose affairs were not in order, of course). Also *Graeculus* for Hadrian⁹⁰ and *Chrestologus* (sweet-talker; smooth-tongued)⁹¹ for Helvius Pertinax are nicknames intended to convey a certain amount of criticism.

(4) Lastly, we have nicknames that clearly are invectives. Augustus was called *Apollo Tormentor* by the people in Rome in occasion of a food shortage, the epithet ‘bloodstained mud’ is recorded for Tiberius, without context. Nero was given the epithet ‘murderer of his mother’ in a popular verse in Rome (referring to the death of Agrippina), and the rebel Julius Vindex is said to have expanded on the theme, as well as labelling him a ‘bad musician’. The warrior queen Boudicca used a nickname for Nero implying femininity. Not surprisingly, we hear of pejorative nicknames used by enemy soldiers for Galba and, later, for Severus Alexander. Vespasian suffered the insult of being called *Cybiosactes* by the people of Alexandria, apparently because of his stinginess. The Alexandrians here used a pejorative nickname which they had previously given to a shortlived but much despised king of theirs who died in 56 B.C.⁹² Domitian appears as *calvus Nero* in Ausonius,⁹³ but this epithet, which is mentioned by many authors, may merely be a

⁹⁰ On the pejorative meaning, see M. Dubuisson, ‘*Graecus, graeculus, graecari*: l’emploi pejoratif du nom des grecs en latin’; S. Said (ed.), ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ. *Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l’identité grecque* (Leiden 1991), 315-335, esp. 322-329.

⁹¹ The nickname is also mentioned by the SHA, *Pertinax* 13.5, where it is explained as *qui bene loqueretur et male faceret*; it was used by *cives sui* ... *qui nihil de eo meruerant* (13.6).

⁹² See *RE* IIA.1 (1921) 1246 s.v. “Seleukos no. 11” (Stähelin); cf. Strabo 17.1.11 (17.796).

⁹³ For the negative connotation of baldness in antiquity, see C. Deroux, ‘De la calvitie de Domitien à la chevelure d’Alexandre: propositions sur Juvénal, *Sat.*, IV, 37-38’ in J.M. Croiselle (ed.), *Neronia* IV. *Alejandro Magno, modelo de los emperadores romanos* (Coll. Latomus 209, Bruxelles 1990), 277-288.

literary 'Schimpfwort'.

The death of Commodus gave, according to Cassius Dio, rise to a veritable flood of hostile epithets used by the people of Rome. Didius Julianus was hailed by the people of the capital as a 'stealer of the empire' and a 'parricide'. For the older son of Septimius Severus, many nicknames are mentioned. Besides *Bassianus* and *Caracalla/us* discussed above, our primary source Cassius Dio (whose text for the relevant years is preserved only in later excerpts, but one doubts that this would have influenced the use of nicknames in the text)⁹⁴ is particularly fond of the pejorative nickname *Tarautas*, used by the people of Rome, "from the nickname of a gladiator who was most insignificant and ugly in appearance and most reckless and bloodthirsty in spirit" (79(78).9.3).⁹⁵ Although all of this part of Dio's text was written after Caracalla's death,⁹⁶ it is probably significant that only after having recorded the death of the emperor, does Dio introduce a series of more or less pejorative nicknames. From book 79(78).9.3 onwards, he then alternates the nicknames *Tarautas* and *Caracallus* in quite a systematic way when referring to the dead emperor.⁹⁷

In addition we encounter the pejorative nickname 'the Ausonian beast', which according to Dio was used by the people of Pergamon. The context is not very clear. Dio claims that Caracalla was pleased by the nickname, but yet he seems to have executed many people in connection with the visits during which the nickname was given him. In any case, Dio seems to be referring to a real historical event.

The most extensive series of vicious nicknames and commonly used epithets relates to Varius Avitus, later M. Aurelius Antoninus, who of course is much better known as *Heliogabalus*.⁹⁸ In addition Cassius Dio mentions and himself uses *Sardanapallos* and *Assyrios* (both hinting at immoral

⁹⁴ See above n. 66.

⁹⁵ Translation by E. Cary (LCL).

⁹⁶ On the time of composition of Dio's work, see Millar 1964, op. cit. (n.67), 119-122; M.G. Schmidt, 'Die zeitgeschichtlichen Bücher im Werke des Cassius Dio — von Commodus bis Severus Alexander', *ANRW* II 34.3 (1997), 2591-2649, esp. 2598-2601 and 2618-2625.

⁹⁷ *Tarautas* 10.3; 11.4; *Caracallus* 12.2; 12.4; *Tarautas* 12.6; *Caracallus* 13.2; *Tarautas* 13.4; *Caracallus* 14.1; 15.1; *Tarautas* 15.2; *Caracallus* 16.2; *Tarautas* 17.2; 17.3 (twice), 18.3; 18.4; 18.5; 19.2; *Caracallus* 19.3; *Tarautas* 21.1, and so on.

⁹⁸ That pejorative nickname is not found in any source before the late fourth century. In addition to the references above there is the *Historia Augusta*, who calls the emperor Antoninus or Varius *Heliogabalus*. It may have been a contemporary sobriquet; see G.W. Bowersock, 'Herodian and Elagabalus', *Yale Classical Studies* 24 (1975), 229-36, esp. 233: "It is not impossible, however, that Marius Maximus [the third-century imperial biographer] ... recorded a vulgar usage and provided the foundation for the universal appellation from the fourth century to the present".

behaviour by the emperor), and *Pseudantoninos*, which labels the ruler as an impostor and an unworthy holder of the imperial purple.⁹⁹ Dio also cites *Tiberinus*, and he is echoed by the much later *Epitome de Caesaribus* which adds the nickname *Tractitius*. Both nicknames are said to be popular mocking sobriquets deriving from the fact that the body of the emperor was dragged through the streets and the sewers (*trahere, tractus*) and thrown into the Tiber. These two nicknames, then, were undeniably not in use during the emperor's life.¹⁰⁰

The reputation of immorality that lingered over the emperor Heliogabalus is interestingly enough confirmed by two denigrating epithets in an Egyptian papyrus, dated half a century after the emperor's death. The same theme is pursued also in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, as the philosopher Aelian uses the nickname *Gynnis* ('womanish man') for the emperor.¹⁰¹

Conclusions

The passage from the *Lives of the Sophists* presenting a pejorative nickname for Heliogabalus brings us back to the question of contemporaneity, for Philostratus' comment to Aelian is "I should admire you for it [the invective against Gynnis], if you had indicted him while he was alive". He goes on to say that "while it takes a real man to curb a living tyrant, anyone can trample on him when he is down."¹⁰²

Of the literary sources presenting nicknames and epithets given by the Senate, the people or the soldiers, practically none was composed during the reign of the respective emperor.¹⁰³ But several authors experienced the times they later wrote about, for instance Philo, Seneca, Tacitus, and above all Cassius Dio, who is our most prolific source and was an eyewitness to the

⁹⁹ Dio alternates the use of *Sardanapallos* and *Pseudantoninos*, much as he did with *Caracallus* and *Tarautas* for Caracalla.

¹⁰⁰ On the historical context, see G. Alföldy, 'Zwei Schimpfnamen des Kaisers Elagabal. Tiberinus und Tractatitius', *Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium 1972-1974* (Bonn 1976), 11-21 (= idem, *Die Krise des römischen Reiches. Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung. Ausgewählte Beiträge* (Stuttgart 1989), 217-228). The late-antique *Historia Augusta* also mentions the episode and gives the nicknames as *Tiberinus* and *Tractatitius* (*Antoninus Heliogabalus* 17.5). Alföldy 1996, op. cit. (n.63), 17 f. (223 f.) believes the difference to be significant and suggests that *Tractatitius* was the original nickname, which derived from the emperor's sexual habits. Considering the propensity of the author of the *Historia Augusta* for fiction and puns, it seems more likely that the *Historia Augusta*-version is an invention.

¹⁰¹ I wish to thank François Chausson for drawing my attention to this passage. *Gynnis* was an epithet of Dionysos, see *RE* VII.2 (1912) 2092 s.v. *Gynnis*.

¹⁰² Philostratos, *Vita sophistarum* 625, translation W.C. Wright (LCL).

¹⁰³ Pliny's *Panegyricus* is an exception that does not change the overall picture.

reigns of Commodus, Caracalla, and Heliogabalus, although he wrote and published his accounts of these reigns only after the death of the respective rulers (above n. 95). The decisive question is of course whether the use of these appellatives was contemporary with the rulers singled out in this way. Scholars largely tend to believe this, and in general this investigation has not found grounds for challenging the consensus. A different matter again is what if any nicknames were used in face-to-face situations. Besides mass scenes, which of course provided shelter for the individual participants, very few such situations are described: we find that Gaius did not tolerate his nickname *Caligula*, while the emperor Vespasian suffered with equanimity being addressed as simply *Vespasianus*, without imperial titles.

Having established the unusual proliferation of nicknames and appellatives recorded for Commodus, Caracalla, and Heliogabalus as recorded by Dio, we ought, however, to ponder the reasons for this. Are the many nicknames and epithets, mostly pejorative (except when self-invented by the emperors or patently insincere), due to: 1) the fact that Cassius Dio being personally involved in the events was aware of more nicknames than most ancient historians normally were, or 2) to the fact that Cassius Dio was particularly hostile to these three emperors and took special care to collect (or invent?) pejorative epithets and nicknames, or 3) to the fact that these three emperors were in fact more despised and hated by their subjects than other emperors?

If we could be certain that the third and last option is the right answer (and the same question could be posed for all the other authors who have recorded nicknames), the importance of nicknames and popular epithets for determining the popularity of individual Roman emperors would be of major importance. But we cannot exclude that the first or second explanation are at least partly relevant.

Overall, what we have found in the material presented above 'makes sense'. When their subjects did not act under coercion, emperors were given negative epithets by groups and individuals whom they had antagonized, not to mention usurpers or rebels, while positive nicknames were given for good reasons. That the popular appeal of individual rulers as it appears in the nicknames and epithets used by the common people does not differ from the general perceptions in modern scholarship is not surprising; after all, existing scholarly views on the popularity of individual rulers normally include nicknames and appellatives among the sources. But as shown by the two inscriptions for the young Marcus and Caracalla, something of a 'loyalist middle class' attitude occasionally comes more into focus.

The reactions of the emperors are also of interest. It is noteworthy that there is no impact on the nomenclature of the emperors from (nick)names given by anyone but the Senate. This is true even of *Caligula*, which in origin was an affectionate surname. No ruler ever adopted a non-flattering nickname, as Caesar of course did not become Gaius Iulius *Calvus* even though his soldiers called him so, as we saw above. There is a corollary here that relates to the development of the aristocratic cognomina of the Roman Republic, but that is another story.¹⁰⁴ Roman emperors who today are known under a nickname or epithet that originated away from the court owe this fact to later authors.

Toronto, January 2003.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. above n. 19.

THE IMPERIAL ART OF DYING

By
ANTON VAN HOOFF

Becoming a Roman emperor was no fun. Statistics show that the new ruler had a much greater chance of dying from violence than from disease or old age. Out of 80 emperors whose death cause is more or less certain, no more than 29 died of natural causes. Out of the other 51, 38 were murdered or executed, seven fell on the battle field, two of them fighting foreign enemies (Decius and Iulianus), whilst the other five were killed during a civil war. Five emperors committed suicide. Finally one Augustus, Theodosius II, had a fatal accident: he fell from his horse and broke his neck.

Of course there were highs and lows, but only during the heyday of the Empire in the second century CE, in Gibbon's words the period "during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous",¹ did the number of emperors who died in bed surpass those whose met a *mors immatura*. This happy condition repeated itself much later, during the twilight of the Empire in the West. The most risky period was the third century CE when only three rulers met a natural death.

The Appendix at the end of this paper lists the ends of the Augusti mentioning only the emperors who were more or less recognised as legitimate rulers. The figure of 80 rulers whose cause of death is known, is based on a recent Dutch monograph by F. Meijer that deals with the final moments of 86 'official' emperors.² If all the pretenders and counter-emperors were to be included, the picture would become even gloomier. Recently, a young German scholar, Tobias Arand, has published his dissertation, in which he deals with the picture, which ancient authors present of the death of all the bad emperors. As he discusses all pretenders as well, his number is considerably higher: 171 (would-be) rulers.³ In many ways, the present paper is a counterpart to his extensive study, but as saints

¹ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York no year), 70, chapter 3 towards the end in the complete edition published in The Modern Library.

² Fik Meijer, *Keizers sterven niet in bed. Van Caesar tot Romulus Augustulus* (Amsterdam 2001) (Emperors do not die in bed, from Caesar to Romulus Augustulus), in which the author summarises the lives of 86 emperors, highlighting the events surrounding the end of these Caesars.

³ Tobias Arand, *Das schmachliche Ende. Der Tod des schlechten Kaisers und seine literarische Gestaltung in der römischen Historiographie* (Frankfurt a.M. 2002) 57. All evil emperors are mentioned from page 62 onwards, with the negative sources.

are scarcer than sinners, the available material on good emperors is much easier to process.

Apart from Arand's dissertation and Meijer's book, which just offers summary descriptions, a serious comparative study on the death of emperors does not exist. *Imperial Exits* by 'Julius Cicatrix', a pseudonym of a classical scholar, and the cartoonist Martin Rowson, claims to be "a hilariously horrid history lesson",⁴ but it is no more than a failed attempt to be funny. Of course, the death of specific rulers is discussed in modern imperial biographies. There are quite a few papers on the death of individual rulers, which implicitly or explicitly make comparisons.⁵ Finally, imperial exits are sometimes discussed in studies on ancient death.⁶

Arand's general conclusion is as predictable as mine: a bad emperor usually has an infamous death, whereas a ruler of good fame meets a fine end. What, however, constitutes a good death? In this context, the question of the veracity of a specific imperial exit is of little significance, as we will never know "wie es eigentlich gewesen". This situation is not due to the fragmentary state of the sources. Actually, the death of the emperors receives considerable attention in ancient historiography. In general, more than in modern times, the way of dying was regarded as the crown or the disgrace of one's life. One only has to think of Solon's conversation with Croesus to be aware of the great value the ancient world attached to a worthy exit.⁷

In the case of emperors, it is clear that the picture of their death was adapted to their reputation. The demonisation of the evil emperor has its

⁴ Text on the cover; Julius Cicatrix & Martin Rowson, *Imperial Exits* (London 1995; New York 1996).

⁵ Johannes Straub, 'Die ultima verba des Septimus Severus', *Bonner-Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* 2 (1964), 171 ff.; Dominique Conduché, 'Ammianus Marcellinus und der Tod des Julian' (1965), in: R. Klein, ed., *Julian Apostata* (Darmstadt 1978), 355-380; Gunther Sceda, 'Die Todesstunde Kaiser Julians', *Historia* 15 (1966), 380-383; Barry Baldwin, 'Hadrian's farewell to life. Some arguments for authenticity', *Classical Quarterly* 20 (1970), 372-374; Herbert Bannert, 'Der Tod des Kaisers Marcus' in: *Latinität und alte Kirche. Festschrift für Rudolf Hanslik zum 70. Geburtstag* (Vienna & Graz 1977), 9-19; Barry Baldwin, 'Hadrian's death in the Historia Augusta', *Gymnasium* 90 (1983), 546; Udo Frings, 'Neros Tod. Sueton, Nero 47-49', *Anregung. Zeitschrift für Gymnasialpädagogik* 31(1985), 229-238; Geza Alföldy, 'Herodian über den Tod Mark Aurels', in: G. Alföldy, ed., *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches* (Stuttgart 1989), 14-24; Anthony R. Birley, 'Hadrian's farewell to life', *Laverna* 5 (1994), 176-205; Charles Leslie Murison, 'The Death of Titus: A Reconsideration', *The Ancient History Bulletin* 9,3/4 (1995), 135-142.

⁶ Willibald Schmidt, *De ultimis morientium verbis* (Marburg 1914); Peter Schunck, *Römisches Sterben. Studien zu Sterbeszenen in der kaiserzeitlichen Literatur, insbesondere bei Tacitus* (Heidelberg 1955); Werner Portmann, 'Antike: Sterben/Tod', in: P. Dinzelbacher, ed., *Europäische Mentalitätsgeschichte. Hauptthemen in Einzeldarstellungen* (Stuttgart 1993), 231-244.

⁷ Herodotus 1.30; see my forthcoming article 'Ancient Euthanasia 'Good Death' and The Doctor in the Graeco-Roman World' in *Social Science and Medicine*.

counterpart in the beatification of the virtuous ruler in his final act. The phrase 'final act' is purposely chosen to convey the notion that the life of any prince is one continuous show. Even in the last remaining monarchies of the modern world, one can observe that royals are permanently putting on a performance. Since even the contemporary can never be sure 'how he or she really is', the authenticity of the ancient reports on Roman emperors and their death is even more unreliable.

On the other hand, there is and was a firmly established scenario for playing the ruler. It is, therefore, highly probable that emperors, especially those who were much concerned about their reputation, 'staged' their own death. In this respect, many an emperor could have made Nero's last words his own : "Qualis artifex pereo".⁸ Actually, already the first *princeps* demonstrated that he was aware that being an emperor was one great act:

"On the last day of his life he asked every now and then whether there was any disturbance on his account; then calling for a mirror, he had his hair combed and his falling jaws set straight. After that, calling in his friends and asking whether it seemed to them that he had played the comedy of life fitly, he added the tag: 'Since well I've played my part, all clap your hands and from the stage dismiss me with applause.'"⁹

Augustus, who set the stage for proper imperial behaviour, was also a model in the art of imperial dying. Up to the end, he showed his concern for the commonwealth, by asking whether there were any troubles, and he also cared for the well-being of his family, being worried about the health of Drusus' daughter. Next, he cared for his personal decorum by combing his hair and making sure that his corpse would not offer the unpleasant sight of an open mouth. Augustus did not die in solitude. His friends were with him and he gave up the ghost in the arms of his most trusted companion Livia.

Augustus' death was not painful, he got an *exitus facilis* just as he had wished for: "For almost always on hearing that anyone had died swiftly and painlessly, he prayed that he might have a like *euthanasia*, for that was the term he was wont to use." (Suetonius, *Augustus* 99.2). The use of the Greek word *euthanasia* for a gentle, rapid death is quite uncommon. Cicero

⁸ Suetonius, *Nero* 49.1.

⁹ Augustus quoted here in Greek a clause from comedy. See Suetonius, *Augustus* 99.1, as translated in the Loeb edition by J.C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA & London 1920).

still used it in the current meaning of a noble death. In the chaotic situation after the murder of Caesar on March 15th 44 BCE he had left Rome on the advice of Atticus. This same close friend urged him only a few months later to come back. Cicero was surprised about this change of mind and showed some irritation over Atticus' arguments: "What did astonish me beyond measure was that you should use the words: "A fine thing for you, who talk of a noble death (*euthanasia*), a fine thing indeed. Go desert your country."¹⁰

Finally, in the description of Augustus' model death, it is stressed that he hardly lost contact with reality. The one sign of wandering before he breathed his last breath was that he called "out in sudden terror that forty young men were carrying him off. And even this was rather a premonition than a delusion, since it was that very number of soldiers of the praetorian guard that carried him forth to lie in state," so Suetonius (*Augustus* 99.2) plays down the weakening of Augustus' mind.

These topics recur in the descriptions of the death of respected emperors. As the degree of self-determination is an essential element in staging the imperial decease, we will explore the various arts of dying in a sequence that starts with involuntary, sudden death by murder (and one accidental end). Next, we will discuss imperial ends on the battlefield, then natural death, and finally the cases of *mors voluntaria*, in which the will promises to play a major part.

Making the best of murder

In principle, being murdered is a fate that befitted tyrants such as Caligula and Domitian. The '*optimus princeps*' even exhorted his praetorian prefect not to hesitate if he would turn out to be an evil ruler. When handing over the ceremonial dagger to Suburanus, Trajan said: "To you this I entrust to my protection, if I act rightly; if not, rather against me."¹¹

In his study on the death of evil emperors, Arand gives numerous ghastly details of the end, which rogue rulers met. As the script of a murder case is dictated by the enemy, the room for staging is very limited, but the emperor of good fame can try to make the best of it.

What he cannot choose, of course, is the place. It added to Caracalla's disrepute that he was killed when he had withdrawn to urinate, whereas Heliogabalus was finished off at the common lavatory. Caesar, on

¹⁰ Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 16.7.3.

¹¹ Aurelius Victor, *Caesares* 13.9: Tibi istum ad munimentum mei committo, si recte agam; sin aliter, in me magis.

the contrary, enjoyed a proper setting for his last moments being murdered in the senate. He also preserved his dignity by accepting death when it was inevitable and taking care of decorum, as Augustus did later. Caesar put the slip of his toga over his head and covered his legs. Similar care for a decent appearance after death is shown by Pertinax (ruled 31 December 192 - 28 March 193):

“After they had burst into the inner portion of the Palace, however, Pertinax advanced to meet them and sought to appease them with a long and serious speech. In spite of this, one Tausius, a Tungrian, after haranguing the soldiers into a state of fury and fear, hurled his spear at Pertinax’ breast. And he, after a prayer to Jupiter the Avenger, veiled his head with his toga and was stabbed by the rest.”¹²

In this case, as well as with Caesar, death came rapidly by stabbing. Emperors of bad fame like Caligula have a slow and gruesome end. First Cassius Chaerea gave him a swing with his sword and split his jaw. According to some he did so intentionally to make the tyrant die a slow death. When Caligula tried to escape he was caught by Cornelius Sabinus who made him stumble. Then the other conspirators came running on. They stabbed like savages and did not stop when he was dead; some even attacked him with their teeth. (Suetonius, *Caius Caligula* 58.3). The brutal end that took some time befitted a brute. Pupienus and Balbinus also underwent a slow killing.

Bodies of evil emperors were disgraced by mutilation. The corpse of Numerianus, who was murdered, was transported for quite a time in a chariot until the stench became intolerable. On the contrary, Caesar’s body is described as being well preserved.

Finally, a murdered Caesar can save his face by speaking some fine last words. Pertinax may not have equalled Caesar’s “*Tu quoque, Brute*”, but he shows proper resignation in the face of death. Herodian tells:

“So he left his room and faced the soldiers. He tried to find out why they had made the attack and to persuade them not to be

¹² *SHA, Pertinax* 11, as translated by David Magie, *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae* I (Cambridge, MA & London 1921), 339.

carried away by their passions. Even then he kept his moderate, noble expression and his appearance of imperial dignity (μένων και τότε εν σώφρονι και σεμνῶ σχήματι και τηρῶν τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξίωμα) by showing no sign that he was afraid or flinching from the danger, or that he was begging for mercy. ‘My death,’ he said, ‘at your hands is of no great consequence; I am an old man and have lived a long and distinguished life. Every man’s life must come to an end sometime.’¹³

So although in general murder does not constitute a fine show, a few rulers manage to make the best of the role enforced upon them.

Not too unlucky Accident

The only case of an emperor meeting death by accident is Theodosius II. He died in consequence of a fall from his horse, breaking his back or neck, after a reign of 42 years. His death is not depicted as very miserable or shameful as he was able to appoint his successor Marcianus on his deathbed.

Falling on the good side

For the assessment of imperial death on the battlefield, it is essential whether a ruler died fighting foreign enemies or defeated by another victorious claimant to the throne. In the latter case, it is the death of a loser who deserves no better than a shameful death. There are two cases of emperors who died during a campaign against foreign enemies. No details are reported on Decius’ end during the battle with the Goths in 251. His body was never recovered.

On the other hand, the pagan saint Julian died as a hero and a philosopher according to the sympathetic version of Ammianus Marcellinus, Seriously wounded, he was brought to his tent, where he demonstrated the power of his spirit by exhorting his disconsolate and sorrowful companions: “Most opportunely, friends, has the time now come for me to leave life (*advenit, o socii, nunc abeundi tempus e vita inpendio tempestivum*) [...]” Julian is proud to die from the blow of a sword: “I thank the eternal power that I meet my end, not from secret plots, not from the pain of a tedious illness, nor by the fate of a criminal, but that in the mid-career of glorious renown I have been found worthy of so noble a departure from this world.” He therefore accepts his fate with joy (“*gaudens abeo*”). Wishing to distribute his goods

¹³ Herodianus 2.5.5-6, as translated by C.R. Whittaker (Cambridge, MA & London 1969).

among his friends he discovers that his *magister officiorum* Anatolius had been killed “and he who recently with such courage had been indifferent to his own fate, grieved deeply over that of a friend.” He comforts his weeping friends, as another Socrates and when all are silent, he engages with the philosophers Maximus and Priscus in an intricate discussion about the nobility of the soul. Death came suddenly and without pain, almost like the *exitus facilis* or *euthanasia* Augustus had not in vain longed for: “*vita facilius est absolutus*”.¹⁴ Julian’s end demonstrates valiant and philosophical contempt of death, shared with a company of close friends.

Natural death in equanimity

Generally, virtuous emperors die in bed at an advanced age. Antoninus Pius was such a blessed ruler who got a *mors matura*. He was 70 years of age when he quite unexpectedly died from eating too much Alpine cheese.

“On the second day, as he saw that his condition was becoming worse, in the presence of his prefects he committed the state and his daughter to Marcus Antoninus, and gave order that the golden statue of Fortune, which was wont to stand in the bed-chamber of the emperor, be given to him. Then he gave the watchword to the officer of the day as “Equanimity,” and so, turning as if to sleep, gave up the ghost at Lorium. While he was delirious with fever, he spoke of nothing save the state and certain kings with whom he was angry. To his daughter he left his private fortune, and in his will he remembered all his household with suitable legacies.”¹⁵

Once more we find the familiar topics of an emperor who dies at a respected place – in this case the imperial villa at Lorium – who takes care of his family and the state and who hardly is *alienatae mentis*.¹⁶ The watchword that Antoninus Pius gave characterises the state of mind with which a good emperor meets his end: equanimity. Antoninus Pius’ death was as placid as his person was reputed to be.

¹⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus 25.3, as translated by John C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA & London 1940).

¹⁵ *SHA, Antoninus Pius* 12, as translated by David Magie *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae* I (Cambridge, MA & London 1921), 131.

¹⁶ *alienatus in febris nihil aliud quam de re publica et de his regibus, quibus irascebatur, loquutus est.*

In his own way, Vespasian, who also died at an advanced age (69), remained true to himself by making jokes up to the end: “Woe’s me. Methinks I’m turning into a god.”¹⁷ In addition, he had the good luck of dying at a familiar place, his estate near Reate, where he spent the summer every year. Although he suffered from problems with his intestines, ascribed to a “too free use of the cold waters, he nevertheless continued to perform his duties as emperor, even receiving embassies as he lay in bed. Taken on a sudden with such an attack of diarrhoea that he all but swooned, he said: ‘a commander ought to die standing’, and while he was struggling to get on his feet, he died in the arms of those who tried to help him, on the ninth day before the Calends of July, at the age of sixty-nine years, one month and seven days.”¹⁸ Even in his last posture, Vespasian tried to preserve his dignity.

In the days of the emperor Marcus Aurelius the imperial code of behaviour was fully developed. In his *To myself* he shows awareness of the behaviour expected of a ruler and the danger that threatened his attempts to remain true to his philosophical self.¹⁹ He reminds himself that death is just natural phenomenon that one has to accept “rationally and with dignity”. Personal judgement should lead to this acceptance and not to “mere obstinacy as the Christians”. The end should not be a dramatic show.²⁰

According to the death report, Marcus stuck to his own scenario. When he grew ill he first discussed with his son the affairs of state. “Then, being eager to die, he refrained from eating and drinking, and so aggravated the disease.” This abstention looks like what Latin calls *inedia* and Greek *apokarteria*, a familiar and respected way of putting an end to one’s life, especially practised by those in old age. Among them, refraining from food is the most frequently reported method.²¹ He communicates with friends his scorn of death and has talks with his son, whom he only sends away from

¹⁷ Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 23.4 : ac ne in metu quidem ac periculo mortis extremo abstinuit iocis. [...] prima quoque morbi accessione: “uae,” inquit, “puto deus fio.”

¹⁸ Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 24.

¹⁹ “Take care that thou art not made into a Caesar, that thou art not dyed with this dye (Ὅρα μὴ ἀποκαίσαρωθῆς, μὴ βαφῆς); for such things happen. Keep thyself then simple, good, pure, serious, free from affectation, a friend of justice, a worshipper of the gods, kind, affectionate, strenuous in all proper acts” (*Ta eis heauton* 6.30, as translated by George Long, *The Meditations by Marcus Aurelius* (New York 1909–1914 [first published in 1862])).

²⁰ *Ta eis heauton* 11.3.

²¹ See my *From Authanasia to Suicide. Self-Killing in Classical Antiquity* (London/New York 1990), 38-39 and graph on page 35.

fear that he might catch the disease. Then “he covered his head as though he wished to sleep and during the night he breathed his last”.²²

The rare case of a third century emperor who died naturally is Claudius Gothicus, who is hailed as an amalgam of Trajan, Antoninus Pius and Augustus.²³ However, his death from a disease is reported with too few details to admit any analysis: “Now when the war with the Goths was finished, there spread a most grievous pestilence, and then Claudius himself was stricken by the disease, and, leaving mankind, he departed to heaven, an abode befitting his virtues.”²⁴

Lack of will in *mors voluntaria*

In principle, a self-chosen death allows for the greatest personal input. Generally, the ancient paradigm of suicide is marked by the stress on volition, a notion conveyed by the most common terms *mors voluntaria* and *hekousios thanatos*.²⁵ Maybe the emperor Marcus Aurelius showed this self-determination in his abstinence from food. His motive for doing so was what in Latin would be called *impatiens doloris* or more generally *taedium vitae*.²⁶ Ancient motivation is dominated by *pudor*, as is to be expected in such a shame society. However, the five assured cases of imperial self-killing show the rather ‘low’ motive of *desperata salus*, i.e. the suicide does not see any other escape than to put an end to his life. All five are aware that their reign and life are over. Maximinus Daia resorted to poison when he was besieged, a means not highly regarded.²⁷ Gordian the Elder “seeing there was no aid in Africa, and being distressed with a great fear of Maximinus and by knowledge of Punic faith, also because Capelianus was assailing him very sharply, and

²² *SHA, Marcus Antoninus* 28.

²³ *SHA, Divus Claudius* 2.3.

²⁴ *SHA, Divus Claudius* 12.

²⁵ See my ‘Voluntary death in Latin’, in: A.P. Orbán & M.G.M. van der Poel, eds., *Ad Litteras. Latin Studies in Honour of J.H. Brouwers* (Nijmegen 2000), 143-161.

²⁶ For ancient motivation of suicide see Van Hooff, op. cit. (n.21) and my more recent paper ‘Hatten antike Selbstmörder eine Psyche?’, *Psychotherapie, in Psychiatrie, Psychotherapeutische Medizin und Klinischer Psychologie* 4.4.2 (1999), 213-224.

²⁷ According to Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 49, the notorious persecutor had a painful, long death struggle. He ate earth and banged his head against the wall, which made his eyes jumped from their sockets. Then finally he saw the Light. Pagan authors are less imaginative: Aurelius Victor has him simply perish near Tarsus (*Caesares* 41.1). Zosimos 2.17.3 says laconically: Μαξιμινον, ὃς διὰ τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπιτῆν Αἴγυπτον ἀπιὼν ἐλπίδι τοῦ συναγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον δυνάμεις ἀρκούσας ἐν Ταρσῶ τελευτᾷ.

because in the end the struggle had wearied him in mind and soul”, even hanged himself, an unseemly method proper to slaves and wives.²⁸

Three emperors, Nero, Otho and Magnentius, at least used a respected way out by using a weapon. Magnentius first killed his kin and then threw himself on his sword (his Caesar Decentius hanged himself eight days later). Nero showed cowardly hesitation in using the dagger against himself.²⁹ Only Otho is depicted as preserving his dignity to the end. The report of his last moments is of special interest as Suetonius tells us that his father Laetus was witness to the events. The example of a common soldier led Otho to give up his life. This man on bringing news of the defeat of Otho’s army “was believed by no one, but was charged by the soldiers now with falsehood and now with cowardice, and accused of running away; whereupon he fell on his swords at the emperor’s feet. My father used to say that at this sight Otho cried out that he would no longer endanger the lives of such brave men, who had deserved so well.”³⁰

Thereupon Otho made sure that his nearest kin and friends took care of their safety. He sent letters of consolation to his sister and to Nero’s widow Messalina, whom he had intended to marry. Then he burned all his letters, to prevent them from bringing danger or harm to anyone at the hands of the victor. He also distributed what money he had with him among his servants. “When he had thus made his preparations and was now resolved upon death (*intentusque iam morti*)” he learned that people who left the camp were seized as deserters. In order to prevent any further violence he said: “Let us add this one and more night to our life.” (these were his very words), and he forbade the offering of violence to anyone. Leaving the door of his bedroom open until a late hour, he gave the privilege of speaking with him to all who wished to come in. After that quenching his thirst with a draught of cold water, he caught up two daggers, and having tried the point of both of them, put one under his pillow. Then closing the doors, he slept very soundly. When he at last woke up at about daylight, he stabbed himself with one single stroke under the left

²⁸ SHA, *Gordiani tres* 16-17: Amata used the ‘nodum informis leti’; cf Vergil *Aeneis* 12.603.

²⁹ Arand 2002, op. cit. (n.3), 208: “Der erste Selbstmord wird von Nero berichtet. Während die ersten paganen Autoren aus schon genannten Gründen nicht den Selbstmord als Tat kritisieren, zeigt sich für sie jedoch in der Ausführung der Charakter des Kaisers. Zögerlich, halbherzig, eben unrömisch tötet sich der Kaiser bei Sueton in einer theatralischen Karikatur auf einen Suizid. Auch Cassius Dio betont noch die Hilfe durch einen Freigelassenen, die den gewählten Tod erst eigentlich verachtenswert macht. Der christliche Autor Eusebios aber berichtet nur noch, Nero habe sich selbst getötet. Ihm ist der Selbstmord als solcher unabhängig von der Ausführungsart bereits ein Negativum.”

³⁰ Suetonius, *Otho* 10.1, as translated by J.C. Rolfe, *Suetonius* II (Cambridge, MA & London 1979).

breast; and now concealing the wound, and now showing it to those who rushed in at his first groan, he breathed his last.³¹

Apart from the emperor Marcus Aurelius who practised *inedia* to hasten his death there are two cases of attempted suicide. The first is that of Macrinus who threw himself from the wagon in which his was transported. Very interesting is the second case of attempted suicide, that of Hadrian, because it raises questions about the permissibility of medical assistance in self-killing, a highly topical problem.

“But Hadrian was now seized with the utmost disgust of life (*ultimo vitae taedio*) and ordered a servant to stab him with a sword. When this was disclosed and reached the ears of Antoninus, he came to the Emperor, and begged him to endure with fortitude the hard necessity of illness, declaring furthermore that he himself would be no better than a parricide, were he, an adopted son, to permit Hadrian to be killed. The emperor then became angry and ordered the betrayer of the secret to be put to death. The man, however, was saved by Antoninus. Then Hadrian immediately drew up his will, though he did not lay aside the administration of the empire. Once more after making his will, he attempted to kill himself, but the dagger was taken from him. He then became more violent, and he even demanded poison from his physician, who thereupon killed himself in order that he might not to have administer it.”³²

Hadrian's attempts to kill himself have all the marks of the 'restless emperor' he was.³³ By his impetuous ways he caused much distress among those who attended him, who also had to fear the anger of Antoninus Pius, Hadrian's successor designate. Apparently, the medical doctor whom Hadrian asked to help him could find no other way out of the terrible dilemma but to kill himself. No reference is made of any moral scruples on the part of the anonymous physician. There is no reason to assume that he stuck to his Hippocratic oath.

³¹ Suetonius, *Otho* 11.

³² SHA, *Hadrianus* 24.8-12.

³³ Anthony R. Birley, *Hadrian. The restless emperor* (London & New York 1997).

Firstly, we do not know whether Hadrian's physician belonged to the Hippocratic school, which after all was just one of the medical sects of antiquity. Secondly, it is uncertain to what extent the oath was ever sworn in that one particular school. The ancient evidence is very meagre.³⁴ Even if the Hippocratic oath had some meaning as a professional ethical code for the limited group of doctors, it should not be understood as dealing with assisted suicide, but with surreptitious murder by a doctor.³⁵ The context suggests this meaning, for in the lines preceding the key phrase the new doctor promises to refrain from 'injustice' (*adikia*). The Greek syntax points at this interpretation:

“Ὅτι δώσω δὲ οὐδὲ φάρμακον οὐδενὶ αἰτηθεὶς θανάσιμον:
and I will not give a drug that is deadly to anyone if asked [for
it].”³⁶

In the Greek text the 'anybody' to whom the deadly medicine is not given is in the dative, whereas 'requested' is nominative, going with the subject, the 'I' who swears. If the person who requests and to whom the fatal drug is not given were to be one and the same person, the ancient Greek would be something like 'to anybody requesting', both words in the same case, i.e. dative, especially as the words follow each other. Now the different cases, dative and nominative, are indicative that the two words are not to be linked. The person who requests is not necessarily the person to whom the poison is (not) given. The Hippocratic doctor only swears that under no circumstance shall he lend himself to murder by poisoning on the request of a third person since, being in close contact with a patient, he was in a position to kill secretly.³⁷ We should remember that the fear of being

³⁴ Vivian Nutton, 'Hippocratic Morality and Modern Medicine', in: Hellmut Flashar & Jacques Jouanna, eds., *Médecine et morale dans l'antiquité*. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 43 (Vandoeuvres-Genève 1996), 46: "Pious hopes from Scribonius Largus, a sentence in Gregory of Nazianzus, Arabic reconstructions of Classical Antiquity, and the Constitutions of Melfi do not inspire great faith in the universality of the Oath, when contrasted with the numerous occasions when one can state that the Oath was *not* sworn."

³⁵ See for this interpretation of the Oath: Thomas Rütten, 'Medizinethische Themen in den deontologischen Schriften des Corpus Hippocraticum', in: Flashar & Jouanna 1997, op. cit. (n.34), 65-120, especially at 68-98.

³⁶ Translation by Heinrich von Staden, 'Personal and Professional Conduct in the Hippocratic Oath', *Journal of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 51 (1996), 404-437 at 407.

³⁷ Even if one would argue that the passage refers to any assistance in bringing about death requested by the patient or a third person, the stress certainly is not on assisted suicide. The refusal to commit *adikia* also points to murder, for self-killing was not regarded as a criminal act by ancient law, as was

poisoned was common in antiquity. Many a sudden death that was probably due to food poisoning was ascribed to a criminal act. However, a patient who hired a Hippocratic physician could be sure that he did not run the risk of being murdered by a criminal doctor. The argument that the oath formula was understood in antiquity to mean this, is supported by the hexametric, more elaborate version of the Oath: "Nor should somebody by presents make me to commit a painful trespass and to administer to a man harmful drugs that will bring about a fatal evil."³⁸ There is ample proof that ancient doctors were ready to assist in suicide, Seneca's being the most famous euthanasia case in the primary ancient sense of the word, i.e. a noble death. It was Statius Annaeus, who produced the hemlock, the poison hallowed by Socrates. Statius is denoted as a trusted friend of proved medical skill.³⁹ So there is little reason to suppose that Hadrian's doctor came to kill himself by any other reason than the impossible dilemma he was confronted with, given the anger of both the ruling emperor and the emperor designate.

The story of Hadrian's prolonged death is as ambiguous, as was his reputation in antiquity. Anyway, he too is credited with having preserved his mental faculties until the last moment, for

... he is said, as he lay dying, to have composed the following lines:
 animula vagula blandula
 hospes comesque corporis,
 quae nunc abibis in loca
 pallidula rigida nudula
 nec ut soles dabis iocos!

Such verses as these did he compose, and not many that were better, and also some in Greek.⁴⁰

proven by Andreas Wacke, 'Der Selbstmord im römischen Rechts und in der Rechtsentwicklung', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 97 (1980), 26-77.

³⁸ Greek text in I.L. Heiberg, ed., *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* I.1 (Leipzig & Berlin 1927), 5-6.

³⁹ Tacitus, *Annals* 15.64: *arte medicinae probatum*.

⁴⁰ SHA, *Hadrianus* 23.9:

O blithe little soul, thou, fitting away,
 Guest and comrade of this my clay,
 Whither now goest thou, to what place
 Bare and ghastly and without grace?
 Nor, as thy wont was, joke and play.

In any case, Hadrian died a natural death. His attempts of suicide did anything but embellish his end. The element of self-determination was only present in the abstention of food by the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Among the cases of suicide committed, only that of Otho constitutes a noble death.

Between perception and ritualisation

In his dissertation on the ignominious death of emperors, Tobias Arand sees less distortion in the stories about the end of virtuous emperors than of their evil colleagues. He discerns two other trends, less dramatisation and more restraint. The record is not embellished by rumours about death causes or circumstances.⁴¹ It is credible that the stories on the death of the virtuous, generally successful, emperors have a higher degree of veracity, as even the history of good death is written by the victors. The authors who sealed their fame had no reason to vilify them. Rather, one can suspect them of idealising the emperor's finale. Their noble picture is undoubtedly due to a positive perception.

On the other hand, one should not forget that these fortunate emperors were familiar with the scenario of the last act that they had to play. After all, there was a long tradition of good dying in antiquity. Moreover, the worthy emperors of the second century could look back upon a series of predecessors and the records of their death. A ruler such as Marcus Aurelius was certainly aware of the paradigm, so he could perform the death rituals of the virtuous emperor as far as it lay in his capacity to stage his finale.

⁴¹ Arand 2002, op. cit. (n.3), 229: "Abschließend lassen sich für die Darstellungen der Tode guter Herrscher drei Haupttendenzen festhalten, die geradezu die Kehrseite der Darstellungen schlechter Tode bilden:

1. Die Darstellungen sind im Kern ihrer Schilderung insgesamt konstanter als die auf schlechte Herrscher bezogenen Schilderungen. Es könnte so auch behauptet werden, daß die 'Spur' des historischen Ereignisses durch die zeitliche Folge der Berichterstattung geradliniger verläuft und die Todesdarstellungen der guten Herrscher die vergangene historische Realität weniger 'deformieren', dieser näherkommen.
2. Die Darstellungen sind deutlich weniger literarisch im Hinblick auf Spannungsbögen durchdramatisiert. Dies bedeutet jedoch nicht, daß nicht auch der Tod des guten Herrschers detailliert oder in einer unterhaltsamen Handlungsfolge berichtet werden konnte. Starb aber ein guter Herrscher an einer Krankheit, wurde dies konstatiert, bestenfalls um durchaus auch erfundene Details mit Bezug zur Lebensschilderung, wie z.B. von der *Historia Augusta* im Falle des Antoninus Pius, erweitert. Aber aber auch ein an sich dramatisches Geschehen wie die Ermordung des guten Alexander Severus wird nicht zusätzlich 'reißerisch', sondern mit eher gebremster Spannung dargestellt.
3. Diese Zurückhaltung der Darstellung geschieht so insgesamt durch den Verzicht auf einige angesprochene erzählerische Elemente. Spekulationen über alternative Todesumstände, mordende Nebenbuhler oder giftmischende Ehefrauen, werden in der Regel vermieden."

Anyway, a natural death such as he had, offered most room for the imperial *ars moriendi*. Contrary to what we expected to find, the suicides of emperors were not models of *mors voluntaria*. These were self-killings from despair, so the liberty to perform was limited. Only Otho demonstrated his self-control to the end. Some imperial victims of murder, like Caesar and Pertinax, succeeded in preserving their dignity, even in their sudden death. With the evil emperors, on the contrary, ghastly physical details are stressed.⁴²

Ideally, the emperor meets his death at an advanced age. Until the last moment, he is in control of his mind. The emperor's *mors matura* is gentle, which also guarantees a well-preserved corpse. Those emperors who in the moment of murder showed concern for their looks demonstrate the importance of decorum.

An emperor who dies nobly faces the end with imperturbability, like a soldier or a Stoic. With friends he discusses the irrelevance of death. Preferably, he utters some unforgettable last words.

The exemplary death does not occur in miserable solitude. The lucky emperor dies at a familiar place. There he is surrounded by friends and family, for whom he shows his concern, both financially and emotionally. He also cares for his staff and the commonwealth. This *euthanasia* constitutes the imperial art of dying.

Nijmegen, October 2002

⁴² Arand 2002, op. cit. (n.3), 244: "Die deutliche Mehrheit der geschilderten Tode der schlechten Kaiser sind gewalttätige Sterbeakte: 'Mord und Hinrichtung', Selbstmord', 'Tod im Kampf' und selbst die Tode im Bereich 'Krankheiten' sind nicht selten von grober Grausamkeit der Schilderung."

Appendix: Causes of death of official emperors

Nr.	Name	
1	Caesar	Murder
	0	↑ first century BCE: 1 violent
2	Augustus	Natural
3	Tiberius	Natural
4	Caligula	Murder
5	Claudius	Murder
6	Nero	Suicide
7	Galba	Murder
8	Otho	Suicide
9	Vitellius	Murder
10	Vespasianus	Natural
11	Titus	Natural
12	Domitianus	Murder
13	Nerva	Natural
	100	↑ first century CE: 5 natural 7 violent
14	Traianus	Natural
15	Hadrianus	Natural
16	Antoninus	Natural
17	Lucius Verus	Natural
18	Marcus Aurelius	Natural
19	Commodus	Murder
20	Pertinax	Murder
21	Didius Iulianus	Murder
	200	↑ second century CE: 5 natural 3 violent
22	Septimius Severus	Natural
23	Geta	Murder
24	Caracalla	Murder
25	Macrinus	Murder
26	Heliogabalus	murder
27	Alexander Severus	Murder
28	Gordianus I	Suicide
29	Gordianus II	Fallen
30	Maximinus Thrax	murder
31	Pupienus	murder
32	Balbinus	murder

33	Gordianus III	murder
34	Philippus Arabs	Fallen
35	Decius	Fallen
36	Trebonianus Gallus	murder
37	Aemilianus	murder
38	Valerianus	natural
39	Gallienus	murder
40	Claudius Gothicus	natural
41	Quintillus	murder
42	Aurelianus	murder
43	Tacitus	?
44	Florianus	murder
45	Probus	murder
46	Carus	?
47	Numerianus	murder
48	Carinus	murder
	300	↑ 3d century CE: 3 natural 22 violent
49	Diocletianus	natural
50	Constantius I	natural
51	Severus	murder
52	Maximianus	?
53	Galerius	natural
54	Maxentius	Fallen
55	Maximinus Daia	suicide
56	Licinius	murder
57	Constantinus I	natural
58	Constantinus II	Fallen
59	Constans	?
60	Magnentius	suicide
61	Constantius II	natural
62	Iulianus	fallen
63	Iovianus	natural
64	Valentinianus I	natural
65	Valens	fallen
66	Gratianus	murder
67	Maximus	murder
68	Valentinianus II	murder
69	Eugenius	murder

70	Theodosius I	natural
	400	↑ 8 natural 11 violent
71	Arcadius	natural
72	Honorius	natural
73	Theodosius II	accident
74	Valentinianus III	murder
75	Maximus	murder
76	Avitus	?
77	Marcianus	natural
78	Maorianus	murder
79	Libius Severus	?
80	Anthemius	murder
81	Olybrius	natural
82	Leo I	natural
83	Leo II	natural
84	Glycerius	natural
85	Nepos	murder
86	Romulus Augustulus	natural
	476	↑ 4 th century: 8 natural 6 violent

RÖMISCHE AMTSINHABER ALS VORBILDER FÜR DIE BISCHÖFE DES 4. JAHRHUNDERTS?

Von
R. HAENSCH

Paulos von Samosata wurde im Winter 268/269¹ von einer Synode führender Bischöfe der östlichen Provinzen des römischen Reichs abgesetzt. Wichtigster Grund waren seine Vorstellungen von der Natur Christi.² Aber man tadelte seine Amtsführung als Bischof von Antiocheia auch in einer Reihe anderer Punkte. So hieß es u. a.: „Auch brauchen wir nicht darüber zu urteilen, daß er nach Hohem trachtet und aufgeblasen ist, sich weltliche Ehren zulegt und sich lieber *ducenarius* nennen läßt als Bischof, stolz auf den Marktplätzen einherschreitet, öffentlich im Gehen Briefe liest und diktiert, von zahlreichem Gefolge umgeben, das ihm teils vorangeht, teils nachfolgt, so daß unser Glaube wegen seines Dünkels und Hochmuts scheel angesehen und gehaßt wird; nicht über seine Gaukeleien auf kirchlichen Versammlungen, die er, nach Ehren haschend und in eitlen Drange,

¹ Folgende Titel werden abgekürzt zitiert:

Chadwick, *Role* = H. Chadwick (and his respondents), *The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society* (Berkeley 1974)

Hartmann, *Teilreich* = U. Hartmann, *Das palmyrenische Teilreich* (Stuttgart 2001)

Instinsky, *Bischofsstuhl* = H. U. Instinsky, *Bischofsstuhl und Kaiserthron* (München 1955)

Jerg, *Vir* = E. Jerg, *Vir venerabilis. Untersuchungen zur Titulatur der Bischöfe in den außerkirchlichen Texten der Spätantike als Beitrag zur Deutung ihrer öffentlichen Stellung* (Wien 1970)

Millar, 'Paul' = F. Millar, 'Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: The Church, Local Culture and Political Allegiance in Third-Century Syria', *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), 1-17

Müller-Wiener, 'Bischofsresidenzen' = W. Müller-Wiener, 'Bischofsresidenzen des 4.-7. Jhs. im östlichen Mittelmeer-Raum', in: *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne. Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste, 21-28 septembre 1986* I (Rome 1989), 651-709

Pallas, 'Episkopion' = D. I. Pallas, 'Episkopion', in: K. Wessel (Hg.), *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* II (Stuttgart 1971), 335-371

Pietri, *Roma* = Ch. Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 2 Bände (Rome 1976)

Pietri, *Entstehen* = Ch. & L. Pietri, *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)* (Freiburg/ Basel/ Wien 1996)

Rist, 'Cyprian' = J. Rist, 'Cyprian von Karthago und Paul von Samosata. Überlegungen zum Verständnis des Bischofsamtes im 3. Jahrhundert', in: R. von Haehling (Hg.), *Rom und das himmlische Jerusalem* (Darmstadt 2000), 257-286

Stommel, 'Bischofsstuhl' = E. Stommel, 'Bischofsstuhl und Hoher Thron', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 1 (1958), 52-78

Teitler, *Notarii* = H. C. Teitler, *Notarii and Exceptores* (Amsterdam 1985).

Zur Datierung der Synode: Millar, 'Paul' 11; präziser als Hartmann, *Teilreich* 317 f.

² Vgl. den Beginn des bei Euseb nicht vollständig zitierten Schreibens der Synode (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.30, besonders 6-7); zu den Gründen, weshalb der Kirchenhistoriker das Schreiben nicht ganz anführte: Millar, 'Paul' 10 f.

ausklügelt und damit die Gemüter argloser Leute in Staunen setzt. So ließ er für sich im Gegensatz zum Jünger Christi eine Tribüne und einen hohen Thron errichten. Auch hat er ein >Sekreton< wie die weltlichen Herrscher und nennt es so”.³

Diese Sätze haben eine intensive Forschungskontroverse ausgelöst.⁴ Man diskutiert inwieweit das Geschehen mit den allgemeinen politischen Ereignissen im Osten des römischen Reiches in diesen Jahren zu erklären ist. Erörtert wird, ob Paulos eine offizielle Funktion im Dienste der Herrn von Palmyra, die ja in diesem Jahrzehnt auch die wichtigsten Machthaber im Osten des römischen Reiches waren, bekleidete und ob dies sein Auftreten erkläre.

Das Geschehen wirft aber auch die grundsätzlichere Frage auf, inwieweit sich Bischöfe in einer Zeit, in der die neue Religion von Kaiser Gallien zumindest indirekt anerkannt worden war und rasch an Bedeutung gewann, am Vorbild weltlicher Machthaber orientierten. Diese Frage ist vor allem in den 50er und 60er Jahren im Anschluß an Thesen Theodor Klausers intensiver diskutiert worden. Paulos von Samosata war dabei insbesondere für Hans Ulrich Instinsky in seiner Studie “Bischofsstuhl und Kaiserthron” wichtig. Die Diskussion verstummte weitgehend,⁵ als deutlich wurde, wie schwierig die Frage zu beantworten war, “wann genau und wie der Übergang von außerkirchlichem zu kirchlichem Zeremoniell geschehen sei”.⁶

Diese Fragestellung aufzugreifen und fortzuführen, setzt voraus zu klären, ob Paulos eine offizielle Funktion in der römischen Reichsverwaltung innehatte oder ob er sich nur am Vorbild solcher Amtsinhaber orientierte. Daß nur das letztere gemeint sein kann, hat insbesondere Fergus Millar aufgezeigt, auch wenn immer wieder und gerade in einer jüngst erschienenen Studie von Udo Hartmann die gegenteilige

³ Euseb, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.30, 8-9; zitiert wird - mit leichten Modifikationen - die Übersetzung von H. Kraft.

⁴ Vgl. zuletzt z.B. L. de Blois, *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus* (Leiden 1976), 184; Hartmann, *Teilreich* 315 ff.; Rist, Cyprian.

⁵ Bezeichnenderweise ist der Artikel “Hofzeremoniell” im *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* nie in der von Th. Klauser geplanten Form (dazu Jerg, *Vir* 69) erschienen (s. jetzt *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 16 [1994], 1-4). Die grundsätzlichere Frage, inwieweit das Christentum von den Strukturen des umgebenden römischen Reiches und speziell seines Rechtes geprägt wurde, ist allerdings weiter erörtert worden, s. z. B. E. Herrmann, *Ecclesia in Re Publica* (Frankfurt/ M., Bern, Cirencester 1980) und jetzt z. B. A. Hoffmann, *Kirchliche Strukturen und Römisches Recht bei Cyprian von Karthago* (Paderborn u.a. 2000).

⁶ Jerg, *Vir* 69 mit Hinweis auf gleichartige Stellungnahmen in späteren Arbeiten Klausers.

Ansicht vertreten wird.⁷ Selbst wenn Paulos den Titel *vir ducenarius* zu Recht beanspruchen konnte, bedeutet dies nicht, daß er ein hoher römischer Amtsinhaber war. Millar arbeitete an den einzelnen Passagen des Briefes heraus, wie sehr das Auftreten des Paulos in dem Synodalschreiben als Konsequenz persönlicher Vorlieben des Paulos dargestellt wurde. Paulos wollte lieber *ducenarius* genannt werden als Bischof (δοικηνάριος μάλλον ἢ ἐπίσκοπος θέλων καλεῖσθαι), Paulos habe sich ein Tribunal und einen hohen Thronos besorgt.⁸ Nichts werde als Konsequenz einer übernommenen staatlichen Funktion dargestellt.

Dabei hätten hohe weltliche Ämter seinen Gegnern glänzende Angriffspunkte geboten: So hätte Paulos entweder Kapitalgerichtsbarkeit ausüben müssen, hätte also gegen das fünfte Gebot und andere Aussagen der Bibel den Tod von Menschen anordnen müssen. Falls er aber eine Funktion im Bereich der Finanzverwaltung ausgeübt hätte, wäre er für den Einzug von Abgaben verantwortlich gewesen. Mit Leichtigkeit hätte man ihm dann Habgier unterstellen können. Wenn dennoch zahlreiche Forscher von einer staatlichen Funktion des Paulos ausgehen, so weil sie wie z.B. jüngst Hartmann der Ansicht sind: "Schließlich bliebe der Vorwurf, daß sich Paulus lieber *ducenarius* als Bischof nennen ließ, unverständlich, wenn nicht beiden Titeln auch ein Posten entsprochen hätte".⁹ Dahinter steckt die selbst bei Millar zu fassende Annahme, daß der Titel *ducenarius* "as used in Antioch, it could in normal times only have referred to the procurator of the province of Syria Coele".¹⁰ Genau dies trifft aber spätestens für die sechziger Jahre des 3. Jh. nicht mehr zu.¹¹ Exakt ins Jahr 267 gehört nämlich das erste Hans-Georg Pflaum bekannte Beispiel dafür, daß ein Ritter den Titel *vir ducenarius* führte, obwohl er nur eine Funktion bekleidete, die in der Hohen Kaiserzeit keinesfalls den Rang einer solchen Procuratur hatte - nämlich die des Epistrategen¹² (Nach Pflaum wäre es nur eine sexagenare Procurator

⁷ Millar, 'Paul', besonders 10 ff., bzw. Hartmann, *Teilreich* 315 ff. (dort Anm. 213 ein Forschungsüberblick).

⁸ βῆμα μὲν καὶ θρόνον ὑψηλὸν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευασάμενος. Millar, 'Paul' 13: "Everything that is said of the improper activities of Paul relates to the life of the Christian congregation."

⁹ Hartmann, *Teilreich* 319 - wenn er von "beiden Titeln" spricht, dann offensichtlich deshalb, weil er in einer *petitio principis* davon ausgeht, daß der Titel *ducenarius* untrennbar mit demjenigen des *procurator* verbunden war.

¹⁰ Millar, 'Paul' 12.

¹¹ So jetzt auch Rist, 'Cyprian' 282.

¹² H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire Romain* II (Paris 1960), 950 f. mit Berufung auf P. Oxy. XVII 2130; dazu auch J. D. Thomas, *The epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. Part 2. *The Roman epistrategos* (Opladen 1982), 52.

gewesen). Spätestens in den sechziger Jahren des 3. Jh. begann also der Prozess der "dévaluation" des Titels *vir ducenarius*. Im Jahre 317 hatte er seinen Abschluß gefunden. Aus diesem Jahr stammt ein im Codex Theodosianus überliefertes Gesetz, nach dem die *ducena dignitas* wie andere *dignitates* beispielsweise an *primipilares* oder *Caesariani* nach erfolgreichem Ende ihrer jeweiligen Tätigkeit verliehen werden konnte.¹³

Paulos muß also keine Stellung im Rahmen der römischen Provinzialadministration bekleidet haben. Auch mit dem Vorwurf, er lege (ὑποδύμενος) sich κοσμικὰ ἀξιώματα zu, brauchen nur Ehrentitel wie der des *ducenarius* gemeint gewesen zu sein¹⁴ und nicht notwendigerweise weltliche Posten.¹⁵ Die 'weltlichen Herrscher' (οἱ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχοντες) waren also Vorbilder, aber Paulos gehörte wohl nicht zu ihnen. Mit ἄρχοντες meinten die Synodalen ganz offensichtlich generell hohe römische Amtsinhaber¹⁶ und nicht speziell den Kaiser.¹⁷ Hätten sie sich nur auf ihn beziehen wollen, so hätte man dies z.B. durch den Terminus βασιλεύς o.ä. deutlicher gemacht und gleichzeitig noch mehr die Hybris des Paulos herausgestellt. Ganz offensichtlich findet sich in diesem Schreiben ein Sprachgebrauch, der bisher immer erst mit dem 4. und den folgenden Jahrhunderten verbunden wurde. In den literarischen Quellen dieser Zeit meint ἄρχων gerne Provinzstatthalter, *vicarius* oder *praefectus praetorio*.¹⁸

In zweierlei Hinsicht orientierte sich Paulos nach Ansicht der Bischöfe am Vorbild solcher hohen Amtsinhaber: Erstens habe er bei seinen öffentlichen Auftritten - und zwar an solchen Plätzen, die wie die ἀγοαὶ ganz besonders im Licht der Öffentlichkeit standen - durch die Größe seines Gefolges und seine Geschäftigkeit - selbst im Gehen bearbeitete er noch seine Korrespondenz - seine Bedeutung hervorheben wollen. Zweitens habe er aus dem gleichen Grund bestimmte bauliche Einrichtungen in dem von ihm benutzten Kirchenraum geschaffen. Wie die Machthaber der Welt habe er für ein βῆμα, ein Tribunal, mit einem hohen θρόνος, einem hohen Stuhl,

¹³ CTh 8.4.3; 10.7.1; 10.20.1; 12.1.5; dazu C. Lepelley, 'Du triomphe à la disparition. Le destin de l'ordre équestre de Dioclétien à Théodose', in: S. Demougin u. a., ed., *L'ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie (IIe siècle av. J.-C. - IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)* (Rome 1999), 629-646, hier 632.

¹⁴ S. z.B. P. Oxy. IX 1204 Z. 15 f. (299).

¹⁵ Anders Hartmann, *Teilreich* 318; vgl. auch a.O. 318 f.: "weltliche Aufgaben", "hohes weltliches Amt", "mehreren Posten".

¹⁶ So auch Stommel, 'Bischofsstuhl' 54 f.

¹⁷ Wie dies z.B. Instinsky, *Bischofsstuhl* 14 annahm.

¹⁸ E. Hanton, 'Lexique explicatif du Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure', *Byzantion* 4 (1927-1928), 53-136, hier 67 f.; R. Kotansky, 'Magic in the Court of the Governors of Arabia', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88 (1991), 41-60, hier 51f.

und für ein σήκηρητον, einen Raum für Verhandlungen, die nicht öffentlich sein sollten, gesorgt.

Obwohl noch nicht darauf hingewiesen wurde, versteht es sich keineswegs von selbst, daß gerade diese zwei Einrichtungen, das σήκηρητον und der θρόνος, genannt werden. Der erste sonstige Beleg für σήκηρητον als Bezeichnung für eine Räumlichkeit findet sich selbst in den Papyri, also einer dichten und der alltäglichen Administration nahen Quellengattung, erst im Jahr 299 (P.Oxy. IX 1204 Z. 12: ein σήκηρητον eines *rationalis*). Auch der entsprechende lateinische Terminus *secretarium* erscheint erst spät und recht selten in vordiokletianischer Zeit.¹⁹ Daß dies kein Zufall ist, zeigt sich daran, daß in den Papyri der folgenden Jahrzehnte der Begriff dann mehrfach bezeugt ist.²⁰ Den zeitlich frühesten Beleg stellt wahrscheinlich die Passio Scillitanorum dar. Wie bei allen anderen Märtyrerakten läßt sich allerdings nicht exakt feststellen, wann dieser Bericht über einen Christenprozeß des Jahres 180 in die heute vorliegende Form gegossen wurde. Die zeitlich nächste Erwähnung eines *secretarium* bietet wahrscheinlich eine der beiden Fassungen der Acta Proconsularia Cyprians.²¹ Daß diese Bezeichnung erst so spät belegt ist, verwundert auch nicht allzusehr. Traditionell vollzog sich römische Rechtsprechung in aller Öffentlichkeit, also primär auf dem *forum* oder - falls dies z.B. aus klimatischen Gründen nicht möglich war - in einer *basilica*.²²

Geschlossene Räumlichkeiten für die Rechtsprechung sind zwar seit der frühen Kaiserzeit bezeugt. Aber sie wurden zunächst allem Anschein

¹⁹ Nach O. Seeck, RE II A 2, 1 (1921) 979-981 s. v. *secretarium*, 979 würde sogar Lactantius, *de mortibus persecutorum* 15, 5 den ersten Beleg darstellen. Alle Belege im Codex Iustinianus gehören ans Ende des 4. oder Beginn des 5. Jh.

²⁰ P.Ryl. IV 653 = ChLA IV 254 Z. 1 (*praeses Aegyptiae Herculiae*; 318-320); P.Theod. 13 = ChLA XLI 1204 I Z. 1 (*praeses Aegyptiae Herculiae*; 321); ChLA XLI 1188 + SPP XX 283 = P.Harrauer 46 (*praeses Thebaidis*; 332); P.Oxy. LXIII 4381 = ChLA XLVII 1431 (*dux Aegypti*; 375); ChLA XII 522 = SB XVI 12581 Z. 1 (310 ?); die Daten nach J.D. Thomas, 'P.Ryl. IV 654: the Latin Heading', *Chronique d'Égypte* 73 (1998), 125-143; vgl. A. Łukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte Romaine* (Warszawie 1986), 47 f. Philostratos gebraucht in der *Vita Apollinii* 4.44.2 (ἀπόρητον δικαστήριον) den Terminus σήκηρητον nicht und ist angesichts des romanhaften Charakters der Szene auch höchstens als Hinweis auf die Verhältnisse zu Lebzeiten des Philostratos, aber nicht denen des Apollonios, zu werten (anders Seeck 1921, a.a.O. [Anm. 19], hier 979).

²¹ *Acta Scillitanorum* 1 bzw. *Acta Cypriani* 1. Im Fall der von H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford 1972) gesammelten *Acta martyrum* finden sich entsprechende Hinweise ferner in der *Passio Montani* (Nr. 15, 6. 21); *Passio Crispinae* (Nr. 24, 1: *in secretario pro tribunali adsidente*); *Passio Eupli* (Nr. 25 a, 1: ἐν τῷ σικριταρίῳ πρὸ βήλου; b, 1: *extra velum secretarii*) und in den *Acta Phileae* (Nr. 27, col. XII Z. 4: ἔθυσεν ἐν τῷ συνκρήτῳ) - also jeweils Akten von Märtyrern der diokletianischen Verfolgung.

²² Vgl. Seeck 1921, a. a. O. (Anm. 19), 979.

nach als *auditoria* bezeichnet. So tut dies z.B. Tacitus, aber auch noch das amtliche Protokoll einer Gerichtssitzung Caracallas im Jahr 216.²³ Der Übergang vom Terminus *auditorium* zu demjenigen des *secretarium* spiegelt aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach einen Prozeß des zunehmenden Ausschlusses der Öffentlichkeit bei bestimmten staatlichen Handlungen und insbesondere Rechtsverfahren wieder. Das wird aber generell erst für ein spätantikes Phänomen gehalten.

Noch viel mehr gilt das für den *θρόνος* eines römischen Amtsinhabers, zu dem Paulos anscheinend die prinzipiell schon seit der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.²⁴ bezeugte bischöfliche *καθέδρα* umgestaltet hatte (Natürlich fassen wir das Handeln des Paulos nur in dem parteiischen Reflex seiner Gegner. Aber wenn ihre Vorwürfe ganz haltlos gewesen wären, hätten sie dem Beklagten eine viel zu große Chance gegeben, sie zu widerlegen und damit letztlich das ganze Verfahren in Frage zu stellen). In Hanns Gabelmanns Studie "Audienz- und Tribunalszenen", heißt es: "Die *cathedra* <...> wird erst in der Spätantike zur Insignie von Beamten und anderen Würdenträgern".²⁵ Thomas Schäfer schließt sich seinem Urteil an.²⁶ Ins 4. oder die folgenden Jahrhunderte wurden bisher alle Darstellungen eines solchen *θρόνος* auf archäologischen Denkmälern datiert. Die meines Wissens zeitlich früheste soll in die Zeit kurz nach der Mitte des 4. Jh. Gehören.²⁷ Ebenfalls dem 4. oder den folgenden Jahrhunderten wies man bisher die inschriftlichen Epigramme zu Ehren von Statthaltern oder höherrangigen Trägern der Provinzialadministration zu, die gerne auch auf den ruhmvollen Sitz, den *ὑψαύχης θῶκος*, anspielen.²⁸ Erstmals 325 wird in einem Papyrus von einem Statthalter gesprochen, der den Thronos der Statthalterschaft in Alexandria glanzvoll einnehme (*ὁ διακοσμήσας τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρίας*).²⁹

²³ Tacitus, *Dialogus* 39; SEG 17, 759; vgl. auch R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum* (Mainz 1997), 145, 300.

²⁴ Muratorisches Fragment Z. 75 f. (H. Lietzmann, *Das muratorische Fragment und die monarchianischen Prologe zu den Evangelien* [Bonn 1921] bzw. W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen I* [Tübingen 1990], 27-29); vgl. Stommel, 'Bischofsstuhl' 71 f.

²⁵ H. Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (Darmstadt 1984), 191.

²⁶ Th. Schäfer, *Imperii insignia. Sella curulis und fasces* (Mainz 1989), 195.

²⁷ Gabelmann 1984, a. a.O. (Anm. 25), 190 ff., besonders 192; Stommel, 'Bischofsstuhl' 63 ff.

²⁸ L. Robert, *Epigrammes du Bas-Empire. Hellenica IV* (Paris 1948), 17, 35 f., 41-48; etwas anders die entsprechenden Epigramme, in denen der Amtsinhaber als *σύνθρονος* der Dike bezeichnet wird; von diesen gehört mindestens eins in die diokletianische Zeit (Robert, a.O. 25 f., vgl. 74 f.). S. auch den grundsätzlichen Hinweis von Robert, a.O. 109: "les coupures chronologiques dans les institutions et la civilisation sont dans la seconde partie du IIIe siècle et à la fin du VIe".

²⁹ P. Oxy. LIV 3756 Z. 7; 3758 Z. 7 f. 124.

Wir finden also bei Paulos von Samosata von den verschiedenen symbolträchtigen Einrichtungen römischer Herrschaft zwei, das σήκηριτον und den θρόνος, von denen zumindest der letztere allem Anschein nach erst zu seinen Lebzeiten zu einer verbreiteten Erscheinung geworden war. Es sei dahingestellt, ob er sie wirklich so bewußt übernahm, wie es ihm seine Gegner unterstellten, und ob ihn die von diesen behaupteten persönlichen Motive - vor allem seine Hybris (ὑψηλὰ φρονεῖ καὶ ὑπερήρται) - dazu veranlaßten. Vielleicht führte nur ein und dieselbe Zeitströmung zu weitgehend identischen Formen der Machtrepräsentation im weltlichen wie kirchlichen Bereich.

Ob das Verhalten des Paulos tatsächlich so individuell bestimmt war, wie es ihm unterstellt wurde, kann nur am Verhalten anderer Bischöfe überprüft werden.³⁰ Da wir über die des späten 3. Jh. fast nichts wissen, können nur diejenigen des 4. und der folgenden Jahrhunderte zum Vergleich herangezogen werden. Schritten sie auf dem von Paulos eingeschlagenen Weg voran - bestärkt dadurch, daß sich die Rahmenbedingungen durch die Hinwendung Konstantins und seiner Nachfolger zum Christentum wesentlich geändert hatten? Oder blieb das Vorgehen des Paulos weitgehend einzigartig, ist es also letztlich nur mit seiner Person zu erklären? Dieser Frage soll im folgenden anhand von zwei zentralen Aspekten des paulinischen Auftretens - seines Gefolges und der von ihm benützten weltlichen Einrichtungen - nachgegangen werden. Entsprechend dem zeitlichen Rahmen des Workshops werde ich mich dabei vorwiegend auf Nachrichten aus dem 4. Jh. beschränken. Die Entwicklung hatte zwar im Jahre 402 keineswegs einen Endpunkt erreicht. Aber bei solch einem komplexen Thema ist es schon allein von Bedeutung, einmal festzustellen, bis zu welchem Punkt die Entwicklung am Ende der ersten Phase des intensiven Kontaktes zwischen weltlichen und kirchlichen Autoritäten vorangeschritten war.

Man warf Paulos vor, er sei in der Öffentlichkeit δορυφορούμενος aufgetreten. Geht man von der Grundbedeutung des Wortes δορυφορέω aus,

³⁰ Auch Rist, 'Cyprian' bewertet die Amtsführungen von Cyprian und Paulos als zwei unterschiedliche Versuche, die Stellung eines Bischofs in den im fortgeschrittenen 3. Jh. rasch wachsenden Gemeinden neu zu definieren. Es sei dahingestellt, ob man tatsächlich das Scheitern von Paulos mit "Defiziten im menschlichen Bereich" (284) erklären sollte. Auch die letzten Jahre Cyprians sind vom Ketzertaufstreit geprägt und ob sein Ansehen ohne sein Martyrium so unumstritten geblieben wäre, ist keineswegs gesagt. Zur Einschätzung aus heutiger Sicht zum Beispiel Pietri, *Entstehen* 67: „die gleichzeitig ein interessantes Inkulturationsphänomen darstellen und Verhältnisse des vierten Jahrhunderts vorwegnehmen“; ähnlich A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig 1924²), 668.

so hätte ihn eine bewaffnete Begleitung umgeben, deren Waffen, Lanzen, seine Position herausstellten. Allerdings ist die entsprechende Passage nur mit Hilfe eines Partizips formuliert. Sie macht im Gegensatz zu einem Passus aus einer Rede des Demosthenes, auf die allem Anschein nach angespielt wird,³¹ und zu einer parallelen Formulierung in Eusebs Werk selbst,³² keine konkrete Angaben z.B. über die Zahl und Art der Begleiter. Dadurch läßt die Formulierung aber die Möglichkeit offen, die Angabe nur im übertragenen Sinne zu verstehen: Paulos war bei seinen öffentlichen Auftritten von einer Begleitung, die seine Bedeutung heraushob, umgeben. Und ein solches Verständnis im übertragenen Sinn dürfte der Realität entsprochen haben: Es ist nicht nur schwer vorstellbar, daß sich ein Bischof in aller Öffentlichkeit auf eine von ihm bezahlte, zudem mit Hoheitssymbolen versehene, bewaffnete Begleitung stützte. Das hätte nicht nur eine eindeutige Usurpation eines Rechtes römischer Amtsinhaber beinhaltet, sondern auch all den theologischen Stellungnahmen widersprochen, die jede Ausübung militärischer Macht durch Christen und insbesondere christliche Würdenträger ablehnten. Vor allem aber verweist Euseb in einer anderen Passage, in der er dasselbe Partizip bei der Charakterisierung eines römischen Procurators benutzt, explizit auf die Soldaten, die diesen Amtsinhaber als Ehrengarde begleiteten.³³

Genau an diesem Punkt verlief auch nach 312 eine wesentliche Grenze: Noch Jahrhunderte lang verzichtete man darauf, das Vorbild der *officiales* zu kopieren, die in den Stäben der weltlichen Amtsinhaber exekutive Aufgaben durchführten oder für den Personenschutz zuständig waren. Bischöfe stützten sich zwar immer wieder bei einzelnen Problemen auf Soldaten oder *officiales*, die ihnen weltliche Amtsinhaber zur Verfügung gestellt hatten.³⁴ Man setzte auch unter Umständen einmal Untergebene wie die *dekanoi* Konstantinopels oder die *parabalaneis* Alexandreias, die eigentlich andere Aufgaben hatten, zur Durchführung exekutiver Maßnahmen ein.³⁵ Aber man richtete nicht nach Außen hin erkennbar

³¹ Demosthenes, *Or.* 21.158 - nach dem kritischen Apparat die Vorlage für die Passage.

³² Vgl. am Ende des Absatzes.

³³ Euseb, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.9.7: οἷος Φιλόρωμος ἦν, ἀρχὴν τινα οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν βασιλικῆς διοικήσεως ἐγκεχειρισμένος, ὅς μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς τιμῆς, ὑπὸ στρατιώταις δορυφορούμενος, ἐκάστης ἀνεκρίνετο ἡμέρας.

³⁴ Vgl. z.B. Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii* 27. 75. 77.

³⁵ *Vita Danielis* 11 (§ 19; Festugière II p. 104); zu ihnen A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602*, II (Norman 1964), 911; unzutreffend: G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris 1974), 491. Vgl. schließlich auch Augustin, *Epist.* 20*.8 (Divjak). Man fragt sich natürlich, auf wen sich Marcellus von Ancyra stützte, wenn er Folterungen durchführte oder eiserne Gefängenenkäfige

Abteilungen mit militärischen oder exekutiven Aufgaben im bischöflichen Gefolge ein.

Derartige Probleme entstanden nicht, wenn man andere Abteilungen der Stäbe weltlicher Amtsinhaber kopierte. Aber auch dies geschah nur in sehr beschränktem Maße. Bei der Frage, wie die Verwaltung des immer umfangreicher werdenden kirchlichen Vermögens organisiert werden sollte, spielte das Vorbild weltlicher Amtsinhaber und ihres Personals z.B. allem Anschein nach keine Rolle. Entweder baute man die alte kircheninterne Praxis aus, nach der Diakone im Gefolge ihrer Fürsorge für die Armen der Gemeinde und das Kirchengesamtheit auch ganz allgemein für alle Fragen der kirchlichen Finanzverwaltung zuständig waren - so vor allem im Westen. Oder man orientierte sich am Vorbild der privaten Guts- und Vermögensverwaltung und betraute einen Kleriker mit der Funktion des οἰκονόμος (*vilicus*)³⁶ - so im Osten. Diese Praxis ging nach Ansicht des Konzils von Chalkedon gerade von der Kirche von Antiochia aus.³⁷ Sie wurde im Kanon 26 von Chalkedon für alle Bischofskirchen (faktisch der östlichen Reichshälfte) bindend gemacht.

Wichtiger war das Vorbild der weltlichen Würdenträger und speziell des Kaisers im Falle der bischöflichen Kanzleien. Schon aus dem 4. Jh. soll eine römische Grabinschrift stammen, die einen *notarius eccl(esiae)* erwähnt.³⁸ Auf jeden Fall brachte im Jahr 422 ein *apostolicae sedis notarius* einen Brief von Bonifatius I nach Illyricum (Bon. epist. 13, 5). Auf dem 3. ökumenischen Konzil von Ephesos (431) verlas ein *notarius* der römischen Kirche - νοτάριος τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας πόλεως Ῥωμαίων - einen Brief von Coelestinus.³⁹ Schon im Jahr 390 hatte ein *lector* und νοτάριος <...> τῆς ἀγιωπάτης <...> ἐκκλησίας Ναζιανζουπόλεως das Testament von Gregor von Nazianz zu publizieren (wenn das Dokument authentisch ist).⁴⁰ Ein *lector* und *notarius* des Bistums Rhodos ist im Jahr 431 bezeugt.⁴¹ Auch in Nordafrika sind zu Beginn des 5. Jh. mehrfach

benutzte: Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.42. L. Dossey, 'Judicial Violence and the Ecclesiastical Courts in Late Antique North Africa', in: R. W. Mathisen, ed., *Law, Society, and Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001), 98-114 differenziert viel zu wenig - zeitlich, zwischen Klerikern und Mönchen, zwischen Prügelein als von der Gesellschaft anerkanntem privaten Erziehungsmittel und staatlicher *coercitio* etc.

³⁶ ACO II 1, 359.

³⁷ ACO II 1, 374 f.

³⁸ AE 1935, 153 = ICVR 20447. L. Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber Pontificalis* I (Paris 1955) 36, 3, 205 bleibt wie die ganze Nachricht problematisch, s. Pietri, *Roma* 676 f., vgl. 607, 672 ff.

³⁹ ACO I 1, 3, 54; spätere Belege für die römische Kirche bei Teitler, *Notarii* 87.

⁴⁰ Gregor von Nazianz, *Test.* 395 (PG 37).

⁴¹ ACO I 1, 2, 10.

kirchliche *notarii* belegt, wie z.B. u.a. ein *notarius ecclesiae Sitifensis partis Donati* bei der Konferenz in Carthago im Jahre 411.⁴² Am Ende des 4. Jh. war es also zumindest auch bei manchen mittelgroßen Bistümern üblich geworden, die Funktion eines speziellen Schnellschreibers nach dem Vorbild des Kaisers und der weltlichen Amtsinhaber einzuführen (wobei offensichtlich häufig ein entsprechend ausgebildeter Kleriker mit dieser Aufgabe betraut wurde).

In den Akten des Konzils von Chalkedon sind schließlich gar Kleriker der Kirchen von Alexandria⁴³ und Konstantinopel⁴⁴ bezeugt, die neben ihrer geistlichen Würde auch ganz offiziell den Titel *primicerius notariorum* (πριμικήριος τῶν νοταρίων bzw. πρῶτος νοταρίων) wie in der kaiserlichen Kanzlei führten. Zumindest bei diesen wichtigsten Bischofs-sitzen hatte sich also auch schon eine interne Hierarchie ausgebildet.⁴⁵ Allerdings gab es auch gewichtige kircheninterne Gründe, das weltliche Vorbild zu übernehmen. Sowohl aus der jeweiligen Predigt-tätigkeit wie vor allem auch aus der umfangreichen kircheninternen und -externen Rechtsprechung ergab sich ein Bedarf nach Protokollanten mit stenographischen Kenntnissen.⁴⁶

Aus ähnlichen Gründen hat man in einem weiteren Bereich recht schnell das weltliche Vorbild kopiert: Nach der *vita Euthymii* war es ganz wesentlich für die christliche Erziehung des späteren Mönches Euthymios, daß er im Jahre 379 mit seiner verwitweten Mutter zu einem Onkel ziehen mußte, der als Rechtsgelehrter (*scholasticus*) Berater des Metropolitan-Bischofs von Melitene (Armenia II) war. Als Beisitzer (σύνεδρος) des Bischofs lebte er in dessen Palast.⁴⁷ Auch Kyrillos von Skythopolis lernte 150 Jahre später dadurch den Mönch Sabas kennen, daß dieser den Metropolitan-Bischof von Skythopolis (Palaestina II) besuchte, bei dem der

⁴² *Gesta* II 59 (SChr. 224). Vgl. z.B. auch Augustin, *Epist.* 213, 2.

⁴³ ACO II 1, 82, 84.

⁴⁴ ACO II 1, 204.

⁴⁵ Parallelen aus dem 6. Jh. für die römische Kirche bei Teitler, *Notarii* 88.

⁴⁶ Bei manchen der von Teitler, *Notarii* 86 ff. angeführten frühen Beispielen bleibt es allerdings fraglich, ob sie schon offiziell im Dienst der Kirche standen (und nicht z.B. private Bedienstete des jeweiligen Bischofs waren): S. 89 (Anonymus 31), 91, 93 (Paulus 1), 93 (Eunomius). Beide Arten von *notarii* sind z.B. im Testament des Gregor von Nazianz bezeugt: PG 37, 391, 393 bzw. 395.

⁴⁷ ἡ (...) Διονυσία ἀδελφὸν ἔχουσα λογιώτατον Εὐδόξιον μὲν καλούμενον, τὸ δὲ αὐτόθι ἐπισκοπεῖον κρατοῦντα καὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ συνεδρεῦοντα, τοῦτον σύμβουλον καὶ μεσίτην ποιησαμένη τῷ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνου ἰθύνοντι τὴν κατὰ Μελιτινήν ἀγιωτάτην ἐκκλησίαν Ὁτρήῃ (...) σχολαστικοῦ Εὐδοξίου (Kyrillos von Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 3 [Schwartz p. 10; Festugiere p. 60]). Vielleicht einschlägig auch Synesios, *Epist.* 105 in fine (zu sicher Chadwick, *Role* 6).

Vater des Kyrillos als σύνεδρος wohnte.⁴⁸ Beide Beispiele erinnern an Gregor Thaumaturgos, der zu Anfang der dreißiger Jahre des 3. Jh. nach Caesarea Palaestinae kam, weil sein Schwager, ein νομικός, dem damaligen Statthalter von Syria Palaestina bei dessen Tätigkeit zur Seite stehen sollte.⁴⁹ Schließlich verweist es auch auf typische Praktiken römischer Amtsinhaber, wenn nach Johannes Chrysostomos Bischof Meletios von Antiocheia in den 70er Jahren des 4. Jh. μετὰ τῶν προσεδρευόντων αὐτῷ, also mit seinen Beisitzern, die Baustelle des Martyrions für den hl. Babylas besuchte, um sich vom Fortgang der Bauarbeiten zu überzeugen.⁵⁰

Entgegen der Darstellung von Giulio Vismara oder Wolfgang Kunkel⁵¹ gab es also schon im 4. Jh. zumindest bei den östlichen Metropolitansitzen fest angestellte, juristisch ausgebildete, bischöfliche *consilarii*. Das sollte eigentlich auch nicht verwundern. Im Gefolge der *audientia episcopalis* wurden die Bischöfe mit einer Fülle von Rechtsstreitigkeiten konfrontiert, die angesichts ihrer Zahl und ihrer Komplexität den Gedanken an professionelle Berater nahelegte. Klagen vieler Bischöfe⁵² belegen, wie sehr sie von dieser Tätigkeit beansprucht wurden, auch wenn die *audientia episcopalis* anscheinend spätestens zu Ende des 4. Jh. nur noch eine freiwillige Schiedsgerichtsbarkeit war. Da bot es sich an, das Vorbild der weltlichen Amtsinhaber nachzuahmen. Augustin genügte es, wie es gerade einer der neugefundenen Briefe zeigte,⁵³ gelegentlich bei professionellen Rechtskundigen anzufragen. Oder er zog

⁴⁸ ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ τὸ ἐπίσκοπεῖον κρατῶν τὸ τηνικαῦτα καὶ τῷ μητροπολιτῇ συνεδρεῦον (Kyrillos von Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 75 [Schwartz p. 180; Festugièrre p. 109 f.]). Vgl. auch Zacharias, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.1 (Hamilton/ Brocks 148 f.).

⁴⁹ συνεπιβοηθήσοντα καὶ κοινωνήσοντα τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ἄρχοντος πόνων. *Lobrede* 65-72.

⁵⁰ Johannes Chrysostomos, *De sancto Babyla* 3 (PG 50, 533).

⁵¹ W. Kunkel, 'Consilium', in: Ders., *Kleine Schriften* (Weimar 1974), 405-440, hier 439 f.; G. Vismara, *Episcopalis audientia* (Milano 1937), 116 ff. Es ist zumindest zu erwägen, ob auch die *defensores ecclesiae* eine solche beratende Funktion wahrnahmen. In unseren Quellen erscheinen sie freilich vor allem als selbständige Rechtsvertreter der Kirchen nach Außen hin; vgl. z.B. Herrmann 1980, a. a. O. (Anm. 5) 304; N. E. Lenski, 'Evidence for the Audientia episcopalis in the New Letters of Augustine', in: R. W. Mathisen, ed., *Law, Society, and Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001), 83-97, hier 92 f.

⁵² Die Klagen sind bekannt: Augustin, *De opere monachorum* 29, 37; Augustin, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 118, 24, 3; ders., *Epist.* 213; ders., *Epist.* 24*, 1 (Divjak); Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 19; Johannes Chrysostomos, *De Sacerdotio* 3.14, 1-17 (SChr. 272); Theodoros von Mopsuestia, *In epistulam ad Corinthos* 5,1,2 (PG 66, 882). Vgl. auch Augustin über Ambrosius - *Confessiones* 6.3.3 - sowie Synesios, *Epist.* 41 (Garzya p. 135 ff.). Dazu kommen noch verschiedene weitere Hinweise auf die beträchtliche Arbeitslast: *Vita Epiphani* 55 (PG 41, 93 B) bzw. Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa* 17.8.1.

⁵³ Augustin, *Epist.* 24*, 1 (Divjak).

pauci fratres fideles honorati heran (Aug. serm. 355, 2, 3). Aber zumindest manche der Metropolitanbischöfe des Ostens hielten es für sinnvoller, eine feste Institution zu etablieren. Und ob dies nicht viel verbreiteter war, als es die geringe Zahl der Hinweise vermuten läßt, bleibt so wie vieles andere bei der *audientia episcopalis* unklar. Denn dieser “crucial aspect of the presence of the church in late Roman society remains as silent and unseen as the dark side of the moon”.⁵⁴

Im Bereich der nicht-geistlichen Aufgaben eines Bischofs und der dazu nötigen Helfer hat man also nur sehr partiell das Vorbild der weltlichen Amtsinhaber übernommen. Wie sah es bei den Gebäuden aus, auf die sich die Bischöfe als Wohnung und für administrative und jurisdiktionelle Zwecke stützten? In vergleichbarer Weise hatten bisher neben manchen Residenzen hochgestellter Persönlichkeiten der großen Zentren unter den öffentlichen Bauten vor allem die *praetoria* der römischen Amtsinhaber, also insbesondere die der Provinzstatthalter und Procuratoren, als Wohnquartier und Amtlokal gedient. Welche Rolle spielten solche Gebäude als Vorbild? Bzw. besser gesagt, da die *praetoria* alles andere als einen standardisierten Gebäudetyp darstellen, inwieweit finden wir bei den Episkopeia die üblichen Bestandteile eines solchen Praetoriums wie repräsentative Empfangsräumlichkeiten, Räume für die Rechtsprechung wie das erwähnte *secretarium* oder z.B. eine private Thermenanlage? Und - vor allem - inwieweit läßt sich auch bei den Episkopeia ein Bemühen um eine repräsentative Architektur fassen?

Für das 4. Jh. müssen aus zwei Gründen vor allem literarische Quellen zugrundegelegt werden. Erstens reichen die archäologischen Befunde, in denen man bischöfliche Residenzen vermutet,⁵⁵ eigentlich nur in Nordafrika schon ins 4. Jh. zurück.⁵⁶ Zweitens sind grundsätzlich die entsprechenden Identifikationen oft unsicher. Die Diskussion darüber, was denn für eine bischöfliche Kirche spezifisch sei, dauert immer noch an.

⁵⁴ P. Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Hanover, London 2002), 67 ff. Zur *episcopalis audientia* vgl. neben Vismara 1937, a. a. O. (Anm. 51) jüngst z.B. Chadwick, *Role* 6ff und öfters; G. Crifò, ‘A proposito di episcopalis audientia’, in: M. Christol u. a., ed., *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l’empire Romain au IVe siècle ap. J.-C.* (Rome 1992), 397-410; J. C. Lamoreaux, ‘Episcopal Courts in Late Antiquity’, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995), 143-167; Lenski 2001, a. a. O. [Anm. 51]; A. Martin, *Athanase d’Alexandrie et l’église d’Egypte au IVe siècle (328-373)* (Rome 1996), 708 (jeweils mit weiterer Literatur); Pietri, *Entstehen* 784 f.; 934.

⁵⁵ Vgl. den Überblick von Müller-Wiener, ‘Bischofsresidenzen’; Pallas, ‘Episkopion’; Pietri, *Entstehen* 674; s. jetzt auch I. Matejčić, ‘Il palazzo vescovile di Patenzo (Istria)’, in: *XXe congrès international des études Byzantines. Collège de France - Sorbonne, 19-25 août 2001. Pré-actes. III Communications libres* (Paris 2001), 323.

⁵⁶ Im Osten anscheinend überhaupt nicht: Müller-Wiener, ‘Bischofsresidenzen’ 653.

Insbesondere konnte bis heute trotz über 1500 Inschriften, die aus dem 4. bis 6. Jh. von Baumaßnahmen an Gebäuden des christlichen Kultes berichten, noch kein Episkopeion durch eine entsprechende Inschrift explizit und eindeutig identifiziert werden.⁵⁷

In den literarischen Quellen sind Episkopeia im 4. Jh. nicht nur für Alexandria oder Konstantinopel⁵⁸ oder für Metropolitansitze wie Melitene (Armenia II),⁵⁹ Caesarea (Cappadocia),⁶⁰ Salamis/ Constantia (Cyprus)⁶¹ oder Ephesos (Asia)⁶² bezeugt. Nach der Vita des Porphyrios von Gaza erbaute Bischof Ireion von Gaza um die Mitte des 4. Jh. ein solches, freilich sehr kleines, Gebäude im damals noch überwiegend und entschieden paganen Gaza⁶³. Episkopeia waren also auch schon im 4. Jh. zumindest im östlichen Reichsteil eine verbreitete Erscheinung, die auch an kleineren Bischofssitzen anzutreffen war. Für kirchliche Rechtsquellen des 5. Jh. waren Episkopeia eine Selbstverständlichkeit. Diese wie das in einer monophysitischen Gemeinde Syriens entstandene sogenannte *testamentum Domini* oder die gallischen *Statuta ecclesiae antiqui* (Kanon 1/14) waren nur darum bemüht,

⁵⁷ S. auch Müller-Wiener, 'Bischofsresidenzen' 653. Die einzige partielle Ausnahme könnten die Inschriften des sogenannten Bads des Plakkos (SEG 7, 871 b = IGERASA 296 vgl. 297) darstellen, wenn es sich um das Bad einer bischöflichen Residenz handelte. Nach dem archäologischen Befund - C. S. Fisher, 'Buildings of the Christian Period', in: C. H. Kraeling, ed., *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis* (New Haven 1938), 265-294, hier 265 ff. - ist dies zumindest zu erwägen. Der einzige mir bekannt gewordene inschriftliche Beleg für ein kirchliches σήκρητον (I. Eph. II 495) fällt schon wegen des Titels ἀρχιεπίσκοπος frühestens ins 6. Jh.

⁵⁸ *Historia Acephala* (C.H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissimi* [Oxford 1899-1939], I 2, 4), 669; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 136 (Constantius II) - dazu Martin 1996, a. a. O. (Anm. 54), 144 - bzw. bei Anm. 74. Zur Frage eines Episkopeions in Rom: Pietri, *Roma* 668; vgl. auch 464 f. mit der Interpretation von ICVR 970, die jedoch problematisch bleibt (vgl. demgegenüber z.B. K. Gross, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 1 [1950], 614-631 s. v. Archiv, besonders 621); zu den (wesentlich später bezeugten) italischen *domus episcoporum*: B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1984), 176 ff. Libanius, *Or.* 19.28 läßt es offen, wo man den Bischof von Antiocheia üblicherweise fand (καὶ προελθόντες οὗ Φλαβιάνου εὐρησεῖν ἔμελλον). Zu präzise P. Brown, *Macht und Rhetorik in der Spätantike* (München 1995), 137.

⁵⁹ Vgl. oben bei Anm. 47.

⁶⁰ Dazu unten bei Anm. 67.

⁶¹ *Vita Epiphani* 34 f., 36 f., 55 f. (PG 41, 68. 70. 72. 94).

⁶² Vgl. unten bei Anm. 66.

⁶³ Gaza: *Vita Porphyrii* 18; *Testamentum Domini*: E. Rahmani, ed., *Testamentum domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Mainz 1899) I 19; *Statuta*: C. Munier, ed., *Les Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (Paris 1960), 79 bzw. ders., *Concilia Africae a. 345 - a. 525* (Turnhout 1974), 345. Gegen Y. Duval, *Chrétiens d' Afrique à l' aube de la paix Constantinienne* (Paris 2000), 304 f., 354 und 356 sehe ich weder einen Grund, warum die 303 in Abthungi bezeugte *domus episcopi* (J.-L. Maier, *Le dossier du donatisme. Tome I: des origines à la mort de Constance II [303-361]* [Berlin 1987], 178 f.) nicht das Privathaus des amtierenden Bischofs gewesen sein kann noch warum sie sich bei der wichtigsten (oder einzigen) Kirche der Stadt befunden haben soll.

sicherzustellen, daß sich die Bischofsresidenz bei der (Bischofs)Kirche befand. Offensichtlich bevorzugten es manche Bischöfe, in ihrer alten *domus* oder in einem der Gemeinde vermachten größeren, aber von der Bischofskirche entfernten, Gebäude zu residieren. Angestrebt wurde aber eine solche Verbindung beider Gebäude, wie es sie zumindest in der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jh. in Alexandria gab. Dort bildete die Wohnung, die Athanasios nach eigenen Angaben vor 339 vor allem benutzte,⁶⁴ einen Teil der zu diesem Zeitpunkt bedeutendsten Kirche von Alexandria, der des Theonas. Sie lag in einem oberen Stockwerk, wohl des vorgelagerten Säulenhofes.⁶⁵

Daß man sich um eine repräsentative Architektur solcher Episkopeia bemühte, ist zumindest bei manchen der östlichen Metropolitansitze am Ende des 4. Jh. zu fassen: Bischof Antoninos von Ephesos benutzte für das Triclinium seines Bischofspalastes Säulen, die eigentlich für die Ausgestaltung einer Kirche bestimmt waren, aber jahrelang nicht verbaut worden waren. Die Privatthermen dieses Gebäudes stattete er mit Marmorplatten aus, die zum Eingang eines Baptisterions gehört hatten.⁶⁶ Auch Basilius von Caesarea erbaute im Rahmen des von ihm errichteten karitativen Komplexes vor den Toren Caesareas auch eine für den 'Leiter' bestimmte Wohnstätte, die eines 'freien Mannes' würdig sei.⁶⁷ Das Triclinium im Episkopeion von Salamis/ Constantia war groß genug, um den gesamten Klerus der Bischofskirche aufzunehmen.⁶⁸ Im Falle der Metropolitansitze des Westens hören wir mehrfach von *secretaria*, in denen Konzilien oder andere bischöfliche Versammlungen stattfanden, so 380 im spanischen Caesaraugusta, zwischen 393 und 419 bei einer Reihe von nordafrikanischen Konzilien in Carthago, Hippo Regius und Mileve, Anfang

⁶⁴ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔνθα μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ὄκουν (Athanasius, *Epist. Encycl.* 5. 1).

⁶⁵ *Historia Acephala* (Turner 1899-1939, a.a.O. [Anm. 58], I 2, 4), 669: *et partes superiores domus, ospitium episcopi quaerentes*. Zu Parallelen in paganen und jüdischen Kultanlagen: U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser, *Kultraum im römischen Alltag* (Stuttgart 2000), 450, 455 f. und 472.

⁶⁶ Palladius, *Vita Iohannis Chrysostomi* 13.163 ff. (SChr. 341).

⁶⁷ οἴκησιν τὴν μὲν, ἐλευθέριον ἐξηρημενην τῷ κορυφαίῳ, τὰς δὲ ὑποβεβηκυίας τοῖς θεοραπέυταις τοῦ θεοῦ διανενομένης ἐν τάξει (Basilius, *Epist.* 94). Wegen der bezeugten persönlichen Bedürfnislosigkeit des Basilius (Gregor von Nazianz, *Panegyricus Basilii* 56, 4; 61, 3) bezweifelt B. Gain, *L'église de Cappadoce au IVe siècle d'après la correspondance de Basile de Césarée (330-379)* (Roma 1985), 69 Anm. 43, vgl. 54, 57, daß mit κορυφαῖος der Bischof gemeint sei. Ein derartiges Verständnis des Terminus ist aber auch in anderen Briefen des Basilius zu fassen (*Epist.* 28. 239 - vgl. Gain, a.O. 75 Anm. 65). Basilius könnte zudem gerade nach Außen hin im Hinblick auf Verhandlungspartner wie Statthalter und andere Würdenträger ganz anders aufgetreten sein, als dies seine eigene private Lebensführung nahelegen mochte. Zögernd allerdings auch Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1994), 142 mit Anm. 33.

⁶⁸ *Vita Epiphani* 37 (PG 41, 72).

des 5. Jh. in Tarraco und Mitte des 5. Jh. in Arles.⁶⁹ Zumindest das *secretarium* in Tarraco war nach Augustin epist. 11*, 10 (Divjak) ein recht großer Raum: Dort befand sich im Jahre 420 anlässlich der Affäre des Antipriscillianisten Fronto ein Gericht aus Bischöfen, der *comes Hispaniarum* Asterius mit seinem militärischen Gefolge sowie Kleriker und einfache Mitglieder der örtlichen Gemeinde. Auf einer wesentlich tieferen Ebene strebte schließlich - mutatis mutandis - ein Schüler Augustins, Antoninus von Fussula, ebenfalls nach einer herausragenden Bischofsresidenz. Dieses schwarze Schaf unter den Bischöfen Nordafrikas 'besorgte' sich aus den Häusern des *castellum*, für das er zuständig war, alle auch nur ein wenig qualitativere Bauglieder für sein bischöfliches *aedificium*.⁷⁰

Wenn demgegenüber im Zusammenhang mit Ereignissen in einer Kirche in Aquileia von einer *angustia secretarii* die Rede war,⁷¹ so war mit *secretarium* in diesem Fall anscheinend ein Raum der Kirche selbst gemeint, also etwas, was wir heute als Sakristei bezeichnen würden.⁷² Ein solcher Sprachgebrauch ist auch ansonsten belegt, im Falle der hier interessierenden Quellen aus dem 4. und 5. Jh. bei Sulpicius Severus. Nach diesem Biographen des hl. Martin⁷³ hielt sich dieser immer in einem solchen *secretarium* auf, bevor er die Messe las. Aber es gab an seiner Kirche noch ein zweites *secretarium*, in dem *presbyteri sederent vel salutationibus vacantes, vel audiendis negotiis occupati*.

Es kann nicht allzusehr verwundern, daß insbesondere das Episkopeion in Konstantinopel einen repräsentativen Charakter hatte.⁷⁴ Es ist zwar nicht bekannt, ob schon das wahrscheinlich erste Episkopeion Konstantinopels ein solches Gebäude war. Von ihm erfahren wir nur, daß die

⁶⁹ Munier 1974, a.a.O. (Anm. 63), 89, 182, 194, 199, 205, 219 f., 229; Vives u. a., *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona & Madrid 1963), 16; Augustin, *Epist.* 11*, 9, 10; C. Munier, ed., *Concilia Galliae* A. 314 – A. 506 (Turnhout 1963) 1 p. 131 (CCL 148). Insofern bleibt es fraglich, ob "il vaut donc mieux ne pas parler de « palais épiscopal »" (J.-Ch. Picard, 'La fonction des salles de réception dans le groupe épiscopal de Genève', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 65 [1989], 87-104, hier 87).

⁷⁰ Augustin, *Epist.* 20*, 31; zu den juristischen Aspekten dieses Vorgehens Lenski 2001, a. a. O. (Anm. 51), 90.

⁷¹ R. Gryson, *Scholies Ariennes sur le concile d' Aquilée* (SChr 267) (Paris 1980), 274, §§ 88-89.

⁷² Vgl. dazu Picard 1989, a. a. O. (Anm. 69), 94 ff., ohne daß man wie er - vgl. aber 96 - grundsätzlich davon ausgehen sollte, daß sich jedes *secretarium* in der Kirche selbst befand. Einschlägig z.B. auch die Belege aus Nordafrika (Anm. 69) und AE 1996, 1217.

⁷³ S. unten Anm. 92. Zu dem *secretarium*: L. Pietri, 'Tours', in dieselbe & J. Biarne, *Province ecclésiastique de Tours (Lugdunensis Tertia)* (Paris 1987), 19-39, besonders 29.

⁷⁴ Römische episcopia sind erstmals in *Liber Pontificalis* 53, 7 p. 262 belegt (vgl. Anm. 58).

Arianer es im Jahre 388 aus Haß auf den damaligen Bischof Nektarios niederbrannten. Sie meinten, sie könnten dies ungestraft tun, weil sich das Gerücht verbreitet hatte, Theodosios sei auf seinem Feldzug gegen Maximus besiegt und gefangen genommen worden.⁷⁵ Offensichtlich betrachtete man schon damals ein Episkopeion als Symbol einer bischöflichen Stellung.

Das in den folgenden Jahren benutzte Gebäude - die letzte Zuflucht seines Nachfolgers Johannes Chrysostomos, in der dieser von seinen Anhängern bewacht und beschützt wurde⁷⁶ - hatte auch in materieller Hinsicht einen repräsentativen Charakter. Im Jahre 403 konnten nämlich im Triclinium des Neubaus mindestens 40 Personen gleichzeitig Platz nehmen.⁷⁷ Allerdings mögen nicht nur strukturelle Gründe, sondern auch spezielle Umstände zu einem repräsentativen Gebäude geführt haben. Möglicherweise war dieses Episkopeion mit dem sogenannten "Haus der Olympias" identisch, das diese Enkelin eines *praefectus praetorio Orientis* und Witwe eines *praefectus urbis Constantinopolitanae*⁷⁸ der Kirche von Konstantinopel in jenen Jahren stiftete. Die *Vita der Olympias* nennt im Katalog ihrer Stiftungen als erstes - 'nahe bei der Allerheiligsten Großen Kirche' - das 'sogenannte Haus der Olympias mit dem *tribunal* und dem vollkommenen Bad (τὴν ἐπιλεγομένην «τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδος» σὺν τοῦ τριβουναρίου καὶ τοῦ τελείου λοετροῦ).⁷⁹

Auffälligerweise geht die *vita* nur in diesem Fall auf Charakteristika des gestifteten Gebäudes ein. Diese erhöhten zudem als solche nicht unmittelbar den Wert des Hauses (wie es beispielsweise bei kostbaren Baumaterialien der Fall gewesen wäre). Das legt nahe, daß man diese Charakteristika nannte, weil sie eine schnelle Identifikation des gestifteten Gebäudekomplexes erlaubten, also auch nach der Stiftung eine Rolle spielten. Und ein *tribunal* erwartet man vor allem bei einem Gebäude, das eine öffentliche Funktion hatte - selbst wenn es *tribunalia* auch in größeren Privatresidenzen geben konnte. Auch soll Johannes Chrysostomos einen wesentlichen Teil der großzügigen Ausstattung seines Episkopeions

⁷⁵ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.13.6; Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.14.

⁷⁶ Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.21-22.

⁷⁷ Palladius, *Vita Iohannis Chrysostomi* 8.91 ff. Es scheint fraglich, ob man aus Palladius, a.O. 10.34 (οὕτως κατελθόν) bzw. Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii* 99 - ἀνελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον - bzw. *Vita Epiphani* 34 (PG 41, 68) - ἀνήλθομεν ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπεῖῳ - schließen sollte, daß die entsprechenden Gebäude zweigeschossig waren (so aber Pallas, 'Episkopion' 335, 337). Selbst wenn man die Passagen wörtlich nimmt, braucht die bischöfliche Wohnung sich nur wie in Alexandria (vgl. bei Anm. 65) im ersten Stock befunden zu haben.

⁷⁸ Z. B. PLRE I 642 f.

⁷⁹ A.-M. Malingrey, ed., *Jean Chrysostome. Lettres à Olympias. Seconde édition augmentée de la Vie anonyme d' Olympias* (SChr. 13 bis), 5.25 ff.

umgewidmet haben, um davon ein Krankenhaus zu unterhalten. Daß Johannes mit der Art und Weise unzufrieden war, in der Olympias ihr Vermögen vergab, ist auch ansonsten bezeugt.⁸⁰ Schließlich sollte man vielleicht noch darauf hinweisen, daß es Johannes Chrysostomos u.a. zum Vorwurf gemacht wurde, daß er sein Bad nur für sich allein aufheizen ließ und es auch nach Ende seines Bades von niemanden benutzt werden durfte. Damit dieser Vorwurf nicht völlig lächerlich wirkte, sollte es sich schon um eine größere Badeanlage gehandelt haben.⁸¹

Bei dem zweiten Episkopeion von Konstantinopel könnte es sich also auch deshalb um ein besonders repräsentatives Gebäude gehandelt haben, weil es von einer finanziell sehr potenten und hochrangigen Stifterin bereitgestellt worden war. Sicher der Fall war dies bei dem Episkopeion von Jerusalem, das die Augusta Eudokia(-Athenais) Mitte des 5. Jh. angeblich von den Grundmauern auf (neu?) erbaute und mit jährlichen Einkünften von 1000 Solidi versah.⁸²

Schließlich ist selbst damit zu rechnen, daß schon am Ende des 4. Jh. oder am Anfang des 5. Jh. kirchenpolitische Ansprüche eines Bischofs zur Folge hatten, daß er für den Bau eines repräsentativen Episkopeions sorgte. Auffälligerweise hört man nämlich zu demselben Zeitpunkt - dem Jahr 449 -, zu dem der Bischof von Berytos sich von seinem Metropolitenerzbischof unabhängig zu machen suchte und einen eigenen Metropolitanbereich zu begründen suchte, von einem "Neuen" Episkopeion in Berytos.⁸³

Andererseits ist aber bereits am Ende des 4. Jh. die Reaktion zu fassen, die einer allzu ungehemmten Nachahmung weltlicher Repräsentationsarchitektur Schranken auferlegte. Palladios, der Biograph des Johannes Chrysostomos, erörterte in Reaktion auf die Vorwürfe gegenüber diesem Bischof, er habe sich unsozial gegenüber seinen Klerikern verhalten und vor allem nicht mit ihnen gemeinsam gespeist, ausführlich die Situation der

⁸⁰ Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.9. Vgl. Dagron 1974, a. a. O. (Anm. 35), 502 f.; C. Tiersch, *Johannes Chrysostomos in Konstantinopel (398-404)* (Tübingen 2002), 153 f., 160 f.

⁸¹ Photius, *Bibliothèque* 59.18a. Wir wissen nicht, wie lange dieses Episkopeion existierte und können insofern nicht entscheiden, was von den späteren Nachrichten über einen Bischofspalast in Konstantinopel (zusammengestellt bei Pallas, 'Episkopion' 338) sich auf dieses Gebäude bezieht. Man muß wohl davon ausgehen, daß es spätestens im Zusammenhang mit dem Wiederaufbau der Kirche der Heiligen Sophia durch Justinian zumindest umgestaltet wurde (Pallas, a. O. 339). Aber es könnte schon bei dem Brand der Kirche der Hlg. Sophia bei der Vertreibung des Johannes Chrysostomos Schaden genommen haben (a. O. 338).

⁸² Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 14.50 (PG 146, 1240).

⁸³ ACO II 1, 378.

Bischöfe in den großen Städten.⁸⁴ An solchen Orten, so räsionierte er, suchten alle aus den unterschiedlichsten Gründen - von der existenziellen Armut bis zum Bemühen um einen einflußreichen Protektor - einen möglichst intensiven Kontakt zum jeweiligen Bischof.⁸⁵ Deshalb müßten solche Bischöfe aufpassen, daß ihre Bemühungen, derartigen sozialen Anforderungen zu genügen, sie nicht von zentraleren, durch die christliche Lehre vorgegebenen Aufgaben - wie z.B. dem Predigen, der Fürsorge für Witwen und Waisen, der Bekämpfung von Häresien - abhielten.⁸⁶ Das gelte insbesondere auch im Hinblick auf die Verwendung kirchlicher Mittel. Es sei falscher Ehrgeiz (*κενοδοξία*), wenn man zuviel Geld für die Mauern 'hoher' Gebäude verwende, um von allen als ein 'nützlich' Mitglied der Gesellschaft und als einer, der keine Mühen scheute, anerkannt zu werden.⁸⁷ Zweifellos gäbe es Fälle, in denen der Bau oder die Reparatur einer Kirche sinnvoll oder nötig sei. Aber man solle nicht das Geld der Armen für zweigeschossige Portiken, von Aquädukten genährte dreifache Brunnenanlagen und 'perfekt' ausgestattete Bäder verwenden (*ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς τὰ τῶν πτωχῶν εἰς κρεμαστοὺς περιβόλους καὶ ἀερίων ὑδάτων δεξαμενὰς ἐν τριωρόφοις καὶ <...> λουτρὰ*). Zweifellos hatte Palladius dabei insbesondere den prominentesten Gegner des Johannes im Visier, Bischof Theophilus von Alexandria. Diesem machtbewußten Kirchenpolitiker warf er⁸⁸ wie auch Isidor von Pelusion⁸⁹ vor, ihn triebe eine *λιθομανία* <...> *φαραώνιος*, also eine Sucht nach Stein(bauten) wie diejenige eines Pharaos.

Damit war über den Einzelfall hinaus eine Gegenposition formuliert, die in unterschiedlicher Schärfe auch bei anderen monastisch geprägten Theologen der Spätantike wie z.B. Hieronymos oder Rabbulas von Edessa⁹⁰ zu fassen ist. Wenn solche Theologen schon prächtige Kirchenbauten

⁸⁴ Palladius, *Vita Iohannis Chrysostomi* 12 ff., besonders 13.30 ff. Dazu z.B. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* (Oxford 1990), 215 f.

⁸⁵ Palladius, *Vita Iohannis Chrysostomi* 13.30 ff.: *Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐδεδώκει ἑαυτὸν ἕκδοτον ταῖς τραπέζαις, πόσοις ἐξήρκει ἀξιώμασι τὴν τηλικαύτην πόλιν οἰκῶν, ἐκάστου ἢ δι' εὐλογίαν ἢ διὰ πενίαν, ἢ διὰ γαστριμαργίαν τὸ φαγεῖν ἐπιζητοῦντος.*

⁸⁶ Ähnlich auch die Kritik von Hieronymos (In Mich. I 2, 9/10 - CCL 76, 448).

⁸⁷ Palladius, *Vita Iohannis Chrysostomi* 13.97: *ἵνα ἐκ τούτων δόξαντες χρήστοι καὶ φιλόπονοι φαίνεσθαι, τιμὴν ἀντὶ ἀτιμίας καρπῶσωνται.*

⁸⁸ Palladius, *Vita Iohannis Chrysostomi* 6.62 f.: *λιθομανία γάρ τις αὐτὸν φαραώνιος ἔχει εἰς οἰκοδομήματα, ὧν οὐδαμῶς χρῆζει ἢ ἡ ἐκκλησία.*

⁸⁹ Isidorus, *Epist.* 152 (PG 78, 284 f.).

⁹⁰ Hieronymus, *Hom. de nativ. Domini* (CCL 78, 524 f.) bzw. *V. Rabb.* (BKV 44 p. 194). Vgl. auch Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 24, 13.

ablehnten, waren repräsentative Episkopeia noch viel schwerer zu rechtfertigen. Möglicherweise deshalb bezeugen zwar Hunderte von Inschriften den Bau von Kirchen, aber bisher keine den eines Episkopeions. Das kann kaum nur daran liegen, daß intensive archäologische Untersuchungen spätantiker Kirchenkomplexe sich normalerweise vor allem auf die jeweiligen Kirchen konzentrierten. Zumindest Einzelfunde entsprechender Inschriften wären bei Surveys zu erwarten. Es sieht so aus, als ob man eher schwieg, wenn ein Bau nicht unmittelbar den Bedürfnissen des christlichen Kultes diene.

Von manchen Vertretern des monastischen Gedankens⁹¹ wurde auch noch einmal der für die breite Mehrheit der Gläubigen und des Klerus selbstverständliche hohe Thronos problematisiert. Sulpicius Severus berichtet in seinen *Dialogi*, der heilige Martin habe nicht einmal im *secretarium* seiner Kirche auf einem thronos gesessen, sondern sich selbst dort nur eines Schemels bedient (Im Kirchenraum habe er sowieso immer gestanden). Das sei allerdings keineswegs für alle Bischöfe typisch: Sofort käme ihm der Gedanke an einen bestimmten Bischof, *quasi regio tribunali celsa sede residentem*.⁹² Lehnten Martin und sein Biograph den hohen Stuhl grundsätzlich ab, so war für Basilios von Caesarea dieser nur in einem konkreten Einzelfall bezeichnendes Charakteristikum eines seiner Ansicht nach besonders überheblichen Bischofs.⁹³ Für den gleichfalls monastisch geprägten Gregor von Nazianz war der hohe Thron gar nur ein keineswegs negativ gewertetes *insigne* eines Bischofs.⁹⁴ Diese Funktion billigte Augustin dem Stuhl zwar auch zu, um aber gleichzeitig zu betonen, wie unwichtig beim Jüngsten Gericht *absidae gradatae* und *cathedrae velatae* sein würden.⁹⁵

Zieht man am Ende unserer Überlegungen Bilanz, so ist folgendes festzustellen: Mit der seit der Mitte des 3. Jh. und dann noch einmal seit 312 rasch zunehmenden Christianisierung wuchsen den Leitern der christlichen

⁹¹ Vgl. auch L. Cracco Ruggini, 'Prêtre et Fonctionnaire: L'essor d'un modèle épiscopal aux IVe-Ve siècles', *AnTard* 7 (1999), 175-186, besonders 181; C. Rapp, 'The Elite Status of Bishops in Late Antiquity', *Arethusa* 33 (2000), 379-399, besonders 382.

⁹² *Dialogi* 2.1; vgl. auch Augustin, *Epist.* 23, 3. Zumindest im Einzelfall konnte auch bei einem weltlichen Amtsinhaber die Höhe der Kathedra Anlaß zum Anstoß geben: Libanios, *Or.* 56.4.

⁹³ Basilios, *Epist.* 215: ὑψηλῶ δὲ καὶ μετεώρῳ, ἄνευ που καθήμενῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούειν τῶν χαμόθεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν φθεγγομένων μὴ δυνάμενῳ.

⁹⁴ *Panegyricus Basilii* 37, 1: ἐπὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον ἀνάγεται. Vgl. auch ders., *De vita sua* 1547 f., 1877 sowie Cyprian, *Epist.* 55.

⁹⁵ Augustin, *Epist.* 23, 3. Grundsätzlich zum Bischofsstuhl: H. Leclercq, 'Chaire épiscopale', in: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie III 1* (Paris 1913), 19-75, besonders 21 und 37.

Gemeinden eine neue soziale Position und neue Aufgaben zu. Damit stellte sich für diese Bischöfe die Frage, inwieweit sie das Vorbild derjenigen, die bisher eine vergleichbare Position eingenommen hatten, übernehmen sollten, um den neuen Anforderungen zu genügen. Das galt insbesondere, aber nicht nur für die Bischöfe der großen Zentren der antiken Welt (Und in dieser Hinsicht war Paulos von Samosata sicher nur einer der ersten, der mit solchen Fragen konfrontiert wurde). Aus den unterschiedlichsten Gründen heraus - sachliche Notwendigkeiten, von Außen herangetragene Erwartungen, persönlicher Ehrgeiz - übernahm man sowohl im Bereich des Personals, auf das sich der Bischof stützte, wie auch der Episkopeia manche Praktiken der hohen Würdenträger des römischen Reiches - allerdings nur innerhalb eines durch zentrale Gedanken der christlichen Lehre vorgegebenen Rahmens. Es blieben Unterschiede, auf die Petronius Probus anspielte, wenn er einem neu ernannten *consularis Aemiliae et Liguria* als Rat mit auf den Weg gab: *age non ut iudex sed ut episcopus*.⁹⁶ Manche tief verankerten Grenzen hat man von Anfang an beachtet: kein spätantiker Bischof hat es gewagt, sich offen und explizit eine Leibwache oder Exekutionsorgane zuzulegen. Andere Grenzen mußten erst definiert werden. Dabei wurden ganz unterschiedliche Positionen entwickelt. Beispielsweise waren selbst monastisch geprägte Theologen verschiedener Ansicht darüber, inwieweit man sich an weltlichen Amtsinhabern orientieren sollte. Die entschiedensten Gegner dieser Entwicklung formulierten am Ende des 4. Jh. den Vorwurf der λιθομανία. Dieser Vorwurf traf schon allzu prächtige Kirchenbauten. Auf um so mehr Zustimmung konnte Kritik an Episkopeia rechnen, die sich allzu deutlich am Vorbild der *praetoria* oder ähnlicher Repräsentationsarchitektur orientierten. Bischöfe des 4. und 5. Jh. konnten schon machtbewußte Kirchenpolitiker sein. Aber sie waren noch keine weltlichen Herrschaftsträger.

Köln, März 2003

⁹⁶ Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii* 8, 3; vgl. dazu z.B. Chadwick, *Role* 37; N. B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan* (Berkeley u. a. 1994), 43. Für die Durchsicht einer ersten Fassung möchte ich W. Eck ganz herzlich danken. Die ersten Gedanken zu dem Aufsatz entstanden im Winter 2001 dank der Gerda Henkel Stiftung in der einzigartigen Atmosphäre des Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J. Von meinem damaligen Gesprächspartnern möchte ich insbesondere G. Ripoll und P. Brown danken, mit denen ich meine Überlegungen zum Thema erörtern konnte.

IMPERIUM ROMANUM BETWEEN REPUBLIC AND EMPIRE

By
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The representation and perception of imperial power (to borrow for a moment the title of this volume) sounds, at first hearing, like a description of a fairly simple process, whereby one group of people, presumably the Romans, produced by image or by word an account or picture of the empire which was then received and interpreted by others. Such a process is indeed one of great interest and importance for understanding of the impact of the Roman empire on the ancient world. However, it is not the subject of this paper, which addresses instead another, and perhaps prior set of questions: What did the Romans think the empire was? How did they represent it to themselves and perceive it themselves? And how did that perception affect the nature of the empire and of the imperialism, which created it?

'Empire' is not a simple notion. Even if we confine our attentions to the period since the end of the nineteenth century, when the idea of imperialism first began to be discussed and explored systematically, it is clear that the imperial structures and activities of, for instance, the British and French empires or of the USSR and the USA show enormous differences between them. In antiquity, what we now call the Persian and the Athenian empires in the fifth century BC were widely disparate, not just in terms of scale but also of concept and of the relationship of the rulers to the ruled. To come closer to the subject-matter of this volume, it is clear enough that within the history of Roman imperialism between the emergence of Rome as a Mediterranean power in the third and second centuries BC, when imperial activity consisted in sending armies out from the city against foreign foes in foreign lands, and the situation of the second century AD, when the Roman emperor ruled an extensive and varied empire, whose boundaries required defence and whose territories were governed and administered, we are dealing with a quite different sort of structure, both in terms of practice and of concept. My questions amount to this: When and why and how did these changes come about? And what effect did they have on the process which we call Roman imperialism?

These are large questions, and demand a much larger treatment than can be given in a brief paper. When first I began to explore this area, it seemed to me best to look at what is perhaps the most obvious change, the shift in the idea of *imperium* as 'power' to that of *imperium* as a piece of

territory over which that power was exercised. One change which seemed to coincide with this was the use of the term *imperium Romanum* itself. In my opinion, this was a phrase, widely used in the imperial period, which did not seem nearly so frequent at an earlier stage. Indeed, further investigation revealed that it does not occur either in epigraphic or literary contexts before its appearance in the historian Sallust, writing in the 40s BC.¹ However, this straightforward observation proved less helpful for the meaning of the word *imperium* than might have been hoped, since it was clear on further investigation that in the three passages in which Sallust uses the phrase, once in the *Bellum Catilinae* and twice in fragments of the *Histories*, the sense of *imperium* is still that of ‘power’ of the Roman people, not their territory.² If there was a change in the possible range of meanings of the word, it was not to be identified so easily as by a change from *imperium populi Romani* to *imperium Romanum*. It became clear that the only way to proceed in such an investigation was by systematic examination of the meanings (drawn from context, both in terms of content and of syntax) of *imperium* in late republican and Augustan writers; and alongside this, I decided to look also at *provincia*, since that was a word which was intimately connected with *imperium*, and which had, at least in some contexts, a territorial significance already in the republican period. In this paper I concentrate on *imperium*.³

Firstly Cicero, both because he is undoubtedly a republican source and because sufficient of his work survives to give a reasonable chance of observing his usages over a period of years in the late republic. I began by collecting, by use of the PHI disk, all those passages in which Cicero uses the word *imperium*. These are passages, not individual uses of the word, and some passages, of course, use the word several times. By my reckoning, Cicero has 545 passages in which he uses the word *imperium*; of these, 285 of the 545 (that is 52.3%) are about the power of a magistrate or pro-magistrate, and this is by far the largest single meaning in his works. Another twelve refer to the power of kings, and two others to the power of both kings and magistrates. This result is hardly surprising, but it does illustrate that, for Cicero at least, the predominant context in which the word

¹ As noted in my article ‘*Imperium Romanum*: empire and the language of power’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991), 1-9, at p. 6 and n. 49.

² Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 10.1-3; *Histories* 2 fr. 70; *Histories* 3 fr. 2.

³ The results of this investigation will probably shortly emerge as a book; in this paper I give a sketch of some preliminary findings, and suggest one or two even more preliminary conclusions, and for this purpose I concentrate on *imperium* alone.

is used is one in which it signifies the power of an individual, and not 'empire' in any sense at all, much less a territorial sense.

The next most common usage is of states and peoples: some eleven passages are about foreign (that is non-Roman) states,⁴ but 174 passages are about the Roman people, making this the second most common usage, after that referring to the *imperium* of Roman magistrates and pro-magistrates (31.9% of the total of 545 passages). The contexts of these occurrences indicate that once again the meaning is of the 'power of the Roman people', which is what Sallust meant when he used the term *imperium Romanum*; though, surprisingly, of these 174 a large number (151 on my reckoning) use *imperium* to refer to the Roman state itself, rather than simply its power.⁵ One notable example is from Cicero's *Fourth Catilinarian Oration*, where he describes the conspirators as attempting to install the Allobroges in the ruins of the city and amongst the ashes of the *imperium*, showing that in this passage at least, setting fire to Rome burns down the *imperium*.⁶ In passages like this, the *imperium*, the power of the Roman people, stands for the state itself; and it is interesting that in several places in this list, the context is the well-being or survival of the *imperium*, by which is meant not just the external territories of the Romans but the state as a whole.⁷ And also, and

⁴ Cicero, *In Verrem* 2, 2.14; 3.15; 4.20; 5.98; *Ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.2.7; *Pro Flacco* 64; *De Republica* 1.28; 1.47; 1.50; *De Officiis* 1.76; *De Senectute* 59.

⁵ Cicero, *Pro Roscio Amerino* 51; 131; *In Verrem* 2, 1.54; 1.82; 2.85; 4.68; 5.8; 5.51; 5.97; 5.98; 5.115; 5.150; *Pro Fonteio* 15; 17; 32; 35; 36; *Oratio perdit* 7 (*Pro Cornelio*), fr. 27; *Pro Lege Manilia* 11; 12; 14; 26; 32; 41; 48; 54; 55; 60; 64; *In Catilinam* 1, 12; 33; *In Catilinam* 2, 3; 19; *In Catilinam* 3, 1; 9; 19; 20; *In Catilinam* 4, 4; 7; 12; 19; 21; *De Lege Agraria* 1.2; 1.6; 1.18; 1.19; 2.35; 2.73; 2.86; *Pro Murena* 6; 24; 58; 75; *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo* 20; 33; *Pro Archia* 28; *Pro Sulla* 3; 23; 28; 32; 33; 86; *Ad Atticum* 1.19.7; *Ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.1.34; *Pro Flacco* 1; 60; 69; *De Domo* 19; 20; 129; 132; 133; 143; *Post Reditum ad Quirites* 9; *Post Reditum ad Quirites* 21; *Ad Familiares* 1.7.4; *De Haruspicum Responsis* 4; 18; 19; 29; 49; 51; *De Provinciis Consularibus* 5; 6; 13; 18; 33; *Oratio perdit* 16 (*De Rege Alexandrino*) fr. 4; fr. 7; *Pro Balbo* 13; 22; 25; 31; 34; 49; 51; *Pro Caelio* 14; 59; *Pro Sestio* 1; 17; 19; 20; 50; 53; 57; 58; 66; 101; 116; 129; 139; *De Oratore* 1.159; 1.196; 1.201; 2.168; *In Pisonem* 48; 84; *Pro Planco* 70; *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 6; *Pro Scauro* 48; *De Partitione Oratoria* 105; *De Republica* 1.67; 2.5; 2.10; 3.24; *Ad Familiares* 15.1.5; 15.4.10; 15.4.14; *Pro Ligario* 7; *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* 2.76; *Pro Rege Deiotaro* 11; *De Amicitia* 11; *De Divinatione* 1.27; 1.92; *De Officiis* 2.26; 3.86; 3.87; 3.88; *Philippicae* 2.54; 2.92; 3.10; 3.13; 3.30; 3.37; 4.8; 4.13; 5.37; 5.39; 5.48; 7.15; 11.31; 13.14.

⁶ Sic nos in his hominibus qui nos, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt, qui singulas unius cuiusque nostrum domos et hoc universum rei publicae domicilium delere conati sunt, qui id egerunt ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis huius urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperi conlocarent, si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur (Cicero, *In Catilinam* 4, 12).

⁷ Thus, his paralleling of himself and Marius: Fateor et addo etiam: ex eo municipio unde iterum iam salus huic urbi imperioque missa est (Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 23); cf. Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia* 14; 48; 64; *In Catilinam* 1, 12; *In Catilinam* 3, 20; *Pro Archia* 28; *Pro Sulla* 86; *Ad Atticum* 1.19.7; *Post Reditum*

again this is not a surprise, Cicero occasionally uses *imperium* in the simple sense of an order delivered by someone in higher authority. I have counted 21 such passages.⁸

More importantly, however, for the purposes of this paper, I have not discovered any passage in Cicero in which the word *imperium* means an extended piece of territory, or indeed any piece of territory at all. That is not to say, of course, that the power of the Roman people is not described as extensive, even indeed of unlimited extension. There are a number of places in Cicero (I have counted 21 passages) where the *imperium* of the Roman people is described as being universal and as controlling the whole world (usually in terms of the *orbis terrarum*).⁹ But this is not the same thing at all. Nor, for that matter, does a territorial significance appear in Caesar, Sallust or Nepos, or in any of the poets writing in this period. In the epigraphic Latin of the time, *imperium* nearly always means ‘power’, sometimes of local magistrates (for example in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*) or of Roman magistrates or pro-magistrates¹⁰ or power of the Roman people in a technical sense;¹¹ in one inscription only (the *lex Gabinia Calpurnia de insula Delo*) it has the meaning of ‘orders’ issued by foreign kings and other powers,¹² and (in the same inscription at another place) the world-wide power of the Roman people, in the same sense as in Cicero.¹³

Thus far, the conclusion of my investigation is simple, and negative. *Imperium* was not a word used in the republican period to describe a territorial empire of the Roman people; and, I have to say, I have no evidence to suggest there was any other. Although Cicero certainly used clusters of words to

ad Quirites 21; *Pro Balbo* 22; *Pro Sestio* 1; 50; 116; *De Oratore* 2.168; *Pro Scauro* 48; *Pro Rege Deiotaro* 11.

⁸ Cicero, *In Verrem* 2, 3.73; 3.112; 3.228; 4.84; 4.111; 4.128; 5.47; *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo* 22; 23; *Post Reditum ad Quirites* 13; *De Domo* 71; 113; *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 29; *De Legibus* 2.10; 3.6; *Tusculanae Disputationes* 4.43; *De Senectute* 51; *Timaeus* 30; *Ad Atticum* 2.19.1; 6.1.21; *Ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.1.33.

⁹ Cicero, *Pro Roscio Amerino* 131; *Pro Lege Manilia* 53; 64; *De Lege Agraria* 1.2; 1.9; 2.35; 2.45; *Pro Murena* 22; 74; *Pro Sulla* 33; *Ad Atticum* 4.1.7; *De Domo* 24; *Pro Balbo* 16; *Pro Sestio* 67; 129; *De Oratore* 1.14; 3.131; *Oratio perditā* 15 (*De Aere Alieno Milonis*) fr 10; *Ad Atticum* 14.5.2; *De Officiis* 2.27; *Philippica* 8.10.

¹⁰ *Falerio fr. II* (RS 18) 4 [86 BC]; *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* (RS 25) CXXV, 13-17; CXXVIII, 12-13; CXXX, 44-6; CXXXI, 5-7; XCIII, 29-31 [43 BC]; *Lex de Gallia Cisalpina* (RS 28) I, 50-51 [42 BC].

¹¹ *Foedus Callatinum* (ILLRP 516) 5-6 [71 BC]

¹² *Lex Gabinia Calpurnia de insula Delo* (RS 22) 12-14 [58 BC].

¹³ *Lex Gabinia Calpurnia de insula Delo* (RS 22) 17-20.

describe the various areas over which the Romans exercised their *imperium*,¹⁴ there is no single word, which encompasses the whole.

At the end of the reign of Augustus, it is clear that the change for which we are searching had come about. In the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (= *Res Gestae*) the *princeps* refers to the closing of the gates of the temple of Janus, and writes that the intention of the ancestors had been to close them “[cum] per totum imperium populi Roma[ni] terra marique es]set parta vic[torii]s pax”.¹⁵ Although the inscription is damaged here, it is clear that what stood in the text was regarded as referring to a territorial empire, as is shown by the Greek version of this clause, which reads εἰρηνευομένης τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμα(ί)ους πάσης γῆς τε | καὶ θαλάσσης, πρὸ μὲν ἐμοῦ, ἐξ οὗ ἡ πόλις ἐκτίσθη.¹⁶ Although this is in some ways more of a paraphrase than a translation (the phrase ‘parta victoriis pax’ is rendered by the one word εἰρηνευομένης), it is none the less notable that for the translator ‘per totum imperium populi Romani’ could be rendered by τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους πάσης γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης. This is the more significant because the words concerned refer not to the empire in the time of Augustus, but in the period before his birth.

Of course, this was not the only significance of *imperium* in the *Res Gestae*. When, in a famous passage, Augustus states that ‘Aegyptum imperio populi [Ro]mani adieci’, the translator renders this as Αἴγυπτον δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία προσέθηκα.¹⁷ Here there is no suggestion that the *imperium populi Romani* is a territorial entity; it is rather the power exercised by the Roman people. Altogether in the inscription, the word *imperium* occurs nine times, and, of the other seven, three refer to the power of the Roman people,¹⁸ three to the power of a magistrate,¹⁹ and one to orders issued by the

¹⁴ For example: Tolle hanc spem, tolle hoc praesidium civibus Romanis, constitue nihil esse opis in hac voce, ‘Civis Romanus sum,’ posse impune praetorem aut alium quempiam supplicium quod velit in eum constituere qui se civem Romanum esse dicat, quod qui sit ignoret: *iam omnis provincias, iam omnia regna, iam omnis liberat civitates, iam omnem orbem terrarum, qui semper nostris hominibus maxime patuit*, civibus Romanis ista defensione praecluseris (Cicero, *In Verrem* 2, 5.168).

¹⁵ [Janum] Quirin[um], quem cl[aussum] ess[e] maiores nostri voluer[unt], | [cum] per totum i[mperium] po[pu]li Roma[ni] terra marique es]set parta vic[torii]s pax, cum priu[s] qua[m] nascerer a condita urbe bis omnino clausum | [f]uisse prodatur m[emori]ae, ter me princi[pe] senat]us claudendum esse censui[t] (Augustus, *Res Gestae* 13).

¹⁶ Πύλῃν Ἐνυάλιον, ἣν κεκλίσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἠθέλησαν | εἰρηνευομένης ὑπὸ Ῥωμα(ί)ου πάσης γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης, πρὸ μὲν ἐμοῦ, ἐξ οὗ ἡ πόλις ἐκτίσθη, | πᾶσι παντὶ αἰῶνι δις μόνον κεκλεισθαι ὁμολογεῖται, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἡ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσαστο κλεισθῆναι (Augustus, *Res Gestae* 13).

¹⁷ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 27.

¹⁸ *Res Gestae* pr., 6 and 30.

¹⁹ *Res Gestae* 1 and 8 (twice).

Roman people.²⁰ What is notable is not that Augustus used the word in the same way as it had been used by republican writers in eight out of these nine occurrences, but that he used it in a different way in one.

But when? If we assume, as is generally done, that the first draft of the *Res Gestae* as we have it was written in about 2 B.C., it is reasonable to assume that this passage was not written before that date.²¹ Moreover, the only date that any source provides for the third closing of the gates of Janus is also 2 B.C., though it should be noted that the source in question is Orosius, who uses this evidence that the whole world was at peace in his account of the birth of Jesus, and on whom we should not perhaps therefore place too much reliance. It is, however, not stretching the evidence too far to suggest that the passage in the *Res Gestae* dates from the second half of Augustus' reign.²² By that stage, it is to be expected that the meaning of the word *imperium* will have changed, just as the entities to which it refers had changed. In both the senses that we have been looking at, both the power of the magistrates and the Roman people and the extended territory over which that power was exercised, the *imperium* was under the control of one individual, and that in itself was likely to give a more cohesive sense to the significance of the word. The latter half of Augustus' reign would not be a surprising point for the appearance of the new significance of the word that we are looking for. But can we do better than this? Is it possible to see more precisely what was happening, and when?

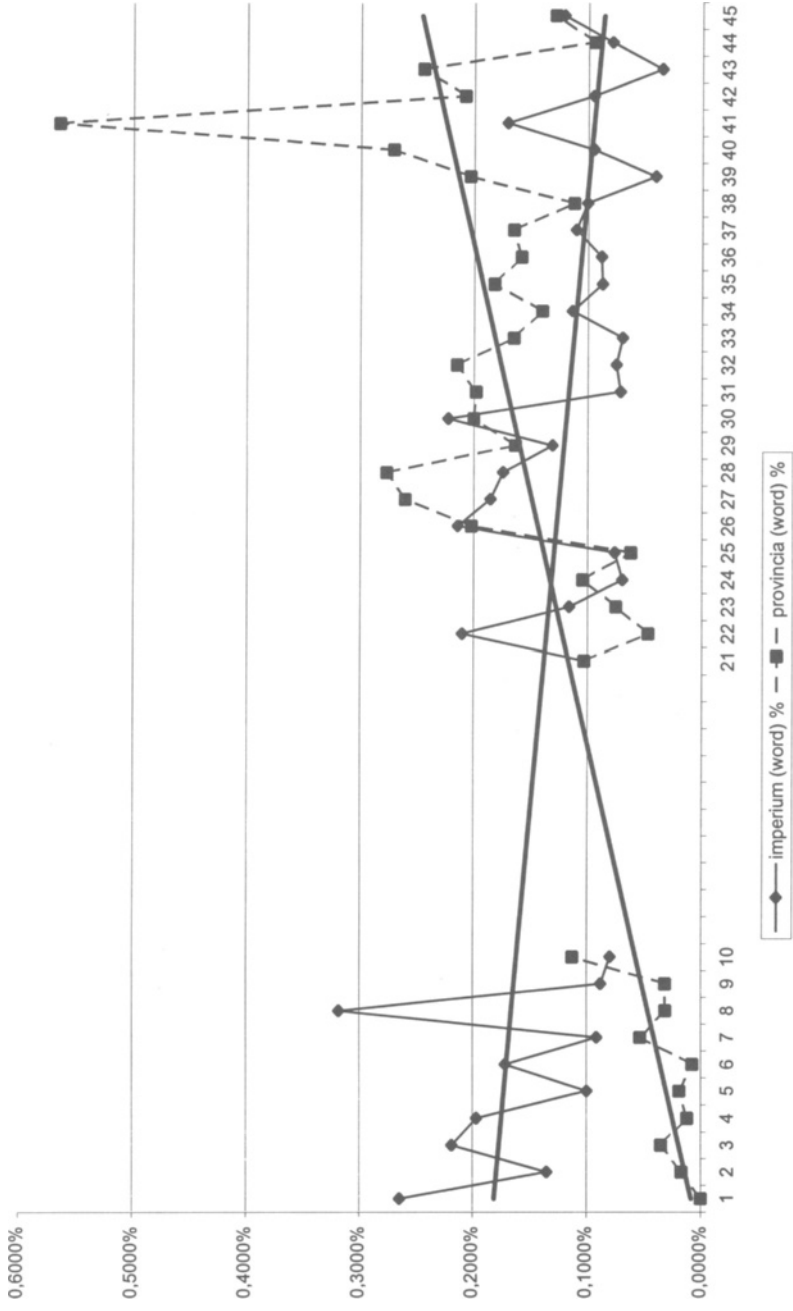
To attempt answers to those questions, we must return to the analysis of the writers of the period, to Livy first of all. The problem here is, of course, that there is no complete work by the historian, and that the substantial remains that are extant were clearly written over a prolonged period. More frustrating still for our present purposes, it is rarely possible to date with any precision just when the surviving books were written, even though it does appear that he wrote them in chronological order. That said, Livy's uses of the word *imperium* and the significances he attaches to the word repay investigation.

²⁰ *Res Gestae* 30.

²¹ For a brief exposition of the arguments on the date of the composition of the *Res Gestae*, see P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, eds., *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: the Achievements of the Divine Augustus* (Oxford 1967), 6.

²² Orosius 6.22. R. Syme, 'Problems about Janus' in *Roman Papers* 3 (Oxford 1984), 1179-1197, at 1190-1192 (= *American Journal of Philology* 100 [1979], 188-212, at 202-204) argues convincingly for 7 BC.

Livy (occurrences as percentage of total words)



Livy uses *imperium* in 571 passages in the surviving books, and I should say immediately that my investigation of those passages has revealed none in which the clearly territorial sense which we have seen in that one passage in the *Res Gestae* is present. What did emerge is a surprising distribution of his use of the word at all across the surviving books. Of course it is important to remember that Livy is describing a developing history of Rome, and it might be expected in any case that he would use such a word more when relating some events than others. However the distribution appears to relate hardly at all to the nature of the historical events he is describing. Taken decade by decade, there is a decline in the number of passages from 224 (39.23% of the total) in the first decade to 186 (32.57%) in the third, 108 (18.91%) in the fourth and 53 (9.28%, equivalent to 106 in a full decade) in the five books of the fifth. This shows a decline across the surviving books, with a levelling off in the roughly similar distribution in the fourth and fifth decades. It is hard to imagine what change in the history of the period between the foundation of the city down to the year 166 BC, which these books cover, could account for this shift. The point emerges still more clearly if, instead of counting passages, we look at the number of occurrences of the word (as opposed to the numbers of passages), book by book, expressed as a percentage of the total number of words in each book. We can provide a certain amount of historiographical context by setting these figures against a similar set for the word *provincia*. As will be seen from the chart, although there are considerable variations from book to book,²³ the overall trend of uses of *imperium* declines across the series, with a particular drop in the fourth and fifth decades, while that of *provincia* increases. The behaviour of *provincia* is just what might be expected – there were, after all, more *provinciae* allotted to magistrates and pro-magistrates in the second century than in the early years of the city; but the same consideration makes the decline in *imperium* seem even more odd. All other things being equal, one might have expected that an increase in the number of *imperium*-holders would have led to an increase in the use of the word *imperium*.

The most obvious reason for this change, given that the historical period about which Livy is writing does not provide an explanation, is that

²³ Note in particular that the high percentage figure for both *imperium* and *provincia* in book 41 is due to the low overall word-count of this book, which survives in fragmentary form. The same is true of book 43, but the percentage figures here look less odd, because in book 41 the surviving chapters deal with the allocation of *provinciae* in each of the five years 178-174 B.C., while book 43 deals only with those of two years (170 and 169 B.C.).

what altered was the linguistic context in which he wrote, that there was something in the language-environment which resulted in the decline in the number of times that he used the word *imperium*. It would appear that for Livy at least (and he is the one surviving prose writer of the period) the word became gradually less part of his literary vocabulary as his work proceeded; and indeed that there was a particular drop in his use of it once he began the fourth decade of his history. It would be fascinating to know just when the changes that these figures suggest took place. If, as is sometimes argued, Livy's remark²⁴ that Spain had finally been conquered in his own times under the leadership and auspices of Augustus Caesar, indicates that book 28 was written after Agrippa's campaigns of 19 BC,²⁵ and given the overall rate at which Livy must have been writing in order to complete his immense work, it is probable that he began the fourth decade not long after 18 BC. But that is hypothesis built on hypothesis. What can be said is that in the fifteen years or so after he began his work, Livy gradually used the word *imperium* less. The precise reason for this (if a precise reason is conceivable for a gradual change of this type) is perhaps not available: it may be connected with the diminution of the use of the *praenomen imperatoris* on Augustan coins after 27 BC;²⁶ or, perhaps more likely, the change in senatorial self-representation, which followed the last triumph to be celebrated by a non-member of the imperial house in 19 BC.²⁷ In either case, what we are looking at is probably the consequence of Livy's sensitivity to the use of language about *imperium* and its holders. If that is so, the absence from his surviving work of *imperium* in the sense of a territorial empire, as opposed to the power of an individual or of the Roman people, is telling.

If this is the result of examining the only substantial survival of Augustan prose, what of the poets? A review of Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid produces 102 uses of the word *imperium*: of these, 36 simply mean an order;²⁸ often, of course, it means 'power' in a general or

²⁴ Livy 28.12.12: itaque ergo prima Romanis inita provinciarum, quae quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium nostra demum aetate ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris perdomita est.

²⁵ W. Weissenborn in W. Weissenborn and H. J. Müller, *Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita* 1 (Berlin 1879), 10; P. G. Walsh, *Livy: his historical aims and methods* (Cambridge 1963) 8.

²⁶ R. Syme, 'Imperator Caesar: a study in nomenclature' in *Roman Papers* 1 (Oxford 1979), 361-377, at 373 (= *Historia* 7 (1958) 172-188, at 184)

²⁷ W. Eck, 'Senatorial self-representation: developments in the Augustan period' in F. Millar and E. Segal, *Caesar Augustus: seven aspects* (Oxford 1984), 129-167.

²⁸ Horace, *Epistulae* 1.5.1-8; 1.12.25-29; 1.18.41-48; *Sermones* 2.7.75-77; *Carmina* 3.4.41-48; 4.1.1-8; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 2.271-222; *Fasti* 2.253-256; *Metamorphoses* 4.472-473; 7.371-374; 9.275-280; *Remedia Amoris* 475-478; *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.1.37-42; 4.13.33-38; Propertius 2.1.17-26; 4.8.81-88; Tibullus, 1.2.5-10; 2.3.77-80; 2.4.51-53; Virgil, *Georgica* 2.367-370; *Aeneis* 1.227-233; 1.49-51;

metaphorical sense;²⁹ and, of course, it means the power of kings,³⁰ gods,³¹ Roman magistrates³² and the Roman people.³³ In nine cases at least, this power is represented as of immense or even infinite extent.³⁴ However, it is only in the last poems of Ovid that we find a significance, which, like that of the instance we noted in the *Res Gestae*, relates clearly to a territorial extension as such. In five passages, four from the *Tristia* and one from the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, we find *imperium* paralleled with *terrae*,³⁵ possessing a *corpus*³⁶ or a *margo*,³⁷ and being the object of the verb *regere*.³⁸ This is, at last, a territorial empire; and it is interesting to note that its occurrence is roughly contemporaneous with another use of *imperium*, that of the power of the emperor and of the whole *domus Augusta*, which appears in two passages in the *Fasti* and four in the poems written in exile.³⁹ Of course, there may be many reasons for this new usage: Ovid is not, and not like, his predecessors, and he is in any case writing from a place, on the very edge, as he himself laments, of the *imperium*,⁴⁰ whence it might seem more obvious that *imperium* has a territorial significance. His intended audience, however, is decidedly based in Rome, and he, at least, cannot have thought that in using *imperium* in this sense he was writing in a way that would have been

4.238-241; 4.279-282; 4.288-295; 4.571-577; 5.722-727; 5.746-748; 5.779-784; 6.461-464; 7.236-240; 7.483-489; 8.374-381; 9.672-676; 9.714-716; 11.234-5.

²⁹ Ovid, *Amores* 1.20.21-24; *Remedia Amoris* 493-496; *Metamorphoses* 5.369-374; *Fasti* 2.295-298; Horace, *Carmina* 3.1.5-8; 3.16.29-32; Virgil, *Georgica* 2.367-370; *Aeneis* 3.154-160; 8.505-509; 10.39-43; 11.45-48.

³⁰ Ovid, *Remedia Amoris* 475-478; *Metamorphoses* 15.1-6; *Fasti* 3.343-354; 3.379-382; Virgil, *Aeneis* 1.49-51; 1.267-271; 7.651-654; 8.481-482; 8.505-509; 12.192-194.

³¹ Horace, *Carmina* 3.1.5-8; Virgil, *Aeneis* 1.49-51; 5.231-237; 6.264-267; 6.461-464; 7.236-240; 9.446-449.

³² Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.9.29-34; 4.9.59-62; 4.9.65-68; Horace, *Carmina* 4.14.34-40; *Sermones* 1.6.26-37; Virgil, *Aeneis* 6.819-822.

³³ Ovid, *Fasti* 3.415-422; 5.91-96; 6.425-428; *Tristia* 1.5.67-70; 2.165-166; 2.215-220; Horace, *Carmina* 1.2.25-28; 1.35.9-16; 3.5.1-4; 4.15.1-16; *Epistulae* 1.12.25-29; Propertius 1.6.31-36; 3.1.13-16; Virgil, *Aeneis* 1.278-288; 6.777-787; 6.791-797; 6.808-812; 6.851-853.

³⁴ Horace, *Carmina* 3.5.1-4; 4.15.1-16; *Epistulae* 1.12.25-29; Propertius 1.6.31-36; 3.1.13-16; Virgil, *Aeneis* 1.278-288; 6.777-787; 6.791-797; 6.851-853.

³⁵ Ovid, *Tristia* 5.2.47-52; *Epistulae ex Ponto* 2.2.61-70.

³⁶ Ovid, *Tristia* 2.221-236.

³⁷ Ovid, *Tristia* 2.199-204.

³⁸ Ovid, *Tristia* 2.165-166; *Epistulae ex Ponto* 3.3.59-62

³⁹ Ovid, *Fasti* 1.529-532; 1.611-616; *Tristia* 2.39-42; *Epistulae ex Ponto* 2.2.61-70; 2.9.33-34; 4.13.25-32. Surprisingly, *imperium* does not seem to be used in this sense earlier: the one possible earlier use in this sense occurs in Virgil, *Aeneis* 9.449, where 'imperiumque pater Romanus habebit' refers surely to Jupiter, whose *imperium* might reasonably be described as eternal (which is the point of this passage), rather than Augustus.

⁴⁰ Ovid, *Tristia* 2.199-204.

difficult for his readers to understand. We may deduce that at least by the time of these poems, that is after A.D. 8, those in the literary circles of Rome would not have been confused by the word being used with this significance.

The upshot of this investigation is that there was indeed a new territorial sense given to *imperium* in the Augustan period, and that this new sense can first be traced in the latter half of the reign. If I were to be more precise, which probably I should not be, I would suggest a date around 2 B.C. This is only to be expected at a time when the whole notion of *imperium* was changing, not least in the *de facto* concentration of the power of the Roman people into the hands of one individual, or of one individual family. What is worth noticing, however, is the effect that this series of changes appears to have had on the way in which the Roman writers described the Roman empire. Before the middle of the reign of Augustus there seems to have been no single word for 'empire' as an extended territory belonging to Rome. After this point, there was.

That is not simply a semantic observation. What this variation in the use of language indicates is different notions of what the Roman empire was, and therefore what the object of Roman imperialism consisted of. Under the republic, *imperium* means power, and in an imperial context expansion of empire seems to mean the extension of that power across the globe, a growth of control of foreign peoples rather than the annexation of foreign lands. After the middle of Augustus' reign, the word can also mean the extended territory within which that power and control is exercised, and expansion of *imperium* then means the addition of territory to that territorial entity. Of course an alteration of this type is not the result of an administrative *fiat* on the part of the imperial government, any more than the decline we have noted in Livy's use of *imperium* and *imperator* was decreed by the emperor. That was not the way Augustus worked, and in any case, as the Livian example shows, such changes, when they can be traced, are too gradual to be the result of anyone's decision. The linguistic change does, none the less, indicate a change in the way that Romans thought of *imperium*. The perception has shifted, and with it the nature of Roman imperialism. *Imperium Romanum*, as an area delineated on a map, is a consequence of that shift, and an invention of the Augustan period.

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THE PERCEPTION OF ROMAN IMPERIAL AUTHORITY IN HERODIAN'S WORK

By
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The Greek historian Herodian may have lived from about A.D. 180 until some time after A.D. 250.¹ Geza Alföldy convincingly argues that he was a freedman or a freedman's son from Western Asia Minor who had entered the emperor's service.² In my view Alföldy's case has never been refuted. Like

¹ On Herodian's life and work see C.R. Whittaker, *Herodian I*. Loeb Classical Library (London/Cambridge, MA 1969), IX-LXXXII, esp. XLIII, LII ff., and LXXII ff.; W. Widmer, *Kaisertum, Rom und Welt in Herodians Meta Markon Basileias Historia*. Geist und Werk der Zeiten 16 (Zürich 1967), esp. 65 ff.; F. Kolb, *Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der Historia Augusta*. Antiquitas 4. Reihe, Beiträge zur Historia-Augusta-Forschung 9 (Bonn 1972); G.W. Bowersock, in P.E. Easterling, et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I: Greek Literature* (Cambridge 1985), 710 ff.; J.J. Torres Esbarranch, *Herodiano, Historia del Imperio Romano después de Marco Aurelio* (Madrid 1985), 8 ff.; G. Alföldy, *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches. Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung*. Ausgewählte Beiträge (Stuttgart 1989), containing among other contributions G.Alföldy, 'Herodians Person', *ibid.* 240-269 (= *Ancient Society* 2[1971], 204-231), with *Nachträge*, *ibid.* 269-272 and Idem, 'Zeitgeschichte und Krisenempfindung bei Herodian', *ibid.* 273-293 (= *Hermes* 99 [1971], 429-449), with *Nachträge*, *ibid.* 293 f.; D. Roques, *Hérodien, Histoire des empereurs romains de Marc Aurèle à Gordien III (180-238 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris 1990), 1-15; H. Sidebottom, 'Herodian's Historical Methods and Understanding of History', in W. Haase & H. Temporini, eds., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II* 34, 4 (Berlin/ New York 1998), 2775-2836; G. Marasco, 'Erodiano e la crisi dell' impero', *ibidem*, 2837-2927; I. Opelt, 'Furcht und Schrecken bei Herodian', *ibidem*, 2928-2952; L. de Blois, 'Emperor and Empire in the Works of Greek-speaking Authors of the Third Century A.D.', *ibidem*, 3415-3423; M. Zimmermann, 'Herodians Konstruktion der Geschichte und sein Blick auf das stadtrömische Volk', in Idem, ed., *Geschichtsschreibung und politischer Wandel im 3. Jahrhundert nach Chr.* Historia Einzelschrift 127 (Stuttgart 1999), 119-143, and Th. Hidber, 'Zeit und Erzählperspektive in Herodians Geschichtswerk' in M.Zimmermann, ed., *Geschichtsschreibung und politischer Wandel im 3. Jahrhundert nach Chr.* Historia Einzelschrift 127 (Stuttgart 1999), 145-167.

² See Alföldy, 'Herodians Person', in Idem 1989, op.cit. (n.1), 255-269 (= *Ancient Society* 2 [1971], 219-233). Names of cities from western Asia Minor occur relatively frequently in Herodian's work and he appears to be most familiar with this particular region and with the city of Rome. Knowledge of the map of Rome may be borrowed from other writers, but the density of information about Western Asia Minor seems to preclude such procedures. According to Kolb and Zimmermann conclusions about Herodian's life and career are founded on literary fiction and should not be drawn (see Kolb 1972, op.cit.[n.1], 25-34; Zimmermann, 'Konstruktion' 1999, op.cit.[n.1], 127 and 129). In my view they are too sceptical about specific information, which Herodian explicitly or implicitly provides.

Cassius Dio, on whose work he is often dependent,³ Herodian clearly felt personally involved in Roman state affairs.⁴

Herodian's work is a mixture of history, *enkomion*, novel, and biography. Like Plutarch in his *Vitae*, Herodian mentions all kinds of trivialities, characteristic of the personalities of the emperors, whereas dates, geographical data, and important historical facts are sometimes dealt with only very briefly and rather inaccurately. Herodian liked to be a dramatist and used all kinds of rhetorical devices to bring his accounts to life. He made use of contrasting schemes and employed traditional commonplaces to interpret historical facts and to label his personalities.⁵

As opposed to some earlier interpreters, Zimmermann demonstrates that Herodian's work does not represent the viewpoint of the lower strata in society.⁶ In my opinion Herodian's audience and his political views were not much different from those of Cassius Dio, who wrote his work to inform Greek-speaking members of the higher orders, wherever they lived.⁷

How was the Roman empire perceived in the work of this Greek writer? The answer to this question cannot be found in Herodian's explicit statements, but has to be formulated on the basis of an analysis of passing remarks, in which the author more or less betrays how he sees the Roman empire. Like Cassius Dio, although less explicitly, Herodian emerges from his work as an advocate of a strong monarchical government in a fixed hierarchical socio-political system in which various groups each have their

³ See G. Alföldy, 'Cassius Dio und Herodian über die Anfänge des Neupersischen Reiches', in Idem 1989, op.cit. (n.1), 229-235 (= *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 114 [1971], 360-366), with *Nachträge*, 235 ff.; Alföldy, 'Zeitgeschichte', in Idem 1989, op.cit. (n. 1), 275 f. (= *Hermes* 99 [1971], 431 f.). Kolb, op.cit. (n.1), tries to demonstrate that Dio's Roman History was a very important source of Herodian's work. His views are put into perspective by T.D. Barnes, *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 368-373 (in a review of Kolb's book). According to Sidebottom 1998, op.cit. (n.1), 2780-2792, Herodian certainly used Dio's work regularly, without using it as a *Hauptquelle*.

⁴ Herodian was also interested in the vicissitudes of noble families that had dominated the senate and higher senatorial functions under the Antonines. According to Whittaker, Herodian's work was to some extent a history of the fortunes of senatorial families, which had belonged to the grand set of Antonine times. See Whittaker, op.cit. (n.1), LXXXI.

⁵ See Whittaker, op.cit. (n.1), LII ff.; B.P. Reardon, *Courants littéraires grecs des IIe et IIIe siècles ap. J.-C.* (Paris 1971), 216 ff.; Kolb 1972, op.cit. (n.1), 54 ff.; Sidebottom 1998, op.cit. (n.1), 2813-2822; Zimmermann, 'Konstruktion' 1999, op.cit. (n.1), 123 ff.; Hidber 1999, op.cit. (n.1), 166 f.

⁶ Zimmermann, 'Konstruktion', op.cit. (n.1), 127 f. Cf. Sidebottom 1998, op.cit. (n.1), 2823.

⁷ See M.-L. Freyburger-Galland, *Aspects du vocabulaire politique et institutionnel de Dion Cassius* (Paris 1997), 225; cf. L. de Blois, *Gnomon* 73 (2001), 135 f. (review of M. Hose, *Erneuerung der Vergangenheit. Die Historiker im Imperium Romanum von Florus bis Cassius Dio* [Stuttgart/Leipzig 1994]). Cf. Sidebottom 1998, op.cit. (n.1), 2822-2826; Marasco 1998, op.cit. (n.1), 2908 ff.

own functions and statuses, like organs in a body.⁸ The constituent elements of this polity are, besides the emperor who is the dominant part, the senate, the soldiers, the populace of the city of Rome, Italy and the provinces, and the cities within them. In his Maecenas speech, Cassius Dio mentions, besides emperors and senators to whom he pays a relatively large amount of attention, *equites*, centurions, *caesariani*, the notables in the cities, imperial freedmen, soldiers, the populace of Rome, and the *dèmoi* of the other cities in the empire.⁹ Herodian is less explicit and specific. He does not speak about senators as frequently as Dio does and he does not pay as much attention to specific roles and positions of *equites*, *decuriones*, *caesariani*, and centurions. In some passages and speeches, such as 1.5, 1.7, 2.9-14, 3.8.3 ff. and 6.1.2 Herodian has the soldiers, the senate and the populace of Rome appear as the units that can accept an imperial position of power. In 2.4.2 Herodian states that Pertinax met with approval throughout the empire, in all of the provinces, client states and armies. Armies (*stratopeda*), plural. In Herodian's work the armies of different frontier zones and Italy are seen as different entities.¹⁰

In Herodian's histories the Roman empire is seen as a conglomerate of peoples who all lie under the dominance of Rome and the emperor. All those peoples have specific characteristics: Egyptians are passionate (1.17.6), Syrians are fond of holidays, witty and erratic (2.7.9; 2.10.7), Pannonians are tall, handsome, fierce in battle and slow-witted (2.9.11) and Greeks are naturally inclined to quarrel with one another (3.2.8). In a speech to his troops, which Herodian puts into the mouth of Septimius Severus to his troops, the author indicates that the city of Rome is the very seat of the empire (2.10.9). Its populace is the *demos* of the dominant city of the empire. In a similar way Cassius Dio speaks about "the city and its entire empire".¹¹

⁸ See Cassius Dio F 17.10 ff.; 41.29-31; 44.2; 52.30. This may originally be a fourth century B.C. Greek view. Analogous opinions are offered by Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* 1130b10-1131b24 and *Politica* 1282b14-1283a23. In keeping with this organic view of the state is Isocrates' opinion that the constitution is its soul (*Areopagiticus* 14).

⁹ Cassius Dio 52.19-22, 24-26, 27, 30-32, and 37. See L. de Blois, 'The Perception of Emperor and Empire in Cassius Dio's Roman History', *Ancient Society* 29 (1998-1999), 271.

¹⁰ Herodian 2.4.2; 2.7-10; 6.7-8; 8.2.1f.; 8.5.8.

¹¹ In 2.10.7 ff. Herodian has Septimius Severus say that the provinces and the towns will accept the emperor chosen by the army of Illyria and Pannonia and that he will be the first to march his troops into Rome, the very seat of the empire. See M. Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate. An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History, Books 49-52, 36-29 B.C.* (Atlanta 1988), 189 f. ad 52.19.6. Cf. Cassius Dio 38.36.2; 41.56.1; 44.2.4; 59.9.5; 74.11.3; 78.26.1. On such views of the

Rome, not Italy. In Herodian's view Italy is no longer a dominating power. Rome was the seat of the empire and the armies of Pannonia and Illyria were now the most powerful elements in the Roman world (2.8.10; 2.9-10; cf. 6.7.3). In 2.4.6, in a passage on the land reforms planned by Pertinax, Herodian speaks of Italy and the *other* provinces.¹² Cassius Dio perceives the position of Italy within the empire in a similar way. In his view the Roman empire was a worldwide *polis*, the city of Rome serving as the *astu* and the rest as the *chora* (Dio 52.19.6). In Dio's view, Italy was not much different from the provinces. It was the land that contained Rome (F. 1.3) and where senators had country houses.¹³

In Herodian's model, the emperors are the backbone of the state and the polity. They determine the nature of the government, the distribution of influence and burdens among the various major groups of society, the atmosphere in the empire, and the security of the citizens. The reigns of the emperors determine the structure of Herodian's work and their actions dominate the narrative. Herodian often sets speeches of emperors and pretenders to the throne at the centre of passages of ring composition. Some of those speeches in Herodian's work are vivid Second Sophistic *meletai*, which characterise the emperors who are giving them.¹⁴

At the beginning of his work, in book I, Herodian portrays Marcus Aurelius as the role model for emperors. Not only did he possess all the traditional virtues and qualities which Greek writers had ascribed to good princes ever since the fourth century B.C., such as a good family background,

Roman empire see F. Unruh, *Das Bild des Imperium Romanum im Spiegel der Literatur an der Wende vom 2. zum 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr.* (Bonn 1991), 188.

¹² In a short excursus in 2.11.3-5 Herodian explains that Italy did not supply many troops, because in the imperial age it had started to concentrate more on agriculture and less on warfare. The armies of Pannonia and Illyria were now the most powerful elements in the Roman empire (2.8.10; 2.9-10; cf. 6.7.3). By implication Herodian indicates that in his view the supplying of troops was a quintessential basis of real power of the regions in the Roman empire.

¹³ See Cassius Dio F. 1.3; 52.30.1 ff. See De Blois 1998, op.cit. (n.1), 3407 f. See also L. de Blois, 'The World a City: Cassius Dio's View of the Roman Empire', in L. Aigner Foresti, et al., eds., *L'Ecumenismo Politico nella Coscienza dell' Occidente, Atti del Congresso Bergamo 18-21 settembre 1995* (Rome 1998), 359-370.

¹⁴ See for example 2.8.1 ff., a speech of Pescennius Niger in which he focuses on sophistic standard themes like rashness and hope; 2.10.1 ff., a speech of Septimius Severus to his troops, A.D. 193; 3.6.1 ff., Septimius Severus against Albinus; 4.5.2 ff., an oration of Caracalla in the senate at Rome; 4.14.4 ff., a speech of Macrinus towards his troops on the eve of a battle against the Parthians, A.D. 217; 7.8.4 ff., a speech of Maximinus Thrax to his troops on unwarlike senators and other opponents, A.D. 238; 8.7.4 ff., an oration of the senatorial emperor Maximus towards the soldiers at Aquileia, A.D. 238.

an excellent education, interest in culture and philosophy, moderation, zeal, courage, and charity, but he also excelled in military prowess, competence in legal matters, and the selection of good assistants (1.2-3).¹⁵ His regime was based on goodwill rather than on power, money and violence. Herodian has the emperor say, on his deathbed: “Money is not enough to compensate for the licence of a tyrant and a bodyguard is not sufficient protection for a ruler unless he has the goodwill (*eunoia*) of his subjects as well” (1.4.4). Herodian tells us that when the report of Marcus’ death was known, the whole army that was with him and the common people alike mourned for him, and that there was not a single subject throughout the Roman empire that did not grieve at the news and join together with one voice to proclaim his praise (1.4.8). In this way he suggests that goodwill was widespread indeed everywhere in the empire and among all classes of society. In this description of Marcus as the ideal ruler, Herodian follows a standard arrangement of a *basilikos logos*. The rhetorical manual of Menander, which may have been written between A.D. 250 and 300, gives ample information on such orations.¹⁶

Herodian knew very well that in his own time historical reality differed markedly from this ideal picture. The populace of Rome seldom behaved like the majestic *dèmos* of a city that dominated the civilised world and the emperors became increasingly dependent on the military, whom they had to pay well in order to stay on the throne.

On a few occasions Herodian goes into detail, using very negative commonplaces, regarding the populace of the city of Rome.¹⁷ In such passages Herodian describes the Roman mob as a heterogeneous unreliable

¹⁵ See Whittaker, *op.cit.* (n.1), LXXII f.; Alföldy, ‘Zeitgeschichte’ 1989, in *op.cit.* (n.1), 279 and 287 (= *Hermes* 99 [1971], 435 and 443); Idem, ‘Herodian über den Tod Mark Aurels’, *ibid.* 14-22 (= *Latomus* 32 [1973], 345-353) with *Nachträge*, 22-24; Roques, *op.cit.* (n.1), 215 f.; Sidebottom 1998, *op.cit.* (n.1), 2804 f.; Marasco 1998, *op.cit.* (n.1), 2840-2843; De Blois 1998, *op.cit.* (n.1), 3416; Zimmermann, ‘Konstruktion’ 1999, *op.cit.* (n.1), 123 f.

¹⁶ See L. de Blois, ‘The Eis Basilea of Ps.-Aelius Aristides’, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 27 (1986), 281 f. On the dating of Menander see G.A. Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton 1972), 636 f. (third century); V. Nutton, ‘The Beneficial Ideology’, in P.D.A. Garnsey & C.R. Whittaker, eds., *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge 1978), 214 (c. A.D. 270); D.A. Russell & N.G. Wilson, eds., *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981), XL (c. A.D. 300).

¹⁷ 7.7.1; 7.10.5 f. See Zimmermann, ‘Konstruktion’ 1999, *op.cit.* (n.1), 133 ff.; 141. On p. 135 Zimmermann says: “Chameleongleich wechselt die *plebs urbana* also in der Schilderung des Historiographen die Farbe und passt sich der Gesamtkonzeption des Geschichtswerk folgend den jeweiligen Thronprätendenten und Kaisern an. Angesichts der expliziten Anknüpfung an einen Topos aus der *peri basileias* -Literatur, nach dem sich die Untertanen der Qualität des Herrschers anpassen, ist dies nicht überraschend”.

mass without guts. In 7.7.1 he says: “Although every lower-class mob is quick to revolt, the population of Rome, made up of a vast, heterogeneous conglomeration of human beings, can change its allegiances frequently and capriciously”. Nonetheless, in Herodian’s model, it is the sovereign people of the dominant city, who should not be maltreated by undisciplined soldiery. In 2.4.1 Herodian has the good emperor Pertinax issue the order to the soldiers to stop their insulting behaviour to the populace. Soldiers in Rome were forbidden to carry axes or to strike any passer-by.¹⁸

This brings us to Herodian’s view of the military and of their role and position in the Roman imperial state. Several times Herodian explicitly connects soldiers with tyranny. According to him, the soldiers were a dangerous, greedy group that was difficult to keep under control and would rather support a tyrant who gave them everything they wanted than a good emperor.¹⁹ In a passage on the murder of Pertinax and the sale of the emperorship to Didius Julianus in the praetorian camp Herodian writes:

“This was the first time that the soldiers’ characters gradually began to be corrupted. They learned to have an evil and insatiable lust for money and to ignore any feeling of respect for their emperors. The fact that there was nobody to take revenge on the perpetrators of this savage murder of an emperor, and nobody to prevent the shameful auction and sale of the empire, was a prime cause of the development of a shameful state of indiscipline that had permanent consequences for the future. The ever-increasing avarice of the soldiers and their contempt for authority had developed to the extent of murder” (2.6.14).

According to Herodian, Septimius Severus accelerated the process of decay (3.8.4 f.) by not only giving the soldiers a large *donativum* but also by granting them hitherto unknown privileges: he increased their wages, allowed them to wear a gold ring and to live in their own household, with a lawful

¹⁸ In passages mentioning fights between the urban populace and the soldiers of the Praetorian Guard Herodian clearly takes sides with the urban populace, which, standing up against flagrant military control, shows courage, even if it is defeated. Besides, in Herodian’s work the urban *demos* usually likes the good emperors, like Marcus Aurelius (1.4.8), Pertinax (2.4.1), the senatorial emperors of A.D. 238 (8.8.1), and out in the streets and in the amphitheatres the people express their disapproval of tyrants like Caracalla and Maximinus (4.6.4 f.; 7.3.6).

¹⁹ See De Blois 1998, op.cit. (n.1), 3421 f. Cf. Marasco 1998, op.cit. (n.1), 2862 f. and 2878 ff.

wife. Then came the pampering of the soldiers by Caracalla (3.15.5; 4.7.4) and the futile attempt by Severus Alexander and Mamaea to turn the tide (6.6.4; 6.8.4; 6.9.1 ff.). Under Maximinus Thrax the Roman world was plundered and sacrificed for the soldiers' material demands and for Maximinus' expensive wars in Germany (7.1-3). In Herodian's work the rise of military power and the soldiers' demands are painted in very dark colours. In his view the soldiers should know their place and should not demand too much money and power. They were only one part of the body politic and not the highest one. Herodian has the good emperor Maximus (as he calls Pupienus), one of the senatorial emperors of A.D. 238, exhort the soldiers in Rome to respect law and order and to be loyal to the senate and the emperor, and keep the oaths they have taken (8.7.4 ff.). In vain. Shortly afterwards the soldiers in Rome set a child, Gordian III, on the throne and killed the good senatorial emperors. Once again the military unlawfully dominated politics and usurped a position to which they were not entitled. How could that happen and how could the soldiery turn upside down the good state of the emperor Marcus and take much more than their due within the organic structure, which was the empire?

In Herodian's eyes there was a sharp contrast between Marcus Aurelius and his successors. Some of them were military tyrants, like Caracalla and Maximinus, others were youngsters who were dependent on relatives and advisers, and some of them had good intentions, but lacked Marcus Aurelius' good family background, his education, and his wide range of skills and qualities and so were not able to impress either the higher orders or the military or both.²⁰ The result was instability, military misconduct, tyranny and decay.²¹ In this way, Herodian is maintaining his exaggerated estimate of the power of the emperors, only now in a negative sense. The

²⁰ See 1.5-16 (Commodus); 2.3-4 (Pertinax); 2.7-14 and 3.7-10 (Septimius Severus and his rivals of the years 193-197); 3.15, 4.3-4 and 4.6-9 (Caracalla); 5.1-2 (Macrinus); 5.5-7 (Elagabalus); 6.1-9 (Severus Alexander); 7.1 and 3-4 (Maximinus Thrax); 8.6-8 (the senatorial emperors of 238 and the wrong mental attitude of the soldiery). See De Blois 1998, *op.cit.* (n.1), 3416-3419. Inexperienced youngsters were Commodus, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander and Gordian III. See Sidebottom 1998, *op.cit.* (n.1), 2803-2812; Marasco 1998, *op.cit.* (n.1), 2844-2857.

²¹ In 1.1.4 Herodian tells us: "A comparative survey of the period of about two hundred years from Augustus (the point at which the regime became a monarchy) to the age of Marcus would reveal no such similar succession of reigns, variety of fortunes in both civil and foreign wars, disturbances among the provincial populations, and destruction of cities in both Roman territory and many barbarian countries. There have never been such earthquakes and plagues, or tyrants and emperors with such unexpected careers, which were rarely if ever recorded before". On tyranny and military misconduct in Herodian's work see De Blois 1998, *op.cit.* (n.1), 3416 ff. and 3421 f.

behaviour of the emperors and their personal qualities trigger and guide everything, either in a good or a bad direction. However, passages from Cassius Dio and from Herodian himself, combined with many other sources, point to structural developments which put all emperors under a heavy strain and gave them minimal latitude. The emperor Marcus Aurelius had scarcely been able to find sufficient recruits to fight his wars in the Danube region. Septimius Severus solved this problem by making military service more attractive and raising the soldiers' pay by 50 %, from 300 to 450 *denarii* per annum.²² Since the military budget now took three quarters of the emperor's income,²³ from that moment onwards all emperors were in financial straits, but they could not reduce the soldiers' pay without risking their throne and their lives. In 78.36 Cassius Dio tells us that in a letter to the city-prefect of Rome the short-lived emperor Macrinus (217-218) wrote that it was financially impossible to give the troops their full pay in addition to the donatives that they were receiving, yet equally impossible (for reasons missing in a lacuna) not to give it. This letter was probably made up by Cassius Dio, but nevertheless points to a genuine dilemma. And if large groups of soldiers, such as armies passing through, wanted to plunder people within the empire, what power did Roman emperors have to stop them? Cassius Dio knew this problem very well. In his opinion the majesty and authority of the Augustan monarchy constituted the proper counterweight to military misconduct.²⁴ This form of government was based on *eunoia* in all classes of society and could also satisfy the military. Likewise Herodian saw the ideal monarchy of Marcus Aurelius as the proper counterweight to military licence and to mischief wrought by unsuitable assistants of the emperors. On top of all his other qualities, which brought about *eunoia* among all people, this emperor was also a good war-time commander, who was able to inspire his soldiers and to earn their respect. None of his successors had his broad range of qualities and so they could not check military licence and avarice, the most dangerous destabilising factor in the Roman world.

²² On the military reforms of Septimius Severus see R.E. Smith, 'The Army Reforms of Septimius Severus', *Historia* 21 (1972), 481-500; P. Cosme, *L' état romain entre éclatement et continuité. L' empire romain de 192 à 325* (Paris 1998), 75 ff.; J.-M. Carrié & A. Rousselle, *L' empire romain en mutation. Des Sévères à Constantin, 192-337* (Paris 1999), 73-76.

²³ See R.P. Duncan - Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1994), 45 ff.

²⁴ See De Blois 1998-1999, op.cit. (n. 14), 278 f.

In Herodian's work a kind of double perception of the Roman imperial system exists. Harsh reality comes to light in passages on the fickleness of the Roman mob and in chapters on incompetent emperors, military tyranny, and military misbehaviour, but in spite of that the influence of the *exemplum Marci* and of the organic model of an imperial polity that Herodian implicitly advocates is manifestly present. Emperors like Marcus Aurelius could have been, in Herodian's view, a proper counterweight to military misconduct and usurpations by bad characters at court. Herodian may exaggerate the significance of emperorship, but he shows that he knows a great deal about actual power relations.

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VALERIUS PATRUINUS' CASE
CONTRACTING IN THE NAME OF THE EMPEROR

By
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Introduction

At some point in his early career, the praetorian prefect Valerius Patruinus¹ was in charge of a vineyard as imperial procurator.² He had decided to sell it to a certain Stalticius subject to the usual condition that the sale was to be annulled if - at an auction to be held at a later time - another buyer was willing to pay a higher prize (*in diem addictio*). At the auction Stalticius turned out to be the highest bidder and the vineyard was consequently granted to him. The completion of this contract involved considerable difficulties. One of the problems was that the vineyard had been leased to an unknown farmer before it was sold to Stalticius. Roman law did not protect a lessee (*conductor*) against a transferee of the lessor (*locator*), so the farmer was now in danger of being ejected by the new owner. There was no privity of contract between the lessee and Stalticius and consequently the latter could eject the tenant at his discretion. However, if he did so, the lessor was liable to the lessee, because he was unable to fulfil his contractual duties to the tenant. In order to avoid liabilities of this kind, it was usual to stipulate in a sale of rented land that the buyer respected the rights of the tenant,³ but this seems to have been omitted in this case. Patruinus did his best to minimise the serious consequences of that mistake. His efforts on behalf of the imperial *fiscus* deserve some attention, as they may serve to illustrate the peculiar position of a *procurator Caesaris*, the ordinary representative of imperial power in civil cases.

Common procurators and imperial procurators

It is trite learning that the origin of the imperial 'administrative' (or 'managerial') *procuratura* is to be found in the common *procuratores* of Roman private law.⁴ As any wealthy Roman private individual did, the

¹ On Patruinus see SHA, *Caracalla* 4.2 and Cassius Dio 78.4.1a. Cf H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain, supplément* (Paris 1982), 57, nr. 220A (Valerius Patruinus).

² *Dig.* 49.14.50: "Valerius Patruinus procurator imperatoris".

³ CJ 4.65.9 (Alexander).

⁴ Th. Mommsen, *Das römische Staatsrecht* III.1 (repr. Tübingen 1952), 557 ff; O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamte bis auf Diocletian* (Berlin 1905), 411 ff; W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des*

emperor employed procurators in the management of his estates and other patrimonial interests as a matter of course. Now, whereas there is a substantial scholarly literature on the legal status of common Roman procurators⁵, there seems to be little or none at all on the civil status of imperial procurators.⁶ It seems as if the historians of Roman law, after having established the origins of the administrative *procuratura*, have lost interest and left that subject to historians. As a consequence, historians as well as legal historians may easily fail to notice the important difference between the legal status of imperial procurators and their counterparts in the private sector. Valerius Patruinus's case may serve as a good example. Before going into that, it is worth while to make some comments on the nature of his activities.

It is quite remarkable to find Patruinus in the business of freely disposing of imperial property: imperial estates are being let and sold at the discretion of the procurator, without intervention of the emperor. Clearly, imperial authority was not required to enable his procurator to dispose of them. There is a marked contrast here with the administration of *praedia Caesaris* under the stewardship of the *procurator patrimonii*. Ulpian emphasises that these estates were not on the market and could only be disposed of on an explicit *iussum principis*.⁷ The distinction that is being made here between imperial property that was freely transferable and other assets belonging to the emperor that were not is, indeed, inescapable. However, one should not be deceived by this. There is no indication of a fundamental legal difference between the various components of the

römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit I (Basel 1995), 130-131. I should emphasise that this paper is only concerned with procurators serving as administrators of the imperial domain, the officials referred to since the third century (see *Dig.* 19.1 Rubr. and often in the imperial rescripts reported in the *Codex Theodosianus* and *Codex Justinianus*) as *rationales*. I have avoided the concepts 'fiscal' or 'financial' procurators because these adjectives too strongly suggest activities confined to the imperial treasury department. Not all civil servants are (were) officials of the '(imperial) R(venue) S(ervice)'.

⁵ The seminal studies are S. Schlossmann, *Der Besitzerwerb durch Dritte nach römischem und gemeinem Recht* (Leipzig 1881) and *Die Lehre von der Stellvertretung* (Leipzig 1900/1902), and more recently A. Claus, *Gewillkürte Stellvertretung im römischen Privatrecht* (Berlin 1973). See further M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* I (München 1971), 265, 587; O. Behrends, 'Die Prokurator des klassischen römischen Zivilrechts', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung* 88 (1971), 215 ff.; A. Burdese, 'Sul Procurator', *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* 37 (1971), 307 ff.; J. Plescia, 'The Development of Agency in Roman Law', *Labeo* 30 (1984), 171 ff., and Chr. Schäfer, *Spitzenmanagement in Republik und Kaiserzeit* (St. Katharinen 1998), all with extensive further literature.

⁶ See some general observations in E. von Herzog, *Geschichte und System der römischen Staatsverfassung* II, Abt. 2, *System der Verfassung der Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig 1891 [repr. Aalen 1965]), 670; Hirschfeld 1905, op.cit. (n. 4), 411 and P.R.C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris* (Cambridge 1972), 267.

⁷ *Dig.* 30.39.10 i.f.

imperial domain, as has been supposed by many a commentator. From the perspective of private law, the entire imperial domain, the imperial *fiscus* in the broadest sense of that concept, was private property.⁸ Of course, everyone knows Ulpian's famous statement that '*res fiscales*' are '*quasi propriae et privatae principis*'⁹, but some attention should be paid to the context of that famous statement.

In the 68th book of his commentary on the Edict, Ulpian comments on the *interdictum* 'Ne quid in loco publico vel itinere fiat'. This was an *interdictum popolare*, enabling the public at large to apply for an injunction against, for example, unauthorised building activities on public property. The *interdictum* did not apply to such activities on privately owned land, nor on land belonging to the imperial *fiscus*: 'hoc interdictum ad ea loca, quae sunt in fisci patrimonio, non puto pertinere'.¹⁰ As far as Ulpian was concerned, the reason for this was simple: real estate of the emperor was his private property. If the public made use of it, for example by way of footpath or road, it did so at the emperor's discretion and if someone obstructed these activities, it was the emperor, not the public, who had a cause of action against the trespasser. Ulpian emphasises that in such a case a complaint should be filed with the imperial procurator in charge of the land concerned.

As far as I know, Ulpian's statement contains practically the only contemporary dictum on the legal quality of imperial property. It is reinforced by Seneca's no less well-known statement that the *fiscus* is part of the emperor's private property ('<Caesar habet> *fiscum ac privata sua in patrimonio proprio*').¹¹

As with Ulpian's statement, the context of Seneca's dictum is significant. He tries to clarify that a thing may belong to different people in different ways at one and the same time. He uses a lease of a house as an example. 'When I rent your house, I acquire a title to the house concurrent with yours', he says.¹² And so it is in all instances, where an owner grants a right of enjoyment. On a different level, it is the

⁸ Mommsen 1952, op.cit. (n. 4), II.2, 998 ff; Kaser 1971; op.cit. (n. 5), I, 305 f.; II, 152. The nature of the imperial *fiscus* and its relation to the imperial *patrimonium* and *res privata* have been the subject of a prolonged scholarly dispute. I refer to the dispute between Mommsen (l.c.) and Hirschfeld 1905, op.cit. (n. 4), 1 ff.; Hirschfeld, op.cit., 21 ff and O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte* I (Leipzig 1885), 505 ff; F. Millar, 'The Fiscus in the First Two Centuries', *Journal of Roman Studies* 53 (1963), 29 ff., and P.A. Brunt, 'The Fiscus and its Development', *Journal of Roman Studies* 56 (1966), 75 ff. (now in Idem, *Roman Imperial Themes* [Oxford 1990], 134 ff.). See also H. Nesselhauf, 'Patrimonium und res privata des römischen Kaisers', *Historia Augusta Colloquium* 1963 (1964), 73 ff.

⁹ *Dig.* 43.8.2.4.

¹⁰ *Dig.* 43.8.2.4.

¹¹ *De Beneficiis* 7.6.3.

¹² *De Beneficiis* 7.5.2.

same with a monarch: 'under a good king, all things belong to him on account of his superior title as sovereign, but they belong to private individuals as well on account of their ownership of it'.¹³ On the same lines, it may be said of Caesar, that he owns everything on account of his superior position in the state ('Caesar omnia habet'). However, as a citizen he merely owns what belongs to him in his private capacity, *i.e.* the *fiscus* and his private property ('*fiscum ac privata sua*').

So, as far as private law was concerned, there were no significant differences between the various components of the imperial domain. The only thing that counted for the lawyers was the person responsible for their administration. Hence Ulpian's reference to the imperial procurator in charge of land that was being encumbered by trespassers and hence his reference to the *procurator patrimonii* in connection with parts of the imperial domain that were not, as a rule, for sale. He does not indicate certain specific parts of the imperial domain, but merely refers to property under the administration of one particular procurator, the *procurator patrimonii*. All it really meant is that the *procurator patrimonii* had no authority to dispose of the land assigned to his administration. Other imperial procurators, however, might have that authority as a matter of course. It all depended on the extent of their *administratio*, the powers donated to them by the emperor. I believe that at this point an example from Roman private law is helpful.

Slaves carrying on business as grantees of a *peculium* were the Roman equivalent of modern companies.¹⁴ In granting a *peculium* to his slave, the master had in fact created what amounts to a modern company with limited liability. Though formally and technically still a part of the estate of the master, in fact - and to a certain extent even at law - the *peculium* had become a special fund separated from the rest of the estate of the master. In this way, different *peculia* could be segregated from the estate of the master, all of them in the care and under the administration of different *servi peculiarii*.

In as far as the liabilities incurred by the master himself were concerned, the fragmentation of his estate into various separate funds was immaterial. They all belonged to his estate and were liable to be sold in execution of his private debts.

¹³ *De Beneficiis* 7.5.1.

¹⁴ See my article 'Callistus's Case' in L. de Blois and J. Rich, eds., *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Second Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 B.C. – A.D. 476)* (Amsterdam 2002), 116-127. On *peculium* generally see A. Kirschenbaum, *Sons, slaves and freedman in Roman commerce* (Jerusalem 1987); I. Zeber, *A Study of the peculium of a Slave in Pre-Classical and Classical Roman Law* (Wrocław 1981) and J.J. Brinkhof, *Een studie over het peculium in het klassieke Romeinse recht* (Meppel 1978 [containing a résumé in German]).

Hence there is no reference to them whenever the liquidation of the master's estate is under discussion. So the fragmentation of an estate into various *peculia* was only of importance to the persons doing business with the slave administering a part of it. As far as the master and his personal creditors were concerned it was irrelevant. The parallel with the imperial domain should be obvious. The fragmentation of the imperial domain into separate funds (*fiscus*, *patrimonium* and - after Septimius Severus - *res privata*) was irrelevant as far as the emperor and his successors were concerned. It was only relevant to private individuals doing business with the officials administering the various departments.

Many slaves, especially those to whom a *libera administratio* of their *peculium* had been granted, were authorised to dispose of the assets belonging to it without ratification by their master:

Ulpianus, *libro septimo decimo ad edictum*: si servus mihi vel filius familias fundum vendidit et tradidit habens liberam peculii administrationem, in rem actione uti poterō. sed et si domini voluntate domini rem tradat, idem erit dicendum: quemadmodum cum procurator voluntate domini vendidit vel tradidit, in rem actionem mihi praestabit.¹⁵

In explaining these general principles, Ulpian refers to the administration by common procurators, who were also entitled to dispose of their principal's property, provided they were authorised to do so. It was the same with imperial procurators: some of them, having a *libera administratio*, were entitled to dispose of the property assigned to their administration and some were not, unless they were specifically authorised to do so. Of course, this allocation of functions did not affect the legal status of the estate of the emperor as such, but in dealing with one of the imperial procurators, it was important to know if he was authorised to dispose of the assets under his control. It has been noted that the Romans themselves (and notably among them the lawyers) were not as preoccupied with the question concerning the relationship among the various imperial 'treasuries' as modern scholars are.¹⁶ The reason is that, to them, the emphasis was on the powers of the procurator in charge, rather than on the legal quality of the assets assigned to him. To a Roman lawyer, the question whether or not the estates under the control of the *procurator patrimonii* were to be qualified as "Krongut" (Hirschfeld), would have been quite futile. What counted to him, was that that particular procurator did not have a *libera administratio* of the property

¹⁵ *Dig.* 6.1.41.1.

¹⁶ See, for example, R. MacMullen, 'Two Notes on Imperial Properties', *Athenaeum* 54 (1976), 24.

assigned to him. Valerius Patruinus clearly was authorised to dispose of the imperial estates under his control. However, his position was quite different from that of an ordinary procurator. He was not a mere caretaker, but a representative of the emperor, a civil servant rather than a common agent. In fact, I believe that the fundamental changes brought about by Papinian in the Roman law of agency were, at least partially, inspired by the peculiar position of an imperial procurator.

Before Papinian revolutionised the Roman law of agency by making the principal accountable as well,¹⁷ it was the procurator, rather than his principal, who was personally liable on account of all contracts he had made on behalf of his employer.¹⁸ There is some evidence that, at least initially, it was the same with imperial procurators.

In A.D. 23 the inhabitants of the province of Asia sued the imperial procurator Lucilius Capito. True as it may be, that he was accused of gross abuse of his powers and consequently may have faced *criminal charges*,¹⁹ Dio Cassius adds a general statement on imperial procurators in his account of this incident, emphasising that 'in those days officials administering the imperial funds ... had to stand trial in the forum ... on an equal footing with ordinary citizens'.²⁰

Consequently all contracts concluded by an imperial procurator in the name of the emperor were initially – in fact, as well as at law – contracts concluded with a private individual, *i.e.* the imperial procurator. There was no right of recourse to the emperor himself. It should be emphasised that this was not some peculiar device conceived in order to protect the emperor from incurring personal liability on account of all contracts concluded in his name, but a mere consequence of the fact that Roman law still lacked a fully developed law of agency. So the issue was not whether a procurator could bind his principal in contract (until Papinian's time he never could), but

¹⁷ *Dig.* 14.3.9 pr.

¹⁸ On the strength of the famous maxim "per liberam personam, quae neque iuri nostro subiecta est neque bona fide nobis servit, obligationem nullam acquirere possumus" (*Dig.* 45.1.126.2 [Paulus]). Add *Dig.* 13.7.11.6 (Ulpianus): "et ideo ipsi (scl. procuratores) convenientur". Possession and ownership, however, were acquired by the principal as a matter of right: *Dig.* 41.1.13 pr. (Neratius). On this: A. Watson, 'Acquisition of Possession per extraneam personam', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 29 (1961), 22 ff., and 'Acquisition of Ownership by 'traditio' to an 'extraneus', *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* 33 (1967), 189 ff.

¹⁹ Possibly he was charged with the crime of *vis*, as P.A. Brunt, 'Charges of Provincial Maladministration', *Historia* 10 (1961), 189 ff, now in Brunt 1990, op.cit. (n. 8), 57 ff., suggested.

²⁰ Cassius Dio 57.23.5 and compare this statement to Dio's account of the functions of an imperial procurator in 53.15.3 ff. On the incident see also Tacitus, *Annals* 4.15.

whether he could pass a good title to his contracting party. It was on account of this that it was usual to stipulate that the principal would ratify the dispositions of his agent (*stipulatio rem ratam dominum habiturum*).²¹ If the principal did, the transferee was assured of his title. If he did not, the transferee could sue the procurator on the strength of his guarantee. Imperial procurators did *not* have to give this kind of personal guarantee. Ulpian stresses this in a rarely commented fragment from the sixteenth book of his commentary on the praetorian Edict:

Ulpianus, *libro sexto decimo ad Edictum*: quae acta gesta que sunt a procuratore Caesaris, sic ab eo comprobantur, atque si a Caesare gesta sunt.²²

An imperial procurator was a representative of the imperial administration with a carefully defined instruction, indicating the scope of his authority.²³ In entering into a contract with a *procurator Asiae* for the sale of some land, it was of course well understood that - if at all - he was exclusively authorised to dispose of imperial estates within his province and only if they were not (as they might well be) under the direct control of the *procurator patrimonii* in Rome, or one of his local representatives.

In his account of the Lucilius Capito incident Tacitus quotes Tiberius as saying 'that he had given <Capito> no other powers than over his household and his property' (non se ius nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse [*Annals* 4.15]). Lucilius Capito was acting as manager (*procurator*) of the imperial private interests in the province of Asia, which had a senatorial governor. Tacitus's remarks suggest that the powers of a provincial procurator, such as Capito, may have been merely of an administrative nature, not necessarily including powers of sale. In the little poem to Silvanus by T. Pomponius Victor, an imperial procurator *and* governor in the Alpes Graiae, the poet describes his office as 'to adjudicate and to look after the interests of the emperors' (ius gubernare et rem fungi Caesarum (ILS 3528)). Victor was a provincial governor (with the title of *procurator*) and therefore a judge, but he was also the caretaker of the patrimonial interests of the emperor in the province, *i.e.* he was a 'managerial' agent as well. The way in which he describes the latter

²¹ *Dig.* 46.8.10.

²² *Dig.* 1.19.1 pr. As the context clearly shows, the fragment does not refer to the *jurisdiction* conferred on some imperial procurators, as G. Úrögdi (RE Suppl. X [1965] s.v. 'procurator fisci') implies. P.A. Brunt, 'Procuratorial Jurisdiction', *Latomus* 25 (1966), 461 ff. (now in Brunt 1990, op.cit. [n. 8], 163 ff., 177), suggests that Ulpian refers to 'executive decisions' (?) of imperial procurators. The truth is that the text merely refers to the powers of disposition over imperial property granted to a procurator.

²³ H.-G. Pflaum, *Les procureurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris 1950), 5. Cp. Cassius Dio 53.15.4.

aspect of his duties also suggests limited powers with respect to the imperial property within his province.²⁴

In dealing with a local *procurator vicesimae hereditatum* (a mere agent of the imperial revenue service), a sale or lease of imperial estates by that official was clearly *ultra vires*. The *procurator hereditatum*, on the other hand, is a good example of an important imperial procurator who must have had a *libera administratio* of the property under his control. It was his task to make an inventory of all the inheritances that were bequeathed to the emperor,²⁵ pay the outstanding debts of the testator,²⁶ assign the parts that were worth keeping to other departments of the imperial household, for example the *procurator patrimonii*,²⁷ and to sell the parts that were not. He must have been an important player on the Roman real estate market and Valerius Patruinus may well have been acting in this capacity when selling a vineyard to Stalticius. It is with activities of this kind that the special position of an imperial procurator emerges. In disposing of parts of the estate, the procurator ran the risk of mistakenly selling property that did not belong to the testator. He may, for example, have believed that a piece of land belonged to the testator, whereas in fact it had been leased to the testator.²⁸ In ordinary sales of this kind, it was usual that the buyer stipulated for a personal guarantee against ‘eviction’, that is a judgement under which the buyer had to give up the land to the real

²⁴ See Ulpian's opinion on a procurator selling and transferring imperial property in his own interest in *Dig.* 1.19.1.1: “Si rem Caesaris procurator eius quasi rem propriam tradat, non puto eum dominium transferre: tunc enim transfert, cum negotium Caesaris gerens consensu ipsius tradit. denique si venditionis vel donationis vel transactionis causa quid agat, nihil agit *non enim alienare ei rem Caesaris, sed diligenter gerere commissum est*” (for it is not his charge to dispose of the emperor's property, but to administer it diligently [italics added]).

²⁵ If the estate of the testator was found to be insolvent, the emperor had to be consulted in person to find out whether he still wanted to accept the inheritance. See *Dig.* 1.19.2 (Paulus): “heredis enim instituti in adeundis vel repudiandis huiusmodi hereditatibus voluntas exploranda est”. The implication is that the *procurator hereditatum* was authorised to accept a solvent inheritance in the name of the emperor without further consultation. It is even reported that a *procurator (hereditatum)* could instruct one of the slaves employed in his department to accept an inheritance on the emperor's behalf (*Dig.* 1.19.1.2 [Ulpianus]).

²⁶ *Dig.* 49.14.11 (Iavolenus).

²⁷ There is a close relationship between the department of the *procurator patrimonii* and the department of the *procurator hereditatum*. Originally the *procurator patrimonii* seems to have been in charge of the winding up of inheritances left to the emperor. The important office (he was a *ducenarius*) of *procurator hereditatum* only became an independent branch of the civil service after *bona caduca et vacantia* were assigned to the imperial *fiscus* rather than the *aerarium populi Romani*. See Hirschfeld 1905, op.cit. (n.4), 114 ff.

²⁸ He may also easily have missed the fact that an estate bequeathed to the emperor had been leased by the testator. In fact this is what I believe has happened in the case at hand.

owner. It was usually for double the price (*stipulatio duplae*). Of course, one would expect the same kind of guarantee to be given by an imperial procurator, but it is explicitly stated that, on eviction, the *fiscus* would only pay back the price to the buyer, whatever the procurator had guaranteed:

Ulpianus, *libro sexto decimo ad Edictum*: si <pro>curator Caesaris rem aliquam vendiderit, quamvis duplum vel triplum pro evictione promiserit, tamen fiscus simplum praestabit.²⁹

It is a well-known fact that Marcus Aurelius took special interest in sales by his fiscal officials, notably in the position of a buyer, who was in danger of being evicted by a potential owner.³⁰ He also instructed his procurators on the price-fixing of the assets they sold and urged them to act in good faith and with due diligence.³¹ All these provisions presuppose that the emperor assumed responsibility for the engagements of his procurators acting within the scope of their authority. It meant nothing less than that the *fiscus* as such assumed liability for those acts. This affected the legal status of the imperial procurators. They had ceased to be mere agents acting in a private capacity and had become officials representing the emperor as head of state.³² Public rather than private law defined their position. Some (certainly not all) 'managerial' procurators were even granted original jurisdiction within the sphere of their competence.³³ It is not improbable, even likely, that Valerius Patruinus's case originated in a dispute between Stalticius and the farmer of the vineyard that he himself had been called upon to decide.

The importance of the judicial functions of 'administrative' or 'managerial' procurators may easily be overestimated. They were minor magistrates within the Roman judiciary: they had no jurisdiction in ordinary civil cases³⁴ and no criminal

²⁹ *Dig.* 49.14.5 pr. Does it follow from this that the *fiscus* guaranteed the return of the price, even when the procurator had *excluded* liability for eviction?

³⁰ G. Klingenberg, 'Das Edictum divi Marci de rebus alienis a fisco distractis' in *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 34 (1987), 181 ff.

³¹ *Dig.* 49.14.3.5 (Callistratus). Cp. A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* (London 2000), 49.

³² H.-G. Pflaum, 'La mise en place des procuratèles financières dans les provinces du Haut-Empire romain' in *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger* 46 (1968), 387: 'Cette évolution de la titulaire correspond exactement à une mutation dans les rapports entre le souverain et ses fondés de pouvoir. Alors qu'au début du principat ceux-ci se considéraient eux-mêmes comme étant au service du prince en tant qu'*homo privatus*, ils ont avec le temps qui passe de plus en plus conscience d'être au service de l'empereur en tant que magistrat suprême de l'État romain'.

³³ Mommsen 1952, op.cit. (n. 4) II 2, 1021 ff.; Pflaum 1950, op.cit. (n. 23), 152 f; Brunt 1990, op.cit. (n. 8), 163 ff.

³⁴ *Dig.* 49.1.23.1 (Papinianus).

jurisdiction over capital offences.³⁵ As it seems to me, they were only authorised to hear cases directly concerning the administration of the imperial property under their control. Good examples are complaints against someone encumbering imperial estates to the prejudice of the public making use of it,³⁶ or against someone trespassing on imperial property rented to *coloni*.³⁷ They also decided cases concerning the rent of imperial property. In all these instances there was, indeed, an encroachment on the original jurisdiction of the praetor (in Rome), or the *praeses provinciae*. It may well be that Claudius's much discussed³⁸ grant of original jurisdiction to imperial procurators was merely concerned with cases like these.³⁹

So, long before the imperial domain itself was at last recognised as public property,⁴⁰ the imperial officials in charge were already recognised as civil servants acting in a public rather than a private capacity. Consequently, in the days of Cassius Dio the individual procurator who had incurred a liability of the *fiscus* had ceased to be personally accountable, as he may still have been in the days of Tiberius. In case of a dispute an imperial procurator was not allowed to decide in his own right, the interests of the emperor were taken out of his hands and taken over and managed by an *advocatus fisci*, or a representative of the *procurator a rationibus*.⁴¹ Maybe this is the reason why, contrary to current ideas,⁴² *advocati fisci* were usually seasoned administrators rather than highly trained lawyers.

Valerius Patruinus's case

It is clear from all we have established, that Valerius Patruinus's efforts were not to avoid his own personal liability, but to minimise the liability of the imperial *fiscus*.⁴³ His own responsibility was never an issue; had it been, the imperial *consilium* would not have hesitated to make him personally accountable to the tenant of the vineyard. If only because in doing so it would have avoided considerable legal problems. The fact that it did not even raise the issue proves even more so that Patruinus's personal liability

³⁵ *Dig.* 1.19.3 pr. (Callistratus) and CJ 3.26.1 (Severus and Caracalla).

³⁶ *Dig.* 43.8.2.4 (Ulpianus).

³⁷ *Dig.* 1.19.3,1 (Callistratus).

³⁸ See, for example, Brunt 1990, op.cit. (n. 8), 163 ff.; B. Levick, *Claudius* (London 2001), 50 and W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit II* (Basel/Berlin 1998), 161 ff.

³⁹ As was suggested by F. Millar, 'Some Evidence on the Meaning of Tacitus, *Annals* 12.60', *Historia* 13 (1964), 180 ff. at 187, but see Brunt 1990, op.cit. (n. 8), 168 ff.

⁴⁰ By the emperor Zeno: see CJ 4.37.2 (*sacratissimum aerarium*).

⁴¹ M. Kaser & K. Hackl, *Das römische Zivilprozessrecht* (München 1996), 455.

⁴² See the rather disappointing lemma 'advocatus' in *Der Neue Pauly*: "Als Kenner des Rechts fungierten offenbar die von Hadrian eingesetzten *advocati fisci*".

⁴³ Cf. *Dig.* 49.14.50: "ne *fiscus* colono teneretur" (*italics added*).

was out of the question.⁴⁴ Failing that possibility, the question was now how to meet the legitimate interests of the farmer without embarrassing the *fiscus*.

Patruinus's problem was submitted to the imperial *consilium*, maybe because he felt that he was personally too much involved and should leave the decision to a superior instance. The emperor - Septimius Severus - presided. His *praefectus praetorio* Aemilius Papinianus, the famous lawyer, and some of his assistants joined him in deciding the case.

The report in the Digests⁴⁵ of this session of the imperial 'privy council' contains a rare example of the reliability of at least some of the information in the *vita* of Pescennius Niger. It is reported in the third book of Paul's 'Imperial Decisions' and it is said in that *vita* that Paul was a member of Papinian's *consilium*.⁴⁶ Most (if not all) imperial *decreta* reported by Paul are from this period in his career.⁴⁷ He had the rare privilege of an insight into the working of the administrative machinery and was kind enough to share it with the public.

Besides Papinian and Paul, there were two more famous lawyers participating, Claudius Tryphoninus and Publius Messius Saturninus.⁴⁸ Paul does not mention another assistant of Papinian, Domitius Ulpianus,⁴⁹ but he did not take to his colleague at all and may simply have ignored him. So it was quite a gathering of legal expertise deciding the case. Paul, never at a loss to express his disapproval of sloppy legal reasoning, did not like what came out of it. 'Papinian and Messius', he writes, 'came up with something new'.⁵⁰ It was decided to leave the tenant in possession of the vineyard for the duration of his term and assign the rent to Stalticius. It was, indeed, *novum ius* - to a Roman lawyer tantamount to bad law - but very expedient to the *fiscus*.

⁴⁴ If the land concerned had been bequeathed to the emperor by will and the lease to the farmer had been granted by the testator beforehand, the liability would have been with the *fiscus*, not the procurator, as a matter of course. The fact that this legal nicety was not even considered strongly confirms that the liability of the *fiscus* was taken for granted in any case.

⁴⁵ *Dig.* 49.14.50 (Paulus, *libro tertio Decretorum*).

⁴⁶ SHA, *Niger* 7.4. See also *Alexander Severus* 26.6.

⁴⁷ On Paul's reports of imperial *decreta* see Fr. Schulz, *Roman Legal Science* (Oxford 1963), 154.

⁴⁸ On these two lawyers see W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen* (Graz/Cologne 1967), 231 ff. and 229 ff.

⁴⁹ On Ulpian as assistant to Papinian see SHA, *Niger* 7.4.

⁵⁰ *Dig.* 49.14.50: "Papinianus et Messius novam sententiam introduxerunt".

Conclusion

It has been the official doctrine of the Roman emperors for a very long time that, as Augustus put it, they ‘excelled all in dignity but possessed no more power than those who were their colleagues in any magistracy’.⁵¹ It has been shown long ago that this doctrine collapses under the sheer weight of the ubiquitous monarchical representation of imperial power in Rome and the empire at large. Imperial representation by procurator is only one of the aspects of the all but private character of the emperor’s position. Imperial power was very unlike the powers wielded by common magistrates, if only because the emperor had been granted the *tribunicia potestas* for life.⁵² It provided personal immunity from persecution in any court, including the civil courts.⁵³ True it is that an ordinary consul, praetor or *tribunus plebis* was also immune, but only during his term of office. After that, he could be sued like any other private individual.⁵⁴ Only the emperor could never be summoned in person: he was *sacrosanctus*.

Tacitus emphasises that Tiberius allowed civil suits to be brought against him.⁵⁵ Of course, this does not mean that the emperor ever appeared in court as a defendant or even a plaintiff. In doing so, he would have submitted his *imperium maius* and his *tribunicia potestas* to the lesser powers of a praetor. Such an act of public humiliation was constitutionally unthinkable. It would have affronted the *dignitas* of the emperor personally, as well as the office of all magistrates *cum imperio* and *tribuni plebis*. Unlike any private individual, the emperor always had to be represented by a procurator, an attorney acting on his behalf. A correct evaluation of the peculiar position of an imperial ‘administrative’ procurator has to be based on this assessment. It set them apart from ordinary procurators. In the early days of the principate these imperial procurators may still have been personally liable on account of all transactions on behalf of the emperor, but this must have ceased after the character of imperial representation by procurator was changed for good by Domitian, Trajan and Hadrian.⁵⁶ It had ceased to be a service rendered to the emperor in person for free and on an incidental basis

⁵¹ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 34.3.

⁵² *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 10.1.

⁵³ On the immunity of magistrates *cum imperio* and of *tribuni plebis* see *Dig.* 4.6.26.2, 47.10.32 and 48.2.8. Cp. Mommsen 1952, *op.cit.* (n. 4) I, 706 and II, 297-298.

⁵⁴ This seems to have been the reason why Caesar, after having been appointed *propraetor* in Spain, departed for his province while still a praetor: Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 18.

⁵⁵ *Annals* 4.7: “ac si quando cum privatis disceptaret: forum et ius”.

⁵⁶ On the changes effected in the procuratorial administration by these emperors see H.-G. Pflaum, *RE* XXIII (1), s.v. ‘procurator’, 1244-1245.

and had become a salaried office. As long as they acted within the scope of their authority, these imperial officials were personally unaccountable for their engagements on behalf of the emperor. All civil responsibility was with the imperial *fiscus* as such. It may well be that the idea of the *fiscus* as a 'private estate serving a public purpose'⁵⁷ originated in the understanding that the officials acting on behalf of it were public servants rather than private agents. Ulpian, for one, must have realised this. That is why he defined the imperial domain as '<res> *quasi* propriae et privatae principis'.

As far as Valerius Patruinus is concerned, my guess is that he was a *procurator hereditatium* at one time in his career before ultimately becoming a *praefectus praetorio*. He was murdered in 212, as were Papinian and other loyal servants of Severus and Geta. As a Roman, an experienced administrator and (as I like to believe) a stoic, he must have known that services rendered are usually unforgiven.

Leiden, February 2002

⁵⁷ On this definition see A. Brinz, 'Über die rechtliche Natur des römischen Fiscus' in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie* 1886, 471 ff.

LA PLENITUDO POTESTATIS E LA VENERATIO IMPERATORIS
COME PRINCIPIO DOGMATICO DELLA POLITICA DELLA TARDA
ANTICHITÀ. UN ESEMPIO CHIARO: LA NOTITIA DIGNITATUM

Di

CONCEPCIÓN NEIRA FALEIRO*

Scopo di questo articolo è dimostrare l'uso della iconografia nella Tarda Antichità per legittimare una solida gerarchia politica, che si riflette nella *Notitia Dignitatum*. Una iconografia d'aspetto politico ed allegorico che mostra un panorama storico-sociale, base per la sistemazione, combinazione e struttura degli elementi dell'icona. La legittimità dell'*ordo dignitatum* e la *potestas et ueneratio imperatoris*, si uniscono giuridicamente alla Chiesa sotto il *dominium imperatoris* attraverso un parallelismo dei reciproci poteri. Questo è il significato allegorico dell'immagine al servizio del simbolismo testuale, arte per l'arte, la iconografia fondata sul testo, la tecnica greca della τεχνοπαίγνιαον e il suo risultato τεχνοπαίγνιον.

Introduzione

La *Notitia Dignitatum omnium tam ciuilium quam militarium in partibus Orientis et Occidentis* –ND - è un documento militare della Tarda Antichità - IV-V sec. - che elenca meticolosamente, sotto l'aspetto civile e burocratico, la distribuzione militare in tutto l'Impero romano, ed offre una informazione complessiva sullo stato dell'Impero e, quindi, sulla situazione militare, che doveva essere preoccupazione preminente nei periodi di crisi. Si tratta di un archivio di Stato aggiornato periodicamente, una sorta di annuario dell'Impero: ogni modifica, civile oppure militare, accaduta nell'Impero era registrata in questo tipo di catalogo per la conoscenza dell'imperatore. Il termine stesso di *Notitia* si riferisce a registri completi di ciò di cui si parla, a

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differenza delle liste dei concili ecumenici, dei canoni conciliari, delle lettere dei sinodi o di altri documenti simili.¹

Il documento si apre con un *index* che classifica, in maniera gerarchica, le *dignitates tam ciuilium quam militarium* del periodo - *uir illustris, spectabilis et clarissimus* -; seguono i capitoli che, attraverso una ricca e curata iconografia sviluppano nel testo l'elemento iconografico; ogni capitolo si chiude con la descrizione dell'*officium*.

La *potestas imperatoris*: aspetti iconografici della politica nella Tarda Antichità

La *imago imperatoris* è la rappresentazione che unisce le due sezioni del documento corrispondente alle due parti dell'Impero; nella metà precisa della ND ci sono due *imagines clipeatae*² - *Diuina Prouidentia et Diuina Electio* - sviluppate conformemente ai precetti iconografici e simbolici bizantini: l'*imperator*, considerato come *dominus*, è al centro dell'universo, da cui tutto e tutti discendono, è l'incaricato di un *imperium infinitum* stabile e coeso, realizzato all'insegna di un *ordo dignitatum* costituito da se stesso³; così, l'*imago clipeata*, l'unica figura del documento senza testo, conferma il ruolo politico dell'imperatore, che è sviluppato attraverso le coordinate iconografiche delle virtù di un capo di Stato⁴. Le due immagini riflettono una ideologia politica sostenuta, l'*ordo dignitatum imperii*, del quale *codicilli, epistulae et Liber Mandatorum* - CTh. 6.22.5 - raccoglievano ed esponevano

¹ G. Panciroli, *N.utraque D. cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorique tempora. Et in eam G. Panciroli commentarium. Item de magistratibus municipalibus eiusdem auctoris liber* (Venezia 1593), 2^v s.: "...omnia in officio facilius continenda, cuncta in libro *descripta*, habuerunt, qui prius *Breuiarium*, seu *ratiocinarium imperii*, mox *Notitia* est appellatus, in quo ciuiles magistratus, et militares, legiones, auxilia, cohortes, uexillationes singulae cum suis symbolis, et insignibus officiiisque positae comprehendebantur..."

² R. Winkes, *Clipeata Imago* (Bonn 1969). C. Nordenfalk, *Der Kalender vom Jahre 354 und die lateinische Buchmalerei des IV Jahrhunderts* (Göteborg 1936); idem, *Studies in the History of book illumination* (Londra 1992); M. Schapiro, 'The Carolingian Copy of the Calendar of 354', *Art Bulletin* 22 (1940), 270-272; A.W. Byvanck, 'Antike Buchmalerei III. Der Kalender vom Jahre 354 und die ND', *Mnemosyne* ser.3 (1940), 177-198. H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354; Étude sur son texte et sur ses illustrations* (Parigi 1953). M. Renee Salzman, *On Roman Time. The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (California 1990).

³ H.P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (Oslo 1947), 122-124. D. Mertens, 'Bisanzio', *Il pensiero politico Medievale* (Bologna 1999), 9-17.

⁴ J.R. Fears, *Princeps a Diis Electus: The Divine Election of the emperor as a Political Concept at Rome*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 26 (Roma 1977, recensione da P.A. Brunt, *Journal of Roman Studies* 69 [1979], 168-175). Cl.M.M. Bayer, "Essai sur la disposition des inscriptions par rapport à l'image. Proposition d'une typologie basée sur des pièces de l'orfèvrerie rhéno-mosana", *Épigraphie et iconographie. Actes du Colloque tenu à Poitiers les 5-8 Octobre 1995, Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale*, cur. R. Favreau, (Poitiers 1996), 1-25.

le cariche e le responsabilità della *dignitas*, regolarizzando la presa di possesso dell'incarico attraverso un atto pubblico presieduto dall'imperatore - *CTh.* 6.22.8 -.

La rappresentazione iconografica conservata nella tradizione manoscritta del documento è costituita dalle immagini di *Diuina Prouidentia et Diuina Electio*.⁵ Da un punto di vista metaforico questo frontespizio rappresenta, da una parte, l'imperatore come la persona cui è consacrata l'opera, dall'altra, il garante di una organizzazione gerarchica e burocratica suggerita dalla divinità che, a sua volta, ha nominato l'*imperator* come responsabile di questa struttura di governo. In questo modo, la *ND* fu concepita come documento di propaganda politica per le due parti dell'Impero, e come apologia della politica teodosiana:⁶ il linguaggio iconografico e pittorico corrisponde ad una sistemazione ideologica più che alla realtà storica del periodo. Il libro, nel documentare il distacco "fisico" dell'immagine dal testo, rivela in maniera esemplare il funzionamento come comunicazione autonoma rispetto a quella scritta, come testo a sua volta.⁷

Le *imagines clipeatae*, rappresentanti massime di una simbologia cosmica, determinano e circoscrivono ambedue le immagini, attribuendo un indiscutibile valore di universalità, rispetto ai quali guardano l'immagine; paradossalmente la risposta è data dal medesimo concetto di sottomissione che rafforza l'istituzione; si tratta di una retorica e di una liturgia che si usa per dimostrare, da una parte, il primato e la pluralità della *potestas imperatoris* - *Diuina Prouidentia* -, dall'altra, la temporaneità e caducità della stessa *potestas* -*Diuina Electio* -.⁸ La *Prouidentia*, facoltà di prevedere

⁵ C. Neira Faleiro, *La ND: nueva edición crítica y comentario histórico*, Tesi di Dottorato, Pubblicazioni della Università Complutense de Madrid (Madrid 2002, in stampa); idem, 'Ante una nueva edición crítica de la ND', *Actas del II Congreso Hispánico de Latin Medieval* 2 (1998), 697-707; idem, 'Nuove prospettive dei Manoscritti Trentini della ND', *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche* 80.1.4 (2001), 823-833; idem, 'El *Parisinus latinus* 9661 y la ND: nuevas perspectivas', *Latomus* (in stampa).

⁶ S. McCormack, 'Latin Prose Panegyrics', in T.A. Dorey, ed., *Empire and Aftermath* (Londra 1975), 143-205 = *Revue des études augustiniennes* 22 (1976), 29-77; C.E.V. Nixon, 'Constantinus Oriens Imperator: Propaganda and Panegyric. On reading Panegyric 7(307)', *Historia* 42 (1993), 229-246.

⁷ P.G. Berger, *The Insignia of the ND: A contribution to the study of Late Antique Illustrated Manuscripts* (New York 1981), 140-141 n.318; A. Schön, 'Il silenzio del mito: osservazioni psicoanalitiche', in M. Grazia Ciani, cur., *Le regioni del silenzio: studi sui disagi della comunicazione* (Padova 1983), 15-25; F. Minissale, 'Il colore e le immagini del colore (colore e linguaggio nelle Georgiche di Virgilio)', in *La parola delle immagini e delle forme di scrittura. Modi e tecniche della comunicazione del mondo antico*, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Messina 1998 (Messina 1998), 205-227.

⁸ A.B. Van Houten, 'The influence of syntax on visual perception', *Anthropological Linguistics* 19 (1977), 355-358; M. Cagianò de Azevedo, 'Il colore nella antichità', *Aevum* 28 (1954), 151-167; V.W. Turner, *The ritual process; structure and antistructure* (Londra 1969), spec. c.5; H.C. Conklin,

il futuro, fu considerata dalla mentalità romana effluvio divino - Plinius, *Panegyricus* 10.4 - nel I secolo d.C. La *providentia* era un aspetto della divinità dell'imperatore -CIL.6.1.2028, d; 5.1871-, fino al regno di Costantino, diventando attributo di Dio.⁹

Il *clipeus*, come immagine rotonda, rappresenta la totalità cosmica dell'infinito rispetto al suo incessante e continuo movimento, il fondamento centripeto che stabilisce e determina le regole nel suo aspetto terreno e divino. Nel mondo greco, soprattutto con Platone ed Aristotele c'era il convincimento di una profonda corrispondenza fra la disposizione del cosmo, l'organizzazione della società e l'organizzazione dell'individuo stesso come partecipe di quella società. L'obiettivo fondamentale della politica era ottenere che l'organizzazione della società si adeguaesse all'ordinamento cosmico e che l'individuo si avvicinasse all'essenza di cui è immagine e portatore nella politica.

Da questi principi, nella seconda metà del IV secolo, la liturgia cristiana concepì l'immagine di Cristo come fondamento di tutto quello che significa e rappresenta l'essenza umana; in questa struttura tonda,¹⁰ l'icona arriva alla stessa maniera e con lo stesso senso a tutti i livelli socio-culturali della collettività, senza essere capita o interpretata male; così, lo scopo della espressione iconica si rivela incontestabile, di facile e chiaro discernimento, nel contesto ufficiale della medesima comunità che lo ha concepito e sviluppato, escludendo la possibilità di conferire concetti diversi oppure opposti tra loro, ad una rappresentazione iconografica: "il colore è per sua natura dotato di un potere assai ampio, che va dalla semplice sollecitazione sensibile... alla capacità evocativa e al simbolismo più raffinato... Basta ricordare l'importante ruolo tenuto dal colore in tutte le antiche cosmogonie, e i suoi riflessi sul costume e nella vita sociale"¹¹

'Colour Categorisation' *American Anthropologist* 75 (August 1973), 931-942; M.H. Bornstein, 'The influence of visual perception on culture', *American Anthropologist* 77 (1975), 774-798; B. Brent & P. Kay, *Basic Color Terms: their universality and Evolution* (Berkeley 1969), 16-17: "...three appears to be a positive correlation between general culture complexity (and/or level of technological development) and complexity of color vocabulary...". Per il significato del colore nella società greca vid. Plato, *Meno* 74-76; Aristotele, *De Sensu* 439a-440b; *De Coloribus* 791a-799b.

⁹ A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Emperor and his Virtues', *Historia* 30 (1981), 298-323.

¹⁰ H.P. L'Orange 1947, op.cit. (n.3), 124-125. E. Beurlier, *Essai sur le culte rendu dux empereurs romains* (Parigi 1890); idem, *Le culte impérial, son histoire et son organisation depuis Auguste jusqu'à Justinien* (Parigi 1891); A. Wierzbicka, 'The meaning of color terms: chromatology and culture', *Cognitive Linguistics* 1.1 (1990), 99-150.

¹¹ R. d'Avino, 'La visione del colore nella terminologia greca', *Ricerche Linguistiche* 4 (1958), 99-134, ad 129-130 n. 130; C. Mangio, 'Cenni sulle teorie cromatiche dei greci e loro applicazione architettonica', *Studi Classici e Orientali* 10 (1961), 214-223; M. Caccamo Caltabiano, 'Immagini/parola, grammatica e sintassi di un lessico monetale', *La parola delle immagini e delle*

Parallelamente all'interpretazione sacra dei *clipea*, questa struttura tonda fu accettata per rappresentare l'aspetto politico del potere, come è esposto nella *ND*: il busto frontale dell'imperatore con l'aureola è il modo universale per indicare le connotazioni divine,¹² la glorificazione mondana della *maiestas imperatoris* in forma antropomorfa, la deferenza e il rispetto alla *potestas* che procede da Dio attraverso l'*imperator*, secondo la concezione ierocratica del potere; l'aureola segna la deferenza di una persona, mentre lo sviluppo della composizione frontale e simmetrica e la posizione frontale dell'imperatore viene considerata come espressione di potere e glorificazione della *imago*. La presenza dei due *genii* alati che sostengono il *clipeus* fanno riferimento alla apoteosi divina dell'imperatore, considerato come Dio onnipotente.¹³ Ogni atteggiamento del *dominus* è espresso in un modo premeditato per definire la sua posizione centrale nello Stato, il *rector totius orbis* e la sua natura soprannaturale. In un'unica struttura tonda, il *clipeus*, è riassunto il concetto di armonia e sintesi politica, sviluppata nel documento come immagine, non soltanto tra i diversi livelli sociali, ma anche sotto l'aspetto politico e religioso della società; l'equilibrio tra questi livelli è necessario per l'articolazione dello Stato. L'imperatore è il punto fisso, il vero centro immobile ed infinito intorno al quale gravita ogni cosa, progettato secondo una chiara liturgia celeste.

L'idea di Stato deve essere concepita ed associata ad un potere che si trova più in alto della volontà individuale; è un potere universalmente riconosciuto ed accettato, esercitato secondo norme o regole conosciute o conoscibili. Il riconoscimento e l'accettazione di questo potere esercitato secondo determinate regole implica il riconoscimento e l'accettazione

forme di scrittura. Modi e tecniche della comunicazione del mondo antico, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Messina 1998 (Messina 1998), 57-74.

¹² P. Skubiszewski, 'Le titre de "Roi de gloire" et les images du Christ: un concept théologique, l'iconographie et les inscriptions', in R. Favreau, cur., *Civilisation Médiévale II. Épigraphe et iconographie. Actes du colloque tenu à Poitiers les 5-8 octobre 1995*, Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale (Poitiers 1996), 229-258; D. Scortecci, 'Il medico, l'empio, l'imperatore e il santo: dal ritratto nimbato alla sacra aureola', in A. Isola, E. Menestò & A. Di Pilla, cur., *Curiositas, Studi di Cultura Classica e Medievale in onore di Ubaldo Pizzani* (Napoli 2002), 589-608; *Libellus de ceremoniis aule imperialis*, c.19, cur. Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste* 3.344: "Imperator ferat camisum, ex subtilissimo et candidissimo bisso contextum, cum aurea bulla, ornatum a pedibus ad mensuram brachii in circuitu de auro frigio" (la citazione è stata presa da A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Il corpo del Papa* [Torino 1994], 52-53).

¹³ L'esempio trasmesso nella *ND* è il più antico delle vittorie con lo sguardo rivolto frontalmente che sostengono il busto dell'imperatore; le vittorie alate che portano la *imago imperatoris* appaiono successivamente nei dittici consolari intorno al 480. R. Grigg, 'Symphōnian Aeidō tēs Basileias: An Image of Imperial Harmony on the Base of the Column of Arcadius', *Art Bulletin* 49 (1977), 469-482.

dell'obbligo di sottostare alle regole stesse. Queste caratteristiche generali fanno dello Stato un'istituzione. D'altra parte l'idea di Stato viene associata al concetto di potere e al rispetto di norme che regolano i modelli di comportamento per quanti si riconoscono nell'istituzione stessa, o comunque di comportamenti compatibili con l'istituzione, che ne possano garantire l'esistenza e la sopravvivenza. Questa forza normativa, ragione d'essere dello Stato stesso, introduce necessariamente la nozione di diritto, di legge. La concezione dello Stato in termini di diritto significa riconoscere il potere dello Stato che si esercita in nome della legge superando la mera esistenza fattuale del rapporto di potere/obbedienza. La concezione augustea di compimento politico prendeva come principio l'armonia fra le diverse entità che formavano il concetto di Stato, cioè, il Senato e il popolo, per i quali il *princeps* agisce.

Alla stessa maniera, la struttura del *clipeus* è usata non soltanto per sottolineare l'atteggiamento divino dell'imperatore al centro dell'icona, ma anche per evidenziare l'atteggiamento divino dell'imperatore come organismo per designare i suoi rappresentanti diretti mediante la sua sapienza divina, concessa soltanto all'imperatore; così, si può capire la presenza delle *uirtutes imperatoris* nei *clipea* - piano antropomorfo, *Diuina Providentia* - e la presenza delle stagioni dell'anno - piano divino, *Diuina Electio* -.

Canonizzazione delle virtù di un bravo capo di Stato

Gli attributi rappresentati nei *clipea* della *Diuina Providentia* - *uirtus, scientia rei militaris, auctoritas, felicitas* - erano virtù attribuite all'imperatore dall'età di Cicerone *De Imperio Cnei Pompei* 10.¹⁴ La *uirtus* era un elemento della divinità - Sallustio, *Catilinariae* 1.4; 20.2 -; secondo Cicerone *De Legibus* 2.8.19 questa *uirtus* indicava prerogative di temperamento militare: un bravo militare doveva riunire in sé forza, sagacia mentale e fisica, coraggio, perseveranza - Cicerone, *De Natura Deorum* 2.31.79; Giovenale, *Satirae* 1.115 -. Nella tarda antichità la *uirtus* divenne un attributo umano.

La *scientia rei militaris* - Caesar, *Bellum Africanum* 3.23, 7.57 - era la conoscenza della disciplina militare, secondo il concetto di *uirtus* dal punto di vista bellico; così, *uirtus et scientia rei militaris* si riferiscono agli obblighi militari dell'*imperator*. L'equilibrio e la congiunzione dell'aspetto civile e militare dello Stato si riuniscono nel massimo rappresentante del

¹⁴ Cicerone, *Pro lege Manilia* 28; Ammiano Marcellino, *Panegirico a Giuliano* 25.4.1ss; J.A. Crook, 'Some remarks on the Augustean Constitution', *Classical Review* 3 (1953), 10-12; J. Hellegouarch, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République* (Parigi 1963).

popolo: due aspetti che, dal punto di vista della costituzione, sono indipendenti, però, giuridicamente, dipendono della *persona imperatoris*.¹⁵

La *felicitas* si riferisce al concetto di fecondità dello Stato - Plinius, *Historia Naturalis* 7.43; Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 3.19.6-.

La *auctoritas* era un concetto fissato con forza nella società romana già nel periodo repubblicano, era l'accettazione esplicita e legale di un nuovo *rex* accettato dal popolo; tale assenso era dato dai *patres conscripti*. L'elezione della persona nominata si fondava sulla considerazione e celebrità della medesima davanti a tutti, ottenuta grazie alle sperimentate capacità militari, il cui risultato finale consiste nella conquista della prospettiva civile dell'Impero e nell'estrinsecarsi delle qualità militari innate - Cicerone, *Pro Lege Manilia* 28 -.

La *felicitas* e l'*auctoritas* corrispondono all'aspetto politico dello Stato. La prosperità e il benessere dell'*Imperium* si acquistano mediante la formulazione di decreti e leggi da parte dello stesso imperatore, leggi che si applicano all'Impero romano, anche nella scelta dei suoi rappresentanti diretti per eseguire i *mandata imperatoris*. Il riassunto di questi fu il *Liber Mandatorum*,¹⁶ che assegnava il giorno del conferimento dell'incarico ad ogni governatore di provincia da parte dell'imperatore. Il contenuto del *Liber* erano le leggi dell'Impero - *senatus consulta*, *constitutiones imperatoris*, *plebisciti* - e *iussa* di carattere locale; alcuni erano del periodo precedente alla invasione romana, altri furono scritti dagli stessi amministratori o giuristi provinciali - *CTh.* 6.29.10-.¹⁷ Il suo valore risiedeva in una raccolta degli *iussa imperatoris* per le provincie e nella manifestazione della *potestas* dell'imperatore sull'Impero, che trasmetteva la sua *auctoritas* ai suoi rappresentanti immediati nelle provincie; il *Liber Mandatorum* è il simbolo del potere imperiale in una realtà legislativa romana lontana dalla cancelleria

¹⁵ Il termine *costituzionalmente* deve essere riferito ad un punto di vista giuridico quale decreto, ordine, editto.

¹⁶ L'unica fonte storica che parla, iconograficamente, di un *Liber Mandatorum* è la *ND*, *Not. Occ.* 44. O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte* (Leipzig 1885), 869. Cf V. Marotta, *Mandata Principum* (Torino 1991). Il *codex* portava sulla copertina frontale una legenda di riconoscimento pubblico e saluto riportata all'ufficiale annuale della carica: *FL INTALL COMORD PR (=FLOREAS (oppure FELICITER)/ INTER/ALLECTOS/COMITES/ORDINIS/PRIMI)*.

¹⁷ A. dell'Oro, 'Mandata' e 'litterae'. *Contributo allo studio degli atti giuridici del 'princeps'* (Bologna 1960), spec. 74-76; J.-P. Coriat, 'Du pouvoir dans l'antiquité: mots et réalités', in C. Nicolet, cur., *Technique législative et système de gouvernement à la fin du Principat: la romanité de l'Etat moderne* (Ginevra 1990), 121-238. G. Coppola, *Cultura e potere. Il lavoro intellettuale nel mondo romano* (Milano 1994). C. Neira Faleiro, 'Documentos de Estado en el Bajo Imperio; un caso particular: la *ND*', in S. Crespo Ortiz de Zárate & A. Alonso Ávila, cur., *Scripta Antiqua in Honorem A. Montenegro Duque et J.M^a. Blázquez Martínez, Magistris Optimis* (Valladolid 2002), 761-775.

di Stato, definita da una centralizzazione normativa che esige una specializzazione del sistema giuridico e poneva "...le premesse per quella combinazione fra burocrazia e legislazione, fra diritti dei sudditi e arbitrio del principe (e dei suoi funzionari) che costituisce tanta parte dell'ultima storia imperiale..." (56 f.).¹⁸

I due aspetti per applicare la *potestas*, antropomorfo e divino - *Diuina Prouidentia et Diuina Electio*¹⁹ - sono sviluppati rispettivamente da un punto di vista simbolico e in maniera indipendente. La complementarità lessicale di entrambe le immagini senza testo si capisce dalla concezione e dallo scopo dello stesso *folium*: divenuta autonoma, l'immagine assume la funzione propria del testo, quella di produrre un discorso, un discorso visuale.²⁰ Quella è la vera natura del potere politico, l'autonomia del potere civile, la cui finalità fondamentale è difendere la giustizia attraverso le leggi concepite dalla divinità e concesse all'imperatore. Così, il concetto di proprietà è associato con quello di potere o autorità in quanto il possesso di beni materiali e la capacità di esercitare qualche potere sono due aspetti inseparabili di una medesima *potestas*.²¹ La prima illustrazione - *Diuina Prouidentia* - definisce le virtù teologali dell'imperatore, ogni attività del governo del sovrano - Vegetius, *De Rebus Bellicis, praef.* 5; 21.2 - ; la seconda illustrazione - *Diuina Electio* - è l'elezione divina dell'imperatore, il riconoscimento e l'accoglienza della sua *maiestas* da tutti; Dio è considerato come l'unica fonte di legittimità del potere pubblico e dell'aspetto giuridico. Egli garantisce e salvaguarda il principio dell'origine divina del potere, per attribuire alla ragione dell'uomo la facoltà di individuare l'istituzione della *potestas ciuilis*, che permette lo svolgimento della convivenza. L'istituzione

¹⁸ F. Grelle, 'Le categorie dell'amministrazione tardoantica: *officia, munera, honores*', *Società romana e impero tardoantico* (Roma 1986), 37-57, spec. 56-57; idem, 'L'organizzazione amministrativa', in *Storia di Roma: L'età tardoantica: crisi e trasformazione III/1* (Torino 1993), 77-82; C. Vismara, *Le provincie dell'Impero, Il funzionamento dell'Impero* (Roma 1989); P.S. Barnwell, *Emperor, Prefects and Kings. The Roman West 395-565* (Chapel Hill, NC 1993); A. Schiavone, 'Il mondo tardoantico', in *Storia Medievale* (Roma 1999), 43-64.

¹⁹ G. Downey, *Themistii Orationes quae supersunt* (Leipzig 1965), Oratio 15. E.S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' Res Gestae* (Stoccarda 1987), spec. 73-100.

²⁰ E. Kitzinger, 'The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration', in K. Weitzmann, W.C. Loerke, E. Kitzinger & H. Buchthal, cur., *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton 1975), 99-142. *Not.Or.3* e *Not.Occ.2* prendono come base i principi di prospettiva tridimensionale che con l'abbozzo dell'idea di profondità conseguono lo scopo della illusione spaziale. La grande misura delle personificazioni fa pensare ai modelli originari delle pitture parietali del quarto secolo, copiati nei *codices* e che hanno perduto la funzione originaria, ovvero essere guardate da un pubblico con una chiara funzione decorativa.

²¹ H. Löehken, *Ordines Dignitatum. Untersuchungen zur formalen Konstituierung des spätantiken Führungsschicht* (Köln 1982), spec.c.3, 848-868.

dell'autorità deriva da Dio, poichè egli ha concesso la facoltà di istituire una forma di autorità per il bene della società che l'avesse richiesta. Il potere dell'imperatore è riconosciuto anche attraverso la rappresentazione delle quattro stagioni: inviolabilità e perennità della *potestas* che simboleggia mentre "il silenzio diviene *imposizione* quando uno dei due riconosce il prestigio o la supremazia dell'altro; *scelta e imposizione* possono esprimere rispettivamente affermazione e riconoscimento di una *leadership*... Il silenzio sottolinea il riconoscimento di un potere con il quale non si può competere" (33-4 ff.).²²

Potestas imperatoris in absentia: riconoscimento e accoglienza pubblica

La persona incaricata di queste compilazioni, con attribuzioni amministrative e giuridiche, era il *primicerius notariorum*, con il compito di compilare le *tabulae honorum* che raccoglievano gli incarichi degli impiegati dell'Impero nei *codicilli*; questi raggruppavano gli obblighi annuali dello Stato, compresa la retribuzione della *dignitas* più importante, il *praefectus praetorio*. La compilazione di questi *mandata* era fatta nel *laterculum maius*,²³ un *codex* purpureo con nastri dello stesso colore, che rappresentava il carattere ufficiale del documento risultato dell'unione di pergamene precedenti:

“Altre qualità che rendevano unica la porpora erano la stabilità e l'inalterabilità... Uso rituale e cerimoniale del rosso... funzione apotropaica... accrescimento della forza vitale...” (114 f.); “La porpora segnala... l'intoccabilità, la proibizione di attendere all'integrità fisica di quella persona che porta questo colore. Dal secolo IV... la porpora s'imporrà come segno distintivo ed esclusivo della dignità imperiale, gelosamente custodita da un'ampia legislazione suntuaria restrittiva...”²⁴

²² P. Scarpi, 'L'eloquenza del silenzio; aspetti di un potere senza parole', in M. Grazia Ciani, cur., *Le regioni del silenzio: studi sui disagi della comunicazione* (Padua 1983), 31-41; M^a Dolores Caínzos, 'Aeternitas o desaparición de Roma? Dos visiones de la sociedad romana', *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 63.3 (1999), 139-161.

²³ E. Böcking, *ND et administrationum omnium tam ciuilium quam militarium in partibus Orientis et Occidentis* (Bonn 1839-1853), vol.II, 407-409; G. Bonolis, *I titoli di nobiltà nell'Italia Bizantina* (Firenze 1905), 74-75; E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1972), 207-208; Berger 1981, op.cit. (n.7), 25-37, glossario, s.u.*Codicilli*, 175-183; R. Grigg, 'Portrait-bearing Codicils in the illustrations of the ND', *Journal of Roman Studies* 69 (1979), 107-124.

²⁴ A. Casartelli, 'La funzione distintiva del colore nell'abbigliamento romano della prima età imperiale', *Aevum* 1.72 (1998), 109-125, ad 115-116; B.M. Metzger, 'When did scribes begin to use writing desks?', in *Akten des XI.Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses* (Monaco di Baviera 1960), 355-362; R. Delbrück, 'Der spätantike Kaiserornat', *Die Antike* 8 (1932), 7-15; O. Treitinger,

Le fenditure sulla copertina del *codex* erano per i fermagli di metallo destinati a proteggerlo - *Not.Or.*18, *Not.Occ.*16-. Assegnare questi documenti il nel giorno della investitura della carica corrispondente definiva il rapporto fra la *dignitas* e il carattere sacro *imperatoris*, anche negli atti ufficiali fatti dai suoi delegati: il ritratto dell'imperatore sui *codicilli* era la promulgazione del potere reale e simboleggiava la sua *praesentia* - "...misleading to speak of an administrative hierarchy. The pyramid of emperor, praetorian prefects, vicars and provincial governments looks very neat as set out in the *ND*, but there was in reality no rigid chain of command..."²⁵

L'*officium* del *magister scriniorum* - *Not.Or.*19, *Not.Occ.*17- era composto dal:

- 1) *magister memoriae*, che compilava e faceva conoscere le sentenze dell'imperatore di carattere privato oppure di contenuto internazionale, le *adnotationes*, a guisa di glossa sui margini dei documenti della amministrazione con l'accettazione autografa dell'imperatore; le consegne dovevano essere fatte in un *libellus*; il *magister memoriae*, quindi rappresenta il ponte fra l'imperatore e il *populus*;²⁶
- 2) *magister epistolarum*, il quale compilava le risposte consegnate dall'imperatore alle delegazioni straniere e ai delegati di provincia, le *legationes ciuitatum*,²⁷ esaminava e controllava i consigli giudiziari,

Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell : Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken (Darmstadt 1956), 9-10. Plinius Maior, *Historia Naturalis* 9.136; Macrobius 1.6.7.

²⁵ A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1986), 374-375. Cf. E. Palazzo, 'Tituli et enluminures dans le haut Moyen âge (IX-XIe siècles): fonctions liturgiques et spirituelles', in R. Favreau, cur., *Épigraphie et iconographie. Actes du Colloque tenu à Poitiers les 5-8 Octobre 1995, Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale* (Poitiers 1996), 167-191.

²⁶ Böcking 1839-1853, op.cit. (n.23), vol.II, 414-416 "...imperatoribus in memoriam reuocaret, sed quod acta et decreta memoriae ac futurae obseruantiae causa asseruaret. Immo, memoria, ipsa letteras, documenta instrumentaue, acta gestaue memoriae conseruationisue causa reposita significat... genus imperialis scripturae, oppositum rescriptis uel epistolis, pragmaticis sanctionibus ceterisque legius quas quaestor dictabat, in caussis gratiae, administrationis, politicae financiarumque quae hodie dicimus, sed et in caussis ad iuris dictionem spectantibus emittebatur..."; 325-327 n.4: "...Leges dictandae: ...'dictare'... non satis accuratam esse censeo: dictare in his locis est quasi schedam conscribere, scriptionem qualemcumque primum delineare... siue ipse quis scribat siue calamo alterum praedicta excipere iubeat; ita dictata postquam principis manu, ubi opus erat, approbata signataque erant, rescribebantur, in mundum redigebantur, expediebantur, ut hodie dicimus..."

²⁷ Böcking 1839-1853, op.cit., (n.23) vol.II, 417-418: "Legationes exterarum gentium magister officiorum prouincialium, ciuitatum siue corporum praefectus praetorio excipiebat, sed ubi imperialis

- le *consultationes*, fatte all'imperatore dagli impiegati della amministrazione centrale;
- 3) *magister libellorum*, che organizzava le procedure giuridiche, *cognitiones*, sorvegliate direttamente dall'imperatore senza precedente scritto, ed esaminava le richieste, *preces*, fatte all'imperatore; i documenti di questo dipartimento erano compilati in codici di legno, per essere rivisti e corretti dal *quaestor*; il risultato era un abbozzo scritto su papiro e trasmesso direttamente all'imperatore;
 - 4) *magister epistolarum graecarum*, si occupava delle lettere e dei documenti scritti in greco, oppure traduceva in greco i documenti scritti in latino, egli è attestato solo in Oriente.²⁸

La presenza dell'imperatore era necessaria per legittimare e legalizzare ogni atto ufficiale, giuridico o amministrativo fatto nelle provincie dell'Impero - *...per ipsum enim omnia, quae quidem sic data sunt per Moysen, ut umbra essent, uel figura futurorum, ut apparente ueritate, figura cessaret. Sicut enim absente imperatore, imago eius habet auctoritatem, praesente non habet; ita et haec ante aduentum Domini tempore suo obseruanda fuerunt, praesente autem, carent auctoritate. Numquid aliquis uicem domini agens, ipso praesente, dominatur? Si praefectorum uicarii, praesentibus eis priuati sunt; quanto magis serui, praesente domino, etiam ipsi in obsequio debent uideri (PL XVII coll.431-432) -*²⁹ L'imperatore, dinanzi alla impossibilità di una presenza fisica, in questi atti si rivolgeva alla presenza iconica della sua immagine: il valore di questa immagine e le conseguenze sul governo erano

scientia consulenda erat, i.e. quotiens petitiones non statim lectae pensataeque reiciendae uidebantur, principi transmissae ab ipso post adhibitum consistorium decidebantur; recitationes autem, consultationes supra dictorum uirorum illustrium aliarumue dignitatum, ad quas legationes uenerant, ac prece petitionesque legatorum tractabat scrinium epistolarum sub suo magistro: in caussis itaque legationum hi scriniarii secundum nostrum loquendi usum principis referendarii, archiuarii atque correspondentes erant."

²⁸ B. Hemmerdinger, 'Les lettres latines a Constantinople jusqu'à Justinien', *Byzantinischen Forschungen* 1 (1966), 174-178; G. Dagron, 'Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine: langue de culture et langue d'État', *Revue historique* 241 (1969), 36-46.

²⁹ Ambrosianus, *Commentaria in Epistolam B. Pauli ad Colossenses II, ad uers. 16-17, PL, XVII.431-433*. H. Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche* (Paderborn 1934), 79-81 e 101-103. D. Mertens, 'Responsabilità temporale della Chiesa e idea papale del primato', in *Il pensiero politico Medievale* (Bologna 1999), 71-83. Severiano di Gabala, *De mundi creatione Or.6.5* nel quinto secolo, scriveva che il ritratto del sovrano doveva essere collocato nei tribunali e in ogni altro luogo ove si esercitassero funzioni pubbliche: soltanto in tal modo una sentenza emanata da un funzionario dell'imperatore poteva aver valore; su questa prassi e i suoi precedenti, che ritornano al secondo secolo, Apuleius, *Apologia* 85.

proporzionali alla sua presenza alla corte centrale. Così, si capisce la rappresentazione iconica del busto dell'imperatore fra nastri dorati sui *codicilli*, simbolo della *diuina maiestas imperatoris*:

“*auctoritas* and *maiestas*, derived from the language of the Roman state, did; it was chiefly by approaching the terms of Roman dignity for rulers that sovereignty was claimed. Great kings expressed their authority by claiming the title, powers and insignia of imperium itself within their own territories. This was intended to signify that they could act without reference to others, whether inside or outside the realm, and often that they had some right to rule other peoples and lands.”³⁰

Questi dittici erano dati all'*ordo superioris*, che legittimamente aveva il potere.

La consegna pubblica di questi documenti dell'amministrazione centrale, concessi alle *dignitates*, era simbolo dell'immagine legittima della *summa potestas et auctoritas imperatoris* che conferiva gli incarichi diretti del potere, era il potere assoluto e autocratico ratificato dall'*ordo dignitatum* e riflesso nella sua *imago* con una rassegna e accettazione pubblica.³¹ A sua volta l'imperatore è la rappresentazione dello Stato; egli è considerato come fonte necessaria di *auctoritas*. Intorno all'imperatore è originata un'attività che dipendeva dagli organismi periferici e dagli impiegati designati da lui stesso, che spedivano regolarmente rapporti all'amministrazione centrale - *primicerius notariorum* -. Il procedimento burocratico iniziato da Diocleziano (295-305) è stato portato alle estreme conseguenze in un macchinoso e strutturato dispositivo amministrativo-burocratico negli ultimi dieci anni del quarto secolo, quando un'organizzata ed inamovibile gerarchia di *dignitates* gravitava intorno all'*auctoritas imperatoris*, sostenitore di un equilibrio perfetto degli ambiti civili e militari:

“‘Ordine’ indica il principio statico, ‘conformità allo scopo’ quello dinamico -un mezzo per perfezionare nel miglior modo

³⁰ A. Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250-1450* (Cambridge 1992), 113-114. Cf. W.E. Gladstone, 'The Colour-Sense', *The Nineteenth Century* 2 (1877), 366-388; Bayer 1996, art.cit. (n.4), 15-16.

³¹ Vegetius, *De re militari* 2.6. Cf. D.B. Capelle, 'Un Homiliaire de l'évêque Arien Maximin', *Revue Bénédictine* 34.1-4 (1922), 81-108; R.R.R. Smith, 'Late Antique Portraits in a Public Context. Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, AD 300-600', *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999), 155-189; M. Stroll, *Symbols as Power: the Papacy following the investiture contest* (Leiden 1991).

possibile l'imperfetto ordine terreno... All'immutabilità di principio dell'ordine corrispondono la stabilità dell'idea imperiale e la continuità della sua rappresentazione e della sua glorificazione nel cerimoniale e negli scritti dei retori. L'imperatore creava una struttura gerarchica in cui inquadrava tutti gli altri sovrani come fratelli, figli o amici, considerava i loro doni come un riconoscimento del suo potere e i propri come segni del loro vassallaggio, per salvaguardare l'idea dell'universalità del proprio dominio.”³²

A sua volta, il carattere ufficiale del documento è realizzato attraverso l'organizzazione gerarchica delle *dignitates*, che costituiscono il concetto di *Imperium* come entità dello Stato. La sua ricchezza iconografica³³ e la preoccupazione per l'ornamento vanno al di là delle finalità del documento.

La *Diuina Electio* rappresenta e simboleggia l'*aeternitas* della *potestas imperatoris*, l'elezione evidente, intangibile e costante dell'imperatore da parte della divinità,³⁴ cioè l'aspetto divino della sua dignità politica. L'immagine delle quattro stagioni - *uermus, aestas, autumnus et hiems* - lo confermano. Il simbolismo delle quattro stagioni è il divenire annuale del calendario astrale. L'imperatore occupa il posto del sole nella giustizia che è, a sua volta, il simbolo del Verbo di Dio per il quale e nel quale tutto è stato creato, illuminato e tutto è guidato. Esso simboleggia il posto centrale dell'ordine cosmico. La luce con il suo movimento circolare e le sue variazioni d'orbita determina non soltanto le notti e i giorni, ma anche le stagioni e i mesi, alla stessa maniera l'imperatore fissa le fasi dell'anno liturgico. Con la sua presenza egli determina i cicli naturali con il valore simbolico che essi trasmettono. Così si sottolinea il carattere ciclico dell'*annus* come pure l'imperfezione del suo carattere; in primo luogo perchè il suo movimento è continuo e infinito, in quanto appena concluso ricomincia nuovamente, anche se non arriva a rompere il cerchio del perpetuo inizio che non ha mai un termine e neanche un inizio: esso è segno di un'imperfezione radicale, quella in cui inciampano tutte le religioni cosmiche o naturali. In secondo luogo, il carattere ciclico è zoppo nel calcolo dei giorni e dei mesi. Da questo punto di vista l'*annus* è *non stabilis sua post uestigia currit*, espressione che spiega la

³² Mertens 1999, op.cit. (n.3), 11-12; 14-15

³³ A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman provinces* (Oxford 1937), 492-493.

³⁴ D. Mertens, 'Il potere temporale e il suo diritto', in *Il pensiero politico Medievale* (Bologna 1999), 85-93.

sua radicale imperfezione e la sua incapacità di concludere. L'anno, sempre in fuga, ricorda l'eterna presenza del sole divino.

I numeri 4 e 24 sono i numeri che simboleggiano i ritmi fondamentali dei cicli naturali, le quattro stagioni e la divisione del giorno in 24 ore. Si profila così l'immagine del mondo che costituisce la caratteristica comune dell'antichità classica: la sfera dell'universo che effettua la sua rotazione liturgica attorno al centro immobile che la muove. Le quattro stagioni sono propriamente quelle che conferiscono all'immagine sul piano naturale il simbolismo cosmico dell'universalità, e sul piano teologico il significato di pienezza dell'ordine stabilito.

L'aspetto divino dell'*auctoritas imperatoris* è presente in entrambe le immagini attraverso l'*armarium* a forma di tabernacolo, nel caso della *domus Augusti*, che custodisce nei *sacra scrinia* la documentazione ufficiale che rappresenta le diverse cariche, civili e militari. Così gli elementi paralleli, da un punto di vista tematico, simbolico e strutturale, che fanno parte di entrambe immagini sono l'*armarium* e l'*imago clipeata*, cioè, l'aspetto antropomorfo e divino dell'*auctoritas imperatoris*. L'unione di tutti questi elementi sviluppa l'idea di equilibrio politico delle istituzioni, evidenziata attraverso i *sacra scrinia* che raccolgono in maniera frontale i *codicilli* messi insieme in una strutturata gerarchia lineare, parallelamente alla gerarchia delle istituzioni nel basso Impero e l'*imago imperatoris* fra i nastri d'oro.³⁵ Tutto l'ordine e la disposizione gerarchica nell'illustrazione è riflesso univoco dell'ordine cosmico stabilito da Dio, il cui rappresentate terreno è l'imperatore. Tutto gravita intorno all'*imago* a cui deve rendere eternamente omaggio, gloria e lode. Il doppio significato di tali documenti con l'immagine dell'imperatore era politico e religioso: l'autorità indiscussa dell'imperatore era fondata e garantita dagli atti amministrativi o giuridici, fatti dai suoi delegati e legittimati dalla sua *praesentia in absentia*, mentre con un simbolismo di radice greca ed una riutilizzazione cristiana, il carattere sacro dell'imperatore è sottolineato dall'idea di eterno ritorno del suo potere, concezione ideologica dell'invulnerabilità e continuità della sua *auctoritas* e delle virtù proprie di un bravo capo di Stato per l'intero compito delle sue cariche.³⁶

³⁵ Le icone della parte orientale del testo sono stati considerati da una prospettiva bifocale e nella parte occidentale da una prospettiva tridimensionale, particolarità trovata nei mosaici di Ravenna, anni 421-423. La collocazione lineare dei *clipea* rivela che la iconografia della *ND* dall'inizio fu fatta sui rotoli di pergamena per essere risolta in *codex*.

³⁶ A. Zimmermann, *Der Begriff der Repraesentatio im Mittelalter. Stelvertretung Symbolik Zeichen, Bild* Miscellanea Mediaevalia 8 (Berlino-New York 1971).

Conclusione: la *Notitia Dignitatum* come paradigma di convinzioni iconografiche

La progettata distribuzione bipartita e simmetrica della *ND* fra precisi principi iconografici e strutturali, deriva da aspirazioni politiche di equilibrio dell'Impero di Teodosio, evidenziate mediante un linguaggio pittorico che raccoglie e chiarisce un testo accanto all'immagine, concepito secondo i principi di una precedente compilazione. Questa divisione iconografica e testuale fu progettata, all'inizio, come principio di un ordine politico e di accordo fra le due parti dell'Impero, come disposizioni testamentarie per un Impero diviso per la prima volta, ma regolato da normative simili sotto l'aspetto politico, burocratico, amministrativo e militare per futuri reggenti.

La distribuzione e iconografia sono articolati intorno a un fine preciso, quale la consonanza politica e la necessaria reciprocità tra le due parti dell'Impero. Le tendenze artistiche della fine del quarto e inizi del quinto secolo furono messe al servizio di una gerarchia, il cui fine fondamentale era l'espressione e la diffusione della politica teodosiana. Il vero fondamento sta negli affari politici dell'unità del potere centrale,³⁷ mantenuto da veloci ed uniformi cambiamenti del governo militare: all'inizio, fu il risultato del *Breuiarium* dell'Impero, però poi diventò, nei primi dieci anni del quinto secolo, un manifesto propagandistico di politica militare.

D'accordo con questi principi si possono capire le ragioni e lo scopo della *ND*, la quale sarebbe un notiziario annuale dell'Impero,³⁸ associato ad una consuetudine burocratica consolidata e stabilita dal I secolo d.C., che aveva costituito normative precise e procedure metodologiche di controllo ed aggiornamento periodici, cui erano sottomessi documenti simili.

L'iconografia fu usata con uno stretto proposito politico: colori simbolici associati ad una semplicità delle icone assicurava, in assenza di un testo, la legittimità di un *ordo dignitatum* e di una *potestas et ueneratio imperatoris* come custode e sostenitore di un Impero diviso, il quale si legava giuridicamente al clero sotto il *dominium imperatoris*. L'arte come

³⁷ O. Seeck, *ND. Accedunt Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et laterculi prouinciarum* (Berlino 1876, reed. Francoforte 1962); G. Clemente, *La ND* (Cagliari 1968); J. Gaudemet, 'Recherches sur la législation du Bas-Empire', in *Studi in onore di Gaetano Scherillo II* (Milano 1972), 693-715; G. Nocera, 'Il Centralismo amministrativo del tardo impero', *Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana, Atti VIII Convegno Internazionale* (Perugia 1990), 599-621; P. Brennan, 'The User's Guide to the *ND*. The Case of the *Dux Armeniae* (*ND.Or.38*)', *Antichthon* 32 (1998), 34-49; A. Marrone, 'Un inedito di M. Rostovtzeff sulle cause della caduta dell'Impero romano', *Historia* 48 (1999), 254-256; M. Kulikowski, 'The *ND* as a historical source', *Historia* 49 (2000), 358-377.

³⁸ S. Mazzarino, *Trattato di storia romana* Vol. II (Roma 1956), 446 n.1.

mezzo di propaganda politica è la spina dorsale della *ND*, la manifestazione artistica legata ai principi dell'ideologia della *summa potestas* dell'imperatore.

L'espressione politica del testo abbozzato negli ordini sociali testuali ed iconografici di fondamenti simbolici chiari è schematizzato attraverso le due immagini senza testo.³⁹ Il suo significato testuale e contestuale è rappresentato attraverso l'indipendenza di tutti gli oggetti che fanno parte della iconografia. Le misure dei componenti nell'icona sono svolte attraverso un valore simbolico, il cui significato è equivalente e paragonabile al suo valore allegorico; la molteplicità delle scale iconografiche spinge la comprensione simbolica di ciascuno dei componenti fino al concepimento e sviluppo dell'icona, considerato come struttura prestabilita ed indivisibile, mentre le diverse strutture di ordinamento e sistemazione dello spazio nella figura confermano il suo significato metaforico. Da questo punto di vista la *ND* è concepita come documento postumo di analoghe disposizioni dell'amministrazione che considerano i modelli della politica universale, sorretta dalla *persona imperatoris*. Testo ed immagine non possono avere rappresentazione più efficace, sia come traduzione visuale immediata del senso del testo in immagine, sia come percezione della loro equivalenza, sia per come si connotano i concetti stessi di testo ed immagine.

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³⁹ R. Grigg, 'Inconsistency and lassitude: the shield emblems of the *ND*', *Journal of Roman Studies* 73 (1983), 132-142; idem, 'Illustrations and Text in the lost *Codex Spirensis*', *Latomus* 46 (1987), 204-210.

II

THE REPRESENTATION AND PERCEPTION OF ROMAN IMPERIAL POWER

ROME AND THE PROVINCES

THE STREETS OF ROME AS A REPRESENTATION
OF IMPERIAL POWER¹

By
ANDREW WALLACE-HADRILL

“In vain, great hearted Kublai, shall I attempt to describe Zaira, city of high bastions. I could tell you how many steps make up the streets rising like stairways, and the degrees of the arcades’ curves, and what kind of zinc scales cover the roofs; but I already know this would be the same as telling you nothing.”
(Italo Calvino)²

Rome was a microcosm of Roman imperial power, the showplace of imperial might. The image of the emperor was written in his city. We all know this. But what shall I do? Shall I enumerate for you the statistics of Rome’s magnificence, as does the elder Pliny, or as do the Regionary Catalogues? If I did so, this would, as Italo Calvino suggests, be the same as telling you nothing. We can follow the elder Pliny in enumerating the statistics of Rome’s magnificence, counting the regions and crossroads shrines, the length of the walls, the length of the streets leading to the gates.

“The circuit of the walls of Rome in the censorship of the emperors Vespasian was 170 miles, including 7 hills. It is divided into 14 regions, and 265 shrines of the Lares. If a straight line is drawn from the milestone standing at the head of the Roman Forum to each of the gates, which today number 37 (provided that the Twelve Gates be counted only as one each and the seven of the old gates that no longer exist be omitted), the result is a total of 20 miles 765 yards in a straight line... If you add to all that the height of the houses, you may form a proper

¹ This paper was delivered in an earlier version at the conference at the Netherlands Institute at Rome, and in a later version at Princeton University. I am grateful to participants on both occasions for valuable comments, and especially to Ray Laurence for sharing thoughts about neighbourhoods, and to Rosie Harman for invaluable help with the final text.

² Italo Calvino, *Le città invisibili* (la città e la memoria 3): ‘Inutilmente, magnanime Kublai, tenterò di descrivere la città di Zaira dagli alti bastioni. Potrei dirti di quanti gradini sono le vie fatte a scale, di che sesto gli archi dei porticati, di quali lamine di zinco sono ricoperti i tetti; ma so che sarebbe come non dirti nulla.’ I owe the quotation to R. Laurence in P. Carl, B. Kemp *et al.*, ‘Were cities built as images?’, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10:2 (2000), 346.

estimate, and admit that no city in all the world can be compared in size.”³

Pliny’s statistics exist not to enlarge our understanding, but as a trope of rhetorical hyperbole, much though we welcome the statistic he adds, that Vespasianic Rome had 265 *compita* (hence, we infer, *vici* or neighbourhoods). The fourth-century Regionary Catalogues belong to the same tradition of *mirabilia*: when they tell us not only how many temples, theatres, *fora* and baths, but how many houses, *insulae*, *horrea*, bakeries, reservoirs, not to speak of latrines and brothels, the city could boast, the intention is to stun us with numbers.⁴ Modern scholars continue to play the game, for quite different reasons, assembling figures for the number of inhabitants, the thousands of tonnes of wheat they consumed, the millions of litres of olive oil, the hundreds of thousands of kilos of pork sausages.⁵ The modern concern for statistics colludes with the ancient obsession with *mirabilia*.

I am not seeking to belittle Rome, but to get a sharper focus on the issue of representation of imperial power. How did Rome represent the emperor, beyond saying he was big? What nature of power, what structure of social and economic relationships, did it symbolically figure? Because my interest has been for some time not so much in public monuments as the anonymous and diverse assemblage of private building (houses, *insulae*, shops, warehouses, private baths etc), my focus is on how we can read imperial power in the back streets, not just the Colosseum.⁶ In this paper, I pass over these public monuments, on which the discussion of the question is normally focussed.

³ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 3.66-7: Moenia eius collegere ambitu imperatoribus censoribusque Vespasianis anno conditae DCCCXXVI m.p. XXX.CC, complexa montes septem. ipsa dividitur in regiones quattuordecim, compita Larum CCLXV. eiusdem spatium mensura corrente a miliario in capite Romani fori statuto ad singulas portas, quae sunt hodie numero XXXVII ita ut duodecim semel numerentur praetereanturque ex veteribus VII quae esse desiderunt, efficit passuum per directum XX.M.DCCLXV.....quod si quis altitudinem tectorum addat, dignam profecto aestimationem concipiat, fateaturque nullius urbis magnitudinem in toto orbe potuisse ei comparari. See plates IV, fig. 1 for the 14 *regiones* of imperial Rome (added by the editors).

⁴ A. Nordh, *Libellus de regionibus urbis Romae* (Lund 1949). For the rhetoric, see J. Arce, ‘El inventario de Roma: Curiosum y Notitia’, in W.V. Harris, ed., *The Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology* suppl 33, 1999), 15-22.

⁵ For the value of such statistics to demography, see e.g. E. Lo Cascio, ‘*Canon frumentarius, suarius, vinarius*: stato e privati nell’approvvigionamento dell’*Urbs*’, in Harris 1999, op.cit. (n.4), 163-182.

⁶ See my recent contributions, ‘Case e abitanti a Roma’ in E. Lo Cascio, ed., *Roma Imperiale. Una metropoli antica* (Roma 2000), 173-220, and ‘Emperors and houses in Rome’ in S. Dixon, ed., *Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World* (London/ New York 2001), 128-143.

Cities, as a recent Cambridge workshop on ‘Were cities built as images?’ has emphasised, are the outcome of a tension between ideal and praxis.⁷ We do well to ask, as Joseph Rykwert did in his *Idea of the Town* with reference to Rome,⁸ or Paul Wheatley in his *Pivot of the Four Quarters* with reference to ancient China,⁹ what cosmological and other ideals the built town seeks to embody; but we must also hold on to the role of praxis, the everyday necessities and the banalities of routine practice. Those who work on shantytowns are more alive to the imperatives of praxis:

“Beneath the apparent chaos of the modern squatter settlement, there is often a clear consistency of form and urban structure which varies from place to place. Such consistencies derive at the local level from the relationship between urban form and social processes. Local spatial customs and unwritten social codes determine the layout, spacing and growth of houses, and the development of plots and settlement form.”¹⁰

Imperial Rome is indeed an ideal city, but only in part. Beyond question it sought to project an image of imperial power, in some quite specific ways at different periods; simultaneously it was the outcome of praxis, remorselessly generating urban form over the centuries. Our job is not to magnify the emperors, but to investigate the nature and limits of their power, and to read the built environment as the outcome of an eternal struggle between the assertion of the ideal of imperial omnipotence, and the massive limitations imposed by the daily realities of this city of a million souls, a monster which the empire created, and then struggled to control.

It may help to start by focusing on what imperial Rome was *not*. It was not a city of parade routes and broad, straight avenues. It was a twentieth-century dictator not a Roman emperor who drove the Via dell’Impero as a parade route from Piazza Venezia to the Colosseum. The route of the Roman triumph was circuitous, winding, and at many points surprisingly narrow.

⁷ Carl, Kemp *et al.* 2000, *op.cit.* (n.2), 327-365.

⁸ J. Rykwert, *The Idea of the Town: the Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Cambridge Mass. 1976).

⁹ P. Wheatley, *Pivot of the Four Quarters: a Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City* (Edinburgh 1971).

¹⁰ B. Erickson & T. Lloyd-Jones, ‘Experiments with settlement aggregation models’, *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 24 (1997), 903-928, cited by Kemp in Carl, Kemp *et al.* 2000, *op.cit.* (n.2), 342.

Imperial Rome was not a Renaissance ideal city.¹¹ The Renaissance ideal required perspectival vistas with vanishing points: from Pope Julius II's via Giulia, cutting through the medieval mess of the southern Campus Martius towards the Vatican, to Paul III Farnese's 'Tridente', to Sixtus V's long vistas marked by obelisks.¹² Cutting new streets through the existing urban fabric has been one of the prime ways of inscribing power upon the face of the city. The Renaissance ideal is not universal, but specific to its own set of historical circumstances. It involves the denial and deletion of another, medieval image of the city, of baronial families with their strongholds, like the Orsini in Pompey's theatre, or the Savelli in that of Marcellus.¹³ The characteristic of such a city is the *torre* as heart of power of the family clan, surrounded by a local maze of narrow streets, the *contrada* or patch the family controls. Less visible now in Rome, we see it best in Genoa, where the streets of the centre, based on the grid pattern of the Roman colony, are still now a maze in which the cellular structure is clear.¹⁴ The Renaissance ideal is an attempt to wipe out this power structure, and the city plan is legible as the palimpsest of the outcome of power structures.

Imperial Rome too had its debate about ideal street plans. Consider the discussion surrounding the Great Fire of Rome under Nero.

“The rest of the city was not, as after the Gallic fire, put up indiscriminately and all over the place, but districts (*vici*) were measured and laid out, streets were broad, heights of houses were limited, with wide open spaces, and porticoes added to protect the frontages of *insulae*.”¹⁵

¹¹ E. Künzl, *Der römische Triumph: Siegesfeiern im antikes Rom* (Munich 1988), 15, 30-44; F. Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio dalle origini alla fine della repubblica* (Rome 1997), 118-135 *et passim*.

¹² On the military and social considerations underpinning such schemes, see Richard Ingersoll, 'Piazza di Ponte and the Military Origins of Panopticism' in Z. Çelik, D. Favro & R. Ingersoll, eds, *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley 1994), 177-188 and C. Burroughs, 'Absolutism and the Rhetoric of Topography' *ibid.* 189-202.

¹³ See R. Brentano, *Rome before Avignon: a Social History of Thirteenth-century Rome* (London 1991); J.-C. Mairie-Vigueur, ed., *D'une ville a l'autre: structures matérielles et organisation de l'espace dans les villes européennes (XIII-XVI siècles)*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 122 (Rome 1989).

¹⁴ See L. Grossi Bianchi and E. Poggi, *Una città portuale del medioevo: Genova nei secoli X-XVI* (Genoa 1980); Wallace-Hadrill 2001, *op.cit.* (n. 6), 130f.

¹⁵ Tacitus *Annals* 15.43: *ceterum urbis quae domui supererant non, ut post Gallica incendia, nulla distinctione nec passim erecta, sed dimensis vicorum ordinibus et latis viarum spatiis cohibitaque aedificiorum altitudine ac patefactis areis additisque porticibus, quae frontem insularum protegerent.*

Tacitus' negative reference to the rebuilding of Rome after the Gallic sack deliberately evokes the Livian commentary on that event, which laments the missed opportunity to set out Rome as a decently ordered city, rather than a squatter settlement.¹⁶ It was of course a continuing paradox that Roman colonies presented the image of the ideal city with an ordered grid pattern for centuries, while Rome did not.¹⁷ Why not? The real reasons are to do above all with the topography of the landscape (the road system follows the contours of the seven hills), and with the historic evolution of the settlement perpetuated through individual property rights. Ironically, Livy's reference to the neglect of property rights after the Gallic sack puts the finger on what gave Rome its disordered appearance. It is surely that the sack did *not* disrupt property rights, and Rome continued to follow its old pattern.¹⁸ Only when the central authority of a city can arrogate to itself the power to expropriate can broad avenues be cut through existing fabric.

Nero's fire was evidently seen by Romans, including the emperor himself, as a renewed opportunity to impose ideal order on the apparent chaos of praxis. It had some success; but what I want to stress are the limits of that success. There were indeed areas, particularly the port area beneath the Aventine, and in Trastevere, where blocks of houses were laid out in a regular grid, though to be honest we have no knowledge that these resulted from the Neronian regulations or replaced previously chaotic areas. But Rome the squatter settlement continued to flourish, alongside the signs of imperial order. It is enough to consider the area around the Porticus of Livia, of which the fragments of the Forma Urbis happen to survive particularly well. The Porticus itself, which supposedly replaced the over-luxurious house of Vedius Pollio, is indeed a symbol of imperial order, just as much as the surrounding streets are not. The interruption of old street lines by the portico shows clearly the historical nature of the evolution: the rectangle cuts abruptly the older, topographically contoured lines. But it also shows the exception: Vedius' moral opprobrium, coupled with imperial inheritance, permitted an intervention in the urban fabric that was exceptional, not normative.¹⁹

¹⁶ Livy 5.55: *festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum omisso sui alienique discrimine in vacuo aedificant. ea est causa ut veteres cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc privata passim subeant tecta, formaque urbis sit occupatae magis quam divisae similis.*

¹⁷ P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988), 18ff.

¹⁸ R.M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5* (Oxford 1965), 750f.

¹⁹ Zanker 1988, op.cit. (n.17), 137-139.

It is instructive to compare the situation after the great fire in London of 1666. Christopher Wren and Robert Hooke both submitted designs for a new, modern layout for the City of London, both inspired by visions of how an ideal city should be with its vistas and modular units. But the medieval pattern prevailed, and has survived to the present, thanks above all to property rights.²⁰ In the case of Rome too, one may think of it as an ongoing tension between the centralised and idealising power of the state and the individual property rights that gave historical boundaries their tenacious survival. Call this, if you want, the limit of imperial power, and reflect that in some ways both Renaissance popes and the modern nation state has had greater powers of expropriation than the Caesars.

But from another perspective, the powers of the emperors (as they occasionally proclaimed) were limitless. They *could* have invoked the common welfare, *salus rei publicae*, to justify radical re-planning of the entire street plan of their imperial showpiece capital. They ostentatiously did not. We may think again of Suetonius' anecdote of Augustus narrowing the plan of his Forum rather than expropriate neighbouring houses: true or not, the biographer assumed that *civilitas* could be inscribed on the city plan.²¹ That means we are not looking at the limits of imperial power, but its self-definition and self-representation: the quality that long ago struck me as distinctive in imperial ideology.²² The imperial power that represents itself as continuing, not breaking, the republican past, of championing the rights of the Roman citizen, of upholding the rule of law and of property rights, projects itself in the urban plan in that very juxtaposition of historical fabric modified, not replaced, by new order.

As I argued then, rather than the traditional 'weak' reading of *civilitas* as the historical compromise that Augustus makes to disguise the transition from the Republic, we can prefer a 'strong' reading. Augustus uses the structures of the city-state to generate his own power. The status hierarchy of citizenship becomes a potent instrument in his hands. At another level, the empire depends more on quasi-independent city-states for its peaceful running than on an army of imperial administrators.²³ The idea I would like to explore now is that the street plan of imperial Rome is the

²⁰ Kemp in Carl, Kemp *et al.* 2000, op.cit. (n.2), 337.

²¹ Suetonius *Aug.* 56.2, *forum angustius fecit non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos.* Cf. Zanker 1988, op.cit (n.17), 155-156, rightly underlining the deliberate decision by Augustus to display his respect for property.

²² 'Civilis Princeps: Between Citizen and King', *Journal of Roman Studies* 72 (1982), 32-48.

²³ So P. Garnsey & R. Saller, *The Roman Empire. Economy, Society and Culture* (London 1987), 26ff.

outcome of an urban order, which depends not simply on central imperial control, but on a cellular structure that operated at local level, and on the deliberate exploitation of that fact by the emperor. In this picture, the city with its *vici* is a microcosm of the empire with its city-states.

For the overall articulation of the imperial city, the fourth-century Regionary Catalogues remain the indispensable starting point. Their prime use has been by those who want to extract the city's vital statistics, above all the total population based on totals for *domus* and *insulae*.²⁴ For this purpose I regard them as thoroughly unreliable, though I agree with Filippo Coarelli that it is highly likely that they ultimately reflect the official statistics gathered by the office of the *praefectus urbi*, stationed surely in the Forum Pacis where the Severan marble plan of Rome was found.²⁵ But though individual numbers may be challenged, they surely give us an important insight into the nature of the urban fabric. What I want to underline is what I call the cellular structure. Divided into *regiones*, and subdivided into *vici* (by now 320 of them, but the number is dubious), we find in each zone a distribution (unequal, but the numbers are never trustworthy) of the same sort of features: public buildings, temples, baths etc; *vici* with their *vicomagistri* (by now exactly 48 per region, which if true means the Augustan system had been changed); private housing (*domus* and *insulae*); and all other vital civic amenities, warehouses (*horrea*), water distribution (*lacus*), food supply (bakeries), not to speak of urinals and brothels.²⁶

To me, that rules out the characteristic of the post-industrial western capitalist city, which is residential differentiation and zoning of activities. As David Harvey has argued, the specific class relations generated by modern capitalism underpin the differentiation of the modern city.²⁷ One should not expect, or look for, comparable patterns in antiquity. Modern scholars who have sought to show that Rome was differentiated into districts of the rich and the poor are unconsciously led by the expectations of the modern world. Without denying *some* differentiation (Testaccio with its warehouses was not like the centre with its *fora*, let alone the Palatine with its Palace), we are not looking at the sort of zoning of a capitalist city. To understand better how the

²⁴ G. Hermansen, 'The population of imperial Rome', *Historia* 27 (1978), 129-168; F. Coarelli, 'La consistenza della città nel periodo imperiale: *pomerium, vici, insulae*', in *La Rome impériale: démographie et logistique. Actes de la table ronde (Rome, 25 mars, 1994)* (Roma 1997), 89-109.

²⁵ So F. Coarelli, in *Lo Cascio* 2000, op.cit. (n.6), 226f.

²⁶ On *vici*, A. Frascchetti, *Roma e il Principe* (Roma/Bari 1990) 204-273 is fundamental, also Zanker 1988, op.cit. (n.17), 129-135; the fullest detail on individual *vici* is now provided by the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (LTUR) vol. V (Rome 1999), 151-201, with entries on some 116 *vici*.

²⁷ D. Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Oxford 1989).

city operates at this micro-level, I want to focus on the *vici*. The sources tell us they were the key to the Augustan urban order. The question is how? Here I have four observations to offer.

One critical issue is the extent to which the Augustan *vici* should be seen as a 'top-down' imposition of an administrative system on the urban fabric, as opposed to a 'bottom-up' manifestation of local solidarity. There is a considerable literature by urban sociologists and geographers on neighbourhood associations, though this is typically focused on the twentieth century western city, with too little consideration of pre-modern and third-world situations.²⁸ Even in the modern western city, the neighbourhood is a highly complex phenomenon: too deeply affected by planning and other restraints to be purely 'natural' groups, and too ambivalent and fissiparous to be satisfactorily pinned down by city authorities.²⁹ It is striking that even in the squatter towns that are the informal outgrowth of some third-world cities, like Manila, tightly organized neighbourhood groups emerge to play a critical function in helping inhabitants orient themselves in the wider urban environment, carefully policing intruders, and providing mutual support for families knit together by links of patronage.³⁰

Whether you look at modern cities or pre-industrial ones, neighbourhood groups represent a whole gamut of possibilities. At one extreme there are the illegitimate groups that terrify the law-enforcement authorities, whether the street gangs of New York, or the control of patches by drug-pushers or prostitution-racketeers, or the more formalised control of Palermo or Naples by competing mafia or camorra families, whose primary concern is to fight each other for the turf. At the other extreme are highly respectable groupings, in particular the parish (a key to urban order in medieval and early modern Europe), or at the most banal level schemes like 'neighbourhood watch' in the UK, organised by the police to get groups of neighbours to defend each other against burglary, encouraged by discounts on insurance premiums. It should not therefore be taken for granted that neighbourhood groupings lead to urban order. Rather the issue is the

²⁸ Thus the classic works of the 'Chicago School', e.g. R. Park, *Human Communities: the City and Human Ecologies* (Glencoe, IL 1952).

²⁹ Particularly valuable is the emphasis of the New Urbanist school on the lived experience of streets: J. Jacobs, *Systems of Survival* (New York 1992); K. Lynch, *Good City Form* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991). Their approach is drawn on to excellent effect by J. Hartnett, *Streets, Street Architecture, and Social Presentation in Roman Italy* (University of Michigan doctoral dissertation 2003).

³⁰ M. Hollnsteiner-Racelis, 'Becoming an urbanite: the neighbourhood as a learning environment' in: J. Gugler, ed., *The Urbanization of the Third World* (Oxford 1988), 230-241.

relationship between the authorities and the wide variety of groupings that arise at grass-roots level.

The ancient sources on Augustus' urban reforms have proved too successful in their tendentious representation of Augustus as reviving a deep Roman tradition. The account in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, attributing to Servius Tullius the entire institution of *vici* and the celebration in them of the *compitalia*, should be recognized as a characteristic Augustan 'invention of tradition', the legitimisation of a radical reform by its retrojection on the mythological past.³¹ Hence the unfruitful debate between Mommsen and Waltzing over the degree to which already before Augustus there existed formally structured neighbourhood organisations (*collegia*) with officials (*magistri*) and festivals at crossroads (*compita*). The detailed discussion by Augusto Frascchetti leaves little doubt that though crossroad shrines were indeed a traditional focus of local loyalties, *vici* were not part of the formal organisation of the republican city, which seems to have preserved to Cicero's day the archaic division into *montes* and *pagi* celebrated in the festivals of the Septimontium and Paganalia.³²

Though the *compitalia* were part of the official calendar, *vici* before Augustus seem to have been informal groupings. Certainly, as far as the historical narrative of the late republic is concerned, *vici* emerge not as part of a formal administrative system, but as a focus for the activities of radical politicians, from Marius Gratidianus, through Catiline's henchman Lentulus, caught by Cicero sending agents around the *vici* to recruit support for revolution and incendiarism, to the role of Sex Cloelius in running the *ludi compitalicii*, to Clodius and his recruitment of alleged gangs by some sort of act of formal enrolment *vicatim*, carried out on the Aurelian tribunal in the forum.³³ The common thread here is that the *vici* act as potentially subversive formations which empower the *plebs infima*, craftsmen and artisans, including people of servile origin, and act as a potential reservoir of alternative power

³¹ Dionysius Halicarnassus 4.14.3-4. Frascchetti 1990, op.cit. (n.26), 204-210 argues that the passage precedes the Augustan reform, not to my mind convincingly. For similar retrojection by Dionysius of patronage, cf. A. Wallace-Hadrill, ed., *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London 1989), 66-68. On the concept of invented tradition, E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge 1983).

³² Frascchetti 1990, op.cit. (n.26), 123-203, with full references to previous discussion.

³³ On Marius Gratidianus, Cicero, *De Officiis* 3.80; cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 34.27; on Catiline, Sallust, *Catilina* 50; Cicero, *In Catilinam* 4.17; on Clodius and Sex Cloelius, Cicero, *In Pisonem* 8 and 23; Asconius *ad loc.* p.7, ll.9-26 Clark; on Clodius and the Aurelian steps, Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 34: *servorum dilectus habebatur pro tribunali Aurelio nomine collegiorum, cum vicatim homines conscriberentur, decuriarentur....* See Frascchetti 1990, op.cit. (n.26), 210-250.

into which the revolutionary can tap.³⁴ The model, in a word, is the street gang not the parish. The skill of Augustus lies in his appropriation of local power networks. In representing his reform as a 'restoration of tradition', he tames a form of power once seen as subversive, and harnesses it to the new system.

That process of harnessing is most visible in the new application of *vici* to administrative purposes. The first express acknowledgement of their administrative potential is in Caesar's dictatorship, when a census is taken *vicatim* through owners of *domus* and *insulae*; and taken up by Augustus.³⁵ Both Caesar and Augustus seem to have been concerned with the lists of entitlement to grain and other benefits, which may provide the clue to Clodius' activities too. A gradual process of acknowledgement of the potential of neighbourhood groups underlies the reform of BC 7, the date supplied by both Cassius Dio's narrative and the majority of dedications by *vicomagistri* (a couple of exceptions seem to point to the years between 12 and 7).³⁶

From now on each *vicus* has its annual college of 4 *magistri* and 4 *ministri*, and acts under authority of the magistrate attributed to the *regio*. In Dio's narrative the initial context is concern for fire-control, and the firemen for each *regio* are put under the local authority of the *vicomagistri*, though this system is shortlived, and the definitive system is *regio*-based. But it signals the perception that in the emperor's mind the *vici* form part of an integrated system by which the city is run. What remains undocumented is the connection between the *praefectus urbi* and his central documentation of the city in the Forum Pacis and the *vici* as a unit and mechanism for assembling this knowledge.³⁷ Nevertheless, it seems to me that what the Regionary Catalogues reflect is an articulated system of knowledge and control in which the *vici* play a critical role.³⁸

But the emphasis on administrative convenience masks the social processes which gave the *vici* their real power. Zanker has brought out how

³⁴ The importance of the *populares* for the Augustan reform is stressed by R. Laurence, 'The Urban *Vicus*: the spatial organisation of power in the Roman city', in E. Herring, R. Whitehouse & J. Wilkins, eds, *Papers of the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology I. The Archaeology of Power*, Part I (London 1991), 145-152.

³⁵ Suetonius *Iulius* 41.3: recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit atque ex viginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit; *Augustus* 40.2, populi recensum vicatim egit, ac ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius ab negotiis avocaretur, ter in annum quaternum mensium tesseras dare destinavit; sed desideranti consuetudinem veterem concessit rursus, ut sui cuiusque mensis acciperet.

³⁶ Dio Cassius 55.8.6-7; Frascchetti 1990, op.cit. (n.26), 250-268 rightly underlines the innovatory power of Augustus' apparent 'restoration of tradition'.

³⁷ See Coarelli 2000, op.cit. (n.25).

³⁸ See Wallace-Hadrill 2001, op.cit. (n. 6), 136-141.

Augustan ideology of *pietas* is diffused socially, and has drawn particular attention to the altars of the *vicomagistri*, and the role of cult in creating a channel of communication between the ruler and his people.³⁹ Building on that insight, we may observe that the cult goes beyond a two-way communication between ruler and people, in having the effect of incorporating an otherwise marginalised group (ex-slaves being marked above all by rules of exclusion) within the system of imperial order. The essence of *civilitas* is a social pact of mutual respect. What catches our attention is the inclusion of the *Genius Augusti* among the *Lares* and the implicit veneration of the emperor throughout the capital, ward by ward.⁴⁰ But of equal importance is the reciprocal respect afforded to the *vicomagistri* themselves. Just as much as the imperial cult afforded cities an arena for competition for local respect,⁴¹ the new system of *vici* offered the city neighbourhoods, and above all the craftsmen and artisans of low status who provided their backbone, a field of competition within which local distinction could find expression.

The social issues at stake come out in two passages by Augustan authors, Dionysius and Livy, who both seem to be projecting onto the republican past the concerns of the Augustan age (but in the process have caused much confusion and argument). Dionysius describes the *compitalia* as an institution of Servius Tullius, and appends a revealing social comment:

“And in the rituals they preserve the ancient usage of making offerings to the *heroes* (i.e. *Lares*) through slaves, and for those days they eliminate all signs of servitude, to the end that the slaves, reconciled by such a grand and solemn sentiment of humanity, should become more grateful to their patrons and better tolerate the weight of their destiny.” (*Antiquitates Romanae* 4.14.4)

Involvement of slaves in the ritual of the *compitalia* is seen as a mechanism of binding slaves into the social system. Livy’s comment, by contrast, is focus on the degree of social dignity permitted to the *vicomagistri*. The comment is put in the mouth of a tribune of 195, L. Valerius, contrasting the

³⁹ Zanker 1988, op.cit. (n.17), 129-135.

⁴⁰ M. Beard, J. North & S.R.F. Price, *Religions of Rome I: A History* (Cambridge 1998), 184-186 underlines the topographical incorporation of the emperor into the fabric of the city – but not of the *vicomagistri* into the fabric of the state.

⁴¹ S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984).

widespread use of purple as a status symbol for magistrates, priests, children, and local magistrates to the exclusion of women from the use of purple:

“Can we allow the right, here in Rome, to men of the lowest sort, *magistri vicorum*, of wearing the *toga praetexta*, and not only to wear this status symbol in life but even to be cremated with it in death, and not allow the use of purple to women?”⁴²

Leaving aside all the problems of when these passages were written, in both are clear the assumptions that the men involved in the *compitalia* or the *vici*, even the magistrates, were of the lowest status (*infimo genere*) and that at the heart of the ritual was an appreciation of the respect it allowed them. The symbolical importance of wearing the *toga praetexta* is similarly highlighted by Dio (55.8.6-7), who adds that the *vicomagistri* were entitled to the use of two lictors within their zone; and it is already prefigured by Cicero’s sharp criticisms of Piso for permitting Sex. Cloelius to celebrate neighbourhood games *praetextatus* (*In Pisonem* 8 and 23).

About the fulfilment of this respect, the Augustan and post-Augustan monuments are eloquent.⁴³ The scenes depicted on the altars, like that of the Vicus Aesculetius, at once make the tribune Valerius’ point: the freedmen *vicomagistri* in their purple bordered togas, caught in mid ritual like the best of Roman magistrates, glow with local pride.⁴⁴ The reciprocity of the exchange is explicit on scenes like that of the Belvedere altar: in the act of handing his Lares, the Lares Augusti, to the local magistrates, he gives them respect, and demands it back from them.⁴⁵ This same reciprocity is prefigured in Suetonius’ account of the precious statues donated by Augustus to individual *vici* from the New Year’s day tips given to him (*Augustus* 57): what the Roman people give to him, he gives to them. Or take the simple but

⁴² Livy 34.7.2-3: *Purpura viri utemur, praetextati in magistratibus, in sacerdotiis; liberi nostri praetextis purpura togis utentur; magistratibus in coloniis municipiisque, hic Romae infimo genere, magistris vicorum, togae praetextae habendae ius permittemus, nec ut vivi solum habeant tantum insigne sed etiam ut cum eo crementur mortui: feminis dumtaxat purpurae usu interdicemus.* On the Augustan stamp of the entire passage, see N. Purcell, ‘Livia and the womanhood of Rome’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 32 (1986), 83f.

⁴³ For detailed discussion, P. Zanker, ‘Über die Werkstätten augusteischer Larenaltäre und damit zusammenhängende Probleme der Interpretation’, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 82 (1970/71), 147-155.

⁴⁴ Zanker 1988, op.cit. (n.17), 133, fig.108; G.L. Gregori & M. Mattei, eds., *Supplementa Italica Imagines. Roma (CIL, I) Musei Capitolini* (Rome 1999), 32-33, nr. 6.

⁴⁵ Zanker 1988, op.cit. (n.17), 133, fig.109; Beard, North & Price 1998, op.cit. (n. 40), 187, 4.3.

exquisitely elegant carving of the altar of the Vicus Statae Matris.⁴⁶ The symbol of what made Augustus august, the oak wreath for saving the lives of citizens (*cives*, we note), surrounds the names of four slaves, the *ministri* of year VI. We should not too easily take for granted the capacity of Roman visual expression not merely to mirror the Roman social hierarchy, but to push its language to the limits, investing the slave with the dignity of the citizen in a reference that goes to the symbolic heart of the Augustan principate.

A more sophisticated example is offered by the long inscription from an anonymous *vicus* in Testaccio behind the Porticus Aemilia termed the *Fasti Magistrorum Vici*, and included by Degrassi in his publication of the *Fasti*.⁴⁷ The inscription is split between the two faces of the same stone. Each side parades in its upper half six months of the calendar and in its lower part one of two lists of magistrates, an arrangement that implies that the two are a mirror image. The first is of the consuls and censors, starting from Augustus' first consulship. The second is the *fasti* of the *magistri* of this particular *vicus*, dating back to their inaugural year, 7 BC. The statement that *vicomagistri* are worthy of *fasti* just like consuls could hardly be more pointed. But just in case we are lulled into thinking that this inscription served an essentially administrative function, of recording the names of officials responsible year by year, Rüpke has pointed out that the list fell far short of efficiency.⁴⁸ The magistrates of the first 9 years are listed, down to AD 2/3. Suddenly the college of AD 14 intervenes; the list returns to 5/6, then back to 18, then to 21. It was up to the individual colleges to cover the costs of adding their own names to the monument, and not all were as enthusiastic at this self-promotion as others. By no coincidence, the magistrates of 14 and 21 were the same people, and they enthusiastically filled up any spare gap on the stone.

Possibly something similar is at work on the greatest of all *vicus* monuments, the honorific altar from the Capitoline dedicated to Hadrian in AD 136 'by the *magistri vicorum* of the 14 regions of the city'.⁴⁹ That is what the inscription says, yet what we have is at best a fraction, some 66 of the over 265 *vici*. But for once it is not because the inscription is fragmentary. It starts,

⁴⁶ *Supplementa Italica Imagines* 1999, op.cit. (n. 44), 30-31, nr.5.

⁴⁷ A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII.1 (1947), 279-290; G. Mancini, 'Fasti consolari e censorii ed elenco di vicomagistri rinvenuti in via Marmorata', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 63 (1935), 35-79, with Degrassi, *ibidem*, 173-178.

⁴⁸ J. Rüpke, 'Les archives des petits collèges. Le cas des *Vicomagistri*', in *La Mémoire perdue. Recherches sur l'administration romaine*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 243 (1998), 27-44.

⁴⁹ CIL VI 975 with 31218; ILS 6073; *Supplementa Italica Imagines* 1999, op.cit. (n.44), 112-115, nr. 169.

on the left side, with 9 *vici* from Regio I (only a selection), goes on to 6 from Regio X (a smaller selection), then to 17 from Regio XIII (this could be the full list). The right side jumps back to Regio XII, with 12 *vici*, and finishes with 22 from Regio XIV (making Trastevere easily the best-known region). The back of the monument is blank, which makes it extraordinarily unlikely that the other Regions ever featured. It was seemingly up to each region and *vicus* to decide whether to finance the extra stone cutting.⁵⁰ The names we see are the result of local pride and the desire for self-advertisement. It may be no coincidence that it is in the peripheral Trastevere that the local *magistri* show most competitive zeal to memorialize themselves.

My argument that the *vici* are a system of local social respect is not undermined by this failure. Augustus might like us to have a rosy picture of everyone buying into his system. But there is great latitude for variation, and not everyone cared equally at all periods or in all neighbourhoods. I draw attention to one final bit of evidence, which is the funerary inscriptions of those, typically craftsmen, who state their *vicus* on their tombstone. Take the Vicus Longus of the Viminal (Regio VI). We have a nice couple, Nostia Daphne the hairdresser and her partner Nerius Quadratus the goldsmith. Then there is Daphne's freedwoman Nostia Cleopatra, a hairdresser too. Finally there is Servilia Aucta from the Vicus Longus by the statue of Plancus (probably Munatius).⁵¹ But then, what about all the tradesmen who *omitted* to mention their *vicus*? I count only 24 individuals from 14 *vici* who expressed their local affiliation in this way, out of the tens of thousands of funerary inscriptions.⁵² To return to the Vicus Longus, what do we make of Q. Fabius Theogonus the *pigmentarius* who traded on the Esquiline near the statue of Plancus, who omits the name of the *vicus*?⁵³ It emerges that the *vicus* was indeed a potential source of local pride and identity to the petty traders of Rome; but that it did not necessarily work for all of them all of the time.

I started by raising the issue of the role of ideal and praxis in the formation of city fabric. What I think emerges from my review of the evidence is that we cannot regard *vici* as a sort of administrative structure imposed on the urban fabric by the authorities. *Vici* are deeply rooted in praxis, a grass-roots neighbourhood formation which is recruited by Augustus to support his urban order. It follows that what we should expect on the ground is not a sort

⁵⁰ So Rüpke 1998, op.cit. (n.48), 33-36.

⁵¹ CIL VI 37469 (Nostia Daphne and Nerius Quadratus); 9736 (Nostia Daphnidis l. Cleopatra); 10023 (Servilia Aucta).

⁵² The count is based on the material in LTUR V (above).

⁵³ CIL VI, 9673.

of ideal order, but the natural agglomeration of activities that arise from the economic life of the city. In the final part of this paper, I want to attempt to restore the *vicus* to some sort of archaeological visibility. While in Pompeii it is relatively easy to grasp a sense of neighbourhood,⁵⁴ in Rome it is exceptionally difficult, because the archaeology of non-monumental Rome is so badly neglected. I can offer no more than a few fragments.

For a vision of a compital shrine, we are reduced to a single monument, the Compitum Acilii.⁵⁵ Its fragmentary survival is owed to a double destruction. Because of its position at the bottom of a slope near the valley of the Colosseum, it was first demolished by Nero in his post-fire construction of the Domus Aurea (ironically for my argument, our single shrine thus illustrates the *lack* of imperial respect for a local neighbourhood!); it was then rediscovered during Mussolini's destructive building of the Via dell'Impero. It illustrates the form of *aedicula* or temple in miniature, which is often referred to in compital inscriptions (the Regionary Catalogues claim one for each *vicus*). The *aedicula* stands to the *vicomagister* as the *aedes* to the state magistrate.

In association with the *aedicula* one should look for some sort of assembly hall – the word *schola* is favoured by modern scholarship – in which the *vicus* officials could meet, keep their records (*album*), and surely also feast (not specifically attested).⁵⁶ The Fasti Magistrorum Vici from the Via Marmorata were found in association with one such *schola*.⁵⁷ Its dimensions are generous enough (12.10 x 6.60 m.) to allow substantial gatherings. The niches, I note, would be handy for honorific statues, if any could afford them, or at least for honorific inscriptions.

Both *schola* and *aedicula* would be suitable locations for the altars which constitute the typical surviving compital monument. The altar of the Vicus Aesc(u)leti was discovered in 1887 during the construction of the Via Arenula, which slices through the grain of the ancient road pattern. It was

⁵⁴ For the Pompeian material see the full discussion of W. van Andringa, 'Autels de carrefour, organisation vicinale et rapports de voisinage à Pompéi', *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 11 (2000), 47-86.

⁵⁵ Zanker 1988, op.cit. (n.17), 130-132; LTUR I, 314-315 s.v. Compitum Acilium; M. Dondrin-Payre, 'Topographie et propagande gentilice: le compitum Acilium et l'origine des Acilii Glabrones', in *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire* (Actes Colloque Rome, 1987), 87-109. On compital shrines, G. Pisani Sartorio, 'Compita Larum: edicole sacre di Roma antica' in *Edicole Sacre Romane* (1990), 65ff.

⁵⁶ LTUR IV, 243-261 collects toponyms identified as Scholae; on the type of structure, see B. Bollmann, *Römische Vereinshäuser. Untersuchungen zu den Scholae der römischen Berufs-, Kult- und Augustalen-Kollegien in Italien* (Mainz 1998), esp 180-195 on Rome.

⁵⁷ LTUR IV, 260-261 s.v. Schola (via Marmorata).

associated with a pavement inscribed by the *magistri vici Aescleti anni VIII*.⁵⁸ Thirty years later, the Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia was constructed in the same spot, fragments of two further inscriptions emerged, but were never reported. By a fine piece of detective work, Silvio Panciera has shown that they came from dedications by the magistrates of the first year (i.e. 7 BC), and by a group under Domitian who undertook restoration.⁵⁹ Because the construction of both the Via Arenula and the Ministry were undertaken with total lack of interest in the ancient urban fabric, we have lost a golden chance to reconstruct the context of these inscriptions.

However, we have only to move a few yards westwards down the same ancient road to meet an exceptional instance of an ancient *vicus* that is preserved in the modern street pattern. The Vicus [Sta]blarius is one of only three *vicus* names preserved on the Severan marble plan.⁶⁰ Emilio Rodríguez-Almeida brilliantly demonstrated that the fragments belonged near the Theatre of Pompey, and with a minimum of stretching fitting perfectly into the modern street plan.⁶¹ Lorenzo Quilici, in the course of excavations near to S. Paolo alla Regola, was able to show that the street plan of the southern Campus Martius preserves extensively that of the imperial period.⁶² If we return to the Vicus Stablarius pattern, we may be struck (as by other fragments of the same plan) by the dense network of shops and small businesses that dominate the urban fabric.

It would be enormously valuable to see a *vicus* on the ground, not just on a street plan. Rome offers just one exceptional example of something more approaching an urban setting. The exhibition, *Antiche Stanze*, which 5 years ago meticulously reconstructed the excavations in the Termini area, never published since their demolition in 1948, called the area it reconstructed 'un quartiere di Roma imperiale'.⁶³ 'Quartiere' is maybe an overstatement. In antique terms, to reach the level of quartiere or contrada (or the various other local divisions of the medieval city) you would need to look at a *regio* rather than a *vicus*; and even for the latter, unless the statistics gravely mislead, you

⁵⁸ LTUR I, 316 s.v. Compitum vici Aesc(u)leti.

⁵⁹ S. Panciera, 'Ancora tra epigrafia e topografia' in *L'Urbs* 1987, op.cit. (n. 55), 62-73.

⁶⁰ LTUR V, 190-191.

⁶¹ E. Rodríguez Almeida, 'Forma Urbis Marmorea: nuove integrazioni', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 82 (1970/71), 113-115.

⁶² L. Quilici, 'Il Campo Marzio occidentale' in *Città e architettura*. *Analecta Romana* Istituti Danici suppl. 10 (1983), 59-85.

⁶³ M. Barbera & R. Paris, eds., *Antiche Stanze. Un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini*. Museo Nazionale Romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma dicembre 1996-giugno 1997 (Milan 1996).

would be looking at 5-10 hectares, something more like one of Fiorelli's *regiones* of Pompeii, composed of a good dozen urban blocks.

This is just a corner of a *vicus*, but it is enough to reveal something of its cellular structure. I have in other contexts drawn attention to the way it illustrates the mixture of rich and poor, of luxury and commerce.⁶⁴ There is a dominant property, with fairly spectacular decoration, which we may call a *domus*, though it evidently forms part of an *insula*.⁶⁵ But attached to the *domus* is a range of rentable and commercial property. That it is interlinked is emphasised by the network of drains, which connect all 5 blocks, and point to simultaneous construction in the reign of Hadrian, presumably by a single proprietor, possibly a member of the imperial family.⁶⁶ Most conspicuously, there is a *balneum*, a bath suite that is evidently intended for more than private use by the residents.⁶⁷ There is commercial activity, in a fullery.⁶⁸ There is a good chance of rented *cenacula* above the *domus*, for though the curators of the exhibition imagine the upper floor must have been restricted to slaves or family members, the breadth of stairway and the external access would be taken elsewhere as a sure sign of rental space.⁶⁹ Certainly there is rental property in the complex of blocks over the road (C/D). We can see the telltale inner stairways of shop/flat units, and the exterior staircases of *cenacula*.⁷⁰

My interest in this context is attracted by the North Eastern block (B), which butts against the Servian Agger. This was excavated during the first construction of the station in the 1860s, and the records and details are unclear. What is evident is that the lower floor is built around a single room of exception size, and also, as Parker's photograph reveals, of exceptional height. This has been interpreted as an unusually luxurious private apartment.⁷¹ That seems to me implausible, and I would rather see in it a large space for some sort of communal activity along the lines of a *schola* or *collegium*. A parallel

⁶⁴ See A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Domus and Insulae in Rome: Families and Housefuls', in D.L. Balch & C. Osiek, eds., *Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Ann Arbor, forthcoming 2003), ch.1.

⁶⁵ E1-11, 13-16, 19-20, 31: Barbera & Paris 1996, op.cit. (n. 63), 71-115.

⁶⁶ Barbera & Paris 1996, op.cit. (n. 63), 179-189

⁶⁷ E12, 17-18, 24-30, 30, 32-34, 36: Barbera & Paris 1996, op.cit. (n. 63), 117-167.

⁶⁸ E21: Barbera & Paris 1996, op.cit. (n. 63), 170-171.

⁶⁹ Barbera & Paris 1996, op.cit. (n. 63), 71; contrast F. Pirson, *Mietwohnungen in Pompeji und Herkulaneum. Untersuchungen zur Architektur, zum Wohnen and zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Vesuvstädte* (Munich 1999), esp. 75ff. on the implication of external stairs.

⁷⁰ External stairs are visible in plan at C2 and D1; internal stairs at C5, D2-5.

⁷¹ Barbera & Paris 1996, op.cit. (n. 63), 185-187.

could be the *collegium* of the Augustales at Herculaneum.⁷² This is both a shrine and a meeting place, surely used for feasting; and it is the place where the lists of the Augustales were displayed. It seems to me that there is a close parallel between the local pride evinced by the Augustales of a small town, and that of the *magistri* of a *vicus* in Rome.

What I see here is a rhythm of interconnected private spaces (residences and shops), and common spaces (the *balneum*, and my suggested *schola/collegium*), as of residential and commercial. How does imperial power 'inscribe itself' on this complex? Not, we note, by rectilinear planning: the angle introduced by the long bend of the Servian wall generates an angle of 30 degrees, which is skilfully accommodated by the architect in the ship-like prow in which the *domus* nestles. Yet there is a good possibility that the investors were members of the imperial family itself. Imperial order is visible in the high quality brick and concrete construction of all these units, in the interconnectedness of the drains, the healthy obsession with bathing, replicated so many times across the city; but also I suggest in a sense of ordered local neighbourhood with focal points of social interaction, local dignity, and respect for the system.

My argument, then, is that the way imperial power inscribes itself in the ordinary urban fabric of the city is not so much about creating an 'ideal city' of well-ordered grid patterns and straight avenues with vistas, but rather about penetrating the socio-urban fabric, of acknowledging the potentially dangerous clusters of local neighbourhoods and the 'low-life' they represent, and by a social pact of offering respect recruiting them to a collusion in the process of ordering the city. Emperors favoured grid plans, of course, and when they had the chance like Nero constructed broad avenues with buildings following strict regulations. But we never hear of them embarking on programs of slum clearance, like Mussolini or twentieth-century town planners. Respectful of property rights, they embraced local communities to avoid alienation and recruit support for the system. It is, I suggest, in concern for urban order at this micro-level, as much as in the macro-level of the seating system of the Colosseum, that Roman imperial power displays its chosen colours.

Rome, July 2003.

⁷² G. Guadagno, 'Herculanensium Augustalium aedes', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 13 (1983), 159-173; Bollmann 1998, op.cit. (n. 56), 348-354.

THE EMPEROR AND PUBLIC WORKS IN THE CITY OF ROME

By
GERDA DE KLEIJN

The way that the public image of Roman emperors was shaped has been the object of scholarly study since Zanker published his *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*. In many cases, these studies concentrate on the messages that the man in power tried to convey with the structures he had built, his art program, his coins, his inscriptions, and so on. They deal with the interpretation of sculpture, with building policy, with the location of inscriptions and statues, and with the communication of the emperor's virtues.

However, the perception of imperial power results not only from the image that an emperor is able to communicate, but also from his deeds and benefactions. As Béranger wrote: "L'exercice du pouvoir est inséparable des soucis. *Imperare, curare* (φροντίζειν) ne sont pas pour rien synonymes. Le second sonnait mieux que le premier et présentait sous un jour favorable l'activité du chef."¹ In this view ruling implies taking care of, *providentia*.²

In this paper, I will return to the representation of power as indicated in the words of Béranger. I hope to demonstrate that Agrippa's efforts in the sphere of public works in the city of Rome supported Octavian's/Augustus' ruling position from 33 BC onwards. It is my aim to show that these efforts were effective not only because Augustus gave the impression that something was done for the people in the city, but also because these efforts really did make a difference to the living conditions of those people.

In his *Plebs and Princeps*, Yavetz argues that the aedileship of Agrippa in 33 BC was meant to demonstrate the ruler's concern for the common people.³ I think he is right. In the long term, however, such a demonstration will only survive in the memories of the people if the emperor continues his efforts.

This paper will discuss that part of Agrippa's activities in the field of urban public works that may have had a substantial effect on day-to-day life in the city. For that reason, it will centre neither on public works like temples, theatres and other magnificent buildings, nor on gifts to the people. The focus is on those public works that are hardly visible to the eye because they lie

¹ J. Béranger, *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat* (Basel 1953), 195.

² For *providentia* and other imperial virtues on the coins of later emperors see C.F. Noreña, 'The Communication of the Emperor's Virtues', *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001), 146-168.

³ Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* (Oxford 1988, rev. ed.), 89.

underground for the most part, the real infrastructure. Those are the sewers and the water supply.

The significance of the urban infrastructure is recognized for instance by Schneider, who suggested that a clearly effective infrastructure is important for the legitimacy of the emperor's power.⁴ This may be true in the first century AD, but where did this idea stem from? Were the initial years of Octavian's/Augustus' reign decisive? Emily Gowers, analysing the symbolic value of the Cloaca Maxima, called attention to a metaphor of Varro.⁵ In his Menippean satire *Marcopolis*, Varro compared a city to a human body: *sensus portae, venae hydragogiae, clauaca intestini*. The senses are the gates, the veins the aqueducts/waterworks, the sewers the intestines.⁶ In this analogy of the body, the aqueduct is given the role of vein containing essential liquid, and the sewer is given the role of waste-disposal unit. Just as veins and intestines are essential for human well being, a city cannot do without aqueducts and sewers.

At the end of the republic, Rome was in bad health. The population of the city must have grown enormously, especially in the first half of the first century BC. Nevertheless, from 125 BC onwards, not a single new aqueduct had been commissioned and illegal tapping occurred frequently.⁷ Civil war and political strife must have consumed almost all financial resources. It is safe to assume that little attention was paid to the maintenance of the sewers and the upkeep of the existing aqueducts. Therefore, both the water supply and the drainage systems must have been in bad condition.

In 36 BC, Agrippa defeated Sextus Pompeius at the battle of Naulochus in order to secure the corn transports to the city and bring its food shortage to an end. By that time, the office of aedile was so little sought after that no candidates for election were available.⁸ A few years later, in 33 BC, the year that started with Octavianus as consul (II), Agrippa took the office of aedile and performed his assignment in a remarkable way. In addition to games, presents, free entrance to the baths throughout the year, and a distribution of olive oil and salt, he took in hand and paid for the repairs to public buildings, streets, sewers, and aqueducts.⁹

⁴ H. Schneider, 'Infrastruktur und politische Legitimation im frühen Prinzipat', *Opus* 5 (1986), 23-51.

⁵ E. Gowers, 'The Anatomy of Rome from Capitol to Cloaca', *Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995), 23-32; H. Bauer, 'Cloaca Maxima' in E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vol. 1, A-C (Rome 1993).

⁶ J.-P. Cèbe, *Varron, Satires Ménippées. Édition, traduction et commentaire*, vol. 8, *Marcopolis-Mysteria* (Rome 1987), Fragment 292 (290).

⁷ Sextus Iulius Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 76.1-2.

⁸ Dio Cassius 49.16.2.

⁹ Dio Cassius 49.43.1-4.

Cloacae

Dio Cassius, telling about Agrippa's activities as aedile, brings the purging of the sewers into prominence. It is one of the first events that he records for the year 33 BC. Even the boat trip that Agrippa made through the Cloaca Maxima after he had unblocked mountains of debris, is recorded for 33 BC.¹⁰ If Dio is right, Agrippa started the process of city recovery right from the beginning of his period of involvement in urban life. He saw to the cleaning of the sewer system at the first possible moment and brought it to a favourable conclusion at great speed. Excess rainwater and street refuse were carried down, so that fewer people had to walk the streets with their feet wet in the dirt. Near contemporaries of Agrippa like the authors Dionysius of Halicarnassus who lived in Rome from 30 BC, and Strabo who visited the city a little later, included the sewers when they expressed great admiration for the capital of the Roman Empire.¹¹

Nevertheless, cleaning up sewers cannot have been an accepted way to earn fame. This kind of activity must have been lowest in esteem. As a consequence, "... one cannot purge a city of its dirt except by staining (...), in Agrippa's case, one's public image."¹² Rather, Agrippa's taking up the office of aedile after his terms as praetor (40 BC) and consul (37 BC) as well as his efforts in favour of the city sewers, show that this co-worker of Octavian was kowtowing to the people of Rome.

Water supply

Up to the first century BC, water from the existing aqueducts was distributed from *castella*, which were situated just inside the republican city wall. They must have distributed the greater part of the water that reached the city within the area enclosed by the wall. In the first half of the first century BC, however, magnificent gardens were built north of the city, and luxurious villas were constructed on the right bank of the Tiber. And what is more, during the civil wars, people from the lower strata of society probably settled in Transtiberim, on the Campus Martius, and along the via Appia. Because of the lack of archaeological evidence it is impossible to know for certain whether Transtiberim received water (from the aquae Appia, Anio Vetus or Marcia) through the Tiber bridges. It is, however, not very likely, since little attention

¹⁰ Dio Cassius 49.43.1; Plinius Maior, *Historia Naturalis* 36.104.

¹¹ Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquitates Romanae* III.67.5; Strabo 5.3.8.

¹² Gowers 1995, op.cit. (n.5), 31.

had been paid to the aqueducts in that period of time. Nor is it plausible that buildings on the Campus Martius and the *horti* beyond were supplied with water from the aqueducts. So the people living outside the city wall must have still relied on traditional sources such as wells, cisterns and the river to meet their need for water.

When Agrippa took over the responsibility for the urban water supply in 33 BC, he saw to it that the three older aqueducts were repaired.¹³ Also he ensured that the aqua Tepula was interrupted in order to join this aqueduct with the aqua Iulia under construction.¹⁴ When his aedileship came to an end, Agrippa did not withdraw from his task, but pursued his activities, as if he were – as Frontinus put it – a *curator aquarum* for the rest of his life. The aqua Virgo is an eye-catching result of this.

The volume of water entering the city must have increased considerably (see table 1). Around 25 BC, the volume must have sufficed for the inhabitants of the city. The quantity available in 19 BC probably created the right condition for ample water use, for example in the baths of Agrippa and in water works in gardens in or near the city centre.

From Frontinus' introduction to one of the *senatus consulta* on the issue of water supply from 11 BC, it can be inferred that under Agrippa's leadership public fountains were built in the entire urban area, inside as well as outside the republican city wall.¹⁵ This implies that Agrippa extended the distribution network beyond the Servian Wall. Although Frontinus does not mention explicitly that Agrippa started this extension right from the beginning of his activities in 33 BC, it is likely that this was the case. The most obvious indication is the building of the Specus Octavianus, a branch from the Anio Vetus, leading to a distribution point near the via Appia, south of Porta Capena. Judging by the name of this branch, it was built before 27 BC. It must have served the area along the Via Appia. Furthermore it is likely that Agrippa saw to it that the older aqueducts were pushed on to Transtiberim and to the Campus Martius before he built the aqua Virgo.¹⁶ The latter aqueduct was finished in 19

¹³ Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 9.9.

¹⁴ Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 9.1-2.

¹⁵ Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 104.1.

¹⁶ Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 11.1 mentions that Augustus had the aqua Alsietina built in 2 BC for his Naumachia Augusti in order not to exhaust the water supply for that part of the city. If so, other aqueducts must have brought water into Transtiberim at that moment of time. In addition to the aqua Virgo, these aqueducts must have been the aquae Appia, Anio Vetus and Marcia, of which Frontinus wrote that they supplied the right Tiber bank. The *regiones* VII and IX also received water from aqueducts repaired by Agrippa (*De aquis urbis Romae* 79.2; 80.2; 81.2). See R. Taylor, 'A citiore ripa aquae: Aqueduct river crossings in the ancient city of Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 63 (1995), 75-103.

BC, and was the first to have its end outside the republican city wall. It must have distributed its water outside the wall right from the start. Only after this aqueduct was finished was water available in sufficient quantity to supply the baths of Agrippa, and maybe some of the gardens in the north and at the opposite Tiber bank (see figure 1).

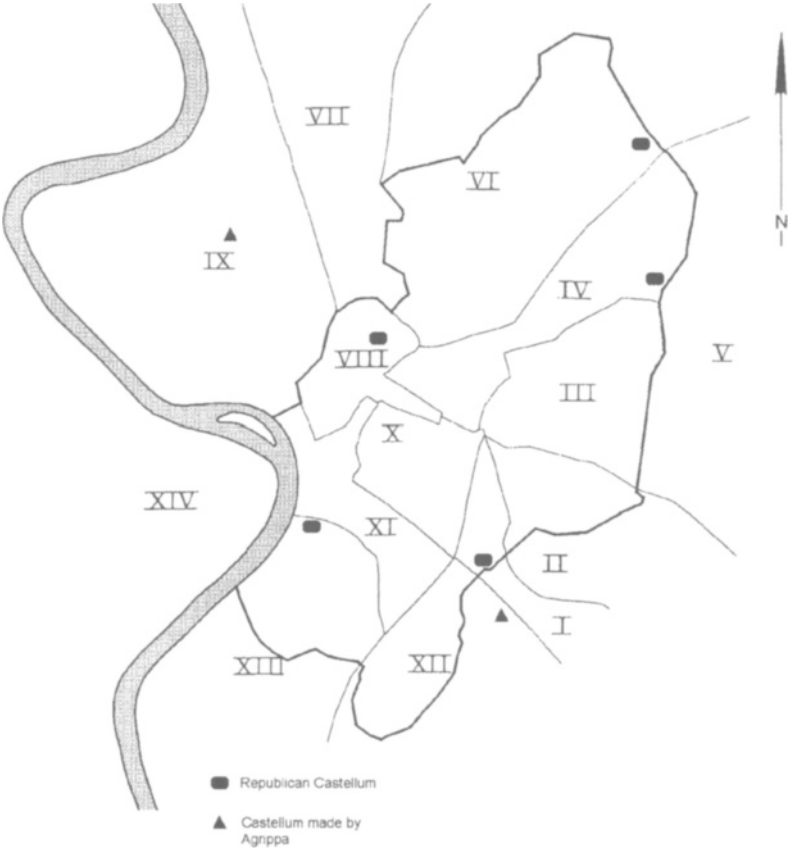


Figure 1

In republican times, the water brought to the city by means of the aqueducts was meant for the public at large. Some of this water was given to the grounds of the most distinguished men of the republic, the *principes civitatis*. The authority to grant such a private tap lay in the hands of the censor, or if there were no such official, in the hands of one of the aediles. Complaints about unlicensed private connections and the decades of little attention for the water

supply make it plausible that by the middle of the first century BC a substantial number of people had made their private connection to the public water supply without proper consent. It must have been part of Agrippa's greater plan of aqueduct repair to take away unauthorized private branches and connections to the mains. In addition, if acting in the approved republican manner, he may have redetermined – as written down in his *commentarii* – to whom the privilege of a private connection to the public water supply was given.¹⁷ In any case, Agrippa divided the available quantity of water as best as he could between public buildings, public fountains and private people.¹⁸ His private *familia aquarum* kept up the system.

In sum: Agrippa raised the volume of water available to the city, extended its distribution to the entire built-up area, and made a sensible division between consumer groups, taking into account the republican rules. Furthermore he saw to the maintenance of the system.

What is the significance of Agrippa's acts in the field of the urban water supply in the long term? In my opinion his significance is twofold. The first time that the consequences of Agrippa's efforts for the urban water supply came to the fore was shortly after his death. In 11 BC, Augustus decreed by edict the right to own a tap to the people mentioned in Agrippa's *commentarii*. Subsequently, he turned over the whole business to his *beneficia*.¹⁹ This must mean that he took over the granting of water concessions. He also established standard sizes of the conduits and appointed a *curator aquarum* with the senate's consent.²⁰ Furthermore he promised a major repair of all aqueducts, and ordered new branches to supplement the aquae Appia and Marcia.²¹ At that moment, legislation regarding water supply was formally adjusted to the existent situation. The *princeps* assumed responsibility for these public works, while entrusting an official with the authority to supervise the execution of the practical aspects. Agrippa had solved the problems in this field and had prepared the way for the emperor's formal take-over. It was clear, for both the urban population and future emperors that from then on the upkeep and extension of the water supply system were imperial duties. Agrippa's second,

¹⁷ This is deduced from Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 99.3: Augustus quoque edicto complexus est, quo iure uterentur qui ex commentarii Agrippae aquas haberent, tota re in sua beneficia translata; For republican rules see G. de Kleijn, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome, City area, Water, and Population* (Amsterdam 2001), 93-100.

¹⁸ Frontinus *De aquis urbis Romae* 98.2-3.

¹⁹ Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 99.3.

²⁰ Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 99.4-5.

²¹ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 20.2 and Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 5.6. Repairs were finished in 5 or 4 BC (CIL 6.1244).

equally significant contribution was that he substantially raised the water volume available to the city. This is particularly clear when compared to Frontinus' time.

In the years that Octavian tried to turn himself into a *princeps senatus*, he stressed his concern for the Roman republic. These were the early years of Agrippa's acting as if he were *curator aquarum*. It is likely that Agrippa stuck to the republican reservedness when granting water privileges. That meant, according to Frontinus, that only the *principes civitatis* were given a private water supply to their grounds. As a consequence, there was only a small number of private taps, and the majority of the total amount of water was given to the public. It is shown that the total volume in AD 97 had almost tripled compared with that of 25 BC.

Table 1: Water quantities.²²

	Total volume per day
ca. 34 BC	At most 191,000 m ³
ca. 25 BC	At most 283,000 m ³
ca. 19 BC	At most 338,000 m ³
ca. 97 AD	At most 635,000 m ³

Frontinus also provides data on the subject of water division (table 2).²³ By his time, about one third of the total water volume was distributed to the general public. If these data may be combined, the inference must be that the total amount of water tripled in the first century AD, whereas the public share diminished from almost full to about one third. Assuming that the size of the urban population had not changed in the course of the century, the available volume per person at the end of the first century must have been roughly equal to that of 25 BC.

²² The numbers are derived from calculations made by civil engineers: D.R. Blackman, 'The volume of water delivered by the four great aqueducts of Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 46 (1978), 52-72; H. Fahlbusch, 'Über Abflußmessung und Standardisierung bei den Wasserversorgungsanlagen Roms', in *Wasserversorgung im antiken Rom* (München & Wien 1989, 4th ed.), 134.

²³ Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 78.

Table 2: Water division according to Frontinus *De aquis urbis Romae* 78

	quinaria			quinaria	
in urbe	4,063	29 %	emperor	1,718	12%
			private people	2,345	17%
Extra urbe	9,955	71%	emperor	1,708	12%
			private people	3,845	27%
			public	4,401	32%

Conclusion

In 33 BC, the inhabitants of Rome were given the impression that Octavian was concerned about their poor living conditions. He made Agrippa humble himself for the well being of the people. And Agrippa's acts did have an impact: he really did improve the living conditions of the people at large. Augustus' *providentia* was shown not only by images and ideas, but also by a lifelong concern about the peoples' basic needs. In this matter, as in many other ways, Augustus can be regarded as the one who set the pattern that his successors followed.

Nijmegen, September 2002

UMANO, SOVRUMANO O DIVINO?
LE DIVINITA' AUGUSTE E L'IMPERATORE A ROMA

di
SILVIO PANCIERA

Quanto di umano, quanto di sovrumano e quanto di divino c'è nell'autorappresentazione del principe? E quanto di questa autorappresentazione combacia con l'immagine che i cittadini ne hanno? Inoltre quali sono i modi in cui, da varia parte, si contribuisce a costituire ed a mantenere un immaginario collettivo in cui la figura del principe tutto potrà comunque essere meno che quella di un uomo qualsiasi?

Le valutazioni degli studiosi non sono concordi, se è vero che anche nella bibliografia più recente continua a registrarsi una forte contrapposizione tra chi nega che vi sia mai stata una divinizzazione ufficiale dell'imperatore vivente¹ e chi invece la ritiene documentata, anche in Occidente, fin da Augusto.²

Mantenendomi ai margini del grande problema del cosiddetto culto imperiale³ vorrei qui limitarmi a considerare la questione delle divinità auguste. Se le libazioni al Genio imperiale nei banchetti pubblici, l'inserimento dello stesso nella formula del giuramento e l'associazione del suo culto con quello dei Lari nei compita comportarono il trasferimento sul piano collettivo di pratiche religiose esistenti anche prima in ambito privato, e se il culto del *numen* dell'imperatore poté sembrare il punto estremo cui si poteva giungere senza varcare quella soglia di una dichiarata divinizzazione del sovrano che il costume romano rifiutava,⁴ quale significato vengono ad avere, nel quadro, le divinità auguste ed il loro culto?

¹ D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, 1 (Leiden 1991).

² M. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart und Leipzig 1999).

³ Sul valore puramente convenzionale da attribuire a questa definizione si veda, da ultimo, J. Scheid, 'Honorer le prince et vénérer les dieux: culte public, cultes de quartier et culte impérial dans la Rome augustéenne', in *Rome, les Césars et la Ville aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère* (Rennes 2001), 85-105.

⁴ Su ciascuno di questi punti, si vedano (con altra ampia bibliografia) i tre studi citati nelle note precedenti. Sul culto pubblico del *Genius Augusti* già dall'età augustea si veda in particolare, da ultimo: C. Letta, 'Il culto pubblico dei Lares Augusti e del *Genius Augusti* in una dedica metrica da Acerrae', *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 44 (2002), 35-43; Idem, 'Novità epigrafiche sul culto del *Genius Augusti* in Italia', *Usi e abusi epigrafici. Colloquio Internazionale di Epigrafia Borghesi 2001*. Per la nuova lettura delle iscrizioni dell'arco di Medinaceli rispettivamente come: *Numini Augusto sacru[m]* (lato settentrionale) e *Numini Imp[er]atoris Domitiani Aug[ust]i Ger[man]ici*, poi con *Traiani* al posto di *Domitiani* (lato meridionale): G. Alföldy & J.M. Abascal, *El arco romano de Medinaceli* (Madrid 2002), 71-103.

È noto che dall'età augustea si moltiplicano i casi di divinità che assumono l'epiteto sostanzialmente, mai prima portato dalle stesse, di *Augustus / Augusta*.⁵ Nessuno ha dubitato che questo fenomeno sia da porre in relazione con l'inserimento nel 27 a.C. dello stesso epiteto, in funzione di *cognomen*, nella nuova denominazione progressivamente elaborata per il Principe. Si è discusso e si discute invece sul significato di questa novità dal punto di vista religioso. Può essere utile ricordare brevemente, sia pure correndo qualche rischio di schematizzazione eccessiva, le quattro principali posizioni assunte dagli studiosi al riguardo.⁶

1) Una dedica a *Mercurio Augusto* non esprime culto a questo dio, ma culto ad Augusto, o comunque all'imperatore in veste (ad esempio di generatore di ricchezza) propria anche del dio.

2) *Mercurius Augustus* non è l'imperatore in veste del dio evocato, ma il dio stesso, però legato con il Principe e con la sua famiglia in tale particolare unione da esserne guida, patrono, protettore in ogni circostanza e da essere quindi particolarmente idoneo ad ogni forma di venerazione rivolta a vantaggio dell'imperatore e della sua famiglia. Tale legame può essere generato, o accentuato, da motivi topici (ad esempio dalla connessione tra il tempio di Apollo e la *domus* imperiale sul Palatino, nel caso di *Apollo Augustus*).

3) Una dedica *Mercurio Augusto* può essere considerata equivalente a *Mercurio et Augusto*, vale a dire ad una dedica congiunta, espressa per asindeto, a Mercurio ed all'imperatore-dio.

4) Una dedica *Mercurio Augusto* deve esser vista come niente più che un atto in cui si fondono devozione e piaggeria: devozione per il dio e piaggeria per l'imperatore che, tramite l'epiteto, si vede a lui associato.

Come si vede, anche su questo particolare aspetto della più ampia questione del "culto imperiale", le posizioni sono molto divergenti: alcune implicanti vere forme di culto, dirette od oblique, dell'imperatore; altre distinguenti la figura del dio da quella del sovrano, e ciò ai più diversi livelli, da quello di una distinzione che non esclude un rapporto strettissimo e privilegiato, a quello della più disincantata negazione di un qualsiasi rapporto.

Colpisce, scorrendo la bibliografia disponibile, la mancanza di una puntuale verifica nelle fonti disponibili (ovviamente soprattutto epigrafiche) del reale stato delle cose nelle varie epoche e nei vari luoghi. In un libro edito

⁵ Unica eccezione epigrafica: CIL V 4087 = I² 753 cfr. p. 946 = ILLRP 200 (*ager Mantuanus*, a. 59 a.C.) [A]ug(ustis) Laribus.

⁶ La bibliografia al riguardo è sterminata; la principale si trova raccolta, oltre che nelle opere citate alle nn. 1 e 2, in S. Montero - S. Morea (cur.), *Romana religio, religio Romanorum. Diccionario bibliográfico de religión romana* (Madrid 1999), 136-140.

da poco si fornisce, è vero, un elenco di ben 209 divinità cui risulta attribuito l'epiteto di *Augustus / Augusta*, ma senza una raccolta delle testimonianze pertinenti (viene data una sola citazione per divinità) e quindi senza alcuna possibilità di ripartizione areale e cronologica del culto delle medesime.⁷ Ipotesi interpretative e generali a parte, è evidente che quello di cui abbiamo bisogno per valutare l'estensione, l'importanza ed il significato del fenomeno, è invece di sapere quando, dove, a chi e da chi, il culto sia stato tributato. Per quanto mi consta, un'inchiesta del genere è stata fatta sistematicamente soltanto per la Spagna da Robert Étienne quasi cinquant'anni fa nel suo noto libro sul culto imperiale nella penisola iberica.⁸ Meno utilizzabile ai nostri fini un altro libro recente sulle province germaniche e sulla Gallia Belgica.⁹ È merito dell'Étienne aver portato la questione fuori dal generico con tutta una serie di osservazioni (sulla ripartizione geografica e cronologica delle iscrizioni, sull'importanza relativa degli dei in causa, sull'origine sociale dei fedeli e sul significato religioso e politico di questo tipo di culto), che attendono ancora di essere messe a confronto con quelle conseguibili applicando lo stesso metodo, in aree diverse. In questa circostanza, vorrei concentrare l'attenzione su Roma, che ha il vantaggio di costituire un ambito ben definito, di disporre, da sola, di una documentazione comparabile a quella di tutta la penisola iberica e, infine, fatto non trascurabile, di essere il centro stesso da cui il fenomeno del culto delle divinità auguste si può ritenere abbia preso le mosse, per di più nella immediata vicinanza e quindi sotto l'influsso ed il controllo più diretti del potere imperiale.

Tolti alcuni casi per vari motivi,¹⁰ i documenti su cui si può contare per un'inchiesta sul culto delle divinità auguste a Roma, cioè le iscrizioni

⁷ Clauss 1999, op. cit. (n. 2), 527-532.

⁸ R. Étienne, *Le culte impérial dans la Péninsule Ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Paris 1958), 319-349.

⁹ U.-M. Liertz, *Kult und Kaiser. Studien zu Kaiserkult und Kaiserverehrung in den germanischen Provinzen und in Gallia Belgica zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Rom 1998), in part. 163-188. Secondo M.-Th. Raepsaet Charlier, *Diis deabusque sacrum* (Paris 1993), 19, l'epiteto *Augustus/Augusta* si trova attribuito a divinità: 31 volte in Aquitania, 86 nella Lionese, 4 in Belgica, 2 nella Germania Inferiore e 22 nella Germania Superiore. Non considera le dediche alle divinità auguste A. Chastagnol, 'L'expression épigraphique du culte impérial dans les provinces gauloises', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 97 (1995), 593-614 (per la Narbonese vedi anche Idem in *Revue Archéologiques de Narbonnaise* 32 [1999], 59).

¹⁰ Di dubbia autenticità o comunque di incerta interpretazione: CIL VI 437; cfr. A. Gunnella, AA.VV., *Collezioni fiorentine di antichità*, II, *Palazzo Peruzzi, Palazzo Rinuccini* (Roma 1980), 112 nr. 81, tav. XXXII, 2-3: *I(ovi) S(ancto) Aug(usto)?* CIL; *I(mperio) S(ilvani) Aug(usti)?* Gunnella; vedi anche E. Schraudolph, *Römischen Götterweihungen mit Reliefschmuck aus Italien. Altäre, Basen und Reliefs* (Heidelberg 1993), 171 S4, tav. 14. – CIL VI 795: *Eventui / Aug(usto) / feliciter. / Victoriis Aug(ustis) feliciter*. La tradizione ha però *Adventui* e l'iscrizione mi sembra più acclamatoria per un vittorioso ritorno imperiale che una dedica sacra. Così già H.L. Axtell, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions* (Chicago 1907), 52; vedi anche T. Holscher, *Victoria Romana* (Mainz am

Rhein 1967), 63 (che parla tuttavia di ara) .- CIL VI 807. Dubbio se si riferisca a divinità e, nel caso, a quale: [Dia]nae, [Fortu]nae o [Faus]tinae, [Ploti]nae, Sabi[nae] Aug(ustae), CIL. Chi pone l'iscrizione, forse un liberto, sembra esser stato funzionario di un collegio. - CIL VI 30956: [L]aribus A[ug(ustis) ---] / vici Bo[---]. Incerta l'appartenenza a Roma. Il Visconti la dice di Bovillae, il Dessau invece l'attribuisce congetturabilmente a Roma, dove peraltro un vicus Bo[---] è altrimenti sconosciuto. - CIL VI 40615 (= 39426?) (lettura e integrazione della prima riga molto dubbie): [---] Aug(ust-) In[Victo Soli?]; resterebbe comunque ignota la divinità augusta cui la dedica sarebbe stata posta *pro salute et victoria et reditu* di Settimio Severo, Caracalla e Geta l'1 gennaio 200 d.C.

L'epiteto è riferito a divinità, ma in contesto diverso da vere e proprie iscrizioni dedicatorie: J. Scheid, *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt* (Roma 1998), 285, fr. 99b, r. 2 cfr. 288 s. Registrazione negli Atti degli Arvali di una serie di sacrifici verosimilmente in *Capitolio*, comprendente quello di una *bos femina a Felicitas Augusta*. - Scheid 1998, op. cit., 59, I, r. 17: *Salus Augusta p(ublica) p(opuli) Q(uiritium)* figura tra le divinità invocate dei voti arvalici del 3 gennaio 91 d.C. per Domiziano e Domizia.

L'epiteto non compare in dediche a divinità, ma nella denominazione di are o *signa* (questi documenti saranno comunque eventualmente richiamati anche nelle note di commento alla lista A): CIL VI 130 cfr. pp. 3003, 3755. *Supplementa Italica, Imagines, Roma 1* (Roma 1999), 380 nr. 1206: apparterà probabilmente alla base di un'immagine di *Diana Augusta* posta il 19 ottobre 241 nelle adiacenze dei *castra praetoria* dai *venatores immunes* e dal *custos vivarii cohortium praetoriarum et urbanarum*. - Sacrifici *ad aram Pacis Augustae* sono ricordati tre volte negli Atti degli Arvali del tempo di Caligola (Scheid 1998, op.cit., 12b, r. 10, 12c r. 68, 15c, r. 10); l'epiteto di *Augusta* non è però attribuito a *Pax* in occasione di un sacrificio degli Arvali sul Campidoglio nel 66 (Scheid, *ibidem*, 30, I cd, r. 12). Per un aggiornamento problematico e bibliografico su quest'ara: *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (d'ora in avanti LTUR) IV (Roma 1999), 70-74 e V (Roma 1999), 285 s. - Sacrifici *ad aram Providentiae Augustae* sono registrati due volte negli Atti del tempo di Caligola (Scheid 1998, op.cit., 12c, r. 56, 13f, r. 5). Su quest'ara, la sua storia e il suo significato, oltre a Scheid, cit., 285: LTUR IV (Roma 1999), 165 s. - CIL VI 632; ILS 5084 a. P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Epigrafe anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano*, I, Roma (Roma 1988), 55 nr. 46, tav. XV, fig. 2: si restaura un *Silvanum Augustum*, cioè un *signum* del dio, per conto di un collegio di gladiatori denominati qualche anno prima, al momento della fondazione (CIL VI 631, a. 177 d.C.) *Silvani Aureliani*; 185-192 perché Commodo vi è menzionato con il titolo di *Felix*. - CIL VI 3721 = 31055: *Inventori lucis Soli / invicto Augusto*. Non è dedica ma *legenda* di un medaglione che, considerata falsa da F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, II (Bruxelles 1896), 108 nr. 89, è invece ritenuta autentica da M. Guarducci, *Rendiconti Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 30-31 (1957-1959), 161-169; vedi anche J. Ruyschaert, *ibid.* 37 (1964-1965), 325-336; L. Michelini Tocci, *I medaglioni romani e i contorniali del Medagliere Vaticano* (Città del Vaticano 1965), 244. - CIL VI 103 cfr. p. 3003 = 30962, cfr. p. 3755; ILS 1879: una *Victoria Augusta*, cioè un'immagine della dea verosimilmente accompagnata da un'iscrizione in cui era contenuto tale epiteto, figura tra i doni offerti alla *schola* degli scribi librari e dei preconi degli edili curuli nel Foro Romano, in occasione di un restauro databile tra i Giulio-Claudi e la prima età flavia (curatore del medesimo è un *Bebryx Aug.l. Drusianus* che prima di diventare liberto imperiale era stato schiavo, o del Druso morto nel 23 o del Druso morto nel 33: H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischer Kaiser* [Wiesbaden 1967], 311 nr. 119, 361 s.). Dalle immediate vicinanze viene CIL VI 198 cfr. 30712, 36747: *Victoriae Imp. Caesaris Vespasiani Augusti*.

L'epiteto di *Augustus* non è attribuito ad una specifica divinità. CIL VI 540: *Numini deor(um) Aug(ustorum) sacrum*, verosimilmente da riferire al complesso delle divinità auguste, vedi Fishwick 1991, op. cit. (n. 1), 450-452 (diverse ipotesi in CIL). - CIL, VI 1201, 31260 cfr. pp. 846: *Aug(---) sacr(-)*. *Titulus Diis Augustis, non imperatori Augusto dedicatum esse puto*: Alföldy, CIL VI p. 4335, con datazione al II sec. d.C. - CIL VI 30984 cfr. p. 3758. ILS 373 (III sec. d.C.): *Numinibus / Aug(ustis) / Tutelae opti/mae*

dedicatorie, sono in tutto 90¹¹ che elenco qui sotto nella lista A. I nomi degli dei (con relativo epiteto) vi figurano in ordine alfabetico nella forma che hanno nelle iscrizioni il cui riferimento bibliografico (CIL o dopo CIL) è dato di seguito. Segue la datazione. In nota fornisco, per ciascuna, altra bibliografia rilevante e gli elementi su cui si fonda la datazione che, per fortuna, può essere nella maggioranza dei casi, molto o abbastanza precisa.

A - Secondo divinità

Nr. Id.	Divinità	Bibliografia	Datazione
A1	<i>Aiscolapio Augusto</i>	12 cfr. 30684, pp. 3003. 3753 ¹²	25 d.C.
A2	<i>Aesculapio Aug.</i>	30983 cfr. p. 3756 ¹³	Età adrianea?
A3	<i>Apollini Aug.</i>	33 ¹⁴	2/1 a.C.
A4	<i>Apollini Aug.</i>	35 cfr. p. 3755 ¹⁵	46 d.C.
A5	<i>Apollini Aug.</i>	42 ¹⁶	115 d.C.
A6	<i>[Conc]ord[ia]e Aug.</i>	AE 1971, 27 ¹⁷	età augustea
A7	<i>[Conc]ord[ia]e Aug.</i>	AE 1913, 1 ¹⁸	I sec., I metà
A8	<i>[D]janae August.</i>	128 cfr. pp. 3003. 3755 ¹⁹	7/6 a.C.

¹¹ Solo latine; nessuna attestazione nelle IGUR.

¹² ILS 3837. K.P. Almar, *Inscriptiones Latinae* (Odense 1990), 145 nr. 99 con foto. Ara marmorea dall'Isola Tiberina, forse dal *compitum* del *vicus Censori*; LTUR V (Roma 1999), 157. La data si ricava dall'anno 31° dell'era compitale.

¹³ ILS 3840. Leggo: *Aesculapio et Saluti Aug(ustis)*, riferendo l'epiteto ad entrambe le divinità e non solo alla seconda. Lastra dagli *Horrea Galbana*: LTUR III (Roma 1996), 40 ss. Errata la datazione all'età di Galba proposta in *Revue des Études Anciennes* 86 (1984), 228; per la presenza tra i dedicanti di *Ulpia* e *P. Aelii* sarà almeno di età adrianea o posteriore.

¹⁴ Base del *compitum* di via Marmorata, sul quale: LTUR IV (Roma 1999), 261 s. Qui e altrove l'iscrizione è erroneamente data al 1° d.C.; i *magistri vici* che la dedicano sono in realtà quelli del 2/1 a.C. come risulta dall'anno dell'era compitale (il sesto) e dai *fasti del compitum*: I.It., XIII, 1 p. 285.

¹⁵ ILS 3219. Ara dal *compitum* di via Marmorata (vedi n. prec.). La datazione deriva dall'anno 52° dell'era compitale.

¹⁶ ILS 1634. Base dalla *Moneta*: LTUR III (Roma 1996), 280 ss. Per la data cfr. CIL VI 43 (A14), 44 (A20) del 28 gennaio (115 d.C.) *dies imperii* di Traiano, e 239 (*Genio fam. monet.*); vedi anche A25 ed A32: P. Herz, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih- und Ehreninschriften* (Mainz 1975), 136.

¹⁷ A.M. Colini, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 43 (1970/71), 55-70 con foto e ricostruzione grafica. Ara da *compitum* in piazza Bocca della Verità. La datazione in età augustea, preferibilmente nel periodo 12-7 a.C., è suggerita all'editore dal contesto archeologico, dalla tipologia dell'ara in travertino, dalla divinità cui è dedicata, dalla corona civica che vi è rappresentata e da considerazioni storiche.

¹⁸ H.L. Wilson, *American Journal of Archaeology* 16 (1912), 94-96 con fig. 1 (AE 1913, 1); ILS 9517; H. Gummerus, *Klio* 14 (1914), 145 s.; J. Andreau, *La vie financière dans le monde romain* (Rome 1987), 681 s. R. Friggeri, *La collezione epigrafica del Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme di Diocleziano* (Roma 2001), 74 fig. 7. Lastra che si asserisce trovata fra il Tevere ed il Monte Testaccio. La datazione comunque nella prima età imperiale è suggerita dalla divinità, dalla paleografia e dal fatto che i dedicanti offrono, oltre ad una statua della dea, tre *imagines*, forse d'argento, verosimilmente riferibili a personaggi della casa imperiale. I *pigmentarii* ed i *miniarii* attestati nell'iscrizione sono sicuramente presenti a Roma già in età augustea: C. Ricci, *Geriòn* 10 (1992), 129.

Nr. id.	Divinità	Bibliografia	Datazione
A9	<i>Dianae Augustae</i>	129 ²⁰	1 a.C./1 d.C.
A10	<i>Dianae Augustae</i>	36864 ²¹	età augustea?
A11	[<i>Di</i>]anae Aug.	36868 ²²	II sec., II metà
A12	<i>Fonti Aug.</i>	150 ²³	244-249 d.C.
A13	<i>Fort[unae] Aug.</i>	36773 ²⁴	I/II sec.
A14	<i>Fortunae Aug.</i>	43 cfr. p. 3755 ²⁵	115 d.C.
A15	<i>Fortunae Augustae Respicie[nti]</i>	181 ²⁶	II sec. fine/III sec.
A16	<i>Fortunae Augustae Praesenti</i>	181b ²⁷	II sec. fine/III sec.
A17	[<i>He</i>]rculi Tuta[tori] Aug.	343 cfr. 30743, pp. 833. 3004 ²⁸	26 d.C.
A18	<i>Herculi Aug.</i>	301 cfr. 30731, pp. 3004. 3756 ²⁹	età vespasiana
A19	<i>Herculi Aug.</i>	299 cfr. p. 3004 ³⁰	I/II sec.
A20	<i>Herculi Aug.</i>	44 cfr. p. 3755 ³¹	115 d.C.

¹⁹ Base o ara da *compitum* di ignota ubicazione. La data si ricava dall'anno 1° dell'era compitale.

²⁰ Base o ara da *compitum* di ignota ubicazione. La data è ricavata dall'anno 7° dell'era compitale. Tra i dedicanti compare un *M. Lurius Maritimus* per il quale vedi anche n. s.

²¹ Ara dal Viminale. LTUR II (Roma 1995), 16. La datazione, indicata soltanto con giorno e mese (12 agosto) è suggerita sulla base della tipologia dell'ara e dello stile dei rilievi sui fianchi: H. C. Bowerman, *Roman Sacrificial Altars* (Bryn Mawr 1913), 97; E. Schraudolph 1993, op. cit. (n. 10), 126 D5, tav. 2. Da notare che la dedica è fatta da un *M. Lurius Saturninus* e che un *M. Lurius Maritimus* compare tra i dedicanti di un'altra base o ara a *Diana Augusta* datata tra l'1 a.C. e l'1 d.C. (vedi n. prec.).

²² Due frammenti di tavola ora riediti con un terzo (CIL VI 38398), di cui prima non era stata riconosciuta la pertinenza, in *La collezione epigrafica dell'Antiquarium Comunale del Celio* (Roma 2001), 368 s., nr. 409, con tav. LXIV, fig. 1. L'intestazione *Silvano et Dianae Augustis*, ritenuta dubbia in CIL, non sembra da escludere dopo una verifica della parte conservata. La datazione è ricavata essenzialmente dalla paleografia e della qualifica di *me(n)s(or) ae[dificiorum] Augg. (i. e. Augustorum)*. Per l'offerta di un *signum* di *Diana Augusta* nel 241 d.C., vedi sopra in n. 10.

²³ *Parva basis* dal Celio, d'incerto collegamento con la casa dei Filippi, in cui uno schiavo è autore della dedica: LTUR I (Roma 1993), 209; II (Roma 1995), 156; vedi anche G. Cressedi, *Un manoscritto derivato dalle "Antichità" del Piranesi, Vaticano - Latino 8091* (Roma 1975), 169; L. Avetta, *Roma - Via Imperiale* (Roma 1985), 27 s.; E. Tortorici, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 95 (1993), 161-172. Incerto il significato delle tre *litterae singulares* (*M. P. R.*) che seguono la dedica *Fonti Aug.*. Si conosce in area un *Fons Mercuri*. Siccome però lo schiavo dice di aver rifatto la dedica, non escluderei che possano essere piuttosto le iniziali del nome del dedicante originario.

²⁴ Ara. Cercata invano nel Foro Romano, dove fu vista: *Iscrizioni greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino* (Roma 1996), 56. La datazione dipende dal giudizio *litteris pulchris* del Bang.

²⁵ ILS 1634. Base dalla *Moneta* (vedi sopra n. 16), esplicitamente datata al 28 gennaio 115, *dies imperii* di Traiano.

²⁶ ILS 3704. *Basis* (CIL). La data si ricava dal fatto che il dedicante è un *M. Aur(elius) Ctesias Iunior*. Sul tempio e il *vicus* della *Fortuna Respicens*: LTUR II (Roma 1995), 276; V (Roma 1999), 166. La base fu vista in *hortis Carpensibus* in *Quirinali*, ma l'originaria collocazione poté essere tutt'altra.

²⁷ ILS 3704. Sulla stessa base del numero precedente.

²⁸ Base o ara da *compitum* incerto della *Regio X*: LTUR III (Roma 1999), 200. Datazione espressamente indicata con anno vicano e coppia consolare.

²⁹ Ara dall'*Emporium* (Marmorata): LTUR II (Roma 1995), 222; III (Roma 1996), 223. Il dedicante è uno schiavo di Vespasiano.

³⁰ Epistilio, cercato invano sul Palatino dove fu visto: *Iscrizioni greche e latine*, cit. (n. 13), 39: LTUR III (Roma 1996), 12. La datazione è congetturale.

Nr. id.	Divinità	Bibliografia	Datazione
A21	<i>Herculi Aug.</i>	298 cfr. p. 3756 ³²	età traianea?
A22	<i>Herculi August.</i>	AE 1927, 145 ³³	età commodiana?
A23	<i>[Isi]di Aug.</i>	349 ³⁴	II sec.
A24	<i>Iovi Maleciabrudi Aug.</i>	36792 ³⁵	III sec.
A25	<i>I.O.M.H. Aug.</i>	422 cfr. 30765, pp. 3005. 3756 ³⁶	II sec., fine
A26	<i>Laribus Augustis</i>	445 cfr. p. 3756 ³⁷	7/6 a.C.
A27	<i>Larib. Aug.</i>	446 cfr. p. 3005. 3756 ³⁸	7/6 a.C.

³¹ ILS 1635. A. E. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions* II (Berkeley- Los Angeles 1964), 40, nr. 175, tav. 77, figg. a, b; G. Spinola, *Il Museo Pio Clementino* II (Città del Vaticano 1999), 58, nr. 77, fig. 10. Ara dalla *Moneta* (vedi sopra n. 16). Datazione esplicita al 28 gennaio 115 (119, per errore *ILS* e altri).

³² ILS 1636. Ara o base di provenienza ignota, ma verosimilmente dalla *Moneta* come CIL VI 42 (A5), 43 (A16), 44 (A22), tutte del 115 d.C. La datazione in età traianea è proposta per confronto con queste.

³³ O. Marucchi, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 4 (1925/26), 394 fig. 5; per la lettura corretta *collegio iuvenum Racilianensium* (non *Racillanensium*) e per la provenienza dall'area dei *vici Raciliani maioris e minoris* in Trastevere, S. Panciera, *Archeologia Classica* 22 (1970), 159 ss.; LTUR IV (Roma 1999), 249; V (Roma 1999), 187. La datazione è ricavata dalla paleografia e dalle particolari relazioni con Ercole di Commodo.

³⁴ Frammento indefinibile di provenienza ignota. Datazione su base paleografica, vedi I. Di Stefano Manzella, *Index Inscriptionum Musei Vaticani*, I, *Ambulacrum Iulianum sive "Galleria Lapidaria"* (Roma 1995), 261 nr. 36. Il dedicante, il cui nome non è da leggere necessariamente [- - -] *Datus* (altrettanto possibile è il comune *Se[d]atus*; vedi anche il meno comune *Man[d]atus*), sembra essere *quaestor* in una comunità isiaica. Nemmeno un'integrazione [*Serapi]di* può tuttavia essere esclusa. L. Vidman, *Sylogae inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Serapiacae* (Berlino 1969), 207 nr. 399 (con datazione I-II sec.); M. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie* (Leiden 1972), 115 nr. 10; Idem, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie* (Leiden 1972), 145 nn. 2, 10.

³⁵ ILS 9282. Ara del c.d. Santuario siriano sul Gianicolo; LTUR III (Roma 1996), 138-143. La datazione si ricava principalmente dall'osservazione secondo cui l'iscrizione ne sostituisce una precedente dopo un incendio che ha distrutto il santuario della fine del II sec., (in coincidenza con un terremoto nel 242): F. Duthoy - J. Frel, 'Observations sur le sanctuaire syrien du Janicule', *Orientalia sacra urbis Romae* (Roma 1996), 296, 298.

³⁶ ILS 4292; Y. Hajjar, *La Triade d'Héliopolis-Baalbek. Son culte et sa diffusion à travers les textes littéraires et les documents iconographiques* (Leiden 1977) I, 357 ss., nr. 286; II, tav. CIX. Base conservata dal Medioevo alle pendici del Gianicolo, ma proveniente senza dubbio dal c.d. Santuario siriano (vedi n. 35). Per la datazione alla fine del II sec. vedi già Chr. Hülsen, *Römische Mitteilungen* 22 (1907), 247 ed ora Duthoy - Frel 1996, op. cit. (n.35), 296; preferiscono il III sec. B. M. Felletti Maj, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 75 (1953-1955), 140 n. 11; N. Goodhue, *The Lucus Furrinae and the Syrian Sanctuary on the Janiculum* (Amsterdam 1975).

³⁷ ILS 3613. Spinola 1999, op. cit. (n. 31), 202 s., nr. 17, con principale bibliografia precedente. Ara di provenienza ignota. La datazione si ricava dall'anno 1° dell'era compitale. Sull'insicurezza dell'integrazione *Laribus Augustis G[enis Caesaru]m* data in CIL, vedi già Dessau in ILS. Altri: *G[enio Caesaris]* o *G[enio Augusti]* vedi E. Hänlein Schäfer, *Subject and Ruler* (Ann Arbor 1996), 76 con nn. 19, 91, 95.

³⁸ ILS 3612; *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture* I, 2 (Roma 1981), 70 s.; M. Hano, in W. Haase & H. Temporini, edd., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II, 16, 3 (Berlino/ New York 1986), 2342; Hänlein Schäfer 1996, op.cit. (n. 37), 95 nr. 6, sempre con altra bibliografia; Friggeri 2001, op.cit. (n. 18), 72, fig. 5. Ara dall'Isola Tiberina, verosimilmente dal *compitum* del *vicus Censori*: LTUR III (Roma 1996), 100. La data si ricava dall'anno 1° dell'era compitale.

Nr. Id.	Divinità	Bibliografia	Datazione
A28	<i>Larib. Aug.</i>	447 cfr. p. 3005. 3756 ³⁹	7/6 a.C.
A29	<i>Laribu[s Aug.]</i>	<i>L'Urbs</i> (Roma 1987), 64-70 ⁴⁰	7/6 a.C.
A30	<i>Laribus Augustis</i>	448 cfr. p. 3756 ⁴¹	2 a.C.
A31	<i>Laribus Augustis</i>	36809 ⁴²	2 a.C.
A32	<i>Larib. August.</i>	30957 cfr. p. 3758 ⁴³	2/3 d.C.
A33	<i>Lar. Aug.</i>	AE1964, 77 ⁴⁴	3/4 d.C.
A34	<i>Lar. [Aug.]</i>	AE 1948, 82 ⁴⁵	età augustea
A35	<i>Laribus Augusti[s]</i>	443 cfr. p. 3005 ⁴⁶	età tiberio-claudiana
A36	<i>Laribu[s Aug.]</i>	AE1980, 55 ⁴⁷	I sec., I metà
A37	<i>Laribus Augustis</i>	AE 1960, 6 ⁴⁸	56 d.C. (?)

³⁹ ILS 3612a; *Liebighaus Museum alter Plastik Frankfurt am Main. Führer durch die Sammlungen Antike Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main 1980), 267 s.; M. Buonocore, *Camillo Massimo collezionista* (Roma 1996), 195, 200 nr. 87. Ara compitale trovata sull'Isola Tiberina con la precedente e datata allo stesso anno (vedi n. precedente).

⁴⁰ Omesso in AE. Epistilio dal *compitum* del *vicus Aesculeti*: LTUR I (Roma 1993), 316. La data si ricava dall'anno 1° dell'era compitale.

⁴¹ ILS 3614; Hänlein Schäfer 1996, op.cit. (n. 37), 95 nr. 2 con bibliografia precedente. Ara del *compitum vici Sandaliari*: LTUR I (Roma 1993), 57; V (Roma 1999), 189. La data è doppiamente espressa con l'era vicana e la coppia consolare.

⁴² Sull'altro lato [*Larib. Aug.* ILS 9250. Foto e bibliografia in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines* (1999), op. cit. (nt. 10), nr. 5. Ara del *compitum* del *vicus Statae Matris*. LTUR V (Roma 1999), 191. La datazione è indicata con coppia consolare e anno 6° di era vicana.

⁴³ ILS 3615. Per una più corretta lettura dell'iscrizione sulla fronte: S. Panciera, in *L'Urbs* (Roma 1987), 68 s. Foto e bibliografia in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines* (1999), op. cit. (n. 10), nr. 6. Ara compitale del *vicus Aesculeti* (vedi sopra n. 40). La datazione si ricava dall'anno 9° dell'era compitale.

⁴⁴ A.M. Tamassia in *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 78 (1961/2), 161 s., figg. 3-4. Ara del *compitum Acilium* di cui è attestata l'esistenza ben prima della riorganizzazione augustea: M. Dondin – Payre, *L'Urbs* (Roma 1987), 87-109; LTUR I (Roma 1993), 314 ss.; D. Palombi, *Tra Palatino ed Esquilino. Velia, Carinae, Fagutal* (Roma 1997), 39-43; Idem, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 70 (1997-1998 [2000]), 115-135; F. Coarelli, *Eutopia*, n.s., 1 (2001), 7-43 (sulla topografia dell'area). La datazione si ricava dall'anno 10° dell'era compitale, di cui ingiustamente dubita (controllo autoptico) Dondin – Payre, op.cit., 103 n. 24.

⁴⁵ C. Pietrangeli, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 70 (1942), 127-130 figg. 1-2; vedi anche W. Hermann, *Römischen Götteraltäre* (Kallmunz 1961), 89 s., nr. 19; Schraudolph 1993, op. cit. (n. 10), 230 L 98. Frammento di ara di provenienza ignota. Datazione su base stilistica e prosopografica.

⁴⁶ Ara di provenienza ignota. Datazione su base paleografica e stilistica. Schraudolph 1993, op.cit. (n. 10), 229 L 92 tav. 34.

⁴⁷ S. Panciera, *Archeologia Laziale* 3 (1980), 204 s., nr. 8, tav. XLIX, 1. Ara compitale dall'incrocio tra viale Africa (oggi Aventino) e via Aventina. La datazione si ricava dalla tipologia e dalla decorazione dell'ara.

⁴⁸ L. Moretti, *Archeologia Classica* 10 (1958), 231 s. nr. 1 (Idem, *Tra epigrafia e storia* [Roma 1990], 155 s. nr. 1); A.M. Colini – L. Cozza, *Ludus Magnus* (Roma 1962), 148 nr. 2, fig. 162; E.M. Smallwood, *Historia* 17 (1968), 384. Lastra dal *compitum* del *vicus Cornicularius*: LTUR V (Roma 1999), 160. La datazione è indicata, oltre che con il 61° anno dell'era compitale, con la coppia consolare *L. Iunio Gallione T. Cutio Cilto*, già attribuita al 55 d.C., oltre che dal Moretti e dalla Smallwood, da P.A. Gallivan, *Classical Quarterly* 24 (1974), 293, 295, ma ora, con diverse argomentazioni, al 56 da G. Camodeca, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 63 (1986), 211-215, in part. 206-208. Sulla

Nr. id.	Divinità	Bibliografia	Datazione
A38	<i>Laribus Aug.</i>	449 cfr. p. 3756 ⁴⁹	83 d.C.
A39	<i>Larib[us Aug.]</i>	<i>L'Urbs</i> (Roma 1987), 70-73 fig. 6-7 ⁵⁰	età domiziana
A40	<i>Laribus Augustis</i>	450 cfr. 30768, pp. 3005. 3756 ⁵¹	98/99 d.C.
A41	<i>La[ribus] A[ugustis]</i>	<i>Bull. Com.</i> , 90, 2 (1985), 279 nr. 18 ⁵²	I sec.
A42	<i>Laribus Aug.</i>	30954 cfr. p. 3756 ⁵³	I sec., II metà/ II sec., I metà
A43	<i>[Laribu]s Aug.</i>	453 cfr. pp. 3005. 3756 ⁵⁴	I sec., fine / II sec., in.
A44	<i>Laribus Augustis</i>	451 cfr. 30769, pp. 3005. 3756 ⁵⁵	100 d.C.
A45	<i>[Laribus A]ugustis</i>	452 cfr. pp. 3005. 3756 ⁵⁶	109 d.C.
A46	<i>La[rum Aug.]</i>	30958 ⁵⁷	116 d.C.
A47	<i>[Laribus Aug]ustis</i>	AE 1971, 33 ⁵⁸	149 d.C.
A48	<i>[Laribus Augu]strum</i>	AE 1971, 34 ⁵⁹	161 d.C.

questione delle ere compitali anomale vedi da ultimo A. Frascetti, *Roma e il principe* (Roma – Bari 1990), 265-268.

⁴⁹ ILS 3617; D. Modonesi, *Museo Maffeiano. Iscrizioni e rilievi sacri latini* (Roma 1995), 78 s. nr. 83 con foto. Epistilio dell'edicola compitale del *vicus Honoris et Virtutis*: LTUR V (Roma 1999), 167 s. La datazione si ricava dalla titolatura di Domiziano (*cos. VIII, des. X*) e dall'anno 9° dell'era compitale.

⁵⁰ Omesso in AE. Frammento di architrave da rifacimento dell'edicola compitale del *vicus Aesculeti* (vedi sopra n. 40). È presente il nome di Domiziano; il *terminus ad quem* è costituito dall'incendio dell'80.

⁵¹ ILS 3618. Epistilio dall'edicola compitale del *vicus Portae Collinae*: LTUR III (Roma 1996) 326; IV (Roma 1999) 181, 198, 316. La data si ricava dalla titolatura di Traiano (*cos. II*).

⁵² Base o ara di provenienza ignota, forse da un *vicus* [---] *Secundi*, come proposto dall'Editrice (M.G. Granino Cecere) per confronto con il *vicus Longi Aquilae*. La datazione è su base paleografica.

⁵³ Ara dal Foro Romano, dove si conserva (inv. 12489). Discusso un eventuale rapporto con l'*aedes Larum in summa Sacra via*; favorevole F. Coarelli, in LTUR III (Roma 1996), 174; per altri piuttosto da mettere in rapporto con un *compitum*. Datazione su base essenzialmente paleografica. P. Zanker, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 82 (1970/71), 149 n. 8, nr. 11 esclude che appartenga alla serie degli altari augustei. Nessuna proposta da parte di M. Hano 1986, op.cit. (n. 38), 2343 s., tav. III, 5; Schraudolph 1993, op.cit. (n. 10), 229 L 95; Hänlein Schäfer 1996, op.cit. (n. 37), 96 nr. 8.

⁵⁴ ILS 3616. Foto in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines* 1999, op. cit. (n. 10), nr. 129. Ara compitale del *vicus Trium ararum*: LTUR V (Roma 1999) 195. Datazione su base paleografica e prosopografica; sulla pretura di C. Pontius Faustinus Granianus PIR² P 799; non posteriore al 136 essendo ancora in funzione la commissione augustea di sorveglianza sulle *Regiones*: S. Panciera, *Archeologia Classica* 22 (1970), 146-151.

⁵⁵ ILS 3619. Foto e bibliografia in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines* 1999, op.cit. (n. 10), nr. 2174. Epistilio dall'Isola Tiberina, verosimilmente dal *compitum* del *vicus Censori* (vedi sopra nn. 38, 39). La datazione è espressa con la coppia consolare e con l'anno dell'era compitale, però verosimilmente incompleto.

⁵⁶ ILS 3620. Foto e bibliografia in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines* 1999, op.cit. (n. 10), nr. 2175. Epistilio dall'edicola del *compitum* del *vicus Iovis Fagutalis*: LTUR III (Roma 1996), 135, 193. La datazione si ricava dalla titolatura di Traiano e corrisponde all'anno 121° (non si sa sé da correggere) dell'era compitale.

⁵⁷ Cfr. F. Bianchi & P.L. Tucci, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité* 108 (1996), 47-53. Epistilio di edicola da un *compitum* di Trastevere. La datazione si ricava dalla titolatura di Traiano.

⁵⁸ S. Panciera, *Archeologia Classica* 22 (1970), 138-151 con foto e ricostruzione grafica (parte delle osservazioni in AE sono infondate). Lastra pertinente ad un'edicola compitale ignota. La data si ricava dalla titolatura di Antonino Pio e dalla coppia consolare.

Nr. Id.	Divinità	Bibliografia	Datazione
A49	[Larib]us Augg.	455 ⁶⁰	168 d.C.
A50	Laribus Aug.	454 ⁶¹	II sec.?
A51	Larib. Aug.	30959 ⁶²	203 d.C.
A52	Laribus Aug.	30960 cfr. p. 3758 ⁶³	223 d.C.
A53	[La]ribus Augustis]	30961 ⁶⁴	222-235 d.C.
A54	Laribus Aug.	441 ⁶⁵	?
A55	Larib. Aug.	442 ⁶⁶	?
A56	Laribus Augustis	444 ⁶⁷	?
A57	Laribus Aug.	30952 ⁶⁸	?
A58	[La]ribus Augustis	3701=30962 ⁶⁹	?
A59	Mar[ti] Aug.	483 ⁷⁰	I sec., I metà?
A60	Marti Aug.	484 ⁷¹	I/II sec.?
A61	Mercurio Augus[to]	283 cfr. p. 3004 ⁷²	7/6 a.C.

⁵⁹ L. Berni Brizio, *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, cl. mor., ser. VIII, 26 (1971), 769-778. Architrave di edicola compitale del [vicus statu]ae Verris sulla cui discussa ubicazione si veda, oltre alla prima editrice (*Regio IX*), R.E.A. Palmer, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 51-52 (1978-1980), 111-136 (*Regio IV*); vedi anche F. Castagnoli, *Rivista di Filologia e Istruzione Classica* 90 (1982), 499 n. 5 e Palombi, 1997, op.cit. (n. 44), 122 n. 195. La datazione si ricava dalla titolatura di Marco Aurelio e Lucio Vero.

⁶⁰ Nuovo lettura e interpretazione: A. Kolb, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 107 (1995), 205-211 con foto (AE 1995, 91). Frammenti di tavola di provenienza ignota. Datazione consolare.

⁶¹ Ara del chiostro di S. Paolo f.l.m. campata XIX, 6: G. Filippi, *Indice della raccolta epigrafica di S. Paolo fuori le mura* (Città del Vaticano 1999), 40 nr. 51339. Tra i magistri c'è un *Ulpius*.

⁶² Frammento di tavola da S. Martino ai Monti. Datazione dalla titolatura imperiale. Mi chiedo se parte di questa iscrizione, non più esistente nell'*Antiquarium* comunale del Celio, sia da riconoscere in alcuni frammenti recentemente pubblicati come inediti in CIL VI 40605 e 40750 e visti nelle casse già al Palazzo delle Esposizioni contenenti appunto materiali sgombrati dall'*Antiquarium*.

⁶³ ILS 3621. Il genitivo del nome imperiale non dipende da *Genio*, ma da *permissu*: S. Panciera, *Archeologia Classica* 22 (1970), 148 s.. Tavola da edicola compitale del vicus *Vestae*: LTUR V (Roma 1999), 198. Datazione consolare.

⁶⁴ Per il genitivo del nome imperiale vedi n. precedente. Foto e bibliografia in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines*, 1999, op. cit. (n. 10), nr. 1209. Frammento di tavola proveniente da edicola compitale di vicus ignoto. Datata dal nome di Severo Alessandro.

⁶⁵ Ara o base di provenienza ignota. Perduta. Non databile.

⁶⁶ Ara o base d'ignota provenienza. Si conserva ancora nelle Grotte Vaticane.

⁶⁷ ILS 7280. Epistilio (?) visto alle pendici del Palatino verso S. Gregorio. Perduto. Non databile.

⁶⁸ Aretta pulvinata da area tra Ponte Sisto e Farnesina (Trastevere): LTUR V (Roma 1999), 167. Si conserva ancora al Museo delle Terme, inv. 27253. Il *CIL*, la dice *litteris recentioribus*.

⁶⁹ Epistilio dalle vicinanze di SS. Giovanni e Paolo nei cui pressi si trovava il *compitum* del vicus *Trium ararum*, vedi sopra n. 54. Perduto. Non databile.

⁷⁰ Base o ara trovata *sub Aventino in ripa Tiberis*. Perduta. La datazione è proposta per un possibile rapporto tra il dedicante (un *M. Lollius*) e i non lontani *Horrea Lolliana* prima del loro passaggio nella proprietà imperiale con Claudio (E. Rodriguez Almeida, *Il Monte Testaccio* (Roma 1984), 101 n. 5. Sugli *horrea* vedi anche LTUR III (Roma 1996), 43 s.

⁷¹ Base o ara di provenienza ignota. Perduta. Il dedicante (*T. Tettius Pudes*) è veterano di un'unità non indicata, forse urbana.

⁷² Sembra essere ara o base (ma Fabretti la dice in *epistilio*). Certo da un *compitum* nei pressi di S. Maria in Cosmedin di dove deve venire anche A 86: S. Panciera, *Archeologia Laziale* 3 (1980), 203-206. Datazione sulla base dell'anno 1° dell'era compitale.

Nr. id.	Divinità	Bibliografia	Datazione
A62	<i>Mercurio Aug.</i>	34 ⁷³	3/2 a.C.
A63	<i>Mercurio Aug.</i>	AE 1914, 137 ⁷⁴	età augustea
A64	<i>Merc. Aug.</i>	519 ⁷⁵	I sec.?
A65	<i>Deo sancto Mercurio Aug.</i>	AE 1977, 22 ⁷⁶	III sec., metà
A66	<i>Minervae Aug.</i>	268 cfr. p. 3004 ⁷⁷	57 d.C.
A67	<i>Minervae Aug.</i>	401 ⁷⁸	139 d.C.
A68	<i>Neptuno Aug.</i>	536 cfr. 30786, pp. 835.3005.3757 ⁷⁹	II sec., metà
A69	<i>[Pa]ntho Aug.</i>	559 cfr. p. 3757 ⁸⁰	161-169 d.C.
A70	<i>Paci August.</i>	199 cfr. 30712. 36747, pp. 3004.3757 ⁸¹	71 d.C.?
A71	<i>Pietati Augustae</i>	562 cfr. pp. 3005. 3757 ⁸²	22 d.C.; 43 d.C.

⁷³ Ara o base (perduta) dal *compitum* di Via Marmorata: LTUR IV (Roma 1999) 260 s. (ivi altra bibliografia). La data del 3/2 a.C. (non dell'1 a.C.) si ricava dall'anno V dell'era compitale e dai Fasti dei *magistri*.

⁷⁴ G. Mancini, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1913), 117; G. Gatti, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 41 (1913), 77; E. Gatti, *Studi Romani* 1 (1913), 352 s., fig. 10. Vedi anche Hermann 1961, op. cit. (n. 45), 63; Schraudolph 1993, op.cit. (n. 37), 147 M 5, tav. 9. Datazione su base paleografica e stilistica.

⁷⁵ Frammento d'ara trovata a S. Cosimato di Trastevere. Perduta. Datazione puramente congetturale.

⁷⁶ S. Panciera, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 48 (1975/76), 302-308, cfr. W. Eck, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 37 (1980), 45-48. Base d'ignota provenienza. Datazione su base prosopografica.

⁷⁷ Foto e bibliografia in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines* 1999, op.cit. (n. 10), nr. 120. Ara di *magistri fontani* dall'Esquilino. Datazione consolare.

⁷⁸ Architrave (?) d'ignota provenienza che non so se ancora si conservi, almeno in parte, nel convento di S. Gregorio al Celio. Datazione consolare.

⁷⁹ ILS 3284. A. Arnaldi, *Ricerche storico epigrafiche sul culto di Neptunus nell'Italia romana* (Roma 1997), 93-98, nr. 3, fig. 2 a-c, vedi anche AE 1992, 114. Arula da fuori Porta Latina. La data è suggerita dal nome del dedicante che è un liberto di Antonino Pio.

⁸⁰ ILS 1383. Ara di provenienza ignota, ora nei Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna. La data si ricava dalla qualifica del dedicante come *procurator Augustor(um) et Faustinae Aug.* e dalle altre cariche ricoperte: H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium*, I (Leuven 1976), 484 s. nr. 120; IV (Leuven 1987), 1615 nr. 120; V (Leuven 1993), 2147 nr. 120.

⁸¹ Una datazione nel 71 è sostenuta dal confronto con le altre basi trovate insieme nel Foro Romano (CIL VI 196-198, 200), tra cui CIL VI 200 è ora nuovamente datata con diversi argomenti al 17 novembre di quest'anno da De Angeli e da G. Di Vita-Evrard, in un contributo in corso di stampa negli Atti del Colloquio Borghesi 2001, cit. (n. 4). Poiché d'altronde *M. Arrecinus Clemens* non poté dare il suo assenso all'erezione del monumento che come membro (in quanto pretore) della commissione augustea di sorveglianza sulle regioni, si dovrebbe ammettere ch'egli sia stato fatto prefetto prima della pretura e che abbia assunto quest'ultima nel 71 lasciando al pretorio a Tito: a favore Passerini, *Athenaeum* 18 (1940), 152 ss.. Contra G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* (Wiesbaden 1969), 22; G. Mennella, *Athenaeum* 59 (1981), 205- 208. A meno che la data di erezione non coincida con quella dell'autorizzazione (da notare che, contrariamente all'uso, nell'iscrizione si sarebbe letto solo *permissu M. Arrecini Clementis* senza indicazione della carica; forse perché questa non era più attuale al momento della messa in opera del monumento?). Per la registrazione negli Atti degli Arvali di sacrifici *ad aram Pacis Augustae*, vedi sopra in n. 10.

Nr. Id.	Divinità	Bibliografia	Datazione
A72	<i>Saluti Aug.</i>	30983 cfr. p. 3756 ⁸³	età adrianea
A73	<i>Silvano Aug.</i>	634 cfr. 30804, pp. 3006.3757 ⁸⁴	età traiana
A74	<i>Silvano Aug.</i>	635 cfr. 30805, pp. 835.3006 ⁸⁵	141 d.C.
A75	<i>Silvano Aug.</i>	36866 ⁸⁶	II sec., II metà
A76	<i>Silvano Aug.</i>	36825 ⁸⁷	II sec., II metà/III sec., I metà
A77	<i>Sancto Silvano Aug.</i>	637 cfr. p. 3006 ⁸⁸	II/III sec., in.
A78	<i>Silvano Aug.</i>	636 ⁸⁹	?
A79	<i>Silvano Aug.</i>	633 cfr. 30803, p. 3006 ⁹⁰	?
A80	<i>Spei Aug.</i>	760 cfr. pp. 3006. 3757 ⁹¹	età traiana-adrianea
A81	<i>Spei Aug.</i>	759 cfr. 30826, pp. 3006. 3757 ⁹²	?
A82	<i>Statae Matri August.</i>	764 ⁹³	6/5 a.C.
A83	<i>Statae Matri Augustae</i>	802 cfr. pp. 3007. 3757 ⁹⁴	3/2 a.C.

⁸² ILS 202. Un riepilogo dell'ampia discussione sul rapporto tra questa epigrafe vista dall'anonimo di Einsiedeln sul Campidoglio e la c.d. *Ara Pietatis*: LTUR IV (Roma 1999) 87-89, con tutta la principale bibliografia. Datazioni consolari.

⁸³ Vedi sopra A2 con n. 13 ed inoltre in n. 10 (Atti degli Arvali).

⁸⁴ ILS 1540a. Ara (?) d'ignota provenienza, ma forse da connettere con il *vicus Frumentarius*: LTUR V (Roma 1999), 166 s.; da qui viene altra dedica dello stesso schiavo di Traiano che ha posto la nostra (CIL VI 544 cfr. p. 3005, 3757; ILS 1540).

⁸⁵ A.E. Gordon, 1964, op. cit. (n. 31) 75 nr. 203, tav. 92 b-c. Base dal Quirinale: LTUR IV (Roma 1999), 316. Data consolare; il giorno della dedica (24 maggio) corrisponde al natale di Germanico, celebrato anche in età tarda: P. Herz 1975, op. cit. (n. 16), 327 cfr. 212.

⁸⁶ Vedi sopra A 12 con n. 23. Restauro di un *signum* di Silvano Augusto nel 185-192 d.C., vedi sopra in n. 10.

⁸⁷ Piccola base dal Celio nei pressi dei *castra peregrinorum*: LTUR IV (Roma 1999), 312. Il dedicante è un *veter(amus) Augg.*

⁸⁸ Rilievo di provenienza ignota riedito di recente, con diversa valutazione cronologica, da : R. Santolini Giordani, *Antichità Casali* (Roma 1989), 124 nr. 70, tav. XI (età severiana). Schraudolph 1993, op. cit. (n. 10), 169, S 1, tav. 14 (età tetrarchica).

⁸⁹ Ara o base in travertino di ignota provenienza. Perduta. Organizzazione collegiale. Dedicante *C. Iulius Florentinus*. Forse I/II sec. d.C.

⁹⁰ Ara o base d'ignota provenienza a Mannheim?. Dedicante un *Aurelius* senza prenome. Forse II/III sec. d.C.

⁹¹ ILS 3772. Ara trovata verosimilmente presso l'arco di S. Lorenzo alla Marmorata: E. Rodriguez Almeida 1984, op.cit. (n. 70), 101 n. 3. Dalla foto del pezzo, che si conserva ancora nel Museo Despuig a Maiorca (ringrazio la collega Anna Pasqualini per avermene dato copia), non escluderei che la *Regio* indicata non sia la XII, ma coerentemente la XIII, con un'asta del numerale sulla cornice. Non oltre l'età adrianea perché è ancora funzionante la commissione augustea di sorveglianza sulle regioni, vedi sopra A43 con n. 54. Il pretore *T. Catus Catullinus Sestius Secundinus* non è altrimenti conosciuto.

⁹² Ara di provenienza ignota. Perduta? La dedica *vicinae* fa pensare ad un contesto compitale e, forse, ad una datazione alta.

⁹³ Piccola base certamente trovata alla fine del XVII sec. nel fondo Capobianco circa 400 m. a NNO del km. 14 della via Nomentana (L. Quilici - St. Quilici Gigli, *Ficulea* (Roma 1993), 211 con n. 487) ma ricondotta a Roma per il contenuto che fa pensare a una dedica compitale. Non ne fu persuaso il Lanciani, seguito dai Quilici. L'iscrizione, che passò per il Museo Borgiano (vedi A. Russi, *Epigraphica*, 40[1978], 134 n. 20 ed ora F. Nasti, *Iscrizioni latine del Museo di Napoli*, I (Napoli 2000), 51 n. 49) non è perduta, ma si conserva all'Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, NCE 4265. Datazione desunta dall'anno 2° dell'era vicana.

Nr. id.	Divinità	Bibliografia	Datazione
A84	<i>Statae Fortunae Aug.</i>	761 cfr. pp. 3006. 3757 ⁹⁵	12 d.C.
A85	<i>Statae Matri Aug.</i>	766 cfr. pp. 3006.3757 ⁹⁶	44 d.C.
A86	<i>Veneri August.</i>	AE 1980, 54 ⁹⁷	I sec., fine
A87	<i>Victoriae Au[g.]</i>	791 ⁹⁸	115 d.C.
A88	<i>Victoriae Augustae</i>	31403-31404 cfr. pp. 3096sg.. 4345sg. ⁹⁹	365-367 d.C.
A89	<i>Volcano Quieto Augusto</i>	802 cfr. pp. 3007. 3757 ¹⁰⁰	3/2 a.C.
A90	<i>Volcano Quieto Augusto</i>	801 cfr. p. 3757 ¹⁰¹	I sec., II metà

La prima considerazione che s'impone considerando questa lista è che i documenti non sono moltissimi, sia in rapporto alle circa 1800 iscrizioni sacre di Roma complessivamente disponibili (1 ventesimo), sia rispetto alle figure divine in qualche modo venerate a Roma, circa 200. Le divinità auguste cui sono rivolte le dediche non sono infatti più di 25. La parte del leone è fatta dai *Lares Augusti* con ben 33 dediche,¹⁰² seguono *Hercules* e *Silvanus* con 6, *Mercurius* con 5, *Fortuna* e *Diana* con 4, *Apollo* e *Stata Mater* con 3, *Aesculapius*, *Concordia*, *Mars*, *Spes*, *Victoria* e *Volcanus* con 2; seguono altre 10 divinità con una sola attestazione ciascuna.

Sarebbe stato lecito aspettarsi – credo -, non dico una minor preminenza dei *Lares Augusti* che, vista l'importanza del loro culto in tutti i *compita* di Roma, doveva considerarsi scontata, quanto piuttosto la presenza di più

⁹⁴ ILS 3306. A Parma, *Iscrizioni latine Napoli* 2000, op.cit. (n.93), 68 nr. 18 con foto a p. 273. Lastra dal *compitum* del *vicus Armilustri* sull'Aventino: LTUR I (Roma 1993), 126 s. Per l'appartenenza al Museo Borgiano vedi n. prec. La data si ricava dall'anno 5° dell'era compitale.

⁹⁵ ILS 3308. Ara o base del *compitum* dal *vicus Sandalarius*: LTUR V (Roma 1999), 189. Perduta. Datazione consolare.

⁹⁶ ILS 3309; Friggeri 2001, op. cit. (n. 18), 73 fig. b. Ara o base dal *compitum* del *vicus Minervi*: LTUR V (Roma 1999), 180 s. La data è ricavata dall'anno 50° dell'era vicana (cfr. CIL VI 343: anno 32° = 26 d.C.).

⁹⁷ S. Panciera, in *Archeologia Laziale*, 3 (1980), 203-206 con foto. Base dallo stesso *compitum* da cui viene A 65, n. 76. La datazione si ricava dal dedicante che fu *magister vici* una prima volta nel 7/6 a.C. ed una seconda nel 4/5 d.C. Qui appare come *magister ter(tium)*, ma questa qualifica rappresenta un'aggiunta alla stesura originaria.

⁹⁸ ILS 1633; J. Vihonen, *Iscrizioni latine Napoli*, 2000, op. cit. (n. 93), 67 s. nr. 17 con foto a 273. Lastra (da base) scavata alla *Moneta* vedi sopra A5. Datazione consolare. Per l'offerta di una *Victoria Augusta* nella *schola* degli scribi librari e dei preconi, vedi sopra in nt. 10.

⁹⁹ G. Alföldy, *Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Roma 2000), 463 con foto. Basi di statue dal ponte di Valentiniano; LTUR IV, (Roma 1999), 107 s. Datazione dal nome (Simmaco) e dalla funzione del dedicante.

¹⁰⁰ ILS 3306. Per provenienza, bibliografia e datazione, vedi sopra n. 94.

¹⁰¹ ILS 3305. Epistilio perduto dal *compitum* del *vicus Sabuci*: LTUR V (Roma 1999), 185 s. Datazione ricavata dal numero, peraltro incompleto, almeno 50°, dell'era compitale.

¹⁰² In realtà di più perché nell'elenco non sono state incluse le dediche compitali che non conservassero almeno parte del nome delle divinità.

divinità o comunque di un maggior numero di attestazioni di culto per le divinità presenti. Si suole ritenere che, con il passare del tempo, l'epiteto *Augustus* / *Augusta* si sia banalizzato e pertanto sia stato generosamente dispensato senza guardare troppo per il sottile ad un gran numero di dei. Questo non è certamente il caso di Roma, che da questo punto di vista risulta, se mai, in forte controtendenza. Un esempio limite è fornito da *Silvanus*, di gran lunga la divinità più venerata a Roma in età imperiale (252 dediche secondo un mio recente censimento).¹⁰³ Ebbene soltanto in 6 di queste 252 dediche, tutte di età imperiale, al dio viene attribuito l'epiteto di *Augustus* (2,38%). Ad analoga conclusione si arriva considerando l'altra divinità, *Hercules*, che per sei volte appare con il titolo di *Augustus*: le dediche romane a questo dio sono infatti più di 150 ed, anche ammettendo con larghezza che un terzo siano di età repubblicana (sono certamente di meno), resterebbe che Ercole sarebbe detto *Augustus* in non più del 6 % dei casi. Il confronto potrebbe essere esteso con analoghi risultati alle altre divinità del gruppo. Aggiungerei solo il caso di Mercurio perché un libro recente sul culto di Mercurio in Spagna, contenendo comparazioni, da un lato con le province gallico-germaniche, dall'altro con quelle africane,¹⁰⁴ consente d'inserirlo agevolmente in un quadro più vasto. In totale le dediche di Mercurio a Roma sono 37, quelle a Mercurio Augusto sono 6. Data l'importanza del dio tra le divinità auguste, la percentuale sale in modo facilmente prevedibile al 16, 21 %. Ma è interessante il confronto con gli altri ambiti sopra ricordati. Il totale delle dediche a Mercurio in Spagna è di 51; tra esse quelle a Mercurio Augusto (13) rappresentano il 25,49 % quasi 10 punti più che a Roma). E la percentuale sale ulteriormente al 35,38 % in Africa (con 130 documenti), mentre crolla al 4,34 % tra Gallie e Germanie, province che pure hanno restituito ben 460 iscrizioni a Mercurio, peraltro in molti casi da considerare *interpretatio* romana di un dio locale.

Anche ammesso che questi dati (che non ho verificato) siano soggetti a qualche modifica, la disparità di comportamento da luogo a luogo non credo sia in discussione. Ne consegue che, non solo l'epiteto non è così inflazionato come si ritiene, ma la sua stessa presenza / assenza merita attenzione¹⁰⁵ come pure la ragione che di volta in volta può averla determinata.

¹⁰³ 'Silvano a Roma', in *Studia in honorem Georgii Mihailov* (Sofia 1995 [1996]), 347-361 (248 testi); adde AE 1990, 56 e 118; 1991, 295; 1993, 152.

¹⁰⁴ G. Baratta, *Il culto di Mercurio nella penisola iberica* (Barcelona 2001), 108, con n. 356.

¹⁰⁵ Degno di nota, ad esempio, che l'epiteto *Augustus* / *-a* non è attribuito non solo ad alcuna delle divinità menzionate negli Atti dei Ludi secolari del 17 a.C. (*Apollo, Diana, Hercules Victor, Ilithya, Iuno, Iuno Regina, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, Iuppiter Stator, Iuppiter Tonans, Latona, Moerae, Ops, Terra Mater*)

Per quanto riguarda le divinità auguste nel loro complesso, il confronto con il libro di Étienne mostra, con alcune coincidenze, anche cospicue differenze. Dico le liste, non la lista, di Étienne perché, mentre qui per comodità si è preferito redigerne una sola, egli ha scelto di compilarne due: una di quelle che, seguendo il Mattingly, il Charlesworth e il Nock, definisce delle virtù imperiali¹⁰⁶ e l'altra delle divinità auguste vere e proprie. Non senza motivo, perché si tratta di figure religiose diverse anche se non sempre un preciso confine risulta facilmente tracciabile. Il Fishwick propone a sua volta di dividere in due la lista delle cosiddette virtù, mettendo da una parte quelle che considera le virtù imperiali vere, come l'*Aequitas*, la *Clementia*, la *Constantia*, la *Fides*, l'*Indulgentia*, la *Iustitia* e così via e dall'altra quelli che possono considerarsi piuttosto i risultati, i benefici dell'azione imperiale come la *Libertas*, la *Pax*, la *Salus*, la *Spes* e quant'altro.¹⁰⁷ Anche questa divisione non è comunque esente da qualche problema.

Da un confronto della lista Étienne delle virtù con la nostra risulta che sono presenti in comune *Concordia*, *Fortuna*, *Pax*, *Pietas*, *Salus*, *Victoria*. Assai diverso è però in vari casi il numero delle attestazioni: 2 a Roma contro 5 in Spagna per *Concordia*; 1 contro 5 per *Pietas*; 1 contro 7 per *Salus*; 2 contro 11 per *Victoria*. Mancano inoltre nella lista romana *Aeternitas*, *Bonus Eventus*, *Iuventus*, *Libertas*, *Providentia*,¹⁰⁸ *Tutela*, *Virtus*; mentre in quella spagnola non c'è *Spes*, peraltro presente a Roma solo 2 volte. Da notare che in entrambe le liste mancano virtù "canoniche" imperiali (augustee in particolare) come *Clementia* e *Iustitia*.¹⁰⁹ Pur facendo qualche parte all'azzardo dei ritrovamenti, non si può fare a meno di constatare che il fenomeno romano risulta assai più ridotto, sia quantitativamente, sia

sui quali vedi ora B. Schnegg – Köhler, *Die augusteischen Säkularspiele*. Archiv für Religionsgeschichte 4 (München-Leipzig 2002), ma neppure ad alcuna delle molte divinità pregate per Augusto dal liberto L. Lucretius Zethus nell'1 d.C.: CIL VI 30975 = ILS 3090; cfr. M. A. Cavallaro, *Helikon* 15-16 (1975-1976), 146-186. Nessuna divinità augusta neppure nei Ludi Seculari severiani: G. B. Pighi, *De ludibus saecularibus populi Romani Quiritium* (2a ed., Amsterdam 1965).

¹⁰⁶ H. Mattingly, 'The Roman Virtues', *Harvard Theological Review* 30 (1937), 103-117; M.P. Charlesworth, 'The Virtues of a Roman Emperor', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 23 (1937), 105-133; A. D. Nock, 'The Emperor's Divine Comes', *Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947), 112-116 (Idem, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* [Oxford 1972], 670-675).

¹⁰⁷ Fishwick 1991, op. cit. (n. 1), 454-474, in part. 460. Alla bibliografia sulle "virtù" imperiali indicata nella nota precedente ed a quella registrata in Fishwick, aggiungere: C. V. Classen, 'Virtutes imperatoriae', *Arctos* 25 (1991), 17-39; C. F. Noreña, 'The Communication of Emperor's Virtues', *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001), 146-168.

¹⁰⁸ Per la quale vedi però sopra in n. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Contro l'idea di un canone di virtù imperiali di origine filosofica formato da *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia* e *pietas* vedi in particolare A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Emperor and his Virtues', *Historia* 30 (1981), 298-323 e Classen 1991, art. cit. (n. 107).

qualitativamente di quello spagnolo, come se la disponibilità a questo tipo di culto, mutato l'ambiente, fosse più ridotta e comunque diversamente orientata.

Nella stessa direzione si è condotti da un confronto della lista Étienne delle divinità auguste con la nostra. Ancora una volta troviamo divinità presenti in entrambe: *Aesculapius*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Isis*, *Mars*, *Mercurius*, *Minerva*, *Neptunus*, *Pantheus*, *Silvanus*, *Venus*. Ma in certi casi il numero delle testimonianze è marcatamente diverso: *Hercules* e *Silvanus* (6 a Roma e 3 in Spagna); però *Mars* (2 a Roma 16 in Spagna). Mancano d'altronde nella lista romana *Caelestis*, *Iuno*, *Iuppiter* (presente solo il *Maleciabruces* e l'*Heliopolitanus*), *Liber Pater*, *Luna*, *Lupa*, *Nemesis*, *Pollux*, *Sol* e *Vesta*, mentre nella lista spagnola sono assenti *Fons*, *Iuppiter Maleciabruces*, *Iuppiter Heliopolitanus*, *Volcanus* ed i *Lares* che invece hanno 33 testimonianze a Roma, dando l'impressione di aver concentrato su di sé un culto altrove più diffuso o caratterizzato da altri addensamenti (*Mars*, *Victoria*, *Venus*, *Salus*, ad esempio).

Consideriamo ora la seconda tabella, in cui le dediche alle divinità auguste sono ordinate cronologicamente.

B - Secondo cronologia

Nr. Id.	Datazione	Divinità
B1 = A8	7/6 a.C.	[D]ianaē August.
B2 = A26	7/6 a.C.	Laribus Augustis
B3 = A27	7/6 a.C.	Larib. Aug.
B4 = A28	7/6 a.C.	Larib. Aug.
B5 = A29	7/6 a.C.	Larib[us Aug.]
B6 = A61	7/6 a.C.	Mercurio Augus[fo]
B7 = A82	6/5 a.C.	Statae Matri August.
B8 = A62	3/2 a.C.	Mercurio Aug.
B9 = A83	3/2 a.C.	Statae Matri Augustae
B10 = A89	3/2 a.C.	Volcano Quieto Augusto
B11 = A30	2 a.C.	Laribus Augustis
B12 = A31	2 a.C.	Laribus Augustis
B13 = A3	2/1 a.C.	Apollini Aug.
B14 = A9	1 a.C./1 d.C.	Dianaē Augustae
B15 = A86	I sec. a.C., fine	Veneri August.
B16 = A32	2/3 d.C.	Laribus Augustis
B17 = A33	3/4 d.C.	Lar. Aug.
B18 = A84	12 d.C.	Statae Fortunae Aug.
B19 = A6	età augustea	[Conc]ord[iaē] Aug.
B20 = A10	età augustea	Dianaē Augustae
B21 = A34	età augustea	Lar. [Aug.]
B22 = A63	età augustea	Mercurio Aug.
B23 = A1	25 d.C.	Aisculapio Augusto
B24 = A17	26 d.C.	[He]rculi Tut[tor]i Aug.

Nr. Id.	Datazione	Divinità
B25 = A71	22 d.C.; 43 d.C.	<i>Pietati Augustae</i>
B26 = A85	44 d.C.	<i>Statae Matri Aug.</i>
B27 = A4	46 d.C.	<i>Apollini Aug.</i>
B28 = A7	I sec., I metà	<i>[Co]ncordiae Aug.</i>
B29 = A36	I sec., I metà	<i>Laribu[s Aug.]</i>
B30 = A59	I sec., I metà	<i>Mar[ti] Aug.</i>
B31 = A35	età tiberio - claudiana	<i>Laribus Augusti[s]</i>
B32 = A37	56 d.C. ?	<i>Laribus Augustis</i>
B33 = A66	57 d.C.	<i>Minervae Aug.</i>
B34 = A70	71 d.C. ?	<i>Paci August.</i>
B35 = A18	età vespasiana	<i>Herculi Aug.</i>
B36 = A38	83 d.C.	<i>Laribus Aug.</i>
B37 = A39	età domiziana	<i>Laribu[s Aug.]</i>
B38 = A40	98/99 d.C.	<i>Laribus Augustis</i>
B39 = A41	I sec. d.C.	<i>La[ribus] A[ugustis]</i>
B40 = A64	I sec. d.C.	<i>Merc. Aug.</i>
B41 = A42	I sec., II metà	<i>Laribus Aug.</i>
B42 = A90	I sec., II metà	<i>Volcano Quietto Augusto</i>
B43 = A43	I sec., fine/II inizio	<i>[Laribu]s Aug.</i>
B44 = A44	100 d.C.	<i>Laribus Augustis</i>
B45 = A45	109 d.C.	<i>[Laribus A]ugustis</i>
B46 = A5	115 d.C.	<i>Apollini Aug.</i>
B47 = A14	115 d.C.	<i>Fortunae Aug.</i>
B48 = A21	115 d.C.	<i>Herculi Aug.</i>
B49 = A87	115 d.C.	<i>Victoriae Au[g.]</i>
B50 = A46	116 d.C.	<i>La[rum Aug.]</i>
B51 = A22	età traiana	<i>Herculi Aug.</i>
B52 = A73	età traiana	<i>Silvano Aug.</i>
B53 = A2	età adrianea	<i>Aesculapio Aug.</i>
B54 = A72	età adrianea	<i>Saluti Aug.</i>
B55 = A80	età traiana-adrianea	<i>Spei Aug.</i>
B56 = A 67	139 d.C.	<i>Minervae Aug.</i>
B57 = A74	141 d.C.	<i>Silvano Aug.</i>
B58 = A47	149 d.C.	<i>[Laribus Aug]ustis</i>
B59 = A48	161 d.C.	<i>[Laribus Augusto]rum</i>
B60 = A49	169 d.C.	<i>[Larib]us Augg.</i>
B61 = A69	161 - 169 d.C.	<i>[Pa]ntheo Aug.</i>
B62 = A22	età commodiana	<i>Herculi August.</i>
B63 = A13	I/II sec. d.C.	<i>Fort[unae] Aug.</i>
B64 = A20	I/II sec. d.C.	<i>Herculi Aug.</i>
B65 = A60	I/II sec. d.C.	<i>Marti Aug.</i>
B66 = A23	II sec.	<i>[Isi]di Aug.</i>
B67 = A50	II sec.	<i>Laribus Aug.</i>
B68 = A68	II sec., metà	<i>Neptuno Aug.</i>
B69 = A11	II sec., II metà	<i>[Di]anae Aug.</i>
B70 = A75	II sec., II metà	<i>Silvano Aug.</i>
B71 = A25	II sec., fine	<i>I.O.M.H. Aug.</i>
B72 = A77	II sec., fine/III inizio	<i>Sancto Silvano Aug.</i>
B73 = A51	203 d.C.	<i>Larib. Aug.</i>
B74 = A52	223 d.C.	<i>Laribus Aug.</i>

Nr. Id.	Datazione	Divinità
B75 = A53	222 - 235 d.C.	[La]ribus A[ugustis]
B76 = A12	244 - 249 d.C.	Fonti Aug.
B77 = A76	II sec., II metà / III sec., I metà	Silvano Aug.
B78 = A15	II sec. fine / III sec.	Fortunae Augustae Respicie[nti]
B79 = A16	II sec. fine / III sec.	Fortunae Augustae Praesenti
B80 = A65	III sec., metà	Deo Sancto Mercurio Aug.
B81 = A24	III sec.	Iovi Maleciabrudi Aug.
B82 = A88	365 - 367 d.C.	Victoriae Augustae
B83 = A54	?	Laribus Aug.
B84 = A55	?	Larib. Aug.
B85 = A56	?	Laribus Augustis
B86 = A57	?	Laribus Aug.
B87 = A58	?	[La]ribus Augustis
B88 = A78	?	Silvano Aug.
B89 = A79	?	Silvano Aug.
B90 = A81	?	Spei Aug.

In base a questa lista si dovrebbe affermare che l'arco temporale in cui le divinità auguste sono documentate è assai ampio: dall'ultimo decennio a.C. ad almeno il sesto decennio del IV sec. d. C. In realtà dediche alla *Victoria Augusta* dal ponte di Valentiniano a parte,¹¹⁰ documenti che per più versi costituiscono un caso a sé (tra l'altro doveva esser stata rimessa da poco nella curia l'ara della Vittoria che Costanzo II aveva fatto togliere nel 357¹¹¹), non si hanno sostanzialmente più dediche a divinità auguste dopo il III sec. o addirittura dopo la metà di quel secolo. L'ultima delle dediche ai *Lares Augusti* che, con il loro numero, costituiscono uno straordinario esempio di continuità, è databile agli anni 222-235. In Spagna l'ultimo esempio datato è, secondo Étienne, del tempo di Caracalla¹¹² o meglio di età antoniniana;¹¹³ ivi stesso le dediche a Mercurio Augusto, secondo le ricerche della Baratta sono per lo più dei secoli I e II con qualche incerta espansione nel III limitatamente alla *Gallaecia* ed alla *Lusitania*.¹¹⁴ L'ultima dedica datata a Mercurio Augusto in Germania è del 249.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Vedi sopra con n. 99.

¹¹¹ Sulla rimozione dell'ara (e della statua) per volontà di Costanzo II ed il suo ripristino al tempo, come si ritiene, di Giuliano con le fonti pertinenti: S. Mazzarino, 'Tolleranza e intolleranza: la polemica dell'ara della Vittoria', *Antico, tardoantico ed era costantiniana I* (Bari 1974), 339-377, in part. 339-357 (p. 352 n. 32 per il ripristino); D. Vera, *Commento storico alle Relationes di Quinto Aurelio Simmaco* (Pisa 1981), 12 s.

¹¹² CIL II 2121; Étienne 1958, op. cit. (n. 8), 340 n. 9.

¹¹³ CIL II² / 7, 56.

¹¹⁴ Baratta 2001, op. cit. (n. 104), 108.

¹¹⁵ CIL XIII 6658; Liertz 1998, op. cit. (n.9), 174, 176.

Va considerato inoltre che, tra I e III sec., allo stato almeno della nostra documentazione, le divinità auguste sono lontane dal presentare a Roma uno scaglionamento uniforme. L'unica attestazione di *Venus* è della fine del I sec. a.C.; *Stata Mater*, *Concordia*, *Pietas*, non oltrepassano la metà del I sec. d.C.; *Volcanus* e *Pax* non superano la fine del I sec.; *Aesculapius*, *Apollo*, *Neptunus*, *Salus*, non vanno oltre la metà del II; *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mars*, *Pantheus*, non oltrepassano il II; *Fortuna*, *Mercurius* e *Fons* (come i *Lares*), non superano forse la metà circa del III sec. Altre divinità invece presentano l'epiteto solo tardi come *Silvanus* per cui non è attestato prima dell'età traianea, e *Iuppiter Maleciabrudus* ed *Heliopolitanus*, per cui l'abbiamo solo dalla fine del II o inizio del III sec. Insomma anche dal punto di vista cronologico il paesaggio è meno piatto ed uniforme di quel che si potrebbe credere.

E veniamo ai dedicanti, analizzati nelle tabelle C e D. Se, come sopra si è sospettato, l'attribuzione dell'epiteto *Augustus* / *Augusta* ad una determinata divinità non è irrilevante, si capisce l'importanza di registrare accuratamente da parte di chi l'attributo è conferito.

C - Secondo dedicanti

Nr. id.	tipo di dedicante	Dedica
C1	uomo/donna	tutti uomini
C2	ingenuo	B2, B14, B24, B25, B26, B34, B44, B56, B58, B59, B61, B65, B73, B77, B80, B82
C3	servo/liberto imperiale	B35, B46, B47, B48, [B51], B52, B60, B64, B68, B76
C4	servo/liberto non imperiale	B3, B4, B5, B6, B8, B11, B12, B13, B14, B15, B16, B17, B18, B23, B27, B34, B36, B38, B40, B42, B44, B45, B48, B53, B58, B59, B70
C5	inc. con cognome greco	B1, B2, B6, B9, B10, B14, B24, B26, B30, B32, B33, B34, B43, B45, B48, B53, B67, B71, B75, B78, B79, B81, B87, B89
C6	inc. con cognome latino	B2, B7, B14, B16, B20, B26, B28, B32, B33, B34, B53, B57, B59, B62, B66, B74, B88
C7	inc. senza cognome	B2, B29, B42, B49, B69, B70, B75, B76

Nella tabella C i dedicanti sono stati ripartiti secondo l'appartenenza ad alcuni gruppi oppositivi: uomo/donna o ingenuo/schiavo-liberto, distinguendo ulteriormente tra schiavi e liberti imperiali o di altri e mantenendo separati gli incerti, che tali sono in realtà, come vedremo, solo in esigua minoranza.¹¹⁶

Prima constatazione su questa lista: nessuna donna tra i dedicanti (C1). Che le donne costituiscano in epigrafia un gruppo di dedicanti fortemente

¹¹⁶ La lista rende conto del numero dei documenti in cui i vari tipi di dedicanti occorrono e non di quello dei dedicanti, del resto non sempre accertabile.

minoritario è fatto ben noto. Se consideriamo i dedicanti singoli di CIL VI, vediamo che in 613 casi sono uomini e solo in 50 donne (anche insieme appaiono poco: solo 62 volte). Qui va considerato però che non c'è scarsità, bensì totale assenza, come se venerare una divinità augusta fosse una pratica esclusivamente da uomini.

Seconda osservazione: ingenui certi (C2) appaiono soltanto in 16 dediche su 90. Inoltre solo in 4 casi, tutti per qualche verso anomali,¹¹⁷ il dedicante ingenuo appartiene ad uno strato sociale elevato o addirittura elevatissimo, come nella dedica pubblica B25 che è quella famosa alla *Pietas Augusta* eseguita nel 43 da Claudio secondo un senatoconsulto del 22 (non posso soffermarmi su questa intricata questione sulla quale ha fatto il punto da ultimo Eugenio La Rocca)¹¹⁸ o nel caso di B73 (dedica ai *Lares Augusti* di Settimio Severo e Caracalla). B61 è una dedica a *Pantheo Augusto* da parte di un *procurator* equestre di Marco Aurelio, Lucio Vero e di Faustina Augusta. La dedica B80 è fatta *ex oraculo* a Mercurio Augusto da un senatore di origine microasiatica (forse efesino) insieme con i suoi familiari, intorno alla metà del III sec. Da ultimo vengono le già ricordate dediche alla Vittoria Augusta poste sul ponte di Valentiniano tra il 10 marzo 365 e il 24 agosto 367 dall'ex prefetto urbano L. Aurelio Aviano Simmaco. In altri due casi il dedicante, verosimilmente ingenuo, è un *veteramus*: rispettivamente B65 a Marte e B77 a Silvano. Nei rimanenti 9 documenti l'ingenuo compare insieme con dedicante di condizione libertina, in particolare (7 casi) nell'ambito del culto compitale tra i cui *magistri*, per lo più liberti, potevano esserci eccezionalmente anche persone di nascita libera.

Tutti gli altri dedicanti sono schiavi o liberti, sicuri o molto probabili, ad esempio per il cognome greco o per il contesto (ad esempio quello del culto compitale in cui figurano).

Non sembra dunque inappropriato ricavare la conclusione ulteriore che a Roma il culto delle divinità auguste sia in misura nettamente preponderante un culto privato servile o libertino.

Con la tabella D possiamo anche verificare in quale veste i dedicanti dichiarino di comporre le loro offerte.

¹¹⁷ Sono indicati sotto nella tabella D al nr. 21 (=B25, 61, 80, 82).

¹¹⁸ LTUR IV (Roma 1999), 87-89.

D - Secondo qualifica dei dedicanti

Nr. id.	qualifica dedicante	Dedica
D1	<i>collegium struc[torum]</i>	B85
D2	<i>collegium Larum praedio[rum — et] Dianae Bat[—]e...[per --- curjatorem et Eutychem adiuto[rem]</i>	B60
D3	<i>conduct[ores] flaturae argen[tar(iae)] monetae Cae[saris]</i>	B49
D4	<i>curatores tribus Suc(cusanae) lunior(um)</i>	B34
D5	<i>disp(ensator) fisci fr(umentarii)</i>	B52
D6	<i>magistri fontani</i>	B33
D7	<i>magistri / ministri vici</i>	B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, B8, B9, B10, B11, B12, B13, B14, B16, B17, B18, B23, B24, B26, B27, B29, B32, B36, B38, B42, B43, B44, [B50], B58, B59, B67, [B73], B75, B87
D8	<i>me(n)sor aedificiorum Augg.</i>	B69, B70
D9	<i>officinatores et nummularii officinarum argentariarum familiae monetari(ae)</i>	B51
D10	<i>officinatores monetae aurariae argentariae Caesaris n(ostr)</i>	B47
D11	<i>optio et exactor auri argenti et aeris</i>	B46, B47
D12	<i>optio et exactor auri arg(enti) aeris item signatores, suppostores, malleatores monetae Caesaris n(ostr)</i>	B48
D13	<i>pigmentarii et miniani (?)</i>	B28
D14	<i>pr(ocurator), lib. imp.</i>	B64, B68
D15	<i>quaestor di comunità isiaca</i>	B66
D16	<i>quinquennalis perpetuus collegii iuvenum Racilianensium</i>	B62
D17	<i>sacerdos I.O.M.H.</i>	B71
D18	<i>tabul(arius) a marmoribus</i>	B35
D19	<i>veter(anus), veter(anus) Augg.</i>	B65, B77
D20	<i>vilici praediorum Galbanorum et plebs, collegium salutare</i>	B53, B54
D21	<i>personalità eminenti</i>	B25 (imp. Claudio), B61 (procur. equestre), B73 (Imp. Settimo Severo e Caracalla), B80 (vir clarissimus), B82 (ex praef. urb.)

Da questa lista risulta evidente che la maggior parte dei dedicanti sottolinea la sua appartenenza a gruppi che, o sono direttamente relazionabili alla figura imperiale, o desiderano essere messi in rapporto con essa. Oltre i numerosi *magistri* e *ministri vici*, cui competeva il culto dei *Lares Augusti* e del *Genius Caesarum* (D7) ed ai membri di un *collegium Larum* in una proprietà imperiale (D2) si segnalano tutto il personale della *Moneta Caesaris*

(D3, D9, D10, D11, D12), ed altri membri a vario livello dell'amministrazione imperiale: un *dispensator fisci frumentarii* (D5), un *ensor aedificiorum* (D8), due *procuratores libertini* (D14), un *tabularius a marmoribus* (D18). Un *collegium structorum*, non meglio identificato (D1), fa una dedica dei *Lares Augusti* alle pendici del Palatino: sarà verosimilmente costituito da *structores* della casa imperiale. Una dedica alla *Concordia Augusta* ricorda che un *signum* della dea, *cum suis ornamentis* è stato offerto, nel contesto di un collegio di *pigmentarii* e *miniarii* insieme con *imagines argenteas ((tres))*, verosimilmente dell'imperatore e dei membri della sua famiglia (D13). Una dedica ad Ercole è posta da un *quinquennalis perpetuus collegi iuvenum Racilianensium* (D16); se coglie nel vero la mia vecchia interpretazione che mette in relazione questa organizzazione romana della *iuventus* con la suddivisione della città in *regiones* e *vici* (e in effetti esistono in *vicus Raciliani maioris* ed un *vicus Raciliani minoris*),¹¹⁹ siamo indirettamente ricondotti alle strutture (*regiones*, *vici*) che a Roma sono alla base del cosiddetto culto imperiale. Una dedica *Aesculapio et Saluti Aug(ustae)* o *Aug(ustis)* è fatta da un *collegium salutare* istituito tra il personale dei *praedia Galbana* (D20); primo destinatario della dedica è il *numen* della *domus Augusta* ed essa è posta *loco adsignato* dal *procurator patrimonii Caesaris nostri*. Lascio da parte qualche altro caso (D4, D6, D17, D19). Non mi sembra comunque dubbio che il culto delle divinità auguste trovi la sua diffusione a Roma, non solo quasi esclusivamente tra schiavi e liberti, ma anche tra schiavi e liberti strettamente collegati con la casa imperiale. Solo in parte analogo il quadro che Robert Étienne ricava dalla documentazione spagnola¹²⁰ nella quale su 74 dedicanti solo 34, cioè il 43,24%, sono costituiti da schiavi (6), liberti (8), indigeni (1), seviri (15), *magistri Larum* (4).

Dopo questa rassegna, si può tornare a chiedersi, prima di concludere, che cosa significhino effettivamente queste dediche romane rispetto al problema generale che si è posto all'inizio: sono manifestazioni di culto per un imperatore-dio?; di culto congiunto per un dio e per l'imperatore?; di culto per un dio in veste di guida e patrono dell'imperatore?; o, infine, soltanto il prodotto di una mescolanza di devozione verso gli dei e di piaggeria nei confronti dell'uomo più potente tra i potenti?

Nessun segno mi sembra ravvisabile di vero e proprio culto imperiale, né in proprio, né sotto le sembianze delle varie divinità evocate. Escluderei che una dedica *Mercurio Augusto* possa essere equivalente ad una dedica *Mercurio et*

¹¹⁹ Vedi sopra, n. 33.

¹²⁰ Étienne 1958, op. cit. (n. 8), 345.

Augusto.¹²¹ È vero che si possono trovare nomi di divinità giustapposti in asindeto, ma in genere si tratta, per l'appunto, di più divinità (almeno tre) e non di due, tra le quali normalmente la congiunzione non manca, oltretutto per l'equivoco che (in casi come questo) altrimenti ne conseguiva.

Che quando si pone una dedica ad una divinità con l'epiteto di *Augusta* lo si faccia per pura piaggeria, al di fuori di ogni sentimento religioso, è d'altronde una di quelle affermazioni che, essendo indimostrabili, risultano storicamente inutilizzabili.

È certo invece che non possono riguardare, neppure indirettamente, un imperatore-dio vivente, né le dediche a divinità auguste poste dal sovrano stesso come quella della *Pietas Augusta* da parte di Claudio (A71), o quella ai *Lares Augusti* da parte di Settimio Severo e Caracalla (A51), né quelle fatte da altri a qualche divinità augusta *pro salute* dell'imperatore, tenuto ben distinto dal dio invocato, come nel caso di *Fons* per i Filippi (A12).

Le divinità sono d'altronde *Augustae* o *Augusti*? Ed è avvertibile nelle dediche romane un'autentica differenza di significato tra le due denominazioni?

Se si scorrono le liste che ho prodotto si vede bene che in tutto l'arco della documentazione, quando l'epiteto è scritto per esteso, esso si presenta nella quasi totalità dei casi in forma aggettivale.¹²² Non vedo motivo perché le abbreviazioni dovrebbero essere sciolte diversamente.

In un solo caso (B59) abbiamo sicuramente *Laribus Augustorum* (per esteso) invece che *Augustis*. In un altro (B60), abbiamo *Augg.* scritto con due *G*. Il motivo di queste eccezioni è facilmente riconoscibile: con le prime due dediche siamo negli anni della prima correggenza imperiale, quella di Marco Aurelio e Lucio Vero, con la terza, ipotetica, in quelli della correggenza di Settimio Severo e Caracalla. Credo che il ricorso alla forma genitiva invece che a quella aggettivale, da un lato sia imputabile alle novità della correggenza, dall'altro mostri che, se con due imperatori si ritiene opportuno scrivere *Augustorum*, in tutti gli altri casi in cui, con riferimento ad una divinità, si scrive *Augustus* / *Augusta*, l'epiteto non fosse sentito sostanzialmente diverso da *Augusti*, o anche, più tardi, da *Augustorum*. Del resto che, tanto con *Augustus* quanto con *Augusti*, non s'intenda istituire un rapporto con l'imperatore come istituzione, bensì concretamente con

¹²¹ Così da ultimo Clauss 1999, op. cit. (n. 2), 280 e 286 ss. Contro questa interpretazione e, in generale, contro la tesi propugnata in questo libro di un vero e proprio culto generalizzato dell'imperatore vivente sin dal tempo di Augusto: C. Letta, *Athenaeum* 99 (2002), 625-632.

¹²² B2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 20, 23, 25, 32, 38, 42, 44, 45, 58, 78, 79, 82, 85, 87. Non sono elencati i casi in cui la forma estesa è frutto di integrazione.

l'imperatore regnante,¹²³ è mostrato da dediche come la A40, la cui intitolazione, a scanso di equivoci, suona *Laribus Augustis Imp(eratoris) Nervae Caesaris Traiani Aug(usti)*.

Ci si può chiedere d'altronde se si avvertisse una sostanziale differenza tra una dedica *Victoriae Augustae, comiti dominorum principumq(ue) nostrorum* (A88) ed altra *Victoriae Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Vespasiani Augusti*,¹²⁴ o tra due dediche, pressoché contemporanee ed entrambe della *tribus Succusana*, l'una *Paci Augustae* (A70), l'altra *Paci aeternae domus Imp(eratoris) Vespasiani Caesaris Aug(usti) liberorumq(ue) eius*.¹²⁵

Ho il sospetto che così non fosse. Ritengo che, come della *Victoria Augusta* si poteva pensare e scrivere che era *comes dominorum principumq(ue) nostrorum*, così si potesse pensare, anche se non si scriveva, che *Aesculapius, Apollo, Concordia, Diana* e così via, in quanto *Augusti / Augustae*, stessero in analogo, privilegiato, rapporto con l'imperatore, e non tanto con la sovranità in generale, quanto con quell'imperatore che al momento occupava il trono. Forte di tanta divina assistenza, il principe, che non era dio, tuttavia agli occhi dei suoi sudditi non era più neppure un uomo. Si può dire in qualche modo che, come i suoi generali vincevano le battaglie, ma non celebravano il trionfo, ricevendo solo gli *ornamenta triumphalia*, così l'imperatore, non ancora diventato dio, ma tuttavia superata la condizione umana, non ricevesse ancora culto, ma fosse considerato già meritevole di *ornamenta divina*. Per certi gruppi di persone, in parte variabili secondo i tempi ed i luoghi (ed a Roma - come si è visto - eminentemente costituiti da schiavi e o liberi, particolarmente legati alla figura ed all'amministrazione imperiale), venerare alcune divinità chiamandole auguste poteva essere un modo per chieder loro di continuare ad essere garanti della riconosciuta sovranità del principe e per chiedere che esse, come assistevano l'imperatore nel suo operare a beneficio di tutti, così volessero estendere almeno in parte anche ad altri il loro potente aiuto.

¹²³ Contra Clauss 1999, op. cit. (n. 2), 280-285, che vede nell'uso del genitivo la volontà di istituire relazione con un particolare imperatore mentre la forma aggettivale connetterebbe il dio in generale con l'istituzione imperiale. Scettici sul punto, tra gli altri, già A.D. Nock, 'Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 45 (1925), 92 ss., Idem, *Essays*, op.cit. [n. 106], 41 ss.) e Fishwick 1991, op. cit. (n. 1), 446.

¹²⁴ CIL VI 198 cfr. 30712, 36747; *Iscrizioni latine Napoli*, I, 2000, op.cit. (n. 93), 58 nr. 5. Per una possibile dedica alla Vittoria di tre Augusti e due Cesari vedi ora G. L. Gregori, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 86 (1991), 285 s. nr. 2 (AE 1991, 274).

¹²⁵ CIL VI 200 cfr. 30712, 36747; *Iscrizioni latine Napoli*, I, 2000, op.cit. (n. 93), 58 ss. nr. 6.

Così il culto delle divinità auguste a Roma ed altrove, pur con tutte le ambiguità che porta con sé,¹²⁶ non presuppone in linea di principio l'idea di un imperatore-dio. Se mai, l'idea di un imperatore superuomo perché divinamente assistito al punto da essere compartecipe dei poteri degli dei.¹²⁷

Roma, gennaio 2003

¹²⁶ Sull'ambiguità, spesso intenzionale, come carattere da cui non si può prescindere nell'esame del fenomeno del cosiddetto culto imperiale, ambiguità favorita proprio perché "consentiva una ricezione dei messaggi ideologici flessibile e graduata, a più livelli, a seconda della cultura, delle tradizioni religiose e politiche, della sensibilità dei diversi soggetti in gioco": Letta 2002, op.cit. (n. 121), 628 s.

¹²⁷ Solo al momento di consegnare questo scritto per la stampa ho potuto prendere visione di altri due recenti studi concernenti la questione qui trattata, uno in maniera generale, l'altro in modo specifico. Il primo è I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religio* (Oxford 2002), un libro che in qualche modo "sdrammatizza" l'opposizione uomo/dio in quanto l'autore ritiene che la divinità non sia un valore assoluto, bensì una qualità che sarebbe attribuita dal fedele sulla base di una riconosciuta detenzione di eccezionali (sovrumani) poteri. Onori divini sarebbero stati tributati già ad Augusto vivente in ambito privato e municipale; non invece nel culto pubblico; così in linea generale anche in seguito. Programmaticamente le divinità auguste non sono trattate. Una cosa sarebbe tuttavia attribuire epiteto di *Augustus/Augusta* ad un dio, che risulterebbe in tal modo vagamente collegato con l'imperatore, altra dire quello stesso dio *Augusti*, fatto che comporterebbe la nascita di una nuova divinità e la sua appropriazione da parte dell'imperatore come sua divinità tutelare (103-105). Dubito che questa distinzione, se anche poté esservi in origine, sia stata sempre mantenuta ed a tutti i livelli. Tutto il libro merita comunque un'approfondita discussione. Sulla presunta inesistenza di un culto del Genio di Augusto a Pompei ed altrove, vedi intanto i contributi di C. Letta citati sopra (n. 4). L'altro studio è l'articolo di A. Villaret, 'L'association de l'empereur et des dieux en Aquitaine. Son rôle dans la société et les mentalités', *Aquitania* 16 (1999), 127-151: esso consiste nella puntuale raccolta e nell'esame analitico delle testimonianze epigrafiche, da un lato di dedica congiunta all'imperatore ed a divinità (non a virtù) auguste. Abbiamo dunque un altro studio specifico sul tema. L'a. ritiene che non vi sia sostanziale differenza tra le due espressioni di culto, che costituirebbero piuttosto due diverse modalità di associazione degli dei all'imperatore, di cui diverrebbero protettrici particolari (il culto delle divinità auguste sarebbe stato prevalente al sud della provincia per influsso narbonese). Come a Roma, l'uso si estende dall'età augustea alla metà del III sec. e le divinità sono praticamente sempre *Augustae* e non *Augusti*. Notevoli invece le diversità per quanto riguarda gli dei prescelti (nella stragrande maggioranza interpretabili come gallo-romani o indigeni) e quanto ai dedicanti (essenzialmente notabili locali e peregrini; anche qualche donna; pochi gli schiavi ed i liberti). Non mancano testimonianze d'iniziativa pubblica, ma si tratta per lo più di culto privato, espressione, secondo l'a., «d'un sentiment religieux authentique qui allie "l'amour de l'Auguste" (Veyne) a la foi dans les dieux traditionnelles de la cité, cooperation dont on attend des biens aussi vitaux que la santé, le salut, la fécondité, la prospérité». Altri studi analitici a carattere regionale potranno contribuire ad un'ulteriore precisazione del quadro.

ANCYRA, ANTIOCHIA E APOLLONIA.

LA RAPPRESENTAZIONE DELLE *RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI*

a

PAULA BOTTERI

Credo si possa affermare senza tema di smentite che non esiste studioso del mondo antico che non si sia imbattuto nel testo epigrafico delle *res gestae divi Augusti* e non ne conosca il contenuto e la storia della sua scoperta. Ne sono prova, del resto, la cospicua bibliografia sull'argomento e gli studi recenti ed ancora recentissimi che mostrano un rinnovato interesse storiografico per il primo imperatore di Roma e la fondazione del suo potere.¹ Ed in particolare, lo confermano anche gli argomenti delle comunicazioni di questo convegno.

Come indicato nel titolo di questo intervento, visiteremo i luoghi di esposizione delle *Res gestae divi Augusti* e il contesto entro il quale esse erano destinate a provocare il loro impatto comunicativo, naturalmente nelle località in cui sono state ritrovate. Perché le *res gestae* monumentali rappresentano, a mio parere, l'espressione più compiuta del linguaggio visivo dell'apparato propagandistico augusteo, come manifesto insuperabile dell'autorappresentazione celebrativa del *princeps* e del potere. Illustreremo qui geografia, spazi urbani e *monumenta*, ossia i testi e i loro contenitori, entrambi veicoli di ciò che conserva e trasmette la memoria di uomini e vicende insigni.²

Se, come ho detto, il testo delle *res gestae Divi Augusti* è fonte ben nota, forse non altrettanto noti sono i luoghi da cui provengono e dove si conservano le iscrizioni, ad iniziare da Ankara. Certo, i resti del santuario, un tempo dedicato ad Augusto e alla dea Roma, sono ancora ben visibili (un po' meno visibile, attualmente, è l'iscrizione); ma ciò che la città moderna ha coperto e non lascia più scoprire è l'intero ambiente figurativo entro cui la rappresentazione visiva delle *res gestae* potevano agire da dispositivo simbolico.

Naturalmente, anche la città moderna non è sfuggita alle norme più o meno sotterranee che regolano la comunicazione del potere attraverso

¹ W. K. Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System* (Leeds 1996); W. Eck, *Augustus und seine Zeit* (München 1998); P. Southern, *Augustus* (London/New York 1998); J. Bleicken, *Augustus. Eine Biographie* (Berlin 1998); P. Botteri, 'Missione in Turchia: il *Monumentum Ancyranum*', *Quaderni di Storia* 54 (2001), 133-148, in part. 137, n.10.

² J. Le Goff, 'Documento/Monumento', in *Enciclopedia Einaudi* (Torino 1978) 5, 38-48; G. Belloni, *Le antichità romane. L'uomo romano: affermazione del dominio e fermenti dello spirito* (Bologna 1996), 135 ss.

l'organizzazione urbanistica. Quando Ankara divenne capitale del paese si trasformò completamente: da grosso borgo di 30 mila anime, in città e megalopoli (dati aggiornati parlano di 5 milioni di abitanti). L'arteria principale che l'attraversa da Sud a Nord per circa 6 km si chiama Bulvari Atatürk. La strada congiunge il quartiere dove si trovano quella che fu la residenza governativa di Gazi Mustafa Kemal (ora trasformata in Museo), e l'attuale palazzo presidenziale al quartiere di Ulus, terminando ai piedi della statua equestre del *pater patriae* (Atatürk). Essa stabilisce, dunque, un collegamento e non solo ideale, tra la sede politica del primo Presidente storico della repubblica ad una delle sue raffigurazioni eroiche, in veste di combattente, restauratore della libertà. Alle spalle del bronzo di Atatürk a cavallo inizia il quartiere di Ulus, il vecchio centro della città, dove l'antico e il vecchio si confondono con il nuovo, creando contrasti ambientali e strutturali violenti, risultato di una crescita per accumulo, senza alcuna pianificazione. Nel centro del quartiere, trasformato dagli interventi urbanistici dell'ultimo ventennio, è ancora riconoscibile la zona elevata su cui sorgeva l'acropoli antica (Tav. V, fig.1). Una moderna scalinata monumentale porta fino alla spianata di cemento che circonda una moschea, un minareto ed i resti del tempio di Augusto (Tav. V, fig. 2).

La vicinanza dei due edifici non sorprende. Come altrove - e gli esempi non mancano certo - esiste anche qui una stratigrafia culturale profonda, prodotta dalla tendenza a prolungare nei secoli la sacralità dei luoghi: pare che già i Frigi avessero dedicato il sito al culto delle loro antiche divinità anatoliche (Men e Cibele).

La costruzione romana mostra i segni di molti rimaneggiamenti e delle trasformazioni subite attraverso il tempo e la storia. Nel VI secolo, chiesa bizantina; nel XV scuola teologica per i Dervisci con l'aggiunta della moschea ottomana. Congiunta ad un'anta del tempio, la moschea venne costruita nella prima metà del XV secolo per onorare Haci Bayram Veli, carismatica guida spirituale di una confraternita dei Dervisci di Ankara, morto nella prima metà del '400. Il santuario islamico è stato quasi completamente ristrutturato. Solo il piccolo mausoleo adiacente, custode per un periodo delle spoglie del Maestro, e il minareto hanno conservato la forma originaria. Lo spazio interno ed esterno del tempio è ora adibito a deposito di materiale archeologico e di detriti, ma ha accolto anche un cimitero turco. Nell'area antistante la moschea e il tempio, i fedeli islamici continuano a celebrare funerali, matrimoni e circoncisioni. Raramente a questa folla si mescolano persone estranee. E quando ciò avviene, si tratta di piccoli gruppi o di singoli individui, di solito

palesemente stranieri, spinti dalla curiosità di visitare le rovine romane, che le guide turistiche indicano con scarsa evidenza. Nel famoso Museo delle Civiltà Anatoliche, unica meta obbligata di tutto il turismo in transito ad Ankara, e dal quale si vede benissimo il tempio, non esiste una sola indicazione che ne segnali l'ubicazione e l'opportunità di una visita. Come del resto, non esiste alcuna forma di pubblicità per il passato romano della città, presente nei resti di un prestigioso impianto termale ad ipocausto, e in quelli dei teatri, semisepolti dai rifiuti. Eppure, l'edificio che fu dedicato al divo Augusto e alla dea Roma,³ conserva il testo bilingue delle *res gestae Divi Augusti*, una pagina di storia straordinaria, segnata da forti connotazioni simboliche, pari, oserei dire, a quelle che rendono grandiosa l'Acropoli di Atene o i Fori di Roma. Del celebre monumento rimangono ancora in piedi i fianchi della cella, legati insieme dal pronao, che conserva il maestoso portale della cella. Nella parte posteriore dell'edificio, aggiunti all'opistodomo, l'abside e la cripta della chiesa bizantina. Tutte le modifiche subite nel corso dei secoli hanno completamente alterato la fisionomia originaria del tempio e del suo contesto, in modo tale che quasi nulla si può capire dell'assetto urbanistico di età romana.

Tuttavia, sull'anta sinistra del pronao (sinistra per chi guarda dall'esterno il portale della cella) si conserva in buona parte l'iscrizione, che ricorda i sacerdoti provinciali preposti annualmente al culto imperiale⁴ dal 23 al 39. La lista appartiene dunque all'età di Tiberio e Caligola, ed in base a questo elemento cronologico alcuni studiosi datano anche il tempio.⁵ Personalmente non credo che si possa stabilire un rapporto tra la datazione dei sacerdoti del culto imperiale e la fondazione del tempio. Ma ciò non rientra nell'ordine dell'odierna discussione. Ci interessa invece l'elenco delle opere realizzate grazie all'evergetismo dei ministri del culto. Come, ad esempio, i doni offerti alla città di Ancyra dal sacerdote dell'anno 23 d.C., Pilemene, figlio del re Aminta. L'iscrizione ricorda la generosità di questo sacerdote di stirpe reale, che ha regalato alla città i terreni su cui si erge il

³ C. Fayer, *Il culto della Dea Roma. Origine e diffusione nell'Impero* (Chieti 1976).

⁴ OGIS II, 533; M. Schede & D. Krencker, *Der Tempel in Ankara* (Berlin 1936), 52 s. e T. 43-44a; L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Amsterdam 1971, réimp. de l'ouvrage paru en 1940), 135s.; R.K. Sherk, *The Legates of Galatia from Augustus to Diocletian* (Baltimore 1951), 26s.; E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum* (Ankara 1967), 35 s.; H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Roma 1985), 185 s., con bibliographia).

⁵ Sulla datazione del tempio, per esempio, cf. S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984), 267s.; H. Halfmann, 'Zur Datierung und Deutung der Priesterliste am Augustus-Roma Tempel in Ankara', *Chiron* 16 (1986), 35-42. Cf. Botteri 2001, op.cit. (n.1), 133-148, in part. 141 n.19.

Sebasteion e dove si svolgevano le feste pubbliche, le cerimonie, le corse con i cavalli, i concorsi ginnici e così via. Davanti al tempio di Augusto e Roma doveva esserci, dunque, un grande spazio pubblico destinato alle feste e ai giochi ma non il solo Pilemene era stato prodigo evergeta. Anche gli altri sacerdoti galati avevano seguito il cerimoniale dell'offerta previsto dal culto imperiale con intere forniture di olio per la cittadinanza, giochi venatori, gladiatori⁶ e spettacoli teatrali. Una ventina d'anni fa (1982) è stato scoperto ad Ankara un teatro romano. Il complesso si trova poco distante dal tempio di Augusto, e non è che parzialmente scavato. Alcune preliminari proposte di datazione lo collocherebbero nella prima metà del I secolo d.C., più o meno contemporaneo, dunque, all'iscrizione dei sacerdoti del koinon dei Galati. Per quanto ad oggi ne sappiamo, potrebbe trattarsi di un impianto collegato all'area del santuario, come quelli recentemente studiati nella Narbonese e nella topografia augustea di qualche città della penisola iberica.⁷ Penso in particolare a Tarragona.

Il testo latino del 'testamento' di Augusto⁸ è inciso sulle pareti del pronao, a sinistra e a destra di chi entra, prima di oltrepassare il portale che introduce alla cella. Si presenta diviso in modo identico da una parte e dall'altra, per 3,60 m. di larghezza su ciascun lato, e 2 m. e 48 di altezza (complessivi 17,86 m²) (Tav. V, fig.3). La traduzione greca si trova invece sul muro esterno della cella e si sviluppa su una fascia lunga circa 20,30 metri, e alta 1 metro e 25, pari ad una superficie di 21,55 m² (Tav. V, fig.4). Detto per inciso, il testo greco delle *res gestae Divi Augusti* rappresenta da sempre, per gli studiosi, un semplice supporto ad integrazione dell'originale latino e, salvo rarissime eccezioni,⁹ non è considerato che un complemento testuale della copia latina, del tutto privo di autonomia.

Ma lasciamo da parte i problemi relativi al testo dell'iscrizione, problemi di cui ci stiamo occupando altrove. Ciò che qui interessa è l'ambiente in cui l'iscrizione augustea ha sede, perché è legittimo chiedersi quale fosse realmente l'impatto del messaggio, oltre quello legato al culto dell'imperatore e, più in generale, al valore simbolico del monumento 'iscritto'.¹⁰

⁶ Robert 1971, op.cit. (n. 4).

⁷ P. Gros, 'Théâtre et culte impérial en Gaule Narbonnaise et dans la péninsule Ibérique', in W. Trillmich & P. Zanker, edd., *Stadt und Ideologie. Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit* (München 1990), 381-390.

⁸ Rimando alla pubblicazione recente di F. Guizzi, *Augusto. La politica della memoria* (Roma 1999).

⁹ W. Weber, *Prinsep. Studien zur Geschichte des Augustus* (Stuttgart/Berlin 1936); G. Vanotti, Il testo greco delle *Res gestae divi Augusti*: appunti per un'interpretazione politica, *GIF* 27 (1975), 306-325.

¹⁰ C. Williamson, 'Monuments of Bronze: Roman Legal Documents on Bronze Table', *Classical Antiquity* 6 (1987), 160-183.

Il tempio di Augusto ad Ankara si presenta come un edificio grandioso (all'incirca 36X55), originariamente rialzato su un podio a gradini, per cui il rapporto tra l'iscrizione e il pubblico era diverso da oggi. L'insieme sembra ispirarsi ai modelli ellenistici più noti dell'Asia Minore, come ad esempio quelli famosi di Ermogene a Magnesia del Meandro (Artemis e Zeus), o quello successivo di Aizanoi, costruito al tempo di Adriano, e che conserva sulle sue pareti i famosi contenziosi giuridici circa i terreni sacri del tempio.¹¹ Tutto considerato, nel tempio di Ankara lo spazio laterale tra la cella e le colonne del peristilio non sembra tale da consentire una prospettiva adeguata a chi volesse fermarsi a leggere la traduzione greca del testo di Augusto. Il rapporto fra le misure del corridoio e le lettere è inadeguato, anche se conosciamo formule precise che indicavano come le scritture ufficiali da esporre nei luoghi pubblici dovessero *de plano recte legi*. E non dimentichiamo che, nel caso specifico, anche la copertura del tetto non garantiva certo al lettore condizioni ideali di luce. Comunque sia - delicatezza del potere - nella traduzione greca dell'intestazione è stata soppressa la frase originaria del testo latino, che avrebbe ricordato ai provinciali l'avvenuta annessione a Roma, operata da Augusto: *quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi romani subiecit*. Più visibile, e molto probabilmente più chiara ed agevole, la lettura delle due epigrafi latine all'ingresso della cella, ossia, il testo destinato ad un pubblico - dobbiamo supporre più ristretto - perché la maggioranza dei provinciali parlava greco.

La condizione attuale del testo delle epigrafi è tale da far temere per la loro sopravvivenza. Desidero segnalare che un gruppo di studiosi del DSA dell'Università di Trieste, sta conducendo un progetto, intitolato 'Ancyra',¹² e che per prima cosa è stato eseguito con il sistema della fotogrammetria, un calco virtuale di tutte le pareti iscritte. Ora stiamo progettando una copertura adeguata per il tempio e le iscrizioni. Il monumento è stato da quest'anno inserito dall'associazione del World Monuments Fund, nella lista dei cento monumenti mondiali da salvare.

Voglio precisare che in questa sede presento solo una rassegna delle indagini preliminari di una ricerca in corso, condotta nelle tre città dell'Asia Minore, dove fino ad ora risultano esser state inviate copie delle *res gestae Divi Augusti*: oltre Ankara, Yalvaç e Uluborlu.

¹¹ U. Laffi, 'I terreni del tempio di Zeus ad Aizanoi', *Athenaeum* 49 (1971), 3-53; R. Naumann, *Zeustempel zu Aizanoi* (Berlin 1979).

¹² Sito web: univ.it/~ancyra/

Se Ankara/Ancyra era la città più importante della Galazia, non meno importanti dovevano essere Antiochia e Apollonia di Pisidia, rispettivamente Yalvaç e Uluborlu, anche se ai nostri giorni, Yalvaç e specialmente Uluborlu, situate nella regione dei laghi dell'Anatolia occidentale, appaiono solo come modesti centri urbani.

Quando nel 25 ebbe luogo l'annessione della Galazia e del vasto regno di Aminta, Augusto pianificò un ampio programma di fondazioni coloniali, come Cremna, Comama, Olbasa, Parlais, Iconium, Germa, Antiochia di Pisidia etc.¹³ Antiochia è stata ristudiata e di recente pubblicata da Stephen Mitchell e Marc Waelkens.¹⁴ Forse non a torto Mitchell e Waelkens definiscono Antiochia di Pisidia una delle più importanti città dell'impero romano d'oriente. A giudicare dai resti grandiosi dei suoi edifici, ancora solo parzialmente portati alla luce, e dalle 19 arcate superstiti del poderoso acquedotto, visibili per chilometri e chilometri, non è difficile farsi un'idea delle dimensioni della città e della densità dei suoi abitanti (Tav. V, fig.5). Quando da Augusto in poi inizia un sistematico processo di romanizzazione dell'Asia Minore, la città di Antiochia, già fondazione seleucide, viene rifondata con il nome di Colonia Caesarea Antiochia e diventa un punto nevralgico della rete viaria che, dalle città costiere della provincia d'Asia, raggiunge l'oriente. Secondo calcoli basati soprattutto sull'evidenza epigrafica e numismatica, ad Antiochia si insediarono moltissimi coloni romani, quasi tutti veterani (V legione Gallica e la VII Macedonica, come mostrano le monete) in cerca di sistemazione e di terra, con le loro famiglie.¹⁵ La parte della città che qui ci interessa è il centro, in prossimità dell'incrocio tra il cosiddetto decumano massimo ed il cardo, dove sorgeva il tempio, probabilmente un Augusteum, forse dedicato anche al culto della dea Roma,¹⁶ come si era verificato in altre località orientali, a partire dal periodo post-aziaco (Nicomedia, Pergamo, Mylasa, Ancyra, etc.) (Tav. V, fig.6). Il santuario, di dimensioni piuttosto contenute, sorge nella posizione di mezzo di un ampio emiciclo, un'edera semicircolare limitata nella parte posteriore del tempio da una collina rocciosa, tagliata alla base per dar luogo alla costruzione di un vasto colonnato a due piani, con botteghe. Di fronte al tempio, si stende un'ampia spianata, a cui si accedeva per una breve scalinata, attraverso un grandioso propylon, formato da tre

¹³ In generale, cf. B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967).

¹⁴ S. Mitchell & M. Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch. The Site and its Monuments* (London 1998).

¹⁵ B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967), 29-41.

¹⁶ Mitchell & Waelkens 1998, op.cit. (n. 14), 157 s.

arcate (Tav. V, fig.7). Sappiamo da un'iscrizione che lo spazio era indicato *Augusta plateia*, mentre al piano inferiore c'era la *Tiberia plateia*. Sparsi in quest'area sono stati trovati oltre 200 frammenti della versione latina delle *res gestae* di Augusto. Il tempio e la sua collocazione contestuale, ricordano altri impianti analoghi di età augustea, come già ha rilevato Mitchell e prima di lui P. Zanker.¹⁷ Tutta la planimetria della 'piazza', con tempio e ingresso ad arcate monumentale si ripete altrove, ad esempio in Asia Minore, già a partire dall'età ellenistica. La sistemazione, invece, come alcuni studiosi suggeriscono, della lunga iscrizione latina all'interno dei piedritti di sostegno degli archi del propylon, sembrerebbe piuttosto una novità. Perché incidere tutte le *Res gestae* di Augusto in latino, sulle pareti del passaggio principale tra le due piazze, dove nulla invitava alla lettura, ma anzi, sostare avrebbe potuto creare disagio agli altri passanti ed un probabile impedimento al traffico? Leggendo le relazioni di scavo, da Ramsey a Robinson, fino ai racconti del dr. Mehmet Taşlıalan, attuale direttore del Museo di Yalvaç, non pare vi sia alcuna certezza per evincere che i frammenti siano caduti dall'interno dei propilei. L'area del ritrovamento è abbastanza indefinita, anche se concentrata nella zona delle due platee. Gli abitanti della regione, che per secoli hanno sfruttato le rovine di Antiochia come una cava di materiale da costruzione, e i fenomeni naturali cui anche questa parte della Turchia va soggetta, terremoti, gelate, neve etc., spesso sono stati causa di vistosi sconvolgimenti. E' sufficiente passeggiare tra le rovine di Antiochia per rendersene conto. Fino a prova contraria, in base a questi soli elementi, la collocazione delle *res gestae* all'interno del passaggio del propylon rimane congetturale, anche se recenti studi hanno integrato l'iscrizione che sovrastava il portico centrale, riconoscendo una dedica ad Augusto risalente all'anno 2 a.C.¹⁸ In base alla lettura di questa iscrizione, qualora la si accetti, sarebbe plausibile collocare anche il manifesto augusteo in questo programma architettonico, tutto dedicato al principe.

Ma a dire il vero, già A. von Premerstein, nel 1932, aveva espresso più di qualche perplessità sulla provenienza del luogo di esposizione dei frammenti delle *Res gestae*¹⁹ e suggeriva la possibilità che appartenessero al basamento di una statua, come ad esempio a Roma, gli *elogia* del Foro di

¹⁷ Mitchell & Waelkens 1998, op.cit. (n. 14), 160 ss.; P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (München 1987), 312 (trad. it. 328 s.).

¹⁸ T. Drew-Bear, 'Pisidia Antiocheiasının parlak dönemlerini yansıtan yazıtlar', *XII Araştırma* (1994), 13-17.

¹⁹ 'Gliederung und Aufstellung der *Res gestae divi Augusti* in Rom und im pisidischen Antiochia', *Klio* (1932), 224 s.

Augusto. Ricordo, per inciso, che una testa colossale di statua, raffigurante il *princeps*, è stata ritrovata da D.M. Robinson nella campagna di scavi del 1924.

In definitiva, oggi non è ancora possibile stabilire la collocazione esatta del documento augusteo. A mio parere, seguendo le indicazioni paradigmatiche suggerite dai lavori stimolanti di P. Zanker e di altri²⁰ sull'impatto della comunicazione del potere per l'età augustea, credo si possa ipotizzare che l'iscrizione sia stata esposta nel sito più significativo della città, in relazione con il culto dell'imperatore. Ad Antiochia, come ad Ancyra, il luogo idoneo della scrittura sembra essere il tempio, dove la funzione simbolica è preminente e così forte, al punto da avere quasi un valore ontologico, un valore in sé. Così, nel caso di Antiochia, persino la comprensione linguistica diventerebbe secondaria: importante è il segno. Fino a prova contraria, siamo nel campo delle ipotesi.

A tutt'oggi, è noto, il caso ci ha restituito un certo numero di frammenti di copie delle *res gestae*, a parte il monumento di Ankara. Che si tratti di copie provenienti da una copia dell'esemplare inciso a Roma ed esposto davanti al Mausoleo di Augusto, è l'ipotesi più verosimile. I frammenti provengono tutti da un'area abbastanza circoscritta dell'Anatolia occidentale. Naturalmente, non possiamo escludere l'esistenza di altre copie dell'*index*, non soltanto nelle province d'Oriente dell'Asia Minore, ma anche dell'Occidente. Penso, ad esempio, in particolare alla Spagna e alla Narbonese, dove l'assetto urbano augusteo ha rivelato l'iterazione dei modelli.

Il problema della destinazione e della pubblicità delle *res gestae* è ancora più complicato per quanto riguarda Apollonia. Nulla o quasi è stato portato alla luce della città antica. La fortezza che domina il territorio, prima luogo dell'insediamento seleucide e in seguito di quello romano, è oggi un ammasso di rovine, quasi indecifrabili. Nella piana sottostante, sparsi per qualche chilometro, per quanto ho potuto vedere, dappertutto affiorano resti di bastioni, di iscrizioni rovesciate: alcune diventate ormai quasi illeggibili per la lunga esposizione, altre invece, di recente emerse nelle zolle fresche dei campi appena arati, appaiono in ottime condizioni. Blocchi di calcare con l'iscrizione greca delle *Res gestae* di Augusto, sono stati trovati sull'acropoli, in alto, sulla collina abitata fino a mezzo secolo fa, e poi abbandonata per un insediamento moderno, nella piana dell'attuale Uluborlu. I blocchi che conservano pezzi dell'iscrizione greca sono oggi nel Museo di Yalvaç e ad Afyon (non vidi). Un tempo, formavano il basamento di un gruppo statuario, raffigurante la famiglia di Augusto, databile agli anni seguenti la morte dell'imperatore, perché Livia è

²⁰ L. Haselberg, 'Imaging Augustan Rome', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13 (2000), 515-528.

definita *Sebasté* (Augusta), titolo assunto solo durante la vedovanza. La superficie dedicata all'iscrizione è troppo limitata per contenere anche il testo latino. Anzi, in questa circostanza si è fatta una scelta precisa: solo la versione greca. Il *demos* degli Apolloniati e di altre nazioni, Lici e Traci, hanno consacrato questo monumento ad Augusto e alla sua augusta famiglia: al successore Tiberio, ai principi Germanico e Druso.

Apollonia, di cui non possediamo molte citazioni letterarie (mentre il *corpus* di tutte le sue iscrizioni è ben lungi dall'esser completato e studiato), ripopolata dai coloni romani in età augustea, rappresenta comunque un insediamento strategico della massima importanza. All'uscita di una stretta gola della catena del Tauro, si adagia in un fertile piana irrigua, dominata da una rocca collinare, molto ben difendibile. Da Apollonia si giunge agevolmente ad Antiochia, e da Antiochia si percorre una delle direttrici maestre dell'Anatolia meridionale, fino alla Siria.

A Roma le *Res gestae divi Augusti* sono state collocate davanti al Mausoleo del Principe. Il disegno di Augusto era trasparente: legittimazione del potere, fondazione di un impero e volontà dinastica.

Ad Ankara, divenuta la capitale amministrativa della nuova provincia di Galazia (singolarmente non menzionata nelle *res gestae*), è sulla superficie di un tempio superbo che viene inciso il testamento d'Augusto. All'esterno, la gente leggeva nella propria lingua, mentre all'interno, altra gente, pochi, leggevano nella lingua del potere.

Ad Antiochia, le *Res gestae Divi Augusti* sono rimaste nella sola versione latina, la lingua tuttavia dei documenti ufficiali. La dimensione del testo suggerisce che si era previsto per l'esposizione uno spazio ben delimitato ma di sicuro impatto visivo. Non mi pare logico pensare al passaggio trafficato dei propilei.

Da Apollonia, si è visto, provengono solo dei blocchi massicci, ritrovati in alto, dove la colonia stava arroccata. La situazione archeologica di Apollonia è estremamente complessa, soprattutto per la buona ragione che è ancora da scavare. Nella zona sottostante l'acropoli, il moderno centro abitato si è insediato di recente sull'antico, e ad ogni scavo di fondazione (abitazioni, fognature e quant'altro), emergono strati dell'abitato sottostante, che vengono immediatamente ricoperti o distrutti. E' il caso consueto e banale di tantissimi altri siti del mondo antico, malgrado l'emergere di testimonianze anche di carattere "nazionale", come ad esempio i monumenti funerari frigi a porta, tipici di queste aree dell'Asia Minore. Pensare di trarre conclusioni da questa situazione archeologica mi pare, per il momento,

ancora inopportuno. Nel caso particolare di Apollonia poi, dobbiamo limitarci a prendere atto che i coloni degli Apolloniati, dei Lici e dei Traci, hanno voluto onorare Augusto e la sua famiglia, riproducendo nel basamento di un gruppo statuario, una versione comprensibile delle *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, testimonianza del potere soprannaturale delle immagini imperiali, come del resto ha detto in modo molto eloquente anche S. Rice, nel suo bellissimo libro su *Rituals and Power* (Cambridge, 1984).

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THE PERCEPTION OF IMPERIAL POWER IN APHRODISIAS:
THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

By
ANGELOS CHANIOTIS*

The modern visitor to Aphrodisias, who usually arrives in the city after a visit to the splendid ruins of Ephesos and on his way to the spectacular landscape of Hierapolis, sees a fairly typical urban center of a Roman province. Unusual is perhaps the abundance of marble statues and the excellent preservation of the public buildings, but at first sight there is nothing that would warn him that he is entering the most glorious city of the most distinguished Demos of the Aphrodisieis, allies of the Romans, devoted to the emperor, free and autonomous.¹ An ancient visitor, a citizen of another city in the Roman Empire, would probably not have failed to notice the elevated status of this city. If he did not do so by reading the inscriptions, e.g., on the epistyles of buildings built by C. Iulius Zoilos, the priest of Aphrodite and the Eleutheria,² then he would do so as soon as he used the coins, inscribed with the words *Eleutheria ton Aphrodisieion* under Hadrian and Gordian III or *Eleutheros Demos* under Gordian III, coins that commemorated the confirmation of the privilege of freedom by the Roman emperors.³ But should our ancient visitor have stayed at Aphrodisias for several months or years, would he have noticed any difference between the life in this city and in other urban centers of the Roman East that lacked these privileges — as a modern European notices some differences as soon as he enters the United Kingdom? Any contracts our imaginary visitor may have entered into with the Aphrodisians would have been dated according to the months of the local calendar, among them months with the names Ioulios (MAMA VIII 541), Kaisar (MAMA VIII 322) or Klaudios (MAMA VIII 566A). His partners might be Roman citizens; the population would use Latin words every now and then.⁴ At the festivals of the

* I am very grateful to Joyce Reynolds and Charlotte Roueché for providing information on unpublished material and to Rudolf Haensch and Christina Kokkinia for their critical remarks.

¹ For these titles of Aphrodisias see J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome: Documents from the Excavation of the Theatre at Aphrodisias* (London 1982), from now on A&R, 43 LL. 1-5; cf. A&R 42 LL. 6-8.

² A&R 36, 37, 39. For a new fragment of A&R 39 see A. Chaniotis, 'New Inscriptions from Aphrodisias (1995-2001)', *American Journal of Archaeology* (forthcoming), no. 12.

³ D. MacDonald, *The Coinage of Aphrodisias* (London 1992), 82, 126, 132.

⁴ E.g. ἄκτος, see below, προβάτα (= *probata*); on stones reused for the *bouleuterion* (unpublished); cf. A. Chaniotis, 'Alltagsskizzen aus Aphrodisias', *Ruperto Carola. Forschungsmagazin der Universität Heidelberg* (2002) 1, 6f.; φαμίλια: Ch. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias*

city he would notice the prominent position of the high priest of the emperor cult. In the stadium members of the tribes, the subdivisions of the citizen body, would be seated together, among them members of the tribes Rhomais and Hadrianis could also be observed.⁵ On a walk through the city he would see the statues of the emperors in prominent places, the Sebasteion, the complex dedicated to their worship, or the honorary statues for proconsuls of Asia.⁶

Of course the nature of our evidence, public documents, honorary inscriptions and epitaphs, does not allow us to form a clear picture about the way the privileged status of Aphrodisias influenced the life of its citizens or its visitors. We can be certain that the Aphrodisians were proud of this status and we do know that they did not neglect to refer to their privileges whenever they faced a problem, in particular whenever the community or individual citizens wanted to avoid a financial burden (A&R 14-15). But naturally the public inscriptions inform us only about the successful requests of the Aphrodisians, not about their failures. Bearing this in mind, let us now turn to the epigraphic evidence and the way it reflects the perception of imperial power.

Sometime around A.D. 230 the authorities of Aphrodisias covered the wall of the north *parodos* of the city's theater with 16 documents that provide important information about Aphrodisias' privileges.⁷ These documents date from c. 38 B.C. to c. A.D. 224. Under the reign of Gordian III (after 243) more recent documents of similar content were added to this dossier. These and other relevant documents were published by Joyce Reynolds, and her pioneer work in the discussion of the individual texts is the basis of my paper.⁸ Reynolds characterized this epigraphic monument as the 'archive wall'. This term is somehow misleading.⁹ City archives contain documents that have been deposited in them regardless of their relative importance. What we have on the north *parodos* of the theater is the result of a selection, and we cannot be even certain whether all the documents (including documents sent by Roman

(London 1993), no. 15; φίσκος; MAMA VIII 538; φούνδη and καμπίστρον: Th. Reinach, 'Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias', *Revue des Études Grecques* 19 (1906), 103-105, no. 17; κούρωρ: Ch. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London 1989), no. 150.

⁵ Rhomais: MAMA VIII 413; Hadrianis: unpublished epitaph.

⁶ Sebasteion: R.R.R. Smith, 'The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', *Journal of Roman Studies* 77 (1987), 88-138. Honorary statues for proconsuls: M. Vinicius (A&R 45a, ca. 12-10 B.C.?), P. Vinicius (A&R 45b, A.D. 2), Sulpicius Priscus (A&R 47, ca. A.D. 222-233), L. Egantius Victor Lollianus (SEG XLIV 863, A.D. 244/245), P. Aelius Septimius Mannus (SEG XLVI 1394, ca. A.D. 250-260).

⁷ Full discussion of this dossier by J. Reynolds in A&R, pp. 33-148; further bibliography in SEG XXXII 1097; XXXIII 855; XXXIV 1044; XXXV 1081; XXXIX 1101.

⁸ Reynolds 1982, op.cit. (n. 1).

⁹ Cf. C.P. Jones, *American Journal of Philology* 106 (1985), 262-264.

emperors to Ephesos, Samos, and Smyrna; A&R 12-14) were in fact kept in the archive of Aphrodisias. The authorities responsible for inscribing or reinscribing these documents have carefully selected from a large number of documents only a very small number of texts, exactly the texts that highlighted the city's privileges, especially its status as a free and autonomous city. A central theme in these texts is the fact that the Aphrodisians had offered great services to the Romans as their trustworthy allies (A&R 7 LL. 1-8; 8 LL. 21-29; 12 LL. 5-7; 13 LL. 3).

If one studies only these documents, one gets the impression of continuity: time and again we read that the emperors confirmed the privileges of freedom, autonomy and freedom from taxation (A&R 15, 17, 19-21, 25), and Septimius Severus and Caracalla underline precisely the fact that the privileged status had remained unchanged until their reign (A&R 17 L. 11-12; 18 L. 5).

But in order to fully understand the importance of the privileges we need to look at the documents that were not selected to be inscribed on the archive wall, documents from the Republican period that have survived in inscriptions other than this monument of Aphrodisian self-representation in the third century. The earliest among them are documents from the period of the Mithridatic Wars. We observe in them a vocabulary of subordination. A decree of Plarasa/ Aphrodisias in 88 B.C. (A&R 2) expresses the attitude of this community towards the Romans. Its envoys ask the proconsul of Cilicia Q. Oppius to give his instructions (LL. 4f.: *epitassein*);¹⁰ they inform him that the citizens of Plarasa/Aphrodisias did not want to live without the rule (*hegemonia*) of the Romans. The second document informs that Oppius accepts the request of this community to undertake the position of a patron (A&R 3). This attitude is paralleled by one of the clauses of the treaty of alliance between Plarasa/Aphrodisias, Kibyra and Tabai (A&R 1).¹¹ I am referring to the clause which obliges these communities never to undertake anything against the Romans (“.. and in order that they shall take no action in opposition either to the Romans or to each other and that no one shall draft, advocate, introduce a proposal or record anything contrary to what has been written in the sworn agreement”). Such a clause is characteristic for treaties

¹⁰ The words *epitagma* and *epitage* are used, e.g., in letters of Hellenistic kings sent to subordinate communities; see C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (London 1934), nrs. 68 L. 9 and 75 L. 13.

¹¹ On the date see R.M. Errington, ‘Θεῶν Ῥώμη und römischer Einfluß südlich des Mäanders im 2. Jh. v. Chr.’, *Chiron* 17 (1987), 97-118 (after 167 B.C.); G. Thériault, *Le culte d'Homonoia dans les cités grecques* (Lyon-Québec 1996), 82-85 (after 129 B.C.).

between a hegemonial power and a subordinate community.¹² A still unpublished honorary decree for the local benefactor Hermogenes also reveals the mentality of dependence in the late Republican period. Hermogenes had become a great benefactor of the *polis* thanks to the relationship (*gnosis*) he had established with the Roman authorities.¹³

The situation changed dramatically in the year 39 B.C. when Octavian and the senate awarded a series of privileges, described in detail in the relevant *senatus consultum* (A&R 8) and summarized in another document (A&R 9); both texts are found in the ‘archive wall’. The later documents of the ‘archive wall’ inform us that these privileges remained unchanged until the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, as the two emperors write in two letters in A.D. 198 and between 200 and 205 (A&R 17 and 18); they were confirmed by Gordianus III in A.D. 239 and Traianus Decius and Herennius Etruscus in A.D. 250 (A&R 20 and 25).

The Aphrodisians were conscious of the fact that their position was privileged, not only with regard to their relationship with Rome, but also with regard to other cities in the East. Bearing in mind the competition among the cities of the Greek east it is interesting to notice that two of the documents selected to be inscribed in the theater not only mention Aphrodisias’ privileges, but compare the position of this city with that of other cities. A letter of Octavian to a certain Stephanos expresses precisely this unique position (A&R 10):

I have freed Zoilos’ city... This one city I have taken for my own out of all Asia. I wish these people to be protected as my own townsmen (translated by J. Reynolds).

This is even more clear in Octavian’s subscript to Samos (A&R 13 = IG XII 6.1, 160) with which he rejects the Samian request to be awarded freedom:

You yourselves can see that I have given the privilege of freedom to no people except the Aphrodisieis, who took my side in the war

¹² See e.g., A. Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit* (Stuttgart 1996), 92 and 96f.

¹³ A. Chaniotis, art. cit. (n. 2) no. 1 LL. 16-18: παρά τε | ταῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις κλειστόν γνῶσιν καὶ σύσσι[α]σιν σχῶν εὐεργέτησεν καὶ διὰ τούτων μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν (“a man who has established relationships and has received appreciation (recommmendation) by the authorities and the officials (governors?) becoming a great benefactor of the *polis* through these as well”).

and were captured by storm because of their devotion to us. For it is not right to give the favour of the greatest privilege of all at random and without cause. I am well-disposed to you and should like to do a favour to my wife who is active on your behalf, but not to the point of breaking my custom. For I am not concerned for the money which you pay towards the tribune. But I am not willing to give the most highly prized privileges to anyone without good cause (translated by J. Reynolds).

The inclusion of this document — which is not addressed to Aphrodisias and does not directly concern this city — in the dossier demonstrates that the Aphrodisians were aware of the fact that they had succeeded exactly where others had failed.

This proud and self-confident attitude is, again, confirmed by other texts, public and private documents preserved in inscriptions other than the archive wall. In addition to the cult of Eleutheria (A&R 33 and 39), the members of the local elite did not neglect to mention these privileges in the inscriptions they set up. An early inscription, probably still of the late first century B.C., honors an anonymous man who had been active for the freedom and the laws of his country.¹⁴ He had struggled for the freedom (of the fatherland) and the laws and the right of asylum and the privileges granted to it. In an inscription commemorating his foundation (A&R 43, c. A.D. 200), M. Aurelius Hermes Pa[--] not only mentions these privileges (*eleutheras kai autonomou poleos*), but also underscores the fact that they had been awarded and confirmed by the senate and the emperors (*kata ta dogmata tes hierotates synkletou... kai tas theias antigraphas*) and protected by treaty oaths (*kata ta horkia*). The *horkia* mentioned here can certainly be identified with the treaty of alliance between Plarasa/Aphrodisias and Rome concluded during the second triumvirate, of which a clause survives in one of the documents of the ‘archive wall’ (A&R 9).

An even more interesting piece of evidence, because of its private nature, is the epitaph of the high priestess Iulia Paula (MAMA VIII 564, c. A.D. 200-250). The inscription on her sarcophagus highlights the fact that she was a descendant of those who had contributed to the city’s autonomy (*ton synaition tei polei tes autonomias apogonos*).

¹⁴ A&R 41: ἀγωνισάμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῶν | νόμων καὶ τῆς ἀσυλίας καὶ τῶν δεδομένων | [φι]λανθρώπων (“... who has struggled for the freedom (of the fatherland) and the laws and the right of asylum and the privileges granted to it”).

It was on the basis of such self-confident expressions of freedom from the imperial power that Joyce Reynolds and Robert Tannenbaum did not exclude the possibility that Roman laws (e.g., the legislation concerning the Jews) were not automatically in force at Aphrodisias, a free city.¹⁵ One may indeed find supporting evidence pertaining to the fact that these privileges were taken seriously. When a citizen of Aphrodisias, Ti. Julianus Attalos was asked to undertake a liturgy connected with the temple of the emperor cult in Smyrna, he refused to do so. The Smyrnaians appealed to the emperor Trajan, but received the answer they deserved (A&R 14):

I wish no one from the free cities to be forced into performing your liturgy, and especially no one from Aphrodisias, since that city has been removed from the *formula provinciae* so that it is not liable either to the common liturgies of Asia or to others.

Hadrian's reaction was similar, when the city objected to the tax on the use of iron nails (A&R 15); he mentions the fact that he had confirmed Aphrodisias' freedom and autonomy and accepts this request.¹⁶

When the Aphrodisians invited the proconsul of Asia Sulpicius Priscus (c. A.D. 222-235) to visit their city and sacrifice to Aphrodite for the well-being of the emperor, his reaction was very reluctant. In his letter, after mentioning the city's freedom, he informs the Aphrodisians about his intention to come to the city, only if "neither a law of your city nor a *senatus consultum* nor an instruction nor a letter of the emperor prevents the proconsul from making a stay in your city" (A&R 48).¹⁷ The formulation used in this letter places the laws of the Aphrodisians on the same level as expressions of the will of the Roman authorities (*senatus consulta, edicta, epistulae*).¹⁸ This doubtless made the Aphrodisians again very proud, and we should not be surprised that such an answer was included in the dossier of the 'archive wall'

¹⁵ J. Reynolds & R. Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias* (Cambridge 1987), 43-45.

¹⁶ For a second copy of this letter see J.M. Reynolds, 'New Letters from Hadrian to Aphrodisias: Trials, Taxes, Gladiators, and an Aqueduct', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13 (2000), 15f.

¹⁷ Cf. R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz 1997), 297 n. 199.

¹⁸ R. Haensch, 'Das Statthalterarchiv', *ZRG* 109 (1992), 277 n. 198, has, however, tentatively suggested an alternative interpretation of νόμος τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν: not 'a law of your city', but 'a law regarding your city', since it is hardly conceivable that a city on its own account could forbid a representative of the imperial administration to visit it. I do not believe that the formulation used in this document permits this interpretation.

along with far more important documents such as the *senatus consultum* of 39 B.C. or imperial letters.

But does the picture remain the same when we leave the ‘archive wall’ and look at evidence that was not and could not be included in it? A particularly interesting and hitherto rather neglected group of testimonia consists of epitaphs, testaments and donations that guarantee the validity of the testator/donor’s wishes. Such declarations that the testator’s wish cannot be changed, neither by a magistrate nor by a private person, have a long tradition in the Greek East and one can easily find standardized formulations e.g. in the material collected by Bernhard Laum,¹⁹ among them the foundation of Attalos in Aphrodisias:

Neither a magistrate nor a secretary (?) nor a private person will have the authorisation to transfer the entire capital or part hereof or any part of the interest or to change the account (of the receipts) or to use the money for a different purpose, neither by organising a separate vote nor by means of a decree of the assembly, a letter (of the emperor or the governor?), a decree (or *senatus consultum* or a decree of the provincial *koinon*?) or a written declaration nor through violence of the mob nor in any other way, but the money should be used only for (the purpose stated) in the testamentary disposition written by me.²⁰

In this document the potential intervention of non civic authorities is only indirectly implied by the terms *epistole* and *dogma*. This possibility is more explicitly ruled out in the foundation of C. Iulius Demosthenes at Oinoanda, which forbids any violation of Demosthenes’ will, any changes in the use of the funds (ἢ εἰ ἄλλην χρεῖαν μεταθῆ τὸν πόρο[ν]), any decree and petition to a provincial governor to this effect (ἢ εἰσιγήσηται ἢ ψηφίσηται ἢ ἡγεμόνι ἐντυχῆ περὶ τοῦ μὴ γείνεσθαι τι ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ διεσταλμένων).²¹

A petition sent to the governor with regard to the affairs of Oinoanda is not surprising, since the Lykian city lacked the privileges of Aphrodisias. When

¹⁹ B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* I (Leipzig 1914), 190f.

²⁰ MAMA VIII 413: [ἐξέστιν μήτε ἄρχοντι μήτε γραμμιατε]ῖ ? μή[τε] ιδιώτη μήτε μέ[ρος] [μή]τε πᾶν μήτε ἀρχαίου μήτε | [τό][κο]υ μεταγαγεῖν ἢ μεταπολογ[ί]σασθαι μηδὲ εἰς ἕτερον χρήσαι[σιθ]αι μηδὲν μήτε ψηφοφορία [ι]δίᾳ συντάσσοντι μήτε ψηφίσμα[τι] | μή]τε δι’ ἐπιστολῆς μήτε διὰ δόγμα[α] τος μήτε διὰ ἀπογραφῆς ἢ ὀχλικῆς καταβαρῆσεως μηδὲ ἀλλ[φ] τρόπῳ μηδενὶ ἢ εἰς μόνην τα[ύτη]ν τὴν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένην [δι]αταγήν.

²¹ M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda* (Munich 1988), 9.

the proconsul was reluctant even to visit Aphrodisias (see above), it is quite surprising to see that several Aphrodisieis included in their testaments a clause forbidding interventions of the governor that might change their will. We know of this clause from excerpts of testaments referring to the right of burial and inscribed on sarcophagi. The following variants are hitherto known:

1. CIG 2829 = MAMA VIII 554 LL. 10f.: οὔτε διὰ ψηφίσματος οὔτε δι' ἐντεύξεως ἡγεμονικῆς οὔτε ἄλλω τρόπῳ
2. J.M.R. Cormack, 'Inscriptions from Aphrodisias (found in 1893)', *ABSA* 59 (1964), 24f. no. 32 b: [---] ἢ ἐντεύξεως ἡγεμονικῆς
3. Reinach, art. cit. (n. 4), no. 163 L. 1: [--- ἐντεύξ]εως ἡγεμόνος
4. Chaniotis, art. cit. (n. 2), no. 26: οὔτε διὰ ψηφίσματος ἢ διὰ ἄκτου βου(λ)ῆς ἢ ἐ[ντεύ]ξεως ἡγεμόνων
5. unpublished epitaph (inv. 67.507): [οὔτε διὰ ψηφίσματος ἢ ? δι'] ἄκτου βουλη[ς ---]
6. unpublished epitaph (69.28 + 71.445): [-- οὐδὲ] ψηφίσματος ὀνόματι οὐδ[ὲ ---]

These texts place the will of the deceased person concerning burials in his or her sarcophagus above other (obviously conceivable) sources of legal norms, i.e. above the decrees of the assembly (*psephisma*), the acts of the council (*aktos boules*), and the intercessions of the provincial governor (*enteuxis hegemonike* or *hegemonos/hegomonon*). The word *enteuxis* means both a petition and a petition that has received a positive response.²² Similar clauses in epitaphs of other areas are unknown, and the next parallels are epitaphs that mention the approval of a provincial governor for the erection of a grave or the deposition of a testament in his archive.²³ One might be tempted to assume that the expressions listed above were automatically taken from the formulary of testaments used in cities that lacked Aphrodisias' privileges, but this can be ruled out, since we know these expressions only from epitaphs of Aphrodisias. We, therefore, have to assume that at least at a certain period of time the

²² E.g., in the inscription of Skaptopara: IGBulg IV 2236 + SEG XLIV 610 + SEG XLVIII 956; K. Hallof, 'Die Inschrift von Skaptopara. Neue Dokumente und neue Lesungen', *Chiron* 24 (1994), 425-427.

²³ TAM II 1 122 (erection of a grave monument); TAM III 1 657 (a copy of the testament kept in the governor's archive); on this practice see Haensch, op. cit. (n. 17) 295 and 305; cf. SEG XXIV 569 (Thessalonike, 3rd cent. A.D.): λόγον ὑφέξει τῷ κατὰ καιρὸν ἡγεμόνει (the violator of a grave would be subject to punishment by the governor). SEG XXXIII 1162 may refer to a testament which was drafted in accordance with the rules laid down by the imperial procurator. I am very grateful to R. Haensch who discussed this subject with me and provided these references.

Aphrodisians expected interventions of the proconsul Asiae, no less than decrees of their assembly or the council of their city.

Now the question arises how realistic this expectation would be and what might cause an intervention of the proconsul Asiae. Again, some inscriptions may provide the answer: we know that the Aphrodisians themselves were sometimes more than willing to forget their privileges and request the intervention of the provincial governor, particularly with regard to the finances of their city. As we learn from a letter sent to Aphrodisias by Commodus in A.D. 189 (A&R 16) the Aphrodisians asked the proconsul to come to their city and take care of the problems of their internal financial administration. The fact that Commodus had to intervene and send his friend, the jurist Ulpius Marcellus, shows, as Joyce Reynolds has pointed out, that the proconsul was as reluctant about accepting the request of the Aphrodisians as Sulpicius Priscus thirty years later. A decretum of the proconsul Silius Italicus in A.D. 77, with which he confirmed decrees concerning the treatment of Aphrodite's pigeons (MAMA VIII 411), was most probably the result of a request of the Aphrodisians and not of the proconsul's initiative. Joyce Reynolds has collected several fragmentary documents that concern the presence of *curatores reipublicae* in Aphrodisias.²⁴ This evidence shows that interventions of imperial and provincial authorities were not only to be expected, but also that they were requested by the Aphrodisian authorities, if not necessarily welcomed by the entire population.

An inscription from Beroia published recently gives us an interesting insight into such interventions (SEG XLVIII 742 = I.Beroia 7). L. Memmius Rufus, an otherwise unknown proconsul of Macedonia under Trajan or Hadrian, issued an edict concerning the funding of the gymnasium. The gymnasium of Beroia was periodically closed because of financial problems; the proconsul's intervention aimed at creating a fund of 100,000 *denarii*, the interest of which (6,000 *denarii*) should be used for the gymnasium; the capital consisted of money earlier bequeathed to the city by prominent citizens and of the public revenues from water mills. Despite the fragmentary state of preservation we may be certain that the money diverted by the proconsul to the gymnasiarchical funds had only partly been donated for this purpose. The money left by a certain Julianus to the city was indeed meant to be spent on the gymnasium (εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀλειπτικόν). On the contrary, the money bequeathed by Plautianus Alexandros was intended for a phallus, probably for a Dionysiac

²⁴ A&R, pp. 184-197.

procession;²⁵ other money was originally given for the supply of the city with grain.²⁶ In this document we clearly see in practice what Attalos of Aphrodisias was afraid might happen with his donation: μεταγαγεῖν ἢ μεταπολογ[ι]σασθαι, εἰς ἕτερον χρήσα[σθ]α. The proconsul disregarded the will of testators and donors and used the money bequeathed for a different purpose. He was able to proceed only because he could count on the support of the local elite²⁷ and this suggests that his decision was by no means approved by the entire population.²⁸ The explicit reference to the support of the honoratiore in his 'struggle' (*synagonisamenon*) makes sense only if the governor had to overcome some substantial opposition. The inscription of Beroia shows that the fear of some Aphrodisians that successful petitions to the local authorities (*enteuxeis*) might cancel the provisions of their testaments was not purely imaginary.

The evidence which I have presented briefly, suggests that Aphrodisians were consciously trying to find a balance between the illusion of freedom and the reality of imperial power.²⁹ They seem to have succeeded in retaining their status and repeatedly defending their privileges from those who tended to ignore them, tax-collectors or their neighbors. Sometimes, when pressing matters demanded the support of the imperial administration, they themselves - or rather the elite or a group within the elite - were willing to forget the privileges and requested the intervention of the provincial authorities. In her commentary on an unfortunately very fragmentary letter of Hadrian concerning itself with *chresmatikai dikai* Joyce Reynolds has very aptly summarized this practice:

It is a commonplace that a small and powerless city-state lying inside a Roman province was liable to find that its privileges were steadily eroded, and might even collaborate, without realizing it, in the process; and it is hardly surprising to find that while Hadrian claims that he is maintaining Aphrodisias privileges [...], his actions

²⁵ δηναρία χεῖλια τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φαλλοῦ ὑμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χα[ρισθέντα].

²⁶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ Εὐλαίου δοθέντος σείτ[υ] λογευθέντα ?, 'Ἐλλημ(ι)ωτῶν τοῦ σείτου χάριτος συνδεόμενα δηναρία.

²⁷ συναγωνισσάμενων οὖν μοι καὶ τῶν κ[ρατιστῶν] ? ---- ca. 29 ---- τῆς βουλῆς, συνέπνευσαν οἱ τε πρότοι πατρίδος καὶ ἡ βουλ[ῆ] ----]

²⁸ For rivalries and social conflicts in the cities and interventions by the governor see most recently E. Meyer-Zwiffelhofer, *Πολιτικῶς ἄρχειν. Zum Regierungsstil der senatorischen Statthalter in den kaiserzeitlichen griechischen Provinzen* (Stuttgart 2002), 298-306.

²⁹ Cf. H. Halfmann, 'Die Selbstverwaltung der kaiserzeitlichen Polis in Plutarchs Schrift Praecepta gerendae rei publicae', *Chiron* 32 (2002), 83-95.

are in some ways equivocal, while those of the Aphrodisians, who feel the need for his support and approval, play into Roman hands.³⁰

Sometimes the Aphrodisieis seem to have failed in keeping their autonomy intact. And then it required excellent rhetorical skills in order to present a financial burden not as a violation of freedom, but as an invitation to voluntary assistance. A superb example of these rhetorical skills is a letter of Gordian III in A.D. 243 (A&R 21). Probably after an earthquake, Aphrodisias was asked to contribute money to the victims of the disaster. In reply to the protest of the envoys of the city, Gordian gave the following answer:

The resolution of Asia which associated you too with those assisting the victims of misfortune was not a command, but a good administrative act placing you among those who take part in beneficent activity of a type which you undertake also among yourselves when you help with preparations for the erection of a house for those in need. And for the future there is no necessity to fear; for among free men, and you have a very great share of freedom, the only law in such matters is what you are willing to do.

The Aphrodisians did not neglect to inscribe this letter too on the 'archive wall'.

Heidelberg, January 2003

³⁰ Reynolds, art. cit. (n. 16), 13.

JURISDICTION AND THE REPRESENTATION OF POWER,
OR THE EMPEROR ON CIRCUIT

By
BERNARD STOLTE

Some inscriptions are just unlucky. Such, I believe, is the case of SEG XVII 759, inscribed on a temple in Dmeir in Syria. It was discovered, together with two other ones — or, to be precise, one partial copy, which can be used to supplement and correct part of its twin, and another inscription — in 1934, described by Henri Seyrig, and first published by Pierre Roussel and Ferdinand De Visscher in the 23rd volume of *Syria*,¹ with the impressum 1942-1943 but not available until 1945 and then not everywhere, though Jeanne and Louis Robert managed to report it in their *Bulletin Épigraphique* in the *Revue des Études Grecques* of 1944.² It was studied by the legal historians Arangio-Ruiz (1948),³ Wenger (1951)⁴ and Kunkel (1953).⁵ The latter revised its text, which then was printed in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* XVII of 1960. Subsequently new readings were proposed by Naphtali Lewis in 1968⁶ and James H. Oliver studied the text again in 1974.⁷ None of these publications was based on autopsy, not even the *editio princeps*, since its authors had to work from the notes of Seyrig. I am informed that the inscription is still *in situ*, but I have been unable to obtain a recent photograph. The plate supplied in the *editio princeps* has not been of much help. The most recent archaeological publication I have traced is a 'Vorbericht' by Elfriede Brümmer and dates from 1985.⁸ She corrects the plan of the temple and mentions the inscription, but does not discuss it. A set

¹ P. Roussel & F. De Visscher, 'Les inscriptions du temple de Dmeir', *Syria* 23 (1942-1943), 173-200.

² *Revue des Études Grecques* 47 (1944), 234, no. 181; see also 61 (1948), 206, no. 248.

³ V. Arangio-Ruiz, 'Testi e documenti I. Una "cognitio" dell'Imperatore Caracalla in Syria', *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano* 49-50 (1948), 46-57.

⁴ L. Wenger, 'Ein Prozess vor Caracalla in Syrien. Zu einer neu bekannt gewordenen Inschrift', *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et de l'histoire orientales et slaves* 11 (1951) (= Παγκάρπεια. *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* III), 469-504.

⁵ W. Kunkel, 'Der Prozeß der Gohariener vor Caracalla', in *Festschrift Hans Lewald* (Basel 1953), 81-91, repr. in W. Kunkel, *Kleine Schriften zum römischen Strafverfahren und zur römischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Weimar 1974), 255-266. I quote from the latter edition.

⁶ N. Lewis, 'Cognitio Caracallae de Goharienis: Two Textual Restorations', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 99 (1968), 255-258.

⁷ J.H. Oliver, 'Minutes of a Trial Conducted by Caracalla at Antioch in A.D. 216', *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux* (Paris 1974), 289-294.

⁸ E. Brümmer, 'Der Römische Tempel von Dmeir. Vorbericht', *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985), 55-64 with Tafel 22-25, with relevant archaeological literature.

of good photographs remains a desideratum. I have based myself on the text as in SEG XVII no. 759, with the supplements proposed by Lewis.⁹

The importance of this inscription for our knowledge of the imperial procedure *per cognitionem* has been noted in Kaser's *Römische Zivilprozeßrecht*, and as in Hackl's second edition of this work¹⁰ it has been included in the index, there really is no longer any excuse for legal historians to ignore it. John Crook¹¹ and Fergus Millar¹² have paid it a fair amount of attention, and on this well-prepared ground I should like to discuss it because of its relevance to the 'representation of power'.

The visibility of the Roman emperor consisted not least in his jurisdiction. To quote Fergus Millar:

"The main significance of the imperial jurisdiction, however, does not lie in the execution of political enemies, or even of rich men for their wealth, but in its routine nature and often insignificant subject-matter, whose very unimportance reflects his subjects' conception of him as a source of law and justice."¹³

The same point had been noted at the end of the second century by Theophilus, bishop of Antioch:

"You will say to me, 'Why do you not worship the emperor?' Because he was made not to be worshipped but to be honoured with legitimate honour. He is not God, but a man appointed by God, not to be worshipped but to judge justly."¹⁴

The emperor as a fair judge fits well into the image of the Hellenistic king, a point we may take for granted here. The emperor has to be accessible to his subjects, who may approach him for the purpose of arbitration and adjudication and for whom he is the ultimate authority. Jurisdiction, in other

⁹ Cf. also the discussion of some passages by Oliver, *op.cit.* (n. 7).

¹⁰ M. Kaser & K. Hackl, *Das römische Zivilprozeßrecht* (Munich² 1996).

¹¹ J. Crook, *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World* (London 1995), 91-95.

¹² F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC-AD 337)* (London 1977, 2nd ed. 1992), 38, 121, 233, 455, 535-536; *Idem*, *The Roman Near East (31 BC-AD 337)* (Cambridge/ London 1993), 143, 317-318.

¹³ Millar, *op.cit.* (n. 12), 240.

¹⁴ Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* 1.11, transl. By R.M. Grant and quoted by Millar, *op.cit.* (n. 12), 507 with n. 1.

words, is to them a representation of his power. On a practical level, this gives rise to the problem of availability of the emperor, preferably in person, and if not, represented by someone who would act 'in the name of the emperor'. His subjects would of course try to present their case if the emperor happened to visit in person, or would otherwise themselves go to Rome, or, if acting as a community, send an embassy.

The case we are dealing with here is unusual. The emperor is 'on circuit'. Caracalla is in Antioch in 216, and is somehow approached by the villagers of Goaria or Goharia. I pass by the geographical problems; it may be Cehere of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and is present-day Kârâ, north-east of Damascus. Suffice it to say that the temple of Dmeir must have been a cult-centre for the area east and north-east of Damascus, between that city and the desert. Strictly speaking, the villagers of Goharia have left their own province personally to address the emperor, for in 194 Syria had been divided into Syria Coele in the north, with Antioch as its capital, and Syria Phoenice in the south, to which they belong. The text tells the next stage of the story.¹⁵

In the consulship of Sabinus and Anulinus, on the [sixth] day before the Kalends of June at Antioch, when Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Felix Augustus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Ge[rmanicus] Maximus, having been saluted by the praetorian prefects, *e(minentissimi) v(iri)*, also by the *amici* and the *princ(ipes) officior(um)*, had taken his seat in the *auditorium*, he ordered to be admitted Aurelius Carzeus son of Sergius¹⁶ the *defensor* of the Goharieni acting against Avidius Hadrianus the contractor, which *cognitio* the emperor deigned to undertake, with the advocate Egnatius Iulianus, while Avidius Hadrianus the contractor was with the advocate Lollianus Aristaenetus.¹⁷

Of these, Aristaenetus said: "I object".¹⁸

Lollianus said: "You have ordered that the *cognitio* should proceed."

¹⁵ The English translation has been compiled and adapted from the works of Millar and Crook (above, nn. 11 and 12). See also the summary of the text by Oliver, op.cit. (n. 7), 291-292, whose explanation of *χωραν̄ ἐχει* (293) I cannot accept: in my view it means 'applies', 'has been advanced rightly', in which sense it may be found *passim* in Byzantine legal Greek.

¹⁶ Oliver, op.cit. (n. 7), 293, prefers 'Serg(ianus)' over 'son of Sergius'.

¹⁷ But see on these names below, p. 266 with n. 22.

¹⁸ This is a plunge *in medias res*: there must have been at least a *libellus* with the demands of the plaintiffs.

Aristaenetus said: “Cases on appeal are determined by law. Either the governor accepts the appeal and it comes to your *dikasterion*, or if he does not accept it, how can the case be admissible? After many hearings and verdicts you were approached with petitions from the Goharieni. A man who was neither an *advocatus* nor an ambassador [but ...] a private person entered a petition that you should be the judge rather than the governor. You said to him, ‘If you wish me to hear it, I will hear it.’ [We], having objected [from the beginning to this], now that we enter under the rules of the court [object to the case], on the grounds that they neither have a case on appeal nor can have [access to your *diaksterion*].”

Lollianus said: “The peasants who, along with other requests, have approached you, have brought you this supplication. Cassius has not allowed the objection that they have not complained earlier. He has introduced into your imperial *dikasterion* with the other petitions that you have ordered that this is read ...”

(Col. II)

Antoninus Augustus said: “You say then that he has not made an appeal?”

Aristaenetus said: “They do not have a case on appeal, because it was not allowed.”

Antoninus Augustus said: “Look here, let me speak according to my own opinion also in this matter. He has not made an appeal, nor has he complained, nor was this matter spoken of before the governor. ‘I complain about you before the emperor’, he says. Don't you wish me to hear the case?”

Aristaenetus said: “Of course.”

Antoninus Augustus said: “If I were in a hurry to rise from here, I would say ‘The objection is allowed’. In what, then, am I criticised?”

Lollianus said: “I will speak not more than half an hour.”

And he added: “To the peasants, the case is over matters of piety, to you nothing is more important than piety. So now they have confidence in the present instance in engaging in a case before a most pious king and judge. There is a famous temple of Zeus in their territory, which is visited by people from all the neighbouring regions. They go there, and arrange processions to it. Here is the first wrong committed by our adversary. He enjoys [immunity from taxation and] exemption from liturgies, wears a

gold crown, enjoys [precedence], has taken the sceptre in his hand and has proclaimed himself the priest of Zeus. Let him show that he has been considered worthy of that present. For I, in his presence, will read (a document) that not even his father ...”
(Col. III has been lost)

Of the many aspects that deserve our attention I single out the following. First, the most striking feature of these minutes of a hearing by Caracalla is the Latin framework, in which spoken words are reported in Greek. Arangio-Ruiz has suggested that the Greek is a translation from the Latin, or ‘almeno che chi le [i.e., the Greek statements] ha redatte avesse maggiore familiarità col latino che col greco’. He based his suggestion on the employment of μέφομαι, frequent absence of the article, and some other incorrect Greek expressions such as νόμος instead of κατὰ τοὺς νόμους (ll. 8 and 15) and the construction of the sentence at ll. 15-16. None of these cases seem to me very strong. Given the conjectural state of the text, I would refrain from inferences as to construction. I would prefer to explain supposed irregularities from the fact that all Greek here has been spoken by Romans, namely Caracalla and the two advocates.¹⁹ In addition, let us not forget that Modestinus, writing after Caracalla, makes the point that it is difficult to express Roman legal concepts in Greek (D. 27,1,1,1). A certain awkwardness should therefore not surprise us.

The development of a Greek legal language for Roman law would require a much longer treatment than I can give it here: I accept the minutes as a truthful account on this point, especially as their form is not unique. The papyri have preserved several similar cases. One thing, though, is interesting: these cases all stem from Egypt and date mostly to the fourth century and later. It has been held that not until the fourth century did Latin become the official language in court proceedings in the eastern part of the empire. If I am not mistaken, we have only one similar report from the same period as our inscription, a papyrus²⁰ of AD 212-213, which is of uncertain provenance, and of the date of which I am not yet entirely convinced. The Iuncinus mentioned there could be one of several possibilities;²¹ the editor identifies him with the Baebius Iuncinus of P.Giss. 40 II, l. 14 — incidentally, in a constitution transmitted as the ‘twin’ of the *constitutio Antoniniana* —, and

¹⁹ As already noted by Kunkel, op.cit. (n. 5), 257 n. 9.

²⁰ P.Ross.-Georg. 5.18.

²¹ ILS 1434 (cf. RE II 2730 s.v. Baebius 29: *iuridicus Aegypti*) and P.Tebt. II, 46, 286 (cf. RE VI, 2603 s.v. Flavius 108).

on that identification, together with a palaeographical argument, depends the dating. That papyrus apart, the inscription from Dmeir would be our oldest witness for minutes of a hearing in this form. The use of Latin in official proceedings in the East is, of course, in itself a representation of power.

Second, the persons speaking. Caracalla is there with full titulature. The two advocates have been identified by Kunkel with tolerable certainty as L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus and C. Sallius Aristaenetus, both of the senatorial order and *amici* of the emperor. They act for the parties in the case, Lollianus for Carzeus as *defensor* of the Goharieni, and Aristaenetus for the *manceps*, or ‘contractor’, Avidius. The names Iulianus and Lollianus in ll. 5-6 must be the result of confusion on the part of the mason.²² Crook lists our case as one in which the advocates are recruited from the *consilium* of the emperor. The suggestion of Williams that this was only to have some fun must be rejected as fanciful.²³ The picture arising from this inscription shows us members of a small local community travelling at least some 350 kms to Antioch, synchronizing their arrival with the presence of the emperor, securing a hearing and legal assistance on the highest level, getting formal procedural objections set aside and eventually — we may assume — winning their case.

Third, this is an inscription, not an archival document. To execute the inscription, however, such a document must have existed and have been available. If we had known this text from an Egyptian papyrus, we would simply have added it to our documentation of actual court cases. We would probably not have been greatly surprised about the Greek text in a Latin framework. In that sense the inscription from Syria confirms for this province what we know, or take for granted, in the case of Egypt, at a fairly early date. The presence of the emperor and his hearing of a case in deviation from normal procedure would be equally notable in both provinces, indeed anywhere in the empire.

The availability of this text in Syria need not surprise us. A copy of the acts of a case would have been handed to the parties on request. Apparently the Goharieni had asked for those minutes. But we are dealing with an inscription and therefore must assume a purpose of publicity.

To my knowledge this is one of only two inscriptions with the minutes of a case. (The other one, more fragmentary and less informative on legal procedure, is also inscribed on this temple and concerns the disappearance of

²² For discussion see Kunkel, *op.cit.* (n. 5), 258-259.

²³ Cf. Crook, *op.cit.* (n. 11), 94.

its statues; it was published together with our inscription.²⁴) One may wonder what purpose they would serve. To be sure, the publication of a favourable verdict in a case may help maintaining in the future the rights of the winning party. But the full minutes? A well-known case of ‘advertising’ the legal position of the victorious party is the inscription of the so-called *lis fullonum*.²⁵ Although many details are obscure, this much seems clear: in Rome, in AD 226, in a *cognitio* procedure before the *praefectus vigilum*, the fullers successfully refuted a claim that they had to pay. Two further attempts to make them do so were also dealt with by *praefecti vigilum*, one of whom was the jurist Herennius Modestinus, already mentioned before, and were equally unsuccessful. The successive verdicts were engraved in marble. We do not know where these marble tablets were put up. They were discovered in the Esquiline region about 1700 and published by Fabretti in 1702; at some point one half got lost and the other half now is in the Capitoline Museum. Obviously publication of these verdicts aimed at advertising the rights of the fullers and deterring further attacks on them.

The publication of the full proceedings in the case of the Goharieni remains to be explained. That they must in fact have been considered to be of great significance may be inferred from the fact that they were posted up twice: first on the podium, then a second time on one of the *antae*. In the context of this volume, it is attractive to speculate about the significance of these inscriptions. Personally I think we cannot be greatly mistaken if we interpret them as a guarantee of the rights of the Goharieni in the appointment of a priest to the temple of Zeus Hypsistos. They were a prominent display of the imperial protection these rights enjoyed and a permanent representation of the emperor's power to protect. The choice to publish the full proceedings instead of the mere verdict, I would suggest, is connected with the special role of the emperor in this case, brought out so much more clearly in the full proceedings than in the verdict.

For it is not so much the emperor's position as a judge that is significant here, although it is of course important, but his assistance to the villagers against formal procedure and the machinery of the law. The standard procedure would have been a hearing in first instance in a local court, after which an appeal could be made to the judge *a quo*, who, within 30 days, had to hand over to the appellant his written opinion and the *acta* to submit them

²⁴ See above, n. 1.

²⁵ CIL VI, 266 = FIRA III, no. 165. Cf. F.M. De Robertis, ‘Lis fullonum (CIL VI 266): Oggetto della lite e causa petendi’, in W. Haase & H. Temporini, eds., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 14 (Berlin-New York 1982), 791-815.

to the judge *ad quem*. The latter here would have been the governor, Cassius, who probably is D. Pius Cassius, governor of Syria Phoenice in 213.²⁶ From a negative decision of the governor an appeal was open to the emperor.

The inscription permits us to see enough of the facts of this case to conclude that the formally correct procedure apparently had not been followed. There is no full agreement in the secondary literature as to where precisely the Goharieni had deviated from the royal road. Here we only note that they were pointed in the right direction by the emperor, the full measure of whose assistance therefore could only be appreciated by recording more than just the favourable verdict.

This, I submit, is the significance of the elaborate record of the case of the Goharieni. Not only was the emperor in a position and willing to consider and decide their case, but he was prepared to do so against the rules of the game, to be seen to make justice prevail over law. One wonders who had the greater interest in displaying the imperial intervention: the villagers, to whose advantage the verdict had been, or the emperor, whose power was thus represented for all to see. On balance, I think, the villagers, and one cannot exclude the pride of one of the protagonists as the moving factor. Nevertheless, the emperor would have been pleased.

Groningen, November 2002.

²⁶ PIR II² 112 nr. 479, but cf. the cautious notes of Kunkel, *op.cit.* (n. 5), 264-266.

REPRESENTATION AND PERCEPTION OF ROMAN IMPERIAL POWER IN GREEK PAPYRUS TEXTS FROM AD 238¹

By
JANNEKE DE JONG

‘What’s in a title?’ At first sight, this question may seem a little awkward. In fact, it is hard to answer a question like this without a context and a certain amount of background information. Therefore, before I get into a more detailed discussion of what the title of this paper suggests, I will give a brief sketch of the framework in which I would like to put this question.

To begin with, let us define time, place and subject of investigation. In this paper that will be imperial titulature in Greek papyrus texts from Egypt, from AD 238. This year is highly interesting for Roman imperial history, with an empire-wide revolt and no less than seven different emperors who were recognized by the senate and people of Rome. That they were officially recognized in Egypt too, is proved by a number of papyrus texts from this province. In what follows, some of those texts will be considered in light of their meaning for Roman authority. Based on those texts a hypothesis will be put forward, speculative though it may be, regarding representation and perception of Roman imperial power in Egypt.

Military difficulties started to occur from the second half of the second century onwards.² During the reign of Marcus Aurelius there were problems at the frontiers,³ in addition, the succession by his son Commodus marked the end of the ‘golden age’ of adoptive emperors.⁴ When Commodus was killed, a new emperor was proclaimed, P. Helvius Pertinax, who was killed soon after his imperial proclamation. As a result of this, a civil war

¹ This paper was presented as a poster at the 3rd workshop of the international network ‘Impact of Empire’, 20-23 March 2002 in Rome. It serves as an illustrating example for a wider topic, i.e. imperial representation in the late 2nd and 3rd century AD, which I will deal with in my PhD study. The major part of the research was carried out during a stay in Heidelberg. An early and preliminary draft of this paper was read by M. Peachin and T. Kruse, who both have made useful suggestions, and to whom I express my thanks. I owe further thanks to D. Hagedorn, who kindly showed me two unedited Heidelberg papyrus texts from AD 238, to which reference is made in the appendix (nos. 11 and 12).

² L. de Blois, ‘Emperor and Empire in the Works of Greek Authors’, in W. Haase and H. Temporini (Hrsgg.) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 34, 4 (1998), 3395-3396, esp. note 10 and 11 for an extensive bibliography.

³ A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius. A Biography* (London 1987), 121-126; 140-151; 159-183.

⁴ For the succession of Marcus Aurelius by Commodus and its place in dynastic policy, see O.J. Hekster, *Commodus. An Emperor at the Crossroads* (Amsterdam 2002), 15-39. For the historical background and the political struggle following the murder of Commodus see: A. Birley, *Septimius Severus. The African Emperor*, (London 1988), 89-128.

was fought between the most important military leaders, with the emperorship at stake. The winner of this civil war, Septimius Severus, founded a new dynasty. It now became visible that the character of emperorship had changed. More openly than ever before, the emperor's position was based on military support. Still, Septimius Severus managed to create an appearance of dynastic continuity by linking himself to the family of Marcus Aurelius.⁵ That he succeeded in doing so is proved by the fact that his dynasty lasted for more than four decades. But, by then, the problems had increased and the last ruling Severan, Severus Alexander, no longer enjoyed trust and loyalty from his soldiers. When he was murdered by his own troops, the dynastic continuity of emperors of the first two centuries had come to an end. The next half-century faced many short rules of so-called soldier emperors. The first one of low background was Maximinus Thrax.⁶ He had not even reigned for three years when a revolt broke out in Thysdrus (Africa) that spread all over the empire. Between the beginning of this revolt and the accession of the third Gordian, in the second half of 238, there had been four other claimants to the throne, but none of them survived the battle for the purple. However short their reigns may have been, we know they were officially recognized as emperors in various provinces, including Egypt.⁷ In this paper, the papyrological evidence from Egypt will be taken into account. Only few papyri from AD 238 are preserved: a search in the *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis* results in 11 papyri (and two inedited Heidelberg papyri) that can surely be dated to AD 238. Still, they represent the reigns of all seven emperors that this year saw. Examination of imperial elements will reveal both conspicuous similarities and differences in the rendering of the titles of the different emperors. The question to be considered below is whether those similarities and differences allow us to make presumptions on presentation and perception of the imperial power.

Before I turn to the discussion of the relevant papyrus texts, some remarks on papyrus texts in general need to be made. One must realize that the nature of these documents is totally different from that of our other

⁵ D. Baharal, *Victory of Propaganda. The Dynastic Aspect of the Imperial Propaganda of the Severi: the Literary and Archeological Evidence AD 193-235* (Oxford 1996), 34-42.

⁶ Herodian 7.1.1. NB: Herodian already considered Septimius Severus to be a soldier emperor: cf. G. Alföldy, 'Zeitgeschichte und Krisenempfindung bei Herodian', *Die Krise des römischen Reiches* (HABES 5), (Stuttgart 1989), 273-294.

⁷ X. Lorient, 'Les premières années de la grande crise du III^e siècle: De l'avènement de Maximin le Thrace (235) à la mort de Gordien III (244)', in W. Haase and H. Temporini (Hrsgg.) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 2 (1975), 657-787; with an extensive (thematic) bibliography on pages 777-787.

sources. Papyrus texts were written for private purposes, in the sense that they were not meant to last for generations,⁸ to reach a large public, or to influence public opinion, in the way that, for example, literary works, inscriptions, and coins did. Inherent to this private character of papyri is their variety of contents. As a result of the coincidental preservation of papyri, we have documents of various kinds, ranging from horoscopes to tax receipts, and from reports of proceedings to letters of fathers to their families. Among this variety of texts, there are also documents dealing with administrative matters of all kind, which we would call 'official', and would probably categorise differently from texts that were written by private individuals for private reasons, e.g. private correspondence. But however interesting a categorisation by topics may be, this is not a matter to be treated here.⁹ Still, we should not forget that none of the texts, whatever their 'category', were meant to survive. That they all provide us with very interesting information about Roman Egypt remains a fortunate coincidence.

In this paper, 13 texts are taken into account. Criteria by which they were chosen are firstly the secure dating to AD 238¹⁰ and secondly the presence of imperial titulature. Of these texts, 10 deal with public, and 3 with private matters. In almost all cases the imperial titulature is used to date the document or the 'action' described within the document; only in nr 4 this may not be true.¹¹ However, one may wonder what exactly the function of a dating formula was. Was it used simply to date a document, or is there more to it? Did it give a document its official character, for instance? And what about the titles that were used: were they chosen at random, or may we assume that they were used for some purpose, say propaganda? And do the texts from the year AD 238 bring anything to light that may have a more general applicability? I am not claiming that I will offer definite answers to those questions; but it will, nonetheless, be interesting to compare the

⁸ However, for private purposes, documents might be copied over and over again, so that as a result they sometimes did last for generations.

⁹ The texts examined here can all be considered 'official'. On categorisation or typology of papyrus documents, see R.S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London - New York 1995), 22-24.

¹⁰ Texts that are dated in the reign of Maximinus (and Maximus) and of Gordian III alone, but without certainty for the year, are not taken into account. The relevant texts are gathered in the appendix.

¹¹ E.g. in nos. 7 and 8 the year of the harvest is dated by means of the imperial titulature. Nr 4 is difficult to interpret: see the introduction and comment by the editor, P. Oxy. 51, 3607. That the titulature in nr 6 is used to date the document, is suggested by the editor (P.Flor I 98, note to lines 5-6). Nr 12 is too damaged to make any certain statements about the titulature.

different titulatures used in the documents. In this way, it is at least possible to see in what way the different emperors were presented.

The construction and development of imperial titulature is an interesting phenomenon. As Hammond has described in his article on imperial elements in the formula of Roman emperors, official imperial titulature consists of republican and imperial elements.¹² His investigation, however, focused on inscriptions and coins. If we now turn to imperial titulature that is used in papyrus texts, several features become clear. To begin with, most papyrus texts were written in Greek. As for the imperial titulature, this means that the Latin titles are translated in Greek, which is not very surprising. However, when imperial titles are used, we see that in most cases the republican elements are left out. Only in documents in which the emperor himself addresses the receiver directly, like edicts, the more elaborate titulature is used. The reason why the republican elements were left out in most texts, can only be guessed at. Was this for the sake of brevity? It may have had to do with the fact that use of the emperor's name to simply date documents did not need repetition of his exact powers. They did not matter, or in any case would not be of additional value. Use of the emperor's name and – when one chose to do so - honorific additions conferred enough reverence. In any case, the republican elements were not the most indispensable elements for referring to the emperor.

The imperial part of the titulature can be divided in five elements:¹³

1. Imperator Caesar Augustus;
2. *praenomen* and/or *nomen gentile* and/or *cognomen*;¹⁴
3. honorific epithets, e.g., *pius*, *felix*;
4. victory titles, e.g. *parthicus*;
5. emphasis on the hereditary nature of the imperial position by means of listing predecessors, especially in the 2nd and early 3rd century.¹⁵

Although in this basic structure of the imperial titulature we can observe continuity from the Augustan era up to the third century, there were changes as well: by the time the Severan dynasty had come to power, the imperial titulature had grown in length. More important than the increasing length, however, was the shift from personally applicable titles to generalized standard titulature. A good example of this phenomenon is visible in the development of the meaningful name *Imperator Caesar*

¹² M. Hammond, 'Imperial Elements in the Formula of the Roman Emperors during the first two and a half Centuries of the Empire', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 25 (1957), 20-21.

¹³ Hammond 1957, op.cit. (n. 12), 20-21 discerned four elements, considering victory titles as honorific epithets; 21-58 gives a further discussion of these elements.

¹⁴ One or more of these names are inserted between Imperator Caesar and Augustus.

¹⁵ Hammond 1957, op.cit. (n. 12), 55-58; this practice died out after Severus Alexander.

Augustus, that Octavian had created for himself.¹⁶ It was passed on to his successors and, as the empire and the imperial constitution developed, became a purely authoritative designation.¹⁷ The same applies to the honorific epithets: originally meant to specify (qualities of) a particular emperor, e.g. *pious* for Antoninus, they became mere descriptions of imperial merits, independent from the emperor.¹⁸

Although Hammond confined his research to the first two and half centuries of the empire, I think it is legitimate to apply Hammond's division of the imperial titulature to the titles in the Greek texts from AD 238. The imperial titulature had by then achieved the standard form, which can, at least in papyri, still be recognized in the titulature of the following generations of emperors. With regard to our selected papyrus texts, we can make the following observations:¹⁹

– The first element occurs in almost all titles. The Latin imperial designation 'Imperator Caesar Augustus' is rendered in Greek as Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός. Only three times is Σεβαστός used without Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, nr 5, 9b and 12 (in nr 5 the papyrus has broken off, so Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ might have been there, and 12 is heavily damaged). In 3a, 3b, 4, and 13a Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός is not used at all; instead, in all these texts but for the heavily damaged nr 4, after the emperor's names Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος is added. Nr 8 has οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν added as an extra element before the imperial title, *nomina* and epithets.

– The second element occurs in all attested titles in elaborate form (i.e., the complete series of names). Only in nos. 6 and 10, one of the *nomina* of Pupienus (Μαξιμός), is lacking. In 9a the *cognomina* Πουπιηνός and Βαλβίνος are erased; this is probably a consequence of *damnatio memoriae*.²⁰

– Honorific titles, which form the third element are listed in almost all cases. The honorific Εὐσεβής and Εὐτυχής are not used in nos. 3a, 3b, 4, 12 (the latter two are too damaged to be sure whether it was there) and 13a.

– Victory titles are only attested for Maximinus and Maximus. The other emperors were in power for too brief a period to have received any victory titles.

¹⁶ R. Syme, 'Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature', *Roman Papers* I 29 (Oxford 1979), 361-377, argues on page 374 that Augustus 'exalts himself above all rivals or forerunners in the choice of names as of titles.'

¹⁷ Hammond 1957, op.cit. (n. 12), 21-41, 58, 60.

¹⁸ Hammond 1957, op.cit. (n. 12), 41-54.

¹⁹ For the imperial titulature in the texts from AD 238, see appendix.

²⁰ D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*² (Darmstadt 1996), 191-194.

– The fifth element, listing of the predecessors, does not occur in our sample, and actually this element is missing in imperial titlature in papyri in general.²¹ On the other hand, in nr 1 Maximinus' son is described as ὁ ἱερώτατος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. In my view, this should not be taken as listing of a predecessor, but rather as a reference to the dynastic stability Maximinus pretends to secure. This father-son relationship occurs in more papyrus texts containing titlature of Maximinus and Maximus.²² The same phenomenon can be observed in nr 4, lines 9-10 (here with κύριος instead of Σεβαστός), where the relationship between the Gordians is made clear.

From this comparative overview, we can deduce that the overall-structure of the imperial titlature is identical for the different emperors. At the same time, the occurrence of slight differences suggests flexibility. What can we learn from those observations considering representation or perception of the emperors of the year AD 238?

As stated above, papyri containing imperial titlature can all be considered official documents. May we, therefore, assume that occurrence of imperial titlature is expected to follow official prescripts? Although the titlatures we have seen show close similarities, it is apparent that the scribe had freedom to choose between different descriptions. The number of texts considered here is very small; the variation in titlature no doubt was much bigger than the one represented here.²³ On the other hand, it may be significant that even with so few texts preserved, there are so many similarities between them. So, to come back to the 'officiality' of titlature: how was a new emperor communicated to the inhabitants of the empire? And was an official titlature communicated along with the emperor?

When a new emperor was proclaimed, his proclamation and titlature had to be confirmed and offered to him by the senate.²⁴ The position of the senate, and therefore its role in 'creating' a new emperor, had become weaker in the course of time. A good example of this is Maximinus Thrax, who owed his imperial position exclusively to his soldiers. This soldier-

²¹ P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C.- 284 p.C.)* (Bruxelles 1964), *passim*.

²² Bureth 1964, *op.cit.* (n. 21), 111-12, nr 1; 4; 6; 9; 10; 11 (nr 11 on p. 112 has παῖς instead of υἱός). NB: the numbers are not printed in Bureth's compilation.

²³ For numerous variations in imperial titlature in general, one just has to browse through the works of Bureth, 1964, *op.cit.* (n. 21) or M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titlature and Chronology, A.D. 235-284*, (Amsterdam 1990).

²⁴ Peachin 1990, *op.cit.* (n. 23), 3-7; R. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton - New Jersey 1984), 354-356.

based regime was a thorn in the flesh of the senate. So, when in AD 238 in Africa Proconsularis a rebellion broke out,²⁵ and the two Gordians were proclaimed emperors, the senate was quick to undertake action. Letters were sent to the governors of the provinces to inform them of the political situation and of the senatorial decision to support the new rulers. However, since the new emperors were killed within a few weeks, the senate had little choice but to push through its own policy, i.e., to get rid of Maximinus, and appoint two senators as the new emperors. The Roman mob was outraged, and the senate could only 'agree' with having a child, the grandson of the first Gordian, acclaimed designated emperor. After a reign of a few weeks, the senatorial emperors were killed, and the designated Caesar was acclaimed emperor Gordian (III). Within half a year, three imperial acclamations of five emperors had taken place. So, three times, letters of notification of this must have been sent to the provinces. The contents of such letters can only be guessed at. They may have contained the official titulature of the new emperor, so that all officials who were active in the administration of the empire at once knew how to refer to their new ruler. Or perhaps only the fact of the proclamation of a new emperor was communicated, without prescribed standard formulas. The provincial administrators, familiar with using imperial titulature, knew exactly how to make a new imperial title out of the personal names of the new emperor. It is more probable that the senate communicated the new emperor and his new titles at the same time. The close parallels in the titulature that we have seen above can be taken as a support for this hypothesis. It has been assumed that such a communication, in which dating formulas were prescribed, in Egypt took place every year after the Diocletianic reforms; the prefect of Egypt in Alexandria acted as the intermediary between the central and provincial administration.²⁶ This annual communication of the state of imperial affairs may well have been a continuation of an earlier practice. Although the titles were only used for dating purposes, they still reflect imperial merits, especially in the use of victory titles and epithets. Can this kind of use of imperial titulature be considered propaganda? The uniformity in titulature in papyrus texts is not uniform enough to prove deliberately chosen formulas, whereas the diversity is not diverse enough to disprove it. Regarding

²⁵ For a description of the course of the revolt and events related to it, see Lorient 1975, op.cit. (n.7), esp. 688-724.

²⁶ R.S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S.R. Schwartz, K.A. Worp, *Concils of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta, Georgia 1987), 67-8.

documentary sources that make use of elements such as imperial acclamations and tribunician powers, which are helpful to date the document, I think there is truth in Kienast's statement: 'Man muß ferner betonen, daß alle die eben genannten, für die Datierung wichtigen Elemente primär einen politischen Charakter tragen und ihre chronologische Bedeutung meist erst sekundärer Natur ist.'²⁷ Certainly, use of the imperial titles does suggest an awareness of, and familiarity with, the constitutional power; apparently one had some freedom of choice, though the easiest thing to do was to stick to the example set by the highest authorities. However, the question remains whether use of imperial titulature in papyrus texts is *purposeful* propaganda. Rather, if one defines propaganda as a process in which several factors are involved, as Baharal does, it appears again that use of imperial titles to date documents should not be considered as pure propaganda. Baharal argues that 'In summary, there are six elements involved in the process of propaganda: the initiator, audience, medium, symbols or words, message and purpose'.²⁸ If this model is applied to papyrus texts, a general statement about the use of titulature as propaganda would be something like: "Advertising' the emperor propagated by the highest authorities to reach the subjects in order to get support for the (new) emperor was conveyed by means of written words." In this, the advertising of the emperor can be regarded as the message that was meant to be made public; the initiator responsible for sending out this message would be the highest authorities; its audience, of course, the subjects; purpose of transmitting the message would be to make the emperor acceptable, and, therefore, have him accepted. This would all be achieved by means of using imperial titulature, written down on papyrus. The only respect in which imperial titulature in papyrus texts does not fit into this scheme is that it is used not as a message per se, but rather as an addition, maybe even enrichment of a text, with the very practical purpose of dating the document. Therefore, I would plea to consider the use of imperial titulature in most papyrus texts not as propaganda in itself, but as as a reflection of this 'propagandistic' policy.

The question how the message that had been sent out was perceived is difficult to answer. Since it is not possible to look into people's minds, we

²⁷ Kienast 1996, op.cit. (n. 20), 21. Kienast mentions the 'eben genannten Elemente' on p. 20-21, for example consulates, imperial acclamations and victory titles. For a monograph on the latter category, victory titles, see P. Kneißl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser, Hypommemata* 23, (Göttingen 1969).

²⁸ Baharal 1996, op.cit. (n. 5), 2.

can only hypothesise about this. But the fact that in most of the cases there is great similarity in the titulature that was used suggests that on the one hand the authors of the documents were not too critical in their choice of titles. On the other, they did not do their best to be inventive either. Writing down imperial titulature was a mechanical, but necessary, act. The suspicion rises that one perceived the emperor as an authority rather than as an individual, and, consequentially, that in using titulature it mattered more to express that authority than to link it to a man.

The fact that we have papyrological evidence attesting all the emperors proclaimed by the senate in AD 238 proves that Egypt was loyal to Rome: it means that the people who were responsible for the administration, and therefore government, of Egypt were loyal to their superiors in Rome. The use of the imperial titles, even if only to date a document, was a way to express this loyalty.

When notifying the provincial administration after the proclamation of an emperor, the senate communicated the imperial titulature to present the new emperor. Though there are only very few documents attesting the different reigns of AD 238, the imperial formulas are very similar. This points to the existence of an official standard titulature that could be used for any emperor. We have seen that imperial titulature in general consisted of certain elements that are *mutatis mutandis* applicable to all emperors. The papyrus texts from AD 238 illustrate this very well: considering the shortness of some of the reigns in AD 238, we can only admire the speed of the Roman administration in adapting to new rulers. The standard elements, in which only the personal *nomina* of the ruling emperor should be filled in at the adequate place, were very convenient. Besides that, the emperors of AD 238 were almost proclaimed *ad hoc*, which caused the practical problem that there was no time to think elaborately about individualised titulatures. The standard was simply applicable to anyone.

In terms of representation, we can say that standardisation of formulas and the absence of individualisation, except by using the emperor's personal name, may not have had a propagandistic effect to promote the individual emperors, but maybe the appearance of continuity of imperial authority was created by using generalized structures. In this sense it did have a propagandistic effect for 'the emperorship'. In any case, in the third century it was the authority of the emperor that mattered, not his personal qualities.

Following this, in terms of perception we may conclude that in Egypt in this period the emperor was not perceived as an individual with personal qualities, but rather as the person who was merely filling in a vacant place. Local administrators followed the instructions they got from higher hand. Thanks to standard titles they were able to change quickly from one emperor to another in writing their documents. Although we can never be sure of what people were actually thinking, it is likely that the presentation of the emperor determined the way in which he was perceived. This applies to presentation and perception of imperial power by means of titulature in Greek texts of AD 238 as well: perception of the emperor depended on how he was presented. His abstract presence was rendered by the use of titles. For the authors of the documents under consideration and the people who would deal with them, that sufficed.

Nijmegen, October 2002

Appendix: Imperial titles in Greek texts from AD 238²⁹

1. SPP XX 37, 12-18 (29-1-238)

Public (administrative): registration of cattle, addressed to the basilikos grammateus. Titulature used to date the document.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Οὐῆρος Μαξιμίνοσ Εὐσεβῆσ Εὐτυχῆσ
Σεβαστόσ Γερμανικόσ μέγιστοσ Δακικόσ μέγιστοσ Σαρματικόσ μέγιστοσ καὶ
Γαῖοσ Ἰούλιοσ Οὐῆροσ Μάξιμοσ Γερμανικόσ μέγιστοσ Δακικόσ μέγιστοσ
Σαρματικόσ μέγιστοσ ὁ ἱερώτατοσ Καίσαρ Σεβαστόσ υἱόσ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

2. SPP XX 47 = CPR 6, 1-2 (3-2-238)

Private: contract of a sale of land. Titulature used to date the document.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γαῖοσ Ἰούλιοσ Οὐῆροσ Μαξιμίνοσ Εὐσεβῆσ Εὐτυχῆσ
Σεβαστόσ

3. a. P.Oxy. XLIII 3107, 2-5 (7-4-238)

Public (administrative): receipt for dyke- and other taxes. Titulature used to date the document.

Γαῖοι Ἰούλιοι Οὐῆροι Μαξιμίνοσ καὶ Μάξιμοσ υἱόσ Γερμανικόι μέγιστοι
Δακικόι μέγιστοι Σαρματικόι μέγιστοι Καίσαρεσ οἱ κύριοι

3. b. P.Oxy. XLIII 3107, 12-15 (13-6-238)

Public (administrative): receipt for dyke- and other taxes. Titulature used to date the document.

Μάρκοσ Ἀντώνιοσ Γορδιανόσ Ρωμανόσ Σεμπρωνιανόσ Αφρικανόσ καὶ Μάρκοσ
Ἀντώνιοσ Γορδιανόσ Ρωμανόσ Σεμπρωνιανόσ Αφρικανόσ Καίσαρεσ οἱ κύριοι

4. P.Oxy. LI 3607 (before 13-6-238)

Accession edict; titles too damaged to be sure, and so is the purpose of the titulature used.

I. 5: Μάρκοσ Ἀντώνιοσ Γορδιανόσ Ρωμανόσ Σεμπρωνιανόσ Αφρικανόσ

II. 9-10: Μάρκοσ Ἀντώνιοσ Γορδιανόσ Ρωμανόσ Σεμπρωνιανόσ
Αφρικανόσ ὁ υἱόσ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν

II. 11-12: Μάρκοσ Ἀντώνιοσ Γορδιανόσ Ρωμανόσ Σεμπρωνιανόσ Αφρικανόσ

II. 16-17: Μάρκοσ Ἀντώνιοσ Γορδιανόσ Ρωμανόσ Σεμπρωνιανόσ Αφρικανόσ

II. 17-18: Μάρκοσ Ἀντώνιοσ Γορδιανόσ Ρωμανόσ Σεμπρωνιανόσ Αφρικανόσ

²⁹ NB: the titulature is rendered in the nominative case here (whereas in the documents they are in genitive case). Furthermore, I took over the titulatures as they were restored by the various editors: in most texts the titulature survived in such way that restoration is more or less secure; only nos. 4, 6, 11 and 12 are very damaged and should be considered with extra caution. Also the spelling has been made uniform, e.g. Μαξιμίνοσ (nr 1) was spelled Μαξιμεῖνοσ in the original text.

5. SB XVIII 13153, 1-4 (20-6-238)

Private: end of a renting contract. Titulature used to date the document/year of the lease (?).

Μάρκος Αντώνιος Γορδιανός Ρωμανός Σεμπρωνιανός Ἀφρικανός καὶ Μάρκος
Αντώνιος Γορδιανός Ρωμανός Σεμπρωνιανός Ἀφρικανός Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς
Σεβαστοί

6. P.Flor. I 98, 5-6 (238)

Public (administrative): order of the basilikos grammateus

Use of titulature not clear. Restored by editor (note to line 5-6)

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Κλώδιος Πουπιηνός Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός
καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δέκιμος Καίλιος Καλουῖνος Βαλβῖνος Εὐσεβῆς
Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός καὶ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανός ὁ ἱερώτατος Καῖσαρ

7. O.Leid. 259, 2-8 (21-7-238)

Public (administrative): granary receipt. Titulature used to date the year of the harvest.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Κλώδιος Πουπιηνός Μάξιμος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς
Σεβαστός καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δέκιμος Καίλιος Καλουῖνος Βαλβῖνος
Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός καὶ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανός ὁ ἱερώτατος
Καῖσαρ

8. O.Bodl. II 1621, 1-4 (21-7 and 11-8 238)

Public (administrative): granary receipt (μέτρημα θησαυροῦ). Titulature used to date the year of the harvest.

Οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Μάρκος Κλώδιος Πουπιηνός Μάξιμος
καὶ Δέκιμος Καίλιος Καλουῖνος Βαλβῖνος Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς Σεβαστοί

9.a. P. Oxy. XII 1433, col. i, 16-26 (29-8 to 27-9 238)

Public (administrative): reports of tax-collectors to a strategos. Titulature with part of the names deleted. Titulature used to date the year for which the taxes had been paid.

Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Μάρκος Κλώδιος [[Πουπιηνός]] καὶ Δέκιμος
Καίλιος Καλουῖνος [[Βαλβῖνος]] Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς Σεβαστοί καὶ Μάρκος
Αντώνιος Γορδιανός ὁ ἱερώτατος Καῖσαρ

9.b. P. Oxy. XII 1433, col. ii, 45-49 (28-9 to 27-10 238)

Public (administrative): reports of tax-collectors to a strategos. Titulature used to date the year for which the taxes had been paid.

Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανός Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός

10. SPP XX 51, 21-25 (8-9-238)

Private: contract of loan of grain. Titulature used to date the document.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Κλώδιος Πουπιηνὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς
καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δέκιμος Καίλιος Καλουῖνος Βαλβῖνος Εὐσεβῆς
Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς καὶ Μάρκος Αντώνιος Γορδιανὸς ὁ ἱερώτατος Καῖσαρ

11. P.Heid. Inv. G 175R, 1-2 Summer 238 (ined.)

Public (administrative): end of a petition. Titulature used to date the document and mostly restored.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Κλώδιος Πουπιηνὸς Μάξιμος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς
Σεβαστὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δέκιμος Καίλιος Καλουῖνος Βαλβῖνος
Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς καὶ Μάρκος Αντώνιος Γορδιανὸς ὁ ἱερώτατος
Καῖσαρ

12. P.Heid. Inv. G 546 (238) (ined.)

Public (administrative). Petition? (Too damaged to determine)

l. 4: Πουπιηνὸς Μάξιμος καὶ Δέκιμος Καίλιος

l. 5: Σεβαστοί

l. 17: Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανὸς

13.a. P. Ryl. II 100, 4-5 (12 October 238)

Public (administrative): application for a lease of land to pasture sheep

Titulature to denote the year for which the lease is set

Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανὸς Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος

13.b281 P. Ryl. II 100, 15-17 (12 October 238)

Titulature to date the whole document

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς

NÄHE UND FERNE KAISERLICHER MACHT: DAS BEISPIEL KÖLN

Von
WERNER ECK

Die Szene ist bekannt. Eine Gruppe von Pharisäern will nach Lukas 20, 20ff. Jesus entweder vor dem Volk oder der höchsten römischen Provinzautorität, dem *praefectus Iudaeae* Pontius Pilatus, in Schwierigkeiten bringen; sie fragen ihn deshalb, ob es ihnen, den Juden, erlaubt sei, dem Kaiser Steuern zu zahlen oder nicht (ἔξεστιν ἡμᾶς Καίσαρι φόρον δοῦναι ἢ οὐ; 20, 22). Er aber antwortet mit einer Gegenfrage, nachdem man ihm einen Denar gereicht hatte: „Wessen Bild und Aufschrift zeigt er (der Denar)?“ (τίνος ἔχει εἰκόνα καὶ ἐπιγραφήν; 20, 24), worauf er die Antwort erhält: Καίσαρος.

Einfacher, aber auch selbstverständlicher als in dieser Szene könnte man nicht zeigen, wie die politische Macht Roms, verkörpert im Kaiser, in den Provinzen präsent war und worin sie sich ganz selbstverständlich konkretisierte. Für gläubige Juden war es unerträglich, daß Kaiserbilder nach Jerusalem gebracht wurden. Die Präfecten Judäas der frühen Jahre nach der Provinzialisierung ließen deshalb die Bilder des Herrschers von den Feldzeichen nehmen, wenn sie mit ihren Truppen nach Jerusalem hinauf zogen – es sei denn, sie wollen die Bevölkerung provozieren wie Pontius Pilatus dies getan hat.¹ Doch römische Denare, auf denen generell nicht nur der Name, sondern auch das Bild des Herrschers erschien, waren offensichtlich ganz selbstverständlich auch in den Händen von gläubigen Juden. Es waren ja die Schriftgelehrten und Priester selbst, die Jesus den Denar gereicht hatten.² Der ferne Kaiser war unmittelbar durch sein Bild präsent, jeder konnte eine Vorstellung davon haben, wer derjenige war, der von Rom aus die Welt regierte, dem alle gehorchen und Steuern zahlen mußten. Kein sonstiges Medium der Kommunikation machte den Kaiser so gegenwärtig, so omnipräsent wie die Münzen. Natürlich gab es in allen Städten des Reiches Statuen und Porträts, auch gemalte Bilder, die dem Herrscher Gestalt verliehen, in allen Städten gab es statuarische Darstellungen, oft verbunden mit Inschriften, die Namen und Hoheitstitel verkündeten.³ Selbst in Waldgirmes, der zwischen ca. 5 v. Chr. und 9 n. Chr. an der Lahn

¹ Josephus, b. J. 2, 169-171; ant. 14, 65-67.

² Lucas 22, 19.

³ Vgl. nur beispielsweise G. Alföldy, Statuen in Venetia und Histria. Epigraphische Quellen, Abh. Heidelb. Akad. Wiss., Phil-Hist. Kl. 1984, 3, Heidelberg 1984.

aus dem Nichts erbauten Siedlung für dort wohnende Germanen, war bereits eine überlebensgroße bronzene Reiterstatue des Augustus errichtet worden.⁴ Manche dieser Statuen standen auf gewaltigen Bögen hoch über allen Betrachtern; niemand konnte sie übersehen.⁵ Schon in dem erst zwei bis drei Jahrzehnte alten *oppidum Ubiorum* stand offensichtlich ein solcher Bogen, um den Ruhm des Herrscherhauses an der Rheinfront zu verkünden.⁶ Immer wieder trafen auch Schreiben aus der Zentrale des Reiches ein, durch die der Herrscher mit seinen Untertanen in Kontakt trat. Wer lesen erlernt hatte, konnte die *ipsissima verba* nachlesen, weil sie zumindest für eine gewisse Zeit in der Stadt öffentlich zugänglich waren, geschrieben vielleicht auf *tabulae dealbatae* oder gelegentlich auch sofort auf Stein oder Bronze. Aber sie wurden auch öffentlich vorgetragen, im Theater oder auf den öffentlichen Plätzen einer Stadt. Manche dieser Schreiben verbreiteten das Bild des Wohltäters der Menschheit; nicht wenige solcher Briefe sind in epigraphischer Form auf uns gekommen.⁷ Doch häufiger enthielten sie Anordnungen über neue Forderungen gegenüber den Untertanen, oft finanzieller Natur; diese sind jedoch zumeist verloren gegangen; es lohnte sich nicht, sie in dauerhafter Form zu publizieren und so zu bewahren.⁸

Durch all diese Medien war der ferne Kaiser präsent, selbst bis in die kleineren Siedlungen und Dörfer hinein. Denn zumindest die Münzen gelangten überall hin. Dennoch: Der Herrscher blieb weit entfernt, er war

⁴ A. Becker, Die Ausgrabungen in Lahngau-Waldgirmes 1999. Eine *nova colonia* aus der Zeit des Kaisers Augustus im Lahntal?, in: Denkmalpflege und Kulturgeschichte. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Hessen Heft 2, 1999, 60ff.; ders., Eine römische Stadt an der Lahn?, in: Antike Welt 31, 2000, 601ff.

⁵ W. Eck - G. Foerster, Ein Triumphbogen für Hadrian im Tal von Beth Shean bei Tel Shalem, JRA 12, 1999, 294-313 mit der neueren Literatur.

⁶ H. v. Hesberg, Bauteile der frühen Kaiserzeit in Köln. Das *Oppidum Ubiorum* zur Zeit des Augustus, in: Grabung – Forschung – Präsentation. Festschrift Gundolf Precht, Xantener Berichte 12, Mainz 2002, 13ff., bes. 20f.

⁷ Die Masse dieser Texte mit kaiserlichen Schreiben bei J.H. Oliver, Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri, Philadelphia 1989 mit den Ergänzungen bei V. I. Anastasiadis – G. A. Souris, An Index to Imperial Constitutions from Greek Inscriptions and Papyri 27 BC to 284 AD, Berlin 2000, 2ff.

⁸ W. Eck, Zur Einleitung. Römische Provinzialadministration und die Erkenntnismöglichkeiten der epigraphischen Überlieferung, in: Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert, hg. W. Eck, München 1999, 1ff. Zu dem Schreiben des Antoninus Pius an Ephesus (I. Eph. V 1491), das bisher durchwegs als Tadel an der Stadt angesehen wurde und deshalb als einer der wenigen kaiserlichen Briefe mit negativem Inhalt galt, siehe jetzt mit einer neuen Ergänzung und dann positiven Aussage Chr. Kokkinia, Letters of Roman authorities on local dignitaries. The case of Vedius Antoninus, ZPE 142, 2003, 197ff.

kein *deus praesens*.⁹ Weit konkreter waren da schon die Statthalter, die als seine Vertreter in der Provinz agierten, seine Prokuratoren mit ihrem nicht immer sehr beliebten Personal aus kaiserlichen Sklaven und Freigelassenen und schließlich die Soldaten, die mehr als alle anderen Repräsentanten kaiserlicher Macht überall gegenwärtig waren.¹⁰ Der Kaiser gehörte vor allem in den Wirkungen, die von ihm ausgingen, zur Normalität des provinziellen Lebens, nicht jedoch seine unmittelbare Gegenwart.

Dennoch gab es die Vorstellung, daß der Herrscher vor Ort erscheinen müsse, daß seine Gegenwart notwendig sei. Geradezu klassisch ist dies im s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre im Jahr 20 n.Chr. vom Senat formuliert worden: *Germanicus Caesar, qui a principe nostro ex auctoritate huius ordinis ad rerum transmarinarum statum componendum missus esset, desiderantium praesentiam aut ipsius Ti. Caesaris Augusti aut filiorum alterius ipsius*.¹¹ Tatsächlich hat ja auch Germanicus den Osten des Reiches als Tiberius' Repräsentant besucht. Ähnlich drückt diese Vorstellung Velleius Paterculus an zwei Stellen seines Werkes aus: *Hispaniae nunc ipsius Augusti praesentia, nunc Agrippae...multo varioque Marte pacatae*;¹² ferner: *Caesar circumferens terrarum orbi praesentia sua pacis suae bona*.¹³ Und schon Horaz hatte für Augustus formuliert: *o tutela praesens Italiae dominaeque Romae*.¹⁴ Auch der anonyme Panegyriker, der im Jahr 311 vor Constantin in Trier sprach, weiß um die Vorstellung von der segensreichen Gegenwart des Kaisers, wenn er von den prachtvollen Bauten dieser Stadt sagt: *Quae certe omnia sunt praesentiae tuae munera*.¹⁵ Und ein anderer Panegyriker rühmte Trier, *quae adhuc adsiduitate praesentiae tuae prae ceteris fruitur*.¹⁶ Mit der unmittelbaren Präsenz des Herrschers sollen Glück und Wohlstand, Sicherheit und Ordnung angekommen sein. Die Menschen warten auf das Erscheinen des Kaisers, was die Griechen als Epiphanie bezeichnen. Die Sphäre zu den Göttern wird berührt.

⁹ Siehe z.B. AE 1980, 52; vgl. AE 1919, 26; 1920, 23; 1957, 246.

¹⁰ Vgl. z.B. B. Isaac, *Army and Power in the Roman World: A Response to Brian Campbell*, in: *Army and Power in the Ancient World*, hg. A. Chaniotis – P. Ducrey, Stuttgart 2002, 181ff.

¹¹ W. Eck - A. Caballos - F. Fernández, *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, München 1996, 40f. Zeile 30ff.; 162.

¹² Velleius Paterculus 2, 90, 1.

¹³ Velleius Paterculus 2, 92, 2.

¹⁴ Horatius, *carm.* 4, 14, 43f.

¹⁵ Pan. Lat 6 (7), 22, 5.

¹⁶ Pan. Lat. 5 (8), 2, 1.

Daß solche Sätze zumeist mehr über die Vorstellungen einzelner Rhetoren und Theoretiker als über die Realität aussagen, braucht nicht betont zu werden. Deshalb ist es vielleicht aussagekräftiger, sich an einem konkreten Fall zu vergegenwärtigen, was die Anwesenheit eines Kaisers für eine Provinzstadt wirklich bedeuten konnte – oder vielleicht auch die Abwesenheit. Manche Städte bieten sich für solche Betrachtungen an, etwa Ephesus, Athen, Antiochia in Syrien oder Alexandria in Ägypten.¹⁷ Sie alle waren Hauptzentren des Imperiums mit überdurchschnittlich großer Bevölkerung und daraus resultierenden Problemen. Vor allem aber waren sie kontinuierlich Ziel auch der Herrscher, soweit sie das Reich bereisten. Doch es sei gestattet, die angesprochene Thematik an einem Exemplum zu betrachten, das mir geographisch und sachlich näher liegt, nämlich an der Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, dem heutigen Köln. Diese Stadt bietet sich vielleicht auch deswegen an, weil sie vom Beginn der monarchischen Herrschaft in Rom bis fast ans Ende des weströmischen Teils des Reiches, wenn auch mit großen Intervallen, immer wieder von einzelnen Herrschern aufgesucht wurde, in sehr unterschiedlichen politischen und militärischen Situationen.¹⁸

Daß der zentrale städtische Kern des Stammes der Ubier an der Stelle des heutigen Köln entstand, war eine direkte Folge der von Augustus angeordneten Offensive gegen die rechtsrheinischen Germanen. Topographische Gegebenheiten wie die Rheintalstraße, das hochwasserfreie Plateau und der durch eine vorgelagerte Rheininsel geschaffene natürliche Hafen waren wohl die Voraussetzungen, daß das römische Militär und vor allem der Oberkommandierende der Offensivarmee dort bald öfter Station machten. Die Folge war der durch römische Kräfte betriebene systematische Ausbau der Stadt, nicht nur in der Grundrißplanung, sondern auch der konkreten Ausgestaltung des Ortes mit monumentalen Steinbauten, und zwar noch in augusteischer und frühüberischer Zeit. Das früheste Monument, das dies zeigt und auch sehr genau datiert werden kann, ist das sogenannte Ubiermonument, vermutlich ein Eckturm der Stadtbefestigung, der gerade nicht auf ubische Initiative zurückgeht, sondern eindeutig von einer römischen Autorität veranlaßt wurde. Allein aus diesem Monument, dem kleinen

¹⁷ Siehe zu diesen Städten im Zusammenhang mit Kaiserbesuchen H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich*, Stuttgart 1986; auch bei J. Lehnen, *Adventus principis. Untersuchungen zu Sinngehalt und Zeremoniell der Kaiserankunft in den Städten des Imperium Romanum*, Frankfurt 1997 ist einiges dazu angemerkt.

¹⁸ Siehe dazu im Überblick H. Volkmann, *Römische Kaiser in Köln*, Gymnasium 1967, 119ff.; ausführlich in Kürze W. Eck, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln - Die römische Zeit* (in Druckvorbereitung).

Überrest eines größeren Ganzen, ließe sich der kaiserliche Wille ableiten, der hinter der Erbauung dieses städtischen Zentrums, dieser „Stadt aus dem Nichts“ stand.¹⁹ Die Siedlung verfügte offensichtlich nach kurzer Zeit noch unter Augustus nicht nur über Wohnmöglichkeiten, die selbst für den Oberkommandierenden Germanicus und seine Frau Agrippina adäquat waren, sondern auch über öffentliche Monumentalbauten wie Tempel und Portiken. Sogar ein Ehren- oder Triumphbogen muß damals bereits für einen der Träger der politisch-militärischen Macht, also für Augustus, Tiberius oder Germanicus errichtet worden sein. Von all dem sind zwar nur noch jämmerliche Reste in Form von Kapitellen, Säulentrommeln oder Säulenbasen und Gesimsen erhalten. Doch Henner von Hesberg hat zu Recht nochmals auf die an sich banale Erkenntnis verwiesen, daß jedes architektonische Fragment auf etwas ursprünglich Ganzes, auf ein gesamtes Bauwerk verweist.²⁰ Die Konsequenz dieser Überlegung ist für Köln, daß dieses schon zu Beginn seiner Existenz sich nicht wie ein germanisches Bauerndorf präsentiert hat, sondern ein auf die Anwesenheit der Träger der höchsten militärischen und politischen Macht ausgestalteter Ort war, der zudem durch den Altar für den provinziellen Herrscherkult der Provinz Germania eine besondere politische Qualität erhielt. Wären aber nicht Tiberius oder Germanicus mit ihrem Stab oder Hof, wie immer man das nennen will, dorthin gekommen und für längere Zeit präsent gewesen, dann hätte sich, nach allem was für uns erkennbar ist, die Siedlung nicht entwickeln können oder zumindest nicht in der Art, wie es dann tatsächlich geschah. Die *praesentia* dieser Mitglieder der *domus Augusta* war die Voraussetzung für die Entstehung dieses städtischen Mittelpunkts. Ob Augustus selbst jemals bis an die Stelle des späteren Köln gekommen ist, läßt sich nicht sagen. Aber es ist durchaus möglich, daß er sich während seines langen, von 16 – 13 v. Chr. dauernden Aufenthalts in den gallischen Provinzen, auch bis in die nördlichen Rheingegenden begeben hat, zumal da in dieser Zeit die Entscheidung über die Eroberung der rechtsrheinischen Gebiete getroffen wurde. Die Präsenz der ersten Truppen unmittelbar an der Rheinfront geht bereits auf die Zeit von Augustus' Präsenz in Gallien zurück.

Die Erhebung des Zentralorts der Ubier zur Kolonie im Jahr 50 vollzog sich allerdings ohne jede persönliche Anwesenheit der beiden Personen, die diese Entscheidung getroffen hatten: Claudius und Agrippina. Dennoch: Wie auch immer die wirklichen aktuellen Motive Agrippinas

¹⁹ Siehe vorerst W. Eck, Die Anfänge des römischen Köln. Logistisches Zentrum zur Unterwerfung Germaniens, Kölner Universitätsjournal 32, 2, 2002, 56ff.

²⁰ Hesberg, Bauteile (Anm. 6) 13ff.

gewesen sein mögen, ohne ihre nur dem Zufall zu verdankende Geburt in dem Vorort der Ubier 35 Jahre früher wäre die Stadt am Rhein nicht das Objekt ihres Ehrgeizes geworden, den eigenen Geburtsort ebenso hervorgehoben zu sehen wie Lugdunum, wo ihr Gatte das Licht der Welt erblickt hatte.²¹ Die Folgen dieses „kurzfristigen Aufenthalts“ Agrippinas für das innere Leben der großen Gemeinde waren grundstürzend: eine politische Einheit, die *civitas* der Ubier verschwand entweder direkt oder doch bald danach, eine römische Kolonie trat an ihre Stelle. Zahllose Menschen waren von der Entscheidung des Kaisers und seiner Gemahlin, die im fernen Rom gefällt worden war, betroffen. Ob es darüber Verhandlungen mit Vertretern der Ubier am Kaiserhof gegeben hat, ist nicht überliefert – möglich ist es, wahrscheinlich ist es nicht. Der ferne Herrscher und noch mehr seine Gattin an seiner Seite, sie wußten, was richtig und wichtig war für die Menschen am Rhein.

Dann erlebte die Stadt am 2. Januar 69 die Akklamation des Vitellius durch die Truppen am Rhein, den Ausgangspunkt turbulenter Ereignisse, die das Gemeinwesen in die schlimmste Krise seiner römischen Geschichte vor der Mitte des 3. Jh. stürzten. Für einen Augenblick war die Stadt Mittelpunkt des politisch-militärischen Lebens des Reiches. Manche Bewohner mochten persönliche Hoffnungen damit verbinden. Die Agrippinenser unterstützten wie andere Gemeinden in Gallien den in ihren Mauern weilenden Herrn – was wäre ihnen auch anderes möglich gewesen? Doch die Anwesenheit des neuen Herrschers dauerte nur kurz. Die Folgen freilich trafen die CCAA für die nächsten drei Jahre in besonders harter Form. Es hätte auch das physische Ende der Kolonie sein können. Zu welchen konkreten Folgen das zufällige Ereignis der Akklamation eines Herrschers in der Stadt geführt hätte, das enthüllte sich nicht mehr, da Vitellius bereits vor Ende des Jahres 69 scheiterte. Wer ihn unterstützt hatte, mußte froh sein, wenn dies vergessen wurde. Schon damals bewahrheitete sich jedoch ein geläufiger Köl'ischer Satz, der – auf Hochdeutsch – lautet: „Es ist noch immer alles gut gegangen“.

Knapp 30 Jahre später wurde erneut ein Kaiser in der Stadt ausgerufen, diesmal freilich nicht durch die Truppen gegen den legitimen Herrscher in Rom; vielmehr erhielt Traian Anfang Februar 98 die Nachricht vom Tod seines Adoptivvaters und seiner eigenen Akklamation als Augustus *apud*

²¹ Siehe dazu ausführlich W. Eck, Agrippina - die 'Stadtgründerin' Kölns. Eine Frau in der frühkaiserzeitlichen Politik, Köln² 1993, 77ff.; H. Galsterer, Von den Eburonen zu den Agrippinensern. Aspekte der Romanisierung am Rhein, KJ 23, 1990, 117ff.

Agrippinam.²² Er hatte kurz vorher, im Oktober 97, durch eine sorgfältig von Rom und von der Provinz aus inszenierte Pression seine Adoption durch den kinderlosen, mehr als 66 Jahre alten Kaiser Nerva durchgesetzt; später wurde behauptet, Jupiter selbst habe dem regierenden Kaiser diesen Gedanken eingegeben.²³ Real war nur die militärische Macht, die hinter Traian stand. Diesmal mußte niemand in Köln überlegen, ob es klug sei, diesem neuen Kaiser zuzujubeln. Die Akklamation war unstrittig. Erneut war die Stadt Mittelpunkt der Politik des gesamten Reiches; nicht nur die senatorischen und ritterlichen Amtsträger, die nicht an Rom gebunden waren, eilten an den Rhein; auch die Städte und *civitates* Italiens und der Provinzen sandten ihre führenden Männer an den Rhein, um den neuen Kaiser zu begrüßen. Köln wurde zu einem Sammelpunkt der Kulturen des Imperiums, und all das nur deswegen, weil der Princeps sich in ihren Mauern aufhielt.²⁴ Für manche der Stadtbewohner mochte sich durch die Anwesenheit so vieler zahlungskräftiger Gäste ein sehr konkreter Gewinn ergeben. Auch große Politik erlebte man. Denn Casperius Aelianus, einer der Prätorianerpräfekten, der im Verlauf des Jahres 97 zusammen mit seinen Prätorianern Nerva im Stich gelassen hatte, wurde an den Rhein gerufen und hier kurzerhand beseitigt.²⁵ Andererseits kam eine Gesandtschaft des Senats, ehrwürdige Herren im römischen Bürgerkleid, hierher, um Traian als den neuen Herrn zu begrüßen. Köln erlebte die große Welt des Imperium. Geschah aber mehr? Gab es Folgen für die Stadt selbst oder ihre Bewohner? Blieb etwas Dauerhaftes von dieser Anwesenheit Traians, die vermutlich doch einige Monate gewährt hatte? Nach den uns erhaltenen Quellen hat diese *praesentia principis* zu nichts Dauerhaftem geführt - außer zur Gründung der zweiten *colonia* am Rhein, der *colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Xanten). Die *Agrippinenses* behielten dies wohl eher als nicht so ganz erfreuliche Geste des neuen Herrschers im Gedächtnis. Denn mit dem einmaligen Status der Stadt als einzigem hochprivilegierten Ort in der Provinz Niedergermanien war es nun vorbei. Doch angesichts der Quellenarmut, und

²² Eutropius, *breviarium* 8,2,2; *Epitome de Caesaribus* 13,3; Hieronymus, *Chronik* 275f. Zeile 16 zum Jahr 2113; Orosius 7,12,2; Sidonius Apollinaris, *carm.* 7,114f.

²³ W. Eck, *Traian: Der Weg zum Kaisertum*, in: *Traian*, hg. A. Nünnerich-Asmus, *Antike Welt*, Sonderband, Mainz 2002, 7ff. sowie ders., *An Emperor is Made: Senatorial Politics and Trajan's Adoption by Nerva in 97*, in: *Philosophy and Power in the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Miriam Griffin*, hg. Gillian Clark – Tessa Rajak, Oxford 2002, 211ff.

²⁴ Siehe allgemein zu den Folgen der Anwesenheit eines Herrschers in provinziellen Städten H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich*, Stuttgart 1986, 124ff. 151ff.

²⁵ Cassius Dio 68, 5, 4.

zwar auch bei den epigraphischen und archäologischen Zeugnisse, verbietet es sich, aus dem Schweigen der Quellen etwas abzuleiten.²⁶

Nach der Abreise Traians in den Donaauraum im Sommer 98 scheint für mehr als 150 Jahre kein Kaiser, aber auch kein Mitglied der kaiserlichen Familie mehr den Weg an den Niederrhein genommen zu haben, außer vermutlich Hadrian. Doch selbst von ihm wissen wir nicht, ob er Köln besucht hat, als er auf seiner Reise nach Britannien durch die gallischen Provinzen zog; dies ist freilich sehr wahrscheinlich; denn weshalb hätte er ausgerechnet die niedergermanische Provinzhauptstadt vermeiden und sie damit desavouieren sollen?²⁷ Dagegen kam Septimius Severus bei den Kämpfen gegen Clodius Albinus in den Jahren 196/7 kaum bis an den Rhein. Darüber war wohl kaum jemand in der Stadt besonders unglücklich; ein im Bürgerkrieg engagierter Kaiser konnte zu ungewöhnlichen Maßnahmen gezwungen sein.

Niemand in der CCAA war freilich schon zu Beginn des 2. Jh. in der Lage zu erkennen, daß für Köln eine Epoche geendet, daß etwas Neues begonnen hatte. Die Kaiserbesuche hörten auf, die Nicht-*praesentia* des Kaisers wurde zur Normalität, so wie sie für fast alle provinziellen Städte galt. Damals mochten manche in Köln dies bedauert haben; denn nach den allgemeinen Vorstellungen brachte die Anwesenheit des Kaisers *laetitia* und *gaudium* mit sich, auch wenn dies niemals voll zugetroffen hat.²⁸ Erst mehr als 150 Jahre später merkte man, welcher glücklicher Zustand mit der Abwesenheit, der *absentia*, des Herrschers verbunden sein konnte, nicht ursächlich, aber als Symptom. Denn als kurz nach der Mitte des 3. Jh. Kaiserbesuche in der CCAA wieder einsetzten, war die Zeit eine andere geworden. Die Kaiserbesuche wurden häufiger, aber von *gaudium* und *laetitia* war kaum mehr etwas zu spüren.²⁹

²⁶ Man könnte sich beispielsweise vorstellen, daß manche Bewohner der Stadt die Chance ergriffen, vom Kaiser für sich selbst oder einen der Söhne die Aufnahme in den equester ordo zu erbitten. Direkte Zeugnisse aus dieser Zeit gibt es allerdings dafür nicht. Für die spätere Entwicklung, die freilich damals ihren Anfang genommen haben könnte, siehe W. Eck, Ein Kölner in Rom? T. Flavius Constans als kaiserlicher Prätorianerpräfekt, in: Grabung – Forschung – Präsentation. Festschrift Gundolf Precht, Xantener Berichte 12, Mainz 2002, 37ff.

²⁷ Siehe zu den Reisen Hadrians Halfmann (Anm. 24) 188ff.; ferner A.R. Birley, Hadrian. The restless emperor, London 1997, passim.

²⁸ Lehnen (Anm. 17) 45.

²⁹ Zu dieser Epoche jetzt auch H. Hellenkemper, Köln 260 – 355 A.D. Ein unruhiges Jahrhundert Stadtgeschichte, in: Grabung – Forschung – Präsentation. Festschrift Gundolf Precht, Xantener Berichte 12, Mainz 2002, 43ff.

Der erste gesicherte Besuch eines Herrschers nach Traian erfolgte mehr als 150 Jahre nach dessen Aufenthalt. Durch eine Inschrift aus Aphrodisias in Karien wissen wir, daß nicht nur Gallienus sich in der CCAA aufgehalten hat, sondern auch sein Vater Valerian, was den literarischen Quellen nicht zu entnehmen war. Denn von Agrippina aus hat Valerian einen Brief an diese kleinasiatische Gemeinde gerichtet.³⁰ Die Datierung des Briefes ist zwar verloren, doch kann man mit guten Gründen davon ausgehen, Valerian habe sich im Sommer 257 in der niedergermanischen Metropole aufgehalten und dabei den Brief nach dem Osten gesandt.³¹ Warum beide Augusti in diesem Jahr an den Rhein gezogen waren, ist keiner Quelle direkt zu entnehmen; doch angesichts der Gesamtlage des Reiches und der vielen anderen Unruheherde kann dieses Faktum nur heißen, daß die Rheinfront höchst gefährdet war. Ansonsten wäre der Kaiser nicht zusammen mit seinem Sohn nach dem Norden gezogen. Bezeugt sind Durchbrüche von Alamannen an oberer Donau und am Oberrhein. Doch auch die Franken am Niederrhein dürften sich damals deutlich bemerkbar gemacht haben.

Reflex des Aufenthalts der beiden Kaiser sind die Beinamen Valeriana Gallieniana, die die Stadt angenommen hat.³² Sie sind noch heute auf dem Bogen des Nordtores, der im Römisch-Germanischen Museum wieder aufgestellt ist, zu lesen. Sie sind vielleicht auch mit einer partiellen Erneuerung und Ausbesserung der Stadtmauer verbunden, nicht jedoch mit einem Neubau, wie dies gelegentlich behauptet wurde. Noch wichtiger ist jedoch, daß damals aus dem an der Donau gelegenen Viminacium ein Teil des Personals der dortigen Münzstätte nach Köln verlegt wurde.³³ Das geschah vielleicht schon im Jahr 256; auf jeden Fall kann dies nur heißen, daß die Kaiser davon ausgingen, am Rhein werde in der nahen Zukunft ein Schwerpunkt der kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen liegen, weshalb eine Münzstätte notwendig sei, die die Truppen kontinuierlich mit Geld versorgen würde.

Valerian verließ die Stadt bald wieder. Doch zumindest Gallienus muß über längere Zeit sein Hauptquartier in der CCAA aufgeschlagen haben. Dazu bestand offensichtlich auch aller Grund. Denn im Jahr 258 oder

³⁰ J. Reynolds, in: Ch. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, London 1989, 1ff.

³¹ M. Christol, *Les déplacements du collège impérial de 256 à 258: Cologne, capitale impériale*, *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 8, 1997, 243ff.

³² CIL XIII 8261 = B. und H. Galsterer, *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln*, Köln 1975, Nr. 184.

³³ G. Elmer, *Die Münzprägung der gallischen Kaiser in Köln, Trier und Mailand*, BJ 146, 1941, 1ff.; M. Christol, *Effort de guerre et ateliers monétaires de la périphérie au III^e siècle apr. J.-C. L' atelier de Cologne sous Valérien et Gallien*, in: *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique*, Paris 1977, 235ff.

259 scheint es zu massiven Einbrüchen von Reichsfeinden an der Rheinfront gekommen zu sein, trotz der Anwesenheit des Herrschers. Zwar gibt es dafür kaum vertrauenswürdige schriftliche Quellen, obwohl der spätantike Autor Aurelius Victor behauptet, fränkische Scharen seien durch ganz Gallien bis nach Tarragona in Spanien vorgedrungen.³⁴ Doch es gibt objektivere Quellen, die eine Aussage erlauben. Denn im gesamten Gebiet westlich von Köln bis weit nach Belgien hinein haben sich zahlreiche Münzhorte gefunden, deren Schlußmünzen in das Jahr 258 oder 259 gehören. Solche Münzschätze wurden z. B. in Erftstadt, Euskirchen, Xanten, Mürlenbach (Kreis Daun) und vor allem in Niederbieber aufgedeckt.³⁵ Obwohl derartige Münzkomplexe aus sehr verschiedenartigen Gründen vergraben worden sein können,³⁶ läßt die zeitliche Massierung in den Jahren 258/9 und auch die Zusammensetzung mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht mehr an einzelne sehr individuelle Gründe denken, die zur Verbergung im Boden geführt haben. Vielmehr weisen sie auf ein weitgespanntes, katastrophales kriegerisches Ereignis hin, das auch die Umgebung von Köln getroffen haben muß. Diesem Einbruch von Germanenscharen, der nicht vor dem Jahre 259 erfolgt sein kann, vielleicht sogar erst im Jahr 260, sind aber offensichtlich schon deutliche Spannungen vorausgegangen, die es wohl verständlich machen, daß Gallienus für einige Zeit seinen Sitz am Rhein genommen hat.

Doch andere Katastrophen zwangen ihn, die Rheinfront zu verlassen. Seinen Sohn Saloninus ließ er in Köln als seinen Vertreter zurück. Schon im Jahr 258 hatte dieser den Caesartitel erhalten, womit er als Vertreter der kaiserlichen Macht auftreten konnte. Köln blieb sein Zentrum, obwohl ihm alle gallischen Provinzen untergeordnet waren.³⁷ Das kann nur heißen, daß an diesem Teil der Grenze auch die größte Gefahr drohte. Was später Diocletian systematisch betrieb, nämlich, größere Provinzkomplexe durch die Anwesenheit eines Mitglieds des Kaiserkollegiums zu stärken, das deutet

³⁴ Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 33, 1.

³⁵ Siehe das Material bei H.-J. Schulzki, *Der Katastrophenhorizont der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts. Historisches Phänomen und numismatischer Befund*, *KJb* 34, 2001, 7ff.

³⁶ Vgl. K. Strobel, *Pseudophänomene der römischen Militär- und Provinzgeschichte am Beispiel des „Falles“ des obergermanisch-raetischen Limes. Neue Ansätze zu einer Geschichte der Jahrzehnte nach 253 n. Chr. an Rhein und oberer Donau*, in: *Roman Frontier Studies* 17, 1997, Zalău 1999, 9ff., der darauf zu Recht hinweist; doch selbst wenn beispielsweise die Befunde von Niederbieber eher mit den inneren Unruhen erklärt werden müssen, kann dies bei den anderen Münzfunden auf der linken Rheinseite kaum der Fall sein.

³⁷ Dies darf man vielleicht aus *AE* 1971, 23, einer Weihung der *tres provinciae Galliae* an Saloninus in Rom, entnehmen.

sich hier bereits an. So mochte man sich in der niedergermanischen Hauptstadt damit trösten, daß die Präsenz des Kaisersohnes eine Gewähr gegen äußere Gefahren bot.

Allgemeine Sicherheit garantierte sie dennoch nicht, wie sich bald zeigte. Denn die eigentliche militärische Macht und der Zugriff auf die Truppen in der *Germania inferior* lag in der Hand eines anderen, des Marcus Cassianus Latinius Postumus. Ob er dort als Statthalter fungierte oder als außerordentlicher Heereskommandeur, läßt sich nicht sicher entscheiden. Am wahrscheinlichsten ist immer noch, daß er senatorischer Legat in Niedergermanien war. Er rebellierte schließlich gegen Saloninus, als der junge Herrscher von Postumus' Truppen die Herausgabe der Beute verlangte, die sie eben räuberischen Germanenscharen abgenommen hatten. Hätte Postumus dem Verlangen zugestimmt, wäre er als erster ein toter Mann gewesen. Postumus zog mit seinen Truppen gegen Köln, wo Saloninus seinen Sitz hatte, und begann die Belagerung.³⁸ Soweit wir wissen, war dies die erste richtige Belagerung durch feindliche Truppen, die die Stadt bisher erlebt hatte. Nur die Situation des Jahres 69/70, als die Germanen und Bataver vor den Mauern lagen, war in etwa vergleichbar. In dieser höchst gefährlichen Situation ließ sich Saloninus noch selbst zum Augustus, also zum gleichberechtigten Kaiser neben seinem Vater ausrufen, vielleicht in dem Glauben, so größere Autorität zu gewinnen und sich dadurch bei den Truppen doch noch durchsetzen zu können. Ob der junge Kaiser sich hätte länger halten können, läßt sich nicht sagen; denn Postumus' Truppen waren natürlich auch in der Belagerungstechnik geschult und hatten die notwendige Ausrüstung zur Verfügung. Doch vielleicht ist es gar nicht zu einer wirklich längeren Belagerung gekommen.³⁹ Auf jeden Fall geschah die Entscheidung von innen her. Nach Zosimus⁴⁰ übergaben Saloninus' Soldaten die Stadt an Postumus, weil die Folgen der Belagerung sich bemerkbar machten. Nach Zonaras, einem byzantinischen Autor der 1. Hälfte des 12. Jh., übergaben diejenigen, die in der Stadt weilten, Köln an den Angreifer.⁴¹ Das kann sich auch auf die Agrippinenses selbst beziehen, also die Stadtbewohner im Gegensatz zum militärischen und administrativen Personal um Saloninus.

³⁸ Zosimus 1, 38, 2.

³⁹ Allerdings sollte man dies auch nicht ausschließen; immerhin könnte die Erneuerung der Stadtmauer, die im 3. Jh. an manchen Stellen von Grund aus erfolgte, eine Folge einer Belagerung und Zerstörung einzelner Teile der Mauer gewesen sein.

⁴⁰ Siehe Anm. 38.

⁴¹ Zonaras 12, 24.

Undenkbar ist das nicht; denn vor allem die Interessen der Kölner Führungsschicht reichten über den Stadtkern hinaus. Vor den Mauern lagen ihre Güter und Betriebe, die dem Zugriff der Belagerer ausgeliefert waren. Zudem waren sie vielleicht ebenfalls schon von der Vorstellung ergriffen, daß unter den Bedingungen der kontinuierlichen Bedrohung von außen ein naher, mit der Region stärker verbundener Kaiser größeren Vorteil versprach als nur der Sohn des regierenden Kaisers Gallienus, selbst wenn dieser inzwischen selbst zum Augustus avanciert war. Vermutlich hatte man auch schon von der Katastrophe des älteren Augustus Valerianus im Osten gehört. Wie auch immer das gewesen sein mag: Wohl im Hochsommer 260 wurden Kölns Tore geöffnet, Saloninus und sein Berater ausgeliefert; Postumus ließ beide umbringen.⁴² Es war der erste Kaisermord, den die Stadt erlebte.

Für mehr als das nächste Jahrzehnt war die CCAA der Mittelpunkt eines eigenen Reiches.⁴³ Die Münzstätte blieb bis Anfang der 70er Jahre in der Stadt. Und notwendigerweise kehrte Postumus so wie auch seine rheinischen Nachfolger Victorinus und Tetricus immer wieder in diese Stadt zurück. Münzen verweisen auf den *processus consularis*; so liegt es nicht allzu fern anzunehmen, die verschiedenen Kaiser hätten ihre Konsulate in ihrem Zentrum angetreten.⁴⁴ Panegyriker, die wir auch in der Umgebung dieser gallischen Gegenkaiser vermuten dürfen, konnten darin schwelgen, die glücklichen Folgen der *praesentia Augusti* in der niedergermanischen Kolonie zu beschreiben, ähnlich wie dies der Panegyriker von 311 getan hat, als er die Folgen der Entscheidung Constantins für Trier geschildert hat. Er spricht vom Palatium, den Thermen, den Portiken, *quae certe omnia sunt praesentiae tuae munera*.⁴⁵ Die Rede eines Panegyrikers der Zeit des Postumus ist uns nicht erhalten. Ein Redner hätte allerdings wohl auch Schwierigkeiten gehabt, im Angesicht von Bürgern der Stadt von solch willkommenen Folgen der kaiserlichen Präsenz zu sprechen. Denn zumindest die Ergebnisse der archäologischen Forschung lassen auch nicht im Ansatz erkennen, daß die Präsenz dieser gallischen Kaiser erfreuliche Auswirkungen für das Erscheinungsbild der Stadt gehabt hätte, etwa durch neue, monumentale Bauwerke.⁴⁶ Lediglich an den Mauern lassen sich Erneuerungen nachweisen, die jedoch auch nicht

⁴² Zosimus 1, 38; Zonaras 12, 24.

⁴³ Dazu I. König, Die gallischen Usurpatoren von Postumus bis Tetricus, München 1981.

⁴⁴ Vgl. J.F. Drinkwater, The Gallic empire, Stuttgart 1987, 174. 185. 186.

⁴⁵ Pan. Lat 6 (7), 22, 5.

⁴⁶ G. Hellenkemper Salies, Hofkunst in der Provinz? Zur Denkmalüberlieferung aus der Zeit des Gallischen Sonderreiches, BJB 184, 1984, 67ff.

zwingend der Anwesenheit der Herrscher verdankt werden müssen. Was also hätte die Präsenz der Herrscher für mehr als 10 Jahre für die Bewohner der Stadt bedeuten können? Erschien sie nur als unwillkommene Last, die durch Einquartierung und stetige Einforderung von Steuern spürbar war? Vermutlich hätte doch etwas anderes im Vordergrund gestanden, eine Vorstellung, wie sie Ammianus Marcellinus im Jahr 365 die Berater Valentinians I. formulieren ließ. Denn als der Kaiser in diesem Jahr nach dem Osten aufbrechen wollte, um seinem Bruder Valens gegen den Usurpator Procopius zu Hilfe zu eilen, wiesen sie ihn darauf hin, er solle nicht die westlichen Provinzen verlassen und sie so dem Ansturm der Barbaren preisgeben. Gesandte der Städte Galliens seien zu ihnen gekommen und hätten flehentlich gebeten, *ne in rebus duris et dubiis impugnatas eas relinqueret, quas praesens eripere poterit discriminibus maximis, metu ambitiosi nominis sui Germanis incusso*.⁴⁷ Valentinians Name also hat sich den Germanen als furchtbar eingegraben, doch dies nur deswegen, weil er persönlich in Gallien anwesend war. Das Itinerar, das sich aus den Propositionsvermerken der von Valentinian erlassenen Gesetze rekonstruieren läßt, zeigt auch, daß er sich kontinuierlich weitgehend in Gallien aufgehalten hat.⁴⁸ Von da her gewinnt die Aussage Ammians auch für die Zeit der gallischen Regionalkaiser reale Substanz, eine Substanz, wie sie später in geradezu stereotyper Weise auch bei den gallischen Panegyrikern immer wieder aufscheint.⁴⁹ Umgekehrt veranlaßt die *absentia* des Kaisers die Barbaren, erneut anzugreifen, wie etwa die Könige der Francia, *qui per absentiam patris tui* (nämlich des Constantius Chlorus) *pacem violaverant*, wie ein Panegyriker gegenüber Constantin betont.⁵⁰ Solches Denken und Fühlen kann man bei den Bewohnern der Grenzstadt Köln sogar in besonderem voraussetzen – und vielleicht auch eine Portion Dankbarkeit gegenüber denen, die aus der Sicht Roms und der jeweils vom Senat akzeptierten Kaiser nur Rebellen in Gallien waren.

Die Situation der Bedrohung verminderte sich zwar an dieser Grenze gegen Ende des 3. Jh., aber grundlegend veränderte sie sich nicht mehr. So blieb auch dieses Gefühl der Erleichterung, der stärkeren Sicherheit bei der Anwesenheit des Kaisers. Deutlich wird dies nochmals besonders bei Constantin, der in den ersten Jahren seiner Regierung fast in jedem Jahr am

⁴⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus 26, 5, 12.

⁴⁸ O. Seeck, Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n.Chr., Stuttgart 1919, 226ff.

⁴⁹ R. Beck, Die „Tres Galliae“ und das „Imperium“ im 4. Jahrhundert, Zürich 1969; darin Kap. III: Die gallischen Panegyriker und die Kaiserpräsenz, S. 96ff.

⁵⁰ Pan. Lat. 6 (7), 10, 2.

Niederrhein und auch in der Colonia Agrippina erschien.⁵¹ Schon 308 kämpfte er am Niederrhein gegen Frankenkönige, die er dann allerdings nicht in Köln, sondern in Trier im Amphitheater zur Abschreckung für andere Reichsfeinde vor einem großem Publikum hinschlachten ließ.⁵² Spätestens 310 muß er sodann den Bau der Brücke von der Stadt Köln zum gegenüberliegenden Kastell Divitia, der einzigen festen Brückenanlage am Niederrhein, angeordnet haben.⁵³ Vollendet wurde diese Anlage aber wohl erst später. Zumindest das *castrum* selbst wird wohl erst gegen 315 fertig gestellt gewesen sein; denn die Bauinschrift, die nur durch die Überlieferung in der Vita des Abtes Heribert von Deutz auf uns gekommen ist, verweist bereits auf die Decennalien und die *vota* für die Vicennalien. Noch wichtiger aber ist, daß in dieser Bauinschrift, in der auch die Soldaten der zweiundzwanzigsten Legion als ausführende Kräfte genannt werden, gerade auf die Anwesenheit des Herrschers verwiesen wird; denn der Text erwähnt, der Bau sei durchgeführt worden, nachdem *virtute domini Constantini Maximi Pii Felicissimi Invicti Augusti* die Franken in ihrem eigenen Land besiegt worden seien. Dann aber folgt etwas, was in einer Bauinschrift höchst auffällig ist: der Bau sei erfolgt *sub praesentia principis sui*.⁵⁴ Auch im militärischen Kontext kann also diese Vorstellung ihre Wirksamkeit entfalten.⁵⁵ Das hieß selbstverständlich nicht, der Herrscher sei während der gesamten mehr als fünfjährigen Bauzeit des Kastells in Köln gewesen; vielmehr hat Constantin während dieser Jahre fast alle Provinzen seines Reichsteils besucht. Aber der Bau erfolgte nicht durch irgend jemanden aus der Militärhierarchie, sondern auf persönliche Anordnung des Kaisers. Dies alles war so wichtig, daß die Fertigstellung des Deutzer Kastells am Rhein sogar in prunkhafter Form auf einem Goldmultiplum denen mitgeteilt wurde, die besonders an der Verteidigung des Reiches Anteil hatten: den kaiserlichen Truppen.⁵⁶ Denn die Münze, die zur Verteilung an die Truppen bestimmt war und früher auf die Erneuerung der Trierer Moselbrücke bezogen wurde, bezeugt den Bau des Deutzer Kastells mitsamt der zugehörigen Brücke. In der

⁵¹ Siehe zu den Daten Seeck (Anm. 48) 159ff.; T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge 1982, 47ff.

⁵² Pan. Lat. 6 (7), 10ff.; 4 (10), 16, 5f. Vgl. Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I, 1971, 113. 599.

⁵³ Pan. Lat. 6 (7), 13.

⁵⁴ CIL XIII 8502 = Dessau 8937 = Galsterer (Anm. 32) Nr. 187.

⁵⁵ Vgl. auch Synesius, *de regno* 19.

⁵⁶ M. R.-Alföldi, *Das Trierer Stadtbild auf Constantins Goldmultiplum: ein Jahrhundertirrtum*, in: dies., *Gloria Romanorum. Schriften zur Spätantike*, hg. H. Bellen – H.-M. v. Kaenel, Stutt. 2001, 143ff.

Mitte des Geschehens aber steht, auch in dem Bild auf der Münze, der Kaiser persönlich.

Der häufige Aufenthalt Constantins in Köln hatte aber offensichtlich noch andere Folgen für die Stadt, für eine bestimmte städtische Gruppe und vielleicht auch für ihn selbst. Denn als Ende 312 sich die Donatisten aus Africa um die Klärung ihrer Vorwürfe gegen den von ihnen nicht anerkannten Bischof von Carthago, Caecilianus, an Constantin wandten, bestimmte er Bischof Miltiades von Rom als Richter, ordnete ihm aber gleichzeitig noch drei weitere Bischöfe als Beisitzer zu, und zwar drei Bischöfe aus Gallien und Germanien: Reticus von Augustodunum (Autun),⁵⁷ Marinus von Arelate (Arles) und Maternus von Agrippina, eben Köln.⁵⁸ An allen drei Orten hatte sich Constantin in den Jahren vor 312 aufgehalten.⁵⁹ Die Wahl dieser Bischöfe kann kein Zufall gewesen sein; vielmehr muß man wohl schließen, daß Constantin selbst (und vielleicht auch hochrangige Berater aus seiner Umgebung) mit diesen lokalen Leitern christlicher Gemeinden schon vorher zusammengetroffen ist und sie als herausragende Führungspersönlichkeiten erkannt hat. Deshalb konnte auch seine Wahl speziell auf sie fallen und nicht auf Bischöfe italischer Städte, wie es aus der Situation heraus, in der er seine Entscheidung in Italien zu treffen hatte, nahe gelegen hätte.

Constantin hat also wohl in den entsprechenden Städten während seiner verschiedenen Aufenthalte nicht nur mit den üblichen *honorati* der politischen Gemeinden Verbindung aufgenommen, sondern wohl auch mit den Führern der christlichen Gemeinden. Macht man sich dies klar, dann erklärt es sich auch weit einfacher, weshalb es vor der Schlacht an der Milvischen Brücke gegen Maxentius zu der Entscheidung für den Christengott gekommen ist. Der Kaiser hatte offensichtlich durch den Kontakt zu den christlichen Gemeindeleitern Kenntnisse über diesen neuen Kult erhalten, die seinen Vorstellungen von Politik und Religion entgegen kamen und bald darauf ihre Wirkung entfalten konnten. Hosius v. Corduba ist vermutlich doch nicht der einzige christliche Berater Constantins gewesen, sondern vor allem gallische Bischöfe, darunter Maternus von Köln. Für die christliche Gemeinde in Köln könnte die Bekanntschaft ihres „Hirten“ mit dem Herrscher des Westens durchaus Vorteile gebracht haben.

⁵⁷ Hieronymus, *vir. ill.* 82; ep. 5, 2. 37.

⁵⁸ Euseb., *h. e.* 10, 5, 19f.; Optatus v. Mileve 1,23.

⁵⁹ Siehe Barnes (*Ann.* 51) 68ff.

Die Anwesenheit der Herrscher in Köln läßt sich fast durch das gesamte 4. Jh. hindurch verfolgen. Crispus, Constantins Sohn, weilte am Niederrhein, ebenso Constantins andere Söhne, Constantinus II. und Constans.⁶⁰ Anlaß war fast stets eine militärische Bedrohung durch Stämme im Vorfeld des Reiches, unter denen verschiedene Teilstämme der Franken die aktivsten waren. Schon damals gelang aber kein auf längere Zeit fortwirkender überzeugender Sieg. Die Anwesenheit war fast stets ein Zeichen für eine aktive Gefährdung der Reichsgrenze. Die Präsenz der kaiserlichen Macht war ambivalent.

Köln wurde sogar nochmals Schauplatz einer Usurpation, die freilich wegen ihrer mehr als kurzen Dauer selbst keine wesentlichen Folgen für die Stadt nach sich ziehen konnte. Die wirkliche Gefahr kam von außen. 355 hatte in der Hauptstadt der *Germania secunda*, wie die Provinz damals genannt wurde, der Heermeister Silvanus das Kommando über alle römischen Truppenverbände in Gallien, eine nominell nicht geringe Machtstellung; allerdings hatte die Schlacht bei Mursa im Jahr 351 gewaltige Lücken im gallischen Heer, das Magnentius in den Donaauraum geführt hatte, hinterlassen. Silvanus selbst war fränkischer Herkunft, jedoch bereits im Reich aufgewachsen. Dennoch benutzten seine Gegner auch seine ethnische Herkunft als Argument gegen ihn. Nach Ammianus Marcellinus intrigierten am Hof Constantius II. nach dem Sieg über Magnentius eine Reihe von hochgestellten Amtsträgern gegen Silvanus, angeblich, weil man ihm, der schnell seinen Aufstieg gemacht hatte, die militärische Machtposition nicht gönnte. Man verfaßte gefälschte Briefe, die jedoch zunächst wie echt wirkten, weil sie Silvanus' richtige Unterschrift trugen, man hatte den ursprünglichen Text mit Ausnahme der Unterschrift ausgewaschen. Aus diesem gefälschten Schreiben aber konnte man auf die Vorbereitung einer Usurpation rückschließen, wenn man nur genügend Mißtrauen gegen hohe Amtsträger in sich trug. Das soll bei Constantius II. generell der Fall gewesen sein. Obwohl der Schwindel schließlich aufflog, war Silvanus schon über die Intrigen und die Gefahr, die ihm daraus drohte, informiert; er schloß aus der Erfahrung, die er bisher mit Constantius II. gemacht hatte, daß ein einmal gegen eine bestimmte Person gefaßter Verdacht zwingend Folgen haben würde. Das brachte ihn, so die Überlieferung, schließlich dazu, sich der Bedrohung durch die Akklamation zum Kaiser in Köln zu

⁶⁰ C. Th. 3, 5, 7 (Juni oder Juli 345).

entziehen.⁶¹ Das war im Spätsommer des Jahres 355.⁶² Wenn die Nachricht, die Usurpation habe insgesamt nur etwa 28 Tage gedauert, zutrifft,⁶³ muß die Nachricht von der Erhebung aus Köln sehr schnell nach Mailand gelangt sein, wo sich Constantius II. aufhielt. Er beauftragte sogleich einen anderen Militär, Ursicinus, damit, sich nach Köln zu begeben, um mit der Usurpation fertig zu werden. In Eilritten gelangte dieser in die *Germania secunda*, nur von wenig mehr als zehn Leuten begleitet, zu denen auch der Historiker Ammianus Marcellinus gehörte, dem wir einen relativ ausführlichen Bericht verdanken.⁶⁴ Ursicinus hatte, so Ammianus, gehofft, in Köln anzukommen, bevor man dort wiederum wußte, daß der Kaiser in Mailand bereits informiert war. Das hätte es den Ankömmlingen angeblich erlaubt, als eine normale Gesandtschaft zu erscheinen, die lediglich die Nachricht überbringen sollte, Silvanus werde durch Ursicinus abgelöst; Silvanus selbst aber solle sich zu weiterer Verwendung nach Mailand begeben. Doch das Gerücht war schneller als die kleine Reisegruppe. So war Silvanus auf der Hut, in der Stadt hatte er zudem zahlreiche Truppen in der Stadt zusammengezogen. In der damaligen Bedrohung durch die Franken konnte das für die Bewohner eine beruhigendes Gefühl verbreiten. Durch diese Vorsichtsmaßnahmen des Silvanus war Ursicinus gezwungen, sich zunächst so zu geben, als ob er mit Silvanus gemeinsame Sache machen wolle. Das schien deswegen durchaus plausibel, weil auch Ursicinus in einem ähnlich gespannten Verhältnis zum Kaiserhof stand wie der Usurpator. Auf diese Weise konnte Ursicinus seine Pläne verheimlichen und sie dann doch ins Werk setzen. Durch Bestechung einiger Truppenteile, der sogenannten *bracchiati* und *cornuti*, die offensichtlich direkt in Köln einquartiert waren, gelang es schließlich, Silvanus zu beseitigen. Am frühen Morgen, wohl im September,⁶⁵ brachen sie, wie Ammianus sagt, in die *regia* ein, was nach allem, was wir wissen, nur das Praetorium in Köln meinen kann, und suchten Silvanus. Doch dieser war nicht dort, wo man ihn vermutet hatte, vielmehr

⁶¹ Ammianus Marcellinus 15, 5, 1 ff.

⁶² Als Datum findet man fast überall den 11. August genannt; das geht auf eine Berechnung von O. Seeck, *Zur Chronologie und Quellenkunde des Ammianus Marcellinus*, Hermes 41, 1906, 481ff., bes. 501 zurück; vgl. ders., *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Stuttgart 1922 (ND 1966), IV 231 und 466f. zurück. Doch enthält diese Berechnung zu viele Unbekannte, als daß man sie als gesichert ansehen dürfte.

⁶³ Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 42, 16; *Epitome de Caes.* 42, 10; Eutrop, *breviarium* 10, 13.

⁶⁴ Andere kurze Berichte bei Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 42, 16; Sozomenus, *historia ecclesiastica* 4, 7, 4; Socrates, *historia ecclesiastica* 2, 32, 11; Iulian, *oratio* 1, 48 b/c. Wichtig ist auch Zonaras 13, 9, 22-24.

⁶⁵ Es soll der 7. September gewesen sein; das genaue Datum wiederum nach Seeck (*Anm.* 48) 232.

gerade auf dem Weg in ein christliches Kultgebäude (ein *conventiculum ritus Christiani* in den Worten des Ammianus). Er flüchtete zwar noch in eine *aedicula*, in ein kleines Haus, das auf dem Weg zu der Kirche lag.⁶⁶ Doch es nützte ihm nichts. Die Häscher streckten ihn nieder.⁶⁷ Einige der zivilen und militärischen Helfer des Silvanus wurden gefangen genommen, vermutlich nach Italien geschafft und dort hingerichtet.⁶⁸

So lautet der Bericht Ammians über den Usurpationsversuch des Silvanus und seine Beseitigung. Er befriedigt in vielfacher Hinsicht nicht.⁶⁹ Denn vor allem die Vorbereitungen des Silvanus für seine eigene Proklamation muten dilettantisch an und auch das Vorgehen des Ursicinus, in dessen Umgebung Ammianus die Ermordung des Usurpators miterlebt und auch mitvorbereitet hatte, erscheint wenig durchsichtig. Deshalb sind verschiedene Versuche unternommen worden, die Überlieferung anders zu verstehen. Man hat sogar angenommen, Silvanus habe in Wirklichkeit überhaupt keinen Usurpationsversuch unternommen, vielmehr habe Ursicinus aus Gründen der Politik am Hof Silvanus umgebracht, weil sich bestimmte Pläne andernfalls nicht verwirklichen ließen. Ammianus habe dann die gewundene Erzählung erfunden, um Ursicinus' Handeln – und damit auch sein eigenes – zu erklären oder besser zu beschönigen. Diese Erklärung scheidet freilich daran, daß schon kurz nach dem Ereignis und lange vor Ammianus berichtet wird, Silvanus habe sich gegen Constantius empört.⁷⁰ So ist man zuletzt doch wieder zu der Ansicht gekommen, Silvanus habe tatsächlich diesen Versuch gemacht. Allerdings dürfe man sich Silvanus nicht

⁶⁶ *Conventiculum* kann keineswegs als kleines Gebäude für den christlichen Kult verstanden werden, weil *-iculum* nicht notwendig eine Verkleinerung signalisiert, vgl. auch J. Kremer, Studien zum frühen Christentum in Niedergermanien, Diss. Bonn 1993, 114; ebensowenig bedeutet *aedicula* Kapelle, sondern ein kleines Gebäude unterschiedlicher Form. Der christliche Kontext hat meist dazu geführt, daß die –mögliche– Bedeutung „Kapelle“ als *selbstverständlich* angesehen wurde.

⁶⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus 15, 5, 24-31; wie die Lücke in 5, 5, 30 genauer zu füllen ist, läßt sich nicht erkennen.

⁶⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus 15, 6.

⁶⁹ Siehe zuletzt vor allem U. Stübenbach, Das Ende des Silvanus in Köln. Statthalterpalast, Fahnenheiligtum und Bischofskirche im frühchristlichen Köln. Eine Bemerkung des Ammianus Marcellinus zum Jahr 355, in: Jahrbuch des Köln. Geschichtsvereins 55, 1984, 1ff.; J. F. Drinkwater, Silvanus, Ursicinus and Ammianus: Fact or Fiction?, in: Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History 7, hg. C. Deroux, Brüssel 1994, 569ff.; B. Bleckmann, Silvanus und seine Anhänger in Italien: Zur Deutung zweier kampanischer Inschriften für den Usurpator Silvanus (CIL X 6945 und 6946), Athenaeum 88, 2000, 477ff.; ferner R. Syme, Ammianus and the Historia Augusta, Oxford 1968, 53ff. und T. D. Barnes, Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality, Ithaca 1998, 18f.

⁷⁰ So Aurelius Victor, Caes. 42, 14ff. in seinem kleinen Geschichtsabriß aus dem Jahr 360 sowie bei Kaiser Julian in seinem Brief an die Athener aus dem Jahr 361 (or. 1, 48 b/c).

als einen barbarischen Franken vorstellen, der im römischen Milieu keinen Rückhalt gefunden habe; vielmehr müsse man die Hinweise in der Historiographie beachten, Silvanus sei, trotz seiner Herkunft, ein kultivierter Mann gewesen, der auch zu alten Familien in Italien Beziehungen gehabt habe. Damit würde der Usurpation doch ein weit ernsterer Hintergrund zugewiesen.⁷¹ Wenn man freilich von diesem Blickwinkel aus auf die Usurpation blickt, dann kann es sich nicht mehr nur um eine aus dem militärischen Milieu geborene Angelegenheit handeln, dann waren auch zivile Kreise darin eingebunden. Warum nicht auch Bewohner Kölns?

Wenn das so war, dann hat dies allerdings nach der Beseitigung des Silvanus wenig Konsequenzen nach sich gezogen. Denn kurze Zeit nach dem Ende des Aufstandsversuchs, vielleicht sogar als Folge des gescheiterten Aufstands, brach über die Stadt eine Katastrophe herein, wie man sie bisher nicht erlebt, ja früher nicht einmal für möglich gehalten hatte: die Stadt wurde erstmals in ihrer Geschichte von Reichsfeinden erobert. Die Präsenz des Silvanus und seiner Truppen hatte dies im Jahr 354/5 noch verhindert, obwohl nach der Eroberung aller sonstigen römischen Stützpunkte das gesamte niederrheinische Gebiet von den Franken bereits in Besitz genommen worden war. Silvanus' Tod öffnete ihnen faktisch auch die Tore der letzten römischen Festung am Rhein.

Erst zehn Monate später wurde Köln von den Römern zurückgewonnen. Iulian, der Neffe von Constantius II., kam als Caesar nach Gallien und konnte Köln wiedergewinnen; seine *praesentia* erlaubte zumindest eine gewisse Wiederbelebung der Stadt, wenn auch keine völlige Erholung. Vielleicht hat er auch dafür gesorgt, daß das Gelände zwischen der bisherigen römischen Stadtmauer und dem Rhein damals bereits in den ummauerten Bereich einbezogen wurde. Möglicherweise veranlaßte er auch die Stationierung eines Teils der römischen Rheinflotte in diesem neuen Stadtteil Kölns.⁷² So mochte seine Anwesenheit bei der zahlenmäßig bereits geschrumpften Kölner Bevölkerung wieder einige Hoffnung erweckt haben. Solange Iulian sich in Gallien aufhielt – bis 360 – blieb tatsächlich die Lage am Rhein im wesentlichen ruhig, ja selbst der Abmarsch nach dem Balkan zum Kampf gegen Constantius II. löste keine Einfälle von jenseits der Grenzen aus. Valentinian I. konnte so auf Iulians Werk aufbauen und die

⁷¹ Siehe Bleckmann (Anm. 69) 477ff.

⁷² Siehe N. Aten – Gjergj Frasheri – F. Kempken – M. Merse, Ausgrabungen auf dem Heumarkt in Köln. Zweiter Bericht zu den Untersuchungen von Mai 1997 bis April 1998, KJb 31, 1998, 481ff., bes. 488ff.; ferner Hellenkemper (Anm. 29) 52.

Grenze noch weiter befestigen. Fast seine gesamte Regierungszeit von 365-375 blieb er in Gallien; auch Köln besuchte er,⁷³ doch ein längerer Aufenthalt ist nicht mehr nachweisbar. Es gab wichtigere Orte als die so schwer geplünderte Stadt.

Kurze Besuche kann man auch von den folgenden Kaisern vermuten, nachweisen aber läßt es sich für niemanden mehr; doch all dies stand nur noch im Zusammenhang der schnellen Grenzsicherung. Valentinian II., der jüngere Sohn Valentinians I., ist am 2. März 390 in Confluentes (Koblenz) nachgewiesen,⁷⁴ wo er einen Erlaß ausgefertigt hat. Die Reise auf dem Rhein hätte ihn in einem einzigen Tag auch nach Köln führen können. Ob dies geschehen ist, bleibt offen. Das gilt auch für Eugenius, den von dem Heermeister Arbogast vorgeschobene Usurpator von 392-394. Zwar kennen wir aus Köln noch eine Inschrift, die von der Erneuerung eines größeren Bauwerks spricht.⁷⁵ Diese Maßnahme erfordert jedoch nicht die Anwesenheit des Kaisers selbst. Dennoch ist sie aus der Gesamtsituation heraus sehr wahrscheinlich, nicht weniger als die der ephemeren Herrscher, die sich in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 5. Jh. für jeweils kurze Zeit im nördlichen Gallien am Kampf um die Macht beteiligten: Constantinus III. oder Iovinus. Doch für Köln als römische Stadt war es letztlich ohne Belang, ob der jeweilige Machthaber nahe oder fern war. Realität hatten für die Bewohner Agrippinas nur noch die fränkischen Kleinkönige. Als sich einer von ihnen im ehemaligen Praetorium der römischen Statthalter niederließ, war die Welt verändert.⁷⁶ Nun galt es, sich auf die Nähe des fränkischen Königs einzustellen.

Köln, Januar 2003

⁷³ C. Th. 11, 1, 1; vgl. Seeck (Anm. 48) 31. 234.

⁷⁴ C. Th. 10, 18, 3 (Seeck).

⁷⁵ CIL XIII 8262 = Dessau 790 = Galsterer (Anm. 32) Nr. 188. Dazu als letzte umfassende Behandlung Th. Grünwald, Arbogast und Eugenius in einer Kölner Bauinschrift (CIL XIII 8262), KJb 21, 1988, 243ff.

⁷⁶ G. Precht, Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum römischen Praetorium in Köln, Köln 1973, 28 ff.

IM SCHATTEN DES KAISERS:
ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU L. MINICIUS NATALIS QUADRONIUS VERUS
UND SEINER BEZIEHUNG ZU HADRIAN¹

Von
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Für Anthony R. Birley
zum 08.10.2002

I

Der Hippodrom von Olympia im August 129.² Die Quadriga des römischen Senators L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus (der „Jüngere“), Sohn des Suffektkonsuls von 106, L. Minicius Natalis (der „Ältere“) aus Barcino, siegt bei den olympischen Spielen im Wagenrennen, einer elementaren Disziplin der hippischen Agone.³ Sie wird vermutlich von einem professionellen Athleten gelenkt, während der στρατηγικός (*praetorius*) Minicius Natalis – noch ohne ein neues Amt⁴ – als Besitzer des Gespannes

¹ Einige häufige bzw. besondere Abkürzungen:

Birley 1997 = A.R. Birley, *Hadrian. The Restless Emperor* (London-New York 1997)

Caballos Rufino 1990 = A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanorromanos y la romanización de Hispania (siglos I al III p.C.)*, 2 Bände (Ecija 1990)

Groag 1932 = E. Groag, 'Minicius', *RE XV* (Stuttgart 1932), 1828ff., Nr. 18 u. 19

Habicht 1985 = C. Habicht, *Pausanias und seine „Beschreibung Griechenlands“* (München 1985)

IRB = S. Mariner Bigorra (Hg.), *Inscripciones Romanas de Barcelona* (Barcelona 1973)

IRC IV = G. Fabre, M. Mayer u. I. Rodà (Hgg.), *Inscriptions Romaines de Catalogne*, Band IV (Paris 1997)

Roman Papers I-VII = E. Badian u. A.R. Birley (Hgg.), *Ronald Syme, Roman Papers*, 7 Bände (Oxford 1979-1991)

Verrié 1989 = F.-P. Verrié, 'La inscripción olímpica del barcinonense Lucius Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus', in: *Espacio, tiempo y forma (arqueol.)*, *Revista de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia* 2 (1989), 303ff.

² Der Hippodrom von Olympia ist lokalisiert, jedoch noch nicht ausgegraben. Eine Rekonstruktion legt J. Ebert, 'Neues zum Hippodrom und zu den hippischen Konkurrenzen in Olympia', *Nikephoros* 2 (1989), 89ff. vor.

³ Zu L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus vgl. PIR² M 620; Groag 1932, 1836ff.; W. Eck, 'Minicius', *RE Suppl. XIV* (Stuttgart 1974), 283; R. Etienne, 'Les sénateurs espagnols sous Trajan et Hadrien', in *Les Empereurs romains d'Espagne* (Paris 1965), 72; Caballos Rufino 1990 I,1, 227ff., Nr. 128. Zu L. Minicius Natalis vgl. PIR² M 619; Groag 1932, 1828ff.; Etienne 1965, a.a.O., 62f.; Caballos Rufino 1990 I,1, 226f., Nr. 127.

⁴ L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus sollte erst um das Jahr 130 als Legionslegat der *legio VI Victrix* in der Provinz *Britannia*, deren Statthalter zum damaligen Zeitpunkt Sex. Iulius Severus war, wieder in Erscheinung treten. Eben dieser Iulius Severus hatte vor 120 die *legio XIV Gemina* kommandiert, in der der jüngere Minicius Natalis während dieser Zeit als Militärtribun tätig gewesen war. Somit ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß Severus um 130 Kaiser Hadrian seinen ehemaligen Tribun für den Posten des Legionslegaten empfahl. Vgl. dazu A.R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain*

auf der Tribüne sitzt und nach dem Sieg seines Schützlings den Ölkranz des Siegers in der Vorhalle des Zeus Olympios-Tempels entgegennimmt.⁵

So etwa könnte man sich die Szenerie vorstellen, die sich bei der 227. Olympiade darbot. Eine Beschreibung der Ereignisse um das Wagenrennen fehlt; daß die Quadriga des jüngeren Minicius Natalis den Sieg errang, wissen wir lediglich durch eine Inschrift aus Olympia, von der deutsche Archäologen zu Beginn des Jahres 1878 zwei Fragmente entdeckten. Diese wurden durch Karl Purgold und Wilhelm Dittenberger ediert.⁶ Ende der achtziger Jahre des letzten Jahrhunderts kam ein drittes Fragment hinzu, so daß der zweizeilige Text nun nahezu vollständig vorliegt:

[Α. Μινίκιος] Νατῶλις στρατηγικὸς Ὀλυμπιάδι σκζ' ἄρματι
τελείῳ νεικήσας ἀνέ | θηκεν τὸ ἄρμα, ὕπατος, ἀνθύπατος
Λιβύης.⁷

Die Art und Beschaffenheit des Inschriftenträgers – drei Kalksteinblöcke, insgesamt ca. 2,8 m breit, mit diversen Vertiefungen auf der Oberseite –

(Oxford 1981), 108 und 245f. sowie Anm. 50.

⁵ Daß der Pferdesport in der Antike ein Sport der Reichen war und man grundsätzlich zwischen dem Besitzer respektive Geldgeber und dem Wagenlenker zu unterscheiden hat (auch bei der Siegerehrung, bei der grundsätzlich der Rennstallbesitzer den Kranz erhielt), braucht wohl nicht weiter ausgeführt zu werden. Für den jüngeren Minicius Natalis betont I. Rodà dies dennoch nochmals: 'Luci Minici Natal Quadroni Ver i la societat barcelonina del seu temps', *Revista de Catalunya* 32 (1988), 46f. Vgl. allgemein zur Geschichte von Olympia, den Wettkämpfen und Bauten H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympia. Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte* (München 1972) und A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Darmstadt 1972). Den Ablauf der Ereignisse bei den olympischen Siegesfeiern und die Aufstellung der Siegerstatuen beschreibt H. Buhmann, *Der Sieg in Olympia und in den anderen panhellenischen Spielen* (München 1975), 53ff.

⁶ IOlymp. 236 = Sylloge 840. Zwei spanische Beiträge haben sich in jüngerer Vergangenheit intensiver mit der Inschrift auseinandergesetzt: Verrié 1989, 303ff. und J.-V. Rodríguez Adrados, 'El barcelonés Lucio Minicio Nadal, campeón olímpico', in: J. Zaragoza & A. González Senmartí (Hgg.), *Homenatge a Josep Alsina. Actes del Xè simposi de la secció catalana de la SEEC I* (Tarragona 1992), 431ff. In beiden Fällen - insbesondere jedoch im zweiten - ist kritisch anzumerken, daß wichtige außerspanische Forschungsliteratur nicht verwendet wurde. Rodríguez Adrados kennt zudem offenbar den drei Jahre zuvor erschienenen Beitrag seines Landsmannes Verrié nicht, da er ihn nicht zitiert. Ein Blick in SEG 35 (1985), 385. 1775 und SEG 42 (1992), 388 hätte Abhilfe schaffen können. Hinzu kommt, daß Rodríguez Adrados die völlig abwegige These vertritt, der ältere Minicius Natalis sei der Olympiasieger von 129 gewesen. Dies macht er vor allem an seiner m.E. höchst problematischen Deutung des Begriffes στρατηγικός als „General“ und nicht als *praetorius* fest.

⁷ Vgl. zum dritten Fragment Verrié 1989, 305f. Die von ihm vorgeschlagene Ergänzung Α. Μινίκιος (statt Λοίκιος Μινίκιος in IOlymp. 236 = Sylloge 840) am Anfang des Textes ist aufgrund der Textsymmetrie in beiden Zeilen nach der Entdeckung des dritten Fragments nun mehr als wahrscheinlich. Verrié zitiert keine Erstpublikation des neuen Fragments; außer in seinem Beitrag, der in SEG 42 (1992), 388 Erwähnung findet, ist es m.W. bisher nicht veröffentlicht worden.

weist darauf hin, daß es sich ursprünglich um ein Monument mit Wagen und Wagenlenker handelte, somit also um das Siegesdenkmal des jüngeren Minicius Natalis.⁸ Aufgrund der aktuellen Fundsituation muß man von einer Gesamtbreite von ca. 3,5 m und vier Quadern ausgehen.⁹ Entdeckt wurden die Steine in der im Westen von Olympia gelegenen Palaestra, also ein wenig außerhalb der Altis, des Kultplatzes, wo sich noch zu Pausanias' Zeit zahlreiche Statuen, deren Aufstellung den Athleten bzw. Mäzenen nach deren Siegen erlaubt wurde, um den Zeustempel gruppierten.¹⁰

Betrachtet man den Inschriftentext, so drängt sich eine Frage auf, die auch den Ablauf der Ereignisse nach dem Wagenrennen betrifft: Ließ der jüngere Minicius Natalis nach seinem Olympiasieg das ihm zugebilligte Monument schon 129 errichten, oder erst (frühestens) um 154? Die Tatsache, daß der Senator zum Zeitpunkt des Sieges Prätorier war, scheint zunächst für die erste Variante zu sprechen, doch müßte man dann die am Ende des Textes aufgeführten Ämter Suffektkonsulat (139) und Prokonsulat von *Africa proconsularis* (um 154) als spätere Ergänzungen ansehen, wie dies in der Vergangenheit auch zum Teil geschehen ist.¹¹ Wesentlich

⁸ Zu den olympischen Siegerstatuen vgl. grundlegend H.-V. Herrmann, 'Die Siegerstatuen von Olympia', *Nikephoros* 1 (1988), 119ff., der am Ende seines Beitrages eine ausführliche Liste aller belegten Siegerstatuen bietet. Vgl. ferner G. Lippold, 'Siegerstatuen', RE II A (Stuttgart 1923), 2265ff. Die maßgebliche Sammlung aller bekannten Olympiasieger der Antike stellt immer noch L. Moretti, *Olympionikai. I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici* (Rom 1957) dar, jetzt ergänzt durch ein Supplement desselben Autors: 'Nuovo supplemento al catalogo degli Olympionikai', *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 12 (1987), 67ff. Allerdings findet sich in diesem Supplement keine neue Literatur zu Minicius Natalis.

⁹ Für Einzelheiten bezüglich der Beschaffenheit und Maße vgl. IOlymp. 236 und Verrié 1989, 305ff. Verrié macht in seinem Beitrag deutlich, daß das Monument ursprünglich aus vier Kalksteinblöcken bestand. Der fehlende Block konnte bei den bisherigen Grabungen noch nicht gefunden werden. Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich Prof. Dr. U. Sinn (Würzburg).

¹⁰ Vgl. zur Entdeckung der Steine IOlymp. 236 und Verrié 1989, 305. Zumindest die 1878 gefundenen Fragmente a und b waren als Spolien in der byzantinischen Aufmauerung der Ostmauer der Palaestra wiederverwendet worden. Pausanias schildert im 6. Buch seiner „Beschreibung Griechenlands“ (Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 6.1-18) bei seiner Siegerstatuenperiegese, welche Monumente er Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts in der Altis von Olympia vorfand.

¹¹ Beispielsweise durch Dittenberger in Sylloge 840 (*Consulatus et proconsulatus postea additi videntur*), Groag 1932, 1842 („Die beiden höchsten Ämter sind [...] wohl erst nachträglich hinzugefügt.“) und Moretti 1957, a.a.O. (Anm. 8), 163, Nr. 846 („Le qualifiche ὑπατος ε ἀνθύπατος nell'iscrizione di Olimpia sembrano aggiunte in un secondo tempo perché il vincitore si qualifica all'inizio come στρατηγικός = praetorius.“). Man muß diesen Forschern freilich zugestehen, daß sie die heute gültige Datierung von Suffektkonsulat und Prokonsulat des jüngeren Minicius Natalis noch nicht kannten (geschweige denn das neugefundene dritte Fragment der Inschrift), somit also von falschen Voraussetzungen ausgingen. Zur Statthalterschaft vgl. B.E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani. Senatorische und ritterliche Amtsträger in den römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diokletian* (Stockholm 1996), 61f., Nr. 74.

überzeugender hingegen mutet die zweite Variante an: Zieht man mit Christian Habicht στρατηγικός zu νεικήσας und setzt ἀνέθηκεν erst nach der Bekleidung der Ämter eines ὑπατος und eines ἀνθύπατος Λιβύης an, so wird durch die beiden Verben eine Trennung von Sieg und Weihung deutlich; der Sieg fand 129 statt, die Weihung etwa 25 Jahre später.¹² Diese Trennung war keineswegs ungewöhnlich, wie der Reiseschriftsteller Pausanias, der Olympia aus eigener Anschauung kannte, mehrmals in seiner „Beschreibung Griechenlands“ andeutet.¹³

Hier ist ein Hinweis von Wilhelm Gurlitt beachtenswert, der bereits 1890 bemerkte, daß man die Inschrift mit einer Textpassage bei Pausanias in Verbindung bringen dürfe, wo dieser einen römischen Senator erwähnt, der „zu seiner (sc. Pausanias‘) Zeit“ nach einem Sieg im Wagenrennen in Olympia eine Bronzestatue mit dazugehöriger Inschrift als Siegesdenkmal errichten lassen wollte und bei den Grabungen in unmittelbarer Nähe der Oinomaossäule auf Waffen, Zaumzeug und Gebisse stieß.¹⁴ Gegen Gurlitts heutzutage weitgehend akzeptierte These¹⁵ wurden in der Vergangenheit gewisse Bedenken angemeldet: Einerseits berief man sich auf das bereits oben erwähnte – wie wir heute wissen – falsche zeitliche Argument,¹⁶ andererseits wurde darauf hingewiesen, daß sich die bei Pausanias beschriebene Statue nicht mit dem Wagen Denkmal des Minicius Natalis in Einklang bringen lasse.¹⁷ Es muß jedoch zweierlei angemerkt werden: Zum einen kam die Errichtung zweier unterschiedlicher Monumente durch einen Olympiasieger aus den oben genannten Gründen der Trennung von Sieg und

¹² So Habicht 1985, 183f. Auch Verrié 1989, 307ff. vertritt die These einer späteren Weihung, allerdings ganz offensichtlich ohne Kenntnis des Buches von Habicht und dessen philologischer Argumentation. Er stützt sich bei seinen Ausführungen vor allem auf materielle und technische Aspekte in bezug auf die Beschaffenheit der drei vorhandenen Quader bzw. der Inschrift darauf und spricht sich vehement gegen eine spätere Ergänzung von Konsulat und Prokonsulat aus.

¹³ Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 6.10.4, 6.10.6 und 6.16,6. Vgl. dazu Habicht 1985, 183.

¹⁴ Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 5.20.8: [...] συνέβη δὲ κατ’ ἐμὲ τοιόνδε. ἀνὴρ βουλῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀνέλειτο Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην· ἐθέλων δὲ ὑπολιπέσθαι τῆς νίκης ὑπόμνημα χαλκῆν εἰκόνα σὺν ἐπιγράμματι, ὥρυσεν ἐς ποίησιν βάρου: [...]. Vgl. W. Gurlitt, *Über Pausanias* (Graz 1890), 421, Anm. 37.

¹⁵ Vgl. etwa Birley 1997, 216 und 343; Verrié 1989, 307ff., Anm. 7; Habicht 1985, 183ff.; Rodriguez Adrados 1992, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 431f. H.-V. Herrmann (Herrmann 1988, a.a.O. [Anm. 8], 182) listet das Monument des Minicius Natalis unter „Siegerstatuen, die nicht bei Pausanias erwähnt, aber archäologisch-epigraphisch greifbar sind“ auf, was darauf schließen läßt, daß dem Autor entweder die Diskussion über Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 5.20.8 unbekannt ist oder er der These nicht folgt.

¹⁶ Zu den Befürwortern dieser These vgl. Anm. 11. Zudem zeigt C. Habicht (Habicht 1985, 181ff.), daß die Pausaniasstelle (vgl. Anm. 14) zeitlich sehr wohl in die zwanziger Jahre des 2. Jahrhunderts eingeordnet werden kann, indem er den Ausdruck κατ’ ἐμὲ dementsprechend deutet.

¹⁷ Bedenken bezüglich der Beschaffenheit des Denkmals äußern etwa Purgold in *IOlymp.* 236 und Groag 1932, 1842.

Weihung durchaus vor,¹⁸ zum anderen ist es möglich, daß Pausanias, dessen Augenmerk keineswegs auf römische Olympiasieger gerichtet war, „sich sehr wohl mit einer etwas großzügigen Bezeichnung der Form eines Denkmals begnügt haben könne, das für ihn ohne Interesse war.“¹⁹ Dies würde bedeuten, daß er mit der „Bronzestatue“ doch das minicische Wagen-
denkmal meinte.

Aus den vorausgegangenen Bemerkungen ließe sich nun hypothetisch folgender Ablauf der Ereignisse rekonstruieren: Der Prätorier L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus verzichtete nach dem Sieg seiner Quadriga im Sommer 129 aus unbekanntem Gründen auf eine sofortige Statuenweihung. Viele Jahre später, nach seinem Engagement in *Africa proconsularis* um 154, hat er dann, mittlerweile mit einer weitaus größeren *auctoritas* und *dignitas* ausgestattet, in der Nähe der Oinomaossäule inmitten der Altis ein Monument mit Wagen und Wagenlenker errichten lassen, um so an seinen Sieg zu erinnern und den Akt der Weihung zu vollenden.²⁰ Pausanias berichtet von sich, er habe den Ausschachtungsarbeiten beigewohnt.²¹ Dieses Ereignis trug sich zu einer Zeit zu, als Olympia gerade die 233. Olympiade erlebt hatte (153) und quasi zeitgleich die bedeutende Stiftung einer Exedra mit dazugehörigem Aquädukt durch den mit Hadrian

¹⁸ Zur möglichen Aufstellung zweier Monumente vgl. Habicht 1985, 184, der u.a. auf Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 6.10.6 verweist. Vgl. auch Anm. 12 zur Trennung von Sieg und Weihung bei Minicius Natalis.

¹⁹ Habicht 1985, 184. So auch E. Groag (Groag 1932, 1842), der bemerkt: „Indes besteht die Möglichkeit, daß der Perieget keinen Wert darauf gelegt hat, die Beschaffenheit des Denkmals, das für ihn ohne jedes Interesse war, genauer zu bezeichnen.“ Pausanias' Werk ist geprägt von dessen Vorliebe für die archaische und klassische griechische Zeit. Hellenismus und Römerzeit kommen dagegen sehr kurz. Man sollte jedoch nicht pauschalisieren und behaupten, Pausanias habe die Römer an sich als Feinde betrachtet, sondern seine zweifellos vorhandenen Ressentiments auf die Herrschaft der Römer in Griechenland beziehen. Diese gemäßigte Ansicht vertraten zuletzt K.W. Arafat, *Pausanias' Greece. Ancient Artists and Roman Rulers* (Cambridge 1996), bes. 202ff. und Habicht 1985, 118ff. Pausanias' völliger Verzicht auf die Erwähnung römischer Siegerstatuen und –namen bei seinem literarischem Rundgang durch die Altis (Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 6.1-18) dürfte also primär mit den oben geschilderten, von ihm in seinem Werk gesetzten Prioritäten zusammenhängen. Vgl. Herrmann 1988, a.a.O. (Anm. 8), 123ff., der weitere mögliche Gründe dafür anführt, warum die epigraphische Evidenz vor Ort in keinster Weise dem Pausaniastext entspricht. Daß die besagte Episode in Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 5.20.8 dennoch überliefert ist, liegt m.E. nur darin begründet, daß der Schriftsteller die Beschreibung der Oinomaossäule, die das eigentliche Thema des Kapitels ist, durch eine interessante Begebenheit auskleiden wollte.

²⁰ Damit ist natürlich die Variante mit zwei verschiedenen Monumenten nicht ganz ausgeschlossen. Wenn jedoch die vorgestellte Version zuträfe, so wäre das Siegermonument von Olympia keineswegs das einzige Monument, das für Minicius Natalis nach seinem Prokonsulat errichtet wurde, oder das er selbst in Auftrag gab; so wurden ihm etwa CIL II 4510 = IRB 31 = IRC 32 und CIL II 4511 = IRB 32 = IRC IV 33 frühestens 154/155 dediziert.

²¹ Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 5.20.8.

befreundeten Senator Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes und seine Frau Annia Regilla vollzogen worden war.²²

Die ‚Olympia-Episode‘ ist nicht zuletzt deshalb von Interesse, weil sie die einzige nachgewiesene Verbindung beider Minicii Natales zum Osten des römischen Reiches aufzeigt. Niemals vor oder nach dem Sieg haben Vater und Sohn Ämter in den östlichen Provinzen bekleidet, niemals – nach allem, was wir wissen – Kontakte dorthin gepflegt.²³ Man könnte spekulieren und fragen, ob es dann als ein Zufall zu werten ist, daß der jüngere Minicius Natalis in dem Jahr mit seiner Quadriga in Olympia vertreten war, in dem Kaiser Hadrian von den Athenern den Titel Ὀλύμπιος erhielt.²⁴

Der Philhellene Hadrian, beseelt von dem Gedanken an ein großes panhellenisches Programm, hatte sich bereits um 111 und 124/125 in Griechenland aufgehalten; bei seinem ersten Besuch hatte er das Bürgerrecht und das Archontat der Stadt Athen erhalten, beim zweiten Besuch, in dessen Verlauf er wohl auch Olympia streifte und die dortige Statue des Zeus Olympios restaurieren ließ, war er u.a. in die eleusinischen Mysterien eingeführt worden.²⁵ Kontakte zu ‚griechischen‘ Senatoren wie dem jungen Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes wurden intensiviert, nicht zuletzt durch eine

²² Dokumentiert durch IOlymp. 610-626. Regilla erscheint als offizielle Stifterin der Exedra (IOlympia 610). Dazu W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* (Hildesheim 1983) I, 91ff. und II, 127f. Vgl. ferner P. Graindor, *Un milliardaire antique. Hérode Atticus et sa famille* (Kairo 1930), 85ff. und 191ff. (mit Abbildungen) sowie die Abbildungen bei Herrmann 1972, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 191ff. Es wird vielfach in der Forschung angemerkt, daß Pausanias dieses Bauwerk in der ‚Beschreibung Griechenlands‘ verschweigt. Die Gründe hierfür dürften sowohl in der oben angesprochenen Prioritätensetzung des Autors (vgl. Anm. 19) als auch darin liegen, daß er das imposante Bauwerk offenbar als für Olympia unpassende ‚Luxusarchitektur‘ verschmähte. Vgl. die Forschungsdiskussion bei Habicht 1985, 137f., Anm. 74. Quellenbefund und Literatur zu Herodes Atticus sind sehr umfangreich. Es sollte daher genügen, hier auf H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh.* (Göttingen 1979), 155ff., Nr. 68, zu verweisen, der alle bis dahin bekannten Quellenbelege und wissenschaftlichen Beiträge bequem auflistet. Ergänzend seien Ameling 1983, a.a.O., I und für einige neuere Erkenntnisse (etwa bezüglich der Laufbahn) A.R. Birley, ‚Hadrian and Greek Senators‘, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 116 (1997), 209ff., bes. 229ff., genannt.

²³ Mit einer kleinen Ausnahme: *Moesia inferior*, wo sich der jüngere Minicius Natalis um 115 als Militärtribun und ca. 142-144 als Statthalter aufhielt, war teilweise griechisch. Vgl. A.R. Birley, ‚Some Governors of *Moesia inferior*‘, in: G. Fülöp (Hg.), *Festschrift für Jenő Fitz. Jenő Fitz septuagenario 1991* (Skékesfehérvar 1996), 49f.

²⁴ Vgl. Birley 1997, 219f. und W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig 1907), 209ff. zur Verleihung des Titels und den Umständen. Seit 129 firmierte er im Osten unter diesem Titel.

²⁵ Vgl. Birley 1997, 58ff. und 175ff. Die genaue Chronologie der Reisen Hadrians ist weiterhin ein Gegenstand intensiver wissenschaftlicher Diskussion. Dazu auch H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (Stuttgart 1986), 188ff. sowie A.R. Birley, ‚Hadrian’s Travels‘ in der vorliegenden Publikation. Daß Hadrian Olympia besuchte, macht Birley 1997, 181 sehr wahrscheinlich.

Förderung der Karrieren.²⁶ Nun kehrte er 128/129 nach Griechenland zurück, nicht nur, um wiederum nach Eleusis zu reisen, sondern sicherlich auch, um die von ihm initiierte Vollendung des Zeus Olympios-Tempels in Athen zu sehen und den oben erwähnten Titel anzunehmen, der *de facto* im Osten des Reiches zu einer Gleichsetzung mit Zeus führte.²⁷ In Hadrians großem Gefolge dürfte sich bei dieser Griechenlandreise auch L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus, sein *quaestor Augusti* aus dem Jahr 121, befunden haben, der dann wenig später Richtung Olympia weiterzog, während Hadrian nach Kleinasien reiste.²⁸

Die Besucher der 227. Olympiade des Jahres 129 sahen in dem Senator Minicius Natalis in jedem Fall einen Repräsentanten der römischen Macht. Er konnte zwar seinen Sieg, der im übrigen einzigartig ist,²⁹ nicht einplanen, aber dennoch erfüllte es ihn sicherlich mit einem gewissen Stolz, diesen Sieg als Vertreter Roms davongetragen zu haben und im Anschluß im Tempel des Gottes geehrt worden zu sein, mit dem der Kaiser sich so eng verbunden fühlte. Interessant ist, daß er dieses besondere Ereignis in seinem Leben nach dem heutigen Erkenntnisstand fast eine Generation später - lange nach Hadrians Tod - lediglich an dem Ort des Geschehens herausstellte. Adressaten des Monuments konnten somit nur die Menschen sein, die die Altis von Olympia besuchten, also etwa Athleten, Zuschauer oder Pilger.³⁰ Alles in allem bleibt zunächst unklar, ob der jüngere Minicius Natalis durch die statuarische Nähe zu Zeus Olympios persönliche Nähe zu Hadrian demonstrieren wollte.³¹ Einige Bemerkungen zu weiteren Verbindungen zwischen dem Senator und dem Kaiser könnten ein wenig Licht in das Dunkel bringen.

II

²⁶ Vgl. Birley 1997, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 229ff. sowie Birley 1997, 63, 89, 177 und 217. Zu Herodes Atticus' Vater vgl. auch Halfmann 1979, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 120ff., Nr. 27.

²⁷ Vgl. Birley 1997, 215ff. und Weber 1907, a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 208ff. mit Anm. 739. Jüngst hat W. Eck (W. Eck, D. MacDonald & A. Pangerl, 'Neue Diplome für das Heer der Provinz Syrien', *Chiron* 32 [2002], 434ff.) versucht zu zeigen, daß Hadrian erst 129 nach Griechenland abgereist ist, da er 128 in den Diplomen nicht als Prokonsul bezeichnet wird. Anders A.R. Birley in diesem Band.

²⁸ So auch Birley 1997, 216.

²⁹ Eine rasche Durchsicht der einschlägigen Inschriftenpublikationen und oben zitierten Listen von Herrmann und Moretti (vgl. Anm. 8) ergab, daß L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus bis jetzt der einzige uns bekannte Senator der Kaiserzeit ist (außerhalb der Kaiserfamilien), der in einem olympischen Wagenrennen den Sieg errang.

³⁰ Man hätte vielleicht ein weiteres Ehrenmonument in Barcino, der *patria* der Minicii Natales, erwarten können.

³¹ Die Oinomaossäule, in deren Nähe sich das minicische Monument offenbar befand (nach Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 5.20.8), stand nur wenige Meter nordöstlich des Zeus Olympios-Tempels.

Zwei Familien dominierten in der Hohen Kaiserzeit die in der *Tarraconensis* gelegene Stadt Barcino, die Pedanii und die Minicii Natales, wobei keineswegs völlig sicher ist, daß die senatorischen Pedanii von dort stammten, da wir lediglich indirekte Zeugnisse - wie etwa eine allgemein starke Abundanz von Pedanii vor Ort - besitzen. Da aber *vice versa* bis jetzt Gegenbeweise fehlen, hat sich die Forschung mehr oder weniger darauf geeinigt, Barcino als *patria* zu favorisieren.³² Ronald Syme, der ebenfalls für diese Lösung plädierte,³³ bemerkte jedoch: „Between Minicii and Pedanii no links of blood or propinquity can be discovered.“³⁴ Seine auf den vorliegenden Fakten beruhende Feststellung läßt Spielraum für prosopographische Spekulationen, vorausgesetzt, man akzeptiert die These zweier bedeutender senatorischer Familien in Barcino, was in der Folge geschehen soll. Unter dieser Prämisse kann man weiter fragen, ob möglicherweise doch verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen zwischen den Pedanii und den Minicii Natales existierten: Dies wäre keineswegs unmöglich, zumal man bis heute weder den Namen der Mutter des älteren Minicius Natalis noch den der Frau seines Sohnes kennt.

L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus wurde um 96 in Barcino, der *patria* seiner Familie, geboren.³⁵ Der Name seiner Mutter ist nicht

³² Die Diskussion über die Herkunft der senatorischen Pedanii führt in *extenso* Caballos Rufino 1990 I,2, 416f. (mit weiterer Literatur). Er sortiert die Familie unter *Senatores incerti et incerta origine* ein. In der Tat sind die Indizien, die für Barcino sprechen könnten, nicht sehr gewichtig, da ausnahmslos indirekter Art; es fehlen direkte Quellenbelege. Neben dem m.E. einzigen überzeugenden Argument, nämlich den zahlreichen inschriftlichen Belegen für Personen mit dem *nomen gentile* Pedanius in Barcino, nennt Caballos Rufino äußerst unsichere Punkte, wie etwa die familiären Kontakte der Pedanii zu dem vielleicht aus Spanien stammenden L. Iulius Ursus Servianus oder den gemeinsamen ordentlichen Konsulat des Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator mit Kaiser Hadrian im Jahre 118. Insofern besitzen die Bedenken, die insbesondere P. Le Roux ('Les sénateurs originaires de la province d'*Hispania citerior* au Haut-Empire romain', in: *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II [Rom 1982], 448f.) vorbringt, eine gewisse Relevanz. Auch K. Wachtel (PIR² P 202) möchte Le Roux' These nicht gänzlich ablehnen, scheint aber das Votum der älteren Forschung für Barcino zu bevorzugen.

³³ Vgl. etwa R. Syme, *Tacitus* II (Oxford 1958), 785; ders., 'Rival Cities, notably Tarraco and Barcino', *Ktèma* 6 (1981), 280 = *Roman Papers* IV, 87 und 282 = 89f.; ders., 'More Narbonensian Senators', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 65 (1986), 14 = *Roman Papers* VI, 222.

³⁴ Syme 1981/1988, a.a.O. (Anm. 33), 284 = 91.

³⁵ CIL II 4511 = IRB 32 = IRC IV 33. Dort wird nicht nur deutlich, daß Minicius Natalis in Barcino geboren wurde, sondern auch, daß dies im Januar oder Februar geschah. Das genaue Geburtsjahr ist unsicher; es hängt von der Datierung der später bekleideten Ämter ab. In der Forschung herrscht diesbezüglich Uneinigkeit: E. Groag (Groag 1932, 1837) denkt an 97, weil er die Quästur sehr spät datiert (123), ebenso R. Etienne (Etienne 1965, a.a.O. [Anm. 3], 72). Die PIR (PIR² M 620) nimmt das Jahr 96 an, ausgehend von einer Bekleidung der Quästur um das Jahr 121. So auch J. Fitz, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*. Bd. II (Budapest 1993), 666. Caballos Rufino 1990 I,1, 228, spricht von „probablemente del año 96 o 97“, kann sich also nicht definitiv entscheiden. M.E. ist die frühere Datierung zu präferieren; Minicius Natalis hätte dann mit 18 sein erstes Amt bekleidet

überliefert, doch ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß sie zu den Quadronii gehörte: Sein Vater führte 106 gemeinsam einem Landsmann namens Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus,³⁶ einem Tarraconenser, die *fascēs* als Suffekt-konsul. Es ist auffallend, daß ihre Söhne, L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus und Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus,³⁷ beide das äußerst seltene *nomen gentile* Quadronius trugen.³⁸ Somit liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß sie miteinander verwandt waren, wahrscheinlich über die mütterliche Seite: Ronald Syme konnte überzeugend darlegen, daß jeder von beiden Senatoren wohl eine Mutter namens Quadronia hatte und diese Schwestern waren.³⁹ Zum gemeinsamen Konsulat der Väter schreibt er: „The consulships of Natalis and Silvanus reflect (it should seem) the influence of Licinius Sura.”⁴⁰ L. Licinius Sura (*cos. suff.* 97 (?); *cos. II ord.* 102; *cos. III ord.* 107) aus der *Tarraconensis*, engster Vertrauter Trajans (dessen Wurzeln, wie die Hadrians, ebenfalls in Italica lagen), fungierte möglicherweise als Patron einiger Senatoren spanischer Herkunft, u.a. des älteren Minicius Natalis.⁴¹ Über diese Verbindung dürfte in der Folge ein sehr enges

(*tresvir monetalis* im Jahre 114) und wäre später, im Alter von 24 Jahren, als *candidatus principis* für die Quästur designiert sowie kurz vor seinem 25. Geburtstag in dieses Amt eingesetzt worden.

³⁶ Zu Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus vgl. PIR² L 247; A. Stein, ‘Licinius’, RE XIII (Stuttgart 1926), 459; Caballos Rufino 1990 I,1, 180ff., Nr. 101.

³⁷ Zu Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus vgl. PIR² L 249; E. Groag, ‘Licinius’, RE XIII (Stuttgart 1926), 459ff.; A. Stein, ‘Licinius’, RE Suppl. VII (Stuttgart 1940), 418; Caballos Rufino 1990 I,1, 182f., Nr. 102.

³⁸ Die PIR kennt neben diesen beiden nur noch einen Senator mit dem Namensbestandteil Quadronius: T. Iulius Maximus Manlianus Brocchus Servilianus A. Quadronius [Verus?] L. Servilius Vatia Cassius Cam[ars?] aus Nemausus (PIR² I 426; E. Groag, ‘Iulius’, RE X [Stuttgart 1918], 678f.). Aufgrund der Seltenheit des *nomen gentile* ist m.E. davon auszugehen, daß dieser Suffektkonsul von 112, der vermutlich aus Nemausus stammte und Patron von Calagurris in der Tarraconensis war (vgl. etwa CIL XII 3167 = ILS 1016), mit den anderen Quadronii verwandt war, sehr wahrscheinlich durch Adoption. Ähnlich Le Roux 1982, a.a.O. (Anm. 32), 448. Drei Quadronii aus Narbo (CIL XII 4414. 4415. 5081) waren offenbar Freigelassene dieses Mannes.

³⁹ R. Syme, ‘Pliny the Procurator’, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73 (1969), 233 = *Roman Papers* II, 770, nahm zunächst nur eine verwandtschaftliche Beziehung an; später präziserte er diese These, indem er die Vermutung äußerte, die beiden Konsuln von 106 hätten jeder eine Quadronia geheiratet: Syme 1981/1988, a.a.O. (Anm. 33), 282 = 89; ‘Spaniards at Tivoli’, *Ancient Society* 13/14 (1982/83), 247 = *Roman Papers* IV, 99f.; ‘Clues to testamentary adoption’, *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio* I (Rom 1982), 403 = *Roman Papers* IV, 165. Zustimmung O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire* (Helsinki 1992), 141f. und Caballos Rufino 1990 I,1, 183 und 228.

⁴⁰ Syme 1969/1979, a.a.O. (Anm. 39), 233 = 770.

⁴¹ So die Vermutung von R. Syme (Syme 1981/1988, a.a.O. [Anm. 33], 283 = 91): „Minicius Natalis belonged to the faction of Sura, such is the assumption.“ Vgl. ders., ‘Hadrian and the Senate’, *Athenaeum* 62 (1984), 37f. = *Roman Papers* IV, 302. Zu Licinius Sura vgl. PIR² L 253; E. Groag, ‘Licinius’, RE XIII (Stuttgart 1926), 471ff.; Caballos Rufino 1990 I,1, 183ff. Eine Verbindung dieses Senators zu den senatorischen Pedanii, deren Herkunft aus Barcino, wie bereits erwähnt wurde,

Verhältnis zum Kaiserhaus gewachsen sein, welches sich nicht zuletzt evident durch das Engagement des L. Minicius Natalis im ersten Dakerkrieg (101/102) und seine spätere langjährige Statthalterschaft in der für Rom militärisch wichtigen Grenzprovinz *Pannonia superior* manifestierte.⁴²

Eine andere „spanische“ Senatorenclique in Rom führte der ebenfalls sehr einflußreiche L. Iulius Ursus Servianus (*cos. suff.* 90; *cos. II ord.* 102; *cos. III ord.* 134),⁴³ der über seine Tochter, die Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (*cos. ord.* 118) geheiratet hatte,⁴⁴ nicht nur mit den Pedanii, sondern als Hadrians Schwager auch mit den Aelii aus Italica verwandtschaftlich verbunden war.⁴⁵ Beide Rivalen, Servianus und Sura, bekleideten 102 gemeinsam den ordentlichen Konsulat. Als letzterer im Jahre 108 starb, dürften dessen Schützlinge in Hadrian einen neuen Patron gefunden haben.⁴⁶ Die Beziehungen der Minicii Natales zum Kaiser waren in der Folgezeit offenbar gut; zumindest gibt es keine Hinweise für das Gegenteil. Sie konnten nicht nur bei der Durchführung der Amtsgeschäfte in Rom intensiviert werden, sondern auch in Phasen der Erholung im nahen Tibur, wo neben anderen senatorischen Familien aus Spanien auch die Aelii und die Minicii Natales begütert waren und der Olympiasieger nach 139 als Patron fungierte.⁴⁷ In diesem Zusammenhang sei erwähnt, daß einige Votiv-

unsicher ist (vgl. dazu Anm. 32), ist nicht nachweisbar.

⁴² L. Minicius Natalis ging hochdekoriert aus dem Krieg hervor; vgl. dazu nur die Inschriften CIL II 4509 = 6145 = ILS 1029 = IRB 30 = IRC IV 30 (Barcino) und CIL VI 31739 = 41109 (Rom) mit den Hinweisen auf diverse *dona militaria*. Zum Statthalterposten in *Pannonia superior* vgl. zuletzt Fitz 1993, a.a.O. (Anm. 35), 474 und Birley 1997, 89. Die epigraphische Evidenz zeigt jetzt, daß der ältere Minicius Natalis mindestens von 112 bis in die hadrianische Zeit hinein Statthalter der Provinz war. Prof. Dr. W. Eck (Köln) danke ich in diesem Zusammenhang für den Hinweis auf neue Militärdiplome.

⁴³ Zu Iulius Ursus Servianus vgl. PIR² I 631 und 569; E. Groag, 'Iulius', RE X (Stuttgart 1918), 882ff.; Caballos Rufino 1990 I,2, 386ff. Seine Herkunft ist sehr unsicher; sowohl eine spanische als auch eine narbonensische *patria* werden diskutiert.

⁴⁴ Zu Pedanius Fuscus Salinator vgl. PIR² P 200; E. Groag, 'Pedanius', RE XIX (Stuttgart 1937), 21ff.; Caballos Rufino 1990 I 2, 418f., Nr. I 46.

⁴⁵ Das komplexe Beziehungsgeflecht zwischen Sura, Servianus, Nerva, Trajan und Hadrian beschreibt R. Syme, 'Hadrian's Autobiography: Servianus and Sura', *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1986* (Bonn 1991), 189ff. = *Roman Papers* VI, 398ff.

⁴⁶ So Syme 1984/1988, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), 37f. = 302 und Birley 1997, 54.

⁴⁷ Wenn Rom für die Senatoren das *negotium* symbolisierte, so stand eine Stadt wie Tibur für das *otium*. Ronald Syme (Syme 1983/1988, a.a.O. [Anm. 39], 241 = 94) beschreibt sie folgendermaßen: „The charm of Tibur is on abundant testimony: the fresh air, the cascades of the Anio, the groves and the orchards.“ Die Erkenntnis, daß dort vor allem Senatoren aus dem spanischen Raum begütert waren, verdanken wir ebenfalls Syme 1983/1988, a.a.O. (Anm. 39), 241ff. = 94ff.). Vgl. dazu auch Birley 1997, 192f. Zum Grundbesitz der Minicii Natales vgl. ausführlich A.M. Andermahr, *Totus in praediis. Senatorischer Grundbesitz in Italien in der Frühen und Hohen Kaiserzeit* (Bonn 1998), 342f. Den Patronat notieren L. Harmand, *Le patronat sur les collectivités publiques des origines au bas-empire* (Paris 1957), 225 und R. Duthoy, 'Le profil social des patrons municipaux en Italie sous le

inschriften auf Marmorbasen aus Tibur und aus anderen Städten Italiens erhalten sind, die eine besondere Vorliebe des jüngeren Minicius Natalis für mehrere, vornehmlich östliche Gottheiten, nämlich Hercules Victor (Schutzgott von Tibur), Asklepios, Helios, Sarapis und Isis, aufzeigen.⁴⁸ Das muß umso mehr erstaunen, als der „westliche“ Senator, der außer bei seinem Olympiasieg nie im Osten weilte, solch ein lebhaftes Interesse für Götter aus diesem Raum entwickelte.

Bemerkenswert ist gleichfalls, daß - nach allem, was wir bisher wissen - L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus und Hadrian die einzigen beiden Senatoren der römischen Kaiserzeit waren, die drei Militärtribunate in Folge innehatten, Hadrian zwischen 95 und 98, Minicius Natalis zwischen ca. 115 und 117.⁴⁹ Man kann diese außergewöhnliche Ämterkonstellation wohl als einen puren Zufall werten, doch scheint es, daß der Senator aus Barcino alle drei Tribunate bei Legionen im Donauraum innehatte, den letzten um 117 bei seinem Vater in *Pannonia superior*, der dort damals, wie bereits angedeutet wurde, Statthalter war.⁵⁰ Letztendlich wird der Kaiser

Haut-Empire', *Ancient Society* 15-17 (1984-1986), 145, Nr. 223, auf der Grundlage von CIL XIV 3599 = ILS 1061 = Inscr. Ital. 4,1,113. Zu Hadrians Villa in Tibur vgl. etwa H. Kähler, *Hadrian und seine Villa bei Tivoli* (Berlin 1950) und M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton 1987), 138ff.

⁴⁸ CIL XI 2925 = ILS 3221 (Volci); IGR I 1391 (Minturnae); CIL XIV 3554 = ILS 3415 = Inscr. Ital. 4,1,56. 3599 = ILS 1061 = Inscr. Ital. 4,1,113. 3600 = Inscr. Ital. 4,1,114; IG XIV 1125 = IGR 1,376 = Inscr. Ital. 4,1,33 (alle Tibur). Minicius Natalis' besondere Beziehung zu Tibur wird auch durch das Amt des *curator fani Herculis Victoris* dokumentiert, das er nachweislich innehatte (CIL XIV 3599 = ILS 1061 = Inscr. Ital. 4,1,113). Vergleichbar ist der fast gleichaltrige P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus (*consul suffectus* 146), der wohl ebenfalls aus Spanien stammte, auch *patronus* von Tibur und *curator fani Herculis Victoris* ebendort war (CIL XIV 3601 = ILS 1101 = Inscr. Ital. 4,1,115). Vgl. Andermahr 1998, a.a.O. (Anm. 47), 346 mit weiterer Literatur.

⁴⁹ Dazu zuletzt Birley 1997, 37: „Hadrian's third military tribunate is unparalleled [...]. But the circumstances in 97 were very special: Hadrian was now, after all, the nearest male kinsman of the heir to the throne [sc. Trajan].“ Vgl. auch R. Syme, 'Domitian: The last Years', *Chiron* 13 (1983), 141 = *Roman Papers* IV, 272.

⁵⁰ Beobachtet von R. Syme, 'A Dozen early Priesthoods', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 77 (1989), 247f. = *Roman Papers* VI, 425. Vgl. zu dem Sachverhalt auch Fitz 1993, a.a.O. (Anm. 35), 663ff. und Anm. 42. Es kann hier nicht der Ort sein, die gesamte Laufbahn des L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus neu zu diskutieren; dies wurde an anderer Stelle geleistet, z.B. von Caballos Rufino 1990 I,1, 228, der zahlreiche Untersuchungen bequem zusammenfaßt. Dennoch seien ein paar kurze Bemerkungen zu den Tribunaten erlaubt: Der jüngere Minicius Natalis fungierte um 115 als Militärtribun der *legio I Adiutrix*, die unter dem Kommando des baetischen Legionslegaten A. Platorius Nepos, eines langjährigen Freundes und Landsmannes Hadrians (vgl. *Historia Augusta, Vita Hadriani* 4.1f.), stand. Der exakte Aufenthaltsort der Legion (und damit auch des Minicius Natalis) um 115 ist unsicher; einige plädieren für *Dacia*, andere meinen, daß sie in den Partherkrieg involviert war (vgl. Birley 1981, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), 103). Bei den in *Dacia* nachgewiesenen Soldaten der *legio I Adiutrix* könnte es sich aber auch lediglich um eine Vexillation gehandelt haben. So die plausible Erklärung von I. Piso, *Fasti provinciae Daciae, Band I: Die senatorischen Amtsträger* (Bonn 1993),

spätestens jetzt auf seinen jungen „spanischen“ Landsmann aufmerksam geworden sein. Ein Zusammentreffen in Barcino, das Hadrian auf seiner Reise nach Tarraco zu Beginn des Jahres 123 sicherlich besuchte, ist eher unwahrscheinlich, da der jüngere Minicius Natalis zu dieser Zeit wohl den Volkstribunat in Rom innehatte.⁵¹ Dessen ungeachtet könnte aber sein Vater, der seine Ämterlaufbahn 122 mit dem Prokonsulat in *Africa proconsularis* beendet hatte, den Kaiser empfangen und ihm die imposante minicische Thermenanlage vorgeführt haben.⁵² Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator und seine Frau lebten damals wohl noch und könnten ebenfalls vor Ort gewesen sein, wahrscheinlich als Hadrians Reisebegleitung. Der Senator, der fünf Jahre zuvor den ordentlichen Konsulat mit dem Onkel seiner Frau bekleidet hatte, wäre zu diesem Zeitpunkt ohnehin der perfekte Erbe für Hadrian gewesen.⁵³

Es wurde lange Zeit gerätselt, warum der Kaiser L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus vor seinem Tod im Jahre 138 nicht mehr zum Konsulat verholfen hat, zumal dieser *candidatus principis* für Quästur (120/121) und Volkstribunat (122/123) gewesen war und als *quaestor Augusti* engsten Kontakt zum Kaiser gehabt hatte, nicht nur in Rom, sondern sicherlich auch auf einigen der Reisen, die der Kaiser fortan unternahm.⁵⁴ Eine plausible

7f., der die unterschiedlichen Meinungen gegenüberstellt. Um 116 hatte Minicius Natalis dasselbe Amt bei der *legio XI Claudia* in *Moesia inferior* (unter dem Statthalter Q. Pompeius Falco) inne und um 117 bei der *legio XIV Gemina* in *Pannonia superior* (wohl unter seinem Vater als Statthalter und dem Legionslegaten Sex. Iulius Severus). Wenn sich der junge Minicius Natalis um 115 wirklich im Osten aufhielt, so wäre natürlich Syme oben zitierte Beobachtung nicht haltbar. Die Chronologie der Militärtribunate ist insgesamt sehr spekulativ und hypothetisch. Es wäre z.B. zu fragen, ob jeder der drei Tribunate wirklich nur ein Jahr dauerte.

⁵¹ Ein Besuch Hadrians in Barcino ist schon wegen seiner verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen zu den Pedanii mehr als wahrscheinlich. Vgl. Birley 1997, 146f. zur Reise nach Spanien.

⁵² Mit CIL II 4509 = 6145 = ILS 1029 = IRB 30 = IRC IV 30 ist die Bauinschrift des *balineum* der Minicii Natales in Barcino auf uns gekommen. Der jüngere Minicius Natalis erscheint dort als *tribunus plebis designatus*, was bedeutet, daß die Anlage kurz vor Hadrians Besuch oder sogar aus Anlaß seiner Ankunft in Barcino eingeweiht wurde. Vgl. dazu W. Eck und F.J. Navarro, 'Das Ehrenmonument der *Colonia Carthago* für L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus in seiner Heimatstadt Barcino', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 123 (1998), 237ff. und A. Kriekhaus, *Fallstudien zu senatorischen Familien und ihren Heimatstädten im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr.* (in Vorbereitung).

⁵³ So Birley 1997, 146. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator und seine Frau sind ab 118 nicht mehr belegt, wie schon Ronald Syme feststellen mußte (R. Syme, 'The Ummidii', *Historia* 17 (1968), 87 = *Roman Papers* II, 674 und ders., 'Ummidius Quadratus, *capax imperii*', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82 (1979), 290 = *Roman Papers* III, 1160). Vgl. PIR² P 200; Birley 1997, 201f. und 215; Caballos Rufino 1990 I,2, 418. Dennoch ist es m.E. mehr als wahrscheinlich, daß sie 123 noch lebten und erst in den späteren zwanziger Jahren starben.

⁵⁴ Eine Ausnahme dürfte Hadrians Reise in den Nordwesten darstellen, die im Frühjahr 121 begann: Offenbar verzichtete der Kaiser (zunächst) auf seine beiden *quaestores Augusti*: Es ist nämlich epigraphisch bezeugt, daß der jüngere Minicius Natalis, während er noch die Quästur bekleidete, in

Erklärung hat Werner Eck geliefert: „Ganz offensichtlich trat nach einer anfänglichen Förderung des jungen Senators durch Hadrian in den späten Regierungsjahren dieses Kaisers eine Abkühlung in den guten Beziehungen ein. Denn ansonsten hätte L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus früher zum Konsulat kommen müssen.“⁵⁵ Diese „Abkühlung“ ist zeitlich nur schwer greifbar; bis zur Prätur (127) ist keine Verzögerung in der Laufbahn festzustellen. Danach vergingen jedoch deutlich mehr als 10 Jahre bis zum Konsulat im Jahre 139 – eine sehr lange Zeit für einen ehemaligen *candidatus principis* und Sohn eines sehr einflußreichen Senators, der es bis zur Statthalterschaft von *Africa proconsularis* gebracht hatte.⁵⁶

Man könnte also geneigt sein, irgendwann in der Zeit zwischen 127 und 138 einen Bruch in der schon fast traditionell engen Beziehung der Minicii Natales zum Kaiserhaus zu vermuten. Dies führt uns zu den Pedanii zurück: Wenn der jüngere Minicius Natalis eine Pedania geheiratet hätte, vielleicht eine Tochter oder Schwester des Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, dann bestünde die Möglichkeit, daß die Verweigerung des Konsulats *suo anno* mit den Ereignissen, die sich im Zuge der Adoption des L. Ceionius Commodus durch den mittlerweile erkrankten Hadrian 136/137 zutrugen, zusammenhängt: L. Iulius Ursus Servianus und sein Enkel Fuscus, ganz offensichtlich der Sohn des ordentlichen Konsuls von 118 und der Nichte Hadrians, waren mit der Entscheidung des Kaisers nicht einverstanden und planten wohl einen Umsturz, der jedoch scheiterte und beider Leben

Africa proconsularis als Legat an der Seite seines Vaters, der um 121/122 den Prokonsulat der Provinz innehatte, tätig wurde (vgl. Thomasson 1996, a.a.O. (Anm. 11), 62 und 107, Nr. 26 mit Quellenhinweisen). Der uns namentlich nicht bekannte Amtskollege des Minicius Natalis verweilte vermutlich in Rom beim Senat. Der Grund dafür könnte darin liegen, daß der *ab epistulis* C. Suetonius Tranquillus - neben dem *praefectus praetorio* C. Septicius Clarus – mit Hadrian unterwegs war. So die These von Syme 1989/1991, a.a.O. (Anm. 50), 247f. = 425; ders., 'The Travels of Suetonius Tranquillus', *Hermes* 109 (1981), 110 = *Roman Papers* III, 1342; ders., Hadrianic Proconsuls of Africa, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 37 (1980), 6 = *Roman Papers* III, 1307; ders. 1958, a.a.O. (Anm. 33), 779f. So auch Birley 1997, 115 und ferner ders. 1981, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), 365ff. (zu Septicius Clarus und Sueton).

⁵⁵ W. Eck 1974, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), 283.

⁵⁶ Zum Konsulat: AE 1955,17 = CIL XVI 175. Minicius Natalis' Amtskollege, dessen Name im genannten Militärdiplom nur zum Teil erhalten ist, war mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit L. Claudius Proculus Cornelianus, der möglicherweise ebenfalls aus dem spanischen Raum stammte (PIR² C 979/980). So bereits G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht* (Bonn 1977), 138f. und 322 sowie Caballos Rufino 1990 I 2, 344f., Nr. I 9. Zur Dauer einer prätorischen Laufbahn vgl. grundlegend W. Eck, 'Beförderungskriterien innerhalb der senatorischen Laufbahn, dargestellt an der Zeit von 69 bis 138 n.Chr.', in: ANRW II 1, 181ff. = 'Criteri di avanzamento nella carriera senatoria (69-138 d.C.)', in: W. Eck, *Tra epigrafia prosopografia e archeologia, Scritti scelti, rielaborati ed aggiornati* (Rom 1996), 36ff. (mit Ergänzungen).

kostete.⁵⁷ Dieser Coup d'État muß negative Auswirkungen auf die Beziehung Hadrians zu den nächsten Verwandten der Verschwörer gehabt haben, die natürlich auch seine (angeheirateten) Verwandten waren. Unter den oben geschilderten Voraussetzungen könnten L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus und seine Familie sehr wohl davon betroffen gewesen sein.⁵⁸ Wie auch immer – nachdem der neue Kaiser Antoninus Pius den Thron bestiegen hatte, gehörte der Senator aus Barcino zu den ersten, denen die Konsulwürde zuteil wurde, was m.E. ein untrügliches Zeichen dafür ist, daß seine Familie damals – neben den mit Hadrian eng verbundenen baetischen Annii Veri – zu den wichtigsten senatorischen Familien aus dem spanischen Raum zählte.

III

„He paid ambitious honour to old Hellas by winning a chariot race at Olympia. In Italy he worshipped Hercules at Tibur – but also Aesculapius. At another town, however, it was Serapis and Isis ‚of the myriad names‘.“⁵⁹ So faßt Ronald Syme die „östlichen“ Aktivitäten des jüngeren Minicius Natalis knapp zusammen. Auch Hadrian kam auf seinen Reisen durch den Osten des römischen Reiches mit den erwähnten Gottheiten in Kontakt, auch Hadrian hatte eine besondere Beziehung zu Zeus Olympios, auch Hadrian liebte alles Griechische. Man kann festhalten, daß L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus bei seinem Auftritt in Olympia, das im übrigen durch seine jahrhundertealte Tradition in gewisser Weise eine Art Symbol für das alte Griechenland darstellte, nicht nur einen Sieg für sich selbst, sondern auch für das Imperium Romanum davontrug und eben diesen Staat und seinen eigenen Stand, den *ordo senatorius*, dort repräsentierte. Hier nun aber von einer Art ‚Nacheiferung‘ des Kaisers zu sprechen, würde zu weit gehen, zumal ein starkes Interesse für griechische Sprache, Philosophie, Religion, Kunst und Kultur in den römischen Oberschichten im 2. Jahrhundert bekanntermaßen en vogue war.

Die übrigen diskutierten Berührungspunkte zwischen Hadrian und

⁵⁷ Zur Adoption des L. Ceionius Commodus und den Folgen vgl. zuletzt Birley 1997, 289ff., zu (Cn. oder L. Pedanius) Fuscus (Salinator) PIR² P 198; E. Groag, ‚Pedanius‘, RE XIX (Stuttgart 1937), 19f.; Caballos Rufino 1990 I 2, 413ff., Nr. I 44. Der genaue Ablauf der Ereignisse ist aufgrund der ungünstigen Quellenlage nur schwer zu rekonstruieren.

⁵⁸ Der Text auf einer Marmorbasis aus Lavinium (Ende des 1./Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts) offenbart den Namen des dort anscheinend begüterten Senators L. Valerius Publicola Messala Helvidius Thrasea Priscus Minicius Natalis (AE 1998, 280). Bei diesem Mann könnte es sich um einen Enkel des jüngeren Minicius Natalis handeln, was bedeuten würde, daß dieser Nachkommen hatte. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, daß er die Namensbestandteile ‚Minicius Natalis‘ durch Erbschaft erhielt.

⁵⁹ R. Syme, ‚Antonine Government and Governing Class‘, *Roman Papers* V, 682.

dem jüngeren Minicius Natalis unterstreichen diese Ansicht, zeigen sie doch einen Mann, der trotz seiner mehr oder weniger erfolgreichen Laufbahn und seiner guten Kontakte immer im Schatten anderer Senatoren und nicht zuletzt des Kaisers stand und in der letzten Regierungsphase Hadrians offenbar politisch „kaltgestellt“ war, vielleicht aufgrund seiner oben vermuteten verwandtschaftlichen Beziehung zu den Pedanii. In den auf uns gekommenen literarischen Quellen hat er denn auch – Zufall oder nicht - keinerlei Berücksichtigung erfahren. Dessen ungeachtet dürfte der Beitrag gezeigt haben, daß die folgenden Worte Edmund Groags heute mehr denn je ihre Gültigkeit besitzen: „Aus epigraphischem Material das Wesen einer Persönlichkeit zu erschließen, scheint wohl ein vergebliches Beginnen; immerhin lassen sich vielleicht gerade in unserem Falle [sc. L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus] aus den Inschriften gewisse Schlüsse ziehen.“⁶⁰

Düsseldorf, März 2003

⁶⁰ Groag 1932, 1840f.

Anhang: Vorschlag für ein Stemma der Minicii Natales und der Quadronii



BETWEEN CRITICISM AND PRAISE: PROVINCIALS' IMAGE OF THE GOVERNOR IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE *

By
DANIELLE SLOOTJES

“With fortunate omens have you come from the emperor, brilliant as a ray of the sun that appears to us on high. Thus a favorable report long ago brought word of your fortunate arrival and the most enviable lot of your subjects”.¹

For centuries, provincial communities in the Roman Empire dealt with the presence of governors, which created a certain expectation in behavior, both for provincials and for governors themselves. My purpose is to take a closer look at the relationship between the two in the period of the Later Roman Empire, with a focus on the provincials' perspective: how far can we determine their attitude toward the governor, how did they show appreciation - or criticism - of his actions, how did they portray him? Did the governor, indeed, appear 'brilliant as a ray of the sun'? These concerns contribute to a broader study I am currently conducting on the representation of the governor in the Later Roman Empire, based on a wide range of source materials, literary, epigraphic, artistic. In this paper, however, I limit myself to literary sources, in particular the works of Menander Rhetor and Libanius. I also concentrate on criticism, because I have found that those who criticize the governor exploit the same themes as those who praise him, and because it clearly seems possible to determine provincials' expectations through their criticisms. I introduce some sections from Libanius, which are notably revealing in this respect. The last part of the paper focuses on how Libanius' criticism illuminates an important part of the character and rhythm of provincial life.

Before criticism, the concept of praise needs to be discussed briefly, because in my argument the two are closely connected. During the governor's

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¹ Menander Rhetor 378: ἀλλ' ἦκεις μὲν ἐπ' αἰσίοις συμβόλοις ἐκ βασιλέως λαμπρός, ὡσπερ ἡλίου φαιδρά τις ἀκτις ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν ὀφθεῖσα· οὕτω πάλαι μὲν ἀγαθὴ φήμη διήγγειλε τὴν ἐπ' αἰσίοις ἄφειξιν καὶ εὐκταιοτάτην μοῖραν τῶν ὑπηκόων. For the text see D.A. Russell & N.G. Wilson, eds., *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981). The translations throughout this paper are based on their edition as well, with some changes where appropriate.

stay there were several occasions on which provincials would have a chance to honor him with a speech of praise, for example, on his arrival, or in gratitude for benefactions he had bestowed on a city, or because he was celebrating a festival there. Speeches for governors were part of a series of rituals designed to establish a relationship between the person who was welcomed or praised and those who welcomed and praised him. Not only did the words of a speech honor the governor, they also defined his position.²

The common themes of praise are well laid out by Menander Rhetor (PLRE I 595), an orator and teacher of rhetoric in the late third century. In his instructions for two of his speeches to a governor (the speech of arrival: ὁ ἐπιβατήριος 378-388, and the speech of praise: ὁ προσφωνητικός 415-418), he recommends the following elements: expression of joy at the governor's arrival or presence; praise of his family, education, deeds and virtues; and a general comparison to characterize him as being far superior to everybody else.³ These common themes of praise, I argue, also appear in criticism.

In the works of Libanius (PLRE I 505-507) there are remarkable examples of reproaches to a governor for his lack of ability to govern. For instance, the Speeches 45 ('To the emperor, on the prisoners') and 33 ('To the emperor Theodosius, against Tisamenos') –dated to the late 380s– are paired together in modern scholarship, because both address the conditions in the prisons, and demonstrate a negative view of governors. According to Libanius, prisons in Antioch were overcrowded, because governors were too slow in fulfilling their judicial functions as well as in executing those sentenced to death.

Both speeches address the emperor. Speech 33 is specifically directed against Tisamenos (PLRE I 916-917), who was governor (*consularis*) of Syria in 386. Libanius hoped to get the emperor's support in removing him, because of his inability in office. He starts by expressing frustration instead of the customary joy and excitement over the presence of the governor. He is clearly aware that in a speech for the governor praise was usually expected, and he appears apologetic that this will not be the case here, for he will take the opposite approach: "Ideally, Sire, everyone sent out to the government of the provinces should be so good that I should be able to say something better

² S. Price, *Rituals and Power. Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984), 7-8.

³ Menander gives instructions for two other types of speeches for governors: the speech of invitation: Κλήτικος (424-430), and the speech in 'talk' form: Λαλιά (388-394).

about Tisamenes. Indeed, my preference is not so much to speak ill of him as the reverse.”⁴

He briefly discusses Tisamenes’ family background, explaining that, although he came from a respectable family, and was on course for a good education, he suddenly decided to head for the less respected life of dancing.⁵ As Menander Rhetor advises, in a speech of praise, to mention good family background and good education was important, because it would show that the governor was a respectable and sophisticated person.⁶ To state the opposite about the governor as Libanius does here, sets the tone for his negative portrayal and assessment of Tisamenes. Libanius’ slant makes Tisamenes’ situation seem even worse, because he did, in fact, come from a respectable family and had started a good education until, evidently, he decided to head into the wrong direction. The ideal of a respectable and sophisticated governor is tellingly reversed in this image of Tisamenes.

Jurisdiction was one of the governor’s most important and time-consuming activities. In a speech of praise, when discussing the virtue of justice, one would emphasize that the governor had a sense of humanity toward his subjects, was uncorrupt, free from partiality and prejudice in his judicial decisions, and treated the rich and poor equally.⁷ Fair treatment of the poor is a recurring theme in other sources; the jurist Ulpian, for example, stressed it when he explained the duties of the governor.⁸ Libanius demonstrates the opposite in Tisamenes, who allegedly has a total lack of interest in court cases and, when he must hear them, no determination in bringing them to an end. Tisamenes is represented as a governor who would

⁴ Libanius, *Oratio* 33.1: "Ἐδει μὲν οὕτως ἅπαντας ἀγαθούς εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐνθῶν ἀρχὰς ἐκπεμπομένους, ὡς βασιλεῦ, ὥστ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἐξεῖναι λέγειν τι περὶ Τισαμενοῦ βέλτιον, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ κακῶς λέγειν ἥδιον ἐστὶ μοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦναντίον". The text of Libanius is taken from the Teubner edition by R. Foerster, ed., *Libanii Opera* (Stuttgart 1906). The translations are based on the Loeb translations by A.F. Norman (Cambridge (MA)/London 1977), with changes where appropriate.

⁵ Libanius, *Oratio* 33. 3.

⁶ Menander Rhetor 379-381 and 415-416.

⁷ Menander Rhetor 379: οὐκοῦν δικάσει μὲν ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τὸν Αἰακόν, ὑπὲρ τὸν Μίνωα, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥαδάμανθον· καὶ τοῦτου ἄμεινον ἤδη προμαντεύομαι, ὡς Ἕλληνας, καὶ εἰπῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πλείω περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀδίκως οἰκήσει τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἢ δίκην δώσει τῷ νόμῳ, οὐ προκριθήσεται πλούσιος, οὐ χαμναὶ πεσεῖται λόγος τοῦ πένητος δίκαιος, πεπαύσθωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ πλούσιοι ταῖς περιουσίαις κομπούμενοι, πεπαύσθωσαν οἱ πένητες ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἀσθένειαν ("As our judge he will outclass Aeacus, Minos, or Rhadamanthus –nay, men of Hellas, I prophesy he will do better than this..." These and similar remarks may be made on the theme of justice: "No one will dwell in prison unjustly, or be unjustly punished; the rich will not be preferred, nor the poor man's just cause fall on the ground. So let our rich men cease to boast of their resources and our poor cease to complain of their weakness.")

⁸ *Dig.* 1.16.7.

prefer to be at a public entertainment, “he shunned courts; hankered after invitations to the hippodrome and the theatre” (33.8), while he should be concerned with justice in court: “he is the greatest stumbling-block to the administration of justice”, because he is “incapable of seeing where justice lies and refusing to keep his mouth shut. He bumbles in a pointless flood of words so as to distress the ears and weary the feet of the lawyers” (33.9).⁹ Again, praise and criticism are opposite sides of the same coin; the reverse rhetoric from Libanius’ speech shows the same expectation about the governor’s conduct in fulfilling his judicial responsibilities: provincials are hoping for a governor who is fair and competent in court, a governor who is, as Menander states it, “above gain and pleasure”.¹⁰

Tisamenēs’ lack of ability is not confined to judicial irresponsibility. With regard to tax collection, the second main duty of the governor, Libanius accuses him of asking for the taxes too early and of consciously trying to hurt the provincials. He even publicly calls him a laughable fool: ὦ καταγέλαστε.¹¹ This by no means exhausts the insults in the speech, but I want to proceed to some general features of provincial government, which set the speech in context.

As a member of the curial class of Antioch, Libanius is not necessarily representing the view of the whole provincial population. Nevertheless, he still reveals some of their expectations in the way he expresses his anger and frustration at the governor’s misbehavior. We could call this a mirror image of what the governor should be, of the provincials’ expectations, and of what Menander recommends. Every negative comment, when turned into the positive, is a reflection of provincials’ hopes. Menander too acknowledged this possible function of negativity, when he stated that in a speech of welcome it is permissible to give a vivid portrayal of bad treatment by the former governor, for this will be an encouragement to the

⁹ Libanius, *Oratio* 33.8: φυγή μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δικῶν, ἐν εὐχῇ δὲ αἱ κλήσεις ἃς καλεῖ μὲν ἵππόδρομος, καλεῖ δὲ θέατρα, and 33.9: μεγίστη ταῖς δίκαις ἀνθρώπου οὕτωσι βλάβη [...] οὔτε οὐ τὸ δικαίον ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἔχων οὔτε σιωπᾶν αἰρούμενος, ἀλλὰ ῥέων ἀχρήστῳ ῥεῦματι οἴῳ τὰ τε ὅλα ἀνιάσαι καὶ κόψαι τοῖς συνδίκους τοὺς πόδας. Cf. *Oratio* 45.20: τί οὖν οὔτοι ποιοῦσιν οἱ σωτήρες ἀξιοῦντες ὀνομάζεσθαι; τρέχουσιν ὀψόμενοι μὲν ταῦτα, ὀψόμενοι δὲ ἐκεῖνα, νῦν μὲν καλούμενοι, νῦν δὲ καὶ οὐ καλούμενοι καὶ τῶν κλήσεων δὲ ἐνίας αὐτοῖ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καλοῦσι (“So what do our governors do – these aspirants to the title of ‘saviors’? They hurry to see first this show, then that, sometimes by invitation, sometimes not, sometimes actually self-invited, for obviously they are self-invited when they personally ensure that the future hosts flock to their doors”).

¹⁰ Menander Rhetor 380: ἔσται κρείττων κέρδους, κρείττων ἡδονῶν.

¹¹ Libanius, *Oratio* 33.19.

new governor to act differently.¹² By the same token, many of the praises recommended by Menander are designed to direct and inspire the governor to rule well.

While there is not much evidence of open rebukes to a governor, the speech against Tisamenes is not an isolated case. There are others by Libanius himself.¹³ In the early fifth century there is a notable example in the work of Synesius, bishop of Cyrene (PLRE II 1048-1050), who wrote against the new governor of Libya Superior, Andronicus of Berenice (PLRE II 89-90), because his appointment had allegedly been illegal.¹⁴ Synesius, like Libanius, offered a negative portrayal of the governor in regard to his family background, education and sense of justice, and Andronicus emerged as a pest, a wicked ruler destructive to his province.¹⁵ Synesius' work is instructive, because it presents a clash between a bishop and a governor. Ever since the official adoption of Christianity by Theodosius the Great (379-395), bishops had gained a key role in provincial communities.¹⁶ Hence, they started to interfere with the governor's business, and inevitably the two parties would clash.¹⁷

The obvious first place in the Later Empire to express provincial grievances and ask for requests was the provincial council. It continued to function as a representative body, discussed matters of provincial interest, and sent delegations to the vicar or praetorian prefect, who could in turn refer them to the emperor.¹⁸ The situation of Libanius is rather exceptional,

¹² Menander Rhetor 378: "...and amplify their hardships, not, however, speaking ill of the predecessor, but simply reporting the subjects' misfortune. Then go on: 'When night and darkness covered the world, you were seen like the sun, and at once dissolved all the difficulties'."

¹³ Cf. Libanius, *Oratio* 57, against Severus; *Oratio* 1, 26, 27, 28 and 29, all containing negative statements against Icarus; *Oratio* 44 and 54, Libanius attacking Eustathius for not treating Libanius with sufficient respect.

¹⁴ CJ 1.41; no man was allowed to become governor of his province of his birth. By 610 this law was ignored and governors were often natives of the area they governed. See also J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Fall and Decline of the Roman City* (Oxford 2001), 279.

¹⁵ See Synesius, *Epistula* 41, 42, 72, 73, 79, and 90, edited by A. Garzya, *Synesii Cyrenensis Epistolae* (Rome 1979).

¹⁶ A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (Baltimore 1964), 165.

¹⁷ See Liebeschuetz 2001, op.cit. (n. 14), 152. The emperor Justinian (527-565) made it part of the bishop's duty to supervise the governor. Upon entering the province, a new governor had to take an oath in presence of the metropolitan bishop and leading citizens (*Novella* 8.14). Furthermore, Justinian invited the bishop and leading citizens to bring complaints about the governor to the attention of the emperor. If a citizen could not get justice from the governor, he was to take his matter to the bishop who would take every step to see that justice was done, with the last resort of informing the emperor.

¹⁸ The following law from 382 illustrates that the provincial council was still regarded as an accepted institution for dealing with provincials' business: CTh 12.12.9, *ad provinciales: Sive integra dioecesis in commune consulerit sive singulae inter se voluerint provinciae convenire, nullius iudicis potestate*

in that he claims a more direct link to the emperor; both speeches (45 and 33) addressed him, and he states that the emperor would expect him to criticize the governor. In Speech 45 he says: “You (the emperor) will ask, “How can it be that you (Libanius) have neglected this, when you should reprove the governors and tell *them* what you are telling *me* now, and not allow them to be slack, even if they want to be?”¹⁹ Emperors were concerned about their subjects, and at the same time wanted to know what their governors and other officials were doing. In 331, Constantine the Great (312-337) even ordered that written records of the acclamations of the provinces had to be sent to the emperor for review.²⁰ As ‘semi-spontaneous’

tractatus utilitati earum congruus differatur (“If an entire diocese should consult in common, or if separate provinces should wish to meet with each other, by the power of no judge shall any discussion be deferred if it is suitable to their advantage”, text by Th. Mommsen & P. Meyer (Berlin 1905), and translation by C. Pharr (New York 1952). Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 28.6.7 for a reference to the annual meeting of the provincial council in Tripolis.

¹⁹ Libanius, *Oratio* 45.16: *Καὶ πῶς σὺ περιεώρας, ἐρήση, δέον ἐπιτιμᾶν τε τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ ταῦτα ἅ νυνὶ λέγεις λέγειν καὶ μὴδὲ βουλομένοις ἔμδυμῆν ἐπιτρέπειν*. Cf. the reverse rhetoric in Menander Rhetor 417-418: “Let us compose decrees to send to the emperors in praise and admiration, and in prayer for many years of his (governor’s) rule. Let us send statues to Delphi, to Olympia, to Athens – first however filling our own cities with them. Let him be depicted with his subject people all around him, all giving thanks and applauding. Let cities lead the procession in the picture, represented as women, bright-faced and rejoicing”.

²⁰ CTh 1.16.6, *ad provinciales* (= CJ 1.40.3): *iustissimos autem et vigilantissimos iudices publicis adclamationibus conlaudandi damus omnibus potestatem, ut honoris eis auctiores proferamus processus, e contrario iniustus et maleficus querellarum vocibus accusandis, ut censurae nostrae vigor eos absumat; nam si verae voces sunt nec ad libidinem per clientes effusae, diligenter investigabimus, praefectis praetorio et comitibus, qui per provincias constituti sunt, provincialium nostrorum voces ad nostram scientiam referentibus*, (“we grant to all persons the privilege of praising by public acclamation the most just and vigilant judges, so that We may grant increased accessions of honor to them. On the contrary, the unjust and the evildoers must be accused by cries of complaints, in order that the force of Our censure may destroy them. For we shall carefully investigate whether such utterances are truthful and are not poured forth effusively and wantonly by clients. The praetorian prefects and the counts who have been stationed throughout the provinces shall refer to Our Wisdom the utterances of Our provincials”). Cf. CTh 12.12.9 of 382 *ad provinciales: sicut licere columus oppressis deflere quae perferunt, ita provinciales nostri nec incassum peregrinationem suscipiendam eaque ad sacras aures deferenda cognoscant, quae probabiliter principibus adserantur nec superfluis perennitatem nostram existiment actibus occupandam* (“just as it is Our will that the oppressed provincials shall be permitted to lament their sufferings, so Our provincials shall know that they must not undertake such a pilgrimage in vain and that they must convey to Our sacred imperial ears those matters which may reasonably be alleged before the Emperor, and they must not suppose that Our Eternity should be besieged with superfluous transactions”). See also J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch. City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972), 209, and A. Cameron, *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976), 241 for more discussion on the semi-constitutional status of acclamations. Cf. C. Roueché, ‘Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1984), 181-199.

expressions of a unanimous crowd, acclamations illustrate that provincials knew that demonstrations of negative sentiments were allowed.²¹

Any individual, even though he spoke on behalf of a community or a province, took a risk by exposing himself to the anger and possibly revenge of a governor, or the governor's supporters. Libanius himself shows his awareness of this risk when he states at the beginning of his speech 33: "now the person, whose many words and actions have secured him as our governor, will be annoyed at my remarks and will seek to do harm to the one who has provoked him, for his influence is all that he could wish it to be".²²

Why, then, would Libanius even dare to speak negatively about the governor in public? For provincials to be upset about the governor's behavior was hardly a novelty of the Later Roman Empire. Under the Republic and the Principate provincials could, and did, accuse the governor of misconduct after his term of office in the *repetundae* courts or the senate. It seems, though, that even the latter court stopped functioning in the early third century, when we find the last known *repetundae* case under Septimius Severus.²³ The Roman world was changing, and provincials needed to find other ways to express their frustration.

Several features of the Late Roman world perhaps acted to make it less 'perilous' to rebuke the governor openly during his term of office. First, the reforms of Diocletian (284-305) led to a new division into many more provinces, and a novel system of dioceses and prefectures, headed by vicars and praetorian prefects respectively. By breaking up the larger provinces and by creating separate military commanders (*duces*), Diocletian diminished the status of provincial governors. At the same time, many more men became

²¹ By the fourth century, acclamations had become less spontaneous, and increasingly standardized and regulated, shouted according to certain rhythms. G.S. Aldrete, in *Gestures and Acclamations in Ancient Rome* (Baltimore 1999), 128-131, argues that the formulaic character of acclamations does not necessarily exclude flexibility, and proves his point with some examples of standard expressions of acclamations adapted into something completely different.

²² Libanius, *Oratio* 33.2: ὁ μὲν οὖν, ἴν' οὗτος ἄρξειεν ἡμῶν, πολλὰ μὲν εἰπῶν, πολλὰ δὲ ποιήσας χαλεπὸς τε ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἔσται καὶ ζητήσῃ τὸν λελυπηκότα ποιῆσαι κακῶς οὔσης αὐτῷ δυνάμωσ ὀπόσης ἐθέλει. The identity of this 'person' is unclear. R.A. Pack, *Studies in Libanius and Antiochene Society under Theodosius* (Diss. Michigan 1935), 96, has suggested that this 'person' is possibly Cynegius (PLRE I 235-236) the Praetorian Prefect of the Orient in the period 384-388, but Norman 1977, op.cit. (n. 4), 194 remains skeptical.

²³ See R.J.A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton 1984), appendix 9, 510. Cf. P.A. Brunt, 'Charges of Provincial Maladministration under the Early Empire', in Idem, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990), 53-95, with 487-506.

governors, because many more were needed.²⁴ Consequently, other Roman officials – with more power than the governor and able to interfere with his business – became a permanent presence throughout the provinces. This inevitably caused a shift in the relationship between governors and provincials. He was less powerful, and provincials might feel less hesitant to criticize him, now that they could take their case to the vicar, or even to the praetorian prefect.

Further adjustments, too, were required of governors themselves from Diocletian's time onwards. Before, they were sent to govern provincials who mostly were of lower status than themselves. This had changed. The provincial elite was more and more the elite of the Empire, and often had valuable connections in Rome or Constantinople. Typically now, the governor came from the same class as the elite of the people he was governing, or even from a lesser one. As always, if the masses became upset with the governor, they might not be able to pursue their aggravation; but if wealthy upper class provincials with good connections were frustrated, they were better placed than ever to use their influence against the governor. In addition, to a provincial like Libanius – who belonged to the elite of the province and had established himself as a famous orator and patron of his city – the individual governor was of only temporary importance. Why fear him unduly? For the governor, the unpredictability of the length of his term in office did not help either. It was not fixed, and, Jones, based on the *fasti* of Africa and Egypt, has drawn the conclusion that on average the length of a governor's term of office was probably well under two years.²⁵ Libanius also refers to the rapid turnover of governors: “nowadays, though, it is the man who has been able to buy office, who scurries in and keeps turning round to check whether his successor is hard on his heels”.²⁶ Such a relatively short term will have created tension for the governor, because of the “complexity of his

²⁴ C. Roueché, ‘The Functions of the Roman Governor in Late Antiquity: Some Observations’, *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998), 35. Most likely members of the provincial elite served as governors as well, because a larger number of governors were needed.

²⁵ Jones 1964, op.cit. (n. 16), 381-383. For Africa (in the period between 357-417) the average was little more than a year, and for Egypt (328-373, when the prefects of Egypt were mere provincial governors) well under two years, perhaps even 18 months.

²⁶ Libanius, *Oratio* 2.42: ἀλλὰ νῦν τρέχει μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πρίασθαι δυνηθεῖς, μεταστρέφεται δὲ περισκοπῶν μὴ οὐ πολλοὺς ἀπέχει σταδίου ὁ διαδεξιόμενος. Cf. H.I. Bell, *The Abinnaeus archive* (Oxford 1962). Upon presenting the imperial letter with his appointment as the new commander of the *praefectus alae* at Dionysia to the count of Egypt, Abinnaeus (PLRE I 1-2) found that other men had claimed his office with similar letters. Even though he was not a governor, his story illustrates the unpredictability of public office.

responsibilities”.²⁷ If time was short, it was practically impossible to focus on any long-term issues. However, it must be noted that short tenure was not a new feature of the Later Roman Empire. Under the Principate, governors of public provinces routinely had a term of only one year, and they ran into the same difficulty with long-term problems.

The question arises, if the office of governor had been so much devalued, why would anyone even want it, as many evidently did? One reason was financial gain, which was accompanied by the widespread phenomenon of corruption.²⁸ Governors often spent lavishly to purchase the office, and during their term they tried to compensate for such expenditure. Another notable motive was to acquire permanent exemption from curial duties, one of the privileges for those who had held office.²⁹

Provincials and governors were part of the same system, yet there was inevitably tension between them. In the end, though, each needed the other. If the governor demonstrated that he was serving the interests of provincials, they were willing to comply with him, and vice versa. If he fulfilled his duties according to their expectations, they praised him. If not, Libanius illustrates for us the possible reaction. The sharp closing words of his Speech 33 sum up the provincials’ ideal:

“So free your cities of such ills and send us a man of sense, who is eager to work hard, a doer rather than a talker, and one who will use persuasion rather than compulsion, a helper of the poor rather than their oppressor, who will distinguish what is and what is not possible, and recognize a time for flogging and a time for threatening – in short, a man who is nothing at all like this plague here”.³⁰

UNC Chapel Hill, March 2003

²⁷ Roueché 1998, op.cit. (n. 24), 34.

²⁸ Cf. CTh 8.15.5, 8.15.6. Jones 1964, op.cit. (n. 16), 393-401. See R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven/London 1988), especially 122-170 for a discussion of corruption and the sale of offices. Cf. Libanius, *Oratio* 2.42: ὁμολογεῖ δὲ εὐθύς ὡς ἦκε ληψόμενος, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ προσιμιον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ πρότερον ἐν σκότει γιγνόμενα τολμᾶται (“He agrees straightaway that he is there for what he can get; and this is the prelude to his term, and what previously used to be done under cover, is now ventured upon in full view of all and sundry”).

²⁹ Jones 1964, op.cit. (n. 16), 536.

³⁰ Libanius, *Oratio*. 33.43: Ἀπάλλαξον δὴ τὰς σαυτοῦ πόλεις τοιούτων κακῶν καὶ πέμφον ἄνδρα νοῦν τε ἔχοντα καὶ πόνων ἐπιδυμητὴν καὶ πλείω πράξοντα ἢ λαλήσοντα καὶ πείσοντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναγκάσοντα καὶ βοηθήσοντα πένησιν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντα, καὶ διαγνωσόμενον, τί μὲν δυνατὸν, τί δὲ οὐ, καὶ καιρὸν μὲν πληγῶν, καιρὸν δὲ εἰσόμενον ἀπειλήs, ὅλως οὐδὲν εἰκότα τῷ λοιμῷ τούτῳ.

III

THE REPRESENTATION AND PERCEPTION OF ROMAN IMPERIAL POWER

INDIVIDUAL EMPERORS

AUGUSTUS, WAR AND PEACE

By

J. W. RICH

For the theme of the representation and perception of Roman imperial power to which this volume is devoted no individual could be more central than Augustus and no aspect of his reign of greater importance than his role as both great conqueror and bringer of peace. In this paper I shall discuss not only the presentation and perception of this aspect of the first emperor, but also the policies which lay behind the presentation.

Ideology

Augustus was proclaimed as a great victor in every contemporary medium.¹ The preamble of the *Res Gestae* declares that what follows records the achievements by which “he subjected the world to the empire of the Roman people” (*orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit*). Early in the document (3.1-4.2) Augustus tells us that “I often waged civil and external wars by land and sea throughout the whole world” (*bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe saepe gessi*), and records among other feats his two ovations, three curule triumphs, 21 imperial salutations and 55 *supplicationes*. A later section (26-33) substantiates the preamble’s claim of world conquest with a lengthy rehearsal of both military and diplomatic successes.

¹ On war and peace in Augustan ideology see especially E. S. Gruen, ‘Augustus and the ideology of war and peace’, in R. Winkes (ed.), *The Age of Augustus* (Providence 1985), 51-72; P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988), 79 ff.; 172 ff.; 215 ff.; P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990), 96-109; 433-480; C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor 1991), 15-56; F. V. Hickson, ‘Augustus triumphator: manipulation of the triumphal themes in the political program of Augustus’, *Latomus* 50 (1991), 125-138; J. B. Campbell, *War and Society in Imperial Rome 31 BC - AD 284* (London 2002), 122-132. In general on the Roman cult of victory and other abstractions see J. R. Fears, *ANRW* II.17.2 (1981), 736-948 (esp. 804 ff., 884 ff. on Augustan developments). E. S. Ramage presents valuable collections of material on Augustan ‘propaganda’ in Gaul, Spain and Africa at *Klio* 79 (1997), 117-160; 80 (1998), 434-490; 82 (2000), 171-207. See also G. Cresci Marrone, *Ecumene Augustea* (Rome 1993); A. Mehl, ‘Imperium sine fine dedi — die augusteische Vorstellung von der Grenzlosigkeit des römischen Reiches’, in E. Olshausen and H. Sonnabend (eds.), *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums* 4, 1990 (Amsterdam 1994), 431-464; K. Balbuza, ‘Die Siegesideologie von Octavian Augustus’, *Eos* 86 (1999), 267-299.

The theme was on monumental display all over the city of Rome. In the Senate House Augustus erected an altar and statue of Victory.² Outside, in the Roman Forum, prows from ships captured at Naulochus and Actium were displayed, following Republican precedents, on specially erected columns and on the new Rostra at the front of the temple of Divus Iulius.³ Alongside that temple stood Augustus' triple arch, erected, as I have recently argued, to celebrate the Actium victory and later adapted to commemorate the Parthian settlement as well.⁴ A short distance away was Augustus' own new Forum, built from his spoils, whose decorations, as Velleius tells us, included *tituli* of the peoples he had conquered.⁵ Elsewhere in the city were other commemorations of Augustus' conquests, for example the obscure Porticus ad Nationes, perhaps the model for the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.⁶ Two Egyptian obelisks were set up in 10/9 BC, with inscriptions recording their dedication to the Sun, "Egypt having been brought into the power of the Roman people" (*Aegypto in potestatem populi Romani redacta*); one was erected on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus, and the other as the *gnomon* of a sundial, laid out in the northern Campus Martius between Augustus' Mausoleum and the Altar of Pax Augusta.⁷ Also in the Campus Martius stood the Porticus Vipsania, completed from Agrippa's designs by his sister. As Pliny tells us (*Naturalis historia* 3.17), Agrippa planned there "to set the world before the city for inspection" (*orbem terrarum urbi spectandum propositurus*). Brodersen has recently reminded us just how fragile is the basis for the usual view that the Porticus contained a map of the world.⁸ However, even if

² Cassius Dio 51.22.1-2; V. Ehrenberg & A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (Oxford 1967, 2nd ed.) [hereafter, EJ], 51; T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (Mainz 1967), 6-17; *LTUR* 5.150 (E. Tortorici).

³ Columns: Appian, *Bella civilia* 5.130; Servius, *ad. Georg.* 3.29; *LTUR* 1.308 (D. Palombi). Rostra: Cassius Dio 51.19.2; *LTUR* 3.117 (P. Gros).

⁴ J. W. Rich, 'Augustus's Parthian honours, the temple of Mars Ultor and the arch in the Forum Romanum', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66 (1998), 71-128.

⁵ *Res Gestae* 21.1; Velleius Paterculus 2.39.2, with Rich 1998, op.cit. (n.4), 123-124.

⁶ Servius, *ad Aen.* 8.721; R. R. R. Smith, 'Simulacra gentium: the Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', *Journal of Roman Studies* 78 (1988), 50-77.

⁷ EJ 14; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 36.70-73. Recent studies have shown that the pavement was a meridian-instrument, not a true sundial, and have refuted E. Buchner's hypothesis that its equinoctial line intersected with the Ara Pacis: M. Schutz, 'Zur Sonnenuhr auf dem Marsfeld', *Gymnasium* 97 (1990), 432-457; T. Barton, 'Augustus and Capricorn: astrological polyvalency and imperial rhetoric', *Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1994), 33-51, at pp. 44-46.

⁸ K. Brodersen, *Terra Cognita: Studien zur römischen Raumerfassung* (Hildesheim, Zurich & New York 1995), 268-285. For the usual view of the monument as a map, see especially Nicolet 1991,

he is right that it merely housed an inscription, the monument must still have been intended as an emblem of Augustan world rule.

Elsewhere in the empire Augustus the victor was celebrated by numerous arches, and by other monuments such as the memorial for the Actium victory erected on the site of his camp and just outside Nicopolis, the new 'Victory City', or the trophies erected at St-Bertrand-de-Comminges and La Turbie in honour of the successes in Spain, Gaul and the Alps.⁹ The goddess Victory, often shown surmounting a globe (as probably in the Senate House statue), was one of the commonest types on the Augustan coinage, and this and related themes often appear in private art, for example the Boscoreale cups, where Venus is shown placing Victory on a globe held by Augustus.¹⁰

When civil wars ended, Octavian/Augustus was (like Caesar earlier) honoured as bringer of peace.¹¹ Thus the column erected after his victory over Sextus Pompeius in 36 BC bore the inscription: "Peace, long disturbed, he re-established on land and sea".¹² More in the same vein followed the victories over Antony and Cleopatra. In 29 BC, the *augurium Salutis* was held and the shrine of Janus was closed, both deemed to require universal peace.¹³ The closure of Janus was an antiquarian revival of a rite whose attribution to Numa had probably been invented at the time of the only previous historical celebration in 235 BC, and of which Augustus' contemporaries will have been reminded by Varro's

op.cit. (n.1), 95-122; J. Engels, *Augusteische Oikumenegeographie und Universalhistorie im Werk Strabons von Amaseia* (Stuttgart 1999), 359-377.

⁹ For overviews see W. Mierse, 'Augustan building programs in the western provinces', in K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford 1990), 308-333; Ramage, *op. cit.* (n.1); D. Kienast, *Augustus: Prinzeps und Monarch* (Darmstadt 1999, 3rd ed.), 417-449. The Actium memorial: W. M. Murray and P. M. Petsas, *Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actium War* (Philadelphia 1989). Trophies: G. Charles-Picard, *Les trophées romains* (Paris 1957), 253-311; Ramage 1997, *op.cit.* (n.1), 125-126.

¹⁰ Hölscher, *op.cit.* (n.1), 6-47; A. L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: the Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford 1995), 13-34.

¹¹ On the Roman conception of peace and on honours for Caesar and Augustus as bringers of peace see especially S. Weinstock, 'Pax and the "Ara Pacis"', *Journal of Roman Studies* 50 (1960), 44-58, at pp. 44-50. Weinstock's suggestion that Caesar planned to institute a cult of Pax is fanciful, and his rejection of the identification of the surviving monument with the Ara Pacis Augustae is perverse, but the article remains an invaluable collection of evidence.

¹² Appian, *Bella civilia* 5.130.

¹³ *Res Gestae* 13; EJ p. 45; Livy 1.19.3; Suetonius, *Augustus* 22, 31.4; Cassius Dio 51.20.4.

researches.¹⁴ The occurrence of the same phrase in several sources' reference to this closing of Janus suggests that the senate's decree expressly linked it with the establishment of peace 'on land and sea', adapting a formula first used of Hellenistic rulers.¹⁵ About the same time the goddess Pax figured on the coinage of both Italian and Eastern mints.¹⁶

Later in the reign Augustus continued to be celebrated as bringer of peace. The closure of Janus was decreed twice more during his reign, in 25 BC after his successes in Spain and at an uncertain later date.¹⁷ An altar of Augustan Peace (Pax Augusta) was decreed on Augustus' return to Rome in 13 BC and dedicated in 9 BC, surviving to become for us the most famous of all Augustan monuments.¹⁸ The cult is attested elsewhere too: an altar to Pax Augusta from Narbo appears from its decoration to be of Augustan date, while Strabo records Paxaugusta as the name of a colony.¹⁹ Other provincial celebrations of Augustus the peace-maker include a well-known decree of the Koinon in Asia in 9 BC, in which he is praised as "the saviour who has brought war to an end", and the dedication of a gold statue to Augustus in the Forum Augustum at Rome by the province of Baetica "because by his beneficence and perpetual care the province has been pacified".²⁰

¹⁴ Weinstock 1960, op.cit. (n.11), 48. See also R. Turcan, 'Janus à l'époque imperiale', ANRW II.17.1 (1981), 374-402; G. Forsythe, *The Historian L. Calpurnius Piso and the Roman Annalistic Tradition* (Lanham 1994), 185-193; *LTUR* 3.92-93 (E. Tortorici).

¹⁵ A. Momigliano, 'Terra marique', *Journal of Roman Studies* 32 (1942), 53-64. Cicero had already spoken of Pompey as having established universal peace by land and sea: *In Catilinam* 2.11 *omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata*; cf. *De Imperio Cn. Pompeii* 56; *Pro Flacco* 29; *Pro Balbo* 16; *ILS* 8776. The inscription on the Actium memorial at Nicopolis proclaims its dedication *pace parata terra [marique]*: EJ 12; Murray and Petsas 1989, op.cit. (n.9), 76.

¹⁶ *RIC* Augustus 252-253; 476. The goddess Peace also appears on two civic coinages of the Augustan period: *RPC* I.1529 (Pella); 2062 (Nicomedia).

¹⁷ *Res Gestae* 13; Suetonius, *Augustus* 22; Cassius Dio 53.26.5; 54.36.2; Orosius 6.21.11; 22.1; R. Syme, *Roman Papers* III (Oxford 1984), 1179-1197; VI (Oxford 1991), 441-450; and see below.

¹⁸ *Res Gestae* 12.2; EJ pp. 46; 49; Cassius Dio 54.25.3. K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton 1996), 141-155, is a good recent overview; for further bibliography see Kienast, op.cit. (n.9), 239-240; *LTUR* 4.70-74 (M. Torelli). Note also the statue of Pax dedicated by Augustus, along with statues of Salus Publica and Concordia, in 10 BC (Cassius Dio 54.35.2).

¹⁹ See Weinstock 1960, op.cit. (n.11), 48; 54. The altar: *ILS* 3789. The colony: Strabo 3.2.15 (151C). Strabo mentions the colony in his account of Spain, but describes it as in Gaul. Not otherwise attested, it is perhaps to be identified with Pax Iulia (the modern Beja) in Lusitania. The foundation (or refoundation) will doubtless have taken place in 15-14 BC, when Augustus founded a number of colonies in Gaul and Spain (*Res Gestae* 16.1; Cassius Dio 54.23.7).

²⁰ EJ 42 (Baetican statue); 98 line 36 (Asian decree).

Significant though this evidence is, it is clear that Peace was accorded much less prominence in the Augustan media than Victory.²¹ There was in any case no contradiction between the commemoration of Augustus as victor and as peacemaker, since in the Roman conception pacification was achieved through victories. Thus Cicero could speak of Macedonia as having been “pacified by many victories and triumphs” (*multis victoriis ... triumphisque pacata*), and claims for triumphs were commonly linked with the pacification of the commander’s province.²² Caesar in the *De bello gallico* repeatedly marks his progress by speaking of part or all of Gaul as *pacata* by his victories.²³ Augustus himself in the *Res Gestae* asserts that tradition required the closure of Janus when over the whole empire “peace had been won by victories” (*esset parva victoriis pax*), and in his later review of his successes in war he boasts of having pacified the sea, the Gallic and Spanish provinces, Germany and the Alps.²⁴ Similarly, Velleius, in a brief survey of Augustus’ achievements, speaks of his having “pacified the world by victories”, and goes on to sketch the pacification of the West, and in particular of Dalmatia, the Alps and Spain.²⁵

Nevertheless, there *was* great ambivalence both in Augustus’ external achievements and in the ways in which they were perceived and presented. Augustus and those commanding under his auspices conquered more territory than anyone before or after in Roman history. The civil wars had closed with the annexation of Egypt. The achievements of Augustus’ sole rule included the conquest of north-west Spain and the Alps and of a vast tract in the Balkans extending as far as the Danube. He also claimed the conquest of Germany as far as the Elbe, only to see it fall out of Roman control in his last

²¹ Rightly remarked by Gruen, *op.cit.* (n.1); Ramage 1997, *op.cit.* (n.1), 136 ff.; Ramage 1998, *op.cit.* (n.1), 462 ff.

²² Macedonia: Cicero, *De provinciis consularibus* 4. Triumphs: e.g. Livy 39.29.5; 41.12.10; 41.17.3; Suetonius, *Iulius* 18.1.

²³ Caesar, *De bello gallico* 2.35.1; 3.7.1; 28.1; 4.37.1; 6.5.1; 7.65.4.

²⁴ *Res Gestae* 13; 25.1 (*mare pacavi a praedonibus*); 26.2-3 (*Gallias et Hispanias provincias, item Germaniam qua includit Oceanus a Gadibus ad ostium Albis fluminis pacavi. Alpes a regione ea, quae proxima est Hadriano mari, ad Tuscum pacificavi*).

²⁵ Velleius Paterculus 2.89.6 (*bella sub imperatore gesta pacatusque victoriis terrarum orbis*); 90.1 (*Delmatia ... ad certam confessionem pacata est imperii. Alpes feris incultisque nationibus celebres perdomitae. Hispaniae nunc ipsius praesentia, nunc Agrippae ... multo varioque Marte pacatae*); 91.1 (*dum pacatur occidentis*). Note also 2.126.3, where Velleius includes among the blessings of Tiberius’ reign the universal diffusion of *pax augusta* (the only occurrence of the phrase in a literary source).

years as a result of Varus' disaster. However, his reign also marked the end of steady Roman expansion. The empire at his death could be spoken of as "enclosed by the Ocean and by long rivers",²⁶ and Claudius and Trajan were the only subsequent emperors to make major additions to the empire. In avoiding expansion, his successors were following the advice which Augustus had left them. Among the documents which Augustus left and which were read out in the senate after his death was a summary of the resources of the empire, and to this summary, written in his own hand, he had appended the advice that the empire should be kept within its bounds.²⁷ Thus, by the end of his life, Augustus had concluded that the expansion to which he had made so notable a contribution should go no farther.

Later writers sometimes downplay Augustus' conquests, apparently influenced by their knowledge of the sequel and in some cases by their own prejudices against expansion. Thus Suetonius, writing under Hadrian, who had abjured expansion, passes over the conquests very briefly, stressing instead Augustus' restraint in his dealings with foreign peoples, and he later remarks on Augustus' insistence that battles or wars should not be begun unless the prospective gain exceeded the loss risked.²⁸ Florus, who criticizes the *inertia* of Augustus' successors, makes much more of Augustus' wars, but still ends his work with an effusion on Augustus' establishment of universal peace.²⁹ Cassius

²⁶ Tacitus, *Annales* 1.9.5: *mari Oceano aut omnibus longinquis saeptum imperium*.

²⁷ Tacitus, *Annales* 1.11.4: *quae cuncta (sc. the summary of imperial resources) sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii*. The failure of Suetonius, *Augustus* 101.4, to mention this advice is not an argument against its authenticity. According to Cassius Dio 56.33.3-6 the warning against expansion formed part of a separate document devoted to advice; this elaboration is certainly fictional and may be Dio's own work. It is uncertain whether the summary of resources with its appended advice against expansion was read along with the other documents at the first senate meeting, before Augustus' funeral (so Dio), or separately at the second session on 17 September at which Augustus' deification was decreed (so Tacitus; EJ p. 52 for the date). Tacitus' language is naturally interpreted as meaning that Augustus had added the advice in writing, not orally, *contra* J. Ober, 'Tiberius and the political testament of Augustus', *Historia* 31 (1982), 306-328. It is in any case unlikely that Tiberius would have presumed to invent the advice, as Ober maintains.

²⁸ Suetonius, *Augustus* 21; 25.4. At 21.2 Suetonius cites the oaths which Augustus administered to some barbarian chieftains and his practice on hostages as evidence of how much "he lacked the desire to increase empire or military glory by whatever means" (*tantum afit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi*). The passage does not allege that he lacked such desire altogether, as supposed by, e.g., Gruen 1985, op.cit. (n.1), 67 n. 92, and Brunt 1990, op.cit. (n.1), 465, disregarding *quoquo modo*.

²⁹ Florus 2.34. Successors' *inertia*: Florus 1. *praef.* 8.

Dio, who makes no secret of his opposition to expansion in his own day, regularly depreciates Augustus' wars and perversely claims that he both preached and practised the policy of not extending the empire throughout his reign. This distorted view led him to interpret as a general statement against imperial expansion a letter sent by Augustus to the senate in 20 BC, which must in fact have had a more limited application and probably referred primarily to the decision to leave Armenia and other territories as client kingdoms rather than annexing them as provinces.³⁰ The emperor Julian, in his satire *The Caesars*, makes Augustus boast that "I did not give way to boundless ambition and aim at enlarging the empire at all costs, but assigned for it two boundaries defined as it were by nature herself, the Danube and the Euphrates".³¹

It was not only later writers who misinterpreted Augustus' intentions. Contemporary perplexities can be traced in the evidence of the poets. Parthia was the principal business which Augustus' predecessors had left unfinished. Crassus' invasion of Parthia had ended in his defeat and death at Carrhae in 53 BC, and since then the Parthians had been the Romans' greatest enemy. Caesar's planned invasion had been pre-empted by his death, and further humiliations had followed: the Parthians had invaded Syria in 40 BC, defeating and killing the legate L. Decidius Saxa; Antony had invaded Parthia in 36 BC, but his rearguard under Oppius Stavianus had been annihilated, and winter had forced him to withdraw under Parthian harassment. The Parthians still held captives and standards from Crassus', Decidius' and Antony's armies. Other peoples too remained in defiance, including the Britons: revolt in Gaul had prevented Caesar from carrying out the conquest of Britain which he had essayed through his invasions in 55-54 BC, and no subsequent commander had taken up the challenge.

In the first years of Augustus' sole rule, Virgil, Horace and Propertius make frequent prophecies of grand conquests for Augustus which would extend Roman rule to the ends of the earth and over Parthia in particular. Several of Horace's poems also look forward to the subjugation of Britain. Horace's *Regulus Ode* provides a concise formulation:

³⁰ Cassius Dio 54.9.1. Other references to the supposed policy of non-expansion: 53.10.4; 56.33.5-6; 41.7. See Brunt 1990, *op.cit.* (n.1), 106; 462; 466-468; J. W. Rich, *Cassius Dio, The Augustan Settlement (Roman History 53-55.9)* (Warminster 1990), 17; 183.

³¹ Julian, *Caesares* 326C: Οὐ γὰρ ταῖς ἀμέτροις ἐπιθυμίαις εἰκὼν ἐπικτάσθαι παντῶς αὐτῆ δι-ενοήθην ὄρια δὲ διττά, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀποδεδείγματα, Ἴστρον καὶ Εὐφράτην ποτα-μοὺς ἐθέμην.

caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem
regnare: praesens divus habebitur
Augustus adiectis Britannis
imperio gravibusque Persis.

In heaven his thunder taught us Jupiter
Is king. Augustus will be held a god
Amongst us, when to the empire
He adds the Britons and grim Persians [sc. Parthians].³²

The poets may be taken as reflecting public expectations and as writing what they thought might please the emperor himself. The Roman public, then, expected Augustus to embark on great wars of foreign conquest like those of Pompey and Caesar, and above all to subjugate the Parthians by force of arms.³³

The expected attacks on Parthia and Britain never took place. Whether Augustus ever contemplated an invasion of Britain remains uncertain. Dio's reports that he was planning an invasion in 34, 27 and 25 BC may perhaps derive from contemporary rumours, but it is unlikely that he was seriously considering such an enterprise in those years.³⁴ With Parthia Augustus consistently pursued a diplomatic solution. This bore fruit in 20 BC, when he induced the Parthian king Phraates to surrender the Roman captives and standards in return for Roman friendship, and he continued to rely on diplomatic methods in his dealings with Parthia throughout the rest of his reign.

Even after the settlement of 20 BC expectations of Parthian conquest were not wholly abandoned. Thus Propertius speaks of Parthian trophies as

³² Horatius, *Carmina* 3.5.1-4. For expected Parthian and British conquest see also Horatius, *Carmina* 1.35.29-32; cf. *Epodi* 7.7-10, *Carmina* 1.21.15. For other prophecies of Parthian and wider conquest see Vergilius, *Georgica* 3.32-33; 4.61; *Aeneis* 7.603-606; Horatius, *Sermones* 2.1.14-15; *Carmina* 1.2.51-52; 1.12.53-57; 1.29.1-5; 2.9.18-24; 3.3.43-48; Propertius 2.10.13-18; 3.4.1-6.

³³ For full discussion of the poets' treatment of external policies and expectations see H. D. Meyer, *Die Aussenpolitik des Augustus und die augusteische Dichtung* (Cologne 1961), with the criticisms of Brunt 1990, op.cit. (n.1), 96-109, and W. Schmitthenner, *Gnomon* 37 (1965), 152-162. There is no need to suppose that Horace was offering a personal critique of Augustus' inactivity, as suggested by R. Seager, 'Neu sinas Medos equitare inultis: Horace, the Parthians and Augustan foreign policy', *Athenaeum* 58 (1980), 103-118. On the poets' relationship with the Augustan regime see above all P. White, *Promised Verse: Poets in the Society of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge, Mass. 1993).

³⁴ Cassius Dio 49.38.2; 53.22.5; 53.25.2; Rich 1990, op.cit. (n.30), 156-157.

postponed for Augustus' adopted sons Gaius and Lucius to win, and, on the eve of Gaius' departure for the East in 1 BC, Ovid prophesied the triumph he would celebrate over Parthia. In the event, Gaius restored good relations, as Augustus had no doubt always intended, meeting the new king Phraataces in person in AD 2.³⁵

Horace, however, takes a different line in poems written after the settlement of 20 BC and one which is closely in accord with the picture Augustus himself was to present in the *Res Gestae*. World rule and universal peace is no longer presented as in the future, to be accomplished by Augustus' expected wars of conquest, but as having been already achieved by his military and diplomatic successes. The Parthian settlement was at the heart of this claim: Augustus maintained, with little or no justification, that he had 'compelled' the Parthians to return the Romans' standards and spoils and to seek their friendship as 'suppliants', and they are represented on the coinage and elsewhere as surrendering the standards on bended knee.³⁶ Further support was supplied by the fortuitous arrival, about the same time, of embassies from the Scythians and Indians.³⁷ Hence Horace's proud boast in the *Carmen Saeculare*:

iam mari terraque manus potentis
Medus Albanasque timet securis,
iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi
nuper et Indi.

Now the Mede [*sc.* the Parthian] fears the forces strong by land
And sea and the Alban axes; now
The Scythians, formerly proud, and the Indians

³⁵ Propertius 4.6.80-82; Ovidius, *Ars Amatoria* 1.177-228; *Remedia Amoris* 155-158. Gaius' meeting: Velleius Paterculus 2.101; Cassius Dio 55.10a.4.

³⁶ *Res Gestae* 29.2: *Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi*. Kneeling Parthians: Horatius, *Epistulae* 1.12.28; *RIC* Augustus 287-289, 304-305, 314-315; R. M. Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren* (Worms 1986), 18-97. For other sources on the settlement of 20 BC see Rich 1990, *op.cit.* (n.30), 180-181. For its commemoration in art see especially Zanker 1988, *op.cit.* (n.1), 186-192.

³⁷ Listed along with other embassies from far-flung peoples at *Res Gestae* 31. Other sources include Strabo 15.1.4 (686C); 15.1.73 (719-720C); Suetonius, *Augustus* 21.3; Florus 2.34.62; Orosius 6.21.19. Augustus received an Indian embassy while he was in Spain and a second in Syria in 20 BC.

Seek responses.

In the following lines Horace celebrates the return of Peace and Plenty along with the old Roman virtues.³⁸ These diplomatic successes along with the recent victories in Spain and the Alps are adduced as attesting universal acceptance of Roman authority in several other of Horace's poems of the period, and sometimes the Parthians' submission is explicitly linked with the closure of Janus.³⁹ The celebration of Augustan peace and world rule is later taken up by Ovid, notably in the closing lines of the *Metamorphoses* and in his treatments of Janus and the Ara Pacis in the *Fasti*.⁴⁰

The claim that Augustus had achieved world rule appears not only in the poets, in the *Res Gestae* and in art, but also in a writer as sober as Strabo. The conception of the Roman empire as effectively coterminous with the inhabited world runs through Strabo's universal geography.⁴¹ He recognises, of course, that some of the regions of which he treats, such as Britain, Parthia and India, still lay outside the empire, but he contrives to suggest that what was outside the empire was either not worth conquering or had already effectively submitted or both. Thus he argues that the annexation of Britain would not be cost-effective and that the Britons' embassies to Augustus show the island to be already virtually subject to Rome. The Dacians too he represents as having come near to submission to the Romans, claiming that it was only their hopes of the Romans' German enemies that prevented their complete subjection. As for the Parthians, while he elsewhere speaks of them as rivals of the Romans, he optimistically concludes his sketch of the stages by which the Romans had acquired universal hegemony by adducing the Parthians' return of their spoils, entrusting of royal princes to Augustus as hostages and reception of one of these princes as king as evidence that they

³⁸ Horatius, *Carmen Saeculare* 53-60.

³⁹ Horatius, *Epistulae* 1.12.25-29; 1.18.54-57; 2.1.253-256; *Carmina* 4.5.25-28; 4.14.41-52; 4.15.4-9; 4.15.21-24. The same associations reappear later at Florus 2.34. Similarly, the cuirass of the contemporary Prima Porta statue of Augustus depicts the Parthian surrender of the standards with flanking figures representing other submissive peoples.

⁴⁰ Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 15.822-839; 860; *Fasti* 1.277-288; 1.711-718.

⁴¹ See K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford 1999), 307-328; Engels 1999, op.cit. (n.8), 303-313; 337-358; D. Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London & New York 2000), 96-129.

had gone far towards accepting Roman supremacy and were on the point of submitting themselves entirely to the Romans.⁴²

Such claims were, of course, grossly exaggerated. The despatch of embassies was in itself not a mark of submission, whether from remote peoples such as the Indians and Scythians or from the much closer Britons. Augustus boasted in the *Res Gestae* that his army had “obliged the Dacians to submit to the commands of the Roman people”, but in reality all that had been achieved against them had been the repulse of Dacian raiders and on one occasion a punitive expedition across the Danube.⁴³ Augustus had indeed erased the disgrace of past Roman defeats at Parthian hands, but at the cost of accepting peaceful co-existence with this powerful neighbour. It is no accident that we are given no details of the manner in which the Roman standards and captives were returned: we may be sure that in reality no Parthian bended the knee. Phraates’ despatch of his sons to Rome served his own domestic convenience, and Vonones, sent back by Augustus to take the throne at Parthian request in AD 6, was ousted six years later.⁴⁴

There were, however, long-established features of the Roman outlook which made it easier for Augustus and his loyal supporters to claim that he had brought the world under Roman rule. The Romans, like the Greeks, had a firmly Mediterranean-centred view of the world. This had made it possible for them to be spoken of as world-rulers by Polybius and other Greeks since the second century BC, and Romans themselves had made such claims from at least the early first century. The vast conquests of Pompey and Caesar had further strengthened the case, and both had been acclaimed as extending Roman rule to the ends of the world.⁴⁵ Such views were facilitated not only

⁴² Britain: Strabo 4.5.3 (200-201C), well discussed by D. C. Braund, *Ruling Roman Britain* (London 1996), 80-89. Dacia: 7.3.13 (305C). Parthians as rivals: 11.9.2 (515C). Effective universal rule and Parthians near submission: 6.4.2 (288C); cf. 17.3.24 (839C). There is no need to explain the apparent inconsistencies in Strabo’s statements about the Parthians in terms of different stages of composition: so rightly Dueck 2000, *op.cit.* (n.41), 113-115; *contra* R. Syme, *Anatolica* (Oxford 1995), 365-366; Brunt 1990, *op.cit.* (n.1), 436-437. Similar interpretations of the Parthian royal hostages: *Res Gestae* 32.2; 33; Suetonius, *Augustus* 21.3.

⁴³ *Res Gestae* 30.2: *trans Danuvium ductus exercitus meus Dacorum gentes imperia populi Romani perferre coegit*. For the expedition across the Danube see EJ 43a; the commander was probably M. Vinicius, as argued by R. Syme, *Danubian Studies* (Bucharest 1971), 26-39.

⁴⁴ Strabo 16.1.28 (748-749C); Josephus, *Antiquitates iudaicae* 18.41-9; Tacitus, *Annales* 2.1-2.

⁴⁵ On pre-Augustan claims to Roman world-rule see especially Nicolet 1991, *op.cit.* (n.1), 29-56, citing the evidence.

by the limitations of contemporary geographical knowledge, but also by the ambiguities of the Roman conception of empire, which embraced not only those directly ruled in provinces but also the Romans' other friends and allies – kings, peoples and cities. Not since the early second century had they been obliged to treat with another nation on truly equal terms, and the line between friends and subjects had long been conveniently blurred. It was thus easy enough to hope that the friendship concluded with the king of Parthia might evolve into a client relationship like that with an Amyntas or a Herod and to speak as though it had already done so.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, while the claim that Augustus had subjected the world to the empire of the Roman people stood in a well-established Roman tradition, Augustus was making a dramatic breach with tradition in basing this claim as much on diplomatic successes as on military victories. The Parthian settlement was the first time that the Romans had resolved a major dispute with a foreign power by diplomacy rather than by force of arms, and, as we have seen, this outcome ran counter to the public's expectations. For reasons of policy Augustus decided to make a peaceful settlement, despite the pressures of tradition and popular anticipation. To compensate, he was obliged to represent the settlement as a bloodless victory, and the fervour with which it was celebrated by the poets, in the coinage and in art reflects the regime's eagerness to portray it as a great Roman success.

As I have argued elsewhere, the honours which Augustus accepted for his Parthian success were, even more than on other occasions, the outcome of a delicate negotiation between those conferring the honours (in this case, the senate) and their recipient. By a becoming parade of modesty Augustus avoided accepting honours which would have contrasted too sharply with the bloodless character of his Parthian success, but he ensured all the same that it received exceptional commemoration. The *princeps* insisted on maintaining his by now established practice of entering the city quietly rather than in ovation or a curule triumph. He declined a new arch, but agreed that additions commemorating the settlement should be made to the Actium arch, in the form of figures of Parthians offering up standards. He declined a temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol to house

⁴⁶ Cf. Brunt 1990, op.cit. (n.1), 433-438. On the Roman conception and organization of their empire see A. W. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration* (London & New York 1993), 16-42.

the standards, but went on to build a much larger temple to that god and partly for that purpose in his own new Forum.⁴⁷

By contrast, the commemoration of the great Augustan wars of conquest is comparatively low-key. To some extent, this may reflect the accidents of survival. Thus Kuttner has argued plausibly that the Boscoreale cups celebrate Tiberius' triumph of 7 BC and derive from a lost monument.⁴⁸ However, it is striking how few contemporary coin types relate to the wars in central Europe: the conquest of the Alps in 15 BC is commemorated only in a small group of Lugdunum issues showing one or two soldiers (perhaps to be identified as Tiberius and Drusus) offering a branch to Augustus seated on a tribunal, while no coin issues directly relate to the great wars in Germany and the Balkans in the following years.⁴⁹ Much larger issues produced at Lugdunum over the same period show Apollo and Diana in an explicit and strangely belated celebration of the victories at Actium and Naulochus.⁵⁰

The relatively low prominence accorded to the great victories in central Europe is no doubt to a large extent due to the fact that they were won not by Augustus himself nor by the (still infant) Gaius and Lucius whom he intended to succeed him, but by his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus. They were allowed to accumulate military honours, but only by a carefully staged process, culminating in Tiberius' triumph in 7 BC.⁵¹ By then, commanders outside the imperial family had ceased to hold triumphs. Augustus himself continued to accept military honours, taking *supplicationes* and imperatorial salutations and dedicating the laurels from his *fascēs* on his return to Rome

⁴⁷ Rich 1998, op.cit. (n.4), with earlier bibliography. On the origins of the temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum, I am in substantial agreement with M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis: Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung des Augustusforums* (Heidelberg 1999), 15-255, on which see my review at *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2002.03.21.

⁴⁸ Kuttner 1995, op.cit. (n.10).

⁴⁹ Soldier(s) offering branch: *RIC* Augustus 162-165. The twelve year old C. Caesar's service with the German legions in 8 BC (Cassius Dio 55.6.4) is commemorated on *RIC* Augustus 198-199. The scene shown on *RIC* Augustus 200-201 is plausibly interpreted by Kuttner 1995, op.cit. (n.10), 94-123, as representing the offer of child hostages by Gallic chieftains. The barbarian offering a *vexillum* on *RIC* Augustus 416 is probably a Gaul rather than a German: Augustus is not known to have recovered standards from Germans, but claims to have done so from Gauls at *Res Gestae* 29.1.

⁵⁰ *RIC* Augustus 170-173; 179-183; 190-197; 204. For a different view of the commemoration of the successes in Germany see R. Wolters, 'Germanien im Jahre 8 v. Chr.', in W. Schlüter & R. Wiegels (eds), *Rom, Germanien und die Ausgrabungen von Kalkriese* (Osnabrück 1999), 591-636, at pp. 606-615.

⁵¹ See further J. W. Rich, 'Drusus and the *spolia opima*', *Classical Quarterly* 49 (1999), 544-555.

after a salutation. However, after the Spanish war of 26-25 BC, he no longer campaigned in person, and he had in any case resolved to hold no more triumphs, enhancing the glory of his triple triumph of 29 BC by preserving its uniqueness.⁵²

Policies

What then were the policies which lay behind this varied record of conquest and diplomacy with its grandiose presentation and shifting public perceptions? Widely divergent answers to this question are offered by modern scholarship.

It was until comparatively recently generally assumed that Augustus' external policies were defensive and aimed at the preservation of peace throughout the empire and the establishment of secure frontiers. On this view, Augustus undertook the great advance in central Europe simply because he conceived it as necessary to secure the empire from external threats.⁵³

The grand scale of Augustus' expansion to the Danube and the Elbe is an obvious difficulty for this thesis, and some have accordingly sought instead to explain this advance primarily in terms of a search for a shorter frontier. The most fully developed exposition of this view is that of Syme. For Syme Augustus was concerned not so much with frontiers as with communications, and it was to Illyricum that he attached most importance. The civil wars had revealed the possibility of a split between the eastern and western halves of the empire, and to avert this Augustus advanced to the Danube to secure the land route from Italy to the Balkans by the Save valley. With the advance to the Danube decided on, it seemed prudent to advance also to the Elbe, to provide a shorter line of communications for the more efficient protection of the empire against possible threats from beyond the frontier.⁵⁴

Syme's imaginative conception has been widely followed, but is surely fanciful. It was only in the later empire that Illyricum and its land route attained the strategic importance which so engaged Syme. It is unlikely that

⁵² See further Hickson 1991, *op.cit.* (n.1).

⁵³ W. A. Oldfather & H. V. Cantor, *The Defeat of Varus and the German Frontier Policy of Augustus* (Urbana 1916), 54-70, conveniently surveys older views. For a clear statement of the traditional view see Meyer 1961, *op.cit.* (n.33), 1-13. See also H. E. Stier, 'Augustusfriede und römische Klassik', *ANRW* II.2 (1975), 3 ff.

⁵⁴ R. Syme, in *CAH* X (Cambridge 1934), 340-381, esp. 351-354. For Syme's later restatements of his view see *Danubian Papers* (above, n.43), 13-25; *History in Ovid* (Oxford 1978), 51-52; *Roman Papers* VI (Oxford 1991), 129-141, 372-397.

Augustus would have thought that there was much risk of the empire splitting on territorial lines, let alone that he would have conceived of an advance in Illyricum as a security against such a danger. In view of the Romans' ignorance about the geography of central Europe before his invasions, Augustus could hardly have discerned the supposed advantages of the Elbe as a frontier. Recent work has in any case effectively challenged the notion that the Roman imperial frontiers were ever conceived as linear and 'scientific', and it is altogether improbable that Augustus would have undertaken the huge advance into central Europe in the pursuit of such a chimera.⁵⁵

Other scholars have challenged the defensive interpretation of Augustus' aims and have argued instead that he sought unlimited expansion and aspired to the conquest of the whole known world. This thesis has been most cogently stated by Brunt.⁵⁶ Brunt's arguments have persuaded so many scholars that his view has now become orthodoxy.⁵⁷ This doctrine accords better than the traditional defensive interpretation both with the huge scale of Augustan expansion and with the emphasis on Augustus' victories and on his extension of empire in the *Res Gestae* and other media. Augustus' advice to his successors against expansion is not a difficulty, since on any view it represents a departure from the policy which he had himself earlier pursued. However, the supposition that Augustus aimed to conquer the whole world

⁵⁵ Roman frontiers not linear or 'scientific': see especially B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford 1992, rev. ed.), esp. 372-418; C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore & London, 1994), 1-97; S. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London 1999), esp. 109-122. For critiques of Syme's theory see Brunt 1990, op.cit. (n.1), 102; 455-456; N. J. E. Austin and B. Rankov, *Exploratio: Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople* (London & New York 1995), 125-127.

⁵⁶ P. A. Brunt, review of Meyer 1961, op.cit. (n.33), *Journal of Roman Studies* 53 (1963), 170-176, reprinted in his *Roman Imperial Themes* (above, n.1), 96-109. Brunt amplifies and in some respects modifies his view at *Roman Imperial Themes* 433-480.

⁵⁷ Brunt is followed by e.g. C. M. Wells, *The German Policy of Augustus* (Oxford 1972), 1-13; A. R. Birley, 'Roman frontiers and Roman frontier policy: some reflections on Roman imperialism', *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* 3 (1974), 13-25; Ober 1982, op.cit. (n.27); P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (London, 1987), 7; Nicolet, op.cit. (n.1), 29-30; T. J. Cornell, in J. W. Rich and D. G. J. Shipley, *War and Society in the Roman World* (London & New York 1993), 139-42; Mattern 1999, op.cit. (n.55), 89-91, 107; Kienast 1999, op.cit. (n.9), 332 ff. Austin & Rankov 1995, op.cit. (n.55), 127-128, doubt whether Augustus aimed at world conquest, but suppose that he sought expansion of the empire without a clear idea of how far he would advance.

by force of arms is uncorroborated speculation and is supported neither by the contemporary testimony nor by Augustus' actions. It is true that the poets in the 20's BC envisaged military conquests extending to the ends of the earth, but, as we have seen, their expectations of British and Parthian wars came to nothing, and their later claim that Augustus had already achieved world rule through his diplomatic and military successes gives no support to Brunt's thesis. Although the Romans greatly underestimated the extent of the regions beyond the boundaries of their empire, they recognized that the unconquered territory was very large.⁵⁸ Augustus' forces launched no more than a punitive expedition across the lower Danube against the Dacians, and he decided not to extend hostilities beyond the Elbe, instructing his generals (probably from 8 BC) not to pursue emigrating tribes beyond it.⁵⁹ L. Domitius Ahenobarbus' crossing of the Elbe in 1AD was not a breach of that instruction, since he contented himself with establishing friendship with the tribes on the farther bank and establishing an altar to Augustus.⁶⁰ Augustus could, of course, have envisaged that further advances beyond the Elbe and lower Danube might be made at some later date, but we have no warrant for supposing that he entertained such notions.

The greatest weakness of Brunt's thesis is its failure to account for the avoidance of war with Parthia. Brunt claimed that the conquest of Parthia had merely been postponed until after that of central Europe.⁶¹ That is most implausible. If Augustus had intended to conquer Parthia as public opinion had expected, he would surely have accorded it the highest priority. That war with Parthia should be avoided if at all possible was evidently an axiom of his policy from which he never wavered.

Both Syme's and Brunt's hypotheses share the assumption that Augustus set his sights firmly on a single, overriding goal and pursued it consistently at any rate down to Varus' disaster, but it is surely more likely that his external policies evolved over the course of his long reign. There is thus some attraction in the view of Gruen that, behind the grandiose rhetoric, Augustus was a simple pragmatist in these matters, responding to events as

⁵⁸ On the Romans' conception of the extent of the regions outside the empire see Brunt 1990, *op.cit.* (n.1), 107-108; 449-450; 455-456; Nicolet 1991, *op.cit.* (n.1), 57-122; Mattern 1999, *op.cit.* (n.55), 24-80.

⁵⁹ Strabo 7.1.4 (291C).

⁶⁰ Cassius Dio 55.10a.2; Tacitus, *Annales* 4.44.2.

⁶¹ Brunt 1990, *op.cit.* (n.1), 105-107; 456; 460-464.

they arose.⁶² However, this presents, in my view, too passive a picture to give an adequate explanation of the many external initiatives of at least the first half of Augustus' reign and in particular of the great advance into central Europe.

An adequate account of Augustus' external policies should allow for their evolution over time. It should set them against the background of the traditional expectations and assumptions of Roman dealings with external peoples. And, I would like to suggest, it should relate them more closely to internal political imperatives than has generally been customary.⁶³

One such imperative we have already noticed, namely the popular expectation that he would embark on great wars of conquest. If he was not to disappoint, Augustus had either to satisfy these expectations or offer an acceptable substitute. Another imperative was Augustus' own dynastic aspirations. If he was to succeed in founding a dynasty, he needed to provide both his intended successors and other members of his family with the opportunity to acquire glory and charisma. It was clearly with this in mind that Augustus withdrew himself from frontline command at a relatively early age and from 15 BC entrusted the important campaigns in central Europe to Tiberius and Drusus. Augustus must have planned that Gaius and Lucius should have at least commensurate opportunities, but fate prevented him from achieving whatever designs he had for them.

What has not, to my mind, attracted sufficient notice is how closely Augustus' external policies were integrated with his solutions to the problems of the army and of his own position in the state.

His victory over Antony left Octavian/Augustus in control of an army of some sixty legions, in which many veterans were clamouring for their rewards. The huge ensuing demobilization reduced the army to a force of 27 or 28 legions, with their accompanying auxiliary troops, stationed in some seven provinces. In a radical departure from earlier practice, Augustus

⁶² E. S. Gruen, 'The imperial policy of Augustus', in K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London 1990), 395-416; id., 'The expansion of the empire under Augustus', in *CAH* 10 (1996²), 147-197; cf. id., 'Augustus and the ideology of war and peace' (above, n.1).

⁶³ The importance of political and dynastic motives for Augustus' wars is rightly stressed by Campbell 2002, op.cit. (n.1), 4-9; B. M. Levick, 'Augustan imperialism and the year 19 BC', in A. F. Basson & W. J. Dominik (eds.), *Literature, Art and History: Studies on Classical Antiquity in Honour of W. J. Henderson* (Frankfurt 2003), 305-22.

thereafter avoided raising new legions for specific occasions, opting instead to meet Rome's military needs from the permanent establishment, with units being redeployed as required, and as a result he was able to develop a planned solution to the great problem of the rewards for discharged veterans.⁶⁴

Octavian laid the basis for his own position in the state in the great settlement of 28 and 27 BC, by which he established his monarchy in a republican guise, and for which he was rewarded, among other honours, with the name Augustus. New light has been thrown on the settlement by a recently discovered aureus, dated by its obverse legend to Octavian's sixth consulship (28 BC). The reverse, which shows Octavian seated on a curule chair and holding out a scroll and bears the legend LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT ("he had restored their laws and rights to the Roman people"), accords with his statement in the *Res Gestae* that the settlement took place over his sixth and seventh consulships, and shows that Dio was guilty of radical distortion in compressing the whole settlement into an offer to surrender power made in a single senate meeting in 27 BC. The first stages of the settlement, carried out in 28 BC, probably included not just the annulment of Octavian's illegal and unjust acts, but also other measures such as the reform of the treasury and the restoration of free elections. For the final stage, at the senate meeting of 13 January 27 BC, were left the most crucial matters: the armies and the provinces.⁶⁵

The appointment of provincial governors presented Octavian/Augustus with a particularly delicate problem. If his claim to have transferred the republic to the control of the senate and people was to have any substance, he could not continue to appoint the governors as before, but he could not surrender the choice of military commanders without jeopardizing the control of the armies on which his power ultimately depended. The solution which he devised was one of characteristic brilliance. He announced the transfer of the provinces in the senate, but made sure that

⁶⁴ For convenient overviews of Augustus' military reforms see K. Raaflaub, 'The political significance of Augustus' military reforms', in W. S. Hanson & L. J. F. Keppie (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1979* (Oxford 1980), 1005-1026; L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* (London 1998, rev. ed.), 134-171; Kienast 1999, op.cit. (n.9), 320-332.

⁶⁵ J. W. Rich & J. H. C. Williams, '*Leges et iura p. R. restituit*: a new aureus of Octavian and the settlement of 28-27 BC', *Numismatic Chronicle* 159 (1999), 169-213. In general on Augustus' constitutional powers see now J.-L. Ferrary, 'À propos des pouvoirs d'Auguste', *Cahiers Glotz* 12 (2001), 101-154.

there would be protests, and then, after a show of reluctance, consented to resume the bulk of the military provinces, leaving the remainder to the Roman people. This compromise permitted the resumption of sortition for the proconsuls of the public provinces, while Augustus continued to appoint the governors of his own provinces, who as his *legati* were no longer eligible for imperatorial salutations or triumphs.⁶⁶

A justification was, however, needed for the retention of most of the military provinces, and Augustus supplied this by declaring that he was keeping them for a limited period only in order to carry out a programme of empire-wide pacification. As Dio puts it, “he retained the stronger provinces on the grounds that they were insecure and dangerous and either had enemies on their borders or were capable of launching a serious rebellion on their own”, and he accepted the provinces only for ten years, promising to restore them to order within that time and to return them sooner if he completed the task more quickly.⁶⁷ The justification conformed to and built on traditional assumptions. As we have seen, commanders had commonly claimed to have pacified their provinces.⁶⁸ Pompey had been credited with worldwide pacification through his campaigns against the pirates and in Asia, not only in Cicero’s speeches but also in the text of a law.⁶⁹ Augustus had been acclaimed as the bringer of peace throughout the empire by land and sea through his ending of the civil wars. He now undertook to make this claim good by accepting the command of the insecure provinces with the declared objective of pacifying both them and their neighbours.

Augustus doubtless always intended that at the expiry of the ten years it should be found that further time was needed to complete the pacification,

⁶⁶ In general on the provincial settlement see Rich 1990, *op.cit.* (n.30), 141 ff. F. Millar, “‘Senatorial provinces’: an institutionalized ghost”, *Ancient World* 20 (1989), 93-97 (reprinted in his *Rome, The Greek World and the East* I (Chapel Hill & London 2002), 314-320), rightly reminds us that those provinces not retained by Augustus were transferred to the Roman people, not the senate, and so should be spoken of as public, not senatorial provinces.

⁶⁷ Cassius Dio 53.12.2: τὰ δὲ ἰσχυρότερα ὡς καὶ σφαιερὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα καὶ ἤτοι πολεμίουσιν πινάσπροσούκοις ἔχοντα ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ μέγα τι νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα κατέσχε. Ten years: Cassius Dio 53.13.1.

⁶⁸ Above, nn. 22-23.

⁶⁹ Cicero: *De provinciis consularibus* 31, *nulla gens est quae non aut ita sublata sit ut vix exstet aut ita domita ut quiescat aut ita pacata ut victoria nostra imperioque laetetur*, other passages cited at n.15 above. Law: Lex Gabinia Calpurnia de Insula Delo, lines 19-20, *imperio amplifficatio [p]ace per orbem terrarum confecta*] (M.H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes* I (London 1996), 346).

and so indeed it proved. Dio tells us that, with fresh shows of reluctance, he accepted a five-year renewal in 18 BC, soon afterwards extended to ten, and further renewals, each time for ten years, in 8 BC, AD 3 and AD 13.⁷⁰ From Tiberius' accession in AD 14 the division of the provinces became permanent. From now on it was accepted that the emperor should hold the provinces which required a military garrison, and this conception is reflected in the way in which the contemporary Strabo and later Suetonius report Augustus' division of the provinces.⁷¹

The familiarity of the division of the provinces as a permanent feature of the imperial system has perhaps led us to overlook the fact that at the outset the promise of pacification cannot have been just an idle pretext. If Augustus had done nothing to implement his promise, he would have exposed the settlement as an empty charade. Thus Augustus was committed, particularly in the first part of his reign, to carrying out the programme of pacification. This will in any case have chimed well with his other interests: it required him to be absent from Rome for extended periods, a prudent device to allow the new system to bed down, and it enabled him to meet the challenge of satisfying public expectations of conquest.

So, I would argue, Augustus' external policies should be interpreted in terms of the fulfilment of the undertaking of pacification given in January 27 BC, and, particularly in the first part of the reign, the rhythm of those policies can be seen to be related to the renewals of the provincial division. In conclusion, I shall briefly sketch the outlines of such an interpretation.⁷²

⁷⁰ Cassius Dio 53.16.2; 54.12.4-5; 55.6.1; 12.3; 56.28.1; 39.6. Dio describes these extensions as renewals of the 'leadership' (*prostasia*) or 'supremacy' (*hegemonia*). This may merely reflect his interpretation of the significance of the division of the provinces, but it may alternatively indicate that Augustus accepted an informal oversight of the *res publica* at the same time: see Rich 1990, op.cit. (n.30), 139-140; Rich & Williams 1999, op.cit. (n.65), 211-212; *contra*, Ferrary 2001, op.cit. (n.65), 113-115.

⁷¹ Strabo 17.3.25 (840C) (Augustus took ὅση στρατιωτικῆς φρουρᾶς ἔχει χρεῖαν); Suetonius, Augustus 47 (*provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratum imperii regi nec facile nec tutum erat ipse suscepit*).

⁷² For recent overviews of Augustus' conduct of external affairs, citing sources and further bibliography, see Gruen, *op.cit.* (n.62); Kienast 1999, *op.cit.* (n.9), 332-377 (acutely noting the link with the division of the provinces at pp. 333, 352, 525). See also J. Bleicken, *Augustus: eine Biographie* (Berlin 2000), 565-618; W. Eck, *The Age of Augustus* (Oxford 2003), 93-104.

Implementation

The principal provinces which fell to Augustus in the division of 27 BC were Spain, Gaul, Syria and Egypt. This made good sense in terms of the programme of pacification: there had been recent disturbances in Gaul and Spain, Syria bordered Parthia, and Egypt was a major new acquisition, not yet fully brought under control. These provinces held the majority of the legions, but between five and eight legions overall remained in three public provinces, namely Africa, Illyricum and Macedonia. Africa was of relatively little military importance, and Augustus could not plausibly have claimed in 27 BC that the Balkan provinces needed pacification. He himself claimed to have pacified Illyricum by his campaigns of 35-33 BC, celebrated on the first day of the triple triumph of 29 BC. As for Macedonia, the proconsul M. Licinius Crassus had recently achieved remarkable successes beyond the frontiers of the province, killing an enemy commander with his own hands and advancing to the Danube.⁷³

Augustus began his programme of pacification in Spain, heading there in his first extended absence from Rome, from 27 to 24 BC. In Spain, he embarked on the conquest of the north-west, the only part of the Iberian peninsula to have remained outside Roman control. That this campaign was the first stage of the promised pacification was symbolically marked by the re-opening of the temple of Janus and its second closure when he finished campaigning in 25 BC. Augustus' own campaigns did not end all resistance, but his legates, followed by Agrippa, completed its elimination before the ten-year period was up.⁷⁴

Meanwhile in Egypt, the first three of Augustus' prefects were all militarily active. C. Cornelius Gallus subdued Upper Egypt and both he and the third prefect P. Petronius engaged with the Ethiopians. These activities could be represented as part of the programme of pacifying the troubled provinces and the regions beyond their frontiers. The expedition of the second prefect, Aelius Gallus, into Arabia was an unprovoked quest for glory and profit, although the proximity of southern Arabia to the Horn of Africa and so to Egypt's southern neighbours may have provided some shred of

⁷³ For Crassus' exploits and their significance see Cassius Dio 51.23-27; J. W. Rich, 'Augustus and the spolia opima', *Chiron* 26 (1996), 85-127.

⁷⁴ For the Spanish campaigns see Rich 1990, op.cit. (n.30), 160, with further bibliography. Janus: Cassius Dio 53.26.5; above, n.17.

justification.⁷⁵ Although Aelius Gallus enjoyed little success, Petronius established a lasting settlement with the Ethiopians. It could thus be claimed that the pacification of Egypt and the neighbouring regions had been completed within the first ten-year period, and thereafter the legions stationed in Egypt seldom saw action.

Proconsuls pursued the same quest during these years. Two proconsuls of Africa, L. Sempronius Atratinus and L. Cornelius Balbus, campaigned beyond the provincial frontiers, earning what proved to be the last triumphs celebrated by commanders who were not members of the imperial family. Nothing is known of Sempronius' campaign other than the bare fact of his triumph, but about Balbus' we are better informed: he subjugated the Garamantes, a remote desert people, and Pliny preserves the names of the communities and natural features of which images were displayed in his triumph.⁷⁶ Marcus Primus, proconsul of Macedonia, was less fortunate, being prosecuted for *maiestas* on his return. His offence, however, was not, as is usually supposed, making unauthorized war beyond the frontiers but attacking a friendly nation, the Odrysian kingdom in Thrace.⁷⁷ His reason for launching the assault remains obscure.

The Parthian question, as we have seen, was the most urgent external issue facing Augustus, and, to meet public expectations, it was essential that the matter should be satisfactorily resolved within his first ten-year period. He may at first have hoped that the pretender Tiridates would succeed in ousting king Phraates, but, when Tiridates failed, Augustus prepared for a diplomatic settlement. The policy was announced in 23 BC, when Phraates' son, who had been brought to Augustus by Tiridates, was handed over to his father's envoys with the stipulation that in return he should hand back the Roman standards and prisoners.⁷⁸ The main purpose of Augustus' Eastern journey of 22-19 BC was to secure Phraates' compliance, and this was achieved when Augustus reached Syria in 20 BC. Augustus had evidently decided from the outset on the policy of avoiding war with Parthia to which he adhered throughout his reign. The reason is not hard to seek. Crassus and Antony had failed disastrously in their attempts to

⁷⁵ Cf. Strabo 16.4.22 (780C), our only evidence for the motives of Aelius Gallus' expedition, implausibly interpreted as a flanking move against Parthia by C. Marek, 'Die Expedition des Aelius Gallus nach Arabien im Jahre 25 v. Chr.', *Chiron* 23 (1993), 121-156.

⁷⁶ *Naturalis Historia* 5.36-37.

⁷⁷ Cassius Dio 54.3.2; Rich 1990, op.cit. (n.30), 175-176.

⁷⁸ Cassius Dio 53.33.1-2. For Augustus' earlier dealings with Tiridates see Cassius Dio 51.18.2-3; Justin 42.5.6-9.

conquer Parthia, and Augustus had no grounds for confidence that he would be more successful. If he had attempted the conquest of Parthia and failed, he would have suffered a grave loss of prestige at home, and his supremacy might even have been put at risk. It would have been folly for Augustus to hazard all he had achieved on such an enterprise if an acceptable diplomatic solution could be found.⁷⁹

Also in 20 BC, an appeal from Armenia provided Augustus with a pretext for ousting the hostile king Artaxes in favour of his brother Tigranes. Augustus thus succeeded in re-establishing the Roman claim, first asserted by Pompey, to determine who should rule the Armenian kingdom. This claim was to prove the principal irritant in subsequent Roman relations with Parthia. The strategic position of Armenia between Roman Anatolia and the Parthian empire may partly account for the significance which Augustus and his successors attached to the claim, but the most important factor was probably just that Roman prestige was committed.

Thus by the time the first ten-year period expired in 18, Augustus was able to show very substantial progress in delivering the promised pacification. Roman prestige had been restored in the East; north-west Spain, which had eluded Roman control for nearly two centuries, had been brought to heel; and Roman arms had penetrated far into Africa and Arabia. Already in 22 BC he had made a first step towards the promised restoration of his provinces to the Roman people, detaching Cyprus from Syria and handing it and Gallia Narbonensis back.⁸⁰ However, when the question of renewing Augustus' term was considered in 18 and again at each of the subsequent renewals, the senators will have argued that the remaining provinces were not yet secure enough to be returned to the people, and on this occasion the argument was strengthened by the fact that Gaul had so far received relatively little attention. Augustus maintained his stance that the provincial division was only temporary by accepting the renewal of his provinces for just five years, claiming that that would suffice.

The principal tasks which Augustus set himself for this five-year period, and may indeed have announced when accepting it, were carried out during his

⁷⁹ For judicious assessments of Augustus' Parthian policy see D. Timpe, 'Zur augusteischen Partherpolitik zwischen 30 und 20 v. Chr.', *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 1 (1975), 155-169; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East* (London, 1984), 323-341; J. B. Campbell, 'War and diplomacy: Rome and Parthia, 31 BC - AD 235', in J. W. Rich & D. G. J. Shipley (eds.), *War and Society in the Roman World* (London 1993), 213-240.

⁸⁰ Cassius Dio 53.12.7; 54.4.1.

absence in Gaul and Spain in 16-13 BC, his last extended absence from Italy: he himself re-organized the Gallic provinces, while the Alps were conquered by his legates, principally his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus. It has often been claimed that Augustus decided on the conquest of the Alps in preparation for the later advance into Germany.⁸¹ However, control of the Alps was not essential for the advance beyond the Rhine, and the conquest is better explained in its own right, as the next stage in the Augustan programme of pacification. The imposition of peace and order on this region which was so close to the heart of the empire and yet had remained for so long outside the Roman people's control was fully in accord with the objectives of that programme. The conquest of the Alps may have been part of the plans which Augustus had formed when he announced the pacification programme in 27 BC, and, if not, must certainly have been included in his plans since Terentius Varro's campaign against the Salassi in 25 BC.

So by 13 BC it could be claimed that Augustus had brought peace to all the provinces assigned to him, and this is surely what is implied by the decreeing of the Altar of Augustan Peace on his return to Rome in that year. The gradual restoration of provinces to the Roman people was probably continued by the division of Hispania Ulterior and transfer of the southern portion as the new public province of Baetica.⁸² However, it would not at all have suited Augustus for his task to be thought at an end. New frontiers of pacification were needed and were supplied by the great expansion into central Europe, which began in 12 BC.

Recent disturbances provided the pretexts for the advance into central Europe. There had been recurrent fighting in the Balkans since about 18 BC.⁸³ The Sugambri and other German tribes crossed the Rhine in 16 BC, inflicting a defeat on M. Lollius; Augustus hastened his departure from Rome, but, before he reached Gaul, Lollius had imposed a settlement.⁸⁴ A further incursion in 12 BC provided the immediate pretext for Drusus' invasion of Germany, but it must have been planned well in advance: Drusus had at his disposal a fleet and a canal

⁸¹ E.g. K. Kraft, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur antiken Geschichte und Militärgeschichte* I (Darmstadt 1973), 190 ff.; Wells 1972, op.cit. (n.57), 44-46; Kienast 1999, op.cit. (n.9), 359-360. *Contra*, K. Christ, 'Zur augusteischen Germanienpolitik', *Chiron* 7 (1977), 149-205, at pp. 167-189.

⁸² Best dated c. 13 BC: Rich 1990, op.cit. (n.30), with further bibliography.

⁸³ Cassius Dio 54.20.2-3; 24.3; 28.1.

⁸⁴ Cassius Dio 54.20.4-6; Velleius Paterculus 2.97.1; Tacitus, *Annales* 1.10.3; Suetonius, *Augustus* 23.1; Obsequens 71. The invasion is to be dated to 16 BC in view of the agreement of Dio and Velleius, rather than 17 BC with Obsequens.

from the Rhine to the IJsselmeer (the *fossa Drusiana*), both of which would have taken a considerable time to construct, and it is likely that the redeployment to new bases on the Rhine had been in progress for some years.⁸⁵ Thus the decision that a major offensive would in due course be launched in central Europe is likely to have been taken no later than 16 BC, in the aftermath of the German invasion and Lollius' defeat.

It is disputed when Augustus first formed the design of expanding in central Europe, but it seems to me most likely that his decision was prompted by the German invasion of Gaul in 16 BC and the contemporary disturbances in the Balkans.⁸⁶ The exclusion of the Balkan provinces from Augustus' original share shows that expansion in this region had not figured in his initial plans, and it was probably the renewed uprisings there that led to the change in policy. German threats to the peace of Gaul are reported on several occasions in the years before 16 BC.⁸⁷ However, the major incursion of that year gave the issue a new urgency. Dio tells us that, having taken only a five-year renewal of the division of the provinces in 18 BC, Augustus soon after accepted an additional five years.⁸⁸ If he had already decided on the advance into central Europe by 18 BC, it is hard to see why he did not take a ten-year renewal at that point. It is a tempting conjecture that Augustus took the further five-year extension in 16 BC before his departure for Gaul and in the immediate aftermath of the German invasion, and that the new threats from Germany and in the Balkans were given as the justification.

Internal political imperatives – the need to justify the continued division of the provinces and to provide the princes of the imperial house with further opportunities to win military glory – necessitated further warfare and expansion, but central Europe was not the only possible direction. An alternative option was Britain, and it may well be that, if the Germans and the Balkan peoples had not drawn attention to themselves, it would have been there that Augustus would have turned next. He could readily have claimed, as Caesar had done before and Claudius was to do later, that the security of Gaul required the subjection of

⁸⁵ The 12 BC incursion: Cassius Dio 54.32.1. Preparations: Cassius Dio 54.32.2-3; Strabo 7.1.3 (290C); Tacitus, *Annales* 2.8.1; Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.2.; Wells 1972, op.cit. (n.57), 93 ff.

⁸⁶ For a survey of views see Christ 1977, op.cit. (n.81), 149 ff.

⁸⁷ Cassius Dio 51.20.5; 51.21.6; 53.26.4; 54.11.2. It is uncertain whether Agrippa's resettlement of the Ubii on the left bank of the Rhine (Strabo 4.3.4 (194C)) took place in 39/8 BC or 20/19 BC: see J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (Rome, 1984), 384-388; Kienast 1999, op.cit. (n.9), 356-357.

⁸⁸ Cassius Dio 54.12.5.

Britain to Roman rule. He had disappointed the public over Parthia, but could easily have satisfied their expectations of British conquest.⁸⁹

In Illyricum the original intention may have been merely to re-establish the settlement which Augustus had achieved in his campaigns of 35-33 BC. This may explain why that region was originally allotted to Agrippa; the despatch to Germany of Tiberius and Drusus, who had the greater need to acquire military glory, suggests that Augustus regarded this as the more glamorous assignment. However, Agrippa's death led to Tiberius' transfer to Illyricum, and the Roman aims in the Balkans probably became more extensive as the fighting dragged on. In Illyricum itself Tiberius encountered repeated resistance, while L. Calpurnius Piso was summoned with reinforcements from Galatia-Pamphylia to deal with an uprising in neighbouring Thrace. By 8 BC Roman control had been extended up to the Danube along the whole of its lower and middle course. One consequence was the demilitarization of the public provinces in this region. Illyricum was transferred to Augustus, and the legions were stationed there and in what was to become the new imperial province of Moesia, relieving the proconsuls of Macedonia of military command and leaving Africa as the only public province whose proconsul commanded a legion.⁹⁰

In Germany too the Romans' plans may have evolved in the course of the campaigns. Drusus began by advancing against the Sugambri and their allies both by sea and by land, up the Lippe valley. The defection of the Chatti obliged him to extend operations to the Main valley in 10 BC and in 9 BC he advanced as far as the Elbe, but died on the way back. Tiberius in 8 BC brought the warfare to what was proclaimed as a successful conclusion, celebrated in his triumph of 1 January 7 BC. How much had been accomplished by these campaigns has been much disputed. Archaeology has shown that Roman military occupation in Germany

⁸⁹ On Augustan policy towards Britain see Braund 1996, op.cit. (n.42), 76 ff. Brunt 1990, op.cit. (n.1), 103-104, infers from Horatius, *Carmina* 4.41-52, that the British embassies to Augustus, adduced by Strabo in justification of the failure to invade (above, n.42), had already arrived by the time of the poem's composition in or soon after 15 BC. However, Horace here lists peoples against whom military or diplomatic successes had been achieved as showing awe or veneration for Augustus: *te Cantaber non ante domabilis/ Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes/ miratur te caede gaudentes Sygambri/compositis venerantur armis* (in the case of the Sugambri the reference must be to Lollius' settlement: Cassius Dio 54.20.6). By contrast the Britons are introduced only obliquely, in association with Ocean (*beluosus qui remotis/obstrepit Oceanus Britannis*). This suggests that by 15 BC no diplomatic success had yet been achieved against the Britons and that public opinion may still have envisaged the possibility of an invasion.

⁹⁰ Cassius Dio 53.12.4; 54.34.4; Rich 1990, op.cit. (n.30), 141; 214.

was confined for the most part to the right bank of the Rhine and its immediate hinterland, and some hold that the campaigns aimed not at conquest but merely at demonstrating Roman power. Dio's minimizing of Tiberius' achievements in 8 BC lends some support to this view.⁹¹ Other literary evidence, however, reveals that it is a misconception. As these sources show, all the tribes remaining in Germany up to the Elbe performed acts of surrender (*deditiones*); the Sugambri, the principal belligerents, were deported west of the Rhine; the Marcomanni and Suebi avoided submission by migrating eastwards, and it was surely now that Augustus ruled against pursuing the fugitives beyond the Elbe.⁹² This settlement satisfied traditional Roman expectations of conquest. It was indeed far from establishing full provincial government in the newly conquered region, but the same had been true of the initial phases of many earlier conquests, for example central Spain in the early second century or Caesar's Gaul.⁹³

At the start of the year 8 BC Augustus accepted a ten-year renewal of the division of the provinces after the usual protestations of reluctance.⁹⁴ There was now no need to seek out new regions requiring pacification in order to justify the renewal. It would take a long time for the great new conquests to be absorbed and Roman control in these lands to be consolidated. This in itself provided sufficient foundation for the argument that the territories which Augustus had pacified were not yet secure enough to be handed over to the Roman people and its proconsuls. Although ten-year renewals and ritual protestations continued to the end of Augustus' reign, the division of the provinces had now effectively become permanent.

One mark of this change may be the ending of the use of the Janus ritual to mark phases of pacification. The shrine was closed for the second time, as we have seen, in 25 BC. We do not know when it was reopened: it may well have remained shut until Augustus went out to Gaul in 16 BC immediately following

⁹¹ Cassius Dio 55.6.1-4.

⁹² Cassiodorus, *Chronica Minora* 2.135 (*inter Albim et Rhenum Germani omnes Tiberio Neroni dediti*, perhaps from Aufidius Bassus); Strabo 7.1.3-4 (290-1C); Velleius Paterculus 2.97.4; 2.108.2; Tacitus, *Annales* 2.26.3; 12.39.2; Suetonius, *Augustus* 21; *Tiberius* 9.2; Eutropius 7.9; Orosius 6.21.24.

⁹³ The view taken here (as already at Rich 1990, op.cit. (n.30), 223-224) is similar to that of Wolters 1999, op.cit. (n.50). Other views are surveyed by J. Deininger, 'Germaniam pacare. Zur neueren Diskussion über die Strategie des Augustus gegenüber Germanien', *Chiron* 30 (2000), 749-771.

⁹⁴ Cassius Dio 55.6.1.

the German invasion of that year.⁹⁵ The third closure is equally mysterious. Dio records a senatorial decree ordaining that the shrine be closed in 11 BC, not implemented because of renewed hostilities in the Balkans. It may well be that there was no third closure and that the shrine remained open from 16 BC until the reign of Nero.⁹⁶

Augustus doubtless envisaged further military initiatives after 8 BC. Major new campaigns would be needed to enable the princes of his family to win laurels, above all his intended successors Gaius and Lucius. Possibly he was now reserving Britain for them. Fate, however, decreed otherwise. The death of Drusus and Tiberius' withdrawal to Rhodes in 6 BC left Augustus for a time with no available commander from the imperial house. When the nineteen year old Gaius was sent east in 1 BC, the objectives were not primarily military, despite Ovid's expectations, but rather to show him off to the eastern provinces and to re-establish good relations with Parthia. In the event he did engage in some campaigning, in Arabia and, fatally, in Armenia.⁹⁷ However, the great wars that Augustus must have planned for the young princes were forestalled by the deaths of Lucius in AD 2 and Gaius in AD 4.

When Tiberius was restored to favour after Gaius' death, the initiative was resumed: rebellion in Germany was crushed with the sweeping campaigns of AD 4-5, and for AD 6 an advance was planned against the Marcomanni and their ruler Maroboduus. This action, like Augustus' previous advances, was represented as necessary for the security of territories under Roman rule, in this case at least a very specious justification.⁹⁸ However, the Marcomanni were

⁹⁵ The shrine can hardly have been opened when Augustus left for the East in 22 BC, as suggested by Syme 1984, *op.cit.* (n.17), 1181. Although Augustus may have used threats to ensure Parthian compliance, an announcement of war would have been inappropriate at a time when he was seeking to confirm the friendly relations initiated in 23 BC (above, n.78). If the shrine had been opened in 22 BC, it would surely have been closed again after the Parthian settlement, and this closure is unlikely to have gone unrecorded.

⁹⁶ Cassius Dio 54.36.2; Rich 1990, *op.cit.* (n.30), 163; 216. Suetonius, *Augustus* 22, states that Augustus closed the shrine thrice, but Augustus himself merely states that the senate thrice decreed its closure (*Res Gestae* 13). Orosius' statement (6.22) that the shrine was closed in 2 BC (on his reckoning the year of Christ's nativity) is a patent Christianizing fiction. Syme 1984 and 1991, *opp.citt.* (n.17), argues for closure in 7 BC, re-opening in 1 BC.

⁹⁷ On Gaius Caesar in the East see F. E. Romer, 'Gaius Caesar's military diplomacy in the East', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 109 (1979), 199-214; Syme 1978, *op.cit.* (n.54), 8-11; Syme 1995, *op.cit.* (n.42), 317-334.

⁹⁸ Velleius Paterculus 2.109.

spared: the Pannonian Revolt supervened, followed in AD 9 by Varus' disaster and the loss of all that had been gained in Germany.

It was doubtless these disappointments of his final years which led to the new policy of not extending the empire beyond its bounds which Augustus enunciated in his posthumous advice. Its significance, however, remains ambivalent. In Germany, in particular, it is not clear where Augustus wished the bounds of empire to be set. The Rhine was the effective limit of Roman control at the time of his death, but the presence of a substantial army on the Rhine under the command of Germanicus suggests that he had not abandoned the hope of re-establishing Roman control up to the Elbe. That certainly was Germanicus' plan, and it was left to Tiberius in AD 16 to order the final withdrawal to the Rhine.⁹⁹

It is likely enough that until his last years Augustus envisaged that Roman expansion would continue and that over time Roman claims to world rule would come increasingly to correspond to the realities. However, he did not envisage universal conquest by force of arms, for towards Parthia it was his settled principle that the Romans should proceed by diplomacy rather than by military might. Augustus' external policies were in any case not shaped by a global strategic conception. They evolved over time, and were determined above all by internal political imperatives and by his personal ambitions for himself and his successors, with a central part being played, particularly in the first half of his sole reign, by the programme of pacification which he presented as the justification for the division of the provinces by which he perpetuated his power.¹⁰⁰

Nottingham, March 2003

⁹⁹ For the view that Augustus still regarded the Elbe as the boundary see e.g. Kienast (1999), *op.cit.* (n.9), 373-375.

¹⁰⁰ Earlier versions of this paper were given at the Rome conference which gave rise to this volume and also at Aberystwyth, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle, Paris and Perugia. I am very grateful to the audiences on these occasions for their comments.

AUX MARCHES DU PALAIS:
LES ACCÈS AU PALATIUM DE 54 À 70
Par
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Introduction

Les travaux archéologiques récents ont amené un important renouvellement des connaissances sur le *Palatium* néronien et ses abords. Dans une démarche historique fondée sur la confrontation des sources écrites et archéologiques, ma contribution portera sur un seul point: les accès au *Palatium* entre 54 et 70. Les événements souvent dramatiques qui prennent place sur le Palatin et à ses abords pendant cette période amènent les auteurs à évoquer le décor dans lequel ils se déroulent. Alors que les termes *ianua* et *porta* reviennent constamment à propos du Palatin archaïque, républicain et augustéen, ils n'apparaissent que de manière statistiquement négligeable pour la période 54 - 70. Les auteurs emploient les termes *fores (thuriai) Palatii* et *aditus domus* auxquels ils associent des *gradus*. Ces termes, je vais essayer de le montrer, renvoient à des réalités distinctes dont les données archéologiques permettent d'envisager la topographie et l'architecture.

L'entreprise n'est pas aisée: en dépit des progrès de la connaissance archéologique, la question récurrente des limites des *domus* néroniennes et donc de leurs accès reste posée. Nos informations sont inégalement réparties dans le temps et singulièrement plus riches pour les années 68-70 que pour le règne de Néron lui-même, mais ce n'est pas un handicap puisque les guerres civiles se déroulent dans le décor néronien. Les termes *fores*, *aditus*, *gradus* autour desquels je me propose d'organiser l'analyse sont neutres, les réalités qu'ils désignent plurielles et susceptibles d'avoir topographiquement et architecturalement changé au cours des décennies 54-70 marquées par les réaménagements, voire les bouleversements engendrés par la création de la *domus transitoria*, de la *domus tiberiana*, puis l'incendie de 64 et la *domus aurea*. En dépit de ces limites, l'enrichissement des données permet des considérations qui auraient été impossibles il y a une vingtaine d'années sur les modalités politiques et fonctionnelles, spatiales et architecturales de la formation du palais impérial et ses relations avec la ville entre 54 et 70 et sur la mise en scène du pouvoir.

Les données textuelles et lexicologiques.

En 54, Claude est empoisonné au *Palatium*, *in domestico convivio*, et meurt

dans le *cubiculum* de sa *domus*. Il est mourant, mort déjà peut-être. Agrippine en conserve le secret dans l'attente du moment le plus favorable pour faire proclamer son fils. Elle retient Britannicus dans le *cubiculum* et empêche quiconque d'approcher le vieux prince en faisant fermer les *aditus* par la *custodia*. Le moment venu, les *fores Palatii* s'ouvrent, Néron rencontre les *excubitores* et est salué *imperator pro gradibus Palatii*.¹ Pour la période 54-68, les occurrences sont rares. Suétone évoque les cruautés commises par Néron sur le *Palatium* au cours de la première partie du règne et enchaîne en ajoutant qu'il se conduit avec non moins de cruauté hors de sa maison et envers les étrangers, *foris et in exteris*.² Dans le cadre de la *domus aurea*, les termes *foris*, *aditus*, *gradus* ne sont jamais utilisés. En revanche la littérature latine contemporaine multiplie les occurrences du terme *aula* pour désigner un complexe palatial fermé par des *fores*, notamment le palais d'Alexandrie chez Lucain.³ Or, j'y reviendrai, les complexes palatiaux qu'évoquent Lucain et Sénèque (et l'*Octavie*) en les désignant comme des *aulae* ne sont pas sans rapport avec les résidences néroniennes qu'ils fréquentent.

La période des guerres civiles de 68-70 fournit le plus grand nombre d'occurrences: au cours de la lutte entre Galba et Othon, chevaliers et sénateurs forcent les *fores Palatii* pour rencontrer Galba. Ayant appris qu'Othon a été proclamé, celui-ci laisse à Pison le soin de haranguer la *cohors quae in Palatio stationem agebat*, ce que Pison fait *pro gradibus domus*.⁴ A la fin du discours, les *speculatores* se dispersent, mais le reste de la cohorte a un comportement ambigu. La populace envahit alors le *Palatium*. Inquiets, les proches de Galba sont divisés. Les uns jugent préférable qu'il reste *intra domus* et en barricade les *aditus*. D'autres lui conseillent de ne pas s'enfermer chez lui comme s'il était décidé à soutenir un siège (*ianuae limine tenus domum cludit*).⁵ Pendant le conflit Othon - Vitellius, l'assaut des vitelliens ne se brise pas contre les *fores Palatii*; ils parviennent jusqu'à la salle où Othon offre un festin aux *primores* de Rome.⁶ C'est *pro gradibus Palatii* que Vitellius s'adresse à ses partisans pour leur

¹ Tacite, *Annales* 11.37 et 12.68-69 ; cf. Suétone, *Claude* 44-45 et *Néron* 8.

² Suétone, *Néron* 36.

³ J'ai compté 35 occurrences du mot *aula* dans l'*Octavie*, 40 chez Lucain, 30 chez Sénèque. Pour les *fores de l'aula*, voir *Pharsale* 5.440 (cf. aussi 2.165 ; 10.11, 72, 112, 160, 422, 485 etc.) ; *Octavie* 275, 624, 689, 698-699, 780, 790, 851, 892 etc. Cf. *infra* n. 36.

⁴ Tacite, *Histoires* 1.27-33, 35 ; Suétone, *Othon* 6 ; Plutarque, *Galba* 31.

⁵ Tacite, *Histoires* 1.31-32.

⁶ Tacite, *Histoires* 1.82 ; Dion Cassius 64.9.

annoncer qu'il renonce au pouvoir, ensuite pour tenter de sauver Sabinus.⁷ Lors de l'épisode final de la lutte contre les Flaviens, il se cache dans la *cellula ianitoris* aux *fores* desquelles il attache le chien de garde.⁸ La paix rétablie, Vespasien laisse symboliquement les *thuras* du *Palatium* ouvertes. A la veille de son triomphe, les troupes ne gagnent pas "les *thuras* du palais d'en haut", mais le sanctuaire d'Isis.⁹

Quelles leçons tirer de ce recensement? Les auteurs distinguent des *fores* ou *thuras Palatii* associées à des *gradus Palatii* et des *aditus domus* associés à des *gradus domus*.¹⁰ Les *fores* sont de véritables portes (au sens vitruvien: à deux battants¹¹) qui s'ouvrent lors de l'avènement de Néron et que forcent les sénateurs sous Galba, les soldats sous Othon. Ce sont les portes non d'une *domus*, mais du *Palatium*, de l'aire princière du Palatin, de l'*aula*. L'équivalent grec - *thurai* - ne laisse aucun doute: ce sont les portes d'une aire palatiale.¹² Bien que les textes n'associent pas explicitement *gradus Palatii* et *fores Palatii*, tout suggère qu'ils sont voisins. Ils sont gardés par les prétoriens de la cohorte. C'est en 54 que sont mentionnés pour la première fois des *fores* et *gradus Palatii*, sous Trajan qu'ils apparaissent pour la dernière fois (Plotine se retourne après avoir gravi les *gradus* pour s'adresser à la foule¹³).

Dans son acception architecturale, imprégnée de références à la vie sociale, *aditus* désigne le seuil de la *domus*, l'accès au vestibule, l'accès à la *cella* dans les édifices sacrés, et l'admission à le franchir, autrement dit l'accès auprès du maître, le prince dans le cas de la résidence impériale.¹⁴ Dans les occurrences recensées, il désigne les accès de *domus* situées sur le Palatin. Les *aditus* sont gardés par la *custodia* et/ou les *speculatores*. C'est en 68 que sont mentionnés pour la première fois les *gradus domus*.

Dans les passages recensés, *gradus* est toujours au pluriel (*pro gradibus*). Le terme désigne donc des gradins, mais leur nature est imprécisée: il peut s'agir de volées d'escaliers, de quelques marches ou d'une barrière de

⁷ Tacite, *Histoires* 3.74, Suétone, *Vitellius* 15.

⁸ Suétone, *Vitellius* 16; cf. Tacite, *Histoires* 3.84.

⁹ Flavius Josèphe, *La guerre des Juifs* 7.5.123.

¹⁰ Sont attestés des passages discrets du côté du Vélabre, dans la *domus tiberiana* (Suétone, *Claude* 18; *Othon* 6; *Vitellius* 16; Tacite, *Histoires* 1.27-33, 35; 3.71, 84; Plutarque, *Galba* 24). L'archéologie confirme l'existence de corridors dans cette zone (M.A. Tomei, *Archeologia Laziale* 8 [1987], 71).

¹¹ Vitruve, *De architectura* 5.6, 4, 7.

¹² *Aula* retrouve le sens qui était le sien à l'époque hellénistique, chez Théocrite par exemple où *aulè* désigne le palais royal. Cf. Xénophon, *Anabase* 1.9.3; Aristote, *Politique* 5.11.6.

¹³ Tacite, *Annales* 12.69; Suétone, *Néron* 8; Dion Cassius 68.5.5.

¹⁴ Vitruve 1.2.6. Cf. Cicéron, *De l'orateur* 3.133. Poppée est admise près du prince: *accepto aditu*. Le chevalier Bassus achète une audience: *principis aditum emercatus* (Tacite, *Annales* 12.68-69; 13.46; Suétone, *Claude* 44-45 et *Néron* 8).

contrôle. Lorsque Pline loue Nerva pour avoir ouvert libéralement le Palatin, il écrit que l'*arx* de Domitien est désormais une *aedes* où sont supprimés “les barrières, les échelons de contrôle humiliants ... après avoir franchi mille portes, on ne trouve pas au-delà toujours de nouveaux et redoutables obstacles” (*nullae obices, nulli contumeliarum gradus superatisque iam mille liminibus ultra semper aliqua dura et obstantia*).¹⁵

Au terme de cette brève analyse, il apparaît que *fores* et *aditus* sont deux réalités distinctes et non interchangeables. Il n'est jamais question des *fores domus* ou des *aditus Palatii*. Confirment la distinction les corps de garde qui leur sont spécifiquement affectés. Les auteurs distinguent et en général opposent la *custodia* et les *speculatores*, des hommes de confiance qui veillent sur les *aditus* et vraisemblablement les passages secrets, et la cohorte des prétoriens qui gardent les *fores* du *Palatium* et sont peu sûrs.

Fondée étymologiquement - *foris* désigne la porte qui clôt non la maison, mais l'enclos - et adverbialement - *foris* signifie dehors et s'oppose à *domus*¹⁶ - la distinction est couramment attestée. Lorsqu'ils assaillent le Capitole, les vitelliens forcent d'abord les *primas Capitolinae arcis fores*, la première ligne de défense, puis les *aditus*, une deuxième ligne correspondant à l'*area capitolina*.¹⁷ Lorsque Enée consulte la Sibylle, c'est *ante fores* que le dieu en prend possession; c'est par l'*aditus* qu'il pénètre dans la salle de consultation.¹⁸ C'est cette distinction que suggère Pline le Jeune lorsqu'il loue Nerva d'avoir supprimé la multiplicité des contrôles. La polyvalence des termes *fores* et *aditus* et la pluralité des entrées qu'ils désignent rendent leur identification délicate sur le terrain, d'autant plus que les sources assimilent souvent l'aire palatiale et des *domus* qui s'y trouvent comme l'illustre un certain nombre de formules littéraires et épigraphiques, notamment *domus palatina*.¹⁹ Néanmoins, si les deux réalités se recoupent, voire s'identifient, tous les auteurs distinguent l'aire palatiale (*Palatium, aula, basileion* chez Josèphe) close par des *fores* et les *domus* qui s'y trouvent avec leurs *aditus*.

¹⁵ Pline le Jeune, *Panegyrique* 47, traduction M. Durry.

¹⁶ Tacite emploie *fores* pour les entrées d'un jardin (*Annales* 13.58 par exemple). Pour l'étymologie, voir Ernout & Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, s.v. *foris*, 246.

¹⁷ D. Filippi, 'L'arx capitolina e le primae Capitolinae arcis fores di Tacito', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma* 49, ns 8, 73 ff.

¹⁸ Virgile, *Énéide* 6.97; 6.43, 98. Vitruve 4.3, 4, 11, emploie *fores* pour désigner l'accès à la *cella* à travers le *pronaos*.

¹⁹ Voir M. Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae. Topographie, formation et imaginaire des palais impériaux du Palatin*. Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome 303 (Rome, 1999), 170 ff. et 237-238); c'est au *fastigium* de la *domus palatina* que Claude suspend sa couronne navale (Suétone, *Claude* 17). Tacite assimile à plusieurs reprises *domus* du prince et *Palatium* (*Annales* 12.5 et 68-69 par exemple).

Les accès au *Palatium* et à ses *domus* de 54 à 64: la *domus transitoria* (plan I)²⁰

Lorsque Néron arrive au pouvoir en 54, il hérite de la résidence impériale telle que ses prédécesseurs l'ont constituée. Elle réunit au sein d'un seul ensemble plusieurs demeures, notamment celle d'Auguste - celle des *Iulii* - et celle de Claude, héritier de celles des *Claudii*, Tibère, Germanicus, Caligula .

Le site des résidences des *Claudii* et de Claude en particulier est débattu.²¹ En l'état des connaissances, la proposition la plus simple est qu'il corresponde à l'aire septentrionale du site de la *domus tiberiana*. L'explication la plus plausible qu'on puisse avancer du curieux nom de *domus tiberiana* qui n'apparaît qu'en 69 est d'y voir le souvenir de la *domus* de Tibère, voisine de celles de Germanicus et Caligula qui occupe l'angle nord-ouest du site.²² Les luxueuses salles qui gisent sous l'angle nord-ouest du podium de la *domus tiberiana* (S du plan I) n'ont à ma connaissance jamais été prises en considération dans le débat. Elles appartiennent à un ensemble plus vaste, dont on ignore l'extension, mais dont on il est légitime de penser qu'il atteint l' *'area palatina'* à l'Est et le *'clivus Victoriae'* au nord (sont attestés des escaliers vers le *clivus*); de construction tardorépublicaine, ces salles ont connu des réaménagements (le dernier peut-être lié à un incendie dont témoignent d'éventuelles traces sur certains fragments de marbre) et le style de la décoration musivale est claudien.²³ Or nous savons que, en 41, Claude hérite de la résidence de son prédécesseur et que celle-ci brûle. On peut donc avancer que ces salles appartiennent à un quartier de la *domus* des *Claudii* détruit en 41, puis rénové par Claude et ensuite enfoui sous le podium de la *domus tiberiana*. Si on accepte ces propositions, l'ensemble résidentiel claudien a une façade tournée vers l' *'area palatina'*, une autre vers le *'clivus Victoriae'*.

Les indications que fournissent Josèphe et Tacite sur le cadre dans

²⁰ J'utilise par commodité les termes *area palatina*, *clivus palatinus* et *clivus Victoriae* dans l'acceptation que leur a donnée l'historiographie, qui est inexacte. Aussi les ai-je placés entre guillemets.

²¹ Voir Royo 1999, op cit. (n. 19), 83 et 273 ff.

²² Cf. W. Eck, 'Domus: Ti. Claudius Nero', dans *LTUR* 2, 83 et H. Hurst, Domus Gai, dans *LTUR* 2, 106-108.

²³ Les mosaïques orneraient un *triclinium* (A.M. Tomei, *Archeologia Laziale* 8 [1987], 72). M. de Vos, 'Tre ambienti con mosaico parietale sotto gli Horti Farnesiani sul Palatino', *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* 4 (Paris 1984), 83-86, date la décoration entre la fin du règne de Tibère et 64. La technique musivale et les cabochons de la voûte, semblables à ceux du nymphée dit de la *domus transitoria*, dont je retiens la datation claudienne (cf. V. Strocka, 'Die römische Wandmalerei von Tiberius bis Nero', *Pictores per provincias, Cahiers d'Archéologie romande* 43 [1987], 29-44), incitent à retenir une datation claudienne.

lequel les soldats proclament Claude en 41 et Néron en 54 semblent conforter l'identification. Le récit que fait Josèphe de la proclamation de Claude n'est pas linéaire. Du paragraphe 104 au paragraphe 165, il évoque la première séquence: Caligula est assassiné dans le *basileion* où Claude se trouve également, mais en un autre endroit (104-106); les assassins s'enfuient dans l'*oikia* de Germanicus, proche de celle de Caligula (117). Les Germains les recherchent, la panique règne. Telle est la situation lorsque Claude est enlevé de sa demeure (*ek tès oikias*) par les soldats qui ont décidé de le proclamer (162-165). Josèphe interrompt alors son récit. Il y revient au paragraphe 212. Après avoir rappelé le climat de panique, il enchaîne: Claude se cache sur une terrasse où il est découvert par le prétorien Gratus qui lui apprend la décision des soldats de le proclamer. Gratus l'entraîne sur l'*euruchoria* du Palatin où les prétoriens le proclament près d'un *demosion* (217-218). Claude est donc caché dans sa *domus* (ou une *domus* des *Claudii*) qu'on ne voit pas où situer sinon sur l'aire septentrionale du *Palatium*. L'*euruchoria* où les soldats l'entraînent correspond à l' '*area palatina*', seule aire où peut logiquement se regrouper un grand nombre des soldats de la garde.²⁴ Le *demosion* près duquel se déroule l' *acclamatio* est une 'salle publique d'audience' plutôt que 'la partie publique du palais' ou un trésor.²⁵ Ce pourrait être l'*aula* qui, au sud de l'*area*, occupe le site de l'*aula regia* domitianéenne, que la recherche n'a jamais prise en compte.²⁶

Passons à la proclamation de Néron selon Tacite. Claude meurt dans sa *domus*, Agrippine y retient Britannicus. Le moment venu, les *fores Palatii* s'ouvrent, Néron rencontre la cohorte et est salué *imperator* près des *fores Palatii*. Tacite ajoute: au moment de la proclamation, certains soldats

²⁴ L' identification de l' '*area palatina*' et de l' *euruchoria* est reprise par T. Wiseman, *Flavius Josephus. Death of an Emperor*. Exeter Studies in History 30 (Exeter 1991). Elle est rejetée par M. Royo 1999, op. cit. (n. 19), 275-288, qui situe l'*euruchoria* près de la *domus* d'Auguste. La principale objection à l'identification réside dans la relation établie par Josèphe entre l'*euruchoria* et le lieu de la fondation de Rome. Mais des arguments existent pour répondre à l'objection (voir T. Wiseman, 'The Public Image of Aristocratic and Imperial Houses', dans *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire*. Coll. de l'École Française de Rome 98 (Rome 1987), 403-404 et P. Tassini, 'Una memoria di Remo alle pendici del Palatino', *Archeologia Classica* 45 (1993), 333-350.

²⁵ Dans l'édition Loeb, L. Feldman traduit *demosion* par "treasury", qui ne peut convenir comme le montre M. Royo 1999, op. cit. (n. 19), 275-288. Mais je ne retiens pas la traduction "partie publique du palais" proposée par M. Royo. Le *demosion* qu'évoque Dion Cassius 54.27 pour un épisode de la période augustéenne est une salle.

²⁶ L'*aula* domitianéenne succède à deux constructions. C.F. Giuliani, 'Architettura delle residenze imperiali', dans W. Haase & H. Temporini, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 12.1 (Berlin/New York 1982), 250 date sans argumenter les deux premières phases de Néron et/ou de Vespasien; il n'y a aucune raison de ne pas suivre la chronologie de l'inventeur, Boni, qui date la première construction de Tibère.

hésitent, regardent derrière eux en demandant où est Britannicus (*Britannicus dubitavisse quosdam ferunt, respectantis rogitantisque ubi Britannicus esset*).²⁷ Je comprends que ces soldats en faction aux *fores* regardent la façade de la *domus* où est enfermé Britannicus, autrement dit celle où meurt Claude.²⁸

Les proclamations de Claude et de Néron se déroulent donc dans un décor où apparaît la *domus* des *Claudii* (ou de Claude) qu'il semble logique de situer sur l'aire septentrionale du Palatin. Tout incite à penser que cette résidence a une façade tournée vers l' '*area palatina*' et une autre vers le '*clivus Victoriae*'. C'est sur l'une d'elles (et non sur la façade de la *domus* d'Auguste) qu'il faut imaginer le *fastigium* et la couronne célébrant sa conquête de la Bretagne.²⁹

D'où la garde peut-elle, en 54, apercevoir cette façade? Soit depuis le '*clivus Victoriae*', soit depuis le '*clivus palatinus*'. Aucune des deux possibilités ne peut être exclue. Que voit-on depuis la partie haute du '*clivus palatinus*' ? A l'Est, sur le site de la Vigna Barberini, s'élève une (ou des *domus*) dont les archéologues français pensent qu'elle était luxueuse mais médiocrement construite comme s'il s'agissait d'un édifice conçu pour la mise en scène.³⁰ Au sud s'étend l' '*area palatina*', qui est la plus susceptible d'accueillir l'attroupement des prétoriens et à travers laquelle les soldats peuvent voir la façade de la *domus* de Claude. Il semble donc plausible de placer la proclamation de Néron près des *fores* du '*clivus palatinus*', sans pouvoir exclure cependant le '*clivus Victoriae*' dont l'environnement est mal connu.³¹ Mais on n'est pas en mesure de préciser les modalités du passage entre aire publique et aire impériale. Certaines des *domus* voisines appartiennent à l'empereur, d'autres à des proches (Caecina Largus) et à des particuliers. Quant aux *gradus Palatii* où Néron est proclamé, il peut s'agir

²⁷ Tacite, *Annales* 12.69.

²⁸ Il ne faut pas confondre *fores Palatii* et *aditus domus*, ce que fait C. Krause, 'Domus tiberiana', dans *LTUR* 2, 195.

²⁹ La couronne navale étant proche d'une couronne civique, on a proposé d'identifier la *domus* à celle d'Auguste. Mais la couronne civique est devenue un symbole du pouvoir de ses successeurs (P. Zanker, *Augusto e il potere delle immagini* [Turin 1987], 100 ff.). Les *Res Gestae* 34 et les *Fastes* de Préneste (*CIL* I 2, 231) indiquent que la couronne augustéenne est suspendue *super ianuam*.

³⁰ Cf. J.-P. Morel & F. Villedieu, 'La Vigna Barberini à l'époque néronienne', dans Y. Perrin & J.-M. Croisille, eds., *Rome à l'époque néronienne, Neronia VI* (Rome 1999), *Latomus* 2002, 74-96. Je laisse de côté la question des *Adonaea*.

³¹ Cf. G. Morganti & M.A. Tomei, 'Ancora sulla Via Nova', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité* 103 (1991) 2, 551-574.

de marches latérales parallèles à la voie, de gradins aménagés sur le *clivus* lui-même ou, solution la plus simple, du seuil des *fores*.

Entre 54 et 64, dans le cadre de la *domus transitoria*, Néron conserve l'héritage claudien. Lorsqu'il promet en 54 de séparer la gestion de sa cassette et celle de l'Etat et de ne plus enfermer la justice *intra domum*, c'est de la résidence claudienne qu'il s'agit.³² Si on se fie à l'*Octavie*, le *fastigium* et la couronne navale doivent toujours être en place en 62 puisque la nourrice les évoque dans son monologue.³³ Les innovations ne sont cependant pas mineures. La nourrice d'Octavie oppose la simplicité de la *domus* claudienne et les splendeurs clinquantes dont Néron couvre son *aula*.³⁴ Le chantier de la *domus tiberiana* est ouvert ou poursuivi. Mais c'est l'association en un seul ensemble foncier du *Palatium*, de l'Esquilin et de l'enselement qui les relie qui introduit la plus grande nouveauté sans cependant tout bouleverser puisque la *domus transitoria* n'est associée à aucun scandale. La *domus* familiale des *Domitii*, qu'il est plausible d'identifier dans les vestiges fossilisés sous le podium du temple de Vénus et de Rome, occupe une place centrale dans la nouvelle économie spatiale. *Stricto sensu*, la *domus transitoria* doit être cette *domus* qui assure le passage entre les deux collines. Aux demeures des *Iulii* et des *Claudii* - les deux pôles du pouvoir - Néron ajoute celle des *Domitii*, qui devient un troisième pôle. Le processus est révélateur de la nature d'un régime dont les titulaires restent attachés à leur famille.³⁵

La nature de la nouvelle résidence, un ensemble de parcs, et l'affirmation de la nature monarchique du régime doivent être mises en relation avec le succès du mot *aula* dans la littérature contemporaine (cf. *supra*). Bien que les auteurs utilisent '*aula*' dans un contexte littéraire en référence à des palais orientaux ou mythiques et que le terme appartienne à l'arsenal des *loci communes* servant à dénoncer le luxe dans lequel vit tout tyran, leurs descriptions constituent plus que des 'morceaux de poésie': elles ont quelque chose de familier; l'*aula* alexandrine de Lucain présente quelque communauté avec l'*aula* néronienne que l'auteur fréquente. Sans le nommer, Lucain (et Sénèque) ont en tête un complexe palatial qu'ils connaissent bien.³⁶

³² Tacite, *Annales* 13.4.

³³ *Octavie* 34-45.

³⁴ *Octavie* 624 ff.

³⁵ Néron reste fidèle à la *domus* familiale; plusieurs documents épigraphiques attestent les sacrifices qu'il y offre à la mémoire de son père.

³⁶ *Aula* évoque l'ensemble de la résidence et/ou le seul *Palatium*. Tacite, *Annales* 13.2, situe la manifestation qui se déroule en faveur d'Octavie en 62 *in Palatio*, l'auteur de l'*Octavie* dans l'*aula*

Les accès à la résidence impériale subissent donc des changements difficiles à connaître.³⁷ Entre 54 et 64, *domus* aristocratiques privées et propriétés impériales continuent à voisiner, mais la définition même de la *domus transitoria* laisse supposer que Néron s'efforce d'assurer sa mainmise sur les *domus* situées entre sa maison familiale et le sommet du Palatin. Préfigurant celui de la *domus aurea*, l'accès à la *domus transitoria* associe vraisemblablement plusieurs entrées. Il est plausible d'imaginer une entrée générale au sommet de la pente qui monte du *forum*, à proximité de la *domus* familiale, voire dans cette *domus*. Ce n'est sans doute pas seulement en raison des contraintes du relief que seront aménagés ici le vestibule et les *atria* de la *domus aurea*, dont Suétone dit qu'elle est la *domus transitoria restituta*. L'accès à la colline du Palatin est marqué par des *fores* sur les '*clivus palatinus*' (un peu plus au sud que l'arc de Domitien, à hauteur de la *domus* de la Vigna Barberini?) et/ou sur le '*clivus Victoriae*' (permettant un accès direct à la *domus palatina* et à l' '*area palatina*' par le prolongement du *clivus*). Dans un contexte encore républicain, la mise en scène du pouvoir n'est pas spectaculaire.

64-70: *domus aurea* (plan II)

L'incendie de 64 permet à Néron de réaménager l'espace en fonction des conceptions de la *Neropolis* et de la *domus aurea*. Les sources écrites décrivent les voies d'accès depuis le *forum* vers la *domus aurea* (urbanisme hippodamien, portiques, vestibule, *atria*, colosse) mais, uniquement sensibles aux innovations scandaleuses et peu aux continuités, elles observent un silence presque complet sur le Palatin et se taisent sur le chantier de la *domus tiberiana*. Un tel silence signifie que le *Palatium* conserve son rôle et que la nouvelle et pourtant colossale *domus* n'a rien de choquant. Les textes concernant les années 68-70 s'avèrent complémentaires: ils négligent la mise en scène des accès élaborée entre 64 et 68, qui constituent pourtant le décor des guerres civiles, mais fournissent de précieux renseignements sur le *Palatium* et la *domus tiberiana*. La question des *fores Palatii* et des *aditus domus* se pose en termes inédits.

Il existe un large consensus pour voir dans le Palatin le pôle officiel de la *domus aurea* en opposition complémentaire avec l'édifice de l'Esquilin, considéré comme un pôle privé. Les réalités sont sans doute

(*Octavie* 780). Chez Sénèque *aula* = palais = *arx* (*Agamemnon* 78 ff., *Thyeste* 697, 1078). Chez Martial, *Des spectacles* 2.2 *aula* = la *domus aurea*. Cf. n. 3.

³⁷ Cf. D. Palombi, *Tra Palatino ed Esquilino Velia Cariae Fagutal* (Rome 1997), 33-43.

moins simples, mais peu importe ici. Quelques événements attestent le rôle politique unique de la colline, telles les statues de Tigellin et Nerva érigées *in Palatio* en remerciement de leur action dans la répression de la conjuration de Pison.³⁸ Le plus significatif est le triomphe de 68 qui s'achève non au Capitole, mais au temple d'Apollon Palatin. Les résonances augustéennes du lieu, récupéré et subverti, permettent l'affirmation d'un pouvoir à la fois légitime et original. Même dans sa variante néronisante, le *Palatium* demeure le lieu du pouvoir officiel. Les événements de 68-69 marquent la reconnaissance d'un régime monarchique désormais ouvert à tous en raison de l'extinction des familles qui l'ont fondé. Va de pair un consensus pour identifier dans le *Palatium* le lieu du pouvoir légitime détaché des familles de ses titulaires.³⁹ Plutarque parle de l'*hestia* des Césars, Tacite de l'*imperii arx*, Dion Cassius du siège de l'*archè*. Il ne s'agit pas de métaphores. Le *Palatium* est le siège du pouvoir non seulement en raison de son *aura* sacrée et historique, mais aussi parce qu'y sont concentrées les instances techniques de la direction de l'empire (bureaux de la chancellerie, justice, armée, préfecture du prétoire).⁴⁰ L'attitude des Flaviens le confirme *a contrario*.⁴¹

On ne développera pas ici la question du vestibule, des *atria* et du colosse pour nous en tenir à la seule problématique des *fores Palatii*. Il est néanmoins indispensable de replacer la question dans le cadre des réaménagements de la pente qui mène du *forum* au Palatin. Les recherches récentes ont exclu les propylées spectaculaires imaginés par E. van Deman mais confirmé la nature hippodamienne du réaménagement et sa datation

³⁸ Tacite, *Annales* 15.72.

³⁹ Galba, Othon et Vitellius s'y rendent dès leur proclamation et y résident. La fausse abdication de Vitellius en 69 fournit une information limpide: Vitellius sort du *Palatium* et songe à se réfugier dans sa *domus* familiale. Ses partisans s'y opposent - il ne saurait rentrer dans une *domus* privée qui ne peut être la résidence d'un prince - et l'obligent à regagner le *Palatium*. Ce retour enflamme la colère de l'adversaire: en rentrant dans une *domus* privée, Vitellius aurait montré qu'il était décidé à éviter ce qui pouvait donner l'idée du rang suprême; en regagnant le *Palatium*, il s'installe dans l'*imperii arx* (Tacite, *Histoires* 3.65-66).

⁴⁰ Cf. Y. Perrin, 'Imperii arx: métaphore ou réalité? Les fonctions de la 'domus tiberiana' néronienne', dans P. Defosse, ed., *Mélanges C. Deroux* III, Histoire et épigraphie, Droit, Latomus 270, 2003, p. 340-355. J'ai avancé l'hypothèse que la *domus tiberiana* était la concrétisation habile des promesses formulées en 54 de séparer la *domus* du prince et les affaires de l'Etat.

⁴¹ Dans un souci de rupture, à la mort de Vitellius, Domitien ne se rend pas au Palatin, mais *in paternis penatis* et son père affecte de réduire l'importance du *Palatium* (cf. Josèphe, *La guerre des Juifs* 7.5; Tacite, *Histoires* 3.86 et Dion Cassius 65.10.4.; 66.10.4) En réalité, Vespasien considère bien que le *Palatium* est le lieu du pouvoir suprême; il en réinvestit la symbolique en laissant ostensiblement les *thurias* ouvertes et, en conserve, en les transformant, le vestibule, le colosse et la *domus tiberiana*.

néronienne et montré son extension jusqu'au *stagnum*. Si les voies principales (*via sacra* et *via nova*) sont flanquées de portiques, les îlots abritent *insulae* et boutiques. Sur la pente qui descend vers le *forum*, l'articulation majeure du nouveau réseau viaire - *via sacra* est-ouest et voie nord-sud qui court désormais sur l'ensellement Palatin - Esquilin forme un T. A l'Est, s'étendent le podium des *atria* et les portiques du *stagnum*. La partie supérieure du T est identifiable au vestibule - à ciel ouvert - et c'est dans celui-ci (Suétone), sur la voie sacrée (Dion Cassius), devant les *atria* (Martial), donc au croisement des deux voies, que se dresse le colosse.

La création du parc de la *domus aurea*, les transformations du quartier entre *forum*, Esquilin et Palatin et l'achèvement de la *domus tiberiana* impliquent une modification des limites de la résidence impériale dont l'extension fait scandale, et donc des changements dans la topographie des *fores Palatii*. La nouvelle organisation de l'espace suggère que le complexe de la *domus aurea* possède plusieurs entrées et que plusieurs portes peuvent se succéder sur le même itinéraire, à l'instar de l'organisation des accès à l'*arx* de Domitien telle que l'évoque Pline (cf. *supra*). Le vestibule joue un rôle essentiel: architecturalement, il assure l'articulation des deux ensembles de constructions couvrant les pentes vers le *forum* et le *stagnum* en cachant la légère différence de leurs orientations.⁴² A son niveau s'ouvrent deux - voire trois - voies distinctes, vers le *stagnum* et le parc de part et d'autre du podium des *atria*, vers le Palatin par le '*clivus palatinus*' (et vers l'Esquilin au nord?). Que le statut juridique du vestibule soit public ou privé, qu'il soit 'dedans' ou 'dehors', sa fonction est d'assurer la transition entre Rome et la résidence impériale. On peut donc rechercher les *fores Palatii* soit à son entrée, soit là où on le quitte pour pénétrer véritablement dans la *domus* du prince.

Le lieu où le '*clivus palatinus*' débouche sur l' '*area palatina*' constitue un noeud de l'économie spatiale des aménagements. A son niveau s'achèvent le *clivus* désormais rectiligne et ses portiques qui s'articulent avec le vestibule et l'ensemble qui couvre les pentes descendant vers le *forum* et le *stagnum*.⁴³ Au sud s'étendent l' '*area palatina*' au fond de laquelle s'élève une *aula* dont l'existence après 64 est assurée et, au delà, un quartier dont les

⁴² D'où sans doute le plan trapézoïdal partiellement mis à jour; cf. M. Medri, 'Suetonius, *Nero* 31,1: elementi et proposte', dans Cl. Panella, ed., *Meta Sudans* (Rome 1996), 175-177.

⁴³ Le réaménagement du *clivus* est néronien. Cf. les contributions du *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma* 91 (1986): M.A. Tomei, 413-414 et 518, R. Santangeli et R. Volpe 418-419, G. Morganti, 426; voir aussi *Archeologia Laziale* 8 (1987), 79.

travaux de A. Cassatella laissent soupçonner l'importance.⁴⁴ Le grand bloc de maçonnerie de datation incertaine qui se trouve dans l'alignement des portiques pourrait être non les substructions d'un temple (*aedes Iovis Victoris?*), mais celles d'un édifice articulé avec les *fores* et surplombant scénographiquement l'accès au Palatin.⁴⁵ A l'Ouest, on accède à la *domus tiberiana* par une branche du cryptoportique oriental orientée est-ouest, qui s'ouvre à sa hauteur.⁴⁶ A l'Est, l'existence de la *domus* de la Vigna Barberini entre 64 et 68 est hypothétique.⁴⁷ L'existence d'une entrée à cet emplacement n'est guère douteuse. Situer des *fores* néroniennes au niveau du site occupé par l'arc de Domitien est plausible.⁴⁸ Les *gradus* seraient alors les marches qui donnent accès à l'édifice sur podium que certains identifient à l'*aedes Iovis* ou celles qui relient les niveaux de la voie et du portique latéral, ou, simplement, les gradins qui marquent le seuil de la porte.

Mais si on considère que les *fores* constituent l'entrée de l'aire impériale, il convient de les chercher plus bas, devant le vestibule. Il conviendrait donc de les situer sur le tronçon le plus élevé de la voie sacrée, devant le colosse. On émettra l'hypothèse que l'*arcus in summa sacra via* du relief des Haterii n'est autre que cette porte transformée par Vespasien.⁴⁹ Les *gradus* seraient alors des gradins qui marquent le seuil de l'arc. Dans ce cas de figure, il faut imaginer un autre poste de contrôle au sommet de la *nova via*. Les deux propositions topographiques ne sont pas exclusives: comme l'indique Pline le Jeune pour l'époque de Domitien, plusieurs *fores* et postes de garde peuvent se succéder sur la voie sacrée et le '*clivus palatinus*' (et sur les voies qui descendent vers le *stagnum*).⁵⁰

Sur le chemin du Palatin au *forum* par le '*clivus Victoriae*' et les escaliers qui descendent vers la fontaine de Juturne ou les aménagements de

⁴⁴ Cf. A. Cassatella, 'Domus Aurea: complesso del Palatino', dans *LTUR* 2, 63.

⁴⁵ Notre proposition semble rejoindre celle de M.A. Tomei, dans *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma* 91 (1986), 518.

⁴⁶ P. Romanelli, 'Il criptoportico del Palatino', dans *Les cryptoportiques dans l'architecture romaine*, Coll. de l'École Française de Rome (Rome 1973), 207.

⁴⁷ Cf *supra*, p. 364 n. 30.

⁴⁸ Sur la chronologie de l'arc de Domitien Cf. A. Cassatella, 'Arcus Domitiani', dans *LTUR* 1, 92.

⁴⁹ Dans cet arc, F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano* I (Rome 1983), 232 ff. voit une représentation de la porte Mugonia reconstruite après 64 et M. Torelli, *Typology and structure of roman historical Reliefs* (Ann Arbor 1982), 134 l'arc de Vespasien.

⁵⁰ Quid de l'arc quadrifrons proche de l'arc de Titus daté d'après 64 (cf. J. Arce & R. Mar, 'Monumento presso l'arco di Tito nel foro Romano', *Archeologia Laziale* 10 [1990], 43 ff.)? Lorsqu'il apprend la défection d'une partie de ses troupes, Vitellius descend du *Palatium* pour se rendre au *forum*; ses partisans lui imposent de regagner le siège du pouvoir en reprenant le chemin qu'il avait parcouru, la *Via Sacra* et donc le '*clivus palatinus*' (Tacite, *Histoires* 3.67-68, 70, 84).

l' *atrium* de Caligula (dont on ignore l'état entre 64 et 68), on attend la présence de *fores* et d'un poste de garde sur le *clivus*, près du sommet de l'escalier, là où se trouvait l'antique *porta Romanula*. On peut éventuellement en voir la trace dans les médiocres vestiges qui gisent là de part et d'autre du *clivus*.⁵¹ Très proches des *aditus domus*, ces *fores* donnent accès à la *domus tiberiana* autant qu'au Palatin: les ayant franchies, le visiteur peut accéder soit à la *domus* par son *aditus* central (cf. ci-dessous), soit à l' '*area palatina*' par le prolongement du '*clivus Victoriae*'. Lorsque sous Galba les chevaliers et les sénateurs, puis sous Othon les soldats vitelliens forcent les *fores Palatii* pour rencontrer les deux princes, Tacite donne le sentiment qu'ils pénètrent directement dans la *domus tiberiana*. On peut situer la scène ici. Les *gradus Palatii* seraient alors les *scalae graecae* et/ou *annulariae* qui descendent vers le *forum*... ou le seuil de la porte.

Quant aux *aditus* et *gradus domus*, il ne peut s'agir que de ceux de la *domus tiberiana*. sinon achevée, du moins fonctionnelle en 68.⁵² Si son architecture et son répertoire décoratif sont à peu près inconnus, les données planimétriques révèlent un plan unitaire préétabli rigoureusement géométrique. La *domus* proprement dite s'élève au centre du podium et est environnée par des jardins.⁵³

Par son plan centré, la construction s'inscrit dans la culture de l'architecture domestique à *atrium* central, mais à contre-courant de l'évolution contemporaine de celle-ci qui développe des plans en longueur. Son site et sa surélévation l'inscrivent dans un espace urbain prestigieux.⁵⁴ L'ampleur de ses proportions et son plan axialisé sont proches de ceux des grands édifices publics contemporains (*macellum*, thermes). Le niveau noble s'étendant sur la plate-forme du podium, des escaliers sont nécessaires pour l'atteindre et les façades sont aménagées sur deux niveaux au moins. L'organisation symétrique du podium ne désigne aucune des façades comme

⁵¹ E. Wadsworth, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 4 (1924), 44-45 signale des vestiges néroniens sur le côté méridional. Sur les constructions antérieures à l'avant-corps nord-occidental domitianéen de la *domus tiberiana*, cf. C. Krause, *Domus Tiberiana* (Zurich 1985), 89 ff., fig. 94, 112, 116, 117, 121 ff., 131 ff.

⁵² Néron inaugure la *domus aurea* (Suétone, *Néron* 31), ce qui veut dire que ses deux pôles de l'Esquilin et du Palatin étaient considérés comme achevés. On peut penser que la *domus* a été inaugurée en 66, sommet du règne marqué par la venue de Tiridate et le départ pour la Grèce en septembre. La longue absence programmée du prince incite à penser qu'à son départ le chantier du Palatin était à son terme.

⁵³ C. Krause, op.cit. (n. 28), 193.

⁵⁴ Cf. l'opposition soulignée par H. Drerup, 'Bildraum und Realraum', *Rheinisches Museum* 1959, 173 entre espace intérieur encastré de l'architecture privée et espace illimité des constructions publiques et impériales.

plus importantes que les autres; la restitution de quatre façades identiques en élévation constitue l'hypothèse la plus simple. C'est celle que retient C. Krause qui restitue un portique sur les quatre faces externes, qui nous intéressent ici.

Le réseau des corridors qui structurent le podium le découpe en neuf blocs rectangulaires. La tradition romaine établissant une adéquation organique et morphologique entre la structure interne des édifices et les rythmes fondamentaux de ses motifs architecturaux, on peut exclure que l'organisation des façades soit sans rapport avec eux. Chacun des côtés de la résidence repose sur la juxtaposition de trois massifs de substructions, ce qui suggère que l'architecte a donné à ses façades un rythme ternaire. Le centre de chacune des façades est le lieu où l'on attend un *aditus* et des *gradus*. Cette restitution correspond au schéma de la *scaenae frons*, dont les valeurs royales ont, depuis l'époque hellénistique, inspiré l'architecture italienne commanditée par les *imperatores*. Alexandrie constitue sans doute l'archétype, mais Vergina fournit la seule comparaison documentée. Le palais macédonien et la *domus tiberiana* ont en commun leur plan centré et leur surélévation sur une terrasse.⁵⁵ Ils jouent le même rôle politique éminent. Il y a des chances pour que la façade de la bâtisse romaine soit du même type que celle du palais macédonien: celle-ci est précédée par un portique et articule deux 'ailes' qui encadrent un module central occupé par l'entrée aulique surmontée par un fronton.⁵⁶ La *domus* néronienne se substituant à celle de Claude et abritant le cœur du pouvoir, il y a des chances pour qu'elle en reprenne la symbolique et qu'un *fastigium* surmonte la (les ?) façade(s).⁵⁷

La façade occidentale de la *domus tiberiana* est inconnue. Son front méridional est précédé par des salles postérieures à 64. Assez étonnante est la présence de telles salles, quelles que soient leurs fonctions (garde, bureaux, magasins), sur une façade qui domine le prestigieux quartier de la *domus* d'Auguste, des temples de Cybèle et de la Victoire. Dans tous les cas, la mise en scène ne semble pas exploiter l'*aura* du lieu. La façade orientale

⁵⁵ Le thème de la *scaenae frons* est à l'ordre du jour dans les années 60-70. Sur les palais hellénistiques et notamment Vergina, cf. I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces* (Aarhus 1999), 81 ff. et ma contribution aux *Mélanges C. Deroux*, citée n. 40.

⁵⁶ Cf. I. Nielsen, op. cit. (n. 55), et G. Brands, Halle, Propylon und Peristyl, dans *Basileia. Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige* (Mayence 1996), 64 ff.

⁵⁷ Bien que la *domus tiberiana* ait connu de nombreuses modifications entre Néron et Antonin, on en verra un indice dans un passage de l'*Histoire Auguste* qui concerne l'installation de Marc Aurèle par Antonin dans la *domus* en 140: *aulico fastigio renitentem ornavit* (SHA, *Marcus* 6.3).

domine l' *'area palatina'* que traverse le visiteur qui se rend à la *domus tiberiana*. C'est là qu'il faut situer le discours de Pison à la cohorte des prétoriens. L'architectonique de la *domus* et les nécessités fonctionnelles et symboliques du cheminement veulent que des *gradus* se situent au centre de la façade, éventuellement dominé par un *fastigium*. Visible depuis le *forum* et la *Velia*, la façade septentrionale occupe une situation privilégiée dans le paysage urbain. On peut penser qu'elle a reçu un traitement spécifique servant la mise en scène du pouvoir comme c'est le cas à l'époque de Domitien. De fait, les aménagements du Flavien ont été précédés par d'importants escaliers.⁵⁸ On y reconnaîtra les *gradus domus* proches des *fores Palatii* du *'clivus Victoriae'* évoqués plus haut.

Conclusions

La connaissance des accès au Palatin et à la *domus tiberiana* entre 54 et 70 conserve bien des zones d'ombre. L'étude montre la spécificité du Palatin au sein de la *domus aurea*. Le parc et la fabrique de l'Esquilin peuvent être considérés comme l'expression et le coeur de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le 'néronisme'. Les aménagements de la pente qui donne accès aux deux pôles (Esquilin et Palatin) depuis le *forum*, le vestibule, les *atria* et le colosse qui domine le paysage exaltent Néron. On retrouve certains traits de son axiologie sur le *Palatium* (*cenatio*, triomphe de 68). Mais la *domus aurea* conserve au *Palatium* son rôle unique dans la vie politique et le paysage de l'*Urbs*. Même dans sa variante néronisante, il demeure le lieu officiel du pouvoir suprême. C'est le seul legs que cultivent les successeurs du prince honni dès sa mort en 68.

L'oeuvre de Néron rend définitif le redéploiement amorcé dès Tibère du centre de gravité du *Palatium*, de l'aire augustéenne méridionale vers l'aire septentrionale. Pour un moderne qui déchiffre le paysage, la *domus tiberiana* exprime topographiquement et architecturalement la nature personnelle du pouvoir qui domine politiquement la *Res Publica* et ce qui était son coeur, le *forum*. Or aucun auteur ancien n'établit ce rapprochement entre topographie et politique. C'est sans doute que la sensibilité des anciens diffère de la notre, mais c'est aussi parce que la mise en scène du pouvoir palatin n'est pas scandaleuse. La *domus tiberiana* est la construction d'un homme d'Etat, non celle d'un artiste. Elle s'inscrit dans une culture politique qui ne doit rien aux valeurs solaires et agonales qui sont censées être au coeur de l'expérience néronienne. Quant au *Palatium*, il est sans doute clos

⁵⁸ Krause, op.cit. (n. 28), 89 ff., 116-117, 124-125, 134.

puisque des *fores* en définissent l'accès et que plusieurs postes de garde s'échelonnent sur les voies qui mènent aux lieux où le prince gouverne.⁵⁹ Y accéder suppose qu'on a gravi la pente montant du *forum*, traversé le vestibule et ressenti la puissance du prince dont le portrait colossal domine tout. Mais la mise en scène des accès au Palatin proprement dit et de la *domus tiberiana* empruntent ses motifs à un répertoire romain connu depuis la fin de la république et Auguste. Par leur site, les *fores* semblent renvoyer aux portes archaïques (*Mugonia*, *Romanula* et *Romana* sur le '*clivus Victoriae*'⁶⁰) et identifier le *Palatium* néronien au *Palatium* romuléen. Cette inscription dans l'histoire romaine et la définition topographique, architecturale et fonctionnelle du cœur de l'empire permettent de rendre compte du rôle joué par le *Palatium* dans l'histoire de l'empire dès 68 alors que le reste de la *domus aurea* est abandonné.

Lyon, août 2002

⁵⁹ Aucune source ne signale l'existence d'une telle clôture. Dès Caligula, il est possible de 'boucler' le *Palatium* (Suetone, *Caligula* 14). La question de la clôture du parc de la *domus aurea* demeure posée.

⁶⁰ F. Coarelli 1983, op.cit. (n. 49), 228, 231 ff. L'existence de *fores* ici est probable, mais les sources n'ont pas l'occasion de les mentionner.

Planche I
Le Palatin et la domus transitoria
54-64

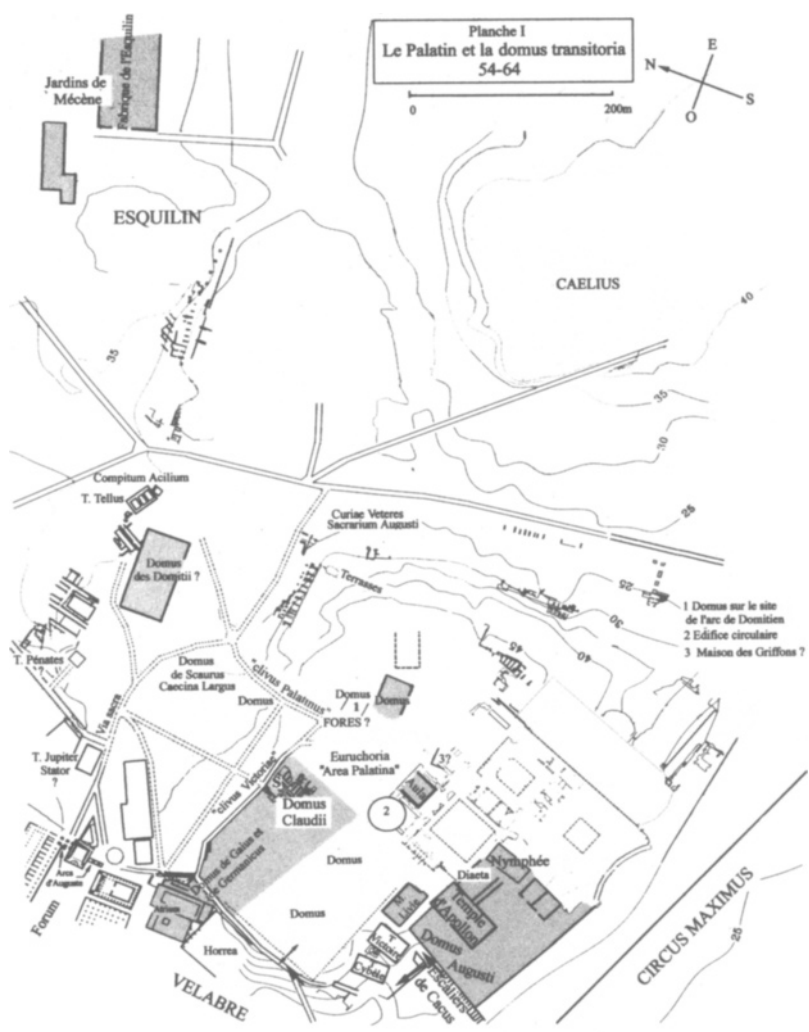
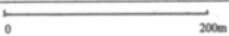
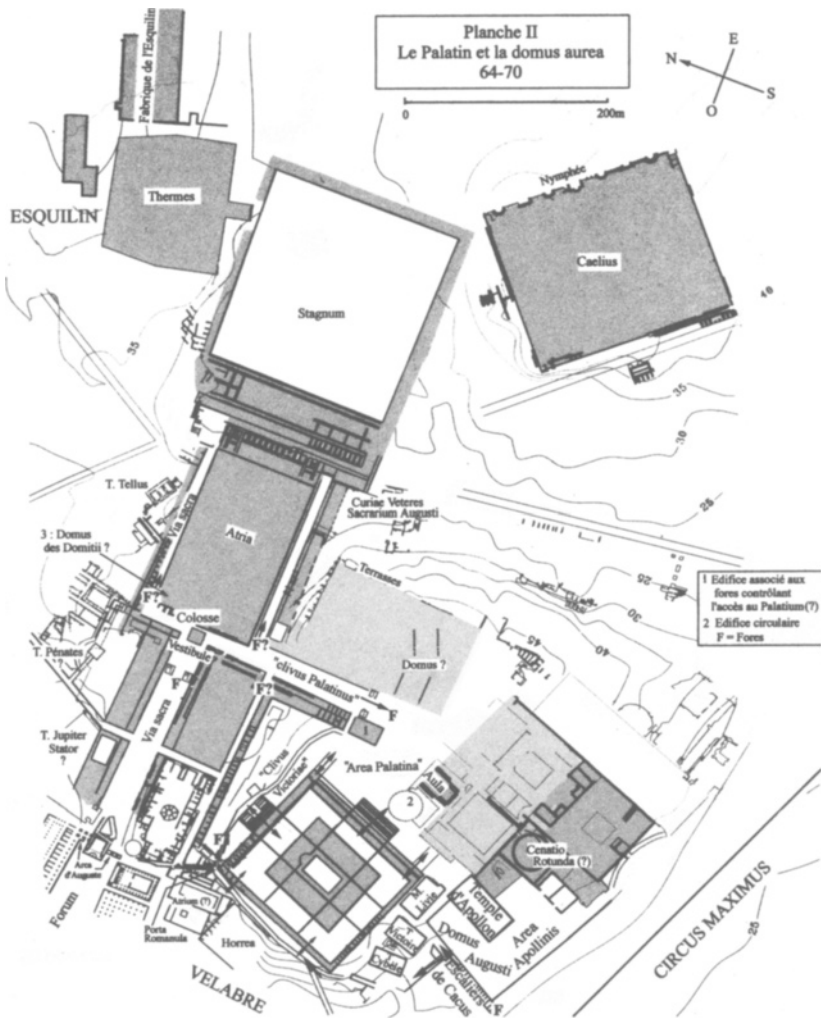


Planche II
Le Palatin et la domus aurea
64-70

0 200m



- 1 Edifice associé aux forums contrôlant l'accès au Palatium (?)
- 2 Edifice circulaire
- F = Foras

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON NERO AND THE CITY OF ROME

By

ERIC M. MOORMANN

“NÉRON: N’avois-je pas ma maison dorée, qui devoit être plus grande que les plus grandes villes? Oui-dà, je m’entendois en magnificence.

CALIGULA: Si on l’eût achevée, cette maison, il auroit fallu que les Romains fussent allés loger hors de Rome. Cette maison étoit proportionnée au colosse qui te représentoit, et non pas à toi, qui n’étois pas plus grand qu’un autre homme.

NÉR.: C’est que je visois au grand.

CAL.: Non, tu visois au gigantesque et au monstrueux. ...”

(F. Fénelon, *Dialogues des Morts* [Paris 1712], no. XLIX ‘Caligula et Néron’)

Several emperors put their mark on the city of Rome and a few of them have been honoured with specific studies on their connection with the *urbs*. So we have Paul Zanker’s seminal work on Augustus, Robin H. Darwall-Smith’s efficient study on the Flavians and Mary Boatright’s excellent work on Hadrian.¹ Nero has not yet had this honour and will probably never be dealt with extensively in this way, as his interventions were rather few in comparison to the emperors mentioned. Miriam Griffin, Jaś Elsner and Andrea Scheithauer have written some useful contributions on the topic.²

Few specific monuments can be singled out apart from his grand enterprises of the villa-like complexes of the Domus Transitoria and the Domus Aurea. These two big projects changed, be it for a short time, the centre of the large city that Rome had become from the late Republic onwards, and which had not yet seen such a display of luxury. People were stunned at

¹ P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (Munich 1987); R.H. Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (Bruxelles 1996); M. Boatright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton 1987). On the emperors and their public works in the city of Rome see P. Zanker, *Der Kaiser baut fürs Volk* (Opladen 1997). I thank Penelope Allison (Sidney) for the correction of my English text.

² M.T. Griffin, *Nero, the End of a Dynasty* (London 2000, 2nd ed.), 119-141; J. Elsner, ‘Constructing decadence: the representation of Nero as imperial builder’, in: J. Elsner & J. Masters, eds., *Reflections of Nero* (Chapel Hill/London 1994), 112-127; A. Scheithauer, *Kaiserliche Bautätigkeit in Rom. Das Echo in der Literatur* (Stuttgart 2000), 112-126. See also J.-M. Croisille & Y. Perrin, eds., *Neroniana VI. Rome à l’époque néronienne*, Bruxelles 2002, 11-140.

Nero's *domus*, more for their large scale and their use of precious materials than for the scandal (or not) of occupying the prime location in town.

In this contribution I propose to look briefly at building activities in the public domain. Two topics regarding the Domus Transitoria and the Domus Aurea will be discussed at some greater length.

Public and Sacral buildings

Most Neronian interventions concerning the layout of the city have been made after the Great Fire of A.D. 64. Two of the few previous important interventions were the new arrangement of the via Recta and the construction of the pons Neronianus, giving access to the area with the new baths Nero built near those of Marcus Agrippa.³

After the Great Fire Nero worked hard to prevent similar calamities in the future by propagating all sorts of practical rules for planning public open space and open space in the house blocks, and for construction materials and techniques, in order to diminish the risk of fire.⁴ Among various details, Tacitus lists a law for wall construction with old-fashioned tufa blocks. An explanation for this rule might be that the still young brick industry now had to work uniquely for the construction of the Golden House, in which there was a great demand of building material.

It is not clear whether these regulations were applied immediately. No Neronian house block is known from archaeological contexts. The fact that Tacitus writes positively about these rules might strengthen the impression of 'good deeds' for the public interest.

Public Works

If we look at the list of public monuments connected with Nero, we find a preference for accommodation for cultural activities and sports.

The Circus Maximus is mentioned a couple of times in the sources. Nero made seats for the *equites*, equal to those of the senators. This extension required the demolition of the *euripus* which might have caused some tumult from the senatorial ranks. The Great Fire started in one of the *tabernae* of the Circus, but the latter was in use again as early as 66 and

³ T.P. Wiseman, *LTUR I* (Rome 1993), 220-224 s.v. Campus Martius., esp. 223. P. Liverani (*LTUR IV* [Rome 1999], 111 s.v. Pons Neronianus) argues that it probably was constructed under Caligula and got its name in the Middle Ages. M. Tomei (*LTUR Suburbium I* [Rome 2001], 38 s.v. Agrippinae horti) maintains the traditional attribution and dating.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annales* 15.43. See E.J. Philips, 'Nero's new city', *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica* 106 (1978), 300-307.

formed the central meeting point in 68, at Nero's return from Greece. A sort of yellowish copper dust, *chrysocola* was strewn in the arena before the emperor would circle in his chariot.⁵ So, restoration work must either have been carried out immediately or the damage was less serious than the ancient texts suggest.

A.D. 57-58 Nero constructed a wooden amphitheatre on the Campus Martius, lavishly decorated according to the sources, and similar to that of Statilius Taurus. Its precise location is unknown.⁶

The construction of the *Thermae Neronis* and the adjacent gymnasium in the Campus Martius would have involved a more substantial enterprise.⁷ For public baths, the Romans still had no complex other than those of Agrippa, now too small for the population of Rome. Nero's baths were used until late antiquity, being incorporated into those built by Severus Alexander. The gymnasium, a Greek element, was only short-lived. It had been constructed in 62, together with the Baths, burnt down in the same year and was not rebuilt: we may speculate on the reason for this. There is no criticism in the written sources of the Greekness of this building.⁸

Utilitarian complexes are twice mentioned. The grand *horrea* of Vespasian on the Velia probably made use of a porticus built under Nero. If so, it would have stood next to the entrance of the Golden House, not far from the Arch of Titus.⁹

Coins with the legend *Mac Aug* are traditionally interpreted as representations of the *Macellum Augusti*, a huge market opened in 56-57. Its location is unknown but mostly surmised on the Caelius, following a reference in Dio's *Roman History* (61.18). It was also called *Macellum Magnum*. The foundation of the big market place corresponded with Nero's concern about

⁵ Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia* 33.87. Cf. P. Ciancio Rossetto, LTUR I (Rome 1993), 272-277 s.v. Circus Maximus, esp. 274; Idem, LTUR II (Rome 1995), 239 s.v. Euripus in Circo Maximo. On *chrysocola* R. König & G. Winkler, *C. Plinius Secundus der Ältere, Naturkunde Lateinisch-Deutsch*, XXXIII. Tusculum edition (München/Zürich 1984), 155.

⁶ G. Ghini, *Le terme Alessandrine nel Campo Marzio*. Monumenti Antichi, serie miscellanea III.4 (Rome 1988), 125-129; D. Palombi, LTUR I (Rome 1993), 36 s.v. Amphitheatrum Neronis: The main source is the eulogy by Calpurnius Siculus, *Ecloga* 7.23-72. The nearby stables, located under Palazzo Farnese and Museo Barracco were restored after the fire of 64: F. Coarelli, LTUR IV (Rome 1999), 339-340 s.v. Stabula IIII factionum.

⁷ G. Ghini 1988, op.cit. (n. 6), 124-125; Eadem, LTUR V (Rome 1999), 60-62 s.v. *Thermae Neronianae/Alexandrinae*; Eadem, LTUR II (Rome 1995), 374 s.v. *Gymnasium Neronis*.

⁸ Such criticism would arise when Domitian built the *odium* and the *agon* on the spot of the later Palazzo Massimo alle colonne and Piazza Navona. Cf. Darwall-Smith 1996, op.cit. (n. 1), 221-226.

⁹ M. Piranomonte, LTUR III (Rome 1996), 45-46 s.v. *Horrea Piperataria*.

the public corn supply, the *ammona*.¹⁰ The representation – a sort of *tholos* in two tiers and a portico – provided grounds for a different interpretation by Laura Fabbrini, the scholar who has extensively researched the wing of the Domus Aurea on the Oppius Hill in the 1980s. She saw this image as the façade of the rotunda of this pavilion and her idea was supported by the numismatist Giovanna Arciprete. However, I think that the old interpretation of the Macellum remains the most valuable.¹¹ The main reason is that this part of the Golden House was private and therefore not a suitable motif for a coin. A second argument is the depiction itself: the round building stands clearly in front of the portico and does not jut out from the colonnade.

The water supply had been expanded considerably during the reign of Claudius. Nero might have continued this work, but we know of only one aqueduct, the Arcus Neroniani, probably a branch of the Aqua Claudia, that had to feed among others, the Stagnum Neronis and probably also the *nymphaeum* of the podium of the Temple of Claudius, to which I will return later.¹² This is a clear example of a construction built for private profit.¹³

Temples were not a hot item in the Neronian building policy, if we can speak about a real policy at all. Nero honoured Juppiter Optimus Maximus in his Capitoline shrine but no more is known about it.¹⁴ He did not carry out construction works here. The first great enterprise would have been the restoration by Domitian, after the fire of A.D. 80.

The Temple of Pax is shown on coins, as is the effigy of the goddess herself. No specific bonds with her are known, In all probability, Nero made use of its representation, proffering his claim as the bringer of the peace following the victory over the Parthians. Ianus' doors were shut after the Parthian Wars, when Tiridates visited Rome A.D. 66. We know for sure that the visit of this Eastern king to Rome in 66 was celebrated with enormous

¹⁰ G. Pisani Sartorio, *LTUR III* (Rome 1996), 204-206 s.v. Macellum Magnum. Cf. C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage I. From 31 BC to AD 69* (London 1984, 2nd ed.); Scheithauer 2000, op.cit. (n. 2), 120.

¹¹ L. Fabbrini, 'Domus Aurea. Il Piano Superiore del Quartiere Orientale', *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia* 14 (1982), 5-24; G. Arciprete, 'Machina o Macellum Augusti? Considerazioni sul dupondio neroniano', *Bollettino di Archeologia* 16-18 (1992), 279-285. Contra *i.a.* Pisani Sartorio (see above, note 10) 204; E.M. Moormann, *Bollettino di Archeologia* 19-21 (1993 [=1996]), 281-282.

¹² Z. Mari, *LTUR I* (Rome 1993), 100-101 s.v. Arcus Neroniani. Cf. G. de Kleijn, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome* (Amsterdam 2001), 25 (it also had the significant name of Arcus Caelimontani).

¹³ De Kleijn 2001, op.cit. (n. 12), 225-243 clearly demonstrates how the elite profited most from the aqueducts. Cf. her p. 256-257 on *horti*. As to criticism on Nero see Frontinus, *De aquaeductibus Romae* 77.1; cf. Scheithauer 2000, op.cit. (n. 2), 121.

¹⁴ S. De Angeli, *LTUR III* (Rome 1996), 148-153 s.v. Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, aedes (fasi tardo-repubblicane e di età imperiale), esp. 152.

pomp. The theatre of Pompey was, as we read in the sources, clad with gold and covered with a starred veil.¹⁵ The temple of Janus was used as an exhibition room for precious works of art like the famous dedicatory groups of the Gauls, after Nero's death.¹⁶ The same victory, though not very splendid, made him depict the doors of the Temple of Janus Geminus on other coins as shut.¹⁷ As to the Temple of Vesta it is reported to have been restored by Nero after the fire of 64.¹⁸

Nero built a new type of triumphal arch, monumentalising the old scheme of the single *fornix* by the addition of columns at the corners of both façades. The sides acquired deep niches in which statues were erected. In one of them, the coins show a figure of Mars. Its counterpart remains unknown. Was it his traditional companion Venus? No suggestions have been offered by the specialist on arches, Sandro De Maria, or by Fred Kleiner, author of a thorough monograph on the monument. Nero formulated the votation A.D. 58, but the arch was only built in 62, on the Capitol as a proof of the victory over the Parthians. The representation of enemies may have remained rather low-key as has been argued by Kleiner and De Maria: the results had not been very good for the Romans at all!¹⁹ Probably adjacent to the Arch were Nero's Trophies, unknown to us apart from on a coin.²⁰

Images of Roman buildings on coins of the Neronian era are not copious; most of them are present on bronze coins struck after the Great Fire of 64.²¹ The few monuments constructed by him are the already-mentioned Macellum and the Arch of Nero. Most coins stress the notion of Peace, like those with the Ara Pacis Augustae and those referred to, with the Temple of Janus and of Pax. The two *domus* projects are absent altogether from the coinage.

¹⁵ P. Gros, LTUR V (Rome 1999), 35-38 s.v. *Theatrum Pompei*, esp. 37. Cf. E.M. Moormann, 'Das goldene Haus in Rom: Eine orientalische Erfindung?', in: R. Rolle, K. Schmidt & R.F. Docter, eds., *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt* (= Festschrift für H.G. Niemeyer) (Göttingen 1998), 689-701. The coins with the Temple of Janus, however, predate this event and express the general concern for peace.

¹⁶ F. Coarelli, LTUR IV (Rome 1999), 67-70 s.v. *Pax, templum*, esp. 67.

¹⁷ E. Tortorici, LTUR III (Rome 1996), 92-93 s.v. *Ianus Geminus, aedes*.

¹⁸ R.T. Scott, LTUR IV (Rome 1999), 125-128 s.v. *Vesta, aedes*, esp. 126.

¹⁹ F.S. Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome* (Rome 1985), 67-95; S. De Maria, *Gli archi onorari dei Romani* (Rome 1988), 74-75 [revolutionary forms], 113-115 [reconstruction decoration], 283-284 no. 70 [description; bibliography]; F.S. Kleiner, LTUR I (Rome 1993), 101 s.v. *Arcus Neronis*; Scheithauer 2000, op.cit. (n. 2), 125-126 ('Voraussetzung des *saeculum aureum*').

²⁰ E. Papi, LTUR V (Rome 1999), 91-92 s.v. *Tropaea Neronis*.

²¹ Sutherland 1984, op.cit. (n. 10), 13-187 (Nero). See for a purely numismatic analysis of the coins D.W. MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero* (New York 1979).

We may conclude that the wooden amphitheatre, the circus and the Baths with the adjacent Gymnasium were projects that heightened the popularity of the emperor among the inhabitants of Rome. I do not think, however, that Nero differed much from his predecessors or his successors in erecting these categories of buildings.²² They fitted well into the urban texture and there was simply a need for these sorts of facilities. Moreover, these projects provided an important source of employment for the crowded city population.

Works of art

We know that Nero collected a great deal of antique statuary, among which a masterwork like the Alexander signed by Lysippos²³ and the group of the Dying Gaul. His avid lust for art is comparable to that of Caligula and forms a sort of 'conspicuous consumption'.²⁴ The places where these sculptures were exhibited are unknown. Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 34.84) states that the Gauls stood *in sellariis Domus Aureae* like Boethos' Child Strangling a Goose. We have already seen that Vespasian exhibited them in the Temple of Pax. Filippo Coarelli recently argued that the Gauls were erected in the octagonal room 128 of the Oppius pavilion, but I think that this is highly improbable, if we consider the suite of rooms around it as banqueting facilities, and that the central rotunda itself served for dances and other forms of entertainment for the emperor and his guests. The theme seems inappropriate in such a setting.²⁵

Another work of art associated with the Golden House is the Laocoon Group. When this masterpiece was found in 1506, it was not standing in one of the Golden House rooms, but near the Sette Sale. Nevertheless, one still reads that it was discovered in room 131. Apart from the information on the real find spot, we must keep in mind that the pavilion on the Oppius hill was backfilled with debris, when Trajan's constructors started to erect the Trajanic Baths. The few pieces of sculpture found hitherto are broken pieces, no longer considered of great value. Hence, it is highly improbable that a

²² Cf. the positive tenor of the sources: Scheithauer 2000, op.cit. (n. 2), 113-115. See also Griffin 2000, op.cit. (n. 2), 64, 109-113.

²³ E.M. Moormann, 'Domus Aurea; Domus Tiberiana', in: *Lisippo. L'arte e la fortuna* (Milano 1995), 308.

²⁴ A. Winterling, *Aula Caesaris. Studien zur Institutionalisierung des römischen Kaiserhofes in der Zeit von Augustus bis Commodus (31 v.Chr.-192 n.Chr.)* (Munich 1999), 79 points at this well-known term of Th. Veblen from 1899.

²⁵ F. Coarelli, *Da Pergamo a Roma. I Galati nella città degli Attalidi* (Roma 1995), 14-15, 37. Cf. E.M. Moormann in: M. Cima & E. La Rocca (eds.), *Horti Romani: Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 4-6 maggio 1995* (Rome 1998), 357.

work of art like the Laocoon Group would have remained there. This does, however, not mean that this sculpture could not have formed an element in Nero's collection. The house of Titus reportedly held this and other works of art originating from Nero's collections.²⁶

A statue of Minerva was erected in the Curia after Nero's mother was assassinated and later it should have got a place in the (for us problematic) Atrium Minervae. This building or portico, around an open space, has been identified as the Chalcidicum. As a matter of fact, the statue reportedly would be exposed in the Chalcidicum after A.D. 68 and it is not difficult to guess why it had been removed from the Curia.²⁷

Among the portraits of the emperor we know of two exceptional cases, the Colossus by Zenodorus²⁸ and a painted effigy, equally of huge dimensions, viz. some 120 feet high, displayed in the Horti Maiani and damaged in the fire of 64.²⁹ Its shape is unknown and the form of the bronze giant erected in the vestibulum of the Golden House also remains speculative.

The Domus Transitoria and the Domus Aurea

As to the two most famous projects of Nero in Rome, the Domus Transitoria and the Domus Aurea, I want to argue that (1) the Temple of Claudius probably has not been constructed at all during Nero's reign, and (2) the large areas occupied by the two *domus* complexes had already been in imperial possession or were gradually acquired, giving Nero the possibility to realise his Golden House.

The Domus Transitoria is mentioned by Suetonius as a predecessor of the Domus Aurea.³⁰ The term *transitoria* alludes at the connection between properties on the Palatine and the Esquiline. The very nature of the complex, and its chronology, remain unknown. Apparently Nero wanted to establish a unity consisting of the traditional residence on the main hill of Rome and the series of *horti* in the then outskirts of the town, near the old burial grounds. Some *horti* on the Esquiline are known to have been the

²⁶ Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia* 36.37; E. Papi, LTUR II (Rome 1995), 199 s.v. Domus Titi Imperatoris.

²⁷ F. Zevi, LTUR I (Rome 1993), 135-136 s.v. Atrium Minervae.

²⁸ C. Lega, LTUR I (Rome 1993), 295 s.v. Colossus: Nero. Now fundamental: M. Bergmann, *Der Koloss Neros, die Domus Aurea und die Mentalitätswandel im Rom der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz 1994); Eadem, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz 1998), 190.

²⁹ Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia* 35.51. The Horti Maiani formed part of the Horti Lamiani.

³⁰ M. de Vos, LTUR II (Rome 1995), 199-202 s.v. Domus Transitoria.

property of the imperial family, from Augustus onwards. Maecenas, for example, left his 'gardens' to his friend, when he died in 8 BC.³¹

The construction of the Golden House over an area that occupied most of the centre of Rome caused the abolition of a series of older monuments. The Temple of the Fortuna Virgo was included in the grounds, as was the *Turris Maecenatis*.³² Pliny tells that Nero robbed precious materials from the Temple of the Fortuna Seiani, an old building, reportedly erected by Servius Tullius.³³ The most conspicuous monument mentioned in connection with the Golden House is the Temple of Divus Claudius at the Caelius.³⁴

The Temple of Divus Claudius

It is generally assumed that Nero interrupted the construction of the Temple of Divus Claudius in 64 and integrated the area into the *horti* of his Golden House. Nero's predecessor had been made *divus* by the Senate at the instigation of his widow Agrippina on October 13, A.D. 54, in contrast with Tiberius, whom was simply refused this honour, and Caligula, who was struck by a *damnatio memoriae*. In this way, Claudius acquired a touch of the divine Augustus, and so did his adoptive son Nero, who could be called *Divi filius*.³⁵ Agrippina had also taken the initiative of erecting a temple for her last husband on the Caelius, opposite the Palatine hill, probably on private property.³⁶

Almost nothing has been preserved of this huge project and the known elements date to the Flavian era. Some arches of the platform are still visible near and in the basilica of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The podium measured 200 x 160 metres. From the start of the construction of the Golden House, the Caelius was included into its park and the northern slope of the hill was changed into a large *nymphaeum*, a sort of Trevi fountain that could

³¹ C. Häuber, *LTUR III* (Rome 1996), 70-74 s.v. *Horti Maecenatis*; M. de Vos, *LTUR III* (Rome 1996), 74-75 s.v. *Horti Maecenatis*. "Auditorium". The *Turris Maecenatis* either formed part of some building or was a separate construction, *ibidem* p. 73. Contra: Y. Perrin, 'La Domus Aurea et l'idéologie néronienne', in: *Le système palatial en orient, en Grèce et à Rome* (Leiden 1987), 359-391, esp. 375-377; Idem, '*Turris Maecenatiana*: une note d'histoire et de topographie', *Latomus* 55 (1996), 399-410.

³² J. Aronen, *LTUR II* (Rome 1995), 279-280 s.v. Fortuna Virgo. For the tower see bibliography cited in note 31.

³³ Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia* 36.163. Cf. L. Anselmino & M.J. Strazzulla, *LTUR II* (Rome 1995), 278 s.v. Fortuna Seiani, aedes; D. Palombi, *Tra Palatino ed Esquilino: Velia, Carinae, Fagutal. Storia urbana di tre quartieri di Roma antica* (Rome 1997), 137; Scheithauer 2000, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 118 (no criticism in Pliny).

³⁴ C. Buzzetti, *LTUR I* (Rome 1993), 277-278 s.v. Claudius, Divus, Templum (Reg. III); Darwall-Smith 1996, *op.cit.* (n. 1), 48-55.

³⁵ Griffin 2000, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 96-99: title mainly used between 55 and 60.

³⁶ Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 9. On the dedication by Agrippina see D. Fishwick, 'Seneca and the Temple of Divus Claudius', *Britannia* 22 (1991), 137-142; Darwall-Smith 1996, *op.cit.* (n. 1), 40.

be seen from the pavilion on the Oppius Hill. Apart from the Oppius wing, it forms the only substantial construction of the Golden House complex not entirely demolished after Nero's death. The water for the *nymphaeum* came from the already-mentioned Arcus Neroniani.

The general view is that Nero was responsible for the interruption of the construction of the temple and extended his private grounds in a selfish way. However, the ancient sources do not accuse him openly of any sort of impiety.³⁷ But we may ask, as a consequence of the dramatic end to the previously warm affection between mother and son, whether the work on the temple had started at all or had been stopped in the first stage of the preparation of the surface. We know that their relationship was troubled as early as 55 and that, shortly after, Agrippina was sent into some kind of exile from public life.³⁸ She had to retire to Baiae, where she would be murdered in A.D. 59. These vicissitudes were dramatically described by Tacitus and retold by Werner Eck and A.A. Barrett in their monographs on Agrippina.³⁹ From these works one gets an image of the gloomy circumstances that caused her to retire from active political life.⁴⁰

I would like to argue that the grand project of the temple for the Divus Claudius had barely begun at all. Agrippina had no possibility to build it in or after 55 and probably lacked the power and money to have it carried out by others. Moreover, Nero fostered no warm feelings for his uncle, whom he used merely as an instrument in the succession.⁴¹ As a matter of fact, Miriam Griffin and Andrea Scheithauer see the interruption of the construction as a result of 'Diffamierung' of Claudius.⁴² An additional argument for my thesis is that the temple has not been depicted on Neronian coins. In my view, the works for the rearrangement of the hill's slopes to

³⁷ Scheithauer 2000, op.cit. (n. 2), 116.

³⁸ Tacitus, *Annales* 13.18 tells how she had to move out from the palace into the former house of Antonia on the Palatine as early as 55. During the workshop, in the discussion following my paper, Werner Eck suggested that Agrippina was ruled out at last at 11 February, 55, when Britannicus was murdered.

³⁹ A.A. Barrett, *Agrippina. Sex, Power, and Politics in the Early Empire* (New Haven/London 1996); Idem, *Agrippina. Mother of Nero* (New Haven/London 1996). Both editions have the same impagination. The information can be found in chapter 7, 'Mother', pp. 143-180, and chapter 8, 'The End', pp. 181-195. See also W. Eck, *Agrippina die Stadtgründerin Kölns. Eine Frau in der frühkaiserlichen politik* (Cologne 1993), 67-76, where the same image is sketched.

⁴⁰ In this context, it is not important whether Burrus and/or Seneca were involved in this alienation, as has been stipulated several times.

⁴¹ Barrett 1996, op.cit. (n. 39), 160 thinks that Agrippina asked for too much attention for Claudius. S.H. Rutledge, *Imperial Inquisitions. Prosecutors and Informants from Tiberius to Domitian* (London/New York 2001), 150-152 also stresses her instable position.

⁴² Griffin 2000, op.cit. (n. 2), 98; Scheithauer 2000, op.cit. (n. 2), 121. The latter also suggests that Agrippina's dedication instead of the emperor's one showed the same lack of reverence.

produce the walls of the podium of the temple were indeed started at an early point. The *nymphaeum* was installed at the moment Nero could construct the Golden House.

We know that Vespasian took up the old project and finished the temple. If I am right, one might even ask whether it was not this first Flavian emperor, who in fact started the building project. He may have included the temple in the entire management of the area around the former Stagnum Neronis, comprising the Palatine, the Caelius and the Oppius. An allusion to a formerly projected temple for Claudius fitted well into that strategy, according to which he abolished as completely as possible the memory of Nero. Moreover, the Flavian propaganda did not refrain from accusing Nero for stopping the construction of a temple dedicated to his honourable uncle Claudius. Nero would have offended the *pietas*, essential for a good name among Rome's elite.

The Flavians left the nymphaeum along the northern side of the hill untouched, where it could serve as a beautiful water-works not far from the Amphitheatrum Flavium and the Ludus Magnus, constructed under Domitian.⁴³

The area

An important point stressed in all considerations on the Golden House – and less on the Domus Transitoria – is the extent of its area. Some have calculated that it covered 50 hectares, C.C. van Essen even proposed that the surface area was 80 hectares, more or less double the area of the modern Vatican City.⁴⁴ It has been suggested that these grounds, covering the Palatine, the Velia, the Oppius, the Esquiline and part of the Caelius, plus the areas between these hills, were occupied more or less *ex novo* by the emperor, when he started the Golden House. The Great Fire facilitated this process, in that the emperor could incorporate the devastated areas in-between.

On the other hand, we know from Tacitus that a number of *horti* became the property of the emperor in the late Fifties and early Sixties and I would argue that it was already Nero's intention to obtain them.⁴⁵ We must date Nero's plans to extend his 'house' beyond the normal limits shortly after he came to power. Let me list the *horti* on the Esquiline in Nero's possession.⁴⁶

⁴³ Darwall-Smith 1996, op.cit. (n. 1), 218-219.

⁴⁴ See now in general: LTUR II (Rome 1995), 49-64 s.v. Domus Aurea (various authors); bibliographical addenda in LTUR V (Rome 1999), 244.

⁴⁵ De Kleijn 2001, op.cit. (n. 12), 239 stresses the extended area of the *horti*.

⁴⁶ Other gardens used by Nero are the Horti Sallustiani (see P. Innocenti & M.C. Leotta, LTUR III [Rome 1996], 79-81), imperial property on the Pincio, the Horti Serviliani (see L. Chioffi, LTUR III

- 1) Horti Lamiani, adjacent to the Horti Maecenatis; in imperial possession from Caligula (or previously?) or, at the latest, from A.D. 62 (M. Cima di Puolo, LTUR III [Roma 1996], 61-64);
- 2) Horti Lolliani, adjacent to Stazione Termini; imperial properties from Claudius onwards, probably after the exile of Lollia Paulina A.D. 49, when her possessions were confiscated (Tacitus, *Annales* 12.22; E. Papi, LTUR III [Roma 1996], 67);
- 3) Horti Maecenatis; imperial properties from 8 B.C. onwards (Cassius Dio 55.7.5) and incorporated into the Domus Aurea (Tacitus, *Annales* 15.39.40; C. Häuber, LTUR III [Roma 1996], 70-74);
- 4) Horti Pallantiani, near the so-called Temple of Minerva Medica; the proprietor, Nero's *libertus* Pallas killed 'by' Nero in A.D. 62, in order to gain possession of the grounds (Tacitus, *Annales* 14.65: *quod immensam pecuniam longa senecta detineret*; D. Manciola, LTUR III [Roma 1996], 77);
- 5) Horti Tauriani, taken over by Agrippina A.D. 53, who urged the proprietor T. Statilius Taurus to kill himself (Tacitus, *Annales* 12.59; E. Papi, LTUR III [Roma 1996], 85);
- 6) Horti Torquatiani, taken over by Nero A.D. 63, who urged the proprietor D. Iunius Torquatus Silanus to kill himself (Tacitus, *Annales* 15.35; D. Manciola, LTUR III [Roma 1996], 85-86).

As to the Palatine one sees how here the emperor gradually pushed out other proprietors, as if he were the young cuckoo in another bird's nest.⁴⁷ He followed a line started by his predecessor Claudius, who had begun the construction of the huge Domus Tiberiana.⁴⁸

I should say that the Domus Transitoria and the Domus Aurea are the result of a gradual process of annexation of properties throughout Rome. The Great Fire only facilitated the last step, viz. the connection between separate areas like the Palatine, Caelius and Oppius-Esquiline. The bought or stolen plots were mostly *horti*, i.e. big garden structures with sets of pavilions within them and various sorts of green areas.⁴⁹ The descriptions by Tacitus

[Roma 1996], 84), probably in the Ager Vaticanus, and the Nemus Caesarum in Trastevere (E. Papi, LTUR III [Roma 1996], 340; Tomei 2001, op.cit. [n.3]). Nero's powerful freedman Epaphroditus possessed gardens near the Porta Maggiore (D. Manciola, LTUR III [Roma 1996], 60).

⁴⁷ E. Papi, LTUR IV (Roma 1999), 28-38 s.v. Palatium (64-V sec. d.C.), esp. 28-29, 36-37 (interventions after the Fire; destruction of houses; roads); Winterling 1999, op.cit. (n. 24), 65-70, esp. 67.

⁴⁸ C. Krause, LTUR II (Roma 1995), 189-197 s.v. Domus Tiberiana, esp. 190; Idem, Domus Tiberiana I. Gli scavi, *Bollettino di Archeologia* 25-27 (1994 = 1998); Y. Perrin in this volume.

⁴⁹ See the important volumes by M. Cima & E. La Rocca (eds.), *Le tranquille dimore degli dei. La residenza imperiale degli horti Lamiani* (Roma 1986); Idem (eds.), 1998, op.cit. (n.25). On

and Suetonius of the vast park – to be imagined like the Villa Hadriana at Tivoli – can thus be explained from the fact that many elements already existed and had only to be integrated by Nero into his new concept. In my view, therefore, the Golden House was not the *ex novo* result of only four years work. The descriptions by Tacitus and Suetonius seem to exaggerate in this respect.⁵⁰ The texts possibly contain personal observations of the authors, who could have visited the parts of the Golden House that remained in use, such as *horti*, and especially those on the Esquiline. One may think, for instance, of the Horti Lamiani, originally part of Nero's Golden House where the famous statue of Commodus as Hercules was found, as testifying to the continuing use of the *horti* through the 2nd and 3rd centuries.⁵¹

Whether Nero opened the gardens to the public like some of his predecessors had done is unknown. As a matter of fact, the people struck by the Great Fire were first sheltered in Nero's Gardens (Tacitus, *Annales* 15.39.2). And a number of Christians, being regarded as the culprits of this disaster, was burnt in the gardens, which were made freely accessible for this 'spectacle' (Tacitus, *Annales* 15.44). It remains unclear, in both cases, which gardens were meant, but the execution of the Christians is generally considered to have been located in the Vatican area, in the Gardens of Agrippina, not far from the circus of Gaius. The term 'spectacle' implies a great number of visitors.⁵²

Finally, we may turn to Flavian propaganda. In the anti-Neronian vein of this period the notion of *Roma reddita sibi* fitted well. But, who, in fact, was seriously harmed, apart from the people who had been urged to commit suicide? It was only the elite who lamented the extravagance of the emperor. The mob apparently easily consented to the construction of the Golden House, as they had never before obtained access to these grand *horti* on the Esquiline.

terminology see N. Purcell, 'Dialectical gardening', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14 (2001), 546-556; p. 551 on the Golden House.

⁵⁰ Tacitus, *Annales* 15.42; Suetonius, *Nero* 31. Cf. W.J.Th. Peters, 'Tacitus en Suetonius over het park van Nero's domus aurea', in: *Noctes Noviomagenses J.C.F. Nuchelmans ab amicis oblatae* (Weesp 1985), 105-117; E.M. Moormann, '“Vivere come un uomo”. L'uso dello spazio nella *Domus Aurea*', in: Cima & La Rocca 1998, op.cit. (n. 25), 345-361, esp. 359-360 with bibliography.

⁵¹ Cima & La Rocca 1986, op.cit. (n. 49), 88-95; O.J. Hekster, *Commodus. An Emperor at the Crossroads* (Amsterdam 2002), 121-122.

⁵² See most recently Tomei 2001, op.cit. (n. 3) 37-39.

Conclusion

Nero does not seem to have put a typically political or public stamp on the image of the town. There is no 'Macht der Bilder' to be attributed to his personal interventions. If he did, it was a personal move, satisfying his personal needs to 'live like a man'.

Even the mode of wall decoration, called the Fourth Style, existed previously and did not change radically during this period. The remains of the Domus Aurea on the Oppius show a set of rich paintings on walls and vaults, but these are undoubtedly of secondary importance to the marble floor and wall revetments in the main rooms. Wall decoration was not the means to display luxury in an emperor's palace. A novelty is the introduction of marbling at a great scale. We see it for the first time in public buildings like the Forum Augustum at the end of the 1st century B.C., and for the first time in private context – as far as we know – in the nymphaeum and the surrounding rooms pertaining to the Domus transitoria on the Palatine. The imperial atmosphere was enhanced by the exhibition of numerous works of art.

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OVERCOMING THE BARBARIAN. DEPICTIONS OF ROME'S
ENEMIES IN TRAJANIC MONUMENTAL ART

By
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Discourse on Roman imperialism has traditionally centred on a perspective firmly reflecting ancient élite sources, with the actions and motives of the Roman state being of paramount concern. Opponents to Roman ordering of the world, the 'neighbours' outside the empire, have generally taken second place in a hierarchy of scholarly priorities. This has been the case for a number of readily comprehensible reasons, not least of which is the symbiosis between Roman imperial studies and the past outlooks of researchers working against a contemporary imperial backdrop or in a post-colonial world still dominated by imperial 'consequences'. The priority of a Roman cultural gradient over both 'native' societies within the boundaries of the empire, and neighbouring groupings without, is striking and continues to be prominent in discourses on 'Romanisation'. Reference to the 'native background' in Roman provincial discussions before the 1990s, automatically both reinforced and perpetuated traditionalist models of culture change.

Certainly there was 'Romanisation' whereby elements of Roman Mediterranean culture did have an impact on a great range of core and hinterland societies. Urban institutions and elite practices, religious mechanisms, language and the 'contact culture' of military systems undeniably spread – the 'benefits of civilisation' in the traditional view. However, it has less often been seriously asked how cultural contacts and the existence of empire reflected back on the dominant culture, how the barbarians changed Rome whilst they were being acculturated. Moreover, a conservative over-dependence on the ancient elite literary record to provide both framework and outlook for the treatment of other, mainly

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archaeologically derived, data has often relegated ‘natives’ to a subordinate proto-historic or non-historic position.¹

There is a clear similarity here with modern discourses concerning more recent imperialisms. The idea that the rulers gave and the ruled took without cultural return has led to similar one-way perceptions. This is one of the thrusts of Edward Said’s *Culture and Imperialism* which attempts to establish greater appreciation of exchange:

“The asymmetry is striking. In one instance we assume that the better part of history in colonial territories was a function of the imperial intervention; in the other, there is an equally obstinate assumption that colonial undertakings were marginal and perhaps even eccentric to the central activities of the great metropolitan cultures. Thus, the tendency in anthropology, history and cultural studies in Europe and the United States is to treat the whole of world history as viewable by a kind of Western super-subject, whose historicizing and disciplinary rigour either takes away, or, in the post-colonial period, restores history to people and cultures ‘without’ history. Few full-scale critical studies have focussed on the relationship between modern Western imperialism and its culture, the occlusion of that deeply symbiotic relationship being a result of the relationship itself.”²

A special symbiosis has been created by modern imperialism being fuelled by modern perceptions of Roman imperial power, sometimes specifically because the same geographical regions were involved (e.g. Italian aspirations in North Africa), sometimes because it was thought desirable to adopt supposed Roman imperial iconographic symbols (e.g. the use of the imperial eagle as a logo for successive Napoleonic régimes, or the *fasces* by 20th

¹ For introductions to the growing literature of this debate see M. Wood & F. Queiroga (ed.), *Current Research on the Romanization of the Western Provinces*, BAR International Series 575 (Oxford 1992); J. Webster & N. Cooper (ed.), *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives* (Leicester 1996); G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998); E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations and Failures*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 38 (Portsmouth 2000).

² E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London 1993), 40.

century fascist régimes).³ However, amongst many other major differences between Roman and modern imperialisms was the lack of any decisive technological gap between the Roman army and its adversaries on the battlefield. There was no Roman ‘Military Revolution’ in weaponry of a 16th to 19th century European kind,⁴ no need for the equivalent of Ellis’s *Social History of the Machine Gun*⁵ to explore technological advantages over Rome’s barbarian neighbours. Indeed, Roman military equipment was not only at the same ‘tec-level’ as the matériel of other peoples, but it was often made up of borrowings from other peoples, the ‘Roman’ element being largely the *combination* of arms and armour usages.⁶ Such a lack of Roman imperial technological superiority alone potentially made for profound differences between ancient and modern perceptions of the ‘barbarian’ or ‘native’ or ‘other’. Nevertheless, there is great potential for cross-fertilisation between Roman studies and recent research on other imperialisms.⁷ For

³ The eagle was employed to link military activities with Jupiter Capitolinus, the patron god of the Roman state, as with legionary *aquilae*, and the eagle-wings with *fulmina* blazons on shields carried by 1st to 2nd century AD citizen troops. The eagle was not generally employed separately as a state ‘logo’ in the manner of Habsburg imperial, German fascist, Mexican or U.S.A. eagles. The *fascies* represented individual magistrates and the emperor, and were depicted on the funerary monuments of such officials, but not to represent the state *per se* (see T. Schäfer, *Imperii Insignia: sella curulis und fascies. Zur Repräsentation römischer Magistrate* (Mainz 1989)).

⁴ See G. Parker, *The Military Revolution. Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800* (Cambridge 1988), chapter 4. The confidence imparted by technologically superior weaponry could become arrogant over-confidence, and consequent defeats of colonial armies by ‘natives’ were commensurately more shocking, as in the Retreat from Kabul (1842), Little Big Horn (1876), Isandlwana (1879), Adowa (1896) etc. See G. Fincham, ‘Writing colonial conflict, acknowledging colonial weakness’, in G. Fincham, G. Harrison, R. Holland & L. Revell (eds.), *TRAC 2000. Proceedings of the Tenth Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (Oxford 2001), 25-34.

⁵ J. Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun* (London 1993), 79-109.

⁶ Indeed Roman metallurgical technology was sometimes inferior to the capabilities of adversaries. The one obvious area of Roman superiority over all adversaries during the principate was artillery developments. See M.C. Bishop & J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome* (London 1993), 81; 194-195; 202-205.

⁷ For multi-period studies see P.D.A. Garnsey & C.R. Whittaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge 1978); J.A. Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies* (Cambridge 1988); S.E. Alcock, T.N. D’Altroy, K.D. Morrison & C.M. Sinopoli (eds.), *Empires. Perspectives from Archaeology and History* (Cambridge 2001). For discussions of the interrelations between Roman and British imperialisms see P. Freeman, ‘British imperialism and the Roman empire’, in Webster & Cooper 1996, op.cit. (n.1), 19-34; R. Hingley, ‘The ‘legacy’ of Rome: the rise, decline, and fall of the theory of Romanization’, in Webster & Cooper 1996, op.cit. (n.1), 35-48; R. Hingley, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: the Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology* (New York 2000). It has long been the practice to combine multi-period studies of military history within the same volume, e.g. J. Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London 1978); J. Hackett, *Warfare in the Ancient World*

instance, Kennedy's clear demonstration that an empire is in 'decline' once it starts to devote significant resources to defence rather than to expansion, has clear implications for the study of Roman frontier defences, especially if the principate of Trajan is regarded as the high-water mark of Roman military expansion and, indeed, over-extension.⁸

What follows is an examination of metropolitan Roman attitudes towards the 'barbarian' as expressed through the sculptures on Trajanic display monuments. The latter were created at the apogee of imperial strength in a triumphalist and confident style. Moreover, they are not merely singled out by accidents of survival and preservation, but they represent a combination of both traditional imperial rhetoric and the injection of hitherto unprecedented levels of verisimilitude into presentation of the barbarian enemy. The latter had been contacted in peace and war in the Danubian region for over a century. In one way or another, as ambassadors, exiles, prisoners of war, or as slaves, they had become familiar to Rome's élites and to her urban masses. Yet, under Trajan, these barbarians leapt for the first time into sharp focus in terms of dress, hairstyle and military equipment. Modern commentators may therefore attempt ethnographic identifications, but what makes this exercise so much more interesting and informative is the concern first with *Roman* ethnographic perceptions, and only second with the actualities of Danubian cultural formations. Moreover, this enquiry can be enhanced and informed by comparisons with the methods by which other imperial polities perceived and presented their own enemies in display art.

(London 1989); E. Carlton, *War and Ideology* (London 1990); P. Griffiths, *Forward Into Battle. Fighting Tactics from Waterloo to the Near Future* (Swindon 1990); A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Battle in Antiquity* (London 1996); J. Carman (ed.), *Material Harm. Archaeological Studies of War and Violence* (Glasgow 1997); J. Carmen & A. Harding (eds.), *Ancient Warfare. Archaeological Perspectives* (Stroud 1999); P. Bentley Kern, *Ancient Siege Warfare* (London 1999); V.D. Hanson, *Why the West Has Won. Nine Landmark Battles in the Brutal History of Western Victory* (London 2001); P.M.W. Freeman & A. Pollard (eds.), *Fields of Conflict. Progress and Prospect in Battlefield Archaeology*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 958 (Oxford 2001).

⁸ P. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers. Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (London 1988), xvii; 298; 408. Cf. E.N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore 1976), chapter 2. For Roman expansion and military exploration see C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor 1991), 85-94.

Ancient 'barbarian' iconography

In the field of Roman state iconography no period is better represented than the 2nd century AD.⁹ The sculptures of largely intact monuments such as Trajan's Column,¹⁰ the Great Trajanic Frieze,¹¹ and the Column of Marcus Aurelius¹² provide literally thousands of representations of barbarians 'interacting' with the Roman emperors and their forces. Scenes of Roman victory and barbarian defeat, followed by submission and captivity commonly lauded the achievements of emperor and army in war. These have the character of having been executed at the centre of the empire, the core rather than the periphery, by sculptors with little or no direct experience of frontier 'reality'. Thus they may more closely represent elite imperialist perceptions at 'home' of distant enemies – the 'metropolitan' view in Said's terms. Moreover, there are contemporaneous works on the frontiers, such as the *Tropaeum Traiani* (Adamclissi, Romania)¹³ and private gravestone art,¹⁴

⁹ In general see P.G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art with Special Reference to the State Reliefs of the 2nd Century* (København 1945); D.E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture* (London 1961); D.E. Strong, *Roman Art* (London 1980), 128-132; 141-159; N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Aarhus 1986); D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven 1992), 183-194; 212-235; G.M. Koepfel, 'Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit, III, stadtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus trajanischer Zeit', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 185 (1985), 143-213; G.M. Koepfel, 'Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit, IV, stadtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus hadrianischer bis konstantinischer Zeit', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 186 (1986), 1-90; Bishop & Coulston 1993, op.cit. (n.6), 19-24.

¹⁰ Fully reproduced in W. Froehner, *La Colonne Trajane* (Paris 1872-1874); C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule* (Berlin 1896-1900); K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule. Ein römisches Kunstwerk zu Beginn der Spätantike* (Berlin 1926); F.B. Florescu, *Die Trajanssäule* (Bucaresti & Bonn 1969); F. Lepper & S. Frere, *Trajan's Column* (Gloucester 1988); S. Settis (ed.), *La Colonna Traiana* (Torino 1988); G.M. Koepfel, 'Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit, VIII. Der Fries der Trajanssäule in Rom, Teil 1: Der Erste Dakische Krieg, Szenen I-LXXVIII', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 191 (1991), 135-198; G.M. Koepfel, 'Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit, IX. Der Fries der Trajanssäule in Rom, Teil 2: Der Zweite Dakische Krieg, Szenen LXXIX-CLV', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 192 (1992), 61-122; F. Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan* (Roma 2000). Cichorius is the best of these, Lepper and Frere the worst. Settis is in colour photography carried out before cleaning in the 1990s. See J.C.N. Coulston, 'Three new books on Trajan's Column', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3 (1990), 290-309. The Trajan's Column scene numbering system employed throughout the present study is that defined by Cichorius 1896-1900.

¹¹ A.M. Leander Touati, *The Great Trajanic Frieze. The Study of a Monument and of the Mechanisms of Message Transmission in Roman Art* (Stockholm 1987).

¹² Fully reproduced in E. Petersen, A. von Domaszewski & G. Calderini, *Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom* (Monaco 1896); C. Caprino, *La Colonna di Marco Aurelio* (Roma 1955). The Marcus Column scene numbering system employed throughout the present study is that defined by Petersen *et al.* 1896.

¹³ F.B. Florescu, *Die Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi: Tropaeum Traiani* (Bucaresti 1965, 3rd ed.).

often executed by soldiers drawing upon their own direct experience of non-Roman cultures, which may be used as a 'control' for metropolitan iconography. In Rome this was art for a public audience with content presumably, in some sense (although the mechanisms of commission and supervision are completely unknown), approved of by the régime and the elite of Roman society.¹⁵ The latter's outlook may of course be revealed by comparative studies of contemporary elite literature, such as Tacitus' *Agricola* and *Germania*, and the writings of Plinius Minor.¹⁶

Much which characterises the extraordinarily well preserved Trajan's Column was innovative and unprecedented, but of course triumphalist art was not invented in the early 2nd century AD. Various régimes back into the Bronze Age chose to commemorate and advertise military achievements, dedicating careful thought to the problems of depiction. The features which act as a unifying element for such works, including those of the 2nd century AD, are: the common range of subject matter (marches, reviews, battles, sieges, submissions etc.); the necessity for intelligible conventions and clear depiction, thus the development of iconographic conventions and ethno-cultural stereotypes; and the usual context of execution on a vertical wall. The last point is crucial, whether it involved a temple *pylon*, the walls of a palace, a tomb, or a dedicated monument such as a triumphal arch or column. The central problem was the translation of key actions such as battles and

¹⁴ Collected in A. Hofmann, *Römische Militärgrabsteine der Donauländer* (Wien 1905); E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine* (Paris 1907-1966); E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine* (Paris 1931); A. Schober, *Die römische Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien* (Wien 1923); H. Ubl, *Waffen und Uniform des römischen Heeres der Prinzipatsepoche nach den Grabreliefs Noricums und Pannoniens* (Wien 1969, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis); E. Pfühl & H. Mobius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz 1977); N. Benseddik, *Les troupes auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Mauretanie Césarienne sous le Haut-Empire* (Algiers 1979); M. Schleiernacher, *Römische Reitergrabsteine. Die kaiserzeitlichen Reliefs der triumphierender Reiter* (Bonn 1984); C. Franzoni, *Habitus atque habitudo militis. Monumenti funerari di militari nella Cisalpina romana* (Roma 1987); R. Tufi, *Militari romani sul Reno* (Roma 1988); plus volumes in the *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* for Britain, Germany, Austria, Poland and Hungary.

¹⁵ For Trajan's principate see R. Scheiper, *Bildpropaganda der römischen Kaiser unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Traianssäule in Rom und korrespondierender Münzen* (Bonn 1982).

¹⁶ Cf. Livius 21.4.5-10; Velleius Paterculus 2.104.3-4; Tacitus, *Agricola* 20; 22; 33-38; *Germania* 18-22; *Historiae* 2.5; Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 7.142-147; Plinius Minor, *Panegyricus* 13; 15; 19; *Epistulae* 8.4 (fitting subjects for a Dacian war history); Plutarch, *Cato* 1.6-7; Fronto, *Ad Lucium Verum imp.* 9-15; Dio Cassius 68.8; 68.8.14; 68.8.23; 69.9; SHA, *Hadrianus* 10.2-11.1.

sieges which took place on an essentially flat or undulating plain with breadth and depth, onto a vertical, two-dimensional wall.

Common conventions included the employment of a 'stacked' or 'bird's-eye view' perspective over scenery and human figures arranged in lines, 'flocks' or confused masses.¹⁷ Because actions had to be visually intelligible, it was often necessary for human figures to be comparatively larger than life, dominating scenery, such as trees, walls and siege machines. A king or emperor was often rendered in even larger scale to denote status and to clarify his actions. Commonly the forces of said ruler were represented in ordered bodies or lines, whilst those of the 'barbarian' were disordered and confused. Thus the viewer was invited to infer irregularity, military inferiority and indiscipline for the adversary, leading to inevitable defeat. The careful depiction of specific cultural features such as clothing, weaponry and hairstyle also became a *topos* of enemy identification.

A number of pre-Roman examples may serve to illustrate these features and also to place the 2nd century AD material in a developmental context. In Pharaonic Egyptian art the king was depicted on large scale wall sculptures battling a series of cardinal enemies who were clearly identified not just in the inscriptions but visually by their skin-tones, hairstyles and dress. Notably Seti I (1294-1279 BC) and Ramesses II (1279-1213 BC) were shown destroying Libyans to the west; Nubians to the south; Bedouin, Canaanites, Syrians and Hittites to the east.¹⁸ In the time of Ramesses III

¹⁷ See Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, op.cit. (n.10), 88-108; 141-144; Hamberg 1945, op.cit. (n. 9), 108-119; 162-172. For previous comparisons made between Egyptian, Assyrian and Roman documentary reliefs see A. La Regina, 'Ferocia barbarica. La rappresentazione dei vinti tra Medio Oriente e Roma', *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 109 (1994), 8-26; Fig. 5-22; C.M. Gilliver, *The Roman Art of War* (London 1999), 67; 131; Fig. 27-28; 49. This is to suggest similar solutions applied to similar iconographic problems, rather than a direct continuity of influence from the second millennium BC down to the 2nd century AD, although see H.P. Laubscher, 'Zur Bildtradition in ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit', *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 111 (1996), 225-248.

¹⁸ G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (London 1997), Fig. 55; 95; 155; 160; 209-210; R. Schulz & M. Seidel (eds.), *Egypt. The World of the Pharaohs* (Köln 1998), 34; 40; 124; 163; 165; 169; 190; 322; 369. The bound, standing barbarians on polychrome glazed tiles from Medinet Habu are a particularly evocative set of depictions, rather similar to the barbarians tied to palm trees on the Adamclissi crenellations discussed below (Robins 1997, Fig. 4; Schulz & Seidel 1998, 396). Commonly the motif of the pharaoh hunting large and dangerous animals was also used as an image of his maintenance of order (*ibid.*, 199 (Seti I); D. Wildung, *Egypt from Prehistory to the Romans* (Köln 1997), 144 (Ramesses III)). The Roman emperor combating natural forces may similarly be seen in the Hadrianic hunting *tondi* of the Arch of Constantine in Rome (G. Calcani, 'I tondi dell'arco: Adriano e Costantino', in *Adriano. Architettura e Progetto* (Milano 2000), 137-147). For

(1183-1152 BC), the Sea Peoples who attacked from the north and west appear on walls at Medinet Habu being bloodily crushed in land migrations and sea battles.¹⁹ These Egyptian artworks were perhaps seen only by a narrow priestly elite within monumental complexes, but the act of depiction itself had power and thus contributed to a quintessential royal function. Even the militarily inexperienced young pharaoh Tutankhamun was depicted on his funerary furniture riding down barbarian hosts in his chariot.²⁰ Thus Egypt was maintained by the pharaoh's military prowess and his relationship with the gods, a centre of order surrounded by barbarian chaos.²¹

The sculptures which decorated the walls of 9th – 7th century BC Assyrian palaces at Nimrud, Nineveh and Khorsabad (Iraq) are another instructive area of monumental art, perhaps one designed to have been seen by a wider audience of courtiers and foreign diplomats.²² Elamite, Chaldaean, Samaritan, Bedouin and Egyptian foes are identified by cuneiform inscriptions, but also by dress, hairstyle and equipment.²³ In particular, conventions were developed to render intelligible significant activities during siege-warfare, and to clearly signal enemy defeat and submission. Similarly, in the Achaemenid palace sculptures of Persepolis in Iran, great lines of tribute-bearers are identifiable by

hunting and modern imperialism see J.M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature. Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester 1988).

¹⁹ N.K. Sanders, *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Eastern Mediterranean, 1250-1150 BC* (London 1978), Fig. 1; 66-69; 76-84; 86-93.

²⁰ Robins 1997, op.cit. (n.18), Fig. 189; Schulz & Seidel 1998, op.cit. (n.18), 240.

²¹ For Pharaonic relations with foreigners in general see B. Kemp, 'Imperialism and empire in New Kingdom Egypt', in Garnsey & Whittaker 1978, op.cit. (n.7), 7-57; 'The Egyptians of the New Kingdom. The enemy as 'non-people'', in Carlton 1990, op.cit. (n.7), 34-44; I. Shaw, 'Egypt and the outside world', in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford 2000), 314-329. For general studies of the battle reliefs see I. Shaw, 'Battle in ancient Egypt: the triumph of Horus or the cutting edge of the temple economy?', in Lloyd 1996, op.cit. (n.7), 239-269. See now S.C. Heinz, *Die Feldzugdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: eine Bildanalyse* (Wien 2001).

²² J.M. Russell, *Sennacherib's Palace Without Rival at Nineveh* (Chicago 1991), 8: "A survey of Assyrian records...suggests that the potential audience for the neo-Assyrian palace inscriptions included the king and his family, courtiers, Assyrian citizens, foreigners, future kings, and gods". In general see *ibid.*, 223-240; 251-252; J.E. Curtis & J.E. Reade, *Art and Empire* (London 1995), 39-42; 92-93; J. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture* (London 1998).

²³ Notably R.D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia* (London 1960), Pl. 15-16; 33-34; 38; 44-49; 108-128; R.D. Barnett & M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 BC)* (London 1962), Pl. VII; XIV; XXIV; LXX; XCVI; CXVII; R.D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 BC)* (London 1976), Pl. XVII-V; XVIII-XXV; XXVIII-XXX; XXXII-VI; LX-XI; LXVI-XIX; Russell 1991, op.cit. (n.22), Fig. 68-69; 71; 80; 83-84; 89-91; 111; 113; Curtis & Reade 1995, op.cit. (n.22), No. 4; 13; 20-22; 24-25; Reade 1998, op.cit. (n.22), Fig. 43; 63; 66-68; 90; 96; 98-107.

their headgear, dress, hairstyle and weapons, and by the nature of their gifts for the King of Kings.²⁴ On the other hand, the nine defeated kings who exhibit a range of attires on the Bisitun (Iran) cliff relief of Darius I (c. 520-519 BC) were open to a much wider public scrutiny.²⁵

The art and literature of the Greek world also clearly identified ‘barbarians’ in ways which have been explored by various modern studies.²⁶ Greek concern to clearly represent the non-Greek ‘other’ also manifested itself in visual *topoi*. Persians, Thracians, Skythians and Africans were distinguished by their ethnic features, dress and weapons. ‘Civilised’ Greeks went heroically naked whilst barbarians were dressed, the complete opposite of the 17th –20th century colonial-imperialist perception of regular troops in uniforms combating ‘naked savages’. Alternatively, Greeks wore characteristic hoplite panoply which imparted an armoured uniformity and, especially with the large hoplite shield, a visual distinction. However, at the same time the wearing of short-sleeved, high-skirted tunics inferred heroic nudity by the exposure of limbs.²⁷ A general exception to clothed barbarians was the appearance of naked ‘Gauls’ in Hellenistic art. This is despite the known use of mail armour and helmets by northern peoples, as evidenced by items present, for example, on the Athena Polias precinct colonnade panels from Pergamon (Turkey).²⁸ The latter belonged to a genre presenting trophy *spolia* or *congeries armorum* which is later much developed under the Roman emperors (discussed below). The communication of these conventions of Greek and barbarian depiction was much more socially inclusive than in the arts of earlier periods previously

²⁴ A.U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (Oxford 1938), Pl. 84; 91-94; 96-98; J. Curtis, *Ancient Persia* (London 2000), Fig. 50-59. Closely paralleled in prose by Herodotos 7.61-95.

²⁵ J. Weisshöfer, *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD* (London 1996), Pl. I; Curtis 2000, op.cit. (n.24), Fig. 42.

²⁶ For example E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian. Greek Self-Definition Through Tragedy* (Oxford 1989); F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier. Archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique* (Paris 1990), 67-149; F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus. The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* (Berkeley 1998).

²⁷ Clothed barbarians: P. Ducrey, *Guerre et guerriers dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1985), Fig. 50; 63; 70; 73; 80; 93; 144; 153-154; 166; 179; A. Scholl, ‘Der ‘Perser’ und die ‘skythischen Bogenschützen’ aus dem Kerameikos’, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 111 (1996), 79-112. Heroic (semi-)nudity: Ducrey 1985, Fig. 2; 28; 33; 40; 84-87; 95; 142; 145; 166; 190. For the careful distinction of hoplites from other forms of troops by their equipment see Lissarrague 1990, op.cit. (n.26).

discussed. Sculptures, frescoes and floor mosaics²⁹ executed primarily for elite viewing were joined in the Classical and Hellenistic periods by massive numbers of lower value painted ceramics and terracottas.³⁰

Pre-Trajanic Roman representations of barbarians generally emphasised western adversaries. The indigenous depiction of Spanish warriors with well observed equipment in sculpture, on ceramics, and on coins continued into the later Roman Republican period but did not spread much outside Iberia.³¹ There is some evidence in the form of terracottas from Canosa (Italy)³² and other, metal figurines³³ that a convention of short tunic, small round shield, and corkscrew hair and beard was employed for Numidians. In contrast, and building on Hellenistic conventions, Gauls were depicted naked, but shield-forms, helmets, horns and military standards also played a key part in identification.³⁴ Germans were represented wearing trousers and cloak, but not tunic.³⁵ Trophies and *congeries armorum* artworks emphasised the Gallic artefacts but through the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD the latter were joined by Hellenising elements, such as

²⁸ Ducrey 1985, op.cit. (n.27), Fig. 151-152; 182; R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London 1991), Fig. 118-132; E. Polito, *I Galati Vinti. Il trionfo sui barbari da Pergamo a Roma* (Milano 1999). For 'Celtic' armour see P. Connolly, *Greece and Rome at War* (London 1981), 120-125.

²⁹ E.g. N. Jidejian, *Sidon* (Beirut 1971), Pl. 32-57; M.B. Hatzopoulos & L.D. Loukopoulos (eds.), *Philip of Macedon* (Athens 1980), Fig. 49; A. Cohen, *The Alexander Mosaic. Stories of Victory and Defeat* (Cambridge 1997), Fig. 5-7; 20; 32-35; 66; Smith 2000, op.cit. (n.28), Fig. 226.

³⁰ See Ducrey 1985, op.cit. (n.27), Fig. 50; 62-63; 70; 72; 75; 80; 150; 166; Lissarrague 1990, op.cit. (n.26), Fig. 18; 22; 27; 29-35; 72-74; F. Lissarrague, 'The Athenian image of the foreigner', in T. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians* (London 2002), 101-124. See also Hall 1989, op.cit. (n.26), 84-86 for the use of ethnic dress as theatrical stage costume.

³¹ Discussed in detail with the artefactual record by F. Quesada Sanz, *El armament ibérico. Estudio tipológico, geográfico, funcional, social y simbólico de las armas en la cultura ibérica (siglos VI-I a.C.)* (Montagnac 1997).

³² M.I. Rostovtzeff, 'Numidian horsemen on Canosa vases', *American Journal of Archaeology* 32 (1942), 263-267; Connolly 1981, op.cit. (n.28), 148. Cf. Trajan's Column Scene LXIV and Dio Cassius 68.32.4.

³³ N. Franken, 'Elefantreiter. Zum Typus der Barbarenstatuette aus Großsachsenheim', *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 114 (1999), 125-156.

³⁴ P. Bienkowski, *Les celtes dans les artes mineurs Grecs-Romaines avec des recherches iconographiques sur quelques autres peuples barbares* (Cracow 1928); I.M. Ferris, *Enemies of Rome. Barbarians Through Roman Eyes* (Stroud 2000), Fig. 4; 6; 10; 16-18. For modern receptions of these images see T. Champion, 'The power of the picture. The image of the ancient Gaul', in B.L. Molyneux (ed.), *The Cultural Life of Images. Visual Representation in Archaeology* (London 1997), 213-229.

³⁵ G. Girke, *Die Tracht der Germanen in der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit* (Leipzig 1922); K. Schumacher, *Germanendarstellungen I, Darstellungen aus dem Altertum* (Mainz 1935); Ferris 2000, op.cit. (n.34), Fig. 52; 54; 65; 69; 75; 77; 84.

muscled cuirasses, Attic helmets, *rostra* and even artillery-pieces.³⁶ This mix reached its apogee under Domitian with such works as the 'Armilustrum' panels from Rome (now in Firenze)³⁷ and the 'Trofei di Mario', also from Rome and now on the Campidoglio (Plates VI, fig. 1).³⁸ The great Domitianic altar erected at Ephesos (Turkey) bears the same Hellenising pastiche but with one solitary sword the 'wavy' blade of which may represent a naïve attempt to depict a Dacian *falx* (see below).³⁹

Trajanic realism

The Trajanic period monuments already mentioned, together with other less complete statues and reliefs of barbarians, represent an extraordinary injection of new iconographic detail. 'New', hitherto unfigured enemies appear. Most notably the *congeries armorum* on the pedestal of Trajan's Column were purged of Hellenising intrusions, being an accurate, still-life study in stone of barbarian equipment (Pl. VI, fig. 2-3).⁴⁰

The vast majority of enemies on Trajan's Column are identifiable from the context of Trajan's northern wars as Dacians from the Carpathian region (modern Romania). They wear long trousers, long-sleeved tunics with side-split skirts, rectangular cloaks and, sometimes, soft 'Phrygian' caps (Pl. VI, fig. 8, 11, 13, 14).⁴¹ Similar figures on a colossal scale decorated the forum

³⁶ E. Polito, *Fulgentibus Armis. Introduzione allo studio dei fregi d'armi antichi* (Roma 1998), Fig. 61-62; 75; 78-81; 99-101; 108-111; 114-118; 121-122; 126; 142; 147; 153; 159.

³⁷ J.W. Crous, 'Florentiner Waffenpeiler und Armilustrum', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 48 (1933), 1-119; Polito 1998, op.cit. (n.36), 204, Fig. 146; A. Tempesta, 'I rilievi con armi Cesi: ipotesi di ricomposizione ed interpretazione', *Bullettino Comunale* 94 (1991-1992), Fig. 19; 20.

³⁸ S. Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains I, Les Ensembles* (Paris 1909), 289-290; E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London 1962), II, Fig. 839-840; Ferris 2000, op.cit. (n.34), Fig. 74. The dating of these works (the Firenze panels and the Campidoglio trophies) is almost purely stylistic, as is the attribution of other *congeries* panels on the Campidoglio (Tempesta 1991-1992, op.cit. (n.37), Fig. 1-2).

³⁹ If indeed this is not the upper limb of a bow. See E. Lessing & W. Oberleitner, *Ephesos. Weltstadt der Antike* (Wien-Heidelberg 1978), Pl. 87; Polito 1998, op.cit. (n.36), 214.

⁴⁰ O. Gamber, 'Dakische und sarmatische Waffen auf der Traianssäule', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Sammlungs Wien* 60 (1964), 7-34; Polito 1998, op.cit. (n.36), 192-196, Fig. 128-129.

⁴¹ Florescu 1965, op.cit. (n.13), 587-632; Florescu 1969, op.cit. (n.10), 112-117; J. Pinkerneil, *Studien zu den Trajanischen Dakerdarstellungen* (Freiburg 1983), 80-91. Dio Cassius 68.9.1 noted that aristocratic Dacians were marked by the wearing of caps but, if true, this was not adequately communicated to the Column sculptors. Apart from on Decebalus, caps are shown worn randomly in crowd scenes without regard to wearer's function or status.

complex in which the Column was situated (Pl. VI, fig. 4).⁴² Others are seen on the Great Trajanic Frieze, often with longer skirts.⁴³ Such figures appear bound to trees on the crenellations and on some metopes of the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamclissi (Pl. VI, fig. 18).⁴⁴ On the Column the Dacians carry wolf-headed wind-sock standards ('*dracones*'; Pl. VI, fig. 2, 8).⁴⁵

A second type on the Column wears trousers and cloak but, lacking a tunic, is bare-chested and bare-armed.⁴⁶ The hair is twisted up into a knot on the side of the head (Pl. VI, fig. 16). These men correspond closely with the *Tropaeum Traiani* metope figures and other crenellation prisoners,⁴⁷ with the already discussed Germanic barbarian figural type, and with what is known from Tacitus and other iconography of the 'Suebian' German hair-knot (*nodus*).⁴⁸ There is even one example of a preserved actual knot on a skull from Osterby in Schleswig-Holstein (Germany).⁴⁹ A third type of barbarian, figured in only one Trajan's Column scene (C), wears an ankle-length skirted garment which is also seen on the Adamclissi crenellations (Pl. VI, fig. 12,

⁴² P. Zanker, 'Trajansforum (Sitzung am 13. Mai 1969)', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1970), 510-512, Fig. 11-18; Pinkerneil 1983, op.cit. (n.41), 124-234; 287-247; R.M. Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren. Orientalenstatuen aus farbigen Marmor in der römischen Repräsentationskunst* (Worms 1986), 162-165; L. Ungaro, 'I Daci', *Bullettino Comunale* 95 (1993), 145-162; J. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome. A Study of the Monuments* (Berkeley 1997), 99; 437-438; Cat. 184-188; J. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome. A Study of the Monuments in Brief* (Berkeley 2001), Fig. 61; 143; G.A. Popescu (ed.), *Traiano ai confini dell'impero* (Milano 1998), Cat. No. 331-332; M. de Nuccio & L. Ungaro (eds.), *I Marmi Colorati della Roma Imperiale* (Venezia 2002), 94-95; 99-100; 128-133; Cat. no. 31-40. For Dacian depictions in general see also G. von Bülow, 'Thrakerdarstellungen in der römischer Kunst', *Klio* 62 (1980), 145-153; Pinkerneil 1983, op.cit. (n.41), 74-77; 80-96; Ferris 2000, op.cit. (n.34), 61-81.

⁴³ Leander Touati 1987, op.cit. (n.11), Pl. 2-4; 7-8; 13-14.

⁴⁴ Florescu 1965, op.cit. (n.13), Crenellations V-VIII; XIII-V; XVIII-IX; XXII; XXIV.

⁴⁵ Scenes XXIV-V; XXXI, XXXVIII, LIX, LXIV, LXVI, LXXV, CXXII. See J.C.N. Coulston, 'The '*draco*' standard', *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 2 (1991), 101-114. These also appear on the Column's pedestal reliefs along with 'Celtic' boar's head trumpets (*carnyces*), for which now see F. Hunter, 'The carnyx in Iron Age Europe', *Antiquaries Journal* 81 (2001), 77-108.

⁴⁶ Scenes XXVII; XXXVIII; C.

⁴⁷ Florescu 1965, op.cit. (n.13), Crenellations I; XII; XVII; XXI; XXIII; XXV.

⁴⁸ Tacitus, *Germania* 38; Martialis, *Liber de spectaculis* 3; H. Fischer, 'Der germanische Nodus und verwantes', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 53 (1912), 183-197; Girke 1922, op.cit. (n.35), 3-5, Pl. 31; 38.a, c; Schumacher 1935, op.cit. (n.35), No. 87-88; 100; 103-104; 137-138; 142-143; Schleiermacher 1984, op.cit. (n.14), No. 20; 22.

⁴⁹ P.V. Glob, *The Bog People* (London 1977), 117-118; Pl. 41.

19).⁵⁰ The garments, split up the front and worn with calf-length riding boots most probably represent long horsemen's kaftans.⁵¹

The last Column barbarian enemy type is shown shooting a bow from horseback, with both rider and horse entirely encased in scale armour (Scenes XXXI, XXXVII; Pl. VI, fig. 9). These figures are the *only* armoured barbarians in the *whole* of Roman art. Asiatic steppe nomad Sarmatians are the only northern barbarians which are regularly described as heavily armoured in Roman literary sources.⁵² The kaftan was a characteristic item of asiatic dress so it is quite likely that the kaftan-wearers on the Column belong to the same group as the armoured cavalry, being shown unarmoured in a non-belligerent, diplomatic context.

On the Column and elsewhere in Trajanic art, notably on coins, Dacians are figured with a characteristic weapon shared by no other people. This is a single or double-handed sword with a wickedly curved blade. Detailed depictions and archaeological finds demonstrate another key characteristic: the blade was single-edged with the sharp edge on the *inside* of the curve (the opposite of almost all other curved bladed weapons in history, e.g. Thracian *sicae* and more modern sabres). Roman literature refers to this type of sword as the *falx*, i.e. 'sickle' or 'scythe', the one term most appropriate for the single-handed version, the other for the truly murderous two-handed weapon.⁵³ On the helical frieze of Trajan's Column only the shorter *falx* is shown, sometimes with a short grip and guard, sometimes with a long haft (Pl. VI,

⁵⁰ Florescu 1965, op.cit (n.13), Crenellations II; IV; X-XI; XVI; XXVI. Cf. Fig. 185.

⁵¹ A. Pálóczi-Horváth, 'Le costume Coman au moyen age', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1980), 403-417; E.R. Knauer, 'Ex oriente vestimenta - trachtsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Ärmelmantel und Ärmeljacke', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II, Principat* 12.3 (Berlin 1985), 578-741; C. Bálint, *Die Archäologie der Steppe* (Wien 1988), Fig.7.2.

⁵² Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.79; Pausanios 1.21.5-6; Ammianus Marcellinus 17.12.2. For a full discussion of these figures and Sarmatian cavalry in general see J.C.N. Coulston, 'Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.79 and the impact of Sarmatian warfare on the Roman empire', in C. von Carnapp-Bornheim (ed.), *Kontakt - Kooperation - Konflikt: Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und 4. Jahrh. n. Chr.* (Neumünster 2003), 415-433.

⁵³ Coins: H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III, *Nerva to Hadrian* (London 1936, henceforth *BMC* III), Pl. 12.15, 15.6-9, 15.14-15, 28.6-7, 34.1, 35.9, 37.3-6; G.G. Belloni, *Le Monete di Traiano. Catalogo del Civico Gabinetto Numismatico, Museo Archeologico di Milano* (Milano 1973), No. 50-52, 99-101, 104-107, 270-279, 246-250, 400. Literature: Valerius Flaccus, *Achilleid* 2.132. Just how potentially destructive this weapon may have been has been demonstrated by D. Sim, 'The making and testing of a *falx* also known as the Dacian battle scythe', *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 11 (2000), 37-41.

fig. 11).⁵⁴ On the Column's pedestal reliefs the full-size weapon is repeatedly depicted (Pl. VI, fig. 3),⁵⁵ as they are on the Adamclissi metopes (Pl. VI, fig. 16, 17).⁵⁶ Both forms appear in the Transdanubian archaeological record, so clearly there were two types in reality.⁵⁷ The Column sculptors were certainly working from actual artefacts, but the long-hafted, one-handed frieze *falces* were probably artificially scaled down in size to present them for one-handed use specifically because the pose of a double-handed wielder would have been alien to the rather conservative genre of combat scenes (*barbaromachia*).⁵⁸

The pedestal reliefs depict piled, captured barbarian equipment in profusion (Pl. VI, fig. 2, 3). In addition to the large *falces*, the degree of archaeologically verifiable detail is very high so actual *spolia* were being employed as models for this still-life study in stone. This is a clear link with the public events of Trajan's principate, namely lavish triumphal processions and celebratory games in the capital which form a close link between frontier and centre through the medium of barbarian prisoners and booty (see below).

The attention to ethnic dress has been noted already. The veristic concern with weaponry is also characteristic of imperial receptions of the 'other' in both earlier and later periods. In more modern contexts there has been an emphasis on the frightening effect of wounds inflicted by Scottish Highland broadswords in the Jacobite wars, 'Khyber knives' in the Afghan Wars, and *assegais* (*iktwa*) in the Zulu Wars.⁵⁹ In a sense this concern served

⁵⁴ Scenes LXXII; LXXV; XCV; CXV-VI; CXLIV-V; CLI. See also the *falx*-blades appearing on trophies in scene LXXVIII. Two double-handed *falces* are depicted on an honorific pedestal from Amastris (Turkey): A. Büttner, 'Untersuchungen über Ursprung und Entwicklung von Auszeichnungen in römischen Heer', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 157 (1957), Pl. 11.2.

⁵⁵ Cichorius 1896-1900, op.cit (n.10), Pl. II-III; Settis 1988, op.cit (n.10), Fig. 20-23. Cf. Polito 1998, op.cit (n.36), Fig. 134; 143.

⁵⁶ Florescu 1965, op.cit (n.13), 634, Fig. 184; 195; 197-202; 204; 218; 221. A single-handed *falx* is depicted on the Adamclissi weapons frieze (Pl. X.C-D).

⁵⁷ Short: M. Párducz, *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns* II (Budapest 1944), Pl. 25.6; C.S. Nicolaescu-Plopsor, 'Antiquités celtiques en Olténie', *Dacia* 11-12 (1945-1947), Pl. I.6; III.5; IV.7; IV.11; V.11; S. von Schnurbein, 'Ein hölzerne Sica aus dem Römerlager Oberaden', *Germania* 57 (1979), 122-128; Fig. 9; I. Miclea & R. Florescu, *Geto-Dacii* (Bucaresti 1980), Pl. 199; Popescu 1998, op.cit (n.42), Cat. no.285; Long: V. Pârvan, *O Protoistorie a Daciei* (Bucaresti 1926), Fig. 342. Cf. I. Glodariu & E. Iaroslavschi, *Civilizatia Fierului la Daci* (Cluj-Napoca 1979) Fig. 71.1.

⁵⁸ Only occasionally do combat figures on the Column depart from accepted canons of pose, as when they throw stones during sieges (CXIII; CXV; CXXXIV), and these instances are more closely related to the poses seen in construction scenes (cf. LXVII; LXXVII; XCVI; CXVI).

⁵⁹ G.C. Stone, *A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armor* (New York 1934), 77; Fig. 97; 354; 355; Fig. 446; A.U.B. Norman, 'Scottish swords of the '45'', in *Culloden. The Swords and the Sorrows* (Edinburgh 1996), 22-53; T.A. Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars, 1839-*

to make 'native' enemies seem more formidable and savage, thus their overthrow both more admirable and justified.

The general presentation of barbarians on Trajan's Column is as a determined and worthy adversary for Trajan and his army. The achievements of Roman citizen troops are particularly lauded in the areas of building construction, field-craft and siege warfare, quintessentially 'Roman' qualities.⁶⁰ Most of the fighting in the open field is conducted (always with inexorable success) by non-citizen auxiliary troops. Thus the Roman ideal of victory achieved without the loss of *Roman* blood is advertised throughout and may be closely paralleled in the contemporaneous writings of Tacitus.⁶¹

The barbarians do wound Roman soldiers, albeit only on one single occasion, and whilst their confusion, indiscipline and fieldcraft incompetence is emphasised throughout (Pl. VI, fig. 8), they do keep coming back for more and do attempt 'low-tec' assaults on Roman fortifications.⁶² In one instance wagons appear with a barbarian force (XXXVIII) and it is very likely that this was a deliberate visual-rhetorical device intended to presage disaster. In Roman literature wagons spelt butchery for barbarians who parked their vehicles behind their own army, and then could not escape Roman pursuit through them when they had lost the battle. The Helvetii fought by Caesar and the Britons led by Boudica⁶³ suffered in this way; so too did the Bastarnae defeated by Crassus on the Lower Danube in 29 BC; and Transdanubian men, women and infants are slaughtered around wagons on the Adamclissi metopes (Pl. VI, fig. 17).⁶⁴ Wheeled transport figured in

1919 (London 1980), 51; I. Knight, *The Anatomy of the Zulu Army from Shaka to Cetshwayo, 1818-1879* (London 1995), 109-113; C. Spring, *African Arms and Armour* (London 1993), 127; Fig. 121.

⁶⁰ J.C.N. Coulston, 'The architecture and construction scenes on Trajan's Column', in M. Henig (ed.), *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1990), 39-50; J.C.N. Coulston, 'Travel and transport on the Column of Trajan', in C. Adams & R. Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* (London 2001), 126-130.

⁶¹ Tacitus, *Agricola* 35. See J.C.N. Coulston, 'The value of Trajan's Column as a source for military equipment', in C. van Driel-Murray (ed.), *Roman Military Equipment: the Sources of Evidence. Proceedings of the Fifth Roman Military Equipment Conference* (Oxford 1989), 32.

⁶² Incompetent river-crossing XXXI. Fort assaults XXXII; XCIV-VI; CXXXIV. Wounded Roman soldiers XL. The latter scene served to demonstrate both civilised Roman medical capabilities and the emperor's concern for the well-being of his soldiers (cf. Dio Cassius 68.8.2), rather than to emphasise barbarian prowess. See R. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (London 1988), 126-137; P.A. Baker, 'Medicine, culture and military identity', in Fincham et al. 2001, op.cit (n.4), 48-68.

⁶³ Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 1.24; 26; Tacitus, *Annales* 14.37; Dio Cassius 62.12.5.

⁶⁴ Dio Cassius 51.24.4; Florescu 1965, op.cit (n.13), Fig. 218-221.

Egyptian sculpture, notably when a land-migration of Sea Peoples is crushed in sculptures on the walls of Medinet Habu.⁶⁵ Dead horses, overturned vehicles and stray wheels also served to denote destruction of adversaries in Assyrian works.⁶⁶ Faced with such disastrous defeat, the Dacians in one great set-piece scene on Trajan's Column seem to commit suicide en masse by drinking poison to cheat humiliating capture (CXX-XXI; Pl. VI, fig. 13).⁶⁷ Ultimately, the barbarian king, Decebalus, cuts his own throat rather than become the star attraction of a Trajanic triumphal procession in Rome (CXLV; Pl. VI, fig. 14).⁶⁸ 'Suicide before dishonour' was a noble course in accord with a stoic Roman ethos, elevating the practitioners to a high level of regard. Conversely, it could be interpreted as a desperately savage escape, denoting cowardice and lack of character.⁶⁹

Otherwise the behaviour of barbarians is not depicted as particularly 'barbaric'. On the contrary, to modern eyes, especially those of 'imperialist' apologists, there are some uncomfortably barbaric Roman practices. On occasion barbarians are decapitated by soldiers in the heat of battle (CXIII). Once an auxiliary fights whilst the hair of a severed Dacian head is clamped between his teeth (XXIV; Pl. VI, fig. 6).⁷⁰ In other scenes on the Column frieze non-citizen soldiers present severed barbarian heads directly to Trajan (XXIV, LXXII; Pl. VI, fig. 5). This has been explained away by modern

⁶⁵ Sanders 1978, op.cit (n.19), Fig. 76-78.

⁶⁶ Barrett 1960, op.cit (n.23), Pl. 119; 121; 129; Reade 1998, op.cit (n.22), Fig. 96.

⁶⁷ Although this scene has also been interpreted as one depicting water being rationed out and the effects of thirst. See Froehner 1872-1874, op.cit (n.10), 22; Cichorius 1896-1900, op.cit (n.10), III, 262; E. Petersen, *Trajans dakische Kriege* (Leipzig 1899-1903), II, 100; Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, op.cit (n.10), 117; W. Gauer, *Untersuchungen zur Trajanssäule* (Köln 1977), 38; Lepper & Frere 1988, op.cit (n.10), 168-169; Settis 1988, op.cit (n.10), 176-186; 486; La Regina 1994, op.cit (n.17), 27. Dacians are definitely seen to be killing each other with swords in scene CXL, and parallels may be drawn with Chaldaeans stabbing each other on an Assyrian relief from Nineveh (Barnett 1976, op.cit (n.23), Pl. XXXIV), and with the statue of a Galatian driving a sword into his own breast from Rome (Polito 1999, op.cit (n.28), 61-63). For barbarian suicide see N.F. Parise, 'Galati suicidi. Onore e morte presso i Celti', *Origini* 15 (1990-1991), 369-374 (this article has not been seen by the present writer).

⁶⁸ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 8.4.2; Dio Cassius 68.14.3. See M.P. Speidel, 'The captor of Decebalus, a new inscription from Philippi', *Journal of Roman Studies* 60 (1970), 142-153.

⁶⁹ Cf. Appianos, 6.97, 8.131; Josephos, *Bellum Iudaicum* 7.389-398; Dio Cassius 65.6.3; Symmachus, *Epistulae* 2.46. On Roman suicide see P. Plass, *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome. Arena Sport and Political Suicide* (Madison 1995).

⁷⁰ A practice only paralleled to the writer's knowledge in Japanese art. Cf. a print reproduced in J. Newman, *Bushido. The Way of the Warrior. A New Perspective on the Japanese Military Tradition* (Wigston 1989), 160.

commentators as a 'non-Roman' practice greeted with a pained expression from the emperor.⁷¹

One is vividly reminded by an incident related by Field-Marshal Viscount Slim which took place during the Burma campaign of the Second World War. The British and Empire forces had been swept out of Burma by the Japanese, but then had started to regroup and retrain, and had commenced aggressive patrolling back into contact with the enemy:

Our men brought back a Japanese rifle, an officer's shoulder-straps, a steel helmet. Sometimes they brought back even more convincing exhibits as did the Gurkhas who presented themselves before their general, proudly opened a large basket, lifted from it three gory Japanese heads, and laid them on his table. Then they politely offered him for dinner the freshly caught fish which filled the rest of the basket.⁷²

Mutilation of the fallen was a practice common to many cultures for the purposes of ritual, retribution, or just for enumerating the enemy dead.⁷³ The piles of amputated hands or severed, uncircumcised penises in Egyptian artworks,⁷⁴ and the severed heads and impaled bodies in Assyrian reliefs are

⁷¹ This is discussed at length by A.K. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War, 100 BC – AD 200* (Oxford 1996), 271-273, with emphasis on head-taking being an auxiliary rather than a citizen-soldier practice. See also J. Webster, 'Ethnographic barbarity: colonial discourse and 'Celtic warrior societies'', in Webster & Cooper 1996, op.cit (n.1), 117-118.

⁷² W.J. Slim, *Defeat into Victory* (London 1999), 188.

⁷³ For example, Zulu warriors opened up the stomach cavity of a dead enemy as part of expiation for the act of killing, to release the dead warrior's spirit, and to avoid ritual contamination. Some degree of mutilation is almost inevitable when bladed weapons are used face-to-face in war, not least because multiple stabbing or frenzied hacking in the heat of combat would continue until an enemy was obviously dead. Dropping an enemy with a bullet at a distance might be seen as more clinical. Zulu warriors coming up behind those first in combat would stab the wounded/dead in order to ritually share in the killing, as in a lion-hunt, and thus British observers were shocked by the multiple *assagai*-wounds (Knight 1995, op.cit (n.59), 224-226).

⁷⁴ Sanders 1978, op.cit (n.19), Fig. 11; Robins 1997, op.cit (n.18), Fig. 25; Schulz & Seidel 1998, op.cit (n.18), 29; 368. In a world where only the Egyptians were circumcised, the use of severed enemy penises for counting the dead was particularly effective from the scribes' point of view if they did not trust the soldiers' claims. Severed hands taken from Egyptian civilians, women and dead colleagues could have allowed Egyptian troops to inflate their achievement and increase the 'bodycount'. The latter tendency has been seen during modern wars, notably in Vietnam.

sanguinary and graphic versions of such traits in pictorial commemoration.⁷⁵ The recumbent but intact bodies below the feet of Achaemenid kings are a more symbolic rendition of defeated leadership.⁷⁶

In the Roman context the state took the heads of traitors and displayed them in public, particularly in the Forum Romanum.⁷⁷ In another scene on Trajan's Column citizen troops work with barbarian heads impaled on poles in the background (LVI; Pl. VI, fig. 10). Citizen troops on the Great Trajanic Frieze again present heads to Trajan (Pl. VI, fig. 15).⁷⁸ After Decebalus committed suicide (CXLV) his head was struck off, displayed to the army (CXLVII), and sent to Rome for display and disposal.⁷⁹ This was a very potent public proof of victory, second only to leading an enemy leader, be he Hellenistic king or barbarian chieftain, through the streets of Rome during the victor's triumph, then executing him below the capitol as a form of human sacrifice. How very different from the fate of the Zulu King Cetshwayo, sent as a prisoner to London in 1882 to take luncheon with Queen Victoria.⁸⁰

Polybios wrote a chilling account of the disciplined ferocity of the Roman soldiers who sacked Carthago Nova in 209 BC. Killing everything,

⁷⁵ Barnett & Falkner 1960, op.cit (n.23), Pl. XIV; XVII; XXXIV; XXXVIII-XL; XLIV; XLIX; LVIII-IX; LXXVIII; Barnett 1960, op.cit (n.23), Pl. 38; 40; 119; 128; 130-131; Barnett 1976, op.cit (n.23), Pl. XXII; XXIV-V; LXVII; Russell 1991, op.cit (n.22), Fig. 67-69; 72; 77; Curtis & Reade 1995, op.cit (n.22), No. 11; 22; Reade 1998, op.cit (n.22), Fig. 75.

⁷⁶ Curtis 2000, op.cit (n.24), Fig. 42; 88; 90. See also Barnett & Falkner 1962, op.cit (n.23), Pl. XCV-VI.

⁷⁷ The fate of Cicero's head and hands placed on the Rostra is a case in point (Plutarch, *Cicero* 48.4-49.1) but there were other infamous occasions under the principate: Dio Cassius 63.6.4-5 (Galba, Piso etc.); 64.21.2 (Vitellius); Tacitus, *Historiae* 3.74 (Sabinus). Galba was decapitated specifically by a soldier (Suetonius, *Galba* 20.2). The heads of Domitian's victims were displayed in the Forum (Dio Cassius 67.11.3).

⁷⁸ Leander Touati 1987, op. cit .(n.11), Pl. 3-4; 13-14; 32.1-4. For identification of all the troops on the great Trajanic Frieze as *praetoriani* see J.C.N. Coulston, 'Armed and belted men': the soldiery in imperial Rome', in J. Coulston & H. Dodge (eds.), *Ancient Rome: the Archaeology of the Eternal City* (Oxford, 2000), 92; 98-99. This identification, based in part on the presence of scorpion blazons on helmets and shields, has now been independently applied to other sculptures by another commentator (H.I. Flower, 'A tale of two monuments: Domitian, Trajan, and some praetorians at Puteoli (*AE* 1973, 137)', *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001), 636). For other decapitations by troops see Livy 24.15; Caesar, *De bello Hispaniensi* 32. For a severed head being brandished by a Roman cavalryman on an Adamclissi metope see Florescu 1965, op.cit (n.13), Fig. 183.

⁷⁹ Dio Cassius 68.14.3; *Fasti Ostienses* AD 106; A. Fraschetti, 'Traiano nei *fasti Ostienses*', in G. González, *Traiano. Emperador de Roma* (Roma 2000), 151.

⁸⁰ Execution: Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 7.153-154. For Cetshwayo see D.R. Morris, *The Washing of the Spears* (London 1968), 601.

including dogs, they stopped to the order of a trumpet call. This was inhuman in a way quite different from the predictably unrestrained behaviour of northern barbarians.⁸¹ This was bad enough, but when a regular army, self-consciously representing 'civilisation', warred with 'primitives' or 'barbarians', then torture and mutilation practices might be delivered as retribution by both sides. The 'civilised' party could justify any actions as revenge and as fitting treatment of 'savages'. This seems to have been the situation with scalping in 17th and 18th century America. It could be justified as a native practice fittingly adopted as a response to Amerindian (and Canadian white enemy) practices.⁸² Similarly, the 19th century conflicts between native tribes and the U.S. Cavalry saw appalling activities carried out by all parties, including not only scalping but also the mounting of severed heads on polls for display and intimidation.⁸³ In Scene XXV on Trajan's

⁸¹ Polybios 10.15.4-8, especially noting butchery which even included cutting dogs in half. As an image of purposeful ferocity this is very vivid, but when massacres do occur there may be an almost atavistically savage concern to kill *all* life associated with the vanquished. Amerindians are reported to have killed everything on 19th century settler farms, including dogs, cats, chicken and ducks (T. Goodrich, *Scalp Dance. Indian Warfare on the High Plains, 1865-1879* (Mechanicsburg 1997), 302). At My Lai (Vietnam) in 1968 U.S. troops killed old men, women and babies, but also water buffaloes, pigs and chickens, stuffing their carcasses down wells to poison the water (N. Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie. John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (London 1990), 689-690). The so-called 'war cemetery' in the native *oppidum* at Maiden Castle (Dorset) may no longer be interpreted as an archaeological record of the Roman army's fury visited on defenders. Contrast R.E.M. Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (London 1943), 61-65 with N.M. Sharples, *Maiden Castle. Excavations and Field Survey, 1985-1986* (London 1991), 119-125. See also J.C.N. Coulston, 'The archaeology of Roman conflict', in Freeman & Pollard 2001, op.cit (n.7), 36.

⁸² The taking of scalps was practiced both by native Americans and by white settlers (even sometimes by settler women), but by offering inflated bounties for scalps settler authorities encouraging both the practice by all parties and the preying by whites on 'friendly' native groups (I.K. Steele, *Warpaths. Invasions of North America* (Oxford 1994), 131; 146-147; 162; 228; A. Starkey, *European and Native American Warfare, 1675-1815* (London 1998), 12-13; 30-31). Major General James Wolfe addressed scalping with regard to British Crown forces in a general order: "The Genl. strictly forbids the inhuman practice of scalping, except when the enemy are Indians, or Canads. dressed as Indians" (quoted in F. Anderson, *Crucible of War. The Seven Years War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (London 2000), 788-789). The question of who first practiced scalping has been effectively resolved by finds at the 14th century Crow Creek Massacre site (South Dakota, U.S.A.). Here almost 90% of 486 individuals in a mass grave exhibited cranial scalping cuts (L.J. Zimmerman, 'The Crow Creek Massacre: archaeology and prehistoric plains warfare in contemporary contexts', in Carman, 1997, op.cit (n.7), 75-94).

⁸³ Goodrich, 1997, op.cit (n.81), 4; 9-10; 13-14; 18; 29-30; 66; 72-74; 147-148; 190; 260-261. R.A. Fox, *Archaeology, History, and Custer's Last Battle. The Little Big Horn Reexamined* (Norman 1993), 221: "Archaeological results, in instances where sufficient human remains existed (at the Little Big Horn site), testify to decapitation and dismemberment. Acts of mutilation were, in part, a

Column a Dacian fortification is decorated with impaled skulls. Presumably these were Roman, so both sides were decapitating for effect, and the early occurrence of the scene perhaps further served to suggest that the Roman invasion of Dacia was justified by previous barbarian 'crimes'.⁸⁴

Concentration on the atrocities of adversaries, attention to their characteristic weaponry (e.g. 'war-clubs', 'tomahawks' etc., see above), and use of a related language of abuse ('hell-hounds', 'savages', 'fiends' etc.), served in many historical contexts to further demonise a 'primitive' enemy. This could have the unfortunate effect of inculcating a particular dread of capture and torture in 'civilised' forces. This was the case with the Aztec sacrifice and mutilation of *conquistador* prisoners.⁸⁵ Likewise, the expectations of white settlers and soldiers were bleak with regard to their treatment as captives by Amerindian enemies. Native women were accounted as particularly savage, thus counterbalancing the 'outraging' of white women with the sexual mutilation of white men.⁸⁶ A 'save the last bullet for yourself'

result of anger and were a practice not restricted to one or other group (native or white). But the Indian way also required mutilation for cultural and spiritual reasons. Maimed enemies could not confront you in the hereafter. Also, certain marks on a body showed the ethnic identity of the one who had killed an enemy".

⁸⁴ La Regina 1994, op.cit (n.17), 31-34 specifically links the justification of head-taking of XXIV with the Roman heads in XXV, citing Florus 1.39.7. A poetic parallel to Roman remains in *barbaricum* is the reference to Cornelius Fuscus' entrails being a feast for Dacian vultures (Juvenal, *Satirae* 4.111-112). According to Frontinus, *Stratagemata* 2.9.4 the German leader Arminius displayed Roman heads on poles outside a camp to intimidate the Roman occupants. Similar Roman use of heads for morale purposes is recorded (*ibid.* 2.9.2-5; Dio Cassius 51.25.4). Two Adamclissi metopes depict severed barbarian heads alongside corpses (Florescu 1965, op.cit (n.13), Fig. 212-213).

⁸⁵ R. Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest* (London 1994), 135-136: "Ten of the Spanish captives were taken to the Great Temple and sacrificed. Their severed heads were then sent to the battlefield and thrown at the Spaniards, which must have demoralized them. After the Spaniards withdrew to their camps for the night, they could hear the drums from the Great Temple and see the other captured Spaniards being made to dance in front of the image of the Aztec god Huitzilopochtli before their hearts were cut out. Aside from religious significance, the Spaniards were sacrificed for psychological impact, both on Cortes' forces and on the Aztecs' allies. The sacrificed Spaniards were flayed and their faces – beards attached – were tanned and sent to allied towns as tokens of Aztec success, as proof of Spanish mortality, and in order to solicit assistance and to warn against betraying the alliance".

⁸⁶ Goodrich 1997, op.cit (n.81), 3; 43; 115-130; 133; 155-158; 300-303. It is important to mention in this connection Trajan's Column Scene XLV. This depicts naked and bound men being tortured by women with torches. The victims have been identified both as Romans and as Dacians (Froehner 1872-1874, op.cit (n.10), 13; Cichorius 1896-1900, op.cit (n.10), II, 217; Petersen 1899-1903, op.cit (n.67), I, 48; Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, op.cit (n.10), 118-119; R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps. Saggio sulla storia e sui tempi dell'imperatore Traiano* (Messina 1926-1927), I, 100; Gauer 1977, op.cit (n.67), 28, n.144; R. Vulpe, 'Prigionieri romani suppliziati da donne dacie sul rilievo della

mentality may have marked Roman behaviour on various occasions.⁸⁷ In particular, in AD 9 Roman soldiers killed each other or fell on their own swords to escape the tortures and human sacrifice practiced on prisoners by the Germans.⁸⁸ In reality there would have been a very fine line between suicide to avoid the dishonour of capture, and to escape both the pain and the dishonour of 'breaking' under torture. Yet it is important to hold firmly onto the realisation that Roman literature and iconography presented a barbarian image which was both expected and shared by Roman metropolitan society. Just as in more recent periods, presentation of the barbarian 'other' as inherently bellicose and prone to savage acts suited an audience in the capital, detached from daily realities on and beyond the frontiers. The danger lies in modern commentators believing that the image was also the reality.⁸⁹

There is no doubt that Trajan's Column was a landmark project in its own right, and that its innovative elements of design and iconography had a profound influence on subsequent monuments. Echoes of its pedestal reliefs appear until the end of the 2nd century, although with increasing stylisation and intrusion of 'classical', Hellenising equipment items amongst the ever-more bland barbarian pieces. For example, one heavily restored relief in the Townley Collection of the British Museum was clearly modeled on Trajan's

Colonna Traiana', *Rivista Storica dell'antichità* 3 (1979), 109-125; Harnestad 1986, op.cit (n.9), 162; Lepper & Frere 1988, op.cit (n.10), 90; Settis 1988, op.cit (n.10), 175; Goldsworthy 1996, op.cit (n.71), 262, n.49). It is unlikely in the extreme that, in the Column's panegyric of emperor and army, Romans would have been depicted as left by Trajan to die horribly in captivity by barbarian hands. This scene is more likely concerned with salutary punishment dealt out to barbarians by provincials, in stark contrast to the preceding scene of Trajan rewarding his soldiers (XLIV). See Coulston 1990, op.cit (n.10), 296-297.

⁸⁷ Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 5.37; Tacitus, *Annales* 4.73; Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 6.186-187. See Goldsworthy 1996, op.cit (n.71), 262-263. For 'save the last bullet' and U.S. Cavalry officers shooting each other to avoid capture see Goodrich 1997, op.cit (n.81), 30; 43. For the disgrace of a Roman soldier who allowed himself to be captured see Josephos, *Bellum Iudaicum* 6.359-362.

⁸⁸ Ovidius, *Tristia* 4.2.35-36; Florus 2.30.37-39; Tacitus, *Annales* 1.61; Dio Cassius 56.18.22.1. See Coulston 2001, op.cit. (n.81), 28-31. It may be, of course, that suicide in these circumstances had become a literary *topos*, and that most, if not all, of the details in non-contemporary historical narratives are metahistorical.

⁸⁹ 'Barbarian' behaviour such as that mentioned by Florus 1.39.2; Tacitus, *Annales* 14.33; *Agricola* 16.1; Dio Cassius 62.7.1-3 (Cf. Said 1993, op.cit (n.2), 177). The traditional views of 'the Celts' are now being radically re-evaluated in the light of post-colonial discourse. Contrast M.J. Green (ed.), *The Celtic World* (London 1995), ch. 3-4 with Webster 1996, op.cit (n.71), 111-123; K. Randsborg, 'Into the Iron Age: a discourse on war and society', in Carmen & Harding 1999, op.cit (n.7), 191-202; S. James, *The Atlantic Celts. Ancient People or Modern Invention?* (London 1999); G. Carr & S. Stoddart (eds.), *Celts from Antiquity* (Cambridge 2002).

Column *spolia*, but an Attic helmet and a muscled cuirass have crept in as classicising elements.⁹⁰ An Antonine pedestal, now at Frascati, likewise follows the Column but with additional intrusions.⁹¹

For many aspects of the study of Trajan's Column it is often very instructive to compare and contrast it with the other great 2nd century figural monument to survive in Rome, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which was both an emulation of, and an improvement on, Trajan's Column. Comparison back and forth between the two spiral friezes is very instructive on layout, composition and sculpting. There are different Danubian barbarian enemies on the Marcus Column where the bare-chested Germanic type is combined in larger numbers than on Trajan's Column with a new German type which wears a long-sleeved tunic. The latter is rather like the Trajanic Dacian type but seldom wears a cap. Despite the fact that Marcus' wars were against Sarmatians as well as German Marcomanni and Quadi, no armoured barbarian cavalry or wearers of kaftans are present. Overall, the characterisation of barbarians, in line with the general paucity of detail on the Marcus Column, is far more bland than on earlier monuments. There are no barbarian military standards, for example.

What is most striking is the contrast with Trajan's Column in the general treatment of the barbarians on the Marcus Column. Villages are burnt much more frequently, people are literally dragged off into slavery, and women are directly abused. Some are pulled by the hair (XX) and in at least one scene (XCVII) women are being stabbed to death. Indeed, the slaughter of barbarians is not simply widespread but depicted with a violence and detail bordering on relish! Prisoners are speared and literally trodden underfoot (LXVIII).⁹² Others are forced to decapitate their bound brethren whilst Roman guards look on implacably.⁹³

⁹⁰ A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of the Sculpture of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London 1904), Fig. 69; S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains II. Afrique. Îles Britanniques* (Paris 1912), 497, Fig. 1; Tempesta 1991-1992, op.cit (n. 37), 312-316; Fig. 4-5.

⁹¹ Polito 1997, op.cit (n.36), Fig. 144. For other reliefs which include *falces*, banded armour and other features exhibited on the pedestal of Trajan's Column see Tempesta 1991-1992, op.cit (n.37), Fig. 18; 23; Polito 1997, op.cit (n.36), Fig. 127; 134; 143.

⁹² Women are comparatively well treated on Trajan's Column, and Scene XXX has even been interpreted as depicting Trajan showing *clementia* to Decebalus' sister, with reference to Dio Cassius 69.9.4 (R. Vulpe, 'Capturarea surorii lui Decebal', *Sargetia* 4 (1966), 75-96). Perhaps a further citation was being made to the good treatment afforded to Darius III's mother and other women by Alexander the Great (Arrianos, *Anabasis* 2.11.9; 12.3-8. Cf. Dio Cassius 68.15.1; 68.26.4; 68.29.1; 68.30.1). For women on Trajan's Column see N. Boymel-Kampen, 'Looking at gender: the Column of Trajan and Roman historical relief', in D.C. Stanton & A.J. Stewart (eds.), *Feminisms in the*

Thus an ongoing process of barbarian genericisation may be traced into the later 1st century AD, until a massive influx of new and veristic barbarian types and details occurred under Trajan. These new details of dress and equipment tailed away in the course of the 2nd century, and for the rest of the Roman period essentially two bland types existed to represent all barbarians, both eastern and western. These were the bare-chested German, and the fully clothed men who served as Dacians, Danubian Germans, and even as Parthians (as on the Arches of Septimius Severus).⁹⁴ Even without a detailed analysis of post 2nd century barbarian representations, it is clear that

Academy (Ann Arbor 1995), 46-73. Marcus Column destruction of villages: VII; XVIII; XX; XLIII; XLVI; XCVIII; CII; CIV. Villages or individual buildings are rarely burnt by Roman troops on Trajan's Column (XXV; XXIX; LIX; CLIII), sometimes by Dacians as they retreat (CXIX). The army is presented as an agent of construction rather than destruction. For comparable scenes in Assyrian sculpture see Barnett 1960, op.cit (n.23), Pl. 114; 132; Barnett 1976, op.cit. (n.23), Pl. XXXIII. In reality ancient warfare generally involved destruction visited on an entire enemy population, and the lands of hostile tribes would have been ravaged by the Roman army, in part for campaign supplies, in part as retribution (Goldsworthy 1996, op.cit (n.71), 290-291; P. Erdkamp, *Hunger and the Sword. Warfare and Food Supply in the Roman Republican Wars (264-30 BC)* (Amsterdam 1998), 122-140; J.P. Roth, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 BC-AD 235)* (Leiden 1999), 130-134; Gilliver 1999, op.cit (n.17), 60-61; Coulston 2001, op.cit (n.60), 118-119). This is of course true of modern warfare where atrocities act as an instrument of policy, or result from a lapse in regular army discipline, with or without the compliance of officers. Notable examples would be the massacres at Sand Creek (1864) and Wounded Knee (1890) of Amerindian villagers by cavalry troops (Goodrich 1981, op.cit (n.81), 3-4; 48; 52; R.H. Dillon, *North American Indian Wars* (Greenwich 1983), 144; 250; D. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee. An Indian History of the American West* (London 1991), 87-94; 439-445; Freeman & Pollard 2001, op.cit (n.7), 194-198). In these cases there was an eastern public opinion to be outraged, whereas in Rome such actions would have been thought justified. It is interesting that the two 'Western' films which drew on the Sand Creek Massacre for material (*Soldier Blue*, U.S.A., 1970; *Little Big Man*, U.S.A., 1970) appeared soon after the 1968 My Lai Massacre (Vietnam) which likewise appalled public opinion. Edward Said appositely highlights the part played by presentation of the 'other' to a home audience: "One must remember, too, that when one belongs to the more powerful side in the imperial and colonial encounter, it is quite possible to overlook, forget, or ignore the unpleasant aspects of what went on 'out there'. The cultural machinery - of spectacles like *Aida*, of the genuinely interesting books written by travellers, novelists, and scholars, of fascinating photographs and exotic paintings - has had an aesthetic as well as informative effect on European audiences. Things stay remarkably unchanged when such distancing and aestheticising practices are employed, for they split and then anaesthetise the metropolitan consciousness" (Said 1993, op.cit (n.2), 157). Cf. R.T. Stearn, 'War correspondents and colonial war', in J.M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950* (Manchester 1992), 139-161.

⁹³ Scene LXI.

⁹⁴ R. Brilliant, *The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum*, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 29 (Roma 1967), Pl. 49-59; 78a-b; 79; 82a; 83a; 95.

the Trajanic period saw extraordinary iconographic developments centred on the Forum of Trajan complex and related metropolitan monuments.

It is possible to identify the barbarians in Trajanic sculpture because of the close attention paid to dress, weaponry and equipment. Indeed, a combination of Trajan's Column and other monuments in Rome, with iconography from the frontiers of the empire, with archaeological evidence for the cultures of the Danubian region, and with Roman historical, geographical and ethnographic writings, allows the enquiry to explore very specific identifications.

The bulk of the barbarians depicted in Rome were surely Decebalus' Dacians living within his Carpathian kingdom (Pl. VI, fig. 8, 13). The Germans on Trajan's Column have been identified as Buri (Pl. VI, fig. 7, 12).⁹⁵ Those on the Adamclissi sculptures were most likely Bastarnae who were the Germans located opposite Moesia and closest to that monument (Pl. VI, fig. 16).⁹⁶ Armoured cavalry and kaftan-wearers were Sarmatian steppe nomads: perhaps those meeting Trajan peacefully were from the western Sarmatian Iazyges who seem to have been pro-Roman, or at least quiescent during Trajan's principate (Pl. VI, fig. 12);⁹⁷ those in armour on the Column or presented as bound prisoners at Adamclissi were more likely eastern Sarmatian Roxolani (Pl. VI, fig. 9, 19).⁹⁸ One Adamclissi type of barbarian remains to be identified: the men wearing trousers alone, wielding the double-handed *falx*, and travelling with wagons (Pl. VI, fig. 16, 17). Relevant here is the funerary inscription which records the activities of a Neronian governor of Moesia Inferior, Ti. Plautius Silvanus (Ponte Lucano, Italy).⁹⁹ This text took great care to identify the different peoples Silvanus dealt with (Bastarnae, Daci, Rhoxolani, Sarmatae, Scythi) but simply referred to people translocated

⁹⁵ Tacitus, *Germania* 43; Dio Cassius 68.8.1; 72.18; 73.2.4; SHA, *Marcus* 22. See R. Vulpe, 'Les Bures alliés de Décébale dans la première guerre dacique de Trajan', *Studia Classice* 5 (1963), 223-247; R. Vulpe, 'Dion Cassius et la campagne de Trajan en Mésie Inférieure', *Studia Classice* 6 (1969), 205-232.

⁹⁶ Tacitus, *Germania* 46; SHA, *Marcus* 22; Dio Cassius 51.23.2-3; 26.5; *ILS* 986.

⁹⁷ Dio Cassius 68.10.3.

⁹⁸ For the Sarmatian peoples and their relations with Rome and her neighbours see T. Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians* (London 1970); J.J. Wilkes, 'Romans, Dacians and Sarmatians in the First and Early Second Centuries', in B. Hartley & J. Wachter (eds.), *Rome and Her Northern Provinces* (Gloucester 1983), 269-270; 273-274; U. Müller, *Der Einfluss der Sarmaten auf die Germanen* (Bern 1998); M. Mielczarek, *The Army of the Bosporan Kingdom* (Łódź 1999), 28; 82-83; 86-98; Coulston forthcoming, op.cit (n.52).

⁹⁹ *ILS* 986; P. Conole & R.D. Milns, 'Neronian frontier policy in the Balkans: the career of Ti. Plautus Silvanus', *Historia* 32 (1983), 183-200; Wilkes 1983, op.cit (n.98), 259-260; 268.

to the Roman province as ‘*transdanuviani*’. Perhaps this epithet was applied to migrant occupants of the plains south and east of the Carpathians, people not recognised by Roman commentators as having been specifically linked by culture or political subservience to the other named groupings. Thus Trajan’s Column represents the main Dacian enemy under Decebalus, with some Sarmatians and Germans appearing as less prominent adversaries of Rome, or as emissaries. On the other hand, the Adamclissi *tropaeum* depicts local enemies, non-Decebalan Dacians, Sarmatian Roxolani, Germanic Bastarnae and Transdanubian migrants. In all this discussion of ‘identities’ it is fully realised that the ethnonyms found in the ancient sources were the labels employed by the Romans to simplify and rationalise the complex mosaic of diplomacy, ethnicity and culture in the Danubian region.¹⁰⁰

The trajanic context

Trajan’s Column was an integral part of the Forum Traiani complex.¹⁰¹ Past attempts to show that it was a secondary element, that it originally occupied a different position, or that the helical frieze was a post-Trajanic addition have

¹⁰⁰ Sometimes the use and authority for such labels was overtly discussed, as in the case of ‘Dacians’ (Dio Cassius 67.6.2). Sometimes Graeco-Roman writers were aware of the culture change of various groups over time, as with the Bastarnae (Livy 40.57; Dio Cassius 51.23; Strabo, *Geographia* 7.3.15; 7.3.17; Tacitus, *Germania* 46). See E. Demougeot, ‘L’image officielle du barbare dans l’Empire romain d’Auguste à Théodose’, *Ktéma* 9 (1984), 123-143; K.J. Matthews, ‘Britannus/Britto: Roman ethnographies, native identities, labels, and folk devils’, in A. Leslie (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology and Architecture* (Glasgow 1999), 14-32; P.S. Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians* (London 2001).

¹⁰¹ For the extensive literature on this apogee of display in Roman monumental architecture see G. Lugli, *Fontes ad topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes XVI* (Roma 1965), 43-78; Zanker 1970, op.cit (n.42); M.E. Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines* (Philadelphia 1973), 12-18; C.M. Amici, *Foro di Traiano: Basilica Ulpia e Biblioteche* (Roma 1982); Scheiper 1982, op.cit (n.15), 134-154; J.C. Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora* (Bruxelles 1984), 141-177; M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton 1987), 74-98; S. Stucchi, ‘*Tantis viribus*. L’area della colonna nella concezione generale del Foro di Traiano’, *Archeologia Classica* 41 (1989), 237-292; E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (Roma 1993-1999), s.v. ‘Forum Traiani’; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42); Packer 2001, op.cit (n.42); *Bullettino Comunale* 95 (1993), 129-198; 97 (1996), 47-88; M. Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture* (New Haven 2000), 160-174; S. Baiani & M. Ghilardi (ed.), *Crypta Balbi - Fori Imperiali. Archeologia urbana a Roma interventi di restauro nell’anno del Grande Giubileo* (Roma 2000), 72-78; González 2000, op.cit (n.79), 141-154, 227-285; R. Meneghini, ‘Il foro di Traiano. Ricostruzione architettonica e analisi strutturale’, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung* 108 (2001), 245-268.

failed to convince.¹⁰² As a structure the Column allowed visitors to climb the 185 steps of the internal staircase to emerge on the balcony and to view the whole fantastic creation of libraries, basilica and forum *piazza*.¹⁰³ Modern architectural reconstructions of the basilica which place the roof ridge at a lower height are surely correct to allow for an uninterrupted view south-eastwards.¹⁰⁴ Linked with the enigmatic inscription on the pedestal which refers to the *mons* removed during work, the engineering achievement was best appreciated by a view across to the cliffs of brick-faced concrete reared against the Quirinal for the Markets of Trajan.¹⁰⁵

The pedestal reliefs match in content and composition panels depicting *congeries armorum* which most likely decorated the forum façade of the Basilica Ulpia.¹⁰⁶ The Dacians on the helical frieze matched the bound Dacian statues which served as ‘Caryatids’ around the forum colonnades. The evolving composition of the frieze suggests that it was executed before the pedestal decoration. Its ‘narrative’ of the Dacian Wars was central in explaining how the treasure which paid for the whole complex, *ex manubiis*, was acquired through Trajan’s Danubian victories.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps more importantly, it acted as a visual panegyric in praise of Trajan’s generalship and of the skills and

¹⁰² Anderson 1984, op.cit (n.101), 154-159; A. Claridge, ‘Hadrian’s Column of Trajan’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993), 5-21.

¹⁰³ This view was presumably enjoyed in 357 when Constantius II came to the city and it lies behind the words of Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10.14 (Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 8; Wilson Jones 2000, op.cit (n.101), 162-165; P.J.E. Jones, ‘The politics of perpetuation: Trajan’s Column and the art of commemoration’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 101 (1997), 60-65). This facility has traditionally been made available to tourists at a price and the revenues produced by both Trajan’s Column and the Column of Marcus Aurelius were a strong factor dictating the largely intact survival of both monuments.

¹⁰⁴ For a high ridge reconstruction see Amici 1982, op.cit (n.101), Fig. 72-73, 148; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), Fig. 92-93; 96-100; 103-106; 111-113; 121; 126-128. For a lower reconstruction see Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 217-244, Frontispiece, Fig. 54; Packer 2001, op.cit (n.42), 198.

¹⁰⁵ *CIL* VI, 960; Hamberg 1945, op.cit (n.9), 121-24; Settis 1988, op.cit (n.10), 49-56; B.M. Tummarello, ‘Foro Traiano. Preesistenze – il problema del *mons*’, *Archeologia Classica* 41 (1989), 121-124; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 117; Wilson Jones 2000, op.cit (n.101), 164-165.

¹⁰⁶ L. Ungaro & L. Messa, ‘Panelli con rilievi d’armi dal Foro di Traiano: nota preliminare’, *Archeologia Classica* 41 (1989), 215-36; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 225, Cat. 94; Fig. 143; 152; Packer 2001, op.cit (n.42), Fig. 152; 159; Polito 1998, op.cit (n.36), Fig. 130-133. For a suggestion that the base of the *Equus Traiani* bore similar reliefs see Meneghini 2001, op.cit (n.101), Fig. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Dio Cassius 68.14.4-5; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 13.25.1-2; 28-30. Cf. Column scene CXXXVIII. Zanker 1970, op.cit (n.42), 506, 520-521; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 220-221. See J. Makkay, ‘The treasures of Decebalus’, *Specimina Nova Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis* 10 (1994), 151-215; J. Makkay, ‘The treasures of Decebalus’, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 14 (1995), 333-343.

discipline displayed by the army under his gifted hand. Symbiosis of emperor and soldiers as *comilitones* was further reinforced by The Great Trajanic Frieze, which in all likelihood also formed an important part of the complex's political ornamentation.¹⁰⁸ It specifically advertised the concord between emperor and Praetorian Guard.¹⁰⁹ Combination of a notice by Aulus Gellius and the *disiecta membra* of the forum colonnades suggests that the latter were topped by pedestals bearing legionary inscriptions. These pedestals had simulacra of military *signa* set into their tops, so that each column was surmounted by a bound Dacian, below a legionary title, below legionary standards. The latter were fashioned of gilded bronze and they would naturally have echoed the *signa* which were presumably picked out in gilding on the shaft of the Column and on the Great Trajanic Frieze.¹¹⁰ The fragmentary inscriptions name the *legio II Augusta*, and possibly *legiones XIII Gemina, XV Apollinaris* and *XX Valeria Victrix*, plus the *cohors XI/urb(ana)*. *Legiones II* and *XX* were in Britain during the Dacian Wars and they may not have supplied *vexillationes* directly to the Danubian theatre.¹¹¹ If they did not, then it is possible that all the *legiones* of the empire were included in the inscriptions, and that the Forum was a monument honouring the whole Roman citizen army. It might have seemed invidious to omit units,

¹⁰⁸ Plinius, *Panegyricus* 13.3; Suetonius, *Galba* 20.1; Tacitus, *Agricola* 33.2; J.B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army, 31 BC – AD 235* (Oxford 1984), 32-59. Great Trajanic Frieze: Leander Touati 1987, op.cit (n.11), 88-91; Stucchi 1989, op.cit (n.101), 264-283, Fig. 29; Packer 2001, op.cit (n.42), 198, Fig. 165. In general see J.C.N. Coulston, 'Emperor and army on Trajan's Column: a study in composition and propaganda', in A.M. Liberati (ed.), *Traiano Optimus Princeps* (Roma-Bucaresti forthcoming).

¹⁰⁹ As argued in detail by the writer elsewhere (Coulston 2000, op.cit (n.78), 98-99).

¹¹⁰ Coulston 1989, op.cit (n.61), 34; Coulston 2000, op.cit (n.78), 92, n. 114. For standards on Trajanic coins see *BMC III, Trajan*, No. 456-460, Pl. 17.3-4; No. 679, Pl. 22.12; No. 699, Pl. 23.21; No. 708, Pl. 24.15; No. 946a-947, Pl. 37.2; Belloni 1973, op.cit (n.53), No. 122-123; 395-399; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), II, Pl. 70.2. Packer reconstructs the standards around the Forum as life-size models (220; 439; Fig. 61; 150; 152), thus dwarfed by the scale of the buildings and other decoration. However, sockets in the tops of pedestal blocks measure 0.090-0.093 m. in diameter (Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), Fig. Pl. 113.1), approximately twice the size to be expected of a real *signum* spear-shaft, so there is perhaps room for scaling the parapet standards upwards in size and visibility.

¹¹¹ Inscriptions: *CIL* VI, 2943; 32902.a-c; Zanker 1970, op.cit (n.42), 521; Fig. 36; 38-39; Amici 1982, op.cit (n.104), Fig. 39; Stucchi 1989, op.cit (n.101), 237-253; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 426, Cat. 163; 165; 179. For *legiones* which served in the Dacian Wars see K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Traians. Studien zur Geschichte der mittleren und unteren Donauraumes in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (Bonn 1984), 85-102. Unfortunately Strobel (*ibid.*, 100-101; 104) assumed that if the titles are inscribed on the Forum then the *legiones* and *cohors* in question did participate in the Dacian Wars. There is clearly some danger of circular argument here.

especially those in the Rheinland which had supported Trajan's imperial aspirations during Nerva's principate.

Much of this Trajanic monumental complex can be understood in terms of glorification of emperor and army. However, it is also important that the last Flavian emperor's political and monumental legacy in Rome be fully taken into account. On the face of it this is made difficult by the senatorial *damnatio memoriae* served on Domitian which swept away his statues, triumphal arches and other propaganda monuments.¹¹² Nevertheless, his more substantial buildings, such as the Domus Flavia and the Forum Transitorium, remained intact, if in the latter case 'rubber-stamped' by Nerva.¹¹³ It is unclear what, if anything of Trajan's Forum was owed to Domitianic planning, but prominent Domitianic buildings will have undoubtedly exerted a strong, competitive influence on both the Trajanic régime and Trajanic architects, especially Apollodorus of Damascus.¹¹⁴

Several monumental interrelationships may be explored to illustrate the last assertion. The first refers to the *Equus Traianus*, the immense equestrian statue of Trajan which stood in his forum *piazza*. This may be considered as one of several references back to the Forum of Augustus, in this case to the chariot statue group in the latter's *piazza*. Both fora also had in common the use of decorative 'Caryatids', and their massive side *exedrae*, multiply niched for statuary and sheathed in polychrome marbles.¹¹⁵ However, the choice of an

¹¹² Suetonius, *Domitianus* 13.2, 23.1; Dio Cassius 68.1.1; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 11. See G.M. Koepfel, 'Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit, II, stadtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus flavischer Zeit', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 184 (1984), Cat. no. 7-8; R.H. Darwell-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (Bruxelles 1996), 114-115; 172-177; 238-241; Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), s.v. 'Arcus Domitiani (Fortuna Redux)', 'Arcus Domitiani (Clivus Palatinus)'.

¹¹³ Darwell-Smith 1996, op.cit (n.112), 115-124; Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), s.v. 'Domus Augustana, Augustiana'; 'Forum Nervae'.

¹¹⁴ Dio Cassius 69.4.1. For a discussion of Domitianic and Trajanic architects see W.L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire I. An Introductory Study* (New Haven 1965), 127-137. For a potential Domitianic contribution to the Forum Traiani see Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 13; Darwell-Smith 1996, op.cit (n.112), 241-243.

¹¹⁵ Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), s.v. 'Forum Augustum'; Baiani & Ghilardi 2000, op.cit (n.101), 71-72. Zanker 1970, op.cit (n.42), 506 makes the Forum Augustum link, but Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 261 draws considerably less convincing parallels with the Templum Pacis, based on his belief that the Templum Traiani was a feature of the Trajan's Forum original design. The latter is not a safe assumption (R. Meneghini, 'Templum Divi Traiano', *Bullettino Comunale* 97 (1996), 47-88; Meneghini 2001, op.cit (n.101), 246-248). For polychrome marble comparisons see M.E. Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus* (Washington 1947), 56; 58;

equestrian rather than a chariot composition for Trajan's Forum would indubitably have drawn the public mind back to the last great equestrian monument erected in the city, the huge *Equus Domitianus*. This statue would have been torn down after Domitian's death, but it was not forgotten due to its central position in the Forum Romanum, its impact on the Forum paving, its entry into literature, and its presumably still-circulating image on commemorative coins.¹¹⁶ Thus there was a very vivid image for Trajan to outdo, and in a sense to exorcise, with an even finer *equus* of his own. That he succeeded is evidenced by his own coin representations and the impact the statue was still having on visitors in the 4th century.¹¹⁷ Recent excavation of the *Forum Traiani piazza* paving has revealed the robbed *equus* pedestal, 4 by 7 m. in dimensions, and 25 m. further towards the south-east than had been previously assumed.¹¹⁸ The standard modern reconstruction plan of the Forum, largely the product of fascist period work, had naturally positioned the *Equus Traiani* on the crossing point of two axes, the one longitudinal to the complex, north-west to south-east, the other laterally north-east to south-west across the mid point of the two hemicycles. In this position it was logical for the statue to face south-eastwards. Now it is more likely that the statue faced north-westwards towards the basilica. The reason for the asymmetric position was almost certainly to allow intervisibility between the gilded Trajan on his horse and the gilded Trajan on his Column, both statues having the common iconographic feature of carrying a spear, and thus the ridge of the Basilica Ulpia should have been low enough to allow this.¹¹⁹

Blake 1973, op.cit (n.101), 15-17; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 169-172; De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002, op.cit (n.42), 109-121; 125-127; 138-145; Cat. no. 155-170; 300-329.

¹¹⁶ Darwell-Smith 1996, op.cit (n.112), 227-233; Fig. 29; Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), s.v. 'Equus Domitianus'. See Statius, *Silvae* 1.1.22-51. There is some confusion about its dimensions and two proposals for its exact original location in the Forum Romanum: either on a robbed pedestal with maximum dimensions of 11.72 by 6.2 m.; or on a pedestal, the site of which was paved over in the Severan period with 12.20 by 7.8 m. of flagging. The latter is more centrally placed on the long axis of the Forum, both are towards the south-east end, next to each other. The question of whether the pedestal was left standing and was re-used after Domitian's death is unresolved.

¹¹⁷ *BMC III, Trajan*, No. 445, Pl.16.18; No. 969-70, Pl. 38.2; Belloni 1973, op.cit (n.53), No. 117; 418; Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10.15-6. See Zanker 1970, op.cit (n.42), 508-510; Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), II, s.v. 'Forum Traiani', 351, Fig. 175; M. Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument. Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen* (Bonn 1995), 82-83; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 8; 95-96; Meneghini 2001, op.cit (n.101), 253-254; Fig. 5.

¹¹⁸ Baiani & Ghilardi 2000, op.cit (n.101), 73-74; Fig. 62-64; 66; 68; Meneghini 2001, op.cit (n.101), 253; Fig. 2; 4(E); 9; 18. Actually on a cross-axis level with the south-east junctions of the hemicycles.

¹¹⁹ This further reinforces the importance of the Column as a viewing platform. Most examples of the *Equus* coins are worn at the upper end of the spear, but the lower has a large head. It is likely that this is a double-headed spear, as seen on Trajan's Column (Scenes XXV, XXVII carved in stone,

Another monumental inter-relationship concerns the dedication ‘*ex mamubiis*’ recorded by Aulus Gellius on the *Forum Traiani*. It has recently been demonstrated by Alföldi that the original dedicatory inscriptions on the Amphitheatrum Flavium included the same formula.¹²⁰ As previously suspected, the treasures from Jerusalem and the crushing of the Jewish Revolt were ploughed into the metropolis’ most impressive public entertainment facility. The location and public nature of the building erected by Vespasian and Titus had in their time scored propaganda victories over Nero and his *Domus Aurea*. The *Thermae Titi* were constructed close by and inaugurated at the same time as the amphitheatre.¹²¹ Domitian did his best through the arch he raised to his brother Titus to associate himself with the dynasty’s Jewish victories.¹²² He may also have substantially refurbished the amphitheatre,

many more lost bronze inserts), employed as a symbol of power (A. Alföldi, ‘*Hasta – summa imperii*. The spear as embodiment of sovereignty in Rome’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (1959), 1-27). For the Column statue see *BMC* III, Pl. 16.19-20; 17.1-2; 19.11-2; 39.4-5; 40.2; 41.6; 42.3; Belloni 1973, op.cit (n.53), No. 118-120; 153; 332; 420-423. It has further been suggested that Trajan’s lavish provision of libraries, both in his baths and in the *Forum Traiani* complex (the pair flanking the Column) was a deliberate comment on Domitian’s expulsion of philosophers from Rome. See Dio Cassius 68.16.3; Amici 1982, op.cit (n.101), 47-69; Settis 1988, op.cit (n.10), 60-75; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 120-130; Packer 2001, op.cit (n.42), 77-82; Meneghini 2001, op.cit (n.101), 248-251; 265-268; L. Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (New Haven 2001), 84-88; Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), V, 68 (baths). Moreover, the one apsidal end of the *Basilica Ulpia* which is on a surviving fragment of the Severan *Forma Urbis Romae* carries the inscription ‘*Libertatis*’ (Blake 1973, op.cit (n.101), 15; Settis 1988, op.cit (n.10), 25; Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), II, Fig. 170; Packer 1997, op.cit (n.42), 5; 8; Fig. 130) which surely amplified contrasts between the ‘tyranny’ of Domitian and the humane rule of Trajan (Plinius Minor, *Panegyricus* 67.8; *Epistulae* 10.97; Dio Cassius 68.6.3-4; 68.7.1-3; 68.16.1; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 13; Eutropius, *Breviarium* 8.4). In the discussion of imperial decision-making, always one which will involve a measure of speculative deduction, such interrelationships between monuments must be seen as contributory considerations, not necessarily (or even, ever) as the only factor involved. Recent studies of imperial building policy tread a very fine line between ‘coincidental’ and ‘positivist’ approaches to the meanings of urban projects in Rome (Cf. Boatwright 1987, op.cit (n.101); P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988); D. Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge 1996); Darwell-Smith 1996, op.cit (n.112)).

¹²⁰ G. Alföldi, ‘Eine Bauinschrift aus dem Colosseum’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 109 (1995), 195-226; K.M. Coleman. “‘The contagion of the thron’”: absorbing violence in the Roman world’, *European Review* 5 (1997), 402-405; Fig. 1.

¹²¹ Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), s.v. ‘*Thermae Titi/Titianae*’. Also combating Nero’s reputation as a provider of baths (Martialis 7.34).

¹²² Darwell-Smith 1996, op.cit (n.112), 166-72; Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), s.v. ‘*Arcus Titi* (Via Sacra)’.

although quite what he did to it still divides scholarly opinion.¹²³ Ancillary facilities were rebuilt or provided anew in the area around the amphitheatre, particularly the various *ludi*.¹²⁴ Domitian would have held his triumphal games in the amphitheatre, and Dacians, Germans and Sarmatians would have been displayed there.¹²⁵

Trajan was quite able to upstage this Flavian beneficence. His triumphal games held in the amphitheatre broke all records for numbers of gladiators and animals involved.¹²⁶ Presumably the number and range of barbarians on display was also unprecedented. The *Thermae Traianae* were constructed on the Oppian Hill on a gigantic scale and richly appointed, overlying the *Domus Aurea* wing, but also dominating the locale and completely dwarfing the rather cramped *Thermae Titi* directly below.¹²⁷ He could not build another amphitheatre because not even Rome had room for two 'colossea', but he did massively enlarge the seating capacity of the *Circus Maximus*, an even grander venue.¹²⁸ Its *euripus* was decorated thereafter with military standards in the manner of the *Forum Traiani*, a clear visual link between Trajanic projects.¹²⁹ The circus had been associated with the Flavians by the Arch of Vespasian and Titus and other Domitianic work. Furthermore, Trajan could still upstage the amphitheatre's manner of Flavian dedication. The *manubiae* which paid for the *Forum Traiani* were the result of a successful war which led to traditional triumphs, booty, annexation of territory and patronage for the city of Rome. The Jewish War had been a savage, internal policing operation which had started with ignominious

¹²³ Darwell-Smith 1996, op.cit (n.112), 215-216; Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), I, s.v. 'Amphitheatrum', 31; K.M. Coleman, 'Launching into history: aquatic displays in the early empire', *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993), 58-60.

¹²⁴ Darwell-Smith 1996, op.cit (n.112), 218-221; Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), s.v. 'Ludus Dacicus', 'Ludus Gallicus', 'Ludus Magnus', 'Ludus Matutinus'. It is unsure when the Ludus Dacicus acquired its name, whether in association with the wars of Domitian or those of Trajan.

¹²⁵ Dio Cassius 67.8; Suetonius, *Domitianus* 6.1; Eutropius, *Breviarium* 7.23. Martial's *Liber de spectaculis* 3 mentions Sugambri and Sarmatae as 'spectators' of the Flavian amphitheatre, perhaps meant involuntarily?

¹²⁶ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 8.4.2; Dio Cassius 68.10.2; 68.15.1.

¹²⁷ Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), s.v. 'Thermae Traiani'.

¹²⁸ Plinius, *Panegyricus* 51.3-5; Pausanios 5.12.6; Dio Cassius 68.7.2; CIL 6.955; J.H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London 1986), 102-106; 281; Fig. 119 (Fig. 120 shows a trophy on the *euripus*, further strengthening the links between military and sporting victory). Cf. *BMC III, Trajan*, No. 853-56, Pl. 32.2-4; Belloni 1973, op.cit (n.53), No.360 for Trajanic coins depicting the *Circus Maximus*.

¹²⁹ C.Landes (ed.), *Le cirque et les courses de chars Rome - Byzance* (Lattes 1990), Pl. II.

Roman defeat and ended in the destruction of one of the empire's great cities with its magnificent temple.¹³⁰ Much was made of it by the Flavians because it was a war against non-Romans, waged successfully during and after Roman civil war. In complete contrast, Decebalus was a barbarian, and, above all, a *foreign* king. He also had the distinction of being the only named barbarian leader represented in Roman art.¹³¹

The injection of veristic detail into Trajanic monumental art may also be considered in the light of Flavian precedents, but it was not a reflection of any intrinsic novelty value of the Dacians. On the contrary, they were not new to Roman warfare or public perceptions. Roman armies had campaigned in the Danubian theatre and Dacians had been raiding across the Danube since the time of Augustus. Sarmatian groups drove opportunistically into Moesia during the Roman civil war of AD 68-69. Most significantly, Domitian had fought a recent series of Danubian wars.¹³² There were several ways in which such conflict with Dacians and other Danubian barbarians could have been presented to the public audience in Rome. The most immediate was the display of barbarian prisoners walking dejectedly in triumphal processions, wearing their characteristic clothing and hairstyles. Trophies with prisoners bound to them were arranged on *fercula*, and captured military equipment were also borne along, perhaps piled in such a way as to clash bellicosely as they moved.¹³³ This was often supplemented by the carriage of painted panels in the procession depicting significant stages of the war concerned, such as landscapes, sieges, battles and enemy submissions. This form of art had a very long pedigree and was specifically mentioned by Josephos in the context of the Jewish triumph of Vespasian and Titus.¹³⁴ Most scholars agree that this

¹³⁰ Supposedly unintended, as witnessed by Titus' vain attempts to extinguish the fire (Josephos, *Bellum Iudaicum* 6.249-266).

¹³¹ Settis 1988, op.cit (n.10), 226-228; Fig. 62; Ferris 2000, op.cit (n.34), 80-81.

¹³² Dio Cassius 67.6; 67.7.2-5; 67.10.1-3; Juvenal, *Satirae* 4.111-112; Eutropius, *Breviarium* 7.23; C. Patsch, *Der Kampf um den Donaauraum unter Domitian und Trajan* (Wien 1937), 3-47; Wilkes 1983, op.cit (n.98), 268-270; B.W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* (London 1992), 135-139; 141-143; 150-155.

¹³³ E. Künzl, *Der römische Triumph. Siegesfeiern im antiken Rom* (München 1988), 74-78; 110-113; Fig. 43-48. The detail of clashing arms comes from Plutarch's description of the triumph of Aemilius Paullus in Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus* 32.5-7. Cf. Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* 2.1.40; Plinius Minor, *Panegyricus* 17.1; 17.3). It is not at all unlikely that the author was embroidering the passage with familiar details from triumphs held in his own time, the 2nd century AD. Indeed, the description is not inappropriate for the material depicted on the pedestal reliefs of Trajan's Column.

¹³⁴ Josephos, *Bellum Iudaicum* 7.139-147. See also Livius 41.28.8-10; Appianos, 2.101; 12.117; Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* 2.1.37-39; *Tristia* 4.2.37-38; Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia* 35.135; Tacitus, *Annales* 2.41.

painted form of display lay behind and greatly influenced the more permanent scenes executed in stone sculpture on triumphal monuments, and that it was also important for the evolution of the scene genres (sacrifice, march, battle, negotiation, siege, submission etc.) which make up the helical frieze of Trajan's Column.¹³⁵ Such displays would have marked Domitian's Danubian triumphs and would have combined with, and been extended into, amphitheatrical games. However, it seems that the barbarian *congeries armorum*, and the barbarians themselves, had a negligible effect on Domitianic sculpture.

If the hostile élite literary tradition is to be believed, Domitian's wars were partly disastrous, involving loss of significant forces and leading personalities (e.g. Cornelius Fuscus), and they ended in a humiliating peace treaty which left the barbarian protagonist, Saddam-like, in place as a future threat. His triumphs were mocked as shams.¹³⁶ Trajan effectively attended to unfinished business and carried Daco-Roman relations to a final conclusion. Roman prisoners and military equipment were recaptured; great rivers were bridged; victories were won to expunge Domitianic reverses; losses were avenged; fortresses were stormed; a new province was acquired with its precious metals (Trajan's Column Scene CXXXVIII); and the barbarian king was hunted to extinction (CXLV, CXLVII).¹³⁷ If the chief protagonist was not himself paraded through Rome in chains, his head was brought to the city and thrown down the *Scalae Gemoniae*.¹³⁸

Thus, as in so many other things, the Trajanic régime was concerned to advertise its differences from Domitianic policies¹³⁹ and to separate itself

¹³⁵ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, op.cit (n.10), 2; 101-102; Hamberg 1945, op.cit (n.9), 125-129; R.C. Beacham, *The Roman Theatre and its Audience* (London 1991), 181; Settis 1988, op.cit (n.10), 94-100; Künzli 1988, op.cit (n.133), 110; 114-118; 162. For the most detailed discussion of genre scenes see Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, op.cit (n.10), 11-108.

¹³⁶ Plinius Minor, *Panegyricus* 16.3; Dio Cassius 67.8-9 stated that the public felt that his honouring the fallen in Dacia made his triumph a funeral. Tacitus, *Agricola* 39 accused Domitian of purchasing slaves and, a significant detail for the present enquiry, modelling their clothes *and hair* to deceive viewers of his German triumph. On the ambivalence of triumphal displays see Plass 1995, op.cit (n.69), 148-154.

¹³⁷ For the realities see Patsch 1937, op.cit (n.132), 62-86; 93-134; Wilkes 1983, op.cit (n.98), 270-274; Strobel 1984, op.cit (n.111).

¹³⁸ Steinby 1993-1999, op.cit (n.101), s.v. 'Scalae Gemoniae'. Was this act also intended to reinforce Trajan's just rule during which *Roman* corpses and severed heads were not thrown down the steps? Cf. n.77, above.

¹³⁹ All the more crucial because Trajan's policies were in reality almost indistinguishable from those of his predecessor! See K.A. Waters, 'Traianus Domitiani continuator', *American Journal of Philology* 90 (1969), 385-405.

by emphasising Domitianic failures. Masses of prisoners for the triumphal processions and the amphitheatrical games underlined the justice of Trajan's triumphal claims after each war. Indeed, the despairing Decebalus' suicide was most likely presented in the arena as a form of historical tableau, to judge from *terra sigillata* motifs depicting the named king stabbing himself whilst flanked by *venatio* animals.¹⁴⁰ One design also figures a Parthian flanked by lions, thus combining and epitomising the Dacian and Parthian victory celebrations. Description of the Dacian Wars in Trajan's own *commentarii*¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Settis 1988, op.cit (n.10), Fig. 62-63. Perhaps an actor was carried through the triumphal procession on a *ferculum*, periodically miming the cutting of his own throat (Cf. Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 8.4.2; Dio Cassius 68.14.3). A parallel might be drawn with the popular amphitheatrical restaging over decades of the execution of the criminal Laureolus (Suetonius, *Gaius* 57.4; Martialis, *Liber de spectaculis* 7; Juvenalis, *Satirae* 8.187). Live, captured commanders of cities were combined with painted scenes in Titus' triumph (Josephos, *Bellum Iudaicum* 7.147. Cf. Plinius Minor, *Panegyricus* 17.2). A Constantinian relief from Cherchel (Algeria) appears to depict a triumphal *ferculum* bearing the model of a bridge (the Pons Mulvius? Künzl 1988, op.cit (n.133), 78-79; Fig. 47). This raises the possibility that Trajan's great Danube bridge, an engineering wonder of its age, was similarly represented to the viewing public (Cf. Trajan's Column Scene XCIX; Coulston 1990, op.cit (n.60), 49; Coulston 2001, op.cit (n.60), 124). There is also the likelihood that tableaux were staged in Rome's theatres, and these might have been another mechanism for familiarising the public with the highlights of the Dacian Wars. From the time of Pompeius Magnus theatres were linked with triumphs and triumphal processions, and were used for *venationes* (Beacham 1991, op.cit (n.135), 162-163; 180). Parallels might be drawn with the Victorian theatre which presented wars as a series of vignettes or generic scenes very similar to those on Trajan's Column. For example, for the 1885 Relief of Khartoum "spectacular scenes included the departure of troops from Portsmouth, a street bazaar in Cairo, a bivouac in the desert, a battle scene, even cataracts, rocks and boats on the Nile. The final scene took place in Khartoum itself" (J.M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire. The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester 1984), 51). The theatre (and the many other available media) also provided the public with the visually identifiable 'barbarian' types: Zulus, Fuzzy-Wuzzies, Boers, Afghans, Russians, Chinese and Japanese (*ibid.*, 49-50). See also J.S. Bratton, R.A. Cave, B. Gregory, H.J. Holder & M. Pickering, *Acts of Supremacy. The British Empire and the Stage, 1790-1930* (Manchester 1991). See also Appianos 12.117 for native costume in the theatre, and Hall 1989, op.cit (n.26), 84-86 for the use of ethnic dress as stage costume in the Athenian theatre. Depiction of a range of non-Roman troops on Trajan's Column as part of Trajan's army can be paralleled on Pharaonic and Assyrian reliefs. They denoted geographical power and discipline under the pharaoh/king/emperor's strong hand. The archers and slingers were artificial fabricated figure types, created especially for the Column project (Coulston 1989, op.cit (n.61), 34), but the Moors were likely based on exotic troops in Trajan's triumphs (Cf. Dio Cassius 68.32.4) and/or prisoners from recent North African wars (Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.50; Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia* 5.38; Dio Cassius 67.4.6). A range of native or colonial 'Soldiers of the Queen' was similarly exhibited in the Victorian theatre and in the great military reviews of the 19th-20th century in Britain (MacKenzie 1984, 72).

¹⁴¹ Priscianus, *Institutiones Grammaticae* 6.13; R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives. Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca 1984), 101-102; Lepper & Frere 1988, op.cit (n.10), 26; 226-229; Settis 1988, op.cit (n.10), 73-75.

and their depiction in unprecedented detail on the helical frieze of Trajan's Column presented the events and achievements to the public in more lasting forms. The new verism in the depiction of barbarians, particularly with its emphasis of exotic dress and weaponry, served to fix in public consciousness the reality of Trajanic victories. The collection of large quantities of material after a battle was really only practical for a victor holding the field. Equipment was thus depicted in huge quantities on the Column pedestal and elsewhere in the Forum complex, and reproduced in more abbreviated form on numerous coin issues.¹⁴² Thus, the barbarian enemy was not just physically brought to Rome, he was 'reinvented' as new, vivid and *real*. Undoubted Domitianic successes were to be forgotten, just as the hated emperor's arches and statues had been excised from the city-scape. Trajan's victories were tangible and unequivocally glorious. The barbarian was exposed in the amphitheatre arena in person, and in the *Forum Traiani* in simulacrum. The latter context allowed him to bear witness forevermore to the achievements of the *optimus princeps*.

The depiction of barbarians in Trajanic art was founded on traditions stretching back to the Bronze Age. It owed much to Graeco-Roman understanding and perception of the barbarian 'other', passed through Graeco-Persian relations in the Archaic period, to feed forward still into the modern era of post-colonial perspectives.¹⁴³ The very depiction of barbarians was an act of power over the subject, reducing them to exotic bystanders of Roman triumph. Stereotypes of dress, hair, weaponry, other equipment, and behaviour had built up and solidified around the concept of 'Gauls' and 'Germans' by the late 1st century BC. The Dacians were comparatively recent on the Roman metropolitan scene; they were more heavily dressed than other types of barbarians, and exhibited both old features, such as *carnyces*, and exotically new items, such as *falces* and '*dracones*'. Otherwise they were presented in a almost indulgent manner at a time when Rome was at the height of her power¹⁴⁴ (in complete contrast to how later barbarians

¹⁴² *BMC* III, Pl. 15.6-9; 15.14-15; 20.6-7; 24.6; 24.8; 24.10; 28.6-8; 30.2; 34.1; 34.11-12; 36.3; 37.3-6; Belloni 1973, op.cit (n.53), No. 45; 53; 99-101; 104-107; 164-165; 186; 270-279; 313-315; 346-350; 400-401.

¹⁴³ Notably examined by E. Said, *Orientalism* (London 1978).

¹⁴⁴ Paternalism and clemency are features of Trajan's treatment of the Dacians, especially their women, and such benevolence may be seen as a mark of imperial confidence. Cf. Said 1993, op.cit (n.2), xviii-ix: "(No American has been immune from) the rhetoric of the 'New World Order' promulgated by the American government since the end of the Cold War – with its redolent self-congratulation, its unconcealed triumphalism, its grave proclamations of responsibility.... since the

were treated on the Marcus Column¹⁴⁵). They were negotiated with, beaten down in war, and forced to conform with the Roman world order, but also shown some respect for their *dignitas*, and some *clementia* for those who submitted in good faith. Their gold contributed to the adornment of Rome, whilst a river of their blood washed away the *parvenu* illegitimacy of the Trajanic régime.

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rhetoric of power all too easily produces an illusion of benevolence when deployed in the imperial setting. Yet it is a rhetoric whose damning characteristic is that it has been used before not just once (by Spain and Portugal) but with deafening repetitive frequency in the modern period, by the British, the French, the Belgians, the Japanese, the Russians, and now by Americans”.

¹⁴⁵ The differences between the two columns can readily be explained. Trajan’s Dacian Wars were offensive campaigns launched into *barbaricum* against an identified enemy leader, resulting in clear-cut victory, submissions of long-known and newly contacted peoples, territorial annexations and treasure to pay for the Forum complex. Marcus’ Danubian Wars were expensive, confused, bloody and ended in no annexations. Crucially they involved barbarian invasion of Italy - the first such incursion in 270 years. Thus Trajan’s campaigns were a triumphal progress whilst Marcus’ wars were a terrible shock to Roman perceptions of security. On the first Column the barbarians are slaughtered but treated honourably; on the second they are exterminated. See H.W. Böhme, ‘Archäologische Zeugnisse zur Geschichte der Markomannenkriege (166-180 n. Chr.)’, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* 22 (1975), 153-217; A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* (London 1987), 159-183; 208-209; H. Friesiger, J. Tejral & A. Stuppner (eds.), *Markomannenkriege. Ursachen und Wirkungen* (Brno 1994); Ferris 2000, op.cit (n.34), 86-118.

HADRIAN'S TRAVELS

By
A.R. BIRLEY

Hadrian's predecessors travelled outside Italy mostly for military reasons. Thus Augustus, in Spain 27-24 BC, in the east 22-19 BC, in Gaul and Spain 16-13 BC and again in Gaul 11-10 and 8 BC, even if after the first journey his participation in the campaigns was indirect. Caligula's brief visit to Sicily in AD 38 was an exception, but his journey to Germany and the Channel coast in 39-40 was certainly military in purpose, as was Claudius' British expedition, 43-44. Nero's 'cultural' expedition to Greece in 66-67 is the major exception. Domitian left Italy exclusively for military purposes, in 83, 85-86, 89 and 92-93, likewise Trajan, first his tour of Rhine and Danube in 98-99, then his two Dacian wars, 101-102 and 105-106, and his Parthian war, 113-117.¹ One must exclude journeys from the provinces to Rome by emperors after their proclamation: Galba in 68, Vitellius in 69, Vespasian in 70—but Trajan's circuitous and long drawn out route from Cologne to Rome in 98-99 is slightly different: he evidently felt confident enough not to go straight to the capital, instead inspecting the northern military provinces.

Hadrian's return to Rome after his accession took eleven months, much longer than it might have, had the situation been peaceful: the military crisis necessitated his presence in the Danube-Balkan region. The first great provincial tour, beginning in 121, could be seen as aimed at Britain, where a revolt had been in progress; and the western part ended with an action in Mauretania, for which the senate decreed *supplicationes*. Further, in 123 the move from Spain or Mauretania to Syria was occasioned by the sudden threat of war with Parthia, to judge from a drastically abbreviated passage in the *Historia Augusta* (12.8-13.1). But the diplomatic resolution of this crisis, backed by a show of force, was marked by the closing of Janus, it may be conjectured: hence, at least until 132, his further journeys were not necessitated by military considerations.² Hadrian stayed in the east until 125, in 128 leaving Italy again, for Africa, followed, after a brief stay in Rome, by the second eastern tour, concluded at earliest in 132.

¹ For details see H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (Stuttgart 1986), 157 ff. (Augustus); 166 ff. (Caligula); 172 f. (Claudius); 173 ff. (Nero); 181 ff. (Domitian); 184 ff. (Trajan). This work is fundamental for imperial journeys.

² Coins at this time show Janus: *British Museum Catalogue of Coins in the Roman Empire* III (London 1936) 254; 437. Not recorded in the meagre literary sources.

The evidence for his prolonged absences, and, in broad terms, the areas visited, is clear enough. In the main sources, Dio and the *Historia Augusta*, Hadrian is portrayed as the ‘Reisekaiser’ *par excellence*, with some suggestions as to his motives. Help is given by the commemorative coin issues, which show his *adventus* in many cases, or his addresses to provincial armies, and by a mass of documentary evidence. The devil is in the detail. The first to tackle this was a French cleric, in 1842. He gave particular attention to the coinage, but confessed that he could not attempt a “classement chronologique de ces voyages”.³ Gregorovius’ attractive volume, a few years later, was a cultural history of Hadrian’s time for the general reader rather than an academic work.⁴ Serious analysis of the epigraphic evidence began with Dürr in 1881.⁵ Four dissertations followed between 1890 and 1907, the later ones influenced by the new approach to the *Historia Augusta* initiated by Dessau in 1889; the best was the last, by Weber, in some respects still not replaced.⁶ Nothing significant was added in the monograph of 1923 by Henderson, who, it is strange, completely ignored Weber,⁷ but the study of the coinage by Strack soon provided some welcome precision.⁸ It was over fifty years before Halfmann, in a general work on all imperial journeys, corrected a number of items in Weber’s dissertation in the light of new evidence.⁹ Some uncertainties remain, e.g. whether Hadrian stopped anywhere between Spain and Syria in 123 and over the date of his return from his last journey and, closely connected, whether or not he was present at the front during the Jewish War.¹⁰

³ J.-G.-H. Greppo, *Mémoire sur les voyages de l’Empereur Hadrien* (Paris 1842), 46.

⁴ F. Gregorovius, *Der Kaiser Hadrian. Gemälde der römisch-hellenischen Welt zu seiner Zeit* (Stuttgart 1851, 3rd ed. 1884; English translation 1898).

⁵ J. Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian* (Vienna 1881).

⁶ H. Dessau, ‘Über Zeit und Persönlichkeit der *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*’, *Hermes* 24 (1889), 337-392; J. Plew, *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian* (Strassburg 1890); O.Th. Schulz, *Leben des Kaisers Hadrian* (Leipzig 1904); E. Kornemann, *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker Roms* (Leipzig 1905); W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig 1907).

⁷ B.W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian AD 76-138* (London 1923).

⁸ P.L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des 2. Jhdts. II. Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Hadrian* (Stuttgart 1933).

⁹ Halfmann 1968, op.cit. (n.1), 188-210 (further references to Hadrian elsewhere in the work).

¹⁰ Against Halfmann 1968, op.cit. (n.1), 209 f., denying that Dio 69.14.3 implies Hadrian’s presence at the front: R. Syme, ‘Journeys of Hadrian’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 73 (1988), 159-170, at 165 ff. = id., *Roman Papers VI* (Oxford 1991) 346-357, at 353 ff.; T.D. Barnes, ‘Emperors on the move’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2 (1989), 247-261, at 254; V. Rosenberger, *Bella et expeditiones. Die antike Terminologie der Kriege Roms* (Stuttgart 1992), 97 ff.; A.R. Birley, *Hadrian the restless emperor* (London 1997), 272 f.; 352 n. 38. The argument depends on the term *expeditio* in inscriptions of

The *HA, Hadrianus*, our fullest source, offers the following details on Hadrian's travels:

117-118 5.10 Antiochiam regressus praepositoque Syriae Catilio Severo per Illyricum Romam venit. 6.6 audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum et Roxalanorum praemissis exercitibus Moesiam petit. 7.3 Romam venit...

119 9.6 summotis his a praefectura, quibus debebat imperium, Campaniam petit...

121: 10.1 post haec profectus in Gallias... 10.2 inde in Germaniam transiit...

122 11.2 ergo conversis regio more militibus Britanniam petit... 12.1 conpositis in Britannia rebus transgressus in Galliam...

123 12.3 post haec Hispanias petit et Tarracone hiemavit... 12.7 motus Maurorum compressit et a senatu supplicationes emeruit. 12.8 bellum Parthorum per idem tempus in motu tantum fuit, idque Hadriani conloquio repressum est. [Nothing is said about Hadrian's journey from Spain to Syria]

124 13.1 post haec per Asiam et insulas ad Achaiam navigavit...

125 13.3 post in Siciliam navigavit... 13.4 inde Romam venit atque [jumping over an interval of three years]

128 ex ea in Africam transiit... 13.6 denique cum post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit...

129 per Asiam iter faciens templa sui nominis consecravit. 13.7 deinde a Capadocibus servitia castris profutura suscepit. 13.8 toparchas et reges ad amicitiam invitavit... 13.9 cumque ad eum quidam reges venissent... 13.10 et circumiens quidem provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit...

130 14.1 Antiochenses inter haec ita odio habuit... 14.2 moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia [apparently misplaced]. 14.3 sed in monte Casio, cum videndi solis ortus gratia nocte ascendisset... 14.4 peragrata Arabia Pelusium venit... 14.5 Antinoum suum, dum per Nilum navigat, perdidit... At this point the *Historia Augusta* abandons its (drastically compressed) chronological narrative until 23.1, which begins the account of the succession crisis of 136-138.

At a few points between 14.5 and 23.1 the travels are mentioned again:

16.3 Floro poetae scribenti ad se:

ego nolo C<a>esar esse,

participants in the Jewish War (as in other imperial campaigns) meaning that the emperor had been present in person, so Rosenberger 133-140. For support of Halfmann's view: G. Alföldy, commentary on *CL VI* 40524 (= 974).

ambulare per Brittanos
 <latitare per --->
 Scythicas pati <p>ruinas
 Rescripsit ego nolo Florus esse,
 ambulare per tabernas,
 latitare per popinas
 culices pati rotundos.¹¹

19.3 Athenis mille ferarum venationem in stadio exhibuit.

20.2 apud Alexandriam in musio multas quaestiones professoribus proposuit et propositas ipse dissolvit.

20.13 oppidum Hadrianotheras in quodam loco, quod illic et feliciter esset venatus et ursam occidisset aliquando, constituit.

22.11 causas Romae atque in provinciis frequenter audivit adhibitis in consilio suo consulibus atque praetoribus et optimis senatoribus.

22.14 quando in Africam venit, ad adventum eius post quinquennium pluit, atque ideo ab Africanis dilectus est.

What survives of Dio, mainly in Xiphilinus' *epitome*, is less detailed. First, in 69.5.2-3, a general statement: "He subjected the legions to very strict discipline ... and assisted the allied and provincial cities very generously. Indeed, he saw many of them—more than any other emperor". A little later, the remark that "both at Rome and abroad he always kept the noblest men about him" (69.7.3) is a reminder that a *comitatus* was with him on his travels. These passages come in what Dio calls, in 69.8.1¹, "a kind of preface", followed by a sadly abbreviated narrative of events (69.8.1² ff). The account of his travels occupies 69.9.1-12.3, with one later reference, to his presiding at the Athenian Dionysia (69.16.1). The main stress is on the restoration of discipline (9.1-6, quoted below), recalling *HA*, *Hadrianus* 10.2-11.2, with a few further details, such as his not visiting his *patria* (Italica) (69.10.1), his founding of Hadrianutherae after his hunt (69.10.2), his admission to the Mysteries (69.10.3²), his passage from Judaea into

¹¹ W.D. Lebek, 'Florus und Hadrian: *Ego nolo Caesar esse*', *Wiener Studien* 114 (2001), 419-442, at 438 restores Florus' poem differently:

Ego nolo Caesar esse,
 ambulare per Batauos
 <equitare per Britannos,
 Scythicas pati <p>ruinas

He interprets *Scythicas* simply as 'very cold', as 'Siberian' is used today, not as referring to Hadrian's presence in 'Scythia', i.e. around the Danube delta, in 118.

Egypt and the death of Antinous (69.11.1 ff.) his refoundation of Jerusalem and the ensuing Jewish revolt (69.12.1-14.3). Combining all sources, Hadrian's movements may be tabulated as follows:¹²

117 Antioch - Cilicia - Antioch (*HA, Hadrianus* 5.9-10); Antioch - Tarsus (12 October) - Mopsucrene (13 October) - Panhormus (14 October) - Aquae Calidae (15 October) - Tynna (16 October) - Tyana (17 October) - Andabalis (18 October)¹³ - Ancyra - Juliopolis (11 November)¹⁴ - winter at Nicomedia? and/or Byzantium?

118 Thrace - Moesia Inferior (*HA, Hadrianus* 6.6-8) - Dacia - Moesia Superior - Pannonia¹⁵ - Italy - Rome (9 July).¹⁶

119 Rome - Campania (*HA, Hadrianus* 9.6) - Rome.

120 Rome.

121 Rome - Gaul (*HA, Hadrianus* 10.1)¹⁷ - Germania Superior (*HA, Hadrianus* 10.2 ff.) - Raetia - Noricum - Raetia¹⁸ - Germania Superior.

122 Germania Inferior - Britain (*HA, Hadrianus* 11.2; 12.1)¹⁹ - Gaul (*HA, Hadrianus* 12.1).

123 Gaul (Nemausus, Apta)²⁰ - Spain (Tarraco) (*HA, Hadrianus* 12.3-5) - Legio²¹ - Mauretania Tingitana? (*HA, Hadrianus* 12.7) - ?Africa -

¹² The items cited here are mostly those with explicit evidence for Hadrian's presence, especially when dated. Reference to the coins registering Hadrian's *adventus* and addresses to various *exercitus* are only mentioned where they provide the sole evidence.

¹³ The itinerary for 12-18 October AD 117 is based on von Domaszewski's conjecture ap. Weber 1907, op.cit. (n.6), 57 f. that the list of places with dates in *CIL* VI 5076 represents Hadrian's route.

¹⁴ IGR IV 349 = E.M. Smallwood, *Documents illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* (Cambridge 1966), no. 61.

¹⁵ Philostratus, *Vitae sophistarum* 2.14; Dio 69.9.6; *ILS* 2558 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 336, interpreted by M.P. Speidel, 'Swimming the Danube under Hadrian's eyes. A feat of the emperor's *Batavi* horse guards', *Ancient Society* 22 (1991), 277-282. Cf. generally *HA, Hadrianus* 5.10: *per Illyricum Romam venit*.

¹⁶ The *Acta Arvalium* (Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), 21 f.) date his arrival after 30 May 118, see Weber 1907, op.cit. (n.6), 81 f. (restoring *VI I[ulius Iulias]*).

¹⁷ His departure was in 121: he was called proconsul in that year, Weber 1907, op.cit. (n.6), 99, presumably after he renewed the Parilia festival on 21 April: Strack 1933, op.cit. (n.8), 102 ff.

¹⁸ The only evidence for Hadrian's visits to Raetia and Noricum is the coins showing him addressing their armies and, for Noricum, his *adventus*: Strack 1933, op.cit. (n.8), 139 ff.

¹⁹ Other evidence for Hadrian in Britain: Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 123 ff. and Appendix, below.

²⁰ Nemausus: he began a basilica there in memory of Plotina: *HA, Hadrianus* 12.2; Dio 69.10.2-3a. She was still alive in 123, *CIL* XV 691 ff.: H. Temporini, *Die Frauen am Hofe Traians. Ein Beitrag zur Stellung der Augustae im Prinzipat* (Berlin 1978), 11 ff.; M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (Ier-IIe siècles)* (Louvain 1984), no. 631. Apta: *CIL* XII 1122 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 520, not dated, but cf. *HA, Hadrianus* 20.12.

²¹ His presence at the legionary base seems guaranteed by the *exercitus Hispanicus* coins: *British Museum Catalogue* III, op.cit. (n.2), 501.

?Cyrenaica - ?Crete - ?Cyprus²² - Syria (Antioch) - Euphrates (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.1) - Cappadocia (Neocaesarea - Trapezus) - Pontus/Bithynia (Nicomedia?)²³ - Thrace.

124 Asia²⁴: conjectured route: Cyzicus - Ilium (Philostratus, *Heroicus* 288) - Hadrianotherae (*HA, Hadrianus* 20.13; Dio 69.10.2) - Pergamum?²⁵ - Thyatira - Saittae²⁶ - Sardis²⁷ - Smyrna²⁸ - Erythrae²⁹ - Ephesus (29.08.)³⁰ - Rhodes³¹ - Athens and Eleusis (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.1) - Peloponnese:³² Megara - Epidaurus - Troezen - Hermione - Argos? (Dec. 124?).

125 Mantinea - Tegea - Sparta - Corinth - Athens (Dionysia in March: *HA, Hadrianus* 13.1; Dio 69.16.1) - Thespieae - Coronea - Abae - Hyampolis - Delphi - Dyrrachium (20 May?)³³ - Sicily (Etna) (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.3) - Rome - Tibur (between 14 August and 12 September)³⁴ - Rome.

²² It is often denied, e.g. by Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 197, that he landed anywhere between Spain and Syria in 123, let alone that he conducted operations in Mauretania, or stopped in North Africa, Crete and Cyprus on his way to the east. For Cyrene, see J.H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri* (Philadelphia 1989), no. 122. For Crete Strack 1933, op.cit. (n.8) 77. See further Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 151 ff.

²³ Neocaesarea was named in Phlegon's *Olympiads*, see Weber 1907, op.cit. (n.6), 265, inferring a visit, dated by Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 198, to AD 123, rather than 131, as Weber. Trapezus: Arrian, *Periplus* 1. Nicomedia: *Chronicon Paschale* I 475, cf. Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 198 f.

²⁴ The reconstruction of the route for the first two thirds of this year, beginning in Thrace and going from there into Asia, including Ionia, Lydia and Phrygia, depends on the improved Arabic text supplied by G.W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969), 120 ff., of Polemo's *Physiognomica*, ed. G. Hoffmann (Leipzig 1893), 138 ff. It is not necessary, however, to infer that Hadrian travelled from Spain to Syria 'by way of the Balkans'; and most of the journey described by Polemo may be assigned not to AD 123, as Bowersock supposes, but to 124. Further details: Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 191; 199; Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 162 ff.

²⁵ *JGR* IV 351, Pergamum, calling Hadrian a god 'most manifest', implies his presence.

²⁶ P. Weiss, 'Hadrian in Lydien', *Chiron* 25 (1995), 213-224, a city coin registering Hadrian's *adventus*.

²⁷ Guaranteed by Bowersock's emendation 1969, op.cit. (n.24), 122, of Polemo, *Physiognomica*, not discussed by Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1).

²⁸ A stay at Smyrna is virtually certain: Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 200.

²⁹ *JGR* IV 1542, Erythrae: a 'Great Hadrianic landing festival'.

³⁰ M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Munich 1988) includes Hadrian's reply to Oenoanda, written at Ephesus on that day.

³¹ *HA, Hadrianus* 13.1; Polemo, *Physiognomica* 138, as emended by Bowersock 1969, op.cit. (n.24), 120 ff.; Malalas, *Chronographia* 279; *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Ephesos* nos. 1487-1488, interpreted by T. Drew-Bear, F. Richard, 'Hadrien et Erastos, nauclère d'Ephèse', in: Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la Religion à l'époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de M. Le Glay* II (Brussels 1994), 742-751.

³² For the places visited in Greece the best evidence is in Pausanias, augmented by some inscriptions: Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 191 f.; 202 f.; Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 175 ff.

³³ A letter to Heraclea Lyncestis from an emperor, name not preserved, written at Dyrrachium on 20 May, year not preserved, is plausibly assigned to Hadrian in 125: Oliver 1989, op.cit. (n.22), no. 56; cf. Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 203; Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 189.

³⁴ He wrote to Delphi from Tibur between these dates: Oliver 1989, op.cit. (n.22), no. 74 bis.

126 Rome (11 February, 1 March).³⁵

127 Rome - (from 3 March) *Italia circum[padana]* - Rome (1 August).³⁶

128 Rome - Sicily - Africa (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.4 f.)³⁷ - Numidia: Lambaesis (1 July) - Zarai (7 July) - unknown *castellum* (12/13 July)³⁸ - Mauretania - Rome (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.6) - Athens (September)³⁹ - Sparta⁴⁰ - Athens.

129 Athens - Eleusis - Ephesus⁴¹ - Miletus⁴² - Lycia (Patara)⁴³ - Maeander valley - Tralles - Laodicea on the Lycus (29 June)⁴⁴ - Apamea/Phrygia (23 July)⁴⁵ - Melissa⁴⁶ - Cappadocia (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.6-7) - Antioch (Malalas, *Chronographia* 278).

130 Antioch - Mt. Casius (*HA, Hadrianus* 14.3) - Palmyra⁴⁷ - Gerasa⁴⁸ - Judaea (Jerusalem) - Gaza (July)⁴⁹ - Pelusium (Appian, *Syriaca* 50; *HA, Hadrianus* 14.4; Dio 69.11.1; *Anthologia Palatina* 9.402) - Alexandria (before August 29)⁵⁰ - Libyan Desert (September)⁵¹ - Heliopolis -

³⁵ He wrote three times in 126 from Rome to Stratonicea in Lydia, first on 11 February, again, date not preserved, finally on 1 March: Oliver 1989, op.cit. (n.22), nos. 79-81.

³⁶ L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* (Prague 1982, 2nd ed.), 49, restored by R. Syme, 'Transpadana Italia', *Athenaeum* 63 (1985), 28-36 = id., *Roman Papers* V (Oxford 1988), 431 ff., at 28 = 432.

³⁷ *AE* 1957.135 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 195, a *comes divi Hadriani per Siciliam Africam Mauretaniam*.

³⁸ *CIL* VIII 2532; 18042 = *ILS* 9133-4 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 328.

³⁹ *HA, Hadrianus* 13.6; *IG* II/III² 2040, Athens. W. Eck, D. MacDonald & A. Pangerl, 'Neue Diplome für das Heer der Provinz Syrien', *Chiron* 32 (2002), 427-448, at 435ff., list all Hadrianic diplomas and note that *CIL* XVI 74-75, datable to the first months of 129, do not show him with the title *procos.*, from which it seems to be inferred that he had not left Italy for Greece in 128. But the inscription from Athens cited above says that his arrival there was 'within the fourth year' from his previous stay. Cf. also Hieronymus, *Chronica* (vers. arm., Karst), p. 220, according to which he spent the winter 128-129 at Athens.

⁴⁰ *IG* V 1, 486; *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* XI 492: Hadrian's 'second stay' at Sparta.

⁴¹ *Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Ephesos* 1487-1488, discussed by Drew-Bear and Richard 1994, op.cit. (n.31): he sailed direct from Eleusis to Ephesus.

⁴² A. Rehm, ed., *Didyma II. Die Inschriften* (Berlin 1958), nos. 254; 356.

⁴³ *IGR* III 668, interpreted by G.W. Bowersock, 'Hadrian and *metropolis*', *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* 1982/3 (Bonn 1985), 75-88, at 82 ff.; see also Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 205 and Wörrle 1988, op.cit. (n.30), 40 ff.

⁴⁴ Tralles: Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 204. Laodicea: *IGR* IV 1033 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 73 = Oliver 1989, op.cit. (n.22), no. 68, restoring the month as June in the light of the inscription cited n. 45, below.

⁴⁵ Revealed by an unpublished inscription cited by C.P. Jones in a review, *Phoenix* 37 (1983), 74.

⁴⁶ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.574 f. For the location of this Melissa: L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1980), 257 ff.

⁴⁷ *IGR* III 1054 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 77; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* II 3959.

⁴⁸ *AE* 1915.42 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 332; C.B. Welles, in: C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis* (New Haven 1938), nos. 58, 143-5.

⁴⁹ Judaea: Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 207. Gaza: *Chronicon Paschale* I 474; M. Rosenberger, *City-Coins of Palestine* II (Jerusalem 1975), 54 ff.

⁵⁰ J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (Stuttgart 1924), I 102 f.; II 53.

Memphis⁵² - Oxyrhyncus - Hermopolis - Antinoupolis (30 October)⁵³ - ?Ptolemais - Thebes (Colossus) (18-21 November)⁵⁴ - Oxyrhyncus (29-30 November) - Tebtunis (1 December)⁵⁵ - Alexandria.

131 Alexandria - ?Antinoupolis (March/April)⁵⁶ - Alexandria - Syria (Dio 69.12.2) - Cilicia - Pamphylia (Phaselis)⁵⁷ - ?Ephesus - ?Mysia (Hadriani, Hadriania)⁵⁸ - Athens.

132/133(?) / 134(?) Athens⁵⁹ - Judaea⁶⁰ - Athens - Macedonia - ?Thrace - ?Moesia Superior - ?Dalmatia - Pannonia⁶¹ - Italy - Rome (at latest 5 May 134).⁶²

Ancient comments may be cited, in chronological order. First, *HA, Hadrianus* 16.3, Florus' poem, quoted above. Next, implied criticism about five years after Hadrian's death, by Aelius Aristides, *To Rome (Orationes* 26K) 33:

The Great Archon and the Prytanis over everything [i.e. Antoninus Pius] does not need to wear himself out travelling round the whole empire, nor to visit one land after another and to lay down regulations for each one when he reaches them.

⁵¹ *HA, Hadrianus* 26.3; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 15.677d-f, *P Oxy* 1085. Cf. R. Lambert, *Beloved and God. The Story of Hadrian and Antinous* (London 1984), 118 f.

⁵² K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Magici Graeci* IV (Stuttgart 1973, 2nd ed.), 2441 ff.; cf. Lucian, *Philopseudes* 34 f.

⁵³ This was the foundation date of Antinoupolis: *Chronicon Paschale* I 475 (with the wrong year).

⁵⁴ A. and E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du colosse de Memnon* (Paris 1960), nos. 28-32.

⁵⁵ *P Oxy* 2553; *Papyri Osloenses* III 77a: see P.J. Sijpestein, 'A new document concerning Hadrian's visit to Egypt', *Historia* 18 (1969), 109-118; 112 ff.; 115.

⁵⁶ Hadrian perhaps attended inaugural 'Great Antinoan games' at Antinoupolis in March or April 131, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1952, no. 180, and the 'Hadrianic Philadelphian contest' at Alexandria, L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Rome 1953), no. 84. See G. Grimm, 'Paulina und Antinous. Zur Vergöttlichung der Hadrianschwester in Ägypten', in: *Das antike Rom und der Osten. Festschrift K. Parlasca* (Erlangen 1990), 33-44, at 39 f.

⁵⁷ The visit to Cilicia is only recorded by *adventus* coins: *British Museum Catalogue* III, op.cit. (n.2), 490. Phaselis: *Tituli Asiae Minoris* II 3; 1187; 1191-4.

⁵⁸ Ephesus: cf. Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 208. Mysia: E. Schwertheim, 'Zu Hadrians Reisen und Stadtgründungen in Kleinasien', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 6 (1985), 37-42; id., *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Hadrianoi*, on nos. 56; 129.

⁵⁹ *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., 842, Epidauros: Hadrian wintering for the third time at Athens.

⁶⁰ Cf. above with n.10 on the uncertainty over Hadrian's participation in the Jewish War and hence over the date of his return: at latest 134.

⁶¹ *AE* 1957.135 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 195, a *comes divi Hadriani per Orientem et Illyricum*, clearly on Hadrian's last journey.

⁶² *IGRI* 149 = Oliver 1989, op.cit. (n.22), no. 86.

In the early 160s Fronto made a neutral comment, *De feriis Alsiansibus* 5.229-230:

avom item vestrum, doctum principem et navom et orbis terrarum non regendi tantum, sed etiam perambulandi diligentem, modulorum tamen et tibicinum studio devinctum fuisse scimus et praeterea prandiorum opimorum esorem optimum fuisse.⁶³

Soon afterwards Fronto waxed sarcastic, *Principia Historiae* 11.208.7 ff.:

Lucio Parthis aut dilectu novi tirones sumendi fuerunt aut fracti aspera legitima militia tenendi militibus tristi et molli militia corruptis. namque post imperatorem Traianum disciplina propemodum expertes erant Hadriano principe circumeundis et facunde appellandis exercitibus satis inpigro, sed summa fugiente bellorum. quin provincias manu Traiani captas, quarum Daciae non iam pacatae erant, omittere maluit [209.1] quam exercitu retinere. eius itinerum monumenta videas per plurimas Asiae atque Europae urbes sita, cum alia multa tum sepulchra ex saxo formata. non solum in gelosas, sed etiam bis in meridionalis sedis terras profectus est saluti# his provinciis,* quas trans Euphratis et Danuvii ripas sitas Traianus spe Moesiae et Asiae provincias addere posse se§ imperio Romano adnexuerat.* has omnino provincias Daciam et Parthis missas partes ultro restituit. exercitus in Asia se pro scutis atque gladiis sali<ci>bus+ sub pellibus delectare: neminem umquam ducem post eiusmodi vidit.⁶⁴

⁶³ M.P.J. van den Hout (ed.), *M. Cornelii Frontonis Epistulae* (Leipzig 1988).

⁶⁴ Van den Hout 1988, op.cit. (n.63); # read *soluti<s>* ARB?

§ van den Hout prints *addere ...e. imperio*, noting Hauler's reading *posse se*.

* * van den Hout punctuates *his provinciis, quas trans Euphratis ...adnexuerat*. If one retains *saluti*, this would mean that Hadrian's journeys to the southern (=Mediterranean) provinces were 'to the advantage of those lying beyond the banks of Euphrates and Danube', which cannot be what Fronto wrote. One could punctuate *his provinciis*. [with full stop], i.e. Hadrian's two journeys were 'to the advantage of these [sc. Mediterranean] provinces', then read: *quas trans Euphratis et Danuvii ripas sitas Traianus spe Moesiae et Asiae provinciis addere posse se imperio Romano adnexuerat, has omnino provincias, Dacis et Parthis amissas partes, ultro restituit*, 'As for those which, lying beyond the banks of Euphrates and Danube, Trajan, in the hope that he could add them to the provinces of Moesia and Asia, had annexed to

At the end of the second century Tertullian has a striking phrase, *Apologeticus* 5.7, which implies that Hadrian was inspired simply by (unhealthy) inquisitiveness:

quales ergo leges istae quae adversus nos soli exercent impii, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? quas Traianus ex parte frustratus est vetando inquiri Christianos, quas nullus Hadrianus, quamquam omnium curiositatum explorator, nullus Vespasianus, quamquam Iudaeorum debellator, nullus Pius, nullus Verus inpressit.

Dio 69.9.1-4 stresses military discipline:

Hadrian travelled through one province after another, visiting both countryside and cities and inspecting all the garrisons and forts—some he removed to more suitable sites, he gave up others and established new ones. 2. He viewed and inspected absolutely everything personally: not just the usual items in the forts, weapons, engines, ditches, ramparts and palisades, but also every individual's conduct, both soldiers and officers—their lives, quarters and habits—and reformed and corrected in many cases what had become too luxurious. 3. He trained the men for battles of all kinds... and so that they should benefit from his example, he everywhere led a rigorous life and always either walked or rode, never used a chariot or four-wheeler. 4. He did not cover his head either in the heat or the cold but alike in German snows and Egyptian heat went about bare-headed. In short, both by example and by precept he so trained and disciplined the entire armed forces throughout the whole empire that even today the methods he then introduced are the basis of military regulations.

the Roman Empire, all these provinces, the parts lost by the Dacians and the Parthians, he restored voluntarily.'

+ *sali<ci>bus* R.W. Davies, 'Fronto, Hadrian and the Roman army', *Latomus* 27 (1968), 75-95, registered in the apparatus but not included in his text by van den Hout. On 209, 7-8 he comments: 'sententiae perturbatae: nonnulla perisse puto'. As his apparatus indicates, much of this, as with the rest of Fronto, is highly uncertain. Cf. the Loeb edition of Haines (1920) II 296, who relied on Naber's Teubner edition (1867), with only minor changes; Haines' text is used by most who discuss this passage.

The *HA*, *Hadrianus* offers several general statements:

13.5: nec quisquam fere principum tantum terrarum tam celeriter peragravit. 13.10: et circumiens quidem provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit...17.8: peregrinationis ita cupidus, ut omnia, quae legerat de locis orbis terrarum, praesens vellet addiscere. 23.1: peragratis sane omnibus orbis partibus capite nudo et in summis plerumque imbribus atque frigoribus in morbum incidit lectualem. Cf. *HA*, *Aelius* 2.1 Ceionius Commodus...quem sibi Hadrianus aevo ingravescente morbis tristioribus pressus peragrato iam orbe terrarum adoptavit... and *HA*, *Antoninus Pius* 7.11 nec ullas expeditiones obiit, nisi ad agros suos profectus est et ad Campaniam dicens gravem esse provincialibus comitatum principis, etiam nimis parci.

The latest comment, *Epitome de Caesaribus* 14.4-5, highlights building:

immensi laboris, quippe qui provincias omnes passibus circumierit agmen comitantium praevertens, cum oppida universa restitueret, augeter ordinibus. 5 ad specimen legionum militarium fabros perpendicularatores architectos genusque cunctum exstruendorum moenium seu decorandorum in cohortes centuriaverat.

This is often understood to mean that Hadrian formed a special unit of craftsmen. Rather, he simply assigned soldiers from his entourage to building and engineering operations.⁶⁵

Various conclusions can be drawn. An important motive for the first part of his tour of 121-125 was to construct new frontiers and to improve military discipline. Clear from the *HA*, where *in Germaniam transiit*, 10.2, is followed by the lengthy section on army discipline, 10.2-11.1, summed up, 11.2, by *ergo conversis regio more militibus*. Then comes the building of the Wall in Britain, 'to divide barbarians and Romans', 11.2; after some anecdotes, the visit to Britain is summed up by *compositis in Britannia rebus*, 12.1. An inscription from his Wall shows that *discipulina imp. Had. Aug.*

⁶⁵ See O. Stoll, 'Reform oder Marotte? Einige Bemerkungen zur sogenannten "Handwerkerreform" des Kaisers Hadrian', *Laverna* 9 (1998), 66-81, reprinted in id., *Römisches Heer und Gesellschaft. Gesammelte Beiträge 1991-1999* (Stuttgart 2001), 379-394.

was imposed in Britain as well as in Germany. Fronto recounts similar measures taken in Syria in the 160s by Verus' elderly *comes* Pontius Laelianus. Obviously Laelianus remembered his experience forty years earlier, when as tribune of VI Victrix he moved with the legion from Lower Germany to Britain, at the same time as the Emperor. Altars to Ocean and Neptune set up by this legion on the banks of the Tyne at Newcastle, where the Wall initially ended, hint that Hadrian consciously repeated, in the far west, what Alexander had done in the far east at the conclusion of his Indian expedition. Fragments of a monumental inscription found not far away, interpreted as a 'Hadrianic war memorial', may, rather, be from a speech by Hadrian to the army, justifying his new frontier policy. (See the Appendix for texts relating to Britain.) In Spain military matters were still to the fore: a *dilectus*, 12.4. As an afterthought the *HA*, *Hadrianus* inserts, 12.6, after the account of the stay in Spain, a general comment on artificial frontiers, in the form of a palisade, which belonged earlier in the context of the tour of Germany (and Raetia). The new frontier policy was, it may be argued, a revival of what was claimed to have been that of Augustus, *coercendi intra terminos imperii*.⁶⁶

It was long ago pointed out that at about the time he was in Spain Hadrian's titulature was drastically abbreviated on the coinage: instead of 'Imp. Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus', simply 'Hadrianus Augustus', sometimes 'Augustus Hadrianus'.⁶⁷ The stay at Tarraco coincided with the 150th year since Augustus' assumption of that name; and it was shortly after this that Augustus had gone to Tarraco. Hadrian had the temple of Augustus at Tarraco rebuilt (*HA*, *Hadrianus* 12.3). There is more. Suetonius, who had composed his life of Augustus shortly before this, goes out of his way to portray the first emperor's foreign policy as basically defensive, a picture which is contradicted by statements elsewhere in this *vita*.⁶⁸ As Strack argued, and Syme subsequently underlined, at the same time Tacitus was subversively hinting that Hadrian was more like Tiberius, a *princeps proferendi imperii incuriosus*, than Augustus.⁶⁹ To pursue the notion that

⁶⁶ Tacitus, *Annales* 1.11.4. The restoration of military discipline was specifically the restoration of the *post Caesarem Octavianum labantem disciplinam* (*HA*, *Hadrianus* 10.3).

⁶⁷ Strack 1933, op.cit. (n.8), 12 ff.; cf. *British Museum Catalogue* III, op.cit. (n.2), cxv; clxvii; M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues* (Cambridge 1950), 101 f.; R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958), 248; 496.

⁶⁸ Suetonius, *Augustus* 21.2: *tantumque afuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi*, etc.; contrast 31.5: *proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent*.

⁶⁹ Tacitus, *Annales* 4.32.1; cf. Strack 1933, op.cit. (n.8), 41; Syme 1958, op.cit. (n.67), 240 ff.; 482; 484; 490; 498.

Hadrian in 123 was attempting a comprehensive *imitatio* of Augustus, one may note that he next negotiated with the Parthians, echoing Augustus' recovery of the standards in 20 BC. Emulation of the first *princeps* may be detected again at the end of the reign with the complex succession arrangements. The selection of an heir who himself had to adopt two sons recalls Augustus' measures in AD 4.

In the later 120s one may detect a change of role: Hadrian as a new Pericles. The creation of the Panhellenion was in effect the fulfilment of what Pericles had attempted with his 'Congress decree'; and in 129 Hadrian assumed as a title in the east Pericles' nickname Olympios.⁷⁰ The lavish building programme at Athens—itsself mirroring what had been undertaken in Pericles' day—included the completion of the great temple of Olympian Zeus. The last person who had tried this had been Antiochus IV Epiphanes. It is tempting to infer that Hadrian's completion of this project led to further Antiochus-*imitatio*: the revival of the King's attempt to hellenise the Jews and the replacement of their temple with a pagan one.⁷¹

It may be added that Hadrian was accompanied everywhere he went by a large entourage. Inscriptions of his *comites* are thin on the ground, it is true. But not all those senators who accompanied Hadrian may have registered the fact.⁷² That it is known that Oxyrynchus had to lay in large extra supplies ten months before Hadrian arrived in Egypt is merely a chance survival of what must have happened all over the empire in places he was expected to visit. It is hard to estimate the numbers in his party on this basis—for one thing, an emperor's arrival would bring in hordes of loyal subjects from surrounding districts, eager to see their sovereign.⁷³

⁷⁰ Plutarch, *Pericles* 8.2; 17; 39.2. Cf. Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 218 f.

⁷¹ Thus convincingly D. Willers, *Hadrians panhellenisches Programm* (Basel 1990), 101 f., followed by Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 228 ff.

⁷² Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 249 finds only four (his nos. 48-51). R.H. Chowen, 'Traveling companions of Hadrian', *Classical Journal* 50 (1954-5), 122-124, has a meagre list of seven persons (mostly not *comites Augusti*), followed by M.V. Contini, 'I viaggi in età adrianea', in: G. Camassa, S. Fasce, ed., *Idea e realtà del viaggio: il viaggio nel mondo antico* (Genoa 1991), 343-358. Further definite or possible travelling companions are mentioned at various points in Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10); add another poetess in Egypt, as argued by T.C. Brennan, 'The poets Julia Balbilla and Damo at the Colossus of Memnon', *Classical Journal* 91 (1997-8), 215-234.

⁷³ B.A. van Groningen, 'Preparatives to Hadrian's visit to Egypt', in: *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* II (Milan 1956), 253-256 = F. Preisigke et al., *Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten* no. 9617. Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 110 infers from the quantities that there were at least 5000 persons in Hadrian's entourage. He does not consider how many days' supplies might be involved, nor does he reckon with local visitors, coming to cheer the Emperor.

All over the empire, inscriptions registered the ruler's name. The Wall in Britain presumably carried a building inscription at every milecastle—eighty of them, with another forty 'milefortlets' along the coast to the south of the western end; and the forts on the Wall would likewise carry his name. Great structures of other kinds, such as the vast temples at Cyzicus and Athens, carried a similar message. The resplendent building-works with his name prominently displayed, and the statues of the ruler, rammed home his universal presence. "The medium is the message", as Marshall McLuhan put it. During his travels Hadrian played a variety of roles in the course of his reign. Not the first ruler to have done so—one recalls Augustus' question to his friends on his deathbed: *ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse*⁷⁴—nor the last.

Vindolanda, October 2002

⁷⁴ Suetonius, *Augustus* 99.1.

Appendix: Hadrian's wall: some documents and texts

For discussions of Hadrian's motives for building this and other artificial frontiers cf. Birley, *op.cit.* (n.10), 116 f.; 133 ff.; 304, stressing that it among other things was a signal for internal consumption, that expansion was over; D.J. Breeze, B. Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall* (London 2000, 4th ed.), 25 ff.

1. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* 1319-1320, Newcastle (Pons Aelius), found in River Tyne: *Neptuno l(egio) VI Vi(ctrix) p(ia) f(idelis); Ociano leg. VI Vi(ctrix) p(ia) f(idelis)*. Cf. Arrian, *Indica* 18.11: Alexander's sacrifice to Poseidon and Ocean.

2. *Britannia* 10 (1979), no. 6 = *AE* 1979.388, Chesters (Cilurnum), altar found in River North Tyne, close to Wall: [*d*]isciplin^{ae} imp. Had. Aug. ala Augusta [o]b virt. appel. Cf. *HA* Hadrianus 10.3: *si quidem ipse post Caesarem Octavianum labantem disciplinam incuria superiorum principum retimuit*, etc.

3. *CIL* VI 1479 + 1549 = *ILS* 1094 + 1100, Rome: *M. Pontio M. f. Pup. Laeliano Larcio Sabino cos. (AD 144) ...comiti divi Veri Aug. donato donis militarib. bello Armeniaco et Parthico...trib. mil. leg. VI Victr. cum qua ex Germ. in Brittan. transiit*. Cf. Fronto, *Ad Verum imp.* 2.19 (Van den Hout 1988, *op.cit.* (n.63), 128): *exercitus tibi traditus erat luxuria et lascivia et otio diutino corruptus... ad hoc vestiti melius quam armati, adeo ut vir gravis et veteris disciplinae Laelianus Pontius loricas partim eorum digitis primoribus scinderet, equos pulvillos instratos animadverteret. iussu eius cornicula consecata, a sedilibus pluma quasi anseribus devolsa*.

4. *Tabulae Vindolandenses* II 344, archaeological context ca. 105 - ca. 122: lines 4 ff.: *tuam maies[t]atem imploro ne patiaris me [in]nocentem virgis cas[t]igatum esse ...* lines 13 ff.: [*...tu*]am misericord[ia]m imploro ne patiaris me hominem trasmarinum et innocentem de cuius f[ide] inquiras virgis cruent[at]u[m] esse ac si quid sceler[is] commississem. Cf. *HA* Hadrianus 20.1: *in conloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus fuit*. This writing-tablet suggests that the writer expected Hadrian's arrival and hoped to present him with a petition: Birley 1997, *op.cit.* (n.10), 135.

5. *CIL* VII 498 = I.A. Richmond, R.P. Wright, 'Stones from a Hadrianic war memorial on Tyneside', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, 21 (1943) 93-120 = *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* 1051, Jarrow (south side of River Tyne near Newcastle), reused in the Anglian church, two fragments, (a) 52.5 X 52.5 cm, (b) 55 X 50 cm (underlined lettering is uncertain):

- (a) *[divorum?] omnium fil[ius?*
imp Caesar Tr]aianus Hadr[ianus
Augustus impo]sita necessitat[e imperii?
 4 *?intra fines conser]vati divino pr[aecepto*
c]os II[II]

- (b) *diffusis [barbaris? et]*
provincia recuperata?]
Britannia ad[didit limitem? inter]
 4 *utrumque O[ceani litus per MP LXXX]*
exercitus pr[ovinciaie opus valli fecit?]
sub cur[a A. Platori Nepotis leg. Aug. pr. pr.?)

The editors argue 108-112, for their unparalleled restoration in (a), line 1. Equally possible is e.g. *[principum] omnium fid[issimus]*. In lines 2-4, the lettering underlined is also restored; previous readings of line 4 were *vatis...II, vatisv..incrr, vatisevnorp, vatis:inopr*. In (b), of which the left-hand margin is preserved, line 6 gives the approximate original width.

The editors regard this as from “a *tropaeon* or war-memorial”, dismissing arguments for it being an *adlocutio*, as suggested by E. Huebner, on *CIL* VII 498, and others. This remains possible: if it was inscribed on a four-sided monument, as at Lambaesis (*ILS* 2487; 9133-9135 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14) no. 328), the two fragments might represent less than one quarter of the original. E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal 1961), 159, argued that, as Hadrian's name is in smaller lettering than that of lines (a) 1 and (b) 1-4, the inscription was probably Severan, commemorating “Severus's reconstruction of the frontier—referring back to Hadrian as its original builder”. Aurelius Victor, *Caesares* 20.18, wrote of Severus that he *Britanniam, quoad ea utilis erat, pulsus hostibus muro munivit per transversam insulam ducto utrimque ad finem Oceani*. The last words echo lines (b) 3-4 of this inscription, which could also be restored e.g. as *ad[ducto muro ad finem] utrumque O[ceani]*.

6. *HA, Hadrianus* 11.2: *ergo conversis more regio militibus, Britanniam petit in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret*. This is the only explicit record in the ancient sources that it was Hadrian who built the Wall, confirmed by the inscriptions cited under 7.

7. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* 974, Netherby (outpost fort north of Wall) *Imp. Caes. Tra. Hadriano Aug. leg. II Aug. fecit*; 995, Bewcastle (another outpost fort): *[Imp.] Caes. Tra[iano Hadriano Aug. le]g. II Aug. et XX V. [V.] ...*; 1340, Benwell (on Wall) *Imp. Caes. Traiano Hadr[ia]no Aug. A. Platorio N[epote] leg. Aug. pr. p[r.] vexillatio c[lassis] Britan.*; 1427, Chesters (on Wall) *Imp. Caes. T[ra. Hadriano] Aug. leg. VI V[ictrix p. f.] A. Platorio N[epote] leg. Aug. pr. [pr.]*; 1637, Wall near Housesteads fort *Imp. G[af]e[s. (sic) Traian. Hadrian. Aug leg. I[I] Aug. A. Platorio [N]epote leg. pr. p[r.]*; 1638, probably from Milecastle 38 *Imp. Caes. Traian. Hadriani Aug. leg. II Aug. A Platorio Nepote leg. pr. pr.*; 1666, Milecastle 42 (same text as 1638); 1702, Vindolanda (same text as 1638); 1852, near Milecastle 47 *[Imp. Caes. divi Traiani fil. divi] Nervae ne[p. Trai]ano Hadriano Aug. leg. XX V.V.*

8. Aelius Aristides, *To Rome (Orationes 26K)* 81: “An encamped army like a rampart encloses the world in a ring ... as far as from Ethiopia to the Phasis and from the Euphrates to the great outermost island towards the west; all this one can call a ring and circuit of the walls. They have not been built with asphalt and baked brick, nor do they stand there gleaming with stucco. Oh—but these ordinary works too exist at their individual places, ‘fitted close and accurately with stones and boundless in size and gleaming more brilliantly than bronze’, as Homer says of the palace wall.” These words were delivered just as Hadrian’s Wall had been abandoned in favour of the more northerly Antonine Wall. The ‘brilliant gleam’ may have been achieved by a white plaster on the Wall surface: this was at any rate found on the Wall as rebuilt under Severus: J.G. Crow, ‘A review of current research on the turrets and curtain of Hadrian’s Wall’, *Britannia* 22 (1991), 51-63, at 58 f.

A REVISION OF HADRIAN'S PORTRAITURE

By
C. VOUT*

"In the second century, Roman men did not wear beards; in second-century Greece, they did. Beards were worn by the Greek poets, philosophers, and statesmen of the past. Hadrian wore a beard in life and in his portraits because he wanted to be 'the Greekling'."¹

We all know what a Roman emperor looks like or rather we are familiar with imperial imagery. So were the ancients, until Hadrian rewrote the formula. The orthodoxy is that as the first bearded emperor and avid supporter of Greek culture, Hadrian changed the public face of Roman rule. Where does this conception come from? In part, it comes from the ancient literature. Although fairly scanty and most of it posthumous (with the third or fourth-century *Augustan History* and third-century Cassius Dio providing the fullest picture), this literature bears witness to a man who hunts, writes poetry, takes a young Greek lover, Antinous, and is initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries; in other words, in private, who lives like a Greek. It also claims that he was curious about other cultures, especially Egyptian (into which Antinous plugs perhaps as well as into classical), and that his favourite author was the Roman epic poet, Ennius.² But it is the Greek nature of the tradition that has captured the imagination. Or it is the novelty that a *good* emperor could be "so imbued in Greek studies that some called him 'Graeculus'"³. Sources of the same period see Nero and Domitian's Hellenic leanings as indicative of their tyranny. Hadrian somehow escapes similar venom to embody the success (even acme) of the Roman Empire. He is not a dilettante but an intellectual who harnesses the united power of Rome and Greece.⁴

This turnaround in the meaning of philhellenism should not surprise us. In some ways, trying to trace the point at which Roman attitudes towards

* A longer, revised version of this article will appear as 'What's in a beard? Rethinking Hadrian's Hellenism' in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne, *Rethinking Revolutions*. I would like to thank colleagues at the Impact of Empire conference for their comments on the first draft of this paper.

¹ D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven & London 1992), 238.

² SHA, *Hadrian* 16.6.

³ SHA, *Hadrian* 1.5; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus* 14.2.

⁴ E.g. compare G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistic: a Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* (London & New York 1993), 6.

the Greeks and, rather differently, Greek culture, began to shift its subsidiary to this discussion. Unlike Nero and Domitian, Hadrian died popular, or at least it was in the interests of his successors to support him.⁵ Roman authors show time and time again how a good emperor can be praised for the same qualities for which a bad emperor is damned. This said, however, Hadrian's philhellenism is further sanctioned by virtue of the fact that he turns it to public advantage. He devotes considerable resources into improving Greek centres such as Athens, Eleusis and Pergamum and encourages the Panhellenion or league of 'Greek' cities so as to give them greater occasion to take responsibility for themselves.⁶ C. P. Jones has recently challenged the standard line that Hadrian created the league in 131-132 C.E., preferring instead to see its foundation as a Greek initiative.⁷ There is evidence to argue that Hadrian's predecessors, Domitian and Trajan, invested as much (if not more) time and money into Eleusis, Cyrene and Pergamum, and that Athens is in all sorts of ways a special case.⁸ But none of these objections (if that is what they are) slow the increasing trend to gloss the majority of Hadrian's actions and motivations as philhellenism (positive). Whereas in the past, scholars tended to be more cautious on this issue (Eugenie Strong, for example, saying that there was "little indication that Hadrian ever wished to be classed with the Greeks or to be looked upon as leader of any Hellenic revival"),⁹ today almost every initiative is assigned to this heading.¹⁰ Philhellenism equates to a political stance, a successful Panhellenic programme (so much so that Griffin is now reticent about awarding Nero the adjective 'philhellenic').¹¹ Hadrian is credited with changing Roman imperium beyond recognition, making its fulcrum Greek culture.

⁵ Although note Hadrian's unpopularity at SHA, *Hadrian* 27.1-4.

⁶ On the Panhellenion, see A. J. S. Spawforth & S. Walker, 'The World of the Panhellenion. I. Athens and Eleusis', *Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985), 78-104 and 'The World of the Panhellenion. II. The Dorian Cities', *ibid.* 76 (1986), 88-105; A. S. Benjamin, 'The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program', *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 57-86 and for a revisionist view, C. P. Jones, 'The Panhellenion', *Chiron* 26 (1996), 29-56.

⁷ Jones 1996, *op.cit.* (n.6).

⁸ On Eleusis, see K. Clinton, 'Hadrian's Contribution to the Renaissance of Eleusis', in S. Walker and A. Cameron, *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium* (London 1989), 56-69.

⁹ E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome* (London 1929), 110. Also J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire I. La politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192)* (Paris 1955), who advocates that Hadrian's eclecticism controls his philhellenism.

¹⁰ Although as M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton 1987), 202 acknowledges, the existence of the Athenaeum is attested in late sources only and has never been found.

¹¹ M. T. Griffin, *Nero: the End of a Dynasty* (London 1984), 126.

The strength of this assertion arouses suspicion. How different is Hadrian from the emperors before him (for example, Augustus is also supposed to have been initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries)?¹² Is everything he does ‘philhellenism’? Regardless of what we want to call it, might his interest in Greek cities have not been ‘simple’ exigency or diplomacy? Even a fleeting glance at the period in which Hadrian was ruling would suggest that the answer to this last question is confirmatory. The second century is renowned for being a time when Greek culture came together with (even assumed the lead over) Roman culture to become the most valued currency of elite interaction. Its language and heritage had a symbolic capital that outstripped the fact that relatively few of Rome’s politicians were Greek.¹³ Seen from this angle, it matters less what Hadrian’s motivations were or how different he was from Nero. The implication is that it is a different world and that Hadrian is only doing what a second-century emperor had to do. One wonders what comes first, the ‘Second Sophistic’, or the sources’ emphasis on Hadrian’s Hellenism. Or to put it another way, in order to be ‘the man of the moment’, did he *have* to be good at atticising Greek?¹⁴

It is less easy to minimise the shock of Hadrian’s physical appearance as made concrete in his coinage and statuary. Here, more than anywhere, scholars have noted a radical departure from the image of emperor as established by Augustus. The fact that all of Hadrian’s portraits (or at least all of those which have been identified as Hadrian) show him with a full beard and moustache, make his iconography unprecedented and the answer to what does a Roman emperor look like read differently. Recently, Cécile Evers has described it as “rompant diamétralement avec les images de ses prédécesseurs”, whilst the starting and end point of Andrea Carandini’s study was “una cesura profundo” between Trajan and Hadrian’s reigns.¹⁵ There is no denying that a full beard appears odd next to ranks of clean-shaven prototypes. Especially when there were question marks over Hadrian’s adoption by Trajan, one might have expected him to use the power of resemblance to strengthen his right to rule. It

¹² See Dio Cassius 51.4.1 and D. Kienast, ‘Hadrian, Augustus und die eleusinischen Mysterien’, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 10 (1959-60), 61-69. Others to have been initiated include Cicero (*De Legibus* 2.14.35) and Sulla (Plutarch, *Sulla* 26.1). Also of interest here is Trajan’s honouring of philosophers and encouragement of the liberal arts, Pliny, *Panegyricus* 47.1-2.

¹³ G. W. M. Harrison, *The Romans and Crete* (Amsterdam 1993), 226.

¹⁴ SHA, *Hadrian* 16.5-6.

¹⁵ C. Evers, ‘Les portraits d’Hadrien: “varius, multiplex, multiformis”’, in J. Charles-Gaffiot & H. Lavagne, *Hadrien: trésors d’une villa impériale* (Milan 1999), 13 = ‘I ritratti di Adriano: “varius, multiplex, multiformis”’, in *Adriano: architettura e progetto* (Milan 2000), 21; A. Carandini, *Vibia Sabina. Funzione politica, iconografia e il problema del classicismo adrianeo* (Rome 1969), 21.

also seems as though the presence of a beard was seen as odd or at least in need of explanation in antiquity. For why else would the *Augustan History* have felt it necessary to mention that Hadrian had grown it to cover his scars?¹⁶ Again the modern solution is philhellenism. From Diana Kleiner's statement at the start of this paper to the words of Elena Calandra, Hadrian's beard was not a personal but strategic decision, "per emulare e quasi revivere già nell'aspetto gli intellettuali e i politici della Grecia classica".¹⁷ More specific than this has been the suggestion that the beard is that of a Greek philosopher.¹⁸ One of the main proponents of this analysis, Paul Zanker, is cleverer in his formulation arguing that, whilst admittedly not the long beard of the philosopher, it must still be seen as a "cultivated beard".¹⁹

What follows uses Hadrian's beard as a way of rethinking the 'hot potato' of his Hellenism. It examines Hadrian's portraiture and that of other emperors to exemplify the extent to which Hellenism, or the intellectual credence we now give to Hellenism, is skewing, even obscuring our view. Did the wearing of a beard in the second century imply a Greek identity, and if so, why philosophical? Might some of Hadrian's subjects not have nattered about his scarring rather than exalting his beard as a subtle nod to Greece? These questions, though specific in their application, impact on the representation of Hadrian more broadly. How Greek was his imagery or how much more Greek than that of his predecessors? It should be acknowledged that there is nothing in the extant literature to suggest that Hadrian's visual material (his beard, portraiture or architecture) was especially Greek in conception. Pausanias describes Hadrian as benefactor of Greek and barbarian cities.²⁰ The writers of the *Augustan History* and Cassius Dio, meanwhile, mention harbours, water supplies and aqueducts.²¹ There is little innovation here, only 'long, straight roads'. We might also wonder how far the reputation of Hadrian's predecessor, Trajan, as a *vir militaris* comes up against Hadrian's as 'philhellene' to discourage any search for continuity. It would be worth remembering at this point that it is Trajan and not Hadrian who in Julian's third-century *Caesars* is credited with the 'Greek vice' of loving boys!²²

¹⁶ SHA, *Hadrian* 26.1.

¹⁷ E. Calandra, *Oltre la Grecia: alle origini del filellenismo di Adriano* (Naples 1996), 173. Also H. G. Niemeyer, 'Hadrians Bart', *Heft des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* (1983), 39-43.

¹⁸ A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits* (London 1912), xxxvi and 'Philosophen und Gelehrtenbildnisse der mittleren Kaiserzeit', *Die Antike* 16 (1940), 115-141.

¹⁹ P. Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates*. Translated by A. Shapiro (Berkeley 1995), 218.

²⁰ Pausanias 1.5.5.

²¹ SHA, *Hadrian* 19.2; 20.5-6 and Dio Cassius 69.5.3.

²² Julian, *Convivium* 311. See also Dio Cassius 68.10.2 and SHA, *Hadrian* 2.7.

The beard as a symbol of Greekness

Hadrian's beard is Greek.²³ "Hadrian is more Greek than Roman".²⁴ Let us accept these formulations for a moment to pursue their implications and examine the evidence on which they are based. The clearest support comes from a statue now in the British Museum in London (Plates VII, fig. 1).²⁵ It combines Hadrian's bearded head with a torso that spurns the toga (traditional signifier of *Romanitas*) for the chiton and himation of a Greek citizen.²⁶ The pose, with the right hand tucked into the himation, allows for a more precise interpretation. It is associated with Greek intellectuals (a statue-type that originated in the late classical period but was not uncommon under the empire). Beards are similarly seen as symbols of a classical education: "if you think to grow a beard is to acquire wisdom, a goat with a true beard is at once a complete Plato", scoffs a poet preserved in the *Palatine Anthology*.²⁷ The obvious conclusion to reach in this context is that the beard and body spark off each other to cloak Hadrian as a philosopher king. This is made more convincing once it is recognised that the only other emperor to appear (or survive and be identified) in this costume is Julian, the empire's second most notable 'philhellene'.²⁸ Literary sources 'prove' that Hadrian favoured a Greek cloak (*pallium*) in public and private, morning, noon and night.²⁹

Unusually for an ancient statue, the original context of this portrait is recoverable. At two-metres tall it stood in the Temple of Apollo at Cyrene in North Africa. It was discovered together with several similar intellectual

²³ See e.g. W. L. MacDonald & J. A. Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy* (New Haven & London 1995), 5; S. Goldhill, *Being Greek Under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire* (Cambridge 2001), 11.

²⁴ R. Syme, 'Hadrian the Intellectual' in *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne* (Paris 1965), 247. See also R. Syme, 'Hadrian as Philhellene. Neglected Aspects', *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1982/3* (1985), 341-362.

²⁵ British Museum no. 1381. inv. no. 1861.11.27.23. See J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie 2.2* (Stuttgart 1891), 109, no. 15; E. Rosenbaum, *A Catalogue of Cyrenaican Portrait Sculpture* (London 1960), 51, cat. no. 34, pls. 26.1-2 and 27.1; J. Huskinson, *Roman Sculpture from Cyrenaica in the British Museum* (London 1975), 38-39, cat. no. 69, pl. 28; C. Evers, *Les portraits d'Hadrien: typologie et ateliers* (Brussels 1994), 125-126, cat. no. 57; J. Huskinson, *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power* (London 2000), 9, fig. 1.4.

²⁶ C. Vout, 'The Myth of the Toga: Understanding the History of Roman Dress', *Greece and Rome* 43.2 (1996), 204-220.

²⁷ *Anthologia Palatina* 11.430.

²⁸ Inv. no. MR 246, Louvre, Paris: see K. de Kersauson, *Catalogue des portraits romains. Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1996), no. 251. On his Hellenism, see P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism: an Intellectual Biography* (Oxford 1981).

²⁹ See Zanker 1995, op.cit. (n.19), 218.

types suggesting that it was part of a series. It is the *only one* of the 150 surviving sculpted portraits of Hadrian and all extant coin portraits to show him wearing Greek clothes. Zanker claims that “Cyrene was surely not the only city that paid homage to him in this style”, and he might be right.³⁰ Only a tiny fraction of the 150 sculptures still have bodies (we shall be coming back to these presently). Any of the heads might have originally have been *palliatī*, as might the statues which once graced the bases attested in Benjamin’s study of the east.³¹ But it is impossible to deny that the evidence as it stands contravenes the current orthodoxy. It is dangerous not to concede the possibility that Cyrene might be a special case. As soon as we do this, we realise that there are important reasons why Cyrene might have been different. It was one of the few cities beyond Greece to have been part of the Panhellenion and as such, might have set more store than most on its (and its emperor’s) share of Greek heritage. It had a special relationship with Hadrian who re-founded it after the Jewish revolt of 115 C.E. Letters were displayed in the centre to show that he too stressed the city’s Greek roots.³² All of this suggests that whatever everyone else was doing, Cyrene was making sense of Hadrian in its own terms, and had personal grounds for its statue’s Greek appearance. Elsewhere in North Africa, Hadrian was packaged as a pharaoh.³³ Perhaps Cyrene is similarly inventive, only less (to post-Renaissance eyes) extreme.

It is valuable here to come back to the contention that Hadrian favoured Greek clothing in public and private. The sources cited to support this are the *Augustan History* and Cassius Dio. They report that he dressed in Greek style at imperial banquets and when he was *agonothetes* at the Dionysia in Athens. Already this is more precise in its frame of reference than is suggested by secondary authors. But it is further qualified by its context. Cassius Dio claims that Hadrian “carried off his local costume splendidly at the festival”,³⁴ hardly a statement that implies he wore it

³⁰ Zanker 1995, op.cit. (n.19), 218.

³¹ Benjamin 1963, op.cit. (n.6). The same has to be conceded of the various statues of Hadrian dedicated by cities of the Greek world in the Olympeion in Athens (Pausanias, 1.18.6).

³² See P. M. Fraser, ‘Hadrian and Cyrene’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 40 (1950), 77-90; Spawforth & Walker 1986, op.cit. (n.6), 96 and M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton 2000), 173-184.

³³ No sculpture in the round survives, or at least that can be identified with certainty. But for temple reliefs on the Sanctuary of Hathor at Dendera, at Philae and at Deir el – Shelwit, see F. Daumas, *Le Temple de Dandara* (Cairo 1959), 95 A-B and Z. Kiss, *Etudes sur le portrait imperial romain en Egypte* (Warsaw 1984) 153, fig. 113.

³⁴ Dio Cassius 69.16.1: ἐν τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ λαμπρῶς ἐπετέλεσε.

regularly, whilst the *Augustan History* does not say he always wore the *pallium* but the *pallium* or toga when he was at dinner.³⁵ Neither claim should lead us to expect ranks of similar statues. If anything, it would appear that the *pallium* is being used to make the emperor blend into a particular setting. This refinement of our reading should be combined with a caution about the integrity of the statue from Cyrene. Not only was the head found separate from the body, but is made from a finer, whiter marble. The assumption is that they were put together in antiquity, but this raises questions about why the body (ease or efficacy) was reused. Doubts were also once raised about the identity of the portrait (as indeed they were about the *pallium*-clad statues of 'Julian').³⁶ If we accept that it *is* Hadrian, the notion that he did not wear a *pallium* all the time but only when he had to fuels further revision of the statue's status. Rather than the epitome of philhellenism, it becomes an example of imperial adaptability: *not* an obsession with Greek culture but a case of "when in Rome...."³⁷

Often we see what we want to see. As far as Hadrian's beard is concerned, most label it a philosopher's beard, a quotation lifted from Greek statuary and (as the *Greek Anthology* has already highlighted) from everyday association as filtered through the literature.³⁸ This explanation works better for the statue from Cyrene than it does for other statues of Hadrian. But even at Cyrene, the neatness of the formulation overlooks the import of ill-fitting details. As Tom Mathews says when faced with the image of the so-called philosopher-Christ,

"his garb of long tunic, with his arm caught in the sling of his *pallium*, identifies him as a philosopher, and indeed this is how the early Christian apologists from Justin to Augustine regarded him. But the philosopher's role leaves other aspects of the image unexplained."³⁹

³⁵ SHA, *Hadrian* 22.4-5.

³⁶ Bernoulli 1891, op.cit. (n.25), 109, cat. no. 15. For doubts about the statue of Julian, see J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie* 2.3 (Stuttgart 1894), 243 and E. Michon, *Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques* (Paris 1922), 57.

³⁷ So Scipio Africanus is said to have worn it in Sicily where Latin and Greek culture co-existed (Livy 29.19.12), Rabirius in Alexandria (Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 9.29) and Tiberius in Rhodes (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 13.1).

³⁸ See also Persius 4.1; Horatius, *Satirae* 1.3.33 and Juvenalis 14.12.

³⁹ T. F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: a Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton 1993), 39.

The main points of conflict in Hadrian's statue are the style of his hair and beard and overall perkiness. The comparison between Plato and goat might already give it away that a philosopher's beard is, ideally at least, unkempt and straggly. Classical statues of philosophers and 'copies' from throughout the Roman period (contemporary and subsequent to Hadrian) typically have long, lank hair that is sometimes thinning on top. These factors fit an overall formula that perceives wisdom and age as synonymous. Philosophers look old. They have sunken cheeks, saggy chests and wasted arms.⁴⁰ Often they are depicted seated with a scroll in their hand (whereas Hadrian from Cyrene holds a laurel branch, plant of Apollo in whose sanctuary he stands).⁴¹ In their purest fourth-century form, they are so hardened as not to wear a tunic beneath their cloak so as to put more of their age and wisdom on display.⁴²

Hadrian's coiffure, cropped beard and youthful features set him at an uncomfortable distance from the stereotype. Conversely, one of the closest matches is second-century millionaire and sophist, Herodes Atticus, whose slim, shrunken head and long beard survives in sculptures from his private estates and public settings throughout the Greek mainland. Susan Walker goes as far as to claim that there is, "nothing Roman about Herodes' portrait, which may be explained as a local Greek development so archaising in appearance that it has been confused with late classical funerary art."⁴³ She over-stresses the oddity of his appearance (or rather underestimates the number of busts currently identified as Aristotle or Plato which are really those of second-century intellectuals), but must be right to put it in a different category from that of Hadrian. Traditionally, the presence of a beard in both of them (regardless of the differences) has meant that Hadrian has been seen as the initiator and Herodes following the fashions at court.⁴⁴ But if Hadrian's beard is not that of a philosopher, then what are we to make of it? Smith in an article on the fourth and fifth-century 'philosopher portraits' from Aphrodisias lends credence to this question by arguing that the short, neatly trimmed beard of one of his subjects dissociates him from

⁴⁰ On the appearance of philosophers, R. R. R. Smith, 'Late Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias', *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990), 144-146 and 'Kings and Philosophers', in A. Bulloch, E. S. Gruen, A. A. Long & A. Stewart, *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley & Los Angeles 1993), 202-212.

⁴¹ See M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York 1977), 138 and 'Romani Palliati', *Proceedings of the Philological Society* 103 (1959), 374-417.

⁴² Compare the rhetoric about 'real' Romans not wearing a tunic beneath their toga, Aulus Gellius 6.12.3-4.

⁴³ S. Walker, 'Bearded Men', *Journal of the History of Collections* 3 (1991), 268.

⁴⁴ See K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* (Basel 1997), 332-333.

the ideal philosopher type and makes him more of a 'real person'. Are there other possible sources that Hadrian is mining? Or, as Smith prefers for his example, was his beard 'simply' a "fashion statement" rather than a deliberate quotation from the past?⁴⁵

Susan Walker has recently refined her answer to this question to describe Hadrian's beard as "worn in the style of Pericles".⁴⁶ Pericles' short curly beard and moustache put her on safer ground than those who have favoured philosophers. It is an identity that would complement Hadrian's interest in Athens, especially his enthusiasm to build. But the more one pursues the implications of this hypothesis, the more one is made to doubt it. If one reads Plutarch so as to get a sense of Pericles' reputation under Hadrian, one encounters an icon whose head is too long (hence the helmet) and whose overall appearance is reminiscent of the tyrant Pisistratus (although this is hardly surprising as he too was a prolific builder, inaugurator of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens which Hadrian was to finish).⁴⁷ These are hardly auspicious parallels. To make matters worse, there is little evidence to suggest that Hadrian or his biographers were conscious of such a connection, or at least not compared to the stronger associations with a bearded Jupiter or Zeus.⁴⁸ There are other candidates: Aeschines, for example, who has perhaps the best iconographic and biographic credentials (short beard, soldier, scribe, actor) or Alcibiades, who is sexy, wealthy, honoured by Hadrian, but highly controversial (his colourful character aside, there is considerable uncertainty over whether the portrait with its short beard and moustache which exists in a number of 'copies' is actually him).⁴⁹ In every case, there are problems. On the most basic level, how strong do similarities in the style of beard and hair and face

⁴⁵ Smith 1990, op.cit. (n.40), 150.

⁴⁶ S. Walker, *Greek and Roman Portraits* (London 1995), 91.

⁴⁷ Plutarch, *Pericles* 7.1.

⁴⁸ A. R. Birley, *Hadrian the Restless Emperor* (London 1997), 218-219 as well as in his introduction and epilogue propagates this notion of Hadrian as Pericles but his enthusiasm appears to stem more from the suitability of the parallel than concrete evidence of its existence in antiquity. For Hadrian honoured as Zeus/Jupiter, see *ibid.*, *passim*; A. Raubitschek, 'Hadrian as Son of Zeus Eleutherios', *American Journal of Archaeology* 49 (1945), 128-133; W. E. Metcalf, 'Hadrian, Jovis Olympius', *Mnemosyne* 27 (1974), 59-66.

⁴⁹ The study of Aeschines' portraiture is founded upon two herms inscribed with his name (Salle delle Muse, Vatican, inv. 297 and British Museum, inv. no. 1839); see G. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* 2 (1965), 212, figs. 1372-1375 and 1378-1379. On Alcibiades' honours by Hadrian, see Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.574 and on the doubts over the identity of the Copenhagen series (as represented by I. N. 2263, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen), see G. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* 1 (1965), 105, figs. 449-450.

have to be for them to be called ‘inspirational’? Can a beard alone quote a visual model, if the subject’s hairstyle and face shape are different? One cannot help be sceptical. The claim that Hadrian’s beard evokes a person rather than a type increases the potential for, and the number of questions raised by, discrepancy.

Put the head of Hadrian from Cyrene on another kind of body and it signifies very differently. The beard on his togate statue from Rome is less obviously sophistic than that at Cyrene, on his statue from Frosinone, where he has a naked body in the style of the Ares Borghese, more convincingly part of his visual armoury as Mars.⁵⁰ Both of these are unique in the corpus of Hadrian’s statuary. One could claim that Rome “was surely not the only city that paid homage to him in this style”. But as with Zanker and Cyrene, we cannot know. Instead, we ought to examine other extant bodies. Is there a preferred type? And if so, does it strengthen or deny the power of Hadrian’s Greekness? Might it present an adequate explanation for his wearing of a beard? Four of the surviving statues are nude in the style of Diomedes in flight, the original of which is traditionally attributed to fifth-century Greek sculptor Kresilas. The Homeric hero is shown having stolen the Palladion, which he holds in his left hand.⁵¹ Luckily, their find spots are recoverable: two originate in modern Turkey, another near Sousse in Tunisia, and the last, and most surprising perhaps, in a theatre in Vaison in Gaul (Pl. VII, fig. 2).⁵² Its existence broadens the application of any argument. The first two are usually dated to 121 C.E. when Hadrian visited the region.⁵³ The last two are more complicated but have portraits of a type dated to 128 C.E.⁵⁴ Between them, they cover a large span (temporally and geographically) of Hadrian’s reign.

⁵⁰ For the togate statue (Capitoline Museum, Rome, atrio 5, inv. no. 54), see Evers 1994, op.cit. (n.25), 158-159, cat. no. 99 and for Hadrian as Mars (Capitoline Museum, Rome, salone 13, inv. no. b34), Evers, ibid, 159-160, cat. no. 100.

⁵¹ On the original, see A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: an Exploration* (New Haven & London 1990), 168 and for this and Roman adaptations, J.-M. Moret, *Les pierres gravées antiques représentant le rapt du Palladion* (Mainz 1997). For statues of Hadrian and Diomedes, see E. Calandra, ‘Ancora su Adriano: archetipi scultorei e programmi iconografici’, in R. F. Docter & E. M. Moorman, *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, July 12-17 1998* (Amsterdam 1999), 100-102.

⁵² For the Perge statue (Antalya, mus. inv. A3861 and A3863), see Evers 1994, op.cit. (n. 25), 83, cat. no. 7; Pergamum (mus. inv. no. 160), Evers, ibid. 150, cat. no. 88; Sousse (Archaeological Museum), Evers, ibid, 183, cat. no. 133 and Vaison-la-Romaine (Musée municipal), Evers, ibid, 190, cat. no. 144.

⁵³ See Evers, 1994, op.cit. (n.25), 82-83 and 150. Although the base of the Pergamum statue acclaims Hadrian as a god, there is nothing about the base or inscription to dictate that it had to have been posthumous.

⁵⁴ The portraits of Hadrian are divided into 7 types. The separation of sculptures into each of these types is more difficult than most art-historians acknowledge, especially in the case of Hadrian where they do see iconographic overlap or *Klitterungen* between the types. Does a sculpture have to have

The Hellenic heritage of these images is obvious. But is there anything that might explain Diomedes in particular? He is a key figure in the history of the Palladion, an important emblem of Rome's origins and continued domination, so important, it seems, that Hadrian exploits it elsewhere in his statuary and Constantine buries it together with Christian relics at the base of his column in 'New Rome'. We shall return to this example of Hadrian's statuary at the end of this paper. It would seem that such a symbol of continuity was particularly crucial for emperors who tried to change the imperial formula more than most. More specifically, like the literary Hadrian, Diomedes is closely associated with horses and, according to Strabo, is said to have founded many cities, given his name to islands and been worshipped as a god.⁵⁵ One can immediately see the suitability of Diomedes as a paradigm. But how extensive was this association? Is his prominence an accident of survival? Is it not the case that one could find similarities between Hadrian and several ancient figures (especially Alexander) if one trawled the literary sources long enough?⁵⁶ What these objections underplay is the possible significance that Diomedes is bearded. In the version attributed to Kresilas, the beard is short, curly and tapers towards the chin not unlike that of Hadrian. Even without a moustache, it could be argued that this facial hair fits as well as that of a philosopher. This is without the support that Diomedes is represented with fuller beard and moustache on cameos and southern Italian pots.⁵⁷

But we must not allow this 'coincidence' to cloud our judgement nor make a rule out of four examples. The motivating factor, and basic error, is that we still seek to explain the beard as Greek, and not just Greek but a definition of Greek that suits the 'Second Sophistic'. By this I mean that Hadrian *has* to be an intellectual or imitate a hero from Greek history, embody Culture with a capital C. We might be on safer ground with the more general statement that to have a beard was to follow Greek fashion (whether Diomedes or Riace Bronze B). Or rather that for Hadrian to encourage the cult of his male lover, Antinous, he *had* to have a beard so as

been made at the same time as others of its type? It is, therefore, with immense caution that either example can be dated. Both are the *Imperatorii* 32 type, which W. Wegner, *Das römische Herrscherbild II 3. Hadrian Plotina Marciana Matidia Sabina* (Berlin 1956) proposed was created for Hadrian's *Pater Patriae* title in 127-128 CE.

⁵⁵ Strabo 6.3.9.

⁵⁶ See e.g. Hadrian and Alexander's love of hunting, and their excessive mourning for both their horses and male companions. Compare Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.14.3-4 and SHA, *Hadrian* 14.5-6.

⁵⁷ Moret 1997, op.cit (n.51), plate 118.

to be understood as the *erastes* and create the need for his *eromenos*' role.⁵⁸ But even if there is an element of truth in the above, its efficacy relies on the 'fact' that beards were not Roman, or at least that a second-century Roman was so surprised by Hadrian's beard as to have endeavoured to make sense of it (and in terms familiar from Greek culture). In Rome before Hadrian, "the beard had been worn after 300 B.C. only as a sign of mourning", says Eugenie Strong.⁵⁹ Beards were worn by young adults and then ritually removed and dedicated to the gods at the age of twenty-four.⁶⁰

Scan the literary sources and this is the impression we get. Juvenal and Plautus typecast Greeks as *barbati* or *palliati*.⁶¹ Dio and Suetonius celebrate the removal of several young emperors' beards. This material is cause and comfort for seeing Hadrian's beard as departure. But one set of evidence is stereotypical, the other normative. Neither may bear much relation to what Greeks and Romans did or saw in the street. Put the emphasis on continuity rather than change and watch it pale into perspective. The final section of this paper briefly demonstrates how an emphasis on Hadrian's difference has led to an oversight of potential models within Rome's own imperial tradition. For all Diomedes' Greekness, his body-type had already had an impact on sculptures from Trajan to Gaius Caesar or Augustus.⁶² Their existence should make us reconsider what we make of Hadrian's association (how far were Hadrian or his artists seeing the suitability of Diomedes and how far 'merely' making him look like an emperor, doing what artists had always done?). But it is not just the iconography of the body that was exploited: we shall soon see that the hesitation over whether the second is Augustus or Gaius stems in part from the presence of a beard.

The beard as a Roman reality

Hadrian was the first bearded emperor. This statement relies on us disregarding or explaining away important Roman evidence. It chooses not to stress that 'Graeculus' can be a negative term and that a bearded Hadrian might not have been recognised or accepted (whatever the period) if

⁵⁸ For the most recent catalogue of statues of Antinous, see H. Meyer, *Antinoos: Die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten* (Munich 1991).

⁵⁹ Strong 1929, op.cit. (n.9), 106.

⁶⁰ Walker 1991, op.cit. (n.43) and also W. S. Anderson, 'Juvenal: Evidence on the Years AD 117-128', *Classical Philology* 50 (1955), 255.

⁶¹ Juvenalis, *Satirae* 14.10-14 and 215-218; Plautus, *Curculio* 288.

iconoclastic and *radically* Greek. Zanker, for example, claims that on Trajan's column beards are avoided.⁶³ This is not true. Several Roman officers on the column and Arch of Trajan at Beneventum have a similar short beard and moustache to Hadrian (so similar that he has been identified on both monuments).⁶⁴ Once this evidence is admitted, might some of the bearded statues assumed to follow in his footsteps not have been made before him? Might he not, far from following Greek tradition, have been following the fashion in Rome? But even if a case could be made, there is still the contention that he is flouting imperial tradition in being a *barbatus Caesar*. Augustus had established the pattern for what a Roman emperor looks like. Hadrian breaks the mould. But this is to deny that earlier emperors had been represented bearded at least on their coinage. Most extensive in this were Nero and Domitian, although their efforts could be bracketed as proto-attempts at displaying their Greek affinities (a parenthesis which would work *for* rather than against Hadrian's beard as a marker of his Hellenism).⁶⁵ But Augustus and Titus are also shown bearded.⁶⁶ Their existence might mean that for an ancient viewer, the image of a bearded emperor was not (on coins at least) something new.

As far as the coins are concerned, Augustus' light beard (which usually runs from the temples to the chin but in some issues also covers the upper lip) is confined to those between 42 and 37 B.C.E. before he became Augustus, and is sometimes accompanied by the legend *Divi Iulii Filius*. His youth alone would account for its presence. But it turns out that these coins continue to be issued after the date of the *depositio barbae* recorded by Cassius Dio.⁶⁷ Otto Brendel explains this inconsistency as a need to show mourning for Julius Caesar (whose name is sometimes mentioned), Walker as a "sign of vengeance for the murder of his adoptive father".⁶⁸ In both cases, any wider-reaching significance is explained away. By the same token, for a bearded statue to be accepted as Augustus, it has to be an early example. So Brendel classifies his 'type B' portrait as 'mourning' even though the beard is not unkempt (as one would expect of someone too upset to shave) and Fittschen and Zanker argue that despite its lock scheme, this type is more

⁶² See Moret 1997, op.cit. (n.51), 208.

⁶³ Zanker 1995, op.cit. (n.19), 218.

⁶⁴ See Walker 1991, op.cit. (n.43), 271.

⁶⁵ For Domitian's beard, see e.g. BMC II *Titus* 230-248 and *Domitian* 1-58.

⁶⁶ For Titus' beard, see e.g. BMC II *Vespasian* 707-711 and *Titus* 150-217.

⁶⁷ Dio Cassius 48.34.3.

⁶⁸ Walker 1991, op.cit. (n.43), 271.

likely one of Augustus' heirs (probably Gaius).⁶⁹ One tentatively wonders whether bearded Octavians (an Augustus bearded like Philip of Macedon) might emerge, if we were not so keen to stress his modesty.

Like Augustus, the literature makes much of the dedication of Nero's beard in 59 C.E. and his smooth transition to manhood.⁷⁰ Again the coins that show him bearded are issued after this event (in the case of *aurei*, from 64 to 68 C.E., and *dupondii*, from 64 to 66 C.E.) and are assumed by Hiesinger to be linked to the *Decennalia*.⁷¹ Given the number of coins and significance of such a landmark, there may well have been hundreds of bearded statues. Act upon act of *damnatio memoriae* strengthens the probability that (as with Domitian) these do not survive.⁷² Acknowledging this prospect makes it difficult to believe that archaeologists like Kleiner ignore this material, especially since others have argued, as Evers did with Hadrian, that "Neron rompt avec la tradition de l'ancien principat".⁷³ Nero's podgier features, thicker hair and preference for the radiate crown do set him apart from other Julio-Claudians who are often hard to differentiate. Why is this? Predictably perhaps in line with his reputation as a tyrant these features tend to be glossed as a return to the visual vocabulary of Hellenistic kingship. More recently, Miriam Griffin has isolated Nero's beard as specifically recalling his family (*Aheno-barbus*) and has likened his coins to those of his great-grandfather who put a bearded ancestor on the reverse.⁷⁴ But she is not comparing like with like: there is no escaping that Nero himself is bearded (and crucially why then in his reign?). His reputation permitting (and acceding that his imagery may have worked well during his lifetime, especially in the east with its 'false Neros'),⁷⁵ might Hadrian not have been exploiting an established symbol of *Roman* potency? As far back as 196 B.C.E., coins showing the consul Flamininus with a beard were issued to honour his involvement with Greece.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ O. Brendel, *Ikongraphie des Kaisers Augustus* (Nurnberg 1931), 38 and K. Fittschen & P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* (Mainz 1985), 21-25, cat. no. 20.

⁷⁰ Suetonius, *Nero* 12.

⁷¹ U. W. Hiesinger, 'The Portraits of Nero', *American Journal of Archaeology* 79 (1975), 124.

⁷² Hiesinger 1975, op.cit. (n.71), 120 disqualifies a bearded head of green granite, now in Haifa Museum of Ancient Art (inv. 2031).

⁷³ H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (Oslo 1942), 264.

⁷⁴ Griffin 1984, op.cit. (n.11), 22, n. 17.

⁷⁵ Dio Cassius 63.9.3; 64.19.3.

⁷⁶ See Walker 1991, op.cit. (n. 43), 271.

The most common surviving statue of the emperor Hadrian turns out to be the cuirassed type, the most aggressive of which from Hierapytna in Crete, shows him stamping on a barbarian (Pl. VII, fig. 3).⁷⁷ There are currently fourteen of these statues catalogued.⁷⁸ Not all survive with their heads intact (some are identified by the Palladion and she-wolf on their cuirass, imagery exclusive to Hadrian). But those that do have heads have crueller expressions than Hadrian's other portraits. This and their emphasis on Roman conquest lead one to expect that they were displayed close to the frontiers (to warn against potential revolts) or the west of the empire (where, unaccustomed to ruler worship and the shared import of Greco-Roman heritage, images of power might have had to be more obvious and intimidatory). Incredibly, when one considers our current perception of Hadrian and his century, as well as what the literary sources say about his disdain for Trajan's expansionist policies, all were found in the east.⁷⁹

There are a further three statues from Crete plus one from Cyrene, making a total of four for the province. Perhaps the success of Trajan in the Jewish Revolt helps to explain these.⁸⁰ We have already seen Hadrian exploiting this military victory: perhaps in Crete and Cyrene this is what imperial intervention meant to them. This is another 'nail in the coffin' of their Hadrian as philosopher. Further battering comes from the fact that four of these cuirassed statues are from Athens, centre of Hadrian's so-called Panhellenic programme, one from Syria, one from Antalya in Turkey, and the other from Olympia, where one might have imagined him as a hero or Greek god as at Pergamum. A saving grace might be that they date to early in his reign when it was crucial for him to appear invincible like Trajan. The inscription on the base of the Antalya example locates it in 121 C.E.⁸¹ But that from Olympia is more problematic. Its find spot in the nymphaeum of

⁷⁷ Found in the theatre and now in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (Inv. no. 50): see Evers 1994, op.cit. (n.25), 119, cat. no. 50; H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellungen der römischen Kaiser* (Berlin 1968), 97, cat. no. 53; Kleiner 1992, op.cit. (n.1), 242, fig. 205; and N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Højberg 1986), 200, who is so convinced by Hadrian's reputation as to conclude that he cannot have approved of such a statue.

⁷⁸ Calandra 1999, op.cit. (n.51), 101.

⁷⁹ For current orthodoxy on this issue, see N. H. Ramage & A. Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine* (London 2000), 209. See also J. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School: a Chapter in the History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1934), 5, who dismisses Hadrian's *exercitus* coins as being of "no specific artistic interest".

⁸⁰ Although note that M. Goodman, *Jews in the Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford 1998), 7 claims that because the Bar Kokhba revolt was "out of tune with the spirit of Hadrian's reign" it was far less emphasised than under Trajan.

⁸¹ See Evers 1994, op.cit. (n.25), 84.

Herodes Atticus gives it a date of 149-153 C.E. It is interesting that it is as a military man that Hadrian is remembered, especially in such a context, where (more than most places) one would have expected him as a sophist.⁸²

Concentrate on the breastplate, of course, with its unification of she-wolf and palladion, and one can still call these statues evidence of Hadrian's "predilection for the culture, art and traditions of ancient Greece", or on the body, and one still sees the contours of Diomedes.⁸³ But one feels one is forcing the issue. Indeed it is hard to deny that these statues bridge the "cessura profundo" between Trajan and Hadrian's reigns and reputations, and that the overall effect is not one of subtlety or Hellenism but of straightforward Roman aggression.⁸⁴ Hadrian's cultivated beard becomes tyrannical like Nero's beard, or the mark of a Roman bruiser as on Trajan's column. I am not saying that this is how we *should* see Hadrian, rather be aware of the other side of the story. His beard marks him out as different from Trajan, who as *Optimus Princeps* in some ways already stood as the apogee of the existing system. But is it necessarily more loaded than Caligula's jug-like ears or Nero's podgier face? 'Hadrian the philhellene' has become as common and potentially misleading a tag as 'Caligula the mad' or 'Nero the monster' and blocks just as many avenues. A quarter of a century ago and it was the cuirassed statues that were hailed as "die reichste Überlieferung des hadrianischen Bildprogrammes".⁸⁵ Today we would do well to examine our application of Hellenism and the effect it is having on how we view Hadrian's imagery.

Nottingham, December 2002

⁸² Evers 1994, op.cit. (n.25), 139-140 and R. Bol, *Das Statuenprogramm des Herodes-Atticus-Nymphäums* (Berlin 1984). Attention might also be drawn here to the fact that the posthumous image of Hadrian on the Altar of Ephesus (if it is Hadrian) is togate.

⁸³ For the she-wolf and Palladion, see I. M. Ferris, *Enemies of Rome: Barbarians Through Roman Eyes* (Stroud 2000), 82 and C. Dulière, *Lupa Romana: recherches d'iconographie et essai d'interprétation* (Brussels 1979), 198 ff.

⁸⁴ On the Roman (as opposed to Greek nature) of the cuirassed statue, see Calandra 1999, op.cit. (n.51), 102.

⁸⁵ K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* (Berlin 1977), 32.

THE CULT OF ROMA AETERNA IN HADRIAN'S POLITICS

By
S.T.A.M. MOLS

Recent work on Hadrian – such as Anthony Birley's biography (1997) and Mary Boatwright's monograph on his relations to the cities of the Roman Empire (2000) – depicts Hadrian much less than has been done in the past as a naïve lover of all things Greek.¹ The image created is rather one of a pragmatist whose actions, from the very beginning of his reign, were aimed at creating a unity of empire, so as to be in a stronger position in relation to the non-Roman world. To achieve this goal, drastic measures in a whole range of areas were necessary. Hadrian's building policy seems to have served – at least partially – the same purpose. This becomes clear, first of all, by his not insignificant investments in various building projects all over the Roman Empire. His building activities in Rome, I am convinced, show the same.

I will start this contribution with a quotation from the above mentioned book by Boatwright, stating: “The evidence points to the use of religion and the incorporation of the past as distinguishing Hadrian's municipal activity and fundamental to his encouragement of civic life and Pax Augusta” (p. 209). In the following, I hope to demonstrate that the same applies to the city of Rome itself, with the temple of Venus and Roma, and the cult of, especially, the goddess Roma, as crucial testimonies.

Hadrian, on his accession, *does* finish Trajan's Forum, but forgoes the construction of a forum to his own glory and honour – though such fora had become almost standard during the reigns of the Flavians and Hadrian's adoptive-father. Building a new forum would have only been useful, if it were larger and more impressive than Trajan's. It has often been suggested that Hadrian abstained from this, in order to cut the massive costs of his predecessor's unfinished projects.² But we see how Hadrian spreads out his building activities in Rome, as his new buildings on the Campus Martius, amongst others, indicate.³ Nor would it have been possible for Hadrian to

¹ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian. The Restless Emperor* (London 1997); M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton 2000), especially 204.

² See e.g. F. Kolb, *Rom. Die Geschichte der Stadt in der Antike* (München 1995), 381 f. with references. I assume this idea results from *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadrianus 5*.

³ See for activities on the Campus Martius: Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, Princeton 1987, 33-73.

ignore larger scale projects, because of the popular acclamation that creating such employment achieved.⁴

More, perhaps, than financial difficulties, practical problems hindered any desire on the part of Hadrian for his own forum: the centre of Rome, in the area adjoining the *Forum Romanum* and the imperial fora, simply did not provide the room for a project of such size. A location further away, on the other hand, would never be associated with the other fora, and thus not serve its purpose. The choice of the only area in the direct surroundings of the fora which at the time lay fallow formed a solution for this dilemma. The area in question had originally formed part of Nero's *Domus Aurea*, and was only partially occupied – having been the site of the *atrium* and the *vestibulum* of Nero's urban villa. The subsequent effort to remove the *colossus* that Nero had build there to a location nearer to the *Amphitheatrum Flavium* – a site still traceable in the urban landscape – employing 24 elephants in the process, shows quite how willing Hadrian was to build on this particular plot of land.⁵ Furthermore, he enlarged, as it were, the southeastern part of the Velia, by creating a perpendicular descent through the creation of a foundation platform for the temple of Venus and Roma in *opus caementicium*. The temple platform thus created may have been smaller than the *Forum Pacis* and the Forum of Trajan, but it was still larger than the Forum of Augustus.⁶

Such an effort raises questions about the background to this choice of location, and about the reason for choosing this double cult. Especially since the cult of Roma, in this form, would have been new for the city of Rome.

The choice of location was, as has been pointed out, dictated primarily by its position near the fora. The temple of Venus and Roma would be thus highly prominent, and clearly visible from the *Forum Romanum*. In this way, it almost became a counterpoint to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at the other end of the *Forum Romanum*.⁷ Of all the buildings that Hadrian constructed in Rome, this was the most central one. The fact that the building

⁴ See e.g. Boatwright 1987 op.cit. (n.3), 7 and 20-24. She even discusses emulation of Trajan in building activities: pages 29-30.

⁵ On moving the Colossus, see *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadrianus* 19.12-13.

⁶ Cf. for pre-Neronian buildings in the temple area among others G. Schingo, in: C. Panella, *Meta Sudans* 1. *Un'area sacra "in Palatio" e la Valle del Colosseo prima e dopo Nerone* (Roma 1996), 151-154. Also. Cassatella & S. Panella in: *LTUR* II (1995), 50-51 s.v. *Domus Aurea – Vestibulum*; D. Palombi, *Tra Palatino ed Esquilino. Velia Carinae Fagatal. Storia urbana di tre quartieri di Roma antiqua*, Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Supplemento 1 (Roma 1997), 69-71.

⁷ On the pendant of the Temple of Jupiter: cf. Kolb 1995, op.cit. (n.2), 385. The prominence of the location is also stressed by D. Kienast, 'Zur Baupolitik Hadrians in Rom', *Chiron* 10 (1980), 391-412, especially 404-407; Boatwright 1987, op.cit. (n.3), 132.

was adjacent to the Via Sacra raised its profile even further.⁸ Dietmar Kienast, in an article in *Chiron* of 1980, has rightly emphasised the advantages of the location and convincingly argues that with the construction of the temple the *Forum Romanum* was extended to the East.⁹ His argument that the new building had an intended negative influence on the Forum of Trajan, by marginalizing the latter, does not, to me, seem tenable.

A further positive element for the choice of place could have been that a house of the Aelii, Hadrian's family, had previously been located on the Velia, as a passage in Plutarch's life of Aemilius Paulus shows. But this argument will certainly not have been the deciding factor.¹⁰

There was, however, as has been mentioned, one serious problem with the chosen location: the available space did not allow for a real forum, one that could stand comparison with the *Forum Pacis* or the *Forum Traiani* – let alone outshine them. A temple came to occupy more than two thirds of the entire terrain, which made that temple, with a length of 107 m., the largest in Rome. The effect was extreme focus on the religious component, which was already so important in all other fora. Dio (69.3-5) notes that Apollodorus of Damascus, Trajan's court architect and perhaps still active at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, criticised the temple for not being sufficiently high. This must, however, be interpreted as criticism on the absence of a high podium, which was a characteristic of Roman temples. Apollodorus fought a lost battle: the architectural 'language' under Hadrian had already become Graeco-Roman.

The Greek influence did not stop at the podium: the *peristyle* of the temple was accessible from all sides, which was extremely uncommon amongst Roman temples. The massive size of the cult statues, Apollodorus' second criticism according to Dio's passage, similarly suited Greek rather than Roman conceptions of temples. Which brings us to a short characterisation of the building that Hadrian had constructed. Andrea Barattolo has managed to clearly divide the Hadrianic building phase from the Maxentian reconstructions, which followed a major fire in AD 307 and are currently much easier to recognise.¹¹ The temple, a peripteral building with 10

⁸ Cf. *Liber Pontificalis* I 465: "... in via Sacra iuxta Templum Rome ...". Cf. F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano* I (Roma 1983), 42-43.

⁹ Kienast 1980, op.cit. (n.7), 412.

¹⁰ Following from Plutarchus, *Aemilius Paulus* 5.7 and Valerius Maximus 4.8. Cf. Coarelli 1983, op.cit. (n.8), 101-103, and especially 103, n.29; D. Palombi in: Steinby 1995, op.cit. (n.6), 22 s.v. *Domus: Aelii*.

¹¹ A. Barattolo, 'Nuove ricerche sull'architettura del Tempio di Venere e di Roma in età adrianea', *Römische Mitteilungen* 80 (1973), 243-269; A. Barattolo, 'Il tempio di Venere e di Roma: un tempio

Corinthian columns on the short and twenty on the long sides, was accessible from all directions by seven steps. The building thus followed Greek rather than Roman conventions. This notion was strengthened through the use of marble and the absence of *opus caementicium*.¹² To the long sides, the temple was furthermore flanked by a single row of columns at the South side and a double row on the North. The entire complex was situated on a platform measuring 100 by 145 m.

The division in two *cellae*, approachable through the short sides of the temple, was, however, alien to Greek temples. This shows how Hadrian, who played an important role in the construction of the temple, as principal or even master builder, used the Greek 'visual language' eclectically and shaped it to his own needs.

The mentioned *cellae*, as Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* makes clear, contained the cult images, with Venus occupying the eastern, and Roma the western room.¹³

The choice of the cult of Venus and Roma firstly shows how Hadrian displayed *pietas* towards the location, an ancient cult-site of Venus,¹⁴ and towards the ever-popular Julio-Claudian dynasty, especially Augustus.¹⁵ The latter provided an important way to legitimate power – something Hadrian had partly taken care of by finishing Trajan's Forum and dedicating it to his adoptive father. The epithet *Felix* further shows Venus primarily as goddess of fertility and fortune.¹⁶ Dedicating part of the temple to this goddess demonstrates clear respect by Hadrian for imperial traditions.¹⁷

Even more important seems to have been the other goddess to whom the temple was dedicated: the goddess Roma, personification of the city, who previously did not have a temple consecrated to her in Rome itself. The

<greco> nell'urbe', *Römische Mitteilungen* 85 (1978), 397-410. Also Boatwright 1987, op.cit. (n.3), 119-133. See further, for a good recent summary of the discussion: A. Cassatella in: *LTUR* V (1999) 121-123, s.v. *Venus et Roma, Aedes, Templum*, with bibliography up to 1996 and including information on the reconstruction by Maxentius in AD 307.

¹² Cf. Barattolo 1978, op.cit. (n.11); Boatwright 2000, op.cit. (n.1), 129 f.

¹³ Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* 1.217-219.

¹⁴ Cf. D. Palombi in: Steinby 1999, 113, s.v. *Venus, Aedes*; Palombi 1997, op.cit. (n.6), 117-120: This would be a temple for Venus from the 3rd century BC, which is named in the *Calendarium* of Amiternum (25 May) and which was destroyed by fire in 178 BC and reconstructed afterwards.

¹⁵ This is noticeable in Hadrian's building policy more often, for instance in his Mausoleum, which shows clear similarities to Augustus'. Cf. among others J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire I. La politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192)*, Paris 1955, 150; Barattolo 1978, op.cit. (n.11), 408-410; Boatwright 1987, op.cit. (n.3), 161-181.

¹⁶ Cf. Boatwright 1987, op.cit. (n.3), 131. Also Beaujeu 1955, op.cit. (n.15), 136-141.

¹⁷ Cf. Boatwright 1987, op.cit. (n.3), 238.

epithet *Aeterna* refers to a hopeful future.¹⁸ The goddess' new iconography, depicting her sitting on a *sella curulis* or on a throne, is clearly divergent from the goddess Roma as she was put forward by the Julio-Claudians, amongst others on the *Ara Pacis*, where she is shown sitting on a pile of weapons. She similarly differs from the Flavian Roma, as depicted on amongst other the Cancelleria reliefs. The fact that the cult of Roma outside of the city was strongly linked to Augustus was not, I would argue, the main reason for Hadrian to dedicate part of his temple to this goddess.¹⁹

In fact, Hadrian had already specifically honoured the city of Rome and the goddess Venus before he constructed this temple for Venus and the goddess of the city. For them he had organised *munera gladiatoria* and *circenses*, as the *Fasti Ostienses* imply.²⁰ Although previous interpretations have argued differently, we will see how the choice for Roma had much more to do with the city itself than with any dynastic purpose. The dynastic element was already sufficiently emphasised by the choice for the goddess Venus. The combination of both goddesses shows confidence for present and future.²¹

The temple was vowed in 121, the year in which Hadrian celebrated the *Parilia* under a new name: the *Natalis Urbis* – Rome's birthday.²² Construction works, however, only started about 5 years later, as brick-stamps indicate. There is no agreement about when the building was finished. Dates between AD 131 and 144 have been proposed,²³ but I assume that the building was finished when it was dedicated in AD 135-137, following remarks of Cassiodorus and Hieronymus.²⁴ Coins minted between AD 141 and 144, which show a decastyle temple, do not, I propose, commemorate the end of construction works. Rather, they indicate Antoninus Pius' placement of *acroteria* and other decorative elements, similarly depicted on

¹⁸ Cf. on *Aeterna*: Beaujeu 1955, op.cit. (n.15), 141-157.

¹⁹ Contra M.K. Thornton, 'Hadrian and his Reign', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2.2 (1975), 432-476, 445 and 458-459. This author sees the introduction of the Roma cult as a first step towards imperial cult in the city of Rome.

²⁰ Cf. L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses*, Prague 1982, 25, 80, fragment XXXVI and A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.1 (1947), 211, 240. For interpretation of this passage, see also: Palombi 1997, op.cit. (n.6), 117-118.

²¹ Cf. Beaujeu 1955, op.cit. (n.15), 160.

²² Cf. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 8.63; Degrassi 1947, op.cit. (n.20) 13.2, 443-445.

²³ On this discussion Cassatella in: Steinby 1999, op.cit. (n.11).

²⁴ Cassiodorus, *Chronica* 142 M (= Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Chronica Minora 2, 142): "*templum Romae et Veneris ... quod nunc Urbis appellatur*"; Hieronymus, *Chronica* A Abr. 2147. On the argument, also Boatwright 1987, op.cit. (n.3), 123-124.

these coins.²⁵ Minor differences with images of the cult statues on coins from Hadrian's reign may indicate that these statues, too, like the *acroteria*, were finished late, perhaps in Antoninus' time, and that Hadrian's coins show some type of models, used to promote the cult.²⁶

As far as the cult statues of Venus and Roma are concerned, Hadrianic coins that depict them make clear that they must have been markedly similar. Both goddesses are depicted seated and wearing a long robe, Venus occupying a throne, and Roma, as we have seen, a *sella curulis* or also a throne. On their raised right hand stood respectively Amor and a Victoria or the Palladium.²⁷ In their left hand they were holding a spear, or perhaps (Venus) a sceptre. It is noticeable that the object that was held by Roma points upwards, and that by Venus downwards. Partial similarities to both Zeus' cult statue in his temple in Olympia and the Athena Parthenos, both known to us through their description by Pausanias, show that not just size, but iconography too, was strongly influenced by Greek examples.²⁸

Roma, in her new identity created by Hadrian, has been perceived as a goddess for the empire as a whole.²⁹ First and foremost, however, the promotion of her cult in this new temple, seems to have been aimed at the population of the city of Rome. An important argument in favour of this idea is the location of the cult statue of the goddess. The statue was placed in the western *cella*, this is, on the *Forum Romanum*-side of the temple, and thus at the side of the city centre. Had Roma been intended as an 'empire-wide' goddess from the very beginning, a position at the 'country-', or east-side would have been far more appropriate.³⁰

The notion of Roma as a goddess for the empire as a whole should be seen as a later development, though one that perhaps already started at the

²⁵ On this: H. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* 3. *Antoninus Pius to Commodus* (London 1930), 110, nrs. 622-623; 113, nr. 651; 114 nr. 664.

²⁶ Cf. also Beaujeu 1955, op.cit. (n.15), 298.

²⁷ According to Coarelli 1983, op.cit. (n.8), 260 the combination of the two cults must have ancient roots, also in light of the combination Roma – Amor, which would imply ties between on the one side Venus - Aeneas and the Julian gens, and on the other the city. Cf. Kolb 1995, op.cit. (n.2), 386.

²⁸ Pausanias, *Perihegesis* 5.2.1-2 (Zeus in Olympia) and 1.24.6-7 (Athena Parthenos). For coins showing a seated Roma Aeterna: H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* 3. *Nerva to Hadrian* (London 1966), 328-9 no. 703, pl. 60.18 (*aureus*); 329, no. 707 and pl. 61.1 (*denarius*) and Venus: *ibidem*, 334 nos 750 and 756, pl. 61.15-16 (*sestertii* and *aurei*). See also E. di Filippo Balestrazzi in: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 8.1, 1048-1068, esp. 1056 f.. On Venus Felix: Boatwright 1987, op.cit. (n.3), 131 and E. Schmidt in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 8.1, 192-230, s.v. *Venus*, especially 214-215 and 8.2, especially 149.

²⁹ Cf. for example Kolb 1995, op.cit. (n.2), 386.

end of Hadrian's reign.³¹ It seems to me, that the cult of Roma *aeterna* was in fact advanced so strongly by Hadrian to show his loyalty to the people of the city, and to emphasise that Rome's primacy was eternal – as Kienast argued so convincingly. The emperor's long absences from Rome and her direct surroundings may have been more than a minor factor in the need for such emphasis.³² Perhaps Hadrian's aims went even further. It was exactly the choice of an emphatically Greek visual language in developing the new cult statue of Roma, which helped to create a counterpart to the Athena Parthenos. This goddess was, of course, the protector of Athens – the city that Hadrian had to promote to create unity in the Eastern Empire.³³

The introduction of the cult of Roma in the city of Rome – though mainly aimed at the city itself – would in this way anticipate, and prepare the way for, the *Panhellenion*, a league of Greek cities with headquarters in Athens, which made this city the centre of the Greek east.³⁴ This would explain the similarities between the role of the temple in Rome and the role that the *Olympeion* played in Athens and the *Panhellenion* in creating unity in the East – a similarity that has been rightly noted by Boatwright.³⁵

A Greek architectural language will no longer have been a novelty to the people of Rome, accustomed as they had become to this through, among others, the reconstructed Pantheon. Totally new, however, were the gigantic cultic statues. Their 'Greek' appearance made them counterparts to Greek

³⁰ Placing Venus on the city-side could have been easily defended. The place that she occupies now evokes a more 'national' character.

³¹ To support the notion of Roma as a goddess for the realm as a whole, comparisons have been drawn to the notion – on the rise under Hadrian – of the Roman Empire as *Oikoumene*, which seemed to be illustrated clearly by the personifications of the *Provinciae* in the *Hadrianaeum* on the Campus Martius. These sculptures, however, can be dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius. Cf. recently: M. Sapelli (ed.), *Provinciae Fideles. Il fregio del Tempio di Adriano in Campo Marzio* (Roma 1999), 11 and 14 (dedication of the temple in AD 145) and in the same volume C. Parise Presicce, 'Le rappresentazioni allegoriche di popoli e province nell'arte romana imperiale', 96. On the Hadrianic notion of cosmopolitanism and the Second Sophistic, see L. Nista, 'La propaganda imperiale nell'arte ufficiale adrianea e antonina', also in: Sapelli 1999, 107-115, esp. 110. Kolb 1995, op.cit. (n.2), 386-387 also argues that the new temple makes the Roma cult a state cult, and thus seems to overtly anticipate events. At least in Late Antiquity she is goddess of the city of Rome, as follows from among others Cassiodorus, *Chronica* 142 M (see n.24). Cf. E. Papi in Steinby 1999, op.cit. (n.11), 96, s.v. *Urbis Fanum, Templum*.

³² Cf. Kienast 1980, op.cit. (n.7), 404.

³³ On the privileged position of Athens see e.g. Cassius Dio 69.16.1-2; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadrianus* 13.1 and 6. Cf. recently Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.1), 262-266; Boatwright 2000, op.cit. (n.1), 13-14, 68, 83-84, 92, with references to older bibliography. On Hadrian's idea of religion as a unifying force, also through building policy: see Boatwright 2000, op.cit. (n.1), 143.

³⁴ Cf. Boatwright 2000, op.cit. (n.1), 145 and 150.

³⁵ Boatwright 1987, op.cit. (n.3) 132-133.

exempla and made Roma a counterpart to Athena. The city of Rome should under no circumstances feel threatened by this notion, which was crucial for Hadrian's policies. Athens needed to be promoted without damaging the status of Rome as the eternal city.³⁶

Practical limitations prevented Hadrian from following his adoptive father in the construction of his very own imperial forum. He therefore had to limit himself to its essence: a temple. I hope, however, to have made clear that in form, location, and especially function, the temple of Venus and Roma was nothing short of a forum and could in fact be seen as Hadrian's Forum.

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³⁶ Barattolo 1978, *op.cit.* (n.11), 408-410 to my mind overinterprets matters by seeing the temple as an expression of Hadrian's panhellenism, and as such as an instrument to convince the Senate to steer away from Trajan's policy of expansion in favour of his own political-ideological programme. He fails to take into account the cult, which is primarily aimed at the city of Rome. Nor should one accept the suggestion of Beaujeu 1955, *op.cit.* (n.15), 135, who goes even further and argues that the new cult shows the 'provincialisation' of Rome, of which Hadrian is the creator. The opposite seems to be the case.

REPRESENTATION AND PERCEPTION
OF IMPERIAL POWER IN AD 238.
THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE¹

By
KAREN HAEGEMANS

On an unspecified day early in 235 the prestige of the Roman senate suffered a severe blow. Not only was one of their most favoured emperors, the courteous Alexander Severus, killed by his own soldiers, but he was replaced by a man who allegedly started his career as a Thracian shepherd, the barbarian C. Iulius Verus Maximinus.² Until then, the Roman Empire had enjoyed relative stability. To be sure, there had been some troubled years and even humiliations. Romans would have need only remember the year 69, which saw four emperors, a year that started, according to Tacitus, “a period rich in disasters, terrible with battles, torn by civil struggles, horrible even in peace”.³ Or maybe 193, when the empire was sold to the highest bidder. Evil emperors came to power, as in the case of Elagabalus, a man no decent Roman aristocrat would have preferred to see on the throne. But the least that can be said is that it was always a man of proper descent who ruled the empire. The senate had had to accept men who came from equestrian origins as Macrinus, or men who, even though senators, favoured the army, but never before had a man from such low ancestry come to the throne. In 235 Maximinus Thrax, who had started his life as a military man from humble origins, was promoted to the highest rank in the empire, the rank of princeps. Ruling the empire together with his son Maximus, he kept this position until 238, when a revolution in Africa announced his loss of legitimacy in the eyes of the aristocracy.

Herodian informs us that, in AD 238, some young African land-owners from Thysdrus (the modern El-Djem), weary of fiscal oppression, killed a government official and, fearing for retribution, forced the elderly proconsul of the provincia Africa, M. Antonius Gordianus, to assume the

¹ It is a pleasure to thank Professors Katelijne Vandorpe and Kenneth Harl for their kind help and useful suggestions. I am also largely indebted the American Numismatic Society in New York for the research opportunities they offered me. All the coin pictures are reproduced by courtesy of the ANS, with the exception of the coin in Plates VIII, fig. 9, which is part of a private collection. In this paper RIC IV 2 is H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham & C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage IV 2: Macrinus to Pupienus* (London 1938).

² Herodian 6.8.1; 7.1.2.

³ Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.2; all translations cited in this paper are taken from the Loeb text editions.

purple, a man who “had held many other previous provincial commands and proved his ability in important achievements”.⁴ Gordian I Africanus appointed his son and namesake Gordian II co-emperor. Accepting imperial power from rebels while the hated opponent still lived, proved dangerous, and so, as expected, the new emperors quickly came to an untimely end. Both died three weeks after their accession to the throne as a result of a battle near Carthage forced upon them by Capellianus, an army-commander faithful to Maximinus. During the short span of their rule the senate, however, had accepted the news of the insurrection in a way unique in Roman imperial history: the senators immediately supported, apparently without hesitation, the rebellion, declared Maximinus enemy of the state and took a prominent role in the further events.

With the deaths of the Gordiani and Maximinus still alive, the Senate had to take other measures swiftly. From an earlier elected committee of twenty advisors of senatorial rank, two were chosen to replace the Gordiani: M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus and D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus. Within weeks after these two rulers had assumed the power, Maximinus was killed by his own soldiers while besieging Aquileia, an important trading post and logistic centre in north-east Italy. It is clear that these two emperors received a much more positive assessment by Herodian than did Maximinus. Pupienus, as Herodian tells us, “had held many military commands and the prefecture of the city...; public opinion considered him an intelligent and shrewd man of sober habits. Balbinus came from a patrician family, had held two consulships and had been a provincial governor without giving cause for complaint”.⁵ Yet the people of Rome and the army seem not to have agreed with the senatorial choice. They demanded that the dynastic succession of the Gordiani be upheld by making the grandson of Gordian I (through his daughter) Caesar. Gordian III thus became, after Maximus, the second Caesar of the year, and within three months he was promoted to sole Augustus after Pupienus and Balbinus were murdered by the Praetorian Guard.

Given the rapid changes of power in 238, the respective emperors certainly had an interest in making themselves known to their subjects. In this regard, coinage would be an ideal medium, since it could have access to a large range of people.⁶

⁴ Herodian 7.5.2.

⁵ Herodian 7.10.4. Cf. P.M.M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander* (Amsterdam 1989), 115, 227, 247 and 311.

⁶ C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley 2000), 215.

Even though some of these emperors reigned for a very brief time, the mint of Rome issued coins for all of them. As there would have been no point for the imperial mint to strike coins for a dead emperor, Rome was the only mint where it was certain that the coins were minted during the lifetime of the appropriate emperor, or in the case of the Gordiani before the news of their death reached the capital. The minting of coins for Maximinus and Maximus, on the other hand, would have stopped as soon as the Roman senate declared them enemies of the state. We can assume, therefore, that the issues in Rome were all ordered by the governing emperors, if not in person than certainly by their administrators.⁷ The possibility exists that the emperors made efforts of legitimisation of their power through their coinage.

The provincial mints are a different matter. Strangely enough we have coins of cities throughout the empire for all of the emperors of 238, both Augusti and Caesares. Even though in most cases they seem to have been struck during the assumed lifetime of the emperors concerned, in the case of Gordian I and II an important warning has to be made. At least one city — Perge on the southern shore of Anatolia — is known to have erected statues for the elder Gordiani on the occasion of a visit of Gordian III Augustus in AD 242-243.⁸ We have to accept, therefore, the possibility, that coins were also issued later as commemoratives. In any case, the choice of the portrait and the legends lay with the issuing city itself.

Yet, the question arises whether the emperors did not impose their view on their subjects in the provinces and officially sent forth their personal portraits in hopes of a correct and dignified representation on coins and in statues. Swift has argued that “from the middle of the third century certainly, the custom prevailed of officially sending forth, upon the accession of each new emperor his portraits crowned with laurel to the provincial cities.”⁹ Wegner¹⁰ suggests that most portraits found in the provinces were either Roman export products or copies from official portraits. Also Graindor assumes that

⁷ On the question whether the emperor surveyed the minting of coins, see Ando 2000, *op.cit.* (n. 6), 215-228.

⁸ This might have been an indication of the hope of the provincials for a new imperial dynasty, a wish also the Roman populace clearly cherished, given its demand to raise Gordian III to power, together with the two senatorial emperors. Apparently few outside the senate were interested in the return to old senatorial values, and most preferred hereditary rule.

⁹ E.H. Swift, ‘Imagines in Imperial Portraiture’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 27 (1923), 297.

¹⁰ *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Berlin 1939), 11-13.

Egyptian imperial portraits were copied from official models.¹¹ Stuart, however, believes that the distribution of the imperial portraits of succeeding dynasties throughout the first and second centuries was not led by official channels. In his view, “only with the anarchy of the third century did political and economic conditions make necessary the use of official *imagines* in the distribution of imperial portraits.”¹²

Indeed, from the fourth century on, the literary evidence on this subject is plentiful. But Ando suggests a much earlier date, perhaps from the first decade of the first century AD, for the custom of sending out official portraits at each imperial accession.¹³ If there is a connection between the representation of the emperors of 238 on provincial coinage and the portraits in Rome, we might conclude also for these short reigning rulers that they made conscious efforts to present themselves as legitimate rulers to their subjects.

When the first coins of Maximinus were struck at Rome, he was clearly unknown to the die-cutters, for he had never set foot in the capital. They depicted him as a Severan emperor, a neutral portrait that even if it would not please the emperor, certainly would do no great harm.¹⁴ In fact, the style of the coins on the whole is quite similar to that of Severan coinage. Towards the end of his reign the emperor’s features become very distinct:¹⁵ he has a prominent nose and chin, a beard, and a rather rough look or as Carson describes the portrait: “the head is very much broader, furrows and lines are emphasised more, and the jaw is positively prognathous”.¹⁶ This can very well be the portrait of a man of about 65, the age he had probably reached in 238.¹⁷ Herodian as well as the *Historia Augusta* mention that together with the message of his Germanic victories, Maximinus sent pictures of the battles to the capital.¹⁸ If this report is correct, he would have featured prominently in these depictions so that the Roman die-cutters might have had the

¹¹ *Bustes et statues portraits d’Egypte romaine* (Cairo 1939), 19, 29, 34.

¹² M. Stuart, ‘How were Imperial Portraits distributed throughout the Roman Empire?’ *American Journal of Archaeology* 43 (1939), 617. On coinage, see the contribution to this volume by O.J. Hekster.

¹³ Ando 2000, *op.cit.* (n.6), 229-230.

¹⁴ E.g. RIC IV 2, Maximinus, nr 1, plate 10.1 (Pl. VIII, fig. 1).

¹⁵ E.g. RIC IV 2, Maximinus, nr 85, plate 11.2 (Pl. VIII, fig. 2).

¹⁶ R.A.G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. VI. Severus Alexander to Balbinus and Pupienus* (London 1962), 95-96.

¹⁷ Zonaras, 12.16.

¹⁸ Herodian, 7.2.8.

opportunity of getting acquainted with the real looks of their emperor,¹⁹ even though he never came to Rome himself. The most logical explanation for such a drastic change of the image seems indeed to have been an attempt to approach reality. It has also been suggested, though, that the portrait might have been subject to some physiognomic influences.²⁰ Whatever the case, it seems safe to conclude that this later depiction of Maximinus Thrax is in fact a real portrait.²¹

According to Herodian, Maximinus was “by his birth and normal behaviour a barbarian. Possessing the bloodthirsty temperament derived from his ancestors and his country, he devoted himself to strengthening his rule by cruel actions. He was afraid that the senate and his subjects would despise him”.²² Through his coinage, Maximinus may have tried to inspire awe, and to legitimise his power.

Probably in 236, he ordered the deification of his deceased wife, an occasion that was celebrated with an issue of consecration coins. Some of the greatest empresses had preceded Paulina in this honour, and for Maximinus, it was certainly a clear way of asserting his legitimacy. The die-cutters, on the other hand, who had no idea what the woman had looked like, had to resort to a clever device: the concept of family-resemblance could help them out.²³ They took the prominent nose and chin of the soldier emperor, his deeply sunken eyes and made her face out of these elements. Following portrait busts of other deified empresses, notably the great Livia, they copied the veil, added underneath it a Severan hairstyle with clear hair waves and a bun in the neck, and there she was: the deified Paulina.²⁴

The son Maximus was easier to depict. According to the *Historia Augusta*, he was put through an intensive literary training by his father, who might have consciously attempted to make his son a more acceptable emperor to the Roman public than he himself was. Despite his father’s efforts to make him acceptable to the ruling classes, Maximus was reputed to have been

¹⁹ Carson 1962, op.cit. (n.16), 89; M. Alram, *Die Münzprägung des Kaisers Maximinus I. Thrax* (235/238) (Vienna 1989), 53.

²⁰ M. Wegner, ‘Bildniskunde römischer Herrscher’, in *ANRW* II 12, 2 (1981), 652.

²¹ Maximinus’ portraits have been used by several scholars to draw up a plan of the various stages of his coinage. See R. Delbrück, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus. Das römische Herrscherbild* III 2 (Berlin 1940), who distinguished three portrait types: *Feldporträt*, *consulares Porträt* and *Triumphalporträt*; Alram 1989, op.cit. (n.19); M. Alram, ‘Zum Aufbau der Münzprägung des Maximinus I. Thrax’, *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonensis* 4 (1992), 313-322.

²² Herodian 7.1.1.

²³ Wegner 1981, op.cit. (n.20), 651.

²⁴ E.g. RIC IV 2, Paulina, nr 3 (Pl. VIII, fig. 3).

excessively insolent and prone to scandalous behaviour. Maximinus strove to present his son as an intellectual, beautiful young successor, and so worthy of a predecessor as Severus Alexander. The coin portrait answers this description. Maximus looks like a young Severan prince, with the facial features, although mollified, of Maximinus himself.²⁵ The most significant reverse legend to accompany this portrait was *PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS*, a title illustrious princes had carried before him. It seems indeed as though, through his family, Maximinus was making efforts to legitimise his rule.

The mint of Alexandria appears to have understood his intentions. In the first years of his reign this mint portrayed his son Maximus as a little boy, no more than a child.²⁶ During the third year of rule, a clear change took place. The boy was turned into a young man, very much similar to previous young princes, or Caesars.²⁷ This may point to a conscious effort of the emperor to present his son — in the capital as well as in the provinces — as a man who would be worthy of the throne, in the hope of instituting a new dynasty. Unfortunately, the son apparently did not live up to his father's hopes.

It cannot be determined whether Maximinus exercised any influence on the minting of coins in provincial cities.²⁸ Most cities seem to have portrayed the emperor as they preferred to see him. Some of the provincial mints tried to create an accurate likeness, with the same prominent nose and prognathous chin as on the official Roman portrait.²⁹ Other towns, however, made no such effort, for they adorned the obverse of their coins with a stylised image of what a "soldier-emperor" should look like in their eyes. The results were often not a flattering picture. On all the provincial coins Maximinus is bearded, and has rough features, but more details were of little

²⁵ E.g. RIC IV 2, Maximus, nr 13 (Pl. VIII, fig. 4).

²⁶ Pl. VIII, fig. 5.

²⁷ Pl. VIII, fig. 6.

²⁸ Cities that struck for Maximinus are plentiful: Acmonia, Adana, Adramyteum, Alexandria Egypt, Alexandria Troas, Amastris, Amisus, Anazarbus, Anchialus, Andeda, Anemurium Apamea, Aphrodisias, Apollonia, Ariassus, Ascalon, Aspendus, Attalea, Augusta, Bithynium, Bosphorus, Brouzus, Byzantium, Caesarea-Germanica, Carallia, Cardia, Casae, Celenderis, Cibra, Cius, Claudioseleucea, Codryla, Coela, Colophon, Colybrassus, Coracesium, Coropissus, Cotiaeum, Cremna, Cretia-Flaviopolis, Cyzicus, Deultum, Diium, Dorylaeum, Elaea, Ephesus, Etenna, Eucarpea, Flaviopolis, Hadrianea, Heraclea, Ilium, Iotape, Isinda, Iuliopolis, Magnesia, Mastaura, Metropolis, Midaeum, Mylasa, Neapolis, Nicaea, Nicomedia, Ninica-Claudiopolis, Nysa, Olbasa, Orthosia, Panemotichus, Parium, Pella, Perga, Pergamum, Philadelphia, Phocaea, Pogla, Prostanna, Prusa, Prusias, Prymnessus, Sagalassus, Saitta, Samus, Sardes, Seleucia, Sibidunda, Side, Sinope, Smyrna, Syedra, Synnada, Tarsus, Thessalonice, Thyateira, Tium, Tius, Tomis, Tralles, Tripolis, and probably many more.

²⁹ E.g. Deultum (Thrace) (Pl. VIII, fig. 7).

interest to the die-cutters, as Maximinus had in most of the cases never visited their city and was unlikely to do so. A suggestive image was therefore more than sufficient.³⁰

Coins of Smyrna and of neighbouring Phocaea (using the same obverse die) are the most telling examples of wishful thinking. Maximinus and his son Maximus are shown seated on the curule chairs, as consuls. The emperor, laureate, is holding a globe and a book roll, while his son is shown bareheaded carrying only a scroll. These coins present an image that was earlier used for Septimius Severus accompanied by his two sons.³¹ It is remarkable that these cities chose this iconography with republican roots for a soldier emperor who seems to have paid little or no attention to his civilian duties, not even setting foot in Rome during his entire lifetime.

When the news of the African insurrection reached Rome, the senate acknowledged the Gordiani as *imperatores*. The Roman mint reacted decisively.³² There is no evidence of an emergency coinage struck in North Africa, but within the three weeks of their reign, coins of high quality were struck in Rome. A well designed set of dies with various reverse-types were cut. There are certainly no signs of careless or hurried workmanship. In fact, the coins are of such high quality that many scholars have taken the Roman coins as evidence that the rebellion was a well-prepared conspiracy against Maximinus. Although there are no certain data on the speed with which dies could be cut and coins struck in the ancient world, the speed of the senate's action in 238 certainly raises wider questions on the distribution of imperial portraits. The fact that the last Roman issue of Maximinus seems to have been very small has led to the suggestion that preparations for the revolution were taking place at the Roman mint. This conspiracy theory is, as all conspiracy theories, as interesting as it is unprovable. Our literary sources, reflecting senatorial perspective, had no reason to disclose the senate's participation in such an intrigue. The other sources, such as the numismatic evidence, can in this case be no more than suggestive. In any case, minting coins would have been one of the first acts of a new emperor seeking to assert his power and legitimacy. As a consequence, prompt minting of coins

³⁰ E.g. Eresus (Lesbus) (Pl. VIII, fig. 8).

³¹ K. Kraft, *Das System der Münzprägung in Kleinasien während der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1972), 114 and Table 4; D.O.A. Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1987), 20 and Table 52.

³² The following discussion of the Roman coinage of Gordian I and II is based for a large part on RIC IV 2, 158-164; Carson 1962, op.cit. (n. 16), 97-99.

would have been a logical step, whether before or after the official acceptance of the Gordiani.

The Roman mint issued very rare gold *aurei* of Gordian I as well as *denarii* and *sestertii* for both emperors. Fractional denominations have not been found. On the coin portraits father and son resemble each other closely. Whether these are actual portraits is not clear: they may show nothing more than an older and a younger man, taken into account the brevity of their reign and the fact that they were not present in Rome at the time. Furthermore, very few statues have been attributed to the elder Gordians with any degree of certainty. There is no agreement among scholars concerning the emperors' looks. On the other hand, as they were at the time of their accession senior senators, portraits might well have already been prominent in the capital, so that it is quite possible that the coins present accurate portraits. The style and iconography of the coinage are inspired from Severan coins, and so reflect continuity, be it a conscious choice or not.

The reverse types are all quite common and normal. If they were deliberately chosen, they then stressed the endeavour of the new emperors to ground their rule in the tradition of the good emperors of Rome, ruling with respect for the constitution. Besides one titular type of Gordian I (P.M.TR.P.COS.P.P.: stressing his tribunician and consular power) the legends ROMAE AETERNAE and SECVRITAS AETERNA appear, both of which occur on coins of Severus Alexander. Coins of Gordian II stress the emperors' concern for the well being of Rome and hope of victory by such legends as PROVIDENTIA AVGG, VICTORIA AVGG and VIRTVS AVGG. The *aes* coinage carries similar images and legends except for a type exclusive to Gordian I that reads VIRT. EXERCIT. S.C. Since the new rulers lacked support of the army, choosing this legend seems either an act of *hubris* or a desperate hope to sway the army's loyalty. Since Maximinus was murdered by his own soldiers, the type ironically foreshadowed what happened a few months later. On the other hand, coin types might have been chosen as a matter of administrative routine with little conscious plan – a possibility that seems less plausible to me.

As for the provinces, Herodian reports that “the senate... did their best to rouse (them). Delegations of special senatorial representatives and well-known members of the equestrian order were sent in all directions to visit all provincial governors. Letters also went out to explain the position of the Romans and the senate, and to urge governors to join sides with those

who were planning for their common state and its senate; the provincial population was told to remain loyal to the Romans”.³³

Herodian also tells us that in Africa “all the honorary dedications to Maximinus were torn down, and in their place the cities were adorned with portraits and statues of Gordian (I)”³⁴ and that “all the statues, pictures and honorific dedications of Maximinus were torn down”.³⁵ It can be deduced from the literary sources that Maximinus desperately tried to reassert himself. His loyal legate of Numidia, Capellianus, attacked and punished the cities that had accepted the Gordiani as soon as the two African emperors were dead.³⁶ In at least three cities of Asia Minor the coins of Maximinus suffered *damnatio memoriae*.³⁷ Several examples of *damnatio memoriae* are known from Pergamon, although at least one coin survives where the erasure was not executed.³⁸ Smyrna, after first depicting the emperor as consul, erased his image from coins as well. On one of them a primitively drawn star is carved, as if to emphasise the *damnatio memoriae*.³⁹ Also from Elaea, the port of Pergamum, a single specimen is known of an erased coin of the Thracian emperor.⁴⁰ The erasures were to all probability not carried into effect while Maximinus was still alive. Many of portraits were probably chiselled off as soon as the citizens heard of Maximinus’ death.

The same point holds true for cities coining for the two Gordiani. After eliminating all known forged coins of the African emperors,⁴¹ the remaining coins are few. Besides Alexandria in Egypt, coins survive from only two other cities: Prynnessus in Phrygia, and Aegeae in Cilicia. In the

³³ Herodian 7.7.4-5.

³⁴ Herodian 7.5.8.

³⁵ Herodian 7.7.2.

³⁶ Herodian 7.9.11; *Historia Augusta, Vita Max.* 19.4; *Gord.* 9.3; on one inscription (CIL 8.757 and 10047) the name of Maximinus was re-inscribed after having been erased; C.R. Whittaker, *Herodian. Books V-VIII* (Cambridge MA/London 1999 [= 1970]), 188 n. 2.

³⁷ R. Mowat, ‘Martelage et abrasion des monnaies sous l’empire romain’, *Revue Numismatique* 4, 5 (1901), 443-471; 4, 6 (1902), 286-290, 464-467; K. Regling, ‘Zur griechischen Münzkunde III. Erasuren’, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 24 (1904), 134-144; R. Münsterberg, ‘Damnatio Memoriae’, *Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 11 (1918), 32-37; P. Berghaus, ‘Erasuren auf Münzen aus Pergamon in der Sammlung Th. Bieder der Westfälischen Wilhelms Universität’, *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens*, ed. S. Sahin (Leiden 1978), 158-162; K. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East, AD 180-275* (Berkeley 1987), 34-35, 150-151 n. 36.

³⁸ H. Dressel, ‘Erwerbungen des Königlichen Münzcabinet in den Jahren 1898-1900’, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 24 (1904), 17-104.

³⁹ Klose 1987, op.cit. (n. 31), 119 and Table 52.

⁴⁰ Pl. VIII, fig. 9.

⁴¹ Antiocheia, Byzantium, Heraclea Pontica, Caesarea Germanica, Corcyra, Maeonia, Miletus, Myra, Samus and Smyrna; H. Von Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Phrygiens 2* (Tübingen 1987), 44-46.

case of Alexandria, most likely the coins were struck before the news of the emperors' death reached the city.⁴² The portraits on the Alexandrine coins are stylised but so were those of other emperors at this mint, so personalised features can seldom be detected

The coins of the other two cities have given rise to debate. Bosch believed that the Gordiani were never acknowledged in Asia Minor, as these provinces remained under the domination of Maximinus. Therefore, no coins could have been struck during the lifetimes of the Gordiani so that their coins that cannot be dismissed as forgeries had to be struck under Gordian III as commemoratives. These coins were thus analogous to the statues at Perge. The coin of Prynnessus would have been an example of this.⁴³ But von Aulock has argued, on the basis of milestones found in Galatia, that the Gordians were accepted in some areas in Asia Minor. Based on the imperial, he reasons that the coins were struck during their lifetimes.⁴⁴ Prynnessus is an odd place to strike coins, especially for such short-reigning emperors. Even though von Aulock believes the city was a commercial centre, it was located far inland, so that it would have taken time for the news to arrive. Since no ancient sources save for Ptolemaeus⁴⁵ and some Christian texts mention the town, Prynnessus was hardly an important city. It is an enigma as to why such a small town minted coins for the Gordiani, and then a few months later for Pupienus and Balbinus.⁴⁶ The most plausible solution is that some prominent inhabitants of the city who had visited Rome returned with the news, faster than it could be announced through the official channels. On their report, the town, for reasons unknown to us, decided to strike the coins. It could have been sudden need for money in tandem with civic pride and hopes of imperial favour.

Aegeae, on the other hand, was home to a major sanctuary of Asclepius and a strategic port on the route between Syria and Cilicia Pedias. This city asserted its virtues whenever possible, as did its rivals Anazarbus and Tarsus.⁴⁷ In my opinion, Bloesch correctly points out that there is no

⁴² H. Bloesch, *Erinnerungen an Aigeai* (Winterthur 1989), 16 suggests that it took the news 20 days to reach Alexandria from Rome.

⁴³ C.E. Bosch, 'Münzen Gordians I aus Kleinasien', *Anadolu Arasztirmalari* 1 (1955-1959), 203-205.

⁴⁴ Von Aulock 1987, *op.cit.* (n. 41), 50; the linear form of sigma and epsilon on portrait coins seems to be the trademark of one die-cutter, working in the year 238.

⁴⁵ Ptolemaeus 5.2.24.

⁴⁶ Von Aulock 1987, *op.cit.* (n. 41), 51.

⁴⁷ P. Weiss, 'Ein Altar für Gordian III, die älteren Gordiane und die Severer aus Aigeai (Kilikien)', *Chiron* 12 (1982), 190-205.

reason to be surprised⁴⁸ about the fact that a coin of the Gordians from this city is known.⁴⁹ He argues that, along with the dispatches of messengers to the provinces, the senate also sent official portraits. This fact can also be deduced from Herodian's statement.⁵⁰ Moreover, Cilician cities seem to have been especially assiduous in minting coins in the first half of the third century. Eighteen cities coined for Maximinus and at least seventeen for Gordian III.⁵¹

At Aegeae an altar has been found, with two dedications to Gordian III, the *theoi Gordianoi* I and II, and a third inscription honouring the *theoi Sebastoi* Severus Alexander, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Iulia Domna. All three inscriptions are from different hands, and they might have been cut in the year 238. What is significant is the city's linking of Gordian III to the Severan dynasty. This action by the Cilician city probably reflected official ideology, best seen on the style and iconography of the coins struck at Rome. Aegeae did not mint coins under Maximinus, but the absence of coinage in itself does not indicate hostility or rejection of the soldier.⁵² Far more likely, the city had struck an abundance of coins under previous emperors so that it saw no particular need to coin under Maximinus.⁵³ In any case, the city immediately presented itself as loyal to the teams of senatorial emperors, first the Gordiani and then Balbinus and Pupienus.

When the news of the death of the Gordiani reached the capital, the Roman mint immediately started issuing for the new senatorial emperors, Balbinus and Pupienus.⁵⁴ Their coins struck at Rome are more diversified than those of Gordian I and II are, but these too were not abundant. A handful of *aurei* were struck for both emperors, as were also some silver *denarii*. Most of the silver coins are *antoniniani*, the double *denarii* that they re-introduced to remedy their shortage of money. The *aes* coinage consists of mostly *sestertii*, along with some *dupondii* and a few *asses*.

Some significant reverse types reflect aspects of their political program. Besides a titular type for both emperors, six other reverse types can be found on the *denarii*, three for each emperor. LIBERALITAS obviously

⁴⁸ Bloesch 1989, op.cit. (n. 42), 23.

⁴⁹ A. von Sallet, 'Die Namen der beiden ersten Gordiane', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 7 (1880), 140; D. Nony, 'Une monnaie de Balbin à Aegeae de Cilicie (238 ap. J.C.)', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 27, 7 (1972), 244.

⁵⁰ Bloesch 1989, op.cit. (n. 42), 15-18 counts 25 days at the speed of 137 km/d to reach Aegeae from Rome.

⁵¹ Nony 1972, op.cit. (n. 49), 244.

⁵² Weiss 1982, op.cit. (n. 47), 197.

⁵³ Nony 1972, op.cit. (n. 49), 244.

⁵⁴ Much of the following discussion found its origin in RIC IV 2, 165-176; Carson 1962, op.cit. (n. 16), 99-104.

refers to the donative, given out at the time of the coronation.⁵⁵ The appeals to IOVI CONSERVATORI and PROVIDENTIA DEORVM not only called for the protection of the gods, but also for divine sanctioning of the new rule. Types associated with the legends PAX PVBLICA, CONCORDIA AVGG and VICTORIA AVGG expressed either hopes of a quick victory or became in effect a triumphal coinage upon the death of Maximinus. The *antoniniani* all feature on the reverse clasped hands with the legends CONCORDIA AVGG, FIDES MVTVA AVGG, PIETAS MVTVA AVGG (for Balbinus) and AMOR MVTVVS AVGG, CARITAS MVTVA AVGG, PATRES SENATVS (for Pupienus). This array of types emphasised the ideal of the senatorial tradition and respect for the laws, but foremost the ideal of the double dominion, reminiscent of the old times of the republic.⁵⁶ The reality was different, with both emperors suspicious and full of envy for each other, an attitude that would speed up their downfall.

The portraits on the obverses of the coins have every appearance of being realistic. Since Balbinus and Pupienus were in Rome at the time of their election to the principate, they enjoyed a great advantage: they were known to their subjects. The most eye-catching feature of Pupienus' image is his long, full beard.⁵⁷ According to Bastien⁵⁸ this type of beard, also worn by Pertinax⁵⁹, Didius Julianus and Macrinus, was the last manifestation of a long gone fashion. Based on sculpture portraits, Kleiner makes the telling observation that, "By having himself depicted with an Antonine beard, he emphasised his senatorial side and his descent from such good emperors of the past as Marcus Aurelius."⁶⁰ Balbinus can be recognised from his heavy jaw and fleshy features.⁶¹

As previously argued, we can be reasonably sure that the portraits on the obverse of their Roman coinage are accurate. If so, the question is raised as to whether the new government cared at all to send along with the message of their accession accurate portraits also to the provinces, to give faces to the new people in power. Herodian mentions the presence of pictures

⁵⁵ The Chronographer of the year 354 and Herodian 8.7.7 both mention a generous distribution of money.

⁵⁶ Whittaker 1970, *op.cit.* (n. 36), 299 n. 2; 303 n. 3.

⁵⁷ E.g. RIC IV 2, Pupienus, nr 22a (Pl. VIII, fig. 10).

⁵⁸ P. Bastien, *Le buste monétaire des empereurs romains* (Wetteren 1992-1994), 28.

⁵⁹ Delbrück 1940, *op.cit.* (n. 21), 69.

⁶⁰ D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven/London 1992), 365.

⁶¹ E.g. RIC IV 2, Balbinus, nr 16 (Pl. VIII, fig. 11).

of Pupienus, Balbinus and Gordian III in the beleaguered Aquileia when Maximinus was killed.⁶²

The surviving statues of both emperors depict them after the fashion of their coin portraits.⁶³ Most significant is the pair of statues of Balbinus and Pupienus, each of whom is cast as Jupiter,⁶⁴ that were salvaged from a shipwreck off the Piraeus. Although the statues are not of a high artistic quality, they demonstrate that there was an immediate market for images of these emperors. Given their find spot, these statues were either made in Athens to be exported to a shrine or a public space or they were being imported into Athens when the ship went down.⁶⁵ It is not clear when the statues were created either. Although they might have been ordered during the lifetime of the senatorial emperors, they could also have been made under the rule of Gordian III.⁶⁶ The iconography of a statue of Balbinus on his sarcophagus is most instructive, for he is presented both as a togate senator, reclining on the top of the lid, and as an army commander on the side of the coffin. Therefore, he is represented both performing his civil and his military duties, although his function as a civil magistrate has received preference over his task as a general.

Most specimens of provincial coins exhibit fairly accurate portraits of the emperors.⁶⁷ In contrast to Maximinus, images of Balbinus and Pupienus were apparently known in the provinces because either these emperors were quick to send pictures or were already known at their accession due to their connections with local elites or contacts acquired while discharging their senatorial duties in the provinces. Among the cities to mint coins were Prynnessus and Aegeae, the two cities that had coined for the Gordiani. Among others was the major mint of Tarsus, the first city of Cilicia and favoured by Severan rulers.⁶⁸ Balbinus and Pupienus must have appreciated the importance of being accepted by the cities of the East.

⁶² Herodian 8.6.2: "Aquileian commanders ... brought out pictures of Maximus, Balbinus and Gordian Caesar wreathed in crowns of laurel, which they cheered."

⁶³ The coin images are so much like the statue portraits that they helped to identify a sculpture head of Balbinus. See H. Jucker, 'A Portrait Head of the Emperor Balbinus', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (1967), 11-16.

⁶⁴ Based on the example of statues of Claudius as Jupiter: Kleiner 1992, op.cit. (n. 60), 366.

⁶⁵ C. C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge MA 1968), 314.

⁶⁶ Vermeule 1968, op.cit. (n. 65), 310.

⁶⁷ Pupienus: Miletus, Prynnessus, Heraclea, Nicomedia, Prusa, Tarsus, Pupienus-countermark on a coin of Erythrae, Hadrianopolis; Balbinus: Aegeae, Amisus, Heraclea, Milete, Tarsus, Thessalonica and Hadrianopolis.

⁶⁸ Pl. VIII, figg. 12 and 13.

In addition, many Asian cities might have coined in anticipation of a campaign by Pupienus against the Sassanids.⁶⁹ The *Historia Augusta* is the only literary source that mentions this expedition and has not yet been confirmed by any other source, but the striking of civic bronze suggests preliminary mobilisation in the eastern army was under way in 238. The reverse of a Nicomedian coin of Gordian III Caesar shows the emperor in a military cloak, being crowned by Nike and sacrificing to the gods. Another reverse depicts an equestrian emperor, either Pupienus or Gordian III Caesar, with his lance positioned for attack.⁷⁰ The coins of Tarsus also support this hypothesis. Military types were found on the reverses of Pupienus' coins (notably the emperor with a trophy, the goddess Nike and the emperor spearing a lion). Moreover, the large volume of coins struck by Tarsus for both emperors suggests that the city was providing fractional bronze currency in anticipation of the *aurei* and *denarii* that would be spent in local markets by soldiers on campaign.⁷¹ Tarsians almost certainly were expecting an offensive by these emperors against the Sassanids.⁷²

In the city of Rome the emperors used their coins to present themselves as legitimate rulers and to promote their program to urban plebeians, Senate, and Praetorian Guard. The style and iconography of the coinage of Maximinus, as well as that of the senatorial emperors, was Severan in inspiration and presented a continuation of appeals of the Severan dynasty. Reverse types of the coins seem to have been deliberately chosen. The legends on the coinage of Balbinus and Pupienus, for example, harkened back to a restoration of a traditional order replete with Republican ideals. In the provinces attention was paid to the choice of reverse types. The military types on the coins of Tarsus indicate expectation of an expedition of Pupienus to the East.

In their official portraiture, Roman emperors made every effort to legitimise their reign and present themselves to their subjects as acceptable rulers. Maximinus, for one, might have tried to overcome the suspicion the senate nursed against him by portraying his family as an impeccably imperial

⁶⁹ SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 13.5.

⁷⁰ C.E. Bosch, *Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit 2.1.1: Bithynien* (Stuttgart 1935), 293-294; R. Ziegler, *Städtisches Prestige und Kaiserliche Politik. Studien zum Festwesen in Ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jhr. n.Chr.* (Düsseldorf 1985), 139.

⁷¹ K. Harl, *Political Attitudes of Rome's Eastern Provinces in the Third Century A.D.* (Ph.D. Yale 1978), 28, 142 n. 42, 428; Ziegler 1985, op.cit. (n. 70), 139-140.

⁷² SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 13.5; Zonaras 12.18 for a possible Persian threat and the fall of Nisibis and Carrhae, but the last is contradicted by Herodian 7.8.4.

family, with a young successor and a deified empress. If the literary sources are to be trusted, unfortunately his son Maximus refused to play the role and so earned himself a bad reputation. The Gordiani reigned for too short a period to make effective any of the promises presented on coins.

Balbinus and Pupienus undoubtedly linked themselves to Severan, Antonine, and even Republican traditions. In the East, the numbers of their coins and statues are surprisingly high, given the brevity of their reign. What is even more impressive is the accuracy of the imperial portraits. This precision, along with the speedy appearance of the likenesses, indicates that, at least for the larger cities, there was an official means for sending out imperial portraits. In the case of smaller provincial towns circumstance and lines of patronage probably dictated early distribution of imperial portraits.

In my opinion, the coins indicate that the emperors of 238 sought to make themselves known in the provinces. Roman emperors depended on the goodwill of the provincial cities. They were customarily presented the way a provincial city wished to see them, even if such depictions did not coincide with the reality as in the case of Maximinus' coins. In the case of Balbinus and Pupienus, there seem to have been conscious efforts by the emperors to be portrayed correctly and by the cities to disseminate quickly this accurate image. It is most reasonable to surmise, although it cannot be proved conclusively, that these attempts resulted from senatorial sympathies among the local elites. As for Gordian I and II, their reigns were too short, and their portraits too few to draw many conclusions. Even so, we cannot help but be amazed as to how quickly some provincial towns accepted these two rulers. This very speed hints at efforts to promote these rulers as well. Facing Maximinus at the head of the daunting frontier legions, the African emperors had every reason to canvass for supporters across the empire.

Leuven, September 2002

THE LABARUM, SHIELD BLAZONS, AND CONSTANTINE'S CAELESTE SIGNUM

By
HENK SINGOR

The conversion of Constantine to Christianity is one of those momentous events in history of which nobody doubts the importance but of which it is nearly impossible, or so it seems, to grasp the reality of what actually occurred. What was it that had led Constantine to his choice and how and when did he first reveal it? Contemporary pagan sources hardly take notice of any change and where they do it is in circumspect and ambiguous phrases, never offering an explanation. Contemporary Christian sources, that is the Latin teacher of rhetoric Lactantius and the Greek bishop Eusebius, do give us stories of what 'really happened' but these are in part contradictory, besides being full of the miraculous in the shape of dreams and a wonderful vision in the sky. Modern scholars usually point to the differences between these accounts, following either the one or the other, trying to combine the two, or again ignoring them both.¹ In my view, attempts to reconstruct what happened too often try to build on these explanatory stories offered to us by the pious professor and the bishop. They were, however, written two years and a quarter of a century, respectively, after the events they describe, and have as their core not so much an inner change on the part of the emperor, but more materially the creation of some specific objects that by themselves explained the victory of Constantine and thus Christ's support for the emperor and, by implication, the latter's embrace of Christianity, i.e. shields with christianised blazons and a new, christianised banner. When trying to assess what happened we should, I believe, start with these *realia*, for the Christian stories are, so to speak, the aetiological myths meant to explain the existence of those sacred things.

A few years after Constantine had openly embraced Christianity, perhaps as early as 314, Lactantius, writing his little book on the deaths of the emperor's predecessors who had persecuted the Church, tells us how Constantine had assured himself of Christ's assistance on the battlefield by adding a symbol or *nota* of Christ to the shields of his soldiers on the eve of

¹ The literature on Constantine is enormous. In the following notes I shall refer only to those publications which are in my opinion representative or otherwise relevant for the views in discussion without claiming any completeness. For a recent survey of the history of Constantinian scholarship see K. Nowak, 'Der erste christliche Kaiser. Konstantin der Grosse und das "Konstantinische Zeitalter" im Widerstreit der neueren Kirchengeschichte', in: E. Mühlberg, Hg., *Die Konstantinische Wende* (Gütersloh 1998), 186-233.

his final victory over Maxentius in October 312. The emperor had been admonished to do so in a dream in which he had been ordered to note 'the heavenly sign of God' (*caeleste signum dei*) on the shields before going into battle.² The same Lactantius tells us elsewhere in his work of another divine instruction sent in a dream to an emperor: when half a year later Licinius, Augustus of the East, was facing his rival Maximinus at Campus Serenus in the Balkans in the spring of 313, he dreamt of an angel dictating to him a special prayer addressed to 'the highest god' (*summus deus*); after waking, Licinius had the prayer written out and given to his officers, so that next morning his whole army could send up the pious words to heaven – an amazing spectacle, no doubt, and the consequent victory proved, so we are meant to believe, the prayer's efficacy.³ The text that Lactantius cites resembles the text of another prayer written for those of his soldiers who were then still pagan by Constantine himself, when he proclaimed the observance of Sunday rest for his army and indeed for most of the city-population in his realm in 321, according to bishop Eusebius.⁴ No dreams are mentioned in that case, but when telling us elsewhere in his 'Life of Constantine' his version of the campaign against Maxentius in 312 Eusebius goes out of his way to relate first the vision in the sky that Constantine and his whole army saw - the famous light-cross above the sun with the words 'By this conquer!' - and then a dream in which Christ himself ordered Constantine to make a copy of the sign he had seen in the shape of a military banner. It was that banner, the famous labarum, adorned with the first two letters of the name of Christ, which brought the emperor victory over his foes ever since. The bishop himself, we are told, saw the awe-inspiring staff with all the paraphernalia and jewellery that then adorned it, no doubt in Constantinople on the very occasion when the emperor, so the bishop claims, told him the story of the wonderful vision in the sky.⁵ Years before, around 315, when writing his 'History of the Church', the bishop of Caesarea had not been aware of that miracle and had presented Constantine as a pious Christian who from the outset of his campaign had put his trust in God.⁶ A rumour of some special banner, though, had reached him even then, for he describes a statue of the emperor 'in the busiest spot' in Rome which had received on Constantine's orders, after his entry into the city in 312, 'the

² Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 44.5

³ Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 46.3-6

⁴ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.20 (cf. *Oratio Tricennalia* 9.219)

⁵ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.28-31.

⁶ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9.9.2

trophy of hail-bringing suffering' into its hand.⁷ This is Eusebian language for the sign of the cross. Since Christ had conquered Death and the Devil by his Resurrection, that victory had made the Adversary's weapon, the cross, into a trophy of the Victor, promising more victories for those who believed. Christians were inclined to recognize the victorious sign in various natural or man-made shapes, not the least important of which was the *vexillum* or military banner, made of a spear-like shaft with a cross-bar from which a flag or banner hang down. I have little doubt that Constantine's statue, which has disappeared since, had a *vexillum* in its hand.⁸ That by itself was already a novelty, for never before had an emperor been represented bearing a

⁷ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9.9.10-11. For the problem of this statue, usually identified with a seated colossus of approximately 10 m. in the north-western apsis of the Basilica of Maxentius at the Forum, remains of which can be seen in the courtyard of the Conservatori Palace in Rome, see among others: H.G. Thümmel, 'Die Wende Constantins und die Denkmäler', in: E. Mühlberg, Hg., *Die Konstantinische Wende* (Gütersloh 1998), 144-185, esp. 158-162; 171-179; W. Kuhoff, 'Ein Mythos in der römischen Geschichte: Der Sieg Konstantins des Grossen über Maxentius vor den Toren Roms am 28. Oktober 312', *Chiron* 21 (1991), 127-174, esp. 170-171; R. Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus* (Berlin 1992), 33-38. I retain some doubts, though, whether this seated statue, if it represented Constantine in heroic or divine nakedness or semi-nakedness, was the one that Eusebius (or rather his informant) had in mind. A standing statue in military attire would be more to the point, as it would also provide the prototypes for the coin images of first Constantine ca. 320 and then his two eldest sons ca. 326 showing the Augustus and the Caesars, respectively, holding a military standard, as argued by P. Bruun, 'The Christian signs on the coins of Constantine', *Arctos* 3 (1962), 5-35, esp. 28 n. 2, identifying Eusebius' statue with the remains of a bronze colossus in the Lateran. If the statue in the basilica of Maxentius wore a cuirass and *paludamentum* it could indeed have been the one referred to by Eusebius, see also J. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital. Rome in the fourth century* (Oxford 2000), 78-82. It has also been identified, however, as a former statue of Maxentius. See O.J. Hekster, 'The city of Rome in Late Imperial Ideology: The Tetrachs, Maxentius and Constantine', *Mediterraneo Antico* 2 (1999), 717-748. The identity of the statue mentioned by Eusebius may never be established, but the sign in its hand must surely have been a *vexillum*, which could rather easily have been identified with a cross by the Christian informant of Eusebius. That banner, then, must have been something special and to my mind that means that it must have been 'the sign' of Christ that had brought the emperor victory, the difference between this banner and the labarum described by Eusebius being the absence of the Chi-Rho monogram on its top: instead it must have shown it on its cloth, as is also the case on most of the coins showing the labarum. See also, e.g., J. Vogt, 'Die constantinische Frage', in: *Relazioni del X. Congresso Internazionale di Scienza Storica. II. Storia dell' Antichità* (Florence 1955), 377-423 = H. Kraft, Hg., *Konstantin der Grosse* (Darmstadt 1974), 345-387, esp. 371-372 (the statue held a *vexillum* that was combined with "das von Laktanz bezeugte Siegeszeichen").

⁸ Bruun, op. cit. (n. 8), 28 n.2; A. Alföldi, 'In hoc signo victor eris. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bekehrung Konstantins des Grossen', in: *Pisciculi. Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums, Franz Joseph Dölger zum 60. Geburtstag* (München 1939), 1-18 = H. Kraft, Hg., *Konstantin der Grosse* (Darmstadt 1974), 224-246, esp. 237 and Abb. 3.4. Rufinus, writing his Latin version of Eusebius' *Church History* in the 390s, speaks of a *vexillum dominicae crucis* (i.e. with the sign of the cross, which maybe a mistake for the christogram or an echo of Eusebius' view that the cross was represented) and, in citing the inscription, of a *singulare signum* (Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9.9.10-11).

military sign or standard. But from Constantine's reign onwards the emperor as *signifer* or bearer of a *vexillum* made a regular appearance on the coins.⁹ Eusebius, who never visited Rome, heard of the statue with its banner and rightly judged it worthy of mention in his *Church History*, as well as later in his *Tricennialian Oration* and his *Life of Constantine*, together with the inscription that proclaimed that by "this sign, the real proof of manly power" (*andreia* or *virtus*) Rome had been freed from the tyrant's yoke and been restored to its former liberty and glory.¹⁰ Such a special sign, newly put into the emperor's hand, cannot have been anything else than the christianised banner that Eusebius tells us elsewhere Constantine had made on the eve of his campaign against Maxentius.¹¹

What we have, then, as the *realia* for which Lactantius and Eusebius offer us their explanatory stories, are shields with the *nota* of Christ on the surface as well as a special banner with the first letters of the name of Christ. To my mind, these things belong together. For what I want to argue is this: Constantine introduced a new military banner, not for any particular army unit but one closely bound to his own person and one that by its design pointed to the emperor's special relationship with his protecting divinity, for it had the sign of his divine *comes* or companion on its drapery. The divinity it at first referred to was the Sun. The new banner was guarded by a special troop of soldiers who at some moment on the orders of the emperor had their shields marked out by an emblem that was the same as the sign on the banner, which, now, referred to Christ. It was but a small group and its military value must have been equally small in comparison with the moral or religious value it provided for the emperor. With their *labarum*, as the banner

⁹ Alföldi 1939, op. cit. (n. 8), 236-239.

¹⁰ For the meaning of *andreia* (*virtus*) see F. Heim, *Virtus. Idéologie politique et croyances religieuses au IVe siècle* (Paris 1991), 9-12; 17-18; idem, *La théologie de la victoire de Constantin à Théodose* (Paris 1992), 39-42; 64; esp. 98-105 (Constantine's *signum*). The authenticity of the inscription cited by Eusebius has been questioned by, among others, Kuhoff 1991, op. cit. (n. 7), 176-177; Thümmel 1998, op. cit. (n. 7), 178; Th. Grünwald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus. Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössischen Überlieferung*. Historia Einzelschr. 64 (Stuttgart 1990), 70-71. In my view these doubts are unwarranted. The inscription is ambiguous, for 'the real proof of *virtus*' could be interpreted as the *vexillum* itself as the sign in which the Divine Power (*Virtus*) resided, or it could, in the eyes of Christians who recognized a cross-shape in the sign, point to Christ's courage in overcoming Death by his suffering and resurrection. Eusebius in any case highly valued the sign in the hand of the statue and the inscription that belonged to it, for he refers to them repeatedly: *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9.9.10-11; 10.4.16 (speech at the dedication of the church at Tyre); *De Laudibus Constantini* 9.8 (in the *Tricennialian Oration* of 335); *Vita Constantini* 1.40.

¹¹ Thus, among others, Alföldi 1939, op. cit. (n. 8), 237-238. See also R. Egger, 'Das Labarum, die Kaiserstandarte der Spätantike', *Sitzungsberichte Wien, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 234 (1960) 1, 3-26, esp. 11.

was called, these soldiers constituted the first open manifestation of Constantine's embrace of Christianity. In fact, it was a manifestation on a small scale, one could almost say: timid. In that respect it resembled Constantine's coinage policy, for his coins too remained overwhelmingly but not exclusively non-Christian in design, which may have resulted from a still existing lack of Christian imperial iconography¹². I have no doubt that Constantine was a Christian from at least 312 and probably from already 311 on, but he could use one language when speaking to the bishops, for many years he used another, much more subdued and circumspect, when addressing the army or the public at large.

To start with, we have no need for the wonderful vision in the sky, be it a special constellation of the planets at night - as has been suggested¹³ - or a halo around the sun in the afternoon.¹⁴ That is not to say that Constantine at some point did not see anything in the sky which seemed to him out of the ordinary - he might very well have or at least have imagined so, for as we shall see, in the years 310-312 he probably had some reason to look up at the sun with more than usual attention - but we do not need a solar or heavenly vision on his part to explain what happened. There are at least two arguments for this. First: a halo or any similarly spectacular phenomenon must have been noticed by many more people - indeed, Eusebius says that the whole army witnessed it - but that makes one wonder how Constantine could have presented his divine inspiration as being known only to him or at least to an extremely small circle. For that is implied by the panegyric orator in Trèves in 313, who, looking back on Constantine's victory the year before, says in phrases that must have had the stamp of official approval that the emperor had been prompted by an inner divine force known only to himself and at variance with the advice of his officers and *haruspices*.¹⁵ This is surely incompatible with a wonderful sign in the sky seen by many.¹⁶ Second: the 'sign of Christ' on both the shields and the labarum was the Chi-Rho monogram or Christogram (on which see below) and I fail to understand

¹² See Hekster 1999, op.cit. (n. 7).

¹³ M. Dimajo, J. Zeuge & N. Zotov, 'Ambiguitas Constantiniana: the Caeleste Signum Dei of Constantine the Great', *Byzantion* 58 (1988), 233-260.

¹⁴ Recently: P. Weiss, 'Die Vision Constantins', in: J. Bleicken & K. Bringmann, *Colloquium aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstages von Alfred Heuss* (Kallmünz 1993), 143-169, arguing for a date of the solar vision in 310 and combining that vision with the revelation of Apollo in the sanctuary at Grand as described by *Panegyrici Latini* 6.21.3-7 in the same year.

¹⁵ *Panegyrici Latini* 12. 2.2-5

¹⁶ R. MacMullen, *Constantine* (New York 1969), 73: "...if the sky-writing was witnessed by forty thousand men, the true miracle lies in their unbroken silence about it".

how anyone could have seen such a sign in or above the sun, halo or not. In fact, Eusebius speaks of a cross of light above the sun and then goes on to tell us that the copy to be made of it was the Chi-Rho monogram on top of the labarum. The latter certainly, as a vexillum, as we have seen, was cross-shaped, but its essential feature, the Christogram, which made it into the banner of Christ, had in itself little to do with the shape of the cross. Indeed, Eusebius places the Christogram in a crown of precious stones and gold on top of the pole, thereby destroying any cross-shape that the labarum as a vexillum would have had.

Eusebius' sacred tale of a light cross in the sky with the words of God ("By this conquer!") and of Christ appearing to the emperor in a dream to instruct him to make the labarum, largely evaporates as a source of historical information. To the solar vision I shall come back once more at the end of this contribution. The dream mentioned here might to some extent be a copy or a reflection of the dream attributed to Constantine by Lactantius, whose version of the events must have been known to the emperor and may be assumed to have influenced Constantine's memory when many years later he spoke to Eusebius. Alternatively, the story of the dream arose with Eusebius as a, to his mind, completely normal explanation of such a momentous innovation as the introduction of the first Christian banner in the Roman army. Dreams and visions, portents and oracles were, after all, the language of the day. It was an explanation given all the more readily by Eusebius if he had some knowledge of the dream that Licinius had proclaimed as the inspiration for his prayer to the *summus deus* in 313. That latter dream has every appearance of being a piece of official propaganda made on the occasion of a decisive battle and both Lactantius and Eusebius may have felt the need to attribute a similar dream to Constantine when writing their versions of this emperor's appeal to the Christian god a little later, in 314/5 and 337/9 respectively.¹⁷ What is left to us as the hard core of Eusebius' information, then, is his description in the *Life of Constantine* of the new imperial banner or labarum. In fact, he had already, in his 'Church History', unwittingly hinted at its existence, as we have seen above, when he mentioned the 'sign of the cross' in the hand of Constantine's statue, a sign

¹⁷ Licinius' dream might have been a piece of official propaganda, at any rate the prayer for his army 'can scarcely be a complete invention': J.L. Creed, *Lactantius. De Mortibus Persecutorum* (Oxford 1984), XLV. For imperial dreams generally see G. Weber, *Kaiser, Träume und Visionen in Prinzipat und Spätantike*. Historia Einzelschr. 143 (Stuttgart 2000), 273-296 ; for the contemporary climate of ready belief in 'the irrational': R. MacMullen, 'Constantine and the Miraculous', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968), 81-96.

that must in reality have been a *vexillum* of some very special importance and should in my view be identified with an early form of the labarum.

In the case of Lactantius' story there is no mention of a banner but solely of shields that were to receive the sign or *nota* of Christ. We are told that Constantine, at a moment when the outcome of the war against Maxentius hung in the balance, on the eve of the decisive battle, had a dream in which he was instructed to apply 'the heavenly sign of God' to the shields and doing so he put the *nota* of Christ onto the shields: *Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus ut caeleste signum dei notaret in scutis atque ita proelium committeret. Facit ut iussus est et TRANSVERSA X LITTERA, SUMMO CAPITE CIRCUMFLEXO, Christum in scutis notat.*¹⁸ The words, which I have written out in capitals are most often understood as 'the letter X turned upside and curved at the top', which would yield a cross-sign (+) with a loop at the upper end of the vertical bar. This sign is the so-called staurogram and occurs in fragments of New Testament manuscripts already before 312 as a contraction of tau and rho; preceded and followed by a sigma it forms the *nomen sacrum* 'stauros' or 'cross'.¹⁹ I do not believe, however, that this sign, standing alone, could in 312 be interpreted as 'Christ' or, for that matter, as 'the heavenly sign of God': even if the *nota* on the shields were this staurogram it could not have referred to either Gods 'heavenly sign' or to the name of Christ but at most to the cross and only indirectly to Christ. Yet we are told that Constantine *Christum in scutis notat*. I have little doubt that by this Lactantius meant the first two letters of the name of Christ, i.e. the Christogram, just like it was described later on top of the labarum by Eusebius. Only the Christogram could in that time have functioned as a *nota* or shorthand for the name of Christ. It is shown clearly, albeit in miniature, on Constantine's helmet on the famous silver medallion from Ticinum dating from 315, one year or less after Lactantius wrote.²⁰ Three coin issues from Siscia, dating from 319, show the same sign on the side of the emperor's

¹⁸ Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 44.5.

¹⁹ M. Black, 'The Chi-Rho Sign – Christogram and/or Staurogram ?' in: W.W. Gasque & R.P. Martin, eds., *Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F.F. Bruce* (Grand Rapids 1970), 319-327; W. Wischmeyer, 'Christogramm und Staurogramm in den lateinischen Inschriften altkirchlicher Zeit', in: C. Andresen & G. Klein, Hg., *Theologia Crucis – Signum Crucis. Festschrift für Erich Dinkler* (Tübingen 1979), 539-550; H.R. Seeliger, 'Die Verwendung des Christogramms durch Konstantin im Jahre 312', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 100 (1989), 149-168.

²⁰ K. Kraft, 'Das Silbermedallion Constantins des Grossen mit dem Christusmonogramm auf dem Helm', *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 5/6 (1954/55), 151-178 = H. Kraft, Hg., *Konstantin der Grosse* (Darmstadt 1974), 297-344; Leeb 1992, op. cit. (n. 7), 29-42; Thümmel 1998, op. cit. (n. 7), 165-169.

helmet.²¹ Moreover, all the evidence from various monuments showing the labarum and/or the shields has the Christogram for a design and not a stauogram (see below). Then how are the words *TRANSVERSA ...CIRCUMFLEXO* to be explained? One could assume that Lactantius simply blundered and described a stauogram where a Christogram would have been in order, but that would perhaps be unfair to the rhetor. More to the point has been the suggestion that the words in question are an interpolation that has crept into the text of the manuscript from a gloss in the margin made by some pious reader later in the 4th or 5th century when indeed a stauogram could symbolically refer to the Crucified Christ.²² Alternatively, the word *TRANSVERSA*, translated here as ‘turned upside’, might already in Lactantius’ text be understood as ‘pierced through’, in which case the meaning would be a X crossed in the middle by a vertical bar with a curve at the top, i.e. the Christogram. This latter interpretation, however, is usually rejected on philological grounds, which leaves us with the interpolation as the most plausible solution.²³ Lactantius, then, most probably wrote: *Facit ut iussus est et Christum in scutis notat.*

According to Lactantius the shields of Constantine’s soldiers received the new design shortly before the battle, one presumes in the early morning after the emperor had woken up from his dream, if not already in the preceding hours of the night. This, of course, we do not have to believe.²⁴

²¹ Bruun 1962, op. cit. (n. 7), 10-14.

²² The suggestion was made by J. Rougé, ‘À propos du manuscrit du De Mortibus Persecutorum’, in: *Lactance et son temps. Recherches actuelles. Actes du IVe colloque d’études historiques et patristiques. Chantilly 21-23 septembre 1976* (= *Théologie Historique* 48), 13-23, who, however, himself did not prefer it; it was accepted by, among others, T.D. Barnes, ‘The Conversion of Constantine’, *Echos du Monde Classique* 29 (1985), 371-391, esp. 383-384; K.M. Girardet, ‘Die Konstantinische Wende und ihre Bedeutung für das Reich. Althistorische Überlegungen zu den geistigen Grundlagen der Religionspolitik Konstantins d. Gr.’, in: E. Mühlberg, Hg., *Die Konstantinische Wende* (Gütersloh 1998), 9-122, esp. 25, n. 56 and 42. For the wider use of the stauogram and the cross later in the 4th and 5th centuries: Wischmeyer 1979, op. cit. (n. 19), 539-540; 549-550.

²³ I refrain from judgement on the philological question of *transversa*. I find it highly improbable, however, that Lactantius described a stauogram while somehow ‘meaning’ a christogram, as Seeliger 1989, op. cit. (n. 19), 155 and Thümmel 1998, op. cit. (n. 7), 157 suggest.

²⁴ J. Vogt, ‘Die Bedeutung des Jahres 312 für die Religionspolitik Konstantins des Grossen’, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 61 (1942), 171-190 = H. Kraft, Hg., *Konstantin der Grosse* (Darmstadt 1974), 247-272, esp. 268, argued that the signs were painted on the shields for the occasion and were not meant to be lasting emblems, referring to Caesar, *Bellum Alexandrinum* 58.3; 59.1 and Cassius Dio 42.15.5 for a parallel during the Civil Wars: some troops of Caesar in Spain rebelled against his legate and painted the name of Pompey on their shields, only to erase it again when some of their allies objected to such a political statement. To my mind the situation of Constantine in 312 can hardly be compared with this. The Christian monogram was a sacred sign of quite another status than the name of a military leader and would not have been erased so quickly. But

Nor is it credible that at some other point in time, perhaps already during the preparations for the campaign in 311, the whole army – let us say some 30,000 men – were instructed to change the blazons of their shields. Roman shield blazons were not that easily changed and certainly not for a whole army at the same time. And if such a drastic change had occurred, it would surely have left some trace in the record. But neither in the pagan historians, nor in monuments as the Arch of Constantine, fitted out in 315, with all its military scenes, is there any trace of a Christian sign to be found. Nor is it likely that, if not the whole army, perhaps some particular unit might have received new shield emblems. We know that Constantine, ever since his rise to power in 306, but particularly after his elimination of Maximian and his rupture with Maxentius in 310, had been busy amassing troops. Indeed, the mobile field army of the Late Empire owes many of its core units to the *legiones*, *auxilia* and *vexillationes* recruited by Constantine in Gaul and along the Rhine.²⁵ But considering the conservative nature of shield designs one would, again, expect such a strikingly new emblem, particularly one that so clearly proclaimed the triumph of Christianity, to leave some traces in our record. But there is nothing. Especially the collection of some 200 shield emblems in the manuscript of the *Notitia Dignitatum* of the beginning of the fifth century is revealing for the complete absence therein of any Christian design.²⁶ Since most of the units of Constantine's army of 312 survived, at least on paper, for a century or more, I find it hard to believe that in that year there had been an *auxilium* or *vexillatio* with so outspokenly a Christian emblem that had mysteriously disappeared in the years thereafter.

Yet there were, in 312 and later, some soldiers with shields showing Christograms for their emblems. We can see them on a few monuments. A coin from 321 showing Constantine's son Crispus with the Christogram on his shield does not prove very much; Crispus had been too young to participate in the war of 312 and his shield with the Christian emblem on the coin of 321 should probably be interpreted more symbolically as pointing to Christ's

it is very unlikely that all the shields in the army would have taken over the new emblem, for that certainly would have interfered with the function of shield blazons to distinguish various units (for which see Ammianus Marcellinus 16.12.6; Vegetius 2.18.1-2). See also Kuhoff 1991, op. cit. (n. 7), 173 n.124.

²⁵ D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum* (Düsseldorf 1969), 131-208; R.S. Cromwell, *The Rise and Decline of the Late Roman Field Army* (Shippensburg PA 1998), 5-12.

²⁶ This remains significant even if a large proportion of the blazons as depicted in the manuscript are fictitious, as argued by R. Grigg, 'Inconsistency and lassitude: the shield emblems of the *Notitia Dignitatum*', *Journal of Roman Studies* 73 (1983), 132-142.

favour for the young prince than to his actually having such a shield.²⁷ But at least the connection between the Christogram and a shield is there. More to the point, the so-called Niello cup from St. Petersburg has a soldier marching behind the emperor Constantius II and armed with a shield that clearly has the Chi-Rho monogram depicted on it, while a silver plate with, probably, Valentinian II, shows the labarum but no shields with the christogram.²⁸ A little later there is the base of the column of Arcadius at Constantinople, known only from an 18th century drawing. Here soldiers with clearly decorated shields follow the two emperors Arcadius and Honorius in two symmetrically composed groups. Of both groups the soldier closest to his emperor has a shield with the Christian monogram, while in the lower panels labarums are shown in the shape of *vexilla* with the Chi-Rho sign on the cloth.²⁹ What we have, then, is imperial bodyguards or at least some very special soldiers in the immediate proximity of the emperor, equipped with shields that show the Christian blazon.

The testimony of Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine* on the labarum guarded by a small elite force of fifty men in my view points to the close connection between the sacred banner and the shields born by its guardians.³⁰ Constantine, I believe, created these shield-bearers around his new banner, for the latter was to function not as an ordinary military *vexillum* but as a visible guarantee that the Highest God or rather the Force of His human-shaped Emanation, Christ, was there to protect the emperor and his realm. Both banner and shields bore the Chi-Rho sign, a *nota* that was, according to Lactantius, at the same time ‘the heavenly sign of God’. We have now to ask what that expression – *caeleste signum dei* – means. It is either ‘God’s sign in heaven’ or, metaphorically, ‘God’s divine sign’. I find the latter meaning rather pleonastic and have little doubt that Lactantius meant ‘the sign of God in heaven’ or ‘in the sky’. What sign could that be? Not, to my mind, a cross of light as Eusebius was later to describe the emperor’s vision, if only because

²⁷ Cf. Bruun 1962, op. cit. (n. 7), 17.

²⁸ Niello cup: Seeliger 1989, op. cit. (n. 19), Abb. 8 opposite p. 165 (St Petersburg, Ermitage); missorium of Valentinian: *Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*. Exposition Catalogue (Rome 2000), 576, ill. 258 (Genève, Musée d’Art et d’Histoire). Compare also the so-called Somerville Gem, showing the triumphal procession of an unknown 4th century emperor with the labarum prominently at his side: D. Nicolle & A. McBride, *Romano-Byzantine Armies, 4th-9th centuries* (London 1992), 7.

²⁹ A good illustration in Nicolle-McBride 1992, op. cit. (n. 28), 12; also: *Aurea Roma* 2000, op. cit. (n. 28), 610.

³⁰ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 2.8. The guards were presumably recruited from the imperial *protectores*. One wonders what, if any, connection there might have been between these elite *protectores* and the special corps of *candidati*, first attested in 350: Ammianus Marcellinus 15.5.16.

of the fact that a cross was not what was depicted on the shields. In my view it was the sun, that is to say: not the sun itself but a sign representing the sun.

The sun could be looked upon as a sign of the *summus deus* in the henotheistic beliefs current among educated people at the time. As such he could be seen as standing to the Supreme Deity in more or less the same relationship as Christ stood to the Father. A very common sign for the sun was the eight-, six- or four-armed star, known among various peoples, from the Celts in the West to the Iranians in the East.³¹ Christians could identify such a solar sign with Christ, Himself the Sol Salutis and the Light in the darkness of this world.³² More literally, the six-armed star could also be interpreted as a Chrismon or Iota-Chi monogram for *Iêsous Christós*, as occurred certainly later in the fourth century and probably already before 312.³³ When Constantine had the *caeleste signum dei* put onto the shields, thereby producing a shorthand for the name of Christ, he either had a real vision of the sun or a sign in the shape of a four- or six-armed star to work from. To derive a Christogram from the very real and visible sun in the sky would have required a lot of adaptation and interpretation, for a connection between the two was far from obvious. But if the emperor had already such a sign on his new banner he now had only to have a loop added at the top of the vertical bar or to add such a bar going through the middle of the 'star' in order to change it into the Christian monogram. I believe that this is what happened. The banner, i.e. the labarum, was already there as solar emblem. At some point, no doubt under the influence of some learned Christians in the emperor's entourage, that emblem was, quite easily, made into the Christogram.³⁴

We must take into account the strong probability that Constantine's introduction of his new banner together with its guards should be dated to the period of preparations for his campaign against Maxentius. To raise new army units, to train and to equip them must have taken considerable time, perhaps a

³¹ A. Roes, 'An Iranian Standard Used as a Christian Symbol', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 57 (1937), 248-251; M. Green & J. Ferguson, 'Constantine, Sun-symbols and the Labarum', *Durham University Journal* 49 (1987), 9-17.

³² See, among others, Girardet 1998, op. cit. (n. 22), 40 and n. 127.

³³ W. Seston, 'La vision païenne de 310 et les origines du chrisme constantinien', *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Brussels 1936), 373-395, esp. 384-391. A well-known example from the later 4th century on a sarcophagus in Istanbul (the *chrismon* held by two flanking angels): *Aurea Roma* 2000, op. cit. (n. 28), 393 (cf. Weiss 1993, op. cit. [n. 14], Abb. 2,5).

³⁴ Something to this effect was already suggested by Roes 1937, op. cit. (n. 31) and by Seston 1936, op. cit. (n. 33), 390; J.J. Hatt, 'La vision de Constantin au sanctuaire de Grand et l'origine celtique du labarum', *Latomus* 9 (1960), 427-436 (suggesting that Constantine saw in the Gallic sanctuary in 310 a statue of Apollo as a horseman with a labarum-like standard in his hand); see also Green-Ferguson 1987, op. cit. (n. 31), 14.

few years. The probably Celtic etymology of the word *labarum* also points to Gaul and to the period up to the spring of 312, when the expedition against Maxentius started, as the region and the time of its origin.³⁵ It is tempting, then, to connect that origin with Constantine's earlier choice for the Sun-god as his divine companion in 310. The anonymous panegyric oration of that year tells us of Constantine's vision of Apollo in the Gallic temple near Grand. It does not matter much in this context whether or not Constantine really saw anything out of the ordinary in that sanctuary.³⁶ What is important here is that the emperor is officially said to have recognized himself in the appearance of the god; in other words, Constantine wanted it to be known that he, the emperor, had the features of the Sun-god. Perhaps this stress on physical likeness was an attempt to make his claim of 'companionship' with Sol the more credible.³⁷ In any case, it is certain that from 310 onwards the Sun as *Sol Invictus* figured prominently on Constantine's coinage, while the solar attribute of *Invictus* became a regular ingredient of the imperial titulature.³⁸ At the same time, the panegyric of 310 publicized a new lineage: Constantine, the orator now dares to reveal, was descended from Claudius II, the warrior-emperor who had also been a devotee of Sol. All this, of course, had political significance, for it signalled Constantine's break with the political and theological system of the Tetrarchy, coming as it did just after the death or enforced suicide of Maximian.

It was in this context, then, that I think Constantine introduced his new banner or *vexillum*, guarded by a troop of elite imperial bodyguards. Perhaps the basic innovation was precisely this: to conjure up by the device of the *labarum* the presence of the Divine Companion to ensure victory in battle. That the emperor would be protected and sustained in battle by the gods, especially by the traditional *dii militares* Jupiter, Mars and Victoria, was a familiar idea, but the *signa* of the various units, equipped with the *imagines* of these gods, functioned more like rallying points and signalling instruments in the field

³⁵ Egger 1960, op. cit. (n. 11), 14-17; 20; Barnes 1985, op. cit. (n. 22), 387.

³⁶ For Constantine's 'pagan vision' of 310 see, among others: B.Saylor Rodgers, 'Constantine's Pagan Vision', *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 259-278; Grünewald 1990, op. cit. (n. 10), 50-54; C.E.V. Nixon & B. Saylor Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors* (Berkeley 1994), 211-253; Heim 1991, op. cit. (n. 10), 14-17; S.N.C. Lieu & D. Montserrat, *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views* (London 1996), 63-96.

³⁷ Compare the well-known gold medallion of 313 showing Constantine and the Sun-god as practically identical twins: (e.g.) Girardet 1998, op. cit. (n. 22), Abb. 30.

³⁸ Seston, op. cit. (n. 33), 384-391; Vogt 1955, op. cit. (n. 7), 373-378; M.R. Alföldi, 'Die Sol Comes – Münze vom Jahre 325', in: *Mullus. Festschrift für Theodor Klauser* (Münster 1964), 10-16; Grünewald 1990, op. cit. (n. 10), 46-61; Leeb 1992, op. cit. (n. 7), 9-12; 21-26.

than like religious objects meant to install the confidence that divine help was present. Jupiter's eagle too had long become the soul of the legion to which it was attached and was no longer a device to enforce the high god's presence. Moreover, these traditional war-gods, closely connected with their visible symbols on the *signa*, had suffered substantially in appeal since victory had in the course of the 3rd century ceased to be the natural companion of Roman arms. The rise of Sol Invictus as the emperor's Companion in war, especially under Claudius II, Aurelian and Probus, can be seen as partly filling this gap, while the need for a tangible presence of the deity on campaign reflects perhaps the revival of certain archaic notions that can be observed more widely in the second half of the third century.³⁹ Yet it remains unknown where Constantine got the idea to introduce the Sun-god in the shape of the labarum at his side. We do know, however, that before 305 he had spent many years in the East, both in the army and at court. The story that the emperor Aurelian had seen an apparition of the Sun-god during his final battle against Zenobia's army in 272 was, if historical, probably known to him and provides a certain parallel. Participating in the campaign of Galerius against the Persians in 297 Constantine might very well have become acquainted with Persian banners as well. Already in Achaemenid times the Persians had various banners for army units as well as a royal banner accompanying the person of the king. Among the former were X-shaped designs, while on the latter figured the winged shape of an eagle.⁴⁰ Under the Sassanids there were regimental banners, royal banners (changing with every rule), and an imperial banner of mythical origin and carried by a small troop of *mopeds* or priestly nobles.⁴¹

The idea of an exclusively imperial banner, which was at the same time a personal banner for the emperor who introduced it and on which the safety of both emperor and empire was believed to depend, might very well have occurred to Constantine from his memory of these Persian institutions, when in Gaul in 310 he entered into a new politico-theological relationship with the Sun-god. For the demise of Maximian in that year disqualified the

³⁹ For the revival of archaic religious notions: G. Alföldy, 'Die Krise des Imperium Romanum und die Religion Roms', in: W. Eck, Hg., *Religion und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Kolloquium zu Ehren von Friedrich Vittinghoff* (Cologne/Vienna 1989), 53-102, esp. 87-94; for the crisis in the traditional religion and the need for an all-powerful god as helper in war, also: Heim 1992, op. cit. (n. 10), 25-27.

⁴⁰ Iranian standards: F. Sarre, 'Die altorientalischen Feldzeichen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung eines unveröffentlichten Stückes', *Klio* 3 (1903), 333-371, esp. 344-361; Roes 1937, op. cit. (n. 31); C. Nylander, 'The standard of the Great king – a problem in the Alexander Mosaic', *Opuscula Romana* 14 (1983), 19-37.

⁴¹ Sarre 1903, op. cit. (n. 40), 356-360; Nylander 1983, op. cit. (n. 40), 27.

whole theological fabric of the Tetrarchy with its bonds between Jupiter and Hercules on the one side and the Augusti of the first and second rank respectively on the other. In 310 Constantine could no longer be *Herculius* and did not want to be *Iovius*, for that title would have been too provocative towards the other emperors in the East at a moment when a war with Maxentius loomed on the horizon. Besides, these gods were all too familiar and, ultimately, no longer inspiring the confidence needed for an attempt at attaining the highest power. Constantine, therefore, had to create another divine relationship that would not only legitimise his rule but also provide help and protection in the wars that he knew lied ahead. That it was the gods or rather the 'highest god' alone who bestowed the imperial power on whom they chose, was part of the imperial ideology at the time. So Constantine turned to the Sun-god, the Unconquerable, who had long favoured his devotees in battle, as Aurelian and Constantine's so-called ancestor Claudius II had already known. An inner circle received knowledge of his 'vision' of Apollo, after which, perhaps already in 310 or later in 311, the new banner with its special guard made its appearance in his army. Not only the idea might be ultimately derived from Sassanid Persia, the solar connections and even the design on the cloth of the banner too could well be Iranian in origin.⁴² But in Gaul it was easily assimilated to other four-, or six-armed solar signs. Here too, probably, it received its Gallic name *labarum*.

Then, at some moment, the sign was changed into the Christian monogram. That could have been most easily done, as we saw, by adding a loop to the top of the vertical bar in a six-armed star or by piercing a four-armed star through the middle with a vertical bar curved at the top. Only a minority of soldiers in the army would have realized that the new sign was an abbreviation of the name of Christ, for to the vast majority the sign must still have looked very much like that of the Sun.⁴³ When this happened is unknown, but I prefer to think that it was after the edict of Galerius, which also bore Constantine's name, had been issued in April 311, putting Christianity on the same level as the traditional cults of the Roman state – or perhaps as late as at the beginning of Constantine's Italian campaign in the spring of 312.⁴⁴ It proclaimed the fact – but to a relatively small circle – that

⁴² Roes 1937, op. cit. (n. 31); also M. Rostovtzeff, 'Vexillum and Victory', *Journal of Roman Studies* 32 (1942), 92-106, esp. 104 (the *labarum* as a continuation of the religious banners – in the shape of *vexilla* – venerated in especially the eastern provinces).

⁴³ Green – Ferguson 1987, op. cit. (n. 31), 15-16.

⁴⁴ The significance of Galerius' edict in this respect is rightly stressed by Girardet 1998, op. cit. (n. 22), 37-39.

Constantine now saw Christ as his companion instead of the traditional Sun-god. How he came to this step we shall never know. We may accept, I believe, his own assertion, later, that he had been trying to find the 'real' god of his father Constantius before he received his revelation about Christ.⁴⁵ This god could in his eyes no longer have been Hercules or Jupiter, whereas the Sun-god too had been discredited by the persecuting emperors of the East who had venerated him next to Jupiter and Mars. Constantine had himself seen the turmoil and the bloodshed of the Great Persecution in the East till 305 and had ended every anti-Christian measure in his domains as soon as he became emperor in the western provinces in 306. Galerius' cancellation of the persecutions in April 311 could be seen as an admission of defeat, in which case not only the traditional Jupiter but also the Sun-god had shown themselves to be inferior to the god of the Christians.⁴⁶ For someone who clearly aspired to the supreme position of imperial power the capitulation and inglorious end of Galerius in 311 must have given food for thought. The God of the Christians had proved himself to be a match for the gods of the Roman state in whose midst He was now officially admitted. Moreover, Maxentius, ruler of Italy, the Alpine provinces and Africa, had been tolerant and generous towards the Christians in his realm, with the result that the rich and large community of Rome itself should have no special reason to prefer Constantine over Maxentius as long as both were perceived to be pagans; presumably it could be expected to pray for the latter as the ruler who had benefited the Christians and thus to invoke the awesome power of the Christian God against Constantine. In 311 war between Maxentius and Constantine was in the air, while the rulers of the East, Licinius and Maximinus, were positioning themselves on either side. The Sun to whom Constantine had turned in 310, therefore, may have lost some of his exclusive attractiveness already when, I presume, it occurred to him that Christ, in Whom the Supreme Deity of the

⁴⁵ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.27. Already in his letter to the synod at Arles in 314 Constantine speaks of a clear break in his life between the past and the present, cf. Girardet 1998, op. cit. (n. 22), 28. Such statements make it hard to believe that Constantine had been a Christian all his life, as was suggested by T.G. Elliott, 'Constantine's conversion: do we really need it?', *Phoenix* 41 (1987), 420-438. Certainly, in his later years Constantine interpreted his own life as driven all along by the Christian God Who had chosen him from the start: T.G. Elliott, 'Constantine's explanation of his career', *Byzantion* 62 (1992), 212-234.

⁴⁶ In 306 Constantine had immediately put an end to whatever lingered on of the Great Persecution in the West: Barnes 1985, op. cit. (n. 22), 44-46. The significance of the failure of the Great Persecution for Constantine's move to distance himself from the gods of the Tetrarchy is well pointed out by P. Barceló, 'Zur Begegnung, Konfrontation und Symbiose von religio Romana und Christentum', in: G. Gottlieb & P. Barceló, Hg., *Christen und Heiden in Staat und Gesellschaft des zweiten bis vierten Jahrhunderts* (Munich 1992), 151-209, esp. 163-169.

Christians had taken human form, was related to that High God in the same way as the sun could be seen to be the visible manifestation of the *summus deus*. Christians in his entourage probably encouraged his thinking in that direction. The bishops of the cities of Arles, Autun and Cologne, along the great commercial and military road from the Mediterranean to the Rhine, were all of them visited by the emperor and in their turn attended his court, probably more than once.⁴⁷ It is tempting to think that it was one of them who suggested to Constantine that the solar sign on his new labarum could easily be changed into an abbreviation of Christ, for the sign was already the *caeleste signum dei* and the addition of a curved pole would make it more clearly into the *nota* of Christ. It has been said that Lactantius in his short description of Constantine's dream and of the new sign on the shields had no knowledge of the labarum.⁴⁸ But if my reconstruction is correct, it was precisely the labarum, to be identified as the *caeleste signum dei* that was depicted as a new shield design. When he had been convinced that the solar emblem 'was' already the sign of Christ but that it could be made more clearly the emblem of this god by adding a small loop, it occurred to Constantine also to adorn the shields of the special guard with the same design. Perhaps that happened at the same time in Gaul in 311 or in the spring of 312, but it could equally well have taken place later during the campaign of 312 and perhaps even not long before the final battle, as Lactantius implies. In any case, for the Christian rhetorician the *caeleste signum dei* was already there in the shape of the new banner, and it was the appearance of the same powerful sign on the shields that in his presentation of the events brought about the crowning victory.

What we can be sure of, is that it was this victory of 28 October 312 that not only confirmed in the eyes of Constantine the rightness of his choice for Christ, but that also elevated the labarum to the rank of a semi-mystical sacred object, charged with Divine Power.⁴⁹ This was the sign of Christ and especially of Christ as the God of Battles, of the Force that had chosen Constantine and had pushed and driven him from victory to victory, all along from the first beginnings in Britain in 306, as he now came to see it, to Rome in 312 and further to 324 and the defeat of Licinius, the reunification of the

⁴⁷ As was pointed out by W. Eck at the conference in Rome, March 2002 (it was not by chance that Constantine chose these three Gallic bishops to attend the hearing of the Donatists in Rome in 313); Girardet 1998, op. cit. (n. 22), 39 n. 124, though, is doubtful about the influence of these bishops.

⁴⁸ E.g. Leeb 1992, op. cit. (n. 7), 46-47. Consequently Leeb dates the introduction of the labarum after 312, even as late as 324. Elsewhere, though, Lactantius is well aware of the symbolic significance of the military *signa*: *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 26.8; 27.3.

⁴⁹ Heim 1991, op. cit. (n. 10), 19-27; idem 1992, op. cit. (n. 10), 98-105.

empire and even beyond that to a possible great war with Persia. Years later Eusebius gives us his description of the sign in connection with his account of the emperor's vision of the light cross above the sun. In that form – a shaft with the Chi-Rho monogram set in a bejewelled crown on its top just above the cloth of the *vexillum* and hung with the medallions of the emperor and the Caesars his sons – it must date from at least 317 or later. On coins its first appearance is in 326.⁵⁰ It is often supposed that the labarum was actually introduced only in or after 317 or even as late as 324, but that is based on the supposition that its shape must have been invariably the same. In fact, the labarum had some variety of shapes, its permanent elements being only the cloth or *vexillum* and the Chi-Rho monogram that was either stitched to the cloth or set in a gilded laurel wreath on top of the pole.⁵¹ When it had the Christian sign on its cloth and it was still without the medallions of the imperial family attached to it the labarum must have looked very much like a normal *vexillum*. As stated above, I believe that the 'cross' in the hand of Constantine's Roman statue was in fact such a *vexillum* and thus the earliest known form of the labarum. In that shape it was still shown on coins later in the fourth century and on the base of Arcadius' column at Constantinople. The labarum with the monogram in a gilded wreath on top was perhaps created only after the battle at the Milvian Bridge in October 312, the gilded laurel wreath functioning as an old-style Roman emblem of victory that also adorned many ordinary military *signa*. The specimen that Eusebius saw in the palace at Constantinople could very well have been the original labarum fashioned out with all the trappings that it had in later years acquired and treated, beset with gold and jewels as it was, like a most precious and sacred relic. Of its use in the wars between Constantine and Licinius in 316 and 324 Eusebius has a little more to tell, presumably because by then it had been used more confidently and hence more openly than at the time of its first appearance in 312 as a magico-religious device of great power. For Licinius too, we are told, was aware of its presence in the army of his adversary and had ordered his soldiers not to look at it directly, let alone attack it, whereas on his part Constantine had sent the awesome banner to every danger spot on the battlefield – with invariable success.⁵² Thus the Christian labarum mightily enhanced the

⁵⁰ Bruun 1962, op. cit. (n. 7), 21-27; Leeb 1992, op. cit. (n. 7), 43-48.

⁵¹ Green - Ferguson 1987, op. cit. (n. 31), 15-16; Leeb 1992, op. cit. (n. 7), 45.

⁵² Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 2.7-16. In the war against the Goths, as well, the labarum bestowed immediate victory: *Vita Constantini* 4.5. In his *Tricennialian Oration* of 335 Eusebius referred to the labarum repeatedly, stressing its apotropaic power and its inner divine force that guarantees victory: Heim 1992, op. cit. (n. 10), 67-87.

emperor's inherent quality of being ever victorious in war and became an attribute of the highest esteem of the now Christian Roman monarch. Understandably, various 4th century emperors show the banner on their coins.⁵³

During much of the 4th century, then, the labarum remained the symbol of the Roman emperor's victorious qualities in war. The sign with the powerful monogram on its top or on its cloth was a guarantee of the presence of the Divine Force that would bring victory to the pious emperor, God's servant. The task of the latter had now become primarily a priestly one: in prayer the emperor assured himself and his army of the Presence and hence of victory: no longer was the Emperor expected to commit himself personally to battle. Constantine himself contributed to his military successes by praying, like Moses with outstretched arms, and by bringing along on his campaigns a tent for Christian worship, filled with clergy, as a movable house of God. In the course of the 4th century we can see the emperors distancing themselves more and more from the actual battlefield. Julian is of course an exception and paid for this with his life but he was an anachronism in more than one respect. The trend could be seen in the behaviour of Constantius II at Mursa (350) or of Valens at Adrianople (378): while their armies were engaged in battle they spent their time in prayer at some distance behind the lines. Theodosius at the Frigidus (394) behaved likewise, standing with outstretched arms, visible to both armies, invoking the help of the God of Battles. The next step was for the emperor in time of war to stay at home altogether, so that his person could not be involved in any possible defeat of his troops. That behaviour became the rule from the death of Theodosius (395) till the accession of Maurice (582): while their generals were sent out to fight their wars, the ever-victorious Augusti remained in their palace at Constantinople. Perhaps already after Constantine the labarum had become more and more ceremonial in character and perhaps it had not even been carried into the field anymore after the death of its creator.⁵⁴ Certainly from 395 on this must have become the rule. It was then, if not already before, that the labarum acquired its purely ceremonial

⁵³ R. Grosse, 'Labarum', *RE* 12 (1925), 239-242; Egger 1960, op. cit. (n. 11), 9.

⁵⁴ Egger 1960, op. cit. (n. 11), 19. Eusebius tells us that Constantine had copies made of the labarum and sent to his armies (*Vita Constantini* 1.31). It is hard to see what this meant in practice. Presumably the *imagines* of the older gods were removed from the standards (cf. *Vita Constantini* 2.16) and replaced by Christograms or *vexilla* with that Christian sign. Julian then restored the *signa* to their former pagan quality (Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.17), a move that must certainly have been made undone under his successors, but after that we do not hear of the labarum in a military context any more. For practical purposes other signs and banners were used, especially the *bandon* from the 5th century onwards. Cf. R. Grosse, 'Die Fahnen in der römisch-byzantinischen Armee des 4.-10. Jahrhunderts', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 23/24 (1924), 359-372.

function, guarded by *praepositi* of senatorial rank from the early 5th century on, accompanying the emperors on their triumphal processions in the city or enhancing their majesty in the palace where as late as the 9th century two labarums flanked the imperial throne.⁵⁵ The guards too with the Christogram on their shields had become palace guards with presumably ceremonial functions, as we can see them on the grand mosaic of San Vitale in the presence of Justinian.

Finally, back to Constantine and his vision of the light cross in the sky as described by Eusebius. To repeat, it is not necessary for us to assume the reality of any meteorological or astronomical phenomenon, for the connection between sun or solar sign and Christian monogram could be and in my view had been made without it. But we can well imagine how the emperor, once he had turned to the Sun-god in 310 and especially since some Christian advisers probably had pointed out to him the resemblance between the sign for the sun and the monogram of Christ, supporting their view no doubt with the overall resemblance between the Sun and Christ as Sun of Righteousness and *Sol Salutis*, might really have looked up at the sky with more than usual attention and probed the sun in heaven for some visible sign: waiting for meaningful dreams, looking for signs and portents, searching out oracular texts, all this formed part of the decision-making process in any Roman government at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century.⁵⁶ So perhaps Constantine did see something which seemed to him a sign of Christ or perhaps he just imagined so when many years later he told his story, in 325 or even as late as 335, to bishop Eusebius⁵⁷. The victory of October 312 had surely confirmed the emperor in his choice for Christianity and ever after he had devoted much of his energy to the affairs of the Church with the zeal of an honest convert. But he was slow and very careful in proclaiming his new allegiance to the world at large. Looking back after he had become sole emperor to the long years from 306 to 324, it seemed to Constantine to have been a slow but steady progress from the western ends of the world to the eastern borders of his realm, from a position of one among four or five emperors to that of sole ruler, from a dim and vague groping for the 'real god' to the recognition of Christ and the reassuring knowledge of being elected by Him.⁵⁸ Precisely

⁵⁵ Grosse 1925, op. cit. (n. 53), 42; Egger 1960, op. cit. (n. 11), 13.

⁵⁶ Weber 2000, op. cit. (n. 17); MacMullen 1998, op. cit. (n. 17).

⁵⁷ For the occasions when Eusebius met or could have met with Constantine: T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge Mass. 1981), 266.

⁵⁸ Elliott 1992, op. cit. (n. 45), 212ff. Also (*passim*) H.A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops. The politics of intolerance* (Baltimore/London 2000).

because in his first years as emperor he had not been a Christian or at the very least had not made it clear to anybody that he might be, the psychological need in later years to mark a clear break between the old and the new and to emphasize in sharper lines what had in reality most probably been a blurred transition, transformed his decision of 311 or 312 to mark the labarum and the shields of the soldiers with the sign of Christ into a momentous 'conversion'. What exactly Constantine told Eusebius we cannot know. But we may be sure that what we read in the 'Life of Constantine' is also the bishop's interpretation of the emperor's words about Christ and the sun and the sign of Christ that had to be made into a banner. It may explain how the banner becomes, as usual with Eusebius, a cross.⁵⁹ Probably Eusebius even more than Constantine himself made the vision of the light cross into the turning-point of the emperor's reign and indeed of the history of the Church. Essentially, the story of the wonderful vision in the sky acquired the meaning that an imperial baptism would have had, for it gave the unbaptised emperor the authority to be the de facto leader of the Church. Whereas in his 'Church History' Eusebius had depicted Constantine as a second Moses leading his Chosen People, in his later works it is Christ himself who seems to suggest the parallels. The scene of the solar vision has some reminiscence of baptismal ritual, as has been observed.⁶⁰ Its prototype in my view was not Moses before the burning bush nor Paul on his way to Damascus, but Jesus baptised in the River Jordan. Parallel to the cross of light in Constantine's vision we have the dove descending in light on Jesus in the Gospel story; in the latter there is God's voice from heaven, in the former we have God's words written in the sky: By this Conquer! The words are symbolic and programmatic: Christian initiation had, through Constantine, acquired the trappings of Triumph.

Leiden, October 2002

⁵⁹ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.31.

⁶⁰ For the parallels with Moses see, among others, A. Cameron, 'Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* and the construction of Constantine', in: M.J. Edwards & S. Swain, eds., *Portraits. Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1997), 145-174. Leeb 1992, op. cit. (n. 7), 138, speaks of 'geistige Taufe'; for the imagery of baptism see: H. Montgomery, 'Konstantin, Paulus und das Lichtkreuz', *Symbolae Osloenses* 43 (1968), 84-109; F. Tiddia, 'Terminologia della luce e battesimo nelle iscrizioni greche cristiane', *Vetera Christianorum*. 38 (2001), 103-124.

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Andrew Wallace-Hadrill – The Streets of Rome as a Representation of Imperial Power

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Jon Coulston – Overcoming the Barbarian: Depictions of Rome's Enemies in Trajanic Monumental Art

Fig. 1. Campidoglio balustrade, Rome. Trophy sculpture in the round. Photograph: J.C.N. Coulston.

Fig. 2. Trajan's Column, Rome. Pedestal, north-eastern side. Detail of 'draco' standard (centre) surrounded by scale armour, helmets, oval shields and weaponry. Photograph: J.C.N. Coulston.

Fig. 3. Trajan's Column, Rome. Pedestal, south-eastern side. Detail of double-handed *falx*. Photograph: J.C.N. Coulston.

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- Fig. 5. Trajan's Column, Rome. Scene XXIV. Auxiliary soldiers presenting severed Dacian heads to Trajan. Photograph: J.C.N. Coulston.
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- Fig. 12. Trajan's Column, Rome. Scene C. Barbarian emissary groups meeting with Trajan. Left to right: men in long tunic and cap; in kaftan; mixed bare-chested and *nodus* with others in long tunic and cap. Photograph: Cichorius 1896-1900.
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Fig 2



Fig 3



Fig 4



Fig 5



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Fig 7



Fig 8



Fig 9



Fig 10



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Fig 12

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Fig 13



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Fig 18

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Fig 19



Fig 20



Fig 21



Fig 22

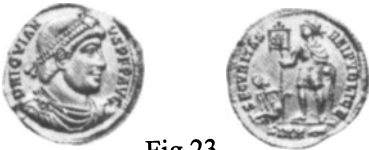


Fig 23



Fig 24



Fig 25



Fig 26

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Fig 29

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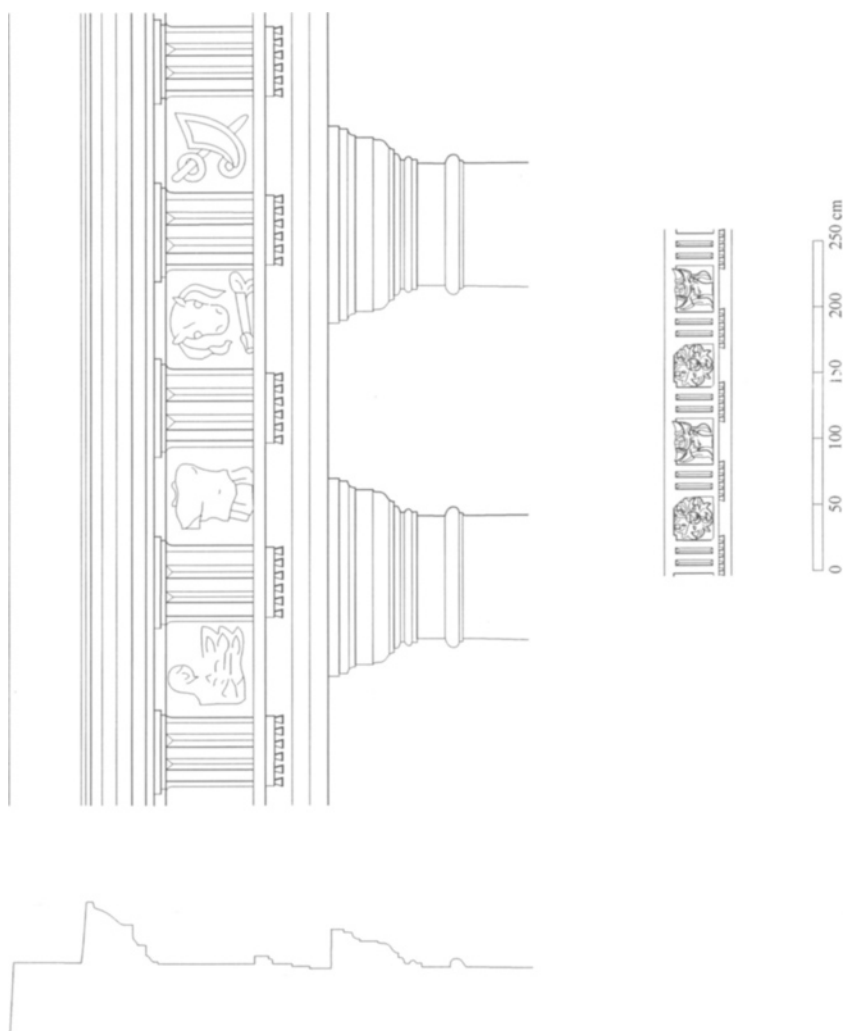


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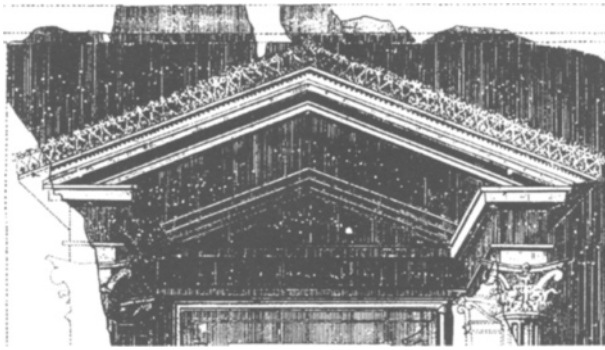


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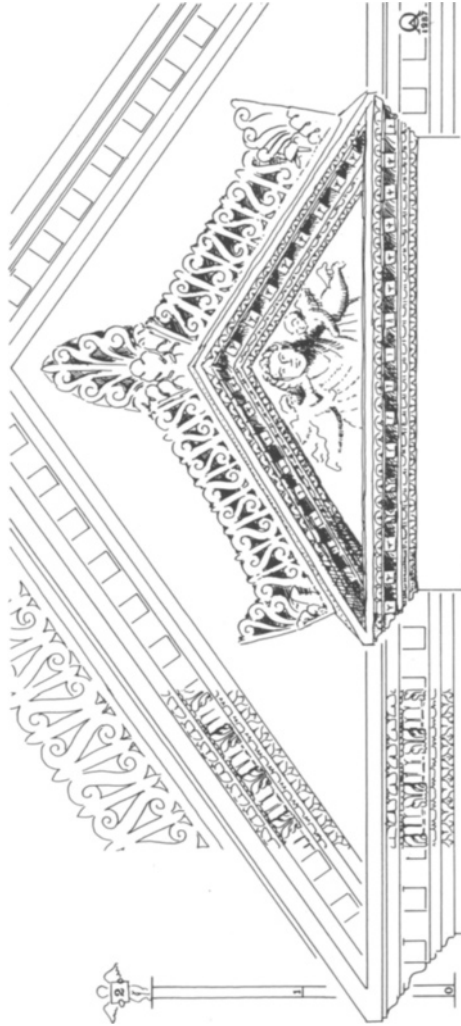


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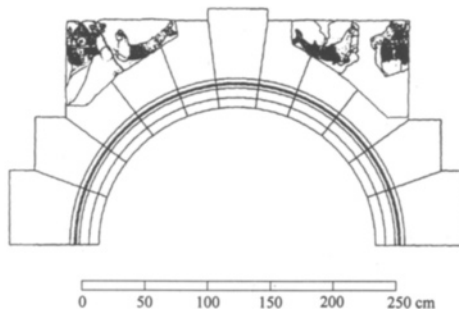
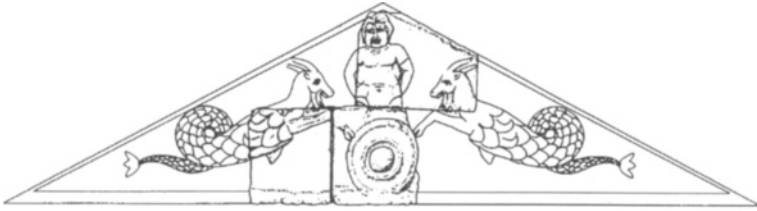


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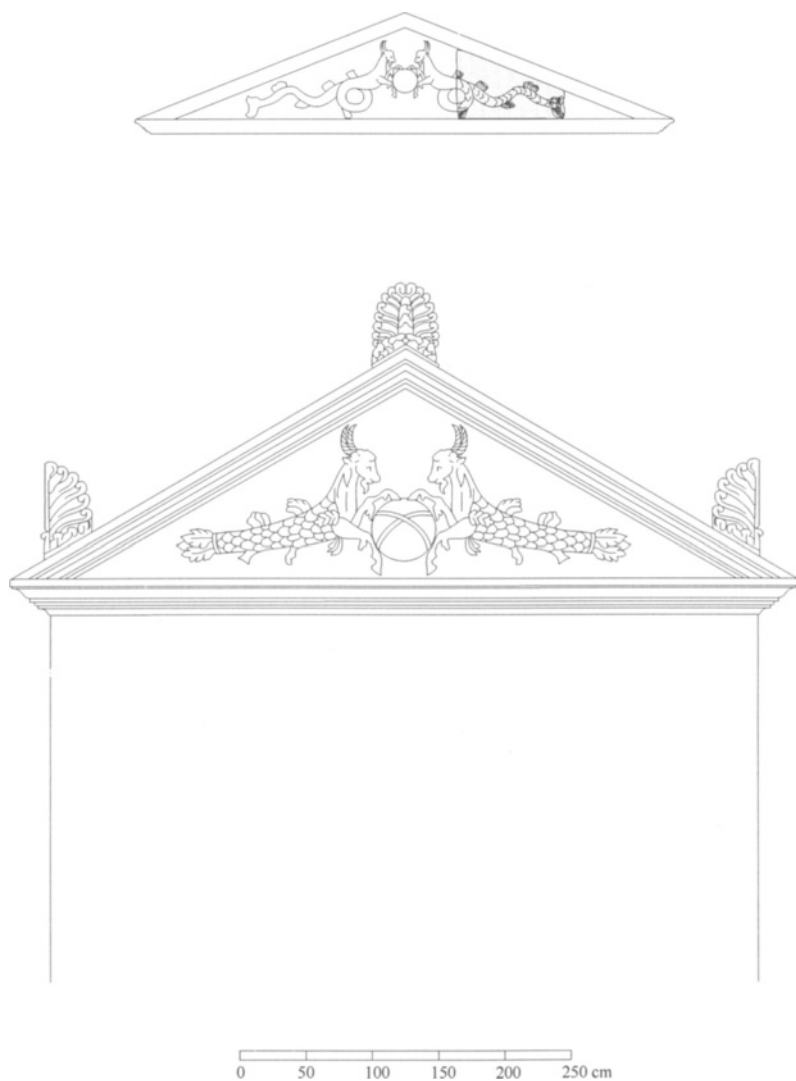


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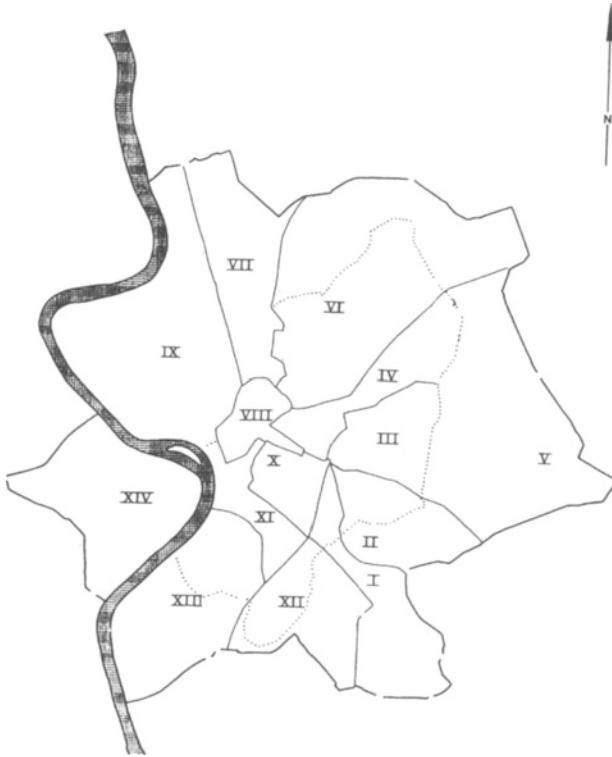


Fig. 1. The *regiones* of imperial Rome. Added by the editors. Source: G. de Kleijn, *The water supply of ancient Rome. City, area, water and population*, Amsterdam 2001. © Gieben, Amsterdam.

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Fig. 2. Il tempio di Augusto e Roma ad Ankara (Botteri)

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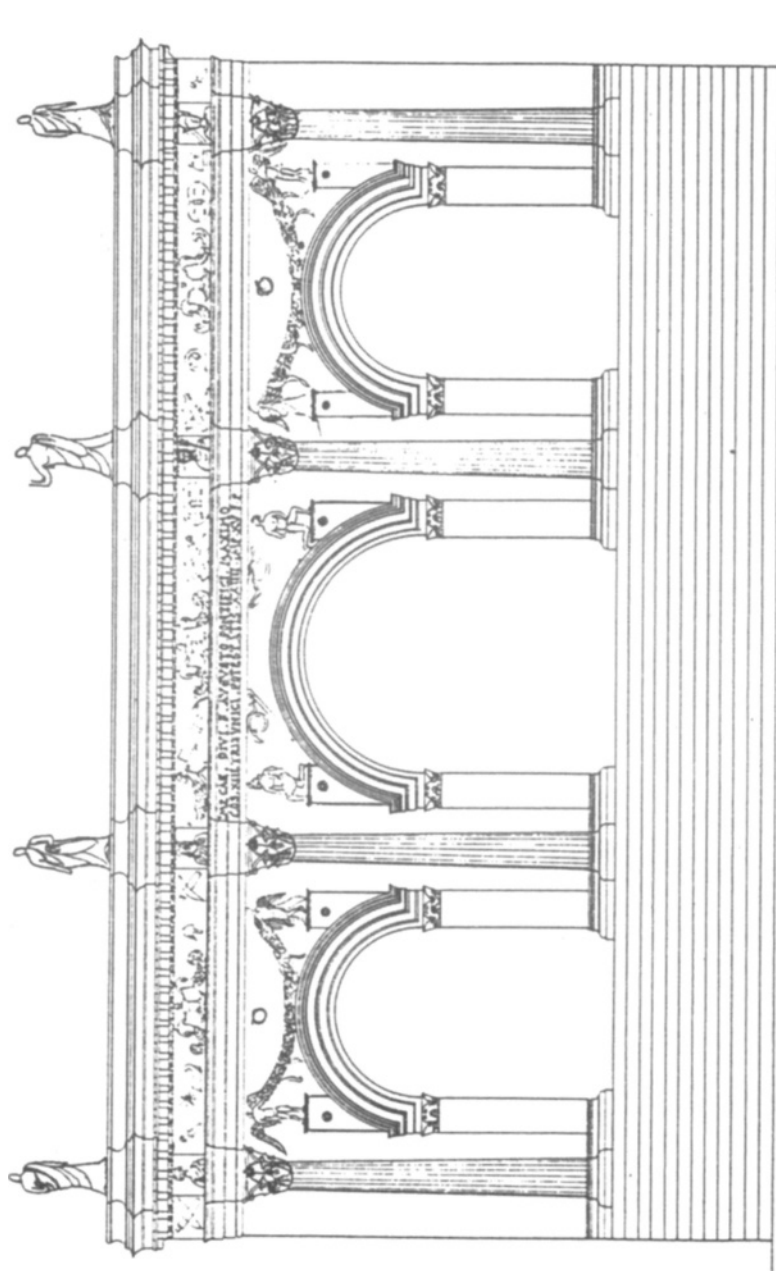


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PLATES VI



Fig. 1. Campidoglio balustrade, Rome. Trophy sculpture in the round.
Photograph: J.C.N. Coulston.

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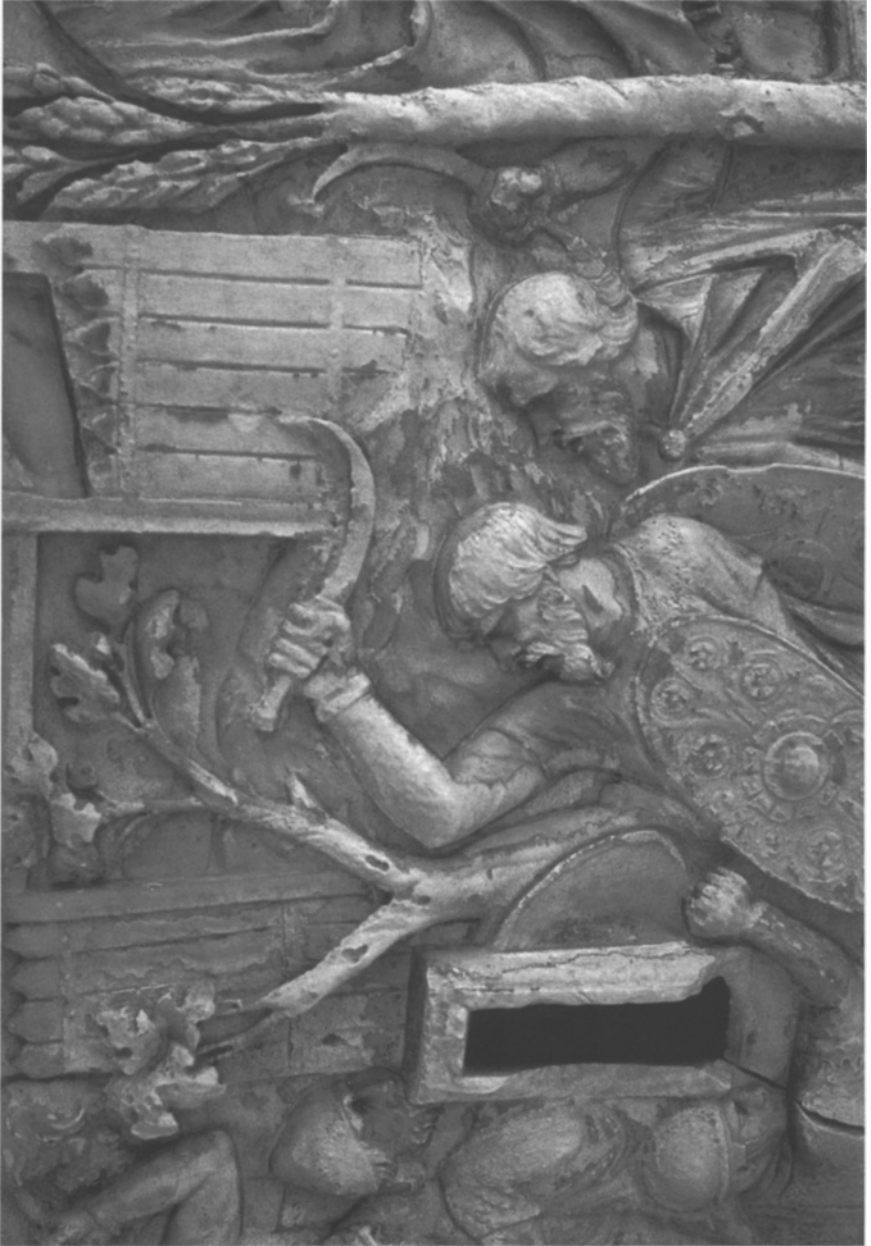


Fig. 11. Trajan's Column, Rome. Scene LXXII. Detail of Dacians with single-handed *falces*. Photograph: J.C.N. Coulston.

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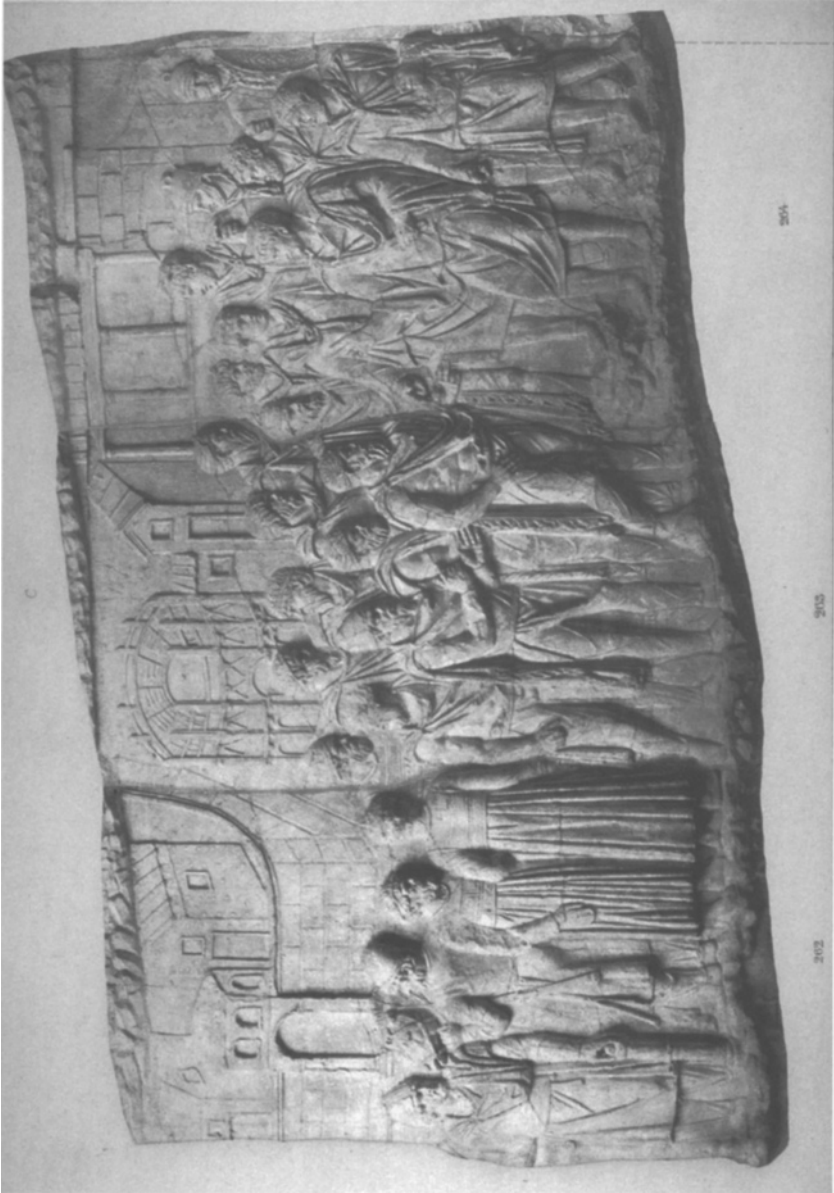


Fig. 12. Trajan's Column, Rome. Scene C. Barbarian emissary groups meeting with Trajan. Left to right: men in long tunic and cap; in kaftan; mixed bare-chested and *nodus* with others in long tunic and cap. Photograph: Cichorius 1896-1900.

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Fig. 13. Trajan's Column, Rome. Scenes CXX-XXI. Dacian mass-suicide(?).
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Fig. 14. Trajan's Column, Rome. Scene CXLV. Suicide of Decebalus.
Photograph: J.C.N. Coulston.

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Fig. 15. Great Trajanic Frieze, Arch of Constantine, Rome. Praetorian infantry presenting severed Dacian heads to Trajan. Photograph: J.C.N. Coulston.

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Fig. 16. Tropaeum Traiani, Adamclissi (Romania). Metope relief depicting combat between a Roman legionary and a standing barbarian with double-handed *falx*, and a seated German with *nodus* hairstyle. Photograph: J.C.N. Coulston.

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Fig. 18. Tropaeum Traiani, Adamclissi (Romania). Metope relief depicting a Roman soldier between two barbarian prisoners wearing long tunic, trousers and cap. Photograph: J.C.N. Coulston.

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Fig. 19. Tropaeum Traiani, Adamclissi (Romania). Crenellation relief depicting a bound barbarian wearing kaftan and boots. Photograph: Florescu 1965.

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Fig. 1. Statue of Hadrian in a himation from Cyrene. © The British Museum

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Fig. 2. Statue of Hadrian from Vaison. Cast from the Museo della Civiltà Romana. Photograph C. Vout

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Fig. 3. Statue of Hadrian from Hierapytna in Crete. Cast from the Museum della Civiltà Romana. Photograph C. Vout

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Fig. 1. Maximinus, Rome, RIC 1 (ANS 1944.100.7117)



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