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## **Waves of Fortune, Waves of Fate: Sextus Pompeius and the Importance of Marine Symbolism in Rome's Civil Wars**

It was in the wake of Paul Zanker's *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, first published in 1987, that archaeological publications on the civil wars of the 40s and 30s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE reached fever pitch.<sup>1</sup> However, most classical archaeologists after Zanker chose to focus on the antagonism between Octavian and Marc Antony, and, consequently, Sextus Pompeius was often sidelined if not widely ignored.<sup>2</sup> For good historical reasons, the battle of Actium was always seen as *the* major turning point in the whole story, and the pivotal years around 31 BCE therefore came to dominate the period which, in archaeology, is widely known as 'the Second Triumvirate'.

This term helps to illustrate a key problem of archaeological scholarship, namely the inherently difficult nature of fine chronology. Most of the evidence we have for the period – buildings, statues, wall paintings, architectural decoration, even coins – does not come with a year tag attached to it. Indeed, in archaeological chronologies one will mostly find indications such as 'third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE' or '50 to 25 BCE', the '40s and the 30s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century', or, most frustratingly, the dry comment 'proto- or early Augustan' or simply 'the Second Triumvirate'. In terms of historical precision, it is therefore, from an archaeologist's point of view, often very difficult to ascribe a given monument or object to the very decade when Sextus Pompeius was most actively involved in Roman politics, which means the years between 44 and 36 BCE. Moreover, the stories told by the new Augustan regime after the battle of Actium have done much to blur our vision so that a lot of the material available to us can only be used as indirect evidence for the events of the late Forties and early Thirties.<sup>3</sup>

This can be illustrated by an episode which happened five or six years *after* the death of Sextus Pompeius. It is reported by Augustus himself, in his *Res Gestae*, last copy-edited in 13 CE, only one year before his death. Augustus states proudly, that, after his victory at Actium, he "replaced in the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia the ornaments which my late adversary [Marc Antony], after despoiling the temples, had taken into his private possession. Some eighty silver statues of me, on foot, on horse and in chariots, had been set up in Rome [i.e. in the period before the battle of Actium]; I myself removed them, and with the money that they realized I set golden

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<sup>1</sup> Zanker 1987; Hoffer 1988; Sauron 1994; Gurval 1995; Galinsky 1996. More recently: Osgood 2006; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Davies 2017; Maschek 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Rare but notable exceptions come from the field of Ancient History, e.g. Powell & Welch 2002 and Kathryn Welch's excellent monograph on Sextus Pompeius: Welch 2012.

<sup>3</sup> On this problem of ancient and modern historiography see Welch 2012, 15-33. The issue of overly schematic archaeological chronologies would certainly deserve a much more thorough treatment in future studies.

offerings in the temple of Apollo, in my own name and in the names of those who had honored me with the statues.”<sup>4</sup>

The temple mentioned in the text must be the temple of Apollo Palatinus, which was vowed by Octavian right before the battle of Naulochus in 36 BCE, and finally dedicated in 28 BCE.<sup>5</sup> Even though construction works at the site were not finished before the battle of Actium, the temple was always connected with the final victory against Sextus Pompeius.<sup>6</sup> Obviously it is impossible to prove, but amongst the statues mentioned by Augustus in the *Res Gestae* could well have been the one on a famous *denarius* (fig. 1) which belongs to a much-discussed series, minted in all likelihood in the last years before the battle of Actium<sup>7</sup>: it shows Victoria on the obverse and a statue resembling the youthful Octavian on the reverse, unambiguously named ‘Caesar / Divi Filius’. On this image, Octavian is wearing nothing else but a short cloak and a sword, holding a spear in his left hand; in his right hand he wields an *aplustre*, a decorative element usually fixed upon a warship’s stern. Octavian’s right foot is placed upon a *sphaira*, a globe. The combination of *aplustre* and *sphaira* can be read as the visual expression of that famous catchphrase of Octavian’s victories “by land and by sea” (*terra marique*), which appears not only in the *Res Gestae*<sup>8</sup> but also in the inscription of the great victory monument for the battle of Actium at Nicopolis in Western Greece which can be dated to the years between 29 and 27 BCE.<sup>9</sup>

Because the coin is most likely to predate the battle of Actium, the ‘*terra marique*’ message can only be understood as a reference to Octavian’s victory against Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. And this chronological assessment in return matches the report of the removal of statues in the *Res Gestae* – of course, we don’t know the exact nature of these statues, but the act of removal itself shows how important the act of deliberate visual self-fashioning was for all the protagonists in the civil wars of the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Not only could certain *ideological values* of the *res publica* be visualised in statues and monuments, but also the importance of divine protection, family ties and lineage could

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<sup>4</sup> R. Gest. div. Aug. 24.1-2.

<sup>5</sup> Hor. carm. 1.31; Prop. 2.31; Verg. Aen. 8.720; Ov. fast. 4.951-4, ars 1.73-4, trist. 3.1.59-64; R. Gest. div. Aug. 19.1, 24.2; Vell. 2.81.3; Asc. 90C; Plin. nat. 36.11, 24-5, 32, 37.11; Ios. BJ 2.81; Suet. Aug. 29.3, 52.1; Cass. Dio 53.1.3; Serv. Aen. 8.720. On the architectural remains of the temple: Zink 2008, 2009, 2012; Pensabene & Gallochio 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Gurval 1995, 41-65. 87-94- 111-115; Hekster & Rich 2006, 150-152. 160-168; Lange 2009, 30-39.

<sup>7</sup> RIC I<sup>2</sup> 256. The protracted discussion of the whole coin series is usefully summarised and assessed in Assenmaker 2007 and Dillon 2007. Cf. Crawford 1974; Hill 1976; Sutherland 1976; Zanker 1987, 48-49. 61-65; Rich & Williams 1999.

<sup>8</sup> R. Gest. div. Aug. 13. Cf. Liv. 1.19.3; Suet. Aug. 22. On the wider political and intellectual context of the phrase ‘*terra marique*’ see Momigliano 1942 and Lange 2009, 25. 35. 82-90. 146-148. 199.

<sup>9</sup> Murray & Petsas 1989, 62-77; Lange 2009, 107-111.

be propagated – as in both the cases of Octavian or rather ‘Caesar Divi Filius’, favourite of Apollo, and Sextus Pompeius or rather ‘Magnus Pius’, favourite of Neptune.<sup>10</sup>

All this has been exhaustively laid out in the works of Zanker and others since the late 1980s, with a clear focus on the chief protagonists and on overarching political interpretations. By contrast, my aim in this paper is to approach the field of marine symbolism during the civil wars of the late Republic from a different angle: Rather than focus exclusively on Sextus Pompeius, I shall try to sketch out the multiple dimensions of the imagery he, Octavian, and others, were deploying in their struggle for power. This also implies looking back deep into the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE in order to identify the role of tradition and innovation over the course of several generations. Particular modes of visual representation had a long history in Roman art, and without a decidedly generational perspective it is hard to grasp the significance of what was going on in the ten-year-period after Caesar’s death.<sup>11</sup> This paper therefore follows a roughly chronological trajectory over the course of the late Republic, but I also try to shed light on two other closely related fields: Firstly, the ideology of sea power in the broader context of late republican politics and society; and secondly, the importance of marine symbolism for particular social groups, especially those directly involved in the fighting between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius.

At the beginning it is necessary to briefly reflect upon the wider Mediterranean and its maritime landscape in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Since the destruction of both Carthage and Corinth in 146 BCE, the Romans were principally in control of the Western and the Eastern Mediterranean. Roman fleet building had reached new peaks in the First and Second Punic Wars, and after that the Romans successfully took on the powerful navies of the major Hellenistic kingdoms.<sup>12</sup> But Rome’s maritime expansion was not only *military* – it was also a story of extraordinary *economic* growth. After the end of the Third Macedonian War, the amount of Roman wine and oil amphorae in the East rose significantly, and Campanian black and red gloss pottery started to appear in large quantities throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>13</sup> A free port was established on the island of Delos in 166 BCE. Only one generation later, the port had become one of the main hubs of seaborne trade, and, as famously mentioned by Strabo, an extremely busy slave market, with allegedly up to 10,000 slaves sold every day.<sup>14</sup> Through the epigraphical record, powerful and dynamic communities of Roman and Italian traders are attested not only on Delos, but also in Asia Minor and mainland Greece. The

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<sup>10</sup> Zanker 1987, 46-61; Gurval 1995, 87-102. 146; Lange 2009, 38-48; Welch 2012, 294-299.

<sup>11</sup> For such a generational take on the civil wars of the late Republic see most recently Maschek 2018, 17-19.

<sup>12</sup> This process is outlined in Steinby 2007. On Rome’s naval history in the period leading up to the Punic Wars see recently Harris 2017.

<sup>13</sup> Morel 1986; Rauh 1993, 41-44; Lund 2000; Rauh 2003, 124-133; Lund 2004, 5-8. 10-13 fig. 13; Poblome 2004, 27-30; Bes 2015, 27-61. 78-81.

<sup>14</sup> Strab. 14.5.2. On the role of Delos as a slave market cf. Rauh 1993, 42-53; Coarelli 2005 and, most recently, Coarelli 2016, 265-484. *Contra* Trümper 2009, 34-48.

names show us that these trading communities were dominated by elite families (and their freedmen and slaves) from Latium and Campania.<sup>15</sup>

At the same time, which means from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE onwards, huge quantities of Italian wine amphorae were shipped to southern and central Gaul. Distribution charts of archaeological finds help us to flesh out the account of Diodorus, who tells us that by the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE certain tribes in Gaul traded one slave for one amphora of wine.<sup>16</sup> In parallel to this development in Gaul, the exploitation of the Spanish silver mines after the Second Punic War led to a huge increase in seaborne commerce between Iberia and Central Italy. On shipwrecks of that period, we find lead ingots with the names of families from Latium and Campania who are also present in Carthago Nova and other sites in southern Spain, running the silver mines for the Roman state.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, due to the growth of the city of Rome in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BCE, a complex supply chain with regular grain transports from Sicily, North Africa and Egypt to Italy not only became a crucial element of urban *politics*, but also a lifeline for a large part of the metropolitan population.<sup>18</sup> The trade in cash crops from central Italy and the grain supply fostered the investment in harbour infrastructure: the port of Tarracina in Latium was significantly developed in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, on behalf of the Aemilii, an important Roman elite family; the same is true for the harbours of Puteoli (since 194 BCE) and Aquileia (since 181 BCE), to name but a few.<sup>19</sup>

As a consequence, the intensity of maritime commerce in the Mediterranean reached an astonishing level in the late republican period. As becomes clear from the famous chronological distribution curve of shipwrecks in the Mediterranean, first compiled by Anthony J. Parker in the 1990s and recently amended by Andrew Wilson, there was a steep increase in the number of wrecks of trade ships in the last two centuries BCE.<sup>20</sup> The peak of this curve in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE was actually even slightly higher than during the early imperial period, and many times higher than the number of shipwrecks around the year 1500.

It is only logical that such a steep increase in seaborne commerce led to problems with piracy, which indeed became endemic in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BCE. Since the turn of the century, several Roman commanders were fighting the pirates in the East.<sup>21</sup> In 68 BCE, the harbour of Ostia was

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<sup>15</sup> Hatzfeld 1919; Càssola 1970–1971; Helly 1983; Rauh 1993, 1-41; Hasenohr & Müller 2002; Rizakis 2002; Computangelo-Soussignan 2006; Broekaert 2015.

<sup>16</sup> Diod. 5.26.3; Tchernia 1986, 2009; Poux 2004.

<sup>17</sup> Kay 2014, 51-53; Stefanile 2015.

<sup>18</sup> Garnsey 1988, 182-217; Erdkamp 2005, 209-225. 240-244.

<sup>19</sup> Terracina: Liv. 39.46.4, 40.51.2; Coarelli 1990; Puteoli: Liv. 24.13, 32.29.4; Frederiksen 1984, 319-358; Valeri 2005, 15-24; Aquileia: Liv. 40.34.2-3; Strab. 5.1.8; Denti 1991, 36-52. 67-106.

<sup>20</sup> Parker 1992, fig. 3; Wilson 2011, 33-39.

<sup>21</sup> Pohl 1993; Rauh 1993, 43-60; De Souza 1999, 97-178; De Souza 2008.

attacked by a pirate fleet, with pirate ships cruising on the Tiber.<sup>22</sup> The backlash came in the following year when Pompey the Great took command and, within only twelve months, eradicated the pirate threat throughout the Mediterranean.<sup>23</sup> This staggering strategic achievement was duly celebrated by Cicero, addressing the Roman assembly in his speech 'Pro Lege Manilia': "Oh immortal gods! Was the remarkable and divine excellence of *one* man able to bring so much light to the republic in such a short time, that you, who were recently watching the fleet of the enemy at the mouth of the Tiber, now hear that no ship of the pirates is within the pillars of Hercules?"<sup>24</sup> At a time when maritime trade had become a metaphor for unprecedented wealth, the safeguard of the sea was a political necessity, and the man who provided it could justly be praised as a figure of superhuman qualities. The very same qualities were also visualized in a great monument at the waterfront of the harbour of Miletus in Asia Minor (fig. 2): Most probably erected in the earlier decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, it has been interpreted as a victory monument for Pompey's campaign against the pirates in 67 BCE.<sup>25</sup> The base of the monument was decorated with charging tritons and sculpted prows of warships. This arrangement was crowned by a frieze with the usual spoils of marine warfare such as the *aplustre* and an anchor, surmounted by a giant tripod as a symbol of victory.

This monument for Pompey the Great at Miletus followed a long tradition in Roman Republican art. The prows or, more essentially, the rams of enemy ships were routinely put on display, with both the oldest and most famous example being the speaker's platform on the Roman forum, decorated by the consul Gaius Maenius with the rams, the eponymous *rostra*, of Volscan ships captured at the battle of Antium in 338 BCE.<sup>26</sup> The iconic value of the *rostrum* was put centre stage on yet another of the forum's monuments, the first *columna rostrata*, commissioned in order to commemorate the great victory of Gaius Duilius at the battle of Mylae in 260 BCE.<sup>27</sup> And, in return, Roman naval magistrates chose the goddess Victoria for the elaborate decoration of bronze rams which have been recently recovered from the seabed off the Egadi Islands where the decisive battle of the First Punic War was fought in 241 BCE. Related to similar developments in Hellenistic Greek art, as encapsulated in the famous statue of the Nike of Samothrake, the ships' prow and the ram had therefore become

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<sup>22</sup> Cic. Manil. 33.

<sup>23</sup> On Pompey's campaigns see De Souza 1999, 149-178.

<sup>24</sup> Cic. Manil. 33.

<sup>25</sup> von Gerkan 1922, 55-73. Possible dates for the monument range from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE to the Augustan period, cf. the overview in Schneider 1986, 62 n. 360-361. In terms of sculptural style and architectural design, an earlier date in this time bracket and thus the connection with Pompey's naval victories seems highly plausible. This is also supported by the geomorphology of the harbour basin which renders an Augustan date impossible: Brückner et al. 2014, 786-795. 801.

<sup>26</sup> Flor. epit. 1.5.10; Liv. 8.14.12; Plin. nat. 34.20; Coarelli 1999. For the following brief history of the (political) commemoration of Roman naval victories in the republican period cf. also the paper of Christian Rollinger in the present volume.

<sup>27</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 25 = VI 1300 = ILLRP 319; Inscr. Ital. 13.3.69; Chioffi 1993; Sehlmeier 1999, 117-119.

powerful symbols of military success already in Roman visual representation of the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE.<sup>28</sup>

But this phenomenon was by no means confined to the public sphere or to the *Roman elite*. One striking example for the importance of marine symbols in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE comes from the town of Fregellae, close to modern-day Ceprano in southern Latium, roughly 100 kilometres from Rome. Since the 1980s, the town centre has been excavated by Filippo Coarelli. Fregellae was destroyed by a Roman army in 125 BCE, so there is a clear *terminus ante quem* for all archaeological finds from the site, sealed underneath the destruction layers. Next to the forum, several elite houses were uncovered, and from these houses come hundreds of terracotta plaques which originally adorned the roof-openings of the *atria*. On these terracotta plaques, we find the prows and rams of warships, alongside dolphins and other sea creatures (fig. 3).<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, there is a striking terracotta frieze which depicts military trophies, flanked by victories and tripods. Another scene of the same frieze shows elephants and, again, ship prows with *rostra*. This has been convincingly associated with Livy's account of Rome's war against the Seleucid king Antiochus III, when a military unit from Fregellae fought with the Romans at Magnesia and in the naval battle of Myonessus.<sup>30</sup> Obviously, in Fregellae these victories became an important aspect of the local elite's self-fashioning and domestic pride in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Similar terracotta plaques have been found in late-2<sup>nd</sup>-century houses in Pompeii, which demonstrates how pervasive such visual models were in the three or four generations before the civil wars of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>31</sup>

The ideology of naval victory and the huge increase in trade also fostered the spread of marine symbolism within the wider socio-political discourse of the Late Republic. In line with Greek philosophers, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE the ship and the sea became metaphors for the state and the socio-political conditions. The image of the senior politician as a 'helmsman', guiding the ship of the state through dangerous shoals and storms, was frequently used by Cicero, but it also appears in the writings of Varro.<sup>32</sup> The inherent volatility and insecurity of the sea voyage was further emphasized by the growing prominence of the goddess Fortuna in public and private worship throughout central Italy. Her most frequent attributes in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE were the rudder and the cornucopia, denoting her beyond doubt as the goddess of ship steering, trade and prosperity.<sup>33</sup> The

<sup>28</sup> Oliveri 2012, 121-123; Tusa & Royal 2012, 42-43.

<sup>29</sup> Känel 2004, 55-57 fig. 2-3. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Liv. 37, 34, 5-6; Coarelli 1994.

<sup>31</sup> Känel 2004, 56-57 fig. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Varro ling. 9.6. The use of marine and nautical metaphors, referring to the 'ship of state', shipwrecks, storms or piracy, is abundant in Cicero's writings of the 50s and 40s BCE, e.g. Cic. Sest. 16, 25, 46; Pis. 4, 9, 10, 20; dom. 24, 129, 137; rep. 1.11, 62; 2.51; 5.5; fam. 9.15.2; Phil. 2.113. Cf. May 1980 and Zarecki 2014, 81. 89. 138. On the intellectual history of the 'ship of state' metaphor in Greek thought: Brock 2013, 53-67.

<sup>33</sup> Champeaux 1987; Miano 2018.

final decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE saw the erection of the monumental sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, the blossoming of her cult at nearby Antium and its proliferation in the Greek-speaking East.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, Fortuna was not only invoked for protection during sea voyages but also, together with the closely related Felicitas, by generals in the Civil Wars of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, most notably Sulla, who knew perfectly well that they needed luck as much as strategy and brutality on the stormy seas of Roman politics.<sup>35</sup>

This powerful nexus of naval supremacy, maritime trade and marine symbolism fed into a new culture of luxury which literally hugged the western shores of the Italian peninsula. The coastlines were dotted with *villae maritimae*, most notably on the Bay of Naples, and the sea was perceived and visualised as a source of riches and abundance.<sup>36</sup> This is well illustrated by the famous late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE fish mosaics in the house of the Faun in Pompeii, or in the contemporary marine mosaic in the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste, showing all sorts of fancy fish, squids, crustaceans and other sea creatures.<sup>37</sup> At the same time, owners of *villae maritimae* started to invest in fish ponds which served the rapidly growing market for urban elites who craved luxurious seafood.<sup>38</sup>

It is exactly in the context of such a Late Republican seaside villa that we now return to the importance of marine symbolism in the period of Sextus Pompeius. The particular site, the so-called Villa of Tiberius at Sperlonga, half-way between Terracina and Gaëta in Latium, is certainly one of the best known examples for a luxurious Roman elite villa, including an extraordinary amount of high quality sculptural decoration. The villa incorporates a small harbour, fish ponds, salt tanks and two grottos with lavish architectural framing and sculptural decoration.<sup>39</sup> Inside and outside the larger grotto, the owner of the villa and his guests could repose in specially designed dining facilities, with lovely views of the sea and the coastline. The main attraction inside the grotto was the huge marble statue group of Odysseus and his companions, fighting against the sea monster Scylla in the Strait of Sicily (fig. 4). This masterpiece of late Hellenistic Rhodian sculpture constitutes a culmination of all the aspects mentioned before: the volatility and dangers of the sea, just about mastered by human intellect and power, although with some fatal losses.

The date of the Scylla-group from Sperlonga has been debated by archaeologists since its discovery in 1957. On the grounds of style, close parallels can be found in early Augustan sculpture, but, as already briefly addressed in this paper's introduction, the term 'early Augustan' is not very accurate

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<sup>34</sup> Sauron 1994, 99-135; Miano 2018, 49-76. 171-177.

<sup>35</sup> Champeaux 1987, 215-291; Miano 2018, 133-155.

<sup>36</sup> Marzano 2010, 2018.

<sup>37</sup> Dunbabin 1999, 47-49 (with further examples); Andrae 2003, 127-139.

<sup>38</sup> Higginbotham 1997; Marzano 2013, 210-233.

<sup>39</sup> Lavagne 1988, 515-558; Kunze 1996, 168 n. 96; Cassieri 2000.

in terms of chronology.<sup>40</sup> However, the architecture of the villa itself provides vital clues for the most probable date of the statue group. As already noticed by Christian Kunze and Volker Michael Strocka, the architectural styles of the main villa complex, including the walls, ramps and statue bases in the large grotto, point to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, the wall decoration of the main villa is similar to wall paintings of the so-called late second style in the Villa della Farnesina in Rome, which was conventionally dated to the years 30 to 20 BCE. However, the recent reassessment of late second style paintings in Rome by Irene Iacopi and Eugenio La Rocca, based upon the new and secure *terminus ante quem* of 36 BCE for the paintings in the 'House of Augustus', allows us to propose a slightly earlier date for the Scylla group of Sperlonga, namely from the mid-40s to 36 BCE, and therefore exactly in the period of Sextus Pompeius.<sup>42</sup>

This is significant because the fierce fighting for the control of the Strait of Sicily, the mythological domain of Scylla, was clearly the main challenge for both Sextus Pompeius and Octavian in the years between 43 and 36 BCE. Consequently, the sea-creature Scylla with her multiple dog-headed tails, wielding a rudder in her hands, figured prominently in a series of coins minted by Sextus Pompeius after his victorious naval battle against Quintus Salvidienus Rufus off Cape Scyllaeum in 42 BCE (fig. 5).<sup>43</sup> In this historical context, the story of Odysseus overcoming the monster of Sicily after fierce fighting is certainly meaningful, especially when it was used for the decoration of a late republican seaside villa close to Rome. We can only speculate about the owner of this residence, but the choice of location as well as the choice of the Scylla group definitely reveals a lot about the highly complex ways in which marine symbolism had come to permeate Roman society during the Civil Wars of the 40s and early 30s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.<sup>44</sup>

This brings us back to the statue of Octavian which I discussed at the outset of this paper. What is striking about this image is the fact that, again, it was by no means a new or bespoke creation for Octavian. Actually, a very similar figure also appears on coins of Sextus Pompeius (fig. 6).<sup>45</sup> Here it refers to a statue of Pompey the Great whose portrait is also shown on the obverse. On the reverse,

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<sup>40</sup> The highly complex debate is usefully summarised in Kunze 1996; Strocka 1999; Ridgway 2000 and Bruno et al. 2015, 376-377 n. 10. The recently proposed Tiberian date of the Sperlonga sculptures in Bruno et al. 2015, allegedly supporting Bernard Andreae's persistently upheld interpretation, is based upon the *a priori* assumption that marble from Docimium was not quarried before the mid-Augustan period. However, despite claims to the contrary (Bruno et al. 2015, 381-383), there is no affirmative evidence which definitely *rules out* the exploitation of the Docimium quarries *before* this date. It also takes no account of the bespoke architecture of the villa and the grottos whose building materials and styles clearly predate the Tiberian period.

<sup>41</sup> Kunze 1996, 165-180; Strocka 1999, 309-310.

<sup>42</sup> Iacopi & Tedone 2005/06; La Rocca 2008; Pensabene & Gallochio 2017.

<sup>43</sup> RRC 511/4. For these coins see also the contribution of Wilhelm Hollstein in this volume.

<sup>44</sup> On the wider historical significance of representations of Scylla in late republican/early imperial art see Schäfer 2017, 339-348.

<sup>45</sup> RRC 511/3. The same statue type is shown on top of the lighthouse (of Messina?) on the *denarii* RRC 511/4. Cf. Sehlmeier 1999, 257-258.

Pompey places his right foot on a ship's prow, holding an *aplustre* in his right hand. Octavian's coins obviously copy this characteristic posture, although there is a slight, but significant, shift in attributes, from the prow to the globe. But the posture itself was not created for Pompey's statue either. It follows a well-attested early Hellenistic statue type of Neptune, perhaps designed by the Greek sculptor Lysippus in the late 4<sup>th</sup> BCE, which is shown on early third century coins minted by the Antigonid king Demetrios Poliorketes (fig. 7).<sup>46</sup>

Again, the story would not be complete if we only concentrated on the imagery of Sextus Pompeius and Octavian. In the later 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, this particular statue type was also used for portraits of *other* members of the Roman and Italian elites and therefore tells us quite a lot about the degree to which naval power had become associated with personal achievement and power in the late republic.<sup>47</sup> A first example of the very same statue type comes from Cassino, the ancient Casinum, in southern Latium (fig. 8). It was found in an early imperial deposit of marble in the Roman theatre of the town, together with a building inscription which mentions a '*patronus praefecturae*' and therefore provides a *clear terminus ante quem* for the creation of the statue: It must predate the year 49 BCE, when a *municipium* was established at Casinum.<sup>48</sup> Filippo Coarelli has argued for an identification of the portrait head as Marcus Terentius Varro, the famous polyhistor and antiquarian, who had his villa in the territory of Casinum.<sup>49</sup> The posture of the statue is similar to the one on the coins of Sextus Pompeius, and again the man is shown in almost complete nudity, apart from the military cloak worn over his left arm. Coarelli's arguments are particularly compelling because in 67 BCE Varro had served with distinction as a commander in Pompey's campaign against the pirates, earning the highly prestigious *corona navalis* for his conduct,<sup>50</sup> and a commemorative statue in the town where he frequently stayed, reflecting the famous Lysippian Neptune, would therefore have been perfectly adequate.

The same iconic posture is taken by the statue of Gaius Cartilius Poplicola from the sanctuary of Hercules at Ostia which was probably dedicated in the course of the 30s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE (fig. 9).<sup>51</sup> However, the statue itself was reworked and must therefore have been created for someone else at an earlier date, probably around the middle of the century. For Poplicola, as for Varro, the statue type makes perfect sense in the light of his personal biography as becomes clear from his

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<sup>46</sup> Coins of Demetrios Poliorketes: Newell 1927, 89-90 pls. 8-9. Statue of Neptune: Zanker 1987, 48; La Rocca 1987-88; Bartman 1992, 122-125; Cadario 2000, 217.

<sup>47</sup> Tellingly, the same characteristic posture was also taken by figures of Neptune, Mars or anonymous heroic youths on late republican gemstones: Maderna 1988, 454-455. 467-468 cat. 248-251.

<sup>48</sup> Naples, Museo Nazionale inv. 149906: Himmelmann 1989, 224-225 cat. 13; Coarelli 2011b, 246-251.

<sup>49</sup> Coarelli 1992, 1995, 2011a, 86-88.

<sup>50</sup> Plin. nat. 16.3.7.

<sup>51</sup> Ostia, Museo inv. 121; ILLRP 634a; Calza 1955; Hallett 2005, 115-117; Pensabene 2007, 622; Cadario 2016, 308.

funerary monument next to Ostia's harbour gate, the Porta Marina.<sup>52</sup> The monument features the main achievements of Poplicola's distinguished career. Sixteen bundles of rods are flanking the inscription, two for each time Poplicola was *duovir* of the *colonia*. Above the inscription runs a frieze, depicting a scene of war. To the left we see a line of armed soldiers, led by a somewhat larger person. To the right is a ship with the head of Minerva on the prow, on board a soldier about to throw a lance. The soldiers to the left may be Ostians, led by Poplicola, defending themselves against a naval attack, perhaps that of Sextus Pompeius in 39 BC which is mentioned by Florus.<sup>53</sup> As in the case of the presumed portrait of Varro from Cassino, this shows beyond any doubt that the type for Poplicola's honorific statue was carefully chosen: the Lysippian model of Neptune had become a part of the widespread use of marine symbolism in the self-fashioning of the Late Republican elites throughout Central Italy in the period of Civil War.<sup>54</sup>

One last example from Capua shall suffice to illustrate the pervasiveness of this phenomenon in the civil war period (fig. 10). It is a larger-than-life statue of a man in almost complete nudity, apart from the cloak on his left arm. His left foot is placed upon a *rostrum*. In his left hand he is holding a sword. The man who was honoured with this statue must have been one of the members of Capua's local elite in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.<sup>55</sup> In 49 BCE, Capua sided with Pompey against Caesar and was subsequently punished by the confiscation of land and the settlement of veterans in the area, accompanied by the foundation of two colonies at Calatia and Casilinum.<sup>56</sup> After the battle of Philippi, the territory of Capua was chosen for a new round of veteran settlement by the triumvirs in 42 BCE.<sup>57</sup> From then onwards, Capua was loyal to Octavian, and Campania was chosen as the deployment zone for the war against Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, especially with regard to the ambitious construction project of the *portus Iulius*.<sup>58</sup> According to Velleius Paterculus and Cassius Dio, veterans of the battle of Naulochus were settled in the territory of Capua in 36 BCE.<sup>59</sup> The epigraphic record supports this: There are funerary inscriptions from Capua of one *classarius* and two veterans of the tenth legion 'Fretensis' which fought off the shores of Sicily against Sextus Pompeius.<sup>60</sup> The statue therefore probably represents one of the higher ranking officers of such a veteran unit who, after being settled in Capua, became an important member of the local elite and was honoured with a statue which closely resembled the images propagated by *both* opposing sides in the recent civil war.

<sup>52</sup> Squarciapino 1955; Holliday 2002, 97-102; Pensabene 2007, 11. 131-133.

<sup>53</sup> Flor. epit. 2.18.2. Cf. Salomies 2003, 136-139. 152-154.

<sup>54</sup> Cadario 2000; Masséglià 2015, 26-28; Cadario 2016, 307-309.

<sup>55</sup> Cadario 2000.

<sup>56</sup> Caes. civ. 1.10; App. civ. 3.40; Keppie 1983, 144; Frederiksen 1984, 306-308.

<sup>57</sup> App. civ. 4.3; Keppie 1983, 67-68.

<sup>58</sup> Roddaz 1984, 95-117; Welch 2012, 269-270.

<sup>59</sup> Vell. 2.81; Cass. Dio 49.14. Cf. CIL X 3825; Keppie 1983, 145.

<sup>60</sup> Collected and presented in Keppie 1983, 145-147.

Overall, far from being part of an exclusive *intellectual* play of images and ideologies, allusions to naval victories and combat during the late republican period conveyed a message of dramatically changing fortunes to a battle-hardened audience which, by the 40s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, was already well acquainted with the key symbols such as the ship's prow or the *rostrum*. Since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, the positive and negative qualities of the sea had become a metaphor for success and failure, for heroic commanders and dangerous villains. For the Roman and Italian elites, the sea was a source of wealth and pleasure which had to be safeguarded against pirates and other criminal elements. In images, monuments and texts, there was always only a very thin borderline between the legitimate '*rector maris*' and an ordinary pirate: the blessings of Fortuna and Neptune were deceptive, and the victor of the civil wars, whose statue in its characteristic Neptune-like Lysippian posture was so similar to the one of Pompey the Great on Sextus' coinage, had the last and final word when he stated in his *Res Gestae*: "*Mare pacavi a praedonibus*. – I freed the sea from pirates."<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> R. Gest. div. Aug. 25.1.

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