PAX • TERRA • MARIQVE:

RHETORICS OF ROMAN VICTORY, 50 B.C. – A.D. 14

Hannah Cornwell

Brasenose College

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Classics,

Sub-faculty of Ancient History,

University of Oxford

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on a short period of time between 50 B.C. to A.D. 14, which is marked by the increased prominence of *pax* as a central concept within the victory rhetoric of the period. The period is one of immense political and social upheaval and change that was to dictate the power structures of the Roman world, and one of the ways in which this change was conceptualised was through the language of peace.

In this thesis I examine *pax* as a concept within the Roman empire and as part of an discourse on the nature of Roman imperialism. This examination considers not just the development of *pax* as a concept over time, but also how it was variously conceptualised and presented to different audiences and in different locations. This

focuses the examination of *pax* on understanding what the term as an expression of Rome's *imperium* meant to various peoples within the Roman empire, how it was expressed and for what reasons. As David Mattingly has recently emphasised the nature of Roman imperialism changed radically over time ('*Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire'* (2011)). This study of the different rhetorics of peace offers new insight into this changing nature.

Beyond the specific examination of *pax* as a part of imperial discourse within the late Republic and early Principate, this study raises questions about the way we think about concepts in the ancient world. Rather than talking about a single development or evolution over time, we should rather consider concepts as constantly active and changing *in* time. Our view of the ancient world and the way in which it was conceptualised should not be a static one, but one where the meaning and value of words give us insights into how individuals and communities expressed and explained changing social and political conditions.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of ancient authors and classical texts follow the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary.*

AE	*L'Année Épigraphique revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine* (Paris: Ernest Leroux; Presses universitaires de France, 1888-).
BMC Pont	*Catalogue of Greek Coins: Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of the Bosphorus*, W. Wroth, ed. R.S. Poole (London: British Museum, 1889).
BMC Thessaly	*Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum: Thessaly to Aetolia,* P. Gradner, ed. R. S. Poole (London: British Museum 1883).
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History,* 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961-); 1st edn. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1923-).
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. T. Mommsen *et al*. (Berolini: G. Riemerum, 1862–).
EJ^2	*Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, 2nd ed. with addenda, ed. V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
IG	*Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora.* ed. Ulricus Koehler and Johannes Kirchner (Berolini, Apud

	G. Reimerum, 1877-1895).
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae,* ed. H. Dessau (Beroini: Apud Weidmannos, 1954-1955).
InsDelos	*Inscriptions de Délos: décrets postérieurs à 166 av. J. C. (nos 1497-1524), dédicaces postérieurs a 166 av. J.C. (nos. 1525-2219),* ed. P. Roussel and M. Launey (Paris: H. Champion, 1937).
Inscr. Ital.	*Inscriptiones Italiae Academicae Italicae Consociatae ediderunt. Volumen XIII,* ed. A. Degrassi (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1937-1967).
IRT	*The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania,* ed.J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins (Roma, London: British School at Rome, 1952).
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, ed. H.-C. Ackermann and J.-R. Gisler (Zürich, Artemis, 1981–99).
LSJ	*A Latin Dictionary: founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary,* C.T. Lewis and C. Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879).
Neue Pauly	*Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike,* ed. H. Cancik, H.Schneider, (Stuttgart: J. B. Matzler, 2000).
NSc	*Notizie degli Scavi di antichità* (Roma: R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1876-).
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 3rd ed. revised, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary,* ed. P.G. Glare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassichen Altertumswissenschaft,* ed.

	G. Wissowa, E. Kroll *et al*., (Stuttgart; Muchen: J. B. Metzler; Alfred Drunkenmuller, 1894–).
RIC	*The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol I*: Augustus to Vitellius*, H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, (London: Spink & Son, 1923).
RPC	*Roman Provincial Coinage*, Vol. I, A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès, (1992).
RRC	*Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vols., M. H. Crawford (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974).
SIG	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. G. Dittenberger (Lips: apud S. Hirzelium, 1883).

Graphs and Tables

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Introduction

This thesis examines diverse perspectives on the concept of *pax* within the Roman rhetoric of victory over a relatively short, but nevertheless intense period of political, social and cultural change: 50 B.C. to A.D. 14. The development and diverse uses of *pax* as a concept in the Roman world were part of the wider discourse through which individuals and communities understood Rome's empire. I will investigate here how *pax* was used as part of an ever-changing discourse on the nature of Roman imperialism and how it was used to conceptualise socio-political relationships and identities within the Roman world.[1]

The period from the late Republic to the early Empire involves changes in the notion of imperialism.[2] In recent years the relevance of 'peace' (which carries connotations of tranquillity and freedom from suffering in English) to discussions of the changing nature of Roman imperialism in this period has received some attention: Woolf, 'Roman Peace' (1993); Rich, 'Augustus, War and Peace' (2003); Rosenstein, 'War and Peace, Fear and Reconciliation at Rome', and Barton, 'The Price of Peace in Ancient Rome' in Raaflaub's edited volume *War and Peace in the Ancient World* (2007); de Souza, '*Parta victoriis pax:* Roman emperors as peacemakers' (2008), Parchami, *Hegemonic Peace and Empire: The Pax Romana, Britannica and Americana*

[1] For general discussions on the change of imperial discourse from the Republic to the Empire see: Fuchs (1926) 182-205; Sordi (1985); Valvo (1985); Woolf (1993); Barton (2007); Parchami (2009); see de Souza (2008) for the development of Imperial peace-making from 31 B.C. – A.D. 400.

[2] In this thesis 'Empire' refers to the historical period starting from, and including, the Augustan Principate, whilst 'empire' refers to the sphere of Roman influence and control, usually territorial, in both the Republican and Imperial periods. Likewise, 'Imperial' refers to the period of the Empire, whilst 'imperial' refers to Rome's control and domination over her empire under both the Republic and Empire.

(2009). Yet a full study of the role and nature of 'peace' as a part of Roman imperial discourse has yet to be produced, and indeed Raaflaub has noted that this area of research has been far from exhausted.[3]

The role of peace within the changing perceptions of Roman imperial ideology is very clearly presented in Greg Woolf's essay 'Roman peace'. In it he discusses the shifting ideologies of imperialism from the Republic to the Empire through an examination of the concepts of war and peace. During the Republic the discourse on war and peace focused on the distinction between the two spheres of activity: domestic (*domi*) and military/foreign (*militiae*).[4] One clear demonstration of this distinction is seen in the assumption and setting aside of military garb (*paludatus*) at the *pomerium* as a visual show of the transition between the two spheres of activity:

> *togulae lictoribus ad portam praesto fuerunt; quibus illi acceptis sagula reicereunt, catervam imperatori suo novam praebuerunt.*[5]
>
> Short gowns were ready for the lictors at the gate, which they took, and laid aside their military cloaks, and so formed a new crowd for their *imperator*.

By adopting a civilian dress, the lictors demonstrate that they are now part of the *imperium domi*, rather than the *imperium militiae*. These Republican notions of space marked the conceptual divide between the sphere of activity associated with war, and

[3] Raaflaub (2007) 23 n. 25.
[4] Woolf (1993) 175: 'this dichotomy is not exactly equivalent to our distinction between war and peace. But the two spheres were truly and consistently opposed, each acquiring its characteristics from the other'. See also Rosenstein (2007) 229-230.
[5] Cic. *Pis.* 55.

that concerned with civic affairs. They were in many respects replaced or superseded under the Empire by new ideas about peace and war:

> 'A difference emerges then between Republic and imperial values. Roman emperors were no less warlike than their Republican predecessors but the importance of territorial aggrandizement shifted from *doxa* to opinion, out of the universe of the undiscussed (because undisputed) in the Republic, into the universe of the discussed under the Empire. It was now possible to challenge Republican values, or to put it another way, there was now a plurality of positions on the issue'.[6]

Woolf delineates a big change from the Republic to Empire[7] as regards imperialism, and is mostly concerned with the Imperial concept of *pax Romana*, as a justification for imperialism and the Empire. In this thesis I do not examine the *pax Romana* because as a concept in Roman writing it appears too late for the period that I examine here (50 B.C. – A.D. 14).[8] Instead, I am interested in examining the period of transition between the Republic and Empire more closely.

Woolf highlights the distinction between a Republican peace and an Imperial peace, and emphasises how the ideological construct of 'peace' illustrates changes in

[6] Woolf (1993) 183-184. It is clear from the context of this quotation that Woolf uses 'imperial' to refer to the period of the Empire; see n. 2 above for my use of the terms 'imperial' and 'Imperial'.
[7] Woolf (1993) focuses on the first and second centuries in his discussion of the Empire.
[8] Sen. *Prov.* 4.14, *Clem.* 1.4.2; Plin. *HN* 27.3; the phrase *de pace Romana* is used by Livy 36.29.11, where it means *pax cum Romanis*, see Sordi (1985) 12 n.12. The *pax Romana* is often used by scholars as a blanket term to refer to that state of 'peace' and power achieved over the empire from the period of Augustus to the end of the second century A.D.: Sordi (1985) 13 on the correlation of the phrase *pax Romana* with the concept of *imperium Romanum*; see also Fuchs (1926) 193-205; Waddy (1950); Petit (1967); Zampaglione (1973); Levi (1985); Woolf (1993); de Souza (2008); Östenberg (2009b); Parchami (2009) 15-16, 24-57; *Neue Pauly* 9: 454-455; *RE* 18.4 2432. The term has become a by-word for a nexus of ideas on the nature of Roman imperialism, and is even applied to the Republic: Eckstein (2006) 572ff applies the term to Rome's expansion in the Mediterranean from the late third century B.C. onwards, distinguishing the *pax Romana* of the Republic from that of the Empire.

the nature of imperialism. His broad diachronic analysis opens up the possibility of examining in detail the beginnings of the transition and change from the Republic to the Empire. Scholarship has linked the change in ideas of peace and war with changing political, social and cultural conditions.[9] Parchami is correct, in a sense, when he states that under the Republic it was war that was stressed, whereas under the Empire, peace was emphasised more strongly.[10] However, during the late Republic and early Principate the stress was constantly changing according to context, author and audience. Indeed, I believe that we can push Woolf's idea of a 'plurality of positions' on the nature of Roman imperialism further and apply it to the short period of time between the late Republic and early Principate.

It is not the aim of this thesis to reconsider 'peace' in broad terms, particularly as much work has already been done on this.[11] The notion of 'peace' as something that indicates tranquillity and freedom from suffering was not associated with the Roman concept *pax* until the end of the Republic, when the political institutions of the state began to collapse. Our modern understanding of 'peace' is more apparent in the Roman concepts of *concordia* ('agreement; harmony') and *otium* ('inactivity; leisure; rest'), which were associated with civil harmony and internal tranquillity respectively.[12]

This thesis instead examines one manageable aspect of the wider story of peace (and war) over the period of the last decades of the Republic to the end of the Augustan Principate: *pax*. At this point a discussion of the Latin word *pax* is necessary. The

[9] Woolf (1993) 176; Barton (2007) 246: 'by the period of the Roman civil wars and early Empire...increasingly *pax* will display its docile and eirenic aspects...The gradual suppression of the darker side of *pax,* in the Roman world – as in ours – was an evolution that revealed, one might say, the price of peace'.
[10] Parchami (2009) 19.
[11] Fuchs (1926); Waddy (1950); Zampaglione (1973); Sordi (1985); Woolf (1993); Rich (2003); Raaflaub (2007); de Souza and France (2008); Parchami (2009).
[12] On *concordia* Weinstock (1960) 74; Jal (1961); Weinstock (1971) 260-269; Rosenstein (2007) 231-232; on *otium*: Wirszubski (1960) 92-93; Valvo (1985) 155; Milani (1985) 25; Narducci (1991) 183-188; Barton (2007) 251.

standard translation of *pax* is 'peace',[13] although some scholars have argued that it should be translated 'pacification'.[14] The problem we face is that *pax* encompassed a number of different meanings, at different times, and for different persons. As a basis for interpretation in my period, I will briefly consider the origins of the word and its meaning in the Republican period.[15]

The root of *pax* is *pak- / pag-* , which also forms the root of the verb *pacere* ('to come to an agreement').[16] Milani has defined *pax* as designating the act of stipulating a convention between two (warring) parties.[17] In this respect *pax* was part of the ritual practice of concluding conflict and brought Rome's enemies and allies into a relationship and contract with Rome.[18] *pax*, in this context, is appropriately translated as 'pact' as something this is ostensibly negotiated. This 'pact' not only encompasses that act of agreement, but also the state of being achieved through that: the absence of conflict as a 'state of peace'. In this respect *pax* defines the relationship established between Rome and her (former) opponents as a state of being, achieved through the negotiation of a pact.[19] However, it was often the case that this state of being was imposed by the Romans on their enemies from a position of superiority, and bound the defeated in a contractual relationship with Rome.[20] Certainly, Varro's and Gellius'

[13] Barton (2007); Parchami (2009) 1.
[14] DeBrohun (2007) 257; Syme (1989) 116. My thanks to Greg Rowe for discussing this translation of *pax* with me.
[15] Flower (2010) for the concept of multiple 'Roman Republics'.
[16] Fuchs (1926) 182-183; Milani (1985) 24-25; *Neue Pauly* vol.9. 454; *OLD* s.v. *pacere, pax*; *LSJ* s.v. *pax.*
[17] Milani (1985) 25.
[18]Milani (1985) 25 argues that because of the concrete meaning of the root (*pak-/pag-*) it is possible that in origin *pax* indicated something concrete; Sordi (1985) 146-147 associates *pax* struck with the gods with the physical act of striking a nail into a door (cf. Livy 7.2-3); see also Fuchs (1926) 184; Sordi (1985) 13; Woolf (1993) 176; Rosenstein (2007) 227; Barton (2007) 247-251; Rich (2008); Parchami (2009) 15-16.
[19] The transitive verb *pacare* ('to bring into a state of peace': *LSJ* s.v. *pacare;* 'to impose a settlement upon: *OLD* s.v. *pacare*) formed from *pax* articulates the agency involved in defining the relationship.
[20] Fuchs (1926) 184-186, 193-205; Raaflaub (2007) 13; Rosenstein (2007) 236-240;Rich (2008). As a comparative study to this unequal relationship expressed by *pax*, Liv Yarrow, in an unpublished paper,

accounts of the letter sent to Carthage telling them to choose between *pax* and *bellum* (symbolised by the *caduceus* and *hasta* respectively) illustrates that even when *pax* was offered instead of *bellum* (as opposed to a result of it), Rome was still the one offering (and imposing) *pax*:

> *Q. Fabius, imperator Romanus, dedit ad Carthaginieneses epistulam. Ibi scriptum fuit populum Romanum misisse ad eos hastem et caduceum, signa duo belli aut pacis, ex quis, utrum vellent, eligerent, quod elegissent, id unum ut esse missum existimarent. Carthaginienses res ponderunt neutrum sese eligere, sed posse, qui adtulissent, utrum mallent, relinquere; quod reliquissent, id sibi pro electo futurum.*[21]
>
> The Roman general, Quintus Fabius, gave the Carthaginians a letter. There it was written that the Roman people sent to them a spear and a staff, the two signs of war and peace, and that they might chose from these whichever they wished; and regard the one which they had chosen as sent to them by the Roman people. The Carthaginians replied that they would chose neither, but those who had brought them could leave behind whichever they preferred; that which they left behind, they would consider as the one they themselves had chosen.

---

has emphasised that *concordia* expresses social hierarchy among the orders, and that the concept implies an unequal partnership.

[21] Gell. *NA* 10.27.3-4; Gell. *NA* 10.27.5 indicates that Varro also gave an account of the embassy. Gellius uses that story to show that Carthage were equals and rivals in power to Rome, as their refusal to choose illustrates.

Even with the absence or removal of war, imposing a treaty or pact was a sign of military strength and authority; to accept defeat signalled weakness. As Rosenstein has articulated it, 'peace not only beyond its boundaries but also within the empire's confines depended ultimately on the perception of Rome's military might'.[22] In such contexts the translation 'pacification' may also seem applicable, although this translation does not highlight the contractual relationship designated by *pax* during the Republic. What this understanding of the term *pax* illustrates is the distinction between what a word formally means (essentially here 'a pact'), and what it may imply or come to imply.

In the instances where I have translated *pax*, I have attempted to bring out the appropriate nuance of the word, depending on the context of its use; however in many cases I have retained the Latin word. Throughout this study *'pax'* refers to the concept under discussion. When the first letter is capitalised ('*Pax'*), a personified form of the concept or a title, such as the *Ara Pacis Augustae* or the colony *Pax Iulia*, is referred to. The whole word is capitalised only when it refers to a coin legend (*PAXS/PAX).*

At this point it is also worth briefly discussing the distinction between the Roman concept *pax* and the Greek concept *εἰρήνη.* Whilst this thesis is not concerned with the Greek concept in itself,[23] the term is relevant for its use as the Greek translation of the term *pax.* As a translation of the Latin *pax*, *εἰρήνη* presents us with a problem of analysing how this Greek presentation of the Roman concept was actually understood. *Εἰρήνη* is much closer to the English concept 'peace' than the Latin *pax,*[24]

[22] Rosenstein (2007) 228; see also Harris (1979) 35; Parchami (2009) 15-17.
[23] A separate thesis could be written on the Greek concept in this period. For a general discussion on the meanings and applications of the term *εἰρήνη* see Fuchs (1926) 167-181; Sordi (1985).
[24] Fuchs (1926) 184: '[Die] Tatsache, daß die Lage als geschaffen gilt und daß sie auf zweiseitiger Anerkennung beruht, unterscheidet sie grundsätzlich von der griechischen *εἰρήνη,* die, zunächst einseitig und ohne Rücksicht auf die Bedingungen ihres Eintretens betrachtet, den Zustand des Friedens und der Wohlfahrt bedeutet'.

and the meaning of the Greek word must affect the way in which a Greek speaking audience understood the Roman concept *pax* when translated into Greek, as a passage from the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* illustrates:

> *Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiore nostri voluerunt, cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax.*[25]
>
> Our ancestors wanted Ianus Quirinus to be closed when peace had been achieved by victories on land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people.
>
> *Πύλην Ἐνυάλιον, ἣν κεκλῖσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἠθέλησαν εἰρηνευομένης τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμἀ<ί>οις πάσης γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης.*[26]
>
> The Gate of War, which our ancestors desired to be closed once all land and sea was at peace under the Romans.

Here the Latin text presents *pax* as understood through its causal relationship with victory. In the Greek text there is a conspicuous absence of victory as an expression of the peace achieved. *εἰρήνη* is not presented as a condition achieved through victory as in the Latin text, or as an expression of *totum imperium populi Romani* but it is nevertheless a condition of Roman hegemony.[27] The message of *pax*/*εἰρήνη* given by and to a Greek speaking audience was, in this particular instance, fundamentally

[25] *RG* 13.
[26] *RG* 13.
[27] See Cooley (2009) 27-28 on the translation into Greek of this phrase signifying the territorial extent of Roman *imperium.*

different from the presentation at Rome at Augustus' request.[28] This illustrates both a distinction in what each word meant and in how they were used and understood. The Greek εἰρήνη does not encompass either the contractual relationship of *pax* or the associations with victory.

The study of *pax* in this thesis involves an examination of Roman victory rhetoric, as *pax* (as a pact) was, during the Republic, associated with a victorious outcome in war. Gruen and Rich have argued however that the development of the rhetoric of victory during the Augustan period was not overly concerned with the concept of *pax*.[29] As I will illustrate in this thesis, the relationship between *pax* and victory in the period examined here was in fact a fluid one, with *pax* assuming prominence within the different interpretations and presentations of victory. Just as the understanding of *pax* changed and varied depending on the context of its use, so too did the relationship between *pax* and victory vary. In the Republican period the relationship may be characterised as causal, in that victory in war brought about the state and condition of *pax*. However, as I will show, as political conditions changed, *pax* could be seen as an alternative to victory, and then even as a reason for victory celebrations in itself. My examination of *pax* as a part of a discourse on the nature of Roman imperialism will consider a number of victory commemorations (by which I mean any act or display that records and commemorates victory, from triumphal processions seen at Rome, to monumental inscriptions and visual displays, such as coins and monuments, throughout the empire) to construct a picture of the role and position of *pax* within Roman victory rhetoric.

[28] See Cooley (2009) 18-19, 26-30 on the Greek version of the *RG.*
[29] Gruen (1982); Rich (2003).

The notion of *pax* as victory, rather than as a result of victory, is interesting for a study of imperial discourse not just for its presence, but also for its absence in certain commemorations. *pax* expressed the existence of a relationship between two parties, but more than that it articulated the balance of power within that relationship, negotiated (or rather imposed) from the victor's view point. That is not to say that the absence of *pax* means the absence of a relationship; silence on *pax* is also an expression of Roman imperialism and the relationship being articulated. The choices made to celebrate, or not celebrate victory in terms of *pax*, give an insight into what *pax*, as an expression of Rome's *imperium*, meant to various peoples within the Roman empire, how it was expressed and for what reasons. As Mattingly has recently emphasised 'the nature of Roman imperialism changed radically over time'.[30] Examining the ways in which the concept *pax* was used and changed is also to examine the broader context of the changing conditions within the period under discussion. The Greek historian Thucydides understood well the idea that conceptual change was dependent on changing conditions: *καὶ τὴν εἰωθυιῖαν ἀξίσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιώσει.*[31] Political, social or cultural change is, in effect, acted out or expressed through the use of concepts in language. As the political scientist James Farr states: 'to understand conceptual change is in large part to undertand political change, and vice versa. And such understanding must of necessity be historical'.[32] The period 50 B.C. to A.D. 14 is one of important and intense political, social and cultural change and

[30] Mattingly (2011) 271.
[31] Thuc. 3.82.4: 'To fit in with the change of events, words, too, had to change their usual meanings'. Price (2001) 41 has taken this passage to mean not that the words have changed their meanings, but that a society's values have changed: 'Thucydides means that during *stasis* words retain their agreed-upon meaning but the value assigned to them, that is, how their meanings were enacted in society, changes'. cf. p. 7 above on the distinction between a word's formal meaning and its implication.
[32] Farr (1989) 24-25; see also Skinner (1989).

transition, which is reflected in the fluidity of the concept *pax*.[33] The plurality of positions that Woolf suggests existed on the nature of imperialism and 'Roman peace' under the Empire is just as much true for the late Republic.

This thesis tells the story of how *pax* acquired its central role in imperial ideology, and its central role in the many different meanings and complexities of ideas that were debated and expressed within Roman victory rhetoric.[34] *pax* did not just develop or evolve over time, but was an active, changing and varying concept *in* time. *pax* could still in the late Republic and early Principate mean a pact or treaty, as it had done earlier, but it also acquired new meanings and was used to express different concerns, depending on the context of its use.

In this way, this study raises questions about the ways in which we think about concepts in the ancient world. Rather than talking about a single development or evolution over time, we should rather consider concepts as constantly active and changing *in* time. Our view of the ancient world and the ways in which it was conceptualised should not be a static one, but one where the meaning and value of words gives us insights into how individuals and communities expressed and explained changing social and political conditions.[35]

[33] Farr (1989) 24 succinctly summarised this issue of conceptual change: 'constant change appears to be the only true constant thing about our political concepts'.

[34] Raaflaub (2007) 23 states that 'in Rome, at various times the issue of peace elicited an intense discourse'.

[35] My thanks to Lydia Matthews for allowing me to consult chapter two of her Oxford DPhil thesis 'Roman Constructions of *fortuna*' pp. 100-152. In this chapter Matthews examines the meanings of *fortuna* in the literary sources, and particularly emphasises that a range of meanings were employed by any given author. *fortuna* had different functions in the text depending on the context of its use. McDonnell (2006) 5-9 touches on the idea of the quality *virtus* both changing over time and being used in various and contradictory ways at any given time.

Thesis structure

The thesis examines four different 'events' from the period 50 B.C. to A.D. 14, for which substantial islands of evidence are available. I also give a brief commentary on the years between these islands, which both allows a wider contextual understanding of the role of *pax* within this period, articulating when *pax* was, and when it was not, prominent in discourses on the nature of Roman imperialism, and also highlights the limitations of our evidence for these missing years.

50 B.C. is taken as the point at which civil war between Caesar and Pompey appeared inevitable and Cicero's concern for *pax* emerged in his letters. The thesis is divided into two parts. Part I (chapters one and two),'*pax* and the civil wars', examines the ways in which the civil wars influenced the use of *pax* within political discourses of the 40s down to 29 B.C; Part II (chapters three and four), '*pax* and the empire', examines the role of *pax* as an expression of Roman *imperium* in different discourses on the nature of the Roman empire concerning the events in 20-19 B.C. and 13 B.C. In Part I, I refer to 'Octavian', whilst in Part II, I refer to 'Augustus', as the discussion is concerned with the period after 27 B.C. The end date of A.D. 14 was chosen in part as it offers a complete view of Augustus' principate, and in part as it marks the publication of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (the final version of which was written in A.D. 13/14),[36] which is examined here as a commemoration of Roman imperialism.[37]

Chapter one examines the various uses of *pax* from 50 to 40 B.C. by both the senate and individual politicians at Rome, in order to establish the ways in which *pax* continued to be an important concept of negotiation, conflict and victory rhetoric, at the same time as new meanings and nuances were being added to the older concept. The

[36] *RG* 35.2; Cooley (2009) 3-6,42-43, 276.
[37] See pp. 8-9 above for a discussion of the terms *pax* and *εἰρήνη* in the *RG.*

chapter starts with a brief discussion of the role of *pax* during the late Republic in order to establish the application and understanding of the term prior to the civil wars of the 40s. The chapter then examines the period in three main sections: *pax* as a desired state in contrast to victory (predominantly concerning the period from 50-48 B.C. through an examination of Cicero's correspondence), *pax* as achieved through victory, and finally the concept of *pax* as victory in itself. The political developments during the civil wars of the 40s explain why and how *pax* became an expression of agreement and political stability between Romans, as opposed to with external enemies. *pax* was a major concept for the articulation of relationships of power in the 40s. Yet the concept itself was still fluid, given over to interpretation and reinterpretation by the political actors who employed it, depending on the political ideals and aspirations of the actors. Cicero and Caesar, for instance, use the term *pax* in different ways, both in their correspondence and in their public speeches and published works, to convey their notions of victory and reconciliation in the context of civil conflict. This comparison of ostensibly 'public' and 'private' discourse in this thesis is only possible in the period of the 40s B.C., thanks to the survival of Cicero's letters. Whilst we should be wary of stressing too great a distinction between 'public' and 'private' discourse, it is useful to consider the different contexts within which such discourse takes place: Cicero for example expresses quite a different interpretation of *pax* in his *Philippics* in 43 B.C. from his stance on negotiating a pact between Caesar and Pompey in the early 40s, as seen in his correspondence.[38] Such a comparison is not possible for the following three chapters, where only 'public' discourse survives. The comparison of different contexts for discourse in chapter one serves to highlight the variety of discourses occurring at the

[38] See pp. 22, 29-48 below.

start of our period, and as a reminder of the limits of our perspectives for the rest of the period.

By 36 B.C. *pax* was, for the first time, celebrated without the need for an opponent or opposing party. This usage of *pax* reoccurred in 29 B.C. after the end of the civil wars. Chapter two considers this development of victory rhetoric in the commemorations of 29 B.C., in comparison to those of 36 B.C., from a number of different perspectives: the celebrations made by the senate and by Octavian at Rome in 29 B.C., the victory display Octavian erected on the site of his camp above Actium, and a victory stele set up by Octavian's first *praefectus Aegypti*, Cornelius Gallus, to commemorate his own achievements in Egypt. With Octavian's position within the state confirmed, the victory celebrations are for the most part concerned with blurring the lines between foreign and civil conflicts. *pax* was used selectively by Octavian, not to express his position of power over his political opponents, but rather as an assertion of his command over an empire, as his display at Nicopolis for his Actian victory demonstrates. What this chapter also highlights is that the meaning of *pax*, as a part of victory rhetoric, was not accepted or used by everyone. The senate appears to have chosen not to fully employ a rhetoric of *pax* in this period,[39] possibly because the word still maintained some connotation of an agreement or settlement between two parties: a concept that now could no longer stand in respect of internal politics. In a similar way, Gallus' display at Philae was not dependent on a concept of *pax:* the message of victory was presented and manipulated to accord with the views of the various audiences, and that Roman idea of *pax* was not a part of the ideology of victory within the context of the display at Philae.

[39] The *Ara Pacis Augustae*, dedicated in 9 B.C., shows that the senate later chose to employ a rhetoric of *pax*.

Chapter three focuses on the *pax* made with Parthia in 20 B.C. (*pax Parthorum*)[40] and how this *pax* was presented and conceptualised as a political tool for the expression of empire. The diplomatic act of the return of Rome's standards illustrates how *pax* (as a 'pact', without the need for war) made with an external enemy was treated as a victorious concept, and the culmination of Rome's victories. I examine the different rhetorics of *pax* and victory used by the senate and by Augustus in 20-16 B.C. and then turn to consider how the event was commemorated later in the Forum Augustum c. 2 B.C. This later display reinforced the relationship aspect of *pax*, as an agreement between two parties, redefining the arena in which such negotiation took place. Finally, I consider the presentation of the *pax Parthorum* in provincial displays, where the event is predominantly treated as a victory and as an example of Rome's *imperium* and pacification of her empire. The Parthian settlement illustrates how Roman victory rhetoric adapted in order to be able to treat a pact with an external enemy not as the result of victory, but as a victory in itself.

Whilst chapter three examines the different ways in which a form of 'pact' was celebrated and expressed in the Augustan Principate, chapter four examines different conceptualisations of 'pacification' in the West after 13 B.C. The first section considers the commemorations set up at Rome both by the senate (the *Ara Pacis Augustae*) and by Augustus in 9 B.C. The altar is, as far as the surviving evidence and our literary sources indicate, the first monumental display directly associated with the personified form of *Pax* (the earliest personification from the surviving material was a coin minted in 44 B.C.)[41]. In the commemoration at Rome *pax* was also qualified as 'Augustan', and this may be seen as one of the first steps to *pax* becoming an Imperial virtue. The

[40] Flor. 2.34.
[41] See pp. 33-35 below.

second section looks at how the senate commemorated the pacification of the West in the Alps, with the Alpine Trophy at La Turbie. The contrast between the senate's display of *pax Augusta* at Rome and the display of pacification and subjugation in the Alps highlights how the discourse of *pax* was dependent on the context of display. *pax* at Rome and *pax* in the newly conquered territory were expressed as two very different things. The third section looks at yet another interpretation of the pacification from the perspective of a local Alpine dynast: the arch at Segusio in North Italy (modern day Susa). The concept of *pax Augusta* was accepted and disseminated among Roman colonies in the West, but in the newly conquered Alpine regions there was no direct reference to the concept. Instead the pacification was understood as a moment of integration into the Roman world, achieved through a pact.

Map 1 gives the locations of all the major monuments examined.

PART I

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pax and civil war

Chapter One

Quod pacem fecit: pax and victory rhetoric during the civil wars

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The *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini* list the Roman triumphs and ovations from Romulus over the Caenineses in 753 B.C. down to L. Cornelius Balbus over Africa in 19 B.C.[42] The *Fasti* follow a standard formula over two lines with the names of the general, his office and the ethnic groups (*de)* or geographical area (*ex*) he conquered,[43] occupying the left side of the field, whilst the year and the day of the triumph is recorded on the right side of the field. Ovations ('minor triumphs')[44] are distinguished from triumphs by the addition of the word *ovans.*[45] Amidst this vast sea of conquest and victory over peoples and places are two rather striking entries for 40 B.C. (Figure 1):

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[42] See chapter three, pp. 171-186 below for a full discussion of the *Fasti Capitolini* (*Fasti Triumphales* and *Fasti Consulares*).

[43] The use of *ex* along with a place name only appears from the mid third century onwards, starting from the entry for 257 B.C. and the triumph of A. Atilius Caiatinus ***ex*** *Sicilia* ***de*** *Poeneis.* This development marks a distinction between ethnic groups and geographical territories.

[44] Gell. *NA* 5.6.20-21: *"Ovalis" corona murtea est, ea utebantur imperatores, qui ovantes urbem introibant. Ovandi ac non triumphandi causa est, cum aut bella non rite indicta neque cum iusto hoste gesta sunt aut hostium nomen humile et non idoneum est, ut servorum piratarumque, aut deditione repente facta inpulverea, ut dici solet, incruentaque victoria obvenit* ('The "ovation" crown is made of myrtle, it was worn by *imperatores* who entered the city in an ovation. The cause of an ovation, and not a triumph, is when either wars have not been declared with the proper rites and so have not been waged with a legitimate enemy, or when the enemy is of low or unsuitable name, as in the case of slaves and pirates, or when because of a quick surrender, the victory was 'dustless', as the saying goes, and bloodless'); for the ovation as a 'minor triumph' see Plin. *NH* 15.19; Dion. Hal. 8.67.10; Dio Cass. 19.16.11; Serv. *Aen.* 4.543; *RE* 18. 1890-1903; Neue Pauly 9. 110; *OCD* 1084; Versnel (1980) 166-171.

[45] In the *Fasti Barberiniani*, which also record the triumphs for the years 43-21 B.C (though they do not record the years, only the days), *triumphatores* are marked with the additional *triumphavit,* ovations with *ovans,* whilst all the entries terminate with *palmam dedit,* except that for the 15th August celebrating the triumph over Egypt: see *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.343; Beard (2007) 303-305; Bastien (2007) 54-57.

Imp. Caesar Divi f. C. f. IIIvir r(ei) p(ublicae) c(onstituendae) ov[vans, an DCCXIII] / quod pacem cum M. Antonio fecit, [---]

M. Antonius M. f. M. n. IIIvir r(ei) p(ublicae) c(onstituendae) ovan[s, an DCCXIII] / quod pacem cum Imp. Caesare feci[t,---].[46]

Imperator Caesar son of the deified (Julius), son of Gaius, triumvir for the reconstitution of the *res publica* celebrated an ovation because he made a pact with Marcus Antonius.

Marcus Antonius son of Marcus, grandson of Marcus, triumvir for the reconstitution of the *res publica* celebrated an ovation because he made a pact with Imperator Caesar.

These are the only two entries in the *Fasti* which record a celebration not for the conquest over a people or place, but because *pax* was made between two Roman magistrates and generals.[47] The entries are striking not just because of their justification for the ovations (that a pact was made, rather than the conquest of an enemy), but also because *pax* is now made between two Romans, as opposed to with (or imposed upon) an external enemy, and that this in itself is a cause for an ovation. Clearly, the pact made between Octavian and Antony at Brundisium in 40 did not justify a full triumph as no great defeat of an enemy had taken place; indeed, the ovation was a victory

[46] *Inscr. Ital.*XIII 1.87, frag. XL of the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini*. It is striking that for the entry of 40 B.C., as for the entry of 36 B.C., Octavian has two filiations: 'son of the deified (Julius), son of Gaius'. In addition it should be noted that for both the entries of 40 and 36 B.C. the second filiation *C. f.* has been carved over an erasure. Beard (2007) 302 has suggested that this may be a result of trying to deal with and express Octavian's adoption by Caesar both in his divine aspect and in his human aspect.

[47] *pax* is here appropriately translated as 'pact', as something that is ostensibly negotiated between Rome and her enemies. However, it was often the case that this 'pact' was imposed by the Romans on their enemies from a position of superiority, and bound the defeated in a contractual relationship with Rome: Fuchs (1926) 184-186, 193-205; Raaflaub (2007) 13; Rosenstein (2007) 236-240;Rich (2008).

celebration granted when a general could not be awarded a full triumph.[48] It is nevertheless striking that a victory celebration is chosen to commemorate the making of a pact (an act which traditionally followed victory over an enemy), and a pact between two Romans at that.[49]

This celebration of a pact with an ovation, as a form of victory celebration, is in sharp contrast to Cicero's perspective, given in his correspondence, of the relationship between pact and victory during the early civil wars of the 40s: *pace opus est. ex victoria cum multa tum certe tyrannus exsistet*.[50] *pax* was a desirable alternative, in Cicero's opinion, to victory in civil war.

The range of possibilities for the meaning and understanding of *pax* within the context of victory rhetoric was dependent on the political circumstances of each application. The intensity of conflict and political divisions that arose amongst the Rome's leading men during the 40s produced a variety of perspectives on the nature of *pax*, how it related to victory, and how it was to be achieved. In this chapter I examine the role of *pax* in the civil wars of the 40s, and the influence that those wars had on the meaning and use of the term. The application of the term *pax* to relations between Romans, as opposed to with external enemies, is a vital component of the political language of the 40s.

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[48] See n. 44 above.

[49] An ovation for *pax* was awarded to Manlius Volso for the establishment of a 40 year treaty with the Veii: *RE* 18.1896; whilst Livy 2.54 records that Manlius conducted no war (*Manlio Veientes provincia evenit; non tamen bellatum; indutiae in annos quadraginta petentibus datae frumento stipendioque imperato. Paci externae confestim continuatur discordia domi:* 'The Veientines fell to Manlius as his province. There was no war, however, a forty years' truce was granted on their request, and they were ordered to provide food and money. Peace abroad was at once followed by discord at home'), Dion. Hal. 9.36.3 states that Manlius received the ovation because he put an end to the war: *ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ τῃ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου τὸν πεζὸν θρίαμβον αἰτησάμενος, ἔλαβεν* ('And Manlius, coming to the city, requested and received an ovation for having put an end to the war'). The ovations of 40 B.C. are most striking for their celebration of a pact between two Roman magistrates: *RE* 18.1896.

[50] Cic. *Att.* 7.5.4: 'A pact is needed. Out of victory comes both many evils and certainly tyranny'. Since Cicero here sets up *pax* and *victoria* in opposition is seems most appropriate to take *pax* to mean the act of negotiation, to balance to act of successfully concluding military engagement.

The numerous civil conflicts between different groups throughout the 40s (Caesar against Pompey; Caesar against the Republicans; Antony against Caesar's assassins; Antony against Octavian and the consuls; Antony and Octavian against Brutus and Cassius; and Octavian against Antony) meant that political and military discussions focused on what was the desirable outcome of civil war, and the different ways in which this might be achieved. This chapter will illustrate how *pax*, over the course of the 40s, was used increasingly to express relations between Romans, as opposed to between Romans and external opponents. I will examine the use of the concept of *pax* within political discourse of the period, in order to illustrate how that discourse was a crucial step in the development of the concept of *pax* from Republic to Empire.[51] I will not only show the new nuances that the term *pax* was acquiring as a response to the changing political circumstances, but I will also argue that different political players took different stances on the ways in which *pax* fitted into their vision of the political landscape.

In order to understand the different perspectives and practices concerning *pax*, victory rhetoric and civil stability within the period, I will first briefly examine the position and usage of *pax* in the late Republic, in order to establish the role of *pax* prior to the 40s (section one). I will then turn to consider the different attitudes towards *pax* during the civil wars of the 40s.

Whilst *pax* maintained its meaning of a pact between parties, its relationship to victory was dependent on individual politicians' understanding of how political power should be achieved and maintained. In section two, I will consider *pax* as a desired state in opposition to victory at the conclusion of civil conflict. This interpretation of *pax* is

[51] On this transition from Republic to Empire see Woolf (1993).

seen most clearly in Cicero's correspondence during the early 40s, though also to some extent in Caesar's *commentarius* on the civil war.

Next, I will examine the notion of *pax* as achieved through victory. This follows the traditional interpretation of *pax* as the outcome of war or conflict, achieved after victory. What is striking about this understanding of the term is that it was now used to express and justify the power relations between Romans.

Finally I will turn to examine the concept of *pax* as victory in itself, as the celebrations of 40 B.C. illustrate. Now *pax* could be the cause of victory commemoration. This understanding of *pax* demonstrates the dependence of the concept on the political situation: that a pact between the two leading magistrates and generals could be celebrated as a form of victory.

Whilst the structure of this chapter is not primarily driven by chronology, certain events do highlight the discourse on *pax*, owing to the effect they have on the political situation. Caesar's assassination for example provides an occasion for a renewed discussion about *pax*, and in the year that follows we may observe in Cicero's stance on *pax* a manipulation of the concept to fit with what he considers politically expedient, and this marks a rather different interpretation of the concept from that of his letters in the early 40s. For Cicero the political situation had changed: whereas in the early 40s he only voiced his options and desire for *pax* in his correspondence, by 44/43 he engaged publicly (as well as in his correspondence) in a discussion of what *pax* with Antony would mean.

This chapter will use evidence from sources which are ostensibly public, such as political speeches, published works and coins, and from sources which are ostensibly

private, such as Cicero's correspondence.[52] Both 'public' and 'private' discourse offers a similar range of possibilities for the interpretation and use of the term *pax* and a similar dependency on the political ideas of the authors. It is not necessarily easy or useful to divide our material into solely 'public' or 'private' discourse, particularly given the highly political lives of individuals such as Caesar and Cicero. However, it is interesting and useful to note the various viewpoints held by the same individuals on the nature of *pax*, depending on the context of the discourse. Caesar, for example, expresses two different viewpoints on *pax* in his letters, and in his *de bello civili* and coinage during the early 40s. Publicly, he indicated a desire to bring stability to the state through reconciliation, and suggested that it was his opponents' rejections of *pax* that had caused the violence of the early 40s, whilst in his correspondence he shows a lack of concern for any real negotiation. A comparison of the different contexts in which the discourse on *pax* took place will illustrate how the understanding of the term was dependent on the author's (often changing) political situation and outlook. This suggests the malleability and manipulation of the term *pax*, which was closely bound to the political upheaval of the 40s and the need to establish oneself politically in the collapse of the *res publica.*

[52] A diverse understanding and application of the term *pax* is clear from an examination of Cicero's letters. Cicero himself makes a clear distinction in his letters between what he says in the senate (i.e. his public discourse) and what he personally and privately believes and thinks: Cic. *Att.* 7.6.2: *dices 'quid tu igitur sensurus es?' non idem quod dicturus. Sentiam enim omnia facienda ne armis decertetur, dicam idem quod Pompeius, neque id faciam humili animo* ('You will ask me what line I shall take in the House. Not the same as in my own mind. *There* I shall vote for peace at any price, but in the House I shall echo Pompey, and I shall not do it in a spirit of subservience either'; cf. Cic. *Att.* 7.3.5: *Illud ipsum quod ais, 'quid fiet cum erit dictum "dic, M. Tulli?"': σύντομα, 'Cn. Pompeio adsentior'. Ipsum tamen Pompeium separatim ad concordiam hortabor* ('As for your question 'What will happen when the word comes "Speak, Marcus Tullius"?', *tout court* 'I agree with Cn. Pompeius'. Pompey himself however I shall privately urge to concord'). Although Cicero here refers to *concordia* rather than *pax*, what is important is his distinction between his public opinion and his private opinion concerning action during this period of political instability.

Section One

pax in the late Republic

pax in the mid- and late Republic was understood and conceptualised as the act of agreement and the state achieved through negotiating and imposing conditions on the defeated after the cessation of conflict, and was a result of Rome's victory over her enemies.[53]

Whilst *pax* was conceptualised as the result of victory, it was understood, at least by certain authors of the late Republic, as a sphere of activity separate from war.[54] Livy states that *bellum* was announced through the *fetiales*, whereas *pax* was made through the *caduceatores*:[55] *bellum* and *pax* had separate officials to oversee them being achieved and announced. The herald's wand, the *caduceus* from which the *caduceatores* derived their name, symbolised the position of the herald as a sacrosanct messenger and negotiator of *pax*.[56]

[53] See pp. 5-7 above.

[54] On these two seperate spheres of activity and the discourse of 'war and peace' in the late Republic see Woolf (1993).

[55] Serv. *Aen.* 4.242 (referencing Livy: *unde secundum Livium): sicut enim per fetiales, a foedere, bella indicebantur, ita pax per caduceatores fiebat* ('for thus through the fetiales, by an agreement, wars were declared, and so a pact was made through *caduceatores'*)*;* cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8.138: *caduceum illi ideo adsignatur, quod fide media hostes in amicitiam conducat.* It is worth noting that the *caduceus* was used, according to Varro to symbolise *pax* (as a pact) in opposite to war (symbolised by a *hasta*) in an embassy that Rome sent to Carthage: Gell. *NA* 10.27.5 records that in Varro's account of an embassy to the Carthaginians two tiles with the *simulacra* of a *hasta* and *caduceus* were sent; cf. Gellius 10.27.3: *populum Romanum misisse ad eos hastam et caduceum, signa duo belli aut pacis* ('the Roman people sent them a spear and a herald's staff two signs of war and peace'). Varro himself uses the phrase '*signa pacis ac belli*': *Res Rustica* 3.16. *pax* clearly could be offered instead of war (see Livy's accord of Manlius Volso' *pax* with the Veii, n. 49 above), but Rome still dictated the terms.

[56] Heralds were deemed to be protected under the *ius gentium,* see Curt. 4.1.15: *quos Tyrii contra ius gentium occisos;* 4.2.17: *inter haec, caduceatores interfectos, gentium iura violata, referebat*. See also Moore (forthcoming).

The *caduceus* symbolised the pact made at the cessation of conflict, as the coin commemorating the unification of Italy and Rome illustrates. On the reverse *Italia* holds a cornucopia with a winged *caduceus* to her left, and joins hands in concord with *Roma*, who holds a sceptre and places her foot on a globe (Figure 2).[57] Whilst the coin demonstrates the unification of Italy and Rome it also alludes to the military might of Rome, and Italy's acquiescence to her after the social war. Indeed, the *caduceus*, as a symbol of the negotiation and pact dependent on the victory achieved, was also an attribute of the victor: in 48 B.C., L. Hostilius Saserna minted coins celebrating Caesar's victories in Gaul, depicting a Victory holding a trophy and *caduceus* (Figure 3).[58] I will discuss later the association of *pax* with victory, through the use of the *caduceus* on coinage during the 40s.[59] I now turn to consider the role of *pax* within the political discourse of Rome during the late Republic, and its relationship to other concepts concerned with political stability.

Besides the use of the *caduceus* on coinage, *pax* was not personified or given a physical presence within the city of Rome;[60] it was rather the concepts of internal stability, such as *concordia*, that received temples and commemorations.[61] *Concordia*

[57] *RRC* 403/1. Weinstock (1960) 45 has suggested that the coin may indicate that *pax* was being used as a political slogan: if it was, it was a message of agreement and pact that prevailed.

[58] *RRC* 448/1a. An earlier coin minted by Sulla on the move in 82 B.C. (*RRC* 367), depicting him as *imperator* driving a quadriga and holding a *caduceus* whilst being crowned by Victory, suggests that the *caduceus* as an attribute of the victor was in use at least in the second quarter of the first century B.C. Crawford (1974) 387 argues that the *caduceus* 'may be taken to indicate that victory is hoped for rather than achieved'.

[59] See pp. 30, 38, 48 and 52 below.

[60] It is notable that *pax* most likely did not receive a cult until the *Ara Pacis Augustae:* see Clark (2007) 9. For a cult of *Pax* under Caesar see Clark (2007) 8 n.15, 105-106; Weinstock (1960) 46-47.

[61] The temple of *Concordia* was built in 304 B.C. Temples of the mid-Republic tended to celebrate victories and qualities associated with Rome's military strength (e.g. *Mars* (390), *Victoria* (305), *Bellona* (296), *Iuppiter Victor* (295), *Iuppiter Stator* (294), *Fors Fortuna* (293), *Hercules Invictus* (292-269/6), *Honos* (233), *Honos et Virtus* (222)), or qualities associated with the safety of the state (e.g. *Salus* (311), *Concordia* (304), *Spes* (258/7, or 254-249), *Fides* (258/7 or 254-249); *Fortuna Publica* (241; *Fortuna Publica* (240-219) : see Ziolkowski (1992) 17-189.

first appeared as a personification or deity on the coinage in 62 B.C. (Figure 4),[62] following the year of Cicero's consulship and the Catilinarian conspiracy. In his speeches of 63 B.C. Cicero emphasised the importance of the concept of *concordia* between the senate and the equestrian order in order to ensure the stability of the state,[63] and further emphasised this point by holding the debate on the fate of the conspirators in the temple of *Concordia.*[64] Cicero emphasised the power and abilities of the statesman, who strives for civil peace and harmony, compared with those of the *dux* and *imperator* (and here he is thinking of Pompey), who pacifies external threats:

> *Nulla enim est natio quam pertimescamus, nullus rex qui bellum populo Romano facere possit; omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata; domesticum bellum manet: intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis. [...] Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites.*[65]
>
> For there is no nation which we fear, there is no king who can make war against the Roman people; all external threats are brought into a state of peace by land and sea by the virtue of one man; domestic war remains: the traps are on the inside, the danger is shut within, the enemy is inside the gates. [...] Here I acknowledge myself as your leader in war, Quirites.

[62] *RRC* 415 and 417; see appendix I below.
[63] Cic. *Cat.* 4.15*: quos ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque haec causa coniungit* ('whom this day and this cause now reunites with you in alliance and harmony with your body reconciled after a disagrrement of many years').
[64] Cic. *Cat.* 3.21.
[65] Cic. *Cat.* 2.11.

During his consulship Cicero stressed that it was the *togatus*, rather than the *dux* and *imperator*, who was able to achieve civil peace and stability. This reflects Cicero's attempts to prove his own abilities as consul, and not a military man, to ensure the stability of the Roman state.[66] His concern is for the preservation of the Roman political state, and to express this fully he uses the terms *concordia, otium*[67] and *pax*, if not interchangeably, at least in tandem and to suggest different aspects of the same issue:

> *Qua re qui possum non esse popularis, cum videam haec omnia, Quirites, pacem externam, libertatem propriam generis ac nominis vestri, otium domesticum, denique omnia quae vobis cara at atque ampla sunt in fidem et quodam modo in patrocinium mei consulatus esse conlata?*[68]
>
> How could I not be a man of the people, when I see all these things, Quirites, an external state of peace, freedom that is the preserve of your race and name, domestic peace, and finally everything which is dear and great to you entrusted to good faith, as it were, to the protection of my consulship?

Whilst Cicero's qualification of *pax* as *externa* may suggest the possibility that *pax* could also be considered *interna* or *domestica*, his intention here is to highlight two

[66] Cic. *Cat.* 3.23: *sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis* ('without murder, without blood, without an army, without fighting you, as civic men, have conquered having me, a civic man, as your leader and general'); see Narducci (1991) 166-180.

[67] *otium* was used more emphatically by Cicero after 57 B.C. and most strikingly in *Pro Sest.* 97 (*cum dignitate otium*) where he identifies *otium* with the preservation of political order. For Cicero's use of *otium* as a political slogan see: Narducci (1991) 183-188. On the use of *otium* in political discourse in general see Wirszubski (1960) 92-93; Valvo (1985) 155; Milani (1985) 25; Barton (2007) 251.

[68] Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.9.

different spheres of activity: foreign and domestic.[69] Cicero here characterises *pax* as external, whilst *otium*, which is always associated with domestic affairs, he emphasises as *domesticum*, to deliberately heighten the contrast between the two spheres of activity.[70] Likewise, in the passage from *In Catilinam* 2 given above, Cicero sets up a contrast between *externa pacata* and *domesticum bellum*: here external affairs are made peaceful, as one would expect. It is war that is unusually characterised as being internal. The ways in which Cicero emphasises and in some cases plays with the spheres within which *pax* and *bellum* are acted out possibly foreshadows the ways in which *pax* and *bellum* are later used as rhetorical tools against one's political opponents: Cicero would later compare Antony to Rome's former enemies, with whom Rome made *pax*.[71]

During the period of growing civil conflicts and violence of the late Republic the concern for political stability, and with that political dominance, became increasingly prevalent. The concept of *pax* was used in public discourse of the late Republic, though primarily still in regard to external conditions. It was at times associated with more traditional aspects of internal harmony, such as *concordia* and *otium*. This may be due to the increasing instability of Roman politics and the fact that stable conditions abroad allowed greater attention to internal politics (as Cicero's speeches against Catiline suggest), but perhaps also to the fact that rhetoric traditionally

[69] In *Leg. agr.* 2.102 Cicero does set *pax* alongside qualities of civil peace: '*nihil esse tam populare id quod ego vobis in hunc annum consul popularis adfero, pacem, tranquillitatem, otium*'. However, he does primarily associate the concept of *pax* in this speech with external peace, or as the balance and contrast of war: *pacem externam* (2.9); *vinculum pacis et monumentum belli* (2.49); *pacis ornamentum, subsidium belli* (2.80). On these two different spheres of activity see p. 2 above.

[70] Whilst *otium* was predominantly concerned with the internal harmony of the state, see Wirszubski (1954) 4 n. 29 for *otium* as the opposite of *bellum* where *bellum* is understood in terms of civil war, cf. Cic. *Caecin.* 43; *Att.*1.30.5, 4.6.2; Caes. *B Civ* 2.36.1; Livy 3.32.4

[71] Cic. *Phil.* 4.14; see p. 46 below. Cicero also characterises Catiline as a *hostis:* see n. 65 above. A similar rhetoric of using *pax* and *bellum* to suggest that one's political opponent is to be viewed as an external enemy can be seen in Sallust's *Histories: nam bellum atque arma, quamquam vobis invisa, tamen quia Lepido placent, sumunda sunt, nisi forte cui pacem praestare et bellum pati consilium est* (*Oratio Philippi in senatu* 2: 'For even though you may detest war and arms, yet you must take them up because it is the will of Lepidus, unless perhaps anyone is disposed to grant him peace and at the same time to suffer war').

used in respect of external enemies was being employed by statesmen against their political opponents.[72]

As the political situation at Rome changed so too did the way in which concepts and political language were used. In the next section I turn to consider the effect that the outbreak of civil war in 50/49 had on the use of the concept of *pax*, and how it was employed to express relations between Romans.

[72] See n. 71 above.

Section Two

pace opus est

In early 49, after Caesar's act of violence against the *res publica* (crossing the Rubicon and marching on Rome), Cicero wanted a resolution of the hostilities through negotiations of *pax*, and was one of the strongest voices for reconciliation between Caesar, and Pompey and the senate. Between the period from 50 to 46 Cicero stressed a conceptualisation of *pax* as an alternative to civil war *and* victory.[73] Yet his drive for *pax* in this period is only really seen in his private correspondence. In public he chose initially to follow Pompey's position, which was a firm stance on fighting Caesar,[74] and later withdrew from the public scene until 46.[75]

Cicero in his letters spoke several times of the *condiciones pacis*,[76] indicating that he conceptualised *pax* as a pact or agreement to be reached between two opposing sides. Strikingly, this was a pact between two Romans, instead of between Rome and an external enemy. Furthermore this was not a pact to be made at the end of war, but in order to prevent one: *Equidem ad pacem hortari non desino; quae vel iniusta utilior est quam iustissimum bellum cum civibus.*[77] As Graph 1 illustrates, whilst Cicero did talk of

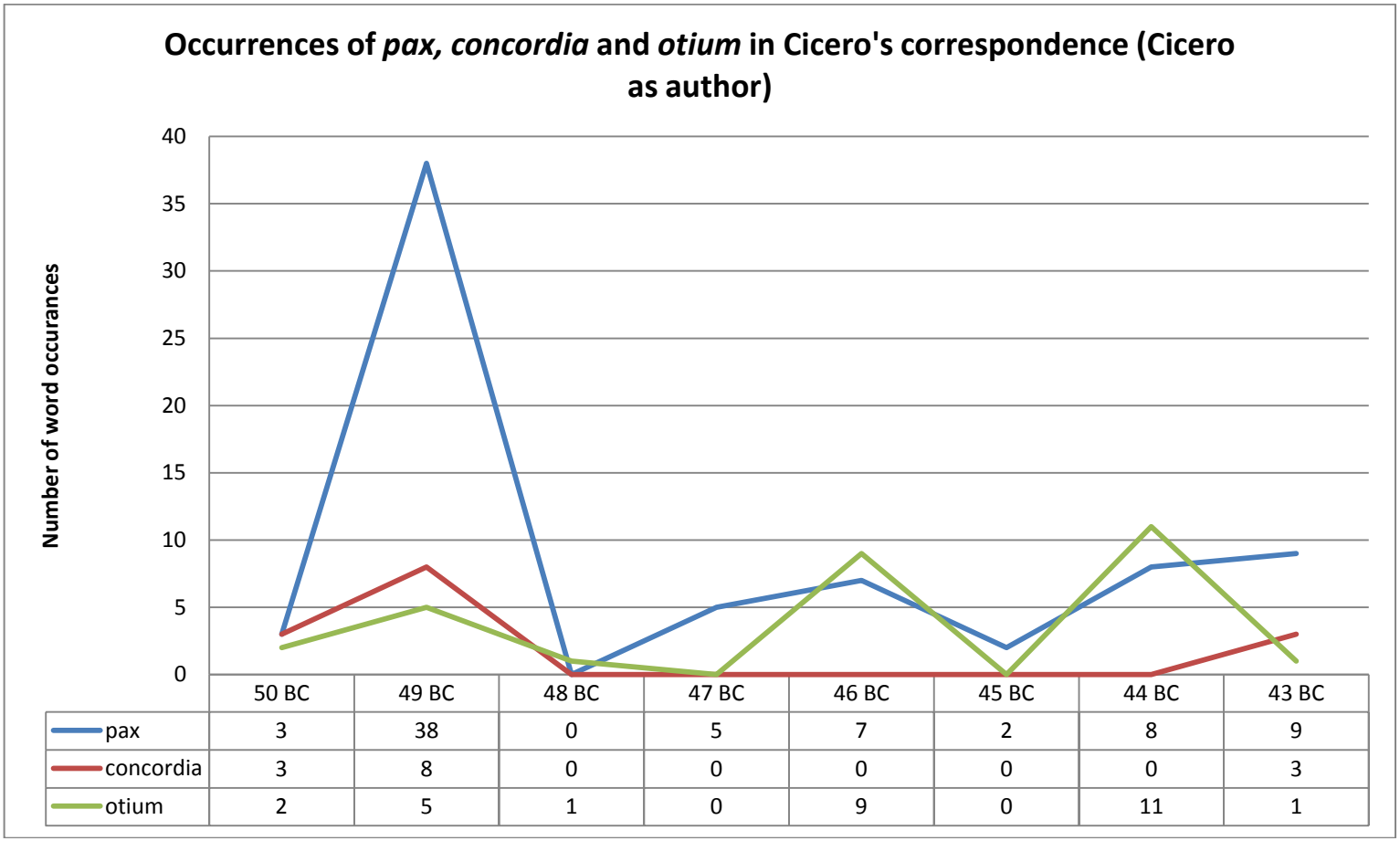
[73] The concept of *pax* as an alternative to foreign wars is seen in Varro's account of the Roman embassy to Carthage, where the Carthaginians were told to choose between a *caduceus* and a *hasta*: see n. 55 above).

[74] Cic. *Att.* 7.6.2: *dices 'quid tu igitur sensurus es?' non idem quod dicturus. Sentiam enim omnia facienda ne armis decertetur, dicam idem quod Pompeius, neque id faciam humili animo* ('You will ask me what line I shall take in the House. Not the same as in my own mind. *There* I shall vote for peace at any price, but in the House I shall echo Pompey, and I shall not do it in a spirit of subservience either').

[75] See p. 39 below.

[76] Cic. *Att.* 8.8.1, 458.12.2, 11.25.3, *Fam.* 5.21, 6.4.

[77] Cic. *Att.* 7.14.1: 'I continue to urge for a pact. Even an unjust pact is better than the most just wars against one's countrymen'. Cicero's desire for achieving peace between the two political leaders even prompted him to request from Atticus a work by a contemporary Greek scholar, Demetrius of Magnesia, entitled *περὶ ὁμονοίας: Att.* 8.11.7; 8.12.6; 9.9.2.



	50 BC	49 BC	48 BC	47 BC	46 BC	45 BC	44 BC	43 BC
pax	3	38	0	5	7	2	8	9
concordia	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	3
otium	2	5	1	0	9	0	11	1

Graph 1: The occurrences of the words *pax*, *concordia* and *otium*[78] used by Cicero in his correspondence (50-43 B.C.).

[78] The occurrences of *otium* here are only counted when the meaning of term refers to political (in)activity; *otium* is used in this sense a total of 29 times by Cicero. The word is also used in Cicero's correspondence to refer to leisure time and free time; *otium* is used in this sense a total of 9 times by Cicero.

concordia (14 times) and *otium* (29 times) during the 40s,[79] his focus in his discussions of the instability the *res publica* faced in 49 B.C. was on *pax.* His focus on *pax* during this period was as an alternative to war, achieved through negotiation.

Caesar also understood *pax* as a form of pact between two opposing political sides:

> *Atque haec Caesar ita administrabat ut condiciones pacis dimittendas non existimaret ac tametsi magnopere admirabatur Magium, quem ad Pompeium cum mandatis miserat, ad se non remitti*.[80]
>
> And so Caesar saw to it that negotiations for a pact were not set aside; but even so he was very surprised that Magius, whom he had sent to Pompey with mandates, had not been sent back to him.

This rhetoric of *condiciones pacis* was echoed in the symbols of *concordia* (clasped hands) [81] and *pax* (*caduceus*), which Caesar depicted on his coinage in 48 B.C., together with the deity *Pietas* (Figure 5).[82]

Caesar was clearly taking part in a discourse on *pax* as something that was to be negotiated without the need for war in order to achieve civil harmony. It is noteworthy

[79] In fact, at the start of the conflict between Caesar and Pompey, Cicero initially used the term *concordia* (*Att.* 7.3.5; 7.4.2) before also bringing in the theme of *pax* (*Att.* 7.5.4). In *Att.* 9.11a.1 Cicero refers to all three concepts together: *de otio, de pace, de concordia civium. Concordia* was an important concept for Cicero in 63 B.C., and he later identified *otium* with the preservation of political order from 57 B.C. onward, most strikingly in *Pro Sest.* 97 (*cum dignitate otium*) where he identifies *otium* with the preservation of political order. For Cicero's use of *otium* as a political slogan see: Narducci (1991) 183-188. On the use of *otium* in political discourse in general see Wirszubski (1960) 92-93; Valvo (1985) 155; Milani (1985) 25; Barton (2007) 251.

[80] Caes. *B Civ.* 1.26, cf. 1.85, 3.10, 3.17.

[81] Cic. *Att.* 7.1.4: *Ubi illae sunt densae dextrae?;* see Shackleton Bailey (1965-70) vol. 3, 279; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.104: *ubi fides, ubi exsecrationes, ubi dextrae complexusque?;* Sen. *Contr.* 3.8: *ubi hospitales invicem dexterae*?

[82] *RRC* 450/2.

that whilst both Cicero and Caesar use the term *pax* quite frequently,[83] they do not use the transitive verb *pacare* in the context of civil war. The use of the concept *pax* during the civil conflicts between Romans was concerned with articulating the relationship between two political parties and ostensibly neither side claimed a position of superiority through which to bring the other side into a state of peace (unlike the pacification of external enemies)[84].

Caesar however did use the discourse on *pax* to express his opinion that it was his opponents' rejection of his offers of a peace that made them responsible for the civil war.[85] For example, when a meeting between the two sides, set up for negotiations by the river Apsus, was disturbed by missile fire, T. Labienus is reported to have proclaimed: *desinite ergo de compositione loqui; nam nobis nisi Caesaris capite relato pax esse nulla potest.*[86] The idea of what *pax* comprised is being played with here. The subversive nature of Labienus' taunt amidst peace negotiations aimed to show that Caesar's enemies will only accept *pax* through civil war and violence (and in their own understanding, through victory over him). Caesar was propagating a discourse on *pax*, which he used to manipulate and dictate the terms of war (i.e. who is in the right and who is in the wrong).

Whilst Cicero and Caesar make use the same language of *pax* to talk about making a pact, Cicero saw Caesar's actions against Pompey (beseiged at Brundisium) as a clear indication that Caesar had rejected *pax* (as Cicero understood the term):

[83] Caesar uses *pax* 23 times: *B Civ.* 1.11, 1.26 (x2), 1.74, 1.85 (x5), 3.10 (x3), 3.17, 3.18, 3.19 (x6), 3.57 (x2), 3.90. He never uses *concordia.*

[84] The verb is used by Caesar four times (*B Civ.* 1.7, 1.39, 1.85, 3.73), but always in the context of Gaul, Spain and Germany.

[85] Caes. *B Civ.* 1.26, 3.10, 3.18, 3.19, 3.57, 3.90; see also Jal (1961) 212.

[86] Caes. *B Civ* 3.19.8: 'Then let us stop talking about a settlement. As far as we are concerned, unless Caesar's head is bought back, there is no possibility of peace'.

Ecce tibi eodem die Capua litteras accepi ad Q. Pedio Caesarem ad se pridie Idus Martias hoc exemplo: Pompeius se oppido tenet. nos ad portas castra habemus. conamur opus magnum et multorum dierum propter altitudinem maris. sed tamen nihil est quod potius faciamus. ab utroque portus cornu moles iacimus, ut aut illum quam primum traicere quod habet Brundisi copiarum cogamus aut exitu prohibeamus. ***ubi est illa pax*** *de qua Balbus scripserat torqueri se? ecquid acerbius, ecquid crudelius?*[87]

Look, the same day I received from Capua, from Q. Pedius, a letter that Caesar had sent to him on 14th March, stating: 'Pompey holds himself in the town. We have set up camp at the gates. We are faced with a hard task for many days due to the depth of the sea. But nevertheless there is nothing better we can do. We are building a mole at both ends of the harbour, so that either we compel him to transfer what forces he has in Brundisium as soon as possible, or we prevent him from leaving'. **Where is that pact** about which Balbus wrote that he was torturing himself? What indeed is more bitter, what more cruel?

Cicero believed that the correspondence demonstrated Caesar's insincerity for the message of *pax* and *reconciliatio* that Balbus tried to illustrate by sending Cicero copies of Caesar's letter on the subject: *ex quibus perspicere poteris, quam cupiat concordiam suam et Pompei reconciliare.*[88] Cicero might indeed have grounds for concern: Caesar states in that letter that he sees this reconciliation as a means to a 'new

[87] Cic. *Att.* 9.14.1-2.
[88] Cic. *Att.* 9.7b: 'From which you will see how eager he is for reconciliation between himself and Pompey'.

style of conquest'.[89] He might be using the language of *pax* and reconciliation, but the aim is nevertheless for victory over his political opponents, although a victory presented in new terms.[90]

Cicero himself emphasised that *pax* and victory are two very different aims, and he expressed his desire for *pax* through its relation to the idea of victory: *pace opus est. ex victoria cum multa mala tum certe tyrannus exsistet*.[91] Victory was not something to aim at, whereas a pact was. Cicero's conception of *pax* in the circumstances of the early 40s is contrary to the traditional Republican understanding, which depends on the causal relationship between victory and *pax*. Here, Cicero understands *pax* as an alternative to war *and* victory. Cicero's reasoning for this must lie in the fact that victory in civil war would involve the defeat and subjugation of Romans.[92] Only a pact between the two political sides could bring about a stable *res publica.*

Whilst *pax* was still being used to examine and express the relations between two opposing sides, it was now applied in this respect to express the relations between two opposing Roman sides. *pax* was clearly discussed a good deal in the early 40s, yet it is striking to note that it is not personified on a coin until 44 B.C. (Figure 6),[93] almost twenty years after *Concordia* first appears on the coinage. The first appearance of

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[89] Cic. *Att.* 9.7c.1.

[90] This letter will be discussed below pp. 50-51 in the examination of *pax* as victory.

[91] Cic. *Att.* 7.5.4: 'Peace is needed. Out of victory comes both many evils and certainly tyranny'; cf. *Att.* 8.1.3.

[92] Cic. *Att.* 7.14: *equidem ad paceni hortari non desino; quae vel iniusta utilior est quam iustissimum bellum cum civibus. Sed haec ut fors tulerit* ('For my part, I never cease urging peace, which, however unfair, is better than the most just war in the world. But this is in the hands of fortune'); *Fam*. 2.16: *nihil maluisse quam pacem, ea desperata nihil tam fugisse quam arma civilia* ('I have preferred peace to everything: when that was given up in despair, my first object was to avoid actual civil war'); Cic. *Fam.* 9.6: *tum vero extremum malorum omnium esse civilis belli victoriam* ('then, that the most dreadful evil of all was victory in a civil war'); cf. *Att.* 8.11d.6; 10.4.2-3; 11.12.3.

[93] *RRC* 480/24; Gruen (1982) 52; Fears (1981) 773-804. Woolf (1993) 176 and Parchami (2009) 17 both state that *pax*, as a coin legend, occurs from Sulla onwards, although Parchami (2009) 17 n.11 does concede that the 'identity of the female deity on Sulla's coin is contested'. The *caduceus,* a symbol of *pax*, does appear on some of Sulla's coinage (*RRC* 366 and 367), however *PAX* as an identifying legend does not appear on Sulla's coinage (see *RRC* 366), and is first attested on the coin minted by Buca in 44 B.C. (*RRC* 480/24).

Concordia as a personification on the coins in 62 clearly reflects the prominence of the concept in the political troubles of late 63.[94] It is plausible too that the appearance of *Pax* in 44 may reflect a similar prominence, and that before this time there was not a need or desire to represent the quality of *Pax* on the coinage.

The coin minted by L. Aemilius Buca in 44 was the first attestation of *pax* being represented by a female bust, and is agreed to represent the personification of the quality *pax* rather than a cultic figure.[95] *pax* had undergone a qualitative change in Caesar's presentation of the concept, associating the term not just with a condition achieved, but also with a quality beneficial to the security of the Roman state. It is notable that the coin links *pax* with the clasped hands of *concordia* on the reverse of the coin, echoing Caesar's earlier coinage of 48 (Figure 5),[96] and indicates that *pax* was associated with ideas of internal security. The restoration of a stable *res publica* was further commemorated in the same year with voting of the temple of *Concordia Nova* in honour of Caesar by the senate: *νέων τε Ὁμονοίας Καινῆς ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ εἰρηνοῦντες οἰκοδομῆσαι ἔγνωσαν.*[97]

The presence of the personified form of *pax* on the coinage of 44 confirms the importance of the term within contemporary politics and public display (comparable to the appearance of *Concordia* after the political turmoil of 63). The idea of *pax* continued to dominate political discourse in the 40s, and was used as a tool to secure power and political dominance, in the name of (re)establishing the *res publica* securely.

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[94] In his speeches of 63 B.C. Cicero emphasised the importance of the concept of *concordia* between the senate and the equestrian order in order to ensure the stability of the state; Cic. *Cat.* 4.15: *quos ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque haec causa coniungit* ('whom this day and this cause now reunites with you in alliance and harmony with your body reconciled after a disagreement of many years').

[95] *Pax* as a goddess, rather than a concept or quality, had no history in the Republic: see Clark (2007) 8-9 and n. 15, 159-161; Weinstock (1971) 260-269.

[96] See p. 30, n. 81 above.

[97] Dio Cass. 44.4.4: 'They also resolved to build a temple of Concordia Nova, on the grounds that it was through his efforts that they enjoyed peace'.

After Caesar's assassination in March 44 B.C. the *res publica* was once again unstable, with opposing factions trying to establish themselves in a position of power. During this period the concept of *pax* continued to be used to manipulate politicians' positions within the state and in relation to their opponents. I will now turn to examine the discourse of *pax* following the assassination of Caesar, which illustrates the use of *pax* (as a pact) to establish positions of power.

After 15th March steps were being taken by Antony and Lepidus to secure their positions by publicly discussing the need for negotiation and a pact, and by establishing an alliance or pact with Caesar's assassins.[98] Cicero later described Antony as having given his son as a *pacis obses* to promote negotiations with the assassins.[99] Antony further asserted his position through the ratification of Caesar's *acta* on 17th March.[100] Cicero accepted the ratification of the *acta* for the sake of political expediency and the hope for stability for the *res publica*; but he did not approve of them. [101] Indeed, writing to Atticus at the start of May 44 he emphasised how Antony was using the rhetoric of *pax* to manipulate the political situation: *quamquam istos ferre non possum qui, dum se pacem velle simulant, acta nefaria defendunt*.[102] It seems probable that Cicero is referring to the defence and use of, and addenda made to, Caesar's *acta*: by late April

[98] Cic. *Phil.* 1.31; App. *B Civ.* 2.130-131 records a debate in the Forum concerning peace, where both Antony and Lepidus question the nature of the peace sought. For the aftermath of the assassination see Dio 44.23-34; Frisch (1946) 42-62; Scullard (1982) 154; van der Blom (2003) 50-57.
[99] Cic. *Phil.* 1.31.
[100] Cic. *Phil.* 1.1-3, 1.16-17, 1.31-32; *Att.* 14.6.2, 14.9.2; App. *B Civ.* 2.128-129, 2.135; Frisch (1946) 55-56; Manuwald (2007a) 11.
[101] Cic. *Fam.* 12.1.2: *res publica iaceat in iis perturbationibus, in quas eam ille coniecit.... "At enim ita decrevimus." Fecimus id quidem temporibus cedentes, quae valent in re publica plurimum* ('So the *res publica* lies in this chaos, which Caesar hurled it into... "Indeed, we have so decreed". We did it, yielding to the state of affairs at the time which carries a great deal of weight in politics').
[102] Cic. *Att.*14.15.2: 'Yet I cannot bear those who, while they pretend they desire a peace, in fact defend nefarious acts'. Shackleton Bailey (1967) 369 suggests that *istos* refers to certain individuals mentioned by Atticus.

Antony was clearly making use of the ratification of the *acta* to gain further power himself.[103]

Cicero publicly spoke little of *pax* in the time between the assassination of Caesar and his *Philippics,* although it does appear from his letters to have been a concern of his.[104] His concern for the internal stability of the state is most clear in his aforementioned discussion of the *acta* of Caesar. He hoped to influence the consul of 44, Dolabella, the consuls-elect for 43, Hirtius and Pansa, as well as Caesar's heir, Octavian, in order to protect the *res publica* from what he saw as tyranny.[105] However, Antony consolidated his power over the course of the summer, outmanoeuvring Brutus and Cassius,[106] and by the end of August any veil of compromise between them had slipped: Brutus and Cassius sailed to the East, but not before laying down a threat concerning the termination of Caesar's reign and the need to secure the safety of the *res publica*.[107]

Despite the limited evidence for a discussion about *pax* during the first half of 44, in the conflicts that followed it is clear that the ideal of achieving a pact or agreement with Antony was at the forefront in Cicero's political discourse, owing to

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[103] Cic. *Fam.* 12.1.2 (dated to 3rd May 44 B.C.); *Phil.* 5.10; Manuwald (2007a) 12-13; Frisch (1946) 74, 95. Already in April Cicero had labelled Antony a tyrant: *Att.* 14.5.2, 14.9.2, 14.12.1, 14.13.6, 14.14.2.

[104] Cic. *Att.* 14.20.4: *[Pansa] is plane mihi probabat se bene sentire et cupere pacem* ('[Pansa] quite convinced me of the soundness of his views and his desire for peace'); 15.1.3: *[Pansam] seduxi enim et ad pacem sum cohortatus. non paterat scilicet negare se velle pacem* ('For I took [Pansa] aside and exhorted him earnestly to preserve the peace. He could not of course say that he did not wish for peace'); see also Cic. *Att.* 14.15.2, 15.7.

[105] Dolabella: Cic. *Att.* 14.15.1, 14.16.2, 14.17.4, 14.17a, 14.18.1, 14.20.4, 14.21.4; Hirtius and Pansa: Cic. *Att.* 14.9.2, 14.11.2, 14.20.4, 14.22.1; Octavian: Cic. *Att.* 14.11.2, 14.12.2, 14.21.4, 15.12.2. For Cicero's activity from March-August 44 B.C. see van der Blom (2003) 290-299.

[106] On Brutus' and Cassius' commission for the supervision of the corn supply: Cic. *Att.* 15.9.1, 15.1.1-2; Frisch (1946) 101-105.

[107] Cic. *Fam.* 11.3 (Brutus and Cassius to Antony): *tu etiam atque etiam vide, quid suscipias, quid sustinere possis, neque quamdiu vixerit Caesar, sed, quam non diu regnarit, fac cogites. Deos quaesumus, consilia tua rei publicae salutaria sint ac tibi: si minus, ut salva atque honesta re publica tibi quam minimum noceant, optamus* ('and so you indeed have a mind as to what you are undertaking and what you are able to sustain, and make sure you recognise not how long Caesar lived, but rather how long he reigned. We beseech the gods, that your counsels may be beneficial for the state and yourself: if not, we pray that they may harm you as little as possible as with a sound and honest Republic').

Antony's position as consul, and later as proconsul at the head of several legions. During 44-43, Cicero used the concept of *pax* in a different way from that of his letters in the early 40s. He manipulated the use and also the meaning of the term *pax*, in order to persuade his audience to remove Antony from power. The term still retained its concept as a pact, yet Cicero presents *pax* achieved through *pactio* (negotiation) as slavery to Antony, and argues that it is only through *victoria* over him that real *pax* and peace can be established.[108]

The rhetoric of *pax* discussed in this section articulated the relations between Romans in terms of reconciliation and an absence of war and victory. In the following section I will continue to examine how relations between Romans were expressed through the use of *pax*, but *pax* achieved through victory. Whilst this interpretation of the concept is reminiscent of the traditional Republican usage, in that there existed a causal relationship between *pax* and victory, now *pax* was being won over fellow Romans.

[108] This interpretation of *pax* is fully explored below pp. 40-48.

Section Three

pax through victory

The association of the *caduceus*, as a symbol of *pax*, with victory continued to be used during the civil wars of the 40s to promote the hopes and aspirations of certain political factions. Whilst Caesar used the *caduceus* together with the symbol of *concordia* (Figure 5) to promote a message of *pax* achieved through negotiation and internal agreement, Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio was minting coins portending *pax* achieved through victory. In Africa, in 47-46, Scipio minted a coin depicting Victory with a shield and *caduceus*, whilst the *G(enius) T(errae) A(fricae*) was depicted on the reverse (Figure 7).[109] Another coin of Scipio depicts a turreted head of a city goddess with an ear of corn and *caduceus* on the obverse, and a trophy between a *lituus* and jug (Scipio was a pontifex) on the reverse (Figure 8).[110] The presence of the *caduceus*, carried by Victory on one coin, and associated with a trophy on another, suggests that *pax*, here alluded to by the *caduceus*, would be established with his (future or potential) victory against Caesar. The presence of the Genius of Africa and the city goddess ties the victory of Scipio to Africa, where he was based.[111]

[109] *RRC* 460/4.
[110] *RRC* 460/3.
[111] Interestingly, whilst Scipio demonstrated the hope of *pax* through victory, Cicero writing in 47 B.C. about the strong Republican position in Africa, did not view victory as a possible outcome: *confirmari cotidie magis ad condicionis spem quam victoriae*:(Cic. *Att.* 11.12.3). Shackleton Bailey (1965-70) vol. 5, 281: 'spem seems to refer to the sentiments of the republicans. If we understand 'so as to arouse the hope (in us)', *victoriae* has to be regarded as zeugmatic; for neither Atticus nor Cicero hoped for a republican victory at this stage'.

Pax achieved as a result of victory in war was the traditional understanding of the concept.[112] However, during the 40s that concept now was used to articulate power relations between Roman politicians and for signifying one's political opponents. The taunt of Labienus recorded in Caesar's *de bello civili* was used to demonstrate that Caesar's opponents would only accept *pax* through war and violence, playing on the rhetoric of Caesar's opponents, that *pax* could only be secured through victory over Caesar.[113]

Indeed, Caesar's *de bello civili*, in which he often emphasises his desire for *pax,* was a justification for his actions and proof of his right to victory over his opponents.[114] This rhetoric of *pax* achieved through Caesar's victory in the civil war was taken up by Cicero in 46 B.C., in the speech by which he claimed to return to public life,[115] the *Pro Marcello:*

> *Ipsam victoriam vicisse videris, cum ea, quae illa erat adepta victis remisisti; nam cum ipsius victoriae condicione omnes victi occidissemus, clementiae tuae iudicio conservati sumus. Recte igitur unus invictus es, a quo etiam ipsius victoriae condicio visque devicta est*.[116]
>
> You seem to have vanquished Victory herself, since you have surrendered to the vanquished all that Victory had gained. For when all of us vanquished

[112] *pax* in the mid and late Republic had stood for the state achieved through negotiating and imposing conditions on the defeated, and was a sign of Rome's victory over her enemies.
[113] Caes. *B Civ* 3.19.8; see p. 31 above.
[114] In Caesar's letters he presents his desire to be the victor which he claims can be achieved through reconciliation, but suggests that he will hold the position of superiority over his opponents: Cic. *Ad. Att.* 9.7c.1, see p. 32 above and p. 51 below.
[115] Cic. *Marcell.* 1-3; *Fam.*4.4.
[116] Cic. *Marcell.* 12; Caelius' exaltation of Caesar as *in victoria* is echoed in *Pro Marc.* 8: *animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere,* ***victoriam temperare*****.**

> were undone by the condition of victory itself, we were preserved by the judgement of your clemency. Therefore you are rightly unconquerable, whereby the condition and strength of Victory herself has been conquered.

Cicero's acceptance of Caesar's rhetoric about his victory serves as a confirmation of the state of affairs that Caesar had achieved – namely, as Cicero hoped, the revival of the *res publica*[117] through the restoration of the advocates of peace: *qui vero victor pacis auctores diligit, is profecto declarat se maluisse non dimicare quam vincere.*[118] The word order strengthens the idea of Caesar as the 'victor of the pact' (*victor pacis*), which Cicero illustrated by Caesar's desire not to conquer his fellow Romans. Cicero is taking up the language of the victor, yet still emphasising the importance of *pax* in his conceptualisation of the preservation of the *res publica.* It is plausible that this speech acts as a reminder, if not a warning,[119] of the stance Caesar advertised during the war.[120] Cicero was certainly well aware of the double-edged nature of Caesar's victory: in 49, after Cicero still proved non-committal to Caesar's cause, Caelius then emphasised the threat of Caesar's victory instead: *si existimas eandem rationem fore Caesaris in*

[117] Cic. *Fam* 4.4: *ita mihi pulcher hic dies visus est, ut speciem aliquam viderer videre quasi reviviscentis rei publicae* ('this day appeared to me to be so fair that I seemed to be seeing some shadow of a reviving Republic'). In *Phil* 5.38-39 Cicero in fact contrasts Lepidus' *clementia* and service to the state (5.39: *restituti civitati, maximum ornamentum rei publicae, clarissimum monumentum clementiae suae*) to the actions of Caesar (5.39: *quodsi eadem ratio Caesaris fuisset in illo taetro miseroque bello…*). See Picone (2008) for the *Pro Marcello* as diffusing a potentially damaging situation to the stability of the *res publica.*

[118] Cic. *Marcell.* 15: 'Who indeed, as victor, cared for the advocates of peace (pact), surely declares that he would have preferred not to fight than to conquer'.

[119] On the purpose of the *Pro Marcello* see: Cipriani (1977); Dyer (1990); Lassandro (1991); MacKendrick (1995) 404-421; Winterbottom (2002); Konstan (2005); Marchese (2008).

[120] See pp. 30 - 32 above.

dimittendis adversariis et condicionibus ferendis, erras: nihil nisi atrox et saevum cogitat atque etiam loquitur.[121]

Perhaps the most striking example of *pax* achieved through victory during the 40s is the use Cicero makes of the term in his speeches against Mark Antony in 44-43. In his *Philippics* Cicero rejects any form of a pact with Antony achieved through *pactio*, and instead argues for *pax* achieved through victory over Antony. Cicero's stance in 44-43, seen in both his political speeches and letters,[122] marks a departure from his position found in his letters of the early 40s, where he strove for *pax* as an alternative to war and victory over Romans.[123]

The *Philippics*, delivered between 2nd September 44 B.C. and 21st April 43 B.C., chronicle Cicero's arguments concerning *pax* between Antony and the senate, and promote Cicero's own desire for the declaration of war.[124] The prevalence of the term *pax* in the *Philippics* (Table 1), and the central focus of the speeches on the role of *pax* within the current political climate demonstrates that *pax* was an important part of Cicero's political rhetoric.[125] The first *Philippic*, delivered notably at a meeting of the senate in the temple of *Concordia*, is aimed at maintaining a stable *res publica* established after the negotiations of 17th March,[126] and stresses the stability and peace

[121] Cic. *Fam.* 8.16: 'If you think that Caesar will maintain the same policy in letting his adversaries go and offering terms, you are mistaken. His thoughts, even his words, forebode nothing but severity and cruelty'.
[122] Cic. *Fam.* 10.6: *aut positis armis pacem petere debent aut, si pugnantes eam postulant, victoria pax, non pactione parienda est* ('either they should seek peace when they have set aside their arms or, if they demand it through fighting, peace must be won through victory, not by making terms').
[123] See pp. 29-33 above.
[124] For an overview of the *Philippics* see Shackleton Bailey, et al. (2009a); Shackleton Bailey, et al. (2009b); Stevenson and Wilson (2008); Frisch (1946) 119-192.
[125] The term *pax* is used a total of 118 times in the *Philippics*; in contrast *concordia* is used 25 times, 8 of which are in connection with the *templum concordiae*. On the use of the *Philippics* for understanding the social and political ideals of the period see Stevenson and Wilson (2008) esp. 14.
[126] Cic. *Phil.* 1.31-32. See Clark (2007) 173-175 on the potency of using the temple of Concord as the location of *Philippics* 1 and 2, esp. 173 for the 'potential richness' of the temple in the undelivered second speech; also Jal (1961) 227-228.

Table 1: Occurrences of 'concept' words in Cicero's *Philippics.*

	CONCEPT													
	bellum	*concordia†*	*felicitas‡*	*fidelis‡*	*hostis*	*libertas*	*otium*	*pactio*	*pax*	*pietas*	*salus*	*spes**	*tumultus*	*victoria*
Phil.1	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	6	0	3	1	0	0
Phil.2	20	3	3	1	7	8	2	0	9	2	3	4	0	1
Phil.3	4	3	3	3	7	17	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	2
Phil.4	1	3	1	2	16	10	0	0	3	0	1	3	0	1
Phil.5	3	6	3	1	9	11	1	0	4	1	6	8	2	0
Phil.6	11	1	0	3	0	4	1	0	2	1	1	1	2	1
Phil.7	10	1	0	2	11	5	0	0	24	0	2	7	0	0
Phil.8	31	1	0	3	5	4	3	0	13	1	1	3	12	1
Phil.9	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0
Phil.10	7	1	0	1	1	16	2	0	2	0	2	3	0	0
Phil.11	39	1	0	4	15	5	3	0	1	0	3	3	0	2
Phil.12	13	0	0	5	8	4	0	2	31	0	4	9	1	5
Phil.13	25	3	1	6	15	9	1	1	21	5	4	0	0	0
Phil.14	16	0	6	3	34	7	0	0	2	3	7	4	0	14
	186	**25**	**17**	**36**	**128**	**102**	**14**	**3**	**118**	**16**	**41**	**50**	**17**	**27**

† *concordia* here refers to the *aedes concordiae* 8 out of its 25 occurances.

‡ the term *felix* (11) is included in the concept catergory of *felicitas*, and the terms *fides*(14) and *fidus* (3) are included in the concept category of *fidelis*

* *spes* occurs with the genitive 32 times: most notably with *pacis* (6); with *libertatis* (5); with *victoriae* (3); with *salutis* (2); with *virtutis* (2); with *res publicae* (1), and with general restoration (2).

(as agreement and pact) that was achieved in the initial period after Caesar's assassination.[127]

The third *Philippic*, delivered on the 20th December 44, marks a change in Cicero's political thought concerning the conflict,[128] since Octavian was now at hand with several legions behind him to provide military force against Antony.[129] Furthermore, despite the fact that Antony was legally (however dubiously in Cicero's opinion) proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul,[130] Decimus Brutus was intent on holding the province in the control of the senate and the people against Antony. By the end of November Antony had marched against Brutus at Mutina. The siege which followed lasted until 27th April 43 B.C: roughly the same period of time covered by *Philippics* 3-14.[131] The concern on behalf of the majority of the senate for a peaceful conclusion to the siege was marked by the two embassies (one actual, the other planned but never sent).[132]

Cicero ridiculed Antony's supposed desire for peace and reconciliation in his eighth *Philippic*, quoting Antony's demands:

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[127] Cic. *Phil.* 1.1-3, 1.16-17; Ramsey (2003) 118-119 on the use of *pax* and *otium* to account for the ratification of Caesar's *acta* on 17th March.

[128] Cicero's second *Philippic* resulted in a clear break between Antony and Cicero: Harries (2006) 216; Frisch (1946) 127ff; van der Blom (2003) 302-304.

[129] Frisch (1946) 144-159; Gotter (1996) 131; van der Blom (2003) 300-308, esp. 307-308; Manuwald (2007b) 305 states that the third *Philippic* gives the 'impression of urgency' and that action was to be taken immediately.

[130] Harries (2006) 204ff; Frisch (1946) 94-100; Cic. *Att.* 14.4.4; *Phil.* 1.8; 8.27; Livy *Per.* 117.

[131] Cic. *Fam.* 10.30 for Galba's report of the victory at Forum Gallorum against Antony on 15th April: *Aquilae duae, signa LX. Sunt relata Antonii: res bene gesta est; Fam.* 11.9 for the second defeat of Antony at Mutina.

[132] The first embassy was debated on 1st January 43 B.C.: Cic. *Phil.* 5; Manuwald (2007b) 536ff. Q. Fufius Calenus proposed an embassy of the senate to Antony: *Phil.* 5.1, 5.4, 10.3. Cicero names Ser. Sulpicius Rufus as the author of the embassy: *Phil.* 9.9. The majority of the senate appears to have been in favour of an embassy and peace: *Phil.* 6.3. See Gotter (1996) 149-155 on the debate about the embassies; 155-172 on the opinion of the senate. On Cicero's agreement to be part of the second embassy see Hall (2008).

At quam modesta mandata! Ferrei sumus, patres conscripti qui quicquam huic negemus. 'Utramque provinicam', inquit 'remittto, exercitum depono privatus esse non recuso.' Haec sunt enim verba. Redire ad se videtur 'Omnia obliviscor, in gratiam redeo.' Sed quid adiungit? 'si legionibus meis sex, si equitibus, si cohorti praetoriae praemia agrumque dederitis.' Iis etiam praemia postulat, quibus ut ignoscatur si postulet, impudientissimus iudicetur.[133]

And what modest demands! We are hardhearted men, conscript fathers, if we refuse anything to this man. 'I give up both provinces, I disband my army, I am not unwilling to become a private citizen'. For these are his very words. He seems to be coming to himself. 'I am willing to forget everything; to be reconciled to everybody.' But what does he add? 'If you give booty and land to my six legions, to my cavalry, and to my praetorian cohort.' He even demands rewards for those men for whom, if he were to demand pardon, he would be thought the most impudent of men.

As Cicero presents it, Antony was using the possibility of a pact as a political tool to assert his position and establish rewards for his troops. Cicero himself, throughout *Philippics* 3-14, argues against negotiation and peace terms.[134]

Cicero emphasises that *pax* had been a desirable state for the *res publica* throughout the history of its civil conflicts, even if it had not been achieved:

[133] Cic. *Phil.* 8.25.

[134] In fact on 1st January 43 B.C., when the embassy was being discussed in the senate, Cicero proposed that *imperium* and the title of propraetor be given to Octavian, in a move to set him and his troops fully against Antony, with the backing of the senate: *Phil* 5.42-51. Cicero's stance on *pax* in 43 B.C. is in sharp contrast to his private stance in 49-48 B.C., when he strove for reconciliation between Pompey and Caesar: see n. 52 and p. 29, n. 74 above.

> *pacem cum Scipione Sulla sive faciebat sive simulabat, non erat desperandum, si convenisset, fore aliquem tolerabilem statum civitatis. Cinna si concordiam cum Octavio confirmare voluisset, hominum in re publica sanitas remanere potuisset. proximo bello si aliquid de summa gravitate Pompeius, multum de cupiditate Caesar remisisset, et pacem stabilem et aliquam rem publicam nobis habere licuisset.*[135]
>
> Whether Sulla made an agreement with Scipio, or pretended to, there was no reason to despair, if an agreement had been reached, that there would be some tolerable political condition. If Cinna had been willing to confirm a concord with Octavius, the safety of men in the Republic could have remained in place. In the latest war, if Pompey had put aside any of his extreme severity, and if Caesar had put aside much of his desire, it would have been possible for us to have a stable state of peace and some form of a Republic.

However, despite the role he gives to *pax* as the potential means for securing the stability of the *res publica* in the past, he urges the senate to reject Antony's appeal for a pact.[136] Indeed, the importance of *pax* within Cicero's *Philippics* in part rests on Antony's appeal for a state of peace: the most numerous attestions of *pax* are concentrated in books 7, 12 and 13 which are concerned with the first and second embassies to Antony. He uses Antony's letter to Hirtius and Octavian to illustrate

[135] CIc. *Phil.* 13.2.
[136] Cic. *Phil.* 7.9: *cur igitur pacem nolo? quia turpis est, quia periculosa, quia non potest* ('so why do I say no to a pact? Because it is a disgrace, because it is dangerous, because it is not possible').

Antony's lack of regard and desire for negotiation and reconciliation.[137] Cicero had done exactly the same with Caesar's letters in 49,[138] but he had only expressed his belief that Caesar's desire for *pax* was false privately. Now in 43 Cicero manipulates Antony's very use of *pax* to set him up as the enemy of the state; in the fourth *Philippic* Cicero contrasts Antony to the old enemies of Rome, with whom the Romans could make *pax* and *foedera* which were adhered to:

> *cum eo hoste res erat, qui haberet...rationem aliquam, si ita res tulisset, pacis ac foederis...pacis vero quae potest esse cum eo ratio, in quo est incredibilis crudelitas, fides nulla?*[139]
>
> There was a need to deal with an enemy, who had some considerations, if there was a need, of a pact and a treaty...But as to a pact, what consideration can there be with this man, who possesses incredible cruelty and no loyalty?

Cicero questions the very possibility of Antony being brought into a state of peace (*poteritne esse pacatus Antonius*?)[140]. He did not use *pacare* in the early 40s to articulate relations between Romans, as *pax* was meant to stress an equal relationship (and so somewhat distinct from a *pax* between Rome and her enemies). Now in 43 Cicero only uses the verb to emphasise that Antony cannot even be understood on the traditional lines of Rome's enemies.

[137] Cic. *Phil.* 13.22-48.
[138] See p. 34 above.
[139] Cic. *Phil*. 4.14. See Manuwald (2007b) 528-530.
[140] Cic. *Phil.* 7.24. The transitive verb *pacare* is used only twice in the *Philippics*, both times as a past participle used to describe Antony or his character (*Phil.* 5.24)

Even though Cicero rejects Antony's offers of a pact, he still argues for *pax*, but won and defined on different terms:

> *an vos A. Hirtius...C. Caesarem...quorum epistulas spem victoriae declarantes in manu teneo, pacem velle censetis? Vincere illi expetunt pacisque dulcissimum et pulcherimum nomen non pactione, sed victoria concupiverunt*.[141]
>
> Do you think that A. Hirtius and C. Caesar, whose letters declaring the hope of victory I hold in my hand, want a pact? They seek to conquer and they have desired the sweetest and most beautiful name of *pax* not through negotiation, but by victory.

Cicero's rejection of *pactio* marks a departure from his personal philosophy and position during the civil wars of the early 40s, where he was constantly urging for negotiations and a pact, and emphasises the growing association of victory with *pax* in the internal conflicts of the late Republic.[142] He refers to *pactio* three times in the *Philippics* (12.9; 12.14; 13.2), always in the context of *pax.* He twice equates *pactio* to slavery (12.14, 13.2) and once contrasts it to victory (12.9). By the late 40s Cicero had come to the opinion that war, and the defeat of Antony, was the only way to save the state: *ego omnia ad libertatem quae sine pace nulla est. pace ipsam bello atque armis effici posse arbitrabar*.[143] For Cicero, victory over the enemy was now the route to the restoration of the state, and this meant that at times the focus of his language on victory

[141] Cic. *Phil.*12.9, cf. *Fam.* 10.6.
[142] Cic. *Att.* 8.11.2: *ullam pactionem fieri potuisse?* See pp. 29-37 above.
[143] Cic. *Ad Brut.* 2.5: 'I was all for freedom, which is nothing without peace. I thought peace could be achieved through war and arms'. For *libertas* in the *Philippics* see Cowan (2008).

was a rejection of the name (rather than his own concept)[144] of *pax*: *pacis nomen...id est desperationem victoriae*.[145] In the rhetorical context of his *Philippics*, Cicero saw victory as the process through which *pax* could be achieved. But this *pax* had to be a *vera pax* against Antony, whom Cicero depicted as even worse than an enemy of Rome.[146]

pax as a state achieved through victory is clearly reminiscent of the Republican idea of *pax* as a pact or agreement concluded after a victory. The difference is that now the victory could be over a Roman.[147] The rhetoric of *pax* achieved through the defeat of Romans was adopted by the triumvirs against Brutus and Cassius. Coins minted on behalf of the triumvirate continued the union of *concordia* and *pax* that had appeared on Caesar's coinage in the early 40s, and associated these concepts with symbols of control over the empire (sceptre, globe etc.), as well as demonstrating the prosperity that their resulting victory would bring (Figure 9).[148] Brutus and Cassius had not accepted Caesar's rhetoric of *pax* in 44 B.C., and continued to oppose the messages of *pax* and victory used by the triumvirs with their own discourse on the concept of *libertas* (Figure 10).[149]

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[144] Cic. *Phil.* 14.20: *ut ego, qui omni tempore verae pacis auctor fuissem, huic essem nomini pestiferae pacis inimicus* ('so that I, who have always been an advocate of real *pax*, was hostile to this name of pestilent *pax*'); cf. Cic. *Att.* 7.8.4; 14.15. For the idea of a false *pax* see also Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.3: *imagine pacis... pacem sine dubio post haec, verum cruentam*.

[145] Cic. *Phil.* 12.10. See Zampaglione (1973) 150-151: 'his ideas were too often blunted by expedience and by the need to adopt solutions dictated by political convenience, which meant war more often than peace'.

[146] See p. 46 above; Gotter (1996) 133: '...hoffte Cicero eine dauerhafte Einheit gegen Antonius und des Parole ,,Rache für Caesar'' zu bewirken – und mehr noch: eine gänzliche Abwendung von der caesarianisch-popularen Tradition. Ein Sieg dieser Vorstellungen war das, was er unter ,,echtem Frieden'' verstand'.

[147] Antony and Lepidus were in fact declared *hostes* of the Roman state: Cic. *Fam.* 12.10.

[148] *Concordia: RRC* 494/10-12; *cornucopia*: *RRC* 494/13-15; *cornucopia* with Victory: *RRC* 494/32-33; *caduceus* and *cornucopia*: *RRC* 494/4 (with sceptre), 494/5 (with globe), 494/39 (with rudder and globe): see also appendix I.

[149] *RRC* 498/1, 499/1, 500/1, 501/1, 508/3. The evidence from Cicero's letters suggests that Brutus and Cassius employed the concepts of *concordia* and *libertas* rather than *pax*: Cic. *Fam.* 11.3, 11.13a, see also *Fam* 12.15 (Lentulus to the *SPQR*) for Dolabella's use of the rhetoric of *libertas.*

pax was the promise of the triumvirs for political stability at Rome. The ways in which this was to be achieved were dependent on the political context and the individuals involved in the discourse. The association of *pax* with victory over one's opponents transferred the traditional rhetoric of the term onto the power relations between Roman politicians. The need to maintain certain relations, such as the alliance between Antony and Octavian, led to another development in the use of the term *pax* during the civil wars of the 40s: *pax* itself was not an outcome of victory, but was to be celebrated as a victory in itself.

Section Four

pax as victory

As I have discussed above, the causal relationship between *pax* and victory continued during the 40s. Yet there is also evidence to suggest that pacts, negotiations and reconciliation were treated as a means *to* victory.

Whilst Caesar promoted a desire for peace and reconciliation with Pompey in 49 B.C., his letter to Balbus, in which he talks of his desire to be reconciled, places a strong emphasis on the language of victory:

> *Constitueram ut quam lenissimum me praeberem et Pompeium darem operam ut reconciliarem. Temptemus hoc modo si possimus omnium voluntates recuperare et* ***diuturna victoria*** *uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque* ***victoriam diutius*** *tenere praeter unum L. Sullam, quem imitaturus non sum. Haec* ***nova sit ratio vicendi*** *ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus.*[150]

> I decided that I should show myself as moderate as possible, and that I should work hard to reconcile myself with Pompey. Let us try by this means to see if we can recover the hearts of all and enjoy a **lasting victory**, since the rest have not been able by cruelty to escape hatred nor to hold on to an **enduring victory,** except L. Sulla alone, whom I am not going to imitate.

[150] Cic. *Att.* 9.7c.1.

> Let this be a **new style of conquest** so that we are defended by mercy and generosity.

For Caesar, to be reconciled with Pompey was an opportunity to secure victory, and certainly Caesar's treatment of Pompey's prefects who were sent to treat for peace suggests that Caesar aimed at a position of superiority from which he could dictate the terms of the agreement.[151] Indeed, his treatment of Pompey's envoys suggests a rather different understanding and application of *pax* and negotiation from that which Caesar professed in his *de bello civili.* Caesar redefines the concept of victory, avoiding the image of a Roman victor imposing defeat and destruction on fellow Romans, as Sulla had done.[152] Instead he proposes a victory that allows him to demonstrate his clemency to his opponents.

Certainly, the role of *pax* within victory rhetoric was a fluid one during the 40s, dependent on the position within the state (either held or aimed at) of the individuals using the term. As I highlighted in the previous section, Cicero manipulated the usage and meaning of *pax* in his *Philippics* to justify his arguments for removing Antony from his position within the state.[153] Victory over Antony was, in Cicero's opinion, the only way of securing peace and stability for the *res publica.* Yet *pax* was also used as a justification for claiming victory.

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[151] Balbus sends Cicero two letters of Caesar's: the first (Cic. *Att.* 9.7c) was sent to Cicero on 11th or 12th March 49 B.C., and dates to shortly before this; the second (Cic. *Att.* 9.13a) was sent to Cicero on about 23rd March, and in it Caesar reports on the events of 9th March, i.e. the siege of Brundisium. In the second letter Caesar refers to N. Magius, whom Pompey sent to treat for peace (*misit ad me N. Magium de pace*), whilst in his first letter (*Att.* 9.7c) he tells us that he captured Magius (*deprehendi*), but set him free immediately (*meo instituto usus sum*). Caesar's actions, in capturing a prefect who came in the capacity of a *caduceator* as it were, does not preclude his desire for *pax* or reconciliation, but they suggest that the position from which he wishes to achieve this is as the dominant party, as the victor: *cum in spem venero de compositione aliquid me conficere, statim vos certiores faciam* (Cic. *Att.* 9.13a).

[152] Caesar's rejection of the Sullan model may be a reply to Cicero's concerns, voiced at least to Atticus, of Pompey's desire for Sullan despotism: *genus illud Sullani regni iam pridem appetitur* (Cic. *Att.*8.11.2); *mirandum enim in modum Gnaeus noster Sullani regni similtudinem concupivit* (Cic. *Att.* 9.7.3).

[153] See pp. 41 -48 above.

The importance of *pax* (as a pact) to the concept of the restoration of the political order (*rei publicae constituendae*) is perhaps best illustrated by the celebrations of the pact between Antony and Octavian in 40.[154] The pact established between Octavian and Antony at Brundisium was confirmed and strengthened by the marriage of Antony to Octavian's sister.[155] A quinarius carrying the legend *IIIVIR RPC* with a female bust on the obverse, and two hands clasped around a *caduceus* with the legend *M. ANTONIVS C. CAESAR* on the reverse affirms the pact established between Antony and Octavian (Figure 11).[156] Even more illuminating are the entries in the *Fasti Triumphales.* These are unusual in the context of the continuous history of Roman triumph, yet they testify to the prominence of *pax* in the public discourse of 40 (Figure 1).[157]

In 40 B.C. *pax* as a harmonious pact between Romans was celebrated not only in the ovations at Rome, but also in Virgil's fourth Eclogue, where the poet speaks of the world at peace (*pacatum orbem*), and the harmonious Fates (*concordes Parcae),* emphasising the aspects of civil peace, as opposed to victory celebration.[158]At Casinum, on the Via Latina, the duoviri celebrated the pact by restoring a *signum Concordiae*, along with a pedestal and altar, on 12th October.[159] This last commemoration illustrates how a former monument of Concord was deemed appropriate to revive after Antony and Octavian had come to an agreement. The *pax* Antony and Octavian made was an indication of the civil harmony (*concordia*) achieved. What is perhaps most striking in

[154] Osgood (2006) 191.
[155] Plut. *Ant.* 31; App. *B Civ.* 5.50-66; Dio Cassius 48.30-31.4.
[156] *RRC* 529/4b.
[157] See pp. 17-18 above.
[158] Verg. *Ecl* 4.17 and 4.47 respectively.
[159] *ILS* 3784: *M(arcus) Papius M(arci) f(ilius) L(ucius) Matrius L(uci) f(ilius) / duoviri i(ure) d(icundo) / signum Concordiae ex c(onscriptorum) c(onsulto) restituendum / coeraverunt eidemq(ue) dedicarunt / et basim gradum aram sua pecunia / faciunda coer(averunt) eidemq(ue) probaver(unt) / a(nte) d(iem) IIII Eid(us) Oct(obres) Cn(aeo) Domit(io) C(aio) Asinio co(n)s(ulibus)*; see Osgood (2006) 193; Syme (2002) 217 n. 4.

the commemoration of this year is that whilst *pax* was once again associated with *concordia*, as it had been during the civil wars earlier in the decade, it was now also the cause of victory celebrations.[160] The causal relationship between victory and *pax* had almost been completely overturned.

[160] Dio Cassius 48.31.3: *ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε ἐπί τε ἵππων αὐτους* ***ὥσπερ*** *ἐν ἐπινικίοις τισὶν ἐσαγαγόντες, καὶ τῇ νικητηρίᾳ στολῇ* ***ἐξ ἴσου*** *τοῖς πέμψασιν αὐτὰ κοσμήσαντες.*('then they brought the two leaders into the city mounted on horses **as if** at a triumph, and bestowed upon them the triumphal dress **just as** upon those who celebrated triumphs').

Summary

This chapter has examined the variety of perspectives concerning *pax*, civil stability and victory rhetoric from 50-40 B.C. In the period of unrest leading up to the civil war between Caesar and Pompey there had been a clear concern for a stable internal state, which was usually spoken about in terms of *concordia* and *otium.*[161] Whilst *pax* is certainly part of the discourse of these years, its main function was still associated with external threats and external stability, as it had been in middle and late Republic; Cicero deliberately emphasises the external nature of *pax*, in order to heighten the concern for domestic peace.

The concern for an active pact (*condiciones pacis*) was far more prominent in our written sources from 50 B.C. than a concept of an ongoing state of *concordia.*[162] Both Caesar in his published work (*de bello civili*) and Cicero in his correspondence engage in a discourse on the *condiciones pacis.* However, the ways Cicero and Caesar understood *pax* and interpreted how it was to be accomplished clearly differed. In his letters Cicero repeatedly emphasises his desire for *pax* without, and more importantly, instead of victory.[163] This serves to show that Cicero's concept of *pax* in this civil war is very different from an *externa pax* in foreign war, where victory was an essential component of the process. For Cicero *pax* was to retain its aspect of negotiation, but be free from any victory which would result in tyranny for the defeated. This desire for *pax* was something that Cicero pushed for greatly in his correspondence, although in public he appears to have backed Pompey's policies. Caesar professed a desire for *pax* as

[161] See pp.24-27 above.
[162] Caesar never refers to *concordia* in his *de bello civili,* but refers to *pax* eight times in book 1 (1.11, 1.26, 1.74, 1.85 (x5)), and thirteen times in book 3 (3.10 (x3), 3.17, 3.18, 3.19 (x6), 3.57, 3.90). He also uses *pax* and its cognate verb *pacare* in reference to provinces (1.7, 1.39, 1.85, 3.57, 3.73).
[163] See p. 33. above esp. n. 92.

reconciliation both in his *de bello civili* and his coins, but in his correspondence he showed another understanding of *pax*. For Caesar, reconciliation would result in victory, and certainly from his treatment of Pompey's envoys he was aiming to impose a pact on Pompey from a position of superiority.[164] The fluidity of the meaning of *pax* in the early period of the civil wars is apparent in the varied ways in which both Cicero and Caesar choose to understand and apply the concept. Whilst *pax* was set up as the end goal by both, the ways in which it was to be achieved were dependent on their political agenda.

The representation of the personified quality *Pax* for the first time, on the coinage in 44 B.C., is an indication of the prominence that the concept now held in the public debate concerning political stability. Prior to 44 B.C., the idea of *pax* in external affairs had been symbolised by the *caduceus*, either as an attribute or adjunct in the numismatic field. Now Caesar publicly attested to the presence of *Pax* within the Roman state, accomplished in his ending the civil wars and dealing with Rome's external threats. Yet this promise of security did not last, and clearly certain members of the senate disagreed with Caesar's proclamation of *pax.* In the year following Caesar's assassination *pax* continued to be a prominent feature of the senatorial debate, at least as far as Cicero's *Philippics* are concerned. In a completely different stance from the one he took privately at the start of the decade, Cicero now publicly rejected the idea of *pax*, as a pact, with Antony. Indeed, he used and (re)defined *pax* in order to persuade the senate to remove Antony from power. At the same time, it seems plausible that Antony was using the promise of *pax*, as a pact and negotiation, to try and secure his position within the state.[165] Once again, Cicero's understanding of *pax* is in fact

[164] See p. 51 above.
[165] See p. 44 above.

determined by what he saw as the necessary steps needed to save the *res publica*. In 49 that had been reconciliation between two political opponents; in 44-43 *pax* was not to be achieved as a pact, but through victory over Antony.[166]

The concept that *pax* could be achieved through victory over other Romans was continued by the triumvirs in their fight against Cassius and Brutus, who in turn rejected the concept of *pax* as the symbol of restoring the *res publica*, preferring the concept of *libertas*. Yet the concept of *pax* continued to be a fluid one. The instability of the alliance between Antony and Octavian meant that their reconciliation in 40 was celebrated as a victory, and both were awarded ovations. Osgood has argued that 'peace through diplomatic concord was civil war's equivalent to peace through victory'.[167] Clearly this is true in certain instances, but in others peace was to be accomplished in civil war through victory, as Cicero's *Philippics*, and the triumvirs' defeat of Brutus and Cassius indicate. The idea of associating *pax* with victory in the context of a fellow Roman opponent could now result either from *pax* as a pact, or *pax* achieved through actual victory in civil war.

During the 40s *pax*, whilst always translatable as 'pact' (with or without war),[168] was understood and interpreted in different ways by different political players in order to articulate their relations to, and positions of, power within the state. In the following chapter I will consider the new development of the idea of *pax* without an opponent, seen both in Octavian's victory celebrations after his defeat of Sextus Pompeius in 36, and more extensively after his defeat of Antony, as a prominent part of Octavian's victory rhetoric.

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[166] See p. 48 and n 145 above.
[167] Osgood (2006) 191.
[168] Contained within this concept of a 'pact' is the 'state of peace' achieved through negotiation: see pp. 5-6 above.

Before turning to examine this development in the conceptualisation of *pax*, I will first add a brief commentary on the years between 40 and 36. Specific evidence for the use of *pax* in these years is slight, nevertheless we can gain an insight into the role that *pax* played in the political manoeuvrings of the period.

Despite the great show that was made of the pact established between Antony and Octavian in 40 at Brundisium, and the renewal of their office of triumvirs in 37, the conflict between Antony and Octavian continued. Furthermore, *pax* for the stability of the state did not just concern Antony and Octavian. Although Brutus and Cassius had been removed from the scene, Pompey's son Sextus who had control of Sicily and a fleet at his command presented the triumvirs with another threat to their promoted vision of stability. The triumvirs made a pact with Sextus in 39 at Misenum, but despite the very real hopes that this was to be a lasting peace,[169] by the following year he and Octavian were at war.[170] Disagreement between Antony and Octavian, mainly driven by the need for forces and a fleet with which to fight Sextus, almost brought about further conflict and war between the two triumvirs. Only the meeting at Tarentum in 37, and a renewal of their triumviral power maintained the peace.[171]

The constant renewal of messages of *pax* as a justification of actions in war from 40-37 illustrates the real fragility of the pacts and agreements made during the period, and highlights the fact that stability was not achieved. Osgood has noted that Appian ends his commentary of the civil wars with the death of Sextus Pompeius, instead of the battle of Actium, as he had originally outlined in his introduction.[172] He has pointed to a similarity between Appian's division between civil and external wars and that of contemporary literature from the period, where associations of peace

[169] My thanks to Kathryn Welch for discussing this with me.
[170] Pelling (1996) 21-24.
[171] Pelling (1996) 24-27; Scullard (1982) 162-163.
[172] App. *B Civ.* intro. 6.

through victory replaced the fears and concerns of civil wars.[173] Octavian's commemoration of his Sicilian campaign against Sextus does not, as I will discuss below, linger on civil war.

[173] Osgood (2006) 347-348.

Chapter Two

pax won by land and sea: concluding the civil wars

Octavian's defeat of Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus in 36 B.C. was celebrated by an ovation over Sicily rather than Sextus himself,[174] and the erection of a *columna rostrata* in the Roman Forum to commemorate his naval success (Figure 12).[175] Appian records that the column was accompanied by an inscription which read: *τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν.*[176] In this instance *εἰρήνη*, which must surely be a translation of *pax*, cannot retain the sense of a pact as there is no opponent. It is best to translate here the concept of 'peace' as a state of being (as both absence of war and security of the empire). Octavian was able to celebrate the achievement of *pax* without even the need to refer to an opponent or contractual partner.[177]

Tacitus cynically tied the *pax* achieved after the battle of Actium to Octavian's position as sole leader of the Roman state: *postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit*.[178] Indeed, the *pax* celebrated in 29 B.C., like that of 36 B.C., was, in certain respects, different from *pax* during the civil wars of the 40s. As discussed in the previous chapter, *pax* during the civil wars of the

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[174] *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.87 and 343. See Pelling (1996) *CAH* X^2 34-36 for the conflict between Octavian and Sextus.

[175] The first naval victory column was erected in the forum to Duilius, for his victory over the Carthaginian navy. See pp.76-83 below for a full discussion of rostral victory display at Rome.

[176] App. *B Civ.* 5.130: 'he restored the peace which was for a long time in disarray, by land and sea'.

[177] The historical and physical context of Octavian's *columna rostrata* is discussed in detail in relation the celebrations of 29 B.C.: see pp. 77-82 below.

[178] Tac. *Hist.* 1.1: 'It was important for peace, after the battle of Actium, that all power was conferred on one man'.

late Republic was interpreted and understood in a variety of ways, and was a part of the rhetoric that existed concerning the security of the state and the positions of the leading politicians within it. Whilst the concept of *pax* continued to be a part of this rhetoric, in 36 and 29 B.C. it was not made with anyone, but was celebrated as a condition of empire. Octavian as sole ruler of the empire (after his defeat of Antony) could celebrate *pax* without an opponent to make a pact with. However, he still had to tread the thin line between the language of civil and foreign war.

There was a friction between the conflicts of 31-30 B.C. as a war between Octavian and Cleopatra on the one hand, and as a war between Octavian and Antony on the other.[179] This double aspect of the war was to affect the ways in which victory rhetoric during the period was employed. The war, as conceptualised between Octavian and the Queen of Egypt, was an achievement of Roman victory over an external enemy; the conflict between Octavian and Antony was a matter of an internal power struggle, which had been temporarily resolved in 40 B.C. with a declaration and celebration of a pact between the two men. Lange argues that the peace established after the battles of Actium and Alexandria should be understood as a form of civil harmony,[180] yet the victory commemorations after the final civil wars of the late Republic merge ideas of civil and foreign war, and once again our understanding of the concept of *pax* is dependent on the context of the celebration.

A near contemporary poem of Propertius lists the achievements of Octavian, intermingling civil and foreign wars:

bellaque resque tui memorarem Caesaris, et tu

[179] Lange (2009) Chapter 2 and p. 79ff, esp. 85 on the perception of the Actian and Alexandrian battles as both civil and foreign wars; *contra* Gurval (1995) 15-16, 28 on Augustus' perception of Actium.
[180] Lange (2009) 131, 191.

Caesare sub magno cura secunda fores.

nam quotiens Mutinam aut civilia busta Philippos

aut canerem Siculae classica bella fugae,

eversosque focos antiquae gentis Etruscae,

et Ptolomaeei litora capta Phari,

aut canerem Aegyptum et Nilum, cum attractus in urbem

septem captivis debilis ibat aquis,

aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis,

Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via;

te mea Musa illis semper contexeret armis,

et sumpta et posita pace fidele caput: [181]

I would recall the wars and deeds of your Caesar, and you [Maecenas] would be my second concern after great Caesar. For how many times I would sing of Mutina or Philippi, the civic sepulchre, or the naval battles of the Sicilian rout, and the ruined fires of the ancient Etruscan race, and the captured shores of Ptolemaic Pharos, or I would sing of Egypt and the Nile, when dragged into the city he went weeping with his seven captive streams, or the necks of kings hung round with gold chains, and the Actian prows on the *Sacra via.* My Muse would always weave you into those wars, your mind loyal in commending as in rejecting a pact.

Propertius divides the wars up into three sets, separated by *aut...aut....* The first wars Propertius mentions are clearly understood as civil wars (*quotiens Mutinam aut* ***civilia***

[181] Prop. 2.1.25-34. See Camps (1997) 1 for the dating of Elegies Book 2 to the period 28-25 B.C.

busta Philippos). He is subtler in his allusions to the civil wars with Sextus (*Siculae fugae*) and the destruction of Perusia (*gentis Etruscae*), and groups them together with the conquest of Egypt (*Ptolomaeei Phari*). The final set refers again to the conquest of Egypt and the battle of Actium, but these are represented as the triumphal displays at Rome, rather than the harsh realities of the actual wars.[182] Propertius presents a spectrum of civil and foreign wars, all of which are associated with the making and rejecting of *pax.* His reference to the *sumpta et posita pax*[183] suggests that *pax,* as a pact, was a constantly fluctuating state of being during these wars. This practical application of *pax* during these wars is furthermore reflected in the victory rhetoric of the period: I will argue below that there were times when the use of *pax* was considered appropriate and necessary, and times when it was not. This chapter will show that the use of *pax* in the commemorations of 29 B.C. was selective. The absence of *pax* as much as its presentation in this period informs us about the use of the concept to express ideas of political stability, individuals' positions with the state, and the idea of empire.

This chapter considers the effects of the civil wars of the late 30s on the ways in which victory rhetoric was used by different agents, and argues that *pax*, as victory, was used selectively by Octavian to articulate his victory and authority, whilst blurring the lines between civil and foreign war, since *pax* was celebrated without the need for an opponent. *pax* appears as only a secondary concern to the senate in their celebrations at Rome, perhaps because of the use made of the term previously in respect of domestic politics. It is almost entirely absent in the victory commemoration set up by Octavian's prefect in Egypt.

[182] Butler and A. (1933) 188-190; Camps (1997) 69-70.
[183] Camps (1997) 70, on the coining of the phrase from that of *sumere arma.*

I will first briefly outline the events of the years 36-31 B.C., before turning to examine in section one the victory celebrations set up at Rome by both the senate and Octavian. I will show that whilst the display at Rome was set up ostensibly in celebration of victory over external enemies and threats to the state, the commemorations also involved subtle allusions to Octavian's defeat of Antony and his position over him within the state. *pax* is not explicitly present in the victory displays at Rome, except in the act of closing the Gates of Ianus, which symbolised the establishment of *pax* and was associated with the defeat of foreign enemies and the cessation of all wars rather than the kind of *pax* established between Octavian and Antony in 40 B.C.[184]

In section two I will consider Octavian's victory commemoration above Nicopolis. The monument presents a very explicit message of *pax* won by land and sea, set over the Greek East, which found itself newly under Octavian's control. The display at Nicopolis is reminiscent of Octavian's victory monument set up in 36 B.C. (the *columna rostrata*). Both monuments use the concept of *pax* to commemorate a victory in civil war, yet by imposing this message on Nicopolis in Epirus, as opposed to the Roman Forum, where the display of 36 B.C. was set up, Octavian's message is not just of *pax* for Rome, but of *pax* as a victory for the empire.

Finally I will examine the trilingual inscription of C. Cornelius Gallus from Philae, in Egypt, which demonstrates that whilst Octavian was propagating his message of *pax terra marique*, his prefect and the priests of Philae were not required to impose such a motif on his presentation of victory to the different audiences of his monument at the first Cataract of the Nile. It seems that in 29 B.C. the celebration of *pax terra*

[184] Dio Cass. 51.20.4-5; Livy 1.19.2. See pp. 88-92 below for a full discussion of the closing of the Gates of Ianus.

marique was the preserve of Octavian and he was selective with where he chose to commemorate this. After his victories in both a foreign and civil war, he established the idea of victorious *pax* as an emblem of his position in the new political system that was emerging.

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I now turn to examine briefly the years between 36 and 31 B.C. The evidence does not provide us with a very full picture on the use of *pax* during these years, but as before we can gain insight into the political manoeuvrings of the period and the role of *pax* therein.

With the defeat of Sextus at Naulochus Octavian had effectively ended the civil war,[185] yet the power struggle between him and Antony continued.[186] Whilst Antony was campaigning unsuccessfully in the East against Parthia, Octavian still needed to maintain his power base in the West, which rested predominantly with his army, now forty-five legions strong. However, his commemoration of his Sicilian victory as the end of civil war left him potentially vulnerable to demands from his soldiers for retirement. The need to retain an army for potential or future engagement with Antony necessitated a campaign with which to occupy them. In Appian's presentation of events, Octavian uses an implied threat from the Illyrians to the peace which had been established in the wake of the civil war:

[185] App. *B Civ.* 5.128, 132.
[186] See Pelling (1996) 36-67 for a narrative of events from the defeat of Sextus down to the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra.

καὶ ἄξειν νῦν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμφύλια ἔτι, πεπαυμένα σὺν τύχῃ χρηστῇ, ἐπὶ δ' Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη βάρβαρα, σαλεύοντα τὴν μόλις κτηθεῖσαν εἰρήνην.[187]

He said, also, that he would not engage them in any more civil wars, which had fortunately come to an end, but in war against the Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were disturbing the peace which had been gained with so much difficulty.

The focus in these years was ostensibly on foreign campaigns, with a series of triumphs held by both Octavian's and Antony's men.[188] Both leaders were commanding their armies against external threats to the Roman state, Octavian with greater success than Antony: in 34 B.C. he retrieved the standards lost to the Dalmatians, and set them up at Rome in 33 B.C.[189]

Whilst external threats to the state were emphasised, the political divide between the two men continued; their triumviral power was not renewed in 33 B.C. and could hardly remain tenable with civil war ostensibly ended and *pax* re-established. The breakdown finally came in 32 B.C. when, after an attack by the Antonian consul Sosius, Octavian entered a senate meeting with an armed guard. The consuls and a large number of the senate fled to Antony, leaving Italy in Octavian's hands. In the conflict that followed Octavian presented himself as the defender of Italy, receiving a personal oath of allegiance from all of Italy and the western provinces.[190] Antony on the other hand had much of the senate on his side. Both could claim to be fighting for the *res*

[187] App. *B Civ.* 5.128.
[188] Pelling (1996) 46-48.
[189] See pp. 71-73 below for a discussion of Octavian's Dalmatian triumph and the return of the standards.
[190] *RG* 25.2.

publica. The stability of the Roman state was to be achieved through the victory of one Roman leader over the other. It was indeed not only important but also necessary for *pax* and stability that one man rule.[191]

[191] Tac. *Hist.* 1.1.

Section One

The Senate's and Octavian's Commemorations at Rome

In 31/30 B.C. a series of commemorations were voted by the senate to Octavian upon the news of his victories at both Actium and Alexandria, as recorded by Dio. It is worthwhile giving Dio's account in full, since it outlines not only the honours voted to Octavian, but sets them alongside the removal of Antony from the public displays in the city of Rome:

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον συχνὰ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ναυμαχαίας νίκῃ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο. τά τε γὰρ νικητήρια αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ ἁψῖδα τροπαιοφόρον ἔν τε τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ἀγορᾷ ἔδωκαν· τήν τε κρηπῖδα τοῦ Ἰουλιείου ἡρῴου τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων νεῶν ἐμβόλοις κοσμηθῆναι, καὶ πανήγυρίν οἱ πεντετηρίδα ἄγεσθαι, ἔν τε τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀγγελίας τῆς νίκης ἡμέρᾳ ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιόντι αὐτῷ τάς τε ἱερείας τὰς ἀειπαρθένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τόν τε δῆμον μετά τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπαντῆσαι ἔγνωσαν.…τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην ἐκείνῳ τε ταῦτ' εψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κοσμήματα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλον τὰ δ' ἀπήλειψαν, τήν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐγεγέννητο μιαρὰν ἐνόμισαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου πρόσημα ἀπεῖπον μηδενὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι.

ὡς μέντοι καὶ τεθνεῶτα αὐτὸν ἐπύθοντο (ἠγγέλθη δὲ τοῦτο Κικέρωνος τοῦ Κικέρωνος παιδὸς ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπατεύοντος), τοῦτό τέ τινες ‹ὡς› οὐκ ἀθεεὶ δὴ συμβὰν ἐλάμβανον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὅτι μάλιστ'

ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ προσεψηφίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ἱερομηνίας πολλάς, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερα ἐπινίκια ὡς καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀγαγεῖν ἔδοσαν· τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ νικηθέντας οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε τότε, ὡς καὶ ἑορτάζειν σφᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δέον, ὠνόμασαν. τήν τε ἡμεραν ἐν ᾗ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἑαλω, ἀγαθήν τε εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔπειτα ἔτη ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν νομίζεσθαι.[192]

During this time and still earlier the Romans at home had passed many resolutions in honour of Caesar's naval victory. Thus they granted him a triumph over Cleopatra, an arch adorned with trophies at Brundisium and another in the Roman Forum. Moreover, they decreed that the foundation of the shrine of Julius should be adorned with the beaks of the captured ships and that a festival should be held every four years in honour of Octavian; that there should also be a thanksgiving on his birthday and on the anniversary of the announcement of his victory; also that when he should enter the city the Vestal Virgins and the senate and the people with their wives and children should go out to meet him.... At the beginning, then, the senate not only voted him these honours but also either took down or effaced the memorials of Antony, declared the day on which he had been born accursed, and forbade the use of the *praenomen* Marcus by any of his kin.

When, however, they learned of Antony's death, the news of which came while Cicero, the son of Cicero, was consul for a part of the year, some held that it had come to pass not without divine direction, since the

[192] Dio Cass. 51.19.1-3, 5-6.

> consul's father had owed his death chiefly to Antony; and they voted crowns and thanksgiving to Caesar in great number and granted him the privilege of celebrating another triumph, this time over the Egyptians. For neither on the previous occasion nor at this time did they mention by name Antony and the other Romans who had been vanquished with him and thus imply that it was proper to celebrate their defeat. The day on which Alexandria had been captured they declared a lucky day, and directed that in future years it should be taken by the inhabitants of that city as the starting-point in their reckoning of time.

Dio's account highlights that in one respect the honours illustrate the traditional display of victory over an enemy (Cleopatra and Egypt), whilst the civil war aspect of the commemoration is left unmentioned (*οὔτε ὠνόμασαν*).[193] However, Dio also indicates that there was a deliberate effort by the senate to remove Antony's monuments and also to delete his birthday and name from the records. These acts, whilst claiming to remove Antony from memory, left behind physical marks of his hostility towards the *res publica*.[194] These two different aspects (the glorification of Octavian and the *damnatio memoriae* of Antony) are apparent in several of the *Fasti* records. 1st August is celebrated as a day for *Spes*, because Octavian freed the *res publica* from the most bitter danger (*tristissimum periculum*), [195] whilst Antony's birthday, 14th January, is

[193] Reminiscent of the victory rhetoric in 36 B.C.: Appian *B Civ.* 5.130; Dio Cass. 49.15.

[194] For the defacement of Antony's monuments see the discussion of the *Rostra* in the Forum Romanum, pp. 81-82 below. For the deletion of Antony's name and birthday from the records see *EJ*^{2} 45, January 14.

[195] *EJ*^{2} 49, August 1, *Fasti anni Praenestini: [Aegypt]us in potestatem po[puli Romani redacta]. Victoriae Virgini in Palatino. Spei in foro holitorio. Fer. [ex s.c.] q. e. d. Imp. Caes[ar rem publicam tristissimo periculo liberavit]; acta Arvalium: [Spei] in foro holit. f. ex s.c. [q. e. d. Imp. Caesar rem pu]blic. tristiss. periculo [libera]vit., Fasti anni Amiternini: feriae ex s.c. q. e. d. Imp. Caesar divi f. rem public. tristissimo periculo liberat, Fasti anni Antiates: Spei. Aug. Alexan(driam) recepit;* see also Dio Cass. 51.19.6.

condemned: *vitiosus*.[196] The victory commemoration at Rome in 29 B.C. comprised both the honours to Octavian and the highly visible removal of Antony. By removing Antony the ostensible message of civil war was one of silence; yet such a physical deletion also allowed the senate and Octavian to play on the competition between Octavian and Antony. Octavian was to be seen and understood not only as the victor in a foreign war for the safety of the state, but also as victor in his struggle with Antony for control of the state.

In this section I will first examine the honours voted to Octavian by the senate – the triple triumph and the rostral display in the Forum – alongside a display attributed to Octavian alone – the Tarentine Victory – and discuss the role and agenda of both the senate and Octavian within these displays. I will examine what these displays were intended to achieve in order to understand how the *pax* was conceptualised, if at all, in relation to the civil and foreign aspects of the wars. Indeed, explicit references to *pax* are for the most part absent in these displays, suggesting perhaps a difficulty in expressing or employing *pax* as a central aspect of victory commemoration in what was in many respects a civil war.

I will then turn to consider the closing of the Gates of Ianus, as the one commemoration at Rome that specifically relates to the concept of *pax*. The notion of *pax* is not overtly prominent in the celebrations of 29 B.C. at Rome, at least in the senatorial rhetoric, which focuses on the victory over external enemies and the cessation of war – a Republican *pax* as it were. Octavian promoted himself as the triumvir who had achieved the remit of his office, alluding to his success over that of Antony. The closing of the Gates of Ianus in 29 B.C. did not speak of any peace or agreement made between Roman factions, but rather it indicated the victory and

[196] *EJ*[2] 45, February 14, *Fasti Verulani: [dies vi]tiosus [ex s.]c. An(tonii) natal.; Fasti Oppiani: vitiosus.*

dominance of Rome, through the figurehead of Octavian, over external threats. Civil harmony was achieved, but it was understood in terms of the stability of the empire.

Triple Triumph

On 13th, 14th and 15th August 29 B.C., Octavian celebrated three triumphs over Dalmatia, Actium and Alexandria.[197] I will examine the celebration of the three triumphs to show that the ephemeral displays of these spectacles focused on the foreign aspect of the victory, and that the civil nature of the victory does appear to have been for the most part avoided.

The first triumph on 13th August was that over Dalmatia,[198] which can only be understood in terms of a foreign war. The victory over Dalmatia was actually achieved in 34 B.C.,[199] when Octavian retrieved the captured Roman military standards. These standards were captured after the defeat of Gabinius and his fifteen cohorts in 48 B.C. by the Illyrians,[200] and possibly also after the defeat of Baebius and his five cohorts in 44 B.C.[201] The triumph was deferred: most probably because given the unstable situation with Antony, Octavian was busy on other campaigns to fortify his position in the West.[202] The victory was celebrated with more permanent displays in the *Porticus*

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[197] Suet. *Aug.* 22: *curulis triumphos tris egit, Delmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes;* Dio Cass. 51.21.5-7; Livy *Per.* 133: *unum ex Illyrico, alternum ex Actiaca victoria, tertium de Cleopatra. RGDA* 4.1: *tris egi curulis triumphos; Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.343 (*Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani*)*: Imp. Caesar de Dalma[t]is eid. Sext. / triumph(avit), palmam dedit / Imp. Caesar ex A[egy]pto XIIX k. Sept. / triump<h>avit.*

[198] Dio Cass. 51.21.5; Suet. *Aug.* 22; *Fasti Triumphales Baberiniani (Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.341-343). Livy *Per.* 133 refers to the triumph as *ex Illyrico.*

[199] Dio Cass. 49.38.1 places the victory in 34 B.C. (consulship of Antony and L. Scribonius Libo); App. *Ill.* 28 dates it to 33 B.C. (consulship of Octavian and L. Volcatius Tullus). The *Fasti Venusini* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.255) has an entry for 34 B.C. of a *bellum Hiluricum*; the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.343) also used *Hilurico* instead of *Illurico,* which is recorded in the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini,* for Vatinius' triumph of 42 B.C.: Bastien (2007) 51, 55 and 58.

[200] App. *Ill.* 12 states that the Illyrians killed virtually all fifteen of Gabinius' cohorts however, in *Ill.* 25 and *Ill*. 28 he refers to five cohorts of Gabinius.

[201] App. *Ill.* 13.

[202] Gurval (1995) 26 on the deferral of the triumph.

Octaviae of the standards and spoils of the war set up in 33 B.C.[203] This earlier display alluded to the political tensions between Octavian and Antony.

The capture of the standards in Dalmatia in 48 B.C. is reminiscent of the terrible defeat suffered by Crassus in 53 B.C. at the hands of the Parthians.[204] Antony's legions suffered further defeats in Parthia in 40 and 36 B.C., for which Antony was attempting to exact revenge on Parthia in 34 B.C.[205] Octavian's display of victory set up in the *Porticus Octaviae* in 33 B.C. served to emphasise his success over an enemy who had posed a threat to the *res publica*; in the same year Antony was still in the East, reporting success,[206] although with little actual proof.[207] Dio claims that Octavian had found out the truth behind Antony's dispatch reports, but did not reveal anything to the public.[208] However, such a display of Octavian's own success, coupled with the absence of Antony, no doubt helped to promote Octavian over and above his political rival. This subtle allusion to Octavian's success in comparison to Antony's would again arise in 29 B.C: that year began not just with the ratification of Octavian's acts, but also with the inclusion of his name in hymns because of his negotiations with the Parthians.[209] In this respect, Octavian had achieved what Antony could not: a form of *pax* with the Parthians, and again proved his credentials over Antony in terms of preserving the *res publica*.[210]

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[203] Dio Cass. 49.43.8.
[204] Dio Cass. 40.16.30.
[205] Dio Cass. 49.22.1-33 esp. 25.5. Lange (2009) 52 on the campaigns of Octavian and Antony from 37 to 33 B.C.
[206] Dio Cass. 49.32.1.
[207] Success had come previously in 38 B.C. when Antony's general Ventidius celebrated a triumph over Parthia: *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini: Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.87.
[208] Dio. Cass. 49.32.2.
[209] Dio Cass. 51.20.1.
[210] Lange (2009) *passim,* esp. 14-48, 181-190, 191-202 for Octavian's fulfilment of his triumviral assignment: *res publica constituenda.*

The celebrations of 33 B.C. emphasised Octavian's success, and alluded to the absence of any such display by Antony. Yet, whilst the returned standards were most likely carried in the procession on 13th August, the allusions that their original display in the *Porticus Octaviae* created would have been mostly lost amidst the display of captives and hostages. The first day of the triumph in 29 B.C. was a show of the defeated nations emphasising Octavian's victories in external conflicts.[211]

The choice to celebrate the Dalmatian triumph together with the Actian and Alexandrian triumphs does not solely represent the chronology of the victories of Octavian from 34-30 B.C. The victory of 34 B.C., from a period when Octavian and Antony were not openly in contention, had no explicit reference to the civil wars and could therefore set the precedent for the days to follow: the illusion of solely 'foreign' enemies could be maintained.[212] All three triumphs set out a message of victory presented as achieved in *bella externa*, echoing the *ovatio* Octavian had received in 36 B.C. which was awarded *ex Sicilia*.[213] This is in sharp contrast to the ovations of Octavian and Antony in 40 B.C., which unprecedentedly commemorated the compact of *pax* between the triumvirs.

Furthermore, the triumph emphasised Octavian's conquest *terra marique.*[214] Pompey had of course triumphed over the *orbis terrarum* in 61 B.C., parading amongst his many trophies a colossal representation of *oikumene*.[215] Caesar had also presented,

[211] Dio Cass. 51.21. Gurval (1995) 25-28 on the martial aspects of the 'Illyrian' triumph.
[212] Dio Cass. 51.21.4: *ὡς καὶ ἀλλοφύλλων ἁπάντων τῶν ἡττηθέντων ὄντων* ('as if the defeated had all been foreigners'). See Östenberg (2009a) 130-1, 142-144, 145-148 for the display of foreign hostages in the triumph.
[213] The fact that the victory in 36 B.C. was a result of civil war is alluded to in the voting of an ovation rather than a triumph: Cooley (2009) 121.
[214] Östenberg (2009a) 223, 231, 234-5, 287-289 for the representations of foreign lands, rivers and the conquest of the world.
[215] Dio Cass. 37.21.2; Östenberg (2009a) 284-286.

over five triumphs in 46-45 B.C., the vast extent of his conquests over the world.[216] The display of Octavian's triple triumph depicted victories over both land, through the parade and representation of conquered peoples and foreign rivers,[217] and sea, through the ships and bronze prows from Actium.[218] By presenting his triumphs as being over the *orbis terrarum*, Octavian avoided the issue of civil war, whilst promoting his position as the first man of the state.

Not only were the triumphs organised chronologically, and with a precedent-setting first day, they also culminated with a show-stopper. According to Dio, the final day (15th August) was the pinnacle of the display: *πολυτελεστάτη δ' οὖν καὶ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτη αὕτη ἡ Αἰγυπτία.*[219] The show of wealth from Egypt placed the emphasis on foreign conquest with an effigy of Cleopatra carried in the triumph, which stood as a symbol of foreign power against which Octavian had triumphed. Furthermore the display of Egypt's wealth also asserted Octavian's legitimacy for command, after the crisis he faced with settling veterans in 30 B.C., by showing the injection of capital the state had received.[220]

We should note that more permanent memorials of the triple triumph hint at the concerns of the civil war aspects of the victories of 31-30 B.C. The *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* preserve the entry for 29 B.C.:

> *Imp. Caesar de Dalma[t]is eid. Sext. / triumph(avit), palmam dedit.*
>
> *Imp. Caesar ex A[egy]pto XIIX k. Sept. / triump<h>avit.*[221]

[216] Östenberg (2009a) 287.
[217] Verg. *Aen.* 8.714-28.
[218] Prop. 2.1.31-34.
[219] Dio Cass. 51.21.7.
[220] Suet. *Aug.* 41.1; Cooley (2009) 175.
[221] *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.343; Bastien (2007) 55.

Imperator Caesar triumphed over the Dalmatians on 13th August, he dedicated his (victory) palm.

Imperator Caesar triumphed over Egypt 15th August.

There is no entry for the Actian triumph. One suggestion has been simply that the stone-carver missed out the Actian triumph due to carelessness and the triple repetition of *Imp. Caesar*.[222] Certainly, the carving of the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* is far less regular and polished than its Capitoline counterpart. The letter sizes across the fragments we have vary considerably from entry to entry (Figure 13).[223] Even within the two entries cited above we can observe the lack of uniformity in presentation: in the first entry *triumphavit* is abbreviated to allow *palmam dedit* to fit at the end of the line, whilst in the second entry *triump<h>avit* is given in full, but the carver has missed out the *h* and there is no *palmam dedit.*

Another suggestion has been that the Actian and Egyptian triumphs have been elided into one.[224] It is possible that the two celebrations were understood as a two-fold display of Octavian's victories over Cleopatra (at least as the formal enemy). The nature of the Actian triumph was to celebrate a specific naval battle, which was to be presented as a triumph over Cleopatra (*ὡς καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας*)[225], whilst the final day was to celebrate the subjugation of the whole of Egypt, wherein Cleopatra's role was both as the enemy leader and as the embodiment of the foreign power of the Egyptian kingdom.[226] The triumph over Egypt was certainly easier to conceptualise as a 'foreign' victory, than the single battle at Actium. If the author of the *Fasti Triumphales*

[222] *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.343; Gurval (1995) 32.
[223] Bastien (2007) 55; Gurval (1995) 55 n.23.
[224] Gurval (1995) 32.
[225] Dio Cass. 51.19.1.
[226] Dio. Cass. 51.21.7-8. Livy *Per.* 133 has the third triumph as specifically *de Cleopatra,* as opposed to Egypt (Dio; *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani*) or Alexandria (Suet. *Aug*. 41.1).

Barberiniani was deliberately silent on the Actian triumph it may reflect an implicit association of the two triumphs as being over Cleopatra, and therefore Egypt,[227] or as Mary Beard has suggested it may illustrate the removal of the battle with the greatest association of civil war from the records.[228] Beard has pointed out that the lack of *palmam dedit* in the entry for the Egyptian triumph may suggest that Octavian did not 'dedicate his victory palm' on that occasion.[229] There is certainly room on the stone for *palmam dedit* to be inscribed. However, whilst it is tempting to associate the lack of palm with the potential 'cover-up' of the civil war battle of Actium, we should note that the *palmam dedit* is recorded for Octavian's ovation *ex Sicilia*, which was in fact a civil conflict with Sextus Pompeius. Furthermore, it would be strange, although we cannot preclude it, if Octavian did not dedicate his victory palm for the victory over Egypt. If the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* leave us uncertain as to their intended presentation of the triumphs of 29 B.C., they do at least hint at the issues that may have been encountered in the creation of permanent records concerned with the victories of civil war.

Indeed, it is with the permanent monumental displays set up at Rome that Octavian and the senate could subtly allude to Octavian's victories in civil war, as well as foreign conflicts. The tangible presence of the Actian prows in the Forum Romanum, voted by the senate in 30 B.C., not only created a permanent reminder of the Actian victory, which long outlasted the display of 14th August 29 B.C., but also alluded to Octavian's competition with Antony.

[227] Gurval (1995) 33.
[228] Beard (2007) 303-304.
[229] Beard (2007) 303, n. 32, and 304, fig. 37; she also points out that there is uncertainty as to whether this omission was deliberate or a mistake.

Actia rostra

In 36 B.C. Octavian had set up the prows from his Sicilian victory on a column in the Roman Forum, accompanied by an inscription which celebrated the restoration of *pax* by land and sea.[230] In 29 B.C. ship prows, set up on the podium of the temple of Divus Iulius (*τήν τε κρηπῖδα τοῦ Ἰουλιείου ἡρῷου τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων νεῶν ἐμβόλοις κοσμηθῆναι*)[231], were also a prominent part of the senate's honours to Octavian. However they do not appear to express a clear message of *pax* as the earlier display had done. I will first consider the role of rostral display in the Forum prior to the Actian display in order to understand the tradition within which the honour decreed by the senate was intended to work and to show that the victory of Actium was understood as part of Rome's historical naval achievements. I will then look at the actual placement of the prows from Actium and consider how they relate to both the historical precedents and the overall visual landscape of the Forum. The display of the Actian prows in the Forum tacitly emphasised Octavian's victory over Antony, through a dialogue that was set up between the Rostra at the west end of the Forum and the new display on the podium of the temple of Divus Iulius, and so pronouncing Octavian's complete military and political control.

The earlier display of naval victory *ex Sicilia* (Figure 12)[232] was not new nor did it stand alone in the Forum.[233] Livy records the first dedication of *rostra* in the Roman Forum in 338 B.C., for the naval victory over Antium, and states that the speaker's platform (*suggestus*) received the name 'Rostra' on this occasion: *rostrisque earum*

[230] See p. 59 above.
[231] Dio Cass. 51.19.2: 'Moreover, they decreed that the foundation of the shrine of Julius should be adorned with the beaks of the captured ships'.
[232] See p. 59 above.
[233] Rostral displays were not confined to the Forum Romanum: Cic. *Phil.* 2.68 records the *rostra* displayed in Pompey's vestibule. Such a display is mimicked by Petronius' Trimalchio, *Sat.* 2.30.1-2., see also Prag (2006) 542-543.

suggestum in foro exstructum adornari placuit.[234] However, the most famous rostral display in the Forum, prior to the flurry of activity from 44 B.C. onwards, was the renowned *columna rostrata* of C. Duilius.

The inscription of this monument commemorates Duilius' naval victory over Carthage in 260 B.C., listing the amount and quantity of spoils he brought back to Rome.[235] The remains of the inscription were found in the Forum in 1565 at the foot of the Capitoline hill in the location of the extant Speakers' platform (the Rostra) at the west end of the Forum (Figure 14).[236] The *elogium* of Duilius from the Forum Augustum states that a column with a statue of Duilius on top was erected *pr[ope a]ream Vulc[ani*], which stood at the foot of the Capitol.[237] The relocation of the Speakers' platform in 44 B.C. to the west end of the Forum, away from the Comitium, meant that the column of Duilius stood in closer relation to the platform after this date.[238] However, the epigraphic remains are an Augustan restoration (made in Cararra marble) of the third century monument.[239]

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[234] Livy 8.14.12: 'It was decided to adorn the speakers' platform, built in the forum, with their prows'. See also Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5.155: *ex hostibus capta fixa sunt rostra;* Flor. 1.5: *in suggestu fori capta hostium classe suffixit.*

[235] Kondratieff (2004) remarks on both the triumphal and beneficial nature of Duilius' inscription.

[236] *ILS* 65; Serv. *Georg.* 3.29 records one of Duilius' columns as *in rostris*; Plin. *HN* 34.20 and Quintillian 1.7.12 record the column as *in foro;* Picard (1957) 137-140, esp. 138. For the location of the Rostra near the Curia Iulia after 44 B.C. see: Asc. *Mil.* 12; Diod. Sic. 12.26; Plin. *HN* 7.212.

[237] *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 3.13: *[---] | navis oc[toginta et Macellam] | [oppidum c]epit. pri[m]us d[e Poeneis n]aval[em | trium] | [phum egit. h]uic per[mis]sum est u[t ab e]pulis domum | [cum tibici]ne e[t f]unali rediret. [ei s]tatua c[um] | [columna] pr[ope a]ream Vulc[ani p]os[i]t[a est.] | [aedem apud foru]m ho[litorium ex spoliis Iano fecit.]* Kondratieff (2004) 8-9 on this location, which overlooked the Rostra, Comitium, Curia and the *Sacra via.*

[238] Kondratieff (2004) n. 31 points out that Servius' identification *in rostris* must be a result of the removal of the Rostra from the Comitium to its Caesarian location at the west end of the Forum. See pp. 81- 82 below for the relocation of the Rostra.

[239] For an Augustan date see Solin (1981) 113; Bleckmann (2002) 119-121; see also Chioffi (1993); Shelmeyer (2002) 221.

The Augustan date for the restoration of the Duilius monument indicates an interest and concern on Octavian's part to maintain the monument of Duilius.[240] Shelmeyer has suggested that Octavian set up a second column commemorating Duilius' naval victory at the time of his restoration of the first.[241] Whilst Shelmeyer's suggestion on the second column must remain speculation, it is certainly tempting to see Octavian's restoration of Duilius' monument *in rostris* in relation to his own *columna rostrata* display of 36 B.C., particularly as Duilius' victory was *de Sicul(eis) et classe Poenica*, and Octavian's ovation of 36 B.C. was *ex Sicilia*.[242] Of course, the date of the Augustan restoration is problematic. Augustus certainly carried out restoration work to the Speakers' platform at the west end of the Forum, and his restoration of the Duilius monument may be connected to this event, rather than his erection of his own *columna rostrata*. Duilius' original monument may still have been intact in 36 B.C., and the restoration only a result of the fire of 14 or 9 B.C.,[243] which was when the Forum was repaved.[244] We may conclude from this that if the restoration occurred after 36 B.C., the desire to emphasise the correlation between the two *columna rostrata* clearly remained, even after the Augustan restoration of the Speakers' platform.[245] It is necessary to point out here that the location of Octavian's *columna rostrata* is unknown, although it seems highly plausible that it too stood in relation to the platform

[240] The presence of Duilius' *elogium* in the Forum Augustum is not surprising given his position as the first naval *triumphator* (*C. Duilius M. f. M. n. Cos primus an. CDXCIII / navalem de Sicul(eis) et classe Poenica egit*), but it does indicate his relevance to Augustus' programme: see chapter three, pp. 200-201.

[241] Shelmeyer (2002) 221. This is based on the testimony of Servius, who refers to two columns of Duilius, one on the Rostra, and the other in the entranceway of the Circus (Servius *Georg.* 3.29: '*e quibus unam in rostris, alteram ante circum videmus a parte ianuarum').* Indeed, the *elogium* appears to mention only one column, which may indicate that the second mentioned by Servius was not original.

[242] Roller (2009) 221-222 on the *columna rostrata* of Duilius as a model for that of Octavian.

[243] 14 B.C.: Dio Cass. 54.24.2; 9 B.C.: Dio Cass. 55.8.5.

[244] Coarelli (1985) 252-255 argues that the repaving of the Forum occurred after the Augustan rebuilding of the Rostra, which he places between 29-14/9 B.C. However, Giuliani and Verduchi (1987) 47 argue that the Rostra and the pavement were built at the same time, and date this restoration to after the fire of 14 B.C.

[245] See n. 253 below.

at the west end of the Forum, since this was the traditional place for the dedication and display of monuments to men who had served the *res publica*.[246] Thus it seems likely that Octavian's *columna rostrata* was intended to be seen in direct relation to that of Duilius.[247]

Certainly, by playing on the associations with the Duilius monument, both in terms of monumentality and the geography of conquest, Octavian can already be seen to be setting his naval victory within the history of naval display in the Forum. Indeed, the emphasis in Duilius' inscription on the victory over such a famous enemy of Rome as Carthage, together with Octavian's emphasis on peace by land and sea in the inscription on his own *columna rostrata*, suggests that the rostral display of 36 B.C. underplayed any reference to civil war, and instead sought to promote Octavian's ability to establish peace over the empire. These two monuments of historic and recent naval victories demonstrate Octavian's desire to propagate his naval victories as part of the great historical achievements of the past, and show that even before 29 B.C. his association with rostral display within the Forum was prominent.

The Actian prows on the temple of Divus Iulius not only interacted with these older rostral displays, but also with the Speakers' platform, relocated from the outer edge of the old Comitium to next to the Curia Iulia on the main axis of the Forum

[246] Cic. *Phil.* 9.16: *Cum talis vir ob rem publicam in legatione mortem obierit, senatui placere Ser. Sulpicio statuam pedestrem aeneam in rostris* ('when such a man died, when he was legate, on behalf of the *res publica,* the senate decided to set up a bronze pedestal statue to Ser. Sulpicius on the Rostra in compliance with the resolution of this order'), cf. *Dig.* 1.2.2.43; Livy 8.13: *Legatorum qui Fidenis caesi erant statuae publice in Rostris positae sunt* ('statues of the legates, who had died at Fidenae, were set up on the Rostra'); Vell. Pat. 2.61: *Eum senatum honoratum equestri statua, quae hodieque in Rostris posita aetatem eius scriptura indicat, qui honor non alii per CCC annos quam L. Sullae et Cn. Pompeio et C. Caesari contigerat* ('The senate honoured him with an equestrian statue, which also today set on the Rostra indicates by the inscription its age, which honour pertained to no other for 300 years than L. Sulla and Cn. Pompeius and C. Caesar'); Plin. *HN* 34.24: *senatus statuam poni iussit quam oculatissimo loco, eaque est in rostris* ('the senate ordered that the statue be set up in the most visible location as possible, and that is on the Rostra'; Dio Cass. 49.43.1: καὶ *αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ Σύλλου τοῦ τε Πομπηίου εἰκὼν ἀπεδόθη* ('and on [the Rostra] the statues of Sulla and Pompey were restored').

[247] Roller (2009) 23; Bleckmann (2002) 121; Shelmeyer (1999) 256.

proper in 44 B.C.[248] It is important to note that the Rostra at the east end of the Forum, attached to the Podium of the temple of Divus Iulius, was a new platform (Figure 15).[249] Whilst not exactly parallel to the Rostra at the west end, both platforms enclosed the ends of the Forum, and stood in relation to each other (Figure 16).

Dio records the relocation of the Republican Rostra from the centre of the Forum to 'its present position' at the very start of 44 B.C:

> *καὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐν μέσῳ που πρότερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὂν ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον ἀνεχωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ Σύλλου τοῦ τε Πομπηίου εἰκὼν ἀπεδόθη. καὶ ἐπί τε τούτῳ εὔκλειαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔσχεν, καὶ ὅτι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆς παρεχώρησε.*[250]

> And the Rostra, which formerly was in the middle of the Forum, was moved to its present position, and on it the statues of Sulla and of Pompey were restored. And for this Caesar received praise, and also because he yielded to Antony both the glory of the work and the inscription on it.

[248] Claridge (1998) 81; Giuliani and Verduchi (1987) 182-183, esp. fig. 257 and 258 on the articulation of the Forum space.

[249] There is debate in the scholarship was to whether the prows were directly attached to the podium (see Steinby (1987) 155ff) or to a platform in front (see Coarelli (1985) 313ff; Torelli (1982) 82ff). Gros (1976) 86-87, Gros (1996) 118 concludes that we cannot be certain whether the tribunal was properly separate from the temple podium. See also Richardson (1973) 228ff.

[250] Dio Cass. 43.49.1. Coarelli (1985) 239, 244, Coarelli (1999) 213 dates the dismantlement of the republican Rostra to 45-44 B.C., and the completion of the Caesarian model to the start of 44 B.C.; Claridge (1998) 81 ties the Rostra into Caesar's new plans for the Forum, begun in 46 B.C. The fact that Antony was involved in the rebuild (n. 250 below) removes, in some respects, the concern for the project to have been completed before Caesar's death in March 44 B.C., although Richardson (1992) 336 confusingly sees Caesar watching the Lupercalia in February from the new Rostra, but also states that the Rostra Augusti represents the rebuilding of the old Rostra that Caesar had dismantled but not rebuilt (335).

Dio's account records that Antony was involved in the rebuilding of the Rostra, and most notably, that it was *his* name that appeared on the dedicatory inscription (*τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆς*). The presence of Antony's name on the Rostra is particularly interesting considering that the two tribunals faced each other. The two platforms were linked spatially and visually across the Forum space, and so Octavian's rostral display before the temple of Divus Iulius stood directly opposite, and in direct competition to Antony's Rostra.

However, as discussed above,[251] on hearing of Octavian's success at Actium the senate decreed that the displays of Antony were to be taken down or defaced (*καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κοσμήματα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλον ἀπήλειψαν*)[252]. If this was the case Antony's name will have been erased from the Rostra at the west end of the Forum. This, together with the marking of Antony's birthday as *vitiosus*, did not in fact eradicate Antony from public view, but served to mark him out as an opponent of both the state and Octavian.[253]

The message of the Actian *rostra* and their relationship to the Rostra of Antony must also be read with the message of Octavian's *columna rostrata*, which celebrated a naval victory in terms of peace won. The monument of 36 B.C., together with its

[251] See p. 70 above.
[252] Dio Cass. 51.19.3.
[253] Lange (2009) 85-86, 126, 136-140. It should be noted that Antony's Rostra was later rebuilt and extended by Octavian: *Dig.* 1.2.2.43: *hic cum in legatione perisset, statuam ei populus Romanus pro rostris posuit, et hodieque exstat pro rostris Augusti* ('As he had died on an embassy, the Roman people set up a statue to him before the Rostra, and even today the statue exists before the Rostra of Augustus'). The remains of the Rostra near to the Curia Iulia preserve two different structures: a curved concrete core 13m long and 3.50m high, with five or six curving steps at the back (Claridge (1998) 81; Coarelli (1999); Richardson (1992) 336). In front of this curving structure is a rectangular brick face platform, which measured 23.80m long (Verduchi (1999); Claridge (1998) 82; Coarelli (1985) 253; Nash (1970) 276). The rectilinear structure was constructed after the semi-circular structure (Coarelli (1985) 254 shows that the lower cornice of the rectilinear structure was placed over the cornice of the semi-circular structure, *contra* Van Deman (1909) and Shipley (1930)). Giuliani and Verduchi (1987) 46, 49 fig. 45 and 46 date the construction of the Augustan Rostra to the same period as the Augustan repaving of the Forum., which they date to around 14 B.C., based on the inscription of *L. Naevius [L. f. Surdi]nus Pr(aetor)* (*CIL* VI 37068). It is plausible then that the Caesarian/Antonian Rostra was visible from 44 – 14 B.C. Two later successive phases of the Rostra follow the Augustan rebuilding.

Duilian counterpart, stood in close proximity to Antony's monument, so that the display of Octavian's Actian and Sicilian victories faced and bordered, respectively, the memorial of Antony's presence in the Forum. The message of *pax* re-established over land and sea, inscribed in 36 B.C., could now be read alongside the new Actian celebration, and Octavian's ability to establish peace over the empire though the defeat of Antony was thus visualised at the centre of Rome's political and forensic life. The prows in the Roman Forum evoked a permanent reminder of stability achieved through military victory.

The subtle insinuation of Antony's defeat was also echoed in Octavian's own celebrations in the building adjacent to the Rostra of Antony: the Curia Iulia and the dedication of the statue of Victory. I will now turn to consider this presentation of Octavian's victory over Antony.

The Tarentine Victory

Octavian commemorated his victory by the dedication of a statue of Victory in the Curia Iulia in 29 B.C.:

> *ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν, δηλῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο· ἦν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ταραντίνων, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθὲν ἔν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἱδρύθη καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις λαφύροις ἐκοσμήθη.*[254]
>
> In the Curia he set up the statue of Victory which still now exists, signifying, as seems likely, that he obtained command from her.[255] The

[254] Dio Cass. 51.22.1.

[255] I have translated *ἀρχή* here as 'command', given that Dio uses it in 51.21.6 to refer to Octavian's position as *imperator: ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀναφορὰ τῆς νίκης τῇ αὐτοκράτορι αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσα ἦν* ('since the

statue had belonged to the people of Tarentum, from where it was conveyed to Rome, and set in the meeting house and decked out in the Egyptian spoils.

The connection of this Victory to Augustus is emphasised by the suggestion, recorded by Suetonius, that the *Victoria quae est in curia* should proceed his funeral bier.[256] It seems likely that the Victory was intended to play a special part in the *laudis ornamenta* of the deceased.[257] By the time of his death the Victory had become the physical form of Augustus' military and political achievements on behalf of the state – thus *laudis ornamenta.* Yet notably the Victory was not an honour awarded by the senate, but was a personal dedication by Octavian. Indeed, Dio does not include the dedication in his list of honours voted by the senate.[258] Furthermore, it seems likely that the statue of Victory was related to the *ara Victoriae* dedicated in the Curia on 28th August: *hoc die ara Victoriae in Curia dedicata est.*[259] Whilst the year of dedication is not recorded, Simpson has speculated that the dedication of the altar in the Curia Iulia (which could not itself be dedicated) would have been used to mark the completion of the Curia,

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credit of the victory properly belonged to his position as supreme commander'), see Freyburger-Galland (1997) 203 on this passage. Dio uses *ἀρχή* to mean 'empire' in a geographical sense, and '*imperium*' or 'command' as an expression of power: for a discussion of these different aspects see Freyburger-Galland (1997) 32-33, 53-55, 221-222.

[256] Suet. *Aug.* 100.

[257] Cicero *Leg.* 2.60: '*Quae et recte tolluntur, neque tollerentur nisi <in usu> fuissent. 'Ne sumptuosa respersio, ne longae coronae nec acerrae praetereantur.' Illa iam significatio est laudis ornamenta ad mortuos pertinere, quod coronam virtute partam et ei qui peperisset et eius parenti sine fraude esse lex inpositam iubet.* ('And what it is right to be removed, and they would not be removed, useless it had been <in use>. Neither expensive sprinkling, nor long garlands nor caskets should be omitted.' Obviously the principle on which these provisions are based is that only the rewards which have been bestowed as a mark of honour belong to the dead, for the law provides that a garland earned by bravery may be worn with impunity by the man who earned it and also by his father').

[258] Dio Cass. 51.19.1-20.5.

[259] *EJ*^{2} 51, *Fasti Maffeiani: h.d. ara Victoriae in curia dedic. Est; Fasti Vaticani: feria[e h.d.] q. de[ae Vict. ara] de[d]icata est.*

which Dio places after the triumphs of 13th-15th August 29 B.C.[260] Certainly, a passage of Herodian suggests that, at least by the second century A.D., offerings were made by the senators at the statue of Victory.[261] It is thus probably that in August 29 B.C. Octavian dedicated the *ara Victoriae* together with the Victory commemorating the conquest of Egypt, in the wake of his triumphs.

There are few descriptions of the form that the Victory took, although it seems from a passage in the *Historia Augusta* that she was a winged Victory: *vidit alis se Romanae Victoriae quae in senatu, ad caelum vehi.*[262] Likewise Prudentius describes her as golden, winged and barefoot.[263] It is now commonly held that this Victory also stood on a globe.[264] Whilst there is no literary testimony, scholars have taken the numismatic evidence to support this view. A coin depicting a building, which carries the legend *IMP. CAESAR* on the architrave shows a winged Victory on a globe at the apex of the pediment, and on either side a figure holding a spear, with the right hand figure possibly holding an anchor (Figure 17).[265] The building has been identified as the Curia Iulia,[266] with the four columns at the front representing the Chalcidicum.[267] Of course, this Victory is *on* the Curia rather than *in* it, and Gurval has rightly pointed out the regular usage of the preposition ἐν should not be strained to fit the numismatic

[260] Dio Cass. 51.22.1; Simpson (1998).
[261] Hdn. 5.5.7: 'the statue of Victory before which each senate burns frankincense and pours a libation of wine upon entering the chamber'.
[262] SHA *Alex. Sev.* 14.2: 'he saw himself carried to the heavens on the wings of the Roman Victory, which is in the senate house'.
[263] Prudent *C. Symm.* 2.27-38; Pohlsander (1969) 590.
[264] Hölscher (1967) 6-17; Hafner (1989); Reinach (1913) 25-29.
[265] *RIC* Aug. 266. Shelmeyer (2002) 224 links the anchor to the Actium celebrations.
[266] Sutherland (1976) 153-154, n. 19; Sutherland (1984) 60, n. 266; Tortorici (1993) 333; Shelmeyer (2002) 223.
[267] For the Chalcidicum as a portico of the Curia Iulia: Richardson (1992) 81; Shelmeyer (2002) 223; see also Hölscher (1967) 8; Sutherland (1976) 153-154, n.19; Tortorici (1993) 333; Fentress (2005) 221-225.

picture as Sutherland suggested.[268] Instead, as Suetonius, Herodian and the writer of the *Historia Augusta* record, the Victory was set up inside the Curia.

Certainly, the image of Victory on a globe was being introduced on the coinage of the period.[269] Again, we are faced with dating issues, as the legends do not provide a year, but merely give the title *CAESAR DIVI F*.[270] Furthermore, Victory was depicted in numerous ways – standing, on a prow and in a *biga*.[271] However, the depiction of Victory on a globe does appear to be associated with Octavian, and not with Antony or Cleopatra. The best example of this comes from Cyrenaica in 31 B.C., when the governor Scarpus started the year minting coins for Antony, before going over to Octavian's side. Antony's coins show Victory holding a wreath and palm branch (Figure 18).[272] Octavian's also use this image, but some have Victory on the globe (Figure 19).[273] Reinach has even suggested that the bronze statue of a winged Victory on a globe from Pompeii, now in the Museum of Naples (Figure 20) was modelled on the statue of Victory originally at Tarentum.[274] Again, the image of Victory on the globe continued to appear on coins throughout the Augustan period[275] and in other art forms, such as on the Boscorale cup where Venus hands Victory to Augustus, who holds out the globe to receive her (Figure 21),[276] and a 3m tall statue of a winged Victory on a globe holding up a shield, found in the south-west corner of the library of Hadrian in Athens, thought to have been originally set up in the Roman Agora to

[268] Gurval (1995) 62, *contra* Sutherland (1976) 154 n. 19.
[269] *RRC* 546/4-7; *RIC* Aug. 254.5, 266, 268; *RPC* 2004, 3904-5.
[270] Gurval (1995) 50-52, 64-65 criticises the narrow dating ranges for the coin types *CAESAR DIVI F.* (conventionally 36-29 B.C.) and *IMP CAESAR* (conventionally 29-27 B.C.).
[271] Standing: *RRC* 545/1-2, 546/2a-3c, 546/8; *RPC* 1304, 2005, 2006, 4457, 4772, 4776, 4782; standing on prow: *RIC* Aug 263-264; *biga*: *RIC* Aug 260-1; standing on cista mystica: *RIC* Aug 276; held by Octavian: *RIC* Aug. 270.
[272] *RRC* 546/2a-3c.
[273] Standing: *RRC* 546/8; on globe: *RRC* 546/4-7.
[274] Reinach (1913) 25-26. The statue is 0.50m in height; Pohlsander (1969) 591.
[275] *RIC* Aug. 121-22.
[276] Kuttner (1995).

commemorate the return of the Parthian standards (Figure 22).[277] It is certainly tempting to view the Victory that Octavian set up in the Curia as standing on a globe,[278] symbolising the achievement won *terra marique.* This would echo the display outside the Curia and, on the numismatic evidence, the depiction of *terra marique* on the pediment (spear and anchor).[279]

As Dio states the Victory was to carry a display of the conquest and triumph over Egypt, yet it is interesting that he adds the details of its origins. Reinach has argued, mainly on numismatic evidence, that the only occasion for a Victory to be erected at Tarentum would have been to celebrate the victory of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines over the Romans at Herakleia in 280 B.C.[280] It is however unknown when the statue was removed from Tarentum,[281] and Dio's Greek does not make it clear whether this occurred just before the dedication, or whether the statue had been removed to Rome previously. Pohlsander puts forward three possibilities: 272 B.C., 209 B.C., and c. 40 B.C.[282] The first two dates refer to Roman conquests of Tarentum. These moments of conquest would be a suitable time at which to appropriate the enemy's victory monument and make it one's own – particularly fitting if the monument originally celebrated the Tarentine victory over Rome. There is, however, no testimony prior to Dio's account of 29 B.C. which mentions this Victory. This does not of course preclude the possibility that the statue had already come to Rome, yet if it has it clearly maintained some association with Tarentum. Pohlsander's final date allows us

[277] Choremi-Spetsieri and Tigginaga (2008) 126-127; Choremi-Spetsieri (1996).
[278] Hafner (1989) 557 suggests that the globe was in fact one of the spoils from Egypt which adorned the Victory, cf. Dio Cass. 51.22.2.
[279] SHA *Alex. Sev.* 14.2-3 sees the Victory as symbolising *imperium caeli terraque.*
[280] Reinach (1913). A bronze tablet from the sanctuary at Dodona (*SIG* 203) records Pyrrhus' and the Tarentines' celebration of victory over the Romans: *Βασιλεὺ]ς Πύρρο[ς καὶ / Ἀπειρῶ]ται καὶ Ταραντῖνοι / ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ [τῶν] /συμμάχων Διΐ Να[ΐ̈ωι* ('King Pyrrhus and the Epirotes and the Tarentines [took these] from the Romans and their allies [and dedicated them] to Zeus Naios').
[281] Hafner (1989) 554.
[282] Pohlsander (1969) 589-590.

to consider both the treaty made between Antony and Octavian for the renewal of their friendship in 40 B.C., and more importantly the treaty and renewal of triumviral status made at Tarentum in 37 B.C.[283] The associations made in 29 B.C. with Tarentum by the dedication of the Tarentine Victory suggest that the statue celebrated not only the triumph over Egypt, but also subtly alluded to Octavian's victory over Antony and his accomplishment of his share of the renewed mandate as *IIIvir rei publicae constituendae*. As Dio says, *παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο.*[284] Octavian had won victory on behalf of the state and command over Rome's military forces.

The commemorations at Rome in 29 B.C. (the triple triumph, the rostral display, and the Tarentine Victory) focused on the promotion of Octavian's position within the state in terms of victory over external threats. The issue of *pax* is far less prominent, and although the rostral displays in the forum reaffirm the message of *pax* restored by land and sea, the only direct reference may be seen in the closing of the Gates of Ianus.

Index Pacis et Belli

Augustus records in his *Res Gestae* that the senate had voted for the Gates of Ianus Quirinus to be closed three times: *cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax*.[285] This concept of *pax* concerns not only civil harmony, but the *imperium* of the Roman state; that is, Rome's ability to command and control her empire. Livy's first book, published 27-25 B.C.,[286] refers solely to the first closing of the Gates in 29 B.C.: *post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto*

[283] App. *B Civ.* 5.95; Dio Cass. 48.54.6; Plut. *Ant.* 35.5.3-4.
[284] Dio Cass. 51.22.2: 'he obtained the command from her'.
[285] The Gates were first closed under Augustus in 29 B.C. in commemoration of the conclusion of the war against Antony and Cleopatra (*Fasti Praenestini = Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.113, 395). The Temple of Ianus was located between the Forum Romanum and the Forum Iulium, on the Argiletum: Ov. *Fast.* 1.258; Livy 1.19.2; Muller (1943); Richardson (1992) 207-; Taylor (2000). See Green (2000); DeBrohun (2007) for the opening and closing of the Gates.
[286] Foster (1976) 69 n.1; Luce (2009) 17.

pace terra marique parta.[287] The phrase *'pax* achieved by land and sea', echoes the *columna rostrata* that was voted for Octavian in 36 B.C., which although it spoke of *pax* re-established (after the civil war against Sextus),[288] was tied to the ovation *ex Sicilia*, promoting the idea of civil harmony restored through conquest of an external enemy. An examination of Livy's commentary on the Gates of Ianus will shed light on the transition from *pax civilia* to *parta victoriis pax :*

> *Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret.*[289]
>
> He built the shrine of Ianus at the bottom of the Argiletum as an indicator of peace and war, for when it was open it signified that the citizen body had taken up arms, and when it was shut that all the neighbouring peoples had been made peaceful.

Two things are noteworthy about Livy's account. Firstly, he appears to be the first writer we have to connect the word *pax* to the temple of Ianus. Varro, who is the earliest extant source we have for the closing of the Gates, quotes the annalist L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (cos. 133 B.C.), who stated that a *ius* was established so that the Gates of Ianus would always be open except when there was no war: *nisi cum bellum sit nusquam*.[290] Of course, one can argue that *pax* was the absence of war,[291] and Varro's

[287] Livy 1.19.3: '[the Gates were closed] after the Actian war by Imperator Caesar, with *pax* achieved by land and sea'.
[288] App. *B Civ.* 5.130*: τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν* ('He restored the peace, which has been for a long time in disarray, by land and sea').
[289] Livy 1.19.2.
[290] Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5.165; DeBrohun (2007) 259 on Varro's negative expression.
[291] This matches the conception of Republican *pax* defined by Gruen (1982) 53 as 'respite from war'.

account of the symbols of the *pax* and *bellum* (the *caduceus* and *hasta*) sent to Carthage, suggest a choice between two different states.[292] However, besides the fact the Varro (and Piso) chose to speak in terms of *bellum* rather than *pax*, Livy's use of the term *pax* appears different from a concept concerned with the absence of war. Livy qualifies the *pax* which is symbolised by the closing of the Gates not as the cessation of war or even as civil harmony, but as the conquest and pacification of Rome's neighbours: *pacatos circa omnes populos*. Livy's account of the Gates of Ianus indicates a victorious expression of the defeat and submission of peoples previously outside Roman control. The closing of the Gates intimates victory over *circa omnes populi*. Interestingly though, Livy relates this to the battle of Actium, which carried allusions to civil as well as foreign war.

There are indications that Livy's interpretation of the closing of the Gates of Ianus may have been influenced by Octavian's own victory display set up at Nicopolis in Greece in 29 B.C., which also refers to *pax*. The monumental inscription, which I will discuss in detail in section two below, has the concept of *pax parta terra marique* at its centre, and the dedication of the victory monument bearing this inscription must have been public knowledge at Rome when Livy was writing.[293] On this reading Livy's account may reflect Octavian's rhetoric rather than necessarily that of the senate.

Dio, in contrast, relates the closing of the Gates in 29 B.C. to the termination of all wars:

[292] Gell. *NA* 10.27.5; see pp. 5- 6, and n. 55 above.
[293] Suet. *Aug.* 18.2: Suetonius' account of the monument suggests familiarity with the inscription, see pp. 94 and 109 below.

τάς τε πύλας τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ***ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαυμένων*** *ἔκλεισαν.....οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι τότε πολεμεῖσθαι ἐνομιζον...*[294]

The senate closed the gates of Ianus, as if all their wars had ceased completely...nor did the Romans think that they were then at war.

It is important to note that Dio records this event after the ratification of all of Octavian's acts in the wars of the late 30s, *and* after the receipt of his letter reporting on relations with the Parthian nation.[295] All wars, actual or potential, are deemed to be over thanks to Octavian. Dio's account implies that by the start of 29 B.C. the senate wished to commemorate and legitimise Octavian's acts during the war, and the closing of the Gates of Ianus demonstrated the security of the empire both from civil discord, and from external threats. Indeed, the senate's involvement in legitimising Octavian's *acta* is illustrated further by the fact that it is they who close the gates in 29 B.C. (*ἔκλεισαν*), whilst Octavian is still abroad. The act confirms symbolically the ratification of Octavian's actions in the war.[296] On Dio's account, the closing of the Gates in 29 B.C. symbolises the cessation of war; this is far closer to Varro's presentation of the Gates of Ianus (*cum bellum sit nusquam*), than Livy's association with *pax* as pacification and victory.

The idea of *parta victoriis pax* appears to be instigated by Octavian (and mainly at Nicopolis)[297] rather than the senate. There was no explicit display of *pax* in the

[294] Dio Cass. 51.20.4-5.
[295] Dio Cass. 51.20.1: *τά τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ιανουαρίου νουμηνίᾳ ὅρκοις ἐβεβαιώσαντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Πάρθων γράμματα ἦλθεν* ('They confirmed all his acts on the first of January by oaths, and also when the letters concerning the Parthians came').
[296] By contrast Dio Cass. 53.26.5 records that in 25 B.C. Augustus himself closed the gates (*Αὔγουστος...ἔκλεισεν*).
[297] See chapter two, section two, pp. 94ff below.

triumphal procession in August 29 B.C. which the senate granted to Octavian. Whilst the conflict of 40 B.C. could be celebrated with ovations of the achievement of *pax,*[298] and the rostral display in 36 B.C., the wars of 31-30 B.C., conceptualised as between Cleopatra and Octavian, gave full rein to a form of triumphalism that permitted little show of *pax* as a pact with an external enemy. In Dio's opinion Octavian, although he had given Cleopatra *πίστις τις*, wanted the queen to be a captive 'subdued against her will',[299] and indeed with the defeat and removal of Antony there was no one to make *pax* with. Rome's military superiority over the external enemy is expressed, but without the need or reference to the concept of *pax.* Neither did *pax* play a prominent role as an expression of the stability of the state, as it had done in 36 B.C. It is possible that by 29 B.C. the facade of the *pax* of 36 B.C. had slipped.

* * *

In 36 B.C. Octavian had been able to commemorate the restoration of *pax* and an end to the civil wars without the need for an opponent with whom to make a pact, but for such a *pax* to be possible and permanent there needed to be only one man standing, and no challenge to his authority.[300] The issue of how to commemorate the clear defeat of one Roman general and the unchallenged rule of the other was still apparent in the commemorations of 29 B.C. The victories were most clearly over a foreign enemy, and yet allusions to the predominance of the remaining triumvir were certainly present.

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[298] See pp. 18 and 51 above.

[299] Dio Cass. 51.11.3: *ἵν' ὡς καὶ αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ ἀκουσίᾳ τρόπον τινὰ χειρωθείσῃ χρήτσηται.* ('in order to make use of her as a captive and to a certain extent as subdued against her will').

[300] Tac. *Hist.* 1.1, see n. 178 above.

The impetus for victory celebrations at Rome after the wars of 31-30 B.C. ostensibly resided with the senate, who granted extensive honours to Octavian, honours which emphasised the victory over foreign nations and Octavian's position within the state.[301] Yet they also made a display of visibly removing the memorials of Antony so that the remembrance of his defeat was still carved out in the public spaces of the Forum Romanum.

If *pax* was celebrated at Rome in 29 B.C. it was in the senate's act of closing of the Gates of Ianus. This act recalled the traditional concept of the cessation of war, and yet Livy's account interprets the *pax* of closing the Gates as signifying *omnes circa populi pacati.*[302] Livy's use of the phrases *pax terra marique parta* and *bellum Actiacum* suggest a strong identification of the accomplishment of *pax* with Octavian's victory monument set up on the site of his campsite at Actium. It was only outside Rome that Octavian employed *pax* as a centre tenet of his victory commemoration.

[301] Dio Cass. 51.19.1-6.
[302] Livy 1.19.3.

Section Two

A Presentation of *pax terra marique* in the East: Octavian's Victory City

Through the act of closing the Gates of Ianus in 29 B.C. the senate appear to have acted not only to confirm the cessation of conflict, but also to ratify Octavian's *acta* in the wars of the late 30s. As I discussed in the previous section, the concept of *pax terra marique parta* is only associated with the Gates of Ianus by Livy, whose account may plausibly be influenced by Octavian's own victory display at Nicopolis. Details of the monument were certainly known to Suetonius:

> *Quoque Actiacae* ***victoriae memoria*** *celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituti et ampliato vetere Apollini templo locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.*[303]
>
> And to extend the fame of his victory and perpetuate the memory of it, he founded the city Nicopolis, and set up games there to be celebrated every five years; he enlarged the ancient temple of Apollo, and having adorned the site of the camp which he had used with naval spoils, he consecrated it to Neptune and Mars.

[303] Suet. *Aug.* 18.2.

In this section I will examine the victory display at Nicopolis in order to understand Octavian's conceptualisation of his victory and the central message of *pax* to the monument. I will first consider the history of creating 'Victory cities', and examine Octavian's own practice of this at both Actian Nicopolis and Alexandrian Nicopolis, in order to understand the purpose of their foundations and place within the victory rhetoric. I will then turn to consider the monumental trophy that Octavian set above the city of Nicopolis in the Epirus (Actium), before looking at the monument within its wider context. I will show how the monument was designed as a testament to the newly established community's dependency on the *pax* which Octavian had won. *pax* at Nicopolis did not require an opponent as in the sense of a pact. Instead it represented Octavian's *imperium* and control of the empire.

Cities of Victory

The foundation of victory cities was an eastern practice associated with Alexander the Great, who founded a Nicopolis in Northern Syria on the Cilician border to celebrate his victory at Issos.[304] Pompey followed the precedent of Alexander and founded a Nicopolis either on or near the actual site of his battle against Mithridates.[305] Both Octavian's 'cities of Victory' at Actium and Alexandria were founded on sites directly associated with the battles (*ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ / ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ*)[306] and Dio draws out the relationship between the two by emphasising that the Alexandrian city was given the same name and the same quinquennial games as the first

[304] *RE* 17. 535-536.
[305] Strabo 12.3.28; App. *Mith.* 105, 115; Dio Cass. 36.50.3, 49.39.3; *RE* 17. 536-537.
[306] Dio Cass. 51.3.1, 18.1.

city i.e. that at Actium.[307] Both cities should be understood as commemorating Octavian's accomplishments in their respective areas.

The site in the Epirus has been associated with a colony by both Tacitus and Pliny. Tacitus refers to a *Nicopolis Romana colonia* in connection to the visit of a Roman governor in 31/32 A.D.,[308] although earlier in his work he refers to Germanicus' visit in 18 A.D. to Octavian's and Antony's campsites, and mentions only *urbis Achaiae Nicopolis*.[309] Pliny in fact appears to distinguish between a *colonia Augusti Actium,* which may have been sited on the southern Actian promontory, and a *civitas libera Nicopolitana*.[310] Ruscu has suggested the possibility of a Roman settlement in conjunction with the Greek city,[311] and certainly the Nicopolis founded by Pompey in the East was said to be a mix of colonists and local communities.[312] However the evidence from Strabo suggests that, at least at its foundation, it was solely a Greek city:

> *Μακεδόνες δ' ὕστερον καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταύτην καὶ ἄλλας κατεπόνησαν τοῖς συνεχέσι πολέμοις διὰ τὴν ἀπείθειαν, ὥστε τὸ τελευταῖον ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὁρῶν ἐκλελειμμένας τελέως τὰς πόλεις εἰς μίαν συνῴκισε τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν Νικόπολιν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ, ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπώνυμον τῆς νίκης, ἐν ᾗ*

[307] Dio Cass. 51.18.1; cf. Dio Cass. 51.1.2; Strabo 7.7.6. Schäfer (1993) 243 has argued we should not necessarily date the establishment of the quinquennial games and the inauguration of the city directly with the victory monument, and sees the monument as the highest priority in terms of building projects at Nicopolis

[308] Tac. *Ann.* 5.10.3-4.

[309] Tac. *Ann.* 2.53.1.

[310] Plin. *HN* 4.5 links the *colonia Augusti* with the temple of Apollo which stood on the southern promontory (*in ore ipso colonia Augusti Actium cum templo Apollonis*); Lange (2009) 103-104 esp. n.41 suggests the southern Actian promontory as a possible site for a Roman colony.

[311] Ruscu (2006). Whilst Jones (1987) 103 pointed out that no archaeological evidence supports a colony at either Actium or Nicopolis, further excavations may yet prove the question either way: during a visit to Preveza in September 2010 I was told that Athenian archaeologists were excavating on the Actium side of the promontory.

[312] Dio Cass. 36.50.3.

κατεναυμάχησεν Ἀντώνιον πρό τοῦ στόματος τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων Βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν, παροῦσαν ἐν τῷ αγῶνι καὶ αὐτήν.[313]

The Macedonians and later also the Romans destroyed Cassope and other cities through constant war because of their disobedience. Then finally Augustus, when he saw that the cities had utterly collapsed, settled them as one city on this gulf. He named it Nicopolis, after his victory, which he won in a naval battle over Antony at the mouth of this gulf, and also over the Egyptian queen Cleopatra, who too was present at the battle.

Strabo does not mention a Roman colony, but indicates that Nicopolis was formed by a process of *synoikismos.*[314] Indeed, a stone base found in 1913 at the site of the city clearly attests a Greek *polis*: *ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος / Νεικοπόλειτῶν / εὔνοίας ἕνεκα* ('the council and the assembly of the Nikopolitans out of goodwill [give this]').[315]

The act of *synoikismos* in the commemoration of victory and consolidation of power was not a new phenomenon, but had been a practice of the Greek world since the mid-fourth century and was later employed by Pompey in his reorganisation of the East.[316] Whilst Gurval is right to point out that Octavian's foundation of the city by *synoikismos* was a 'practical endeavor, a deliberate and serious response to an urgent

[313] Strabo 7.7.6.

[314] Likewise Dio Cass. 51.3.1: *πόλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ' αναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων,* ***συνῴκισε,*** *Νικόπολιν ὄνομα αὐτῇ δούς* ('Indeed, he founded a city on the site of his camp, and having gathered together some of the neighbouring communities and having transplanted others, he gave it the name Nicopolis'); see also Pausanias 7.18.8. See Jones (1987) 104-105; Gurval (1995) 67-74; Lange (2009) 99-106.

[315] Philadelpheus (1913) 106: the base is a 0.75m x 0.75m x 0.75m, and the letters are described as 'regular and beautiful'. The inscription was found south of a peristyle building excavated near to the reservoir of the city, commonly known as *'Βασιλόσπιτο'.*

[316] Jones (1987) 104-105.

local problem',[317] Strabo's account suggests that this was prompted by the victory of Actium itself, which gave Octavian the command to carry out such a feat (*τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν* ***Νικόπολιν*** *ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ, ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπώνυμον τῆς* ***νίκης***). Octavian had take advantage of his victory on the Ambracian Gulf and founded his 'city of Victory'. Octavian, like Pompey before him, linked himself with Alexander the Great, most notably by wearing a signet ring depicting the Macedonian conqueror,[318] and by founding another Nicopolis commemorating the capture of Alexandria itself.[319]

The decision to found Nicopolis in the vicinity of Alexandria, not only marked the battle Octavian had won, but also associated him with Alexander the Great through the foundation of a 'city of Victory', which clearly related phyiscally and culturally to the city of Alexander himself:

> *ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τό τε Σαράπιον καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα ἐκλελειμμένα πως διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων κατασκευὴν τῶν ἐν Νικοπόλει· καὶ γὰρ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ στάδιον καὶ οἱ πεντετηρικοὶ ἀγῶνες ἐκεῖ συντελοῦνται· τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ ὠλιγώρηται.…διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου διελθόντι ἡ Νικόπολίς ἐστιν, ἔχουσα κατοικίαν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάττω· τριάκοντα δέ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας στάδιοι.*[320]
>
> Inside the canal, were both the Sarapium and other ancient sacred places, which are now almost abandoned because of the erection of temples at Nicopolis; for there is an amphitheatre and stadium there, and quinquennial

[317] Gurval (1995) 68.
[318] Suet. *Aug.* 50; Pliny *NH* 37.10.
[319] Octavian famously viewed the corpse of Alexander after his conquest of the city: Suet. *Aug.* 18.1; Dio 51.16.5; see also Gurval (1995) 70-72; Gruen (1982) 68-72.
[320] Strabo 17.1.10.

> games are celebrated; the ancient sites are neglected....Having passed through the Hippodrome, one comes to Nicopolis, which has a settlement on the sea no smaller than a city; it is thirty stadia[321] from Alexandria.

Strabo's remarks about the abandonment of the old rituals and temples of Alexandria in favour of the new site at Nicopolis indicate that at least during Strabo's and Octavian's own time, the Alexandrian Nicopolis fulfilled a role as a sacred site orientated around the commemoration of Octavian's victories, most notably with quinquennial games. The intention may also have been to remove religious and cultural focus from the practices associated with Cleopatra and Antony in Alexandria, and refocus them on the new ruler of Egypt.[322]

However, we have little evidence with which to properly analyse the settlement at Alexandria, in contrast to the wealth of archaeological evidence from Actium.[323] Whilst we can acknowledge that Alexandrian Nicopolis, with its quinquennial games, was undoubtedly a commemoration of Octavian's victory, we are unable to examine the specifics of that commemoration. The different natures of both sites, geographically, politically and socially, which must have influenced Octavian's displays, indicate that a detailed comparison between the two would only be profitable if we had more information on Alexandrian Nicopolis.

For Alexander the battle of Issos had given him control of the Persian empire; likewise for Pompey, although Mithridates had escaped him, the foundation of

[321] Joseph *BJ* 4.11.5 gives the distance as twenty stadia.

[322] It is difficult to determine the success of Nicopolis after its initial foundation period: Josephus *BJ* 4.11.5 refers to Nicopolis, however Plin. *HN* 6.102 mentions a Iuliopolis situated on the same canal and the same distance from Alexandria; see also Gurval (1995) 72-73.

[323] On the lack of evidence from Alexandrian Nicopolis: Gurval (1995) 72; on the archaeological evidence from Actian Nicopolis: Zachos (1995), Zachos (1997), Zachos (2001a), Zachos (2001b), Zachos (2003), Zachos (2007); Tsakoumis (2007); Malacrino (2007); Ruscu (2006); Chrysostomos, et al. (2005); Murray and Petsas (1989); Petsas (1974); Oliver (1969); Gagé (1932); Rhomaios (1925); Philadelpheus (1913).

Nicopolis symbolised his control over the area.[324] For Octavian, Actian Nicopolis designated not only the victory at Actium, but also symbolised his consolidation of power in the East. It is to Actian Nicopolis that we must turn to fully understand how this one 'city of Victory' presented Octavian's victory over Antony and Cleopatra.

Victoriae memoria

It is clear from Suetonius that Octavian created a complex of memorials at Actium, in celebration of his victory. It was the complex of city, games (along with their accompanying structures), temple of Apollo and the dedication of ten ships, and the *spolia* monument on the site of his camp that formed the *victoriae memoria*.[325] In this section I will examine the monument through its inscription, display of *rostra* and sculptural reliefs, and show that the relationship between these presented a celebration of *pax* as the accomplishment of Octavian's victory.

The site of Octavian's monument is located on the hillside above the ancient city of Nicopolis, 7km north from the modern city of Preveza (Map 2).[326] Dio records the situation of the site: *τὸ τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν.*[327] The initial excavations yielded the foundations of a structure measuring 62m x 45m, along with thirteen fragments of a monumental inscription –

[324] Dio Cass. 36.50.3 for Mithridates' flight. Dio also notes that the city was comprised of wounded Roman soldiers and inhabitants of local communities.
[325] See p. 94 above.
[326] The site of Nicopolis, and the remains of the sacred grove complex at the foot of the hill (Michalitsi) were identified in 1805 by Col. W. M. Leake: see Murray and Petsas (1989) 13-14, n. 14. For the excavations of the site: Philadelpheus (1913); Rhomaios (1921), Rhomaios (1925); Gagé (1936); Petsas (1974); Murray and Petsas (1989)' Zachos (1995), Zachos (1997), Zachos (2001a), Zachos (2001b), Zachos (2003), Zachos (2007).
[327] Dio Cass. 51.1.3: 'and the place in which he had encamped, he finished with a foundation of square stones and decorated it with captured prows'.

nine uncovered in 1913, four in 1922.[328] The structure was later interpreted as the south retaining wall and east side wall of a podium, which supported an upper terrace with a *Π* shaped stoa.[329] The podium facade has now been shown to measure 63m, and the upper terrace 62m x 50m (Figure 23).[330] By 1926 a further twelve inscription fragments were found when the area at the east end of the podium wall was excavated.[331] Gagé, in his 1936 article, presented a thorough analysis of the monument. From the ancient sources he argued that we should view the monument as a sort of *peribolos*, decorated with the *rostra*, whilst he deduced that the inscription most likely was set up on the principal facade of the monument, because of the length of the fragments already recovered. [332] Indeed, this theory was confirmed by Murray and Petsas, who demonstrated that the inscription belonged to the irregular ashlar podium wall, because they identified two of the blocks as headers.[333] A further seven blocks of the inscription course have since been uncovered, five of which are inscribed.[334]

Later excavations uncovered a series of socket holes along the podium facade (Figure 24). These anchor-shaped sockets appear to have held the bronze ship-rams mentioned by Dio, displayed in decreasing size from left to right (west to east) across

[328] Philadelpheus (1913) 87; Rhomaios (1925). Philadelpheus' presentation of the fragment blocks is confusing: MPERAT – C. REGIO – IO – OC – F – VICT – AC. VM – PA – PARTA. See below pp.103 - 112 for a detailed discussion of the fragments.

[329] Murray and Petsas (1989) 14 n. 15. It seems likely that Philadelpheus had also worked on the upper terrace: Zachos (2003) 66; Petsas (1974) 79-88, pl. 60-70; the Turkish invasion of Cyprus brought the excavations of 1974 to a halt; Murray and Petsas (1989) 77-93.

[330] Zachos (2003) 77.

[331] The excavator's finds were unpublished, and known only from correspondence mentioned in an 'epigraphic note', Gagé (1936) 98-100.

[332] Gagé (1936) 55-58 rejected Philadelpheus' suggestion that the inscription adorned a temple on its different sides.

[333] Murray and Petsas (1989) 72-74. In addition to the inscribed headers, the varying widths of the irregular backs of the blocks suggest that they were part of the masonry, intended to be set into the hillside, with little attention paid to their unseen sides.

[334] Zachos (1997). A publication of the revised version of the text has been promised by William M. Murray and K. Zachos during the course of the coming year (correct as of a conversation with William M. Murray, Feburary 2010).

the podium facade.[335] Fragmentary remains of sculptural triumphal reliefs were found on the upper terrace of the monument, along with a monumental altar (6m x 22m), and three statue bases.[336]

From the excavations of the site, the design and layout of the monument can be reconstructed. Travelling up the main road out of the city, past the building complex for the Actian Games at the foot of the hill, the viewer approached the monument from the south. First to come into view was a vast retaining wall, above which could be seen the limestone ashlar masonry facade of the podium, measuring 63m in length, with sidewalls receding into the hillside. On the facade was a row of 36 bronze rams, displayed in decreasing size from west to east. Above the rams, running across the length of the facade wall, was a monumental inscription, dedicating the spoils of war to Neptune and Mars.[337] On the upper terrace was a *Π*-shaped stoa, open on the south side. The inner courtyard, measuring 38m x 38m, held a monumental altar, decorated with sculptural reliefs, some of which depicted the Roman triumphal procession, and three statue bases. From this vantage point one can see the Ambracian Gulf and, on a clear day, the Actian promontory, where Octavian enlarged the temple to Apollo and dedicated the enemy ships. Octavian's campsite thus commands a view over land and sea (Figure 25).

It is clear from the fragments that the inscription was carved *in situ* because some of the letters are carved over the block joins.[338] The blocks have decorative bands

[335] These holes, twenty-three of which were uncovered in 1974, were described as 'shaped like enormous bass-viols' by Eugene Vanderpool (Murray and Petsas (1989) 18 n. 32.), and were numbered 1-18, and then A-E with a gap of 5.35m betwen n. 18 and A (Murray and Petsas (1989) 34-57). Later excavations by Zachos uncovered a further two socket holes between 18 and A (Zachos (1997).

[336] Malacrino (2007); Zachos (2007) 413 suggests that one of one base post-dates the other two. Zachos (2001b), Zachos (2003), has labelled the monument the Actian *Tropaeum.*

[337] Suet. *Aug.* 18.2; see p. 108 below.

[338] The presence of an earlier inscription is visible of the fragment blocks *C·REGI/ON*. In the upper half of the epigraphic field, cut into by the inscription, the letters *CAIO/IV* are visible. This inscription must have

carved at the top and bottom, measuring 16cm and 15cm respectively (Figure 26), and the letter height is c. 30cm (i.e. one Roman foot = 29.6cm). If one pictures the ashlar podium facade, potentially over 7m in height above the base course (only four courses now survive),[339] the carved decorative bands on the inscription blocks would have framed the inscription within the masonry, and the use of the *tabula ansata* on an uninscribed inscription block further articulates this (Figure 27).[340] I will now consider the fragmentary blocks to restore a reading of the inscription.

The Latin Inscription

Over the course of the excavations some thirty inscribed and three un-inscribed fragments have been found. Ten of these blocks are now lost. Table 2 shows all the known blocks and their find spots. Miliadis' excavation east of socket 18 uncovered several blocks next to the wall, suggesting that they fell and remained close to their original position on the facade.[341]

Murray's 1989 restoration of the inscription reads:

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read *CAIO·IVLIO* (Rhomaios (1925) 2 the two inscriptions on these two blocks clearly demonstrate that the blocks where joined and that the second block must read *ON*, and not *IO* as Philadelpheus (1913) thought (see n. 328 above)). An *A* also seems to be engraved at the start of the fragment block *·IN·HAC.* It seems that there was an earlier dedicatory inscription was set up to Octavian in the dative case. The letters are smaller than those of the inscription proper, perhaps half the size, and the upper band of the inscription course has cut through the tops of these letters. For what reason this earlier inscription was abandoned is unclear, although it does seem likely that this inscription was also carved *in situ*, since the two blocks carry two sequential parts of inscription (i.e. *CAIO/IV* and *C·REGI/ON*).

[339] Murray and Petsas (1989) 29 for the surviving courses of the podium facade; 57-59 for construction of the wall, including the insertion of the rams.

[340] Height of the facade: Zachos (2003) 74; *Tabula ansata*: Zachos (2003) 76.

[341] The find spots must be explained by the sizes of the blocks, the smallest of which travelled the furthest, moved either by human hand or geological shifts on the hillside. See Murray and Petsas (1989) 73, Table 5 for the measurements of 14 blocks and their find-spots.

Table 2: The findspots of the inscription fragments from the monument above Nicopolis.

Approx. order of the fragments as regards current reconstruction	Fragment Description	Find spot	Gagé (1936) numbering system
1	*tabula ansata*	unclear from reports	G28
2	uninscribed	5.2 m out from socket 5	G27
3	uninscribed	eastern end of lower terrace	G26
4	R DIV	c.10m from west corner of podium	G1
5	F VICT	0.5 m out from socket 6	G2
6	OR BEL	between sockets 4-6	G29
7	O Q	at socket 8	G11
8	VOD	following after 7	G12
9	PRO	unclear from reports	G14
10	bLIC	5.85m out from socket 8	G15
11	t IN HAc	4.8m out from socket 11	G19
12	tA C	adjacent to 10	G17
13	C REGI	5.4m out from socket 13	G13
14	ON	very near 12	G10
15	VL	following after 13	G4
16	MPERAT	following after 14	G3
17	SE	south of the retaining wall	G30
18	PTIM	following after 15	G5
19	VM Pa	3.4m out from socket 17	G6
20	AC	25-28m from SW corner of podium	G7
21	E PARTA	25-28m from SW corner of podium	G8
22	A TERRA	25-28m from SW corner of podium	G9
23	QVIBV	between sockets 18-21	G22
24	TVNO	adjacent to 21	G20
25	TI NEP	? 7.5m out from socket 21 ?	G31
26	ASTRA	at socket 22	G21
27	RT	Adjacent to 24	G24
28	SEQ	Adjacent to 25	G23
position within restored inscription uncertain			
29	IMP [I]	SE side of podium, where greatest damage has occurred to the wall	G32
30	V[S]	SE side of podium, where greatest damage has occurred to the wall	G33
31	IS	unclear from reports	G16
32	GES	south of the retaining wall	G18
33	ESSV	unclear from reports	G25

vacat *Imp · Caesa]r · Div[i · Iuli ·]f · vict[oriam · consecutus · bell]o · quod · pro [· r]ẹ[·]p[u]blic[a] · ges[si]t · in · hac · region[e · cons]ul [· quintum · i]mperat[or · se]ptimum · pace [·] parta · terra [· marique · Nep]tuno [· et · Ma]rt[i · c]astra [· ex ·] quibu[s · ad hostem · in]seq[uendum egr]essu[s · est · navalibus · spoli]is [· exorna]ta · c[onsacravit* vacat[342]

Imperator Caesar son of the divine Julius, following the victory in the war, which he waged on behalf of the *res publica* in this region, consul for the fifth time, imperator for the seventh time, with peace won by land and sea, consecrated to Neptune and Mars the camp, from which he set out to attack the enemy, decorated with naval spoils.

Since new fragments of the inscription have been discovered since 1989, I will examine, question and in some cases correct, Murray's restoration.[343]

The position of the titulature at the beginning of the inscription, apparent from the location of *R·DIV* and *F·VICT,* found at the west end of the podium wall, and in the nominative case (*CAESA]R*), immediately informs the viewer who is responsible for the monument.[344] Murray's restoration of *Iuli* is plausible, but by no means certain.[345] Firstly, the size of the gap between *R·DIV* and *F·VICT* is not known and there may have existed either a long block of approximately 1m or more carrying the letters *VI·IVLI*,[346]

[342] Murray and Petsas (1989) 76.
[343] See n. 334 above for Murray's forthcoming revised text.
[344] Oliver (1969) and Carter (1977) restore the beginning of the inscription with *Neptuno et Marti.* This is unlikely based on the find spots: see Table 2.
[345] Schäfer (1993) 240-241.
[346] The *V* of *divi* was carved over the block join, as was the *F* of *f(ilius*) so a single long block carrying six letters and two interpuncts would measure approximately 1m.

or a header carrying only *VI·*.[347] Secondly, *IVLI* is not always given in Octavian's titulature of the period: whilst an inscription found in the Roman Forum in the sixteenth century, now lost, names Octavian as *Divi Iuli f(ilius*),[348] other inscriptions and coins merely record him as *divi f(ilius*).[349] Of course, the distinction between the use of *Iuli* and its non-use must be largely influenced by the amount of space available,[350] and given the length of the podium facade (63m) it is quite possible that there was space to inscribed *IVLI.*

The titulature is followed by a clear reference to victory, and this is certain because of the fragment *F·VICT.* A problem arises, however, because of a fragment found by Zachos, between sockets 4-6, reading *OR·BEL* (Figure 28).[351] The find spot and the block's size (approx. 1m) suggests that it has not moved far from its original position, meaning we can plausibly place it between *F·VICT* (found 0.5m out from socket 6) and *O·QVOD* (found at socket 8). This is the position which has been restored by Murray to read *f. vict[oriam consecutus bell]o quod.* However, I will argue that the new fragment should replace the restoration of *vict[oriam consecutus*.

I have found two other fragmentary inscriptions which attest *–or bel;* the first possibly reads *[ob vi]ctor(iam) belli*.[352] The second, however, appears more appropriate to our inscription at Nicopolis, as it is a fragment of an *elogium* from the Forum

[347] Such a fragment would be very similar to the header block carrying *RT.*
[348] See p. 109 and n. 365 below.
[349] For example *ILS* 82, dated to 27 B.C., from Arelate: *senatus populusque Romanus Imp. Caesari divi f. Augusto cos. VIII dedit clupeum virtutis clementiae iustitiae pietatis erga deos patriamque*; *RIC* Aug. 476 a cistophoric tetradrachm of 28 B.C. from Asia Minor: *Imp Caesar divi f. cos VI libertatis P. R. Vindex.* See also *ILS* 78-80, 85-94.
[350] Thus smaller inscriptions and coins drop the *Iuli*; however an aureus of 38 B.C. from Gaul records the legend *Imp. Divi Iuli f. ter. IIIvir. RRC* 534/1, see also *RRC* 534/3.
[351] Zachos (1997) 576, this block was found together with an un-inscribed fragment which Zachos identifies as a header.
[352] *AE* 1989 n. 166: *ob vi]ctor(iam?) belli [---] / [Be]neventi et [---] / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) postulatu pop[uli ---] / et praecipua annon[---] / munificentia st[---] / in orchestram lect[---] / ut modestiae suae [---] / IIviro q(uin)q(uennale) quaest(ore) sa[;* the phrase *ob victoriam* is found most frequently with an adjective such as *Parthicam* (*CIL* VI 41143) or *Germanicam* (*CIL* VI 41141), in the high Empire.

Romanum, which reads: *[---]no cum / [---]tor belli / [---]+ctus /* ------ (Figure 29).[353] The possibility of either a genitive plural or *victor(iam) belli* as a reading is unlikely as abbreviations in the *elogia* are extremely rare. The possible restorations given by Granino Cercere are *dictator, triumphator* and *victor*.[354] The phrase *de manubiis Cimbris et Teuton. Aedem Honori / et Virtuti* ***victor*** *fecit*, occurs in the *elogium* of Marius from the Forum Augustum,[355] and in the *RGDA*, Augustus twice refers to himself as *victor*.[356] It may then be possible to read *victor bel[lo* for our inscription. It should be noted that whilst *F·VICT* ends clearly at the block join, the new fragment is damaged at both ends. On its left hand side the stone has broken around the *O*, which is intact, whilst of the right hand side the top of the *L* is lost, although in the lower part the block join may possibly be discerned (Figure 28). Given the size of the block and the number of letters inscribed it seems unlikely that any letters from either end have been lost, and rather the stone has fractured and broken around the extremities.

If we accept the reading *victor bello* (Figure 30), then the fragment *OR · BEL* must have joined another block that began *LO*. Given that fragment *O. Q.*, although damaged at the edges a bit, clearly shows the block joins, it cannot directly proceed *OR·BEL* (Figure 31).[357] However, we cannot ascertain the exact space between *victor bel* and *-]o quod*. Nevertheless, a gap there clearly was, and now that I have shown the reading may plausibly be *victor bello*, rather than *victoriam consecutus bello*, a replacement may be considered for Murray's restoration. The phrase *bello Actiaco* or the like might be acceptable. Indeed, Livy who appears to echo the central phrase of the

[353] *CIL* VI 40921; Granino Cecere (1996) 122-124.
[354] Granino Cecere (1996) 123. *Imperator* would fit, though it does appear abbreviated in the *elogia: ILS* 66.
[355] *ILS* 59.
[356] *RG* 3 and 24.
[357] Furthermore, fragment *O.Q.* was joined to the preceding block with an iron clamp, of which there is no evidence on the fragment *OR·BEL,* although the damage to the upper right hand side of the block may have destroyed this.

inscription (*pace parta terra marique*) in his account of the 29 B.C. closing of the Gates of Ianus, refers to the event which initiated it: *bellum Actiacum,* demonstrating the contemporary usage of the phrase for the commemoration of victory attached to the site.[358] This restoration would require eight new letters, most likely inscribed over two blocks. These blocks may have measured up to just under 1m each, given that *A* and *O* are particularly wide letters.

It is plausible to maintain Murray's restoration of the word *bello* preceding the phrase *quod pro re publica gessit*.[359] However, it should be noted that the fragment which Murray identified as *E[·]P* has now been fully excavated by Zachos, and in fact reads *TI·NEP*.[360] This indicates that the inscription should read *Marti Neptunoque* rather than *Neptuno et ·Marti*. It would seem that commentators have previously been keen to put Neptune first owing to the direct correlation between the inscription and the course of rams,[361] as well as Suetonius' account of the monument dedication *Neptuno ac Marti*.[362] Whilst Neptune is honoured in respect to the sea battle won, the victory had been won explicitly over land *and* sea. Mars is the generic figure for triumph in battle, and it must be remembered that the monument marks the site of Octavian's land camp (made emphatic by the word *c]astra*), where the army of Antony surrendered, allowing for victory *terra marique*. The placement of Mars first echoes the pattern of that phrase.

[358] Livy 1.19.3, and see p. 89 above for a discussion of the influence of the monumental inscription on Livy's presentation of the closing of the Gates in 29 B.C.; for other examples of *bellum Actiacum* see: Macrob. *Sat.* 2.4.27: *Actiaco bello.*
[359] The phrase *quod pro re publica gessit* is also attested on the arch of Trajan at Lepcis Magna where Q. Pomponius Rufus is named *prae(fectus) orae marit(imae) Hispan(iae) Citer(oris) Gallia[e] / Narbon(ensis) bello qu[od] Imp. G[a]lba pro [re p(ublica)] gessit* (*IRT* 537; Romanelli (1940) 99).
[360] Murray and Petsas (1989) 64; Zachos (1995) 426.
[361] Carter (1977) 229 argues along these lines for his restorations of *vict[oriam ma]rit[imam.*
[362] Suet. *Aug.* 18.2.

Carter has argued that to end with the dating formula and *pace parta terra marique* is more effective than ending with an 'innocuous' main verb.[363] His argument relies on the passage of Livy, which concludes *pace terra marique parta*,[364] and on the contemporary inscription found in the Roman Forum in the sixteenth century:

> *Senatus populusque Romanus Imp. Caesari divi Iuli f(ilius), co(n)s(ul) quinct(um) co(n)s(ul) design(atus) sext(us) Imp(erator) sept(imum) re publica conservata.*[365]
>
> The senate and the Roman people [erected this] to Imperator Caesar son of the divine Iulius, consul for the fifth time, consul designate for the sixth time, Imperator for the seventh time, since the *res publicae* had been preserved.

Livy is commenting on the war and its outcome for Rome, rather than the dedication of spoils. The inscription which commemorates Octavian's generic accomplishments on behalf of the state has an implied main verb of dedication. As the Nicopolis inscription does not abbreviate words such as *consul, (-VL), imperator (-MPERAT-),* and *septimum (SE-PTIM-VM)* which are usually abbreviated, as the above inscription from Rome demonstrates, it is plausible that the main verb of dedication was also included, and would have ended the inscription.[366] As Murray has pointed out, the passage from Suetonius, which actually describes the monument, is far more appropriate: *locum*

[363] Carter (1977) 230.
[364] See n. 358 above.
[365] *ILS* 81.
[366] *Spolia* or trophy monuments often have a verb of dedication: see *ILS* 1, 3, 12, 14, 16, 17, 36; *NSc* 1956, 20; *CIL* I^2 622; *CIL* VI 701, 702.

castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.[367] The conclusion of the inscription with the main verb *consecravit* is in fact highly suitable for an inscription of dedication, and also when considered in relation to the monument, which I will discuss below.

The order of the first half of the inscription is relatively assured:

> Vacat *Imp · Caesa]r · div[i Iuli ·] f · victor · bel[lo · Actiac?]o · quod ·pro [re pu]blic[a] · ges[si]t · in · hac · region[e · cons]ul [· quinctum? · I]mperat[or ·] septimum ·pace [·] parta ·terra [· marique]*.[368]

Murray estimated the length of the inscription at c. 56m based on the number of letters in his inscription.[369] His analysis of 13 blocks of known size and location gives a total inscribed length of 10.4m for 41 letters, which gives on average c.0.253m per character.[370] If we apply this to the first half of the inscription given above, the length would be approximately 30.85m, suggesting that (including the *vacat* at the start and end of the inscription) the central section of the whole inscription would be *pace parta terra marique*. Indeed, block *VM · PA* was found 3.4m south out from socket 17.[371] The direct centre of the facade is socket 18.

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[367] Murray and Petsas (1989) 87.

[368] Although *consul, imperator* and *septimum* are not abbreviated, I have followed Murray's restoration of *Imp. Caesar*, on the basis that the filiation *divi. f.* is also in abbreviated form, although it is possible that *Imperator* was given in full at the start of the inscription. Zachos (1995) 426 found a fragment which reads *IM-P[I]*, which might suggest a restoration of *Impe[rator]*, but it was found at the south-east corner of the podium wall, and so was more likely to have come from the second half of the inscription. I have used *quinctum* as opposite to *quintum* on the basis of *ILS* 81, n. 365.

[369] Murray and Petsas (1989) 74.

[370] Murray and Petsas (1989) 73 do not include the interpuncts in his calculations because 'in all but one case they seem not to occupy a full letter space'. I have followed Murray's practice for consistency.

[371] Murray and Petsas (1989) 73, Table 5; Rhomaios (1925) 2 says that fragments *VM·P, AC, E· PART*, and *A·TERRA* were found 25-28m from the west corner.

The second half of the inscription is at present more fragmentary, but likely consists of the following:

> *Ma]rti · Neptuno[que · c]astra [---] quibu[s · ad hostem · in]seq[uendum egr]essu[s? --- · navalib]us [· spoli]is [exorna]ta · c[on]se[cravit*.

It should be noted that whilst Murray's restoration of *ad hostem insequendum egressus* is tempting and makes use of two fragments, *-seq* and *–essu*, we cannot be certain of the reference solely to *hostem*, rather than a named group or individuals.

Murray noted the similarities between the Nicopolis inscription and the inscription on the base of the obelisk set up at Rome in 10/9 B.C. as a solar median:

> *Imp. Caesar divi f(ilius) / Augustus / Pontifex Maximus / Imp(erator) XII, co(n)s(ul) XI, trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIV / Aegupto in potestatem / populi Romani redacta / Soli donum dedit*.[372]

> Imperator Caesar Augustus son of the divine, Pontifex Maximus, Imperator for the twelfth time, consul for the eleventh time, holding tribunician power for the fourteenth time, gave [this as] a gift to Sol, since Egypt had been brought under the power of the Roman people.

Both inscriptions consist of the same grammatical units: 1) the title (the clause *quod pro republica gessit* may be included here as it is dependent on *victor bello*), 2) the dating formulae, 3) the reason for the dedication in the ablative absolute (*pace parta* and

[372] *CIL* VI 701 and 702.

Aegupto redacta), 4) the dedicatee, and finally 5) the main verb of dedication/consecration to end the sentence. We can be certain of the overall order and sense of the grammatical units in the Nicopolis inscription, and in some cases the relation between these units.

We must deal with the issue of date. Only one numeral of the dating formula has survived: *septimum*. Some scholars have argued that *septimum* can be taken equally with *consul* as with *imperator*, dating the dedication to 27 B.C.[373] However, their aim has been to date the first Actian games rather than to date the inscription.[374] As Schäfer has noted, there is no place after the filiation for the name *Augustus*, which was awarded to Octavian on 16th January 27 B.C., so unless the monument was dedicated between 1-16th January 27 B.C. it seems unlikely that we should read *consul septimum*.[375] Octavian received his seventh appellation of *imperator* after his victory at Alexandria (1st August 30 B.C.), and did not receive his eighth until 25 B.C.[376] If, on the absence of *Augustus* after his filiation, we exclude a date after 16th January 27 B.C. then we have a possible date range of 1st August 30 B.C. – 16th January 27 B.C. The correlation of the central phrase *pace parta terra marique* with Livy's account of the closing of the Gates of Ianus in 29 B.C. makes it tempting to indeed read *consul quinctum* immediately beforehand, thus placing the inscription in 29 B.C. I will now turn to consider the relationship of the inscription to the *spolia* monument.

[373] Gagé (1936) 100; Moretti (1953) 205-206; Tidman (1950); Rieks (1970) 106.
[374] Schäfer (1993) 242.
[375] Schäfer (1993) 246-247.
[376] Rich (1996) 95-96; Lange (2009) 110-111, esp. n. 75.

The prows and the sculptural display

All the ancient authors who describe the site of Octavian's campsite and monument mention the setting up and displaying of the bronze rams: *exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit* (Suet. *Aug.* 18.2); *τό τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπιδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν* (Dio 51.1.3); *διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις τὸν τόπον κοσμῶν* (Plut. *Ant.* 65.3); *ἡ μὲν δῦν Νικόπολις εὐανδρεῖ καὶ λαμβάνει καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδοσιν, χώραν τε ἔχουσα πολλὴν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων κὸσμον* (Strabo 7.7.6); *Ἔμβολα χαλκογένεια, φιλόπλοα τεύχεα νηῶν,/ Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου κείμεθα μαρτύρια* (Philippus of Thessalonica, *Ant. Pal.* 6.236).[377] The *spolia* were intended to demonstrate the naval power of the victor, both by illustrating the impressive nature of the fleet he had captured and destroyed, and by alluding therefore to his own naval strength in the visual display of the captured prows.[378]

The first ram socket starts 2.785m from the west end of the podium wall. If we assume a rough symmetry at the other end, the ram display takes up roughly 57.5m of the 63m facade. Murray has calculated that if the inscription was centred over the rams then there would be a *vacat* at each end of c.3m.[379] This would allow the first word of the inscription to be located over the first ram.[380] This means the audience starts reading the inscription in correlation to viewing the rams. As the inscription is concerned with the dedication of these objects, this simple, but visually striking linear relationship is highly effective. It is certainly fitting that the last word of the inscription, *consecravit*,

[377] *Anth. Pal.* 6.236: 'bronze tongued rams, the voyage-loving armour of ships / we are set up as witnesses of the Actian war'.
[378] The display of the rams above Nicopolis was a balance to the ships dedicated across the promontory at Actium. Murray (2007) for the reconstruction of the prows.
[379] So far four un-inscribed blocks from the inscription course have been found, one the *tabula ansata* from the start of the inscription, which measures c.0.46m and is a header block. Another block measures 0.85m (Murray and Petsas (1989) 73, Table 5). The measures of the other two blocks are not given.
[380] Murray and Petsas (1989) 74.

would then rest above the last ram, thus visually demonstrating the completion of the dedication with the completion of the display of *spolia*.

In this respect, more attention must be paid to the inscription, and not just the literary sources. In an attempt to reconcile the claim of Strabo, that the hill was sacred to Apollo, and that of Dio, that Octavian dedicated a *ἕδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον,* with the archaeological evidence, Zachos has argued that the monument may have been a hierarchical structure: the facade honoured Mars and Neptune, whilst the upper terrace, with its monumental altar, belonged to Apollo.[381] However, Strabo directs his remarks towards the complex below the monument, where the Actian games were celebrated.[382] At present, the evidence from the inscription does not support the involvement of Apollo in the monumental display. Indeed, Suetonius separates the temple of Apollo at Actium from the campsite consecrated to Neptune and Mars: *exornatum spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.*[383] There is no explicit evidence that Apollo received special attention on the upper terrace: it rather follows the rhetoric of the inscription and celebrates peace won *terra marique* by the victor (and *triumphator*),[384] as the fragmentary sculptural relief in Pentelic marble found on the upper terrace, around the monumental altar illustrates.[385]

The fragmentary marble remains were most likely decorated that monumental altar, with two registers: the lower depicting armours, weapons, and ship parts,[386] the

[381] Zachos (2003) 83.
[382] Dio's comment is ambiguous for he could mean that the *χωρίον* belongs to Apollo (Dio Cass. 51.1.3).
[383] Suet. *Aug.* 18.2.
[384] However, see Lange (2009) 119-120, Zachos (2003) 70-71 on the possibility of a statue (*ἕδος*) of Apollo either in front of the lower terrace, where a large base (possibly post-dating the main monument) is attested, or on the upper terrace.
[385] Zachos (2003) 83ff; Zachos (2007), Zachos (2009).
[386] Zachos (2009) 282-284. The dimensions of the fragments make it plausible that they were placed on the lower register.

upper depicting a triumphal procession (Figure 32).[387] Fragments of decorative vegetation in the form of acanthus leaves, rosettes and flowers were also found, and most likely decorated pilasters or other architectural elements of the altar (Figure 33).[388] The display of the *spolia* and weapons (Figure 34) reaffirms the rhetoric of *terra marique* in the inscription, and this theme is carried through to the triumphal frieze. One fragment depicts a ship prow being carried in the procession (Figure 35 & Figure 37) emphasising the importance of the naval victory both to Octavian's triumph at Rome and in the context of the frieze's display, above the bronze rams on the podium facade. The fragments of the procession frieze depict trumpeters (Figure 36), the parade of spoils such as ships, ship beaks, and possibly trophies carried on trestles (Figure 37) the parade of captives (Figure 38), the sacrificial victims (Figure 39), lictors (Figure 40) non-Roman cavalry men (Figure 41), the triumphal chariot, led by a slave, carrying Octavian and two children (Figure 42),[389] and behind the chariot the procession of dignitaries and senators (Figure 43). The reliefs were most probably made in a neo-attic workshop, given their high quality and classical style.[390] The subject matter of the frieze, the Roman triumphal procession, serves to illustrate, along with the Latin inscription, that the establishment of *pax terra marique* rests in the hands of Rome and Octavian. The frieze articulates the meaning of the *pax* of the inscription: that of Roman victory over the world, and the place of the defeated and allies within it.

[387] Zachos (2009) 285-303.
[388] Zachos (2009) 284.
[389] Zachos (2009) 299-300 discusses the possible identity of the two children: one possibility, Julia and either Tiberius or Marcellus seems unlikely as Suet. *Tib.* 6 records that both boys rode on the horses of the chariot, although the sculptural decoration at Actium does not appear to depict riders on these horse. The other possibility is the children of Antony and Cleopatra: Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, although Dio 51.21.8 tells us that they were among the captives that proceeded Octavian's chariot.
[390] Zachos (2009) 300 states that the sculptural reliefs mark the acceptance of the classical Hellenistic style by the new political power.

It is no coincidence that the central section of the inscription draws attention to the physical site: *in hac region[e cons]ul [quinctum? I]mperat[or]septimum pace parta terra [marique]* The site affords a commanding view (emphasising its suitable position as a *castra*), surveying the land and sea (*terra marique).* The inscription tells the audience to look at the spoils in the actual geographical context of the victory. The views the site commands encompass the Actium promontory, where Octavian marked the defeat of the enemy with the dedication of the actual ships and enlarged the ancient temple of Actian Apollo. Thus, the two sites set up a visual dialogue of conquest and victory across the entrance of the Ambracian Gulf, using the theme of naval spoils throughout. The importance of viewing the wider physical landscape of the monument is emphasised strongly by the whole complex as a *victoriae memoria*.[391]

The 1st century A.D. writer Philippus of Thessalonica perceived the display at Actium as the indicator of peace: *ὅπλα γὰρ ἐχθρῶν / καρποὺς εἰρήνης ἀντεδίδαξε τρέφειν.*[392] The display of the rams together with the inscription speaks of a celebration of *pax/εἰρήνη* as the accomplishment of the victory.

In hac regione...pace parta terra marique

The theme of *pax terra marique* was central to the inscription and message of the monument at Nicopolis, and plausibly influenced Livy's presentation of the event.[393] This idea is also represented on a cistophorus from Ephesus dated to 28 B.C. The obverse depicts the wreathed head of Octavian, accompanied by the legend: *IMP CAESAR DIVI F. COS VI LIBERTATIS P. R. VINDEX.* On the reverse a female figure

[391] Suet. *Aug.* 18.2.
[392] *Anth. Pal.* 6.236: 'for he (Octavian) instructed the weapons of the enemy to nurture the fruits of peace'. See also Prop. 2.1.34-36.
[393] p. 89-93 above.

holding a *caduceus* and standing on a *parazonium* is accompanied by the identifying legend *PAX*, with a *cista mystica* in the background, and a wreath encircling all (Figure 44).[394] In contrast to the coinage minted by the city of Nicopolis, which depicts a Nike with Greek legends (Figure 45),[395] the cistophorus minted at Ephesus focuses on the concept of victorious *Pax* (trampling the sword). The Latin legends combine the idea of *pax* and the *libertas populi Romani*, which is further emphasised by the depiction of the *cista mystica*, alluding to Bacchus, the liberator. The *cista mystica* may also allude to Octavian's success over Antony who had drawn comparisons with Bacchus on his eastern coinage.[396] The coin seems to be addressing a multitude of audiences: the legend referring to the *libertas p.R.* suggest a Latin speaking and Romano-centric audience, whilst the use of the Greek monetary system (cistophoric tetradachm)[397] and imagery (the *cista mystica*) suggest that the message of *pax* should be understood in the East, as much as at Rome. It is interesting to note that denarii were also struck in Asia during the civil wars of the Late Republic and down to 18 B.C., yet Octavian chose this Greek coinage to put forth his message of *pax* and victory. It seems that Octavian put his own silver coinage into circulation as a display of his authority in the area, now that Antony, who had also minted cistophori in Asia, had been defeated.[398] Whether the coins were minted to pay troops or went towards public expenditure, the language of the coin together with the coinage itself suggests multiple audiences,[399] similar to that of the monument at Nicopolis.

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[394] *RIC Aug*. 476.
[395] *RPC* 1364.
[396] *RPC* 2201, 2202. A coin of Octavian's also depicts a Victory holding a palm branch and standing on the *cista mystica* (*RIC* Aug. 276).
[397] The cistophorus was the main silver currency of Asia, and became equivalent to three denarii during the period 49-18 B.C., when denarii were also being minted in Asia: *RPC* p.6, 369-370; Sutherland (1984) 6, 35 n.3.
[398] Sutherland (1984) 35.
[399] Howgego (1995) 62-87.

The monument, which declared *pax parta terra marique* on behalf of the *respublica*, was displayed within the context of a Greek 'city of Victory'. The axis of the south-west gate, ran up through the city to the north-west gate, passed through the north necropolis, between the stadium and gymnasium, and ended at the west side of the monument (Figure 46).[400] Since the community and monument are tied thus together, I will now consider how this relationship affects questions of language and audience, and will argue that the use of a monumental Latin inscription was the one element of the monument that would not have been familiar to the Greek community, in the context of the sanctuary display. Given the central message of *pax* within the inscription, it is important to understand how the inscription functioned within the wider context of the community.

As I have already discussed above, Nicopolis appears to have been created by the synoecism of the surrounding communities,[401] and Octavian marked this creation of a new centre of the Greek world in the Epirus by gathering the statuary of Aetolia and Acarnaia together at Nicopolis:

> *ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγάλματα ἔκ τε Αἰτωλίας καὶ παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων, τὰ μὲν πόλλα ἐς τὴν Νικόπολιν κοσμισθῆναι.*[402]
>
> And likewise so many other images from Aetolia and from the Acarnanians, many of these were carried to Nicopolis.

[400] Tsakoumis (2007) 397-398; Zachos (2003) 69. This axis would also bring the viewer to the start of the inscription and rams on the west side.
[401] See p. 97 above.
[402] Paus. 7.18.9.

Nicopolis represented Octavian's consolidation of power in the East through his ability to form a new community from the many surrounding ones and start a new cultural centre, where the quinquennial pan-hellenic games were hosted, in the sanctuary on the hill, sacred to Apollo.[403] The monument itself, with its open-air *temenos*, comprising a *Π* shaped stoa and monumental altar facing out over the landscape is reminiscent of Late Hellenistic sanctuary complexes, such as the Asclepieion at Kos, but also sanctuaries of the Late Republic in Italy, such as those at Tibur and Praeneste.[404] There is fragmentary evidence of Greek inscriptions, indicating that Greek-speakers were using the complex (Figure 47).[405] Furthermore, the coinage and public inscriptions of Nicopolis were Greek.[406] The presence of a monumental Latin inscription within this ostensibly Greek sanctuary complex is then striking.[407]

Using Latin within a Greek sanctuary was a rhetorical tool, seen most notably in Aemilius Paullus' pillar monument at Delphi.[408] That inscription commemorated Paullus' victory over Perseus of Macedonia, reusing the pillar that Perseus was said to have been erecting:[409]

L. Aimilius L. f. inperator de rege Perse // Macedonibusque cepet.[410]

[403] Dio Cass. 51.18.1; Strabo 7.7.6; Suet. *Aug.* 18.2; Gagé (1936) 92-100; Gurval (1995) 74-81; Zachos (2007) 431; Lange (2009) 97-98
[404] Zachos (2003) 67-70.
[405] Zachos (2001a) 39, fig. 19; however these fragments appear to be unpublished. One fragment may contain the word *hieron*.
[406] Coins: *RPC* 1364; Lange (2009) 104-106; Inscriptions: *AE* 1994 n. 1597ff; Bergmann (1998) 89.
[407] Lange (2009) 114-115 on the little commented-upon fact of the inscription being in Latin.
[408] On the monument in general: Pomtow (1921) 179 esp. n.1; Courby (1922-27) 302 ff; Colin (1922-1985); Jacquemin and Laroche (1982) 207-218;Themelis (1983); Bommelaer (1991); on frieze: Homolle (1897); Kähler (1965); Jacquemin and Laroche (1982) 211-212; Pollitt (1986) 155-158; on the inscription: *CIL* I² 622; Colin (1922-1985) 29ff.
[409] Poly. 30.10.1-2; Livy 45.27.5-7; Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 28.1-2, 4.
[410] *CIL* I² 622: 'Lucius Aemilius, son of Lucius, *imperator* took (this) from king Perseus and the Macedonians'.

As with the monument above Nicopolis, the pillar of Perseus is fundamentally a *spolia* monument that employs not only the pillar itself, but also the location within the sanctuary and relationship to other pillar monuments, to emphasise Paullus' victory over Perseus.[411] Paullus' monument at Delphi both partakes in the traditional Hellenistic ruler display within the sanctuary, and also celebrates his victory over an Hellenistic ruler. Indeed, his Latin inscription was inscribed over an earlier Greek one.[412]

Paullus depicted his conquest of the East by using Latin on a Greek monument originally designed for the Macedonian king. Lange has argued that 'Paullus does not mention Rome and the *res publica;* he only mentions Paullus and the enemy. This is Roman imperialism, whereas Octavian [at Nicopolis] stresses victory and peace, but no enemy'.[413] Whilst Lange has rightly stressed the difference in language between Paullus and Octavian, he suggests that Octavian's display is *not* Roman imperialism. In fact, what the display at Nicopolis demonstrates is how Roman imperialism could now be expressed through the concept of *pax terra marique*, not just to a Roman audience, but also to the Greek East.

Yet Lange has argued that the display at Nicopolis was 'a Roman monument for Romans', relying on the evidence of not only the Latin inscription but also the Roman building technique of *opus reticulatum*.[414] However, whilst the *opus reticulatum*

[411] For others pillars erected to Hellenistic kings Eumenes II and Prusias in the Delphic sanctuary see: Courby (1922-27) 267 ff;Colin (1922-1985) 117 ff; Bommelaer (1991) 175; see also Hurwit (1999) 171-172 on the pillars of Eumenes II and Attalos II on the Athenian Acropolis.

[412] Jacquemin and Laroche (1982) 210 n. 77. I was unable to make out this earlier Greek inscription in the Delphi Museum, however the inscription is placed on a side wall at ground level, with a gap of less than 1m between it and the display of the frieze of the pillar. This makes a proper viewing of the inscription very difficult, which is not aided by the lighting in the Museum.

[413] Lange (2009) 116. The fragmentary nature of the inscription does mean that we are at present unable to say whether the defeated were mentioned at all.

[414] Lange (2009) 116-117, 120-123; Malacrino (2007) esp. 377-378; see Murray and Petsas (1989) 126-130 for a proposed timetable of construction of the monument.

indicates that the monument was designed and built with Roman techniques, the appearence and decoration of the monument was something completely familiar to a Greek audience as well. [415] As with Paullus' monument at Delphi, the monument commemorating Roman victory is part of a Hellenistic sanctuary. Whilst the form of the monument was approachable and accessible to a Greek audience, the use of Latin emphatically stamps Roman presence in the East.[416]

The monument becomes a reminder of why Octavian founded his 'city of Victory'. Whilst the inscription records that Octavian was victor in the war *pro re publica*, the central aspect is the celebration *in hac regione* of *pax terra marique.* The monument's site affords views over the land and the Ambracian gulf, thus both contextualising the victory, and emphasising the extent of the *pax* achieved.

* * *

The commemorations of the sites of Octavian's victory at both Alexandria and Actium emphasised the re-articulation of space around the newly founded Nicopoleis. The site in Egypt appears to have mainly served as a new cultural and religious centre for the Alexandrians, thus focusing the religious practices of the city around a site that commemorated Octavian as the new ruler of Egypt. This new religious centre may have

[415] Zachos (2003), Zachos (2007).

[416] The cultural relationship between two languages within a (bilingual) society is discussed by Wallace-Hadrill (1998) 84: the term 'code-switching' is applied to the relationship between two languages in a society, one of which is the dominant, expected language, the choice of which is 'unmarked', whilst the other is the non-dominant, unexpected language, the use of which illustrates a 'marked' choice. The significance of switching between the 'unmarked' and 'marked' languages represents a negotiation of power. It should be noted that in discussions on code-switching the 'unmarked' language is normally the language of dominant power, however at Nicopolis the use of Latin, the 'marked' language, illustrates the articulation of Latin as the language of power. See also Quinn (2010) esp. 59ff for a discussion of multilingualism, localism and juxtaposition in Roman Lepcis.

also served to demonstrate Octavian's rejuvenation of Alexandria's religious sites after Cleopatra's alleged desecration.[417]

The city of Victory near the Actian promontory presents a fuller picture of the physical aspects of Octavian's victory commemoration. As with the city near Alexandria, there appears to have been a deliberate attempt to create a display that was compatible with local practices. Although Nicopolis was, as it were, an artificially created city, it was still a Greek city which celebrated pan-hellenic games. The foundation of Nicopolis demonstrated that Octavian's victory had brought about the security and re-population of the Epirus. Of course, the monument that stood above the city emphasised that this stability was the result of Roman victory, and that this area of the world now partook in the Roman *pax* won by land and sea. Here, at the site of Octavian's victory, and above the Greek city, the concerns of the civil war were not an issue, as they were at Rome. The *pax* that Octavian conceptualised was not concerned with civil *pax* or harmony between Roman generals, but was the conceptualisation and expression of Octavian's *imperium* won over an empire.

[417] Dio Cass. 51.17.6.

Section Three

An Alternative Perspective on Victory: Cornelius Gallus at Philae

On the island of Philae, above the First Cataract of the Nile, C. Cornelius Gallus erected a victory stele in 29 B.C. The stele, made of Aswan granite, measures c. 165cm x 116cm x 35cm, with a rounded pediment, typical of most near-eastern stelai. In the pediment is depicted a winged solar disk with two uraei, underneath which (and separated by a dividing line) is a rider charging down an enemy, who is in the act of raising his shield. Either side of this relief are three columns of hieroglyphic text: the three on the right refer to the main gods of Egypt, whilst the three on the left refer to local deities. Beneath the relief are three further inscriptions: the first in Hieroglyphs, the second in Latin, and the third in Greek (Figure 48).[418]

Whilst the stele underwent re-use in the foundations of the altar of the temple of Augustus in 12/13 B.C. at the north end of the island, it dates from 29 B.C. and its original context has been convincingly argued by Hoffmann et al. to be the temple complex of Isis (Figure 49).[419] The re-use of the stele has been interpreted as *damnatio memoriae* after the disgraced Gallus was forced to commit suicide,[420] though there are some fourteen years between Gallus' removal and the foundation of the temple to Augustus, and Hoffmann et al. have interpreted the re-use as rather owing to the fact

[418] Bernand (1969) 35ff; Gordon (1983) 97-99; Hoffmann, et al. (2009) gives the first full treatment of all three inscriptions, together with the reliefs.
[419] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 10, 16-18.
[420] Dio Cass. 53.23.5-7.

that after Gallus' death the stele had become meaningless.[421] The stele's relevance to the current discussion is that it offers another perspective on victory in 29 B.C., set up to commemorate not only Octavian, but also his official. The stele's three inscriptions illustrate the complex levels of communication that could take place, and how each message depended on its intended audience.

In this section I will examine the victory stele of Gallus in order to understand how the commemoration, and indeed the meaning of victory were dependent not only on the intentions of the author, but also on their relationship with the audience. Gallus' victory stele is a personal display of his success as a military commander and governor, yet also a display by the priests at Philae which places both Gallus and Octavian within a traditional Egyptian framework of governance and administration. The display at Philae demonstrates that the commemoration of victory was not always dominated by the message of *pax terra marique* which Octavian propagated in the East and to a certain extent at Rome, and that it was still possible for an individual to define himself and his victory within the specific geographical and cultural context of his display.

The Obelisk and the Stele

After the conquest of Alexandria, Octavian made Egypt pay tribute to Rome, and made Cornelius Gallus, the equestrian who had helped him to secure Alexandria, the first *praefectus* of Egypt.[422] Gallus' position in Egypt was emphasised when he erected an obelisk as *praefectus fabrum* in the Forum Iulium in Alexandria:

[421] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 18.
[422] Dio Cass. 51.9.1-4, 17.1; Suet. *Aug.* 66; Gordon (1983) 97-98; Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 119-120.

Iussu Imp(eratoris) Caesari Divi f. C. Cornelius Cn. f. praef(ectus) fabr(um) Caesaris Divi f. Forum Iulium fecit.[423]

On the order of Imperator Caesar, son of the divine (Iulius), Gaius Cornelius, son of Gnaeus, *praefectus fabrum* of Caesar son of the divine (Iulius) built the Forum Iulium.

It should be noted that the inscription has been reconstructed from the clamp holes for the letters, since the base was re-carved and dedicated to the deified Augustus and Tiberius (Figure 50).[424] Degrassi has questioned the likelihood of Gallus using the title *praefectus fabrum*, on the grounds that it is very unlikely that the prefect of Egypt would only state his office as *praefectus fabrum*.[425] Indeed, whilst Syme has suggested that Gallus was *praefectus fabrum* under Pollio in Gallia Cisalpina,[426] it does not seem possible that he would have held this post in 30 B.C. when he took over Scarpus' troops and held Paraetonium against Antony.[427] It might be possible to read something like *PRAEFECT.*, though Magi's reconstruction of *PRAEF·FABR* appears a likely reading based on the clamp-holes (Figure 51). What is more important to the current discussion is the way in which Gallus presents his position as dependent on Caesar: not only is he following the orders of Octavian, his prefecture is also defined in relation to Octavian: *praefectus fabrum Caesaris Divi f.* This deference to Octavian, as the true ruler of Egypt, is echoed in the inscription from Philae.[428]

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[423] *EJ*^{2} n. 374 = *AE* 1964 n.255.
[424] *ILS* 115 = *CIL* VI 882: *divo Caesari divi Iulii f. Augusto / Ti. Caesari divi Augusti f. Augusto / sacrum.* See Magi (1963) for the restoration of the text, esp. tav. VII-XII.
[425] Degrassi (1971) 156; Reynolds (1971) 146.
[426] Syme (2002) 252; Boucher (1966) 24.
[427] Dio Cass. 51.9.1. See Boucher (1966) 27-32, esp. 30-31 for Gallus' campaigns in Egypt.
[428] See pp. 131 and 136 below.

The erection of a single obelisk followed the Ptolemaic tradition and articulated Gallus' creation of the Forum Iulium for an Egyptian audience, accustomed to Ptolemaic rule.[429] Notably however, in comparison to the obelisks which Octavian later brought to Rome,[430] the one erected by Gallus does not have any hieroglyphics. Thus whilst visually the monument blends in with the typical display of power in Egypt, the context of the new space and the sole use of Latin to record the commemoration demonstrates the establishment of Roman power within the region.[431]

In contrast to this display, the victory stele erected at Philae employs three different languages, which each record a different message, along with a visual display that had its roots in both Egyptian and Hellenistic art.[432] The winged solar disk was accompanied by an inscription on the right, proclaiming the 'Master of Mesen, great god, master of the heavens, multicoloured-plumaged, who comes out of the skies' (i.e. Horus), and on the left 'The one of Edfu, great god, master of the heavens, multicoloured-plumaged, who comes out of the skies'.[433] This representation, dominating the top section of the stele, asserts the position of Horus and sets the stele within traditional Egyptian cult display (Figure 48). The smaller, central relief of the horseman charging down the enemy is typically found in Greek, Roman and Near Eastern art, most notably on gravestones for the deceased, and as statues commemorating the living (though only senators in the Greek East).[434] In Egyptian art the Pharaoh is often depicted in battle, smiting his enemy, though rarely on

[429] McKenzie (2007) 79: obelisks performed a protective function for monuments and symbolised stability.
[430] *CIL* VI 701, 702; Rehak (2006) 90-92; Wirsching (2000) 274.
[431] It is unclear whether the Forum Iulium was set up in Alexandria or nearby Nicopolis: McKenzie (2007) 79.
[432] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 16: The stele is exceptional for Egyptian art in that no god is visually represented, although the winged solar disk is a representation of Horus of Edfu.
[433] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 65-6: the left inscription is heavily reconstructed.
[434] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 22-25 for a discussion of whether Octavian or Gallus is represented.

horseback.[435] For a Roman or Greek audience the associations of the victorious rider with Gallus, who was named first in both the Latin and Greek texts, would be apparent; for an Egyptian audience the motif of the Pharaoh killing the enemy of Egypt was combined with an accompanying inscription, which appears to have marked out the figure as Gallus ('the ruler of Egypt, of Upper and Lower Egypt, Gallus (?), the deputy of the son of Re, whom the son of Re, Romaios, has chosen)[436], whilst the entire scene was enclosed by invocations to the gods of Egypt and Philae: Osiris, Isis and Horus are invoked in the three columns to the right of the rider relief, whilst Khnum, Anukis and Satis are invoked in three columns to the left.[437] The victory in the relief is thus depicted as sanctioned by the gods.

The location, and probable setting of the stele – that of the sanctuary of Isis on Philae – places Gallus' commemoration within an Egyptian religious context, most likely overseen by the priests of the complex.[438] The stele was also set up on the southern boundary of the newly formed Roman province (Map 3), thus demonstrating the extent of Roman control over Egypt, and the extent of Roman protection from external threats. I will now turn to the three inscriptions and consider how they offer different messages of victory in Egypt.

[435] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 26-30, the Raphia decree (Cairo CG 31088 and 50048) depict a rare instance of the Pharaoh as a rider charging the enemy (27-29).
[436] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 33-40 for the hieroglyphic inscription under the rider relief.
[437] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 32-34, 46-47, 66-69. Khnum was the ancient creator god of the Elephantine, whose name means 'Moulder', associated with the annual inundation of the Nile. He is accompanied by Anukis (his wife and goddess of the First Cataract of the Nile) and Satis (a goddess associated with the falling waters of the Nile): see Bunson (1991) 27, 99-100, 137, 234.
[438] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 31, 42-43, 167-168, 174-176 on the rider relief. The name *Romaios* referred to Octavian as examples from Dendera and Kalabscha demonstrates: Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 37.

The Trilingual Inscription of Gallus

It is necessary to consider what the stele actually aimed to commemorate. The rhetoric of the visual display discussed above is of victory over an enemy. The question to ask though is what this victory meant (and who the enemy was) for the different audiences of the stele.

The order and relative sizes of the inscriptions are indicative of the relative importance, within the stele's context, of each. In contrast to the obelisk in the Forum Iulium, and the monument above Nicopolis, where Latin is the sole language within a non-Latin speaking area, the primary language of the stele is the sacred script of the subjugated nation. The hieroglyphic text takes up a total of 49.5cm of the stele, with line height at c. 5.2-4cm. The Latin text, which is normally the dominant text in a bilingual inscription,[439] comes second, measuring 32cm in total, with a line height of c. 4-3cm. The Greek text covers 25cm in total, with a line height of 2-1cm. It is only with Hoffmann et al.'s recent commentary on the stele that all three inscriptions have been treated together. I will first examine the structure of the hieroglyphic text,[440] before comparing it to the messages of the Latin and Greek texts.

It is appropriate here to set out a translation of the hieroglyphic text, based on the German translation given by Hoffmann et al.:

> (1) Government of Year One, Month four of the winter season (= Pharmuthi), day twenty under the majesty of Horus: perfect young man, strong in arm, ruler of rulers...., [whom Pta]h [has chosen], Caesar, who shall live forever. There was a powerful ruler in the Two Lands (= Egypt),

[439] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 167.
[440] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 69-118 for a full treatment of the text.

with a slaughtering (?) / grabbing (?) arm, who takes, as general, (2) who spreads [terror] among [the]... He has made Egypt safe, he who floods Egypt with his perfection; he has shown kindness to Egypt. [He has taken/captured (?) the Troglo]dytes (?); he has taken hold of the inhabitants of foreign lands; an archer, strong in the turmoil of battle, (3) a splendid hero. He has destroyed in rage, he who strikes at the enemy. [He (?)] sent (?) [- -] ..., the one who brings first-class products such as Horus, who promises the wonderful products from Punt, (4) to whom the 'Nubians' and Indians go in praise with (?) the (?) beautiful (?) [things] (?), to whom (?) one should (?) the secret[s[441]....] – lands. He won(?) power(?) [over the West (or similar); he conquered (or similar) the ar]ea (or similar) as far as the borders of the East; he attacked the East of the Two Lands, he took (= conquered) (5) as far as the land of Manu (= the West). They are the 'Phoenicians' (and) 'Libyans'. He built a temple, he let the temple prosper, [he] satisfied [the gods (?)], [he (?) produced (?)] statues of the gods, he bestowed on the gods of both spring-sources beneficial things, where he established a monument, of the 'great excellent one' (=Khnum). (6) He calculated what was to be determined of the whole country while instigator, so that the offering for Khnum, the Great, is beneficial. [He] praised [all] (?) the gods (?)] in the piling up of gifts, (so that) Hapi[442] springs up for his Ka.[443] He in turn supplied [each (?)] city. Now he continues to do so to show good, by the banks of the lands (7) of Horus (= Egypt/ the Temple of Egypt) by seeing/knowing his love (and) he did (it) beneficially, (and) he

[441] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 85, the sense is 'inaccessible'.
[442] Bunson (1991) 99, 105: the personification of the Nile.
[443] Bunson (1991) 130: term for a spiritual essence, which existed alongside the physical human entity and yet was considered individual from it; see Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 94 for Gallus' *Ka*.

renewed Upper and Lower Egypt. (There) were enemies ...['far' away] to destroy. He went against the enemy, (he,) strong in arm on the day of the meeting, he who seized the bodies (?) to [...,] (8) without stopping at ...of...Bigge[444] (?). He brought the great people of the Kush to peace, [he] disturb[ed (?) the plans (?) of] the great ones of the archer people of the Bedouin. He honoured Isis of Renu,[445] great in space at Philae. He calculated (9) the ... of the Two Lands. <He> ordered their things to Isis of Nenet,[446] the Golden one. [He] satisfied Os[iris (or similar), he set the income (or similar) for the temple (or similar) of the Master (or similar) of Calming (= Osiris), namely the Abaton[447] 'with its hidden shape' (= Osiris), before the officials of Upper and Lower Egypt. [He (?) has (?) collected gifts [through] (10) (his) power, (and) one should give to the master of the treasury (?) [for (?) ma]ny (?) [years (?)], so that Egypt is rich in/under the (?) lands (?) according to [what (?) is (?) instructed (?) ....Cae]sar, who shall live forever.[448]

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[444] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 102 on the geographical location of Bigge in Greco-Roman times, which was part in Egypt and part in Nubia.

[445] A toponym.

[446] Another toponym.

[447] The burial place of Osiris.

[448] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 49- 50: **1)** Regierungsjahr 1, 4. Monat der Winterjahreszeit (= Pharmuthi), Tag 20 unter der Majestät des Horus: Vollkommener Jüngling, stark an Arm, Herrscher der Herrscher....., [den Pta]h [erwählt hat], Kaisaros)|, er lebe ewig. Er war ein mächtiger Fürst in den Beiden Ländern (ägypten), mit schlachtendem (?) / packendem(?) Arm, der ergreift als Herr**,**

2) der [Schrecken] verbreitet unter [den..]...Er hat ägypten wohlbehalten sein lassen, der ägypten mit seiner Vollkommenheit überflutet; Er hat ägypten Gutes erwiesen. [Er hat die Troglo]dyten(?) [ergriffen (?)/ erbeutet (?)]; er hat die Fremdlandbewohner gepackt; ein Bogen<schütze>, Starker im Kampfgewühl,

3) trefflicher Held. Er hat in Wut vernichtet, der die Feinde schlägt. [Er (?)] sandte (?) [- -] ...., einer, der Erstklassiges herbeibringt wie Horus, der die wunderbaren Erzeugnisse von Punt verheißt;

4) zu dem die 'Nubier' und Inder in Lobpreis fahren mit (?) den (?) schönen (?) (Dingen) (?), dem (?) Soll (?) [der] geheim[en [.....] –Länder. Er gewann (?) Macht (?) [über den Westen (o.ä.); er eroberte (o.ä.) das Geb]iet (o.ä) bis zu den Grenzen des Ostens; Er griff den Osten der Beiden Länder an, er packte (=eroberte)

5) bis zum Land von Manu (=Westen). Sie sind die 'Phönizier' (und) 'Libyer'. Er errichtete einen Tempel, er ließ einen Tempel gedeihen,[er] stellt[e die Götter (?)] zufrieden,[er (?) stellte (?)]

The inscription opens with the first year of the new government (29 B.C.), which is qualified as 'under the majesty of Horus', whose solar disk dominates the pediment of the stele. The new regal calendar is attributed to Caesar 'the ruler of rulers..., who shall live forever'. This epithet was traditionally applied to the ruler of Egypt,[449] who is also understood as the incarnation of Horus himself.[450] Thus Octavian, as the prince of Egypt, and Horus incarnate are placed above Gallus both in the text, and in the visual display (Horus' solar display is set above the rider relief). Gallus is introduced in line two as a 'powerful ruler' (mächtiger Fürst) in command of 'the Two Lands' (i.e. Egypt). Lines 2-7 focus on the military strength of Egypt under Gallus' command (2-4, 6), and Egypt's place within the world as demonstrated by their receipt of tribute from foreign nations (5-6), before focusing the attention on the gods of the First Cataract of Philae (7). It is notable that the text emphasises Egypt's receipt of tribute and power over foreign nations, when Octavian had subjugated Egypt herself to

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Götterbilder [her ?)], er schenkte den Göttern der beiden Quellöcher Nützliches, wobei er ein Denkmal des, großen Ach/Trefflichen (=Chnum) errichtete.

6) Er berechnete das zu Bestimmende des ganzen Landes beim Veranlassen, daß das Opfer für Chnum, den Großen, nützlich ist. [Er] pries [all]e (?) [Götter (?)] beim Aufhäufen von Gaben, (so daß) Hapi für seinen Ka hervorquillt. Er (= Gallus) wiederum versorgte[jede (?)] Stadt. Nun blieb er (also) dabei, Gutes zu erweisen, indem die Uferländer

7) des Horus (=ägypten/Tempel ägyptens) seine Liebe sahen, (und) er tat Nützliches,(und) er erneuerte Ober- und Unterägypten. (Da) waren Feinde.... ["fern" davon] zu vernichten. Er ging gegen den Feind, (er,) stark an Arm am Tage des Zusammentreffens, der die Leiber packt (?) zu [...,]

8) ohne damit aufzuhören beim...von...Bigge (?). Er befriedete die Großen von Kusch, [er] stör[te (?) die Pläne (?) der] Großen des Bogen(volkes) der Beduinen. Er ehrte die Isis von Renu, groß an Stätte in Philae. Er berechnete

9) die ... der Beiden Länder. <Er> befahl ihre Dinge an Isis von Nenet, die Goldene. [Er] stellte zufrieden Os[iris (o.ä.), er setzte die Einkünfte fest (o.ä.) für den Tempel (o.ä.) des Herrn (o.ä.)] des Ruhens (= Osiris),(nämlich) das Abaton 'Dessen mit verborgener Gesalt' (= Osiris), vor den Beamten von Ober- und Unterägypten. [Er (?) hat (?) Gaben eingezogen [durch]

10) (seine) Macht, (und) man soll <an> den Herrn der Kasse (?) geben [während (?) vi]eler (?) [Jahre (?)], so daß ägypten reich ist in/unter den (?) Ländern (?) entsprechend [dem (?), was (?) befohlen (?) hat (?)....(Kai]saros)|, er lebe ewig.

[449] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 72.

[450] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 70.

give tribute to Rome. The presentation of Egypt under the rule of Octavian, as managed by Gallus, speaks of her dominant position in the world, and of her prosperity.

The second half of the inscription (8-10) demonstrates Gallus' protection of Egypt from external threat, thus referring back to the relief sculpture, and his maintenance of the cult at Philae, and records the tribute to be paid for this protection to Octavian, whilst still emphasising the wealth of Egypt. The text ends with another reference to 'Caesar, who shall live forever'.

From the perspective of the hieroglyphic inscription the stele commemorates the restoration of Egypt under Octavian and Gallus, with particular reference to the cult of the First Cataract gods at Philae, thus maintaining the local, cultic associations. Such a presentation of Egypt under Octavian's and Gallus' rule is in sharp contrast to the obelisk later erected at Rome by Octavian, which declared Rome's dominion over Egypt.[451] At Philae, the hieroglyphic text speaks to an Egyptian audience, and it is plausible that it is in fact the priests of Philae who are responsible for the hieroglyphic text,[452] depicting Octavian's rule as a continuation of the traditional Pharaonic rule, which Gallus demonstrates through both military and financial successes.

The strong cult associations of the hieroglyphic text are only briefly referred to in both the Latin and Greek texts as the ending dedication: *patrieis et Nil[o adiut]ori d(onum) d(edit) / θεοῖς πατρ[ώοις, Ν[είλῳ συνλήπτορι χαριστήρια.* However, the importance of the location of the dedication remains evident in these two texts.[453] The focus of both texts is the two victories that Gallus achieved during the revolt of Thebes:

[451] See p. 142 below.
[452] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 116, 167-168; Bagnall (2012) 281.
[453] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 165-167.

C(aius) Cornelius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Gallu[s eq]ues Romanus, post reges / a Caesare deivi f(ilio) devictos praefect[us Alex]andreae et Aegypti primus, defectioni[s] / Thebaidis intra dies XV, quibus hostem v[icit, bis a]cie victor, V urbium expugnator, Bore[se]-/ os, Copti, Cermaices, Diospoleos Meg[ales, Op]hieu, ducibus earum defectionum inter[ce]-/ptis, exercitu ultra Nili catarhacte[n transd]ucto, in quem locum neque populo / Romano neque regibus Aegypti [arma s]unt prolata, Thebaide communi omn[i]- / um regum formidine subact[a], leg[atis re]gis Aethiopum ad Philas auditis, eo[dem] / rege in tutelam recepto, tyrann[o] Tr[iacontas]choe(ni) in fine Aethiopiae constituto die[is] // patrieis et Nil[o adiut]ori d(onum) d(edit).[454]

Gaius Cornelius Gallus, son of Gnaeus, Roman knight, after the kings had been conquered by Caesar son of the divine (Iulius), first Prefect of Alexandria and Egypt, Conqueror in two battles of the defection of Thebes, in the space of fifteen days, during which time he defeated the enemy, captor of five cities: Boreseis, Coptos, Keramike, Diospolis Magna, Ophieum, with the leaders of these defections intercepted, with the army led to the far side of the Cataract of the Nile, into which place neither the Roman people, nor the kings of Egypt had (before) borne weapons. With Thebes, the common fear of all kings, subdued, with the legates of the king of Ethiopia given audience at Philae, with the same king received into protection, with a tyrant of the Triakontaschonios at the limits of Ethiopia, to the ancestral gods and the Nile, the helper, gives this gift.

[454] Bernand (1969) 36-37; Gordon (1983) 98; Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 119-120.

[Γ]άιος Κορνήλιος, Γναίου υἱός, Γάλλ[ος, ἱππεὺ]ς Ῥωμαίων, μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν / ἐν Αἰγυπτωι βασιλέων πρώτος ὑπὸ Καίσ[αρος ἐπὶ] τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατασταθείς, τὴν Θηβαίδα ἀ-/ποστάσαν ἐν πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέραις δὶς [ἐν παρ]ατάξει κατὰ κράτος νικήσας, σὺν τῶι τοὺς ἡ-/γεμόνας τών ἀντιταξαμένων ἑλεῖν, πέν[τε τε πό]λεις τὰς μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου, τὰς δὲ ἐκ πολιορκί[ας] / καταλαβόμενος, Βορῆσιν, Κόπτον, Κεραμικήν, Διόσπ]ολιν μεγάλην, Ὀφιῆον, καὶ σὺν τῆι στρατιᾶι ὑ-/περάρας τὸν καταπάκτην, ἀβάτ ου στρατία[ις τῆς χώρ]ας πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένης, καὶ σύμπασαν τὴ[ν] / Θηβαίδα μὴ ὑποταγεῖσαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν [ὑποτάξ]ας, δεξάμενός τε πρέσβεις Αἰθιόπων ἐν Φί-/λαις καὶ προξενίαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λ[αβών, τύ]παννόν τε τῆς Τριακοντασχοίνου τοπαρχία[ς] / μιᾶς ἐν Αἰθοπίαι καταστήσας, θεοῖς πατρ[ώοις, Ν]είλῳ συνλήπτορι χαριστήρια.[455]

Gaius Cornelius Gallus, son of Gnaeus, Roman knight, after the destruction of the kings of Egypt, the first set up over Egypt by Caesar, having conquered by force two times in battle engagement, in fifteen days, Thebes, which had revolted, with the capture of the leaders of the defections, he took five cities, some by assault, others by seige: Boresis, Koptos, Keramike, Diospolis Magna, Ophieum, and with the army he crossed the Cataract, that place inaccessible to armies before this, and he subjected all Thebes, which had not been subjugated by the kings, he set up a tyrant of the Triakontaschoinos which formed only one district, thanks-offerings to the ancestral gods, and to the Nile, the helper.

Whilst the hieroglyphic inscription focused on what were perceived as external threats, such as the Kush and the Bedouin peoples (line 8), the Latin and Greek records the

[455] Bernand (1969) 36-37; Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 120-121.

internal revolts of the cities above the First Cataract. These victories enable Gallus to march his army over the First Cataract, a feat he claims has not before been accomplished.[456] It is fitting then that the stele was set up on Philae, just above the Cataract - the southern boundary of Egypt - to mark the extent of Egypt under him.

The hieroglyphic text is an account of Gallus' rule of Egypt, his military achievements, his fiscal administration and his reverence of the state and local gods. In some respects the Latin and Greek texts are much briefer summaries of his military achievements and diplomatic relationships with neighbouring kingdoms. However, they are more detailed in respect to the particulars of Gallus' victories against Thebes. Such details of internal political stability do not appear in the hieroglyphic text, but rather Octavian's rule and Gallus' administraion is presented as a continuation of the great Egypt state. The Latin and Greek texts serve to mark out the new rule and administration under Augustus after the defeat of the kings (*post reges a Caesare deivi f. devictos / μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν ἐν Αἰγυπτωι βασιλέων).*

Bernand remarked on the distinction between the Latin and Greek texts: the Latin was a 'document public à la glorie de l'Empire', whilst the Greek was a 'concession à la langue de l'adminstration ptolémaïque et à la population vaincue'.[457] Certainly, the Greek text is in the less dominant position, subordinated to both the hieroglyphic and Latin texts. Its purpose appears to be to present Gallus to a Greek speaking audience in similar tones to that of the 'official' Latin text. However, one notable difference between the Latin and Greek texts is in the role of Octavian. In the Latin text he is credited with the conquest of the kings (of Egypt): *post reges / a Caesare deivi f(ilio) devictos*. However, whilst this event is recorded in the Greek text,

[456] The language is reminiscent of Augustus' own accounts in *RG* 26, 31, 32.
[457] Bernand (1969) 46.

Octavian's role is as appointer of Gallus as the first Prefect of Egypt: *μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν / ἐν Αἰγυπτωι βασιλέων πρώτος ὑπὸ Καίσ[αρος ἐπὶ] τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατασταθείς.*[458] The Greek text, perhaps as the official administrative language of the province, emphasises Gallus' official appointment through Octavian. The Latin text instead starts from Octavian's victories, which must be seen to enable Gallus' own victories. Indeed, the Latin inscription is the only one that properly makes reference to Octavian's role as the conqueror of Egypt, perhaps echoing the commemoration of the event by both Octavian and the senate.[459] Yet it must also be noted that neither text speaks of *pax*, which was so prominent in Octavian's own display in the East, and to a far lesser extent at Rome.[460] The phrase *pax terra marique* at Nicopolis, and later at Rome through Livy's account of the Gates of Ianus, suggests his monopoly on the concept in victory display. Certainly, only Octavian could claim to have achieved such a feat. The stele is a record of Gallus' own achievements rather than those of Octavian, and Gallus has not chosen, neither presumably was he obliged, to record the *pax* established by Octavian.

Both Latin and Greek texts refer solely to *reges/βασιλεῖς,* thus avoiding any reference to the Roman civil war (Antony),[461] and do not name Cleopatra as the deposed Queen of Egypt.[462] This event is completely absent from the hieroglyphic text, which does not mention the internal instability of Egypt. The enemies of Octavian's victory are only vaguely sketched, although the reference would not have been lost to an audience with knowledge of real, political events of the civil wars; the enemies of Gallus, on the other hand, are far more vividly imagined. The stele is a demonstration of

[458] 'after the destruction of the kings of Egypt, the first set up over Egypt by Caesar'.
[459] Dio Cass. 51.19.1 ff; *CIL* VI 701, 702; *RG* 4.3.
[460] The Gates of Ianus, see pp 88-90 above.
[461] See pp. 69, 82 and 120 n. 413 above.
[462] The plural may refer both to Antony and Cleopatra, but also Cleopatra's children: Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 127-128. This is reminiscent of Propertius' references in 2.1.33: *aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis.*

Gallus' personal victories as *praefectus Aegypti et Alexandriae*, though they are placed in the overall context of Octavian's rule over Egypt.

The date of the stele, 16th April 29 B.C.,[463] places the monument in the wake of the victories over Actium and Alexandria, and after the senate's celebration of the cessation of war with the closing of the Gates of Ianus in January that year. The monument pre-dates the return of Octavian to Rome, and the final celebrations of the triple triumph, though it may be contemporary with the monument Octavian himself dedicated at Actium.[464] The stele's primary function is to commemorate, in several different ways, to different audiences, Gallus' successes against the enemies of Egypt (or over the new province of Egypt, as the Latin and Greek texts intimate). Whilst *pax* is never mentioned, the conclusion of all three inscriptions is that of the security of the province through Gallus' victories.[465] These victories serve to present Roman control over Egypt within a traditional Egyptian framework for an Egyptian, cultic audience (as the message protection of the First Cataract gods and prosperity of Egypt indicates), a Latin-speaking audience (following on from Octavian's destruction of the kings, Gallus secures the province of Egypt and extends diplomatic relations beyond the Cataract), and a Greek speaking audience. Gallus' official position in the province is proven by his appointment by Octavian, and by his own accomplishments.

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[463] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 70.
[464] See p. 112 above.
[465] The hieroglyphic text does appear to refer to the pacification of the Kush (*sḥtp*), though it is likely that pacification by force is meant, particularly as the following reference speaks of Gallus disturbing/violating (*sšn*) the Beduin Plains: Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 102-103.

The context of Gallus' commemoration at an Egyptian cultic site had strong repercussions for the primary language and display of his stele: it was first and foremost celebrating at a local level the accomplishments of Gallus for the cults of the island: Khnum, Anukis (goddess of the First Cataract), and Satis, who were paralleled or echoed by Osiris, Isis (at whose Temple the stele was most likely erected) and Horus as the main gods of Egypt. The fundamental differences between the hieroglyphic text, and the Latin and Greek texts, and the presentation of Octavian and Gallus within the hieroglyphic document makes Hoffmann et al.'s argument for the priests of Philae as the authors of the hieroglyphic text highly plausible.[466] The importance of integrating the victory into the context of the site is clear. The display at Philae is certainly in contrast to the Roman setting of Gallus' Latin-inscribed obelisk, and yet he appears to have been responsible for communicating his achievements in both Latin and Greek.[467] This speaks of a desire not only to communicate to the widest possible audience, but also to be seen to be doing so. In this way Gallus' victories were presented as beneficial not just from the perspective of local Egyptians, but also the administrative structure of the province, and to the wider empire.

Gallus' victory stele is a display of his success as a military commander and governor. The monument works within the wider commemoration of the period, yet demonstrates the ways in which an individual was able to promote himself and his victory in spite of the celebrations centred around Octavian at Nicopolis and at Rome. The stele does not present an opposing perspective on the victory of 29 B.C. to that set up at Rome by the senate, or by Octavian at Nicopolis, but illustrates the diverse ways in which victory could still be expressed. Whilst the hieroglyphic text does at one point

[466] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 116, 167-168; Bagnall (2012) 281.
[467] Hoffmann, et al. (2009) 165-172; Bagnall (2012) 281.

mention the pacification of the people of the Kush,[468] none of the three inscriptions promotes *pax* or its equivalents as the main focus of the commemoration. The celebration of victory at Philae in 29 B.C. did not need to correspond directly to the message of *pax terra marique* that was played out at Actium by Octavian, and to a certain extent by the senate at Rome. The specific context of the location prompted the Priests at Philae to direct the primary text to the cult of the First Cataract and the religious centre of the island, and to display the ways in which Gallus' achievements had guaranteed their prosperity. Yet Gallus himself strove to record his achievements in Latin and Greek, and present two different accounts from that of the hieroglyphic text. Perhaps the one constant of the stele is the rider relief, which emphasised to all audiences his position as victor and defender of Egypt.

What Gallus' victory stele at Philae illustrates is the dependency of a victory display on an audience, and how the message of victory could be manipulated accordingly. Furthermore, the monument demonstrates that whilst Octavian was pressing forward with an ideology of *pax terra marique*, the beneficial aspects of victory could still be expressed to different peoples without recourse to that specific motif.

[468] See n. 465 above.

Summary

This chapter has examined the different victory commemorations of Octavian's defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium and Alexandria in order to understand the use and conceptualisation of *pax* within these victory displays.

It is clear that languages of victory emerged from the celebrations of the 30s B.C., which commemorated the successes of the winning faction during the civil wars. The silence about the civil enemy in the triumphal celebrations, along with the concept of *pax terra marique* as established both within the empire and over *circa populi*, suggests how the idea of victorious *pax* as an emblem of the emerging political system was accomplished. *pax* had of course been prominent in the victory displays of 40 B.C., when Octavian and Antony made peace. Yet now in 29 B.C. Octavian was sole commander of Rome's armies and leader of the state; the *pax* he celebrated was not concerned with reconciliation with his fellow triumvir, but rather became an assertion of his command *terra marique*.

For the audience at Rome, the closing of the Gates of Ianus heralded the new year, demonstrating the end of all wars (both real and potential, as the fear of Parthia demonstrated). The celebrations of a stable situation achieved in external affairs, as symbolised by the closing of the Gates, may have played on Octavian's earlier display in the Roman Forum of his *columna rostrata* of 36 B.C., which also celebrated the re-establishment of *pax*/*εἰρήνη* after the end of war, without reference to an opponent. In 36 B.C. Sextus was not alluded to: the ovation was over Sicily and the *columna rostrata* celebrated *pax* without an opponent.

The celebrations of 29 B.C. blurred the line between victory in foreign war and in civil war, yet Antony was still alluded to. Octavian's position within the state was affirmed by the erasure of Antony from the Forum display, alongside Octavian's promotion. What the displays at Rome illustrate is the continual blurring of civil and foreign aspects of war and victory commemoration in 29 B.C. This appears to have been a particular concern of the senate, for whom *pax* was not important, or was at least secondary to the issue of the foreign/civil aspects of the victory. Once Octavian was established as the sole victor, the concept of *pax terra marique* could be applied to both the restoration of civil harmony (although there was no one to make *pax* with as there had been during the 40s and early 30s) and the stability achieved over Rome's empire. Indeed, the two were in fact co-dependent. Yet the rhetoric of *pax* was moving away from the discourses of the civil war, and becoming an expression of Roman *imperium* over an empire, as the victory monument at Nicopolis illustrates.

It is notable that the phrase *pax terra marique* (which Appian indicates was inscribed on the *columna rostrata* of 36 B.C.) was again employed in the monument above Nicopolis in 29 B.C. The use of a monumental Latin inscription within a Greek sanctuary is a testimony to the dependency of the newly established community on a concept of *pax*. The relationship between the monument and the city is clear, with the main axis of the city's gates binding it to the Roman trophy on the hillside. The *pax* of the monument assured stability in Epirus, which was reliant on Octavian and the victory won *pro re publica*. The *pax* of the Roman victory was integrated into the Greek community, in order to articulate the area as part of the Roman world. This appears to be a discourse that was easier to carry out away from Rome, since the civil war and political rivalry were not concerns. As with Octavian's *columna rostrata* of 36 B.C., *pax* was here expressed without the need for an opponent.

Gallus' victory stele at Philae offers another view on victory in 29 B.C. That is not to say that the display contradicts or opposes those at either Rome or Nicopolis, but demonstrates now that the message of victory did not have to be dominated by the message of *pax terra marique* established by Octavian. The monument illustrates the freedom of expression with which the priests at Philae and Gallus could articulate his achievements to different audiences, although in all three cases, his position is clearly shown to be under Octavian's command, and as a result of his victory over Egypt. Gallus' stele is a balanced display that addresses a multitude of audiences with different interpretations of victory, in order to promote his, and Octavian's, position and control within Egypt.

It is possible to understand the use of the phrase *pax terra marique* as a message and display specific to Octavian's achievements in the wars of 36 and 31-30 B.C., appropriate for expressing his control over the East at Nicopolis, and for articulating his position within the state at Rome, but not necessarily in a victory display of his prefect of Egypt, who need only emphasise Octavian as the 'ruler of rulers' and conqueror of kings.

Finally it is worthwhile considering how the events of 31-30 B.C. were later depicted at Rome, in the context of *pax augusta*, and how the evolving conception of *pax* can be seen to manipulate the representation of past wars and victories. In 10/9 B.C. Augustus erected his solar meridian on the Campus Martius, and dedicated the obelisk (the gnomon of the monument) to Sol. The inscription on the monument's base recorded the subjugation of Egypt to the *potestas populi Romani.*[469] The meridian was visually and spatially linked to the altar of *Pax Augusta*, which was dedicated on the Campus in 9 B.C. By the time of the erection of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Augustus

[469] See p. 132 above.

could re-establish his victory over Egypt as an *exemplum* of his continued role as the bringer of *pax terra marique* through his military success.[470] By 9 B.C. the victory of 30 B.C. was understood solely as a victory of *pax augusta*; any civil aspects of the war had long since been removed.

* * *

In Part II of this thesis I consider the role of *pax* within different discourses on the nature of Roman imperialism, as regards the interactions of Rome with specific areas and peoples. The following two chapters examine two different aspects of *pax* as a part of Roman victory rhetoric during the Augustan principate. I first examine how the *pax* established with Parthia through diplomacy was commemorated to express Rome's *imperium* (chapter three), and then how military victory in the West was expressed in terms of *pax* established (chapter four).

Before turning to examine these examples of *pax* as expressions of Roman imperialism, I will briefly discuss the intervening period from 28 B.C. down to the Parthian settlement in order to understand what is happening then to the concept of *pax*. In 28 B.C. Octavian claimed to have restored the laws and rights to the Roman people (*leges et iura p. R. restituit*), as a coin minted in that year shows (Figure 52).[471] Although Octavian, or Augustus as he was now to be known, ostensibly returned control of the provinces to the people of Rome at the start of 27 B.C., in actuality he

[470] The relationship between the solar meridian and the *Ara Pacis Augustae* will be discussed in detail in chapter four, pp. 247-249 below.

[471] British Museum accession number CM 1995.4-1.1. Rich and Williams (1999); Rich (2003) 346; *RG* 34.1: *in consulatu sexto et septimo, postquem bella civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potens rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli* ('In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had put an end to civil wars, although by everyone's agreement I had power over everything, I transferred the state from my power to the judgement of the senate and the people of Rome').

retained control of the main military provinces, the two Spains, the two Gauls, Syria, and Egypt, thus providing a solid basis for his military and political predominance. Rich has argued convincingly that Augustus justified his control of these provinces through the rhetoric of the pacification of an empire,[472] a tactic similar to that used to retain his legions after his defeat of Sextus in 36 B.C, once he declared *pax* had been restored, yet pacification was still required.[473]

Between the years of 27 and 24 B.C. Augustus was away from Rome, campaigning in Spain, and in 25 B.C. he closed the Gates of Ianus for a second time as a testimony to the *pax* he achieved within and over the empire.[474] Yet Augustus was still faced with the supposed Parthian threat to the establishment of a pacified empire. It is to his diplomatic pact with Parthia that I now turn in order to examine the different rhetorics of *pax* and victory that were used to conceptualise Rome's *imperium* and relationship to her empire at this point.

[472] Rich (2003) 346-348; Dio 53.12.2.
[473] See pp. 65-65 above.
[474] *RG* 13; Dio Cass. 53.26.5. Spain would contain to be a problem until 16 B.C. when it was finally pacified, see chapter four, p. 218 below.

PART II

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pax and the empire

Chapter Three

Pax with Parthia*:* victory rhetoric of the Parthian settlement

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In 20 B.C. Augustus received from King Phraates IV of Parthia the Roman soldiers and military standards lost in 53, 40 and 36 B.C.[475] This had been the condition on which Augustus, in 23 B.C., had returned Phraates' son to him.[476] Augustus had held him as a *ὁμηρεία,* a pledge of negotiations, after Phraates' defeat of Tiridates, king of Armenia.[477] In 23 B.C. an embassy from Phraates and Tiridates himself arrived in Rome to argue their disagreement before Augustus. After this debate Augustus saw fit to return his *ὁμηρεία* on the condition that Phraates would return the standards and soldiers. This arrangement was doubtless engineered by Augustus to correspond with his campaign to arrange affairs in the East the following year.[478] Certainly Dio suggests Phraates finally returned the standards three years later owing to the threat he felt from Augustus' presence.[479] The completion of the pact in the East in 20 B.C. meant that Augustus was able to return to Rome with the standards.[480]

The ovations of 40 B.C. were held because *pax* was made between two Roman generals, whilst after the civil wars with Antony, Octavian developed a rhetoric of *pax*

[475] Dio Cass. 48.25, 49.24.5; Plut. *Ant.* 37.2, 38.5-6, 40.6.
[476] Dio Cass. 53.33.2.
[477] Dio Cass. 51.18.3. The use of a son as a hostage for *pax* is also attested in the peace established between the assassins of Caesar and Antony: Cic. *Phil.* 2.90: *pacem haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem.*
[478] Dio Cass. 54.6.1, 54.7.1-54.10.2; Vell. Pat. 2.92.1-2; *RG* 11.
[479] Dio Cass. 54.8.1.
[480] Rich (1998) 72. It was in fact Tiberius who was sent to receive the standards from Phraates, whilst Augustus was in Syria: Suet. *Tib.* 9; Vell. Pat. 2.94.

that was not constructed in relation to an opponent, but was rather an expression of his *imperium* and position within the state. Following the civil wars of the 30s and the military campaigns of pacification in the West which began in 27 B.C.,[481] Augustus' Parthian campaign marked a decidedly different approach to controlling the empire, given the history of Rome's conflicts with Parthia and the need for Augustus to succeed where others had failed. At Rome, the diplomatic act of returning the standards, essentially a form of pact (*pax*) with Parthia,[482] was celebrated by Augustus and the senate as the culmination of Rome's victories. Roman imperialism was celebrated as victorious *pax* and a new age founded on the subservience of the Parthians.

This chapter examines how the specific act of making *pax* (here pact, without the need for war) with the Parthians was interpreted and commemorated as a political tool for the expression of empire. This is also to consider the ways in which this form of *pax* became a justification of Roman imperialism, and to understand how Parthia, as a nation, fitted into Rome's rhetoric of Imperial *pax*. The Parthian settlement illustrates how this form of *pax* was presented and conceptualised in order to express Rome's relations to her empire: in 19 B.C. the victory displays at Rome combined the ideas of *pax* as a diplomatic agreement and as an expression of *imperium* to celebrate the prosperity and authority of the Roman state over its empire (*imperium domi militiaeque*). The acceptance by Parthia of Rome's supremacy through the return of the

[481] The campaigns in Spain and Gaul continued down to 16 B.C., whilst the Alpine regions were pacified between 17 and 14 B.C: see chapter four, p. 218 below

[482] Livy *Per.* 141: *Pax cum Parthis facta est signis a rege eorum, quae sub Crasso et postea sub Antonio capta erant, redditis;* Florus 2.34: *pax Parthorum...Parthi quoque, quasi victoriae paeniteret, rapta clade Crassiana signa ultro rettulere. Sic ubique certa atque continua totius generis humanis aut pax fuit aut pactio* ('The peace of the Parthians...The Parthians too, as though they repented their victory, returned the standards, seized in the defeat of Crassus, of their own accord. Thus everywhere there was a certain and continous peace or agreement of all mankind').

standards and her submission to the *amicitia* of Rome and Augustus was used to illustrate the full control and authority of the state with Augustus at its head.[483]

I will first examine here the conceptualisation of Parthia at Rome both prior to and after 20 B.C. in order to understand what effect the *pax* had on Rome's perception of Parthia as a part of her empire, and how this *pax* was interpreted as part of the rhetoric of empire.

In section one, I will examine the presentations at Rome of the *pax* established with Parthia to show how Augustus and the senate celebrated the settlement as a form of victory, and how both linked the return of the standards with victory displays specific to Rome: the rare act of dedicating the *spolia opima*, and the triumph respectively. The displays at Rome further emphasised what the achievement of *pax* with Parthia meant: the stability of Rome's internal politics and the preservation of her domestic offices, and served as an indication of the *novum saeculum.*

In section two, I will examine how, some 20 years later, the return of the standards continued to serve as an emblem of the *pax* Rome established with Parthia within the context of the Forum Augustum. Whilst in 19 B.C. the commemorations used the single example of the Parthian *pax* as an expression of Rome's control over her empire, in 2 B.C. the Parthian standards served as one (albeit unusual) example amongst many in a display of the pacified *orbis terrarum.* The Forum space became a new arena in which foreign dignitaries came to seek *pax* with Rome, and the context of this negotiation promoted a message of Rome's victory over an empire.

[483] *RG* 29: *Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi* ('I compelled the Parthians to return the spoils and standards of the three Roman armies to me and as supplicants to seek the friendship of the Roman people'); Hor. *Epist.* 1.12.27-28: *ius imperiumque Phraates / Caesaris accepit genibus minor* ('Phraates accepted the right and authority of Caesar on his knees'). See also Östenberg (2009b) 64-66.

In the final section, I will examine how the *pax* with Parthia was presented in the provinces, by the Imperial mints, Roman colonies and local communities. Augustus' settlement with Parthia is treated predominantly as a victory over Parthia and as a demonstration of Rome's control over the East, although there are references to the association of Parthian 'victory' and the *Ludi Saeculares* in the numismatic displays in Spain, which are possible to understand in the context of disseminating a message to the Roman colonies in the area via the Imperial mints. There is little conceptualisation in the provinces of Rome's dealings with Parthia in terms of *pax*. At Rome there existed a more complex series of displays as regards what the *pax* with Parthia meant, through which the senate linked the return of the Parthian standards to the new age (*novum saeculum*) and the triumph of *imperium domi*, as well as celebrating it as a victory.

* * *

Rome's first contact with Parthia dates to the diplomatic relations established between Sulla, then praetor of Cilicia, and the Parthian king, Mithridates II, in 92 B.C. Further encounters occurred during the Mithridatic Wars, when Lucullus in 69-68 and then Pompey in 66 came into contact with the Parthian king.[484] As Lerouge has pointed out, the sources for these early relations with Parthia all themselves date to after the events at Carrhae, at which point the Parthians began to occupy a place of importance in the literature of the period.[485] Nevertheless, even in the wake of the defeat of Crassus, the senate's response to the possible Parthian threat to the eastern provinces appears to be surprisingly indifferent and limited: Cicero, fearing an invasion of his province of

[484] Ziegler (1964); Ball (2001) 8-15; Lerouge (2007) 42ff.
[485] Plut. *Sull.* 5; *Luc.* 30; *Pomp.* 33; Lerouge (2007) 44; Campbell (1993) 214.

Cilicia in 50 B.C.,[486] infers from Caelius' letters to him that the senate did not show due concern regarding Parthia.[487]

The literary evidence suggests that the Parthians became a focal point in Roman thought only from the period of the Augustan principate onwards.[488] Despite the frequency with which the Parthians are treated in the literature of the period there is little evidence of any real ethnographic knowledge of them.[489] Rome was less concerned with an ethnographic reality than with setting Parthia within an ideological framework. The narrative of Rome's early contact with Parthia is retrospective and projects the rhetoric and ideology of the Augustan principate onto the past.

The Augustan representation of the Parthians and their relations to Rome falls into two separate periods: before and after Augustus' restoration of the standards in 20 B.C. Prior to 20 B.C. the theme of revenge and Rome's portented victory in battle against Parthia was dominant. Virgil in his *Georgics*, published in 29 B.C., refers to war on the Euphrates,[490] whilst Horace in his *Odes* 1-3, published in 23 B.C., reflects the attitude of Augustus' campaign, planned against Parthia in the same year.[491] Livy does allude in his ninth book (published 27-25 B.C.)[492] to the defeat of the Romans by the Parthians (*equitem, sagittas, saltus impeditos*) without any reference to the concept of vengeance, but he does attempt to negate the force of Rome's defeat by emphasising

[486] Cic. *Ad. Att.* 6.1.14: *bellum Parthicum impendet*; *Ad Fam.*15.1; 15.2; 15.3; 15.4.
[487] Cic. *Ad Fam.* 8.10: *sed de Parthorum transitu nuntii varios semones excitarunt* ('but news concerning the movement of the Parthians has given rise to various suggestions') see also Cic. *Ad Fam.* 15.4; Lerouge (2007) 84-85; Campbell (1993) 216-217; Sherwin-White (1990) 292: Cicero's letters reveal 'a remarkable indifference at Rome to the possible consequences of the Parthia victory'.
[488] Lerouge (2007) 32; Campbell (1993) 216-227.
[489] Drijvers (1998) 291; Lerouge (2007) 22-44, 361-363; Schneider (2007) 58-60; Schneider (1998).
[490] Verg. *G.* 1.509.
[491] Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.53-6, 1.19.11-12, 2.13.17-18, 3.2.3-4. See also Prop. 3.4.3-7, 3.5.47-48, 3.9.54-56, 3.12.3-12, 4.3.35-36, 4.3.67-68.
[492] Luce (2009) 17.

with the repetition of *numquam* that Rome has never been defeated by infantry, in open battle, or on favourable ground:

> *Absit invidia verbo et civilia bella sileant: nunquam ab equite hoste,* ***numquam*** *a pedite,* ***numquam*** *aperta acie,* ***numquam*** *aequis, utique nunquam nostris locis laboravimus: equitem, sagittas, saltus impeditos, auia commeatibus loca gravis armis miles timere potest. Mille acies graviores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri avertit avertetque, modo sit perpetuus huius qua vivimus pacis amor et civilis cura concordiae.*[493]
>
> I trust that I shall not give offence when I say that, leaving aside the civil wars, we have never found an enemy's cavalry or infantry too much for us, when we have fought in the open field, on ground equally favourable for both sides, still less when the gournd has given us an advantage. Cavalry, arrows, difficult passes and regions that afford no road to convoys, may well occasion fear in the heavy armed soldier. But he has repulsed a thousand armies more formidable than those of Alexander and his Macedonians, and will repulse them in the future if only the love of peace and the civil concorn for concord, which we now enjoy, reamains undisturbed for all the years to come.

[493] Livy 9.19.15-17. Luce (2009) 36 argues that this passage must date to before 23 B.C. when initial negotiations for the return of the standards and Augustus' campaign were planned.

Livy's reference to *pax* in this context is concerned with the internal stability of the Roman state, achieved at the end of civil wars, rather than any concept of a pact established with an external enemy.

Prior to 20 B.C. Rome's relations with Parthia were characterised in terms of military conquest and defeat; it was only with the diplomatic retrieval of the standards that Rome's relations with Parthia was qualified in terms of *pax*.[494] The very act of making a pact with Parthia brought the concept of *pax* into Augustan victory rhetoric regarding Parthia. Augustus later stated that he compelled the Parthian king to seek the *amicitia* of the Roman people.[495] By treating the *pax* made with Parthia as a form of victory Augustus, the senate and Roman writers illustrated the power of Rome to control and dictate terms to the Parthians.

Roman literature prior to 20 B.C. reveals the Romans' self-awareness of the ignominy of the captured Roman standards and the need for revenge. [496] This sentiment is picked up by the later Greek writer Strabo. Strabo is the only author to depict a 'Parthian' viewpoint – or what Strabo assumed to be a Parthian perspective – of the military standards as spoils taken from the Romans in war, and accordingly displayed to celebrate Parthian victory: *τὰ τρόπαια…ἃ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέστησαν Παρθυαῖοι.*[497] In this way Strabo emphasies that Parthia is an empire that possibly rivals Rome, [498] yet he

[494] Hor. *Epist.* (published in 20 B.C.) 1.12.27-28, 1.18.56-57; *Carm.* 4.5.25-7, 4.15.5-12, 4.15.33 (published in 13 B.C. may also reflect the consecration of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*). Verg. *Aen.* (published 19 B.C.) 7.601-6, 8.726-8. Campbell (1993) 226-227; Gruen (1982) 63-67 for a discussion of references to Parthia in the literary sources. On the presentation of Roman imperialism in relation to the Parthians see Gruen (1990) 415-416; Isaac (1990) 21-22.

[495] *RG* 29, see n. 483 above.

[496] Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.5-8; Ov. *Fast.* 5.585ff; Prop. 3.4.3ff.

[497] Str. 16.1.28. The only evidence of the Parthians' own celebration of the victory over Rome that survives for us is the overstriking of Antony's coinage by Phraates IV: Sellwood (1971) 146.

[498] Str. 11.6.4: 'The supremacy of the Romans and that of the Parthians has disclosed considerably more knowledge than that which had previously come down to us by tradition'; see also 1.2.1; 6.4.2; 11.9.2, 11.13.2; Clarke (1999) 226-228.

also articulates Rome's victory and power over Parthia through her ability to compel Parthia to return the very trophies of victory they had erected.

The image of Parthia as a rival to Rome also appears in the contemporary work of Pompeius Trogus,[499] and possibly Timagenes of Alexandria.[500] Clearly, there was an awareness during the late Republic and Augustan principate of the Parthians as a powerful force in the East. Yet Livy strongly criticises this viewpoint, which he assigned to the 'silliest of Greeks'.[501] Dueck has argued that Strabo consciously presented both the official concept (that of Roman superiority over Parthia, as Augustus' *Res Gestae* emphasises)[502] in order to present the official Roman image of the *oikoumene*, and an anti-Roman concept of a rivalry of power between the two states, in order to highlight 'the presence of other powers on the periphery of the empire'.[503] Certainly for Strabo much of the geographical knowledge he describes is dependent on the conquests and *imperium* of Rome, and in this respect he is influenced by Roman politics.[504] Strabo depicts the two currents of literary thought on the Parthians which existed during the time of Augustus' principate,[505] both of which should be seen as valid and relevant. The growing importance of Parthia in Roman imperial ideology and foreign policy is clear from the continued attempts to conquer it in the last decades of

[499] Just. *Epit.* 41.1.1: *Parthi, penes quos velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta nunc Orientis imperium est, Scytharum exules fuere* ('The Parthians, who now have the rule of the East, as if there was a division of the world with the Romans, were exiles of the Scythians'); 41.1.7; 41.6.8.

[500] Livy 9.18.6 refers to the anti-Roman remarks made, scholars assume, by the Greek rhetorican and historian Timagenes: *levissimi ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent* ('the silliest of Greeks, who exalt the reputation of even the Parthians against the Romans'); Dueck (2000) 114, 135-136.

[501] See n. 500 above.

[502] *RG* 32.

[503] Dueck (2000) 114-115.

[504] Dueck (2000) 85-115; Clarke (1999) 294-295, 341-342.

[505] Strabo's *Geography* appears to have been written between A.D. 18-24, though with research and collection of sources taking place during the Augustan principate, since most of Strabo's contemporary references related to the period after the assassination of Caesar down until c. 7 B.C.: See Dueck (2000) 145-151 for the dating of Strabo's *Geography.* Dueck (2000) 151 refers to the *Geography* as 'a Tiberian work chronologically, but an Augustan one thematically'.

the Republic. Whilst the strength of Parthia may indeed have been emphasised by those seeking to depict a challenge to Rome's *imperium*, the presentation of the Parthians as a rival power also helps to highlight the achievement of Augustus in prompting their supplication to him.

* * *

In chapter one I examined how *pax* between two Roman generals was celebrated as a form of victory; now with Augustus firmly established as the head of state *pax* could be understood as the cause of victory over an external enemy. The second century author Florus, who compiled his history from Livy,[506] appears to reflect this presentation of *pax* brought about through the return of the Parthian standards as a form of ultimate victory:

> *Parthi quoque, quasi victoriae paeniteret, rapta clade Crassiana signa ultor rettulere. Sic ubique certa atque continuae totius generis humanis aut pax fuit aut pactio, aususque tandem Caesar Augustus septigentesimo ab urbe condita anno Ianum geminum cludere, bis ante se clusum sub Numa rege et victa primum Carthagine.*[507]
>
> The Parthians also as if they regretted their victory, of their own accord returned the standards of Crassus, which were seized in defeat. So on all sides there was certain and continuous pact or accord for the people of

[506] *Epitome de T. Livio Bellorum omnium annorum DCC Libro duo.*
[507] Flor. 2.34.

> every race, and at length Caesar Augustus dared, in the 700th year[508] from the city's foundation, to shut (the Gates of) Ianus Geminus, which had twice before been shut under king Numa and after the first defeat of Carthage.

It is striking that Florus chooses the diplomatic negotiations with the Parthians (*pax Parthorum*)[509] as his concluding account of the sum of all Rome's wars, despite the fact that his account earlier deals with wars that occur after 20 B.C.[510] The *pax Parthorum* represented the victory of *pax* for the empire. Furthermore, although Florus' account of Rome's pacification of the *totus orbis* dates to the second century A.D.,[511] it is possible that he was in fact following Livy's account of the episode, since the *Periochae* also state that *pax* was made with the Parthians on receipt of the standards.[512] It is perhaps indicative of the link between the '*pax Parthorum'* and Augustus' *imperium* over the empire that both Velleius Paterculus and Florus correlate the return of the standards with the taking of the name of Augustus, although the name was awarded to him seven years before the return of the standards.[513]

I now turn to examine the celebrations at Rome which commemorate the *pax* established with Parthia in 20 B.C. as a form of victory. Rose has argued that the representation of the Parthians on the commemorative arch set up in the Forum after 20

[508] Florus is clearly rounding down to 700 years, since the Gates of Ianus were closed in 29 B.C. (a.u.c. 725) and in 25 B.C. (a.u.c. 729); *RG* 13 and Suet. *Aug.* 22.1 mention a third closure, but the date is uncertain.
[509] This is the heading given for the final chapter of Florus' work (2.34). However, the chapter headings were most likely margin references which were inserted into the text, and in some manuscripts are in part or completely absent: Jal (1967) xiv-xviii. Nevertheless, the emphasis in the final chapters of Florus' work is on the pacification of, and the establishment of peace in all regions of the empire (2.33-34).
[510] Florus' report of Augustus' foreign wars (2.22-34) show a disregard for chronology, instead focusing on the geographical spread of conquest and pacification.
[511] Flor. 1.intro.: *Deinceps ad Caesarem Augustum CC anni, quibus totum orbem pacavit* ('then the period of 200 years down to Caesar Augustus, which saw the pacification of the whole world').
[512] Livy, *Per.* 141: see n. 482 above.
[513] Vell. Pat. 2.91.1; Flor. 2.34.

B.C. allowed the development of ‘a very new conception of the peace that accompanied victory’;[514] in the following section I emphasise rather the victory that accompanied the establishment of *pax.*

[514] Rose (2005) 35.

Section One

The Presentations at Rome

The return of the standards presents us with an instance wherein *pax* with an enemy, achieved without recourse to war,[515] was commemorated at Rome as if it were a military victory. Whilst Augustus later referred to the establishment of *amicitia* with Phraates through the return of the standards and soldiers and by the giving of *pignora*,[516] the evidence for the commemorations planned at Rome demonstrate a transmutation of a diplomatic negotiation into a victory celebration:

> *καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὡς καὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκὼς ἔλαβε· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρότερόν ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολόμενα ἀκονιτὶ ἐκεκόμιστο. ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ νεὼν Ἄρεως Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποιησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ ἀψῖδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὕστερον ἐπράχθη·*
>
> *…καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπί τε τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ πραχθεῖσι πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐψηφισθη· ὧν οὐδὲν*

[515] Livy *Per.* 141; Florus 2.34. Other instances of *pax* achieved without the need for war include Livy's account of Manlius Volso's establishment of *pax* with the Veii (Livy 2.54), although Dion. Hal. 9.36.3 states that Manlius had ended the war: see 49 above; and Octavian and Antony's *pax* of 40 B.C., although war is not entirely absent from this establishment of *pax,* seeing as it takes place suring a long period of civil war: see chapter two above.

[516] *RG* 29; 32. Velleius treats the return of the standards (Vell. Pat. 2.91.1) separately from the giving of hostages (Vell. Pat. 2.94.4. *obsides*), which he attributes to fear on the part of Phraates. Str. 16.1.28 treats both together, although he connects the return of *τὰ τρόπαια…ἃ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέστησαν Παρθυαῖοι* to the desire for *amicitia* and the giving of pledges (*ὅμηρα*) as Phraates protecting himself against threats to his throne.

προσήκατο, πλὴν Τύχῃ τε Ἐπανανγώγῳ (οὕτω γάρ πως αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν) βωμὸν ἱδρυθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἣν ἀφίξοιτο ἔν τε ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις ἀριθμεῖσθαι καὶ Αὐγουστάλια ὀνομάζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὡς αἵ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προαπαντῆσαί οἱ προπαρεσκευάσαντο, νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκομίσθη.[517]

He (Augustus) received them (the standards) as if he had conquered the Parthians in a war; for he thought it a great accomplishment, saying that he had recovered what was previously lost in battle without a fight. Of course, he gave orders that both sacrifices for these things and a temple of Mars the Avenger on the Capitoline, in emulation of that of Jupiter Feretrius, with a view to the display of the standards, be voted and he saw that it was done, and moreover he both entered the city on horseback and was honoured with an arch bearing trophies. Now these things were done later to commemorate the event...and he himself hurried into Rome (19 B.C.). And, on account of these things and the other things which had been accomplished during his absence, many various honours were voted to him; of which he accepted none, except that an altar be set up to Fortune the Returner (for this was what they called her) and the day on which he returned be numbered among the festivals and be called Augustalia. Since the magistrates and the others had made advance preparations to go to meet him, he entered the city by night.

In this section I examine what the commemorations surrounding the returned standards tell us about how the *pax Parthorum* was conceptualised at Rome between

[517] Dio Cass. 54. 8.2-4, 10. 2-3.

20-16 B.C., and what this in turn can tell us about how *pax*, even without the usual and expected military conflict, could be understood during the principate of Augustus as if it were a victory. This is also to consider how such a form of *pax* was used to justify Roman imperialism. I first examine Dio's account to make clear the specific 'victory' commemorations which were awarded as a result of the *pax*, before turning to consider Augustus' planned commemorations, and then the senatorial response and display in the Forum Romanum. The displays at Rome emphasise the accomplishment of the *pax* established, treating it as a form of victory over Parthia, and thus fulfilling the desire for victory over Parthia that was seen in the literature prior to 20 B.C.[518]

Dio's account outlines the different commemorations planned in 20 B.C. on receipt of the news, and later in 19 B.C. on Augustus' return: sacrifices, the temple of Mars Ultor to display the standards, an ovation, a commemorative arch, and the altar to *Fortuna Redux*.[519] In Dio's account, both Augustus (*ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποιησε*) and the senate (*ἐτιμήθη... πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐψηφισθη*) choose to commemorate the return of the standards, and, even though no victory had actually taken place, both saw the achievement as a form of victory celebration or triumph (*ὡς καὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκὼς...καὶ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ ἁψῖδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη*). These displays illustrate how an act of diplomacy prompted a series of victory commemorations to be decreed.

Dio's account in 54.8.2-4 deals with the immediate reaction to the return of the standards in 20 B.C. His narrative suggests that a dispatch sent to the senate by Augustus communicated the return of the standards and treated it as a victory. Such dispatches were common practice in the Republic after a victory, and *supplicationes*

[518] See pp. 148-151 above.
[519] The temple to Mars Ultor for the display of the standards and the altar will be discussed in details below pp. 160- 163, and 188-193.

were usually sought in response to the dispatch and a triumph requested from the general in person.[520] Of course, Augustus had already been awarded triumphs *in absentia* after his victories over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium and Alexandria. It is likely that Augustus' dispatch in 20 B.C. requested a *supplicatio* and a place for the dedication of the standards: *ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποιησε.* Dio's phrase *καὶ προσέτι* introduces the additional honours decided on by the senate: to enter the city on horseback and a commemorative arch.

Dio's two accounts of the Parthian honours and the later honours on Augustus' return in 19 B.C. present a problem of consistency. The account of Augustus' return to the city *ἐπὶ κέλητος* implies that an ovation was awarded by the senate, yet he is known to have only held two ovations (in 40 and 36 B.C.) and a triple triumph (in 29 B.C.).[521] Rich argues that Dio misconstrued the initial decision of 20 B.C. for an ovation as a commemoration that actually took place,[522] when in fact Augustus returned to the city by night not on horseback.[523] Due to the discrepancy between Dio's account of the honours voted in 20 B.C. and Augustus' actual return in 19 B.C., where he is said to

[520] On dispatches of victory see Beard (2007) 201-203, n. 44 for 'laurelled letter' petitioning for triumphs; Rich (1998) 76; Cic. *ad. Fam.* 15.1, 15.2.On the request of a *supplicatio* see Cic. *ad. Fam* 15.4, 15.5; Bastien (2007) 304-309.

[521] *RG* 4.1. *bis ovans triumphavi. Tris egi curulis triumphos;* Suet. *Aug.* 22.1: *bis ovans ingressus est urbem, post Philippense et rursus post Siculum bellum. triumphos tris egit Delmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes.* See also *Fasti Triumphales* and the *Fasti Barberiniani:* (Degrassi (1947) 86-87, 568-570. Cassiod. *Chron.* 385 states that in 19 B.C. Augustus was voted a chariot with a golden crown, but that he did not mount the chariot (*Caesari ex provinciis redeunti currus cum corona aurea decretus est, quo ascendere noluit*).

[522] Rich (1998) 77-78.

[523] It is worth noting that Dio does not make explicit reference to triumphal honours (*ἐπινικίοι τιμαί*) as he does with the ovations of Antony and Octavian in 40 B.C. (48.31.3) and of Drusus in 11 B.C. (54.33.5). His two other accounts of entering the city *ἐπὶ κέλητος* are also explicitly tied to triumphal honours: the ovation *ex monte Albano* of Caesar in 44 B.C. after the *feriae Latinae,* which comes from a list of triumphal honours (44.4.3), and the honour afforded to Domitian, as the grown-up son of the *triumphator*, to ride in his father's triumph (66.12.1a). Traditionally, a general celebrating an ovation would have entered the city on foot however, the development of entering on horseback was relatively new, and appears to have begun with Caesar's special privilege in 44 B.C.: Beard (2007) 62-63,267; Rich (1998) 77 n. 26; Bastien (2007) 124-125, 268-269.

refuse all honours (*ὧν οὐδὲν προσήκατο*) except the altar,[524] some scholars have argued that the monuments intended to commemorate the return of the standards were never actually erected.[525]

Certainly, from the accounts of these two sets of celebrations planned in 20 B.C., there is no record that the implied ovation happened. However, this does not necessarily mean that the other honours did not actually take place. Rich, indeed, allows for the possibility of the *supplicatio,*[526] although he rejects the other three honours, on the basis of Dio's later account. Yet whilst Dio's treatment of the Parthian honours is specifically tied to the report of Augustus' Parthian victory, the honours later voted to Augustus, which he rejects, are for his resolution of the consulship for 19 B.C. and *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ πραχθεῖσι.* Whilst it can be argued that *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις* included the honours voted in 20 B.C., I do not think that we need to reject the actual erection of monuments celebrating the Parthian victory. Dio states in 54.8.4: *ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὕστερον ἐπράχθη*; in this way he separates them from the honours he later records in reference to Augustus' resolution of the internal problems of state. Indeed, the focus of Dio's later account is on the political stability and the consular elections, which Augustus twice had to deal with during his absence.[527] From Dio's narrative of the political situation in Rome during Augustus' eastern campaign, it is clear that his return to the city is the reason for celebration, because it indicates the return of political

[524] Cooley (2009) 153 points out that Augustus' account of his return differs from that of Dio. Augustus implies the altar was voted on his return from Syria, and that the senate then honoured him with a deputation from some praetors, tribunes of the plebs and the consul Q. Lucretius, sent to meet him in Campania. Dio states that the altar was the result of Augustus' nomination of Q. Lucretius as consul, after an embassy, including Lucretius, was sent to him in Athens.

[525] Simpson (1992) 840-842; Rich (2003) 340-341.; Rich (1998) 73-115.

[526] Rich (1998) 76-77. On the likelihood that Augustus assumed his ninth imperial acclamation on this occasion see Simpson (1992) 838 n. 14; Barnes (1974) 21; Syme (1958) 310.

[527] In 21 B.C. he appointed Agrippa as consul in his place (Dio Cass. 54.6.1-7.1), and in 19 B.C. he appointed Q. Lucretius as consul after an embassy from the senate (Dio Cass. 54.10.1-3): see n. 524 above.

stability. Augustus himself, in his later account of his accomplishments, treats his return to the city after his campaigns separately from his military victories and achievements.[528]

Whatever Augustus' reasons for not celebrating the awarded *ovatio* on his return, in 20 B.C. he clearly had requested and planned his own commemoration of the *pax* he had achieved over Parthia: the temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitoline. I now turn to consider this commemoration of the *pax Parthorum.*

Augustus' commemorations

From the passage of Dio, which records the commemorations voted for in 20 B.C., Augustus had planned to build a temple to Mars Ultor (*νεὼν Ἄρεως Τιμωροῦ*) on the Capitoline, as an imitation of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, in order to display the standards. Whilst there is no archaeological evidence for a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitoline (the standards were finally deposited in the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum),[529] it seems from the numismatic and literary evidence that, at the very least, a temple to house the standards was planned.[530] The numismatic depictions from both Spain and Pergamum (19-18 B.C.) of the temple to Mars Ultor depict a circular temple with either Mars holding an *aquila*, or the standards displayed on their own, both with the legend *MAR. ULT* (Figure 53).[531] However, the small temple of

[528] *RG* 11-13 deal with his returns to Rome and the political stability he represents; *RG* 26-27, 29 deal with his foreign conquests and the return of military standards.
[529] *RG* 29. See Rich (1998) 79-97 on the temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline; also Geiger (2008) 53.
[530] Rich (1998) 86 argues that Augustus rejected the proposal for the temple, but Dio Cass. 54.8.3 intimates that it was Augustus who originally planned the monument.
[531] *RIC* Aug. 39b, 68, 69b, 72, 105a-b, 507. Mars Ultor was undoubtedly chosen to commemorate the revenge Augustus had taken on the Parthians for the past Roman defeats. There are also depictions of a round temple containing a chariot (e.g. *RIC* 115): see Rich (1998) 115-124 on the chariot and Augustus' Parthian honours.

Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline was, according to Dionysius, rectangular.[532] It thus seems plausible that the temple of Mars was to emulate that of Jupiter Feretrius in purpose rather than necessarily plan.[533]

As Livy demonstrates in his first book, there was clearly, by 20 B.C., a tradition and ideology of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius as the first temple at Rome and the repository for the spoils from the enemy leader:

> *"Iuppiter Feretri" inquit, "haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus quas modo animo metatus sum dedico, sedem opimis spoliis quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent". Haec templi est origo quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est*.[534]
>
> "Jupiter Feretrius" he said, "I, king Romulus, as victor bring you these royal arms, and I dedicate a temple in these regions, which I have marked off in my mind, as a seat to the *spolia opima* which the successive generations, following my example, will bring when the kings and leaders of the enemy have been killed". This is the origin of the temple which was the first of all consecrated at Rome.

The standards were not technically the arms of the enemy leader, nor had the Parthian king been killed in battle; rather a diplomatic exchange, resulting in *pax*, had

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[532] *RRC* 439; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.34.4: *ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ σώζεται τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἴχνος ἐλάττονας ἢ πέντε ποδῶν καὶ δέκα τὰς μείζους πλευρὰς ἔχον*. ('Indeed, ancient traces of it still remain, of which the longest sides are less than fifteen feet').
[533] Bastien (2007) 72-74.
[534] Livy 1.10.

taken place over three years.[535] Nevertheless, as Dio highlights, Augustus viewed the success as if it were a victory and he had defeated the Parthians in battle, and it seems likely that this is how he presented the event to the senate in his dispatch, requesting certain honours.[536] Obviously the *signa recepta* could not be dedicated officially as the *spolia opima*, but Augustus intended, in his request for the temple of Mars Ultor, to draw parallels and allusions to the *spolia opima* and the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. The Augustan programme would then have sought to establish the *signa* as a new form of *spolia opima*, and to link the display to the oldest victory dedication in Rome.[537] Augustus would later boast that the Parthian king had sought the *amicitia* of the Roman people after Augustus had 'compelled' him to return the standards.[538] Augustus' planned commemoration of the dedication of the standards in a temple to Mars Ultor articulated his achievement of *pax* as a demonstration of his defeat of the Parthian king.

If Augustus intended to display the actual standards as a form of *spolia opima*, linking himself to Romulus as the first *victor*, the senatorial display of the arch in the Forum set a statuary display of the return of the standards within a context where Romulus was depicted as the first in a long line of *triumphatores.* I now turn to consider the senatorial commemoration of *pax Parthorum* as a possibly response to Augustus' own planned commemorations. The victory commemoration of the Parthian arch illustrates an idea of the cessation of triumphs because Augustus has achieved the ultimate victory: that of *pax* which, resting on past victories and triumphs of the *res*

[535] Östenberg (2009b) 59-64.
[536] See pp. 157-160 above.
[537] Augustus never dedicated the *spolia opima* himself, but prevented M. Licinius Crassus from dedicating the arms of Deldo, the chieftain of the Basternae, whom Crassus had defeated and killed whilst proconsul of Macedonia in 29 B.C. Augustus claimed that Crassus could not dedicate the *spolia opima* as he did not killed Deldo under his own *imperium* and auspices, and he also seems to have falsified evidence to prove that Aulus Cornelius Cossus had been consul in 437 B.C., rather than military tribune, when he dedicated the *spolia opima* won from the king of Veii. See Livy 4.20.5-11; Luce (2009) 19-26.
[538] *RG* 29, 32-33.

publica, brings a new age where there is only the need to record the domestic offices of the state.

The Parthian Arch

As I stated above, I do not think we need reject the actual erection of monuments commemorating the return of the standards. Indeed, a passage from the Veronian scholiast of Virgil's *Aeneid*, commenting on the phrase *Parthos resposcere signa* (*Aen.* 7.606) states:

> *quae Licinio Crasso interfecto interceperant Parthi: haec reportavit Augustus. huius facti notae repraesentantur in arcu, qui est iuxta aedem divi Iulii.*[539]
>
> The Parthians had captured these after Licinius Crassus was killed; Augustus recovered them. Tokens of this deed are represented on the arch, which is next to the temple of Divus Iulius.

Clearly, there was an arch in the Roman Forum that was associated with the Parthian victory of 20/19 B.C., and the phrase *huius facti notae* seems comparable to Dio's 'trophy-bearing' arch. Indeed, Rich concedes on the evidence of this text and on coin evidence, which I will discuss below, that at the very least the Parthian trophies were commemorated on an arch in the Forum. However, he argues that rather than the

[539] Rich (1998) n. 91: *notae* was the emendation of the first editor for the word *nitae.* Following Hagen's editions of 1902, subsequent discussions on the text replace this with *nicae*. Rich argues that it is unlikely that a Greek, rather than Latin word, would be used. See also Simpson (1992) 838 n. 14 on the implausibility of *nicae* in the scholiast's notice. Serv. *Aen.* 7.606 does not mention an arch: *parthosque reposcere signa. Hoc in honorem Augusti posuit, quo regnante a Parthis repetit sunt signa.*

erection of a *τροπαιοφόρος* arch for the return of the standards, Augustus allowed a compromise whereby the older arch, voted after his victory at Actium, was remodelled and rededicated for the Parthian achievement. For Rich, this compromise allowed for a commemoration that was neither 'excessive [n]or inappropriate' as the new arch would, he argues, have been.[540] Rich's arguments do not detract from the arch in the Forum as a commemoration of the Parthian standards, for a rededication of the arch would in fact reconceptualise the message of the display.[541]

I will consider the material evidence for a *τροπαιοφόρος* Parthian arch, as one of the main visual commentaries, which I understand to be senatorial in initiative, on Augustus' Parthian campaign (*ἀψῖδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη*).[542] It is important to establish the visual rhetoric of the arch in order to consider what it contributes to our understanding of how the achievement of *pax* was conceptualised at Rome after the Parthian settlement. The arch interprets the *pax* achieved over Parthia as an expression and celebration of the offices of the Roman state which hold *imperium* (consul and *triumphator*, as a *dux* and *imperator*).

I will first examine the numismatic evidence for the arch. Whilst the numismatic evidence is not proof alone for the actual erection of an arch, at the very least it demonstrates the ideology and conception behind the honour voted.[543] In fact, the dating of some of the coins to after 18 B.C. suggests, more likely than not, that an

[540] Rich (1998) 114.

[541] Rich (1998) 114 himself states that this 'endowed the arch itself with new and broader significance'. Furthermore, although Rich argues that the modification of the earlier arch would serve to play down any overt triumphalism of the event, if he is correct that the Actian arch was rededication for the Parthian standards then surely the context of an arch that already has clear references to the triumph would in fact play up the victory of the Parthian settlement. See p. 181 below.

[542] The numismatic evidence discussed below shows that the arch was dedicated by the senate and people of Rome: see p. 166 below.

[543] Rich (1998) 101 argues that the Pergamum coin (*RIC* Aug. 510) would antedate Augustus' refusal of an arch and thus merely commemorates the senate's vote for it. See also Simpson (1992) 839.

actual arch existed, since as Rich argues, it seems unlikely that coins would continue to be minted after 18 B.C. if Augustus had refused the honour.[544]

I will then turn to consider the archaeological evidence for such an arch in the Forum, and will argue that the monument from which the *Fasti Capitolini* come is the arch which commemorates the Parthian standards. The relation of the *Fasti* to the Parthian arch shows that the senate conceptualised a diplomatic settlement in a triumphal fashion. The *Fasti* articulated the achievement of *pax* through the continuation of Rome's political offices, contextualised within a display of Rome's victorious military history.

Finally, I will examine the Parthian arch in the visual landscape of Rome, and compare it with Augustus' planned commemoration.[545] There is a distinction to be made between the commemorations of the senate and those of Augustus, and the ways in which they both presented the return of the standards. Augustus' associations of the standards with the *spolia opima* promotes a display of the spoils of the enemy king, conquered in war – Augustus stressed the militaristic nature of his achievement. The senate on the other hand sought to tie the return of the standards to the perpetuation of the office of consul and the cessation of the triumph. The Parthian arch illustrates how an act of *pax*, achieved without the need for war or cessation of conflict, was still presented in terms of Roman military victory, and as an expression of Roman imperialism, yet one that also emphasised the continued importance of the consulship to the state.

[544] Rich (1998) 109.
[545] See pp. 160-162 above.

Signa recepta: the numismatic commemoration

The numismatic evidence for the arch commemorating the *signa recepta* comes from three different mints across the empire. Silver cistophori from Pergamum dated to 19-18 B.C. depict a single arch, with quadriga statuary on the attic, and the returned standards decorating the arch's pillars. The architrave of the arch carries the legend *IMP. IX. TR. POT. IV,*[546] whilst *S. P. R. / SIGNIS / RECEPTIS* is engraved in the archway (Figure 54).[547]

Aurei and denarii from both Colonia Patricia and Tarraco in Spain dated to between 18-16 B.C. depict a triple arch, with a central quadriga group and single standing lateral figures raising up the standards - the right hand figure also holds a bow, a suitable depiction of a Parthian archer.[548] The legend *CIVIBVS ET SIGN. MILIT. A PARTH. RECVP.* runs around the coin in an anti-clockwise direction. The obverse depicts the bust of Augustus surrounded by the legend: *S. P. Q. R. IMP. CAESARI AVG. COS. XI. TR. POT. VI* (Figure 55).[549]

Finally, denarii of L. Vinicius minted at Rome and dated to 16 B.C. depict a triple arch with a quadriga group on the central arch, and on the lateral arches two single standing figures holding a bow and raising up the standards.[550] On the architrave of the central arch is the legend *S. P. Q. R. / IMP. CAE.*, whilst *VINICIVS* is engraved below the arch. The obverse shows the head of Augustus without a legend (Figure 56).[551] Whilst the Vinicius coin does not specifically identify the arch with the return of

[546] Later coins carry the legend: *IMP. IX. TR. POT. V:* Sutherland (1984) 82.
[547] *RIC*. Aug. 508 dates to 19 B.C., Aug. 509-510 to 18 B.C. The same legend is found on the obverse around the bust of Augustus.
[548] For the Parthians as archers: Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.17-18; Verg. *Aen* 12. 856-7; Prop. 3.9.54, 3.12.11, 4.3.67-68; Ov. *Fast.* 5.593-596; Livy 9.19.16.
[549] *RIC* Aug. 132-137.
[550] Rich (1998) 128 *Addendum,* for confirmation of the legionary eagle halfway up by the right hand figure.
[551] *RIC* Aug. 359.

the standards, the figures of the lateral arch have been convincingly identified as Parthians by the conical cap and bow held by the left figure.[552] The date ascribed to the coin, based on other coins minted by Vinicius in Augustus' seventh and eighth tribunate, would also suggest that it represents the near contemporary Parthian arch.[553]

Given the variation in the depictions of the arches it is debatable whether they actually depict the same arch. Most notably the Pergamum coins depict a single arch (perhaps minted before the arch was actually erected),[554] whilst the other two a triple arch, and even in the case of these two coins, the realisation of the arch is quite different. Nevertheless, it is explicit from the legends that the Pergamum coin and the Spanish coin commemorate the return of the standards. As has been discussed above, the Vinicius coin does not explicitly make reference to the return of the Parthian standards, but the visual field certainly suggests it as the likely commemoration.

All three issues emphasise the prominent role of the senate: on the Pergamum and Rome issues the role of the senate and people is directly linked to the arch, whilst on the Spanish issue the dedicatory role of the *S.P.Q.R.* is explicit in the obverse legend, serving to illustrate the honorary aspect of the dedication in relation to Augustus. Certainly, Degrassi has suggested that the obverse and the reverse legends of the Spanish coin made up the dedicatory inscription of the arch.[555] It seems highly plausible that the three issues offer us different interpretations of the same monument, based on the date and location of their issue and the knowledge of the arch an audience was expected to have.

[552] Nedergaard (1994-95) 51-53; Rich (1998) 110.
[553] Rich (1998) 100; *RIC* Aug. 67-68; see Carnabuci (1991) 318 for arguments that the coin represents the Actian arch.
[554] Rich (1998) 110 suggests that the single arch maybe depict the central archway only as a matter of convenience.
[555] Degrassi (1945) 100; also Taylor (1951a) 94 n. 39.

Another common feature of all three issues is the quadriga display on the top of the arch. This group is understood to represent a *currus triumphalis* and thus imply that the arch commemorates a triumph.[556] The quadriga was associated with the *triumphator* and his victory on the coins of the late Republic, from 101 B.C. onwards,[557] and associations of the quadriga with victory went back as far as the late third century B.C. and the minting of the *quadrigatus*.[558] There was clearly an allusion to victory and triumph when the quadriga was used on arches. Yet scholars have argued that it would not be appropriate or correct to have a triumphal chariot on an arch when no triumph was celebrated.[559] Rich has suggested, on these grounds, that the arch on the coins of 19-16 B.C. was originally the Actian arch, commemorating the triumph of 29 B.C., to which statuary commemorating the Parthian standards was later added.[560] The issue here is whether an arch had to celebrate a triumph to be surmounted by a *currus triumphalis*.[561]

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[556] Kleiner (1989) 199 has argued that it would be difficult to conceive of the Parthian arch without a triumphal chariot; see also Simpson (1992) 837.

[557] *RRC* 326/1 C. Fundanius (101 B.C.); 358/1, Laterens (83 B.C.); 367, Sulla (82 B.C.), Crawford notes that the coin advertises Sulla's expected victory (Crawford (1974) 387); 402, Pompey (71 B.C.).

[558] *RRC* 28/3,-4; 29/3-4; 30; 31; 32;33; 34; *RRC* pp. 103-105. Victory in a quadriga appears again in 211-208 B.C. from a mint in Luceria (*RRC* 97/23), which may correspond to the second Punic war. From 144 B.C. onwards, possibly corresponding to the fall of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B.C., the quadriga frequently appeared on the reverses of coins, normally with Jupiter and/or a Victory, although other deities also appear: Victory: 249/1; 253/1; 275/1; 280/1; 283/1; 352/1; 364/1; 366/1-3; 464/5; 465/3-5; Jupiter: 221/1; 227/1; 238/1; 241/1; 248/1; 256/1; 257/1; 273/1; 276/1; 279/1; 285/1; 310/1; 311/1; 325/1; 350A/1; 420/1-2; 422/1; Jupiter and Victory: 271/1; Juno crowned by Victory: 223/1; 240/1; Mars: 236/1; 290/6; Mars with trophy: 252/1; Hercules with trophy (255/1); Libertas crowned by Victory: 270/1; Libertas (266/1; Minerva with trophy and Victory: 342/4-6; Minerva: 354/1; Sol: 250/1; 309/1; Saturn (317/2-3; Apollo: 236/1). Victory also frequently appears with a biga: *RRC* 225/1; 226/1; 228/1-4; 245/1;247/1; 260/1; 261/1; 269/1; 274/1; 284/1; 289/1;300/1; 302/1; 313/1; 318/1; 322/1; 323/1; 324/1; 328/1; 337/1-4; 345/1; 360/1; 366/4;383/1; 387/1; 391/1; 464/4; 473/3; 479/23; 485/2; 494/40; and less frequently a triga 299/1; 382/1.

[559] Rich (1998) 108; Simpson (1992) 837ff.

[560] Rich (1998) 108. Livy 33.27.4-5: *ne temptata quidem triumphi spe*; Gurval (1995) 38.

[561] Simpson (1992) 842 questioned how necessary were the celebrations of a triumph for the erection of what is referred to as a 'triumphal' arch; see also Taylor (1950b) 94. The term *arcus triumphalis* is first attested in *Amm.* 21.16.15, and in late inscriptions from North Africa: *CIL* VIII 7094-98, 14728, 14817; see Beard (2007) 45-46 and Gurval (1995) 37-39 for discussions the term 'triumphal arch'. The term *triumphalis* was however applied to a gate (*porta*) in the late Republic and Empire, which appears to have been used for entering the city in triumph: Cicero *Pis.* 55; Tac. *Ann.* 1.8; Suet. *Aug.* 100.2; Dio Cass.

Aurei and denarii from Spain depict a Victory behind Augustus in a quadriga and in a biga drawn by elephants, surmounting a double arch, on a viaduct (Figure 57).[562] The legends indicate that the coins commemorate Augustus' repair of the roads, and are understood to represent arches erected at Ariminum and at the Milvian Bridge, commemorating the restoration of the via Flaminia in 27 B.C.[563] Certainly, the arches themselves do not commemorate Augustus' triumphs in 29 B.C., although the message of victory is clear.[564] From these examples it is clear that the *currus triumphalis* need not determine that a triumph be understood behind the commemoration of the arch. As Mary Beard states: 'the important fact is not that such arches regularly commemorated triumphs (though some did), but – in a sense, the other way round – that they used the imagery of triumphal celebrations as part of their own rhetoric of power'.[565] What is relevant to our understanding of the depictions of the Parthian arch is that, whether or not the arch originally commemorated Augustus' victories and triumphs in 29 B.C., contemporary representations of the arch emphasise the triumphal character of the monument, even through a triumph was not commemorated.[566]

The arch at Rome was a triumphal monument which also commemorated a new age (*novum saeculum*) as the accomplishment of the *pax* achieved. This is clear from other coins minted by the *IIIviri monetales* of 16 B.C. from Rome.[567] The coins focus on the *Ludi Saeculares*, but also on the public vote for Augustus' safe return from Gaul,

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56.42.1. There is much debate as to whether one specific gate designated as *triumphalis* actually existed or whether it was applied to different arches as the ceremony required: Beard (2007) 96-101; Bastien (2007) 319-321; Hölkeskamp (2006) 484; Versnel (1980) 132-163, esp. 134; Makin (1921) 29-33; see also Phillips (1974) n.6.

[562] *RIC* 140, 141, 143-145.

[563] Dio Cass. 53.22.1-2; De Maria (1988) 101-3, 260-2, 269; Rich (1998) 113.

[564] Beard (2007) 295-296.

[565] Beard (2007) 46; see also Gurval (1995) 37-39.

[566] It is also worth remembering that Dio refers to all three of the arches voted to Augustus as 'trophy – bearing' (Dio Cass. 49.15.1; 51.19.1; 54.8.4). In this respect, the senate had envisaged all three arches as a celebration of Augustus' victories in the same way.

[567] The wider context of commemoration in the Pergamum and Spanish coinage will be discussed below in section three pp. 208-213.

and his road-building programme (Figure 58 & Figure 59).[568] The place of the Parthian arch within this visual programme of 16 B.C. seems to tie it firmly to the celebrations of the *novum saeculum*.[569] Rich has suggested that the coinage from Rome 'plays down' the Parthian theme, because the standards are not as pronounced on the depiction of the arch, as they are on the Spanish coinage.[570] Rather than 'playing down' the Parthian theme, the coin of Vinicius contextualises the Parthian arch as a monument that relates the Parthian 'victory' to an establishment of the new age and the *Ludi Saeculares* in Rome. This relationship between the *Ludi Saeculares* and the Parthian arch as suggested by the numismatic programme is a theme that is also reflected in the physical monument itself.[571]

I will now turn to discuss the remains of a triple arch located between the temple of Divus Iulius and the temple of Castor in the Romanum Forum, which I argue belonged to the Parthian commemoration. I will also discuss the possibility put forward by Rich that the structure was originally the Actian arch, rededicated for the Parthian standards.[572] I will then consider the relationship of the arch to the remains of the *Fasti Capitolini.* This will illustrate how the concept of *pax* with Parthia was conceptualised at Rome as the cessation of triumphs and the accomplishment of the ultimate victory of *pax* over and above all of Rome's past victories.

[568] *RIC* Aug. 350-369.
[569] Rich (1998)110; Nedergaard (2004) 94-99.
[570] On the emphatic role of the standards on the Spanish depiction of the arch see p. 209 below.
[571] Nedergaard (2004)94-99; Nedergaard (2001) 121; Taylor (1951a) 73; Taylor (1950a) 514; Holland (1946) 55-56; see also Taylor (1946) 2 n. 5; Bastien (2007) 66 n. 56.
[572] Rich (1998) 97-115.

The 'trophy-bearing' arch and the Fasti Capitolini

Wallace-Hadrill has stated that '[t]he date and context are crucial for understanding the symbolic value of the Fasti'.[573] I argue in this section that the context of the *Fasti* is an integral part of the Parthian arch in the Roman Forum, set up to commemorate the *pax* established with Parthia through the return of the standards and the commemoration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, which took place in 17 B.C. This has important implications for our understanding of the way in which the specific *pax* of 20/19 B.C. was conceptualised at Rome. The *Fasti* together with the association of the *Ludi Saeculares* found on the inscription set the victory celebrations of the *pax Parthorum* within the context of Rome's great military victories since Romulus, and yet also emphasise the cessation of triumphs and the continuation of the domestic offices of the state. For the senate, the *pax* Augustus established with Parthia enabled a celebration of a new age for Roman imperialism, which reaffirmed the position of the consuls within the state.

The remains of a triple arch have been identified in the space between the temple of Divus Iulius and the temple of Castor and Pollux (Figure 60).[574] Sculptural remains of large worked stones of trophies of barbarians, shields, daggers, helmets and other ornaments were found together with the *Fasti Capitolini* in the sixteenth century near the temple of Castor.[575] Architectural fragments of both the Doric and Corinthian

[573] Wallace-Hadrill (1987) 224.
[574] Nedergaard (1993); Nedergaard (1999); Carnabuci (1991) 315-328; Holland (1946); Gatti (1945).
[575] Onofrio Panvinio *Fastorum Libri* V, 1558, praefectio: *Pauli III pontificis maximi felcissimo principatu anno 1547;* Metellus, *Cod. Vat.* 6039, f. 210f.: *reperta Romae in foro Romano proper tres columnas illic erectas pone Capitolium, aliis saxis eodem loco repertis iisque ingentibus et adfabre levigatis inveniuntur tanquam tropae quaedam barbarorum, scuta, pugiones et galeae et alia ornamenta* ('[the *Fasti*] were found at Rome in the Forum Romanum near the three columns which stand behind the Capitolium (i.e. the temple of Castor). They were found with other stones in the same place, which were large and smoothed in a workman-like fashion, such as certain trophies of barbarians, shields, daggers, helmets and other ornaments'). Onofrio Panvinio, *Fastorum Libri* V, 1558, *praefectio*, also records the decorative elements founds: *in quibus quaedam barbara et penitus inepta ornamenta, avium florum*

orders were found between the temple of Castor and the temple of Divus Iulius in 1871-1872 by Pietro Rosa.[576] It seems very plausible that all these remains came from the arch located between the two temples in that area, which has been identified as either the Actian arch or the Parthian arch.[577] Indeed, Nedergaard states that amongst the architectural remains were three right-hand corners of a pediment in the Doric order, which suggests that the building from which they came contained at least three pediments – these would conform to the pediments depicted on the lateral arches on the coin of Vinicius (Figure 56).[578] Dio refers to both arches as *τροπαιοφόρος*,[579] which would fit well with the sculptural remains found. The Veronian scholiast also refers to the Parthian arch as depicting *notae* of the return of the standards.[580]

Nedergaard has shown that the arch has a *terminus ante quem* of A.D. 6, at which time the temple of Castor was rebuilt.[581] The lateral steps of the temple join the southern lateral archway although the arch has a different orientation to the temple, indicating that the construction of the temple steps was deliberately orientated to fit into

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pentagonorum quos nodos Salomonis vocant, et similia incisa erant ('among which were incised certain barbarian and thoroughly tasteless decorations, of birds, flowers and pentagons, which they call the knots of Salomon, and similar'). See Nedergaard (2001) 107ff for the history of the excavations of the Forum area between the temple of Castor and the temple of Divus Iulius.

[576] Nedergaard (1988a) 39; Nedergaard (1994-95) 53-54; Nedergaard (1993); Nedergaard (2001) 115-116.

[577] Nedergaard (1993); Nedergaard (1999); Rich (1998) 100-107; Chioffi (1996) 24-26; Carnabuci (1991) 315-328; Degrassi (1945); Holland (1946). Coarelli (1985) 275, 296 argues that the remains belong to an arch on the north side of temple of Divus Iulius, which he identifies as the Parthian arch. However, Nedergaard (1994-95) 50-63 has convincingly argued that Coarelli's reconstruction is structurally impossible, particularly since the size of the Doric columns (from the remains found) would not have reached the same height as the Tuscan columns of the Basilica; Nedergaard (2001) 122; De Maria (1988) 97; Kleiner (1989) 198-9; Rich (1998) 105; Bastien (2007) 64-66; see also p. 175 below on Coarelli's misinterpretation of Ligorio's description of the find-spot of the *Fasti Capitolini.*

[578] Nedergaard (2001) 116, 119-120: the structure would contain four such pediments in total – two on each side of the building.

[579] Dio Cass. 51.19.1; 54.8.4; cf. also 49.15.1 for the arch commemorating Octavian's victory at Naulochus.

[580] See p. 163 above.

[581] Nedergaard (2001) 116.

the pre-existing space articulated by the arch (Figure 60).[582] Nedergaard also argues that the relationship between the northern side of the arch and the podium of the temple of Divus Iulius, where the podium blocks were reworked when the arch was constructed, gives a *terminus post quem* of 29 B.C., since the arch must have been constructed after the temple podium.[583] Rich, however, has pointed out that whilst the temple was dedicated on 18th August 29 B.C., the podium must have been constructed well in advance of this date: the foundations were supposedly started in 42 B.C.[584] Rich uses this possible earlier *terminus post quem* as support for his identification of the arch as that voted after Actium in 31 B.C.

Rich only makes brief mention of the relationship between fragments of the *Fasti Capitolini* and the architectural and sculptural fragments found in the same area and he discounts them from his discussion of the triple arch between the temples of Castor and of Divus Iulius, because of disputes over the original location of the *Fasti.*[585] Locations suggested include the *Fornix Fabianus,*[586] the Regia,[587] and the triple arch in the Forum, identified as either the Actian or Parthian arch.[588]

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[582] Nedergaard (1988a) 41-42; Scott (2000) 184. The A.D. 6 rebuilding increased the dimensions of the temple from the 117 B.C. Metellan temple on a ratio of 7:6 (Nilson and Persson (2008b) 75, 95f; Nielsen and Poulsen (1992) 113), thus the new podium cut into the area in front of the southern lateral arch: Nielsen (1993). The relation between the temple of Castor and Pollux, and the triple arch will be discussed below p. 194.

[583] Nedergaard (1988a) 41-42.

[584] Rich (1998) 107; Dio Cass. 47.18.4 records the laying of the foundations of the temple in 42 B.C.: *καὶ ἡρῷόν οἱ ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐκέκαυτο προκατεβάλοντο* ('they also laid the foundation of a shrine to him in the Forum and on the place where he was cremated'). In 29 B.C. the senate decreed the podium be decorated with the *rostra*, suggesting that the foundations were likely to have been already completed (Dio Cass. 51.19.1). For the consecration of the temple see Dio Cass. 51.22.2; *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.497 = *EJ*^{2} p. 50.

[585] Rich (1998) 104, 106.

[586] Steinby (1987) 163ff.

[587] Simpson (1993); Bastien (2007) 58-59.

[588] Bastien (2007)59-66. For the Actian arch: Gatti (1945); Degrassi (1945). For the Parthian arch: Taylor (1950b); Taylor (1951a); Nedergaard (1994-95); Nedergaard (2001); Schneider (2007).

Arguments against the *Fasti* belonging to a triumphal arch focus on the fact that lists of magistrates were usually maintained in *templa*,[589] and so the Regia or the Temple of Divus Iulius might be appropriate locations.[590] However we should consider the potential precedent of the *Fornix Fabianus* in connection with triumphal inscriptions. The arch, originally built in 121 B.C., was later restored by Q. Fabius Maximus in 57 B.C., whose restoration was inscribed on the arch, along with the triumphal records of L. Aemilius Paullus and P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus:

> *Q. Fabius Q. f. Maxsumus / aed. cur.*
>
> *L. Aem[il]ius L. f. Paullus / co[s II], cens., augur / tr[i]umphatvit ter.*
>
> *P. Cornelius Paulli f. Scipio / Africanus cos. II, cens. / augur, triumphavit II.*[591]

The use of the arch to commemorate the triumphal successes of the Fabii may indeed have suggested a model for inscribing the triumphal history of the Roman state on a triumphal monument.[592]

I will now turn to consider Nedergaard's studies, which indicate that the *Fasti* formed an integral part of the triple arch in the Forum. I will also discuss below the possibility of Rich's suggestion that the Actian arch was rededicated for the Parthian commemoration, although I argue that the evidence supports the identity of the Parthian arch. The senate's presentation of the *pax* with Parthia through the integration of the

[589] Simpson (1993) 63.
[590] My thanks to Janet Delaine for bringing this issue more fully to my attention.
[591] *CIL* I 607 = *ILS* 43; see Chioffi (1996) 26ff for a discussion of the arch and the inscriptions.
[592] Chioffi (1996) 47. The ideology of the *Fasti Triumphales* and *Consulares* on the Parthian arch will be discussed below, pp. 184-186.

Fasti into the arch uses the context of a victory celebration to enforce an idea that the *pax* with Parthia has brought an end to triumphs, and enabled a new age for Rome's political offices and the exercise of *imperium.*

The *Fasti Capitolini* consist of two lists: the *Fasti Consulares* and the *Fasti Triumphales.* The *Fasti Consulares* record the consuls from the start of the Republic down to A.D. 13, inscribed in two columns on four tablets, 2.34m in height, each flanked by two small Corinthian pilasters, with the list continuing on the wall to the right of the fourth tablet (the so-called 'fifth tablet').[593] The *Fasti Triumphales*, which record the triumphal ceremonies from the first regal year of Romulus to 19 B.C.,[594] are inscribed on four Doric pilasters measuring 3.265m in height (Figure 61). The *Fasti* are carved on blocks of solid marble 0.50m thick, and thus it is likely in the case of the larger fragments that they were not found far from their original site.[595] Whilst Panvinio, who says that the third tablet was found *in situ*,[596] and Ligorio record that the fragments were found *ante templum Faustinae*, far too much has been made by scholars of the accuracy of their reference points in relation to the find-spot of the fragments. Coarelli, for example, relies heavily on Ligorio's statement that the *ianus* structure, from which he reports the '*fasti romani'* came, was situated over the *via Sacra*.[597] However, Coarelli fails to take into account that Ligorio believed the *via Sacra* to run

[593] Nedergaard (2001) 108.
[594] Taylor (1951a) 77 regarding the first regal year.
[595] Nedergaard (2001) 117; Simpson (1993) 67, 71; Taylor (1946) 2; Degrassi (1947) 17. Michelangelo's design for display of the *Fasti* in the Capitoline Museum meant that the blocks had been cut back: Nedergaard (2004) 84. It is worth nothing that whilst the majority of the fragments were found in the Forum, some were discovered further afield: Degrassi (1947) 17. From Onofrio Panvinio's testimony in Panvinio (1558) *praefectio* it is clear that much of the monument and its remains had been broken down to make lime: *bona aerum pars in calcem fuerat decocta, haud enim longe ab eo loco calcis fornax inventa fuerat* ('a good part of them was boiled down into mortar (lime), for not far from that place a lime kiln had been found').
[596] Panvinio (1558), *praefectio*: *In quibus quae ex tertia tabula supersunt fragmenta loco antiquo adhuc mota non fuerant* ('among which, the fragments survived from the third tablet, fragments which had not been moved from their original location').
[597] Coarelli (1985) 269-308.

straight across the Forum from the Arch of Titus to the Arch of Septimus Severus,[598] instead of following a path close to the north side of the forum.[599]

It is necessary to consider the testimonies from the sixteenth century to figure out the precise location of the *Fasti Capitolini:*

> *Ea enim, quae cladibus superfuerant fragmenta, ruderibus ante templum Faustinae inter forum et sacram viam...egestis, casu inventa sunt.*[600]

> For these, the fragments which survived the devastations of the city, were found by chance with the ruins discarded before the temple of Faustina between the forum and the *via Sacra*.

> *le inscrittoni de' Magistrati nouvamente trouvate...siano state trovate dirimpetto al tempio di Faustina, vicinio all'angolo del Palatino, in un luogo dove facevan capo più strade.*[601]

> The inscriptions of the Magistrates recently found...were found before the temple of Faustina, near the corner of the Palatine, in a place which is the head of several roads.

> *reperta Romae in foro Romano proper tres columnas illic erectas pone Capitolium.*[602]

[598] Burns (1988) 35; Coffin (2004) 11, 19; Nedergaard (1994-95) 60.
[599] Scott (2000).
[600] Panvinio (1558), *praefectio.*
[601] Ligorio (1553) f. 31.
[602] Metellus, *Cod. Vat.* 6039, f. 210f.

> [The *Fasti*] were found at Rome in the Roman Forum near the three columns, which stand behind the Capitoline.

Coarelli labelled the testimony of Metellus, who identifies the find-spot as close to the then unidentified columns of the temple of Castor, as vaguer than the locations given by Ligorio and Panvinio.[603] However, even a brief examination of depictions of the *campo vaccino* from the 16th to early 19th centuries shows how prominent a visual reference both the columns and the temple of Faustina were within the space of the Forum (Figure 62 & Figure 63).[604] The combined use of these two points of visual reference, together with Ligorio's mention of the *angolo del Palatino* and the misconceived location of the *via Sacra,* thought to run across the Forum, suggest a location in the area between the temples of Castor and Divus Iulius.[605] I will now discuss the relationship between the *Fasti Consulares* and the *Fasti Triumphales* on the section found *in situ*, and how this supports the identification of their monument being the triple arch in the Forum.

The course blocks of the third and fourth tablets are the same height, but do not correspond to the height of the blocks from tablet one and two, suggesting that the two sets of tablets came from different walls. The section found *in situ* in 1547 is the lowest course of the wall which comprised tablet three, flanked by the first and second

[603] Coarelli (1985) 274-5.
[604] Wilton-Ely (1994) v.1, n. 233; Keaveney (1988) 138ff for views of the Roman Forum from the 16th to early 19th centuries.
[605] Nedergaard (1994-95) 60-63 has argued from the orientations of the *ianus* in Ligorio's drawings that the location described is in fact that between the temples of Castor and Divus Iulius.

pilasters.[606] Nedergaard has shown that the third and fourth pilasters must have flanked either the first or second tablet, since fragment XL (the second course of the fourth pilaster), which measures c. 55cm, conforms to the height of the second course of these tablets, 54.8cm (Figure 64).[607]

On this evidence Nedergaard has suggested that the first tablet came from the same wall as, though opposite side to, tablet two, whilst the third and fourth tablets came from opposite sides of another wall (Figure 65).[608] The structural arrangement of the *Fasti* suggested by Nedergaard is as follows:

Fasti	**Wall**	**Side**
Fasti Consulares tablet 1	1	1
Fasti Consulares tablet 2	1	2
Fasti Triumphales pilaster 3	1	2
Fasti Triumphales pilaster 4	1	2
Fasti Consulares tablet 3	2	1
Fasti Triumphales pilaster 1	2	1
Fasti Triumphales pilaster 2	2	1
Fasti consulares tablet 4 (+ 5)	2	2

Table 3: layout of the *Fasti Capitolini* as devised by Nedergaard (2001).

Fragment XLV provides further insight into the architectural arrangement of the *Fasti*. Nedergaard has shown that the vertical line and rough working which covers 26.5cm of the fragment to the right of the inscribed surface was originally covered by a

[606] Nedergaard (2001) 117; Nedergaard (2004) 84; Degrassi (1947) 17ff; Coarelli (1985) 276. Nedergaard (2001) 118 has shown that the block heights of the pilasters are the same as the block heights of the third tablet.
[607] Nedergaard (2001) 119; Nedergaard (2004) 88.
[608] Nedergaard (2001) 116-119; Nedergaard (2004) 87-88.

corner column, and that the remains of a three-quarter Doric column, found south of the temple of Divus Iulius, was cut to fit the corner of the wall of which fragment XLV was part (Figure 66).[609] This means that the fourth tablet (along with the section of wall inscribed with the so-called 'fifth tablet') was flanked by Doric three-quarter columns, and it seems plausible that the first tablet would be likewise flanked.

The relationship between fragment XLV and the Doric three-quarter column fragment highlights the suitability of assigning the *Fasti* to the Doric-Corthinian architectural fragments found in the area of the triple arch. Nedergaard has argued that the two walls to which the *Fasti* belong (Table 3 above), correspond to the two pillars of the central arch. The foundations of this central passageway measure 2.95m by 5.25m,[610] whilst the total length of the walls on which the *Fasti* were set measures 3.865m.[611] The central foundations of the triple arch would make a plausible platform for the walls carrying the *Fasti Capitolini.* As mentioned above, the *Fasti* were inscribed on solid blocks of marble and were not marble veneers,[612] demonstrating that they must have formed an integral part of the structure of their building. Nedergaard's reconstruction places the tablets on the four walls of the central pylons of the triple arch, with the pilasters placed on internal walls of the central passage, carrying the vault.[613]

The *Fasti Triumphales* were inscribed over the four pilasters of the central archway and were thus integral to the structure of the monument. The *Fasti Triumphales* fit exactly over the four pilasters, with the final entry of Balbus' triumph in 19 B.C. at the bottom edge of the epigraphic field, just before the rough working of

[609] Nedergaard (2004) 85.
[610] Nedergaard (1993); Degrassi (1945) 91.
[611] Gatti (1945) 115; Nedergaard (1993); Nedergaard (2004) 84.
[612] See p. 175 above.
[613] Nedergaard (2001) 118-119.

the stone for insertion (Figure 67). It seems highly plausible given the exact fit of the list on the pilasters, that it was conceived and inscribed as a complete list after 19 B.C.[614] Whilst the *Fasti Triumphales* appear to agree with the date of the Parthian arch (post 19 B.C.), the *Fasti Consulares* are more problematic.

The main issue of the date of the inscription concerns erasures on the *Fasti Consulares,* though not the *Fasti Triumphales,* of the names of M. Antonius – both the entries of M. Antonius listed as consul in 99 B.C. and censor in 97 B.C. and his grandson M. Antonius the triumvir, who was listed as master of the horse in 47 B.C. and consul in 37 B.C.[615] Dio records that Antony's name was condemned in 30 B.C. and removed from inscriptions.[616] The names of the two Antonii were re-carved over the erasures,[617] in order to maintain Antonius' name in the lists. [618]

That the erasures occur in the *Fasti Consulares* and not the *Fasti Triumphales* suggests the possibility that the two were not inscribed at the same time.[619] Degrassi saw the erasures of M. Antonius from the *Fasti Consulares* as dating to the senate's decree of 30 B.C., and thus places the *Fasti Consulares* on the Actian arch, and argues that the *Fasti Triumphales* were added more than ten years later.[620] This would mean that the arch, voted in 31 B.C., was erected and inscribed by August by 30 B.C., for the erasure of Antony's names (voted by the senate on news of his death) to take place.[621] If

[614] Östenberg (2009b) 55. Spannagel (1999) 249 has suggested that Octavian's triple triumph of 29 B.C. was a suitable occasion for the formulation of the *Fasti Triumphales*.
[615] Degrassi (1947) 128, 133, 135. Due to the fragmentary nature of the *Fasti* the years for Antony's other consulships of 44 B.C. and 34 B.C. do not survive.
[616] Dio Cass. 51.19.3; see chapter two p. 69 above.
[617] Nedergaard (2001) n.96 believes, on inspection of the fragments, that the re-inscriptions have been undertaken by a different hand than the original inscription.
[618] Tac. *Ann.* 3.18: *ne nomen Pisonis fastis eximeretur, quando M. Antonii qui bellum patriae fecisset, Iulli Antonii qui domum Augusti violasset manerent* ('that Piso's name should not be removed from the lists, since the names of M. Antonius, who had made war against his country, and Iullus Antonius, who had violated the house of Augustus, remained').
[619] Spannagel (1999) 246; Degrassi (1947) 19-20.
[620] Degrassi (1947) 18-19; Degrassi (1945) 88ff.
[621] Degrassi (1947) 19 assigns the recarving of M. Antonius into the *Fasti* to Octavian's return in 29 B.C.

the *Fasti Consulares* were inscribed in c.30 B.C., we must assume, based on their archaeological remains, that they were structurally integrated into the Actian arch in the Forum. If the *Fasti Consulares* belonged originally to the Actian arch, then it is tempting to see the *Fasti Triumphales* as an addition to the arch after 19 B.C., at a point when the return of the Parthian standards was being commemorated.[622] As dicussed above, it seems highly plausible that the *Fasti Triumphales* were conceived and inscribed as a complete list after 19 B.C. given that they fit exactly into the space of the four pilasters.[623]

However, Taylor dated the erasures to 2 B.C. and the downfall of Iullus Antonius. [624] Unfortunately the year of Iullus' consulship (10 B.C.) is not extant. Furthermore, if the erasures were made in 2 B.C., the issue arises why they only take place on the *Fasti Consulares* and not the *Fasti Triumphales*, since Antony is named twice in the celebrations of 40 B.C. for the ovations he shared with Octavian for making *pax* with one another.[625] The only plausible explanation would be that Antony's name could not be removed from the *Fasti Triumphales* due to its association with the ovation of Octavian and the *pax* made.[626] The question of the erasure remains a problem.[627]

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[622] This would certainly fit with the idea put forward by Rich (1998) 96-115, who argues that the Parthian arch was a 'compromise' monument, adapted from the pre-existing Actian arch.
[623] See n. 614 above.
[624] Taylor (1950b) 92; Taylor (1946) 2-6.
[625] See chapter one pp. 17-19, 51-52 above.
[626] Nedergaard (2004) 96 says the explanation is 'not totally satisfactory'. L. Antonius' name is also left intact on the *Fasti Triumphales*.
[627] The erasures of *M. Antonius* are not the only ones in the *Fasti Consulares*. A total of fourteen erasures occur, two from the second tablet, seven from the third tablet, and five from the fourth tablet. Some erasures are clearly to correct misspellings and inscribing errors such as the recarving of *Cent**ho*** (censor 225 B.C.), ***Per**ilus* (consul 223 B.C.). Other recarving appears to be due to the length of the text, normally when someone has died in office, which most likely had to be reinscribed to make it fit into the space: 253 B.C. *cens(ores) D. Iunius D. f. D. n. Pé**ra abd(**icavit)* ***L. Postumius L.f. L. n. Megell**(us) **m**(orttus) **e**(st)*, and 214 B.C.: *cens(ores) M. Atilius M. f. M. n. Regulus **abd**(icavit)* ***P. Furius Sp. f. M. n. Philus in mag**(istratu) **m**(ortuus) **est.*** It is notably that the recarving of *M. Antonius* (99, 97, 47, 37 B.C.) all come from the fourth tablet. Due to the frequency of erasure and recarving of the name it is unlikely that it was due to error and the need for spacing: indeed, the entries are a few of the rare occasions where there is no *cognomen.* Condemnation did not necessary result in erasure from the *Fasti*

Whenever the *Fasti Consulares* were initially inscribed, it should be noted that they were clearly intended to be added to, unlike the *Fasti Triumphales*. The so-called 'fifth tablet' illustrates this point, in that the consuls continued to be added to the list even when the designated space – the tablets – was no longer available. What is important for the commemoration of the Parthian settlement is that the *Fasti Triumphales* were inscribed as part of that celebration, and were intended to be viewed alongside the *Fasti Consulares* in the context of the arch commemorating the return of the standards.

That the *Fasti Consulares* were intended, at least after 19 B.C., to be part of a new display is suggested by the extant entries for the third (236 B.C.) and fifth (17 B.C.) *Ludi Saeculares*, as well as those held by Domitian in A.D. 88. The position of the first two relate to the consular year in which they were held: thus the commemoration of the third games is inscribed on the wall to the left of the third tablet, at the same level as the consuls for that year, whilst that of the fifth games is found on the wall to the right of the fourth tablet, and is in fact part of the so-called 'fifth tablet'. The Domitianic record was inscribed below that of 17 B.C. Therefore its placement does not relate to the year, but rather seeks to emphasise the relevance of commemorating the *Ludi Saeculares* on that monument. Thus, the *Ludi Saeculares* were an integral part of the initial display of the *Fasti*, and this is supported by the later addition of the games of A.D. 88: the monument was clearly where one commemorated such an event.

Nedergaard has offered an elegant solution for the inscribing of the *Ludi* on a monument inscribed with the *Fasti Consulares* and *Triumphales*. She has noted that the

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Consulares: A. Terentius Varro Murena, who was killed during his consulship of 23 B.C. for conspiracy was not omitted or erased from the *Fasti Consulares.* His condemnation appears to have been recorded and his replacement named (Degrassi (1947) 58-59), although in all other *fasti* records he is omitted (e.g. *Fasti Feriarum Latinarum*: Degrassi (1947) 150-151): see Degrassi (1945) 97 n. 178.

so-called 'fifth tablet', inscribed as it is on the wall between the fourth tablet and a three-quarter Doric column, rather than in its own tablet, has far more slender letters than the rest of the inscription and states that it is a later addition. Furthermore, the fifth *Ludi Saeculares* entry, on the 'fifth tablet', appears to restrict the epigraphic field for the final consular entry of A.D. 13: most notably a dividing line had to be used in the name of *L. Munatius L. f. L. n.* | *Plancus* (Figure 68).[628] The final entry for the *Fasti Triumphales* is that of Balbus in 19 B.C., which together with the entry for the fifth *Ludi Saeculares* suggests a likely date of c. 17 B.C. for the overall display of the *Fasti.* Clearly by this date the fourth tablet would not be completely filled, and Nedergaard has proposed that space would have been left for the consular offices to continue to be recorded, whilst the list of triumphs was finished, designed to fit exactly over the four pilasters, with no further triumphs apparently recorded.[629] That the *Fasti Consulares* were intended to continue after 17 B.C. is suggested from the 'fifth tablet', which was not part of the original display, but continued the list of the consuls, even though there was no proper space designated for it.

Now that I have established the position of the *Fasti Capitolini* on the triple arch commemorating Augustus' Parthian victory, I will now consider the ideological significance of this display which demonstrates that the *pax* established with Parthia was conceptualised in terms of a *novum saeculum.*

[628] Nedergaard (2004) 93-94, esp. n. 37: 'an erasure above the annotation of the Secular Games of 17 B.C. seems to indicate that the engraver had at first placed the *cognomina* underneath the *nomina* of the two consuls, but then decided that the line came too close to the annotation of the secular games. A similar system of placing the *cognomina* underneath the *nomina* of the consuls can be observed for instance for years 5, 6, and 7 on fragment XLV'.
[629] Nedergaard (2001) 120; Nedergaard (2004) 96-99.

The Novum Saeculum and the Parthian Victory

It should be recalled that the Parthian arch was ostensibly a senatorial monument set up to commemorate the Parthian settlement. The integration of the *Fasti Capitolini* presents the viewer with a display of Republican history from the first consuls and the first *triumphatores* down to the 19 B.C, and beyond in the case of the *Fasti Consulares*. This display articulates the two highest attainments of Roman authority: *imperium domi militiaeque*, embodied in the offices of consul and general. These lists present the men who composed the structural fabric of Roman political life both at home and in the field.[630] The arch, with the *Fasti Capitolini* illustrates how the senate took the celebration of *pax* and interpreted it as a celebration of their order.[631]

From the arrangement of the *Fasti* proposed by Nedergaard not only were they designed as a structural part of the monument, but also the *Fasti Triumphales* were to cover only the four supporting pilasters of the central archway, whilst the *Fasti Consulares* were to occupy four walls, with space in the fourth tablet to continue the recording of the consular office. It seems that there are almost two separate emphases at work within the monument, which combine to illustrate the nature of victorious *pax.*

Firstly, the central archway throws the emphasis on the celebration of the triumph. Indeed, the letter size of the *Fasti Triumphales* is larger than that of the *Fasti Consulares*.[632] This may be in part due to the height of the pilasters (3.265m), to enable the highest lines to be visible. However, this still leads to a visual comparison between the two lists, which are further distinguished by the two columns of consular lists,

[630] The triumphal lists record the geographical place or ethnic over which the victory was won.

[631] The senatorial aspect of the monument is discussed in part by Amy Russell in an unpublished paper '*Quos habendos esse censebat senatus*: senatorial monuments and political identity' (18th Oct. 2007), and my thanks to her for discussing this important aspect with me. See Degrassi (1945); Simpson (1993) on a Republican interpretation of the *Fasti* and their monument.

[632] Even given small discrepancies for different engravers the *Fasti Triumphales* uniformly measure c. 17mm, whilst the *Fasti Consulares* measure c.10-13mm. Only Gordon (1958) n. 9-11 gives the measurement for the three fragments he discusses. See also Nedergaard (2001) 120.

against the one straight list of *triumphatores*. It is notable that Romulus is depicted as the first *triumphator*, despite the fact that in the literary tradition he is credited with the first dedication of the *spolia opima* but not a triumph.[633] Furthermore, the *Fasti Triumphales* do not record Romulus' *spolia opima* even though they are recorded for M. Marcellus.[634] In relation to the Parthian arch and Augustus' 'triumph' over the Parthians,[635] Romulus is emphatically placed as the first *triumphator*, rather than the first to dedicate the *spolia opima*.

Simpson complains that Balbus' name, as the last *triumphator*, on an arch to Augustus is 'inherently unlikely'[636] but he fails to understand the full context of the monument.[637] Romulus' name might be first, and Balbus' name might be last in the long history of the triumph, but Augustus' name and the evidence of his deeds rises above the *Fasti*, on the architrave of the arch, as the coin of Vinicius illustrates. The placement of the *Fasti Triumphales* on the pilasters of the arch then implies that this history provides the foundations and support for Augustus' victory, which surpasses them all, even though no triumph in fact took place. The dedication on the architrave of the arch, which gives Augustus' title as *Imp(erator) Caesar Aug(ustus), co(n)s(ul) XI, tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VI,*[638] articulates his adoption of the title *Imperator* – the acclamation given to a general after a victory by his soldiers[639] – as his *praenomen.*[640] Even without a triumph, the presentation of Augustus is one of a victor. The return of the Parthian standards then is treated as a new 'first' triumph of Rome, and Augustus as

[633] Livy 1.10. The depiction of Romulus in the Forum Augustum credits him with the *spolia opima* but not the triumph (*ILS* 64).
[634] Bastien (2007) 66-74.
[635] See pp. 168 - 169 above on the numismatic evidence.
[636] Simpson (1993) 64.
[637] Simpson (1993) in fact assigned the *Fasti Capitolini* to the Regia and not the Augustan arch.
[638] Degrassi (1945) 100; Taylor (1951a) 94 n. 39.
[639] Versnel (1980) 340-349.
[640] Syme (1958).

the new founder. This concept ties in with the ideology of the *novum saeculum* and the secular games.[641]

The commemoration of all the *Ludi Saeculares* down to the games of 17 B.C. is further highlighted by the completion of the triumphal lists, and the continuation of the consular lists. The outcome of the Parthian settlement is the end of triumphs yet the continuation of the power and *imperium* of the highest magistracy of Rome. In this respect the Parthian arch aims to commemorate the accomplishment of the *pax* established, after which there will be no need for any further triumphs. The list of *triumphatores* was terminated through the inscribing of the dedicatory inscription on the arch; this was later echoed by Ovid in his depiction of the *Ara Pacis*: *dum desint hostes, desit quoque causa triumphi*.[642] This list of consular offices was to continue, and did continue, even when there was no proper designated space left.

The return of the Parthian standards received a triumphal commemoration for a military 'victory' under Augustus' auspices, yet it also signals the moment as a triumph to end all triumphs, and indeed in a sense it was, for Balbus was the last non-member of the imperial *gens* to hold the honour. Augustus, in 17 B.C., had apparently encouraged *triumphatores* to erect public monuments out of their spoils to commemorate such deeds, in place of a triumph.[643] The Parthian arch was, at the very least, a commemoration of the triumphal deeds of the entire senatorial order. However, the return of the standards and the expectation of the *Ludi Saeculares* presented an opportunity to express an ideology of *pax* in the new age. What the victory commemoration of the Parthian arch illustrates is an idea of the cessation of triumphs because Augustus has achieved the ultimate victory, that of *pax* which, resting on the

[641] Rose (2005) 23; Zanker (1988) 183-192. As Taylor (1946), Taylor (1951a) demonstrated, the chronology of the *Fasti Capitolini* appears to have been influenced by the dating for the *Ludi Saeculares.*
[642] Ov. *Fast.* 1.713.
[643] Dio Cass. 54.18.2.

glorious past, brings a new age where there is only the need to record the offices of consul.

The Arch and the Visual Landscape of Rome

The links that the arch created with the great Republican past were further emphasised by the landscape in which the arch was set. It is striking that the monument's relationship to the *aedes Vestae* has never been commented on (Figure 60). Standing on the west side of the arch, the temple is clearly visible through the vista of the central passageway (Figure 69). Although the temple had been rebuilt a number of times, the form and location of the monument have remained a constant,[644] so I will work on the assumption that what is now visible in the space between the two central pillars of the arch presents us with a similar view to that at the time of the arch's erection.

The temple of Vesta was representative of the earth (*Vesta eadem est et terra*)[645] and the sacred flame of the goddess was strongly connected to the public hearth and the founding of the city.[646] Ovid celebrates the burning of Vesta's eternal flame under Augustus' rule (*nunc bene lucetis sacrae sub Caesare flammae*)[647] as a pledge of *imperium*: *ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt / Caesaris: imperii pignora iuncta vides*.[648] The visual link between the temple of Vesta, as the eternal hearth of the city of Rome and thus the empire, and the arch the senate erected for the Parthian victory is thus suggestive. The triumphal commemoration of the Parthian *pax* was to be seen in

[644] Scott (1999).
[645] Ov. *Fast.* 6.267, also 6.460. 6.267-280 describes how the temple of Vesta mirrors the concept of the earth as a globe (6.278). See also Dionysius *Rom. Ant.* 2.66.3.
[646] Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.65-66.1; Ov. *Fast.* 3.417-428.
[647] Ov. *Fast.* 6.455.
[648] Ov. *Fast.* 3.421-22: 'the eternal divine will of Caesar presides over the eternal flames: you see pledges of empire joined together'. See also Ov. *Fast.* 6.428-429.

relation to the symbol of the stability and continuity of the Roman state, again linking the contemporary celebration to the history of Rome. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Ovid ties the living flame of Vesta on the day of the Vestalia to the return of the Parthian standards, placing in the goddess' mouth the words: '*Parthe, quid exsultas? Signa remittes, / quique necem Crassi vindicet ultor erit*'.[649]

Certainly, whether or not Ovid was drawing on the physical relationship between the Parthian arch and the temple in his poem,[650] the visual connection between the temple of Vesta, framed in the central archway of the Parthian arch, which as the numismatic evidence suggests depicted the Parthians returning the standards on the lateral arches, evokes the concept that the celebration of the Parthian 'triumph' should be understood as emphasising that Augustus' achievement ensured the continuation of the *ignes aeternae*. Augustus himself claims to have consecrated *dona ex manubiis* in the *aedes Vestae*.[651] Dionysius' account of Metellus' rescue of the sacred things of Vesta also highlights him as a *triumphator* over the Carthaginians: the protection of the sacred flame required, it seems, someone of proven military prowess, for the ability to protect the *imperium* of Rome was equivalent to the protection of Vesta.[652] It seems that the senate also wished to highlight how Augustus' achievement was a continuous part of the display of Roman *imperium domi et militiae* through the vista of the arch.

[649] Ov. *Fast.* 6.467-468: 'why do you exalt, Parthian? You will return the standards, for there is one who will be the avenger of Crassus' death'.
[650] See Green (2004) on the lack of physicality of monuments in Ovid's *Fasti.*
[651] *RG* 21.
[652] Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant,* 2.66.3-5.

The senatorial display and Augustus' commemorations

I will now turn to compare the senatorial display of the Parthian settlement to the evidence of Augustus' own commemoration of the event in 20/19 B.C., to demonstrate the different interpretations of the *pax Parthorum* at Rome.

As mentioned above, the *Fasti* seek to establish Romulus as the first *triumphator* (over the Caenisnenses), yet do not record his dedication of the first *spolia opima*. In Livy's first book of his Roman history Romulus' first victory (*victor Romulus rex*) over the Caenisnenses and the dedication of the *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius.[653] Livy makes no mention of a triumph: indeed, he first uses the term (*triumphans*) in chapter 39 in reference to Tarquinius' victory in the Sabine War. Dionysius, who was writing in 7 B.C., however, states that Romulus both instituted the triumph and the *spolia opima.*[654] Taylor has shown that Dionysius must have used the *Fasti Capitolini* as source material and it may be possible to see the influence of the *Fasti Triumphales* in his account of Romulus' victory celebrations.[655] Yet since the *Fasti* do not record the *spolia opima*, Dionysius must be following the tradition recorded by Livy as well. The senate celebrated the return of the standards as comparable to a triumph, as opposed to the dedication of the *spolia opima*.[656] Yet as discussed above, Augustus himself drew parallels between the *signa* and the *spolia opima*.[657]

The senatorial programme in the Forum may be viewed as an alternative or competitive programme which sought to set Augustus' achievement within a display of

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[653] Livy. 1.10. See p. 161 above.
[654] Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.34.3: *ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπινίκιός τε καὶ τροπαιοφόρος πομπὴ καὶ θυσία, ἣν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι θρίαμβον*; See Bastien (2007) 67-68.
[655] Taylor (1951a) n. 19.
[656] Bastien (2007) 73 sees the triumph as 'un commun dénominateur aux deux partiques'.
[657] See pp. 161-162 above; Bastien (2007) 66-74.

the entire history of the *imperium domi militiaeque* of the senate. The *Fasti Triumphales* tie the ceremony of the triumph to the foundation of Rome itself, and depict the triumph as the attainment of the senatorial order. The continuous history of the Roman triumph emphasises the senate's claim to their integral importance to the state: the *Fasti Capitolini* demonstrate the vital link between the senior magistrates of Rome and Rome's military victories.[658]

However, the Parthian arch also signals the end of the triumph, and the sole continuation of the *imperium domi* through the lists of the consuls. It is notable that in 23 B.C. Augustus had renounced the consulship, and twice refused to take up the office in 21 and 19 B.C.[659] True, he was granted *imperium consulare* in 19 B.C., but only took up the office for a few months in 5 and 2 B.C. to introduce his grandsons into public life. Augustus left the consulship as the preserve of the senatorial order.[660] The senatorial display of the *Fasti* on the Parthian arch demonstrates that Augustus' great Parthian victory had come out of the long history of the triumph, which comprised the glories of magistrates with *imperium*. The Parthian victory had brought about a new form of triumph as a new 'foundation' of the state (the *novum saeculum*): the triumph of the *imperium domi* for the senate. Furthermore, the senate's emphasis on the *imperium domi* in the visual correlation between the arch and the temple of Vesta may have been intended to play against the reference to Jupiter Feretrius as the oldest temple

[658] On the value of the triumph to senators see: Cic. *Ad. Att.* 1.20: *Metellus tuus est egregius consul; unum reprehendo, quod otium nuntiari e Gallia non magno opere gaudet. Cupit, credo, trumphare* ('Your friend Metellus is an excellent consul; I have only one fault to find with him, he is not at all pleased with the news of peace from Gaul. I take it he wants a triumph'); see also Cic. *Ad. Fam.* 15.4, 15.5, 15.6. On the importance of *imperium* to the meaning of the triumph see Versnel (1980) 304-371.

[659] Dio Cass. 54.6.1-7.1; 54.10.1-3; see n. 527 above.

[660] Carter (1982) 121 notes that Augustus' abdication in 23 B.C. 'marked a radical transformation of the principate'.

of the city.[661] The temple of Jupiter represented the earliest victory dedication, whilst the temple of Vesta represented the essence of the Roman state (*imperii pignora*).

The wider victory commemoration of 19 B.C.

As the passage of Dio cited above illustrates, the Parthian arch was not the sole commemoration of success for the years 20-19 B.C.[662] Whilst Dio separates the voting of the *Ara Fortunae Reducis* from that of the Parthian arch – which he must do as the altar is specifically linked to the return of Augustus to Rome and so he reserves it for that later point in his narrative – the altar is a major part of the visual programme of 19 B.C. Certainly, as the numismatic evidence from Spain shows the altar was commemorated on aurei and denarii of 19 B.C., along with the celebration of the *signa recepta*.[663]

As Augustus records in the *Res Gestae*, the altar was voted by the senate on his return from Syria:

> *Aram Fortunae Reducis ante aedes Honoris et Virtutis ad portam Capenam pro reditu meo senatus consacravit, in qua pontifices et virgines Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit eo die quo, consulibus Q. Lucretio et M. Vinicio, in urbem ex Syria redieram.*[664]

[661] Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.65.1-2 records one tradition in which Romulus, rather than Numa, was responsible for the temple of Vesta. Whilst Dionysius emphasises this belief as erroneous, it suggests at least one tradition that sought to link the temple of Vesta to the foundation of the state by Romulus.
[662] See pp. 155-156 above.
[663] *RIC* Aug. 53-54; *RIC* 58 for Mars holding the *signa recepta*.
[664] *RG* 11.

> The senate consecrated the altar of Fortune the Returner in front of the temple of Honour and Virtue at the Capena gate on behalf of my return, at which they ordered the priests and the vestal virgins to make annual sacrifices on that day on which, during the consulship of Q. Lucretius and M. Vinicius, I re-entered the city from Syria.

The location of the altar in front of the temple of *Honos et Virtus*, was linked to the entrance into Rome (*ad portam Capenam*),[665] and gives the impression that Augustus is returning to Rome as if in triumph.[666] This is supported by the image of a laureate head of Augustus on the Spanish coinage, depicting the altar on the reverse (Figure 70).[667] Indeed, the altar may be understood as a commemoration of Augustus' successful campaign in the East and perhaps as an alternative form of victory display to the closing of the Gates of Ianus, which had already been done in the celebration over the East (29 B.C.)[668] and over the West (25 B.C.).[669] Certainly, by the time Augustus had written his *Res Gestae* (c. A.D. 13), both the Gates of Ianus and the dedication of an altar on his return had been used to commemorate victory and *pax* over both the East and the West.[670] The associations of victory in this senatorial altar perhaps foreshadow the similar choice of triumphal imagery employed in the Parthian arch. The altar, which celebrated Augustus' return to the city, was also linked to the things he had accomplished whilst away from the city regarding the consular elections of 21 and 19

[665] Richardson (1992) 190; Palombi (1996) 32. The Greek version of the *RG* omits the reference to the temple of *Honos et Virtus*.
[666] Cooley (2009) 151; see p. 156 above.
[667] *RIC* Aug. 54-55.
[668] Livy 1.19.3.
[669] Dio Cass. 53.26.5; Oros. 6.21.1.
[670] *RG* 11-13; see chapter four, pp. 218-220 below; Rich (1998) 75 for the *Ara Fortunae Reducis* as a model for the *Ara Pacis Augustae.*

B.C.[671] The achievements of Augustus, which had established stability and continuity for the senior magistracies, were commemorated by the senate as forms of victory and triumph.

It is worth noting that the *Ara Fortunae Reducis* was dedicated in 19 B.C.,[672] and thus immediately celebrated Augustus' return. The Parthian arch, whilst voted in 20 B.C. may not have been complete until c. 17 B.C., and indeed was designed to link the returned standards to the celebration of the *novum saeculum* and the 'triumph' of the *imperium domi* for the senate.

The conceptualisation at Rome of the Parthian *pax* illustrates the importance of presenting a victory over Parthia. The diplomatic treaty, which involved no real military conflict or victory, was treated in a triumphal fashion. This celebration was to highlight not only Rome's victorious military history, and to set the Parthian achievement as the culmination of that history, but also to suggest a new age, as articulated by the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, which celebrated the greatness of Rome and the return of *pax*.[673] The commemoration of the Parthian *pax* in a monument together with the *Ludi Saeculares* emphasises accomplishments of this *pax,* which looked to the future with the continuation of Rome's magisterial history and the *imperium domi.* Augustus, whilst he was an important part of the senatorial display, himself stressed also the militaristic aspect of his achievement, celebrating *pax* and the achievement of *amicitia* with Parthia as if he had defeated Parthia in war. The specific *pax* made with Parthia enabled Rome to fit Parthia into a conceptualisation of the empire.

In 20 B.C. the act of making *pax* was treated as a victory over Parthia. In the later dedication of the Temple to Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum, the actual act of

[671] Dio Cass. 54.10.2-3; see pp. 159-160 above.
[672] *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2*, Fasti Amiternini* Oc. 12th and Dec. 15th.
[673] Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 11-12: *possis nihil urbe Roma / visere maius;* 57-59: *iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque / priscus et neglecta redire Virtus / audet.*

making *pax* would be brought into the foreground of Rome's articulation of her *imperium*, with the act itself being played out amongst a display of the pacified *orbis terrarum*; within this display the returned Parthian standards became one example of the power of Rome to control her empire through the establishment of *pax.*

Section Two

The Later Commemoration of Augustus at Rome

In A.D. 6 the new temple of Castor and Pollux was dedicated by Tiberius *ex manubiis* in the Roman Forum.[674] This new structure, which measured 32.1m x 49.5m, increased the podium height by one metre and enlarged the dimensions of the Metellan structure (117 B.C.) by a ratio of 7:6.[675] The Metellan temple was c.4m narrower than the new temple, and although its tribunal was deeper than the Augustan structure, the overall increase of the new temple's dimensions meant that the later tribunal was projected further into the Forum, and thus decreased the space between the temple and the Parthian arch (Figure 60).[676] As I have discussed above, the lateral staircase of the temple was deliberately orientated at a slight angle to ensure it met with the lateral passageway of the arch (Figure 71).[677] Whilst steps provided a harmonious join between the two structures, it is clear that the enlargement of the temple took precedence over access to the arch: the southern lateral arch now acted as the entrance way to the temple.

The new dialogue between the extended temple podium and tribunal, and the southern lateral arch meant that, whilst people approaching from the east would still have a clear view of the arch, those approaching from the west side of the forum would have their view of the arch obstructed by the temple of Castor and Pollux, now

[674] Suet. *Tib.* 20: *Dedicavit et Concordiae aedem, item Pollucis et Castoris suo fratrisque nomine de manubiis;* Dio Cass. 55.27.4; Ov. *Fast.* 1.707-8.
[675] Nielsen (1993); Nilson and Persson (2008b) 95ff.
[676] Nielsen and Poulsen (1992) 112-113; Nilson and Persson (2008b) 95ff.
[677] See p. 172 above.

rededicated in the name of two other brothers: Tiberius and the deceased Drusus.[678] Whilst the tribunal of the temple had, since the 117 B.C. rebuild, been used for political business and speeches, after the fire of 14 B.C. such business appears to have been transferred to the platform set in front of the temple of Divus Iulius.[679] What the rebuilding and rededication of the temple of Castor suggests is that the senatorial display of the Parthian victory in the Forum was being replaced by dedications made by Augustus and his family.[680] It should also be noted that by 2/1 B.C. the Parthian standards were dedicated in the temple of Mars Ultor and Gaius Caesar was setting out from the Forum Augustum on a new Parthian campaign. This again suggests that a new display of the Parthian victory was being established to replace the senatorial display in the Roman Forum, which was now subjected to encroaching displays of the Imperial family.[681]

I will now examine how the events of 20 B.C. were later commemorated in the Forum Augustum, and how the specific commemoration of the Parthian 'victory' was used to articulate a broader conceptualisation of victorious *pax* over the empire as a whole. The emphasis moved from the senatorial display of such commemoration in the Roman Forum, to Augustus' own Forum and its display of empire.

Forum Augustum

The return of *signa militaria* is something that Augustus boasts of not only for the Parthian standards: *signa militaria complura per alios duces amissa devictis*

[678] Ov. *Fast.* 1.707: *fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum*; Green (2004) 226-227; Sumi (2009) 174ff.
[679] Sumi (2009) 170-173.
[680] Sumi (2009) 186.
[681] However, the correlation in Ovid's *Fasti* between Vesta and the Parthian standards proposed above pp 187 - 188 suggests the possibility of a continued awareness of the visual links to be drawn in the Forum.

hostibus recepi ex Hispania et Gallia et a Dalmateis.[682] The actual occasions on which standards were lost and recovered from Spain and Gaul are unclear,[683] but we do know that Augustus recovered the Dalmatian standards in 35/34 B.C. and displayed them in the *porticus Octaviae* in 33 B.C.[684] However, it is only after the return of the Parthian standards, and their dedication finally in the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum, that a precedent is established for the display of the recovered *signa militaria*. Dio states that, in the context of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum, military standards recovered from the enemy were to be placed in the temple.[685] The Parthian military standards were the initial focal point when the temple of Mars Ultor was dedicated in 2 B.C. Ovid, in his *Fasti*, refers specifically to the Parthian standards in the context of Mars Ultor,[686] whilst Augustus specifies the temple of Mars Ultor in relation to the Parthian standards, in contrast to the other *signa militaria*.[687] I will now consider the ways in which the Forum Augustum conceptualised the return of the Parthian standards by comparison with the Parthian arch.

The Forum Augustum was a display of Roman victory and foreign policy, both past and present. The upper storey of the colonnades was decorated with Caryatids, representations of the vanquished, and shields whilst personifications of conquered peoples were also displayed in the colonnades (Figure 72). The Forum was decorated with a variety of marbles: Numidian yellow, Phrygian purple, Lucullan red/black and

[682] *RG* 29.1: 'I subdued the enemy and recovered from Spain and Gaul and from Dalmatians several military standards which had been lost by other generals'.
[683] Cooley (2009) 241-242.
[684] App *Ill.* 3.12, 5.25, 5.28; see chapter two pp. 71-72 above.
[685] Dio Cass. 55.10.4.
[686] Ov. *Fast.* 5.579-596.
[687] *RG* 29.2: *Parthos...signa reddere...coegi. ea autem signa in penetrali, quod est in templo Martis Ultoris*. The use of *ea autem signa* (and in the Greek version '*ταύτας δὲ τὰς σημέας*') emphasises the distinction between the Parthian standards and the other *signa militaria* Augustus records. See pp. 160-162 above for the original plan for a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitoline to receive the standards. Only the temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum are treated with a visual programme in Ovid's *Fasti:* Green (2004) 225, 236-239.

Egyptian alabaster (Figure 73), which all offered a view of the empire and Rome's control over it. The colonnades were decorated with statues and inscriptions recording the great men of Rome's past,[688] whilst the senate set up a quadriga statue of Augustus in the centre of the Forum (Figure 74).[689] The senatorial presence, in the form of the dedication of the quadriga and the *elogia* of the *summi viri*, is interesting. In some respects it appears to echo the senatorial display in the Roman Forum surrounding the Parthian celebrations: the Parthian arch with the quadriga and the *Fasti Capitolini.* However, we should remember that the context of the display is the Forum of Augustus, and we must contextualise the senatorial presence as part of Augustus' display and conceptualisation of the Forum space.

As Suetonius records, Augustus made his Forum and in particular the temple to Mars Ultor the new focus of Roman military activity and foreign policy:

> *Nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessariis causis bellum intulit, tantumque afuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi, ut quorundam barbarorum principes in aede Martis Ultoris iurare coegerit mansuros se in fide ac pace quam peterent.*
>
> *...Sanxit ergo, ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleretur senatus, provincias cum imperio petituri hinc deduceretur, quique victores redissent, huc insignia triumphorum conferrent.*[690]

[688] Geiger (2008) 107 for the discovery of a second pair of exedrae at the south end of the Forum.
[689] Claridge (1998) 158-161; Ganzert (2000); Zanker (1968) esp. 16 for the portraiture of the *summi viri* and 24 for the overall rhetoric of the programme. On the *elogia* of the *summi viri* see Geiger (2008) 129-157.
[690] Suet. *Aug*. 21.2, 29.2; cf. Dio Cass. 55.10.2-4.

> He never carried out war against any nation without just and necessary reasons, and he was so far removed from desire of increasing in any way *imperium* or warlike glory, that he compelled the leaders of certain barbarian nations to swear in the temple of Mars Ultor that they would keep themselves in the loyalty and *pax* which they sought.
>
> ...Therefore he sanctioned that the senate should consult about wars and triumph here; that those who were sent into the provinces with *imperium* should be dispatched from here; and that everyone who had returned as victors should transfer the insignia of triumphs here.

Thus when ambassadors came to Rome, *pax* was negotiated within the display of Roman victory at the temple to Mars Ultor. Velleius in a brief discussion of all the nations subjected to Rome as provinces (*quae cuiusque ductu gens ac natio redacta in formulam provinciae stipendiaria facta sit*)[691] records the display of such nations in the Forum Augustum: *Hispanias aliasque gentis, quarum titulis forum eius praenitet.*[692] Zanker thought that these *tituli* would have been included within the inscription beneath the quadriga in the Forum.[693] However, an inscription dedicating a gold statue from Baetica suggests that the names of pacified nations were inscribed separately from the inscription set up by the senate:

[691] Vell. Pat. 2.38.1: 'the races and nations which were reduced to provinces and made tributary to Rome, and by what generals'.
[692] Vell. Pat. 2.39.2: 'Spain and other countries whose names adorn his Forum'.
[693] Zanker (1988) 214.

Imp(eratori) Caesari Augusto p(atri) p(atriae) Hispania Ulterior Baetica quod beneficio eius et perpetua cura provincia pacata est auri p(ondo) C(entum).[694]

To Imperator Caesar Augustus, father of his country, because the province had been brought under the condition of peace by his benefaction and perpetual care, Further Spain Baetica (gives this statue) 100 pounds of gold in weight.

The gold statue set up on the base, found between the right hand side of the temple and the southern exedra,[695] has been suggested as representing either Augustus,[696] or the province of Baetica itself.[697] Either way, the inscription indicates that the display was intended to illustrate how *pax* was Augustus' achievement. Indeed, Tacitus' reference to gold statues set up in the Forum Augustum indicates that such displays were to celebrate victory over foreign nations:

cum Valerius Messalinus signum aureum in aede Martis Ultoris, Caecina Severus aram ultioni statuendam censuisset, prohibuit, ob externas ea victorias sacrari dictitans, domestica mala tristitia operienda.[698]

When Valerius Messalinus proposed to set up a gold statue in the temple of Mars Ultor, and Caecina Severus one on the altar of Vengence, Tiberius

[694] *ILS* 103.
[695] Lanciani (1889) 26-32 for the discovery of the base, which measures 0.47m x 0.39m x 0.23m. See also Gordon (1958) 43; Pekáry (1985) 74; Alföldy (1992) 71-72.
[696] Pekáry (1985) 74.
[697] Alföldy (1992) 72.
[698] Tac. *Ann.* 3.18.2.

> prohibited it, saying again and again that statues were consecrated on account of foreign victories, but that domestic misfortunes and grief ought to be concealed.

The representation of Baetica whether through a statue or the inscription alone, as a *provincia pacata*, illustrates the place given to foreign peoples and provinces within the context of the history of Roman victory.[699] Rome's ability to allow or disallow *pax* with foreigners is also attested in at least one *elogium* in the Forum.[700]

The *elogia* of the *summi viri* are part of Augustus' own representation and presentation of Roman history. The display of the political-military figures of Rome's past in the Forum Augustum was a deliberate selection of certain individuals, in contrast to the lists of the consuls and *triumphatores* on the Parthian arch, which at least professed to depict all consuls and *triumphatores* from Roman history as a display of sentorial power.[701] However, the selection of individuals for the *elogia* was, like the *Fasti Capitolini*, to be added to after the dedication of the temple and Forum. Furthermore, those who were added to the display after the dedication of the Forum were to be distinguished from the past heroes with a bronze statue instead of a marble one.[702] The articulation of space and time in the Forum Augustum thus rivals the senatorial display of the Parthian arch through a selective account of Roman history

[699] Nicolet (1991) 43 argues that 'there is no effigy of a province or representing a people' in the Forum, however even if the statue dedicated by Baetica was of Augustus the province was still represented within the display of the Forum.

[700] The *elogium* of Appius Claudius Caecus records that he prevented (*prohibuit*) *pax* with Pyrrhus: *ILS* 54.

[701] Geiger (2008) 6 argues that whilst there was a precedent for the display of heroes in the Forum Romanum 'the very assemblage and forging of these parts into a new entity constituted something totally new and unheard of, not least because of the precise circumstances of the project and the unique standing of its initiator'.

[702] Dio Cass. 55.10.3: *καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς λαμβάνοντας ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦς ἵστασθαι* ('and others who received triumphal honours were to have their statues in bronze erected in the Forum'); Geiger (2008) 84-85.

which expresses the triumphal nature of relations with non-Romans. This is particularly pronounced in the display of the *summi viri*: the term *triumphavit* and its derivatives occur frequently in the extant *elogia*, mainly from the south-east colonnade, where nearly all identified figures were *triumphatores*.[703] Whilst the extant *tituli* from the north-west side of the *gens Iulia* do not seem to emphasise, or be able to offer, a display of *triumphatores*,[704] it appears that at least the *tituli* of Tiberius and his son Drusus demonstrate how the *gens Iulia* now played a major role in Rome's victory display: *[Nero] Cl[a]udiu[s] Ti(beri) f(ilius) / [Dru]sus German[i]cus / [co(n)s(ul)] pr(aetor) urb(anus) q(uaestor) aug(ur) imp(erator) / [app]ellatus in Germania*.

Whilst the Parthian arch was to be a *terminus* for the recording of the triumph and presentation of the continuation of *imperium domi*, the display in the Forum Augustum was to allow for a continual articulation of those awarded triumphal honours. The senate endorsed the location of the Forum Augustum as the centre of victory celebrations, and established Augustus as the focal point of such celebrations, dedicating the quadriga statue group to Augustus *Pater Patriae.*[705] The dedication of the Parthian standards must be understood within this context.

Signa in templo Martis Ultoris[706]

By the time of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum in 2 B.C., following the death of Phraates, the issue of Rome's relations with

[703] Appius Claudius Caecus (*ILS* 54) appears as the only non-*triumphator* in the extant inscriptions. Geiger (2008) 143 points out that this means Suetonius' comment that all the statues were of those who had received triumphal honours (Suet. *Aug* 31.5: *statuas omnium triumphali effigie*) 'must be seen as a somewhat loose description of the precise state of affairs'. Nevertheless, Appius' role in foreign policies is emphasised as is his building of the temple of Bellona.
[704] Geiger (2008) 129-137. The role of the north-west display seems more concerned with presenting the *gens Iulia* as an integral part of the *urbs Romae* since its foundation.
[705] *RG* 35; Zanker (1988) 214.
[706] *RG* 29.

Parthia, and influence over Armenia was again addressed.[707] In A.D. 1 Augustus' grandson and adopted son Gaius Caesar met the new Parthian king, Phraataces, son of Phraates IV, on the Euphrates to negotiate their respective influences in the area.[708] Gaius had been sent out from Rome in 2 B.C. to take charge of the legions on the Danube, although Ovid also marks his departure from Rome with further Parthian triumphs, and indeed highlights the coup over the Parthian throne: *hostis ab invito regna parente rapit*.[709] However, no real need was felt to address the issue of Parthia immediately, particularly as Gaius' meeting with Phraataces took place almost two years later.[710]

Whether or not the situation in Armenia and Parthia presented a true threat to Rome in 2 B.C.,[711] the display at Rome, with the dedication of the incomplete temple of Mars Ultor and the display of the standards suggests the reaffirmation of an overtly military victory, which most likely was associated with C. Caesar's departure.[712] The dedication of the standards in the temple can certainly be understood in the specific context of a renewed Parthian campaign and programme.[713] The role of the temple of Mars Ultor within the Forum Augustum as the epicentre of military-political activity in Rome, and the location from which generals set out, combined with the display of the

[707] Up until Phraates' murder, the diplomacy of 20 B.C. appears to have, for the most part, held and indeed in 10/9 B.C. the king sent his heirs to live in Rome: Romer (1979) 200-202; Campbell (1993) 223-224.
[708] Vell. Pat. 2.101; Dio Cass. 55.10a.4.
[709] Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.198.
[710] Romer (1979) 201 n.6 suggests that the coup had likely taken place before Gaius left Rome. Dio Cass. 55.10.17-20 places Gaius' departure before the events in Armenia and Parthia, although he does not record the death of Phraates IV, and merely records that Phraataces, on learning of Gaius' expedition, send a delegation to Augustus (55.10.20).
[711] Romer (1979) 203.
[712] Dio Cass. 55.10.18-19; Gruen (1982) 66; Rose (2005) 45-50, 53-54 for the base from Corinth which may commemorate Gaius' (hoped for) Parthian victory.
[713] Ov. *Ars Am.* 177-228.

standards and the dedication of the temple on the eve of Gaius' departure,[714] emphasises the continued role of the standards in symbolizing and portending Roman success.

I discussed above the initial plans of Augustus' dedication of the *signa* to Mars Ultor in 20 B.C.[715] The potential conflict between the senatorial display of Romulus as the first *triumphator* and the connections to be drawn between Romulus's dedication of the *spolia opima* by Augustus, is resolved with the deposit of the standards in the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum. Not only did Augustus set up a new record of Roman history in the display of the *elogia* of the *summi viri* and the *tituli* of the pacified provinces against the display of the Parthian arch, he also reintroduced Romulus as the first dedicator of the *spolia opima* within that new display.

Whilst the Parthian arch sought to present Romulus as the first *triumphator*, the record of the Forum Augustum stresses his dedication of the *spolia opima*.[716] Certainly, Ovid suggests that the focus of the display is one of arms captured:

> *perspicit in foribus diversae tela figurae,*
> *armaque terrarum milite victa suo.*
> *hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro*
> *et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos;*
> *hinc videt Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem,*
> *claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.*[717]

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[714] Ov. *Ars Am* 1.179-180: *Parthe, dabis poenas: Crassi gaudete sepulti, / Signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus / Ultor adest, primisque ducem profitetur in annis, / Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer* ('Parthia, you will pay the price; rejoice you deceased Crassi and you standards who have not borne barbarian handling well. The avenger's here, the leader, proclaimed, of tender years, and a boy wages war's un-boy-like agenda').

[715] See pp. 160-163 above.

[716] For the possible reference to a triumph of Romulus in the Forum Augustum see: Geiger (2008) 138 n. 72.

[717] Ov. *Fast.* 5.561-566.

> He perceived the weapons of various figures on the doors, and the arms of the lands conquered by his soldier. Here he sees Aeneas burdened by the dear weight and many ancestors of the Iulian nobility; here he sees the son of Ilia bearing the arms of a leader on his shoulders and well-known deeds displayed under the men set up in order.

The articulation of Aeneas bearing the past and future of the Iulian line, set opposite Romulus bearing the first dedication of arms places Augustus, whose name adorned the temple set between the two exedrae,[718] and the dedication of the *signa recepta* as the continuation and culmination of the display of Roman victory. Ovid, furthermore, emphasises the role of the Parthian standards within the historical display of *arma victa:*

> *Persequitur Parthi signa retenta manu.*
>
> *...*
>
> *Signa, decus belli, Parthus Romana tenebat,*
>
> *Romanaeque aquilae signifer hostis erat;*
>
> *...*
>
> *Agnorunt signa recepta suos.*
>
> *Quid tibi nubc solitae mitti post terga sagittae,*
>
> *Quid loca, quid rapidi profuit usus equi?*
>
> *Parthe, refers aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus:*

[718] Ov. *Fast.* 5.567: *spectat et Augusto praetextum nomine templum.* The quadriga statue (*RG* 35) set up by the senate would also have carried Augustus' name, although its exactly location within the Forum is unknown.

Pignora iam nostri nulla pudoris habes.

Rite deo templumque datum nomenque bis ulto.[719]

> He seeks the standards held back by Parthian hands...The Parthian was holding the Roman standards, the glory of war, and the standard-bearer of the Roman eagle was the enemy...the returned standards recognised their own people. What now of the arrows accustomed to be fired from behind your back, what use is there for your places and swift horses? Parthian, return the eagles, and hand over your defeated bows. Now you have no pledge of our shame. The temple and the name are rightly given to the god, twice avenging.

The return and dedication of the Parthian standards in the temple of Mars Ultor exemplifies not only the concept of revenge, but also the display of defeated and 'pacified' nations within the commemoration of conquest and empire. Ovid's treatment of the Forum Augustum articulates the play between the portrayal of great triumphal heroes of Rome's past (*claraque dispositis acta subesse viris*) and of the 'pacified' nations (*arma victa*), yet even whilst he emphasises the Parthians' submission to Rome in their act of returning the standards, he also alludes to the concept of the standards as *pignora*, as pledges to secure *pax*.[720]

Within the display of the Forum Augustum the Parthian standards come to form part of the wider commemoration of the empire achieved by victorious *pax.* As I have argued above, the Forum was an arena of Roman victory display, within which foreign

[719] Ov. *Fast* 5.580, 585-586, 590-595.
[720] Ov. *Fast* 5.594.

nations came to negotiate *pax* with Rome.[721] The 'pacified' nations were represented through *tituli*, which demonstrated their relationship to Rome: Baetica termed itself a *provincia pacata*. The standards are in one sense the representation of Parthia at Rome and of Rome's relationship with Parthia. The display within the Forum Augustum was the translation from the display of the Parthian arch as a specific form of commemorating the Parthian achievement, to a wider display of empire. Yet the Parthians are not being treated in the same rhetorical way as other subject states. The standards are not a representation of the Parthian nation, but are Roman standards reclaimed and then displayed in the context of the Forum space. Certainly, Parthia above any other nation was seen and represented as a rival to the Roman state. The failure of previous Roman generals to bring the Parthian empire under the control of Rome serves to enhance Augustus' achievement in securing the return of the standards.

The dedication of the standards also stands as testimony and proof of Augustus' power to compel foreign leaders to seek *pax* within a space which articulated Rome's long history of victory, with the *princeps* highlighted within the display through the senatorial quadriga statue and his name, dedicating the temple to Mars Ultor, set over and above all the other *elogia*.

[721] See pp. 197-200 above.

Section Three

Presentations of the Parthian *pax* in the provinces

In this section I consider how the establishment of *pax* with the Parthians was presented outside Rome, both immediately following the events of 20 B.C. and the later commemorations associated with Gaius' Parthian campaign. The focus in the provincial displays from the Imperial mints, Roman colonies and local communities was on Rome's victory over Parthia and her control of the East.

Commemorations of Augustus' 20 B.C. Parthian settlement can certainly be seen in the East and in Spain, however even though a *pax* was established between Rome and Parthia there is little or no allusion to the pact in the regional displays. The interpretation and presentation of the *pax* with Parthia was dependent on the context of the commemoration: at Rome the various displays demonstrate the accomplishments of the '*pax Parthorum'* in terms of domestic *imperium* and the establishment of the *novum saeculum;* in the East a message of control over Armenia and Parthia was emphasised; in Spain, the victory over Parthia was again emphasised, but so too were the benefits that Augustus' victory brought to the region, along with the *novum saeculum.* The later display in the Forum Augustum at Rome articulated the power of Rome over her empire through her ability to establish and impose *pax* over the empire. In Greece, there is evidence of the return of the Parthian standards being used as an example of the pacified *orbis terrarum*, but the specific role of *pax*, used as means of securing, imposing and articulating Rome's control of her empire, is not articulated.

I will first examine the evidence from both the East and West, for the commemoration of the Parthian settlement as a victory. Both the Imperial mints at

Pergamum and in Spain, and later displays from Corinth articulate Rome's defeat of Parthia,[722] whilst the temple erected by Athens to Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis, sets Augustus' achievements against Parthia within the context of Athens' past victories over the Persians.

I will then turn to consider the broader themes of empire-wide pacification that were articulated in some of these provincial displays. The Spanish coinage not only emphasises ideas of victory and revenge, but also introduces the *Ludi Saeculares* and the benefits of the victory over Parthia in its display. The later display at Antioch-in-Pisidia also alludes to the broader theme of empire-wide pacification through the return of the standards, and benefits of such control.

The coins depicting the Parthian arch from Pergamum, Spain and Rome, discussed above in section one, illustrate how the monument was represented differently depending on the date and location of the issue, and the knowledge of the arch an audience was expected to have. The coins, taken together with other issues from the same locations, demonstrate the different messages that were being disseminated about the Parthian settlement.

As I established above, the Pergamum coin depicts not the actual arch that was erected, but rather the honour voted to Augustus for the restoration of the standards (Figure 54). The other reverses of cistophori from the same issue of 19-18 B.C. from Pergamum offer further insight into the visual programme publicised by the Imperial mint in those years: a temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus by the *Commune Asiae* (Figure 75),[723] and a domed temple to Mars Ultor with the standards (Figure 76).[724] Aurei and denarii produced at the mint in the same years show a visual programme

[722] The displays at Corinth and Antioch-in-Pisidia are dated to the general period of Gaius' Parthian campaigns, 2 B.C. – A.D. 1; Rose (2005) 53-57
[723] *RIC* Aug. 505-506.
[724] *RIC* Aug. 507.

commemorating the capture of Armenia (Figure 77) and the return of the Parthian standard (Figure 78).[725] The coinage from Pergamum minted in 19-18 B.C. demonstrates Augustus' control over the great eastern empire, and celebrates revenge over Parthia. Augustus' Parthian settlement does not allude specially to the concept of *pax*, but rather illustrates the outcome of the settlement with Parthia as a victory over the East.

Rich has suggested that the Spanish coinage was designed to stress the Parthian settlement (Figure 55), whilst the Vinicius coinage played down the Parthian theme (Figure 56).[726] Certainly, the Spanish issue explicitly refers to the return of standards and citizens in its legend, and the figures on the lateral arches are at the same level as the central chariot group, and appear almost larger. The Vinicius coin in contrast does not mention the standards in the legend and sets the attic of the lateral arches much lower than that of the central arch. However, whilst the Parthian theme is clearly emphasised on the Spanish coin, the evidence does not indicate that the Vinicius coin plays it down, but rather that they are addressing different audiences. Vinicius' coin was minted at Rome, where, in 16 B.C., an audience would have been familiar with the structure represented, and understood its context. For an audience in Spain the reference needed to be articulated to a greater degree. A clearer picture of the depiction of the Parthian settlement on the Spanish issue can be formed from a brief examination of the wider numismatic programmes of which it was a part.

The imagery of victory on the Spanish coinages is clear: coins display triumphal garb (*toga picta* and *tunica palmata*) with the *aquila* and wreath, and triumphal chariots voted by the *SPQR* (Figure 79), and the temple of Mars Ultor with the standards (Figure

[725] *RIC* Aug. 511-526; Rose (2005) 24.
[726] Rich (1998) 110.

53). Coins minted between 18-16 B.C. continue the themes of previous years with Victory on a globe carrying the *aquila*, and sometimes a trophy and palm (Figure 80). These images emphasise the events of 20 B.C. as a victory accomplished by Augustus.

Material remains for the Roman colony at Corinth also suggest the propagation of Rome's victory over Parthia. A marble statue base from Corinth, which was used as part of a second century display of eight colossal Parthian figures along the north side of the agora,[727] has been dated to the last quarter of the first century B.C. [728]The base depicts a winged victory crowning a trophy with a wreath, and a bound Parthian captive standing on the other side (Figure 81).[729] Though Schneider has assigned the base to commemorations in 20 B.C.,[730] Rose suggests that it should be dated to Gaius' Parthian campaign in 2 B.C.[731] Whilst the specific context of its original display cannot be assigned with any accuracy as a specific commemoration at the end of the first century B.C., it is clear that the message is one of explicit victory over the Parthians.[732]

These displays represent Roman imperial and colonial perspectives, which understood the settlement with Parthia as an assurance of Rome's military prowess and control in the East. It is hardly surprising that local communities likewise give little allusion to the concept of *pax* in their commemorations of the Parthian settlement. The *monopteros* of Roma and Augustus on the Athenian Acropolis dedicated by the Demos, and dated to between 27-18 B.C. based on its inscription, [733] was most likely erected to commemorate Augustus' visit to the city on his return from Syria with the standards in

[727] Vermeule (1968) 83.
[728] Schneider (1986) 129-130; Rose (2005) 53-54.
[729] The captive wears a long tunic and trousers commonly used in depictions of Parthians.
[730] Schneider (1986) 129-130.
[731] Rose (2005) 53-54.
[732] Rose (2005) 54 has hypothesised that colossal statues of Parthian may have also stood on the base in the original Augustan display, thus further emphasising the victory over Parthia. Schneider (1986) 130 for the ideological message of the Antonine display in reusing a display associated with Augustus' Parthian victory.
[733] *IG* II 2.3173; Schäfer (1998) 47; Rose (2005) 50, n. 8.

19 B.C (Figure 82).[734] The circular shape of the temple may possibly be intended to emulate the circular temple Mars Ultor, depicted on the coinage of Pergamum (Figure 76).[735] Yet it is dedicated not to Mars Ultor, but to Roma and Augustus. The concept of revenge is not necessary in the context of the Athenian display: the temple stood on the east side of the Parthenon, which recorded the great history of Greek triumphs over the Persians and the East. Whilst the temple may emulate that of Mars Ultor to hold the returned *signa,* and was most likely erected to commemorate Augustus' visit to the city with the standards in 19 B.C., its use functioned within the context of Greek victory over the eastern enemy.

Even though the majority of the commemorations concerned with the Parthian settlement do not engage with the ideas of *pax* seen at Rome, there is evidence that the role of the Parthian settlement as an expression of Rome's empire-wide pacification was also expressed in some of the provincial displays.

The Augustan propylon at Antioch-in-Pisidia, dedicated to Augustus in c. 2/1 B.C., [736] depicted a Parthian returning of the standards.[737] Yet the Parthian victory was just one element within the display. Standards were also returned by Celts, and allusions were made to Augustus' land and naval victories through the use of victories and bound barbarians, weapons and trophies, tritones, dolphins and ship prows.[738] Given the sculptural remains, the arch plausibly represents different instances of Rome's ability to control her empire, with the return of the standards by both Parthia

[734]Dio Cass. 54.9.10; Schäfer (1998) 47, 59-63; Rose (2005) 50-52.
[735] *RIC* Aug. 507, and also the Spanish coins: *RIC* Aug. 28, 68, 103-106; Schäfer (1998) 63-67.
[736] Mitchell and Waelkens (1998) 147: *Imp. Caesari divi f. Augusto Pontifici Maximo / cos. XIII Tribuniciae Potestatis XII Imp. XIIII P. P.*
[737] The reconstruction of the Augustan propylon is based both on the architectural and sculptural remains, and the later Hadrianic propylon, which appears to be a close copy to the earlier arch. For the themes, in particular the representations of the Celtics and Parthians returning the standards, see Robinson (1926) 45-56; Rose (2005) 55-56; Ossi (2011) 97-101.
[738]Robinson (1926) 21-56; Mitchell and Waelkens (1998) 161-163; Rose (2005) 56; Rubin (2011) 41-44.

and Gaul serving as a display of the *provinciae pacatae*, comparable to the message of the Forum Augustum at Rome. Like the Forum Augustum, the display at Antioch-in-Pisidia appears to be set up to commemorate Gaius' Parthian campaign, as a continuation of Rome's control over the empire.

The propylon continued to serve as a focal point of Roman *imperium*: later the Latin text of Augustus' *Res Gestae* was inscribed upon it.[739] Certainly the monument articulated a strong Roman view point, especially through the use of Latin in the dedicatory inscription, and as the entrance to the Imperial Sanctuary dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maxmius, Augustus and the Genius of the Colony.[740] Yet the propylon also engaged with local identity, depicting the local tutelary deity, Mên Asakaênos in the attic frieze. The Roman control of the empire, depicted on the arch was thus presented as supported by the indigenous deities of Antioch.

Beyond the later role of the Parthian standards as one aspect of Rome's pacification of the *orbis terrarum*, there is evidence in certain areas that the concept of the settlement's association with the *novum saeculum* was disseminated. In addition to the images of victory and triumph on the Spanish coinage of 19 B.C., are the civil oak wreath crown - *ob civis servatos* (Figure 83), the two laurels, and Victory with the *clupeus virtutis* bestowed by the *SPQR* (Figure 84).[741] Several of these images echo the honours given to Augustus by the senate in 27 B.C for his preservation and restoration of the state: *laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super*

[739] It is striking that Augustus' *Res Gestae* was later inscribed in Latin on the propylon thus continuing to emphasise the message of Roman *imperium*: Cooley (2009) 6-18; Rubin (2011) 44.
[740] Rubin (2011) for the overall display of the Imperial Sanctuary, and esp. 50-56 for the dedication of the temple.
[741] *RIC* Aug. 59-95; Rose (2005) 23.

ianuam mean fixa est, et clupeus aureus in curia Iulia positus.[742]On the coinage of 18-16 B.C. the theme of the *Ludi Saeculares* is introduced (Figure 85) along with commemorations for the building of roads (Figure 57) and a public vote for Augustus' safe return from Gaul (Figure 86).[743] The visual programme of the Spanish coinage introduces a celebration of the new age (with the games and the renewal of road building), and a celebration that is intimately linked to the achievements of Augustus as the depictions of the Victories and Mars demonstrate. In this respect the Spanish coinage reflects the association at Rome of the Parthian settlement and the *novum saeculum.*

As a final remark on the presentation of the Parthian settlement in the provinces, it is worth noting that Borchhardt has hypothesised that the pact between the Parthian king and Gaius Caesar at the Euphrates may have been depicted on Gaius' cenotaph at Limyra.[744] This is based on fragmentary remains of bearded faces and a decorated quiver that suggest that the Parthians were in some way depicted as part of the sculptural relief of the monument. Even if the pact between Phraataces and Gaius were commemorated on the tomb, so too were symbols of Roman political and military power (the fasces, standards and olive and laurel wreaths).[745] Gaius' cenotaph celebrates his achievements as an aspect of Rome's *imperium* and control of her empire.

The ways in which the '*pax Parthorum'* was represented to and understood by the provinces was dependent on the context of the display and who the intended audience was. There are instances from Spanish and in Roman colonies in Greece that

[742] *RG* 34: 'the doorposts of my house were publicly clothed with laurels, and a civic crown was fastened above my doorway, and a golden shield was set up in the Julian senate house'; Cooley (2009) 262-270; Zanker (1988) 92-98.
[743] *RIC* Aug. 121-123a (Victory); Aug. 138-139 (*Ludi Saeculares*); Aug. 140-144 (*quod viae mun(itae) sunt*); Aug. 146-153 (Mars and the votes for Augustus' safe return).
[744] Borchhardt (2002) 50-51, 60-62; Rose (2005) 57-58.
[745] Borchhardt (2002) 36-40, 47-54, 58-60.

the Parthian ‘victory’ was an example of the benefits of empire. Athens represented Augustus’ accomplishments as part of their own history of victory over the East. It seems to have mattered little that Rome’s power over Parthia was established through a pact rather than through victory in war– what matter was what had been achieved, and for the provinces that was a clear example of Rome’s *imperium* over the empire.

Summary

This chapter has focused on the commemoration at Rome of Augustus' Parthian campaign of 20 B.C. As with the ovations for Antony and Octavian in 40 B.C., the establishment of *pax* (made in place of war) was celebrated as if it were an actual victory. Of course, the difference in 20 B.C. is that this *pax* is not between two Roman generals and magistrates, but a diplomatic negotiation between two rival empires. Prior to 20 B.C. Rome's relationship with Parthia was not characterised by *pax*, but by revenge and victory in battle. The Parthian settlement illustrates how Roman victory rhetoric adapted in order to be able to treat a pact with an external enemy not as the result of victory, but as a victory in itself. The Parthian *pax* illustrates one aspect of 'Imperial' *pax:* how *pax* was treated as a victory in order to express Rome's *imperium*, during the Augustan period.[746]

Whilst Rome's victory over Parthia was propagated throughout the empire, the focus in these regional commemorations was on the event as a victory, with little or no allusion to *pax* specifically. The coinage at Pergamum focused on illustrating Augustus' control over the East, through his victory over Parthia and his capture of Armenia. The Spanish coinage strongly emphasises ideas of victory and revenge, although the celebration of the new age, as the result of such a victory, is also introduced in the years following the return of the standards. It was however at Rome that the importance of *pax* as a pact imposed on the Parthians received the greatest attention. At Rome the

[746] Another aspect of this Imperial *pax* is discussed below in Chapter four, where conquest and victory are expressed in terms of *pax.*

various displays demonstrate how Parthia was conceptualised to explain and justify Rome's *imperium* through the victory of *pax* over the empire.

The senatorial display of 19-17 B.C. celebrated the return and victory over the East (*Ara Fortunae Reducis*), and also articulated a display of the continuation and security of *imperium domi* accomplished by Augustus through the diplomatic pact, in the Parthian arch. The monument presented the *pax* established with Parthia as a victory over Parthia and as an affirmation of the *novum saeculum*. This specific commemoration demonstrated the security of Rome and her empire through the *exemplum* of the Parthian standards and their return.

Augustus' later commemoration in the Forum Augustum reuses the standards as symbols of the *pax Parthorum,* the Parthian 'victory', as one instance amongst many which illustrate Rome's *imperium* over the empire. The place of the Parthian victory within later displays in the Greek East also served as one exemplum among many of Rome's *imperium,* such as the propylon at Antioch-in-Pisisdia illustrates. However, the displays at Rome, unlike those in the provinces, articulated the play between victory and control over the empire, and the establishment of *pax.* In the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome, the standards became part of a wider display of empire, which balanced Rome's triumphal nature over the empire, within an arena for the negotiation of *pax* with the empire. This is true also in the context of Gaius Caesar's departure to Parthia in 2 B.C. His victory was already assured[747] by the presence of the standards dedicated at the site from where he set off, for Rome's power over Parthia had already been long established, and was a focal point of the celebration of victorious *pax* within Augustus' Forum.

[747] See n. 732 above.

The integration of *pax* into Roman victory rhetoric in this period relies both on the continual concept of *pax* as an agreement between two sides (with Rome of course as the superior side) and on the growing association of the concept with that of *imperium*.[748]

[748] Östenberg (2009b) 68-70.

Chapter Four

Victory and Pacification: Commemorating the Western Empire

In 25 B.C. the Gates of Ianus were closed for a second time under Augustus,[749] for the successful completion of the wars against the Cantabri and Astures (who inhabited an area in the Spanish Pyrenees), and the revolt of the Salassi (who lived at the foot of the Alps), as well as the suppression of some of the Germans, and the reorganisation of Galatia as a Roman province.[750] Although the Cantabri and Astures in fact continued to resist Roman control until 19 B.C.,[751] they are not mentioned in the *Res Gestae*, besides the oblique references to the closing of the Gates of Ianus.[752] Rather, Augustus writing in A.D. 13 presents his pacification of Gaul and Spain as a single, cohesive act over the entire region,[753] conceptualising them as the provinces they had become.[754] However, the commemoration of the war of 25 B.C. was clearly considered of importance at the time: not only were the Gates closed in connection with the subjugation of these Spanish and Alpine peoples, but Augustus concluded his lost autobiography, *de Vita Sua*, with the *Cantabricum bellum*.[755] To commemorate the subjugation of the Salassi the colony *Augusta Praetoria* (Aoste) was founded in 25

[749] Dio Cass. 53.26.5; *RGDA* 13; Oros. 6.21.1 relates that the Gates had been opened when Augustus left for Spain in 27 B.C.
[750] Dio Cass. 53.25-26.5.
[751] Dio Cass. 54.11.2-5; Livy 28.12.12.
[752] The formation of Galatia as a Roman province is also not recorded in the *RG.*
[753] *RG* 26.2: *Gallias et Hispanias provincas...pacavi*.
[754] By contrast the Germanic peoples, whilst Augustus claims to have pacified them, are still conceptualised as tribes and peoples: *RG* 26.
[755] Suet. *Aug.* 85.1. On the *de Vita Sua* see Carter (1982) 5, 92, 197; Cooley (2009) 38-39.

B.C.,[756] and an arch set up in the Alps to commemorate the victories in the region, possibly at Aoste.[757] Perhaps due to the lack of success in defeating the tribes from northern Spain, a show of control was made instead in Lusitania, with the foundation of the colony of *Emerita Augusta* in 25 B.C.[758]

Prior to 25 B.C. Augustus had closed the Gates once before, after the battle of Actium: *post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.*[759] The omission of the closing of the Gates in 25 B.C. from Livy's account is one of the factors by which his first book has been dated to 27-25 B.C.[760] As discussed in chapter two, the gate closing of 29 B.C. was regarded as a celebration of *pax* won by land and sea, presenting one event as the emblem of the security of the empire.[761] However, the subsequent revolts in the West resulted in a separate commemoration of pacification.

The closing of the Gates of Ianus in 25 B.C. and the setting up of the arch at Aoste in the same year are commemorations of Rome's control over a newly conquered territory. The second closing of the Gates may possibly also symbolise Rome's victory over the West, just as the first closing of the Gates in 29 B.C. was part of the commemoration of Octavian's eastern victories. The idea of *pax* linked to the establishment of control over *omnes populi* had emerged out of the civil wars as an

[756] Dio Cass. 53.25.3-5. The colony of Aoste provided access through the St. Bernard Passes: Cooley (2009) 222-223
[757] Dio Cass. 53.26.5; Prieur (1982) 447. No inscription or iconographic elements of the arch remain to indicate whether it was set up to commemorate the victory, however the foundation of the colony along with the arch in 25 B.C. suggests their strong links to the first victories over the Alps in that year.
[758] Dio Cass. 53.26.1.
[759] Livy 1.19.3.
[760] Foster (1976) 69 n. 1; Luce (2009) 17.
[761] See chapter two, p. 88-92 above.

explanation of Roman *imperium* (possession of which by individual statesmen had caused much of the conflict of the last years of the Republic).[762]

The East/West divide is also clear in the altars which later commemorated Augustus' returns to Rome from campaigns in 19 and 13 B.C.[763] After the return of the Parthian standards and the celebrations of the *novum saeculum* won through Augustus' victorious *pax*, the final pacification of the West[764] was commemorated with the consecration of the altar to *pax augusta*.[765] Now the whole empire was *sub imperio populi Romani*, and the senate chose to celebrate this in terms of *pax* achieved.

* * *

In this final chapter I will examine how Roman imperialism was expressed through different commemorations and concepts of the pacification of the West,[766] and how ideas of *pax* and victory were used as constructs for portraying and explaining the Roman empire at Rome and to a Roman audience. The subjugation of the West was commemorated in terms of *pax augusta* at Rome, and this concept was disseminated to some extent in the western empire, amongst Romans and in Roman colonies, yet the relationship between the local indigenous peoples and the Roman state did not adopt the concept of Roman imperialism in explicit terms of *pax*.

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[762] See chapter one above.
[763] See pp. 223-226 below.
[764] Vell. Pat. 2.38.3: *immane bellicae civitatis argumentum, quod semel sub regibus iterum hoc T. Manlio consule, tertio Augusto principe certae pacis argumentum Ianus geminus clasus dedit* ('it is strong evidence of the warlike character of the state that once under the kings, again when Titus Manlius was consul, and a third time when Augustus was *princeps* that the closed Gates of Ianus were evidence of certain peace'); cf. Vell. Pat. 2.90.
[765] Augustus reorganised the western provinces from 16 to 13 B.C., and subjugated the Alps in 14 B.C.: Dio Cass. 53.26.5, 54.24-25 on the parallel campaigns by Augustus (and his legates) in Spain and Gaul, and Tiberius and Drusus (again as legates of Augustus) in the Alps; *CAH* X^2 Gruen (1996) 163-166, 169-171; Cooley (2009) 220-223.
[766] Wells (1972) 8-12 on the pacification of the west; 59ff on the occupation of the Alps.

I will examine three case studies to assess these different approaches to commemorating the conquest of the West and to consider how and where the concept of *pax* was used. In his *Res Gestae* Augustus speaks of bringing the provinces of Gaul and Spain, and the Alps into the peace of the Roman *imperium*,[767] and ties the dedication of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* to his return from his western campaigns.[768] The *Ara Pacis Augustae* erected by the senate at Rome in 13-9 B.C. provides a perspective from Rome, where Augustus' return from the West was celebrated as an achievement of victorious *pax*. This is presented as a fundamentally Roman concept which focuses on the prosperity of the state and victory in war.

In the second section I will turn to consider the trophy monument at La Turbie (near Monaco) erected by the senate and people of Rome in 7/6 B.C. This monument provides us with a quite different Roman perspective from that of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*: what was celebrated at Rome in terms of *pax* was expressed as the subjugation of the entire region to Roman *imperium* in the Alps. The silence on *pax* in this monument expresses the relationship between Rome and the West in the very arena of conquest.

Finally, I will examine the arch erected by Cottius, former king of a region of the Alps, at Segusio (modern day Susa) in 9/8 B.C. The arch offers yet another alternative perspective on the pacification, where the emphasis is on integration into the Roman world, and *pax* is not explicitly used, although concept of a relationship between two parties (inherent in the meaning of *pax* as a pact), and the dependence of that relationship of Roman *imperium* is articulated in the monument.

[767] *RG* 26.1.
[768] *RG* 12.

Through these case studies I will explore how Roman *imperium* was presented, depending on the intended audience and message, and how the concept of *pax* was used as part of this rhetoric.[769] As I have illustrated in the preceding chapters the place of *pax* within Roman imperialism is defined not just by its presence in victory rhetoric, but also by its absence. The commemorations of the pacification of the Alps likewise illustrate the choices made in terms of the presentations of Roman imperialism. These choices were dependent on the context of the display and to whom Roman imperialism was being presented.

[769] Revell (2009) ix-xii, 5-10 on how expressing aspects of Romanness and 'being Roman' are expressions of an individual's experience of Rome, and are a means of maintaining the empire.

Section One

Commemoration at Rome: The Ara Pacis Augustae

Augustus commemorated the dedication of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*[770] in his *Res Gestae:*

> *Cum ex Hispania Galliaque, rebus in iis provincis prospere gestis, Romama redi Ti Nerone P. Quintilio consulibus aram Pacis Augustae senatus pro reditu meo consacrandum censuit ad campum Martium, in qua magistratus et sacerdotes virginesque Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit.*[771]
>
> When I returned from Spain and Gaul to Rome during the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius, having successfully concluded affairs in the provinces, the senate voted that an altar of Augustan *pax* should be consecrated on the Campus Martius for my return, where it ordered the magistrates and priests and Vestal virgins to make an annual sacrifice.

His account should be understood within the context of his campaigns in Gaul and Spain. The phrase *rebus in iis provinciis prospere gestis* refers back to an earlier section

[770] The *Ara Pacis Augustae* is recorded in *RG* 12 and several of the *fasti:* consecration 4th July 13 B.C. (*Fast. Amith* ad. iv non. Iul. *CIL* I² p. 244, 320: *feriae ex. s.c. quo[d eo] die ara Pacis Augustae consituta est Nerone et Varo cos;Fasti Antiat*. *CIL* I² p. 248; 248; dedication 30th January 9 B.C. (*Fast. Caer. Praen.* Ad iii Kal. Febr., *CIL* I² p. 212. 232; *Fast. Verul*. *NSc* 1923, 196. Its name was later abbreviated to the *Ara Pacis*: Ov. *Fast.* 1.709; Act. Arval. a. 38, *CIL* VI 2028; a. 39 (?) *CIL* VI 23247a; a coin of Nero depicting the altar with the legend ARA PACIS:*RIC* 526. I will refer to the altar as the *Ara Pacis*, unless it is necessary to use its full name.

[771] *RG* 12.

of the text, where Augustus discussed the triumphal honours he had received. He recorded that because he had concluded affairs prosperously (*ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspicis meis terra marique prospere gestas*)[772] the senate decreed 55 *supplicationes* to the gods. The phrase *res prospere gestae* is a reference to Augustus' victories in war, which he recorded in the previous sentence: *laurum de fascibus deposui in Capitolio, votis quae bello nuncupaveram solutis*.[773] Furthermore, Dio records that on Augustus' return in 13 B.C. he laid the laurel from his *fasces* in the lap of Jupiter Capitolinus.[774] It is evident in the accounts of both Augustus himself and Dio that Augustus' return was conceived as a moment of victory, embodied in the dedication of the laurels of his *imperium*.

However, Augustus' account of the altar should be understood not just within its historical context, but also in the context of his *Res Gestae*.[775] His account of the *Ara Pacis* is preceded by that of the *Ara Fortunae Reducis*,[776] and a comparison of the two accounts is valuable:

> *Aram Fortunae Reducis ante aedes Honoris et Virtutis ad portam Capenam pro reditu me senatus consacravit, in qua pontifices et virgines Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit eo die, quo consulibus Q. Lucretio*

[772] *RG* 4.2: 'On account of things being successfully completed on land and sea by me or through my legates with me auspices'. The reference to *auspicium* shows that the affairs were conducted under Augustus' *imperium*, and clearly are military campaigns.
[773] *RG* 4.1: 'I deposited the laurel from the *fasces* in the Capitoline temple, since I had fulfilled the vows which I had undertaken during war'.
[774] Dio Cass. 54.25.4: *καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνελθὼν τήν τε δάφνην ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων περιεῖλε καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα κατέθετο* ('and going up to the Capitol he took the laurel from the *fasces* and laid it in the lap of Jupiter'). Votive Games were also held for Jupiter Optimus Maximus to celebrate Augustus' return: *ILS* 88.
[775] It should be remembered that the *Res Gestae* written in A.D. 13/14 is only one presentation of the ways in which the Roman empire and Roman imperialism were conceptualised. Greg Rowe suggested in a paper entitled '*A Commemoration of commemorations: the Res Gestae in the context of Augustan epigraphy*', given at the Epigraphic Workshop, Oxford 6th June 2011, that the *Res Gestae* is a compilation of senatorial honours to Augustus, rather than a purely auto-biographical account.
[776] See chapter three, pp. 190 - 192 above.

et M. Vinicio in urbem ex Syria redieram, et diem Augustalia ex cogomine nostro appellavit.[777]

The senate consecrated for my return the Altar of Fortuna Redux in front of the temple of Honour and Virtue at the Capenian gate, and it ordered that the priests and vestal virgins make annual sacrifices at this altar on that day, when during the consulship of Q. Lucretius and M. Vinicius I returned to the city from Syria, and the senate named the day Augustalia after my name.

Both accounts comprise the same grammatical units: the name of the altar, its location, the reason for its consecration by the senate, the annual sacrifice, the date, and the location from which Augustus returned. However, the arrangement of these units differs in the two passages. What is notable about Augustus' account is that he postpones the geographical detail about Syria until the end of the account of the *Ara Fortunae Reducis*, whilst he begins his account of the *Ara Pacis* with the detail of Spain and Gaul. In this way he emphasises the geographical implications of his campaigns and the monuments set up to commemorate them: the *Ara Fortuna Reducis* commemorated the triumph over the East, whilst the *Ara Pacis* celebrated the victories in the West. Augustus then goes on to tie the monuments to the concept of imperial *pax* with the account of the closing of the Gates of Ianus: *Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiores nostri voluerunt, cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique*

[777] *RG* 11.

esset parta victoriis pax.[778] Through this arrangement of these three chapters, Augustus is implying that the monuments that commemorate his conquest of the East and West are emblematic of *totum imperium terra marique*. Thus, within the context of the *Res Gestae*, the *Ara Pacis* is a testimony to the extent and completion of *imperium*, as a display of *pax*, achieved through victories. In Augustus' *Res Gestae* written in A.D. 13, the *Ara Fortunae Reducis* and the *Ara Pacis* serve to illustrate the totality of Roman *imperium* as expressed as *parta victoriis pax.*

Augustus' account of the role and purpose of the *Ara Pacis* belongs to his presentation of Roman *imperium* at the very end of his reign. The *Ara Pacis* was however decreed by the senate on 4th July 13 B.C. for the return of Augustus to Rome, and dedicated on 30th January 9 B.C on the Campus Martius. Therefore, it may plausibly be understood as a senatorial monument, presenting the celebration within the context of Rome's sphere of military display (the Campus).

The remains of the monument found under the corner of via in Lucina and via dell'Impesa,[779] 30m from via del Corso, are agreed to be those of the altar sanctioned by the senate to commemorate the return of Augustus in 13 B.C.[780] The monument comprises an almost square enclosure of Carrara marble, around a central Π-shaped altar. A doorway on the east side led to the via Flaminia (via del Corso) at ground level,

[778] *RG* 13: 'Ianus Quirinius, which our ancestors wished to be shut, when peace throughout the whole empire of the Roman people by land and sea has been won by victories'.
[779] The first finds from the site were recorded in 1569 in a letter of Cardinal Ricci da Montepulciano: Moretti (1948) 3; Vickers (1975) 109.
[780] For (selective) scholarship on the discovery, excavations and identification see: Rossini (2006); Foresta (2002); Torelli (1999); Claridge (1998) 184-190; Bianchi (1994); La Rocca (1983); Moretti (1948); von Duhn (1881). Crow (2006) incorrectly states that the altar was 'originally erected on the orders of Augustus', whilst Rehak (2006) 98 argues that we should understand the altar as planned and designed by Augustus, not the senate. Weinstock (1960) 53 argues that we cannot positively identify the remains with the *Ara Pacis Augustae* because 'neither is Pax on the altar nor her symbol, the caduceus, nor is her name inscribed on it'.

and another on the west side, to the Campus (1m lower) via a ramp of nine steps (Figure 87).

Two registers of decoration cover the exterior wall of the enclosure, divided by a meander band (Figure 88). The upper panels depict figural reliefs: on the longer north and south sides are processional friezes, moving from east to west, within which the figures of Augustus and Agrippa can be identified with some certainty, based on their portrait types (Figure 89 & Figure 90);[781] on the east side two short panels likely depict *Roma* (Figure 91) and a female personification or allegorical figure (Figure 92); on the west side two short panels depict the foundation myths of Rome: Aeneas sacrificing to the Penates (Figure 93), and the god Mars, possibly with the wolf and twins (Figure 94). The lower external register is decorated with an elaborate acanthus scroll motif, which covers all four sides, with further acanthus leaves adorning the Corinthian pilasters, which frame the corners and doorways (Figure 95). The interior wall also has two registers, divided by a palmette band. The upper register is decorated with *bucrania*, garlands and *paterae*, whilst the lower panels reproduce a wooden panelling (Figure 96). Inside the enclosure a podium of four steps supports a base decorated with a processional frieze, and a further four steps on the west side lead up to the altar table. The altar itself is also decorated with a processional sacrificial frieze (Figure 97 & Figure 98).[782] Further fragments from the lower sections of the altar have been suggested as personifications of provinces or peoples (Figure 99 & Figure 100). It is tempting on this interpretation to understand a depiction of the *pacati populi* in terms of

[781] Rossini (2006) 48, 54-55.
[782] For a discussion of the fragmentary friezes of the altar base and altar table: Rossini (2006) 22-25, 95-97; Moretti (1948) 83-89.

the *pax* described by Livy: *clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret*,[783] but the remains are highly fragmentary and their place on the altar is uncertain.[784]

The monument's proximity to the via Flaminia must have ensured a high level of visibility to the people moving in both directions along the road, and was a marker and a *monumentum*, in the fullest sense of the word, of Augustus' return from the West (Figure 101).[785] Furthermore, the processional friezes on the north and south sides both move towards the Campus Martius, directing the audience towards the main entrance of the altar. This visual direction ensures a move from the route into Rome to the military centre of the city, the destination for returning armies. The striking arrangement of an altar to *pax* set up on the Field of Mars emphasises the structure as a triumphal monument, and the dependency of *pax* on military victories. I will now turn to look at how the *Ara Pacis* expresses the concept of *parta victoriis pax.*

The Altar and Augustan peace

pax was not a common quality: the *Ara Pacis* may be the first attestation of a cult.[786] Although *pax* had been celebrated before both at Rome and within the empire, now with the subjugation of the West added to the victories already celebrated over the East, Augustus could claim to have established peace over the empire. The altar voted by the senate in 13 B.C. was not just to be an altar of *pax*, but of *pax augusta*, as its name illustrates. This creates an immediate link between the princeps and the

[783] Livy 1.19.3: shut the gates signify that all the surrounding peoples have been pacified'.
[784] Rossini (2006) 94-97.
[785] Torelli (1982) 29 has argued that the monument was 'exactly one mile from the pomerial line', which he sees as emphasising the change from *imperium militiae* to *imperium domi*. If Torelli's theory was correct it would add another dimension to the aspect of victorious return (Cic. *Pis.* 55 illustrates the importance of crossing the *pomerium* for the returning general), however there is no evidence to support his claim, particularly as we have no indication of the Augustan pomerial line. My thanks to Saskia Stevens for discussing this with me.
[786] Clark (2007) 8-9; see chapter one, pp. 24-25 above.

establishment of *pax*.[787] This was indeed so, for it was through the victories won under the *imperium* held by Augustus that he could claim *pax terra marique.* To understand how the *pax augusta* was conceptualised in the altar I will now turn to consider the presentation of *pax* within the monument.

The central figure of the south-east panel (Figure 92), traditionally called the 'Tellus' relief,[788] has been interpreted by several scholars as the goddess *Pax*, represented on her own altar.[789] However, this desire to find one single depiction of the goddess *Pax* is misleading. Representations of *Pax* prior to the altar are few, and only two coins have an identifying legend (Figure 6 & Figure 44).[790] Indeed, to see a single representation of *Pax* in the 'Tellus' relief implies that that relief should be read as the focal point of the monument. The panel needs to be read alongside the other friezes to fully understand the message of the monument. I will first examine the 'Tellus' relief, before considering it in the wider context of the monument in order to illustrate the visual message of *parta victoriis pax.*

It is noteworthy that other scholars have interpreted the 'Tellus' panel not as *Pax* but as a number of other possibilities: Terra Mater, Italia, Venus, Rhea Silvia, Ceres, and Livia.[791] These interpretations have frequently been based on the

[787] Fears (1981) 886-889.
[788] Berczelly (1985) 96 criticises this general and somewhat entrenched assumption.
[789] Rehak (2006) 112; Claridge (1998) 187; de Grummond (1990); Zanker (1988) 172-179. Weinstock (1960) 53 concludes neither Pax nor her attributes appear on the altar. See Toynbee (1961) for a review and critique of Weinstock. Simon (2001) has suggested that the caduceus was part of the monument, as an attribute of Mercury, whom she places behind Mars on the west side of the altar. Her arguments are based on the role of Mercury in the foundation stories of Rome, and on his association with peace negotiations.
[790] See chapter one, pp. 33-34 for the coin of Caesar bearing the legend *PAXS,* and chapter two, pp.116 - 117 for the cistophorus of Octavian depicting *PAX*.
[791] Terra Mater: Strong (1937a); Momigliano (1942a); Moretti (1948); Ryberg (1949); Italia: van Buren (1913); Toynbee (1953); Simon (1967); Elsner (1991); Venus: Galinsky (1992); Rhea Silvia: Ceres: Berczelly (1985); Spaeth (1994); Livia: Bartman (1998); Castriota (1995) 58-73, esp. 71 on the multivalent iconography of the figure: see n. 797 above.

presentation of these figures in literature: something Torelli has criticised.[792] Whilst there is a danger of using literary evidence as tenuous support for one or other interpretation, this evidence does in fact provide a tool by which the 'Tellus' panel may be further understood. For Ovid, Terra, Ceres and *Pax* were, though not exactly interchangeable, part of the same embodiment or process: Terra and Ceres are the mothers of the fruits of the earth,[793] and *Pax* nurtures Ceres with the stability she brings.[794] Horace not only emphasises the relationship between Tellus and Ceres,[795] but also represents the new age with the return of *Fides*, *Pax*, *Honos*, *Pudor* and *Virtus*, which are accompanied by *Copia* bearing a full horn.[796] What the testimonies of Ovid and Horace illustrate is the diversity of personifications or qualities, and that there were a multitude of meanings associated with the *novum saeculum* and what would be commemorated as *pax augusta* in the senatorial monument.

It is clear that the figure on the *Ara Pacis* embodied many of the attributes associated with a number of concepts and divinities. Clearly this is not to say that the figure does not portray the ideas of *pax* as they were understood at the time; indeed I believe it will be more enlightening to consider the 'Tellus' panel, not as *the* sole representation of *Pax*, but rather as an aspect of *pax augusta*.[797]

The panel impresses upon the viewer the images of fecundity and prosperity (echoing the message of the acanthus scroll below) in the garland worn by 'Tellus', the fruits in her lap, the ox and sheep at her feet and the babies in her arms (Figure 92). The

[792] Torelli (1982) 40; see also Berczelly (1985).
[793] Ov. *Fast.* 1. 671-3.
[794] Ov. *Fast.* 1.704. Ovid summaries his account of the Day of Sowing (1.655-704) with the relationship of *Pax* and Ceres, which is separated by only four lines from his treatment of the altar of *Pax.*
[795] Hor. *Carmen Saec.* 29-30: *fertilis frugum pecorisque Tellus / spicea donet Cererem corona*.
[796] Hor. *Carmen Saec.* 57-60.
[797] Castriota (1995) 71 suggests that the multivalent nature of the figure renders the need to distinguish Goddess from qualities of peace irrelevant; Momigliano (1942a) 220; Toynbee (1953) 80; Galinsky (1992) 457.

central scene is flanked by two female figures with billowing veils: the one on the left rides a swan over reeds, and that on the right rides a *ketos* over the sea. These figures are most often interpreted as *Aurae*, although they have also been seen as *Horai*, and as a *Naiad* and *Nereid*.[798]

A comparison of these two figures to those of another version of the 'Tellus' panel will help emphasise their role within the monument.[799] The 'Tellus' relief from Carthage appears as an exact copy of the *Ara Pacis* 'Tellus' relief as regards the central figure, but the flanking figures suggest a different reading (Figure 102). On the right is a male figure, accompanied by a *ketos* and dolphin, whilst on the left, in the upper half of the relief is a female bust, holding a torch and another unidentifiable object. Baratte is hesitant to identify the figure as *Caelestis*,[800] but it seems plausible that the figure in the upper half of the relief, and clearly separated from the lower half, is associated with the heavens, thus a triad of heaven, earth and sea is represented. There is a hierarchical order to the relief, with heaven in the top left corner, 'Tellus' as the central focus and occupying the full height of the relief, and the triton filling roughly the bottom two-thirds of the right hand side. The Carthage relief may well be a presentation of the *orbis terrarum* focused around a female figure of prosperity.

The tripartite structure is also apparent in the *Ara Pacis* relief although the display is far more complex and draws on other illusions besides the concept of the

[798] *Aurae:* Hor. *Carmen Saec.* 31-32: *aquae salubres / et Iovis aurae;* Plin. *HN* 36.29: *Duaeque Aurae velificantes sua veste*; *Horai:* de Grummond (1990); Naiad and Nereid: Spaeth (1994) 78. Castriota (1995) 66-68 emphasises that like the central figure, the two flanking figures are 'deliberate amalgamations' of different iconographies.

[799] The Carthage relief, now in the Louvre Museum, measures 1.13 m x 0.80 m. See Picard (1934); Galinsky (1992) 228 warns of the hypothetical nature of the relationship between the Carthage relief and that on the *Ara Pacis.*

[800] Baratte (2006) 277 and n.29.

orbis terrarum.[801] As *Aurae velificantes* both flanking figures represent something beyond simply sky and sea, for they both inhabit the aerial plan. They are secondary to the principal figure, yet they are not placed in opposing hemispheres, but equally in the central zone of the relief, directing the viewer's attention to the principal figure by the direction of their faces and bodies (notably their bent knees, and feet) along with the *ketos'* head turned to the centre, and the swan's wing. As Galinsky and Castriota have shown the *Aurae* are in a sense attributes of Venus since their mounts are frequently associated with her.[802] In this respect all three figures are bound together as the embodiment of more than one iconographic message: the panel not only alludes to Venus Genetrix, but also other concepts besides. Whilst the central figure is a clear allusion to the earth, the figure of the swan has also often been linked to the earth, for the water jug below is indicative of the fertility of the land. As *Aurae* the two figures are representations of the salubrious breezes of land and sea[803] that are part of, and extend from the central figure as the prosperity of the earth.

The 'Tellus' panel offers a view of *pax* that expresses prosperity and fecundity; those qualities which are shared by the many female deities identified in the panel. Whichever deity we associate the figure with, it seems plausible that a Roman audience would have understood the figure to be a personification or representation of *pax,* but rather than looking to one individual panel to explain the meaning of the monument, we should consider that the *Ara Pacis* builds up a complex display throughout its facade.[804]

The size of the monument and the space given over to sculptural relief means that the concept of *pax augusta* could be fully explored and expressed through

[801] Zanker (1987) 316 on the suppression of the *Aurae* into more 'concrete' conceptions on the Carthage relief; see also La Rocca (1983) 46, 64ff, and fig. 19-21, 24 and 27 for the identification of air and water.
[802] Castriota (1995) 66-68; Galinsky (1992).
[803] Rossini (2006) 36-39.
[804] Castriota (1995) 3.

mythological, allegorical and contemporary scenes. More often than not, discussions of the sculptural decoration of the altar have focused on specific aspects, both in text and illustrations, so the reader is often misled as to the visually dominant aspects of the monument. The largest part of the exterior decoration is not the figurative friezes but the acanthus frieze.[805] As stated above, the frieze covered all four sides of the monument in the lower register as well as the pilasters.[806] Moreover, it is at eye level to the viewer, and conveys the ideas that prosperity and abundance support, and encompasses the ideals represented in the upper registers. It is unfortunate that scholarship has served to disconnect and distort our understanding of the relationship of the acanthus frieze to the upper reliefs in that they are constantly discussed separately and rarely shown together.[807] The acanthus scroll provides a visual constant throughout the exterior decoration. In this way it embodies the continuity of the ideals of *pax augusta*, connecting all the panels of the upper register under (or rather over!) one idea. Under the centre of each of the upper panels, the central acanthus scroll unfurls, directing the focus to the middle of each scene. The acanthus scroll's relationship to the upper figurative panels underlines the purpose of those panels within the monument. The acanthus scroll and its display of abundance project a message of the fertility and fruitfulness that is the result of peace.[808] I will now consider the other reliefs of the upper panels to see how they relate to, and are brought under, the overarching message of the acanthus scroll, and present us with a variety of aspects and readings of *pax augusta.*

[805] Castriota (1995) 4-8; L'Orange (1962).
[806] See Castriota (1995) 13-14 for a detailed description of the floral friezes.
[807] Kellum (1994) provides a good observation of this failure in scholarship and an analysis of the relevance of the acanthus frieze. Moretti (1948) pl. 3 and 4 provide an excellent example of the relationship between the upper and lower registers on the south and north sides, and amply demonstrates the size of the acanthus scroll, and indeed the podium of the altar; see also Cohon (2002).
[808] Ov. *Fast.* 1.704: *Pax Cererem nutrit, Pacis alumna Ceres;* Castriota (1995) 21-22.

'Roma' and 'Tellus'

The northern panel on the east side of the monument, facing out towards the via Flaminia, comprises the remains of a female, seated on a pile of weapons, identified as Roma (Figure 91).[809] The figure of Roma seated on spoils of war first appeared on coins in the first century both in the East, on an aes of P. Papirius Carbo from 62-59 B.C. where she holds a Victory, and is named in Greek, *PΩMH* (Figure 103),[810] and at Rome, where she appears seated on shields, holding a staff or sceptre, crowned by Victory on a denarius of M. Nonius Sufenas from c. 60 B.C. (Figure 104),[811] and later one of Caesar from 48 B.C. (Figure 105).[812] Prior to Nero there is no numismatic evidence from Rome that depicts *Roma Victrix* (seated and holding a Victory), and as a result the reconstructed Roma on the *Ara Pacis* holds a sceptre, as in the first century coins. However, a 1st century A.D. relief on an altar from Carthage, found in the vicinity of a temple building to the *gens augusta* and a dedication by the *sacerdos perpetuus* P. Perelius Hedulus,[813] depicts Roma seated on the spoils of war, holding Victory setting a *clipeus* upon a pillar (an allusion to the *clipeus virtutis* and Tarentum Victory dedicated in the *Curia Iulia* in 27 B.C.)[814], whilst opposite stands a base upon which is set a cornucopia, *caduceus* and celestial globe (Figure 106).[815] It is clear that

[809] The identification of the panel from its two remaining fragments was made by Studniczka (1909) 932-936.

[810] *BMC Pontus* 152. Eastern models for this depiction of Roma can be seen in coins from the third and second centuries from Asia Minor depicting Athena (Howgego (1995) pl. 56), and from Aetolia (*BMC Thessaly* 194): see Weinstock (1971) 96.

[811] *RRC* 241/1 pl. 51 n. 13. The legend of Sufenas' coin reads: *Sex. Noni(us) pr(aetor) l(udos) V(ictoriae) p(rimus) f(ecit).* Thus the connection between this image of Roma and victory are made explicit.

[812] *RRC* 449/4, pl. 53 n. 13. A coin of Pansa from 49 B.C. has the added element of Roma placing her foot on a globe: Sydenham (1952) 159; Weinstock (1971) 93.

[813] Cagnat (1913) 681 for the inscription and find spot: *genti augustae / P. Perelius Hedulus Sac Perp. / templum solo privato / primus pecunia sua fecit*. Cagnat (1913) 683 dates the inscription, based on its letter forms, to the beginning of the Empire; see also Poinssot (1929) 36 who attributes the altar, based on the inscription and the sculptural reliefs, to the beginning of the first century A.D.

[814] See chapter two pp. 83-88 above for a discussion of these monuments.

[815] Tunis, Bardo Museum, H: approx. 1.118m: see Zanker (1988) 315. Koortbojian (2006) 202-203 interprets the Roma panel as being a representation of *felicitas.*

there is a history of associating Victory with Roma seated on the spoils of war: the image tells of the cessation of war and its successful conclusion.

The placement of Roma on the north-east side of the *Ara Pacis* also acts as a marker of the victorious return of Augustus into the city of Rome, travelling along the via Flaminia from the north. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Roma was not alone, but accompanied by another figure. A head of a young man, bound with a fillet, with the remains of the top of a cornucopia next to his head (Figure 107), has been identified as belonging to the Roma relief.[816] It has been suggested that the head represents *Honos*,[817] possibly accompanied by another missing figure (to balance the three figures in the opposite 'Tellus' relief), that of *Virtus*.[818] Whilst *Honos* and *Virtus* were clearly associated with victory, as the temple near the Porta Capena demonstrates,[819] this interpretation is problematic. It is highly unusual for *Virtus* and Roma to be depicted together as they share similar attributes.[820] Kuttner has argued that the figure should in fact be identified as the *Genius Populi Romani*, who is often paired with Roma.[821] She draws a parallel between Roma and the *Genius Populi Romani* on the Augustus Boscoreale Cup and the Roma panel of the *Ara Pacis*, and further ties

[816] Simon (1967)23; Studniczka (1909) 939-941; Moretti (1948) 153 assigned the head to the Aeneas panel, identifying the cornucopia as part of a tree, but during the restoration of the altar in the 1980s it was discovered that the head did not fit: Rossini (2006) 47; La Rocca (1983) 40 and 49.
[817] Studniczka (1909) 936-941.
[818] Rossini (2006) 46-47.
[819] See chapter three, p. 191 above.
[820] Rehak (2006) 113 wrongly identifies *Virtus* as male; Sears (2000-2002) 42 also implies *Virtus* is male. Both interpretations must be based on later representations of *Virtus* as a male, however in the Republican period and early principate *Virtus* was depicted as an Amazon: see Vermeule (1959) 29-30; Bieber (1945) 30-31.
[821] Kuttner (1995) 18-22. Who the possible third figure might be is a matter of speculation. One possibility might be the *Genius Senatus*, whose first attestation in sculptural relief is on the arch of Titus (Kleiner and Kleiner (1977) 260). The senate are clearly represented in the long processional friezes, though this neither confirms nor precludes the presence of the *Genius Senatus* alongside the *Genius Populi Romani*, and one might argue that the *populus romanus* is also represented in the processional friezes, in the men, women and children who make up the processional *supplicatio* (see p. 244 below). The *Senatus Populi Romani, Senatus Genius* and Roma all appear as statues in the *adventus* scene of the Cancelleria reliefs. Another possible figure might be Victory, who appears with Roma and the *Genius Populi Romani* on the Boscorale Cup (although as a statuette offered by Venus).

them to the presentation of the "peoples of empire" as depicted on the Cup (Figure 117). The iconography of the Cups, particularly in the presentation of 'empire' is reminiscent of that found within the *Ara Pacis* monument itself, and Kuttner has illustrated, by a comparison to 'official' images from coinage, relief and sculpture, that the Cups were copied from monumental state reliefs.[822] Furthermore, the image of Roma on the Augustus Bosecorale Cup, with her foot on the globe, the *Genius* with cornucopia, and Venus proffering Victory to Augustus, is reminiscent of the symbols depicted on the altar of Hedulus from Carthage.

Whilst the fragmentary nature of the Roma panel on the *Ara Pacis* prevents us from confirming with certainty that the Roma panel from the altar of Hedulus at Carthage was a direct imitation of that at Rome,[823] the overall message of the panel from Carthage strongly corresponds to the ideas of *pax augusta* on the altar at Rome.[824] The altar of Hedulus is decorated with relief panels on all four sides: Roma (Figure 106); Aeneas' flight from Troy (Figure 108); Apollo seated before a tripod (Figure 109); and a sacrifice scene (Figure 110); all four panels are bordered by a stylised long stem laurel.[825] Most interesting though is the relationship of the panels to each other. The movement in both the Aeneas panel and the sacrifice scene is directed towards the panel on their right: Roma.[826] In this sense the Roma panel has become the focal point of the altar's message. On the altar at Carthage, Roma holds out a victory towards the symbols of prosperity (cornucopia), *pax* (*caduceus*) and *orbis terrarum* (globe), as if to indicate that Rome's victories have secured such ideals. The concepts of the cornucopia

[822] Kuttner (1995) *passim,* esp. 1-6, 17-44, 193-209. The Cup will be discussed alongside the processional friezes of the *Ara Pacis* p. 246 below.
[823] Poinssot (1929) 17; Galinsky (1992) 228 on the fragmentary nature of the Roma panel in comparison with that from Carthage.
[824] Zanker (1988) 315.
[825] Poinssot (1929) 9-35 for a detailed analysis of all decorative aspects of the altar.
[826] Poinssot (1929) 10 describes the three panels as a triptych, with Roma at the centre. The Apollo relief is a separate tableau.

and the globe also are evident in the 'Tellus' relief, but what of the *caduceus*? Whilst I argued above against looking for a single, well-defined depiction of *Pax* (as a cult figure),[827] it is clear that the panel embodies *pax augusta* which celebrates the territorial aspects of victorious *pax*, alongside the concept of 'peace-bearing'. This concept is heightened by the visual relationship between this figure and that of Roma opposite. Both figures face inwards, to each other, and should be viewed as part of the greater whole.

The Roma panel on the altar of Hedulus echoes the claim Augustus made in his *Res Gestae*: *totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax.*[828] The centrality of Roma on the altar of Hedulus suggests that the idea of victorious *pax* achieved by Rome was the embodiment of the power of the *gens Augusta*, surrounded by representations of the *gens*' lineage, divine favour, and priestly devotion, in the eyes of its *sacerdos* Hedulus. The altar of Hedulus is a view of Rome and peace from outside the political centre. The *Ara Pacis* is a far more complex expression of the ideology of the Roman state and the peace established by Augustus. Even so, Zanker has suggested that the Roma relief on the altar of Hedulus may be viewed as a 'simplified version' of both panels on the east side of the *Ara Pacis*, and understands the 'Tellus' panel to be a representation of *Pax.*[829] If the Roma panel from the altar of Hedulus is a shorthand form of these two reliefs from Rome, the 'Tellus' panel on the *Ara Pacis* can be read as embodying the ideas of prosperity, *pax* and *orbis terrarum.* The presentation of the central figure, as evidence of prosperity won, flanked by representations of the orders of the world (both the *orbis terrarum* and *terra marique*) is a highly complex yet elegant

[827] See pp. 228-230 above.
[828] *RG* 13.
[829] Zanker (1988) 315.

expression of *pax terra marique parta.*[830] In the *Ara Pacis* we may observe a culmination of *pax* as an articulation of Roman *imperium* in the Augustan period.

The east side of the monument offers the viewer a complex yet clear message of the fundamental aspects of *pax augusta*: victory and empire (*orbis terrarum*) celebrated through the accomplishment of prosperity.

The continuous theme of the acanthus indicates that we should consider also the west side of the monument as representing certain aspects of *pax augusta*. I will now turn to consider these two panels, which may best be summarised as the foundation myths of Rome.

Pater Mars and Pater Aeneas

As with the Roma relief, the panel on the north-west side of the monument is very fragmentary. The remains show two male figures: that on the left side is agreed to show the bearded god Mars, helmeted, wearing a breast-plate and carrying a spear. Another two fragments from the right of the panel depict part of the drapery and torso of a bare-chested male figure, with his arm apparently resting on a staff: this fragment is the largest and its position is assured by the decoration on the back, which is part of the garland frieze. Other remains include tree branches with the feet of a bird on them (Figure 94).

The panel is usually read as Mars observing the shepherd Faustulus' discovery of the she-wolf and the twins, Romulus and Remus, in the cave which became known

[830] The representation of *terra marique* is dealt with in a far more simplified manner on the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, where Augustus, with billowing mantle (reminiscent of the *Aurae velificantes* figures on the 'Tellus' panel), receives from representations of land and sea, their attributes (a cornucopia and a rudder): Smith (1987) 104-106.

as the Lupercal.[831] However, Berczelly has argued that the scene should instead be read as Mars' encounter with Rhea Silvia observed by Tiber or *Somnus*,[832] on the grounds that the stance and posture of Mars are normally found in depictions of the god's meeting with Rhea Silvia.[833] Such scenes in the Augustan period are confined to gemstones (Figure 111).[834] She further argues that the bird in the scene is not, as is usually suggested, a woodpecker - the bird of Mars[835] - but an eagle, which she associates with the dreams of Rhea Silvia and Atia.[836] Indeed, birds in the Lupercal scene are not necessarily linked to Mars, as coins and gemstones from the late second and first centuries B.C. depict, where Faustulus is alone (Figure 112),[837] or in the presence of Roma (Figure 113).[838] It is perhaps tempting, as many scholars have done, to interpret the scene as the discovery of the twins, particularly as Augustus himself claimed to have repaired the Lupercal.[839] The Lupercal is inherently concerned with the foundation of the Roman state and also Augustus' restoration of the site in his role as the founder of the state.[840] However, what Berczelly's arguments show is the difficulty in reconstructing with certainty the missing focal point of the relief, which the central furl of the acanthus below emphasised.

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[831] See for example Rossini (2006) 34-35.

[832] Berczelly (1985) 99-114 identifies the figure on the right as Tiber holding a reed stalk or rudder, or *Somnus* holding a horn. However, the shaft seems too narrow for a reed or rudder (these are also normally held with the upper part rising over the shoulder, which does not appear to be the case here). The presence of *Somnus* on a state monument of this period seems improbable. Although Faustulus is often depicted with a curved staff, it seems likely that here a simple staff is represented.

[833] Berczelly (1985) 100, 104-5, 112-113, fig. 13-14.

[834] *LIMC* II.I 549ff esp. n. 405-6.

[835] The *picus* (woodpecker) is mentioned by Ov. *Fast.* 3.37, 54 and Plut. *Rom.*4.2 in connection to the she-wolf and the twins. See *RRC* 235/1c for a depiction of the she-wolf and twins beneath the *ficus Ruminalis*, and a bird that Crawford identifies as a woodpecker (there are also two other un-identified birds in the branches).

[836] Berczelly (1985) 107-109, fig. 7-10.

[837] *RRC* 235 1a-c.

[838] *RRC* 287; *LIMC* VI.I 295ff.

[839] *RG* 19.

[840] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 7.2: *quibus censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis.*

The two suggested scenes (one of the rape of Rhea Silvia, the other of the discovery of the twins) are two different narratives concerning the foundation of the Roman state.[841] All that can be concluded with any certainty is the presence of Mars and another male, possibly of rustic or divine character. It is most likely that the presence of Mars is concerned with his relationship to the state: both in the location of the altar on the Field of Mars, and in his role as the father of the Roman people. The importance of war to the Roman state and to the achievement of *pax* is articulated through the presence of Mars, as divine sanction of the state from its pre-foundation. The Mars panel demonstrates the intercession of the divine in the Roman state, which balances the scene of sacrifice in the opposite panel, demonstrating Rome's active relationship with the divine and the *pax deorum.*[842]

The scene on the south-west side of the monument is usually read as Aeneas, attended by two servants and another figure interpreted as either Ascanius or Achates. In the scene Aeneas sacrifices a sow to the Penates (who are seated in their temple in the background of the scene) on his arrival at the site of Lavinium (Figure 93), as told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[843]

However, Rehak argues that the scene cannot be the Lavinium sacrifice because the piglets are not present as they are on the much smaller Altar of the Lares (formerly known as the Belvedere altar),[844] which depicts the discovery of the sow in the presence of *Fatum* or a prophet, who unfurls a scroll: it is the confirmation of the prosperity (as symbolised in the piglets) of the prophesised Rome (Figure 114).[845] Rehak also argues that the figure, bearded and mature, is contrasted to the usual late Republican and early

[841] In art, both scenes comprise similar elements: a rock or cave, a tree, a spectator and Mars.
[842] On the *pax deorum/deum* see: Fuchs (1926) 186; Sordi (1985) 13; *OLD* for *pax deorum.*
[843] Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.55.4-1.57.1; see also Varro *Rust.* 2.4, *Ling.* 5.32. Contra Verg. *Aen.* 8.81-85 where Aeneas sacrifices to Juno.
[844] Rome, Vatican, inv. 1115.
[845] Rehak (2001) 193ff.

Imperial images of Aeneas. Yet these depictions are concerned with the flight from Troy, and the figure of Aeneas on the Belvedere altar is also bearded and has a mature physique.[846] What Rehak fails to note is that the Belvedere altar depicts a different aspect of the Lavinium sow story. The scene on the Altar of the Lares is not one of sacrifice for Aeneas is not *capite velato* as he is on the *Ara Pacis.* The tale of the sacrifice as related by Dionysius consists of two parts. First is the recollection of the prophecy that once they had eaten their tables the Trojans would be led by a four-footed animal to the site of their city. So Aeneas brings out the Penates from the ships and prepares a sacrifice for them: *καὶ χορείαις χρώμεναι παρεκόμιζον τὰ ἱερά, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν παρασκευασθείσης θυσίας ἔχοντες τοὺς στεφάνους περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔστησαν.*[847] Dionysius then tells us:

> *Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἐποιησαντο, ἡ μέλλουσα καθιεροῦσθαι ὗς ἐγκύμων οὖσα καὶ οὐ πρόσω τόκου καταρχομένων αὐτῆς τῶν θυτήρων διασεισαμένη καὶ ἀποφυγοῦσα τοὺς κατέχοντας ἄνω ἔθει.*[848]
>
> While these were offering up their prayers, the sow which was the destined victim, being big with young and near her time, shook herself free as the priests were performing the initial rites, and fleeing from those who held her, ran back into the country.

The Trojans give chase, and finally the sow stops and bears her young. It is then that the sacrifice actually takes place:

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[846] Rehak (2001) 191; see Zanker (1988) 203-204.

[847] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.55.5: 'And Aeneas with his companions, when a sacrifice had been made ready, stood round the altar with the customary garlands on their heads'

[848] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.56.1.

Αἰνείας δὲ τῆς μὲν ὑὸς τὸν τόκον ἅμα τῇ γειναμένῃ τοῖς πατρῴοις ἀγίζει θεοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῷδ',...τοῖς δὲ Τρωσί μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἱδρύεται τὰ ἕδη τῶν θεῶν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ αὐτίκα περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ πολίσματος ἁπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ.[849]

Aeneas sacrificed the young of the sow together with the mother to the ancestral gods in this place...and having ordered the Trojans to move the camp to the hill he set images of the gods in the best part and straightway began the preparation of the town with the greatest eagerness.

The relief on the *Ara Pacis* is not a scene of discovery, but one of sacrifice and indeed from the readings of Dionysius it could plausibly depict either, or both sacrificial preparations: the damage on the stone prevents definite confirmation that the sow is pregnant, yet the temple on the hill accords with Dionysius' second passage.[850] This comparison between the text and the relief illustrates similar components of the story. It is also notable that Ovid links the *Ara Pacis* to Aeneas: *horreat Aeneadas et primus et ultimus orbis.*[851] The relief depicts the sacrifice for the security and subsequent world rule of the *Aeneadae.*

The panel may also allude to sacrifices for peace. The contemporary relevance of this type of sacrifice is attested in the *Ludi Saeculares* where Augustus sacrificed a pregnant sow to Terra Mater: *Terra mater, uti tibi in ill[is scriptum est] / uti tibi sua*

[849] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.57.1.
[850] Rehak (2001) 195-196 for a discussion of the literary evidence of the Lavinium sow and his arguments against identifying the *Ara Pacis* relief with the story in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
[851] Ov. *Fast.* 1. 717.

plena propri[a sacrum fiat...c]etera [uti supra].[852] The sacrifice of the sow embodied peace and prosperity, not just for the foundation of Rome by Aeneas, but to welcome in the new age established by *pax augusta.*[853] As Aeneas ensured the establishment of Rome through sacrifice, so too did Augustus ensure the peace and stability of the Roman state through sacrifice.[854]

Just as the Roma and 'Tellus' panels worked together to present a victorious image of *pax augusta*, so too do the two panels on the west side, illustrating the inherent qualities of Rome's foundation that are articulated throughout the monument: *pax* as security and prosperity, and *pax* as the victory of the Roman state (foretold by the presence of Mars) are two sides of the same coin.

Momigliano has pointed out that the four short panels of the altar 'delimit the space for the procession of Romans'.[855] The procession moves from east to west: from the presentation of *pax augusta* in a symbolic or allegorical sense, to the attestation of such qualities as inherent within the Rome state. The procession itself serves to link the universal concepts of the west side to the exempla of the past, whilst celebrating the present state of victorious *pax.* I will now consider the role of the processional frieze within the monument.

[852] *CIL* VI 32323 ll 134-7: 'Mother Earth, so for you it is written in regard to these things, that a pregnant sow be sacrifice to you, as is appropriate...the rest as above'. The inscription is a commentary of the fifth *Ludi Saeculares.*
[853] Zanker (1988) 167-72; Hall (1986).
[854] The figure of Augustus in the processional frieze mirrors the stance of Aeneas; both are the sacrificant, wreathed and veiled. Rossini (2006) 54 suggests that Augustus' arm is outstretched in salute, but the adduction of his thumb confirms his is holding something. My thanks to Jane Anderson for discussing this with me.
[855] Momigliano (1942a) 228.

The processional frieze

Scholars have often wanted to interpret the procession as either the *consecratio* in 13 B.C. or the *dedicatio* in 9 B.C. since these two dates are celebrated in various *Fasti* of the Julio-Claudian period.[856] However, Billows has argued that the procession should be seen as an 'idealized version of history',[857] rather than necessarily depicting a specific historic event, and sees the procession as depicting an idealised *supplicatio*. The *supplicatio* was given either in thanksgiving to the gods for a victory,[858] or to seek *pax* from them:[859] the procession included women and children, and laurels were carried by participants.[860] Certainly, this interpretation emphasises the action of the senate who decreed *supplicationes* to Augustus on the successful conclusion of his campaigns.[861] This interpretation of the procession allows us to understand the commemoration of both the initial celebration of Augustus' return and a continued celebration each time the frieze was viewed. The idealised nature of the relief is emphasised in many of the figures of the procession who are idealised depictions. As Zanker states: '[the] figure embodies the office, not the man who happened to hold it at the time'.[862] The processional frieze, as part of a monument set up by the senate, offers an idealised view of the state in a religious capacity and Augustus' role within it.

The processional frieze is usually understood as a celebration of the Imperial *domus* and scholars have tried to interpret the frieze in terms of family groups and

[856] Momigliano (1942a) 231 discusses these two positions in the scholarship. The *Fasti Antiates* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2, 201ff) and the *Fasti Amiternini* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2. 185ff) record the consecration of the altar on the 4th July, whilst the *Fasti Caerentani* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2, 64ff), *Fasti Praenestini* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2, 107ff) and the *fasti Verulani* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2, 157ff) record the dedication of the altar on 30th January.
[857] Billows (1993) 91; Zanker (1988) 121 notes the timelessness of the frieze in its idealised realisation.
[858] Livy 27.51.9.
[859] Livy 3.7.7.
[860] Livy 40.37.3: *lauream in manu tenentes.*
[861] *RG* 4 and 12. Cic. *Phil.* 2.13 states that he was awarded a *supplicatio, rebus iis gestis* for his defeat of the Catilinarian conspiracy.
[862] Zanker (1988) 121.

dynastic succession, based on the identifications of the participants.[863] These interpretations rely on tentative identifications: only Augustus and Agrippa can be identified through their portraiture (Figure 90).[864] This serves to heighten their prominence within the procession amongst so many idealized faces. Compositionally too, they are prominent, with the main focus on Augustus as other figures turn towards him. Agrippa, who is prominent owing to his posture and height, appears to emphasise the end of the magistrates and priests and the start of the more familial aspect of the procession. If one observes, however, the relationship of the central acanthus scroll to the processional frieze on the south side, one can see that another focal point is the group of *Flamines* between Augustus and Agrippa. The focus is on the religious offices of the state and indeed the prominence of Augustus and Agrippa (who are equidistant from the centre)[865] must be understood within this context. As with the short panels, the processional frieze is subject to the acanthus scroll, which unifies the messages of the upper register and ties the ideology of the Roman state to the concepts of abundance and fruitfulness.[866]

The emphasis on the senatorial order within the processional friezes is not to deny that the *gens Iulia* is depicted, for the prominent female behind Agrippa (S-32) is evidently an important figure, not just from her position in the procession, but also owning to the parallel drawn between her and the 'Tellus' figure. She shares the idealised features and is crowned and veiled (Figure 115).[867] She has been identified as either Livia or Julia.[868] I believe an identification of Livia is far more plausible: the

[863] Moretti (1948); Ryberg (1949); Simon (1967); Kleiner (1978); Torelli (1982); Holloway (1984); Rose (1990); Rossini (2006) 48 notes how tentative the historical identifications are. Paul Rehak in a conference paper entitled 'Women and Children on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*' delivered at the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, 2004 argues against the family groupings supposed by Kleiner (1978).
[864] See p. 227 above.
[865] Both stand over an open flower, from the main branch of the acanthus.
[866] Castriota (1995) 3-12.

senate dedicated the monument on 30th January 9 B.C., which was Livia's birthday. The senate can thus been seen to depict the *princeps'* wife as the embodiment of the womanly virtues of *pax augusta* displayed in the 'Tellus' relief. Augustus' household is depicted as important to the realisation of *pax augusta*.

The desire to see a purely dynastic procession has led to the identification of S-30, who stands behind the figure of Agrippa, and N-34 as Gaius and Lucius Caesar respectively (Figure 116).[869] The clothing of the two boys is usually explained as Trojan dress, for the *Ludi Troiani*; however, another way of interpreting the boys' dress is that they are non-Roman. This is a far more straightforward explanation of their clothing, and indeed Rose has pointed out that a depiction of both boys with no shoes, and Lucius with 'uncovered buttocks' would be unprecedented.[870] S-30 and N-34 are certainly prominent as the first children, and moreover as the first individuals who are not state officials. It is possible that in their non-Roman appearance they represent a form of *pignora*, offered to Augustus and Rome as evidence of *pax*.[871] N-34 is strikingly similar to the depictions of *pignora* on the Augustus Boscoreale Cup (Figure 117), which we should read not as a blatant act of submission, but rather an expression of an imperial

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[867] Bartman (1998) 87-88.

[868] Rossini (2006) 54 and 66 gives arguments for both, although she comes down on the side of Julia; on Livia and her role see Bartman (1998) 88; Flory (1998), Flory (1995), Flory (1993).

[869] Rose (1990) 463-464 argues that N-37 in fact represents Gaius Caesar, based on Gaius' portraiture type. Kleiner and Buxton (2008) 85 n. 121 see N-37 as representing a Maurentanian prince wearing a Hellenistic royal cloak, and argue that the Julian style of portraiture was adopted by the Maurentanian royal house. However, Kuttner (1995) 102 points out the contrast between the 'delicate face of the young *camillus* Gaius Caesar' and the pudgy features of S-30: the point being that S-30 and N-34 are distinctively non-Roman in appearance, whilst N-37 appears Julio-Claudian.

[870] Rose (1990) 459; see also Kuttner (1995) 101-105 for an identification of N-34 as a Gallic *pignus* and S-30 as an Oriental; Kleiner and Buxton (2008), Kuttner (1995); Schneider (2007) 76-78 has argued that both interpretations (Gaius and Lucius, or barbarian children) can stand, and that the children's clothing 'refers to the Orient as a feature of Rome's cultural identity'.

[871] *RG* 4.3, 32.2; Joseph. *AJ* 16.6.6; Dio Cass. 54.28.1; Ferris (2000) 27.

concept of *pax*.[872] The image of the *pignus* given up to Augustus also appears on coins minted at Lugdunum in 8/7 B.C (Figure 118).[873]

The altar offers a conceptualisation of *pax* as a discourse on the nature of Roman imperialism, celebrating the conquest of the *orbis terrarum* whilst at the same time promoting the stability of the state through an affirmation of the religious and political offices of the senatorial order. I will now turn to consider the *Ara Pacis* alongside other commemorations of 9 B.C. to examine how the senatorial presentation of the Roman state in terms of victorious *pax* worked within the city of Rome.

Contextualising the Ara Pacis

The concept of the imperial nature of *pax* is highlighted by the relationship of the *Ara Pacis* to the obelisk set up in 10/9 B.C. as a gnomon of a solar meridian in the Campus (Figure 119).[874] The red granite obelisk was originally erected by Psammeticus II (594-589 B.C.) at Heliopolis. The base of the monolith is inscribed on two opposite sides with the following inscription:

> *Imp. Caesar divi. fil. / Augustus / Pontifex Maximus / Imp. XII Cos. Xi Trib. Pot XIV / Aegupto in potestatem populi Romani redacta / Soli donum dedit*.[875]
>
> Imperator Caesar, son of a god, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Imperator for the 12th time, Consul for the 11th time, Tribunician power for the 14th time,

[872] Kuttner (1995) 94-123, esp. 95, 100-107.
[873] *RIC* Aug. 200, 201a-b.
[874] Heslin (2007) 2-12.
[875] *CIL* VI 702.

gave this as a gift to Sol, with Egypt subjected to the power of the Roman people.

This sentiment was later echoed in the heading of Augustus' *Res Gestae*: *orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit.*[876] The obelisk is aligned with the via Flaminia, and there is a clear spatial relationship between the monument and the *Ara Pacis* (Figure 101),[877] which is further emphasised by the proximity in date of the two monuments' dedications. In one sense the solar meridian serves as another example or extension of *pax augusta*, reminding the viewer of the ways in which *pax* for the empire had been achieved.

Heslin sees the obelisk's inscription as an implicit reference to the triumvirate - Augustus (*Imp. Caesar*), Lepidus (*Pontifex Maximus*) and Antony (*Aegupto redacta*) - and the triangle of the altar, obelisk and mausoleum as part of that display to impress upon the viewer the move of Augustus from the war of the triumviral period to the principate and peace.[878] However, it is misleading to see the complex of the altar and obelisk as referring to 'the blood-stained Octavian who was transformed into Augustus, bringer of peace'.[879] It is *Imperator Caesar Augustus* who dedicates the obelisk to bring to the fore the fundamentally victorious nature of *pax augusta* as a commemoration of empire. It is true that the inscription refers back to the victory over Egypt in 30 B.C., yet that victory must be understood within the complex of monuments on the Campus. Indeed, the end of the war against Antony and Cleopatra, which was synonymous with the capture of Egypt as well as the battle of Actium, was celebrated with the closing of

[876] *RG* Introduction.
[877] Heslin (2007) 12-16; Rehak (2006) 89 suggests that the construction of the obelisk monument must have begun in 13 or 12 B.C. based on its evident spatial relationship with the *Ara Pacis.*
[878] Heslin (2007) 16.
[879] Heslin (2007) 16.

the Gates of Ianus as a display of *pax terra marique parta.*[880] Augustus dedicated the obelisk to be viewed together with the senatorial monument celebrating *pax augusta*. The obelisk reminds the viewer of Augustus' continued role in establishing *totum imperium:* whilst the senate commemorate the settlement of the West as the establishment of *pax terra marique*, Augustus reminds the viewer of his initial role in establishing *pax* as a display of Roman victory in his conquest of Egypt at the end of the civil wars. Thus Augustus' dedication serves as a reminder of his past victories, and also his control over the empire.

Furthermore, it is worth emphasising that in 8 B.C. Augustus made corrections to the Julian calendar.[881] Within the inscription of the obelisk he emphasises his role as Pontifex Maximus (the second line is devoted to this one title), a position he assumed in 12 B.C., which had made him responsible for the calendar. The restoration of the correct measurement of time which Augustus undertook in 8 B.C. may have been foreshadowed in the erection of the solar meridian. The obelisk is employed as a marker of the establishment of correct order, linked to the ideology of the *Ara Pacis*. The two monuments offer different perspectives on *pax* as an accomplishment of victory. The *Ara Pacis* presents the view of the senate: the stability of the state and the renewed prosperity, as illustrated by the exempla of Rome's past, and continually acted out through the viewing of the processional frieze. The obelisk presents Augustus' view: the establishment of Roman *imperium* both over a territorial area and as control of time as a victory of *pax augusta*.

[880] Livy 1.19.3.
[881] Macr *Sat.* 1.14.14; Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 244-245.

The pacification of the West culminating in the return of Augustus in 13 B.C. was a catalyst for the monumentalisation of Roman imperialism in terms of *pax.* This monument to *pax augusta* celebrated both the military victories and the magisterial offices of the state, as well as Augustus' role within that. The commemoration in 13 B.C. was not restricted or confined to the pacification of the West, but rather celebrated the success of the Roman state in achieving *pax*; that is universal *imperium.* The power of the *Ara Pacis* as an expression of empire is clear from its later use by Augustus in his *Res Gestae,* and by Nero on his coins.[882] Indeed, the use made of the *Ara Pacis* by Augustus and Nero illustrates its importance as a symbol of the expression of Roman imperialism (adopted by the *principes* from the senatorial display): that of victorious *pax.*

[882] *RIC* Nero 458-461, 526-529.

Section Two

A Roman perspective on pacification in the West: La Turbie

The senate's commemoration at Rome was the dedication to *pax augusta*, as a testimony of the stability of the Roman state and the prosperity achieved. It is interesting then that the senate and people dedicate a trophy monument with a rather different meaning in the Alps to commemorate the conquest. The monument does not speak with the language of *pax augusta* displayed at Rome, but with a more traditionally triumphal expression of the subjugation of the enemy. Indeed, it is the absence of any concept of *pax augusta*, as displayed by the senate at Rome, which makes this monument an interesting comparison regarding the presentation and understanding of *pax* and imperialism in the West. I will now turn to consider the Alpine trophy as a form of Roman imperialism displayed over a subjugated territory, first by considering its visual display in comparison to the *ara Pacis* at Rome, and then by examining it within its physical context.

Tropaea Augusti[883]

The monument set up in the Alps was recorded by Pliny the Elder as a *tropaeum*.[884] The remains of a monument at La Turbie, a small town 18 km from Nice, overlooking Monaco and the sea (Map 4), were identified as the trophy of Augustus in the fifteenth century by an anonymous Italian: 'In una delle facciate era l'inscrittione cavata da Plino nel capo 20 del libro 3...Sono poi attorno al luogo molti fragmenti del

[883] Ptolemy *Geography* 3.1.2: *Τροπαιά Σεβαστοῦ.*
[884] Plin. *HN* 3.136; Ptolemy (3.1.2) uses the *tropaeum* as a geographical marker, as he describes the coast line of the Massilienses.

marmo biano dell'inscrittione sopracennata'; then in 1564 by Père Boyer, and later by Pietro Gioffredo, who found fragments of the inscription reused in a medieval archway in La Turbie.[885] It was at the start of the twentieth century that architects began to work on reconstructing the monument as we currently see it (Figure 120 & Figure 121): a double square base, with the reconstructed inscription on the west side of the first base, flanked by victories and framed by sculptured trophies.[886] On top of the second base stands a circular drum with a colonnade of 24 disengaged Tuscan columns, behind which, Formigé suggested, twelve niches displayed statuary, based on the remains of a military torso and a Julio-Claudian head found at the site.[887] Sculptures may have been set at the four corners of the second platform, based on the discovery of a large marble cylinder at the north-east corner.[888] Formigé envisaged a hierarchical display, with the depiction, both epigraphic and visual, of the defeated Alpine races on the bottom level,

[885] Formigé (1949) appendix II, 87-94 for extracts from Giffredo's *Nicaea civitas, sacris monumentis illustrata* (1658). Despite these early accounts, some commentators on Plin. *HN* 3.136 have understood the inscription to be recorded on an arch, or trophy near Nicaea in Albania: Rackham (1947) 100; Bostock and Riley (1855-57) 256: 'The trophy or triumphal arch which bore this inscription is that which was still to be seen at Trobia near Nicaea in Illyria, in the time of Gruter, who has given that portion of the inscription un-obliterated down to "gentes Alpinae". In fact, Gruter (1707) 216 n. 7 gives a copy of the text down to *redactae sunt.* His line division and his use of Pliny's abbreviations, which does not concur with the reconstruction of the text by Formigé (1943-44), indicate that he did not see the inscription. However, he states that Jacobus Lopides Stunica (Diego López de Zúñiga d. 1530) recorded having seen fragments of the inscription used in the arch at La Turbie, nine miles from Nicaea (Nice) in the Alps. Rackham is clearly following Bostock, who mistook Nicaea in the Alps for that in Illyria, and the arch seen by Stunica as the original Roman structure. For a history of the monument's rediscovery see: Binninger (2006a) 180-184; Binninger (2009a) 23-25.

[886] This placement is confirmed by the anonymous Italian (n. 885): 'Nelle facciate dalle bande erano duo gran Trofei di marmo biano intagliato a mezzo rilievo similar alli Trofei di Mario che ancora si veggono à Roma', but he seems to suggest that the inscription was on the second base: 'Sopra questo basamento quadro era un piano...e sopra il vivo dell'ossatura, s'inalazava un altro basamento parimente di quattro facciate...in una delle facciate era l'inscrittione': Formigé (1949) 51-52 argues that the inscription would not have been seen from the second base, and that the depth of the inscription fragments matches the depth of the masonry from the first base.

[887] Formigé (1949) 70: the head, suggested as Drusus, was roughed out at the back indicating that it might have be designed to be viewed only from the front. Binninger (2009a) 54 on difficulty of identify the portrait.

[888] Formigé (1949) 65 suggests an eagle, whilst Picard (1957) 298 identifies the marble cylinder as the truck of a trophy.

followed by statuary of the colonnade representing the legates of Augustus,[889] and finally a statue of the princeps himself, on top of a conical 12-stepped pyramid roof. [890]

However, Binninger has recently warned of the hypothetical nature of the reconstructed monument. She confirms the plan and architectural principles governing the elevation of the monument, from the remains of the structure, but argues that the details of the elevation are uncertain;[891] Binninger has been able to verify the height of the second square base, but argues that the first base's proportions have been exaggerated, and so too that of the whole monument.[892] Furthermore she has advised against the 'séduisante hiérarchisation' of Formigé's iconographic programme, owing to the scarcity of the sculptural remains.[893]

Despite the lack of an assured visual programme of the trophy a comparison with the *Ara Pacis* can still be considered, particularly as the two monuments represent perspectives of the Roman state. What is first noteworthy is the different practical functions the two monuments fulfil: the *Ara Pacis* was designed for sacrifice and thanksgiving, as illustrated by the depiction of a *supplicatio*; the *Tropaeum* was designated as a marker of victory and conquest. Even from the few visual remains of the Trophy, the stark contrast between the two monuments is clear. Our understanding of the *Ara Pacis* monument relies heavily on the complex figural programme of the exterior. The Trophy on the other hand is largely not a figural display, although there

[889] Formigé (1949) 70 on Augustus' legates, one of which was Drusus, see n. 887.
[890] The presence of a statue on top on the monument seems likely given a reference in an 8th century poem about Saint Honorat, which includes a description of the monument supposedly constructed by Apollo: 'Pueys fetz un ydola sagrar...En la tor l'ames Apollins' ('then he consecrated an idol...on the tower Apollo placed it'): see Formigé (1949) appendix I, 83-84.
[891] Binninger (2009a) 42-43; Binninger (2006a) 182. Binninger's current work is concerned with establishing the history and transformation of the monument over time in order to come closer to the original form and to understand its historical and physical context.
[892] Binninger (2009a) 54 states that the monument as it currently stands measures 35.40 m in height to the medieval arcade at the top; Binninger (2004).
[893] Binninger (2009a) 42-43; Binninger (2006a) 182-4.

are fragmentary remains of at least two trophy reliefs in Carrara marble. A frieze block depicting a cuirass, metopes decorated with a cuirass, boar, *bucrania*, two *cornucopiae* entwined, a ship's prow and a ram's head and garland,[894] and some fragmentary sculptural remains from under the colonnade.[895] Whilst certain elements, such as the *bucrania* and the *cornucopiae*, may echo themes depicted in far greater detail on the *Ara Pacis*, the very nature of the remains suggests a visual display very different from the altar.

The trophy reliefs, of which there are 145 fragments, evoke a message of conquest and victory (Figure 122). Binninger has argued that whilst the trophy relief is assured by the large central fragment, there is no positive evidence to confirm that the fragmentary remains represented captives, and that Formigé's restoration was instead inspired by the sculptural decoration of the arches of Narbonensis.[896] Whilst Binninger's warning is sound, it is worth noting that the fifteenth century Italian likens the two trophies he saw on the monument to the trophy of Marius at Rome.[897] It is possible that he was thinking of the monument that Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) moved to the piazza del Campidolgio, which depicts both the trophy and a captive (Figure 123). Captives were frequently depicted beneath trophies both at Rome, such as the two captives sitting under a trophy in the triumphal procession depicted on the frieze of the temple of Apollo Sosianus (Figure 124), and those kneeling under the trophies on the frieze of the tomb of Caecilia Metella (Figure 125), and in the provinces, such as the monument at Saint-Bertand-de-Comminges, which depicts two trophies, each with a

[894] Formigé (1949) 68-69 states that the metope fragments, which are coarse and crude, were the work of 'local workmen', comparing them to the frieze on the arch at Susa, and the reliefs from Trajan's monument at Adamklissi, yet see Binninger (2009a).
[895] Binninger (2009a) 54.
[896] Binninger (2009a) 141 has assigned them to the iconography of a hero type, rather than a submissive captive; Binninger (2009a) 50; Binninger (2002) 151.
[897] See n. 886 above.

kneeling, fettered male captive, and a standing female (Figure 126),[898] and the lateral side of the arch at Orange (Figure 127). These examples speak of the strong association of captives with trophies. It is notable that in Gallia Narbonensis all civilian arches (i.e. those not associated with a legionary colony) depicted captives fettered to a trophy, and were set up in Roman municipalities which received Latin rights under Augustus.[899] Particularly at sites such as Carpentras and Vienne (Isère), where the community comprised an indigenous population,[900] the introduction of arches on the main arteries of the city (Carpentras' entrance on the north-south axis and Vienne's *cardo*) decorated with trophies of subjugated peoples (Figure 128),[901] suggests a deep association of this form of display with a strong idea of what Roman *imperium* was.[902] It is then plausible in the context of both Roman and indigenous displays in the area that the trophies could have depicted captives.

Notable too is the use of marble within the Alpine Trophy. The structure of the Alpine Trophy is made of a finely grained, dense and hard limestone from two local quarries: at Justicier, 1480m from the monument (Figure 129),[903] and at the foot of Mount Agel.[904] Clearly, the massive white stone display set up at La Turbie demonstrated a harnessing of the local resources of the Alpine region.[905] However, Carrara marble was used for the inscription, the relief sculpture and the capitals. The *Ara Pacis*, a fully figural monument, is made completely of Carrara marble; at La Turbie, this material is restricted to certain decorative and epigraphic elements. The

[898] Boube (1996), see p. 265 below for further discussion of the monument; see Silberberg-Peirce (1986) for trophy reliefs in Gallia Narbonensis.
[899] Silberberg-Peirce (1986) 316.
[900] Carpentras: the Memini; Vienne: the Allobroges.
[901] Silberberg-Peirce (1986) 318-319.
[902] Ferris (2000) 46.
[903] Cunégondo (2000) 2; Binninger (2009a) 56; Casimir (1932) 49-50.
[904] Cunégondo (2000) 3.
[905] The local stone was also used for the milestones marking the via Julia Augusta (Binninger (2001) 297) discussed below p. 261.

marble from Luna would have been imported via the port at Monaco.[906] Thus this imported marble, with restricted use within the monumental display, was employed to illuminate certain aspects within the structure: the trophies and the inscription.

The articulation of the monument through the use of marble and local stone illustrates the imperial aspect of the structure, both in the ability to use such materials, but also in the message expressed.[907] As I have already emphasised above, the use of the trophy reliefs shows a concept of Roman imperialism seen throughout Gallia Narbonensis. In addition to this, the central point of the display, emphasised by the trophies either side, is on the inscription. I will now turn to briefly consider the reconstruction of the inscription and its message, before examining its role within the monument's context. Through this examination I will demonstrate that the absence of *pax* in this monument illustrates that the concept was not always a requirement for the discourse on Roman imperialism. The absence of *pax* here in the Alps, in contrast to the display at Rome, articulates the different kinds of relationships achieved as a result of Roman *imperium.*

The Latin Inscription

The first historical reference to the Alpine Trophy is a quotation of its inscription in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*. In this section, I will assess Pliny's record in light of the archaeological evidence.

[906] Binninger (2001) 292 on the port of Monaco, 297 specifically on the importation of marble.

[907] Binninger (2009a) discusses the sculptural work of the monument in both the imported marble (trophies) and local limestone (frieze), and notes that, contrary to previous interpretations (Picard (1949); Formigé (1949); Formigé (1955); Lamboglia (1938) 33-34) which considered the limestone sculpture of inferior workmanship (and therefore 'local'), the metopes were carefully and expertly executed.

Pliny, discussing the geography and ethnography of the Alps, records the inscription in the following manner:

> Non alienum videtur hoc loco subicere inscriptionem e tropaeo Alpium, quae talis est: IMP : CAESARI DIVI FILIO AVG : PONT : MAX : IMP : XIIII : TR : POT : XVII : S : P : Q : R : QVOD EIVS DVCTV AVSPICIISQVE GENTES ALPINAE OMNES QVAE A MARI SVPERO AD INFERVM PERTINEBANT SVB IMPERIVM P : R : SVNT REDACTAE : GENTES ALPINAE DEVICTAE TRVMPILINI : CAMVVNI : VENOSTES : VENNONETES : ISARCI : BREVNI : GENAVNES : FOCVNATES : VINDELICORVM GENTES QVATTVOR : COSVANETES : RVCINATES : LICATES : CATENATES : AMBISONTES : RVGVSCI : SVANETES : CALVCONES : BRIXENETES : LEPONTI : VBERI : NANTVATES : SEDVNI : VARAGRI : SALASSI : ACITAVONES : MEDVLLI : VCEENI : CATVRIGES : BRIGIANI : SOGIONTI : BRODIONTI : NEMALONI : EDENATES : VESVBIANI : VEAMINI : GALLITAE : TRIVLLATI : ECDINI : VERGVNNI : EGVI : TVRI : NEMATVRI : ORATELLI : NERVSI : VELAVNI : SVETRI.[908]

[908] Plin. *NH* 3.136-7.

> It does not seem out of place here to record the inscription from the Alpine Trophy, which is as follows: To Imperator Caesar, son of the divine, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Imperator for the 14th time, with Tribunician power for the 17th time, the senate and the people of Rome [dedicate] because by his leadership and auspices the Alpines races, which stretch from the upper sea to the lower sea, were reduced to the power of the Roman people. The conquered Alpine races: Trumpilini, Camuni, Venostes, Vennonetes, Isarci, Breuni, Genaunes, Focunates, four races of the Vindelicii, Cosuanetes, Rucinates, Licates, Catenates, Ambisontes, Rugusci, Suanetes, Calucones, Brixenetes, Leponti, Uberi, Nantuates, Seduni, Varagri, Salassi, Acitavones, Medulli, Uceeni, Caturiges, Brigiani, Sogionti, Brodionti, Nemaloni, Edenates, Vesubiani, Veamini, Galli Taetri, Ullati,[909] Ecdini, Vergunni, Turi, Nemturi, Oratelli, Nerusi, Velauni, Suetri.

As I have noted above, the first evidence for the actual inscription comes from the account of the 15th century Italian, who reports numerous marble fragments of the inscription, along with the trophy reliefs, around the monument.[910] The reconstructed inscription, by Formigé, has 144 original fragments set in it.[911]

Formigé has argued that the inscription as recorded by Pliny can be reconstructed by and large from these fragments (Figure 130). On the remaining fragments of the inscription there are two different letter sizes, measuring 0.3696m high for the dedication (two letters are completely intact: *auGusto* and *seNatus*, with the *N*

[909] Coins minted in the Alpine region indicate the existence of the *Ullati*, and so it is necessary to read: *Galli Taetri, Ullati:* see Arnaud (2004).
[910] See n. 885 above.
[911] Binninger (2009a) 51; Formigé (1949) 51-61; Formigé (1955).

fragment complete for the entire height of the masonry block), and 0.1848m high for the enumeration of the *gentes* (the most complete fragments were found in a medieval archway in the town).[912] Formigé has reconstructed the inscription on nine lines: the first three are the dedication to Augustus in larger letters, whilst lines 4-9 state the reason for the monument and enumerate the tribes that he conquered.

However, Binninger emphasises that the layout of the text within the epigraphic field must remain uncertain, because of the very fragmentary nature of the inscription.[913] Mommsen's reconstruction in *CIL* V, admittedly with far fewer fragments to work from, has the dedication over two lines, and the *gentes devictae* listed in six columns.[914] The use of columns to articulate lists is evident in the listing of names such as Cn. Pompeius Strabo's edict concerning the grant of Roman citizenship to the Hispanic cavalry.[915] However, there is evidence of the enumeration of communities not in columns, but in lines, on the arch at Susa, which is discussed below.[916] The display of the *gentes* in lines, as opposed to lists in columns, may be more appropriate to the architectural context, even with such limited archaeological remains with which to reconstruct the display.

What we may draw from Formigé's analysis of the fragments is that Pliny's account does not give an entirely accurate depiction of the inscription. The fragments indicate that the first line gave *Imperator* in full and not abridged as given in Pliny's account.[917] Whilst *tribunicia* is abbreviated, it reads *TRIB.*, rather than *TR*, as the discovery of a fragment with *B* and an interpunct illustrates. Furthermore, the title

[912] *Magasin Pittoresque* XXIe année, 1853, p. 174.
[913] Binninger (2009a) 51.
[914] *CIL* V 7817.
[915] *CIL* VI 37045.
[916] CIL VI 7231, see p. 277ff below.
[917] In the fragment *ERA* the serif of the A is just visible at the edge of the fragment, confirming that the belonged to *imp**era**tor* and not *populusqu**e r**omanus,*

Senatus Populusque Romanus was given in full, and not abridged to *S.P.Q.R.*[918] Pliny's record is fairly accurate, although his use of abbreviations does not always match up to the epigraphic remains, and may plausibly have been taken from archival records as opposed to observation of the final inscribed version.

An analysis of the fragments allows us to see that a visual distinction is made between the dedication and the enumeration of the *gentes*, both in the size of the lettering and the greater interline space between the two parts of the inscription. I will now examine the inscription in the context of the monument, as a message concerning Roman imperialism from the senate and people.

e tropeo Alpinum

The inscription, as a senatorial record, indicates the purpose of the physical monument within the Alps. The monument was to celebrate the subjugation of the Alpine peoples from the *mare superum* to the *mare inferum*, under the *imperium populi Romani*. It is with this concept in mind that I now turn to consider the importance of the location and placement of the monument to the presentation of Roman imperialism within a conquered landscape. The role of a Roman monument erected in an area of conquest *as* a marker of that conquest is obvious and clear; nevertheless the finer details of the location of the monument and the relation of this placement to the message of the inscription are relevant to the investigation. I will examine the situation of the monument within the Alps.

La Turbie is located at the foothills of Mount Agel, the last summit in the chain of the Alpine mountains (Map 4). The monument was surrounded by the ridges of the

[918] Formigé (1955); *AE* 1999 n. 995 lists a number of different readings between Formigé and Pliny. Arnaud (2002) 187 argues that the correct linguistic form of *Brodiontii* is *Bodiontii.*

mountain on two sides, and a sharp drop down to the sea, dominating the landscape (Figure 131). In addition to the natural position of the landscape, the monument required that rock be cut away to provide a level platform.[919] Whilst the massive engineering task in itself is impressive, its greatest worth is in the display of absolute control over the landscape.

However, the monument, dedicated in 7/6 B.C., is not the first monumental evidence of Roman control over the landscape. In fact, the Trophy was set up in relation to the *via Iulia Augusta*, which was built in 13/12 B.C. as attested to by milestones from the area.[920] The same local quarries supplied stone for both the milestones, and the monument.[921] Thus the area was already, in 13/12 B.C. visually under Roman control, and the *via Iulia* may be seen as illustrating the successful conclusion of Augustus' campaigning in the region.[922] That the site was a point of articulation in the landscape prior to the Augustan monument is illustrated by the existence of an earlier monument above the flank which the trophy is set up on.[923]

The *via Iulia Augusta* began at Placentia (Piacenza) with the merging of the *via Aemilia Scauri* and the *via Postumia*, and ran through the Alps until Vado, where it continued along the coast before cutting between the foothills of Mount Agel, with Mont de la Bataille on the right, and La Revère on the left. The point at which the road runs through the Alps is recorded in the *Itineraria Antonini Augusti* as *Alpe summa.*[924]

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[919] Formigé (1949) 43.
[920] A total of four milestones were found near La Turbie: two Augustan (*CIL* V 8100 (number *DCIV*) found c. 450 m from La Turbie, and 8101 (number *DCV*) found c. 1500 m from La Turbie), one Hadrianic (*CIL* V. 8102 (number *DCV*) found with *CIL* V 8101), and one from the reign of Caracalla (*CIL* V 8099 (number *DCIII*) found c. 1500 m from La Turbie). The stones from the later periods are evidence of the restoration and repair of the road.
[921] Binninger (2001) 297. See n. 905 above.
[922] Binninger (2006a) 185.
[923] Formigé (1951), Formigé (1949) 44 argues that the remains pre-date the Alpine trophy. Binninger (2004) states that the remains are at present being excavated.
[924] *Itineraria Antoninii* 296.3.

The next location recorded in the *Itineraria* is *Cemenelo,* (Cimiez, near Nice), and it is at this point that the *via Iulia* continues back along the coast. I will argue that *summa* not only refers to the end of the Alps, but also the route through them. The third Vicarello cup (which comes from a series of four silver 1st century A.D. cups, shaped like a milestone mark, engraved with the route from Gades to Rome) also uses the term *Summas Alpes,* in reference to the pass at Mont-Genèvre.[925] This is the highest point of the route and so *summas* must refer to height. However, there is another instance of *summa* being used in connection to a route through a mountain range in the *Itineraria Antoninii*: *summus Pyrenaeus*.[926] The *via Domitia*, commemorating the victories of Domitius Ahenobarbus in 121 B.C., does not cut through the Pyrenees mountains until this point, where the road passes through the col de Panissars.[927] As with La Turbie, this does not represent the highest point of the mountain range, but rather a high point of the route *through* the mountains. Indeed, the placement of both the Alpine and Pyrenees trophies demonstrates this articulation of the route through territory under Roman control, as visual displays of Roman *imperium* over the landscape.

It is notable in the case of the Pyrenees trophy of Pompey, erected in 71 B.C., that the monument was quite literally constructed over the road.[928] The archaeological remains show two large substructures stretching for c. 30m along both sides of the road (which itself mesures c.5.15m wide).[929] Castellvi, Nolla and Rodà have shown that whilst the original route of the *via Domitia* ran through the col de Perthus, the site of Pompey's trophy monument caused a deviation of the route to the col de Panissars,

[925] Prieur (1968) 98, notes the other three goblets refer to *Druentium, Gruentia* and *Druentio*; 105-6 for the different names designating Mont Genèvre in Antiquity.
[926] *Itineraria Antoninii* 397.7.
[927] Castellvi, et al. (2008) 51ff esp. 54 for the suggestion that Pompey deviated the *via Domitia* to run through the col de Panissars.
[928] Castellvi, et al. (1995), Castellvi, et al. (2008).
[929] Castellvi, et al. (2008) 72-73, the substructures measure 30.765-30.915m in length and 15.530-16.066m in width. The monument covered an area of approximately 1132m^2.

where another road, predating the construction of the monument, ran (Map 5).[930] The reason for locating the monument at the col de Panissars, rather than Perthus, is tied to the topography of the area: the site is c. 60m higher than the route over Perthus, and offers a greater panoramic view due to the exposure of the site.[931] However, despite the more elevated platform, the monument was not set at its highest point, the col de Bellegarde, but 500m south-east of this point.[932] The choice of location appears to be tied to the earlier road which cut around the summit through the slopes of the hill. As a result major engineering works were used to compensate for the nature of the terrace, with the substructure (cut into the rock) on the east side elevated to 1.70m, and that on the west side to 6.40m to create a level platform (Figure 132).[933]

Whilst the reconstruction of the monument in the Pyrenees is uncertain, the size and design of the substructure indicate a monumental structure that was both highly visible within the landscape, and commanded views over the crossing of the Pyrenees along the Roman route through the mountains.[934] The trophy monument at La Turbie acts in a similar way. It too was not placed at the summit of the area (Mt. de la Bataille, 662m in altitude) but on a lower point (480m). The reasons for this are again tied to the route and placement of the road through the landscape. Whilst both roads cut through the mountain ranges the route itself is influenced by the topography of the land. As mentioned above, the roads run close to the coast for most of their route, before cutting through the mountains at the point described as *summus.* This is not the summit, but a

[930] Castellvi, et al. (2008) on the deviation of the *via Domitia*: 54, 65-66; existence of an earlier road on the site of the monument: 71ff, 143.
[931] Castellvi, et al. (2008) 54 point out the strategic aspect of the position, which allows a view of up to 10 miles into the Spanish interior.
[932] Castellvi, et al. (2008) 199.
[933] Castellvi, et al. (2008) 71ff.
[934] Castellvi, et al. (2008) 148ff offer three different reconstructions, esp. 161 for the lack of architectural remains; 156 argue that the remains must be the trophy of Pompey, rather than the altar of Caesar, based on the size of the foundations cf. 35-36.

lower point that emphasises the route *through* the mountains, without the necessity of an excessive climb to the highest ground.[935] In one sense the monuments are subordinated to the course of the road,[936] yet they further emphasise the concept of the road as a display of *imperium*, by monumentalising the area.

The trophy in the Pyrenees illustrates how the construction of the monument was both influenced by the route into Spain and yet also deviated from the original course of the *via Domitia* to monumentalize Roman control over the landscape. The display at La Turbie however, offers greater unity between the route of the *via Iulia Augusta* and the monument, since no deviation from the original course of the road was required. The engineering worked required in the Pyrenees indicates the constraints of the area which the road ran through. In contrast, at La Turbie the creation of a monumental platform on the site suggests that it was already planned as a major point of articulation and site for the monument when the road was constructed. The monument at La Turbie overlooked both the route through the Alps, and the sea, and was itself also highly visible from the road and the sea, demonstrating the extent of Roman control and the victory won, which made the road through the Alps a reality.

The relationship of these monuments to the road network not only demonstrates the control over the landscape, but also the articulation of boundaries. Strabo says of the Pyrenees trophy: *τὰ Πομπηίου τρόπαια ὅριον Ἰβηρίας ἀποφαίνουσι καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς.*[937] That the monument was designed to mark the limits of Gallia Narbonensis and Spain is evident from its inscription: *ab Alpibus* ***ad fines*** *Hispaniae ulterioris*.[938] Likewise the

[935] Binninger (2006a) 188.
[936] Castellvi, et al. (2008) 199.
[937] Str. 4.1.3: 'The trophies of Pompey reveal the boundary of Spain and of Gaul'. Other sources on the location of the trophy: Strabo 3.4.1, 3.4.7, 3.4.9: Servius *Aen.* 11.6-8; Plin. *HN* 3.18, 7.96, 37.15; Dio Cass. 41.24.
[938] Plin. *HN* 3.18. Pliny appears to be quoting the text of the inscription, either from the monument itself or senatorial records, for he quotes the text twice at 3.18: '*utpote cum Pompeius Magnus tropaeis suis*

inscription at La Turbie demonstrates the territorial limits marked out by the monument: *gentes alpinae omnes quae a mari supero ad inferum*. The trophy, in effect, marks the conclusion and *terminus* of the conquered territory.

The use of trophy monuments to mark the limits of Roman administration in the West is also evident at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges. The monument, like the Alpine trophy, depicts the successful pacification and conquest of the West from an imperial view point.[939] It was found along the west side of the forum temple, although its original context and display is not clear.[940] It is made of a local white marble and comprises three main elements (Figure 126). The central trophy depicts a ship's prow, with a tritoness on top supporting a globe with the eagle of Jupiter on top. Above the eagle, on a plinth, strides a winged victory, whilst a dolphin and crocodile are set either side of the prow. Flanking the central trophy are two traditional trophies – trees decorated with the arms of the enemy – with a kneeling male captive and a standing female captive beneath each of them. The male on the right side has his hands bound behind his back, whilst both females are unfettered.[941] Boube has identified the two female captives as personifications of Gallia, on the right side wearing a neck torque and holding a branch in her hand, and Hispania, on the left, and she links the secondary trophies, together with the eagle, to the recovery of the standards from Spain and Gaul.[942] The trophy monument must date to a time after 25 B.C. and the initial

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quae statuebat in Pyrenaeo DCCCLXXVI oppida ad Alpibus ad fines Hispaniae ulterioris in dicionem ab se redacta testatus sit'and 7.96: '*excitatis in Pyrenaeo tropaeis, oppida DCCCLXXVI ad Alpibus ad fines Hispaniae ulterioris in dicionem redacta victoriae suae adscripsit*'. This territorial limit remains still today, and the monument marks the limits of Spain and France established by the treaty of the Pyrenees and ratified by the treaty of Bayonne (1808). One third of the monument is on Spanish land, and the remaining two thirds in France: see Castellvi, et al. (2008) 71.

[939] Boube (1996) 40-42.

[940] Boube (1996) 42 has suggested that the monument was part of an altar display forming the central focus of regional cult, similar to the altars at Lugdunum, Tarraco, and Cologne.

[941] The remains of the male captive on the left side do not indicate whether or not he was bound, though from his kneeling position it is likely that he was.

[942] Boube (1996) 33-36, 44; *RG* 29.

pacification of the region, and Boube has pushed for a later date of 13-10 B.C., in the wake of the reorganisation of the provinces.[943] Boube has emphasised that the trophy is of very different workmanship from that of the region. The trophy thus suggests an official message of victory and pacification from Rome.[944]

The victories and conquest over Gaul and Spain are presented within a wider concept of empire, for they stand either side of the central naval trophy which asserts the message of victory *terra marique*. The subjugation of the two provinces is thus part of the commemoration of the empire, whilst also specifically referring to the territories brought under Roman control.[945] Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges was the site of a major crossroads as well as a Roman centre from the reorganisation of Gaul, as its original name, Lugdunum Convenarum, suggests,[946] and its articulation of bringing both Spain and Gaul into the Roman administrative sphere is illustrated by the personification of both provinces at the limits of their territories.

Whilst at Rome the *Ara Pacis* commemorated the pacification of the western provinces as part of its message of *pax* over an empire, the monuments at La Turbie and in the Pyrenees articulated the 'reduction' of peoples and communities to Roman *imperium.*[947] *pax* as a concept is not explicit in these displays, and the concept of pacification is rather expressed in term of creating a sphere of Roman administration as a province (*redigere*). [948]

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[943] Boube (1996) 43-44.
[944] Boube (1996) 40-42.
[945] Silberberg-Peirce (1986) 313 argues that the unfettered figures are not prisoners of war, but the allied Gauls of Narbonensis, in contrast to the defeated captives who represented the losers of the Cantabrian wars. However, Boube's argument of the provinces is to my mind more convincing, particularly when considered alongside the evidence for personifications of *gentes* and *nationes* at Rome in the period: see Smith (1988) 71-72.
[946] Silberberg-Peirce (1986) 311; Ferris (2000) 43.
[947] Plin. *HN* 7.96.
[948] Vell. Pat. 2.34; 2.94.4 cf. 2.37.5. He also uses the explicit term *redacta in formulam provinciae* (2.38), and *redacta in formam provinciae* (2.97.4 cf. 2.44.4). See also Ebel (1975) 368.

Ebel has argued that the Pyrenees and Alpine trophies were located on 'the boundaries of administrative units, not in, or even near, major population centres where they would have had more propaganda value for the conquering generals'.[949] Whilst the monument at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges can be seen as a display within a population centre (unlike the trophy monuments), it is also related to the road networks. Ebel's criticism of the placement of the monuments fails to consider the importance of the road network to the purpose of the trophies. Roman administrative control does not only concern centres of population, but also routes of communication. The *via Iulia Augusta* determined the northwest boundary of Italy, yet was also 'la colonne vertébrale de l'Empire'.[950] The pacification of the Alps, and the monument commemorating that achievement, must be viewed within the wider context of the pacification of the West, and not as an end in itself.[951] Whilst the monument does mark the *terminus* of the extent of the *gentes Alpinae*, it also articulates the movement through and beyond the Alps.

The relationship of the Alpine trophy with the route through the Alps, also plays on the history of that route. Ammianus, citing the several routes through the Maritime Alps records that Theban Hercules set up an *arx* and *portus* at Monaco to his eternal memory (*ad perennem sui memoriam*),[952] whilst Strabo indicates that a ἱερὸν to Hercules existed at Monaco.[953] The site of La Turbie, above Monaco, clearly had a history concerning the route through the mountains, prior to the Augustan monument. Of course, Hercules is a relevant figure in terms of conquest and triumph, and occurs

[949] Ebel (1975) 368ff.
[950] Formigé (1949) 18, see also Casimir (1932) 9.
[951] Binninger (2006a) 188.
[952] Amm. Marc. 15.10.9 cites the 1st century B.C. author Timagenes of Alexandria on the route opened up by Hercules. See also Livy 5.34; Diod. Sic. 50.4.19; Silius Italicus *De bello Punico* 3.511-515; DeWitt (1941).
[953] Str. 4.6.3.

frequently in Augustan literature,[954] and indeed Livy emphasises that no road existed in the Alps before Hercules.[955] The nature of the site, which clearly signifies the historical importance of the route through the Alps, serves to link Augustus to Hercules as the founder of the road, and victor over the landscape.[956] That the monument serves as an honorific dedication to Augustus is suggested by the dedicatory inscription and the possible statue that stood at the top.[957]

The monument in the Alps offers a clear message of Roman control over the landscape in its relationship to the Roman road, and placement overlooking land and sea, yet it also expresses Roman *imperium* through Augustus as a heroised figure, contrary to the display at Rome.[958] In this respect Roman imperialism is expressed as dependent on the traditions and history of the location. I will now turn to consider the relationship between the inscription and the physical setting of the monument.

Echoing the Monumental Landscape in the Inscription

Pliny's account of the Alpine trophy only focuses on the inscription because of its ability to delineate a landscape: its place within Pliny's text is after a long description of the measurements and different ethnic groups of the Alpine territory.[959] For Pliny the inscription illustrates how geography can express Roman *imperium.*[960] What Pliny's quotation of the inscription does not show is that clear visual divisions were made between the grammatical units. I will next consider how these work within

[954] Verg. *Aen*. 6.801-803; Hor. *Carm.* 3.39-12, 3.14.1-4; Binninger (2006a) 190ff.
[955] Livy 5.34: *Alpes...nulladum via, quod quidem continens memoria sit, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas.*
[956] Binninger (2004); Binninger (2006a).
[957] See n. 890 above.
[958] See pp.244 - 249 above.
[959] Plin. *HN* 3.132-136. Pliny gives no details about the monument besides its location and inscription.
[960] Carey (2003) 36.

the context of the monument to articulate a message of Roman *imperium* and Augustus' victory over the Alps, and then consider why *pax* is absent from this message.

The placement of the trophy over, and within, the Alpine territory is stressed in the inscription. The enumeration of the *gentes*, the explanation for the dedication of the trophy (*quod...gentes Alpinae omnes...sunt redactae*), records the geographical extent of *imperium* achieved under Augustus' command. The inscription claims that the *gentes Alpinae* covered the land from the *mare superum* to the *mare inferum*: that is, from the Adriatic Sea, on the east coast of Italy, to the Tyrrhenian Sea on the west coast. The *gentes* appear to be listed in some sense of geographical order, beginning with the Trumpilini (from Valle Trompia between Lago d'Iseo and Lago di Garda), curving up through the mountain range as far east as Salzburg, past Lake Constance, down through the Alpine range to Vence (Figure 133). In a broad geographical sense the list moves from east to west, covering the curve of the Alps.[961] The location of the monument marks, as it were, the *terminus* of the enumerated *gentes devictae*. It should be noted that the list of *gentes* are only those who have been conquered;[962] certainly, only six of the fourteen Cottian *civitates*, listed on the arch at Susa as part of a Roman prefecture in the Alps, are listed on the trophy as *gentes devictae*.[963] Thus the inscription propagates the image of the extent of Roman *imperium* in terms of military conquest.

As has been discussed above,[964] the inscription facade and the sculptural trophies are a focal point, and thus should be seen as directing the viewer's understanding of the monument. The formula of the dedication to Augustus by the senate is not in itself unusual, for there is evidence for similar dedications, such as the

[961] Arnaud (2004) 537.
[962] Arnaud (2004).
[963] See p. 286 below.
[964] See p. 256 above.

arch at Arminium and inscriptions from Rome.[965] However, what is striking about the La Turbie inscription, compared with those from Rome, is that the dedicatee procedes the dedicators.[966] The dedication at La Turbie not only emphasises Augustus' active role (*quod eius ductu auspiciique*) in the expansion of peoples under Roman *imperium,* but also his role as recipient of honour. The location of the monument outside Rome in a recently conquered area, which, according to Strabo and Ammianus, had a tradition of hero cult of Hercules,[967] must have some influence on the message of the inscription.[968] Whilst the inscription is a message from the imperial centre, it is a message that speaks within the local context, using the setting and history of the place to engage its audience. It is through Augustus, as the cult figure, that the message of Roman control is articulated within the context of the site.

As has been noted, the inscription consists of two different letter sizes. Furthermore, the remains indicate that there was a larger interlinear gap between the last line of the dedication and the first line of the enumeration of the *gentes* than between other lines.[969] The dedication thus dominated the inscription, and was separated clearly from the explanation of the dedication. This separation articulates a visual subjugation of the *gentes*, thus emphasising the fact that they are *sub imperium populi Romani,* as they are listed below the *Senatus Populusque Romanus.*

The dual nature of the monument and inscription, hero cult and Roman conquest commemorated together, raises the question of the intended audience. It is clear that the monument was intended to commemorate the conquest of the Alps as an area within

[965] *ILS* 84: *senatus populusq[ue Romanus / imp. Caesari divi f. Augusto imp. Sept.] / Cos. Sept. Designat. Octavom V[ia Flamini]A [et reliquei]S / celeberrimeis Italiae vieis consilio [et sumptib]VS [eius mu]niteis*; at Rome: *ILS* 81 (see p. 109 above), 83 (an altar with a Victory holding a shield).
[966] The same pattern is found on the arch at Susa, see p. 277 below.
[967] See p. 267 above.
[968] The monument appears to be the first dedicated to a man rather than god: Picard (1949) 154-155.
[969] See pp. 258-259 above.

Roman control, yet the idea of hero cult suggests an interaction at a more 'local' level. Of course, the use of a Latin inscription as the focal point of the monument suggests an audience who could read Latin, or at the very least, recognise it. However, epigraphic evidence for the use of Latin in the area of La Turbie is sparse. A large base, c. 1m in height and a little more in width, carrying a dedicatory inscription: *[imp. C]aesari / Augusto*, does not tell us who made the dedication, only that it must have been considered appropriate to do so in the area.[970] Yet, it should be remembered that whilst the site was clearly of local significance prior to the Roman conquest, it was not a populated centre, but rather a monumentualised section of the road. Milestones are evidence of Roman control of the area and the route from 13 B.C. onwards, and whilst we cannot affirm that they could be read by all, they do suggest that a number of their viewers would understand them, particularly owing to their formulaic nature.[971]

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The victories won over the vast Alpine area are commemorated in a single monument set up on the main route through the region. The monument articulates Roman perspective of control over the Alpine landscape to a multivalent audience (particularly considering the use of hero cult to express Augustus' role). Unlike the earlier victory monument at Nikopolis, *pax* won over the area was not celebrated. This absence may suggest that *pax* was at this time and in this context a fundamentally Roman concept employed in a civic setting, in order to explain and express *imperium*.

[970] *CIL* V 7818. Häussler (2002) 73 on the use and meaning of Latin for the local population under the Principate.

[971] Petron. *Sat,* 58: *sed lapidarias litteras scio.* There is evidence for a Roman military presence in the form of two tombstones, one of which mentions the *cohors Alpinorum,*: *P. Variu[s] / C. f. Vo[l(tinia)] / Rusticus V[i]/annesis m[il(es)] / cohortis A[lp(inorum) hic situs e[st]* (*CIL* V 7820). The soldier was likely recruited from the Alpine region, though his father appears to have been a citizen.

Whilst this concept of *pax* was extremely important at Rome at the time, it was clearly not necessary or relevant for the discourse of Roman imperialism *to* the conquered territories. The pacification of the Alps was represented, at La Turbie, as the subjugation of the area to the power of Rome.

In the context of such a message of subjugation from the centre, it is worth turning to look at provincial perspectives on the pacification, to see whether the message of *pax augusta* was taken up or not, and what such perspectives tell us about how communities choose to interact with Rome and the means used.

Section Three

Provincial Perspectives in the West: Alternatives to Peace?

Altars to *pax augusta* are found in Italy, at Praeneste (Figure 134), and at Narbo (Figure 135). At Praeneste, the colony erected an altar decorated on all four sides with garlands and *bucrania* and inscribed on the front and back sides: *paci august(ae) / sacrum / Decuriones populusque / coloniae praenestin(ae).*[972] The altar at Narbo was dedicated by T. Domitius Romulus in fulfilment of a vow: *paci aug(ustae) / T. Domitius Romulus / votum posuit quod / fidecommissum Phoebum liberu(m) / recepit* inscribed within an oak wreath,[973] whilst laurel branches decorate the sides and an oak garland and *bucrania* the back of the altar. It seems plausible that both altars were a response to the altar erected at Rome, and that they offer different perspectives on the concept.[974]

Weinstock has argued that it is only in their inscription that either altar is specific to *pax*, and not in their decoration.[975] Certainly, the altar at Praeneste is a

[972] *CIL* XIV 2898: the other side reads: *Paci August(ae) / Sacrum / Decurio(nes) Populusque / Coloniae Praenest(inae*); Agnoli (2002) 241-243.
[973] *CIL* XII 4335. *CIL* states that *Paci Aug* was inscribed on a shield, though from the image in Espérandieu (1907) 362 n. 558 it appears just to be a simple *civica corona.*
[974] Gayraud (1981) 356 dates the altar to 26-25 B.C. on the grounds that the iconography relates to the honours Augustus received from the senate in 27 B.C. (*RG* 34), comparing it to the copy of the *clipeus virtutis* set up at Arles in 26 B.C. However, he notes that the altar at Narbo is a private dedication and not an official cult. Gayraud reads the inscription as *Paci Aug(usti)*, though *CIL* and *Revue Epigraphique* take it to read *Paci Aug(ustae*). Fears (1981) 887-889 highlights the fact that only *Augusta* is attested with certainty under Augustus, whilst *Augusti* is first attested in the coinage of Claudius. He goes on to emphasise that owing to the high level of abbreviations (*Aug.* And *August.*) in the epigraphic and numismatic fields it is extremely difficult for us to determine whether the adjective or genitive is intended, and 'whether the average Roman or even the markers of imperial propaganda saw a distinction between the adjectival and the genitival forms'. The first securely dated example of *Pax Augusta* is the consecration of the altar at Rome by the senate, dedicated in 9 B.C.: *RG* 13, and the *Fasti Praenestini* (*EJ*^{2} 46); notably the *Fasti Amiternini, Antiates* (*EJ*^{2} 47), and *Caeretani* (*EJ*^{2} 46) give the abbreviated form: *ara Pacis. Aug.*
[975] Weinstock (1960) 56.

simple display popular in religious contexts during the Augustan period;[976] indeed it was paired with a virtually identical altar which was dedicated to *securitas augusta*.[977] Furthermore, the inscriptions on these two Praeneste altars appear to be fitted around the decoration and the abbreviations are not consistent: most notably the T of *paci august(ae)* is taller than the other letters on one side, and shorter than the others on the opposite side, because of the horn of the *bucranium*, whilst the last two lines of all four inscriptions are fitted around the garland ribbons. For the colony of Praeneste the dedication of an altar to the Augustan quality of *pax* was a commemoration of the security and prosperity established, as the twin altar to *securitas* confirms. The visual programme of the altars does express general ideas of sacrifice and abundance, yet it is the inscriptions which are distinctive to the message of imperial ideology.

At Narbo, the personal dedication of Titus Romulus demonstrates a more select visual criteria to express an understanding of *pax augusta.* Phoebus, thought to be the son of Titus freed into his possession, does not have citizenship,[978] whilst Titus is distinguished by the *tria nomina*. Furthermore, the father's name is far more prominent than the son's. Titus demonstrates that he is 'buying into' a Roman display of empire:[979] the combination of the laurels and the *corona civica* are reminiscent of the honours granted to Augustus by the senate.[980] The altar at Narbo indicates an understanding of how victory and civil harmony constituted *pax augusta*. This altar

[976] Compare to the architrave reliefs from the temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome and the garlands on altars from Emerita and Carteia: Ramage (1998) 471-472.
[977] *CIL* XIV 2899: *Securit(ati) Aug(ustae) / Sacrum / Decurone(es) Populusuqe / Coloniae Praenestin(ae) / Securitat(i) Aug(ustae) / Sacrum / Decurion(es) Populusque / Coloniae Praenestin(ae);* Agnoli (2002) 235-241.
[978] *CIL* XII 4335 Mommsen: 'Phoebum crediderim Romuli filium naturalem fuisse eumque a domino patri ita legatum esse, ut eum per fideicommissum manumitti iuberet itque patrem eum patroni iure quodammodo recepisse'; Allmer (1881) 236 for the meaning of *liberum*.
[979] Revell (2009) xi: 'how 'buying into' Roman culture on the part of [...] provincial communities became one of the ways in which the Roman empire was maintained'.
[980] *RG* 34 cf. n. 974 above.

offers us a glimpse of how *pax augusta* could be understood and used in the West, by a new Roman citizen, after the pacification. There was clearly an understanding and display of *pax augusta* in the West.[981]

The limited presence of *pax augusta* in the West appears in communities that already had a strong Roman presence. However, there were other ways in which the pacification of the West was commemorated by local agents, and the arch at Segusio (modern day Susa) offers an alternative perspective from that of *pax augusta* or subjugation.

The Arch at Segusio

The arch was erected at the western limits of Segusio (Figure 136), a town in the Italian Alps, over a north-south road linking Italy to Gaul (Map 6). The monument was dedicated to Augustus in 9/8 B.C. by Marcus Iulius Cottius, son of king Donnus, *praefectus ceivitatium*. The single freestanding arch is made of a local white marble (quarried at either Foresto or Chianocco) [982] with a few elements (the base and column plinths) made of a grey limestone. Three-quarter columns with Corinthian capitals stand at each corner, supporting the entablature on which a frieze was carved on all four

[981] The colonies of *Pax Iulia* (Beja) and *Forum Iulii Colonia Octavanorum Pacensis Classica* (Fréjus) are evidence of the concept of *pax* as a celebration of victory in the West, however their foundations are connected to the *pax* Augustus celebrated after the battle of Actium. *Forum Iulii* was re-founded from the Iulian colony in 30 B.C. for the fleet veterans: Ramage (1997) 121. The colony of *Pax Iulia* has been assigned by some to Caesar: Ramage (1998) 440 esp. n. 38 and n. 169; Weinstock (1960) 46, and by others to Augustus' colonies after Actium: Faria (2001). I disagree with Ramage (1998) n. 38 that *pax* is 'best associated with Caesar...because it was not a particularly Augustan virtue'. Str. 3.2.15 in fact refers to the colony of *Pax Augusta* 'in the Celtic country', possibly identifiable with *Pax Iulia.*

[982] De Maria (1988) 329 states that the marble is Foresto; see Ferzini (1997) for an overview of the quarry and the stone it produces. Barello (2008) 431 and n. 2 states that the marble is Chianocco. These marbles are very similar in appearance, having undergone the same metamorphic evolution: Borghi, et al. (2009). The quarry at Foresto is perhaps the more likely site being nearer to Susa than Chianocco, and also producing marble for a dedicatory inscription to Agrippa found c. 60m from the arch: Barello (2011) see p. 294 below.

sides, 0.52m in height and a total of 33.20m in length.[983] The frieze depicts on the north and south sides scenes of a sacrifice (*suovetaurilia*), and on the west side what has been interpreted as a *foedus* ceremony,[984] or census.[985] The east side is badly damaged, but appears to depict a similar scene to the west side.[986] The arch is the only extant example of a narrative frieze on an Augustan arch.[987] Above the entablature, on both the north and south faces, is the inscription dedicating the arch to Augustus. The original bronze inlaid letters were lost in the Middle Ages, and although some sections of the stone have fallen away, it has been possible to reconstruct the inscription from the countersunk letters (Figure 137).

A drawing of the arch at Susa made in 1666 reflects the belief that the monument must have been erected to commemorate Augustus' victory in the Alps (Figure 138).[988] The drawing gives the dedicatory inscription of the arch over six lines, as opposed to the actual four, with the word *VICTOR* clearly visible in the sixth line. This reading is incorrect, and may plausibly reflect a desire to see in an arch dedicated to Augustus a triumphal monument commemorating his victorious achievements. The actual arch presents the conquest over the Alps in a different light.[989]

In this section I will make an analysis of the inscription, which is crucial to interpreting the purpose of the monument in the eyes of its dedicators, and will argue against the traditional and more popular reading of the text. Once I have established my reading of the inscription, I will examine it in relation to the visual display of the arch,

[983] Prieur (1982) 454. The frieze measures 10.75m in length on the north and south sides, and 5.85m on the east and west sides.
[984] De Maria (1988) 329; Felletti Maj (1961) 135-6; Calvi (1976) 121-122 describes the scene as a negotiation of *amicitia*.
[985] Prieur (1982) 456.
[986] I will argue below p. 288 for the similarities between the east and west sides.
[987] Calvi (1976). The frieze will be discussed in detail pp.287-293 below.
[988] Forray (1994) 176.
[989] Calvi (1976) 121-122 argues that the arch did not carry a trophy because it did not celebrate triumph.

in particular the narrative frieze, in order to further explore the viewpoint of the dedicants and the messages they wished to publicise. I will then consider the arch within the wider physical context of Susa and the Alpine region, and argue that the monument was designed to illustrate the route connecting Italy to Gaul, and the place of the Cottian Alps within the Roman empire. Whilst the arch does not explicitly engage with the concept *pax*, it does demonstrate the acceptance of a relationship between Roman *imperium* and the local communities, articulated through the making of a pact.

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The inscription raises several questions about the position of the dedicators and the administrative arrangements of the Alpine region involved in the commemoration. An analysis of the text will help us to understand the perception of the pacification of the Alps from the point of view of the communities involved, and how they presented it.

The four line inscription on the arch reads:

> *Imp. Caesari Augusto Divi f. Pontifici Maxumo Tribunic. Potestate XV Imp XIII / M. Iulius regis Donni f. Cottius Praefectus ceivitatium quae subscriptae sunt Segoviorum, Segusinorum / Belacorum, Caturigum, Medullorum, Tebaviorum, Adanatium, Savincatium, Egdiniorum, Veaminiorum, Venismorum, Ieriorum, Vesubianorum, Quadiatium et ceivitates quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt.*[990]

[990] *CIL* V 7231.

> For Imperator Caesar Augustus son of the deified (Julius), Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 15th time, Imperator for the 13th time, Marcus Iulius Cottius, son of king Donnus, *praefectus* of the communities which are written below – the Segovii, the Segusii, the Belaci, the Caturiges, the Medulli, the Tebavii, the Adantii, the Savincates, the Egdini, the Veamini, the Venismi, the Ierii, the Vesubiani and the Quadiates – and the communities that were in his charge as *praefectus* (dedicated/gave this).[991]

I will now examine the inscription, line by line, to construct a picture of the administration of the region and its position within the empire after the conquest of the Alps. I will emphasise the relationship created between the Cottian communities and Roman *imperium*, established through a pact, and their integration into the Roman world.

Praefectus Ceivitatium

In the first line of the inscription Cottius presents himself as a Roman citizen (using *tria nomina*)[992] with the title of *praefectus ceivitatium*, and his use of this terminology is important for our understanding of his self-presentation. Furthermore, he distinguishes himself in his titulature from his father, whom he names as *Donnus rex.*[993] To understand the nature of this distinction between *rex* and *praefectus* I will examine

[991] Trans. adapted from Levick (1985) 20; see Ferrero (1901) for plates of the inscription.
[992] Marcus Iulius Cottius: Prieur (1968) 84, 117-118; Cresci Marrone (2004) 52-53 suggests that Cottius took his *nomen* from Augustus and his *praenomen* from M. Agrippa, who was also honoured in Susa with a dedicatory inscription by the sons of Cottius: *AE* 1996, 971; Letta (1976) 44-52, see p. 294 and n. 1064 below for a discussion of the inscription.
[993] Donnus rex is also referred to in an inscription from Turin (*AE* 1994, 753), see p. 282 below.

the evidence for Donnus' position as king of the region and then turn to look at the position occupied by Cottius before and after the pacification of the area by Augustus.

There is little testimony of Donnus' direct relations with Rome, although he appears much later in one of Ovid's poems from exile as the progenitor of an Alpine dynasty: *progenies alti fortissima Donni*.[994] Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that Roman coinage influenced self-presentation on the first century B.C. Celtic coinage from Lyon and the area of the river Drôme. The coins have been assigned to several chieftains, including Donnus, from the region of the Rhône valley and the French/Italian Alps based on names and ethnics on the coinage.[995] These Celtic coins appear to imitate Roman *denarii* depicting Roma on the obverse and the Dioscuri on the reverse (Figure 139),[996] though only a single rider is depicted on the reverse of the Celtic coins, which suggests an adaption of the Roman image to fit with the importance of the horse and the horseman as a symbol of power and kingship (Figure 140).[997] The individual names of different chieftains appear on the reverse over the period. A chronological order of the named individuals has been suggested, based on the gradual debasement of the silver content: Comanus (2.20-2.15g); Calitix (2.12g); Eburovix (2.10g); Auscrocos (2.00g); Donnus (1.90g).[998] Whilst a variety of different ethnics appear on the obverse throughout the series, the legend *DVRNACOS*, and later

[994] Ov. *Ex Ponto* 4.7.29; 4.7.6: *Alpinis iuvenis regibus orte.* See Helzle (1989) 157-158; Syme (1997) 82. Some scholars have assumed that Donnus received the citizenship during Caesar's Gallic campaigns based on an inscription of a freedman and freedwoman of *C. Iulius Donnus*: Oberziner (1900) 162; Braund (1984) 40, however the inscription may equally refer to Cottius' son Donnus, known from an inscription at Susa, see n. 1064 below.

[995] De La Tour and Fischer (1992) catalogue the coins as 'de la Vallée du Rhône'; Long (1849) 357; Rey (1898) 234; Hucher (1868-1874) Part II: 77 and 86 for the different hordes and find spots, and possible dates.

[996] Hucher (1868-1874) Part II: 86; for some Republican examples see *RRC* index *Types, Dioscuri,* 861.

[997] Creighton (2000) 22-28.

[998] Hucher (1868-1874) Part II: 78ff for the chronological order on the coins; see also Bertone (2001) 16. The names Cn. Volunt(illius?) and '....*cincovepus'* are also attested but Hucher gives no relative date or silver content.

DVRNACVS, is used by three different chieftains: Eburovix,[999] Auscrocos,[1000] and Donnus.[1001] The later form *DVRNACVS* appears only on Donnus' coinage and Bertone suggests that this 'latinized' form indicates a greater Roman influence and dates the coin to after the Gallic war.[1002]

The imitation of Roman Republican coinage suggests the possible circulation, or at least awareness of Roman coins of this type in the region, and an understanding of such images as symbols of power. The influence of the gold Macedonian coinage of Philip II on Celtic coinage is well attested, and the images became deeply embedded and stylised.[1003] By contrast the 'monnaies au cavalier' are not heavily stylised, but passively imitate the Rome prototype.[1004] This may represent a recent introduction of the images into the Celtic coinage, and the adoption of the image may indeed indicate a growing awareness of Rome as a power with which to align oneself. Certainly the Romans perceived the corridor through the Alps to Gaul as having been opened up because of the campaigns of Caesar.[1005] In the wake of the Gallic war, gold coinage in the region disappeared, to be replaced by various series in silver and bronze. Scheers associates the variety of new coins in the Belgic Gallic region to the break-up of the *civitas* into pagi, a process which had already begun during the war with the Meldi declaring their interdependence and minting rights from the Suessiones in 57 B.C.[1006]

[999] Eburovix is connected to the area of the Ambarres on the France side of the Alps, through the ethnics on his coins.
[1000] No ethnics appear on his coins.
[1001] *ESIANNI II* appears on some of Donnus' coins, which may be connected to the *Vesubiani*, who are named on the arch at Susa.
[1002] Bertone (2001) 16.
[1003] Scheers (1981); Fischer (1991); Creighton (2000) 26-28.
[1004] Bertone (2001) 15.
[1005] Cic. *Pis.* 33: *cuius ego imperium, non Alpium vallum contra ascensum transgressionemque Gallorum.... obicio et oppono* ('Now that he is in command, I no longer oppose and array the rampart of the Alps against the ascent and crossing of the Gauls'); cf. Cic. *de Prov. Cons* 34; Petronius *Satyricon* 122.
[1006] Scheers (1981) 20.

The new minting practices during and after the Gallic war may suggest a political context within which the Celtic coins were minted.

The title *DVRNACOS/DVRNACVS* does not appear to refer to any ethnic, as these appear in an abbreviated form.[1007] Furthermore it is found on the coins of chieftains associated with different geographical areas. Hucher suggested the possible associations of the title with a confederation.[1008] The coins suggest to us that whilst images appear to be copied from Roman coins, the Celtic coins asserted a local power base. The Alpine chieftains appear to have sought to reassert their authority in the region at a time when the presence of Rome was becoming more apparent.

Cottius himself, as king, offered a great deal of resistance to Roman domination of the Alps:

> *aggeribus cedit Alpium Cottiarum: quas Rex Cottius, perdomitiis Gallis solus in angustiis latens inviaque locorum asperitate confisus, lenito tandem in amicitiam Octaviani receptus principis.*[1009]
>
> It gave way to the mass of the Cottian Alps, where, at the time when the Gauls had been subdued, king Cottius alone lay hidden in the mountain passes and put his faith in the harsh inaccessibility of the location. Finally, when his pride was placated, he was received into the friendship of the *princeps* Octavianus.

[1007] Bertone (2001) 18.
[1008] Hucher (1868-1874) part II: 83-85 esp. 85.
[1009] Amm. Marc. 15.10.2.

Prior to the *amicitia* with Augustus, Cottius was seen, at least by Vitruvius, as possessing a kingdom: he speaks of a *Cotti regnum* in his *De Architectura*, written no later than 25 B.C.[1010] Later authors associated the Cottian territory far more with a kingdom than a Roman prefecture: Suetonius records that Tiberius sent a cohort from Rome, and another from the *regnum Cotti* to deal with a riot in Pollentina.[1011] Cottius' inscription clearly defines him not as a *rex* but as a *praefectus.*

The title *praefectus c(e)ivitatium* continued to be used by Cottius' successor, his son Donnus,[1012] as an inscription from Turin illustrates:

> *[C. Iulius Cotti f. D]onni re[gis n. Donnus] Praef. [ci]v[itatium omnium quibus pa]ter eius praefuit / [M. Iulius Donni f. C]otti n. [Cottius port]icum [c]um [suis ornamentis et do]mus dederunt.*[1013]
>
> C. Iulius Donnus, son of Cottius, grandson of king Donnus, *praefectus* of all the communities over which his father presided / [and] M. Iulius Cottius, son of Donnus, grandson of Cottius, gave this porticus with its ornaments and building.[1014]

[1010] Vitr. 8.3.17: *Item Alpibus in Cotti regno est aqua.* Fleury (1990) xvii-xxiv suggests a date range of 35-25 B.C. for various editions of the treatise; see also Granger (1983) xiv for a date prior to 27 B.C.
[1011] Suet. *Tib.* 37; Laffi (2007) 93; cf. Ammianus 10.15.2.
[1012] Cottius is known to have at least two sons, Donnus and Cottius, attested in a dedication at Susa to M. Agrippa: *M. Agrippa L. f. / [cos III tr]ib potest / - - - - - - - - / Don[nu]s et Cotti[us] / Cotti f.* (*AE* 1996, 971). Letta (1994) and Vota (2004) n. 26 restore *Donnus* as the son of Cottius in the Turin inscription (n. 1013 below), whilst Mennella (1978) argues for the identification of Cottius II.
[1013] *AE* 1994, 753; Letta (1976) 53-56; 62-65; Letta (1994).
[1014] Letta (1976) 63-65 argues that the *domus* might refer to the stage building, suggesting a restoration of *actorum domus*.

Donnus emphasises the continunity between the territorial extent of his father's praefecture and his own: *pater eius praefuit*.[1015] It is also notable that this inscription was a dedication at the theatre in Turin, a Roman colony, and thus indicates that the title *praefectus civitatium* was a self-confirmation to a Roman audience of the Cottian dynasty within the Roman empire, as an administrative authority.

The title of *praefectus civitatium* is used for other administrative districts: C. Baebius Atticus, who held both the positions of *Praefectus Civitatium Moesiae et Trebelliae* and *Praefectus Civitatium in Alpibus Maritumis*, followed a military career path,[1016] holding his position for a fixed term. *Praefecti* were usually fixed term: the *Praefectus Aegypti* was in office for an average period of three years.[1017] It seems plausible, by contrast, that the Cottian prefecture was not fixed term, and was possibly hereditary: Donnus is *praefectus* over the communities which his father governed, and Cottius II received governance of his *πατρῴα ἀρχή*,[1018] although he received a different title and recognition from Rome. Indeed, what is important in the representation of power of the Cottian dynasty is the hereditary aspect of authority (*filius Donni regi; praefectus civitatium... quibus pater eius praefuit; την πατρῴαν ἀρχήν*), combined with

[1015] The continuity and affirmation of the Cottian territory is also illustrated by Dio Cass. 60.24.4: *καὶ Μάκρῳ Ἰουλίῳ Κοττίῳ την πατρῴαν ἀρχήν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων τῶν ὁμωνύμων εἶχε, προσεπηύξησε, βασιλέα αὐτὸν τότε πρῶτον ὀνομάσας* ('and he increased the ancestral domain for Marcus Iulius Cottius, which lay in the part of the Alps which bears his family name, and he named him king for the first time').

[1016] *CIL* V 1838, 1839: *C(aio) Baebio P(ublii) f(ilio) Cla(udia tribu) / Attico / IIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) Primopil(o) / Leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae), Praef(ecto) / civitatium Moesiae et Treballiae, Praef(ecto) / civitat(ium) / in Alpibus Maritumis, Tr(ibuno) Mil(itum) Coh(ortis) / VIII Pr(aetoriae), Primopil(o) iter(um) Procurator(i) / Ti(berii) Claudi Caesari Aug(usti) Germanici / in Norico / civitas / Saevatum et Laiancorum.* Baebius probably served as *praefectus* of Moesia et Treballia under Tiberius, and probably acted as some form of district *praefectus* under the *Legatus Moesiae* C. Poppeaus Sabinus: Sutherland (1941) 78.

[1017] Brunt (1975) 126-127. The *Praefectus Aegypti* is a somewhat unusual office, having command of a legionary force: Stevenson (CAH X) 215; Brunt (1975).

[1018] Dio Cass. 60.24.4.

the usual aspect of Roman prefecture; that of territorial control.[1019] The integrity of the Cottian territory is stessed by his son.

The importance of territorial control is emphasised by Cottius listing the communities which comprise his prefecture. Cottius defines his prefecture through the communities under his control. Indeed, the section of the inscription which reads *quae subscriptae sunt Segoviorum...Quadiatium* is a clause dependent on *praefectus ceivitatium*. In the latter half of the inscription the co-dedicants are defined by their position within that prefecture: *ceivitates quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt.* Both these dedicants are defined by their respective relative clauses. It is necessary at this point to briefly deal with the more popular theory in the scholarship, which argues that the second relative clause refers not to the communities already named and listed as the *ceivitates* of Cottius' prefecture, but instead to another group of communities that were under Cottius' prefecture before the dedication of the arch, but who had at the time of dedication become 'former' Cottian communities.[1020] This understanding of the inscription is the result of a too literal reading of the perfect tense in the second relative clause: *quae sub eo praefecto* ***fuerunt.***[1021] However, use of the perfect fits in well with

[1019] This hereditary-territorial aspect is perhaps illustrated by Strabo's use of the term *ἡ Κοττίου γῆ* (4.1.3, 4.6.6, 5.1.11), which seems to mark the area as somehow distinct and different from other area regions, which were defined by tribal names and ethnics.

[1020] This reading has been perpetuated by attempts to solve an anomaly between the number of communities listed on the arch and the number of Cottian communities cited by Pliny as not listed on the Alpine Trophy, since they were *non hostiles* (Pin. *HN* 3.138), when six of those listed on the arch do appear on the trophy. There are two manuscript traditions which give the number of *non hostiles Cottiae civitates* as 12 or 15 (see Nenci (1951a)). Obviously on either reading of Pliny's text, the numbers do not add up – only eight of the communities on the arch can be termed '*non hostiles*', since they are not on the trophy. Scholars have argued that Pliny's reference includes not only the eight communities from the arch, but an additional number of the *ceivitates quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt*, which were 'former' communities: see Prieur (1968) 74-75; Letta (2004); Letta (2001) 157-158; Letta (1976) 157-160; Roth-Congès (1993-1994) 87; Laffi (1966) 176-177; Nenci (1951a). The passage of Pliny has provided scholars with an argument for understanding the *fuerunt* as referring to a past state and detracted from the study of the inscription in the context of the arch and the frieze.

[1021] Barruol (1969) 42.

the practice of setting dedications in the past tense (*dedicaverunt/dederunt*).[1022] The first relative clause: *quae subscriptae sunt*, whilst a passive construction, does not only mean those 'who have been written below', but also encompasses a continual present: those 'who are written below', because it refers to the inscription, which continues to exist in the present, as well as at the moment of dedication. Similarly, in the second relative clause, *fuerunt* as an historical statement defines the communities that comprised Cottius' prefecture, when he was *praefectus.*

In light of the representation of the dedicating *ceivitates* as comprising the communities of Cottius' prefecture (*sub eo praefecto*), it makes sense that the *et ceivitates* refers back to that group of communities already listed in the genitive: they do not need to be listed again when they are presented as the dedicants.[1023] If the phrase *sub eo praefecto fuerunt* were to refer to, in some way, ex-Cottian communities, the scholarship has never sought to explain fully their role within the monument beyond their place in the inscription.[1024] In the context of the monument, the mention of ex-Cottian communities would be strange since the monument presents the integration of Cottius and his prefecture into the Roman world. These former communities would have been removed from the form of administration Cottius had adopted after the pacification of the Alps, but on this reading they would still be participating with his prefecture in the dedication of the arch. Yet, if they are dedicators it is strange that they are far less prominent on the monument than the named Cottian communities, who are, on the reading I give above, clearly demonstrating their involvement in the erection of the arch: the absence from the inscription of any elucidation of the identification of these ex-communities beyond their participation in Cottius' prefecture would seem

[1022] Février (1975-1976) 275 n.23: 'Le *fuerunt* me paraît entraîné par l'habitude quasi constante des dédicaces au passé'.
[1023] Février (1975-1976) 275; see also Barruol (1969); Letta (2004) 538.
[1024] Prieur (1968) 75 esp. n. 2; Letta (1976), Letta (2001), Letta (2004).

perverse. The reading I give above presents a clearer interpretation of the inscription than the traditional reading: my reading gives two dedicants, both defined by their relative clauses.

It is notable that the list of the names of the fourteen communities comes within the first relative clause, presenting them as subjects of Cottius, rather than in their position as co-dedicants of the monument. The listing of the communities delineates Cottius' territory, and confirms the position of those communities under Cottius by the very act of inscribing their names (*subscriptae sunt*), similar to the inscribing of the names of the *gentes devictae* at La Turbie, or the names of the sixty Gallic tribes on the altar to Roma and Augustus at Lugdunum acts as a confirmation of Roman control over those tribes and their position as subjects of Rome. In 12 B.C. an attempted census of the Gallic communities resulted in an uprising. Drusus invited the leading men of the communities to Lugdunum to resolve the tensions.[1025] The altar which was set up recorded both the names and the images of the sixty tribes: *ἔστι δὲ βωμὸς ἀξιόλογος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἑξήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμον καὶ εἰκόνες τοῦτων ἑκάστου μία.*[1026] Although the census was the root of the trouble in Gaul, the representation of the tribes in word and visual display upon the altar acted as confirmation of that census, and of Roman control over the area. It is worth noting that the act of census is also suggested in the visual display of the frieze at Susa. In this respect Cottius has appropriated Roman imperial discourse, which articulates control through the state's ability to list, arrange, classify and measure, as the cases of La Turbie and the altar at Lugdunum illustrate. It should be noted however, that whilst the *gentes devictae* appear to be listed

[1025] Livy *Per.* 138-139.

[1026] Str. 4.3.2: 'and there is a noteworthy altar, which has an inscription of the tribes, sixty in number, and images of these tribes, one of each tribe'. Tac. *Ann.* 3.44 records sixty-four tribes; Fishwick (1987) 101 suggests that the discrepancy in number might to be owing to later the addition of Germanic tribes.

in a rough geographical order from the Adriatic coast to the Tyrrhenian sea, there is no obvious geographical ordering of the Cottian communities.[1027]

It is also notable that six of the Cottian *civitates* are also listed as *gentes devictae* at La Turbie.[1028] Some scholars have sought to explain their presence on the two monuments by a revolt between 9 and 6 B.C. in which the six communities were involved.[1029] This explanation however seems a little tenuous, particularly given the narrow chronological gap.[1030] Furthermore, it ignores the fact the Cottius himself was initially resistant to Rome, even continuing to fight after the Gallic tribes had been conquered.[1031] What the scholarship has failed to fully articulate is that we are dealing with two quite different representations of these communities – the six communities labelled as *gentes devictae* by Rome were in no way marked out as distinct amongst the *civitates* at Susa. The presentation at Susa, irrespective of the reality of the situation, was that of a cohesive group of communities, along with their governor, who presented themselves in terms of Roman power structures, and as being integrated into a Roman system, rather than being subjugated to it. Cottius, like his father, appropriated Roman expressions of power to confirm his authority, yet he also demonstrated his integration into the Roman system, whereas Donnus, perhaps, sought to distinguish himself in order to redefine and reconfirm his position of within the region.

[1027] Prieur (1968) 75-83 for the locations of each of the *civitates*. There may be some geographical groupings of certain *civitates*, such as the Savincates, Quariates and Brigiani, who would later be assigned to a separate, or perhaps subordinate *praefectura* (*CIL* XII 80; Letta (2001)). It is also notable that the Segusini are not named first.
[1028] The Caturiges, Medulli, Adanates (Edenates, Egdinii (Ecdini), Veamini and Vesubiani. See p. 285 above.
[1029] Laffi (1966) 176, n. 529; Nenci (1951a) also see this revolt as an explanation for Pliny's *XII Cottianae civitates non hostiles*, in that only four of the six revolting communities were restored to Cottius.
[1030] Indeed, if the trophy at La Turbie was planned at the same time as the building of the *via Iulia Augusta*, it is plausible to assume that those listed on the trophy were subdued prior to 13/12 B.C.
[1031] Amm. Marc. 15.10.2.

A Visual Narrative

The relationship between the frieze and the inscription illustrates the role of the fourteen listed communities in Cottius' prefecture and the Roman empire. Indeed, for a full understanding of the commemorative function of the arch it is necessary to see how the inscription relates to the monument, most notably the narrative frieze below it.[1032]

There is certainly a desire in previous studies of the arch to see a successive series of events unfurled in the narrative frieze. Prieur has interpreted the frieze as follows: the east side (of which he only identifies two togate figures with a *capsa* at the far right) represents the submission of the peoples in 14/13 B.C; the north represents the *suovetaurilia* offered on that occasion; the west, the census ceremony; and the south, the *suovetaurilia* closing the lustration.[1033] However, Prieur's interpretation cannot hold: firstly, his identification of the east side as 'l'acte de soumission des peuplades'[1034], is based on only two figures and therefore cannot be accepted. Secondly, his wish to see a submission represented there is at odds with the message of the inscription. I have been able, having visited the monument, to reconstruct the narrative units of the damaged east side. Although not exactly identical to the west side, the east side clearly shows the procession of figures from the right side towards the centre, towards what appears to be the central altar with a figure standing behind it (Figure 141). Also at the right end of the frieze, a figure seated at a table, similar to that at both ends of the west frieze, is identifiable (Figure 142). It is plausible to conclude that the

[1032] On Brilliant's interpretation of visual narrative, the frieze at Susa is not 'a truly visual narrative', as it has 'visual text to which it must defer': Brilliant (1984) 17.
[1033] Prieur (1982) 456; Prieur (1968) 196-199.
[1034] Prieur (1982) 456.

east and west sides represent the same narrative scene,[1035] just as the north and south sides do.[1036]

Another problem with Prieur's interpretation is that it requires the audience to start on the east side, which seems strange when one considers that the arch is set on a north-south axis over the road. Felletti Maj, who also argues that the friezes should be viewed successively from left to right, does start from the north side.[1037] However, as the north and south sides both carry the inscription, these two sides should be understood as two individual starting points from which an audience is to view the arch (Figure 143). The very fact that the arch was set up over a road is an indication that the frieze has more than one starting point; more than one way from which to approach it. Moreover, on each side the frieze draws the eye to the centre of the scene, and does not lead the viewer around the corner to the next frieze.[1038] The central focus of each side is an altar and the participants around it.[1039] These separate, self-contained scenes offer two different presentations of the process that brought about Cottius' prefecture: a sacrifice ratifying a pact and the establishment of that pact, which includes the presence of the fourteen communities who are being listed not only in the inscription, but also into a Roman prefecture.[1040]

[1035] Cavargna Bontosi (1994) esp. 64 has reconstructed the east side frieze.
[1036] The north and south sides are also not exactly identical, differing only in the presentation of the sacrificial animals (a bull appears on either side of the altar on the south side, whilst only one appears on the north), and the presence of the Dioscuri at either end of the south side, but not the north (see p. 291 below).
[1037] Felletti Maj (1961) 132; see also Calvi (1976) 117.
[1038] An example of a frieze leading the viewer around an arch is that on lateral sides of the Arch of Constantine, where the action of the frieze moves from left to right, and actually begins and ends at the extreme ends of the long sides of the arch, separated from the action of the long side friezes by a pillar and column.
[1039] McGowen (2009) 41; Prieur (1982) 459.
[1040] Cavargna Allemano (2004) 115 (following Felletti Maj (1961) and beginning the reading of the frieze on the north side); De Maria (1988) 329; Prieur (1982) 456-7 all argue for two different *suovetaurilia* taking place. Cavargna Allemano (2004) 122 notes that the friezes are not a continuous narrative.

It is notable that all the figures on the west side wear togas. The two central figures (slightly larger than the rest) sit on curule chairs either side of an altar, touching it. This scene is commonly understood as the *foedus* between Cottius and Augustus, which resulted in the *amicitia* Ammianus records.[1041] Augustan depictions on coins of the *foedus* between Roma and Gabii show two veiled priests either side of an altar sacrificing a pig (Figure 144).[1042] The aspect of sacrifice is in fact depicted on the north and south sides of the arch, where only one priest presides (Figure 145). The balance of two equal individuals at the altar on the west side suggests the equality of the pact, similar to the depiction on the coin. On both sides of the altar in the *foedus* scene are three lictors, togate figures holding *volumina* and *tabulae*, and a figure at each end seated at a table receiving these records. The figures carrying *volumina/tabulae* number fourteen, and are agreed to represent the fourteen named *ceivitates* from the inscription (Figure 146).[1043] One figure holding a *volumen* stands behind the altar, whilst two on either side touch the togas of the two central seated figures, demonstrating the inclusion of these communities and those that follow them in the *foedus*.

The clear involvement of the fourteen communities of Cottius' prefecture emphasises the relationship between the inscription and frieze in conveying the message of the monument. Indeed, the presence of these communities on both the inscription (north and south) and frieze (east and west) means they are depicted on all sides of the arch, either in text or image. The frieze is a visual testimony of relations recorded in the inscription.[1044]

[1041] Amm. Marc. 15.10.2.
[1042] *RIC* Aug. 363, 411.
[1043] Prieur (1982) 456; Prieur (1968) 197; Cavargna Allemano (2004) 117; De Maria (1988) 329.
[1044] Cavargna Allemano (2004) 115.

The scenes at both ends of the west side are reminiscent of the scene of census of the so-called altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus.[1045] Despite their stylistic differences the two friezes comprise similar thematic units. The left side of the altar depicts, moving towards the central altar, a cavalryman, infantry, victims, attendants, lictors and musicians (Figure 147). The same units are used on the north and south sides of the arch, although the central altar is approached from both sides (Figure 148). On the right side of the altar frieze a scene of census is depicted, which again comprises the same units as the west and east sides of the arch (Figure 149). The frieze at Susa uses narrative patterns that a Roman audience would understand, both in terms of the actual practice depicted and the visual narrative tradition of the display. Whilst the inscription on the arch represents the communities as part of Cottius' world, the visual display, as with the altar at Lugdunum, represents the communities as part of the Roman world in their participation in a census.[1046] The frieze articulates the iconography of the Roman world through which Cottius defined and supported his position and that of the communities under him.[1047]

The visual display of the frieze further emphasises a strong Roman ideology, not only with the togate figures, but also lictors (who are often assumed to be symbols of

[1045] The monument is agreed to come from a statue base in the Campus Martius and comprises four relief panels three of which (one long and two lateral sides) are a rescued Greek relief depicting the marriage of Poseidon, whilst the other long side is a Roman historical relief depicting a scene of Roman census: Coarelli (1968); Kuttner (1993); Wünsche (1994); Stilp (2003). The possible date of the monument ranges from the mid-second century to the mid-first century B.C.: Kuttner (1993) gives a strong argument for M. Antonius who celebrated a triumph over the Cicilian pirates in 100 B.C. and was censor in 97 B.C., but Stilp (2003) 92 concludes that it is not possible to attribute the monument to 'un individu précis'.

[1046] *RG* 8 gives the dates of three censuses of Roman citizens held by Augustus: 28 B.C., 8 B.C. and A.D. 14. A census of the three Gauls was carried out in 27 B.C. by Augustus (Livy *Per.* 134), and again in 12 B.C. by Drusus (Livy *Per.* 138).

[1047] The *civitates* are depicted in togas emphasising their position as Roman citizens. However, their actual political status is unclear, although by Pliny's time they had *ius Latii* (Plin. *HN* 3.135), which may have been granted at the time of the *foedus*: Prieur (1968) 132.

Cottius' prefecture)[1048], and even the Dioscuri on either end of the south frieze (Figure 150). The presence of the Dioscuri is one of the few distinct differences between the two main approaches to the arch. It is notable that they are the only mythological aspect of the frieze. Felletti Maj has suggested that the two bulls on the south frieze were to be sacrificed to the Dioscuri, as protectors of the equestrian order, of which Cottius was most likely a member, as well as the guardians of treaties.[1049] Mars, overseeing the *lustratio exercitus* in the Domitius Ahenobarbus relief (Figure 151), and the Dioscuri, may fulfil a similar function, overseeing the ratification of the treaty between Rome and Cottius, as well as illustrating Cottius' entry into the Equestrian order as *praefectus*.[1050] Yet the Dioscuri may also stand in relation to the *castellum*, which is thought to be the seat of the local dynasts both prior to the Roman conquest, and afterwards.[1051] The horseman was an important symbol of authority and power for the Celtic peoples, and it is possible to understand a more 'local' reading of the naked horsemen on the arch, in relation to the seat of local authority.

Yet, although the arch's visual display stems from the same narrative tradition as the altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, its stylistic presentation is very different.[1052] The altar frieze has a dynamic composition and proportional figures.[1053] The frieze of the

[1048] Prieur (1968) 119; Cresci Marrone (2004) 55. The *lex Ursonensis* 62 gives provision for two lictors each for the colonies duoviri. See also Stevenson (1934) *CAH* X, 215 on inclusion of lictors on the governor's staff.
[1049] Felletti Maj (1961) 138-139; McDonnell (2006) 185, 187-189 for the special role of the Dioscuri for the equestrian order.
[1050] Cavargna Allemano (2004) 117. See Strabo 4.6.4 for the equestrian status of the *Praefectus* of the Maritime Alps: *ὕπαρχος τῶν ἱππικῶν ἀνδρων.* On another level the presence of the Dioscuri may also allude to Cottius' two sons Donnus and Cottius and their own entry into the Roman equestrian order.
[1051] Mercando (1993) 62; Prieur (1968) 204-205; Carducci (1941); see p. 296 below for a discussion of the *castellum.*
[1052] See Barpi (2004) 154 on the different labels given to the artistic style of the frieze.
[1053] Some scholars have argued that the frieze was the work of local artisans, who had come into contact with Gallic workmanship: especially Cavargna Allemano (2004) 130-134; see also De Maria (1977) 50; Calvi (1976) 124; Prieur (1982) 459; Prieur (1968) 199-200. McGowen (2009) 128 has argued that the reliefs are comparable to Italic freedmen funerary reliefs, and suggests that the sculptors of the arch's frieze may have come from such a background; see Wilson and Schörle (2009) for a newly

arch is highly schematic, with disproportional figures, deep linear carving, symmetry of composition and isocephaly;[1054] this is all the more striking given the well-proportioned, elegant dimensions of the arch itself.[1055] The contrast between the narrative aspects of the frieze and the artistic realisation illustrates how a typically Roman narrative is utilized for the purposes of the monument. As Barpi has cogently argued, the frieze at Susa represents two different aspects of Roman historical reliefs, following Torelli's definitions: the 'true historical relief' and the 'status' or 'function' relief, or as Barpi terms them the 'descrittivo-narrativo' and the 'simbolico-allegorico' respectively.[1056] By taking traditional Roman narrative relief units and realising them through a 'local' artistic style,[1057] the frieze at Susa expresses both historical realities of the *foedus* and also the ideological importance of employing Roman scenes. Integration into the Roman world is ultimately articulated through the cohesion of Roman (the narrative) and local (stylistic realisation) elements of the arch's frieze at a particular turning point in the history of the area.[1058]

Itinera struxisse: perspectives of integration

Ammianus records that Cottius built routes through the Alps as a testimony to his *amicitia* with Augustus and his incorporation into the Roman world:

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published funerary relief from Rome in travertine (dated by the authors to between the mid-first century B.C. and late first century A.D), esp. 107-108 for a discussion of the schematic delineation of the hair.

[1054] Cavargna Allemano (2004) 121; Prieur (1982) 459.

[1055] McGowen (2009) 41.

[1056] Barpi (2004) 159; Torelli (1982) 119ff esp. 132.

[1057] McGowen (2009) 138-139 convincingly argues that the schematic style at Susa gave 'narrative clarity' and helped to articulate the message of the frieze more clearly than a more naturalistic style.

[1058] Barpi (2004) 160 on how the simplicity of the narrative style must be seen as a response to the need for a comprehensive message for an audience unfamiliar with the conceptual complexities of artistic expression at Rome. McGowen (2009) 43 on how the use of sculpture illustrates the local ruler's reaction to the 'changing historical circumstances'.

> *lenito tandem in amicitiam Octaviani receptus principis, molibus magnis extruxit ad vicem memorabilis muneris, conpendiarias et viantibus oportunas, medias inter alias Alpes vetustas*.[1059]
>
> Finally, when his pride was placated, he was received into the friendship of the *princeps* Octavianus and with a great amount of work he built, as a memorable gift, short cuts and routes that were convenient for travellers, midway between other ancient Alpine passes.

The arch, set up over a road on a north-south axis, is a monumentalisation of the route that ran from Turin to Embrun, in Southern France, by way of Mont-Genèvre. The arch's axis deliberately emphasises the route *through* the Alps, framing Mont-Rochemelon to the north (Figure 136).[1060] The arch's surroundings articulate the integration of Cottius and his communities into the Roman world, which was brought about by the act of pacification and a pact.

The integration of the Cottian Alps into the Roman world was demonstrated not only by the route Cottius built through the mountains, but also by the continual articulation of the importance of the road through Susa, and its links to Rome. An ancient paved road[1061] was discovered in 1904-1905 together with the remains of three structures, and various bronze articles, some 65m north of the arch, during the construction of the Palazzina Ramella (Figure 152 & Figure 153).[1062] Among the finds was a bronze head (Figure 154) together with the remains of a bronze cuirass statue,

[1059] Amm. Marc. 15.10.2, see also 15.10.7: *quem itinera struxisse rettulimus.*
[1060] The arch at Aosta, which was clearly placed in relationship with the town, through its position on the axis of the *decumanus* (Prieur (1968) 189; Prieur (1982) 451; McGowen (2009) 41), also articulated the route through the Alps by providing access through the St. Bernard Passes: Cooley (2009) 222-223.
[1061] Measuring 4.30m wide, with kerbs of 0.45m and 0.37m: Prieur (1968) 103.
[1062] Mercando (1993) 69-71, 79.

and an inscription, made of Foresto marble,[1063] dedicated to Marcus Agrippa by the sons of Cottius: *M. Agrippa L. f. /[cos III tr]ịḅ ṗotest* / - - - - - - - - / *Don[nu]s et Cotti[us] / Cotti f.* (Figure 155). Although the inscription is fragmentary, it seems plausible that it dates to after the pacification of the Alps, and before Agrippa's death (c. 13 B.C.),[1064] and suggests the interaction between the rulers of the Cottian Alps and Rome in the wake of the conquest of the area. Whilst the bronze head has frequently been attributed to Agrippa and is usually linked to the inscription,[1065] it has also been identified as Drusus Maior.[1066] At present we cannot with certainty state whether we have a single dedication (statue and inscription together), a larger display of the imperial family, or Augustus' generals.[1067] Even so, the finds from the Palazzina Ramella contribute to a picture of the monumentualisation of the road (most likely at its inception or a short time thereafter) through a display of relations with the imperial centre.[1068]

The display of the road as a *monumentum* is further emphasised by the flanking structures. The development of a forum space with a temple dominating the north end, in the modern day Piazza Savoia, is dated by terracotta finds to the mid-Augustan

[1063] Barello (2011); see n. 982 above.
[1064] Letta (1976) 44-50, esp. 47; see also Vota (2004) 30 n. 39.
[1065] Romeo (1998) 84, 184 dates the portrait to the Tiberian period, and argues that the inscription could be of the same date, however as Barello (2011) p.2 points out 'una dedica ad Agrippa sotto il regno di Tiberio sia poco probabile', and Romeo herself argues Agrippa's image was scarce in the Tiberian period.
[1066] Agrippa: Evangelisti (1995) 59-63; Slavazzi (1996); Romeo (1998) 84, 184; Drusus Maior: Denti (1991) 217; see Rosso (2006) 493-494 for a bibliography of the debate. The disagreement over the identification is made further problematic by the fact that Romeo (1998) 89-90, 184-185 identifies a statue from Caere (Vatican Museum inv. 9951) as Agrippa, whilst Rose (1997) pl. 69 and 70 identifies it as Drusus Maior.
[1067] Denti (1991) 218. Notably it was Tiberius and Drusus who were celebrated for their campaigns in the Alps in 15/14 B.C.: Hor. *Carm.* 4.4, 4.14; Str. 4.6.9; Vell. Pat. 2.95.1-2; Dio Cass. 54.22.
[1068] The remains of three marble statues (ranging in date from the Julio-Claudian period, to the first half of 2nd century), found in 1802 reused in the late antique city wall near the Porta Savoia (see Figure 152), and now in the Museo di Antichità di Torino, suggest a continuous commemoration of relations with the imperial family at Susa: Slavazzi (1996) 161; Rosso (2006) 495-504. Although reused, the find spots of the statues make an original location in or near the forum space (see n. 1069 below) plausible.

period (Figure 156 & Figure 157).[1069] Cottius' road is set alongside the contemporary monumentualisation of the civic centre of Susa. On the other side of the road is a prostyle tetrastyle temple and adjoining structure, which Brecciaroli Taborelli has suggested is the *heroon* of Cottius, recorded by Ammianus as being situated *moenibus proximum*.[1070] Within the adjoining structure a square stone base and stone urn (similar to cinerary urns from the region preserved in the Museo di Antichità di Torino) were found.[1071] The location of the building, which is next to the forum area and the road leading to the arch, certainly indicates its prominent position. Indeed, when Ammianus records the existence of Cottius' *sepulcrum reguli*, he emphasises Cottius' role as road builder and securer of alliance and peace with the Romans.[1072] The possible placement of his *heroon* at the side of the road would certainly emphasise Cottius' role in the creation of the road and its links with Rome, as the dedication to Agrippa and the bronze cuirassed statue across the road also imply.

The arch, set over the road, demonstrates a control over the landscape, as does the Augustan trophy monument at La Turbie, by the construction of a route through the landscape. The framing of the mountains through the archway illustrates this point well. However, unlike at La Turbie, the display is not a commemoration of conquest in terms of Augustus' victory; rather it utilises the moment of pacification to assert the integration of the Cottian communities into a Roman framework.

[1069] Barello (2011); Barello (2008); Barello (2006).
[1070] Amm. Marc. 15.10.7.
[1071] Brecciaroli Taborelli (1994), Brecciaroli Taborelli (2004) 79-81; Barello (2011) p.2 highlights the lack of adequate documentation.
[1072] Amm. Marc. 15.10.7: *huius sepulcrum reguli, quem itinera struxisse rettulimus, Segusione est moenibus proximum manesque eius ratione gemina religiose coluntur, quod isuto moderamine rexerat suos et adscitus in societatem rei Romanae quietem genti praestitit sempiternam* ('the tomb of this petty king, whom we recalled built routes [through the Alps], is at Segusio right up against the walls and his spirits are solemnly tended to for two reasons: because he had ruled his people with justice and having entered into an alliance with the Roman state, he procured for his race eternal peace').

Yet we can still read a 'local' element into the context of the arch. The south side of the arch stands in relation to the new Roman forum and imperial display. The arch is also in close physical relation to the *castellum*, the possible seat of the Alpine dynasts prior to the Roman conquest.[1073] The elevated location of the site, which dominated the slope above the town, further emphasises the importance of the site for the Alpine dynasts (Figure 158). If the site continued to be used as the seat of the Cottian dynasty (finds indicate that it was being used as late as the 2nd century A.D.),[1074] we may observe a continuity of the local authority through the visual tie between the older structure of the *castellum*, and the new arch.

* * *

The arch at Susa offers a view point on the Roman pacification of the Alps that does not directly reflect the concepts of conquest and subjugation, but rather utilises the moment of pacification to assert the integration of the Cottian communities into the Roman world. But more than that, it takes the Roman rhetoric of administrative power and the organisation of subject states to promote a message of the continuity of local dynastic power. The pacification of the Alps and subsequent reorganisation gave Cottius the opportunity and the means to emphasise his position within the empire and within his own sphere of authority.

At Segusio we see the results of what the Romans understood as *pax augusta*, but expressed in somewhat different tones. Perhaps for a Roman audience that arch at Segusio still expressed the concept of *pax augusta* in that it communicated the

[1073] Finds, including a Neolithic serpentine axe, and 13cm high limestone female head, possibly part of a capitol or an architectural detail are used to assign the site to a pre-Roman period: Mercando (1993) 62; Prieur (1968)204-206; Carducci (1941).
[1074] Prieur (1968) 205.

acceptance of Roman rule by the local communities, through the establishment of *amicitia* and a pact. The arch is not an explicit victory monument, but it does allude to the power Rome had in bringing communities, previously outside Roman *imperium*, into the empire. Whilst the *Ara Pacis Augustae* at Rome illustrates with extraordinary complexity the senatorial ideal of *pax* in 9 B.C., the arch at Segusio presents a quieter discourse that still illustrates the extent and power of Roman *imperium.*

Summary

As this chapter has illustrated, the pacification of the West was perceived and commemorated in notably different ways, and from different viewpoints. The expression of Roman imperialism was dependent on the context of its celebration, and this could mean something different depending on who was commemorating it. The role of *pax* within this commemoration appears as a fundamentally Roman concept, expressed at Rome, but rarely within the pacified territory; and only then within a strong Roman colonial context. The absence of *pax* in both senatorial and local displays in the West indicates that the discourse of Roman imperialism was not, outside Rome, concerned with the ideology of victorious *pax* but rather with an exchange of subjugation and integration.

The result of the pacification in the Cottian Alps was a display of integration into a Roman world: both with the road through the mountains and the declaration of 'being Roman' which is embodied in the arch. Although Cottius had fought against Augustus, his acceptance of *amicitia* allowed him to reinforce his own position and create a new identity for him and his communities, which denied any concept of conquest or subjugation.

In contrast, the Alpine trophy offers an exemplum of a traditional display of subjugation and defeat of the enemy. Such displays were common in Gaul and Spain, and were used to delineate areas under Roman control.[1075] As a Roman trophy monument dedicated by the senate and people of Rome to Augustus, the themes of subjugation are logical. The site of the monument emphasises Rome's control over the

[1075] Boube (1996); Silberberg-Peirce (1986).

Alpine region to all, both Roman and non-Roman, who travel along the via Iulia Augusta to Gaul and Spain. The monument at La Turbie is a true testimony to Rome's victory *terra marique.*

Ferris has argued that under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians 'the celebrations of victory had now become the sole preserve of the emperor'.[1076] However, we should note that the commemoration of victory both at Rome and in the conquered territory was ostensibly celebrated by the senate and the people, in honour of Augustus, as the adoption by Roman colonies demonstrates. The *Ara Pacis Augustae* is perhaps the greatest testimony to the employment of such commemoration by the senate to express the nature of Roman imperialism. It was as a member, if also *the* leading member, of the state and senatorial order, that Augustus was celebrated in the monument. Indeed, the *Ara Pacis* was used by the senate to express not just the celebration of one victory, but also the culmination of Rome's continued conquest of the *orbis terrarum*.

[1076] Ferris (2000) 60.

Conclusion

This study has considered various commemorations of victory from the period of political change of the civil wars of the 40s, to the Augustan principate, in order to examine the role of *pax* as part of a discourse on the nature of Roman imperialism. Greg Woolf emphasised the prominence that peace acquired under the new political institution of the Empire and the conceptual change that *pax* underwent during this period.[1077] Woolf has pointed to the distinction between the conceptual purposes of *pax* under the Republic and under the Empire; in the above case studies I have taken this understanding to illustrate the story of the conceptual change of *pax* from Republic to Empire in more detail. The meaning and deployment of *pax*, as part of victory rhetoric, varied depending on the political, social and cultural situation.

What is most striking is the growing prominence of *pax* as an expression of *imperium* in the context of victory commemoration. The civil wars of the late Republic evoked a response that brought the concept *pax* into the political discourse of the period. During the early 40s B.C. Cicero was clearly preoccupied with the idea of *pax*, as a form of negotiation and reconciliation between Caesar and Pompey. In fact at this time, at least from Cicero's own private perspective, *pax* stood in opposition to victory, most likely because victory in the civil wars would mean the defeat of fellow Romans, and in Cicero's eyes, the collapse of a stable form of government. Caesar, on the other hand, appears to have sought a redefinition of victory, which was to express his position over the state based on his policy of *clementia*.[1078] *pax* and its relationship to victory

[1077] Woolf (1993).
[1078] Cic. *Att.* 9.7c.1.

were fluid and changing notions, very much dependent on the political players who made use of the concepts. *pax* was now being used in the political discourse concerning the internal stability of the state, and as such it was used by those who sought to manipulate people's views. Cicero's manipulation of the political discourse on *pax* in 44-43 B.C. was driven by his desire to remove Antony, who at least appeared to be making a show of seeking peace and reconciliation with the senate, from the political scene. At this point Cicero publicly tied *pax* to the idea of victory, because he was trying to assert that only through the defeat of Antony could peace and stability be achieved for the state.

The political upheaval and civil conflicts of the 40s certainly influenced the use made of *pax* in the commemorations of 40 B.C. Victory celebrations took place to commemorate the *pax* made between Antony and Octavian. Reconciliation had achieved stability for the state, and it was conceptualised as a victory. This use of peace and reconciliation was far nearer the definition of victory that Caesar spoke of during his conflicts with Pompey, than Cicero's vision of a *pax* achieved through victory and defeat of Antony. Perhaps the senate had hoped that this would be a 'lasting victory' for the state and that the *pax* established would continue. Of course the numbers of treaties and alliances of the early 30s B.C. illustrate the real fragility of the *pax* of 40 B.C. Still the desire to associate *pax* with the termination of civil conflict continued, most notably with Octavian's commemoration of his Sicilian victory: the erection of a *columna rostrata* in the Roman Forum claiming that peace had finally been re-established by land and sea.[1079] The employment of *pax* within the victory rhetoric of the final civil wars of the late Republic enabled the victors to commemorate their achievements and positions within the state without having to directly refer to their victory over fellow

[1079] App. *B Civ.* 5.130; see chapter two, p. 59 above.

Romans: *pax* was established over the expanse of empire, rather than in relation to an opponent.

Once Octavian was established as a sole victor and the head of the Roman state, the use of *pax* within victory rhetoric was concerned with the concept of Roman *imperium* over an empire. Certainly, the victory display at Nicopolis asserted a concept of *pax* as the expression of the control over the empire that Octavian had won through his victory. Now *pax* was proclaimed as an emblem of the new political order, where there were no opponents to contend with. *pax* was a state that was brought to and imposed upon an empire.

The celebrations of victory at the end of the civil wars had adopted the rhetoric of *pax* in order to blur the line between civil and foreign conflicts, and to present the victory as something other than the defeat of another Roman. Ten years later, with Augustus firmly established as the *princeps* of the Roman state, the concern was very much about external enemies and threats to the stability of the empire. The *pax Parthorum* illustrates the closely bound relationship of *pax* to victory, where a diplomatic treaty was celebrated by the senate and Augustus at Rome as the ultimate victory and the end of all triumphs. Augustus' ability to 'compel' the Parthians to seek peace with Rome was commemorated as a victory over the Parthians, and was later celebrated as an *exemplum* of the extent of Roman *imperium* within the Forum Augustum. The power of Rome was articulated by foreign nations seeking *pax* with Rome, within a monument that celebrated Roman victory.[1080] In the Augustan principate, the concept of victorious *pax* reached the height of its expression in the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, which combined the concepts of victory with that of the stability and continuation of the Roman state from its mythical foundations to the state of *pax* of the

[1080] Suet. *Aug.* 21.2.

present day. The monument expressed the achievements of Roman victory in terms of prosperity, and articulated Roman imperialism, to Rome, as the security of the Roman state achieved through victories (*parta victoriis pax*).

The story of *pax* from the late Republic to early Principate outlined above has focused on the use made of *pax* within Roman victory commemoration. But, *pax* was not always used as part of victory commemoration, and the distinctions between when it was used and when it was not allow us an insight into the conception of the term and how it was used to express Roman imperialism.

pax within victory commemoration was selective and predominantly used for a Roman audience.[1081] One of the few times we find a monumental display celebrating *pax* outside Rome is at Niopolis. It is perhaps the contrast and distinction between the display at Nicopolis and that at Rome which is so striking in the year 29 B.C. The honours voted to Octavian at Rome are far more concerned with concealing the issues of civil war than celebrating *pax*: true, the closing of the Gates of Ianus signified the cessation of war, but the intention of the senate here is very different from the message of *pax* that Octavian displayed at Nicopolis. As the meaning of *pax* during the civil wars of the 40s was dependent on the political players using the concept, so too was the articulation of *pax* in victory celebrations of 29 B.C. dependent on their authors. Despite the celebration made by Octavian in 36 B.C. of the restoration of *pax*, the senate clearly chose not to assert a strong message of *pax* in the wake of Octavian's defeat of Antony: the celebrations at Rome were fundamentally concerned with the foreign aspects of the wars, although allusions were made to Antony's disgrace as a Roman statesman. It appears that Octavian considered a message of *pax* as an

[1081] The small altars to *pax augusta* from Narbo and Praeneste suggest that the *Ara Pacis Augustae* in Rome influenced commemorations in Roman colonies in the West: see chapter 4, pp. 273-275 above.

expression of an empire won, appropriate to use in the East. There was no commemoration of the civil war at Nicopolis either: Octavian's victory had been for the stability of the *res publica*, which guaranteed *pax* for the empire.

The message of *pax* was not considered necessary or important to any of Cornelius Gallus' multiple audiences at Philae. The hieroglyphic text does emphasise the prosperity and stability achieved for Egypt under the rule of Octavian and Gallus, however the language of the text does not appear to introduce the concept of *pax*, but rather expresses the good state of affairs through traditional, religious language. The display at Philae is dependent on Gallus, the priests of the island, and their different audiences, and in all three texts there was no need or desire to use the concept of *pax* as part of the discourse.

Later, the senate and Augustus chose to conceptualise the pacification of the West and the Alps at Rome through a clear celebration of *pax*. Whilst Augustus spoke to a Roman audience about bringing the West into peace (*pacavi... pacificavi*),[1082] the senatorial monument erected in the Alps at La Turbie expressed the power and extent of Roman *imperium* through a display of the subjugation of Alpine tribes stretching from the Hadrianic sea to the Tyrrhenian sea. Unlike the displays at Nicopolis where such *imperium* was expressed as the achievement of *pax terra marique*, the idea of *pax* was not required in the Alps to explain Rome's victory. The display at La Turbie articulates the relationship between Rome and the Alpine tribes not through the negotiation of *pax*, but by subjugation to Rome's *imperium*. The discourse on Roman imperialism and the pacification of the Alps is perhaps most interesting at Segusio (Susa). *pax* is again not directly employed in the monument, but Cottius chose to conceptualise the pacification

[1082] *RG* 26.

of the region as a moment of integration into the Roman empire, and articulates the new relationships established.

It is clear that *pax* became, over the course of the period, integrated into imperial rhetoric and an important part of a discourse on Roman imperialism. The idea of *pax* as a concept of negotiation, conflict and victory, which developed during the civil wars of the late Republic, brought it fully into the political vocabulary of the period. Given the fluidity of the concept in the 40s and 30s B.C., Octavian was able to continue to use it in his victory rhetoric after Actium: it came to represent not just the internal stability of the state, but an empire-wide security to be imposed.[1083] *pax* became an expression and justification for the empire, although, by the end of the Augustan principate, it was still mainly confined to displays at Rome, or in Roman colonies. Thus *pax* was a way for Romans to understand and explain the empire.[1084] But it was rarely, it seems, directly presented to non-Roman audiences. At Segusio we see the results of what the Romans understood as *pax augusta*, but expressed in somewhat different tones.

In A.D. 13, when Augustus wrote his *Res Gestae,* he conceptualised Roman imperialism as an expression of *parta victoriis pax*:

> *Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiores nostri voluerunt cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax.*[1085]
>
> The Gate of Quirinius, which our ancestors wanted to be closed when peace was won through victories by land and sea on behalf on the entire empire of the Roman people.

[1083] Verg. *Aen.* 6.852: *pacique imponere morem.*
[1084] Barton (2007) 251-252.
[1085] *RG* 13.

Yet this view of Roman *imperium* was not propagated in the Greek version of the text. There is a conspicuous absence of the concept of victory to express Rome's pacification of the world:

> *Πύλην Ἐννάλιον, ἣν κεκλῖσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἠθέλησαν εἰρηνευομένης τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πάσης γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης.*[1086]
>
> The Gate of War, which our ancestors wanted to be closed when peace was established by land and sea by the Romans.

Victorious *pax* was still very much an expression of *imperium* from a Roman perspective; however the Greek version of the *Res Gestae* demonstrates that whilst the association of 'peace' at the time was understood as being tied into a concept of Roman hegemony, this was not presented as victory. The acceptance of *pax/eirene* as the property of the Romans illustrates how Rome had achieved a rule of *pax* over the empire.

[1086] *RG* 13.

Appendix I

The coins of the Late Republic carry a number of personifications of qualities, however there are also a number of symbols and attributes that are combined to suggest a quality or concept. The table below shows the variety of symbols which appear of the coinage of the Republic from 83 B.C. onwards. The quality or concept is indicated in bold **CAPITALS** if it appears as a legend on the coin, and in lower case if the quality is assumed to be demonstrated by the combination of the attributes and symbols.[*] A 'x' indicates the presence of an attribute or symbol; multiple 'x's indicate the number of that attribute present. Where necessary a written description is given.

Date (B.C.)	RRC no.	Moneyer	mint	caduceus	clasped hands	cornucopia	ear of corn	fasces	globe	palm	pileus	rudder	sceptre	wreath	Observe	QUALITY
83	357/1a	C. Norbanus	Rome	x			x	with axe				x			female bust	Imperium ?

[*] Wallace-Hadrill (1981) in his Appendix (319-323) described and recorded these coins as T(ype), to distinguish them from the personifications.

Date (B.C.)	83	75	75	76-75	74
RRC no.	357/1b	391/3	392/1	393/1	397/1
Moneyer	C. Norbanus	C. Egnatius Maxsumus	L. Farsuleius Mensor	Cn. Lentulus	P. Lentulus
mint	Rome	Rome	Rome	Spain?	Rome
caduceus	X				
clasped hands					
cornucopia					held by male seated figure (crowned by victory)
ear of corn	X				
fasces	with axe				
globe				X	foot on globe
palm					
pileus		behind Obverse Bust	behind Obverse Bust		
rudder				X	
sceptre				X	
wreath				X	
Observe	female bust	Female bust	Female bust	male head GPR, with sceptre	bearded head of Hercules
QUALITY	Imperium ?	Libertas	Libertas	**G**(enius) **P**(opulus) **R**(omanus)	Genius Populus Romanus (?)

Date (B.C.)	70	62	62	62	55
RRC no.	403/1	415/1	416/1	417/1	429/2
Moneyer	Calenus, Mucius Scaevola	Paullus Lepidus	L. Scribonius Libo	Paullus Lepidus, Libo Scribonius	P. Fonteius Capito
mint	Rome	Rome	Rome	Rome	Rome
caduceus	X				
clasped hands					
cornucopia	held between Roma and Italia				
ear of corn					
fasces	Roma - holds (no axe)				
globe	Roma - foot on globe				
palm					
pileus					
rudder					
sceptre					
wreath					
Observe	Jugate heads of Honos and Virtus	veiled head	head	veiled head	veiled head
QUALITY	**HO**(nos) and **VIRT**(us)	**CONCORDIA**	**BONVS EVENT**(us)	**CONCORD**(ia)	**CONCORDIA**

Date (B.C.)	54	52	49	49	48
RRC no.	433/1	436/1	440/1	442/1	451/1
Moneyer	M. Iunius Brutus	L. Vincius	Q. Sicinius	Mn. Acilius	Albinus Brutus and C. Pansa
mint	Rome	Rome	Rome]	Rome	Rome
caduceus			x		x
clasped hands					x
cornucopia					
ear of corn					
fasces					
globe					
palm		carried by Victory	x		
pileus					
rudder					
sceptre					
wreath		xxxx	x		
Observe	female head	laureate head	female head with diadem	laureate head	Head of Pan
QUALITY	**LIBERTAS**	**CONCORDIAE**	**FORT**(una) **P**(opulus) **R(**omani)	**SALVTIS**	Concordia

Date (B.C.)	48	47	47-46	46	45
RRC no.	451/2	454/1-2	462/1	464/3	473/1
Moneyer	Albinus Brutus	A. Licinius Nerva	M. Cato	T. Carisius	M. Lollius Palicanus
mint	Rome	Rome	Africa	Rome	Rome
caduceus	X				
clasped hands	X				
cornucopia				X	
ear of corn					
fasces					
globe				X	
palm			held by Victory with patera, VICTRIX		
pileus					
rudder				X	
sceptre				X	
wreath					
Observe	female head	laureate head	female bust (ROMA)	Helmeted head of ROMA	female head
QUALITY	**PIETAS (and concordia?)**	**FIDES**	Roma Victrix (?)	Imperium ?	**LIBERTATIS**

Date (B.C.)	45	45	45-44	45-44	44	44
RRC no.	473/2a	473/3	477/1	477/2	480/6	480/24
Moneyer	M. Lollius Palicanus	M. Lollius Palicanus	Sex. Magnus Pius	Sex. Magnus Pius	L. Aemilius Buca	L. Aemilius Buca
mint	Rome	Rome	Spain	Spain	Rome	Rome
caduceus					x	
clasped hands					x	x
cornucopia						
ear of corn	either side of curule chair					
fasces					no axe	
globe					x	
palm			held	held		
pileus						
rudder						
sceptre			Held by PIETAS	Held by PIETAS	x	
wreath		held by victory in biga				
Observe	Laureate head	female head with diadem	Head of Gn. Pompeius Magnus	Head of Cn. Pompeius junior	Wreathed head of CAESAR IMP	female head
QUALITY	**HONORIS**	**FELICITATIS**	**PIETAS**	**PIETAS**	Imperium and Concordia	**PAXS**

Date (B.C.)	44	43	42	42	42	42
RRC no.	480/25	485/1	494/4	494/5	494/10	494/11
Moneyer	P. Sepullius Macer	L. Flaminius Chilo	P. Clodius	P. Clodius	C. Veibius Varus	C. Veibius Varus
mint	Rome	Rome	Rome	Rome	Rome	Rome
caduceus		held by female figure		held		
clasped hands					x	x
cornucopia	held by female figure		held by female figure	held by winged male figure		
ear of corn						
fasces						
globe				foot on globe		
palm						
pileus						
rudder	held by female figure					
sceptre		held	held			
wreath						
Observe	Bust of Victory	wreathed head of Caesar	Head of M LEPIDVS III VIR R P C	Head of M ANTONIVS III VIR R P C	Head of M LEPIDVS III VIR R P C	Head of M ANTONIVS III VIR R P C
QUALITY	?	?	?	?	Concordia	Concordia

Date (B.C.)	42	42	42	42	42
RRC no.	494/12	494/13	494/14	494/15	494/32
Moneyer	C. Veibius Varus	L. Mussidius Longus	L. Mussidius Longus	L. Mussidius Longus	C. Veibius Varus
mint	Rome	Rome	Rome	Rome	Rome
caduceus					
clasped hands	X				
cornucopia		X	X	X	held by female figure, holding victory
ear of corn					
fasces					
globe					
palm					
pileus					
rudder					
sceptre					
wreath					
Observe	Head of C CAESAR III VIR R P C	Head of M LEPIDVS III VIR R P C	Head of M ANTONIVS III VIR R P C	Head of C CAESAR III VIR R P C	Head of M. Antonius
QUALITY	Concordia	Cornucopia	Cornucopia	Cornucopia	?

Date (B.C.)	42	42	42	42	43-42
RRC no.	494/33	494/39	494/41	494/42	498/1
Moneyer	C. Veibius Varus	L. Mussidius Longus	L. Mussidius Longus	L. Mussidius Longus	C. Cassius
mint	Rome	Rome	Rome	Rome	moving
caduceus		with apex	x		
clasped hands			x		
cornucopia	held by female figure, holding victory	x			
ear of corn					
fasces					
globe		x			
palm					
pileus					
rudder		x			
sceptre					
wreath					
Observe	Head of Octavian	wreathed head of Caesar	veiled head	veiled head	female head with diadem
QUALITY	?	Imperium domi et militiae?	**CONCORDIA**	**CONCORDIA**	**LIBERTAS**

Date (B.C.)	43-42	43-42	43-42	43-42	41	40
RRC no.	499/1	500/2	501/1	508/3	516/1-3	520/1
Moneyer	C. Cassius	C. Cassius	Caepio Brutus	Brutus	M. Antonius	M. Antonius
mint	moving	moving	moving	moving	moving	moving
caduceus						x
clasped hands						
cornucopia					held by female figure (pietas)	xx
ear of corn						
fasces						
globe						x
palm						
pileus				With 2 daggers		
rudder					held	
sceptre						
wreath						
Observe	female head with diadem	female head with diadem	female head with diadem	Head of BRVT IMP	Head of M ANTONIVS III VIR R P C	Head of M. Antonius, lituus
QUALITY	**LIBERTAS**	**LEIBERTAS**	**LEIBERTAS**	Libertas	**PIETAS**	?

Date (B.C.)	?40	39	39	39	31
RRC no.	525/1	529/2	529/3	529/4	546/6
Moneyer	Ti. Sempronius Graccus	Octavian (C. Caesar)	Octavian (C. Caesar)	Octavian (C. Caesar)	Scarpus
mint	Rome	moving	moving	moving	Cyrenaica
caduceus		X	X	X	
clasped hands				X	
cornucopia	held by female figure				
ear of corn					
fasces					
globe					victory on globe
palm					
pileus					
rudder	held				
sceptre					
wreath					held
Observe	Head of DIVI IVLI F	Head of IMP CAESAR	head of IMP ANTONIVS	veiled female head III VIR R P C	open hand
QUALITY	?	Concordia / Pax	Concordia / Pax	Concordia	Pax Victoria?

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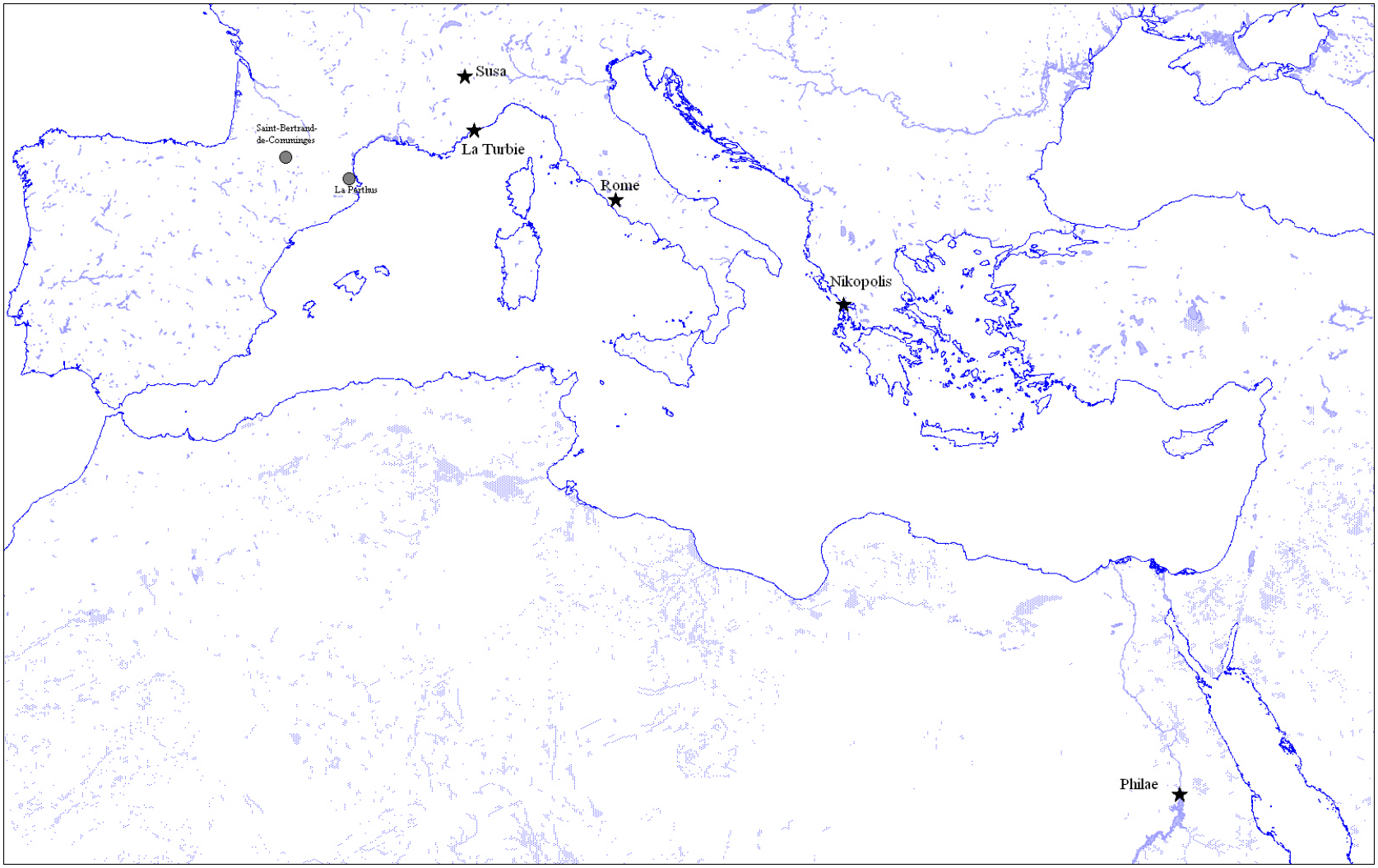
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Map 1: Map showing the locations of the major monuments (black stars), and secondary sites (grey circles) discussed in this study (Image: author).

Map 2: The Actian promontory and Ambracian Gulf, showing the location of Octavian's and Antony's campsites originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The map was sourced at Chrysostomous-Kefallonitou (2005) fig.2.

Map 3: Egypt, with the location of the First Cataract and the island of Philae originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The map was sourced at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ancient_Egypt_main_map.png

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Map 4: The French Alps showing the end of the Alpine chain, the Roman road through the mountains and the location of the Trophy monument at La Turbie originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The map was sourced at The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, map 16.

Map 5: Map of the Pyrenees, showing the location of Panissars between Rousillon (to the north) and Empordon (to the south) and the route of the Roman roads originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The map was sourced at Castellvi et al (2008) fig. 1.

Map 6: The Cottian Alps originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The map was sourced at The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, map 17.

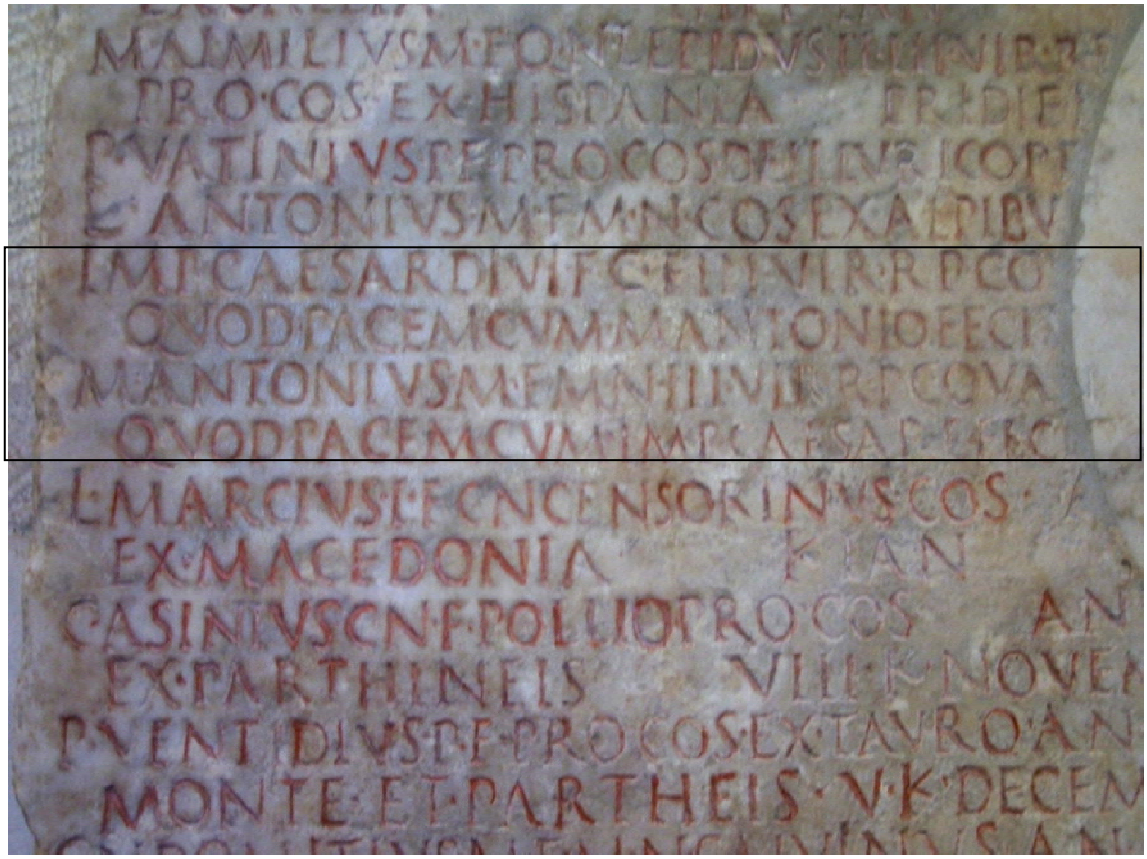


Figure 1: Fragment XL of the *Fasti Triumphales*, with the two entries for 40 B.C. emphasised by the black outline (image: author, from the *Musei Capitolini,* Rome).

Figure 2: Coin of 70 B.C. minted by Q. Fufius Calenus and Mucius Cordus, representing the unification of Italy and Rome after the social war. On the obverse are the busts of *HONOS* and *VIRTVS,* and on the reverse, *ITALIA*, holding a cornucopia and joining hands with *ROMA*, who carries a sceptre and places her foot on a globe. A winged *caduceus* is in the field to the left of *ITALIA*, and the Legend *CORDI* below the field (*RRC* 403/1) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford5.html

Figure 3: Coin of c. 48 B.C.minted by L. Hostilius Saserna, depicting a female diademed head on the obverse, and a winged victory carrying a trophy and winged *caduceus* (*RRC* 448/1) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford5.html

Figure 4: Denarius of 62 B.C. minted by Paullus Lepidus, depicting the veiled head of *CONCORDIA* on the obverse, and a trophy of L. Paullus (*togatus*) with three captives *(RRC* 415/1) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford5.html

Figure 5: Denarius of 48 B.C minted by D. Iunius Brutus Albinus., depicting *PIETAS* on the obverse, and a *caduceus* and joined hands of *concordia* on the reverse (*RRC* 450/1) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford6.html

Figure 6: Coin minted by L. Buca in 44 B.C, depicting *PAXS* on the obverse, and the clasped hands of concord with the legend *L.AEMILIVS.BVCA. III.VIR* (*RRC* 480/24) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford6.html

Figure 7: Denarius of Q. Metellus Pius Scipio minted in Africa, 47-46 B.C., depicting the *GENIUS TERRA AFRICAE* on the obverse, and a victory holding a shield and *caduceus* on the reverse (*RRC* 460/4) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford6.html

Figure 8: Denarius of. Q. Metellus Pius Scipio minted in Africa, 47-46 B.C., depicting a turreted head of a city (Utica?), surrounded by an ear of corn, ship prow and *caduceus* on the obverse, and a trophy between a *lituus* and jug on the reverse (Image: *RRC* 460/3) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford6.html

Figure 9: Coin of Antony from 42 B.C. depicting the head of Antony as *III VIR R.P.C.* on the obverse, and a winged male with his foot on a globe, holding a cornucopia and *caduceus*, with a eagle and shield at his feet (Image: *RRC* 494/5 originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford6.html

Figure 10: Coin of Brutus minted on the move in 43-42 B.C., depicting the head of *LEIBERTAS* on the obverse (Image: *RRC* 501/1) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford7.html

Figure 11: Quinarius depicting the pact and concord between Antony and Octavian in 40 B.C. On the obverse is a female head with the legend *III.VIR.R.P.C*; on the reverse are the clasped hands around a *caduceus*, and with the legend *M. ANTON. C. CAESAR* (Image: RRC 529/4b) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford6.html

Figure 12: Denarius of Octavian, from Rome, 36-30 B.C., depicting the laureate head of Octavian on the obverse, and a *columna rostrata* with a nude male with staff and cloak, and the legend IMP.CAESAR (Image: *RIC* Aug. 271) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus2.html

Figure 13: The final sections of the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani*, listing the triumphs for 29 to 21 B.C. originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at *Inscr. Ital.* XIII.1 pl. XCIX.



Figure 14: The west end of the Forum Romanum, showing the Speakers' Platform (Augustan), and behind the Temple of Saturn. The inscription of C. Duilius was found in 1565, at the foot of the Capitoline hill, in the location of the Speakers' Platform (Image: author).

Figure 15: "Anaglypha Traiani" relief, from the Forum Romanum, showing the podium of the temple of Divus Iulius on the far left hand side of the relief originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Torelli (1982), pl. IV.5.

Figure 16: Plan of the Forum Romanum, showing the spatial relationship between the Speakers' Platform at the west end of the forum, and the *rostra* on the podium of the temple of Divus Iulius at the east end originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Coarelli (1985) fig. 41.

Figure 17: Denarius of Octavian, Rome, c. 29-27 B.C., depicting a building (most probably the Curia Iulia), which carries the legend *IMP. CAESAR* on the architrave, shows a winged Victory on a globe at the apex of the pediment, and on either side a figure holding a spear, with the right hand figure possibly holding an anchor (*RIC* Aug. 56) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

Figure 18: Denarius of Mark Antony (minted by L. Pinarius Scarpus), from Cyrenaica, 31 B.C., depicting a winged Victory, carrying a palm branch and wreath, on the reverse. The head of Jupiter Ammon is on the obverse (*RRC* 546/2a) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford6.html

Figure 19: Denarius of Octavian (minted by L. Pinarius Scarpus), from Cyrenaica, 31 B.C., depicting on the reverse a winged Victory standing on a globe, carrying a palm branch and holding out a wreath. On the obverse is a single hand (*RRC* 546/4) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford6.html

Figure 20: Bronze statue of a winged Victory on a globe from Pompeii, now in the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli* originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Reinach (1913), pl. II.

Figure 21: The Augustus Boscorale Cup, depicting Venus handing Victory to Augustus, who holds out a globe to receive her. Behind Venus are Eros, the Genius Populus Romanus holding a cornucopia, and Roma originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Kuttner (1995), fig. 1.



Figure 22: White pentelic marble sculpture of a Winged Victory on a globe, originally holding a shield (fragments remain), found in 1988 in the foundations of the Ottoman cistern near the wall of the southern wing of Hadrian's Library in Athens. It is thought that the statue was originally set up in c. 17-16 B.C. in the Roman Agora in Athens (Image: author).

Figure 23: A reconstruction of the monument above Nicopolis originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Zachos (2003), fig. 5.



Figure 24: Detail of one of the sockets for the bronze ship rams, on the podium facade of the monument above Nicopolis (Image: author).



Figure 25: View from the site of monument above Nicopolis, overlooking the Ionian Sea and Actium harbour (Image: author).



Figure 26: Inscription block from the podium facade of the monument at Nicopolis, with decorative bands above and behind the inscription (Image: author).



Figure 27: Two blocks from the inscription course of the podium facade of the monument at Nicopolis, the one on the left has the *tabula ansata* and marks the beginning of the inscription band,; the one of the right is un-inscribed, the demonstrates that the inscription did not fill the whole length of the inscription course (Image: author).



Figure 28: Fragmentary inscription block from the podium facade of the monument above Nicopolis, which reading *OR · BEL* (Image: author).

Figure 29: Marble fragment on an *elogium* from the Forum Romanum, which reads: *[---]no cum / [---]tor belli / [---]+ctus /* ------ (CIL VI 4092) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=PH0001949



Figure 30: a hypothetical reconstruction of two inscription blocks from the podium facade of the monument above Nicopolis, reading *F · VICTOR · BEL* (Image: author).



Figure 31: Fragmentary inscription block from the podium facade of the monument above Nicopolis, which reads *O · Q* (Image: author).

Figure 32: Reconstruction of the monumental altar and frieze from the upper level of the monument above Nicopolis originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Zachos (2009) fig. 15.



Figure 33: Relief sculpture of floral decoration from the altar frieze at Nicopolis, from the Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis, Preveza (Images: author).

Figure 34: Relief sculpture depicting spolia and weapons from the altar frieze at Nicopolis originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Zachos (2009) fig. 13.



Figure 35: Relief sculpture depicting a ship's *aplustre* (above) and prow (below) from the altar frieze at Nicopolis. Fragments from the Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis, Preveza (Images: author).

Figure 36: Relief sculpture depicting trumpeters from the altar frieze at Nicopolis originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Zachos (2009) fig. 16.

Figure 37: Relief sculpture depicting (left) a ship prow carried in the triumph originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Zachos (2009) fig. 17.

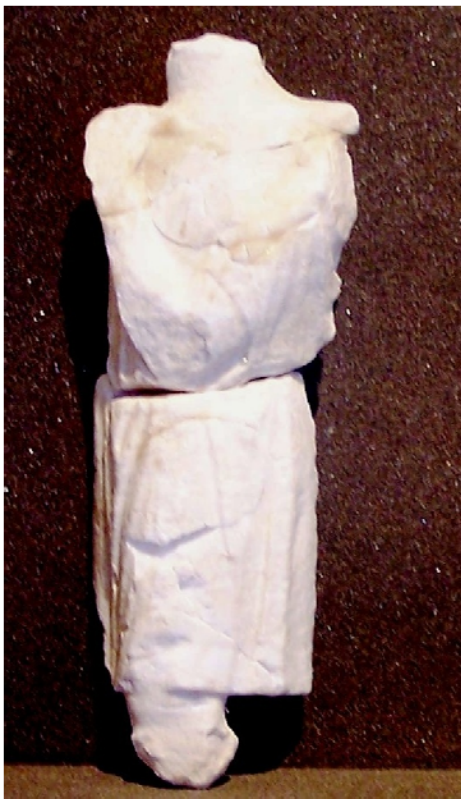


Figure 38: Relief sculpture depicting (left) a ship prow carried in the triumph (Image: Zachos (2009) fig. 17), and (right) an attendant carrying a trestle from the altar frieze at Nicopolis, from the Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis, Preveza (Image: author).



Figure 39: Relief sculpture depicting captives from the altar frieze at Nicopolis, from the Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis, Preveza (Images: author).



Figure 40: Relief sculpture depicting sacrifical victims from the altar frieze at Nicopolis, from the Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis, Preveza (Images: author).



Figure 41: Relief sculpture depicting lictors from the altar frieze at Nicopolis, from the Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis, Preveza (Image: author).

Figure 42: Relief sculpture depicting the cavalry from the altar frieze at Nicopolis originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Zachos (2009) fig. 24.

Figure 43: Relief sculpture depicting the triumphal chariot from the altar frieze at Nicopolis originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Zachos (2009) fig. 23.

Figure 44: Relief sculpture depicting the senate from the altar frieze at Nicopolis originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Zachos (2009) fig. 22.

Figure 45: Silver Cistophorus of Octavian, minted in Ephesus, c. 28 B.C., depicting the laureate head of Octavian on the obverse, with the legend *IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. COS. VI LIBERTATIS P. R. VINDEX*, and the figure of *PAX* holding a *caduceus* and standing on a parazonium, with a cista mystica in the background, all surrounded by a laurel wreath *RIC* Aug. 476) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus3.html



Figure 46: Leaded bronze of Nicopolis, 27 B.C. – A.D. 14 (*RPC* 1364), depicting the head of Augustus with the legend ΚΤΙΣΜΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ on the obverse, and a winged Nike, holding a wreath, with the ΙΕΡΑ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ on the reverse. (Image: author, Ioannina Museum).

Figure 47: Plan of Nicopolis, showing the spatial relationship between the city and the victory monument originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Chrysostomou-Kefallonitou (2005), fig. 7.

Figure 48: Fragmentary Greek inscriptions found at the site of the monument above Nicopolis. The central inscription possibly reads IEPON originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The image was sourced at Zachos (2001a) fig. 19.

Figure 49: Cornelius Gallus' stele from Philae, in Egypt: (left) the fragmentary remains of the stele; (right) a reconstruction of the stele, showing sculptural reliefs of the winged solar disk, and rider charging the enemy originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The images were sourced at http://www.uni-trier.de/index.php?id=28124 and Hoffmann (2009) fig. 4 respectively.

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Figure 50: Plan of the site at Philae, showing the altar of the temple of Augustus, where the remains of the stele were found, and the temple complex of Isis originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Hoffmann (2009) fig. 1.

Figure 51: Reconstruction of C. Cornelius Gallus' inscription on the base of the obelisk from Alexandria. Gallus' inscription was later covered by a dedication to the deified Augustus and Tiberius. Gallus' inscription has been reconstructed from the clamp holes of the bronze lettering originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Magi (1963) pl. XII.

Figure 52: Detail of the clamp holes from the original inscription of C. Cornelius Gallus, with the later dedication to the deified Augustus and Tiberius carved over the top originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Magi (1963) pl. XI.

Figure 53: Aureus minted in Asia Minor, dated to 28 B.C. On the obverse is the laureate head of Octavian accompanied by the legend *IMP. CAESAR – DIVI F. COS. VI.* On the reverse is depicted the togate figure of Octavian seated on curule chair, holding a scroll, with a scroll box at his feet, the accompanying legend reads: *LEGES ET IVRA P. R. RESTIVIT* originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at *BM CM* 1995.4-1.1

Figure 54: Denarius of Augustus, minted at Tarraco, Spain, c.18 B.C., depicting the laureate head of Augustus on the obverse, and a circular temple of *Mars Ultor*, in which reside two *signa* and an *aquila* (*RIC* Aug. 103) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

Figure 55: Cistophorus of Augustus, minted at Pergamum, c. 19-18 B.C., depicted the head of Augustus on the obverse, and a single free-standing arch, surmounted by a quadriga, and decorated with two *aquilae*, commemorating the return of the Parthian standards – *S.P. R. SIGNIS RECEPTIS* (*RIC* Aug. 508) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus3.html

Figure 56**:** Denarius of Augustus, minted at Colonia Patricia, Spain, 18 B.C., depicting the head of Augustus on the obverse, and a triple arch surmounted by a quadriga over the central arch, and two standing figures raising up the returned standards over the two lateral arches. The figure over the right hand arch also carries a bow. The legend reads *CIVIBVS ET SIGN. MILIT. A PARTH. RECVP.* (RIC Aug. 134a) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

Figure 57: Denarius of L. Vinicius, minted at Rome, 16 B.C., depicting the head of Augustus on the obverse, and a triple arch, dedicated to Augustus by the senate and people, surmounted by a quadriga over the central arch, and two standing figures holding a bow and raising up standards (*RIC* Aug. 359) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus2.html

Figure 58: Denarius from Spain, dated to 17/16 B.C. On the obverse is the bare head of Augustus, accompanied by the legend *SPQR CAESARI AVGVSTO*. On the reverse Augustus rides a quadriga on top of a double arch adorned with prows, on top of a viaduct, and being crowned by Victory. The legend on the reverse reads *QVOD VIAE MVN(ITAE) SVNT RIC* Aug. 144) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

Figure 59: Denarius of L. Miscinius Rufus, minted at Rome in 16 B.C., depicting the laureate head of Augustus on the obverse, and a statue of Mars holding a spear and *parazonium*, on a based inscription with the legend *S. P. Q. R. / V. PR. PE. / CAES.* (*RIC* Aug. 352) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus2.html

Figure 60: Denarius of Vinicius minted in Rome, 16 B.C. depicting an Equestrian statue of Augustus on the obverse with the legend *S.P.Q.R. / IMP / CAES* on the pedestal, and a cippus inscribed with the legend *S P Q R / IMP CAE / QVOD / V / M S EX / EA P. Q. IS . AD A DE,* on the reverse (*RIC* Aug. 362) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus2.html

Figure 61: Plan of the south-east end of the forum, showing the position of the triple arch to the south of the temple of Divus Iulius, and the alignment of the lateral staircase of the temple of Castor and Pollux to the southern lateral archway. Other major structures are the *aedes Vestae*, the Regia, and the Temple of Antoninus and Fausta originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Nedergaard (1994-5) fig.12.

Figure 62: Drawing of the wall, part of which was found *in situ,* carrying the third tablet and the first and second pilasters of the *Fasti Captiolini* originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at *Inscr. Ital.*XIII 1, pl. XXII.

Figure 63: *Veduta di Campo Vaccino* by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1772), showing the three remaining of the temple of Castor and Pollux on the right, and the temple of Faustina on the left originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Wilton-Ely (1994) v. 1, n.233.

Figure 64: The Campo Vaccino by Gian Paolo Panini (1691-1765) showing the three columns of the temple of Castor, now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Nielsen (1992) fig. 115.

Figure 65: Nedergaard's reconstruction of the third and four pilasters of the *Fasti Triumphales,* illustrating the measurement of fragment XL at 0.548m originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Nedergaard (2004) fig. 4.

Figure 66: Hypothetical reconstruction of the *Fasti Capitolini* on the triple arch in the Forum Romanum, based on the analysis Nedergaard (2004) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was adapted from Gatti (1945) fig. 7.

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Figure 67: Fragment XLV of the *Fasti Consulares*, showing the vertical line and rough working (covering 26.5cm) to the right of the inscribed surface (Image: author, from the *Musei Capitolini,* Rome).



Figure 68: Fragment XLI of the *Fasti Triumphales* showing the final entries on pilaster four, ending with the triumph of L. Cornelius Balbus in 19 B.C., below which the stone has been roughly worked (Image: author, from the *Musei Capitolini,* Rome).

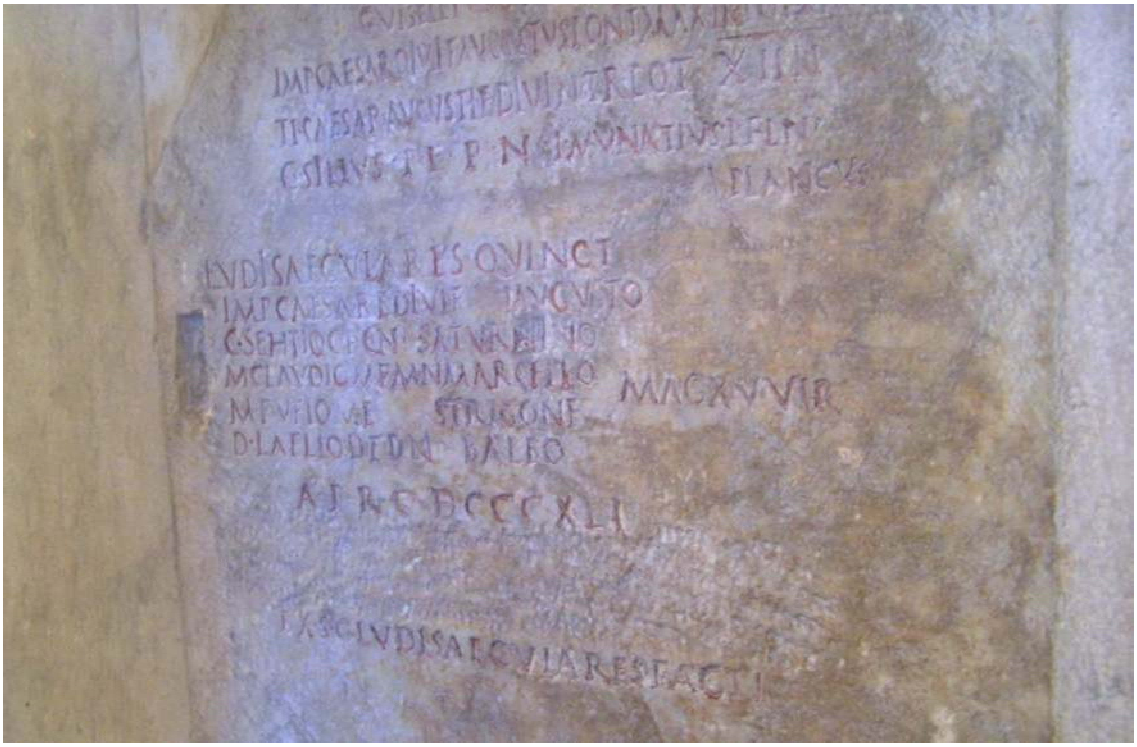


Figure 69: Detail of fragment XLVIII of the *Fasti Consulares ,* showing the final entry of A.D. 13 and the entries for the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 B.C. and A.D. 88 (Image: author, from the *Musei Capitolini,* Rome).



Figure 70: View of the *aedes Vestae* between the remains of the central archway of the triple arch in the Forum Romanum (Image: author).

Figure 71: Denarius of Augustus, from Spain (Tarraco?), c. 20-19 B.C., depicting the laureate head of Augustus on the obverse, and the altar of *Fortuna Redux* on the reverse (Image: *RIC* Aug. 54a) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

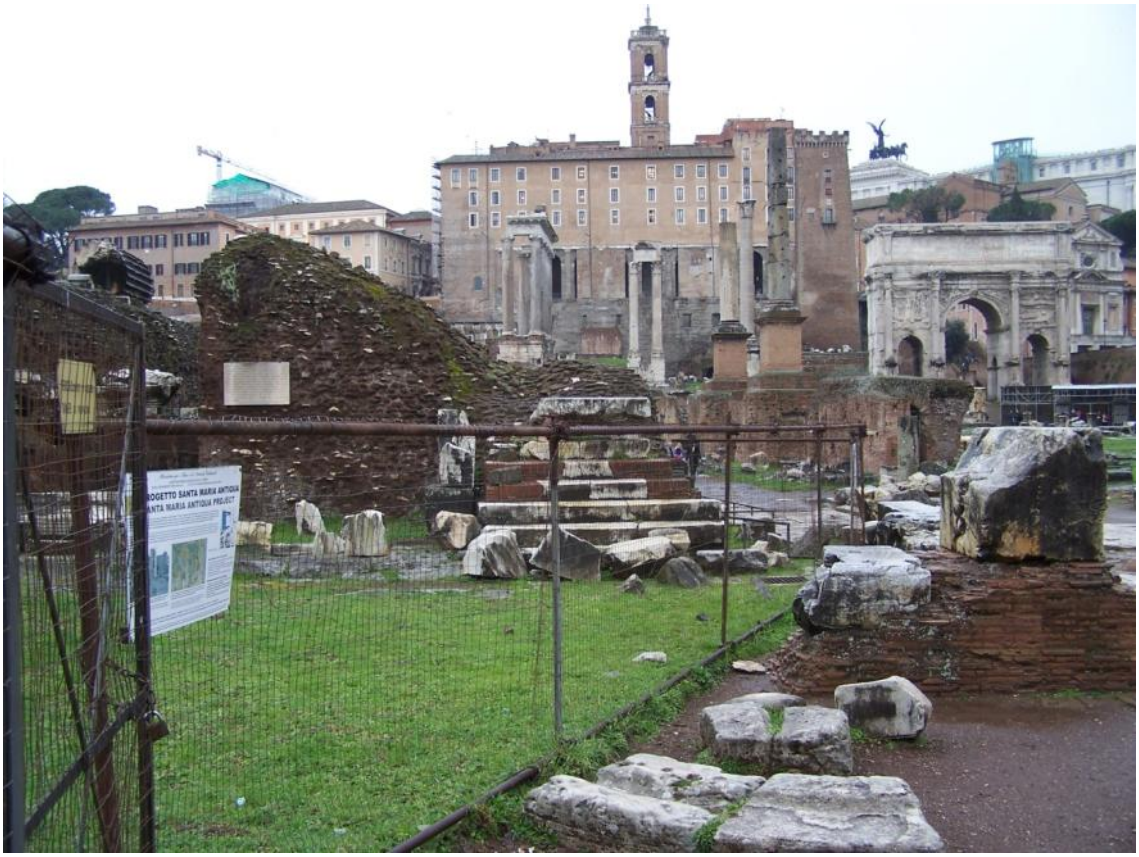


Figure 72: View of the lateral staircase of the temple of Castor, aligned with the lateral passageway of the triple arch in the Forum Romanum (Image: author).



Figure 73: Restoration of a section of the upper storey of the porticos in the Forum Augustum, depicting Caryatids and a shield bearing the head of Jupiter Ammon (Image: author, Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi, Rome).



Figure 74: coloured marbles used for the pavement and columns in the north-west apse of the Forum Augustum (Image: author).

Figure 75: Plan of the Forum Augustum originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The image was sourced at Geiger (2009) fig. 5.

Figure 76: Cistophorus from Pergamum, 18 B.C., depicting the head of Augustus on the obverse accompanied by the legend *IMP IX TR PO V,* and a temple inscribed to *ROM. ET AVGVST.* on the entablature, dedicated by the *COM(mune) ASIAE* (*RIC* Aug. 505) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus3.html

Figure 77: Cistophorus from Pergamum, 18 B.C., depicting the head of Augustus on the obverse accompanied by the legend *IMP IX TR. PO V*, and a domed temple dedicated to *MART(I) VLTO,* housing a military standard (I*RIC* Aug. 507) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus3.html

Figure 78: Denarius from Pergamum, 19-18.C. depicting the head of Augustus on the obverse, and a tiara and bow case and quiver on the reverse with the legend *ARMENIA CAPTA* (*RIC* Aug. 516) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus3.html

Figure 79: Denarius from Pergamum, 19-18 B.C., depicting the head of Augustus on the obverse, and the legend *SIGNIS PARTHICIS RECEPTIS* on the reverse (*RIC* Aug. 526) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus3.html

Figure 80: Denarius of Augustus, minted in Spain, c. 19 B.C., depicting an *aquila, toga picta* over a *tunica palmata* and laurel wreath on the obverse, and a quadriga decorated with winged Victories, and surmounted by four miniature horses (*RIC* Aug. 97) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

Figure 81: Aureus from Colonia Patricia, c. 18-16 B.C., depicting the head of Augustus on the obverse, and a winged victory standing on a glove, and carrying a palm branch and an *aquila* on the reverse (*RIC* Aug. 121) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

Figure 82: Marble base from Corinth flanked by a bound Parthian and a winged Victory, crowned the trophy with a wreath and carried a palm branch originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The image was sourced at Rose (2005), fig. 21.

Figure 83: The remains of the circular temple to Roma and Augustus on the Athenian Arcopolis originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The image was sourced at Schäfer (1998) Abb. 3).

Figure 84: Aureus of Augustus, minted at Tarraco, Spain, c.19 B.C., depicting the head of Augustus on the obverse, and a civic oak wreath crown surrounding the legend *OB CIVIS SERVATOS* on the reverse (*RIC* Aug. 76a) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

Figure 85: Denarius of Augustus, minted at Tarraco, Spain, c. 19 B.C., depicting the wreathed head of Augustus on the obverse, and a winged Victory holding laurel branches over the *Clipeus Virtutis* (Image: *RIC* Aug. 95) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

Figure 86: Aureus of Augustus, minted at Colonia Patricia, Spain, c. July 18 .BC. - 17/16 B.C., depicting the head of Augustus on the obverse, and an altar inscribed *LVDI SAECVL.* With a veiled priest standing on the left, and a *caduceator* on the right, the whole scene is surrounded with a wreath (*RIC* Aug. 138**)** originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

Figure 87: Denarius of Augustus, minted at Tarraco, Spain, c. 17-16 B.C., depicting the head of Augustus on the obverse, and Mars, helmeted and naked, except for a chlamys over his left arm, holding a *vexillum* and a *parazonium,* the legend – *VOT. P. SVSC. PRO. SAL. ET RED. I. O. M. SACR.* commemorates Augustus' health and safe return to Rome (*RIC* Aug. 146) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus.html

Figure 88: Ground plan of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, including the Hadrianic precinct originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Claridge (1998) fig. 81.

Figure 89: South exterior wall of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, showing the upper register of the processional frieze, the meander band, and the lower register of the acanthus originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was adapted from Moretti (1948) pl. 3.

Figure 90: Processional frieze on the south exterior wall of the *Ara Pacis* originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was adap.ted from La Rocca (1983) 27-28.



Figure 91: Details of the processional frieze on the south exterior wall of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, showing Augustus (far left) and Agrippa (far right). (Images: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome)



Figure 92: Fragmentary relief sculpture of *Roma*, from the upper register on the east exterior wall of the *Ara Pacis Augustae.* (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).



Figure 93: Relief sculpture of a female deity, often referred to as 'Tellus' or *Pax*, accompanied by two *Aurae* , *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).



Figure 94: Fragmentary relief sculpture of Aeneas, the founder of Rome, sacrificing a sow to the *Lares, Ara Pacis Augustae* (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).



Figure 95: Fragmentary relief sculpture of Mars, accompanied by another figure carrying a staff, and a fragmentary detail of tree in which a bird is perched, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).



Figure 96: View of the north-west side of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*¸ showing the pilasters, decorated with acanthus scrolls on either side of the doorway and at the corners (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).



Figure 97: View of the interior of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, showing the upper register of the wall decorated with garlands, *bucrania,* and *paterae*, and the lower register decorated as wooden panels. (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).



Figure 98: The sacrificial table of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, with the restored frieze on the exterior and interior of the upper decoration. (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).

Figure 99: The processional frieze decorating the upper sections of the altar table from the *Ara Pacis Augustae,* (top) procession of vestal virgins from the interior left side of the frieze; (bottom): procession of the victims from the exterior left side of the frieze originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Moretti (1948) 40-41.

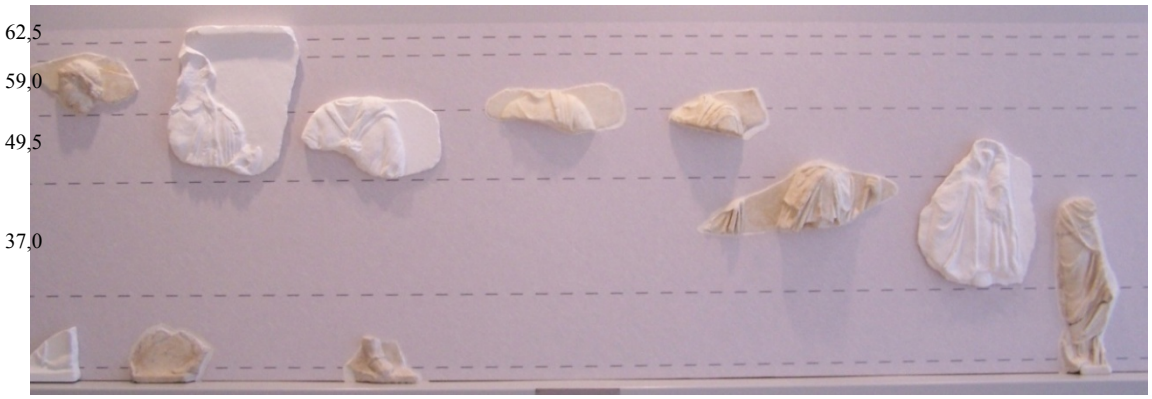


Figure 100: Fragmentary relief sculpture from the 'small' frieze of the sacrificial table of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Reconstructions of the panels by DART s.n.c, (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).

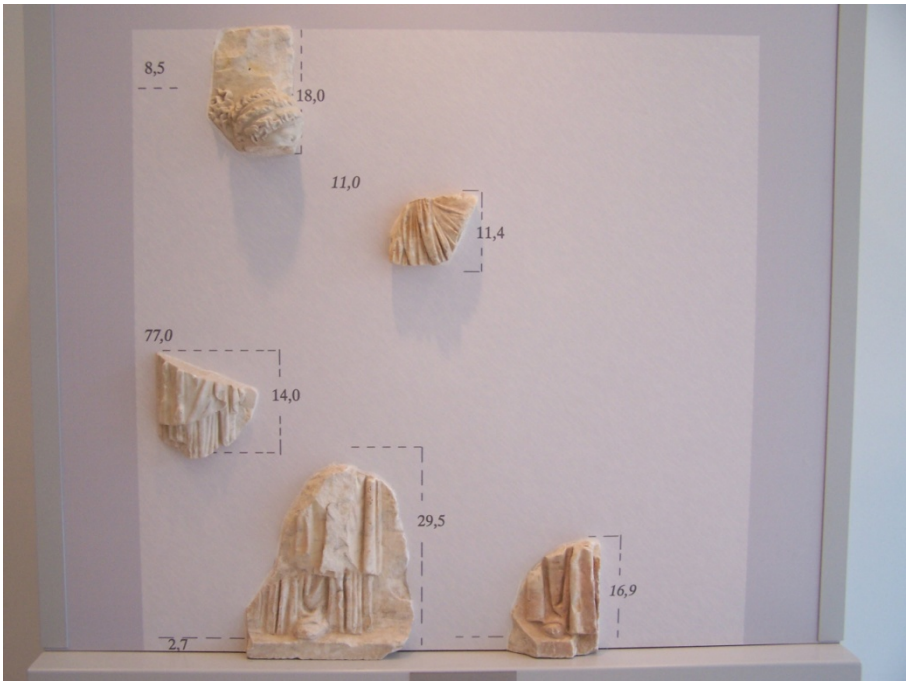


Figure 101: Fragmentary sculpture from the 'large' frieze of the sacrificial table of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Reconstruction of the panels by DART s.n.c. (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).

Figure 102: Plan of the Campus Martius showing the location of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (2) and the Solar Meridian (1) in relation to each other originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Heslin (2007) fig. 1.



Figure 103: Cast of the Carthage version of the 'Tellus' panel of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. The original relief is in the Louvre Museum, Paris (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).

Figure 104: Silver coin of C. Papirius Carbo , from Nicaea, 62-59 B.C., depicting the wreathed head of Dionysus with the legend ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ, and *Roma*, seated on a heap of weapons, holding a spear and a small *Nike*, with the legend ΕΠΙ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΠΑΠΙΡΟΥ ΚΑΡΒΩΝ / ΡΩΜΗ originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at *BMC Pontus* pl. XXXI n. 1.

Figure 105: Denarius of M. Nonias Sufenas,from Rome, 59 B.C., depicting on the obverse the head of Saturn, and on reverse *Roma*, seated on a heap of weapons,being crowned by a winged Victory holding a palm branch (*RRC* 421/1) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford5.html

Figure 106: Denarius of C. Vibius Pansa, from Rome, 48 B.C., depicting the wreathed head of *LIBERTAS* on the obverse, and the figure of *Roma* seated on a help of weapons, holding a sceptre and being crowned by a winged Victory (*RRC* 449/4) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford5.html



Figure 107: Cast of the relief sculpture of *Roma* seated on a heap of weapons, holding a winged Victory with a *Clipeus Virtutis*, and facing a display of a globe, cornucopia and caduceus, the altar of Hedulus, Carthage. The original relief is in the Bardo National Museum of Tunis (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).



Figure 108: fragmentary relief sculpture of a youth, wearing a fillet and with the detail of a cornucopia next to the head, attributed to the Roma panel of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Image: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis).

109: relief sculpture of Aeneas' flight from Troy, the altar of Hedulus, Carthage originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Poissnot (1929) tav. IX.

Figure 110: Relief sculpture of Apollo, facing a tripod, the altar of Hedulus, Carthage originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Poissnot (1929) tav. VII.

Figure 111: Relief sculpture of a sacrifice, the atlar of Hedulus, Carthage originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Poissnot (1929) tav. X.

Figure 112: First century B.C. gemstones depicting Mars and Rhea Silvia originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at *LIMC* II.2 405-406.

Figure 113: Denarius of Sex. Pompeius Fostlus, from Rome, 137 B.C., depicting the helmeted head of Roma on the obverse, and the shepherd Faustulus discovering the she-wolf and the twins, under a fig tree , with birds in the top branches (*RRC* 235/1b) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford3.html

Figure 114: Denarius of an unknown minter, Rome, 115-114 B.C., depicting the helmeted head of Roma on the obverse, and the seated figure of Roma on a pile of shields, surrounded by two birds, and watching over the she-wolf and twins (*RRC* 287/1) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford3-2.html

Figure 115: The altar of the Lares (*Rom. Vat.* Inv. 115) depicting the discovery of the sow with her piglets by Aeneas in the presence of *fatum* or a prophet originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Studniczka (1909) pl. V 7.



Figure 116: The head of the female deity on the 'Tellus' panel (left) and the head of most likely Livia (right) from the south processional frieze of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Images: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).



Figure 117: Details of figure S-30 (left) and N-34, from the processional friezes of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Images: author, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome).

Figure 118: The Augustus Boscorale cup, depicting Augustus receiving young barbarian children as *pignora* originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Kuttner (1995), fig. 5.

Figure 119: Denarius of Augustus, from Lugdunum, 8 B.C., depicting the laureate haed of Augustus on the obverse, and Augustus, seated on a curule chair, receiving a child from a barbarian as a *pignus (RIC* Aug. 201b) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus2.html



Figure 120: The obelisk and base of the Solar Meridian, now in the Piazza di Montecitorio, Rome (Image: author).

Figure 121: Formigé's reconstruction of the Alpine Trophy at La Turbie, France, viewed from the west originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Binninger (2009a) 49.



Figure 122: The Alpine Trophy viewed from the east (Image: author, Tropheé d'Auguste à la Turbie).



Figure 123: Formigé's reconstruction of a relief sculpture of a trophy and captives from the Alpine Trophy at La Turbie, France (Image: author, Tropheé d'Auguste à la Turbie).

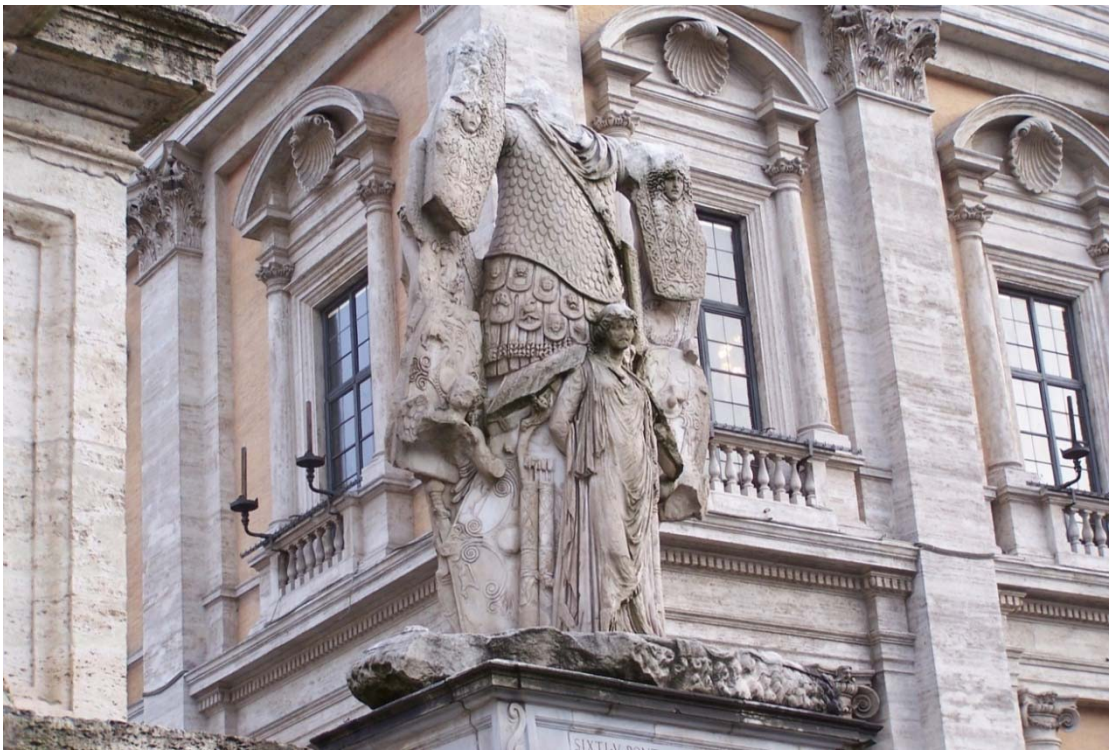


Figure 124: The 'Trophy of Marius', moved to the Capitoline from the Esquiline Hill by Pope Sixtus V (Image: author).



Figure 125: Detail of a frieze from the interior of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, Rome, depicting captives beneath a trophy, being carried in a triumphal procession (Image: author, Museo di Montemartini, Rome).



Figure 126: Detail from the tomb of Caecilia Metella, Via Appia depicting a captive under a trophy (Image: author).

Figure 127: Trophy monument at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France, (above) a reconstruction of the fragmentary remains, and (below) a hypothetical reconstruction of the original monumen originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The image was sourced at Boube (1996) 24-25.

Figure 128: Lateral side of the Arch at Orange, depicting captives underneath trophies originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The image was sourced at Silberberg-Peirce (1986) fig. 19.

Figure 129: Detail of the arch at Carpentras depicting captives either side of a trophy originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The image was sourced at Silberberg-Peirce (1986) fig. 24.



Figure 130: Roman quarry on Mont Justicier, looking toward the Alpine Trophy at La Turbie, France (Image: author).

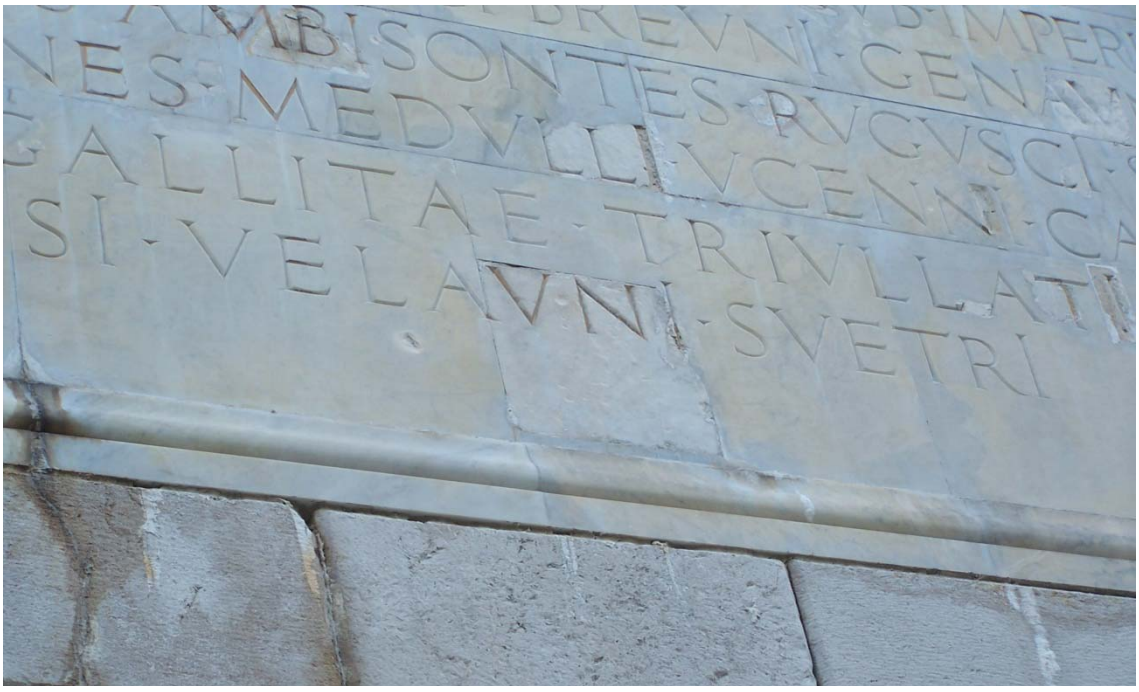


Figure 131: Detail of Formigé's reconstruction of the inscription on the Alpine Trophy at La Turbie, France. The original inscription fragments are visible within the reconstruction (Image: author).



Figure 132: A view of the Alpine Trophy within the Alpine chain (Image: author).

Figure 133: An axonometric view of the remains of the trophy of Pompey, in the Pyrenees, with the road running through the middle originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Castellvi et al (2008) fig. 34.

Figure 134: The area of Alpine chain, illustrating the locations of the Alpine races enumerated (from east to west) on the Alpine Trophy originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The image was sourced at Formigé (1955) fig.2.

Figure 135: Altar to *pax augusta*, dedicated by the Decuriones and people of the colony of Praeneste originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Agnoli (2002) 240 fig.8a and 242, fig. 8c.

Figure 136: Altar to *pax augusta,* dedicated by T. Domitius Romulus, at Narbo originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Gayraud (1981) 357, fig.55.



Figure 137: South side of the Arch of Augustus at Susa, with a view of the Alps (Mont Rochemelon) in the background and the Roman aqueduct c. 4th century A.D. (Image: author)

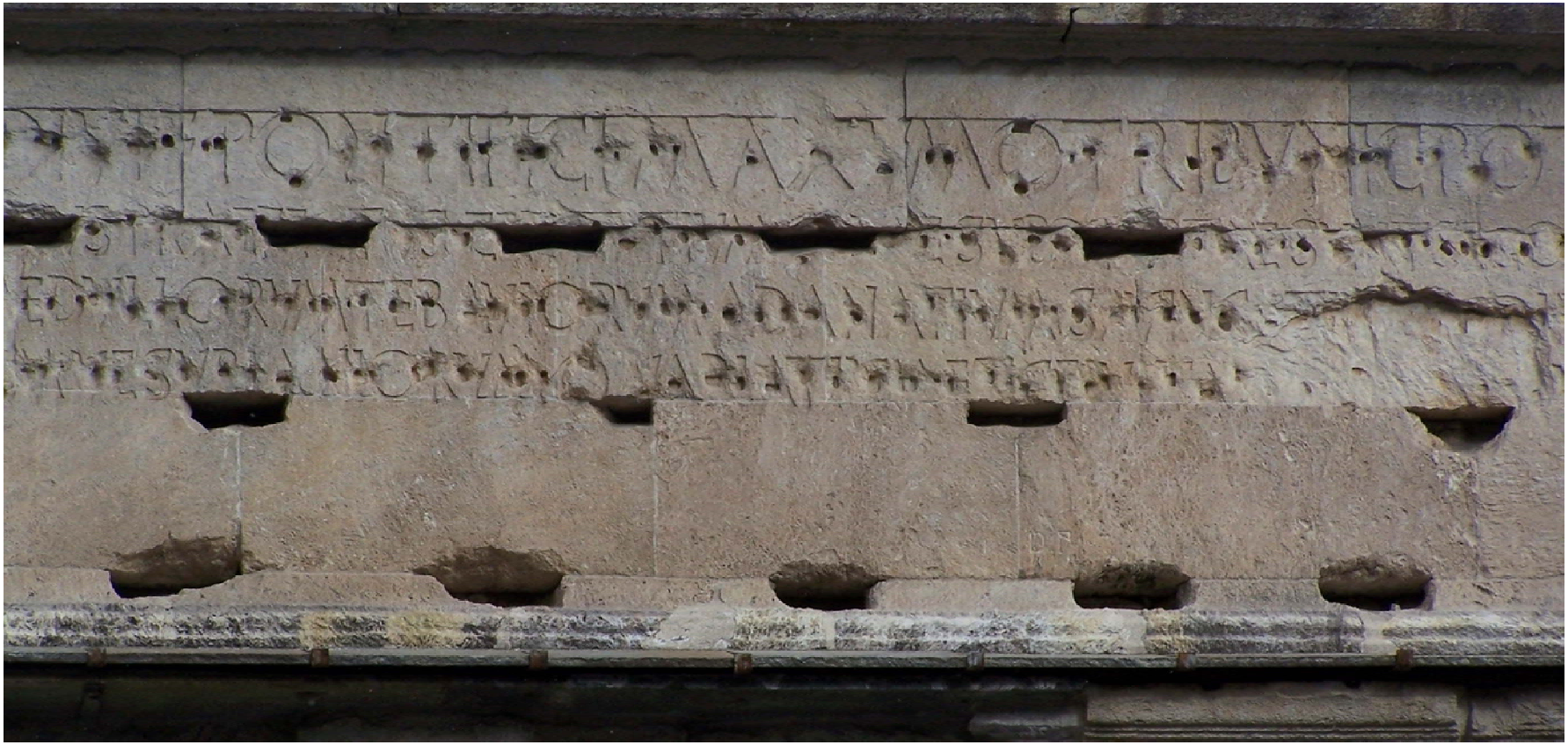


Figure 138: Detail of the inscription on the attic of the arch of Augustus at Susa, illustrating the countersunk letters (Image: author).

Figure 139: Drawing of the arch at Susa published in *Theatrum Sabaudiae* in 1666, incorrectly showing the inscription as comprising six lines, with the word *VICTOR* in the last line originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Forray (1994) 181.

Figure 140: Denarius of an unknown minter, from Rome, c. 194-190 B.C., depicting the helmeted head of Roma on the obverse, and the Dioscuri on the reverse (*RRC* 134/1b) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford2.html

Figure 141: Silver Celtic coin of Donnus, found near Lyon, depicting a helmeted female head with the legend *DVRNACVS* on the obverse, and a galloping cavalryman carrying a spear with the legend *DONNVS*. Diameter: 16mm, weight: 1.90g originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Hucher (1868-1974) Part I pl. 64.



Figure 142: (Top) the correlation between the central section of the east side of the frieze of the arch at Susa, with the outline of the figures highlighted to provide definition; (bottom) the central section of the west side of the frieze of the arch of Susa (Images: author).



Figure 143: (Left) detail of the right hand corner of the east side of the frieze of the arch at Susa, depicting a figure seated at a desk receiving *tabulae* (outline highlighted), and two standing togate figures**,** with a *capsa* at their feet; (right) detail of the right hand corner of the west side of the frieze of the arch at Susa, depicting a similar scene (Images: author).

Figure 144: (Left) the north side of the arch and (right) the south side of the arch at Susa (Images by author).

Figure 145: Aureus minted by C. Antistius Reginus, from Rome, c. 13 B.C. the oak-wreathed head of Augustus on the observe, and on the reverse, two veiled priests ratifying the *foedus* made between Rome and Gabii, by sacrificing a pig over an altar (*RIC* Aug. 411) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/augustus3.html

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Figure 146: Detail on the central section of the south frieze on the arch at Susa, depicting a veiled priest (to the left of the altar) surrounded by victimarii and lictors (Image: author).

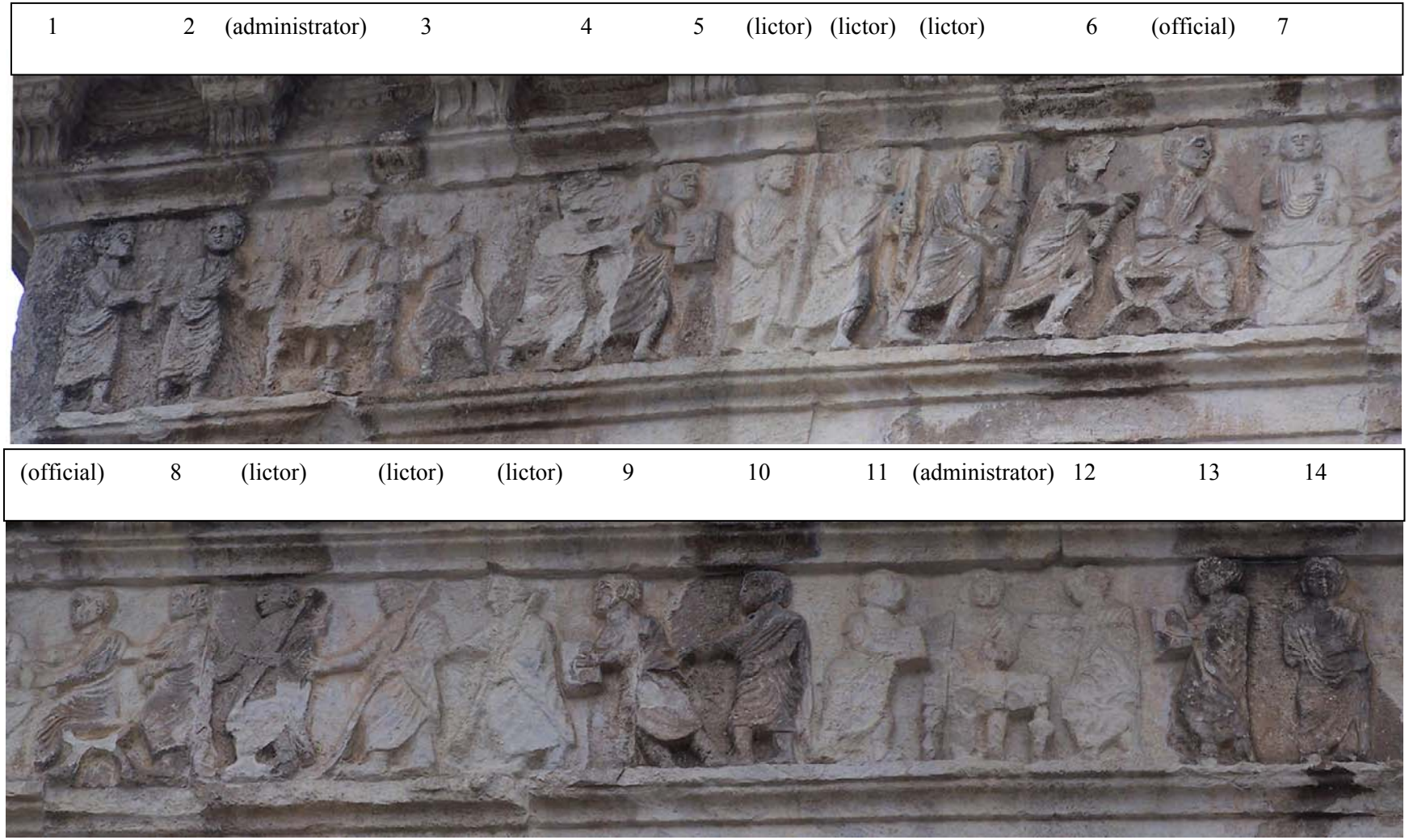


Figure 147: West side of the frieze from the arch at Susa, illustrating the positions of the fourteen *civitates* within the scene (Image: author).

Figure 148: Right hand side of the Roman historical relief from the so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, depicting a procession of the army and sacrificial (*suvetaurilia*) victims originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was adapted from Stilp (2003) figs 25-27.



Figure 149: Right hand side of the south frieze of the arch of Augustus at Susa, depicting a procession of the army and sacrificial victims towards a central altar (Image: author).

Figure 150: (Above) detail of the left hand side of the Roman relief from the so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, depicting a scene of census, with the seated administrator receiving *volumina* originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Stilp (2003) fig. 22.



Figure 151: (below) detail of the right hand side of the west frieze on the arch at Susa, depicting a similar scene of census (Image: author).

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Figure 152: Details of the Dioscuri at the left hand side (above) and right hand side (below) of the south frieze of the arch, Susa (Images: author).

Figure 153: Central detail of the Roman historical relief from the so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, depicting the god Mars overseeing the *lustratio exercitus* originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Stilp (2003) fig. 24.

Figure 154: Plan showing the arch of Augustus, and the excavation site of the Palazzina Ramella, Susa, in 1904-1905, which revealed a Roman road and surrounding structures originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The image was sourced at Mercando (1993) fig. 85.

Figure 155: Plan of the excavations of the Palazzina Ramella, Susa, in 1904-1905. (A) Roman road; (B) *Heroon* of Cottius; (C) Forum; (D) unidentified structure; (1) bronze head; (2) fragments of an honorary inscription to Agrippa; (3) stone urn originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was adapted from Slavazzi (1996) pl. 4.

Figure 156: Bronze head, attributed to either Marcus Agrippa or Drusus Maior, found in the excavations of the Palazzina Ramella, Susa, in 1904 measuring 0.31m high; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 14.130.2 originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Evangelisti (1995) 64.

Figure 157: Inscription dedicated by the sons of Cottius to Marcus Agrippa : *M. Agrippa L. f. /[cos III tr]ị̣b̥ potest / - - - - - - - - / Don[nu]s et Cotti[us] / Cotti f.* originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was sourced at Letta (1976) fig. 2.

Figure 158: Plan of the west of Susa, showing the principle urban alignments of the ancient structures, notably the Forum Temple (1) and the Roman road and adjacent buildings (3) originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright' reasons. The image was adapted from Barello (2008) fig. 2.



Figure 159: Remains of the temple at the north end of the forum, in the modern day Piazza Savoia, Susa (Image: author).

Figure 160: Plan of the castellum, and arch at Susa originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’ reasons. The image was sourced at Mercando (1992) 55, fig. 51,