

The Parthians in Augustan Rome

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Abstract

This article considers the conception and commemoration of foreigners, especially Parthians, as diagrammed in the triumphal imagery of Augustan Rome. The interaction of Trojan and Parthian iconography during the Augustan period is analyzed, as is the new attitude toward the representation of foreigners that developed in Rome during the early Empire, when barbarians were presented as contributors to peace rather than its opponents. The focus is the general topographical context of the Parthian Arch on the east side of the Roman Forum, but the article also includes new iconographic readings of the Primaporta cuirass, the Ara Pacis, the Basilica Aemilia Parthians, and the altar from the Vicus Sandaliarius, as well as triumphal monuments in Athens, Corinth, and Antioch-in-Pisidia. The cuirassed figure facing the Parthian on the Primaporta breastplate is identified as Roma, and the Eastern woman and child on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis are linked to the Parthian royal family resident in Rome during the Augustan period. A triumphal arch celebrating Gaius Caesar's success over the Parthians is reconstructed between the Basilica Aemilia and the temple of Divus Julius, and its decoration was clearly designed to complement that of the adjacent Parthian Arch and the Temple of the Dioscuri. The imagery on the eastern side of the Roman Forum can be read as a program outlining the Julian dynasty's involvement with the Parthians, and suggesting that the East had finally been domesticated.

War memorials of the 20th century, regardless of location, tend to focus on only one side of the conflict, which is, of course, the side associated with the dedicators of the monument. From the Battle of Gallipoli to Vietnam, memorials typically showcase the alliance of the soldiers, their courage under fire, or the suffering of their fellow citizens, but the opponent is generally absent, and this is true as well for many of the monuments constructed in the early Modern period.¹ If women or children are included in the design, they are of the same ethnicity as the dedicators, usually under their protection, and often shown in mourning. Although the visual program sometimes attempts to persuade the viewer that the war in question was justified, one generally receives little information from the images per se about

the political relationship between the opposing forces.

Ancient Rome was different. Victor and vanquished were regularly represented together, both on the field of battle and in subsequent triumphal processions. Poses of mourning were employed only for the subjugated, who were frequently presented as family units, and in general the women and children shown in these scenes belonged to the side of the vanquished rather than the victors.² The power relationship between Roman and non-Roman, as it existed at the time of dedication, was always clearly diagrammed in the associated texts and images. As is the case with most war memorials, however, that relationship changed over time, as did the topography of the adjacent areas, and both would have modified the ways in which the images were perceived. In other words, the meaning of the monument was dependent on its temporal and spatial contexts, and the associated iconography was therefore never static.

Roman triumphal monuments that advertised the growing scope of the empire regularly featured the disparate regions of Europe, Africa, and Asia in personified form, but the polyvalent iconography of the eastern provinces always distinguished them from the others in this group.³ The status inherent in Eastern costume could be either high or low, since it signified the Trojan foundations of Rome as well as its fiercest foe, the Parthians. The designers of victory monuments contended with this dual identity of the East throughout the Imperial period, but their most innovative projects were executed in Rome during the Augustan period. With these projects came a new conception of enemy iconography, vastly different from late Republican schemes, as well as a new construction of the components of peace.

When Augustus composed the *Res gestae*, he devoted more space to the pacification of Parthia and Armenia than to his policies in any other region.⁴ Roman determination to install client kings in the

¹ Borg 1991; Young 1994; Winter 1998; Winter and Sivan 2000.

² Zanker 2000; Ferris 2000, 167; Rawson 2003, 54–9. For a recent overview of the iconography of war in Greece and Rome, see Hölscher 2003.

³ For groups of personified nations during the empire, see Kuttner 1995, 73–86.

⁴ *Res gestae* 27, 29, 32, 33; Timpe 1975; Sherwin-White 1984, 323–41; Sonnabend 1986; Campbell 1993; and Wiesehöfer 1998 for Parthian attitudes toward Rome.

latter area often led to war with the former, and although no wars with Parthia per se occurred during the principate of Augustus, the image of the humbled Parthian was ubiquitous in the monuments, coinage, and literature of the Augustan period.⁵ At various points the Augustan poets spoke of exacting revenge against the Parthians for their past annihilation of so many Roman legions, but Parthian imagery on contemporary coinage and monuments, which is the focus of this article, tells a different story.⁶

Several scholars have recently examined the role of the Parthians in Roman society, but the attic statuary group on the Parthian Arch in the Roman Forum, and its relationship to the surrounding structures, have never been systematically examined, nor have they been tied to the broader issue of Asian iconography during the early Empire. Doing so requires a comprehensive survey of Parthian iconography on the monuments of Augustan Rome, including the emperor's statue from Prima porta, the Ara Pacis, and the interior decoration of the Basilica Aemilia, as well as the provincial commemoration of the eastern campaign of Gaius Caesar (2 B.C.–A.D. 4). All of these monuments reveal a new attitude toward the East in Augustan foreign policy, which would continue to shape Roman commemoration of eastern conquest throughout the remainder of the dynasty.

REPRESENTING PARTHIA AND ROME

Of the military defeats suffered by the Romans in the course of the Republic, three battles stand out in terms of catastrophic losses: two against Hannibal during the Second Punic War (Lake Trasimene and Cannae), and one against the Parthians (Carrhae in 53 B.C.), when the armies of Crassus lost the Roman standards to the enemy. Even with

20,000 men killed on the battlefield, Carrhae did not rival the death toll of Cannae, which appears to have been more than four times that number; but Carrhae was unique in that 10,000 Romans had been taken prisoner, and they would ultimately stay in Parthia for 33 years.

Caesar was reportedly planning a major campaign against the Parthians before his assassination, and the following decade would, in fact, witness several new campaigns against them, provoked primarily by their invasion of Syria and murder of the province's governor.⁷ The product of those campaigns—led by L. Decidius Saxa in 40 B.C. and Antony in 36—was the loss of more Roman standards, and cries for revenge against the Parthians grew increasingly louder in the works of Roman authors.⁸

Augustus's strategy to ensure the return of the standards involved diplomacy backed by force: early in the summer of 20 B.C., his stepson Tiberius brought a large legion to Armenia, while Augustus himself traveled to Syria to effect the transfer of both standards and hostages.⁹ Some of the Roman hostages could no longer be found, and a few committed suicide rather than return, but most traveled to Rome along with the standards in October of 19 B.C.¹⁰ The Senate voted Augustus a triumphal arch, and the standards were installed in a new circular temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline, thereby effectively redefining *ultor* (avenger) as a word that signified Roman victory over the Parthians.¹¹ The new temple was reportedly built in imitation of that of Jupiter Feretrius, also on the Capitoline, which had allegedly been founded by Romulus to receive the *spolia opima* of the Caninians.¹² That shrine had recently been restored by Augustus himself, and although the two buildings apparently featured different ground plans, the link between the military success of Romulus and

⁵ Van der Vin 1981; Schneider 1986, 1998; Rich 1998; Schäfer 1998.

⁶ For the theme of Parthia in Augustan poetry, see Wisemann 1982.

⁷ Caesar's Parthian campaign: Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 58.6; Malitz 1984; Sonnabend 1986, 179–85.

⁸ Goldsworthy 2001 (Cannae); Gallorini 1994 (Lake Trasimene); Timpe 1962; Sherwin-White 1984, 218–26, 279–90, 307–21; Nedergaard 1988a, 103–7; Invernizzi 2001 (Carrhae and subsequent Parthian campaigns). An iron *vexillum* of third century A.D. date has recently been discovered in one of the houses at Zeugma on the Euphrates: Abadie-Reynal 2001, 288–9, fig. 2.39.

⁹ Halfmann 1986, 158.

¹⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 21.3; *Res gestae* 29.2; Dio Cass. 54.8.1; Justin B.42.5.10–11; Strab. 16.1.28; Vell. Pat. 2.91.2; Livy *Per.* 141; Eutropius *Breviarium* 7.9; Oros. 6.21.29L. In his life of Tiberi-

us, Suetonius notes that Tiberius recovered the standards (*Tib.* 9), but all other authors indicate that they were recovered by Augustus (including Suetonius, in his life of Augustus), and the Tiberian reference is generally assumed to be an error. See Van der Vin 1981, 120–1.

¹¹ Dio Cass. 54.8.2–3; *Res gestae* 29; Fuchs 1969, 74–6; Reusser 1996; Rich 1998, 79–91.

¹² Fuchs 1969, 38, 73–5; Anderson 1984, 68; Simpson 1993a; Herbert-Brown 1994, 95–108; Gurval 1995, 283; Coarelli 1996; Rich 1998, 79–97; Hannah 1998, 425–30; Schäfer 1998, 49–55; Spannagel 1999, 60–78. There are doubts as to whether the Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor was actually built, but Dio (54.8.3) clearly indicates that construction was completed. Rich (1998, 82) notes that “a permanent structure on this site [the Capitoline] is unlikely to have left no further record,” but the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which we know existed, has also left no further record.

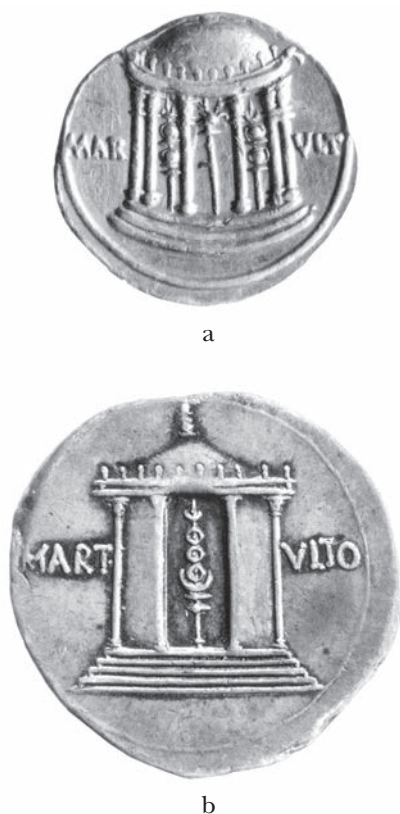


Fig. 2. *a*, Spanish denarius with Temple of Mars Ultor. (After *RIC* 1 [Sutherland and Carson 1984], pl. 2.104) *b*, Pergamon cistophorus with temple of Mars Ultor. (After *RIC* 1 [Sutherland and Carson 1984], pl. 9.507) Coins reproduced 2:1.

and one can monitor this at Pergamon, where types struck in 19/18 B.C. celebrated the standards' recovery. The three earliest, appearing on die-linked silver cistophori in early summer (May/June) of 19 B.C., constitute a unified thematic group.¹⁹ Mars's circular temple with the standards inside reappeared (fig. 2b), as did a triumphal arch with the legend *SPQR signis receptis* (fig. 3a), and the temple of Roma and Augustus at Pergamon, built by the province of Asia after 29 B.C.²⁰ This Pergamene group, struck approximately a year after the stan-

dards' recovery, heralded the same message of Roman victory as the contemporary Spanish series, while simultaneously stressing the link between Rome and Asia.

The triumphal arch as a type had never before been used by an Asia Minor mint, which suggests that its appearance now was mandated by special circumstances, and the inclusion of "SPQR" makes it virtually certain that the new type was prompted by Pergamon's receipt of the senatorial decree authorizing the construction of the arch in Rome. The fact that the Pergamon series begins shortly before June of 19 B.C., in turn, indicates that the decree must have been formulated immediately upon Rome's receipt of the news that the Parthian standards had been recovered.²¹

A number of imposing monuments were probably erected in Rome at this time for which no evidence survives,²² but the most prominent of those that are extant is the cuirassed statue of Augustus from Prima porta, which almost certainly copied an honorific statue set up in Rome around 19 B.C. (fig. 4).²³ The narrative framework of this statue has consistently been misunderstood because the issue of gender in ethnic identity has never been viewed as an integral component of the program, but this is the key to its interpretation.

The emperor makes a gesture of *adlocutio*, with his *paludamentum* (general's cloak) draped around his hips, and the visual references on and around his body summarize the contents of that *adlocutio*. His Julian ancestry was highlighted by the small dolphin-riding Cupid at his side, whose arms are the mirror image of those of Augustus, but the primary focus of the program was the return of the standards: in the center of the cuirass, a bearded Parthian with long hair, tunic, and trousers (*anaxyrides*) transfers a Roman standard to a cuirass-clad Roman in Attic helmet who faces him. The standard per se is crowned by an eagle, and three phalerae decorate the shaft; it therefore cleverly mixes the *aquila* (legendary eagle) and the *signum* to symbolize the range of standards that would have been returned.

¹⁹ *RIC* 1 (Sutherland and Carson 1984), 505–10; *RPC* 1 (Burnett et al. 1992), nos. 2216–20; Grant 1951; Sutherland 1970, 33–7 (Group VII); Rich 1998, 82 n. 40.

²⁰ Grant 1951, 96; Hähnlein-Schäfer 1985, 166–8; Price 1984, 56, 252; Burrell 2004, 17–22.

²¹ Ritter 1978, 377.

²² Rolf Schneider has suggested that three kneeling pavon-azzetto Parthians, now in Naples and Copenhagen, should be interpreted as supports for a monumental bronze tripod that once stood in the precinct of Apollo Palatinus (Schneider 1986;

1998, 106, 114; Cohon 1990; Spawforth 1994, 238, 239; Schäfer 1998, 67–70; De Nuccio et al. 2002, 433–6). His hypothesis is ingenious, but there is no archaeological, literary, or epigraphic evidence for such a tripod in Augustan Rome.

²³ Kähler 1959; Bastet 1966; Jucker 1977; Pollini 1978, 8–74; Van der Vin 1981, 120–1; Simon 1984, no. 299; Simon 1991; Schneider 1998, 97–9; Schäfer 1998, 84–92; Kuttner 1999, 117–8. For its original location in the villa, see Klynne-Liljenstolpe 2000, 126–7.



Fig 3. *a*, Pergamon cistophorus with Parthian Arch, 19/18 B.C. (*RIC* 1 [Sutherland and Carson 1984], 82, no. 508) *b*, Spanish aureus with Parthian Arch, 18/17 B.C. (*RIC* 1 [Sutherland and Carson 1984], 50, no. 131) *c*, Rome denarius with Parthian Arch, struck by C. Vinicius, 16 B.C. (*RIC* 1 [Sutherland and Carson 1984], 68, no. 359) Coins reproduced 2:1. (Courtesy of British Museum)

The Roman at our left has been called by many names since the statue was discovered, from Mars Ultor to Tiberius to the personified Roman army, although everyone agrees that the duo indicates Rome and Parthia (fig. 5).²⁴ What we need to establish is the figure's gender, and on this issue the iconography is clear. Attic helmets were standard headgear for Roma and the Amazons, but less common for Mars or Roman soldiers, who generally wore Corinthian helmets. Note that tufts of hair escape from the helmet at side and back: these would be appropriate for Roma but less likely for a male, and the same kind of fleshy face with full lips appears in the depiction of the other females on the cuirass.²⁵ The rendering of the anatomy also supports this interpretation: the tapering cuirass effectively creates a narrow waist and rather large buttocks, which would be appropriate for a female, such as Roma, but totally wrong for a heroic male.²⁶

That this is Roma is also indicated by the dog behind her, which has always seemed out of place even though the designers clearly intended it as

one of her primary attributes.²⁷ Some maintain that dogs were standard figures on the battlefield and therefore perfectly suitable for such a scene; but they do not, in fact, occur in representations of Roman military campaigns—none appears, for example, in our most extensive visual chronicles of war, the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, nor in battle scenes on triumphal arches.²⁸ The type of dog featured here, however, does appear in the corpus of Amazon imagery, from which the attributes of Roma were consistently drawn, and that is probably the source of the iconography.

Some have also argued that a cuirass would be inappropriate for Roma, but she wears this costume already on coins struck in Rome in 100 B.C., and later appears in a cuirass on a relief from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (fig. 6), which is similar in many respects to the Prima porta figure.²⁹ It is worth noting that several different visual types for Roma could be employed in the same city, and Aphrodisias is an excellent case in point. On the early Augustan Zoilos relief she appears as an

²⁴For a summary of the proposed identifications, see Jucker 1977, 37. For the iconography of Roma, see Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1997.

²⁵Kähler 1959, figs. 14, 15, 18, 19. E. Hübner once identified the figure as Roma during a lecture (Schlie 1871, 34), but otherwise scholars have assumed the gender was male.

²⁶Compare the cuirassed men in Stemmer 1978 and Simon-Bauchhens 1984 (Ares/Mars). For Roma, see Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1997, fig. 228, and here figure 6 (Aphrodisias Sebasteion).

²⁷Some have identified the animal as a wolf, but when rendering wolves, Roman artists generally used long pointed ears

and tufts of hair around the neck. For interpretations of the dog, see Kähler 1959, 18; Bastet 1966; Pollini 1978, 28–30.

²⁸Dogs do appear in two of the reliefs on the arch of Trajan at Beneventum, but these are not scenes of battle or military activity. The dogs are simply shown in regions of the empire visited by the emperor (Rotili 1972, pls. 77, 102).

²⁹Crawford 1974, 329, no. 329.1. The Aphrodisias relief will be published by R.R.R. Smith in his forthcoming catalogue of the Sebasteion sculptures, and I thank him for allowing me to include here this drawing by K. Gorkay. For the cuirassed Roma type, see Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1997, pl. 720, no. 228; Touratsoglou 1988, 176, R 32 (Neronian).



Fig. 4. Detail of the breastplate from the Augustus of Prima porta. (After Kähler 1959, pl. 11)



Fig. 5. Detail of cuirassed Roman on the Prima porta breastplate. (After Kähler 1959, pl. 16)

Amazon, but in the Sebasteion another image of Roma, identified by inscription, features a modified Venus Genetrix body type, although with a polos.³⁰

If one considers the larger context in which Roma appears here, the iconographic configuration is easier to understand. Although this was not the first representation of Roma on a public monument in the city of Rome,³¹ it marked the only time in which she appeared with a Parthian.³² If the designer had employed the more common Amazon type, with one uncovered breast, the visual distinction between them would have been lessened, in that they both would have looked like

people of the East. Roma's cuirassed type, however, reinforced their differences, as did the variation in gender, and it simultaneously established a closer link between Roma and Augustus. The ambiguity inherent in the Amazon type, and in Eastern iconography in general, was approached very cautiously by Roman artists during the Augustan period, as will be apparent in the discussion of Trojan and Parthian iconography below. Roma's costume on late Republican coinage was not appreciably different from that of subjugated females on giant Augustan trophies, such as the bound Celtic woman at La Turbie. Only the pose, gesture, and iconographic context signaled

³⁰ Venus Genetrix type: Moore 1988, 174, no. 33; Reynolds et al. 1981, 323, no. 7; Zoilos frieze: Smith 1993, 43–5, pl. 19.

³¹ Although Roma had been represented on Roman coinage since the early third century B.C., the first public statues of her do not seem to have been erected until the Marian/Sullan period, when a group of them were dedicated on the Capitoline Hill by eastern cities: Mellor 1978; Reusser 1993, 138–58; 1995, 251. A bust of Roma adorned one of the shields on the Capitoline Bocchos monument, set up by the king of Mauretania in 91 B.C. (Hölscher 1988, 384–6).

³² A bronze gladiatorial helmet from Pompeii, usually dated to the Augustan or Julio-Claudian period, shows two barbarians kneeling on either side of Roma and offering standards to her

(La Regina 2001, 374, no. 99). The barbarians wear conical caps, trousers, and cloaks around their bare upper torsos; Roma appears in her most common Amazon type, with one uncovered breast. The two foreigners have been identified by Picard as representations of Armenia and Parthia (1957, 281–2); but their costume, including the conical cap, appears in representations of Germans, and the two flanking trophies feature only Celtic armor. It seems more likely that the scene represents the recovery in A.D. 16 of the Roman standards lost by Varus, as Schneider (1986, 42, 48) and La Regina (2001, 374, no. 99) have argued. The helmet may have been worn by a gladiator charged with replicating the battle that resulted in the return of the standards.

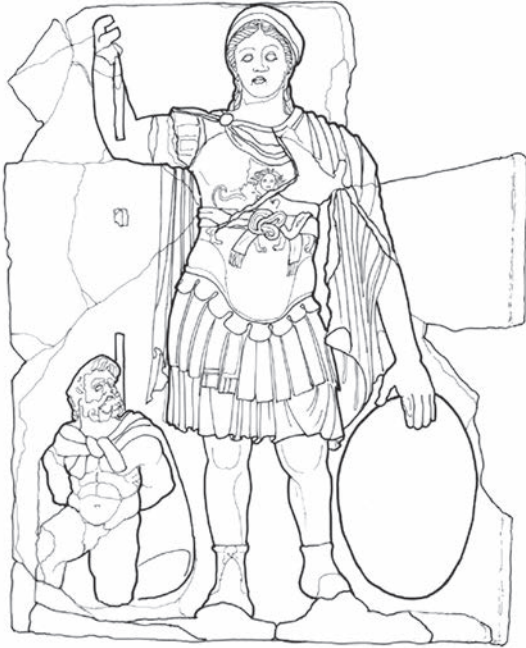


Fig. 6. Relief of Roma from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. (Drawing by K. Gorkay)

whether the associated status was high or low, and the cuirassed type effectively sidestepped the problem.³³

Maintaining a strong distinction between Roma and Parthia was essential here because the two have otherwise been presented as nearly equal: Roma is only slightly taller than the Parthian, and he assumes no subjugated pose. In essence, the iconography truthfully reflects a negotiated settlement in which war played no role; as such, it differs strongly from late Republican scenes of Romans and their opponents, especially on coinage, where barbarians appear with bound hands at the base of trophies.³⁴

The central scene of Roma and Parthia was flanked by two more females in male dress, both of whom were shown in poses of mourning. Their attributes identify them as personifications of Spain

(at left) and Gaul (at right), which were regions from which Augustus had also retrieved Roman standards lost in earlier battles.³⁵ The pacification of East and West therefore emerges as the overall theme of the cuirass, with the restoration of the standards providing the basic matrix, and the additional allegorical figures on the periphery of the cuirass tie this universal peace to the central tenets of Augustus's reign.³⁶ The entire register is framed vertically by personifications of earth, sun, and sky, which includes Caelus holding the mantle of the heavens, the solar chariot led by the goddess of the dawn, and Apollo and Diana. At the bottom of the cuirass is the reclining figure of Earth or Terra Mater, holding a cornucopia while nourishing two infants whose pose has been drawn from Romulus and Remus iconography.³⁷ This amplified conception of Terra Mater, with two infants rather than one, emphasized increased prosperity for the Mediterranean, not unlike the double cornucopiae on Ptolemaic coins, and it effectively linked Augustus's revival of agricultural fecundity with the origins of Rome. A similar blend of personifications of time and space had characterized Hellenistic court ceremonial and panegyric, and it effectively signaled the beginning of a new age with limitless spatial and temporal boundaries.³⁸

The new Augustan imagery rapidly spread to the provinces of the empire, and a similar program appeared on the cuirassed statue of Augustus from Cherchel, in northern Algeria. The cuirass was topped by a bust of Mars Ultor, and alternating heads of Parthians and Dacians decorated the *pteryges* (cuirass lappets) below.³⁹ The heads highlighted Augustan victories in Europe and Asia, and flanking personifications of land and sea emphasized the universality of Roman hegemony, which the Ara Pacis, among other monuments, would later repeat. The cuirass center featured two Victories flanking Divus Julius, whose plans for a Parthian victory were, in a sense, realized by his adopted son,

³³ Silberberg-Peirce 1986, 313, fig. 15.

³⁴ See *infra* n. 65.

³⁵ *Res gestae* 29.1; Pollini 1978, 39.

³⁶ For another East-West juxtaposition in cuirass decoration, see Stemmer 1978, 61–2, V9.

³⁷ If the original of the Prima Porta statue dates to 19 B.C., which seems certain, then this would mark the first use of Terra Mater with two infants rather than one. The same scheme would reappear on the Ara Pacis and in early Imperial court cameos, such as the Gemma Augustea (Kleiner 1992, figs. 47, 80).

³⁸ For Hellenistic, especially Ptolemaic, ceremonial, see Rice 1983; Pollitt 1986, 280–1; Kuttner 1999; and, in general, Nico-

let 1991. The imagery also, in effect, served as an illustration of Fortuna Redux, in whose name an altar had been dedicated in Rome by decree of the Senate in recognition of Augustus's Parthian success: Dio Cass. 54.10.3–4; *Res gestae* 11; Rich 1998, 74–5.

³⁹ For Cherchel: Fittschen 1976; Stemmer 1978, 10–12, I5; Simon 1986, 223; Zanker 1988, 224–5; Kuttner 1995, 29–31. Cherchel lay within the Mauretanian client kingdom of Juba II, who had spent his childhood in Rome. The horned heads have never before been associated with Dacia, but that is clearly the symbolism: compare the inscribed Dacians from the Aphrodisias Sebasteion (Reynolds 1981, pl. 13.C; Smith 1988, pl. 8.3; Smith 1990, 94, fig. 6).

as well as Cupid and Venus holding the weapons of Mars. The last motif, which often included Cupid personally transferring the weapons to his mother, was especially popular after Actium.⁴⁰ Like the imagery on the Primaporta cuirass, this scheme signaled the cessation of military conflict under Augustus, as well as the expectation that the consequent stability would be permanent. The Cherchel statue was obviously one of many such commissions, and it indicates the extent to which client kingdoms were willing to go in representing Roman dominion over other regions within or near the borders of the empire.

RECONFIGURING THE ENEMY: ADULTS

A similar attitude toward the Parthians is evinced by the triumphal arch of Augustus in the Roman Forum, whose construction would have been contemporary with the original version of the Primaporta statue.⁴¹ This arch is far more revolutionary in the history of triumphal commemoration than is usually realized: it marked the first appearance of an enemy's image in the forum and on the attic of a triumphal arch, and it formed the first component of a network of Parthian references that would dominate the forum's eastern side by the end of the Augustan period. The arch also presented a radical new construction of Rome's enemies, which made them look like contributors to peace rather than its opponents.

Cassius Dio notes that the Senate voted Augustus a triumphal arch in Rome in commemoration of the Parthian settlement, and not surprisingly, the iconography of victory figures prominently among the related coin types. The type of a triumphal arch was struck by three different mints shortly after the return of the standards: Pergamon, in 19/18; Spain, between 18 and 17; and Rome in 16 B.C. (fig. 3).⁴² Since the types were struck in different parts of the empire at different times, one would not expect them to be identical, and, indeed, they are not. But because they supply the primary evidence for the attic sculpture that once adorned the arch, all of them need to be examined and compared with the

excavated remains of the arch; only then can we determine what elements we are justified in using in the reconstruction, and what kind of triumphal message the arch would have conveyed.

The first series, struck for the province of Asia, featured a single bay arch decorated with an aquila on each pier and a *quadriga* (four-horse chariot) above (fig. 3a).⁴³ The imperium and tribunician numbers of Augustus appeared on the lintel, and *SP[Q]R signis receptis* was framed by the arch per se. The Spanish aurei and denarii of 18–17 B.C. show a triple-bayed arch with an attic of even height, and the statuary group is nearly twice as large as the arch itself (fig. 3b). The figure of Augustus in a quadriga is flanked by two standing Parthians who look toward him: one offering him the signum with both hands, the other presenting him with the aquila and holding a bow in the other hand. The entire scene is encircled by the legend *civib[us] et sign[is] milit[aribus] a Part[his] recup[eratis]* ("citizens and military standards recovered from the Parthians"), which sounds as if it might have formed part of the original senatorial decree.⁴⁴

The third and last version of the arch was struck in Rome by the moneyer L. Vinicius, first cousin of one of the consuls who held office in the year in which the standards and hostages were returned (fig. 3c).⁴⁵ This arch exhibits the same general themes as the Spanish image, but the attic statuary, while still large, is less out of scale. The architecture presented on this coin is unlike that of any other arch for which we have evidence, with free-standing, engaged, and three-quarter columns, as well as pediments on either side of the central arch. Two trabeated bays at the sides flank a taller central arch, above which *SPQR Imp. Cae.* has been written. The dominant central image is again Augustus in a quadriga flanked by Parthians: the one at the left holds a bow in his right hand and raises his left in acclamation to the emperor above. He wears a conical cap and a short tunic that seems to be belted, thus attesting to the existence of trousers, which the Parthians on the coins of 19 B.C. had also worn. The bareheaded Parthian at the right, in the same

⁴⁰For the disarming motif, see Simon and Bauchhens 1984, 515, no. 24b, 547–8, nos. 376–7; Blanc and Gury 1986, 1018, no. 539; Schmidt 1997, 211–2, 222, no. 331.

⁴¹Nedergaard 1988b, 1993, 1994, 2001; Levi 1952, 6–9; Andreea 1957, 168–75; Fuchs 1969, 40–1; Van der Vin 1981, 128–9; De Maria 1988, 90–9, 105–6, 266–75, no. 50; Schneider 1986, 94–5; 1998, 99; Kleiner 1985, 25–8; 1989, 198–200; Gural 1995, 36–47; Carnabuci 1991, 315–28; Simpson 1992; Rich 1998, 97–115; Scott 2000.

⁴²Fuchs 1969, 40–1; Ritter 1978, 372–9; Carnabuci 1991, 325; Nedergaard 1994–1995, 50–3; Rich 1998, 98–100.

⁴³*RIC* 1 (Sutherland and Carson 1984), nos. 508–10; *RPC* 1.2216, 2218 (Burnett et al. 1992); Sutherland 1970, nos. 446–78.

⁴⁴Ritter 1978, 372–4, 381. For an overview of Augustan propaganda in Spain, see Ramage 1998.

⁴⁵For the moneyer, see Hanslik 1961a; for the consul, see Hanslik 1961a.

costume, holds arrows in his left hand, thereby complementing the bow of the Parthian at the left, and offers the aquila to Augustus with his right hand.⁴⁶ Each has been rendered in a “heroic diagonal” format, with one leg bent and one straight, and the figures are posed so that they are leaning away from Augustus but looking back toward him.

There has been some doubt as to whether the earlier triumphal arches voted to Augustus—those in honor of Naulochus and Actium—were actually built, but a wealth of evidence relating to the Parthian Arch still survives, and it can be reconstructed with a good degree of accuracy.⁴⁷ Its location in the Roman Forum is noted by a Veronese scholiast to Vergil’s *Aeneid* 7.605 as *iuxta aedem divi Iulii* (“next to the shrine of Divus Julius”), and excavations to the south of the temple of Divus Iulius have, in fact, revealed the foundations of a triple-bayed arch that abuts the temple (fig. 7).⁴⁸ The associated architectural elements indicate a tall central arch with engaged Corinthian columns, flanked by trabeated Doric portals, whose pediments are supported by freestanding and three-quarter columns. The unusual architecture is in harmony with that of the arch on the Vinicius coin struck in Rome, as is the proportional relationship among the portals: the width of the central bay is equal to the combined pier and bay width of the

lateral portals, and the width of the lateral bays duplicates that of the central piers.⁴⁹ The image on the Vinicius coin has generally been regarded as the most reliable indicator of the arch’s original appearance, now reinforced by Elizabeth Nedergaard’s recent excavations, and the coin type forms the basis for the new restoration in figure 8.⁵⁰ We can therefore reconstruct bronze images of standing Parthians gazing up at the figure of Augustus in a quadriga. This was, amazingly, the first certain representation of a human in a chariot in the Roman Forum or, indeed, in Rome itself: Caesar’s chariot on the Capitoline was empty, and the same may have been true for the chariot of Augustus in his forum.⁵¹

The attic inscription may have been the first in Rome to feature bronze letters, and the text appears to have been copied on Spanish coins of 18/17 B.C. with a triumphal arch type: *Senatus populusque romanus imp. Caesari Augusto cos. XI tr. pot. VI*.⁵² *Divi Iulii f.* was probably also included originally, but omitted from the coin due to lack of space. The sixth *tribunicia potestas* of Augustus indicates a date between 26 June 18 and 25 June 17 B.C., and that places the dedication of the arch in the same year as the *ludi saeculares* and the emperor’s adoption of Gaius and Lucius.⁵³ It is tempting to date the dedication of the arch to May of 17, on the third

⁴⁶The figures would no doubt have been in trousers or *anaxyrides*, as on the Augustan coins of 19 B.C., although the actual lines of the trousers cannot be discerned on the Vinicius coin. For the aquila identification, see Rich 1998, 99–100, 128. The object is clearly an *aquila*, not a *signum*, which one can see if the image is magnified. The right Parthian on the Spanish aureus (fig. 3b) also presents the aquila to Augustus.

⁴⁷For doubts about the actual erection of the Actium arch (Dio 51.19.1), see Carnabuci 1991, 323–8; Gurval 1995, 36–47; for Naulochus (Dio 49.15.1), see Kleiner 1985, 23; De Maria 1988, 266–7, no. 55; Kleiner 1989, 198–9; Nedergaard 1994–95, 51; Rich 1998, 106.

⁴⁸The evidence is collected in De Maria 1988, 266–75, no. 50 and see *supra* n. 41. The excavations in this area span a period of nearly 500 years, beginning in the Renaissance, but the most important excavations, regrettably unpublished but summarized by Andreae (1957, 168–76), were carried out by R. Gamberini Mongenet in 1950–1953.

⁴⁹De Maria 1988, 270; Nedergaard 1994–1995, 64; Nedergaard 2001, 113.

⁵⁰The fieldwork of Elizabeth Nedergaard in and around the Parthian Arch has also shown that the foundations once associated with the Actium arch of Augustus date to different periods and could not have supported an arch.

⁵¹Cf. Kleiner 1985, 24. Coins commemorating the voting of an arch for Octavian after Actium featured an arch topped by a chariot group, but it may never have been erected (see *supra* n. 47), and the one above the Palatine arch of Octavian con-

tained statues of Apollo and Diana (Kleiner 1985, 22; De Maria 1988, 268–9, no. 57). For the empty chariot of Caesar, see Dio 43.14.6; Weinstock 1971, 54–9; Rich 1998, 120–1; for the Forum Augustum chariot, see Rich 1998, 115–25. This may have been the same chariot voted in his honor by the Senate in commemoration of the Parthian success and subsequently featured on Roman and Spanish denarii.

⁵²*RIC* 1 (Sutherland and Carson 1984, 50, nos. 131–7); Taylor 1950, 94; Ritter 1978, 374, who believe that the imperial acclamation was left out. Gamberini Mongenet’s reconstruction includes, above the main arch, a small Augustan inscription dated to 29 B.C. (*CIL* VI.873), but its connection to the arch has been disproved by Ritter, and it has been removed from the reconstruction in figure 8. Ritter has also shown that the main inscription’s upper right corner, which Gamberini Mongenet believed he had found, does not belong to the arch. Bronze letters were not used in inscriptions prior to the Augustan period (Rose 2003, 65–6), and their first appearance in Asia Minor dates to the end of the first century B.C. (Gate of Mazaeus and Mithrdiates at Ephesus, 4–3 B.C.; Propylon at Antioch-in-Pisidia, 2/1 B.C.). The decoration of the latter structure seems to have been substantially influenced by the Parthian Arch in Rome, and it is conceivable that the concept of bronze letters was another component of that influence. For further discussion of the Antioch propylon, see *infra*, “Regional Variation in Triumphal Display.”

⁵³Nilsson 1894, 1714–5 (1–3 June 17 B.C.).

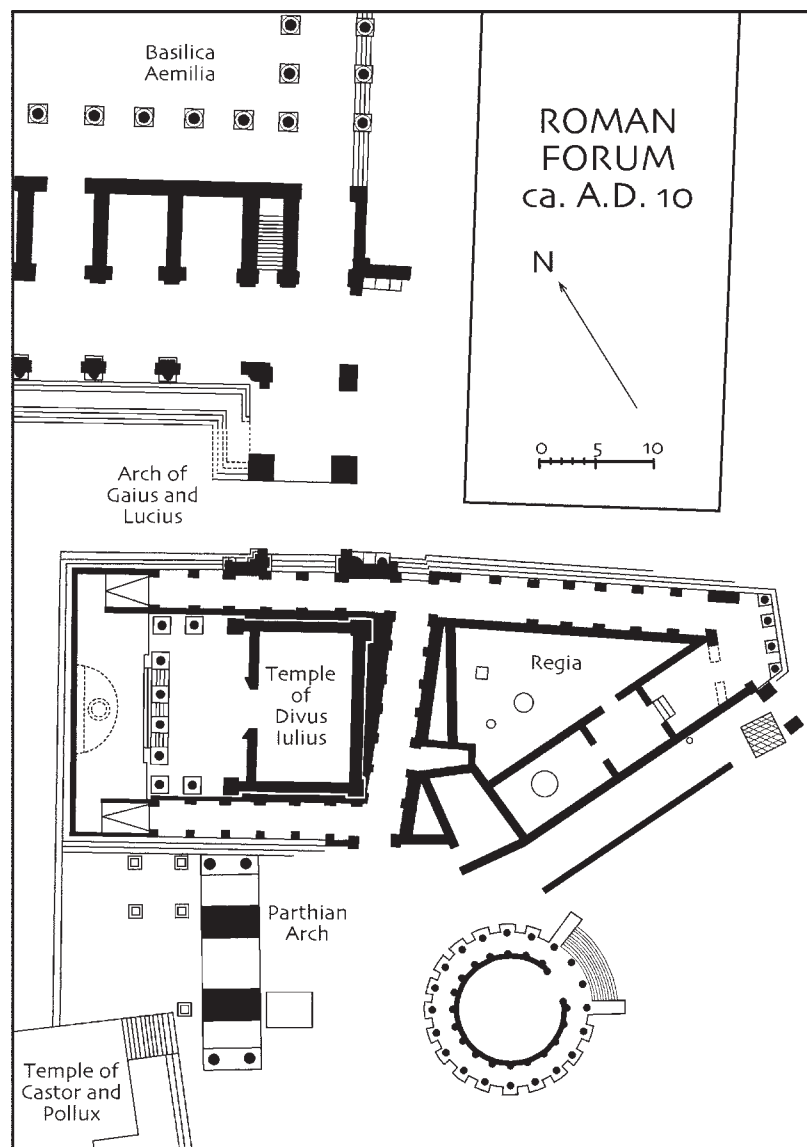


Fig. 7. Plan of the east side of the Roman Forum. (After Nedergaard 1994–1995, fig. 49, with modifications by J. Wallrodt)

anniversary of the recovery of the standards, and only a few weeks before the celebration of the *ludi saeculares* (263 B.C., 17 B.C., and A.D. 88), the first two of which seem to have been inscribed at the same point during the Augustan period.⁵⁴ In the course of the *ludi*, the children who sang Horace's *Carmen saeculare* would have passed through this very area as they marched from the Palatine to the

Capitoline. It is hard to believe that an arch commemorating the Parthian settlement, and the future maintenance of peace, would not have formed an integral part of a ceremony marking the inauguration of a new age.⁵⁵

Excavations in this zone unearthed fragments of two different lists (*Fasti*): one listing the *triumphatores* from 588 to 19 B.C., and the other, all consuls from 463 B.C. to A.D. 13.⁵⁶ Fortunately, one of the walls to which some of the inscriptions belonged was dis-

⁵⁴ Mommsen 1864, 59–62; Degraasi 1947, 62–3; Nedergaard 2001, 121.

⁵⁵ Dennison 1904.

⁵⁶ Taylor 1946, 1951; Degraasi 1952; Simpson 1993b; Nedergaard 1994, 2001; Rich 1998, 106.



Fig. 8. Reconstruction of Parthian Arch in the Roman Forum. (Elevation of the arch by Gamberini-Mongenet; statuary group by G. Gatti after Kleiner 1985, pls. 4.3, 5.2, with modifications by J. Wallrodt)

covered here still in situ in 1546, and its elevation was drawn by Antonio da Sangallo. This clearly indicates how the two *Fasti* were juxtaposed: the *Fasti Triumphales* were inscribed on Doric pilasters that flanked smaller Corinthian aediculae, within which were the *Fasti Consulares* (fig. 9).

From time to time, this wall and its *Fasti* have been assigned to the Regia, the building behind the Temple of Divus Iulius where the pontifex maximus resided during the Republic. But the inscriptions were written on blocks of marble half a meter

thick, not on plaques, and it is impossible to see how stones of this type could have formed part of the Regia's architecture.⁵⁷ Moreover, the pieces of the *Fasti* were discovered around the Parthian Arch, not in the Regia, and the distinctive mixture of Doric and Corinthian elements in the *Fasti* fragments fits perfectly with the equally distinctive architectural configuration of the arch. The last name in the *Fasti Triumphales*, and the one that ends the series, is L. Cornelius Balbus, who triumphed in the very year in which the arch was voted.⁵⁸ All of

⁵⁷ Simpson (1993b) has argued that the *Fasti* adorned the walls of the Regia; Coarelli (1985, 269–308) linked them to an arch between the Basilica Aemilia and the Temple of Divus

Iulius; Steinby (1987, 161–6) assigned them to the Fornix Fabianus.

⁵⁸ Groag 1900.

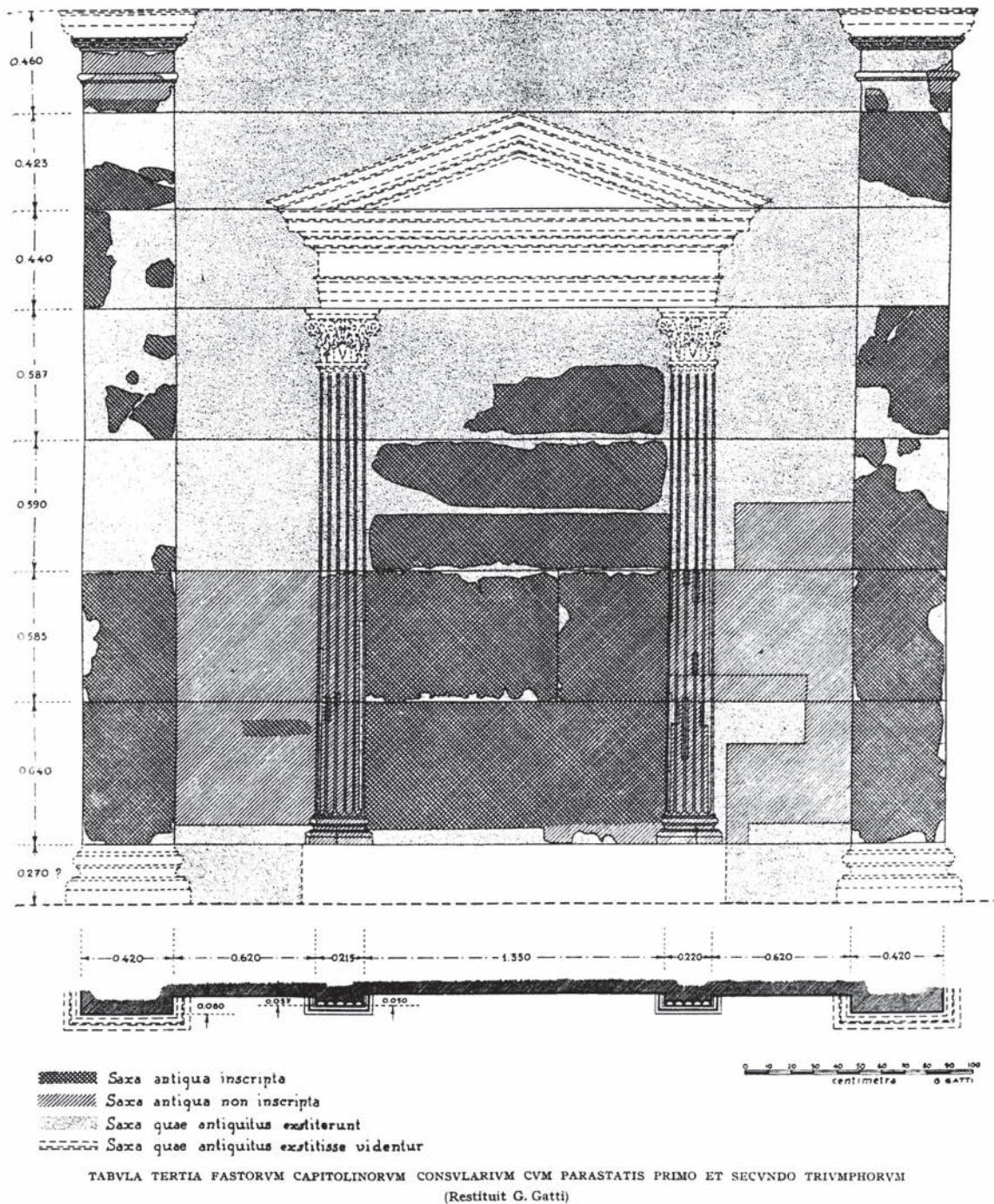


Fig. 9. Parthian Arch in the Roman Forum, reconstruction of aedicula containing the Fasti Consulares. The Fasti Triumphales were inscribed on the pilasters. (Drawing by G. Gatti after Nedergaard 2001, 108, fig. 2)

the evidence points toward the Parthian Arch as the original site of the Fasti.

The Fasti inscriptions were originally spread among four aediculae, and considering the limited visual accessibility of either end of the arch, the aediculae were probably positioned on either

side of the two central piers, within the passageways. In other words, the Fasti would have been located on the sides of the piers from which the central arch sprang, and if one viewed the arch obliquely, the names of the triumphatores would have led the viewer's eye vertically toward the vic-

tories in the spandrels—a perfect symbiosis of word and image.⁵⁹

The whole conception of the arch emphasized the establishment of peace, and in many ways it echoed the themes presented on the Prima porta statue. Space was left at the end of the *Fasti Consulares* for more names to be added, but the *Fasti Triumphales* intentionally ended at 19 B.C., with no room for future triumphs. The viewer was left with the sense that the Parthian settlement represented the culmination of all earlier triumphs, and with the hope that the latest closing of the Gates of Janus, which lay within easy reach of the arch, would commemorate the advent of an enduring peace.⁶⁰

This is apparent also in the attic statuary group, whose focus on both hero and villain was unprecedented in the history of Roman triumphal arches.⁶¹ Such contexts were normally reserved for a statue of the *triumphator* alone, and it is not surprising that the images of the Parthians were only half the size of Augustus, and approximately the same scale as the victories in the flanking spandrels.⁶²

Three attributes would have made the enemy easily identifiable: the bow and arrows in their hands, the conical cap on the Parthian at the left, and the raised aquila at the right. Parthians were consistently associated with archery in Roman art and literature, especially Augustan poetry, and the Prima porta Parthian had carried both bow and quiver.⁶³ The conical (*saca*) cap was actually worn by Parthian soldiers and royalty, although during

the Augustan period it was changed to the Phrygian cap with loose side flaps, and the latter headgear would remain standard in triumphal iconography throughout the empire.⁶⁴ The motif of a Parthian surrendering a raised Roman standard had already appeared on Augustan coins struck in both Rome (fig. 1) and Spain (fig. 3b), as well as on the Prima porta cuirass (fig. 4), and the coins would still have been in wide circulation at the time of the arch's dedication.

What is most remarkable about the Parthian Arch is the treatment of the Parthians themselves. In earlier triumphal iconography—primarily battle paintings and coins—barbarians had generally been shown in attitudes of subjugation: fleeing the Roman army, in the process of dying, or chained to a trophy (fig. 10).⁶⁵ Here, however, the earlier iconography of the vanquished foe has been altered in favor of a more positive portrayal, as with the Parthian on the Prima porta cuirass. Although the Parthians' lower position and smaller size vis-à-vis Augustus would have made their subordinate status clear, there is nothing inherently negative about their imagery. The gesture of acclamation had a long history in both Greek and Roman art as a sign of status of the associated god or ruler, and it was rare in Roman triumphal representations, especially for the enemy. The closest example is the figure of Bocchos on the coin of Faustus Sulla in 56 B.C. (fig. 10a), although he is kneeling, and his extended hand contains a laurel branch.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ The relief of a Victory in Copenhagen, found near the *Castra Praetoria* in Rome, is usually regarded as the left Victory on the arch (Zanker 1972, fig. 19; De Maria 1988, pl. 45.3), and it has been used in the reconstruction in figure 8; but the connection has been challenged: Nedergaard 1988b, 235; Vollkommer 1997, 255, no. 234.

⁶⁰ Nedergaard 2001, 121.

⁶¹ The Arch of Drusus I in Rome (Fuchs 1969, 45; Kleiner 1985, 33–5; De Maria 1988, 272–4, no. 60) has occasionally been cited as another example of barbarians set on the attic of an arch, but this seems unlikely. The arch was voted by the Senate in 9 B.C. as a posthumous honor for Drusus, and our knowledge of its appearance derives from two coins struck during the reign of his son Claudius. One coin featured an equestrian image of Drusus flanked by two trophies—a format repeated on the Britannic Arch of Claudius. The second is similar, although two captives were shown bound at the base of the trophies. It seems likely that the barbarians were added to the coin type only to enrich the narrative of the German victory. If they had actually been positioned on the attic, their low position would have made them essentially invisible from a vantage point on the ground, and seated figures never appeared, as far as we know, on any triumphal arch.

⁶² The Parthian images on the Vinicius coin were enlarged to signal their Eastern identity, but the surviving architecture

of the arch mandates much smaller images, which have been used in the reconstruction in figure 8. This represents a significant change from the standard reconstruction by Gatti (Kleiner 1985, pl. 5.2), where the Parthians are shown even larger than Augustus.

⁶³ Bittner 1985, 135–53, 208–16; Schneider 1986, 94–5; Salcedo 1994; Schneider 1998, 99.

⁶⁴ Ghirshman 1962, 47, figs. 59, 63C; Young 1964, 30, 31, pl. 11; Colledge 1967, 85, 144, pls. 6a, 6aa, 52. For general discussions of the Phrygian cap, see Seiterle 1985; Schneider 1986, 95–9, 123–4; Curtis 1998.

⁶⁵ For numismatic images of bound barbarians, see Crawford 1974, nos. 415 (62 B.C.), 426, 427 (56 B.C.), 429 (55 B.C.), 452.4–5 (48–47 B.C.); 468.2 (46–45 B.C.), 503; *BMCRR* 3 (Greuber 1910), 114.9 (Antony); *RIC* 1 (Sutherland and Carson 1984), pl. 1.6; *BMCRR* 1 (Mattingly 1983), pl. 5.8 (Emerita, Spain; 25–23 B.C.). For bound barbarians in a triumphal procession, see Ferris 2000, 34, fig. 11 (frieze of the temple of Apollo Sosianus, ca. 28 B.C.). Many of the battle paintings were dedicated in temples upon completion of the triumph, and would still have been visible, e.g., App. *Pun.* 66; Pliny *HN* 35.22–5; App. *Mith.* 17.116–7. For a possible triumphal monument on the Palatine featuring the Cimbri and Teutones, ca. 100 B.C., see Hölscher 1984b.

⁶⁶ Crawford 1974, no. 426.



Fig. 10. *a*, Denarius of Faustus Cornelius Sulla, 56 B.C. Bocchos offers a laurel branch to Sulla, with Jugurtha bound at right. (Crawford 1974, no. 426.1) *b*, Denarius of Julius Caesar, 46/45 B.C.; trophy with male and female captives. (Crawford 1974, 468.1) Coins reproduced 2:1. (Courtesy of British Museum)

Even the freedom of the Parthians' hands is remarkable. The hands of the enemy were normally

bound behind their backs, crossed in front, or otherwise positioned so as to suggest defeat. The opposing, heroic-diagonal format for the Parthians can be found in a variety of positive contexts, including divine contests, battles, and abductions; but within the surrounding area the closest formal parallels would have been the pendant images of Aeneas and Romulus in the Forum of Augustus (fig. 11) and, after 37, on the roof of the Temple of Divus Augustus.⁶⁷

Scholars tend to think that Greeks and Romans always viewed eastern attributes in a negative light, but during the middle and late Republic, Eastern costume—headgear, tunic, and pants—had a predominantly positive value within the city of Rome, in that it was used primarily for images of the Trojans and Attis. The former had been acknowledged as founders of the Roman people at least by the late fourth century B.C.; and as people of the East, Trojans were shown in essentially the same costume as the Parthians.⁶⁸ This was also true for Attis, whose cult had been brought with that of Cybele from Asia Minor to Rome during the Second Punic War, in large part because of the gods' close association with Troy.⁶⁹ Even Roma herself periodically wore the Phrygian cap on Republican coinage to indicate the city's Trojan ancestry, beginning with the war against Pyrrhus,⁷⁰ and it was worn by Aeneas in the pages of the *Aeneid*.⁷¹ The most conspicuous presentations of Eastern costume in Republican Rome had therefore been essentially positive due to the acknowledged role of Troy in the origins of the city; the Parthian Arch would have marked one of the first instances in the commemorative monuments of Rome in which Eastern costume was associated with an enemy.⁷² The visual effect of the costume on the

⁶⁷ Divine contests: Athena and Poseidon on the Parthenon west pediment (Stewart 1990, fig. 354); divine battles: Zeus and Athena on the Pergamon altar (Stewart 1990, figs. 694–5); mythological abductions: Boreas and Oreithyia on the Delian Temple of Apollo (Bruno 1976, 57, figs. 1, 2). In the Roman sphere the format was used primarily for representations of Roman heroes, such as the Catanian brothers (Manganaro 1996, 316, nos. 9, 10; Crawford 1974, 520, no. 511.3a), Aeneas and Romulus (Spinazzola 1953, pl. 17; Zanker 1988, 202, fig. 156; Spannagel 1999, 86–161), and Aeneas and Ascanius (Calciani 1981, fig. 137; Erim 1989, 56, fig. 80). For the corner acroteria on the Temple of Divus Augustus, see Fuchs 1969, 111–4; Rich 1998, 96. Fuchs identifies the left acroterion as Diomedes with the Palladion, but in that context, Romulus with the spolia opima makes far more sense.

⁶⁸ Torelli 1999, 24–5; Miller 1995, 458–61, 464 n. 48; Kosatz-Deissmann 1997, 94 (Troilos); Neils 1994 (Priam); Hampe 1981, 521–2 (Paris/Alexander); Rose 2002. The costume of the Persians, who continued to be represented in Republican

Rome, entailed a different type of headdress: Bittner 1985, 135–53, 208–16; Smith 1994, 108–13; Pfrommer 1998.

⁶⁹ More than 200 terracotta figurines of Attis have been recovered from the second century B.C. levels of the Temple of Cybele in Rome, and both trousers and Phrygian cap are standard features of his iconography: Vermaseren 1977a; Vermaseren 1977b, 1–36, nos. 1–199; Vermaseren and DeBoer 1986; Roller 1999, 274–6, 309; Lancellotti 2002.

⁷⁰ Roma with Phrygian cap: Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1997, 1050, no. 11; Crawford 1974, nos. 19.2, 21.1, 22.1, 24.1, 27.5. The Phrygian cap was also used for representations of Athena during the Republic: Cerchiai 2002.

⁷¹ Ov. *Fast.* 4.183; Verg. *Aen.* 4.215; 12.97–100; Beard 1994, 173–7; Roller 1998, 129–30; Roller 1999, 301–9; Galinsky 1969, 9.

⁷² There is evidence for only two earlier examples in which the Phrygian cap was worn by the enemy in Italian triumphal commemoration. The first occurs on a terracotta frieze from a second-century B.C. house in Fregellae (Coarelli 1994, 98–9,



Fig. 11. Paired paintings of Aeneas (left) and Romulus (right) from the Via dell'Abbondanza, Pompeii. (After Spinazzola 1953, pl. 17)

Augustan spectator would consequently have been much less pejorative than is usually assumed.⁷³

If we view all of the elements of the arch together, it is clear that the visual program effectively foreshadowed a series of statements made by Augustus in the *Res gestae*: his recovery of the standards lost by other commanders; his claim that the Parthians humbly sought *amicitia* when they returned those standards; and, above all, his preference for preserving rather than destroying those nations that could be treated with clemency.⁷⁴ This kind of ap-

proach to foreigners signaled a palpable change in attitude toward "the enemy," and although the triumphal arch format and the inclusion of the *Fasti Triumphales* situated the Parthian settlement squarely in the context of Republican conquest, the attic statuary group presented a very new conception of the peace that accompanied victory.⁷⁵

This iconography fits perfectly with the image of the barbarian on Augustan coinage, where *supplicatio/adoratio* and *fides* types began to be used with greater frequency.⁷⁶ The arch's Parthian im-

figs. 7–8; De Albentiis and Furiani 1997, 42–7). The battle in question is probably the First Syrian War, and the Easterners would consequently be members of the Seleucid army. The tomb of a late Republican commander on the Via Appia (35 B.C.) contains reliefs representing at least two subjugated people (Sydow 1974, 203, fig. 12; Hölscher 1988, 363–4, no. 199), one of whom wears a Phrygian cap, and it looks as if eastern and western barbarians were featured. The Easterner would not have represented a Parthian, however, since there had been no victories over them at the time in which the tomb was set up. The paintings carried in Pompey's triumph of 63 B.C. featured Pontic and Armenian warriors (App. *Mith.* 17.116–7); it is conceivable that the latter were shown in Eastern costume (cf. Smith 1987, pl. 16, no. 7).

⁷³For the ambivalent position of Eastern iconography during the empire, see Schneider 1998, 116–8; Rose 2002.

⁷⁴For the policy, see, in general, Gruen 1985; Campbell 1993, 227; Woolf 1993; Mattern 1999, 172–83, 186–8; Ferris

2000, 26–60; Burns 2003, 140–93.

⁷⁵Simpson (1992) and Rich (1998, 107–15) have argued that this arch is, in fact, the Actium arch. Simpson thought the Parthian Arch was never built, and Rich proposed that the original Actium arch was enlarged from single-bayed to triple-bayed after the Parthian settlement. The latter proposition would have required a significant amount of new cutting on the main arch, and no such signs have appeared on the associated blocks. Such a radical change of function is also unprecedented in the corpus of Roman triumphal arches.

⁷⁶*BMCRR* 1 (Mattingly 1983), pls. 1.7–12, 2.2–3, 11–2 (kneeling Parthian), pl. 2.7 (Sicily supported), pl. 4.16 (kneeling Celt), pls. 12.13–14 (Gaul offering his child to Augustus). Between 25 and 23 B.C., the mint of Emerita, Spain struck denarii with a reverse type of a foreigner tied to a trophy (*BMCRR* 1 [Mattingly 1983] pl. 5.8), but no bound barbarians appeared on coinage struck by the mint of Rome. In general, see Cody 2003; Kuttner 1995, 77–8, 107–11.

ages essentially constituted a mix of both types, and announced that foreigners had entered a hierarchical but benevolent relationship with Rome. As a result, the declaration of victory was lifted to a much more persuasive level: the earlier bound-and-chained format implied potential future resistance to Roman rule; the new conception suggested, in effect, that the East had finally been domesticated.⁷⁷

RECONFIGURING THE ENEMY: CHILDREN

Ancient Near Eastern, Greek, and Early Christian artists made little use of barbarian children in triumphal display, but they were relatively frequent in the monuments of imperial Rome, usually in the company of their mothers and/or fathers. The representation of two generations in a scene of victory imposed an important temporal structure on the visual exposition of Roman hegemony, for it implied that the control celebrated in the monument would be continuous. The later Imperial contexts in which barbarian children were featured, such as the column of Marcus Aurelius, could be extremely violent, with children pulled from the arms of their mothers by Roman soldiers; but during the early Empire, when foreign children first appeared in triumphal display, the iconography was much more pacific, and in the same spirit as the decoration of the Parthian Arch.⁷⁸

The new format was prompted in large part by a political program that the emperor developed from late Republican models. This program involved bringing the children of foreign kings or commanders to Rome for significant periods of time, and Roman literature has preserved the names of the most important participants.⁷⁹ Surrounded by Roman culture, these children would learn Latin, acquire Roman friends, and subsequently (in theory) return to their native lands and develop a foreign policy that was decidedly pro-Roman. Juba II, in whose Mauretanian kingdom the Cherchel cuirassed statue had been produced, was a note-

worthy by-product of this system. Although the program did not always work as well in practice as the emperors hoped, a number of foreign princes, especially from the East, were brought to Rome during the Augustan period.

This included Parthia, as the emperor notes in the *Res gestae* (32): "Phraates [IV], king of the Parthians, the son of Orodes, sent all his sons and grandsons to me in Italy, not through defeat in war, but sending his own children in token of his desire for our friendship."⁸⁰ The exact year in which Phraates' sons arrived is not certain, but the ancient accounts dealing with the return of the standards link them to the dispatch of these children.⁸¹ All are quoted below, and it is worth noting that two of the accounts, by Strabo and Velleius Paterculus, are early Imperial in date.

Strabo (*Geography* 16.1.28):

Phraates, his [Orodes'] successor was so eager for friendship with Caesar Augustus that he even sent him the trophies that the Parthians had set up as memorials of their defeat of the Romans. And, having called Titius to a conference, who at that time was prefect of Syria, he [Phraates] put in his hands as hostages four of his legitimate sons, Seraspades, Rhodaspes, Phraates, and Vonones, and two wives and four sons of these.

Velleius Paterculus (*History of Rome* 2.94.4):

He (Tiberius) brought it (Armenia) once more under the sovereignty of the Roman people, and gave the kingship to Artavasdes. Even the king of the Parthians, awed by the reputation of so great a name, sent his own children as hostages to Caesar.

Suetonius (*Augustus* 21.3):

The Parthians too readily yielded to him, when he laid claim to Armenia, and at his demand surrendered the standards which they had taken from Marcus Crassus and M. Antony; they offered him hostages besides, and once when there were several claimants to their throne, they would accept only the one whom he selected.

⁷⁷ This construction of the enemy, apparent also on the friezes of the Ara Pacis (see below), is not far removed from Kipling's *Gunga Din* (cf. Chowdhry 2000, 131–92), or 19th-century French paintings of pacified Algerians and Moroccans (Nochlin 2002, 82–3).

⁷⁸ Column of Marcus Aurelius, see Zanker 2000, fig. 85, scene 68, fig. 124, scene 104; Rawson 2003, 54–9. Early empire, see Kleiner 1992, 150, fig. 126 (Grand Camée); Kuttner 1995, pl. 4, fig. 87 (Boscureale cups); Currie 1996, 173 (Arch of Trajan, Beneventum). During the empire, the format of the barbarian woman holding a child was preferred to a scheme in which her hands were bound (Ferris 2000, 167).

⁷⁹ Braund 1984, 14–6; Kuttner 1995, 111–7.

⁸⁰ Two of Phraates' four sons were ultimately sent back to the East to assume the Parthian throne, although the reign of the eldest, Vonones, was unsuccessful, primarily because of his Romanized habits, and he was ultimately killed. Phraates V was called to the kingship in A.D. 35, but he died even before reaching Parthia. For a summary, see Nedergaard 1988a, 109–10.

⁸¹ The translations are by H.L. Jones (Strabo), Loeb ed., 1966; J.C. Rolfe (Suetonius), Loeb ed., 1979; J.S. Watson 1897 (Justin); F. W. Shipley (Velleius Paterculus), Loeb ed., 1979; Orosius 1964, 280; J.S. Watson 1897 (Eutropius).

Justin (B.42.5):

Whatever prisoners, accordingly, remained of the army of Crassus or Antony throughout Parthia, were collected together, and sent, with the military standards that had been taken, to Augustus. In addition to this, the sons and grandsons of Phraates were delivered to Augustus as hostages; and thus Caesar effected more by the power of his name than any other general could have done by his arms.⁸²

Orosius (6.21.29L):

The Parthians . . . of their own free will returned the standards to Caesar which they had taken away after killing Crassus, and, after giving royal hostages, merited a lasting treaty with humble supplication.

Eutropius (*Breviarium* 7.9):

He [Augustus] recovered Armenia from the Parthians; the Persians gave hostages to him, which they had given to no one before; and also restored the Roman standards, which they had taken from Crassus when he was defeated.

Each source discusses the return of the standards and the sending of hostages as two components of the same event, and Strabo links the transfer to Titius's tenure as governor of Syria. The date at which M. Titius became governor of Syria has been hotly debated for nearly a century: Lily Ross Taylor argued for 20 B.C.; Ronald Syme favored 10 B.C. or shortly before; and Mommsen proposed 8 B.C.⁸³ The most important evidence in establishing a date comes from Josephus, who notes that Herod the Great accompanied King Archelaos of Cappadocia to a meeting with Titius, governor of Syria, where Herod settled the dispute that had existed between the two men.⁸⁴ This occurred before Herod made his last trip to Rome, in 12 B.C.

Agrippa is usually believed to have been governor of Syria between 23 and 13 B.C., but this is not borne out by the sources. By 13 B.C. Agrippa had completed two five-year terms of proconsular imperium in the East, and Josephus consequently speaks of Agrippa's ten-year administration of Asia.⁸⁵ Nowhere is it stated that he was governor of Syria. Syme assumed that the hostages were sent in

10 B.C. because of a passage in the *Periochae* of Livy, which lists, in the events of that year, "pax cum Parthis facta . . . signis redditis."⁸⁶ Syme assumed that the author had mistakenly written *signa* ("standards") instead of *obsides* ("hostages"), but that would be a stunningly egregious error, and there is no reason to assume that it was made, especially in light of the large number of sources that link the return of the standards with the sending of the princes. This review of the extensive literary evidence indicates that Titius's tenure as governor of Syria and, by extension, the journey of the Parthian royal children to Rome, should be dated prior to 12 B.C.; and there was probably not a significant gap in time between the transfer of standards and hostages.⁸⁷

The emperor clearly wanted the princes' presence in Rome to be noted by as many people as possible: he paraded them through the center of the arena, and their clothes would have been recognizable because of the Parthian statues above the recently completed arch in the forum.⁸⁸ Certainly they were viewed as a kind of marvel: Suetonius describes their presence in Rome in his section on the games and public spectacles sponsored by Augustus, and he juxtaposes their appearance in the arena with the exhibition of a rhinoceros in the Saepta and an enormous snake in the Comitium. But the respect with which they were treated is clear, and they were seated directly behind Augustus in the arena. The fact that foreign princes—even those from a bellicose kingdom like Parthia—were now mixing freely with the emperor and the people in the course of a Roman spectacle was in and of itself a sign of peace.

Whether the princes traveled to Rome immediately after the return of the standards in 19 or a few years later, it seems certain that they would have been resident in Rome by 13 B.C., when the Ara Pacis was voted by the Senate in commemoration of Augustus's safe return from a three-year tour through Gaul and Spain. Like the diplomatic settlement in the East, his activities there dealt with reorganization rather than warfare, but they were

⁸² Justin abridged the writings of the Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus: Klotz 1952.

⁸³ Mommsen 1883, 166, no. 3; Taylor 1936; Syme 1989, 117–8. See also Reinhold 1933, 167–75; Corbishley 1934; Hanslik 1937; Bowersock 1965, 22 n. 6; Schurer 1973, 256–7; Roddaz 1984, 471; Nedergaard 1988a, 106–7.

⁸⁴ Strab. 16.1.28; Joseph. *AJ* 16.8.6.

⁸⁵ Joseph. *AJ* 16.3.3; Reinhold 1933, 167–75; Roddaz 1984, 340–3, 451–5, Agrippa's proconsular imperium gave him the

power to override the decisions of provincial governors; it does not mean that he *was* a provincial governor.

⁸⁶ Livy *Per.* 141.

⁸⁷ Syme 1989, 117–8. What we can safely assume, however, is that the compiler of the *Periochae* mistakenly associated the return of the standards with the year 11 rather than 20 B.C., and other errors or temporal shifts also occur in the manuscript: Livy *Per.* 47, 49, 52, 76, 103, 123.

⁸⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 43.3; Nedergaard 1988a, 108–9.

celebrated as an achievement that had essentially secured peace in the western half of the empire.⁸⁹ Agrippa had returned at the same time as Augustus from a three-year tour in the eastern Mediterranean, which focused, in particular, on the kingdoms of Pontus and Bosphoros. His arrangement of a marriage between the rulers of the two kingdoms, Polemo and Dynamis, ostensibly secured peace in the Black Sea region, and the Senate voted him a triumph in 14 B.C. in recognition of the achievement.⁹⁰

The successful activities of both men in East and West were heavily advertised on a series of gold and silver coins struck in 13 and 12 B.C. as well as on the Ara Pacis itself, which was completed in 9 B.C.⁹¹ The sculpture on the altar's precinct wall exhibits the same imagery as on the Prima porta and Cherkel breastplates but presents it in two distinct modes: one blending gods and heroes with allegorical figures, and another featuring Rome's aristocrats and priests.⁹² One defining component of the altar per se, however, was a frieze of standing provincial personifications, not unlike the Boscoreale cups or the later Hadrianeum reliefs.⁹³ This assemblage explicitly highlighted the empire-wide peace that accompanied Roman hegemony, and an abbreviated form of the same concept appeared on the exterior processional friezes.

The four facade panels at east and west celebrate the founders of the Romans (Aeneas [fig. 12], Romulus and Remus); Rome's conquest of the world (Roma seated on a pile of weapons); and the prosperity that flourished as a consequence of Rome's dominion (a fertility figure, probably Venus, holding two infants between personifications of land and sea).⁹⁴ The two long processional friezes at north and south appear to represent a supplicatio—a festival of thanksgiving to the gods—

that would have occurred upon the return of Augustus and Agrippa in 13 B.C.⁹⁵ Among the participants in those friezes are two boys in non-Roman costume who have alternately been identified as either foreign princes or the emperor's adopted sons, Gaius and Lucius (figs. 13–15). I have argued earlier that only the former label can be correct, and I would like to address the issue again in the context of Eastern costume, since the identifications hinge on that.⁹⁶

The boy on the south frieze is five to seven years old, judging by his height, and has long corkscrew curls encircled by a headband, possibly a diadem (fig. 13).⁹⁷ He wears a smooth torque necklace with bullet-shaped finials, a loose-fitting tunic, and long-laced shoes with a large trilobed flap. Tugging on the toga of Agrippa, he looks back toward three other small children in different, distinctly Roman dress with togas and *bullae* ("amulet necklaces"). The woman standing behind him, often identified as his mother, rests her right hand on his head (fig. 16); in doing so, she bends down slightly, which, significantly, makes her shorter than any of the other Roman women in the frieze. She too wears a diadem, pulled low to rest at the top of her forehead, and she is the only woman in the processional friezes who wears earrings and a scarf around her shoulders.⁹⁸ In other words, these two figures look different than anyone else around them.

This boy has usually been linked to another child in foreign dress who occupies a similar position in the procession on the north side (fig. 14). His long, wavy, shoulder-length hair ends in curls, and a braid appears at the central part. His twisted torque necklace differs in decoration from that of the boy on the south side, and a bracelet is visible above his left elbow (fig. 15). He has been portrayed as an infant who can walk only by reaching toward the two

⁸⁹ For Augustus's activities in Spain, see Ramage 1998, 435–54; for Gaul, see Kienast 1999, 120, 360–3; Halfmann 1986, 158–62.

⁹⁰ Dio Cass. 54.24.7; Magie 1950, 476–9; Roddaz 1984, 419–75; Halfmann 1986, 163–6. When Agrippa returned to Italy in 13 B.C., he brought with him Antipater, the eldest son of Herod (Joseph. *AJ* 16.3.3). There are no reports in the sources of children brought back by Augustus from Gaul and Spain, although aurei and denarii of 8 B.C. showing a Gaul handing his infant child to Augustus have been viewed as evidence for such a transfer (Kuttner 1995, 101–11; Rose 1990, 459–63).

⁹¹ For the coins, see Fullerton 1985.

⁹² Moretti 1948; Simon 1968; Pollini 1978, 75–172; La Rocca 1984; Rose 1990; Kuttner 1995, 100–11; La Rocca 2002; Borchhardt 2002, 92–3.

⁹³ Angelis Bertolotti 1985; Smith 1988a, 72–3; Koeppel 1987, 148–51; Kuttner 1995, 88–9, 259 n. 124. The frieze on the

recently discovered altar at Nikopolis, which appears to represent the Actian triumph of 29 B.C., also contained foreign kings and royal children, and would have conveyed the same basic message as the Ara Pacis (Zachos 2003, 90–2).

⁹⁴ Piles of weapons also decorated the doors of the new Temple of Mars Ultor, (*Ov. Fast.* 5.561), and the effect must have been similar to that in the friezes from the Propylon of Athena at Pergamon (Dintsis 1986, pl. 30.12, 31.1, 40.3, 83.1).

⁹⁵ Billows 1993; Dio Cass. 54.27.1.

⁹⁶ The foreign character of the two boys was first pointed out by Erika Simon (1968, 18, 21), and has subsequently been addressed by Ann Kuttner (1995, 99–123), John Pollini (1987, 27), Diana Kleiner (1992, 93), and me (Rose 1990).

⁹⁷ Pollini 1987, 22–7.

⁹⁸ Pollini 1978, 118–9; Rose 1990, 456–9; Parfenov 1996; La Rocca 2002, 286–96.

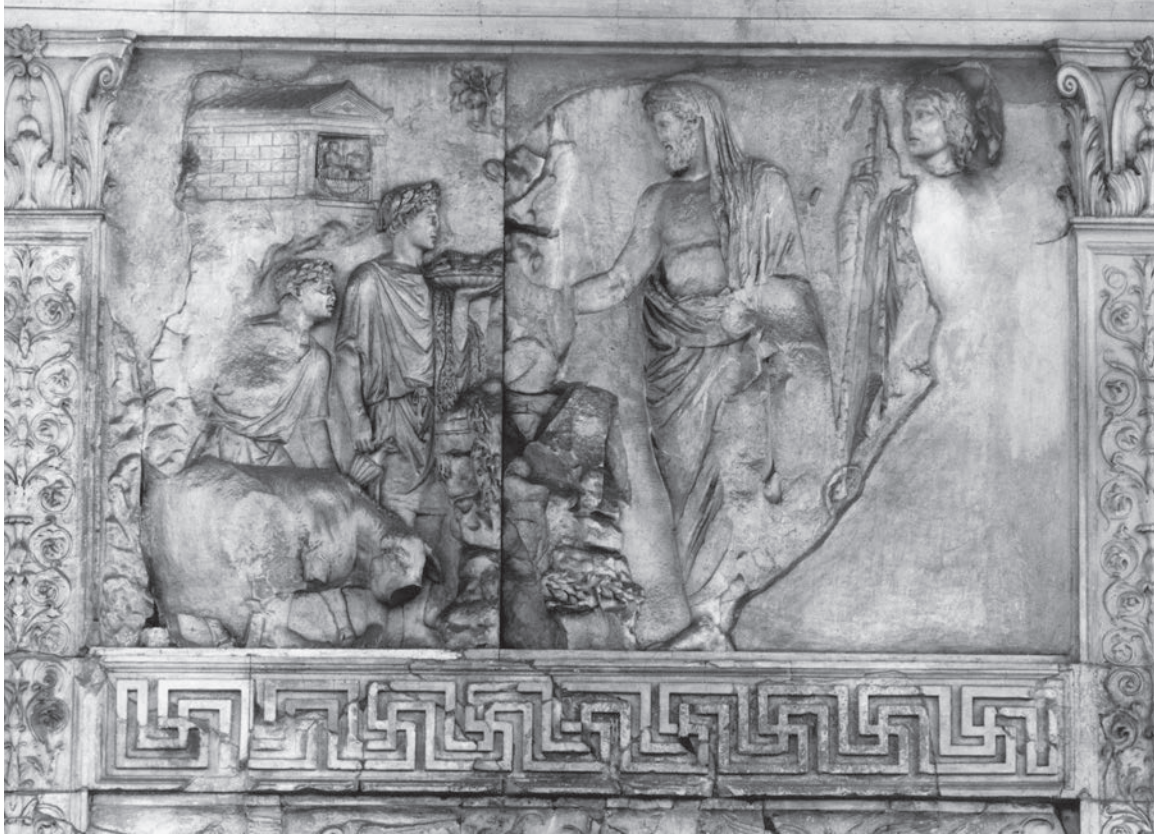


Fig. 12. Ara Pacis Augustae, arrival of Aeneas at Lavinium. (DAI Rome, neg. no. 77.648)

togate men in front of him, grasping the hand of one and the toga of the other. His plump face and thick, slightly parted lips are standard in portraits of very young children, even in the mythological realm, such as Cupid, Romulus/Remus, and Telephos as infants. The boy has been turned toward the relief plane, and his sleeveless tunic has been hiked up at the rear so that his bare buttocks are clearly visible to the eye of the spectator.

The identity of these two children has generated more controversy than that of any other figure on the altar, in part because of a modern assumption that Roman rules regarding the use of costume in state art were more fluid for children than adults. But careful examination of children's images and the spectacles in which they

were involved reveals that very firm parameters governed their representation. The freeborn children of Rome were never shown as foreigners in Roman art, neither public nor private, and the Ara Pacis affords us one of our best glimpses as to how aristocratic Roman boys were commonly shown during the early empire: with short hair that leaves the ears uncovered, and wearing the *toga praetexta* and a *bulla* around the neck.⁹⁹

All of the iconography used for the two foreign children described above can, in fact, be easily paralleled.¹⁰⁰ The long corkscrew-shaped locks worn by the boy on the south frieze are rare in Hellenistic and Roman portraiture, but close comparanda appear on Parthian coinage, especially in portraits of kings and dynasts of the first century B.C./A.D.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ La Rocca (1994a, 284–6, no. 7) has argued that freeborn Roman youths could be shown in Roman monuments with long hair, and cites as his evidence a Julio-Claudian relief from the Campidoglio showing a youth with long hair and a bare upper torso standing next to a togate male. There are many representations of freeborn Roman children on state monuments in Rome, and they are all shown in the same manner: clothed (no bare chests), with short hair, and wearing a *bulla* (e.g., Gercke 1968; Gabelmann 1985). No comparanda exist to prove

that the Campidoglio fragment represents a freeborn Roman; the comparanda prove exactly the opposite, and the boy should be viewed as another representation of a foreigner.

¹⁰⁰ The most recent discussion of their identity appears in La Rocca 2002.

¹⁰¹ For the hairstyle, see Smith 1988b, pls. 78.6–7; *BMC Parthia* (Wroth 1903), pls. 9.1–2, 15.1, 18.15–16, 19.2 (Parthian coins).



Fig. 13. Ara Pacis Augustae, south frieze, detail of Agrippa with foreign woman and boy. (After Simon 1968, pl. 14)

The shoes are distinctly Eastern, and the same style is worn by Parthians in Roman victory monuments, as well as by Attis.¹⁰² Torques were popular throughout a broad geographic area in the East, especially in the Bosphoran empire and in Parthia, where they had been worn by nobles and soldiers since the Persian empire.¹⁰³

The headband of the woman standing behind this child is especially significant in that it is not worn in the hair, as a regal diadem or fillet usually was, but at the top of the forehead. Such headbands

can be found in Dionysiac iconography, but in the historical realm, only Parthian royalty wore them in this fashion. Parthian diadems were at first fixed within their hair, as was the case with other Hellenistic monarchs; but in the early first century B.C. the diadems moved to the top of the forehead, and they were worn in that position for the remainder of the Parthian empire (fig. 17).¹⁰⁴

If all of these iconographic features are examined as a group, they point directly toward Parthia, and therefore toward a Parthian identity for the boy and the woman behind him. If this evidence, in turn, is placed next to the literary sources that describe the dispatch of the Parthian royal family to Rome, sometime between 20 and 13, then it seems very likely that we have here a representation of two members of that family, probably the wife of one of the four Parthian princes and her son.¹⁰⁵ Whether they were placed next to Agrippa to highlight the recent conclusion of his eastern assignment, or to indicate that they actually traveled with him back to Rome, cannot be determined.

The infant on the north frieze has been linked to the children who appear on the early Imperial Boscoreale cups, and on gold and silver coins of 8 B.C.¹⁰⁶ In each case, one or more Gauls passes his infant children to the seated figure of Augustus, with the obvious visual implication that the emperor, who reaches out his hand, will take the children as hostages to Rome. The treatment of the child's hair is the same in all three examples, and the two Gallic children on the Boscoreale cups also feature the partially exposed buttocks under the tunic, as well as the need for assistance in walking. The torque, worn by Celts as well as Parthians, was frequently used to signal Celtic ethnicity in Roman triumphal monuments that were focused on Gaul or Germany. Metal armlets above the elbow were

¹⁰² Rose 1990, 456; Kuttner 1995, 102; Sanders 1996, 384 (Nemrud Dagi).

¹⁰³ Schuppe 1937; Polacco 1955, 82–9; Ghirshman 1962, figs. 99, 110; Colledge 1977, 86, 111; Kuttner 1995, 265 n. 34; Pfrommer 1998, 61–5.

¹⁰⁴ Ghirshman 1962, 107, 140–55, 216, 217; *BMC Parthia* (Wroth 1903), pls. 8–36; Smith 1988b, 101. The Iranian link to this kind of headband is also apparent in the ancient terminology. The word for the Dionysiac headband was *mitra*, which Latin authors also used to refer to the Phrygian cap: Ridder 1904. The *ethne* from the Aphrodisias Sebasteion with an identical headband (Smith 1988a, 66–7, no. 4, pl. 4) therefore probably represents a region associated with the Parthians rather than Bosphoros (Rose 1990, 459). Her Eastern affiliation is also suggested by the conical hat placed next to her (compare those in Balty 1984a). In the second half of the first century A.D.,

diadems worn at the top of the forehead began to become popular in the portraiture of aristocratic Palmyrene women, probably prompted by the diadem's long association with Eastern royalty (Colledge 1976, 150).

¹⁰⁵ This represents a modification of my views in 1990, where I identified the woman as Dynamis, queen of Bosphoros, and her son. Kuttner (1995, 104) believes her to represent Iotape I, Queen of Cappadocia. La Rocca (2002, 286–96) considers her a symbolic figure with Dionysiac associations. Two foreign children were also shown in the triumphal chariot of Augustus on the Nikopolis altar frieze, possibly the twins of Cleopatra and Antony (Zachos 2003, 90–2).

¹⁰⁶ Héron De Villefosse 1899, 150–6, 162 n. 1; Kuttner 1995, 99–117; Rose 1990, 459–61. Ann Kuttner has argued that these cups copy the iconography of a now lost Augustan monument in Rome.



Fig. 14. Ara Pacis Augustae, north frieze, detail of foreign child with Romans. (DAI Rome, neg. no. 72.2402)

also a component of Gallic costume, and comparable examples can be found, along with a torque necklace, on Imperial reliefs of the Gallic god Cernunnos.¹⁰⁷ These converging signs mandate a Gallic identity for this child, almost certainly sent to Rome as a hostage; his presence here incontrovertibly alluded to the successful conclusion of the emperor's reorganization of Gaul and Spain, which was the primary reason for the construction of the altar.¹⁰⁸

The two foreign children, then, represented the peace that had been achieved in both East and West, just like the Prima porta breastplate, and their inclusion on the altar is reminiscent of the Parthian princes' appearance with Augustus in the arena following their arrival in Rome. The regions they symbolized had figured among the fiercest enemies of the Roman state, and their participation in a Roman supplicatio, honoring Roman gods and marching with the priests and citizens of Rome, would have signaled how secure the future of the Pax Augusta actually was. The harmony that existed between Romans and obedient foreigners had, of course, been stressed by earlier monuments in Rome: a long line



Fig. 15. Ara Pacis Augustae, north frieze, detail of foreign child. (After Conlin 1997, fig. 138)

¹⁰⁷ Stemmer 1978, pl. 26.1 (3.23); Blázquez 1988, 840–1, no. 13; Hatt 1989, 232, no. 196; Kuttner 1995, 101, 263–4 n. 23. Compare also the torque necklaces worn by the Celtic deities Esus, Smertulus, and Sucellus (Hatt 1989, 74, fig. 59a; 80, fig. 64a; 92, fig. 75; 97, fig. 82; 123, fig. 95; 231, fig. 105). The

hair of the child is comparable to that of the personification of Gaul on the Prima porta cuirass (Kähler 1959, pl. 19).

¹⁰⁸ La Rocca (2002, 285) no longer regards this as a representation of Lucius.



Fig. 16. Ara Pacis Augustae, south frieze, detail of foreign woman. (After LaRocca 2002, fig. 16)

of statues of Roma and the Roman people, dedicated by kings and cities in Asia Minor, had stood on the Capitoline at least since the Sullan period, and other gifts from foreign royalty were contained there as well; but the visual commemoration of Romans and foreigners joined together in a state celebration like the *supplicatio* was something new.¹⁰⁹

With such a straightforward iconographic tradition for both Roman and barbarian children, why have the two foreign boys been identified so often as Gaius and Lucius, the adopted sons of the emperor? Answering the question requires an examination of the polyvalence of Eastern costume in Roman society, especially as it relates to Parthia and Troy, because the interaction of the two in Augustan Rome was more complex than scholars have tradi-

tionally assumed. This, in turn, requires an investigation of the *lusus Troiae* ("Troy games"), which was the only state ceremony in which the patrician youths of Rome wore torques.

The *lusus Troiae* was an equestrian parade and mock battle staged by elite Roman boys, and although the date at which it was introduced is unclear, the *lusus* had become firmly linked to Troy by the time Sulla revived it in the early first century B.C. The ceremony was reserved for sons of senators and thus also of the imperial family, generally between the ages of 8 and 14; in the early Empire that probably meant between 200 and 300 boys.¹¹⁰ The Julio-Claudian *lusus* was often held in conjunction with other major events, such as Caesar's triumph in 46 B.C., Drusilla's deification in 38, and the Saecular Games of 47.¹¹¹ Not surprisingly, it attained special prominence during the reign of Augustus, when it was staged several times: Gaius participated in the games at the dedication of the Theater of Marcellus in 13 or 11 B.C., and Agrippa Postumus rode in the games of 2 B.C., when the Forum of Augustus was dedicated, but there is no evidence that Lucius ever took part.¹¹² He would have been too young to ride in the games of 13 B.C., which is why only Gaius is mentioned, and too old at the games of 2 B.C., because he had already received the *toga virilis*.

The most elaborate description of the pageant is provided in *Aeneid* 5, where Vergil recounts the funeral games of Anchises.¹¹³ Many assume that Vergil's description illustrates the *lusus Troiae* as it would have been conducted during the reign of his patron Augustus, and the accounts of the *lusus* by Suetonius, among others, support this hypothesis.¹¹⁴

The two most distinctive features of the boys' costume were a twisted metal torque and a *tonsa corona*, which appears to have been a garland of cut leaves.¹¹⁵ Each carried two wooden spears with iron tips; some wore quivers on their shoulders; and later, during the mock battle, they donned helmets.¹¹⁶ No Roman account indicates that any additional emblems of the East were used; or that the

¹⁰⁹ Mellor 1978; Reusser 1993, 138–58; Reusser 1995, 251. The base with the statues of Roma and the Roman people was at least 17 m in length. Gifts from foreign royalty: Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.30.68; Degraasi 1951–1952, 16, 18, 20, no. 11; Braund 1984, 25, 32–3.

¹¹⁰ Boys of nobility in the *lusus Troiae*: Dio Cass. 49.43.3; 48.20.2. Michael Sage has given me the benefit of his expertise on this point.

¹¹¹ For the *lusus Troiae* see Toutain 1877; Schneider 1927; Mehl 1956; Williams 1960, 145–57; Weinstock 1971, 88; H. Fuchs 1990; La Rocca 1994a, 284–6; La Rocca 2002, 283–6.

¹¹² Theater of Marcellus: 13 or 11 B.C.; Plin. *HN* 8.65; Dio

Cass. 54.26.1; Temple of Mars Ultor: 12 May 2 B.C.; Dio Cass. 55.10.6–7.

¹¹³ Verg. *Aen.* 5.545–603.

¹¹⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 43.2. See also *Iul.* 39.2 and *Tib.* 6.4.

¹¹⁵ See Fuchs 1990, 6–8, and Williams 1960, 148, who offers the most plausible analysis. La Rocca (2002, 284) regards the band as the *tonsa corona*, mentioned by Vergil as the headgear worn during the *lusus Troiae*. But in Latin the word *corona* generally signifies a garland, not the kind of band worn by the boy on the Ara Pacis, and there is no indication that the band has been trimmed (*tonsa*).

¹¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 5.557–8; Williams 1960, 148 (*Aen.* 5.673).



Fig. 17. Coin of Parthian king, before 57 B.C. (BMC Parthia [Wroth 1903], pl. 12.1) Coin reproduced 2:1. (Courtesy of British Museum)

games involved any change in Roman hairstyle, shoes, or removal of the boys' amulets; or that women with Parthian or Dionysiac headbands were associated with the festivities. All of those features would seem very unlikely in a state athletic event that included the sons of senators and the emperor.

The assembled evidence, then, shows that the costume of the *lusus Troiae* does not match the foreign dress of the two children on the Ara Pacis, and there is no reason to associate either boy with the *lusus*.¹¹⁷ Proper dress was essential during the supplicatio, and the designers have clearly devoted considerable attention to each participant's costume and attributes, as was true for all state ceremonies in Roman art. The costume of the *lusus Troiae* was not worn during a supplicatio, nor were any other costumes connected to athletic events.¹¹⁸

In recent scholarship on the Ara Pacis, the link between the *lusus Troiae* and the processional friezes appears to be based on two assumptions: (1) that foreigners would not be shown mixing with Romans on a state monument; and (2) that Augustus would have had no qualms about representing his sons as Trojans on a public altar like the Ara Pacis. The arguments above were intended to put to rest the first issue, since the interaction of Romans and foreigners, made possible by Rome's conquest of the Mediterranean, is one of the cen-

tral components of the coinage, monuments, and literature of the Augustan period.

In regard to the second, it seems highly unlikely that Gaius and Lucius would have been presented as Trojans on a monument like the Ara Pacis, based on the literary accounts dealing with the early Empire. Both Dio and Suetonius describe Augustus's public treatment of the two boys during a festival in 13 B.C., which is probably the supplicatio that is represented on the altar.

Dio 54.27.1:

[Augustus] rebuked Tiberius, because at the festival given under Tiberius' management, in fulfillment of a vow for the emperor's return, he had seated Gaius at the emperor's side, and he also rebuked the people for honoring Gaius with applause and eulogies.¹¹⁹

Suetonius *Augustus* 56:

When they were still under age and the audience at the theater rose as one man in their honor, and stood up and applauded them, he (Augustus) expressed strong disapproval.¹²⁰

The construction of an empire and a dynasty to run it requires cautious planning, as Augustus knew, especially if one is simultaneously claiming a restoration of the republic. At this point there is nothing in the sources to indicate that any special honors were granted to Gaius and Lucius; the reverse, in fact, seems to have been true. The representation of Gaius and Lucius as Trojans on the Ara Pacis would have conferred upon them the kind of heroic status that Augustus was then at pains to avoid. Moreover, if the designers had wanted the spectators to recognize the foreign costumes of the two boys as Trojan, one would have expected some resonance of the iconography in the Aeneas at Lavinium relief, where several Trojans are represented (fig. 12), and there is no correspondence between them.¹²¹ It is worth noting that the costume of Augustus on the altar was no different from that of the other priests and officials in the procession, and there is no reason to think that the costume of Gaius and Lucius would have been handled any differently. The portrait type

¹¹⁷ The torque is the most interesting costume feature in the *lusus Troiae*, since Trojans never wore torques in ancient art. I have argued elsewhere that the use of the torque in the *lusus* must have been prompted by an intermediary that encompassed both Troy and Rome, and the cult of Cybele is the most likely candidate (Rose 2002, 334–5). That cult was brought from Asia Minor to Rome largely because the goddess was so closely associated with Troy, and torques were worn by Cybele's priests as well as by Attis. The staging of the *lusus Troiae* in the

Circus Maximus, directly below the Palatine Temple of Cybele, also fortified the connection between the two.

¹¹⁸ Wissowa 1931.

¹¹⁹ Trans. E. Cary, Loeb ed., 1968.

¹²⁰ Trans. J.C. Rolfe, Loeb ed., 1914.

¹²¹ The iconography of the relief links it firmly to Aeneas and the Trojans, and does not support the reinterpretation proposed by Paul Rehak, who identifies the sacrificing figure as Numa (Rehak 2001).

of Gaius does, in fact, appear on the youthful *camillus* on the north frieze who looks down toward the Gallic child (fig. 14, left), and the togate boy with bulla behind Gaius is probably his brother Lucius.¹²²

We tend to forget that no Roman child or adult was ever represented as a Trojan, in either public or private imagery, and this brings us again to the issue of the bilingual nature of the Eastern costume. Trojans had been cast as people of the East since the fifth century B.C., and as such they were dressed in trousers and a Phrygian cap. This had also been the costume of the Persians, as it was now of the Parthians, which meant that Eastern dress had a dual value in the Roman world—alternately high (Trojan) or low (Parthian) depending on the context.¹²³

Since the ancestors of the Romans wore the same costume as Rome's enemies, it is not surprising that images of Trojans were kept separate from those of Parthians in the public spaces of Imperial Rome, and an equally cautious approach is evident in the early iconography of Aeneas.¹²⁴ On late Republican coins and paintings Aeneas was presented in heroic nudity, which sidesteps the problem, but the issue reappeared during the design of the Aeneas panel on the Ara Pacis, which appears to have been the first large-scale presentation of Trojans on a Roman monument (fig. 12).¹²⁵

Here Aeneas and his *camilli* were dressed in distinctively Roman costume: Aeneas wears the toga without tunic, which was considered the oldest Roman garb, and his attendants are dressed as contemporary Roman acolytes.¹²⁶ The only non-Roman note is sounded by the man behind Aeneas—probably his companion Achates—who wears the same long-sleeved tunic that appears on Achates in the Vatican Vergil. Such tunics were never worn by free-born Romans in public or private art until late antiquity, and Aulus Gellius refers to them as

inappropriate garb in Rome and Latium.¹²⁷ In this scene, as in the Vatican Vergil, it seems to have been intended as an indication of Trojan identity. This would mean, from the point of view of costume, that three sequential phases are represented here as one moves from right to left: Trojan (Achates), early Roman (Aeneas), and contemporary Roman (Aeneas's attendants). In other words, several tenses have been conflated within a single image, with the varying costumes providing the temporal structure, and none of those costumes duplicates the foreign dress of the children in the processional friezes.

This examination of the Aeneas panel reveals how sensitive the designers were to the layers of meaning inherent in Trojan iconography and how cautiously they approached the issue of Eastern dress. It is certainly no accident that the two boys in foreign dress share no iconographic traits with the Trojans on the same monument; the deviation in imagery was intended to underscore the difference between Trojans and Parthians, in spite of their common Eastern affiliation, and it is hardly surprising that Aeneas himself was not represented in Eastern costume until the early Christian period.¹²⁸

This lengthy discussion of the Ara Pacis will, I hope, have made it easier to understand why there has been so much controversy and confusion over the identities of the foreigners in the processional friezes. The variable value of the Eastern costume and the uneasy interaction of Trojan and Parthian iconography can make it difficult to determine whether one is viewing the founders of the Romans or their fiercest opponents. The problems in deciphering this iconography have consistently obscured one of the central messages of the Ara Pacis, which is that Rome now dominated both East and West, and the steps taken by Augustus to guarantee the maintenance of that peace would yield a prosperous future.

¹²² Pollini 1987, 22–5; Rose 1990, 463–4. Another important point is that Lucius would have been four years old at the time of the supplicatio of 13 B.C., which appears to be the event represented on the altar, and the child in foreign dress on the north frieze is still a toddler.

¹²³ Hall 1988; Miller 1995. Cf. Said 1979, 99, on the dual nature of the East in 19th-century Europe.

¹²⁴ The historiated frieze in the Basilica Aemilia (Simon 1966; Kraenzle 1994), which represents the foundations of Rome, does not appear to have featured Trojans, although it is not complete. If Trojans were included, they were probably shown in Roman costume, as in the Esquiline tomb of the Statilii (Sapelli 1998, fig. 15, top panel).

¹²⁵ For the Republican iconography of Aeneas, see Fuchs 1973; Noelke 1976; Calciani 1981; Evans 1992, 35–57; Rose 2002, 338–41; Helbig 3:461–5, no. 2489, Sapelli 1998, fig. 15,

top panel (Esquiline Tomb of the Statilii).

¹²⁶ For the costume of Aeneas see Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 6.12.

¹²⁷ Wit 1959, pls. 6, 7, 18; Stevenson 1983, 41, fig. 10, 42, fig. 11, 67, fig. 31. Aul. Gell. 6.12 (costumes). Although the relief is broken at the right, enough of this figure survives to indicate that he is not wearing a belt and thus had no trousers (Moretti 1948, 35, pl. C), nor are trousers worn by Achates in the Vatican Vergil.

¹²⁸ The boy Ascanius does begin to wear Eastern dress by 2 B.C., when the statuary group of Aeneas and his family was dedicated in the Forum of Augustus (Calciani 1981, nos. 97–154; Erim 1989, 56, fig. 80; Paribeni 1984; Rose 2002, 338–9), but such groups were never exhibited in the vicinity of monuments featuring Parthians. For the role of Troy in Augustan propaganda, see, in general, Pani 1975.

PLAYING WITH TIME IN ROME

Triumphal imagery of all periods often features temporal cross-references intended to lift the status of the victor's achievement by associating it with even greater conquests and conquerors of the past. This could involve the metaphorical or literal appropriation of earlier victory monuments, as in the column of Marcus Aurelius or the arch of Constantine, but equally important were the spectacles staged at the inauguration of these monuments, which vastly expanded the range of temporal references in the overall design. This is especially evident in the Parthian campaign of Gaius Caesar, which was presented as the culmination of five centuries of campaigns against the East, and one can discern most aspects of the program in the Forum of Augustus and the Vicus Sandaliarius altar, which occupied the same neighborhood.

Expectations for a lasting peace with Parthia had obviously been high, and the hostage system was, in theory, a prudent mechanism for ensuring its success, but it never worked as well as the Romans intended, and the new campaign against Parthia was in preparation by 2 B.C., only seven years after the Ara Pacis was finished. The cause of the renewed

hostilities was a revolt in Armenia, where the king, Artavasdes, had been driven out in favor of the anti-Roman Tigranes III, allegedly with Parthian assistance. A new campaign designed to settle the Armenian succession was planned in 2 B.C. and assigned by Augustus to his eldest adopted son, Gaius Caesar, who received a grant of proconsular imperium even though he was only 18 years of age.¹²⁹

The dispute with Parthia and Armenia would ultimately be settled, once again, by diplomacy, but the Augustan writers presented it as a mission designed to avenge the violence and humiliation to which the Parthians had subjected the armies of Crassus.¹³⁰ No other military campaign during the Augustan period featured a departure as prominent as this one, and it was framed by visual and verbal references that situated Gaius's incipient campaign in the context of earlier military achievements involving Persia and Parthia.¹³¹ His official departure from Rome, in May of 2 B.C., was timed to coincide with the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, which in turn included the staging of several mock naval battles, or *naumachiae*.¹³² The 36 crocodiles slaughtered in the flooded Circus Flaminius overtly alluded to the

¹²⁹ On the campaign of Gaius, see Magie 1950, 481–5; Romer 1978; Syme 1978, 8–14; Bowersock 1984; Halfmann 1986, 166–8; Herbert-Brown 1994, 95–108; Borchhardt 2002, 100–6.

¹³⁰ Syme 1978, 8–10; Wissemann 1982, 111–23; Bowersock 1984, 171–2.

¹³¹ The same equation between Persia and Parthia is probably also discernible in late Republican domestic decoration. The allegorical painting at Boscoreale showing Macedonian rule over Asia, which featured a personification of Persia, was probably commissioned by someone associated with the Eastern campaigns of Pompey, Caesar, or Antony: Smith 1994, 109–13, 126–7; Torelli 2003, 253.

¹³² Peter Herz (1980) has argued that Gaius Caesar departed from Rome on 29 January 1 B.C., and this date has been followed in the subsequent scholarship dealing with Gaius's campaign (Halfmann 1986, 166–7; Kienast 1990, 74; Borchhardt 2002, 100). His evidence rests on a fragmentary section of the *Fasti Praenestini* that refers to an Augustan *feria* in the notation for 29 January: *Feriae ex [s(enatus) c(onsulta) quod eo die] ab Imp. Caes[are Augusto pont(ifice)] maxi[m]o ca. 23 letters]marina[ca. 9 letters Hunc diem et sequentem] divus Caesar add[idit] ut per eos [augeretur a[nnus]; dated by Deggrassi (1963, 117, 404) between 12 and 2 B.C. Herz restores the context of "[marina[as "ad provincias trans]marina[s ordinand(as) missus est," and notes that the only overseas campaign during this general period was that of Gaius Caesar. This historical reconstruction does not work for a variety of reasons. There is no evidence to suggest that a commander would not have begun his campaign shortly after his *tripudium* had been performed (Marbach 1939), and the Vicus Sandaliarius altar indicates conclusively that the *tripudium* of Gaius occurred before the dedication of the Forum of Augustus (12 May 2 B.C.). Ovid consistently links the dedication of the Temple of Mars*

Ultor with the Parthian threat, and with the beginning of Gaius Caesar's campaign against the Parthians (*Ars Am.* 1.179–228; *Fast.* 5.545–98; Syme 1978, 8–10; Bowersock 1984, 171–3). Taken together, this evidence suggests that Gaius would have left Rome in May of 2 B.C., shortly after Augustus's reenactment of the Battle of Salamis. It is difficult to believe that Gaius's departure would have been delayed until nearly nine months after his *tripudium*, in the middle of winter, when the unparalleled pomp associated with the dedication of the new forum had faded. Gaius was traveling with an army, and a sea voyage in late spring would have afforded them a much safer crossing than a date at the end of January, when sailing conditions were at their most treacherous (Casson 1971, 270). The restoration of "ad provincias transmarinas" in the *Fasti Praenestini*, now attested also in similar form in the *senatus consultum* of Germanicus (Gonzales-Arce 1988, 307, line 15; Sánchez-Ostiz Gutiérrez 1999, 123–4), may well be correct, but Gaius is not the only candidate for the calendar notation. Tiberius began an eastern mission in 6 B.C., having received the consulship and a triumph in the preceding year. His assignment involved negotiation with the Parthians regarding royal succession in Armenia, and he received *tribunicia potestas* and *imperium maius* before beginning what would have been the first major eastern mission since that of Agrippa in 16 B.C. (Levick 1972; Bowersock 1984, 170). A Tiberian restoration would also fit better with the overall structure of the *Fasti Praenestini*, where references to Tiberius are relatively frequent, and references to Gaius and Lucius are absent. A survey of the surviving early Imperial calendars, in fact, shows that only the births or deaths of Gaius and Lucius merited notation (Deggrassi 1963, 413–4, 499; Reynolds et al. 1981, 134–5). The *Fasti Praenestini*, in other words, supplies no evidence regarding the inauguration of Gaius's eastern campaign.

Actium victory, but the most dazzling of these spectacles—the reenactment of the Battle of Salamis with 3,000 gladiators in Greek and Persian costume—was clearly intended to magnify the value of the new Parthian campaign and reinforce the dual meaning of the Mars temple.¹³³ This building had originally been vowed on the eve of the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C., the *ultor* in the title referring to Octavian's vengeance against the assassins of his adoptive father Caesar. By the time of the temple's dedication, however, the *ultio* in question also signified Rome's vengeance against Parthia,¹³⁴ and the defining moment of the temple's dedication would have been the formal installation in the cella of the recovered Roman standards.¹³⁵ These standards appear to have been displayed on the raised podium in the cella apse, and were thus the primary visual focus of the temple's interior.¹³⁶ This Parthian emphasis also extended to the forum's painted decoration: Augustus installed in a prominent location two paintings by Apelles that showed Alexander the Great in triumph, undoubtedly over the Persians, and the emperor's success over the Parthians would consequently have been conflated with that of Alexander.¹³⁷

From now on, any generals beginning a military campaign would formally depart from this forum,

although Gaius would have been the first to do so, and this point was not lost on the Augustan poets.¹³⁸ Ovid juxtaposes the dedication of the Mars temple with the inauguration of Gaius's campaign, and heralds him as a new *Utor* who would, in theory, bring the same devastation to the Parthians that they had inflicted on the armies of Crassus. Gaius's strength in youth was compared to that of Hercules, when strangling snakes, or Bacchus, when conquering India, and similar divine analogies characterized the decoration of his house, which included paintings of Mars, Venus, Hercules, and Minerva riding on the backs of Victories.¹³⁹

As Gaius stood before the newly dedicated temple of Mars preparing to depart, he would have been surrounded by a network of visual and verbal signs that conveyed the extent of Rome's dominion.¹⁴⁰ Flanking the portico caryatids were alternating shield masks denoting Egypt and Gaul, intended to signal Roman hegemony in East and West, while inscribed lists of subject peoples advertised the regional components of the growing empire.¹⁴¹ The Republican triumphatores who had made those victories possible appeared in effigy in the niches of the porticoes, and the weapons seized from their respective enemies were reproduced in relief on the new doors of the temple, thus echo-

¹³³ For the crocodiles in the Circus Flaminius, see Dio Cass. 55.10.8; for the Salamis reenactment see *Res gestae* 23; Dio Cass. 55.10.7; Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.171–2; Hollis 1977, 63–4; Hölischer 1984a; Bowersock 1984, 175–6; Syme 1984, 922; Schneider 1986, 65; Spawforth 1994, 238; Schneider 1998, 112–3; Schäfer 1998, 100; Alcock 2002, 82. For the location of the “Salamis” *naumachia*, at the base of the Janiculum Hill, see Coleman 1993, 52–4 with fig. 1.

¹³⁴ The redefinition began in 20 B.C. with the voting of the Capitoline Temple of Mars Ultor as a repository for the recovered standards (Bonnefond 1987, 271–7; Spannagel 1999, 60–78). Ovid (*Fast.* 5.569–96) highlights the dual significance of the “Utor” epithet, and links it to the threats posed by the assassins of Caesar as well as the Parthians. This kind of redefinition is not far from the one that characterized the Battle of Actium, which was publicly presented as a conflict with Egypt, rather than a fellow Roman: Gurval 1995, 189–208.

¹³⁵ Spannagel 1999, 224–55. In other words, the stimulus for the construction of the forum had changed from civil war to foreign conflict, although the cult of Mars Ultor had already acquired this connotation by 19 B.C., when the Roman standards recovered from the Parthians were placed in the new monopteros of Mars on the Capitoline.

¹³⁶ *Res gestae* 29; Kockel 1995, 291; Ganzert 1996, 291; 2000, 106. Ganzert notes that there is no archaeological evidence for a colossal or even overlife-size statue of Mars here, but it is hard to believe that his image was absent from the cella.

¹³⁷ One of the paintings featured the personification of war; the other included the Dioscuri with Victory, and they were set up in the most frequented part of the forum (Pliny *HN* 35.10.27; 35.36.93–4). The conflation of their careers would

later become even stronger, after Claudius replaced the heads of Alexander in the paintings with those of Augustus. Two of the supports of Alexander's tent were set up in front of the Temple of Mars Ultor (Pliny *HN* 34.48), but there is no evidence that they were Persian caryatids, as argued by Billows (1995, 31).

¹³⁸ Bonnefond 1987, 254–62. Suetonius (*Aug.* 29.1) notes that the forum was dedicated even before the Temple of Mars was finished. Augustus used the need for more law courts as an excuse for the rushed inauguration, but he probably modified the schedule so that Gaius could be the first commander to depart from the new complex.

¹³⁹ Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.179–82, although the full discussion goes from 177 to 228. See also *Fast.* 5.545–98. For the house paintings, described by Antipater of Thessalonike, see Gow and Page 1968, no. 47; Bowersock 1984, 172; Kuttner 1995, 241 n. 121.

¹⁴⁰ Zanker 1984; Kockel 1995; La Rocca et al. 1995; Ganzert 1996, 2000; Spannagel 1999.

¹⁴¹ For the inscriptions, see Velleius Paterculus 2.39.2; Nicolet 1991, 42–5. Only two types of clipeus masks have been recovered in the Forum of Augustus, although there has been speculation that a variety of types were represented, with different attributes indicating different conquered regions of the empire: Nicolet 1991, 43; Kuttner 1995, 82; Rose 1997, 227 n. 66. Copies of the clipei, however, have been found in two Spanish colonies—Augusta Emerita and Tarragona—and only Jupiter Ammon and Medusa types were represented (Garcia y Bellido 1949, pls. 296, 297; Trillmich 1990, 311; 1995; Koppel 1990, pl. 32a, b; Ensoli 1997). The Egyptian/Celtic types were probably the only ones decorating the Augustan forum in Rome. For a full list of the Egyptian types, see Leclant and Clerc 1981.

ing the pile of weapons on which Roma sits on the Ara Pacis.¹⁴² This was a unified iconographic program that effectively predicted the successful outcome of any new military endeavor. But the unprecedented pageantry of 2 B.C. situated Gaius's campaign squarely in the context of a tightly structured narrative highlighting the history of Persian defeat, and Gaius was, by extension, cast as the successor to Alexander and the Greeks of the Persian Wars.¹⁴³

In describing the Salamis naumachia, Ovid notes that "youths and maidens from either sea" figured among the spectators; this makes it sound as if the Parthian royal family of Phraates, still residing in Rome, was actually in attendance, watching the slaughter of men dressed as their ancestors while the Romans around them presumably cheered the attack.¹⁴⁴ By this point the residents of Rome would clearly not have viewed the iconography of the Parthian Arch in the same way as they had when it was dedicated 15 years earlier. The spectacles framing Gaius's campaign had effectively transformed the Parthians from peaceful suppliants to implacable foes, and the attic sculpture of the arch, as well as the frieze of the Ara Pacis, must have now seemed decidedly anachronistic.¹⁴⁵

Only one monument in Rome affords us a glimpse of these extraordinary events, but it provides a new perspective on the campaign and again raises the issue of the variable value of the East. This is a small Lares altar set up in the Vicus Sandaliarius, a neighborhood of sandalmakers in the vicinity of the Forum of Augustus, and the accompanying inscription

dates it to the first half of 2 B.C. (figs. 18 and 19).¹⁴⁶ The principal side shows the *tripudium* conducted prior to Gaius's official departure for the East, wherein the augur observed the eating habits of one of the sacred chickens and thereby determined whether an incipient military campaign had secured divine approval (fig. 18).¹⁴⁷ Augustus presides here as pontifex maximus, holding his *lituus* over the chicken, whose beak nearly touches his foot, while Gaius stands at the left clutching the military *itinerarium* in his left hand. The presentation of the chicken in the process of eating indicates that the new campaign was divinely sanctioned; and the side relief of Victory adding a shield to a trophy that has already been erected indicates that success has been preordained (fig. 19).¹⁴⁸

The Parthian helmet above the trophy pinpoints the geographical locus of the campaign as, in a sense, does the woman to the right of Augustus.¹⁴⁹ Her facial features have not been individualized, like those of Augustus and Gaius, but she can be identified as a priestess by virtue of her attributes—an incense box (*acerra*) and a patera that actually touches Augustus. She has been called by many names: a goddess (Venus Genetrix), Livia, or Livia in the guise of Venus Genetrix, but all of these can be rejected.¹⁵⁰ There are very few examples of humans and gods represented together in Roman state relief before the reign of Domitian, and when it did occur, variation in size was used to indicate a difference in status.¹⁵¹ Nor does the Livia identification work, since she was a public priestess of no cult during

¹⁴² Ov. *Fast.* 5.561–2.

¹⁴³ Dio Cass. 55.10.2–5.

¹⁴⁴ *Ars Am.* 1.173.

¹⁴⁵ The Parthian images on the arch would have been somewhat analogous to the statue of Cleopatra in the Forum Iulium after the Battle of Actium (Pliny *HN* 35.156). During this period, however, the arch's visibility would have been significantly reduced. Fire had swept through the center of the forum in 14 B.C., and in 2 B.C. most of the buildings that had been damaged were still in the course of reconstruction. This would undoubtedly have included the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Castor, which were adjacent to the arch, and this part of the forum may have been entirely closed to traffic.

¹⁴⁶ Polacco 1955, 74–91; Mansuelli 1958, 203–6, no. 205; Zanker 1969; Pollini 1987, 30–5; Rose 1997, 104–6; Bartman 1999, 84–6; Lott 2004, 125–6, 144–6.

¹⁴⁷ On the *tripudium*, see Marbach 1939; Pollini 1987, 30–5; Flory 1989, 350–1.

¹⁴⁸ Fragments of an overlife-size gilded bronze Victory in the same pose was discovered in front of the Temple of Mars (La Rocca et al. 1995, 1:75–6, 2:50, no. 15), and it is tempting to view the Sandaliarius Victory as a relief reproduction of the statue in the adjacent forum.

¹⁴⁹ For the helmet type see Seiterle 1985, 4–7. The long hexagonal shield hanging from the trophy is not indicative of a single region; it was used for Parthians, Egyptians, and Celts: Picard 1957, 272, pls. 8, 11, 13; see also pls. 24, 31; Bianchi-Bandinelli 1963, pl. 31 (Parthian Arch at Lepcis Magna); *BMCRE* 5 (Mattingly 1975), pl. 8.15 (Parthian trophy of Septimius Severus).

¹⁵⁰ Polacco 1955, 76; Mansuelli 1958, 204; Zanker 1969, 209–12; Pollini 1978, 304–5; Rose 1997, 18, 105–6; Bartman 1999, 84–6.

¹⁵¹ Kleiner 1992, 188, 192 (Arch of Titus/Cancellaria reliefs); Ferrea 2002 (Via San Gregorio pediment; late second century B.C.); Zevi 1976, 66, fig. 5; Ryberg 1955, figs. 1, 2, 15a. The Via Lata reliefs associated with the Arcus Novus (Kuttner 1995, fig. 12) surely date to the first half of the second century A.D., judging by their style. The identity of the figure standing to the left of the altar on the "Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus" (Kleiner 1992, 49–51) is still controversial, but he is more likely to be man than god. Ann Kuttner (1995, 56–68) has argued that the presentation of men with gods was an Augustan development, and that the Boscoreale cups copy the iconography of one such public monument.



Fig. 18. Altar from the Vicus Sandaliarius, with tripudium of Gaius Caesar. (DAI Rome neg. no. 72.159)

the Augustan period and could not have assisted at a tripudium. The depiction of imperial women at Roman sacrifices was extremely rare: it looks as if Julia Domna in the early third century A.D. was the only empress to have been shown in a sacrificial scene on a Roman monument.¹⁵²

It is the jewelry that supplies the clue to the woman's identity: the crescent-shaped stephane, the torque necklace, and the spiral bracelet with snake-head terminals. Before the deification of imperial women, which began with Drusilla, Caligula's sister, in A.D. 38, the stephane was worn in Rome only by priestesses and sacrificial animals.¹⁵³ It signified a link to the divine, which is why it was ultimately adopted for portraits of *divae*; here it should be

viewed as a component of the same realm as the patera and acerra.¹⁵⁴ The only priests in Rome who wore torques were those associated with the cult of Cybele/Magna Mater, whose temple was next to Augustus's house, and her priests also wore snake-head bracelets.¹⁵⁵ The torque in this case would have been intended to allude to the eastern origins of the cult, which had been imported from Asia Minor in 205 B.C., and the trousers and torque traditionally worn by Cybele's consort Attis made the same point.¹⁵⁶ The iconography is therefore much clearer than scholars have suspected, and it supplies another example of the protean significance of an Eastern attribute, for which context alone determined status.

¹⁵² De Maria 1988, 307–9, no. 90; Kleiner 1992, 336–7, 342–3 (Arch of the Argentarii, Rome; Severan arch at Lepcis Magna).

¹⁵³ Rose 1997, 76–7.

¹⁵⁴ The stephane may mark her as *sacerdos maxima*, for which see Vermaseren 1977b, no. 258 (first century A.D.); *CIL* 6.2257.

¹⁵⁵ For the torques, see Vermaseren 1977b, 65–6, no. 250; 152–3, no. 466. For the snake bracelet, see Bieber 1968, 4; Vermaseren 1977b, 84–5, no. 311, pl. 177; Bartman 1999, 84–5.

¹⁵⁶ For the cult in Rome, see Vermaseren 1977a; Wiseman 1982, 1984; Beard 1994; Roller 1998, 1999.



Fig. 19. Altar from the Vicus Sandaliarius, Victoria approaching an eastern trophy. (After Mansuelli 1959, fig. 198d)

The relevance of the cult of Cybele to military campaigns could not have been greater: the cult had been brought to Rome toward the end of the second Punic War for several reasons, but one was the belief that her presence would enable the Romans to triumph over Hannibal. The sacred stone of the goddess was initially deposited in the Palatine temple of Victory, next to which Cybele's temple was subsequently constructed.¹⁵⁷ In 102 B.C., when the Cimbri and Teutones encroached on Rome's borders, a priest of Cybele journeyed to Rome from Pessinus, the chief sanctuary of the goddess in Asia Minor, and prophesied victory; again the Senate vowed to build a temple to the goddess.¹⁵⁸ The Roman defeat at Carrhae in 53 B.C., like the battles against Hannibal at Cannae and Lake Trasimene, was among the greatest military disasters of the Republic, and Gaius's campaign was intended to avenge that defeat.

¹⁵⁷ Livy 29.10.4–11; Wiseman 1981; Pensabene 1996.

¹⁵⁸ Plut. *Mar.* 17.5–6; Diod. 36.13. The Palatine temple had burned in 111, and this decision probably relates to the rebuilding, ultimately undertaken by a Metellus, who was probably the consul of 110 B.C. For the Augustan rebuilding, see Pensabene 1996; Mattern 2000.

¹⁵⁹ For the lituus on Cybele altars, see Vermaseren 1977b, pls. 123, no. 236, 125, no. 239, 127, no. 241a. The lituus as a decorative element was not common on Imperial altars in Rome;

The invocation of Cybele during the tripudium of Gaius consequently provided a richer temporal dimension to his campaign by linking it to earlier Republican victories, and thereby essentially accomplished the same goal that Augustus had in mind when he reenacted the battle of Salamis immediately before Gaius's departure. Of the gods whom one might choose to invoke in the course of a tripudium, Cybele was one of the most logical, and the lituus, not surprisingly, appeared on a number of Roman altars dedicated to her.¹⁵⁹ Like the city of Troy, Cybele was both Roman and Eastern, and the goddess's presence here, symbolized by her priestess, indicated her tutelage of Gaius on his journey from Italy to the East, just as she had protected Aeneas during his travels from Troy to Italy. Cybele was, in fact, more closely associated with Troy than any other god in the Augustan Pantheon except Venus Genetrix, and the designers of the altar linked the two goddesses by draping the priestess in the same costume that Venus Genetrix wears in the pediment of the Mars Ultor temple.¹⁶⁰ Such a conflation was especially appropriate considering the closeness of the Vicus Sandaliarius and the Forum of Augustus, and it effectively blended the epithets of Genetrix and Mater.

The altar's iconography, then, proclaimed that an emigrant goddess from the East would ensure Roman victory over people of the East, with Gaius as the engine of conquest; this meant, however, that the Eastern attributes had to be situated in very different contexts since they shared the same monument, and both have been somewhat de-emphasized: it is easy to miss the torque and Phrygian helmet when one first looks at the altar, and the former has been surrounded by a network of visual references intended to strengthen its positive value. This kind of sophisticated iconography shows, once again, how careful Augustan artists were in designing monuments that encompassed the two faces of the East.

The tripudium of Gaius must have taken place before the forum's dedication on 12 May, since Plautius Silvanus, whose name was inscribed on the altar, had been replaced as consul before that date.¹⁶¹

it seems to have been used only on those dedicated to Cybele or the Lares, and the Vicus Sandaliarius altar invokes both.

¹⁶⁰ Hommel 1954, 22–30. Images of Venus Genetrix were unearthed in the temples of Cybele in Rome and Ostia: Bartoli 1943; Calza and Calza 1943.

¹⁶¹ Plautius Silvanus had been replaced by Gallus Caninius by the time the temple of Mars Ultor was dedicated (Vell. Pat. 2.100.2).

Since Gaius was the first commander to have departed from the newly dedicated forum, however, he must have left Rome shortly thereafter.¹⁶² Reconstructing the chain of events leading to that departure yields the following scenario: his tripudium would have taken place shortly after the April *ludi Megalenses* of Cybele, followed by a performance of the *lusus Troiae*, the Battle of Salamis *naumachia*, and the installation of the Republican standards, once lost to the Parthians, in the newly dedicated Temple of Mars Ultor.¹⁶³ In other words, a blend of triumphal, religious, and heroic components was set within a carefully crafted temporal framework designed to elevate the status of the incipient campaign to an almost unprecedented level.

PLAYING WITH TIME IN ATHENS

The power of a triumphal monument is measured by context even more than size and shape. A monument situated in a city with an extensive history of victory imagery is automatically pulled into a network that adds a temporal stratigraphy to the iconography—a trend abundantly illustrated by the commissions of Constantine, Napoleon, and Mussolini in Rome.¹⁶⁴ Even more desirable is a situation in which both old and new victory monuments in a particular city focus on the same area of conquest, since this yields a triumphal statement much more forceful than the sum of its parts. During the Augustan period that city was Athens, whose long history of Persian triumphal commemoration was easily adaptable to the emperor's Parthian focus, and Athens appears to have responded more enthusiastically to the alleged Parthian victories than any other city in the Mediterranean.¹⁶⁵

Our best evidence comes from the civic center: the monopteros of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis (fig. 20), and the temple of Ares in the Agora. The former structure was a small circular Ionic temple with conical roof on the eastern side of the Parthenon, on its longitudinal axis, and much of its architectural decoration was copied from the adjacent Erechtheion.¹⁶⁶ The names mentioned in the inscribed epistyle, which include Pammenes, priest of Roma and Augustus, point to a construction date between 27 and 18 B.C., and probably within the last three years of that period.¹⁶⁷

There are several features that are crucial to deciphering the temple's function, but the most striking is its topographical context. The monopteros was framed by a network of images that celebrated Greek triumph over the East: the adjacent Parthenon was, in itself, a victory monument, and its symbolism was heightened by the gilded bronze shields affixed to the architrave after Alexander's battle against the Persians at Granikos. Freestanding statues of defeated Persians had also been set up to the south of the Parthenon, as part of a series of Attalid dedications (the "Smaller Attalid Group"), where they were surrounded by fighting Amazons, Giants, and Celts, all combined on a single battlefield. That battlefield setting extended to the north side of the Parthenon, where the metopes featured an Ilioupersis, and a diachronic narrative of East-West conflict would consequently have defined the entire area. In the distance, on a clear day, one could also have seen Salamis itself rising toward the southwest, and this vista was clearly intended as an additional component of the Persian/Parthian assemblage.¹⁶⁸ Four campaigns

¹⁶²Dio (55.10.6–8) records Gaius's participation in the dedication ceremonies of the new temple (Spannagel 1999, 21–40; Borchhardt 2002, 96–7). For the forum's dedication on 12 May 2 B.C., see Simpson 1977; Anderson 1984, 69; Simpson 1993a, 117–8; Rich 1998, 84–5; Spannagel 1999, 41–59.

¹⁶³For the *ludi Megalenses*, see Scullard 1981, 97–100; for the *lusus Troiae* at the inauguration: Dio Cass. 55.10.6–7.

¹⁶⁴Brilliant 1984, 96, 121–2; Ridley 1992; Stone 1998.

¹⁶⁵Thomas Schäfer (1998, 70–81) has proposed that the large circular monument dedicated to Augustus in the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Pergamon celebrated the standards' recovery, although the associated inscriptions are too fragmentary to clinch the identification. The circular temple and triumphal arch types that had appeared on Roman coins of 19–17 B.C. were copied by the mint of Alexandria (*RPC1* [Burnett et al. 1992], no. 5003, 5004; Morawiecki 1976).

¹⁶⁶Binder 1969; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 156–9; Schneider 1986, 89; Schmalz 1994, 12–41; Baldassarri 1995; 1998, 45–63; 2001, 405–8; Hoff 1996, 185–94; Spawforth 1997, 184–5; Schäfer 1998, 46–67; Hurwit 1999, 279–80; Camp 2001, 187–

8. The temple appears to be reproduced on an Athenian bronze coin of third century A.D. date: Hoff 1996, 188, fig. 4. In the reconstruction in figure 20 I have excluded the pillar monument at the northeast corner of the Parthenon that is usually regarded as an honorific monument for the Attalids (see Stevens 1946, 17–21; Touchais 1986, 675; Korres 1994, 139–40; Schmalz 1994, 202, no. 20; Hurwit 1999, 271–2, 278). There is no certain evidence that it was originally designed for the Attalids, or that it is of Hellenistic date. The fragmentary inscription associated with it (*IG2.2.3272*) is to Claudius; an earlier inscription existed on the stone, but no date can be securely assigned to it.

¹⁶⁷Hoff 1989b, 5–6; 1996, 190–3; Schmalz 1994, 26; 1996; Schäfer 1998, 47–8.

¹⁶⁸For the Attalid dedications: Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.7; Paus. 1.25.2; Palma 1981; Pollitt 1986, 90–5; Ridgway 1990, 284–96; Schmalz 1994, 36–9; Hurwit 1999, 254, 265–73, 279–82. For the link between Salamis and the "Athena Promachos" on the Acropolis (Hurwit 1999, 152).



Fig. 20. Conjectural reconstruction of the east side of the Athenian acropolis with the monopteros of Roma and Augustus in the foreground. The shields on the Parthenon architrave were dedicated by Alexander after the Battle of Granikos, and to the left were images of defeated Persians in the “Smaller Attalid Group.” The island of Salamis would have been visible in the distance.

against the East, spanning a period of nearly 500 years, would now have been narrated by the Parthenon and its surrounding imagery, and the achievements of Augustus consequently acquired the stature of the campaigns of Alexander and the Attalids.

Another unusual feature is the building’s shape: circular buildings were never common in Athens, and at this point none had been built in the city for more than 300 years.¹⁶⁹ It therefore seems likely that the choice of such a form was prompted by very special circumstances. The time period in which the temple was constructed is also noteworthy: the emperor had angrily removed Salamis and Eretria from Athenian control in 22/21 B.C., but the political friction appears to have dissipated by 19 B.C., when the emperor stopped here on his return trip from Syria with the recovered standards in his possession.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Binder 1969, 33–41, 92–104; Baldassarri 1998, 55–7; Kuttner 1998, 104–6. The principal example is the Tholos in the Agora, built ca. 470, and conceivably the Lysikrates monument of 334, although that was not a building per se (Seiler 1986, 29–35, 138–46).

All of this evidence, when viewed together, suggests that the new monopteros was intended to commemorate the recovery of the Roman standards, and it was undoubtedly the dedication of buildings like this that ameliorated the relationship between city and emperor. Athens’s decision to build the round temple was probably related to the arrival of the *senatus consultum* of 20 B.C., with its provisions for the round Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor, and this probably explains the city’s choice of a circular format for the new building. Clear signs of haste in the carving of the blocks suggest that the builders were attempting to complete the structure by the time of the emperor’s arrival in 19 B.C.¹⁷¹

The most significant change from the original *senatus consultum* involved the dedication of the monopteros to Roma and Augustus rather than Mars Ultor, thereby essentially conflating two of the

¹⁷⁰ Dio Cass. 54.7.203; Halfmann 1986, 158; Hoff 1989a; 1996, 192–3; Schmalz 1994, 27–32; Schäfer 1998, 47–8, 59–63.

¹⁷¹ Stevens 1946, 21.

new coin types of Pergamon (fig. 2b).¹⁷² The decoration of the interior can no longer be reconstructed, but images of Roma and Augustus with several of the standards seem likely, and the juxtaposition of statues of Roma and Athena Parthenos would have signaled the new relationship that now existed between the cities.¹⁷³

The temple of Roma and Augustus is a new addition to the long list of Augustan monuments in Rome that were evoked outside the capital. A version of the Forum of Augustus, including caryatids and clipei, was built in the Spanish colony of Augusta Emerita; some of the forum's *elogia* have appeared in Arezzo; and painted copies of the forum statues of Aeneas and Romulus adorned the facade of a shop in Pompeii (fig. 11). The appearance at Carthage of a close copy of the "Terra Mater" relief from the Ara Pacis suggests that the entire altar may have been reproduced there, and more such imitations will probably be unearthed in the future.¹⁷⁴ The monopteros on the Acropolis was, in a sense, part of a reciprocal architectural exchange, considering that the caryatids in the Forum of Augustus were copied from those of the Erechtheion, and at least part of the Smaller Attalid Group was reproduced in the Campus Martius.¹⁷⁵

Athens also clearly took note of the spectacular level of pomp associated with the Parthian campaign of Gaius Caesar and again responded with a commemorative monument, but the locus of triumphal display would now shift from the Acropolis to the Agora.¹⁷⁶ The monument in question was a hexastyle temple of fifth century B.C. date that was

transplanted to the Athenian Agora and set at right angles to the Odeion.¹⁷⁷ Pausanias identifies it as a temple of Ares, and the pottery in the foundations as well as the form of the masons' marks on the transplanted blocks point to an Augustan date for the new building.¹⁷⁸ The drainage system of the adjacent Odeion was modified when the Temple of Ares was added, which means that the completion date of the Odeion, ca. 12 B.C., provides a terminus post quem for the construction of the temple.¹⁷⁹

Temples to Ares in Greece and Asia Minor were never common, and Walter Burkert attributed the prominence of the Ares cult in the Athenian Agora to the god's reidentification as the Roman Mars Ultor.¹⁸⁰ The same transformation had occurred at Aphrodisias in the first century B.C., when the residents realized that it would be more politically expedient to reidentify their local goddess as the Roman Venus Genetrix. Considering the dating evidence for the Ares temple, it seems virtually certain that its movement to the center of the Athenian Agora was intended to complement the new Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum.¹⁸¹

There had been a number of occasions when Athens had used the Classical heritage of both Agora and Acropolis to establish a bond with Rome. The city set up statues of Caesar's assassins, Brutus and Cassius, next to those of the Tyrannicides, because, as Dio notes, the former had followed the example of the latter.¹⁸² Augustus's recovery of the Roman standards, celebrated by the Acropolis temple, was framed by allusions to earlier Greek

¹⁷² The Pergamene types would certainly have circulated in Athens. For the presence of coins from Asia Minor mints in Athens and Corinth, see Thompson 1954, 9–10; Edwards 1933, 69–74.

¹⁷³ One can only speculate about the statuary type that would have been used for Roma. Given the presence of the Amazons on the Parthenon metopes, that type was probably eschewed. If the statues from the Temple of Roma and Augustus in Pergamon were copied (*RIC* 1 [Sutherland and Carson 1984], pl. 17.120), she would essentially have been represented as Venus Genetrix, and that is the type employed here in figure 20.

¹⁷⁴ For the Emerita forum, see Trillmich 1990, 1995; for the Arezzo *elogia*, see Zanker 1984, 16; for Pompeii, see Spinazzola 1953, pl. 17; Zanker 1984, figs. 40, 41, and figure 11 here. For the Carthage relief, see Simon 1968, 26, pl. 32.2. A relief in Algiers is believed to copy the cult statues from the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus (Zanker 1984, fig. 47; Kleiner 1992, 100–2), although Ganzert (1996, 291; 2000, 106) found no evidence for cult statues in the temple. The figures of Mars Ultor and Venus Genetrix in the pediment of that temple were copied in Ravenna (Zanker 1984, fig. 51; Rose 1997, 101).

¹⁷⁵ Palma 1981; Ridgway 1990, 290–1.

¹⁷⁶ Coins were struck in Gaius's honor at this time on Cyprus

(*RPC* 1 [Burnett et al. 1992], nos. 3908, 3911–3/A.D. 1), and probably Apamea (Phrygia), where he was shown in a quadriga (*RPC* 1 [Burnett et al. 1992], no. 3129).

¹⁷⁷ Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 162–5; Shear 1981, 362–3; Bowersock 1984, 173; Camp 1986, 184–6; 2001, 116–7, 189–91; Schmalz 1994, 91–114; Baldassarri 1995, 79; 1998, 153–72; Torelli 1995, 23–9; Walker 1997, 71–2; Spawforth 1997, 186–8; Schäfer 1998, 92–103.

¹⁷⁸ For the pottery, see Rotroff 1997, 337 n. 957, pl. 74; McAllister 1959, 2, pl. 2d (no. P21280, deep bowl with everted rim). For the masons' marks, see Dinsmoor 1940, 38–9, 49; McAllister 1959, 47–54. The use of a deep packing of broken stones beneath the foundations, which one finds in the Athenian temple of Ares, is paralleled in early Roman buildings at Athens (Dinsmoor 1940, 7–8).

¹⁷⁹ Dinsmoor 1940, 51; Thompson 1950, 89, 97; McAllister 1959, 4; Roddaz 1984, 435–9; Schmalz 1994, 86–91; Spawforth 1997, 196 n. 22; Baldassarri 1998, 115–41; Schäfer 1998, 98–103; Camp 2001, 188–9.

¹⁸⁰ Burkert 1985, 170.

¹⁸¹ Romer 1978, 201–2 n. 35. For the Aphrodisias-Venus Genetrix connection, see Reynolds 1980; Reynolds et al. 1981.

¹⁸² Dio Cass. 47.20.4; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 159.

victories over the Persians, and the same model would be followed nearly 80 years later when the Athenians honored Nero's Parthian victory. In other words, Athens defined Roman military success in terms of the Greek antecedents of those achievements, and the transplanted temple of Ares surely constituted yet another component of this strategy of commemoration.¹⁸³

One additional and unmistakable link to the Forum of Augustus helps to confirm these associations. A new temple of Aphrodite, built at the northwest corner of the Agora during the Augustan period, has a distinctly Roman ground plan different from that of any structure that had been erected in Athens. The temple was constructed so that it faced toward the transplanted Temple of Ares, and the two buildings must have been intended to echo the similar juxtaposition in Rome of the Temples of Venus Genetrix and Mars Ultor.¹⁸⁴

Although Gaius's campaign was probably not the motive for the relocation of the Ares temple, it seems likely that it would have been erected by the time he arrived there on his way to the East.¹⁸⁵ The inscription from the Athenian Theater of Dionysus that celebrated Gaius as "the new Ares" reinforced his connection with the newly transplanted temple, and the surrounding imagery actually sounded the same heroic and triumphal notes as those in the Forum of Augustus, even if the iconographic vocabulary was very different.¹⁸⁶ References to the Persian defeat could have been found in the Stoa Poikile and the Temple of Eukleia, while the nearby statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the predecessors of which had been stolen by Xerxes, highlighted both triumph over tyranny and Persian

impiety. Whether the Athenians incorporated the above elements into a festival honoring Gaius's incipient campaign, as Kos and Messene appear to have done, is open to question; but all of the ingredients were there to exploit, and the city was usually quick to realize the potential value and relevance of blending the Classical past with the politics of the present.¹⁸⁷

REGIONAL VARIATION IN TRIUMPHAL DISPLAY

Triumphal monuments erected by provincial cities in response to messages submitted by the center of power usually vary significantly in design, in accordance with the political, religious, and artistic configuration of each of the areas in question.¹⁸⁸ This was certainly true for Roman imperial colonies in the eastern Mediterranean, where design elements borrowed from the capital were often reconfigured to make a statement that simultaneously admonished the local non-Romans and reassured the colonists. The early Imperial monuments at Corinth and Antioch-in-Pisidia constitute excellent examples of this phenomenon: both commemorate Roman domination of Parthia, and their iconography differs considerably from that of Rome in terms of the visual definition of peace.

The monument at Corinth may have been set up around the same time in which Athens was reshaping its agora, but its original form is elusive: the evidence is in the form of pieces of architecture and sculpture reused in the second century A.D. as part of the Facade of the Colossal Figures on the north side of Corinth's forum.¹⁸⁹ The colossal figures in question are Parthians, and the foundations of the building to which they belong are Antonine;

¹⁸³ See, in general, Spawforth 1994; Alcock 2002, 82–6. For the celebration of Nero's Parthian victory, see *infra* n. 256.

¹⁸⁴ For the Stoa Poikile paintings, which featured a sequential narration of the Battle of Marathon, see Paus. 1.15.1, 5.11.6; Pliny *HN* 35.57; Castriota 1992, 76–89. A copy of the Tyrannicides was also set up on the Capitoline Hill in Rome, and the surrounding area may have been a popular site for honorific statues, as at Athens (Brunnsaker 1955, 55–8, A3b; Reusser 1993, 113–20; 1995, 251). For the Augustan Temple of Aphrodite in the Agora, aligned with the Archaic altar of Aphrodite Ourania, see Shear 1997, 495–507. Bowersock (1984, 175–6) has connected the purchase of the island of Salamis by Julius Nicanor on behalf of the Athenians with the advent of Gaius's eastern campaign.

¹⁸⁵ Baldassarri 1998, 170–2, 266–7. There is no evidence to indicate that Gaius's campaign was advertised long before it started, and if the Athenians' receipt of the campaign announcement had prompted the decision to move the temple, then little progress would have been made by the time Gaius

actually arrived in Athens. The temple had to be dismantled slowly, since the blocks would later be reassembled, and it surely would have required at least a year. Judging by the state of the blocks found during excavation, the temple was apparently never finished, and pieces of the temple of Poseidon at Sounion were used in the reconstruction (Camp 2001, 190–1), perhaps because some of the original blocks had been damaged during the dismantling and transport process.

¹⁸⁶ Lewinsohn 1947, 68–9; *IG* 2.2.3250. Gaius was also probably called "neos Ares" in an inscription from Mylasa, although only the first word of the title is preserved (Cousin and Diehl 1888, 15, no. 4); if so, the inscription undoubtedly dates to the same time as the one in Athens.

¹⁸⁷ Kos (*IGR* 4:1064); Messene (Orlandos 1965, 110–4; Zetzel 1970).

¹⁸⁸ For several relevant core-periphery models, see Price 1984; Champion 1989; Burke 1998.

¹⁸⁹ Vermeule 1968, 83–8; Wiseman 1979, 523.

but Henner von Hesberg has shown that some of the architectural elements were reused from an Augustan monument datable to the last quarter of the first century B.C.¹⁹⁰ The best comparanda fall in the last decade of the first century B.C., and a date in the general period of Gaius's campaign seems likely.¹⁹¹

The iconography of the relief on one of the Augustan bases would fit well with a triumphal monument intended to honor Gaius (fig. 21). A Victory in heroic diagonal pose holds a palm branch and places a laurel wreath on a trophy formed of a cuirass, a shield, and a (now broken) helmet; at her right stands a bound Parthian with long tunic and trousers. The iconography is actually quite similar to that of the Victory on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar, in that both anticipate a triumph, although the small Phrygian helmet on the Sandaliarius altar has been changed to a standing Parthian in eastern dress at Corinth. If colossal figures in Phrygian caps had been situated above the original Augustan bases, as they were in the Antonine rebuilding, then the Corinth program may have been intended to rival that of Athens in its advertisement of Roman victory over the Parthians.

The bound Parthian on the Corinth base clearly highlights the regional variation that existed in the representation of foreigners during the early Empire. In the city of Rome, the docile, unfettered barbarian became a prominent addition to the iconographic repertoire of victory monuments and coinage, beginning around the time of the return of the standards. In the provinces, however, the closer proximity of the enemy appears to have spurred a consistently stronger proclamation of Roman domination in triumphal commemoration, and foreigners continued to be shown bound and shackled to the trunks of trophies (figs. 6 and 22), as had been the case in Republican coinage (fig. 10).¹⁹²



Fig. 21. Marble base from Corinth with a trophy flanked by a captive Parthian and Nike. (After Vermeule 1968, fig. 30)

Our best evidence for provincial triumphal monuments of this period, and one that visually and verbally summarizes the achievements of the Augustan family, comes from Antioch-in-Pisidia, refounded, like Corinth, as a Julian colony (*Colonia Caesarea Antiochia*) in 25 B.C.¹⁹³ The monument in question is a triple-bayed arch with engaged Corinthian columns that serves as the propylon for a temple complex dedicated to Augustus and Roma (fig. 23).¹⁹⁴ This was the first triumphal arch *per se* to have been erected in Asia Minor, and it was clearly intended to be read as such: the attic sculpture featured statues of Victory, the imperial family, and at least one trousered barbarian.¹⁹⁵ The architrave inscription, which was one of the first in Asia Minor to contain bronze letters, indicates a date of 2/1 B.C., and the reliefs in the spandrels and frieze clarified the range of victories that the arch was intended to celebrate.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ Hesberg 1983, 234–6; Schneider 1986, 130; Schneider 1998, 115. Comparable architectural decoration can be found on the Athenian Odeion of Agrippa (after 15 B.C.), the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates at Ephesus (4–3 B.C.), and the propylon of the Temple of Augustus and Roma at Antioch-in-Pisidia (2–1 B.C.). The Odeion of Agrippa is usually dated to 15 B.C., when Agrippa traveled to Athens, but if his offer of financial support dates to the time of that visit, which is generally assumed, then 15 B.C. provides only a *terminus post quem* (see *supra* n. 179). The span of the roof was larger than that of any other structure in Athens (ca. 25 m), and the planning and construction process must have required several years.

¹⁹¹ Hesberg and Schneider (*supra* n. 190) link the base to Augustus's recovery of the standards in 20 B.C., but the stylistic parallels seem to be later in date.

¹⁹² Silberberg-Peirce 1986; Ferris 2000, 40, fig. 16 (La Turbie), 43, fig. 18 (St. Bertrand de Comminges), 45, fig. 20 (St.

Rémy), 47, fig. 21 (Carpentras); Smith 1987, pls. 4, 10, 12, 14, 18, and here figure 6; Smith 1990, fig. 4 (Aphrodisias Sebasteion). The same type of iconography appeared in the private art of Rome, especially court cameos such as the *Gemma Augustea* and *Grand Cameo* (Ferris 2000, figs. 15, 23).

¹⁹³ Price 1984, 269–70, no. 123; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 191–6, pls. 46–50a.

¹⁹⁴ Robinson 1926; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 146–7, 161–3; Burrell 2004, 170, who would identify it as a temple to Caesar and Roma. Tuchelt has noted that the carving of some of the temple blocks was never finished (Tuchelt 1983, 508–9; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 166).

¹⁹⁵ Robinson 1926, 41. If the statuary group above the arch dates to the same period as the dedication, then one can probably reconstruct images of Augustus, Gaius, and Lucius, although only the image of Victory is relatively well preserved.

¹⁹⁶ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 146–7. The dedication lists



Fig. 22. Augusteum propylon at Antioch in Pisidia, captive barbarian. (After Robinson 1926, fig. 42)

Above each of the four half columns, on the frieze, was the bust of a divinity, three of which are still extant: Ceres and Neptune alluded to Roman dominion, and the resulting peace, on both land and sea; an image of Men Askaenos, chief god of Antioch, featured a Phrygian cap surrounded by laurel that effectively linked him to both Rome and the local population.¹⁹⁷ In the spandrels of the lateral arches on the western (outer) side, Erotes hold clusters of grapes and garlands that hang down over the arches themselves; in the lateral spandrels on the eastern (inner) side, Victories hold wreaths and palm branches, serving, like the Erotes, as supports for hanging garlands.¹⁹⁸ The basic scheme is reminiscent of the garland-bearing peplophoroi in the Forum of Augustus, which was dedicated in the same year as the propylon.¹⁹⁹

Each of the central spandrels on the western side featured a tall pedestal topped by a bound barbar-

ian with shaggy hair and beard (fig. 22), kneeling on one knee; one is completely nude, and the other wears a light tunic.²⁰⁰ They face each other but turn their bodies in the direction of the lateral arches, and their iconography identifies them as Celts.²⁰¹ The captives in the central spandrels on the eastern side, flanked by Victories, do not survive, although they can be reconstructed once the remainder of the decoration is reviewed.

In the frieze over each archway, tritons flank trophies, around which are more images covering the range of Augustan accomplishments: prows of ships alluding, with the trophaic tritons, to Actium; the *sidus Iulium*, symbolizing Caesar's divinity; the quiver and baldrick of the Parthians, among other pieces of armor; and the capricorn of Augustus, which had appeared with the legend *signis receptis* on the precious metal coinage of Pergamon after the return of the standards.²⁰²

the following titles for Augustus: cos. XIII, tr. pot. XXII, imp. XIII, pat. patr. His 13th and last consulship was held in 2 B.C., when he also received the title of *pater patriae*. The 22nd tribunicia potestas would have occurred in 2–1 B.C., and his fourteenth imperial acclamation probably dates prior to 1 A.D. (Barnes 1974, 23). The earliest certain example of bronze letters in an inscription is the Ephesian Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates (Wilberg and Keil 1923, 52).

¹⁹⁷ Robinson 1926, 26–9; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 162. For the image of Men, see Tuchelt 1983, pl. 106.1; Taşlıalan 1993, 283, fig. 26.3.

¹⁹⁸ Robinson 1926, 21; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 171 n. 86.

¹⁹⁹ Ganzert and Kockel 1988, 194–5, cat. 79.

²⁰⁰ Robinson 1926, 25.

²⁰¹ Schumacher 1935, nos. 65, 70, 85, 146, 147, 157, 158; Stemmer 1978, pl. 11.1, 14.3, 37.3.

²⁰² Robinson 1926, 29–41. For comparable triple-pronged prows at Actium, see Murray and Petsas 1989, 40, fig. 25, 89, fig. 55, 108, fig. 61. For the coins, see *RIC* 1 (Sutherland and Carson 1984), 83, nos. 521, 522; *BMCR* 1 (Mattingly 1983), 110, nos. 679–80.

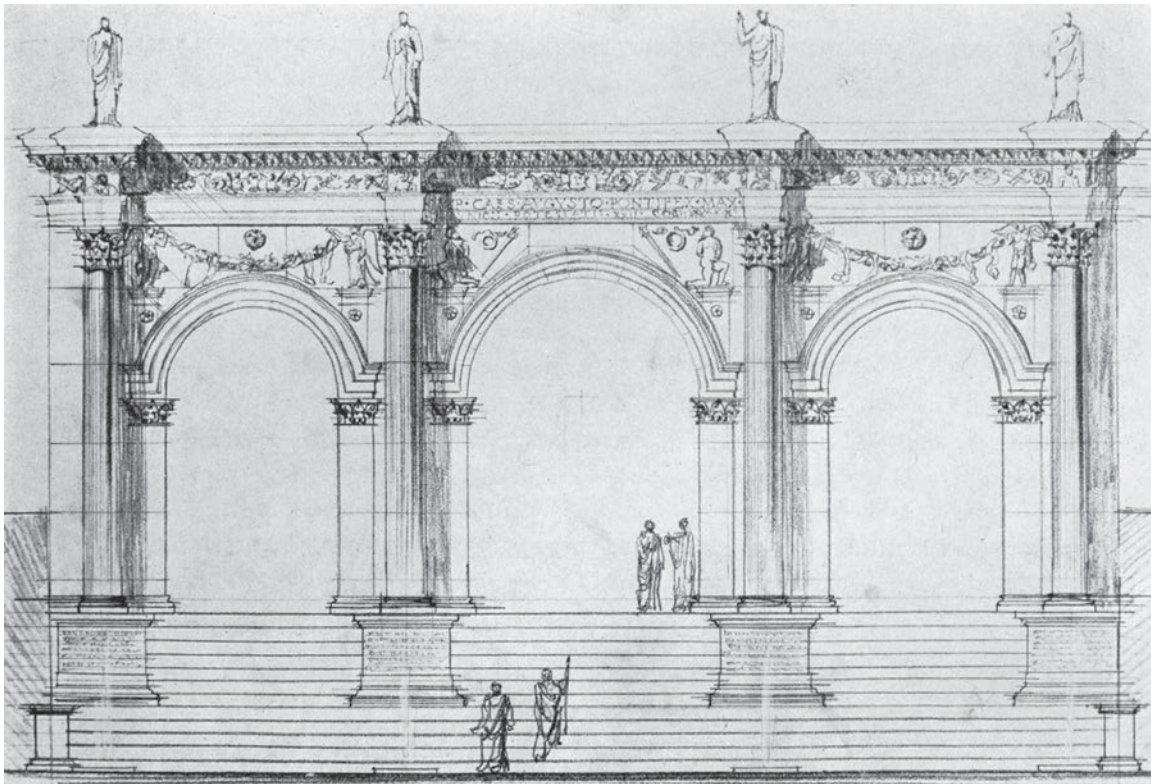


Fig. 23. Restoration of the Augusteum propylon at Antioch in Pisidia. (After Robinson 1926, fig. 31)

Fortunately for us, the Antiochenes built a close copy of this propylon as their western city gate, which was dedicated to Hadrian and Sabina in A.D. 129.²⁰³ The gate has the same triple arch format with relief decoration on both sides: garland-bearing Erotes on the outer lateral spandrels, garland-bearing Victories on the inner ones, and, above the arches, tritons flanking trophies, followed by scattered weapons, including baldrics and quivers. The great advantage of the excavated material from the city gate is that it includes the two central spandrel reliefs that were not found in the ruins of the Augusteum propylon. These reliefs feature barbarians, also bearded, whose format is similar to those on the propylon, in that they are positioned on high pedestals, face each other, and kneel on one knee (fig. 24). One wears a cloak over his nude torso, while the other wears a heavy tunic with cloak and trousers (judging by the presence of the belt). Here, however, they are unbound: the one at the left holds the Roman vexillum ("battle pennant"), while the one at the right grasps the Roman legionary stan-

dards, and they nearly touch the keystone of the central arch.

The nude barbarian with vexillum was featured on Augustan denarii of 12 B.C. and appears to represent a Gaul, one of several regions from which the emperor retrieved lost Roman standards.²⁰⁴ His trousered counterpart certainly represents a Parthian, and has clearly been modelled on denarii of 19 B.C. showing the surrender of the Roman standards (fig. 1). Since the city gate appears in nearly all respects to be a copy of the Augustan propylon, we are fairly safe in regarding these reliefs as copies of the ones missing from the central (inner) spandrels of the propylon. The Parthians-with-standards format, popular throughout the Augustan period, does not appear thereafter; and it had no special relevance during the reign of Hadrian. The same is true of the Gaul with vexillum type. The only plausible explanation for the reliefs' presence here is that they were copied from their original Augustan context, like the other reliefs on the city gate.

²⁰³ Robinson 1926, 45–56; Levi 1952, 8–9; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 96–9.

²⁰⁴ *RIC* 1 (Sutherland and Carson 1984), 74, no. 416.



Fig. 24. Augusteum propylon at Antioch in Pisidia, Parthian offering standard. (After Robinson 1926, fig. 69)

This would mean that the Augustan propylon at Antioch featured standard-bearing barbarians, Gaul and Parthian, framed by images of Victory; the two sides of the arch would therefore have commemorated the geographical scope of Roman dominion, both East and West, not unlike the Primaporta breastplate and the Ara Pacis. A copy of the *Res gestae*, which was later added to the propylon, highlighted Augustus' recovery of the Roman standards from both Gaul and Parthia, and the text would have complemented the iconography of the reliefs above it.

The influence of a number of monuments in Rome can, in fact, be detected in the design of the Antioch propylon. The *sidus Iulium* appeared in the pediment of the Temple of Divus Iulius in the forum, and its rostra was decorated with ship prows.²⁰⁵ The standards would have called to mind the Parthian Arch next to Caesar's temple, which probably inspired the triple-bayed format of the Antioch propylon.²⁰⁶ Colonists entering the Augusteum complex would, then, have faced a network of images similar to those which lined the eastern side of the Roman Forum, although in 2/1 B.C. the figures of the humbled Parthians must have appeared as anachronistic as those on the Augustan arch in Rome.

The absence of a direct reference to Gaius Caesar in the inscription prevents us from linking with certainty the propylon's imagery to his incipient

campaign against the Parthians. But as with the Ares temple in Athens, the date, iconographic context, and historical circumstances would all be appropriate for a monument intended to honor Gaius, who would have been relatively nearby, in Samos or Chios, when the propylon was dedicated. It seems likely, in any event, that the inauguration ceremonies highlighted the expectation that the success of the new campaign would rival that of Augustus over the same area nearly two decades earlier.²⁰⁷

Upon completion in 2/1 B.C., the Antioch propylon would have served as a beacon of hope for Rome's control of the East; five years later it would have functioned as a posthumous memorial as well, with Gaius and his brother Lucius now dead. The Parthian mission had started off well: the king of Armenia, Tigranes III, had requested Roman recognition of his authority; this was granted, and in A.D. 2 Gaius concluded a settlement with the Parthian king, Phraataces, on an island in the Euphrates, with each man dining on the other's shore.²⁰⁸ Shortly thereafter, however, Lucius died on his way to military exercises in Spain, and Gaius's imposition of the Mede Ariobarzanes on the Armenian throne, after Tigranes' death, provoked a revolt that pulled Gaius into that region. Wounded at the battle of Artagira in September of A.D. 3, he died at Limyra in Lycia the following February.

Limyra immediately began construction of a monumental cenotaph that rivaled the earlier tower

²⁰⁵ For the *sidus Iulium*, see Fuchs 1969, 37; Weinstock 1971, 370–84; Poulsen 1991, 142–5; Gurval 1997. Another link between the Antioch propylon and the Parthian Arch was verbal: in A.D. 14 the *Res gestae* was inscribed on the inner face of the propylon's central piers—the same location in which one could have found the *Fasti Triumphales* and *Consulares* on the Rome arch (Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 146). This was actually the ideal location for the *Res gestae*, in that the document would

have been framed by imagery that commemorated several of the most important achievements listed there.

²⁰⁶ The same may have been true for the triple-bayed Agora Gate at Ephesus, dedicated to Augustus and Agrippa in 4/3 B.C. by Mazaeus and Mithridates (Alzinger 1974, 9–16).

²⁰⁷ Halfmann 1986, 166–8.

²⁰⁸ Borchhardt 2002, 50–1, 60–2.

tombs in the surrounding landscape. Although the form was essentially local, Rome's involvement in the project is indicated by the extensive use of concrete and by some of the architectural decoration, which can be paralleled in Rome but not in Asia Minor.²⁰⁹ The same is true of the imagery on the four monumental reliefs that decorated the base, of which many fragments still survive.²¹⁰ There is clear evidence of lictors, Roman cavalry, standard bearers, and Parthians, so the program undoubtedly featured the same kind of military scenes that would become standard in Roman state relief, such as the *transvectio equitum*, *nuncupatio votorum*, and *suovetaurilia*.²¹¹ The Pergamene *aes* of Gaius Caesar, which shows a standing Armenian holding a spear and arrow, also probably provides a glimpse of the iconography that would have been used.²¹²

Especially noteworthy, however, is the absence of combat scenes, prisoners, and subjugated enemies, as well as the iconography on the western side, which appears to have focused on the negotiations of Gaius and Phraataces.²¹³ The inclusion of diplomatic negotiation in the exposition of a military campaign would never become common in triumphal commemoration, either East or West; but the pacific iconography is in accord with the public monuments of Augustan Rome, and its deviation from the Corinth and Antioch monuments is striking.²¹⁴

RECONFIGURING THE FORUM

Triumphal monuments are rarely intended to exist in isolation, as the Athenian examples cited above clearly illustrate, and the paths that lead to the monuments usually bind them to others in the same vicinity. They are, in other words, components of a formal dialogue with shared themes and intersecting iconography, although in most cases we are unable to reconstruct the full narrative context be-

cause of subsequent reuse of or damage to the area in question.

One of the few sites in which we can do this is the eastern side of the Roman Forum, where the iconography that adorned the temples, triumphal arches, and basilicas gradually blended together to make a comprehensive statement about the Julian dynasty and their involvement with the Parthians. The triumphal program in this part of the forum has consistently been difficult to decipher because the posthumous arch of Gaius Caesar, one of the principal components, has proved so elusive in the archaeological record. The relevant evidence makes sense only if one approaches it from the point of view of posthumous honors for the imperial family, and then moves to the structures in the forum itself.

When the Senate learned of Gaius's death, they voted a set of honors for him and sent the decree to all colonies and municipalities in the empire. The same procedure had been followed for Drusus I and Lucius, and it would become standard at the death of male members of the Julio-Claudian family, and even for several of the women.²¹⁵ The only *senatus consultum* to survive in nearly complete form is the one voted at the death of Germanicus (the "Tabula Siarensis"), but fragments of the decree for Drusus II have also been recovered, and Tacitus and Dio occasionally list some of the posthumous honors when discussing imperial funerals.²¹⁶

The decrees generally specified the construction of an arch in one of the most prominent areas of Rome, to be decorated with images that celebrated the military achievements of the deceased.²¹⁷ Such *senatus consulta* could be used as models by colonies and municipalities drawing up their own plans for posthumous commemoration, and that is exactly what happened at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania following the death of Drusus II.²¹⁸ Decrees were formulated by the Senate immediately upon receiving

²⁰⁹ Waelkens 1987, 98.

²¹⁰ Ganzert 1984; Borchhardt 1990, 190–6, nos. 117–23; Borchhardt 2002.

²¹¹ Borchhardt 2002, 53–65; Kuttner 1995, 137–42 on *nuncupatio votorum*.

²¹² *RPC* 1 (Burnett et al. 1992), no. 2361.

²¹³ Borchhardt 2002, 60–2, Beilage 1. A *rex datus* scene may also have been featured (Borchhardt 2002, 49–50), such as one finds on the didrachms from Caesarea in Cappadocia with reverse of Germanicus crowning Artaxias king of Armenia (*RPC* 1 [Burnett et al. 1992], no. 3629).

²¹⁴ In monuments of Classical and Hellenistic date, agreements or alliances among cities or regions had always featured personifications, e.g., Stewart 1990, figs. 490 (Athenian document relief), 828, 830 (Lagina frieze). This pacific treatment

of the Parthians would also have been more in harmony with earlier honorific monuments in the immediate vicinity. The late Classical heroon of King Perikles of Lycia, which was another tower tomb at Limyra, showed the king in Eastern garb similar to that worn by the Parthians on the monument to Gaius (Borchhardt 1990, 169, no. 57).

²¹⁵ Lebek 1986, 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1991; Rose 1997, 8–9, 18–20, 25–30, 108–10, cat. 37; 182–4, cat. 125.

²¹⁶ Lebek 1989a.

²¹⁷ Arches had been voted for Drusus I (9 B.C.), Germanicus (A.D. 19), Drusus II (A.D. 23), and even Livia (A.D. 29) and Drusilla (A.D. 38): De Maria 1988, 272–4, no. 60; 277–8, no. 65; Gonzales and Arce 1988; Lebek 1987, 1989a, 1991; Rose 1997, 26, 29, 35; Sánchez-Ostiz Gutiérrez 1999, 93–161.

²¹⁸ Trillmich 1988.

news of a death, although if the death in question occurred in the East, the interval could be as long as two months: Germanicus, for example, died in Syria on 10 October; the news reached Rome on 8 December, and the Senate passed the first decree in his honor on 18 December.²¹⁹

No fragments of the senatorial decree for Gaius have been recovered, but from Pisa we do have a nearly complete decree recording in detail the colonists' actions upon hearing of his death (2 April A.D. 4).²²⁰ The decision was made to construct a triumphal arch in the most frequented place in the city, which was generally the forum, and on it a series of statues were to be placed: one of Gaius standing in triumphal attire, which would have meant the *toga picta*, flanked by gilded equestrian statues of both Gaius and Lucius.²²¹ The arch was also *ornatus spoileis devictarum aut in fidem receptarum ab eo gentium* ("adorned with the spoils of peoples conquered or received under our protection by him"). These were undoubtedly trophies that featured Parthian/Armenian armor and weapons, and they probably resembled the trophies that appeared on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar.²²²

It is not surprising to find that an arch was selected as the primary posthumous honor, because this was standard in Julio-Claudian *senatus consulta*, nor that images of both princes stood above it, since Gaius's death prompted the construction of commemorative monuments in honor of him and his brother Lucius throughout the empire.²²³ What is surprising is that such an elaborate decree was written and voted at a time when no magistrates were present in Pisa, as the inscription indicates at the very beginning. The same statement was repeated in slightly different words shortly thereafter: "at the time of this misfortune there were in the colony no duovirs or prefects or anyone in charge of the administration of justice."

There is only one plausible scenario that would explain how such a complex design could be drawn

up during such extenuating circumstances. The inscription indicates that the town received the news on 2 April, approximately six weeks after Gaius had died, and the news in question was almost certainly the senatorial decree that would have been distributed to all colonies. That decree would have served as a potential blueprint for cities of the empire, and it must have been used as such by the Pisans as they formulated their decree.²²⁴ This would explain why the language describing Gaius's career is so well written, and not unlike the prose recording the achievements of Germanicus in his *senatus consultum* of A.D. 19.

What this means is that the Pisan inscription supplies the basic features of the senatorial decree for Gaius following his death, and it can be used to clarify the posthumous honors voted for him by the Senate. The triumphal arch is a feature that one would have expected in the decree, given its consistent appearance in the other *senatus consulta*, and the phrase regarding its location—*in celeberrimo loco*—is also a standard feature of these honors. The phrase could, in theory, refer to several different sites in Rome, and not all of the posthumous arches were set up in the forum: that of Drusus I was erected on the Via Appia, for example, and Germanicus's arch adorned the Circus Flaminius.

In the case of Gaius, however, it is hard to believe that the forum would not have been chosen as the site for his arch. He was the eldest son of the emperor, and his primary achievement lay in his victory over the Parthians, which had been closely linked to his father's success in the same area. By the time of Gaius's death, the center of the forum had developed into the primary area for the advertisement of Parthian subjugation, because of the triple-bayed arch of Augustus and the pavonazetto Parthians circling the interior of the Basilica Aemilia.²²⁵ It seems certain that the Senate would have situated the military achievements of Gaius within this pre-existing triumphal network, thereby

²¹⁹ Death: *Fasti Antiates* vi id. Oct. = Degraffi 1963, 209; Rome's receipt of news: *Fasti Ostienses* vi. Id. Dec. = Vidman 1982, 41, 61–2; Lebek 1986, 32–3; *senatus consultum*: Gonzales-Arce 1988, 310, *Tab. Siar.* 2B, lines 20–7; Sánchez-Ostiz Gutiérrez 1999, 252–6.

²²⁰ *CIL* 11.1421; Marotta D'Agata 1980; Gordon 1983, 105–6, no. 31.

²²¹ Kleiner 1984; 1985, 35; De Maria 1988, 250–1, no. 32; Rose 1997, 99–100, cat. 28.

²²² The senatorial decree describing the posthumous honors of Germanicus indicates that his arch was to be adorned with *signa gentium devictarum* (Sánchez-Ostiz Gutiérrez 1999, 111–5). These are translated as "standards of conquered people" by Lebek (1987, 136) and Trillmich (1988, 58 n. 11), which

must be correct. When images of humans are referred to in the decree, the word *statua* is used. This represents a reversal of my views in Rose 1997, 110.

²²³ Rose 1997, 18–20. Based on the surviving evidence, in fact, it looks as if Lucius received more commemorative statues in A.D. 4 than was the case at his death two years earlier.

²²⁴ The same may be true of the Pisan decree for Lucius (*CIL* 11.1420), written at the time of his death two years earlier. See, in general, Lebek 1999.

²²⁵ See *infra* n. 241. Marguerite Steinby (1987) has shown that this building was referred to in antiquity as the Basilica Paulli, but I have retained "Aemilia" here since it is still most frequently identified by that name.

also framing his monument with those commemorating Augustus and Caesar.

The area between the Basilica Aemilia and the Temple of Divus Iulius has, in fact, yielded three inscriptions of Gaius and Lucius, and one of the dedications to Lucius (fig. 25) is of monumental dimensions: 4.75 m in length with a height of 1.50 m:

L. Caesari Aug[u]sti f. divi n.
principi iuventu[ti]s cos. desig.
cum [e]sset ann. n[a]t. XIII Aug.
Senatus.²²⁶

This formula is different in structure from any of Lucius's lifetime inscriptions by virtue of the *cum* clause, which makes it sound like an epitaph, and the titles listed are those held by Lucius at the time of his death. In the same area an inscribed fragment with letters of the same size and dimensions were uncovered. Only three letters—*Aug*.—are preserved, but the fragment must have formed part of a companion dedication.²²⁷

The original location of these inscriptions has been uncertain, although the Lucius dedication clearly belonged to a substantial structure, judging by its size, and its fall spot between the Basilica Aemilia and the Temple of Divus Iulius indicates that it was positioned in that sector.²²⁸ Scholars have often reconstructed an arch here that effectively joined the basilica with the temple while forming a monumental entrance to the central part of the forum, and it has usually been linked to Gaius and Lucius.²²⁹

There is, in fact, secure evidence for the arch's existence and for its attribution to the sons of Augustus, although the interpretations of the relevant sources vary widely. The 15th-century archi-

tect Pirro Ligorio drew the plan and elevation of a quadrifrons arch between temple and basilica, and an arch appears again in this area in other Renaissance drawings.²³⁰ The topographical situation was clarified by excavations between these two structures in 1899, which revealed a porch-like extension at the southeast corner of the Basilica Aemilia, nearly 9.5 m square (fig. 7). When Esther van Deman drew her plan of this section of the basilica, she noted that the foundations for the piers at the southern end of this projection, adjacent to the street, were more massive than those in the rest of the basilica; directly opposite these piers, on the northern side of the Temple of Divus Iulius, R. Gamberini Mongenet's excavations in 1950 revealed that the foundations there had been strengthened.²³¹ The two sets of foundations led him to the conclusion, already in discussion by the late 19th century, that an arch linked to the foundations of both temple and basilica had originally spanned the Via Sacra. Such a reconstruction would explain the unusual projection at the east end of the basilica's portico, which is featured in the design of no other Roman basilica. This projection brought the basilica closer to the temple, and decreased the distance that would have to be spanned by the arch from over 16 to just under 6 m. This is a much more manageable distance, and more in line with the standard span of other Imperial arches in Rome and central Italy.²³²

Enough evidence exists to associate the construction of the basilica's projection, which would have supported the northern piers of the arch, with the general period in which Gaius died. Esther van Deman demonstrated that the projection was built at the same time as the portico that it joins, and the two clearly formed part of a single project carried

²²⁶ The monumental inscription to Lucius is *CIL* 6.36908; Lanciani 1899, 201; Huelsen 1905, 59–62; Lugli 1947, 84–5; Gordon 1983, 105, no. 30; Chioffi 1996, 62–4, no. 12; Rich 1998, 103. The other inscriptions in this area are *CIL* 6.36880; Chioffi 1996, 60–61, no. 10 (Lucius); *CIL* 6.36893; Chioffi 1996, 61–62, no. 11 (Gaius). Inscriptions of Gaius and Lucius were also set up within the Basilica Aemilia, although not until the Tiberian period (Panciera 1969, 104–12; Rose 1997, 111–3, cat. 40).

²²⁷ Andreae 1957, 170.

²²⁸ Gamberini Mongenet (Andreae 1957, 170) linked the Lucius inscription with the Portico of Gaius and Lucius mentioned by Suetonius (*Aug.* 29.4). Huelsen (1905, 62) thought it was associated with a monumental base; Nedergaard (1994–1995, 65 n. 12) assigned it to the projecting section of the Basilica Aemilia north of the Temple of Divus Iulius.

²²⁹ Richter 1901, 151–8; Lanciani 1899, 191–4; Andreae 1957, 170; Zanker 1972, 16–7; De Maria 1988, 274–5, no. 61;

Bauer 1988, 207; 1993, 185; Ulrich 1994, 178 n. 113; Rose 1997, 19; Chioffi 1996, 36–7, 48–50. Coarelli (1985, 269–97) reconstructs a three-bay arch in this area, originally commemorating the Parthian victory and subsequently rededicated to Gaius and Lucius after their deaths. See also Kleiner 1989, 199; Carnabuci 1991, 328; Nedergaard 1994–1995, 44.

²³⁰ Coarelli 1985, 273–308; Kleiner 1989, 199; Carnabuci 1991, 325–8; Nedergaard 1994–1995, 44–50.

²³¹ Deman 1913, 23; Andreae 1957, 168–9, 171. Scholars have consistently been led astray by the plan of Gamberini Mongenet (Andreae 1957, 174, fig. 126), who presented all of the bases as homogeneous in size and shape.

²³² If all of the evidence is assembled, it looks as if Ligorio's plan of a quadrifrons arch next to the Basilica Aemilia should be treated with greater respect than has heretofore been the case, although the topographical designations on Ligorio's plans can be as ambiguous as those of Pausanias, as Elizabeth Nedergaard (1994–1995, 42–50) has shown.

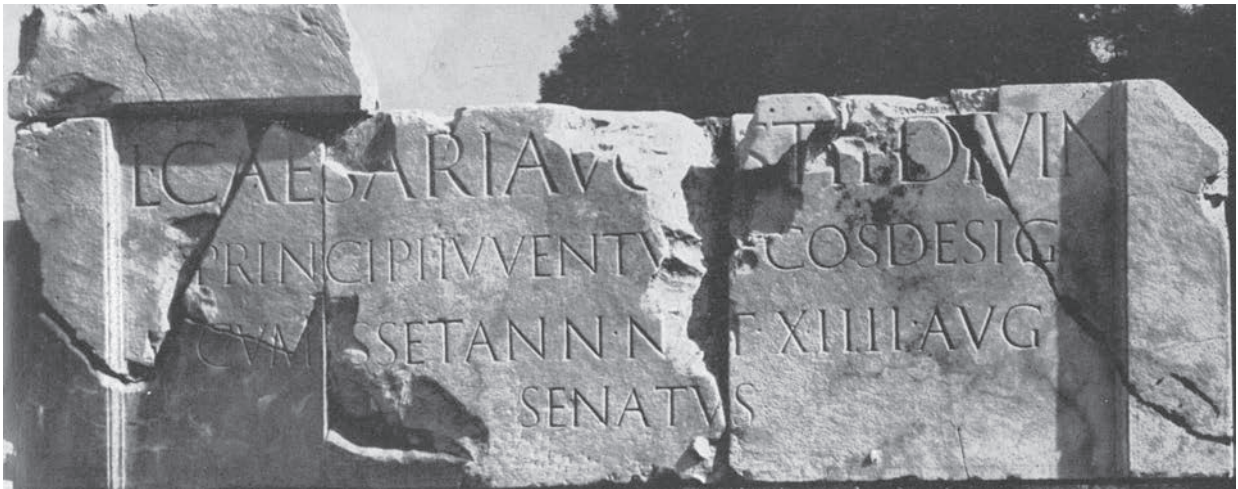


Fig. 25. Inscription of Lucius Caesar from the east side of the Roman Forum. (After Zanker 1972, fig. 23)

out soon after the rebuilding of the basilica.²³³ The pottery recovered in the foundations of the portico has not been published, but Heinrich Bauer noted that the Arretine ware in the assemblage provided a terminus post quem of the last decade of the first century B.C. for the construction, and the architectural decoration on the interior is comparable to that from the Temple of the Dioscuri, dedicated in A.D. 6.²³⁴ In other words, the surviving evidence, drawn from a rather wide variety of sources, indicates that an arch was located between the Basilica Aemilia and the Temple of Divus Julius, and it would have served as a pendant to the Parthian Arch on the other side of the temple.²³⁵ The discovery in this area of the monumental inscription to Lucius, which appears to be posthumous, coupled with the evidence for the arch's construction date, suggests that this structure was the posthumous arch of Gaius voted by the Senate in A.D. 4.²³⁶

²³³ Deman 1913, 19–28; Lugli 1946, 98–9; 1947, 84–8; Coarelli 1985, 171–6; Carnabuci 1991, 307–10; Rich 1998, 105 n. 115; Palombi 1999. This portico on the south side of the Basilica Aemilia has often been identified as the Porticus of Gaius and Lucius mentioned by Suetonius (*Aug.* 29.4), primarily because of the discovery in this area of the inscriptions of Gaius and Lucius mentioned above. The porticus has often been connected to a passage in Dio (56.27.5), who notes that the “Stoa Iulia” honored Gaius and Lucius and was dedicated in A.D. 12. Dio uses the word *stoa* to indicate basilicas (e.g. 54.24.2–3, Basilicas Paulli and Aemilia), and here he is clearly referring to the Basilica Julia, rebuilt after the fire of 14 B.C. and mentioned as well by Augustus in the *Res gestae* (20). It is not inconceivable that the porticus of the Basilica Aemilia was named in honor of Gaius and Lucius, but there is also no evidence to indicate that their portico lay in the forum.

²³⁴ For the Arretine ware, see Bauer 1993, 185; Mattern 1997, 34 n. 8; for the architectural decoration, see Mattern 1997, 38.

This addition would have created an architectural dynastic group in the heart of the forum, with monuments to Julius Caesar, Augustus, Gaius, and Lucius all organized in a single line, and the imagery on the two arches would also have been complementary. Trophies of Parthia/Armenia decorated the Pisan arch, and the same must have been true for the arch in Rome, since imagery pinpointing the location of a victory was standard on Imperial arches, at least in the capital. In this case the trophies may have been on the attic, as with the Rome arches of Drusus I and Claudius, but whatever their location, they would have echoed the Parthian iconography on the Augustan arch, and the eastern victories of father and son would once again have been linked.

The description of the other attic sculptures mentioned in the Pisan decree has been the source of considerable disagreement, with some scholars

²³⁵ Gros 1996.

²³⁶ It is tempting to assign the monumental inscription of Lucius Caesar to the arch, as several scholars have done, and this is certainly conceivable. The principal obstacle to its placement there is that the attic inscriptions of triumphal arches tend to be slightly longer than the span of the arch per se, and in this case the length of the Lucius inscription, which survives intact, is about 1 m shorter than that of the span. The inscription appears to have been found fallen from its original location, and the only other option is that it was located on one of the upper stories of the Basilica Aemilia, at the east end. This is where Bauer placed it, and in his reconstruction he includes a second (upper) attic zone decorated with panels of the same width as the Lucius inscription (Bauer 1988, 204–5, figs. 91, 92). Here too the restoration is not without problems, since the inscription would have been placed over 25 m above ground level—considerably higher than any other inscription in Roman architecture—and the words would not have been easily legible, especially without bronze letters.

interpreting the language to refer to images of Augustus flanked by Gaius and Lucius.²³⁷ But the Latin is very clear in this section and indicates a central statue of Gaius together with equestrian images of Gaius and Lucius. This is admittedly an odd group, and there are no other known instances of two statues of the same individual above an arch; but if the arch was the size of a quadrifrons, which the foundations suggest, then the assemblage becomes easier to understand. The length/width of the attic would have been ca. 6 m, and the arch's location would have ensured that it functioned as a monumental entrance to the forum. The equestrian images of Gaius and Lucius could therefore have been positioned on the west side of the arch, with the image of Gaius in triumphal attire located at the east, or vice versa. This would have given pride of place to Gaius, and yet would have avoided the placement of two statues of Gaius next to each other. A similar statuary juxtaposition existed above the early Imperial arch in the forum at Corinth, where the chariot of Helios faced one direction, and the chariot of Phaethon, the other.²³⁸

The use of equestrian statues for an arch of this kind actually makes perfect sense. Triumphator statues above arches were usually either equestrian, as with the arches of Drusus I and Claudius, or set in a quadriga, as with the Parthian Arch or the Capitoline arch of Nero. Two men could conceivably have been placed in the same chariot if they shared a military success, but this would not have been true for Gaius and Lucius, and Lucius had no

victory of his own. Equestrian images of the two men would therefore have been the only option.²³⁹

The Parthian/Armenian trophies on the arch would have complemented the Parthian caryatids in the interior of the Basilica Aemilia, which may have been completed at about the same time as the arch.²⁴⁰ This complex featured 40 overlife-size statues of Parthian men in colored marble, both Phrygian (*pavonazzetto*) and Numidian (*giallo antico*), with white marble inset faces and Phrygian caps.²⁴¹ At least in the former case, the stone would have signaled the men's link to the East, and the polychromatic appearance would have made them one of the most eye-catching components of the basilica's design, not unlike the Parthian princes paraded through the arena with Augustus.

The most complete statue from this ensemble is preserved only from the feet to slightly above the waist, but enough survives to indicate that his hands were not bound in front of or behind him.²⁴² Where the statues stood and how they functioned are difficult to determine, since no systematic publication of either the basilica or the Parthians has ever appeared,²⁴³ but either way, the Basilica Aemilia and the triumphal arch of Augustus provided two adjacent sets of overlife-size Parthians in the center of the Roman Forum, with Gaius's arch set between them.

What is most interesting about the Basilica Aemilia Parthians is their age: long, curly hair frames youthful idealized faces with no beards or moustaches, and they consequently represent a sig-

²³⁷ Gualandi 1979, 107–8; Kuttner 1995, 84.

²³⁸ Edwards 1994, 263.

²³⁹ Marcus Aurelius and Commodus originally shared the triumphal chariot on one of the reliefs from their arch in Rome (Kleiner 1992, fig. 261), and Septimius and Caracalla may have appeared together in the chariot above their arch in the forum (Brilliant 1967, pl. 1 [Bartoli reconstruction]). The only certain example of a jointly occupied chariot in a freestanding statuary group is the Tiberian dynastic monument at Lepcis Magna, where the statues of Germanicus and Drusus II were placed together in the same chariot (Trillmich 1988; Rose 1997, pl. 217B).

²⁴⁰ Steinby 1987; Bauer 1988, 1993; Mattern 1997. The basilica had been extensively damaged in a fire in 14 B.C. that appears to have claimed the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Castor and Pollux as well (Dio Cass. 54.24.2; Coarelli 1985, 225; Sande and Zahle 1988, 215; Nielsen 1993, 244; Poulsen 1991, 121–2). Reconstruction of the Dioscuri temple was not finished until A.D. 6 (Nielsen and Poulsen 1992; Nielsen 1993; Sande and Zahle 1994), and the Basilica Julia was not rededicated until six years after that (Dio Cass. 56.27.5; Giuliani-Verduchi 1993). When the Basilica Aemilia was actually completed is not recorded, but since it was nearly as large as the Basilica Julia, and involved much more interior sculptural decoration, the completion of the main part of the building would probably

have taken longer than a decade, even if they put the construction on a faster track. Scholars tend to date the Augustan rebuilding of the Basilica Aemilia to 14 B.C., but this was merely the date of the fire that destroyed it.

²⁴¹ Of the 22 surviving fragments, 20 are in *pavonazzetto* and only two in Numidian (Huelsen 1905, 53–62; Schneider 1986, 115–7, 200; Bauer 1988, 210; Schneider 1998, 114–5; Schneider 2002, 85, 86, 91). There are unpublished photos of the Parthian heads in the Archivio Fotografico of the Forum Soprintendenza di Archeologia di Roma: nos. 78 and 79, AF/T. The basic format of the statues is reminiscent of the fifth-century B.C. Persian portico at Sparta, a triumphal monument that featured caryatids in Eastern dress (Vitr. *De Arch.* 1.1.6; Schneider 1986, 27, 109–10).

²⁴² One arm was lowered, with the hand possibly resting on the hip, and the other may have been raised, but this is not certain. Schneider (1998, pl. 12.2) includes a reconstruction with raised right arm, based on the Parthian caryatids that appear on the funerary relief of M. Virtius Ceraunus, now in Naples (Schneider 1998, pl. 13.2 [ca. A.D. 50–75]).

²⁴³ Heinrich Bauer's provisional reconstruction situates the Parthians on the second level of the interior, over the historiated frieze (Bauer 1988, 202, 209, fig. 99), although some have argued that they were placed on the facade, like the caryatids on the porticoes of Augustus's forum (cf. Kuttner 1995, 83).

nificant change from the older, heavily bearded Parthians who appeared on the Prima porta breastplate and *signis receptis* coins.²⁴⁴ For some, the new appearance may have called to mind the Parthian princes of Phraates' family, still resident in Rome, but they were also nearly identical to images of Attis, which shared the same idealized features, hairstyle, and headgear.²⁴⁵ In other words, Parthian iconography appears to have been pulled into a sphere of imagery associated with the cult of the Magna Mater, especially the Galli and Attis, which emphasized differences between Rome and the East yet excluded the attributes of subjugation.

Shortly after A.D. 4, then, the eastern entrance of the forum experienced a significant transformation: the Temple of Divus Iulius, the Parthian Arch of Augustus, and the Arch of Gaius and Lucius were now physically connected to each other, and their link to the Basilica Aemilia at the north, and the Temple of the Dioscuri at the south, meant that access to the forum was possible only through the arches of Augustus or his sons (fig. 7). This unbroken line of structures would also have screened from view any monument lying farther to the east, which included the Fornix Fabianus honoring the Aemilian family.²⁴⁶ Moreover, the rostral platforms in front of the Temples of Divus Iulius and the Dioscuri would have ensured the formation of a crowd of spectators on this side of the forum throughout the year.²⁴⁷

A Roman who looked at the structures that had been assembled here toward the end of the Augustan period would have seen a network of images related to the themes of triumph, dynasty, and religion, all of which were formally interwoven and hierarchically arranged. The cult statue of Caesar in his temple would have been flanked by images of Augustus, Gaius, and Lucius, and their associated buildings consequently represented three generations of the Julian family. The symbols linked to those structures succinctly commemorated the family's role in advancing the scope and stability of the empire: the bronze prows adorning the rostra of the Temple of Divus Iulius attested to victory over Egypt, and the Parthian images on the Arches of Augustus and Gaius, as well as within the Ba-

silica Aemilia, symbolized Rome's control of the East.

The designers were clearly interested in forging as strong a connection as possible among the arches and the Temples of Divus Iulius and the Dioscuri, and they used a variety of formal elements to accomplish it. The twin lateral pediments of the Parthian Arch—which are unique in the design of triumphal arches—would have visually tied the monument to the two temples on either side of it. An even tighter connection between the arch and the Dioscuri temple would have existed once the latter building was rebuilt in A.D. 6: two side staircases were incorporated into the design of the temple's porch, and one of them led directly into the southern bay of the Parthian Arch. This effectively turned the arch into a link between the Temples of the Dioscuri and Divus Iulius, and the rostral platforms attached to the front of both new buildings strengthened that bond.

There would also have been a formal dialogue among the images associated with all three structures. The pediment of the Temple of Caesar was decorated with an eight-pointed star, ostensibly symbolizing the comet that appeared after his death during the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, and similar stars were added to statues of Caesar by Augustus throughout Italy (fig. 26).²⁴⁸ The use of such stars to signify the superhuman status of a ruler was not uncommon, and they ultimately derived from the iconography of the Dioscuri, who were generally depicted with stars above their heads or on their helmets. It seems likely that the images of the Dioscuri in the pediment of their temple would also have been shown with stars, thereby defining the star of Caesar as a symbol of divinity.²⁴⁹

The repetition of the horse motif would have functioned as another unifying element. The temple of the Dioscuri commemorated the twins' miraculous appearance in the forum after the Battle of Lake Regillus in 493 B.C., where they watered their horses at the Fons Iuturnae. The monument ultimately set up by that fountain showed them standing by their horses, which became their standard mode of presentation in Roman iconography, and they were undoubtedly shown in a similar format in

²⁴⁴ It is worth noting that age had not been used in late Republican commemoration to distinguish conqueror from conquered; the marks of advanced age were applied to the faces of both, and the primary difference between them lay in the shaggy hair and beards of the latter (compare Crawford 1974, no. 448.2e [Gallic male] with no. 455.1a [C. Antius Restio]).

²⁴⁵ For the cap type, see Vermaseren 1977, 53, 57, 70.

²⁴⁶ Kleiner 1985, 16–9; Steinby 1987; Chioffi 1995; 1996, 26–36.

²⁴⁷ Ulrich 1994.

²⁴⁸ See supra n. 205.

²⁴⁹ Hermay 1986; Gury 1986; La Rocca 1994b; Petrocchi 1994.



Fig. 26. The Temple of Divus Iulius in the Roman Forum, denarius of 36 B.C. (After Crawford 1974, no. 540.1) Coin reproduced 2:1. (Courtesy British Museum)

the pediment of their temple. The paintings in the Pompeian House of the Dioscuri, in fact, are probably fairly close to the original composition of the central part of the pediment (fig. 27).²⁵⁰ In all likelihood, then, there would have been a visual correspondence between arches and the temple in that all would have featured horses, either on the attic or in the pediment. The Dioscuri also served as models for the presentation of imperial princes, especially if they were close in age, and the presence of two equestrians on the Dioscuri temple as well as above the Arch of Gaius would have made the link between the two particularly apparent.

One of the most important links among the structures was provided by landscaping, although this is rarely mentioned in scholarship on the forum. During his excavations in the early 1950s, R. Gamberini Mongenet found evidence for rows of laurel trees planted to the west of the Parthian Arch and around the Temple of Caesar (fig. 7).²⁵¹ These would have tied together arch and temple with a tree sacred to both Apollo and Augustus, and archaeology has probably missed more such plantings farther to the west.²⁵² It is also easy to forget that the arch was a ubiquitous feature throughout most of the forum: the facades of the Basilicas Aemilia and Julia were arcaded, and the arches of the Augustan family as well as the hemicycle of the Caesar temple would

have picked up their rhythm, as would the arcaded facade of the Tabularium that defined the western side of the forum.

In spite of the visual rhythms linking this line of structures, there were significant differences among them. The Arch of Augustus was triple-bayed, whereas that of Gaius was in the form of a quadrifrons, with the attic statuary probably sharing the same level rather than staggered, as on the Parthian Arch. Only the central bay of the Parthian Arch was a true arch, and the width of its span, at 4.05 m, would have been nearly two meters shorter than that of Gaius. This means that the height of the arch of Gaius would probably have been slightly greater than that of Augustus. The ratio of an arch's height to the width of its span during the first century A.D. generally varied between 2.0 and 2.75, which means that the original height of Gaius's arch could have been anywhere between 12 and 16.5 if the same system was used. The top of the arch would, in any event, have extended at least as far as the upper arcade of the Basilica Aemilia, and possibly to the level of the column bases of that arcade. The attic sculptures of the arch would consequently have occupied a level higher than those on the Parthian Arch, but lower than the star of Caesar in the pediment of his temple.

A clear differentiation in status is detectable if one examines the original heights of the images associated with the structures on this side of the forum. None of these levels can be reconstructed with pinpoint accuracy, of course, but the relative placement is clear. The Parthians would have been lowest, at a level of between 8 and 9 m above ground; Augustus between 13 and 14 m, with the deceased Gaius and Lucius slightly higher; the star of Divus Iulius at ca. 17–18 m; and the Dioscuri between 25 and 26 m.²⁵³ In other words, the higher one moved on the vertical matrix, the higher the status of the person represented.

THE NEXT GENERATIONS

The Arch of Gaius was the last Parthian-related monument to be set up in the Roman Forum dur-

²⁵⁰ Richardson 1955, 6, pl. 15; Gury 1986, 615, no. 34.

²⁵¹ Andreae 1957, 165–6. The bases for the laurel trees are rendered as circumscribed squares on the plan in figure 7 (after Andreae 1957, 163, fig. 21). Two laurels seem to have been aligned with each of the piers on the arch, although one of the trees may have been taken away when the Temple of the Dioscuri was rebuilt. The same bases appeared in the excavations on the north side of the Temple of Caesar.

²⁵² Even the Fasti probably merit mention in a discussion of this coordinated system, in that the closest set of monumental

inscriptions—albeit of a primitive form—were the annual records of the *pontifices* mounted on the walls of the nearby Domus Publica (Frier 1979, 84–105). This would have involved a less immediate connection than the others, in that the pontifical tabulae appear to have been kept within the domus, but the link would probably have registered in the mind of anyone conducting business with the pontifex maximus.

²⁵³ The levels provided would have marked the base of each image, not its apex. The height of the Temple of Divus Iulius is very approximate and taken from the 1889 reconstruction



Fig. 27. Painting from the House of the Dioscuri, Pompeii. (After Richardson 1955, pl. 15)

ing the Julio-Claudian period, but the Parthian iconography developed in Augustan Rome, and the pomp that surrounded it, formed a paradigm that consistently influenced the designers of subsequent triumphal monuments in both Rome and the provinces. The arch commemorating Germanicus's recovery in A.D. 16 of the standards lost by Varus was set directly opposite the Parthian Arch, and his posthumous arch in Germany, probably in

Mainz, featured an attic statuary group of Germanicus himself receiving the standards from a German, in apparent imitation of the central motif on the Primaporta breastplate.²⁵⁴

With the Armenian campaign of Nero one finds an even closer adherence to Augustan models. When the Parthians were pushed out of Armenia early in Nero's reign, the Senate erected a statue of the emperor in the Temple of Mars Ultor, of the

by Richter (Nedergaard 1988b, 227, fig. 121). The height of the Parthian Arch comes from the reconstruction by Gamberini Mongenet (Nedergaard 1988b, 229, fig. 127; Kleiner 1985, pl. 4.3); and the height of Castor and Pollux from the drawing by Siri Sande and Jan Zahle (1988, 215, fig. 109).

²⁵⁴For the Arch of Germanicus in Mainz, see Lebek 1987; 1989b, 45–51, 57–67; 1991, 53, 69–70; Rose 1997, 22 n. 80; Sánchez-Ostiz Gutiérrez 1999, 149–61, esp. 155–6. The posthumous Arch of Germanicus in Rome would have been decorated with German and Armenian or Parthian standards, judged

ing by its description in the *Tabula Siarensis*, thus supplying another East–West juxtaposition in a triumphal monument (Lebek 1987; De Maria 1988, 277–8, no. 65; Kleiner 1989, 200–1; Rose 1997, 108–10, cat. 37). The construction of the early Imperial arch at Carpentras in southern France, which also features a combination of eastern and western barbarians, was probably stimulated by the colony's receipt of a copy of the *Tabula Siarensis*, and it should therefore date to ca. A.D. 20. See Kleiner 1985, 44–5; Kuttner 1995, 84; Bedon et al. 1998, 1:178–80, 2:116 (there associated with Tiberius).

same size as that of the god, and both images would have been framed by the standards surrendered by the Parthians in 20 B.C. At the beginning of Corbulo's campaign against Armenia and its Parthian allies in 57/58, the Battle of Salamis was once more reenacted in a naumachia, and a triumphal arch commemorating Nero's alleged Parthian victories was constructed on the Capitoline Hill, with Nero in a quadriga on the attic.²⁵⁵

Athens again reordered one of its monumental spaces, as had been done for Gaius, but this time the focus shifted back to the acropolis: a bronze inscription in honor of Nero was added to the eastern side of the Parthenon at the same time that his triumphal arch was dedicated in Rome.²⁵⁶ In Athens, of course, the narrative context was even richer than that in Rome, and the acropolis had essentially developed into a museum whose exhibits recounted the history of eastern conquest, with accent on the achievements of Augustus, Alexander, and the Greeks during the Persian Wars. That martial network now included Nero as well, and once again Parthian imagery was set within a triumphal matrix wherein the degree of their savagery was tripled by the contiguous verbal, visual, and temporal cross-references in the surrounding vicinity.

It is rather astonishing to compare the plethora of battle imagery on the Acropolis with the triumphal commemoration in the Roman Forum during the first three centuries of the Empire. Within the forum there were plenty of references to battle in the form of inscriptions, rostra, and arches, but comparatively few images of the enemy in human form, and nearly all of those for which we have evidence are Parthians: the Basilica Aemilia and the arches of Augustus, Gaius, and Septimius Severus.²⁵⁷ The only deviation from this program came with the Equus Domitiani, which featured a severed Ger-

man head under the front horse hoof, but it was removed five years after its erection.²⁵⁸

In terms of figural imagery, this concentrated focus on a single enemy is not appreciably different from what one would have found in the Templum Pacis or the Forum of Trajan, which appear to have dealt exclusively with the Jews and Dacians, respectively; but in other areas of Rome a more expansive attitude toward the regional components of the empire was adopted. On the Capitoline, in particular, monuments commemorating Roman victory over the Germans, Numidians, and Syrians, among others, had been accumulating for centuries; and the shrines of Jupiter Feretrius and Mars Ultor would also have signaled Rome's victory over the Gauls and Parthians.²⁵⁹

What is most striking in the Roman Forum itself is the attitude toward the enemy that prevailed in figural imagery during the early and middle Empire. With the exception of the short-lived Domitianic example mentioned above, the center of the forum was kept free of the kind of imagery found on the historiated columns and in the triumphal art of the provinces, where chained and/or kneeling barbarians were the norm. Even at the end of the Antonine period, when the number of conflicts between Rome and Parthia had climbed to six, the most dominant images of foreigners were those on the Arch of Augustus, where Romans and Parthians were shown at peace, although unequal in status.²⁶⁰

This focus on the Pax Augusta would not change until the early third century, when the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus brought to the forum the first images of Parthians since those of the Augustan period.²⁶¹ We have become accustomed to thinking of the Severan arch as a complement to that of Augustus, and it certainly was in terms of the

²⁵⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 13.41.4, 15.18.1; Kleiner 1985, 67–138; De Maria 1988, 283–4, no. 70; La Rocca 1992; Kleiner 1993. The arch was copied on coins of Perinthos (*RPC* 1 [Burnett et al. 1992], no. 1758).

²⁵⁶ For the naumachia, see Dio Cass. 61.9.6; Suet. *Ner.* 12; Spawforth 1994, 238; Nero's Parthenon inscription, see Carroll 1982; Spawforth 1994, 234–7; Hurwit 1999, 280–1.

²⁵⁷ This too is a point rarely made: Augustus decided to place greater stress on victory in Parthia, even though it involved no war, than on the battles in Dacia, Dalmatia, and the Alpine regions, for which triumphs had actually been voted.

²⁵⁸ Stat. *Silv.* 1.1; Giuliani 1995. There is no evidence that the Arch of Tiberius and Germanicus in the Roman Forum contained representations of Germans (Kleiner 1985, 51–2; De Maria 1988, 275–6, no. 62; Coarelli 1993).

²⁵⁹ For the Templum Pacis, see Coarelli 1999; La Rocca 2001, 195–207; for the Dacians in the Forum of Trajan, Schneider

1986, 162–5; Ungaro 2002. For the triumphal monuments on the Capitoline, see Dio Cass. 43.14.6; Plut. *Sull.* 6; Plut. *Caes.* 6; Pliny *HN* 35.22–3; Lahusen 1983, 7–12; Hölscher 1988, 384–6, no. 214. A broader representation of subjugated regions also appeared in the Forum of Nerva (Wiegartz 1996; Presicce 1999, 92–3), and the Hadrianeum (Liverani 1995, 229–33; Presicce 1999; Sapelli 1999).

²⁶⁰ Three triumphs over Parthians were celebrated, by Trajan (posthumously), Lucius Verus, and Alexander Severus (Kienast 1990, 123, 144, 177), but none of the Parthian triumphal arches in Rome for which we have evidence—those of Augustus, Nero, and Septimius Severus—can actually be linked to a formal triumph over the Parthians. Nero received an *ovatio* (Tac. *Ann.* 13.8.1), and Rich (1998, 77) has argued that Augustus also received one in 19 B.C.

²⁶¹ Brilliant 1967; 1993; De Maria 1988, 305–7, no. 89.

triple-bayed format and its Parthian focus. But the complex battle chronicles applied to the face of the arch presented a significant change from the earlier iconography. Parthians now marched in chains on the column pedestals, and the monumental panels above the lateral arches showcased the destruction of their cities by sophisticated Roman weaponry.²⁶² In terms of triumphal iconography, the dominant focus of the forum now shifted to the western side; and although the Severan reliefs proclaimed, as had the arch of Augustus, that war with Parthia would now end, the conception of peace represented there was very different from the one that Augustus had incorporated into the design of his arch.²⁶³

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²⁶²The same emphasis on subjugated Parthians appeared on the Arch of Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna (Bianchi-Bandinelli 1963, pl. 32), although at Cyrene the emperor's Parthian victory was commemorated by a Persikomachy frieze (Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000, 153; Vermeule 1968, 80).

²⁶³I began writing this article shortly after the intervention in Iraq in the spring of 2003, and I have tried to prevent my attitudes toward the war from influencing this discussion of Parthian iconography and Roman-Parthian relations during the Augustan period. For assistance with various parts of the article, I would like to thank Ann Kuttner, Barbara Burrell, R.R.R. Smith, Billur Tekkök, Michael Sage, Lynne Lancaster, Tom

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