

A Place for Every Barbarian, A Road for Every Roman:
Imperium, Movement, and Roman Identity from Pompey to Hadrian

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Abstract

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In a purely territorial sense, a Roman empire, defined as Rome's hegemonic domination of the Mediterranean basin, is an inescapable fact beginning at least in the third century BCE with the Punic Wars and the subsequent establishment of Rome's first overseas provinces, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. A comparable theoretical apparatus, however, did not emerge until long after. Through a careful analysis of literature and material culture between the rise of Pompey in the late first century BCE and the death of Hadrian in 138 CE, I trace the evolution of a Roman conceptual framework of empire, one rooted in the Roman term *imperium*. I argue that the Romans conceived of and practiced *imperium* in terms of movement disparity, wherein a person properly endowed with *imperium* not only had the ability to move freely but also to regulate, both positively and negatively, the movement of those without *imperium*. While the function of *imperium* remains remarkably the same between the rise of Pompey and the reign of Hadrian, the identity and relationship of those with *imperium* and those without shifts dramatically in this time period. I suggest that the rise of the Roman empire is not a tale of territorial hegemony, but of the conceptual transformation of Rome's subjects from inexorably alien populations, which Roman *imperium* bound to their proper places, to a generically 'Roman' population that uniformly shared in the benefits of *imperium*.

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In summary (or the “too long; did not read it” version), the strengths of this dissertation, however small they may be, are the result of all those who supported me on this long path. All errors and mistakes, however, are entirely my own.

INTRODUCTION

In a purely territorial sense, a Roman empire, defined as Rome's hegemonic domination of the Mediterranean basin, is an inescapable fact beginning at least in the third century BCE with the Punic Wars and the subsequent establishment of Rome's first overseas provinces, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Over the next two centuries, Rome's expansion and its subjugation of the Mediterranean world established it as the premier power. Yet, the Romans did not conceive of this initial territorial hegemony as empire. Indeed, the confines of modern theories of empire suggest that this geographic control was not in fact an empire; in these terms, empire requires a systematized, rationalized, and fully articulated conglomeration of practices and discourses that grant apparent consistency to and implicitly justify this control.¹ A Roman conceptual framework of this kind was absent for at least one hundred and fifty years after this 'fact of empire,' emerging in a nascent and contested form shortly before the formal political rupture between the Roman Republic and the Principate. Although modern audiences are more familiar with the narrative of the fall of Julius Caesar and the rise of his adopted son Augustus, the trajectory of these men's lives obscure an underlying evolution in Roman practices and understandings of imperialism and empire that began with the nearly unprecedented career of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus.

For modern observers looking back, the difficulty of the concept of empire for the Romans is not readily apparent. The history of the great nineteenth- and twentieth-century empires, as well as our more recent post-colonial or neo-colonial moment, necessarily shapes the preconceptions we bring to any study of the Roman empire, even on the most basic linguistic level. The very familiarity of the constellation of Latin terms – *imperium*, *provincia*, *imperator*,

¹ For which, see the many fine papers in Alcock et al. 2001; especially Morrison 2001.

colonia, *barbarus*, and *civis*, to list but a few – creates a false sense of commonality and familiarity between Rome and the present, obscuring the nuances of these words and their initial deployment with their afterlife in modern languages. Indeed, our nearness to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century empires, all of which readily adopted derivatives of these Latin terms, complicates any attempt to understand the development of the Roman empire.

At heart, the history of our modern commentators and of their particular moments of empire fundamentally shapes our assumptions about Roman practices, methods, and goals.² We live in a context in which nations and geography are linked inextricably, predisposing us to imagine empire in geopolitical terms. The contours of modern studies of the Roman empire, and Roman imperialism in particular, reveal the consequences of this predisposition only too clearly. We privilege the rare examples of maps, ignoring the oddity of their appearance in favor of treating them as an entirely typical means of producing knowledge of Rome's provinces or empire.³ We imagine that geopolitical concerns and domino theory explain the placement of fortifications and lines of defense along the edges of the empire.⁴ When the Romans encounter locals, we place their interactions within a framework of exploitation by officials, native resistance, and eventual hybridity or accommodation.⁵ In each case, the influence of our context is manifest; we seek ancient analogues to our maps, our borders, and our history of decolonization, often at the expense of more ubiquitous Roman technologies.

These approaches occlude an easily overlooked fact: the establishment of the Roman empire, both as a hegemonic entity and as a concept, was an essentially unprecedented task in the

² Freeman 1997.

³ See especially Nicolet 1991, who uses the so-called Map of Agrippa to support his argument that Augustus promoted a geographical knowledge of empire. See below for more discussion on Roman methods of representing and conceptualizing space.

⁴ Most notably Luttwak 1976, although see below and Chapter 5 for further discussion.

⁵ For example, Mattingly 2007.

ancient world. The application of models derived from the great nineteenth- and twentieth-century territorial empires, however, treats ‘empire’ as a universal constant, as a given, resulting in a fallacious chain of logic: if Rome controls a vast territory, it is an empire and, if Rome is an empire, it will resemble those with which we are familiar. Empire, however, is a historic and contingent construction, an actively debated and evolving set of practices and supporting constructions. The Romans did not have the gift of foresight, by which they might co-opt British practices in Africa and India. The rise of a Roman empire was a process that spanned several centuries, tracing a trajectory from Rome as city-state to Rome as a conceptually consistent empire. From the highly controversial innovations of Pompey, the reality of Roman imperialism, namely Rome’s hegemonic domination of the Mediterranean, evolved into a totalizing and uniquely Roman conception of empire by the time of the Nervan-Antonines, one that channeled and interpreted the conflicting and disputed practices of the Late Republic into a unified performance of empire under the emperor.

Through a careful examination of a variety of imperial material practices, including literature, architecture, administrative schemas, and the construction of infrastructure, I chart developments in the underlying logic and conceptualizations communicated through these practices. I emphasize the historical nature of the evidence of these practices, treating each incidence as a historically contingent and uniquely Roman expression of empire at a particular moment. I chart the development and evolution of Roman empire and imperialism, examining the debates, arenas, and participants that determined its changing shape. I do not treat empire and imperialism or their effects as a monolithic imposition but as the sum of the processes and arenas in which these negotiations could and did occur. In five individual chapters, I analyze material expressions of the debates over and reformulations of the meanings of empire, the

theoretical relationships at the core of empire, and the ways in which these principles might be practiced. I ask how the innovative, controversial, and disparate practices of Pompey and Julius Caesar evolved into the systematized and totalizing concept of empire under Hadrian and how the material practices of empire debated, articulated, and ultimately constructed this evolving concept.

The following chapters examine materials and practices that, within the context of their specific historical moments, capture the larger debate over what ‘empire’ and ‘imperialism’ should mean to Rome and its inhabitants. I trace the effects of the nature and location of Pompey’s campaigns on his particular imperial practices, practices that his contemporaries considered innovative and controversial, to reveal the genesis of the conception of empire and imperialism that would characterize the Principate. I analyze literary and governmental practices that gave a Roman sense of order to the land and its inhabitants, uncovering the logic of Julius Caesar’s representation of Gaul or Hadrian’s decision to spend so much of his reign traveling throughout the empire. Spanning monumental architecture, coinage, and literature, the Flavian dynasty’s interest in exporting images and symbols of the city of Rome to the provinces and in depicting the city as a proxy for the empire reveals an expanding scope of what ‘Rome’ means and how the center understands the subject periphery. These topics necessarily engage the substantial corpora of works on Roman imperialism and related topics, including border and frontier policy, Romanization and acculturation, center and periphery theory, the emperor and imperial patronage, and the transformation of landscapes and cityscapes under the Empire. Above all, however, I engage in a study of empire and imperialism, of the unique and historically contingent ways in which a ruling polity comes to conceptualize its control over a vast hinterland and to construct practices that articulate and construct these shifting concepts.

Central to any such discussion is the term *imperium*, a multifaceted word with an inconveniently rich post-Roman life. In the constellation of Latin terms relevant to empire, *imperium* figures prominently throughout the history of the Roman empire. Governors and generals endowed with *imperium* ventured forth from Rome to conquer provinces and wage war with barbarians; indeed, the Romans termed the power of most magistrates and officials *imperium*, either of the domestic (*imperium domi*) or military (*imperium militiae*) variety. When a general successfully pacified his foes, he was said to have added or subjected that population or province to Roman *imperium*.⁶ Yet, as Cicero suggests, a general or consul who could not enter his province did not, in fact, possess *imperium* (Cic. *Prov. Cos.* 15.37). To refer to their rule of the area that we now call the Roman empire, the Romans used the phrases *imperium Romanum* or *imperium populi Romani*. After pirates burned the Roman fleet and ravaged Italy all the way to the Appian Way, Cicero sarcastically asked *an tibi tum imperium hoc esse videbatur* (Cic. *Leg. Man.* 55).⁷

Although these are but a small selection of the numerous uses of the word *imperium* in Roman political and social discourse, they nonetheless illustrate its centrality to what we might call the Roman imperial project, the conquest of and subsequent rule over the Mediterranean basin.⁸ Whether Romans talked about the act of conquest, the rule of a province, the safety of Roman territory, or even the extraction of resources from the periphery to benefit the center, they phrased their imperial practices primarily in terms of *imperium*. Our understanding of the meaning of *imperium*, however, falls short of this rich variety of uses. We often uneasily define

⁶ Most obviously, Augustus in the opening of the *Res Gestae*: *Rerum gestarum divi Augusti quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit* (The deeds of the deified Augustus, by which he subjected the world to the *imperium* of the Roman people).

⁷ Does this seem to be *imperium* to you?

⁸ The best survey of the uses of *imperium* in Roman literature is Richardson 2008. See below for further discussion of this impressive, if flawed, work.

imperium as either the power of the magistrates or as a reference to the territory of the Roman empire.⁹ This translation, however, does a disservice to Roman imperial discourses on a linguistic and historical level. Linguistically, modern translations of *imperium* transforms it from a singular concept into a pair of homonymous words with radically different meanings. Historically, these translations dissect the various uses of *imperium* out of their historical context, a removal that treats *imperium* as a concept and practice without a history and without any meaningful evolution of significance.¹⁰ In effect, we risk ignoring two critical linguistic truths: the meaning of words change over time, and, when a group uses the same word in seemingly different contexts, that word likely has an underlying meaning that unites these contexts.

I seek to restore a sense of coherency and a history to the concept and practices of *imperium*. Rather than a reference to territorial hegemony, I suggest that *imperium* functions in terms of Rome's apparent preoccupation with the control of the circulation of people, goods, and ideas. Indeed, the first sign of Roman control over an area was never the extraordinarily rare examples of border fortifications but instead the construction of the ubiquitous Roman road network.¹¹ I maintain that *imperium*, whether as a reference to a magistrate's power or seemingly to the territorial extent of the empire, possessed an underlying consistency as a mechanism related to movement. Put another way, I argue that the Romans conceived of and practiced *imperium* in terms of movement disparity, wherein a person properly endowed with

⁹ Glare 1982: s.v. *imperium*: (1) - "The supreme administrative power, in Rome exercised first by the kings, and subsequently by certain magistrates and provincial governors;" (6) - "A particular instance of dominion, an empire."

¹⁰ The work of John Richardson offers a significant exception to this rule. In an article and subsequent book, Richardson seeks to chart the historical development of the Roman use of *imperium*, *provincia*, and similar words. See Richardson 1991; Richardson 2008.

¹¹ See C. Adams and Laurence 2001 for a collection of essays on this topic.

imperium not only had the ability to move freely but also to regulate, both positively and negatively, the movement of those without *imperium*. While the function of *imperium* remains remarkably the same between the rise of Pompey and the reign of Hadrian, the identity of and relationship of those with *imperium* and those without shifts dramatically in this time period. I suggest that the rise of the Roman empire is not a tale of territorial hegemony. Rather, I argue that the rise of the empire is, in fact, the tale of the conceptual transformation of Rome's subjects from inexorably alien populations, which Roman *imperium* bound to their proper places, to a generically 'Roman' population that uniformly shared in the benefits of *imperium*.

The History of our Historians: Roman Historians and their Roman Empire(s)

With few exceptions modern scholars translate *imperium* unquestioningly as 'empire' when referring to anything except the power of magistrates. John Richardson offers one of the more nuanced views of the use of *imperium*, charting an apparent transition from *imperium* as the power of magistrates to *imperium* as a territorial entity.¹² Despite his larger critique of the translation, however, Richardson nonetheless maintains an anachronistic conception: if *imperium* refers to what we might term a territorial area, it must coincide with the use of the English word 'empire.' Although he views this transition as the result of an Augustan project, he claims, "there does appear to be a shift in the usages of the word *imperium* in its wider sense of the empire of the Roman people, from a concept which, in the period after Sulla, already included some notion of concrete shape and size, to one referring to a more precisely determined physical entity."¹³ Richardson's view, like so many other discussions of ancient imperialism, requires an inherent naturalization of the very concept of empire: if there is a territory that we would regard

¹² Richardson 1991; Richardson 2008.

¹³ The case for the shift in *imperium* as Augustan project: Richardson 2008; here Richardson 1991: 7.

as ‘empire’ and the Romans seem to refer to it by a particular word, that word necessarily means ‘empire’ in the same sense as the British and French might use it in the eighteenth century.

At heart, a discussion of the shifting conceptions and practices of *imperium* fundamentally is a discussion of Roman imperialism. Like most areas of Roman history, the historiography of Roman imperialism is extensive and varied. One group of scholars has sought to uncover the ways in which Rome constructed and maintained the borders of its empire, as well as the social and cultural significance with which it endowed them. Edward Luttwak’s *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*, Stephen Dyson’s *The Creation of the Roman Frontier*, and Benjamin Isaac’s *The Limits of Empire* examine the creation of Roman border and frontier policy. Although all three scholars arrive at different conclusions about the existence of a coherent border policy and the trajectory of its development, each work privileges military and strategic concerns as the crucial determinant of Roman attitudes toward the borders of the empire.¹⁴ Such studies tend to minimize other, complementary processes by which Rome structured and maintained its relationship to the exterior; they prefer the practical concerns of maintaining the empire to the equally important theoretical and conceptual difficulties.

In contrast, C.R. Whittaker’s *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* treats the edges of empire not as clearly demarcated boundaries between ‘Roman’ and ‘barbarian’, but as messy frontier zones of mixed cultures.¹⁵ Whittaker portrays the frontiers as social and cultural constructions representing the gradual transition from peoples actively organized and governed by Rome to the *externae gentes*, peoples not yet worth directly administering but still subject to Roman *imperium*. Despite variation in approaches, the extant literature nonetheless tends to privilege territorial categories and geographical explanations grounded in nineteenth-century European

¹⁴ Luttwak 1976; Dyson 1985; Isaac 1990.

¹⁵ Whittaker 1994.

empires. Yet, as John Richardson's study of the evolving uses of *imperium* demonstrates, modern conceptions of territory and space seldom map neatly onto the past.¹⁶ Susan Mattern's study of imperial strategy in the Principate likewise demonstrates the limitations of modern strategic categories and concerns in the context of Rome.¹⁷ Mattern argues that the Roman leaders, operating without modern two-dimensional representations of the earth, did not express their strategic goals or objectives in modern geopolitical, economic, and military terms; she directs our attention instead to conceptions of vengeance and justice as the critical determinants in Rome's use of military force.

In a similar vein, scholars have drawn attention to two complementary Roman spatial practices, representations of space and travel, as significant components of Roman imperialism. In *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Empire*, Claude Nicolet analyzes Augustan representations of empire, particularly the map of Agrippa.¹⁸ He argues that Augustus fostered an increased interest in such representations of space and used them to articulate and communicate a relationship between Rome and the empire. While Nicolet's work highlights the existence and importance of shifts in the presentation of empire under Augustus, he treats the Roman empire as a slightly unorthodox variation of early modern and modern European empires, privileging the relatively rare maps as standard examples of imperial practice and representative of an imperializing and totalizing spatial discourse. Other scholars such as Ray Laurence, Colin Adams, Linda Ellis, Frank Kidner, Jas Elsner, and Ian Rutherford have contested the importance and prevalence of maps to varying degrees, examining the role of travel and the methods for

¹⁶ Richardson 1991; Richardson 2008.

¹⁷ Mattern 1999.

¹⁸ Nicolet 1991.

structuring journeys throughout the empire.¹⁹ In particular, a collection edited by Laurence and Adams, *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, questions the importance of maps; essays within the collection emphasize the use of *itineraria*, lists of checkpoints and distances, as a typical way of representing and planning movement, suggesting a more linear, odological sense of space.²⁰ Although scholars continue to debate the exact nature of Roman conceptions of space, few question the importance of representations of space and spatial practices in the construction and presentation of the Roman empire; scholars consistently treat space as a window into the workings and logic of empire under Rome.

Complementing the increased emphasis on space, Roman historians have drawn increasing attention to the inhabitants of these spaces, to the experience of the subjects of Roman rule and the realities of life on the ground in the empire. Roger Tomlin, R. Haussler, W.S. Hanson, R. Conolly, Alison Cooley, and Alan Bowman, for example, examine shifts in linguistic practices, particularly writing, to assess the effects of empire on provincial subjects.²¹ Each notes the persistence of some native forms and practices of writing and, more significantly, the incorporation of native forms and Latin forms on the same inscription. These studies typically connect such linguistic patterns to questions of identity: an increase in the use of Latin and decrease in native forms represents the ‘death’ of the native culture and the increasingly Roman nature of the locals. In turn, a rejection of Latin forms or the continued appearance of native forms marks native resistance to the encroachment of Roman control.²² Through the epigraphic

¹⁹ C. Adams and Laurence 2001; Ellis and Kidner 2004; Elsner and Rutherford 2005.

²⁰ C. Adams and Laurence 2001; see especially Brodersen 2001; Kolb 2001; Laurence 2001a; Salway 2001.

²¹ W. S. Hanson and Conolly 2001; Haussler 2001; Tomlin 2001; Cooley 2002; Bowman 1994; Bowman and Woolf 1994.

²² Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 88–94 suggests a more complicated image of the relationship between language and identity, particularly in his discussion of a tile with Oscan and Latin inscriptions,

record, these scholars trace the penetration of Roman culture across a variety of social strata, documenting the Romanization of elites as well as non-elites.

Such studies of linguistic and epigraphic patterns belong to a larger discussion on the nature and process of Romanization, or the apparent processes of enculturation deployed in the provinces. In particular, studies of Romanization seek to understand the processes and impulses by which Roman cultural practices spread throughout the empire, shaping and being shaped by local cultural forms. Perhaps the most famous studies of Romanization are Greg Woolf's examination of the creation of a Gallo-Romanic culture in *Becoming Roman* and Susan Alcock's survey of the incorporation of the province of Achaëa into the empire in *Graecia Capta*.²³ Woolf and Alcock reflect a larger historiographic trend that treats Romanization as a process analogous to Roman imperialism; for example, essays on Romanization, cultural change, and the discrepant experiences of new Roman subjects dominate the edited collection *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*.²⁴ David Mattingly's work on Roman Britain, *An Imperial Possession*, follows a similar trend.²⁵ Although Mattingly discusses the conquest and political incorporation of Britain, he primarily examines the effects of the Roman military presence on native customs and cultural forms.

These studies typically privilege the experience of provincial subjects and focus on the ways in which the pressures of Roman rule altered native customs and forms. In the process, they often conflate the provincial experience of empire with the practices and discourses of empire, with empire itself; empire becomes the sum of the experiences of provincial subjects and

each made by a slave girl, found in Pietrabbonte. Wallace-Hadrill emphasizes the playful bilingualism evident in the tile and suggests that language use is not an absolute signifier of identity.

²³ Woolf 2000; Alcock 1996.

²⁴ Mattingly and Alcock 1997.

²⁵ Mattingly 2007.

their direct interactions with Roman power rather than a larger system that produces the relationships underlying these interactions. Moreover, the focus on the multiplicity of the experiences of provincial subjects can minimize the discrepant experiences and agendas of the Roman conquerors themselves, potentially reducing the Romans to a united, monolithic entity. Further, these studies can naturalize the very concept of empire: empire becomes a given, intelligible, and ordered whole by virtue of conquest rather than a concept debated and constructed in conjunction with the cultural interaction at the heart of Romanization.

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has called this framework of Romanization and provincial experience into question in his recent work *The Cultural Transformation of Rome* between the second century BCE and the first century CE.²⁶ Wallace-Hadrill surveys the multiple valences of ‘being Roman’ in the Late Republic and Early Empire, examining building patterns, architectural theory, dress, and consumer goods for culturally designated markers of Roman-ness. Rather than concepts of cultural superiority or creolization, Wallace-Hadrill’s methodology emphasizes what he terms cultural multilingualism and code-switching, the parallel existence of diverse cultural systems, fully aware of their differences and contradictions and populated by participants capable of switching between them as convenient in a given context. He proposes a model for the patterns of development and cultural influence in Roman consumer goods, adopting the metaphor of the circulation of blood through the body by the heart as an analog to cultural interaction. He argues that the production of luxury goods, particularly Hellenistic luxuries, occurred in a three stage wave pattern, with an initial importation to Rome, production in Italy, and a tertiary exportation of practices and patterns from Rome. Wallace-Hadrill’s model emphasizes the participation of multiple cultural identities and a diverse body of participants in

²⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

the construction of Roman-ness embedded within these luxury goods: he locates the creative energy for the construction of a Roman identity in the rhythms of cultural exchange, continually flowing back and forth between the center and the periphery.

While issues of border control and cultural exchange in the provinces feature prominently in the historiography of empires, recent scholarship has not overlooked the city of Rome itself. With the translation of Paul Zanker's 1987 *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* into English in 1988 (*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*), scholars have become increasingly sensitive to the transformation of the Roman cityscape and the emperor's appearance in it during the early Empire. Zanker describes the dramatic shifts in Augustus' self-presentation through a variety of media, including coinage, inscribed gems, statues, and monumental complexes.²⁷ He concludes that these shifts in representation were ideologically and politically charged, all serving as a larger cultural and political programmatic statement of the ideology of the Principate. Diane Favro expands on Zanker's discussion of the development of the Augustan cityscape in *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*.²⁸ Examining the ideological and cultural significance of Augustus's building program, she convincingly shows that Augustus used the architecture of the city to establish himself as an inescapable reference point in Romans' experience of the city. Jas Elsner, too, highlights the Augustan building program as a crucial intersection between architecture and ideology, arguing that the monumental complex around the Ara Pacis articulated an Augustan vision of Rome's relationship to the empire.²⁹ Zanker, Favro, and Elsner all shed valuable light on the evolution of urban architecture and monumental building programs in Rome as ideological practices under Augustus, a time when the face of the city underwent an

²⁷ Zanker 1988.

²⁸ Favro 1996.

²⁹ Elsner 1996.

incredible transformation. Few scholars, however, extend their methodology to similar transformations in the city's post-Augustan history or to other urban centers and rural environments.

Despite this extensive bibliography on the emperor in Rome, the historiography of the representation of the emperor to the provinces is by contrast relatively sparse. Fergus Millar's *The Emperor in the Roman World* examines the emperor's relationship to the provinces through the legal mechanism of the petition.³⁰ He argues that provincials constructed their understanding of the emperor and their relationship to the center through this legal dialogue. Millar, however, is less concerned with the provincial image and understanding of the emperor and the empire than the actual mechanisms and practices of the emperor. He seeks the reality of the emperor – the way the emperor in fact acted – rather than a representation of the emperor – the way the emperor should act and how his subjects conceived of him. Although Clifford Ando begins to question representations and concepts, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty* likewise seeks to uncover the actual practices through which the emperor and provincials communicated rather than the logic driving these practices.³¹ For Ando, issues of tribute, architectural practice, and the presentation of imperial images to the provinces were methods of implicating provincial subjects in imperial ideology and ensuring loyalty. However, he tends to emphasize literary sources and a limited body of 'elite' material culture, implicitly confining his analysis to the Roman elites' and the center's understandings of the relationship between Rome and provinces.

Scholars have also used religion and religious practice in the empire as a rubric for the dissemination of understandings of the emperor. In *Rituals and Power*, Simon Price examines the rise and spread of the imperial cult in Asia Minor as yet another way of constructing a more

³⁰ Millar 1977.

³¹ Ando 2000.

personal relationship between provincial subjects and the distant figure of the emperor, but one which likened the relationship between city and ruler to that between mortal and god.³² Price's analysis of the imperial cult capably explains its underlying logic in a pre-Christian world, but, based on the relative prominence of surviving evidence, he primarily confines his analysis to Greek metropolitan areas. Millar, Ando, and Price all examine predominantly urban phenomena, analyzing mechanisms of interaction and presentation which require provincial citizens to have access to the emperor, his legates, or to a temple complex. Few, however, consider the way in which the emperor presented himself and citizens understood him in less populated rural areas or remote, uninhabited locales.

In contrast to these largely top-down approaches to the issue of conceptions of the empire, scholars have also increasingly examined grassroots and local initiatives as a site for the development of the practices of empire. In particular, they investigate the circulation of cultural and political forms between the center and the periphery, seeing in the exchange a rich breeding ground. In *The Emperor in the Roman World*, Millar depicts the Roman government as one that rarely initiated policy, but rather made policy in response to appeals and complaints from its subjects.³³ His petition-model of legislation emphasizes the role of provincial citizens as active participants in a dialogue that drove the creation of imperial policy. Similarly, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's *Rome's Cultural Revolution* reveals a similar ebb and flow of cultural and artistic forms between the center and the provinces. He traces a three stage evolution of styles and tastes: conquest pulls styles in towards the center, then Italy becomes a production center for adaptations of these styles, and finally these styles and tastes push out into the wider empire.³⁴

³² Price 1984.

³³ Millar 1977.

³⁴ Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

Both studies emphasize that the creative energy for the construction of the emperor or for the creation of a new, imperial Roman identity and culture do not lie in the center or in the periphery, but emerge from their interactions and tensions.

The historiography of Roman imperialism and its tangential concerns is vast and varied, yet this very diversity tends to fragment the larger topic, imperialism and empire, into smaller, disconnected topics. The specificity of this scholarship yields significant advances within a particular area of interest, but scholars, constrained by the contours of their topic, seldom connect their work to the larger history of empire. Put another way, the ‘trees’ of particular practices of empire subsume the larger ‘forest’ of empire; the question of what ‘empire’ even meant in Rome fades into the background of the specific practices of empire. I draw on these often-unconnected historiographies and weave them together into a larger narrative of imperialism. I seek the larger conceptual framework within which all these studies operate, uncovering the basic logic that informed Roman practices ranging from border control to cult ritual.

More importantly, I follow Richardson, Whittaker, and Mattern in rejecting models of empire predicated on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European empires. The application of such models treats ‘empire’ as a universal constant, as a given: if Rome is an empire, of course it will resemble those with which we are familiar. Accordingly, I eschew the typical analytic categories of studies of Roman imperialism: culture, identity, and political subjugation. Using the wave models of ebbs and flows seen in the work of Wallace-Hadrill and of Millar, I treat empire as the product of a dialogue between center and periphery, between rulers and ruled; rather than examining the side effects of empire on Roman subjects and rulers, I examine the practices and discourses that generated and gave significance to these effects. Finally, I insist on

the fundamentally historic nature of empire as an actively debated and evolving concept rather than a static construction. I trace moments of debate and articulation across nearly two hundred years, analyzing the fluctuation in such moments to reveal larger trajectories in the construction of the very concept of empire.

Of Methods and Madness

The Roman empire did not spring forth fully formed, like Athena from Zeus, from the head of Pompey, Julius Caesar, or Augustus. Indeed, a more accurate view would not include the ‘Fall of the Republic’ and the ‘Rise of the Empire,’ but the ‘Awkward and Lengthy Shuffle Sideways into an empire.’ The construction of the Roman empire as a concept was a long-term project, one that required numerous iterations throughout its history. Although practices of *imperium* provide the focus for my dissertation, it is also an investigation into the very nature of empire and imperialism in Rome. I ask what ‘empire,’ and its constellation of related terms and concepts, means in a *Roman* and *historicized* context, or how the Romans defined, articulated, and practiced empire in a particular historical moment. Again, our nearness to the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century empires greatly complicates this question, predisposing us toward familiar forms from our immediate past. Understandably, ancient historians have a tendency towards pareidolia, the perception of vague or random elements as both significant and familiar. Faced with the profoundly alien nature of the ancient world, we cling to any apparent semblances to our own context, for they offer a way to make sense of a nearly incomprehensible world. As a result, we often view the Roman empire as either a precocious or slightly unorthodox nineteenth-century European empire.

Despite Benito Mussolini's best efforts to revive the Roman empire, modern Europe and ancient Rome are quite different beasts.³⁵ Accordingly, I presume a basic distinction between the practices of modern empires and those of the Roman empire. Susan Mattern's analysis of how Romans coded their understandings of war and empire in the Principate illustrates the danger of applying modern frameworks to Rome.³⁶ She uncovers a Roman system of war making centered around concerns of justice and retribution rather than modern conceptions of defensive imperialism or aggressive growth. Although his conclusions require an anachronistic modern understanding of *imperium*, John Richardson's analysis of shifting uses of *imperium* likewise offers a salutary reminder that history is ultimately the study of change over time. Unlike modern conceptions of empire as a territorial phenomenon, Romans initially used *imperium* to describe the power of magistrates and pro-magistrates to command in the Roman state; he argues that as Rome established hegemony over the Mediterranean, *imperium* gradually assumed more concrete, territorial connotations until it came to designate space rather than an individual's task within that space.³⁷ The debate over Roman conceptions of space reveals a similar rift, where the prominence of *itineraria* in the empire suggests an odological view rather than the modern pairing of maps and geographic conceptions of space. Instead of beginning with 'empire' as a self-evident given, I look to understand a Roman empire that actively and continually articulated and debated its meaning.

Although I seek a particularly Roman meaning of empire, I do not ignore modern scholarship and theory on empire. Rather, I place Roman practices in dialogue with them in order to expand the theoretical boundaries of history as a discipline. Again, the history of our

³⁵ Jás Elsner, however, uses Mussolini's excavation of the Augustan Ara Pacis as a starting point for a fruitful study of the relationship between text and monument in Rome. See Elsner 1996.

³⁶ Mattern 1999.

³⁷ Richardson 1991; Richardson 2008.

empires and our relationship to the post-colonial or neo-colonial moment shapes the preconceptions that we bring to a study of the Roman empire even on a linguistic level; the very name of the field of study, empire or imperialism, immediately betrays the importance of Rome and *imperium*. We expect the Romans to rule the Mediterranean in a manner that is similar to modern imperialism, or at least one that is recognizable. As Mattern and Richardson show, however, the Romans seldom fit modern assumptions about such matters.³⁸ I examine such rifts between modern and ancient assumptions and practices, between current and Roman imperial theory; in this dissertation, the Roman empire emerges from behind the veil of modern empires as a unique and evolving construct. I do not treat imperial practices as a top-down imposition, as a way to exploit and victimize imperial subjects, but through the lens of a modified center and periphery framework. Following the example of scholars like Wallace-Hadrill and Millar, I locate the concept of empire in the dialogue between the center and the periphery and examine this dialogue in terms of ebbs and flows, as the simultaneous process of channeling the periphery to the center and exporting the center to the periphery.

The scope of “A Place for Every Barbarian, A Road for Every Roman” requires that it treat a variety of media and materials, ranging from literature and letters to coins and roads. The works of art historians, classicists, and archaeologists will necessarily inform this study, offering alternate methodologies and analytic frameworks. This study is not, however, a work of art history, classics, or archaeology. Rather than following traditional disciplinary boundaries, it unites media and scholarship that are often examined in isolation, connecting, for example, the epigraphy of monumental architecture with visual and topographic analyses. As with the concept of empire itself, this dissertation insists on the historical nature of these media. I treat

³⁸ Mattern 1999; Richardson 1991; Richardson 2008.

them not as isolated objects, interesting for their own sake, but as part of an evolving continuum of practices and carefully locate each text or material in its historical context.

Finally, the following chapters are not studies of the reality of the experiences of imperial subjects or the facts of empire. I do not ask what day-to-day life was like for a recently conquered Briton, for this experience tends to be highly idiosyncratic, defined by local and immediate contingencies that may not extend beyond the participant's immediate context. Moreover, the temporal distance and the ravages of source destruction impose an inescapable veil between the reality behind extant sources and the way in which they represent reality. Instead, I focus on issues of representation and coding: the strategies with which participants in the empire, whether emperors or plebs, coded their experience, shaped their understandings of events, and represented their relationship to the empire. I do not make a study of the facts of empire, of the truth of experience, but of the way in which Romans of various social positions and in different historical moments understood and represented these facts to themselves. I seek the construction of and debate over what empire meant to Rome in the conglomeration of these representations and their historical trajectory. Although I argue that Hadrian's reign marked the rise of a totalizing conception of empire, his empire is not forged in the model of Britain or France in the 1800's; it is a uniquely Hadrianic and entirely Roman one.

The Shape of the Work

In Chapter One, "Of Kings, Pirates, and Taxmen: Pompey the Innovative Traditionalist," I investigate the significant shifts in the way Romans could conceive of empire and of subjected foes that underlay the alternately controversial and conventional practices of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus. Pompey's contemporaries regarded him as both a shining example of traditional Roman

virtues and a controversial innovator of imperial practices. Cicero praised Pompey's military genius and lamented his unprecedented decision to spare and resettle surrendering pirates. Yet, the historiography of the so-called fall of the Roman Republic predisposes modern scholars to assign much of the credit or blame for the coming civil wars and the resultant shape of the Augustan Principate to Julius Caesar. Cicero offers a warning against this tendency in the *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, reminding Caesar that even if his deeds outshine the renown of others, Cicero and his audience had not forgotten Pompey (Cic. *Deiot.* 4.12). Many of the innovations and notable aspects of Pompey's career considered controversial at the time, like his affectation of Greek-like styles of presentation at Rome, his lavish triumphs, and his policy of rehabilitating defeated foes, became important components of the Augustan Principate. Drawing on Cicero's public and private depictions of Pompey, early Imperial histories, and epigraphic evidence from the east, I reconstruct the novel practices of imperialism and self-presentation that characterized Pompey's campaigns against the pirates, against Mithridates, and his subsequent time in Rome. I situate these practices and their innovation in relation to the limitations and strictures Pompey faced from Roman conceptions of pirates, Rome's pre-existing interests in the East, and mid- and late-Republic practices of imperialism.

I next turn to an interrogation of the categories and practices that Julius Caesar deploys in his discussion of imperialism and how Caesar uses these to articulate Roman imperial practices and relations in Chapter Two, "Caesar and the Quest for Order: Movement, Place, and Order in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*." Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, his depiction of his campaigns to pacify Gaul, is a crucial hinge in the transition between the imperial thought of the Republic and that of the Principate; J.S. Richardson argues that the appearance of the phrase *imperium Romanum* and the use of *imperium* to describe a concrete physical entity coincide with

Caesar's military and literary endeavors.³⁹ Caesar's text does not simply reflect this larger context of imperialism and colonialism, but actively debates and constructs the very nature and terms of Roman imperialism and colonialism. Within the timeline of his narrative, Caesar represents the Gauls and the landscape as 'becoming Roman,' increasingly characterizing both as less savage and chaotic, more Roman. Through close readings of Caesar's text, I examine Caesar's shifting strategies for representing the Gallic people, the province of Gaul, and their relationship with Rome. I suggest that Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* articulates a discourse of *imperium*, place, and civilization that not only justified Roman conquest, but also offered Rome's subjects a path toward incorporation into the corporate *populus Romanus*.

In Chapter Three, "Limits, Exception, and Control: Movement in Augustan Rome," I examine the relationship between Augustan literature, architecture, and Augustus's *imperium*. The rise of Augustus presented a significant conceptual difficulty for Romans, one only complicated by his insistence that he was merely another Roman aristocrat: if Augustus was only the first amongst equals, how could he represent his power over his so-called peers without shattering the façade of the Principate? The space of Rome provided an arena in which and about which architecture and literary could negotiate the unique statues of the Princeps. I suggest that that three material practices – the fifth book of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, a series of altars celebrating Augustus's return to Rome after campaigns, and his reconstruction of the city of Rome – redefine the space of Rome, resignifying the activities of daily life in terms of the domination of Augustus. Through these thoroughly Republican practices – literature, maintenance of *religiones*, and civic munificence – I argue that Augustus subjected Roman citizens to his *imperium*, constraining their freedom of movement in manners reminiscent of

³⁹ Richardson 1991; Richardson 2008.

those employed by Julius Caesar against the Gauls and Pompey against the pirates. In effect, Augustus reconstructs the nature of *imperium* so that he exists in a perpetual state of exception as the man whose *imperium* is unbound.

Flavian spectacular practices and their commemoration in numismatic and literary representations provide the impetus for Chapter Four, “The Spectacle of Empire: Simulations and Displays of *Imperium* in the Flavian Amphitheater.” The centrality of spectacle entertainments in Flavian Rome is apparent to any tourist in Rome. Begun by Vespasian, completed by Titus, and further modified by Domitian, the Flavian amphitheater is an unmistakable material expression of the importance the Flavian emperors attached to spectacles. Although Juvenal would decry this interest as the hallmark of *panem et circenses* (Juv. 10.81), the Flavian amphitheater provided a locus in which the emperors could not only entertain the populace, but also present a new conception of the Flavian Principate’s domination of the empire. Using Martial’s *Liber Spectaculorum*, a collection of epigrams about entertainments in the Flavian amphitheater, I suggest that the Flavians promoted a new descriptive and analytical framework for the discussion of spectacles. I argue that this new mode of representation programmatically signifies new conceptions of the subjects of Roman *imperium* and the center’s relationship to the provincial periphery: it presents the image of a dominated world to the reality of the dominated subjects. Rather than meaningless pandering to the masses, the spectacles of the Flavian amphitheater and their supporting historiography construct a new discourse of spectacle and *imperium*, in which all subjects simultaneously participated in the *imperium* of Rome, but were also subjected to the *imperium* of the emperor.

In Chapter Five, “Journeys, Villas, and Walls: Hadrian’s New *Imperium*,” I focus on the underlying logic of empire driving Hadrian’s spatial and material practices and how they

articulated evolving relationships between Rome, its empires, its neighbors, and its emperor. During his reign, Hadrian traveled extensively throughout the empire, visiting major cities and nearly every province. He oversaw the construction of walls near the frontiers of the empire, the most famous of which is Hadrian's Wall in Britain. Hadrian also reorganized the provinces during his reign, redrawing borders and withdrawing Roman forces from Trajan's conquests in Mesopotamia and Dacia. Finally, he built his magnificent villa at Tibur (modern Tivoli), housing art and artifacts collected during his journeys around the empire. In this chapter, I examine Hadrian's travels, monumental practices, provincial reorganization, and collecting as elements of a larger imperial practice developed by Hadrian. I suggest that Hadrian's practices of *imperialism* mark the fulfillment of the process by which Rome's subjects are reconstructed as part of the corporate *populus Romanus* as executors and beneficiaries of *imperium*.

These chapters range widely through a variety of material practices – from literary masterpieces to the clothing worn by citizens, from soaring arches to the borders between provinces – and spans nearly two centuries, from the rise of the military dynast Julius Caesar to the death of the emperor Hadrian. Each chapter offers a snapshot of empire and *imperium* embedded in specific practices to uncover particular trajectories in the development and evolution of Roman imperial thought and discourses. The very breadth of materials and moments is a testament to the degree to which empire and imperialism penetrated Roman society and thought. Just as each facet of empire and imperialism has its own history of debates and articulations, so too does 'empire' have its own history, one defined by these underlying moments of empire. In the conclusion, I draw these scattered practices and instances into a larger narrative of the history of a Roman empire. I examine how these various examples coalesce into an overarching trajectory of the evolution of the concept of empire, how these

practices and discourses articulated and nuanced the very concept of 'empire' in a Roman context. I suggest that the rise of the Roman empire is not, in fact, a tale of territorial hegemony. Rather, it is a history of the transition from practices of controlling subjects to a totalizing representation of Roman subjects as beneficiaries and participants in *imperium*.

CHAPTER ONE

Of Kings, Pirates, and Taxmen: Pompey, Movement, and the Contingencies of *Imperium*

In a speech delivered in front of Julius Caesar in 46 BCE,¹ Cicero reminded Caesar that no matter how great his deeds might be, the Roman people had not yet forgotten Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus.² Two thousand years later, Erich Gruen laments that the opposite has proven to be true, that Caesar's rise to power has cast all his antecedents into the shade.³ In the historiography of the Late Republic, dominated so thoroughly by narratives centered on the rise of the Augustan Principate and the failure of the city-state, Pompey, the Roman Alexander who triumphed over the entirety of the known world, holds a curious position. Modern scholars marvel at the 'unprecedented' nature of Pompey's *imperium*, seeking to ground it in constitutional terms and in exactly how many men and ships he commanded. They praise him for his unusual, nearly modern, wisdom and humanity in electing to spare surrendering pirates, particularly when his contemporaries forcibly called for their execution. Yet, Pompey attracts significantly less attention from English-language scholars, meriting no biographies until Robin Seager's 1979 *Pompey: A Political Biography*.⁴ Despite numerous biographies of Cicero and Caesar, even of Crassus, scholars often pass over Pompey's life as little more than a way to provide context to Caesar.

¹ Unless explicitly noted, all dates are BCE.

² *Nec enim, si tuae res gestae ceterorum laudibus obscuritatem attulerunt, idcirco Cn. Pompei memoriam amisimus* (Cic. *Deiot.* 12)

³ Gruen 1995: 2.

⁴ In the preface to the second edition, Seager notes the appearance of one additional biography of Pompey: Leach 1978. As with English-language scholars, European scholars have done little to address this oversight until recently. In German, Gelzer 1949 was the primary biography; it was recently supplanted, for which see Christ 2004 and Losehand 2008; similarly in French scholarship, with van Ooteghem 1954 and Dupont 2011; likewise in Italian, with Mansuelli 1959 replaced by Antonelli 2005.

Gruen's warning about perspective explains some of this oversight. When viewed in terms of Caesar, Pompey's conduct of the commands against Mithridates and the pirates appears a rather conventional example of Roman imperialism. Likewise, read in the context of Augustus, Pompey's triumph and theater-complex are examples of cultural syncretism, of Rome's increasingly cosmopolitan outlook, albeit perhaps a bit ostentatious. Such readings, however, introduce a basic fallacy of ahistorical thought: we should view what comes after in terms of what comes before, not the reverse. Rather than reading Pompey in terms of Caesar and Augustus, we must contextualize the rise of the Augustan Principate through Pompey.

To contemporary Romans, Pompey's career was both a remarkable example of the potential accomplishments of a man of singular *virtus* and a controversial collection of radically innovative practices. The controversy does not lie where we might expect it; Pompey's contemporaries seem significantly less concerned about whether his *imperium* is *maius* or *aequum* than modern scholars. Rather, Pompey's third triumph and massive theater complex offended the sensibilities of contemporaries and later Romans alike, causing Cicero to compare him to a star that has fallen from the heavens (Cic. *Att.* 2.21.4). Viewed in the context of the history of Roman imperialism, Pompey's career marks moments and practices that redefined the ways in which Romans conceived of their foes, subjects, and empire. Indeed, the Principate's uncomplicated adoption of these practices and conceptions obscures their very originality. Although Julius Caesar and Augustus receive much of the credit and blame for the rise of the Empire, in a very real way, Pompey was the father of the modes of imperialism that characterized the Principate. His career marked the advent of a new conception of imperialism, one that defined *imperium* in a way that allowed for the incorporation of inexorably foreign and dangerous populations into the empire.

In this chapter, I focus on three elements of imperialism revealed in the trajectory of Pompey's career. Using Cicero's descriptions of Pompey's commands against Mithridates and the pirates, as well as his understanding of the Thessalonican threat to Macedonia, I demonstrate the centrality of the control of movement in contemporary Roman conceptions of *imperium*. Second, I analyze the role of locative practices, including dwelling in towns and practicing agriculture, as a way of controlling movement. Locating these place-centric practices as a key concern of Roman imperialism, I argue that Pompey's willingness to re-settle surrendered pirates in towns marks a radical and controversial innovation in Roman imperialism, heralding a newly 'constructive' form that offers the potential to rehabilitate and incorporate populations that conceptually cannot exist under Roman *imperium*. Finally, I examine the impact of the contingencies of empire both on the way in which Cicero conceptualized Pompey's task in the east and on Pompey's public persona when he returns to Rome. Romans viewed Pompey's triumph and theater-complex with a mixture of awe and disgust, seeing in them both a celebration of one man's incredible *virtus* and the contamination of that *virtus* by foreign luxury and softness. I argue that the mixed responses to Pompey's desperate performance of *Romanitas* reveals an underlying Roman ambivalence towards foreign populations and their cultural influences, one that answered Rome's increasing ability to view foreign populations as potentially positive participants in its empire with an increasing emphasis on an appearance of unquestionable Roman-ness. These central concerns seen in the trajectory of Pompey's career – movement, place, and Roman-ness – provide a critical antecedent to the forms of imperialism characteristic of the Principate. Although radically innovative and controversial in his time, Pompey signified the emergence of new imperial concerns and practices that profoundly influenced the future of Roman imperialism.

Moving and Placing Imperium

Although Pompey himself left no works comparable to Caesar's *Commentarii* or Augustus's *Res Gestae*, his career was of particular interest to one of Rome's most famous and respected orators, Cicero. While we cannot recover Pompey's actual words or motivations, Cicero's speeches, designed to be persuasive to the Roman aristocracy and to cultivate ongoing *amicitia* with Pompey, serve as a barometer of contemporary ideas, reflecting developing ideas of empire. In his panegyric of Pompey's command against the pirates in the *De Lege Manilia*, Cicero offers one of the most direct discussions of what constitutes *imperium* in the Late Republic. The apparent failure or negation of the *imperium* of the Roman people, as well as Pompey's ability to restore it, plays a crucial role in the speech. Cicero claims that the pirates deprived the Roman people of the many great advantages and prestige guaranteed by the existence of *imperium* (Cic. *Man.* 54).⁵ While the *auctoritas nostri imperii* previously guaranteed the safety of even Rome's most distant *socii*, the pirates had ravaged Italy all the way to the Appian Way (Cic. *Man.* 55). Cicero's sarcastic remark, *an tibi tum imperium hoc esse videbatur*, best summarizes Cicero's underlying representation of the relationship between the existence of pirates and Rome's failed *imperium*: if Rome cannot even contain the piratical threat, how can Rome possibly have *imperium*?⁶ As Cicero suggests in a hypothetical legal case of consuls who cannot enter legally the province in which they have *imperium*, *imperium* that

⁵ *Ille populus Romanus ... magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit.*

⁶ Morstein-Marx 1995: 316 terms the pirates "a standing refutation" of Rome's *imperium*. Seager 2002: 32–3 notes that the pirates loved to mock the power of Rome, emphasizing the invalidation of the promises and protections of Roman *imperium*.

cannot be exercised is not *imperium* at all: the very suggestion that the Senate might grant men *imperium* in a province they cannot enter strikes Cicero as inconceivable (Cic. *Prov.* 15.37).

Less important than the fact that Cicero represents the pirates as a sign of failed Roman *imperium* is how he *conceptualizes* the meaning and indications of such a lapse. When Cicero rhetorically questions the continued existence of Roman *imperium* in light of the pirate threat, he offers three reasons for doing so: the pirates took Roman officials prisoners, blocked public and private communications with the provinces, and closed the seas to Roman business (Cic. *Man.* 53). These three signs of failure all center on a concern with the ability of Romans to move freely and safely throughout the Mediterranean; Rome cannot have *imperium* unless it can circulate people, information, and goods throughout the Mediterranean.⁷ Robin Seager notes that the pirates' treatment of their distinguished captives mocked the power of Rome: by making a captive Roman grovel and beg for mercy on the basis of his or her Roman citizenship, the pirates invalidated basic promises and protections of Roman *imperium*.⁸ In this context, Cicero uses *imperium* as a reference to the ability to create and perform these acts of movement, transforming movement into an essential practice of Roman imperialism. Indeed, Cicero treats proper *imperium* as the ability and performance of movement throughout the empire.

Cicero does not, however, treat *imperium* in this context as an issue of pure movement, but rather as the ability to create or preserve a *disparity* of mobility. Cicero juxtaposes his discussion of the failure of Roman movement with the image of a widespread and aggressive pirate presence. He imagines the Romans contained within the city of Rome, barred from their provinces, the coasts of Italy, their harbors, and even from the Appian Way (Cic. *Man.* 55). He

⁷ Laurence 2001a argues that this guarantee was the central goal of Roman imperialism in the Early Empire.

⁸ Seager 2002: 32–3.

combines this image of caged Romans with reminders of pirate fleets pillaging harbors in sight of Roman towns, defeating Roman fleets, and even appearing near the mouth of the Tiber, all of these under the eyes of the Romans (Cic. *Man.* 32-3).⁹ This juxtaposition lies at the heart of the theme of negated *imperium*. Cicero implicitly treats *imperium* in this context as a relationship between two parties based on relative degrees of mobility and containment. If the pirates' ability to move and to confine the Romans to the city of Rome signifies a failure of Roman *imperium*, then properly sustained Roman *imperium* requires the Romans both to enjoy free movement and to limit other groups' ability to move.

Cicero's representation of the 'Macedonian problem' in the *De Provinciis Consularibus*, his speech on the allocation of the consular provinces in 56, underscores the potential for unlicensed movement to invalidate Roman *imperium*. Cicero emphasizes the disastrous effects of a barbaric group moving from its proper place outside the empire into a Roman province. He notes two particularly distressing developments in Macedonia. First, the presence of the barbarians forced the Thessalonians, living *in gremio imperii nostri*, to abandon their city and instead fortify their citadel (Cic. *Prov.* 2.4). Implicitly, his statement suggests a positive link between Roman *imperium* and the ability of the Thessalonians to remain within their city: *imperium* should guarantee their presence.

Second, he draws attention to the presence of barbaric forces along the *via Egnatia*, the military road between Dyrrachium (modern Durazzo, Albania) and Byzantium (modern Istanbul, Turkey).¹⁰ Cicero laments this state of affairs, chronicling the barbarian raids as far down the *via* as the Hellespont and the barbarian encampments along its length. He sadly notes that a province once protected by triumphal trophies now faces *bellum prope iustum* (Cic. *Prov.* 2.4),

⁹ Cf. Vell. Pat. 31.2, Flor. 3.6, App. *Mith.* 92, Dio 36.22.

¹⁰ The most recent treatment of the *via Egnatia* is Fasolo 2003.

implying that the very presence of Thracians in Macedonia fundamentally negates the earlier Roman conquest. Much like his discussion of the pirates, Cicero conceptualizes this situation as a standing refutation of Roman *imperium*. In this scenario, the inverse of *imperium* is the presence of the Thracians, their subsequent movement along the *via Egnatia*, and the confinement of the Thessalonians to their citadel. The parallels to the pirate war are clear: the free movement of an enemy and the resulting confinement of Roman subjects to a single location signifies a failure of Roman *imperium*. As with the pirates, the reverse of this situation would be proper *imperium*: Romans and Roman subjects enjoying free movement along the *via Egnatia* and confining the barbarians to areas beyond the *fines*.

If Cicero's treatment of the pirates and the Macedonian problem reveals the centrality of movement and mobility to conceptions of *imperium*, his discussion of the threats presented by Mithridates in the east and Thracians in Macedonia reveals another aspect of *imperium*: the centrality of what I call 'placing practices.' In the *De Lege Manilia*, Cicero dutifully lists Mithridates's crimes with proper horror, including his victory in the prior Mithridatic War and his order to have all Roman citizens throughout Asia butchered. Yet, Cicero's denouncement revolves around the fact that Mithridates is not content to skulk about in Pontus or Cappadocia, but boldly emerges *ex patrio regno* to range through the Roman province (Cic. *Man.* 3.7). He connects this presence to the sudden prevalence of deserted pastures, uncultivated fields, and decreased trade in Bithynia and the kingdom of Aziobarzanes. Cicero portrays these changes as a threat to Rome's tax revenues and economic interests in Asia, concerns he considers the *nervi rei publicae* and the *firmamentum ceterorum ordinum* (Cic. *Man.* 17). Although Cicero links the threat of Mithridates's illicit presence most directly to economic concerns, this economic fallout functions as a result of the potential disruption to the maintenance of pastures, fields, and towns;

decreased tax revenues, which Cicero terms a threat to the very sinews of the Republic, are only a symptom of transgressive movement into a Roman province.

Central to Cicero's anxieties here is that Mithridates disrupts the way in which pastures, fields, and towns *locate* and *place* people, serving as a way to both construct and reify a relationship between a person or people and a unique space. Roughly contemporary Roman ethnographic conceptions of Germans and other northern barbarians, often termed the 'Posidonian tradition,' highlight the link between agricultural practices, permanent settlements, and civilization or order.¹¹ In this ethnographic tradition, one of the characteristic traits of barbarians was their distaste for permanent settlements and cultivated field, instead wandering aimlessly through the primeval forests of northern Europe (Strabo 4.4.2-3, 7.1.3; Diod. Sic. 5.25.2-5; Ath. 4.151e).¹² The lack of fixed settlements and fields detaches barbarians from the confines of a particular place, replacing the localizing and fixing functions of such practices with the chaos of mass migrations. Pastures and fields necessarily create a fixed place for their tenders, one continually constructed through the seasonal rhythms of planting and harvest, of animal husbandry. They are both symbols of and constructors of a placing relationship between people and unique spaces, reasserting the fixedness of the person through agriculture's demand for continual physical re-engagement with a particular geographical location.

¹¹ The three surviving works of this tradition are Posidonius's *Historiae*, Diodorus Siculus's *Bibliotheke*, and Strabo's *Geography*. For the use of Posidonius as a common source for all, see Edelstein and Kidd 1972: 8–10; for more detail, see Tierney 1960; Nash 1976; for a discussion of the few inconsistencies throughout this discourse, Jervis 2001: 17–60; Riggsby 2006: 50 argues for the lack of a single archetype, preferring instead to postulate the existence of a "loosely connected tradition or 'discourse.'" For a full discussion of the image of northerners in this tradition, see especially Chapter Two.

¹² Kraus 1994 suggests that these images function as an "ethnographic mirror," against which the Romans can compare and define themselves.

Cicero's very vocabulary in describing the effects of these placing practices emphasizes their centrality in the way Romans conceived of the areas and peoples under their rule. Cicero describes the potential failure of place as a threat to the *nervi* of the Republic, centering these as the foundation upon which the other orders stand (*firmamentum ceterorum ordinum*, Cic. *Man.* 17). His use of *nervi* here is particularly noteworthy for its physiognomic connotations. It suggests that the tax revenues created by the placing of peoples are not only the basis of Rome's political power and economic resources, but are also the font of strength, vigor, and even virility.¹³ Although presented in economic terms, Cicero's discussion of the Mithridatic threat operates on a link between the placedness of Rome's subjects and the preservation of the Republic and the essential characteristics that made Romans Roman.

Cicero does not represent the relationship between *imperium*, place, and order as a simple matter of placing people; placed-ness alone is not necessarily a sign of order or proper Roman *imperium*. Instead, Cicero's concerns require the placing of people within their *proper* space. Again, Cicero's crowning argument in his indictment of Mithridates is that Mithridates came forth from his ancestral kingdom to move about in areas of Asia under Roman control.¹⁴ Rather than concluding with Mithridates's role in the slaughter of Roman citizens throughout Asia, Cicero emphasizes Mithridates's movement from an area in which he belongs, his *patrio regno*, into one in which he has no proper place, *in vestris vectigalibus*. Likewise, although their encampments along the *via Egnatia* serve as at least a crude placing mechanism, Cicero laments that barbarians are in Macedonia at all, claiming that ritual and monumental emblems of the triumph of Roman *imperium*, particularly the towers (*turres*) and trophies (*tropaea*) built and the

¹³ Glare 1982: s.v. *nervus* 6, 7.

¹⁴ *Emergere ex patrio regno atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est in Asiae luce, versari.* (Cic. *Man.* 3.7)

tribute collected (*argentum dederant*), should bar them from entry (Cic. *Prov.* 2.4). Similarly, Cicero's sympathy for the Thessalonians derives from their removal from where they *should* be, their *oppidum*, to their *arcem* (Cic. *Prov.* 2.4).

In each case, Cicero's representation of place centers on the maintenance of the proper place for each group. In this schema, the Romans should be everywhere in the empire, Mithridates in his *patrio regno*, Thessalonians in their *oppidum*, and barbaric Thracians wandering in the forests beyond Roman control. This theme of 'proper places' unites order, movement, and *imperium* in Roman conceptions and practices of empire. Cicero links *imperium* to the ability to create a disparity in mobility, to the potential to limit the movement of a subject group while enjoying full movement. In effect, Cicero represents placing practices as a way of creating and maintaining this mobility disparity. Yet, order, defined in opposition to the chaos of barbarians and other outsiders, reigns supreme in the nexus of placing practices and *imperium*: *imperium* requires that people not only be placed, but that they be placed in their appropriate space. The construction of proper places enables the mobility disparity at the heart of *imperium*, centering the maintenance of peoples, both internal subject and external populations, in their proper places in the constellation of Late Republican imperial practice and discourse.

Placing the Unplaceable

Perhaps Pompey's most impressive feat was the unexpected speed and ease with which he concluded the war against the pirates. Following the passage of the Lex Gabinia, Pompey swept the Mediterranean free of pirates in a mere three months, a task the Romans expected would take three years. Ancient and modern sources alike often credit his swift victory not merely to his organizational and strategic skills, but also to the *clementia* he displayed towards

the pirates. When pirates surrendered to Pompey, he not only spared their lives, but also would resettle them inland, providing them with towns and farms. Modern scholars in particular have been quite generous in their assessment of this policy, regarding Pompey as a shining example of wisdom and humanity for his merciful conduct.¹⁵ Lost in this praise is the underlying radical innovation of Pompey's decision to spare and resettle the pirates. Contemporary Roman discourses of warfare had little room for mercy for defeated *hostes*, especially those who directly challenged Roman *imperium*.¹⁶ Moreover, Roman conceptions of the pirates and bandits raise an additional conceptual barrier to any form of resettlement and integration into society. Finally, while Pompey's overwhelming success against the pirates predisposed accounts of the campaign to be more favorable, the responses of his contemporaries reveal the controversial nature of his policy of *clementia*. Pompey's decision to spare and resettle his defeated foes marks a significant departure from previous Roman attitudes towards vanquished enemies, one that reshaped the Roman practices and discourses of warfare.

In the great wars of expansion and the wars of the Late Republic, the Romans seldom showed mercy or any hope of rehabilitation to their *hostes*. The military history of this period offers numerous examples, both rhetorical and actual, of the harshness of Roman attitudes towards their foes. Although the exact phrasing emerged later in Roman historiography, Cato's famous sentiments towards Carthage, frequently rendered *Carthago delenda est*, hint at the

¹⁵ Seager 2002: 37–38; Pohl 1993: 278–80; Greenhalgh 1981: 91–100; Leach 1978: 66–74; de Souza 1999 argues that Pompey simply chose the most expedient strategy possible to conclude the campaign. Tröster 2009 similarly argues that Pompey's ingenuity and success is likely exaggerated, linking resettlement to Pompey's desire to create a clientele.

¹⁶ Although her work centers on the Early Empire, Susan Mattern argues that revenge served as a primary justification or motivation for war. See Mattern 1999: 184–94; P. A. Brunt 2004: 174–5 argues that clemency was a more common practice than Roman rhetoric might suggest, although he too notes the frequent absence of mercy towards Rome's enemies.

extreme positions statesmen might take towards *perduelles* (national enemies).¹⁷ Likewise, Rome's response to the Spartacus revolt, namely crucifying its perpetrators along the length of the *Via Appia*, underscores Rome's willingness to destroy its foes utterly. Faced with a polity that challenged Roman *imperium* in the Achaean War, Rome did not simply conquer Corinth. Rather than simply asserting control and domination over its existing structures, populations, and methods of governance, Rome scoured evidence of the city from the earth. In Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*, Marius fills the land with weeping and wailing (*luctu atque caede*, Sal. *Jug.* 92.3); when he captures a fortress on the Muluccha River in modern Algeria, his soldiers slaughter fleeing enemies and civilian spectators, climbing over the bodies to reach the fortress (Sall. *Iug.* 92; cf. 101). Brennus's cruel reminder to the Romans of their own fate when defeated summarizes this attitude succinctly: *vae victis* (Liv. 5.34-49). Regardless of the frequency of such events, or even the veracity of such accounts, these sources reveal an underlying discourse governing Roman conceptions of defeated national enemies, in which the Romans responded to challenges to their *imperium* by eliminating any trace of the offending element.¹⁸

This discourse of Roman victory practices makes Pompey's conduct of the war against the pirates all the more remarkable, for pirates present a conceptual difficulty to the Romans.¹⁹ *Praedo*, the preferred Roman term for 'pirate,' carries connotations of brigandage and outlawry, concepts that divorce the *praedo* from human society. Andrew Riggsby describes this separation in reference to the *latrones* (bandits) of Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*: "Bandits (*latrones*) are

¹⁷ The first direct evidence of this phrase appears in a fourth century CE source. Little 1934 traces the evolution of the phrase towards its modern form. See also Plut. *Cat.* 27; Plin. *Nat.* 15.74; Flor. *Epit.* 1.31; Aur. Vict. *De. vir. ill.* 47.8. P. A. Brunt 2004: 167–70 examines a similar theory of domination in Cicero's speeches.

¹⁸ Mattern 1999: 184–94 argues that, in the Early Empire, the Romans often resorted to war in order to avenge insults to the honor and dignity of Rome.

¹⁹ See de Souza 1999 for a history of piracy in the Greco-Roman world.

neither criminals subject to the ordinary process of the legal system nor foreign powers against whom wars are declared and fought. They are literally outlaws, who fall between the cracks of human society.”²⁰ Brent Shaw expands on this observation, noting that the state itself never classified bandits as commons criminals, placing them in a liminal zone between persons covered by the law, both criminal and civil, and actual enemies of the state; echoing Riggsby, he notes that bandits “were, quite literally, ‘out-law.’”²¹ While northern barbarians and effeminate easterners were not properly ‘civilized’ in Roman eyes, they at least possessed enough civilization on which the Romans might declare war.

Roman legal and rhetorical sources accentuate the nominal removal of bandits and pirates from human society and civilization. Although many of the laws date to the Severans or later, the *Codex Justinianus* and the *Digest* carefully exclude pirates and bandits from standard laws and punishments. Laws from 265, 391, and 403 CE charge private individuals with the responsibility to detect, pursue, and betray bandits, authorizing lawful citizens to injure or kill such men without violating normal laws against *iniuria* or homicide.²² The law further sanctioned *summa suplicia* for bandits as a necessity to set a public example (*Dig.* 48.19.16.10). More significantly, the law explicitly differentiates between bandits, including *praedones* and *latrones*, and *hostes*: *hostes* declare war on Rome or Rome on them, with all other hostile parties termed *latrones* or *praedones* (*Dig.* 50.16.118). Ulpian expands on this separation, judging that bandits and pirates cannot have any state recognition (*Dig.* 49.15.19.2).

Although the legal sources largely date from long after Pompey, Cicero’s polemical views toward contemporary incidents of piracy operate through a similar process of separation.

²⁰ Riggsby 2006: 61.

²¹ Shaw 1984: 22–3.

²² *Dig.* 9.16.3 (265 CE); *Cod. Ius.* 3.27.1-2 (391 and 403 CE); cf. *Dig.* 9.2.7 for rules on self-defense in other situations.

Like the jurists in the *Digest*, Cicero carefully distinguishes between *hostes* or *perduelles* and *latrocines* or *praedones*. In *De Inventione Rhetorica*, he notes that the Senate denied Lucius Licinius Crassus a triumph for victory against *latrocines* in 95 because they were unworthy of the title of *hostes*, a requirement for celebrating a triumph (Cic. *Inv.* 2.111). Indeed, Cicero completely divorces pirates and bandits from even potential inclusion within the bounds of civilization. He argues that a Roman could never violate *fides* or *ius iurandum* with a pirate as a pirate could not even be considered a *perduellis*, a member of a recognized community hostile to Rome (Cic. *Off.* 3.107). In this conception, Cicero treats pirates as a group so far removed from the bounds of human civilization that Romans *cannot* have any obligation toward one; in a sentiment echoed by later laws, Cicero excuses Romans for nearly any injury inflicted on pirates. Pirates are part of any Roman conception of society and civilization only in so far as they are included through their overt and extraordinary exclusion. They are the hostile equivalent of the *homo sacer*, the foe that cannot be recognized as an enemy in any official capacity and, therefore, the foe that typical Roman practices and attitudes cannot accommodate.²³

As out-laws, pirates and bandits presented a challenge to the role of placedness in Roman conceptions of *imperium*. Again, Cicero underscores the centrality of ‘placing practices,’ namely farms, pastures, and towns, in the maintenance of the Republic and the *imperium* of the Roman people (Cic. *Man.* 17). Beyond their relevance for the internal prosperity of Rome, the prominence of these placing practices in Roman culture serves as the key signifier of civilization and order, particularly in comparison to the chaotic and fluid wanderings of barbarians: within the Posidonian tradition, the key markers of barbarians are their lack of a permanent and fixed place. Yet, this entire spectrum of order operates within the broad category of civilization, for

²³ Cf. Agamben 1998, who uses the concept in his analysis of the relationship between sovereign power and conceptions of life.

the Romans recognize the barbarians as potential *hostes* and *perduelles*; implicitly, the Romans accord barbarians enough civilization that they can declare war on it, a fact borne out by the recent wars against the Teutons and Cimbri (113 – 101 BCE). The pirates, however, exist outside this discourse of place and civilization. As out-laws, men who exist outside of Roman conceptions of society, the pirates are neither civilized nor uncivilized but actually *uncivilizeable*: if a more civilized group, like the Romans or their subjects, is a more placed group, then a group that exists outside of civilization cannot be placed, cannot be restored to its proper location. The outlawry of the pirates is the crux of the matter: without even a potential ‘proper place,’ the pirates cannot co-exist with Roman *imperium*. Accordingly, Roman law and custom consigns pirates and outlaws to summary execution, for there is no way to rehabilitate or deter a person who cannot exist within the spectrum of civilized and uncivilized.²⁴

This conceptual context of Roman attitudes towards both pirates and recognized foes makes Pompey’s conduct of the pirate war even more remarkable, a fact that ancient sources readily recognize. In the *De Lege Manilia*, Cicero praises Pompey for his rare *temperantia*, *mansuetudo*, and *humanitas*, comparing his conduct favorably to the trope of the rapacious governor (Cic. *Man.* 13). For Cicero, Pompey’s treatment of surrendered pirates is more noteworthy and laudable than even his restraint in friendly cities. Where typical Roman Republican military practices might lead us to expect Pompey to condemn any captured or surrendered pirates out of hand, he instead spares without injury any man who lays down arms (Cic. *Leg. Man.* 35). Dio Cassius praises Pompey for this *clementia*, claiming that Pompey’s willingness to pardon surrendering pirates won many over to the Romans’ side (Dio Cass.

²⁴ In her study of public executions, Kathleen Coleman provides an overview of ancient and modern understandings of the role of legal punishment in Rome. She outlines five possible aims: retribution, humiliation, correction, prevention, and deterrence. See Coleman 1990: 44–9.

36.37.4). According to Plutarch, Pompey never considered putting his prisoners to death, the heretofore-typical punishment for piracy (Plut. *Pomp*, 28.2). Appian moderates these sentiments somewhat, noting that Pompey distinguished between wicked pirates and those who were driven to piracy by poverty in his *clementia* (App. *Mith*. 96).

The most innovative aspect of Pompey's policy of *clementia* towards the pirates during the war is not his willingness to spare them, but that he settled the pirates after their surrender. Ancient sources regard such resettlement as a sign of Pompey's genius, viewing it as an admirable attempt to convert pirates into farmers by removing them inland and giving them land to farm. Plutarch offers an expansive version, presenting the settlement as a way to strip the pirates of their vices and give them a taste of an honest and innocent life by introducing them to living in towns and tilling the ground; he compares it to the process of taming fierce and savage beasts (Plut. *Pomp*. 28.3-4). Florus commends Pompey for removing the pirates from even the sight of the sea (Flor. 3.6.14). According to the sources, Pompey primarily settled the pirates in the region of Cilicia, particularly Soli (renamed Pompeiopolis), Adrana, Mallos, Epiphaneia and Dyme, in Achaia;²⁵ Pompey reportedly selected sites for these new settlements that were either thinly populated or deserted, often as a result of Mithridates' aggression (App. *Mith*. 96; Dio Cass. 36.37.6).²⁶ The settlement of the pirates suggests an underlying transformation of the pirates, one hinted at in Plutarch's metaphor of taming and Florus's praise: Pompey located a group of marine marauders within a defined territory, transforming them from outlaws into proper farmers. Ancient sources and modern scholars alike tend to ascribe Pompey's remarkable and swift success against the pirates to these policies of *clementia* and resettlement.

²⁵ Plut. *Pomp*. 28.4; App. *Mith* 96, 115; Dio Cass. 36.37.6; Strabo 8.7.5, 14.3.1-3, 5.8.

²⁶ De Souza 1999 disagrees with this justification, noting that Pompey's settlements often were situated ideally for continued piracy. Instead, he argues that Pompey chose the most expedient sites possible to conclude the campaign.

Although many of the ancient sources praise Pompey's plan, Cicero and later authors hint at its controversy. In a departure from his expansive praise in *De Lege Manilia*, Cicero compares Roman attitudes towards the pirates unfavorably with the conduct of Athens under Themistocles and Aristides in the later *De Officiis*: *Melius hi quam nos, qui piratas immunes, socios vectigales habemus* (Cic. *Off.* 3.49).²⁷ Later sources record a less veiled critique of the plan in the actions of Metellus Creticus, holder of a proconsular command against the Cretan pirates. His response to discovering some Cilicians, a people the Romans consistently linked to piracy, among one of Pompey's legate's armies underscores the innovative and radical nature of Pompey's policy. Although the Cilicians were enrolled under Roman banners, Metellus Creticus nonetheless had them executed as pirates (Dio Cass. 36.19; App. *Sic.* 6.2; Livy, *Per.* 99). Indeed, Appian claims the Cretans refused to surrender to Metellus, begging Pompey to allow them to surrender to him instead (App. *Sic.* 9). Much like the positive sources, these divergent accounts emphasize the unusual nature of Pompey's plan. Whether authors praised his *clementia* or condemned it, they recognized it as an unprecedented approach to the problem of pirates; as a testament to his *virtus* or a capitulation of Roman values, the resettlement policy was a significant innovation in Roman conceptions of their defeated foes.

Pompey's *clementia* marks a significant departure from the practices of imperialism that characterized the Middle and Late Roman Republic. Again, the Romans conceived of their empire, their hegemonic domination of the Mediterranean basin, as order that gradually segued into chaos at the limits of their direct control. As I have argued, the Romans defined this order in opposition to barbaric fluidity, connecting it to the creation of proper, mobility limiting place.

²⁷ [The Athenians'] conduct is better than ours: we who consider pirates exempt and make our allies pay taxes.

The creation of this order, then, is the key project of Roman imperialism and colonialism.²⁸

Earlier Roman commanders created this order in a destructive sense, excising any signs of chaos from a given area: if the Roman army killed all disordered people, the resulting area was necessarily one of order. Accordingly, the destruction of Carthage and of Corinth, the executions of the slaves in the Third Servile War, were all tactics designed to create or re-create order through the elimination of chaos. This approach to imperialism might best be termed *tabula rasa imperialism*, for it defined order, the hallmark of Roman *imperium*, as the *absence* or *removal* of chaos: if the Romans removed any disordered peoples, only order could remain.

Pompey's resettlement of the pirates is a radical and controversial departure from this earlier *tabula rasa* practice of imperialism. We might term this Pompeian approach a 'constructive' or 'transformative' imperial practice, in that Pompey's program implicitly offers the means for Romans to *rehabilitate* chaos, to transform chaotic peoples into proper Roman order. Rather than simply eliminate any trace of the pirates, a tactic his contemporaries Metellus Creticus and Cicero advocated, Pompey bound them to the land, forcing them to live in towns and cultivate fields. In essence, Pompey created a new place for the pirates and, with it, a continual reaffirmation of order and *imperium*. The transformative nature of this approach emphasizes its novelty. As literal outlaws, the pirates had no place to which Pompey could restore them; they existed outside of the discourse of order and place, for they stood removed from any trace of human civilization, barbaric or other. Pompey transformed the pirates, reconceptualizing the a-civilized as the civilizable, as potentially legitimate subjects of Roman *imperium* and of the place-based discourse of Roman imperialism.

²⁸ The role of order is distinct from Susan Mattern's discussion of vengeance (Mattern 1999: 184–94). Mattern's analysis deals with the issue of where and when the Romans wage war, not directly with the Roman view of the world and with how the Romans conceptualized their actions, as I do here.

The controversy of Pompey's constructive imperialism lies in its dependence on the manipulation of historical memory.²⁹ At its conceptual heart, his resettlement required an act of dissimulation: it required the Romans to feign that the pirates were not in fact pirates and outlaws but instead potential insiders. In effect, it required that the Romans remember to forget the pirates' true past. The opposition of both Metellus Creticus and Cicero stems from their refusal to accept this new narrative. Metellus Creticus's execution of the Cilicans operates on a simple negation of the rehabilitation: once a pirate, always a pirate and therefore liable to the same treatment. Although less direct, Cicero's dissent in the *De Officiis* likewise rejects the Pompeian transformation, imposing a similar process of inclusion and exclusion on the pirates. Cicero's use of *immunis* to describe the pirates refers most immediately to their exemption from paying *vectigalia*, but it carries with it a constellation of symbolic ramifications. In addition to its primarily taxation related senses, *immunis* carries connotations of thanklessness, a refusal to perform one's proper duty, and a certain separation from the discussion.³⁰ Like Metellus Creticus, Cicero insists on the impossibility of rehabilitating and transforming a pirate: a pirate can never be an ally, but will always be *immunis* from both the responsibilities and the category of 'ally.' Cicero and Metellus Creticus fail to implicate themselves in the manipulation of memory required under Pompey's scheme. In effect, they refuse to remember that they need to forget the past of the pirates. As a result, they can see no place for the pirates in the traditional Mid and Late Republican discourse of *imperium* and place.

The Contingencies of Empire and Pompey's Self-Representation

²⁹ This section owes a deep debt to Hedrick 2000, particularly for the formulation "remembering to forget."

³⁰ Glare 1982 s.v. *immunis*, 3 and 4.

Scholars have spilt a great deal of ink in a historiographic battle over the question Pompey's command under the *Lex Gabinia*, debating the constitutional nature of and precedent for Pompey's *imperium*. Under the law, Pompey was granted *imperium* over the Mediterranean Sea and up to fifty miles inland. This inland *imperium*, however, presents what Robin Seager terms a "major and probably insoluble problem:" was Pompey's *imperium aequum* or *maius* in relation to that of other commanders and governors within his area of command?³¹ Our sources contradict one another on this point. Vellius Paterculus clearly states that Pompey's *imperium* was *aequum* to that of other proconsuls, likening it to Antonius' command against the same pirates in 74 (Vell. 2.31.1-2).³² Tacitus provides evidence for *maius*, comparing the grant of *imperium maius* to Cn. Corbulo under Nero to Pompey's command against the pirates (Tac. *Ann.* 15.25).³³ Seager rightly notes that, in the face of such inconclusive evidence, a preference for one side or the other is arbitrary at best.³⁴ I follow Seager in holding a faint preference for *aequum*, since it was adequate for Antonius's needs before Pompey assumed the command.

Lost in this skirmish over the nature of Pompey's *imperium* is an equally crucial issue: *where* Pompey held his *imperium* and for how long. Plutarch famously notes that Pompey was the only Roman to celebrate three triumphs over all three continents. In the *De Lege Manilia*, Cicero maps Pompey's campaigns throughout the Mediterranean, charting his victories in the Sullan civil war, over Africa, Transalpine Gaul, Spain, Servile, and the most recent pirate war (Cic. *Man.* 28). He calls on all of these areas as *testes* to his argument, linking Pompey's varied

³¹ Seager 2002: 35.

³² Pompey held *imperium aequum in omnibus provinciis cum proconsulibus usque ad quinquagesimum miliarium a mari*. This view is supported in Mommsen 1871: 1:654, albeit formulated as the problematic and unattested *imperium infinitum aequum*; Boak 1918; Ehrenberg 1953; Gelzer 1962: 188–92; Seager 2002: 32.

³³ Loader 1940: 134–6; Jameson 1970; Ridley 1981.

³⁴ Seager 2002: 36.

commands to his unquestionable suitability for the command against Mithridates (Cic. *Man.* 30-1).³⁵ In absolute terms, Pompey held immense commands with the ability to requisition significant resources in a wide variety of areas against different types of opponents and, more impressively, always returned with a claim to overwhelming success. Yet, it is this very success that distinguishes Pompey from contemporary military dynasts like Caesar. The incredible scope of Pompey's appointments matches the great speed with which he concluded his tasks; again, Pompey's war against the pirates, a war the Senate expected to drag on for three years, required only three months. As a result, Pompey held command over multiple armies in varied theaters. While his victories brought him incredible renown, he did not have the sustained opportunity to consolidate a firm army power in the same way that Caesar's ten year long Gallic command did.³⁶ In essence, Pompey's incredible success, the very factor that made him so remarkable to Romans and to modern commentators, contributed to his growing irrelevance in the political world of the military dynasts. While he could deliver swift victories, this speed and his willingness to disband his army denied him the power base that Caesar would have and the continual reminders of his prowess that a lingering but successful campaign offered.

The location of Pompey's commands, especially that against Mithridates, had a perhaps more significant impact on the shape of his career and the construction of its memory than his actual military prowess. Rome had a great deal of experience with Greece and Asia, stretching

³⁵ *Testes nunc vero iam omnes sunt orae atque omnes eterae generes ac nationes, denique maria omnia cum universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus.*

³⁶ Scholars have long debated whether soldiers in the Late Republic increasingly felt personal bonds of loyalty to their generals that outweighed their allegiance to the Republic. For arguments against increasing personal loyalties, see Aigner 1974; P. Brunt 1988: 240–80; Patterson 1993; Gruen 1995: xvii, 384–7; For increasing loyalties, see Erdmann 1972, who cautions that these loyalties lasted only so long as the emperor advanced the soldiers' interests; De Blois 1987; Riggsby 2006.

back to the Middle Republic.³⁷ Roman political influence traces back at least to the Second Macedonian War (200 – 197), in which Rome displaced Macedonia as the key power broker in Greece; Rome claimed formal control over Greece following the Battle of Corinth (146). By the time of Cicero's *De Provinciis Consularibus*, Rome's control over Greece was absolute, with much of the speech revolving around the distribution of the consular province of Macedonia. Polybius, writing in the early second century BCE, summarizes Rome's political position succinctly: not only did he travel from Greece to Rome as a hostage, but he marveled at the speed with which Rome established control over the Mediterranean world (Polyb. 1.1-2).

Yet, Rome's cultural experience and awareness of Greece and the East played a greater role in shaping Pompey's career than Rome's political intervention and control. On March 5, 186, Gnaeus Manlius Vulso celebrated a triumph for his victory, by no means the first or most important, over the Galatian Gauls in Asia Minor. Writing nearly two centuries later, Livy hailed this triumph as the beginnings of the infiltration of overseas luxury in Rome (*luxuriae peregrinae*, 39.6.7-9). Similarly, Polybius and Diodorus Siculus attribute to Cato the Elder a lamentation that Greek luxury had so infected the Romans that they would pay exorbitant sums for pretty slave boys and Pontic pickled fish rather than buying farmland and ploughmen (Diod. Sic. 31.24; Poly. 31.25.4-5).³⁸ Despite his military successes, Livy and Valerius Maximus criticize Scipio Africanus for allowing his soldiers to attend Greek *gymnasia* rather than training for war (Livy 29.19.12; Val. Max. 3.6.1). Cicero reaffirms the contemporary resonance of anti-Greek sentiment, condemning *gymnasia* for their association with pederasty and contrasting their

³⁷ Alcock 1996 provides a useful overview of the history of Rome's involvement in Greece, as well as a justifiably admired survey of Roman attitudes towards Greece in the Early Empire.

³⁸ Gruen 1992: 52–83 suggests that Cato's attitudes towards Hellenism were not only entirely typical of the Roman aristocracy, but were also served as a conscious means to define and advocate Roman values; his argument is an expansion on Astin 1978: 157–81.

role in the transmission of *paideia* unfavorably with the transmission of traditional Roman morality (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.70); he expands on this sentiment in *De Officiis*, claiming that *gymnasia* defy Roman *verecundia*, a Roman tradition of modesty derived from nature (Cic. *Off.* 1.126-9). In his discussion of Vitruvius's rejection of the *gymnasia* in Roman architecture, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill summarizes Roman distaste for *gymnasia*: "Roman moralisation characterised the gymnasium as making men soft, effeminate and sexually depraved."³⁹ Roman moralists, many contemporaneous with Pompey, regarded the cultural, intellectual, and physical pursuits of the *gymnasium*, a central symbol of Greek culture in the Roman worldview, as incompatible with traditional and proper Roman morality.⁴⁰

Although Roman moralists regarded some aspects of Greek culture as harbingers of degeneracy and effeminacy, their profoundly ambivalent relationship with the East encompassed a large degree of admiration for Greek culture and learning.⁴¹ Excluding morality, Romans regarded elements of their own culture and language as somehow inferior to or less sophisticated than the Greek analogues. Valerius Maximus offers perhaps the most direct expression of this uneasy sense of inferiority. He casts the use of the Greek language, rhetorical skill, and culture as a challenge to the *maiestas*, *gravitas*, and *auctoritas* of Rome, particularly when used by Romans in Rome itself (Val. Max. 2.2.2-3). He praises Marius, who refused to engage with Greek culture, as an example of a victor who believed that adopting the ways of a conquered people would not be a form of self-improvement; implicit in his statement is an uneasy awareness that many Romans associated the Greek language with sophistication and polish. In

³⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 189.

⁴⁰ MacMullen 1991; Hallett 2005: 71–6.

⁴¹ See especially Gruen 1992: 131–271, who argues that the Roman aristocracy of the Middle and Late Republic were appreciative consumers of Greek art and theater, using it to make self-glorifying public statements.

the *Pro Archia*, his defense of a Greek poet, Cicero elevates Greek over Latin, acknowledging it as a world language that offered a poet the potential for greater glory than Latin (Cic. *Arch.* 23). Writing a generation after Pompey, Horace summarized Rome's ambivalence in his famous line, *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit* (Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.156-7): locked in what Wallace-Hadrill terms "a cultural war with Greece," Romans felt Greek culture had surpassed their own, yet were disquieted by its encroachment.⁴² From Cato the Elder to Horace, this peculiar mixture of admiration and condemnation constructed Greece and the East not only as a site of dangerous luxury and immorality, of practices that threatened the masculinity and basic *romanitas* of the Romans, but also as the producer of potentially superior intellectual and cultural practices that could displace Roman tradition.

This construction of the East and the threat it presents to Rome differs significantly from Roman ethnographic constructions of the barbaric north, shaping the way in which Romans conceived of the goals and dangers of a campaign in each area. Roman ethnographies, collectively termed the 'Posidonian tradition,' emphasize the uncivilized nature of the barbarians.⁴³ Strabo details the herd-like migrations of Gauls and Germans, remarking pointedly that the Germans are known for their avoidance of agriculture (Strabo 4.4.2; 7.1.3). Diodorus Siculus likewise notes the predilection for northern barbarians to move in mass migrations of tens of thousands (Diod. Sic. 5.25.2). Romans typically characterized northern barbarians as a war-crazed and violent people. Strabo describes the Gauls as a war-crazed group quick to battle, willing to go to battle over minor slights to their neighbors (Strabo 4.4.2); Diodorus Siculus

⁴² Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 62.

⁴³ For the use of Posidonius as a common source for all, see Edelstein and Kidd 1972: 8–10; for more detail, see Tierney 1960; Nash 1976; for a discussion of the few inconsistencies throughout this discourse, Jervis 2001: 17–60; Riggsby 2006: 50 argues for the lack of a single archetype, preferring instead to postulate the existence of a "loosely connected tradition or 'discourse.'"

claims that the northerners seldom allow any chance for combat to pass them, seizing upon even trivial matters over a meal as an excuse for single combat (Diod. Sic. 5.28.5). Cicero likewise terms the Gauls bellicose (Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 33). Further, he rages at length about the faithlessness of the Gauls, claiming that any testimony provided by the Gauls cannot be trusted because they have no respect for oaths (Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 33; *Font.* 27-9).

Beyond such ethnographic constructions of the northern barbarians, Rome also had a history of devastating engagements with Gauls. The Roman army frequently confronted Gallic and Celtic forces in Italy or Rome's Alpine provinces until Julius Caesar's victory at the battle of Alesia in 52. As recently as 101, Marius and Sulla fought a bloody battle against the Cimbri near the settlement of Vercellae, in Cisalpine Gaul (near modern Piedmont, Italy). The most famous example of the danger of barbarians, however, was the Celtic invasion of Italy in the early fourth century BCE. When a Roman army of 15,000 men confronted the invading Gauls at the Battle of the Allia in 390/387, the Gauls routed the army, inflicting significant casualties on the Romans. The invasion culminated with the Gallic sack of Rome in 387, an event so humiliating that Caesar could draw on its symbolic power in his narrative of the Gallic Wars, claiming that his actions were necessary to prevent another such sack (Caes. *Gal.* 1.33).

The threat of the northern barbarians, then, was not a cultural one but a military one. The Romans conceptualized northern barbarians through their chaotic mass migrations and their distaste for placing practices like permanent settlements and agriculture; their disdain for place threatens not only the place-based order through which Romans conceptualized *imperium*, but also potentially threatened the *caput rerum* itself through the possibility of another devastating sack. Their physical and militaristic threat derives from their potential and predilection for dangerously transgressive movements, movements antithetical to proper Roman *imperium*.

Concerns over the danger of barbarian culture in Rome did not emerge in force until Late Antiquity, when the emperor Honorius felt the need to issue laws in 397 and 399 CE banning barbaric forms of dress, like pants (Cod. Thod. 14.10.2-3).

Although eastern threats could have similarly militaristic dimensions, as in the case of Mithridates, the adverse effects of eastern *luxus* and Greek cultural practices on Roman *virtus* occupied a central place in Roman understandings of the east. Roman moralists constructed *luxus* and Greek cultural practices as urban phenomena, that is, as threats that emerged from peoples who maintained some semblance of permanent place. Roman discourse on the *gymnasia*, ranging from Cicero to Vitruvius, illustrates this point most directly, linking the most distasteful and dangerous elements of Greek culture to a permanent urban structure. The discourse of *luxus* is equally place-centric. Livy's description of the beginnings of overseas luxury in Rome emphasizes goods that are conspicuously absent in descriptions of northern barbarians: bronze couches, tapestries, single-legged tables, and side tables rather than the skins, animal herds, and tents of the Gauls (Livy 39.6.7-9). These characteristic goods of *luxus* are either not easily portable or are only useful in the absence of repeated large-scale migration: although the Roman army moves these goods following conquest, bronze couches are too heavy to move annually and a hunter-gatherer society existing at the subsistence level would have little use for a slave as specialized as Livy's dancing girls (Liv. 39.6.8). Indeed, Livy's condemnation makes the point clear: the Roman army brought the goods of *luxus* to Rome, where they stayed to his day. *Luxus*, then, is a problem of placed peoples, for the place-less barbarians adopt only goods and practices that enable rapid and easy movement. In brief, *luxus* requires a permanent place of residence, for any good necessary for survival, one that migrating populations would bring with them, could not be a sign of *luxus*. The Romans did not construct the threat of the

east as one rooted in an unplaced or disordered people; rather, the problem was that a people with a recognizable, potentially superior civilization and adoption of place-centric ordering practices had cultural practices that were antithetical to Roman morality.

The Hellenistic east was not the unknown and unordered space of the northwestern barbarians. It was an area filled with *recognizable* civilization, complete with rich and productive fields, pastures, and an extensive trade network (Cic. *Man.* 14). Likewise, Cicero's concern for the revenues of tax farmers underscores the ordered nature of these provinces. He notes that Mithridates threatens the apparent security of not only the tax farmers themselves, but also their large staffs (*familias maximas*) scattered through their area of responsibility on pastures (*salti*) and fields (*agri*), and at harbors and at guard posts (*portibus atque custodiis*; Cic. *Man.* 16). Further, Mithridates jeopardizes Roman capital and property in Asia, which in turn endangers Rome's credit and system of finances (Cic. *Leg. Man.* 19). Here and throughout the speech, Cicero presumes the presence of certain structures of order throughout Asia. While the chaotic Gauls scorn fields and towns, Asia offers towns, fields, pastures, and harbors ready for taxation. Indeed, the presence of the tax farmers reifies these structures of order, enacting processes of cataloguing and collecting that re-inscribe these concepts on the ground and on the people; they are the bureaucratic realization and enforcement of the conceptual mapping of order through which the Romans conceived of empire. Despite Rome's profound ambivalence to the East, particularly Greece, as a site for the production of a cultural and linguistic identity, Romans nonetheless regarded the people themselves as, by and large, a properly ordered and confined people, subjected to the rigors and demands of the *imperium populi Romani*.

This pre-existing, albeit imperfect or incomplete, system of order in the East has significant ramifications both for the way in which Romans conceptualized Pompey's task and

the effect his time in the area had on in his subsequent self-presentation. Pompey's task, as Cicero portrays it, was not actually the *production* of new ordering structures but the *preservation* of extant ordering and placing structures. Cicero emphasizes the defensive nature of the campaign, carefully categorizing it as a protective action on behalf of Rome's allies rather than an invasion of the area under the pretense of a threat (Cic. *Man.* 66). He repeatedly emphasizes the danger to the rich and well-provisioned cities of the threatened provinces, arguing that the desire to plunder them catalyzed Mithridates's invasion (Cic. *Man.* 65, 67). At no point does Cicero suggest that Pompey might plunder these cities himself or mention the possibility that Pompey might found new cities; to the contrary, Pompey's legendary restraint when in allied cities serves as one of Cicero's major arguments in favor of the *Lex Manilia*. Cicero portrays the campaign in terms of the need to preserve what already existed in the East, to maintain the integrity of the area against Mithridatic aggression.⁴⁴

The conceptualization of the campaign as an act of preservation had a significant impact on how Pompey administered the east following his victory over Mithridates. Whether we regard his administrative settlements as "almost sloppy" or as "truly novel," Pompey founded numerous cities, granted many cities a constitutional form that persisted to the time of Trajan, and ringed Asia Minor with new provinces, complete with a network of authorities with whom the Roman government could deal for administrative, judicial, and fiscal purposes.⁴⁵ The creation of this network of authorities is crucial for understanding the impact Pompey's time in

⁴⁴ Morstein-Marx 1995: 322 characterizes this new mode as "one that goes well beyond the maintenance of a hegemonial position and emphasizes above all else the exploitation of the fruits of conquest not merely to maintain Roman strength in war but for the enjoyment of the Roman people in peace."

⁴⁵ Numerous scholars have written on the administrative aspects of Pompey's organization of the east. See especially van Ooteghem 1954: 244–274; Truly novel: Morstein-Marx 1995: 322–33; Sloppy: Seager 2002: 52–4; General discussions: A. H. M. Jones 1940: 56–7, 171–2; Gelzer 1949: 88, 99; Sherwin-White 1984: 229–30; Magie 1950: 1232n35.

the east had on his subsequent self-presentation and troubles when he returned to Rome. Pompey's mission was preservation; as a result, he necessarily interfaced with local, native mechanisms for the recognition of a powerful military leader. His interactions with them exposed him to Greek methods of relating to powerful figures and, more importantly, exposed him to the contaminating influence of the East

The pre-Pompeian history of the East is particularly important here, for, in his campaign against Mithridates IV, Pompey sought to remove one of the last of the Hellenistic kings. In the nearly three hundred years since Alexander the Great, the *poleis* of the so-called Hellenistic World evolved a variety of mechanisms for engaging with and recognizing these continually changing monarchs. The interaction between the Hellenistic monarchs and such regional customs produced an incredible variety of forms of rule during this period, as kings increasingly assimilated themselves to local conceptions of rule. Using the Babylonian corpus, Amelie Kuhrt has shown that Seleucid rulers quickly and thoroughly integrated themselves into the millennia-old Achaemenid tradition.⁴⁶ Tessa Rajak argues that the Hasmonean kings drew on the Jewish conceptions of kingship seen in the Old Testament.⁴⁷ The Ptolemies provide the most immediate example, for they assimilated themselves so thoroughly to the pharaohs that, by the time of Marcus Antonius and Kleopatra VII, the Romans identified them only as Egyptians.⁴⁸ Erich Gruen summarizes this trend well, claiming that we should define Hellenistic kingship as the struggle to find a balance between Hellenism and native traditions.⁴⁹ Pompey's settlements, his

⁴⁶ Kuhrt 1996.

⁴⁷ Rajak 1996.

⁴⁸ Ma 2003 notes this trajectory in the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. He calls on scholars to widen their horizons to accommodate the plurality of forms of Hellenistic rule.

⁴⁹ Gruen 1996.

creation of new provinces, occurred in an area accustomed to precisely the negotiations and interactions required for a new, militarily-powerful entity to establish its hegemony.

In essence, Pompey fit neatly into the centuries-old historical context of negotiation and balancing of native and foreign customs. The consequences of this context for Pompey himself are most apparent in the array of divine honors offered to him in the east.⁵⁰ Local communities named a month after him in Mytilene, created a cult with *pompeiastai* as officials on Delos, named him Savior in Samos and Mytilene, and possibly even built temples to house his cult.⁵¹ Plutarch quotes a graffito from Athens that riffs on his divine status: ἐφ' ὅσον ὦν ἄνθρωπος οἶδας, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἶ θεός (Plut. *Pomp.* 27).⁵² Prior to Pompey, only nine known Roman magistrates received divine honors in the East, despite numerous cults to Rome or the Senate.⁵³ These divine honors, so alien to anything the Romans might have offered Pompey, are but the most striking of the local cultural impulses that Pompey faced and, as evidenced by the absence of any signs of refusal, tacitly condoned in his administration and settlement of the east.⁵⁴

Pompey's experience in the east had a profound effect on both his self-representation and his representation by others. Prior to his campaign against Mithridates, Cicero represents Pompey as a superlative example of both the potential for Roman mobility and of Roman virtues.⁵⁵ Although he condemned Pompey for hypocrisy and jealousy in private

⁵⁰ The still-authoritative English study of imperial cult in the east is Price 1984; see also Tuchelt 1979; Beard, North, and Price 1998: 348–65.

⁵¹ Month in Mytilene: IG XII, 2.589 (l. 18); cult on Delos: SIG3 749A; Savior: SIG3 749A, 751; Temples: App. B. Civ. 2.86; Cass. Dio 69.11.1. For a survey of these honors, see Beard, North, and Price 1998: 147–9; Tuchelt 1979: 105–12 and Price 1984: 46 argue against temples for Pompey's cult.

⁵² In as much as you know that you are a man, you are that much a god.

⁵³ Bowersock 1965: 150–1; Erskine 1997: 30n8.

⁵⁴ Beard, North, and Price 1998: 147 emphasizes the distance between these specifically religious cults and any that Rome might have offered Pompey.

⁵⁵ For a valuable survey of Cicero's shifting attitudes towards Pompey, see V. Holliday 1969.

correspondence, Cicero maintained a public friendship with Pompey such that Romans would call Pompey ‘Gnaeus Cicero.’⁵⁶ In the *De Lege Manilia*, Cicero repeatedly reminds his audience of the singular and extraordinary *virtus* of Pompey, encompassing both military *virtus* (*militaris virtus*) and moral *virtus* (*virtutes animi magnae et multae*; Cic. *Man.* 3, 64; cf. 27). He praises Pompey for his *temperantia*, *mansuetudo*, and *humanitas*, comparing Pompey’s conduct favorably to the trope of the rapacious governor who plunders his province (Cic. *Man.* 13). He concludes that Pompey surpasses all generals in his knowledge of warfare, *virtus*, *auctoritas*, and luck (Cic. *Man.* 28). At its heart, Cicero’s argument in favor of Pompey’s appointment is that Pompey is the superlative exemplar of a Roman man, possessing the moral and military *virtus* required to face Mithridates.

In addition to his possession of unsurpassed *virtus*, Cicero also implicitly represents Pompey as a symbolic rehabilitation of failed or negated Roman *imperium*, particularly in his conclusion of the Pirate War. Throughout his recitation of Pompey’s accomplishments, Cicero emphasizes that Pompey consistently enjoyed a freedom of movement that the Roman people did not, a disparity most pronounced in connection to the pirates. Again, Cicero laments that the pirates not only roamed the Mediterranean freely, but also prevented the Romans from making any naval voyages. This imagery makes Pompey’s comparable freedom of movement only more striking. While Cicero’s ‘Romans,’ defined broadly and inclusively, cannot even move outside of Rome, the pirates do not limit Pompey’s movement at all. Cicero lauds Pompey for sailing during both the treacherous winter months and the period in which the pirates terrorized the Mediterranean (Cic. *Man.* 31). Praising Pompey for speed rivaling the most profit-driven merchant, Cicero charts Pompey’s itinerary in detail, following him from Italy to Sicily, then to

⁵⁶ Hypocrisy and jealousy: *Att.* 1.13.4, *Fam.* 5.7; Gnaeus Cicero: *Att.* 1.16.2

Africa, to Sardinia, to Spain and to Gaul, although the sea was not fit for navigation at that time (Cic. *Man.* 34-5); Pompey's movement reforges these connections, rearticulating the pathways along which goods, people, and information could flow. Pompey serves as a symbolic rehabilitation of the negated *imperium* of the Roman people, as an assertion that, even in these dire situations, truly great Romans preserved Roman *imperium*. Indeed, Cicero's description of Pompey represents him implicitly as a singular locus of *imperium*: the pirates cannot check his speed of movement and free mobility, the key markers of *imperium*. As Pompey surpasses all other generals in the qualities proper for a general, so too is he the superlative signifier of Roman *imperium*.

Pompey's return from his immensely successful war against Mithridates ironically marks the beginning of his career's decline. Pompey's return to Italy is far more conventional and conciliatory than his return from Spain, publicly reinforcing the relatively traditionalist image he had in Italy.⁵⁷ Yet, by the end of 59, Cicero's private criticisms intensified, with public opinion increasingly mirroring Cicero's disparaging comments. Cicero declares himself sad to see a man of confidence and dignity cast down, discontented with himself and distasteful to others (Cic. *Att.* 2.19.2). He decries the *perfidia Pompei* (Cic. *Att.* 4.3.5), condemning him for *levitas* (Cic. *Att.* 1.20.2) and for his apparent preoccupation with protecting his 'little triumphal toga' (*togulam pictam*, Cic. *Att.* 1.18.6). Actors in the theater mocked Pompey, jeering "*nostra miseria tu es magnus*" (Cic. *Att.* 2.19.3), while C. Porcius Cato called Pompey a *privatus dictator* (Cic. *Q. Fr.* 1.2.15). Pompey's fall from grace is remarkable both for its speed and its dramatic reversal; within a few short years, Cicero condemned Pompey for lacking all the forms of *virtus* of which he once was a singular example. The oddity of this reversal is all the more striking as it

⁵⁷ Beard, North, and Price 1998: 147; Seager 2002: 72–4.

came after Rome's most successful general returned from an incredibly successful war and celebrated a lavish triumph, making him the only Roman to triumph over all three continents. While surely Pompey's participation in the First Triumvirate plays an important role in his declining public prestige, such an explanation obscures an underlying issue, namely that Pompey felt the *need* to join the Triumvirate at all.

Pompey's triumph, assumption of triumphal clothing, and the reception of his theater together provide one possible explanation to the question of Pompey's declining fortune, one rooted in the problematic effects his time in the East had for his re-incorporation into Rome: in each of these, Roman moralists could observe a potential danger of the extractive powers of *imperium*, namely that a general who brought the fruits of empire back to Rome could also bring the contamination of the East with him. Pompey's third triumph on September 29, 61, is a rightly famous example of Roman celebratory ritual, featuring so much booty from the Mithridatic War that it took two days to display and disperse it all. The triumph featured placards detailing the fourteen nations over which he triumphed and noting the incredible quantity of strongholds, cities, ships, and money captured in the process (Plut. *Pomp.* 45). His triumph was the first to feature living trees in the procession, starting a new precedent for the display of botanical wonders (Plin. *Nat.* 12.111; 12.20; 25.7). He further paraded enormous artificial wonders through the streets of Rome: a giant golden pyramid adorned with vines, stags, and lions, a *musaeum* of pearls topped by a sundial, and even an enormous portrait bust of himself made entirely of pearls (Plin. *Nat.* 37.13-6). The sheer ostentation of the spectacle fascinated ancient writers like Pliny, Appian, Plutarch, and Dio Cassius, all of whom linger on the details of the display in a futile attempt to encompass it.

Pompey's triumph was simultaneously a very traditional Roman display of the fruits of victory and a highly problematic mode of representation for Pompey. The third triumph clearly articulated a programmatic message of Rome's status as a world power. In addition to overt symbols like the placards of conquered nations or the 'trophy' labeled as "a trophy of the whole world," the procession paraded the exotic landscape of the east through the Roman streets.⁵⁸ The trees, massive golden and pearled pieces of art, millions of drachmas, gemstones, and captives all emphasized the benefits of conquest. Indeed, one of Pompey's placards even offers a response to Cicero's concerns over the preservation of *vectigalia*, claiming that Pompey had increased the public revenue from taxes by eighty-five million drachmas.⁵⁹ As was typical of a Roman triumph, Pompey's third triumph sought to display the fruits of empire to the citizens of Rome and, in the process, reaffirm and celebrate the *imperium* that allowed a general to extract such wealth from distant locales.⁶⁰

Yet, Roman discourses of *luxus* render this otherwise conventional procession extremely problematic. The display necessarily recalled the excesses of eastern luxury, reified in the grandiose works of art constructed from precious materials. Although he wrote nearly forty years later, Livy's genealogy of luxury in Rome possesses an uncanny resonance with Pompey's triumph: luxury was brought to Rome from the east by triumphing armies (Livy 39.6.7-9). Pompey's triumph could not be a simple display of Roman domination of Greek luxury; it was necessarily a reminder of luxury's potential to contaminate Roman *virtus*. Mary Beard rightly draws attention to Pliny the Elder's description of the pearl bust portrait of Pompey as an

⁵⁸ "Trophy of the whole world:" Dio 37.21.2. See also Nicolet 1991: 31-3; cf. Kuttner 1999 and Beard 2007: 10, who discuss the display of the eastern landscape in Rome.

⁵⁹ Morstein-Marx 1995: 333-4 emphasizes the novelty of the inclusion of *nova vectigalia* in the procession, linking it to what he sees as an increasingly exploitative sense of *imperium*.

⁶⁰ Mary Beard discusses the representational role of the triumph, casting it as a chance for a general to present the conquered world to Rome. Beard 2007: 42-71, 107-42.

example of this unstable balance between restraint and luxury.⁶¹ Pliny criticizes Pompey for representing himself in pearls, an extravagant material meant for women that Pompey would never be allowed to wear himself (Plin. *Nat.* 37.14-6). Writing with the benefit of hindsight, Pliny links this symbol of ‘Pompey’s extravagant effeminization’ with his murder in Egypt following his defeat at Pharsalus in 48, regarding it as *saevum irae deorum ostentum* (Plin. *Nat.* 37.16). Although meant to broadcast his *virtus* in a traditionally Roman manner, Pompey’s third triumph offered a transgressive decoding as well. Rather than a celebration of Pompey’s possession of unmatched Roman military and moral *virtus*, in keeping with Cicero’s presentation in the *De Lege Manilia*, the triumph could also represent Pompey’s surrender of *virtus* in favor of the effeminacy and softness of eastern *luxus*. Indeed, the pearl portrait is a perfect cipher here: in addition to its licensed programmatic interpretation, it unintentionally invited a transgressive reading in which eastern luxury so infected Pompey that he surrendered his masculinity in favor of female raiment and his *romanitas* in favor of eastern splendor.

The inauguration of Pompey’s theater, a massive combination of temple, pleasure park, theater, and personal museum, on the sixth anniversary of his triumph in 55 did little to assuage to unease of traditionalists (see Figure 1).⁶² The theater featured a clutch of shrines nested in the top levels to notably Roman and military virtues, including *virtus* and *felicitas*. Most famously, a temple to Venus Victrix was located at the top of the theater, transforming its steps into the seating of the vast theater. In the area behind the *scaenae frons* itself, a quadriporticus surrounded lavish gardens filled with sculptures by famous Greek sculptors. At the end opposite the *scaenae frons*, the curia, where Julius Caesar would meet his end, provided a venue in which

⁶¹ Beard 2007: 34–6.

⁶² The most recent excavation and report on Pompey’s theater is Packer, Hopkins, and Gagliardo 2010.

Romans could engage in less leisurely activities as well. Pliny the Elder highlights the presence of a portrait of Alexander, as well as statues of the fourteen *nationes* over which Pompey triumphed, a statuary counterpoint to the *tituli* of the triumph itself (Plin. *Nat.* 35.132; 35.41). Filled with an array of treasures from Pompey's conquests, movement through its porticos and gardens required a re-viewing of the spoils from the third triumph, re-enacting the triumph through the movement of each visitor past the objects.⁶³ Through the theater complex, Pompey attempted to inscribe an eternal re-presentation of his third triumph onto the city of Rome, monumentalizing the transitory performance of the triumph in the movement of viewers through its environs.

Held on the sixth anniversary of his third triumph, the celebrations surrounding the inauguration of Pompey's theater further emphasized its triumphal connotations, marking the occasion with the traditional Roman combination of tragic theater, musical and gymnastic competitions, and an enormous *venatio* in which five hundred lions died.⁶⁴ Based on comments in Cicero's letters, Mary Beard suggests that the headlining plays, Accius's *Clytemnestra* and the *Equus Troianus*, even featured spoils from the triumph.⁶⁵ Brought from their places of honor in the theater complex to the focal point of the celebration, the use of the spoils explicitly linked the inaugural celebrations to the earlier triumph. Parading the spoils of the war in front of an audience on the sixth anniversary of the triumph, the dedicatory celebrations re-enacted the triumph itself, re-performing the procession in a venue that further linked the victory to the personal glory of Pompey himself. The *venatio* symbolically united Pompey's three triumphs,

⁶³ Gleason 1990: 10; Beacham 1999: 70; Beard 2007: 25.

⁶⁴ For the traditional nature of this combination and further details, see Beard 2007: 26–29. For figures on the *venatio*, see Plut. *Pomp.* 52.4.

⁶⁵ Identification of the plays: Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.2–3. Use of spoils: Champlin 2003a: 297–8; echoed by Beard 2007: 28.

presenting a motif of Romans slaying exotic beasts from the various continents over which Pompey himself had triumphed. Indeed, the presence of the animals at all implicitly hinted at Pompey's re-establishment and extension of Roman *imperium* over the entirety of the world: lions from Africa (Plut. *Pomp.* 52.4; Plin. *Nat.* 8.20), elephants from the east (Plut. *Pomp.* 52.4; Plin. *Nat.* 8.20-1; Dio Cass. 39.38), and lynxes (*chama* or *rufii*) from the north (Plin. *Nat.* 8.70). In turn, each animal slain represented both the conquest of these areas, manifested in the blood of a foreign animal, and the extension of Roman *imperium* over the area, represented by the ability to requisition and transport the animal to meet its fate.⁶⁶ The dedicatory ceremonies imbued the theater complex with a triumphal aura, communicating a preferred mode of interpretation to any movement through or use of the facilities of the complex: the theater complex, a venue designed explicitly for display, was an eternalization of the themes of Pompey's triumph.

For all its conventional aspects, the ostentatious extravagance of the theater complex and its dedications fared much like the third triumph itself, incurring the displeasure of Roman traditionalists for generations to come. In a "memorably dyspeptic letter," Cicero termed the spectacles *contemnenda*, remarking that so elaborate a celebration offered far less enjoyment than a comparatively restrained one (Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.3).⁶⁷ Rather than arousing a sense of Roman superiority and representing the conquest of the exotic, Cicero claimed that the *venationes* actually created a feeling of *misericordia* in the spectators but no *delectatio* (Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.3); Pliny the Elder later amplifies this statement of sympathy, claiming that the scene so revolted spectators that they loudly cursed Pompey for it (Plin. *Nat.* 8.21; Dio 39.38.2-5). The idea that the crowd favored the beasts over the hunters in Pompey's *venatio* arises frequently in Cicero

⁶⁶ See Chapter 4 for the full realization of this theme under the Flavians.

⁶⁷ For the phrase "memorably dyspeptic," Champlin 2003a: 298.

and later sources, indicating the success of this resistant reading in shaping the historical memory of the event (Cic. *Pis.* 65; *Off.* 2.57; Ascon. 1, 16; Plin. *Nat.* 8.29f).

The theater complex itself was not safe from the unease of the traditionalists and the transgressive readings that arose as a result. Pompey's theater complex was the first permanent stone theater constructed in Rome, circumventing laws banning such constructions by masquerading as a temple to Venus Victrix. Tacitus viewed the construction of permanent theaters as defying the longstanding ways (*vetestiora*), arguing that it inexorably led to the degeneracy that subverted the *patrios mores* (Tac. *Ann.* 14.20). Although Cicero feigns reluctance to criticize temples out of respect for Pompey's memory, he nonetheless views them as part of an intrinsically wrong system of public munificence; he claims that not only did the greatest philosophers disapprove of projects like Pompey's theater, but also that such diversions are suitable only for children, women, slaves, and the servile free, not for serious men with sound judgment (Cic. *Off.* 2.57-60). Indeed, the very form of the complex proved exceptionally problematic for Romans, who conceived of theater-temples as an overtly foreign form. Although modern scholars have adduced Italian and Oscan antecedents, most notably the second-century BCE theater-temple from Praeneste (modern Palestrina, Italy), Plutarch views it as a Hellenistic adoption from the architecture of Mytilene (Plut. *Pomp.* 42.4).⁶⁸ Regardless of the exact genealogy of its inspiration, whether Oscan-Italic or Hellenistic, the theater was recognizably un-Roman; although such theaters were certainly part of the Hellenistic architectural *koine* of Italic communities, Roman traditionalists of the time nonetheless viewed them as a non-Roman form.

⁶⁸ J. Hanson 1959 argues that the temple is in a long tradition of Oscan theater-temples, most notably the one at Praeneste; Phillips 2006: 84–128 suggests that the theater “represents in large part the zenith of a well-established and distinctly Roman architectural practice,” (89) connecting it to earlier temporary wooden theaters built by generals in Rome; Beard 2007: 341n46 argues for a combined Hellenistic-Oscan inspiration.

Its construction not only required some elaborate maneuvering and posturing to circumvent a law prohibiting precisely such buildings, but also imposed an alien architectural form, one carrying dangerous implications of associated cultural practices, on the city.

Like his third triumph, Pompey's construction and dedication of the theater complex superficially follows very Roman practices for celebrating victory and advertising the incredible *virtus* of the dedicator. Public munificence from the spoils of war was not unusual in Rome by this time; monuments to *imperatores* and *triumphatores* dotted the city, predisposing Roman viewers to read this landscape as signifying exceptional and, more significantly, exceptionally *Roman* achievement. In their attempts to reconstruct its artistic program, modern scholars have unveiled a licensed reading of the theater complex, one that locates the theater in this tradition of self-aggrandizing construction. Yet, the ease with which the dedicatory games were subverted by sympathetic spectators and the unease of Roman moralists hints at the greater cultural power of a transgressive reading. Like the triumph, the theater and its dedication were too extravagant, too luxurious, and, more importantly, seemed a little too foreign. Rather than corroborating Cicero's earlier claims about Pompey's incredible moral and military *virtus*, the theater-complex associated him with luxury, extravagance, and the un-Roman. His attempts to shape his own public memory and persona, to permanently inscribe an unquestionably Roman and masculine identity into the very streets of Rome backfired, linking him instead to effeminacy, degeneracy, luxury, and softness.

Pompey's distinctive *imitatio Alexandri*, his identification as the Roman Alexander, encapsulates the ironic paradox of Pompey's disastrous self-presentation after his return to

Rome.⁶⁹ In his discussion of the famous elephant-drawn chariot of Pompey's first triumph, Gottfried Mader emphasizes the appeal of *imitatio Alexandri*: "For the aspect of the Alexandrian allusion that would have the most relevance in this emotionally charged context is precisely the *adulescens* whose spectacular achievements transcend his age and propel him beyond the normal frames of reference."⁷⁰ The appeal of Alexander to the Romans is clear: Alexander, the man who conquered the world, was a superlative example of the ethos at the heart of Rome's militaristic expansion and the elite masculine competition that drove the aristocracy. Yet, for all that he represented everything that an elite Roman male might hope to achieve, Alexander was nonetheless incurably Greek; the dangerous contamination of Greek culture tainted all that Alexander accomplished with connotations of luxury, effeminacy, tyranny, and monarchy. Arrian, a Second Sophistic philosopher (ca. 86 – 160 CE), expresses this most clearly in his account of Alexander's dress and court ritual in the *Anabasis*. Although we certainly should suspect a good deal of contemporary moralizing in his description, Arrian can nonetheless censure Alexander for affecting Persian royal dress, including a diadem, and demanding that his subjects honor him through the Persian ritual *proskynesis* (Arr. *Anab.* 4.10.5-12.5; cf. Plut. *Alex.* 54).⁷¹ Roman discussions of Alexander problematized his career by assimilating him to Eastern monarchs, implicitly contrasting the *virtus* of his success with the softness and effeminacy of his eastern appearance. For all his success, Alexander was too Greek to ever fit into a discourse that linked unquestionable *Romanitas* to the achievement of *virtus*.

⁶⁹ For general discussions of *imitatio Alexandri*, see Michel 1967: 35–65; Weippert 1972: 56–104; Stewart 1993; Spencer 2002: 17–20, 122–4; for Pompey and Alexander, Greenhalgh 1981; Spencer 2002; Tisé 2002; Mader 2006.

⁷⁰ Mader 2006: 402.

⁷¹ Roman concerns over the nature of the emperor and his power likely influence Arrian's discussion. However, his experience under Trajan and Hadrian, 'Republican' emperors, might give him less cause to invent this narrative for the sake of critique.

When his correspondence resumes in April of 59, Cicero makes frequent allusions to the unpopularity of the dynasts in the First Triumvirate, noting in particular Pompey's unhappy state of mind.⁷² Pompey's political difficulties should not be discounted, for the struggle to pass his agrarian law and his inability to ratify his *acta* in the east contribute to his growing dissatisfaction.⁷³ Yet, we might also imagine another reason, one connected to Pompey's attempts to redress his declining public prestige. Pompey's triumph and theater-complex both sought to remind Roman viewers of the military prowess that initially catapulted him to the forefront of Roman politics, encoding reminders of Pompey's *virtus* in transitory rituals and permanent sites. Pompey's insistence on his right to wear triumphator's garb to games even sought to turn the man himself into a living signifier of the abstract values that should center him in the discourses of Roman politics. We might read Pompey's actions of self-representation here as a desperate performance of his own *Romanitas*, as an attempt to make himself relevant to Rome even after he no longer held an army or conducted successful campaigns. Ironically, Pompey's performance of *Romanitas* was a little too Greek and Eastern for Roman tastes. The ostentatious extravagance of his triumph, its inappropriate displays, and his theater-complex all associated him with Greek and eastern cultural forms. His assumption of a special triumphal costume hearkened to the unique forms of attire adopted by monarchs of the east. To a critical Roman viewer, Pompey acted like an eastern monarch, dressed like one, built monuments like

⁷² Vivian Holliday claims that Cicero's portrayal of Pompey is sympathetic, citing Att. 2.21.4, 2.22.6, and 2.19.3. See V. Holliday 1969: 29–35; Seager argues that Cicero regarded Pompey as most responsible for the disgrace of the First Triumvirate, referring to Att. 2.13.2 and 2.6.2. See Seager 2002: 90–4.

⁷³ Gruen 1995: 110–9 offers a useful summary of Pompey's difficulties in this period, grounding his lack of success in the factionalism of the Republican aristocracy.

one, and even was worshipped like one.⁷⁴ In effect, Pompey created an image of himself in which he was a living example of exactly what Cato and Roman moralists feared: the contamination of Roman *mores* and *virtus* by eastern luxury and effeminacy, all carried to Rome by a triumphing general.

Counterfactual Lessons

The problem of perspective looms in the background of any study of the events surrounding the fall of the Republic. Erich Gruen highlights Caesar's career as one site of distortion, emphasizing that Caesar's incredible rise to power and dominance relegates his antecedents to the shadows. Modern scholars have done much to rescue Pompey from this darkness, increasingly drawing attention to Pompey's central role in the last generation of the Republic. Yet, we operate within a shadow cast not by an ancient Roman aristocrat but by our historical context. Our nearness to the great world empires of the nineteenth and early twentieth century complicates our relationship with the mechanisms of imperialism operative in Pompey's career, much as the influence of the Enlightenment nuances our estimations of Pompey's innate virtues and morals. Accordingly, modern scholars often praise Pompey's resettlement of the pirates as an example of his unmatched wisdom and humanity, with Robin Seager even comparing him favorably to Cicero, "by common consent a more humane man than most Romans of his age."⁷⁵ After his return to Rome, he is "a Hellenistic patron," alienated by "the blind opposition of the *optimates*" and forced to face the full brunt of public hostility for his

⁷⁴ Beard, North, and Price 1998: 147 find it quite unlikely that Pompey would have shed his divine status the instant he touched Italian soil, arguing that he carried some of these trappings into Rome itself.

⁷⁵ Seager 2002: 37. Unfortunately, Seager does not indicate by whose common consent.

attempts to pass an agrarian land bill benefitting his veterans.⁷⁶ We admire his military prowess, praise his nearly modern humanity, and condemn his opposition for hampering such a man.

Lost in these representations is the absolutely critical issue of Pompey's historical context. As I argue above, Pompey's resettlement of the pirates was a radically innovative policy, requiring a significantly altered worldview to accommodate. As entirely normative as it appears to a modern reader, Pompey's policy marked a dramatic shift in approaches to Roman imperialism that created the potential for unacceptable and irreconcilably alien populations to be incorporated into Roman hegemony. Yet, this increased potential for inclusion may have heightened the importance of maintaining an aura of unquestionable *Romanitas*, the centrality of which can be seen in Pompey's downfall: as much as Pompey desperately sought to present himself as a superlative example of *Romanitas*, his modes of representation appeared just foreign enough to allow for transgressive readings.

The theme of radical innovation is critical to understanding the trajectory of Pompey's career and its impact on the shape of Roman imperialism. Modern scholars often compare Pompey to Augustus, claiming that he either desired a similar nearly monarchical position or that, as master in empire building, set the stage for the Augustan Principate.⁷⁷ Pompey's influence on the history of imperialism, however, extends beyond merely setting the stage for Caesar and Augustus. When contrasted with Cicero's caustic comments and Metellus's willingness to execute Cilicians, the normative appearance of Pompey's resettlements to modern eyes emphasizes the lingering effect of this conceptual change. Pompey ushered in a new, constructive mode of Roman imperialism, one that sought to contain and rehabilitate its enemies

⁷⁶ "Hellenistic patron": W. Anderson 1963: 75–82, echoed by and "blind opposition": ; V. Holliday 1969: 26; Public hostility and agrarian bill: Seager 2002: 79–91.

⁷⁷ Desire to be princeps: V. Holliday 1969: 82; setting stage for Principate: Gelzer 1949: 247; as builder of the Empire: van Ooteghem 1954: 645.

rather than utterly destroy them. When viewed in terms of movement and order, this new schema allows for the *conceptual* Romanization of defeated enemies, creating a place for them in the empire; regardless of their assumption of Roman cultural practices or ability to practice cultural bilingualism, defeated foes helped positively constitute the order that defined Roman *imperium*.

Although the counterfactual game is perhaps more appropriate for science fiction and fantasy writers, we might nonetheless wonder what might have happened had Pompey held a command more akin to Julius Caesar's later Gallic command. The combination of Rome's intense ambivalence about Greek culture and the way in which Romans conceived of Pompey's Mithridatic command forced Pompey to engage in a delicate balancing act between his Roman customs and local traditions of Hellenistic kingship. When he returned to Rome, an aura of eastern luxury tainted his performances of *virtus* and *Romanitas*, likely a result of the success of such displays in the east. By virtue of his incredible military skill, however, Pompey did not possess an intensely loyal army, the sort that a general commanding the same men for nearly ten years might have and one that might allow Roman moralists to overlook such personal eccentricities as his theater and triumph.

Such frivolities aside, Pompey's career offers a critical prerequisite to the rise of Roman imperialism as seen in the Empire. Pompey's policies of resettlement and rehabilitation were extraordinarily controversial for his time, rejected by Cicero as weakness and by Metellus Creticus as an absurd conceit. Yet, the lavish praise of late writers for this resettlement underscores its subsequent naturalization into Roman conceptions of imperialism and colonialism. As little as twenty years later, Julius Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* could assume a policy of resettlement and rehabilitation as an implicit goal, constructing it as a way of

Romanizing the Gauls. Further, Pompey's subsequent fall, the inverted readings of his programmatic displays of traditional Roman *virtus*, highlight the intense anxiety over identity and *Romanitas*: even a man Cicero described as the superlative Roman could appear as an effeminate foreigner if he acted in a slightly unorthodox way. The trajectory of Pompey's career not only prefigures the imperialism characteristic of the Augustan Principate, but also lays bare its central concerns. Following Pompey's rise and fall, the practices of Roman imperialism, the fundamental concerns and conceptions at its heart, revolved around a nexus of mobility, place, order, and degrees of Roman-ness.

CHAPTER TWO

Caesar and the Quest for Order: Movement, Place, and Romanization in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*

In the 50's BCE, a Roman army under the command of Gaius Julius Caesar fought a series of annual campaigns against the inhabitants of the area adjoining Gallia Narbonensis (both parts of modern France).¹ Caesar's efforts were an incredible success, pacifying a vast array of Gallic tribes and subjecting them to the *imperium* of the *populus Romanus* with few significant setbacks. At the end of each season of campaigning, Caesar wrote the proximate section of what would become his seven-book account of the war.² On the surface, these books, referred to collectively as the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* or the *Bellum Gallicum*, are a rousing account of the failure and retreat of barbarism in the face of the powerful, disciplined, and civilized Roman military under Caesar's brilliant command. The text of the *Bellum Gallicum*, a war narrative written by a general quite interested in self-promotion, readily lends itself to studies of military history and aristocratic self-representation. As a result, modern scholars often emphasize these aspects, mining the text for otherwise rare information about Roman military

¹ Unless explicitly noted, all dates are BCE.

² There is no consensus on how or when Caesar wrote and published the *Bellum Gallicum*. One camp argues for serial composition, in which Caesar wrote and circulated each book in the winter following the campaigning season. For a good summary and supporting bibliography, see Gesche 1976: 78–83; Barwick 1938: 100–23; Lieberg 1998: 17–19; see also Aulus Hirtius's continuation of the *Bellum Gallicum* in Book 8, in which he claims Caesar prepared *commentarii* for each year (8.48.10); E. S. Ramage 2002: 146; another group argues in favor of unitary composition sometime between late 52 and 50, although they accept the potential inclusion of earlier material like dispatches to the Senate. See Görler 1976, who argues that the narration becomes less character-focused and more “Olympian”; see also Mutschler 1975; von Albrecht 1997: 332–3; Wiseman 1998: 5–6; I follow Riggsby 2006: 9–11, where he suggests that Caesar's desire to keep the public aware of his deeds while in Gaul tips the scales towards serial composition; although he ultimately decides in favor of unitary composition, Wiseman 1998: 4–8 notes the copious evidence for frequent correspondence from Gaul, part of which might, in fact, be the books of the *Bellum Gallicum*.

practices or treating it as a largely fabricated piece of pro-Caesarian propaganda, albeit a masterfully constructed one.³

Yet the *Bellum Gallicum* is more than a story detailing and glorifying the exploits of a general, his army, or the men they defeated. Caesar fought the Gallic War and wrote the *Bellum Gallicum* in the context of an implicit debate over what the proper relationship between Rome and its conquered subjects should be. Ten years earlier in 67, Pompey's resettlement of the pirates in Cilicia and Achaia marked a radically innovative, and quite controversial, approach to the disposition of defeated foes.⁴ By resettling a group of enemies who, by well-established cultural and legal precedents, merited a summary execution, Pompey promoted a constructive mode of Roman imperialism, one that privileged the containment and rehabilitation of enemies over their utter destruction. Cicero's contemporary speeches and Pompey's deeds established a simple paradigm of enemies and subjects: Rome should prohibit its enemies from making hostile incursions into Roman-controlled areas and should preserve the place of its subjects. Although the resettlement of the pirates presented a variety of conceptual difficulties to Roman jurisprudence and culture, Caesar faced an additional difficulty in that he waged a war of conquest. In effect, the aims of the Gallic Wars, namely the pacification and incorporation of the Gauls, required Caesar to negotiate the distinction between the Gauls as external enemies and the Gauls as subjects-to-be.

The text of the *Bellum Gallicum* provides the arena in which Caesar could address and effect this tenuous transition. As *commentarii* on his military campaigns, the *Bellum Gallicum* serves as a liminal area of representation; the text allows Caesar to not only chronicle his military

³ For the *Bellum Gallicum* and the Roman army, see Keppie 1984; Goldsworthy 1996; and many of the essays in Erdkamp 2007; for Caesarian propaganda, see for example Balsdon 1957; Kahn 1971; Gardner 1983; Barlow 1998; Lendon 1999.

⁴ For Pompey and the resettlement, see Chapter One.

actions by which Rome suppressed its external foes, but also to present this campaign within a framework that refigured the relationship between Rome and the Gauls. The text provides Caesar an opportunity to produce a new knowledge of the Gauls, to transform them from a stereotype of northern barbarians into a recognizably Roman-like population. Rather than a simple chronicle of yet another Roman campaign of conquest, providing a history of an act of Roman imperialism, Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* actively enacts the processes of imperialism and colonialism on the Gauls. As a reader consumes the text, he re-performs Caesar's conquest of the Gallic peoples. The text does not fight the war for Caesar, let alone win it. Instead, it presents a carefully controlled and constructed understanding of the campaign, the way it unfolds, and its impact on the Gauls.⁵ By the very act of consuming the text, a reader re-performs Caesar's understanding of exactly what it means to say that Rome conquered Gaul and the Gauls.

In this chapter, I examine the way in which Julius Caesar constructed his account of the Gallic War in order to channel and reinterpret the imperial model recently provided by Pompey. Although Caesar adopted from Pompey a constructive mode of imperialism that allowed for the incorporation of defeated enemies into the empire, one that conveniently provided him with a large pool of potential clients, he faced the difficulty of applying this general model to the specific example of the Gauls. The *Bellum Gallicum* provided an arena in which Caesar could not only trace the conquest of the Gauls, but also programmatically lead his reader through a literary Romanization of the Gauls. I argue that Caesar represented the campaign not as a war over land and its proper possession, as one meant to subject geographical territory to Roman

⁵ Osgood 2009 traces the importance of writing for the conquest of Gaul, although he focuses primarily on the relationship between the reality of Caesar's scattered, ad-hoc campaigns and the appearance of a coherent and consistent war.

control, but rather as an attempt to regulate and restrict the fluid movement by which Romans characterized barbarians in ethnographies. This concern over movement emerges most strongly in his emphasis on the maintenance of *fines* against foreign transgression, a critical term that appears in the *Bellum Gallicum* as a reference to the curtailment of unlicensed movement.⁶ I then locate Caesar's anxieties and the centrality of *fines* in the context of Roman conceptions of *imperium*, people, and place. In an adaptation of Pompey and Cicero's concerns over proper place, Caesar articulates a discourse of proper place, wherein proper place inhibits Gallic movement and the absence of place promotes chaotic fluidity. I argue that Caesar treats Gallic fluidity as an inherent invalidation of order and proper *imperium*, suggesting that only peoples in their proper place are subjects of Roman *imperium* and, hence, part of the empire. Finally, I analyze the evolution of Caesar's representation of the Gauls as it shifts from depicting them as chaotic, fluid barbarians to increasingly Roman-like peoples, characterized by their mastery of defensive technology and their exhibition of increasingly self-locative thought. By reducing the potential for and tendency towards barbaric movement, Caesar transforms the Gauls from a stereotype of northern barbarians into a Roman-like population in its proper place. The *Bellum Gallicum*, then, does not simply chronicle the defeat and subjugation of the Gauls; through a careful program of representation, Caesar uses the *Bellum Gallicum* to transform conceptually the Gauls from foreign enemies into proper subjects within the empire.

Fines, Movement, and Imperium

⁶ Glare 1982: s.v. *finis*, often translated as "border" or "territory." See below for my preference for the Latin term and rejection of this translation. In brief, the substitution of "border" carries modern territorial connotations that serve to obscure the relationship between movement, *imperium*, and empire that informs the *Bellum Gallicum* and Roman imperial thought in general.

Modern discussions of both the Gallic War and the *Bellum Gallicum* often focus on issues of land, conceptualizing the war largely in terms of territory.⁷ Building on a long tradition of interest in territory, Andrew Riggsby's recent study of the *Bellum Gallicum* offers a compelling example of this tendency. In his discussion of the presentation and representation of space in the *Bellum Gallicum*, Riggsby argues that Caesar represented Gaul as a series of distinct 'islands' of defined space in a background of indistinct space. Linking Caesar's descriptions of defined space to agrimensorial techniques and terminology, he suggests that Caesar casts Gaul as a territory in which ownership of the land was either non-existent or contested; he claims, "As it is, Caesar generally prefers a style of representation that leaves most of Gaul up for grab."⁸ As a result, he continues, Caesar's style of representation legitimates the dispute over ownership of the land before the army wins it, casting an aggressive war of land seizure as something more akin to a property dispute over vacant land.⁹

Like scholars before him, Riggsby bases his argument on a critical and unspoken assumption: Caesar sought to conquer Gaul itself, or more precisely, the geographically defined territory of Gaul.¹⁰ Several elements of Caesar's narrative seemingly support such an assumption, particularly the famous opening of the *Bellum Gallicum*. In the first paragraph of the text, Caesar defines Gaul in terms of three groups of people separated from one another by culture and rivers (Caes. *Gal.* 1.1.1-4). He provides a second, parallel description of Gaul a few lines later, focusing more narrowly on the geography of Gaul (Caes. *Gal.* 1.1.5-7).¹¹ The second

⁷ For example, Berres 1970; Rambaud 1974; Fulford 1992; Krebs 2006.

⁸ Riggsby 2006: 44.

⁹ Riggsby 2006: 44-5.

¹⁰ Cf. Bertrand 1997; Schadee 2008; Osgood 2009, all of whom suggest that the concept of "Gallic territory" is fairly nebulous in Caesar's account.

¹¹ Torigian 1998 argues that the two descriptions of Gaul form parallel ring structures and is meant to suggest the impossibility of Gallic unity in contrast to Roman solidarity.

description defines Gaul primarily through the way its geographical features separate the three Gallic tribal groups. Rather than cultural distinctions, it seems to privilege the landscape of Gaul – rivers, mountain ranges, and the Mediterranean – as its defining aspects. Riggsby argues that these descriptions of Gaul serve a “quasi-cosmographic use,” setting out the geographic limits of the theater with which Caesar is concerned.¹² The two passages seemingly link peoples to a geographically and territorially constituted arena, defining the Gauls through their residence in the land of Gaul.

While compelling, this mode of interpretation requires a certain degree of modern retrojection: namely, its proponents tend to assume that the conquest of territory was a key motivation for Roman imperialism, albeit coded in culturally and contextually appropriate ways like honor, vengeance, or obligation. In the process, they overlook the provocation that initiates the Gallic War, or at least treat it as a flimsy pretext for an already planned act of conquest. In Caesar’s account, the Gallic War begins in a dispute over the rights of a particular Gallic tribe, the Helvetii, to transgress its *finēs*.¹³ Caesar writes that the Helvetii believe that their *finēs* are too confining (*angustos se finēs habere arbitrabantur*) for the size of their population and its renown in warfare (Caes. *Gal.* 1.2.6):¹⁴ their *finēs* do not allow them to wander widely enough to suit them and their reputation (Caes. *Gal.* 1.2.4: *minus late vagarentur*). Accordingly, the tribe plans and executes a march out of its *finēs* in search of a more suitable set of *finēs* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.2.1: *finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent*; 1.5.1: *e finibus suis exeant*), planning a route that

¹² Riggsby 2006: 29.

¹³ P. R. Murphy 1977; Bertrand 1997; Schadee 2008. All frame this move as a halted migration and largely unconnected to the larger narrative of the conflict.

¹⁴ *Pro multitudine autem hominum et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos se finēs habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant* (They reckoned, on account of the magnitude of their population and their renown and bravery in war, that their *finēs* were too constricting for them, although they extended 240 miles in length and 180 in breadth).

would take them over the Rhone near Geneva and through the Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis (modern Languedoc and Provence in southern France). The war begins when Caesar arrives from Rome, destroys the bridge at Geneva, fortifies the banks of the river, and easily repels the Helvetii. From these humble beginnings, the Gallic War quickly expands to include all of Gaul, as well as parts of Germania and Britain. Yet, at its heart, the Gallic offense to the Romans, the sole impetus for such extraordinary Roman action, is a simple question of the migration of a people.

Although his emphasis on *fines*, a term typically translated as ‘border,’ suggests territorial concerns to many modern readers, a careful analysis of Caesar’s use of *fines* throughout the text suggests a profound disconnection between Caesar’s conception of *fines* and modern conceptions of borders. While it chronicles a seemingly minor and easily dismissed issue, Caesar’s description of the Helvetian complaints and his response to them suggests an interpretative paradigm for the remainder of his presentation of the war. Rather than territory and control over it, Caesar’s narrative hinges on issues of licensed and unlicensed movement. Caesar frames the Helvetii’s complaint and his reaction in terms of permitted movement across *fines*. Again, the Helvetii phrase their planned migration as an attempt to leave their *fines* in search of a more favorable set, one suitable to their sense of self-worth. In contrast, Caesar seeks to contain them within their *fines*, an objective he achieves by deploying the Roman army in a preventative posture along the *fines* of the Helvetii (Caes. *Gal.* 1.10.1-4).¹⁵ The *causus belli* in Caesar’s narrative is the right to movement, namely if the Helvetii have the right to move as they please or

¹⁵ Similarly, see Caes. *Gal.* 4.8.1-3, in which Caesar asserts that he cannot negotiate with the Germans as long they remain outside their *fines*, and 5.56.1-5, where Indutiomarius invites Germans and Gallic tribes to violate their *fines* as a prelude to his assault on Labienus’s winter quarters; cf. 5.54.2-3, in which Caesar justifies war against the Senones on the grounds that they drove the king he appointed out of their *fines*.

if Caesar and Rome have the right to confine them within a set of Roman-adjudicated *fines*. The Romans initially wage war to guarantee the impermeability of the *fines* of the Helvetii, while the Helvetii wage war to force a breach.

Beyond the initial Helvetian provocation, the threat of a Gallic or Germanic group transgressing its *fines* provides Caesar's key motivation for deploying the coercive powers of the Roman state. An early example appears in Book 1, where Caesar's suspicion about the Aedui chieftain Dumnorix's harassment of his supply lines indicates the importance Caesar attaches to maintaining the impermeability of *fines*. Justifying his decision to turn his attention toward Dumnorix's illicit activities, he says

Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspiciones certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios transduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo iniussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Aeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae arbitrabatur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverted, at civitatem animadvertere iuberet. (1.19.1)¹⁶

The confirmation of Caesar's suspicions, the factor that impels him to take punitive action, is not the accusation by Liscus, the Aedui's highest magistrate and a staunch Roman ally. Rather, Caesar includes Liscus's complaint nearly as an afterthought to his more pressing concerns related to *fines* and hostages. Indeed, the first factor Caesar mentions, the one that appears immediately in apposition to *certissimae res*, is Dumnorix's role in the transgression of the *fines Sequanorum*; that Caesar and Rome were unaware of Dumnorix's transgression only condemns him further, with Liscus's complaint a largely unimportant addition. While suspicions and

¹⁶ When he learned these things, Caesar had the most indisputable facts to agree with these suspicions. Dumnorix had led the Helvetii across the *fines* of the Sequani, had arranged hostages to be exchanged amongst them, and had done all this not only unbidden by Caesar or the state, but also without the knowledge of either. Further, a magistrate of the Aedui accused him. Caesar judged all these to be sufficient reason to either turn his attention toward him [i.e. to punish him], or to order the state to do so.

accusations might not move him, Caesar indicates Gallic violations of *fines* necessarily require a forceful military response.

Caesar's desire to prevent barbaric violations of *fines* likewise shapes the terms he offers subdued tribes. After the conclusion of the first major battle against the Helvetii in Book 1, Caesar's terms explicitly restore the integrity of *fines* in two significant manners. First, Caesar orders the defeated tribes to prevent any Helvetian rebels from fleeing across their *fines* to the Germans, demanding that they capture fleeing Gauls and return them to him. He reinforces this demand with a threat, reminding the defeated Gauls that he would consider them complicit in any escapes and the necessary transgression of the *fines* (1.28.1-2). His terms stabilize the *fines* from transgression from within: under the threat of further coercive force, Caesar's demand contains the rebellious Gauls within their *fines* and requires them to prevent any Gauls from moving out of them. Second, Caesar explicitly orders the subdued tribes to return to their individual *fines* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.3 *in fines suos, une errant profecti, reverti iussit*). Caesar presents these demands as a way of maintaining the *fines* of the Helvetii from external transgressions by the Germans. His stated reason for these arrangements is that he fears that the Germans, tempted by the quality of the empty land, would cross the Rhine, moving out of their *fines* and into those of the Helvetii (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.3).¹⁷ By relocating the rebellious tribes to their proper *fines*, Caesar hopes to preempt any Germanic violation of the *fines*. In his narration of the peace, Caesar identifies the internal and external integrity of the *fines* as his chief concern

¹⁷ *Id ea maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit eum locum unde Helvetii discesserant vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, ex suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent.* (He did this primarily for this reason, namely that he was unwilling that the location from which the Helvetii had departed should lay vacant, lest, on account of the quality of the land, the Germans, who dwelled across the Rhine, should march out of their *fines* and into the *fines* of the Helvetii and become neighbors of the province of Gaul and the Allobroges).

following the battle. Within the narrative, he appears unconcerned with the issue of the territory itself or with the tribute, priorities that a geopolitical reading might lead us to expect. Rather, Caesar's terms for peace seek to return the Gallic tribes to their proper *fines* and, by virtue of their proper placement prohibit any other group from crossing them.

In each of these incidents, the specifically transgressive nature of the particular Gallic movements forces Caesar to deploy Rome's coercive force to restore the *fines*. Caesar's willingness to allow certain types of tribal migrations emphasizes the role of Roman adjudication in this schema. When the Aedui petition Caesar to allow the Boii to settle within the Aedui *fines* following the battle of the Rhone in Book 1, Caesar, judging the Boii to be a tribe known for *egregia virtute*, grants the request (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.4). When the Helvetii request similar permission to cross their *fines*, however, Caesar refuses and deploys the Roman army to prevent the movement. Although these incidents appear similar on the surface, they differ significantly in the chronology of the request. While the Aedui seek prior permission for a movement, the Helvetii present Caesar with a *fait accompli*: they already crossed out of their *fines* and demand permission for a further movement by virtue of their army. For movement across *fines* not to incur the Romans' wrath, Caesar, whether as *dux* and proconsul or as avatar of the Republic, must authorize the movement in advance. Accordingly, Dumnorix's secretive violation of the *fines* of the Sequani merits punitive action. Similarly, Caesar views Ariovistus's incursion into Gaul as grounds for war in Book 1 (Caes. *Gal.* 1.44-6) and refuses even to consider the possibility of negotiating with the Germans until they return to their *fines* (Caes. *Gal.* 4.8.1). Indeed, Caesar's narrative foreshadows Indutiomarius's attack on the Roman winter quarters in Book 5 with an imagined speech in which Indutiomarius invites the Germans and other Gallic tribes to cross over their *fines* illicitly (Caes. *Gal.* 5.56.1-5). In each case, Caesar characterizes

the danger or insult not as an issue of movement *qua* movement but in terms of transgressive movement without prior authorization.

The example of the Aedui and the Boii provide a particularly insightful case study of the distinction between the Roman concept of *finēs* and modern conceptions of ‘borders,’ the typical translation for *finēs*. In his narration of the exchange, Caesar reveals the mechanism by which a tribe can make a licensed movement: *petentibus Haeduis* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.4). Caesar describes the request with a legalistic vocabulary, deploying a term that not only suggests an entreaty but also a legal suit, application, or even desire to stand for a particular office.¹⁸ Caesar’s vocabulary suggests the existence of a well-known mechanism for such requests, perhaps predicting the petition-response dynamic through which provincials would later engage with and formulate their understanding of the emperor.¹⁹ Moreover, that the Aedui must address their petition to Caesar indicates that the Aedui require the permission of an individual properly endowed with *imperium*. Applied in the context of *finēs*, the Aedui’s use of the mechanism of petitioning suggests that *finēs* are not pre-existing territorial divisions between tribes, for pre-existing divisions would render any such request nonsensical. Rather, *finēs* seem to function as prohibitive barriers to movement that Rome imposes and adjudicates. The Aedui petition, then, is not about territory, but instead seeks to redefine the Boii’s area of licensed movement. More than arbitrary and abstract territorial borders between tribal groups, *finēs* are related intimately to Rome’s imperial presence in the area. The maintenance and adjudication of *finēs* is not simply a sign of Rome’s empire or an analog to modern nation-state borders, but a concept inextricably

¹⁸ Glare 1982: s.v. *peto* (9–11). *Peto* also forms the base for a constellation of terms relating to the act of petitioning, including *petitio* and *petitor*.

¹⁹ Millar 1977 analyzes the ways in which this legal mechanism allowed provincial subjects to construct an image grounded in jurisprudence of the emperor and his power.

connected to the issues of *imperium* and movement seen in Pompey's career and Cicero's speeches.²⁰

The relationship between *fines* and *imperium* emerges most clearly in the tensions in Book 1 surrounding Caesar's conflict with the Germans, a group lying outside of Rome's direct control. Throughout his presentation of the conflict, Caesar's conduct and concerns betray a preoccupation over the possibility that the Germans had crossed or might cross the Rhine into Gaul.²¹ The German threat even shapes his interactions with Gallic groups, as when he characterizes the terms he offers to the Helvetii in Book 1 as a way to discourage German movement out of their *fines* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.1-4). In an ancient precursor to modern domino theory, Caesar also worries that should the Germans cross into Gaul uncontested, they subsequently would swarm through Gallia Narbonensis and on into Italy, leading to a repeat of the devastating invasions between 109 and 103 BCE by the Cimbri and the Teutoni (Caes. *Gal.* 1.33.3; 2.4.1-3). More directly, Caesar claims that the presence of Germans in Gaul will lead to the complete breakdown and subsequent transgression of all Gallic *fines*. When a Gallic embassy asks Caesar to confront Ariovistus and his Germans in Book 1, they argue that a German invasion would necessarily drive all Gauls from their homes in search of safer locations, essentially re-enacting the Helvetian migration that began the war on a grand scale (Caes. *Gal.* 1.31.11).²² Although Caesar situates his concerns over barbaric movement in the context of the maintenance of *fines*, the threat of a potential Germanic movement excites these anxieties more than the reality of Gallic migration does.

²⁰ For which see Chapter 1.

²¹ See, for example, 1.1.4, 1.28.3, 1.31.10-15, and 1.44.

²² *Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur, atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent* ([They claimed] that in a few years, they would all be driven from the *fines* of the Gauls, and that all the Germans would cross the Rhine).

The logic behind Caesar's increased anxiety emerges in his presentation of his negotiations with Germanic leaders in Books 1 and 4. When Caesar confronts Ariovistus in Book 1 (Caes. *Gal.* 1.42-47), he demands that Ariovistus withdraw to back across the Rhine and cease bringing Germans across it. He claims a historical precedent for the Roman presence in Gaul dating to the campaigns of Quintus Fabius Maximus (~121 BCE), labeling this initial Roman intrusion into Gaul as an indicator of *populi Romani in Galliam iustissimum imperium* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.45.3).²³ In his response, Ariovistus argues that the Aedui had invited him across the Rhine and provided him with any settlements that he now held. He notes that a Roman army had never before advanced beyond the *finēs* of Gallia Narbonensis, yet Caesar now led one into his possessions (Caes. *Gal.* 1.44.7-8).²⁴ Ariovistus concludes that, just as it would be unjust for him to make a hostile movement into Roman *finēs*, so too would the Romans be unjust in obstructing the exercise of his rights in Gaul (Caes. *Gal.* 1.44.8).²⁵

Although the debate deals most immediately with which of the two rightfully holds sway in Gaul, the underlying issues and assumptions are not truly territorial in Caesar's presentation of the dispute. Rather, Caesar presents both men's argument to rule the Gauls as defined by the prohibition of the other's entry into Gaul. Indeed, Caesar claims that he will suffer the presence

²³ "The most justified and deserved *imperium* of the Roman people over the Gauls." Although in *Galliam* typically is rendered as "in Gaul," I address the logic of reading it as a reference to people, not place, below.

²⁴ *Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae provinciae finibus egressum. Quid sibi vellet? Cur in suas possessiones veniret* (Before this time, the army of the Roman people had never left the *finēs* of the province of the Gauls. What does Caesar want? Why come into his [Ariovistus'] domain?).

²⁵ *Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros finēs impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo iure se interpellaremus* (Just as he would not be allowed to make a hostile movement into our *finēs*, so too would we be unjust to obstruct the exercise of his rights in Gaul).

of the Germans in Gaul, provided no more cross over the Rhine (Caes. *Gal.* 1.43.9).²⁶ In turn, Ariovistus reprimands Caesar for leaving what he defines as the *fines* of the Roman people (Caes. *Gal.* 1.44.7). Caesar presents their debate not as a conflict over the rightful presence of the Germans or the Romans in Gaul but as an issue of transgressed *fines*, of people moving *out* of where they properly belong. More significantly, Caesar's appeal to the historical precedent of Fabius Maximus explicitly recontextualizes the debate as one that hinges on the possession of *imperium*. Caesar invokes a historical precedent of *iustissimum imperium* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.45.3) to refute Ariovistus's claim that the Romans had no right to move beyond their *fines* in Gallia Narbonensis. Implicit in this argument is the assumption that *imperium*, specifically Roman *imperium*, over the Gauls not only allows Caesar to move out of the *fines* of Gallia Narbonensis into Gaul, but also to prohibit the transgression of the Gallic *fines*. Although we might expect Caesar to link *imperium* to territorial control, he instead constructs it as the Roman right to selectively and, to a certain degree, arbitrarily adjudicate the permeability of the *fines* of various peoples.²⁷

The negotiations surrounding Caesar's Germanic campaign of 55 BCE in Book 4, a Roman action to halt and punish the trans-Rhine migration of Germans fleeing Suebi aggression, largely mirrors this exchange between Caesar and Ariovistus. The fleeing Germans request that Caesar settle them on the land they seized in Gaul, a request Caesar refuses as one he could not justly grant (Caes. *Gal.* 4.8). Subsequently, Caesar decides that he must cross the Rhine into

²⁶ *Si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur* (If he [Ariovistus] is unable to send any part of the Germans home, at least he should suffer no more of them to cross the Rhine).

²⁷ For the growing territoriality of *imperium*, see Richardson 1991; and Richardson 2008. In both instances, Richardson locates the historical moment of this shift around the time of Caesar to the time of Augustus. For my disagreement and rebuttal, see especially the introduction to the present work.

Germany. His primary reason, which he terms *iustissima*, is to show the Germans, who had grown accustomed to crossing into Gaul, that the Roman army could and would cross the Rhine as well (Caes. *Gal.* 4.16.1).²⁸ Caesar presents the German protest in nearly identical terms to Ariovistus's complaint in Book 1. Like Ariovistus, the Germans of Book 4 frame their protest in terms of *finis* and the unjustness of a Roman crossing: *Responderunt, populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire. Si se invito Germanos in Galliam transire non aequum existimaret, cur sui quiquam esse imperi aut potestas trans Rhenum postulare?* (Caes. *Gal.* 4.16.3-4).²⁹

While Caesar constructs a largely implicit link between *imperium* and the control of movement across *finis* in Book 1, the Germans of Book 4 make explicit the relationship between *potestas*, *imperium*, and *finis*. Their protest centers on questions related to the extent of Rome's *imperium*: if, as the Germans suggest, Rome has no *imperium* or *potestas* across the Rhine, it would be *non aequum* for Caesar to cross it (Caes. *Gal.* 4.16.3-4). Caesar constructs the bridge over the Rhine to address the question of *potestas*: he claims that he decides to build the bridge to show the Germans that he can (*posse*) cross it (Caes. *Gal.* 4.16.1). Further, Caesar's earlier invocation of Quintus Fabius Maximus (Caes. *Gal.* 1.45.3), in which the general's presence in Gaul is a sign of Roman *imperium* over the Gauls, suggests that Caesar's presence on the far side of the Rhine is a *de facto* proof of Roman *imperium*. In effect, Caesar's ability to cross the *finis*

²⁸ *Germanico bello confecto multis de causis Caesar statuit sibi Rhenum esse transeundum; quarum illa fuit iustissima quod, cum videret Germanos tam facile impelli ut in Galliam venirent, suis quoque rebus eos timere voluit, cum intellegerent et posse et audere populi Romani exercitum Rhenum transire* (After the German war was concluded, Caesar decided that he must cross the Rhine for numerous reasons. The most justified and appropriate of these was that, since he saw that the Germans were so easily urged to come into Gaul, he desired that they should be fearful for their own lands and goods, when they saw that an army of the Roman people could and dared to cross the Rhine).

²⁹ They responded that the Rhine defined the limits of the *imperium* of the Roman people. If Caesar judged it unjust for the Germans to cross over into Gaul against his will, why would he demand any *imperium* or *potestas* across the Rhine?

of the Germans, marked by the Rhine, presupposes Roman *imperium* on the other side. Romans' conception of their relationship to peoples they had not yet conquered allows Caesar to avoid making an explicit claim to this *imperium*, however. In his study of Roman understandings of empire and frontiers, C.R. Whittaker demonstrates that the Romans did not conceive of people outside Roman rule as truly independent. Rather, the Romans viewed such people as subjects of Roman *imperium* who had not yet been formally organized by Rome, but still fell within the bounds of Roman *imperium*.³⁰ Accordingly, Caesar does not need to claim explicit Roman *imperium* if the Germans do not directly contest it: like Q. Fabius Maximus in Gaul, his very presence in Germany offers proof enough.

In each of the above incidents, Caesar's presentation of the conflicts and concerns reveals a uniquely Roman understanding of *fines*, one that modern geopolitical translations like 'border' or 'territory' obscure.³¹ In many cases, the *fines* in Caesar's narrative overlay geography and terrains that would correspond to the borders of a modern nation-state or similar territorial entity, such as rivers, lakes, and mountains.³² Despite this semblance to modern borders, Caesar does not use *fines* to divide territories or nations, but instead to divide people and tribes. For example, Caesar may term the Rhine '*fines*,' but he refers to it as the *fines* of the Germans, not of Germany (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.3). Indeed, of the 125 times *fines* appear in his narrative, Caesar names 113, or ninety percent, in connection to a particular tribe. Moreover, Caesar links *fines* uniquely to specific tribes; rather than referring to the *fines* of the Germans *and* the Helvetii (i.e. *fines*

³⁰ Whittaker 1994; reiterated and strengthened in Whittaker 2004.

³¹ Cf. Richardson 1991; Richardson 2008.

³² See for example 1.6.2 and 7.65.3 (Rhone as *fines* of the Helvetii and Allobroges), 1.8.1 (Mt. Jura as marker of *fines* of Sequani and Helvetii), 1.44.7-8 and 4.16.3 (Rhine as *fines* of the Germans), 3.1.1 (Lake of Geneva, Rhone, and Alps as *fines* of Nantuates, Veragri, and Seduni), 5.3.4 (Ardennes Forest as *fines* of Remi), 6.5.4 (Swamps and forests as *fines* of Menapii), and 7.8.2 (Mt. Cevennes as *fines* of Arverni and Helvii). I address the logic of the characterization of these terrain types as *fines* below.

Germanorumque Helvetiorum), Caesar explicitly describes a possible Germanic movement as a transition *out* of the German *fines* and *into* the Helvetii *fines* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.3: *ex suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent*). Although we might imagine that these *fines* occupy the same physical space, Caesar carefully defines them as two conceptually distinct *fines*, one German and one Helvetian.

Perhaps more importantly, Caesar's *fines* are not descriptors of territorial hegemony, as 'borders' and 'territory' are in our lexicon. Instead, *fines* define ranges of licensed movement for particular tribes. In effect, Caesar uses *fines* to construct containers for various Gallic peoples through the restriction of their movement. Throughout the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar's anxieties about *fines* emerge in the context of a potential or actual transgressive movement across them. When Caesar articulates the *fines* of a tribe, he implicitly restricts its movement to certain bounds, punishing any illicit transgression with the full weight of Rome's coercive force. His representation of the relationship between the Gauls and their *fines* constructs an image of Gaul as a series of discrete prohibitive boundaries, each of which contains a specific Gallic tribe. In effect, Caesar constitutes Gaul through a series of migratory ranges of its constituent people, not through the razor-thin lines on a map that defines a modern nation-state as a territorial entity.

In turn, Caesar connects the ability to contain the movement of peoples through the imposition of these selectively permeable *fines* to the possession of *imperium*. Again, Caesar's clashes with the Germanic leaders in Book 4 suggests that, in the schema of the *Bellum Gallicum*, *imperium* allows the holder to determine the permeability of *fines*: the Germans suggest that the perceived absence of Roman *imperium* in Gaul should prohibit the Roman presence, while Caesar argues that Roman *imperium* should prohibit the Germanic presence (Caes. *Gal.* 4.16.1-4). Caesar and the Germans alike use their claims to *imperium* in Gaul to not

only justify their movement across their respective *finēs*, but also to deny the other the right to cross. More generally, then, Caesar represents *imperium* as the right to determine the selectivity of *finēs*, the right to cross, or allow other groups to cross, *finēs* without transgression. This nuance allows Caesar to respond to the Aedui petition for the resettlement of the Boii (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.4): as a Roman general, endowed with *imperium* dating back to the campaigns of Q. Fabius Maximus, Caesar can choose to allow Gallic groups to move across and dwell within new *finēs*. Similarly, Caesar's belief in his *imperium* in Germany allows him to order the Ubii to allow other Germanic groups to settle within their *finēs* (Caes. *Gal.* 4.8.3).³³

Caesar's anxieties over the frequency with which Germans cross the Rhine derive from this relationship between *imperium* and *finēs*. By the logic of Caesar's narrative, the existence of Roman *imperium* within Gaul and within Germany should allow Caesar to define the selective permeability of the *finēs*: he should be able to cross as he pleases, while the Germans should require his prior approval to do so. When the Gauls induce the Germans to cross the Rhine, or when the Germans cross of their own volition, their movement represents a symbolic negation, or even replacement, of Roman *imperium*. Their movement usurps one of the key mechanisms through which Caesar exercises his *imperium*, for they fundamentally deny that Caesar has the right or ability to restrict their movement. Indeed, the logic of movement, *imperium*, and *finēs* sheds a new light on the Roman response to the initial Helvetian movement. After all, how could Caesar not respond with crushing force when a rogue Gallic tribe challenged the existence and potency of Roman *imperium*?

³³ *Sed licere, si velint, in Ubiorum finibus considerare... hoc se Ubiis imperaturum* (But they might, if they should wish, settle within the *finēs* of the Ubii...he would command the Ubii thusly).

Technologies and Terrains of *Imperium*

The nexus between *imperium* and movement manifests itself prominently in Caesar's interest in his schema of terrain and mobility. In the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar articulates a relationship between various types of terrain and the capacity of a particular group, whether Roman, Gallic, or Germanic, to move easily and speedily across or through that terrain. Rivers, roads, forests, and marshes feature prominently in Caesar's narrative as terrain types that either enable great feats of movement or utterly stymie an attempted movement. Caesar constructs a clear dichotomy in the effect of terrain on Romans and barbarians: terrains that favor Roman movement hinder barbaric movement, while those that suit the Gauls hinder the Romans. Caesar represents Roman movement as most effective on terrains that Roman technological practices can inscribe, or already have inscribed: roads and river. Conversely, barbarian forces function most capably on less constructed, more 'natural' terrain; more specifically, the Gauls prosper in the terrain types in which Roman technology cannot exist effectively, or at least requires the destruction of the terrain in order to utilize Roman technology: swamps and forests.

In the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar treats forests and marshes (*silvae* and *paludes*) as the most unfavorable types of terrain for the Romans.³⁴ Under the best of circumstances, Caesar represents forests and marshes as terrains that merely hinder movement and obscure the means of traversing them. When the survivors from Cotta and Sabinus's camps make their way to Titus Labienus and must travel through the forest, Caesar describes their path as *inceris itineribus per silvas* (Caes. Gal. 5.37.7). Caesar's use of the phrase *inceris itineribus* is significant. In addition to its principal meaning of "unknown beforehand," the other valences of *incertus*

³⁴ Riggsby 2006: 25–6; Riggsby notes that while Caesar occasionally distinguishes marshes as a uniquely aquatic feature, he typically treats marshes and forests as functionally identical, mentioning them primarily in combination. I follow his argument here and treat marshes and forests as functionally identical types of terrain.

suggest that the paths through the forest may be truly unknowable and unplotable: they are undefined, undependable, unclearly identified, and may even be in constant flux; at the very least, *incertis itineribus* suggests the impossibility of replicating this movement.³⁵ His description of a successful movement through a forest recasts it as a quasi-miraculous feat, as a triumph over nearly impossible circumstances.

In most cases, however, Caesar represents marshes and forests as vast, impermeable, and dangerous barriers to Roman movement. In Book 7, a small marsh causes Caesar considerable anxiety and upsets his war plans. He terms the marsh *difficilis atque impedita* (Caes. *Gal.* 7.19.1) and refuses to engage the enemy in it, preferring to delay the battle in order to find a less threatening battlefield. Caesar's descriptions of forests and marshes removed from the immediate prosecution of the war betray his anxieties over these terrains far more clearly. He describes the Bacenis forest in Germany as infinite in size and as a natural wall (Caes. *Gal.* 6.10.5), while the Hercinae forest has an unknown length, for no man has reached its edge (Caes. *Gal.* 6.25.1).³⁶ Caesar further casts doubt on the German determination of the forest's depth, scornfully noting that the Germans' lack of sophistication denies them any useful methods for measuring a journey (Caes. *Gal.* 6.25.1).³⁷ Caesar's descriptions deny the dimensionality of these features, reducing them to immeasurable and unquantifiable spaces.³⁸ Caesar allows the forest to have a length, a feature of the forest he can determine externally, but not depth, a

³⁵ Glare 1982: s.v. *incertus*, entries 1, 2, 5, 6, and 12. Cf. s.v. *certus*, a word emphasizing definite and fixed natures.

³⁶ The Bacenis Forest seems to coincide with the forested Harz Mountains in northern Germany. See Dietz 2004. Other ancient sources are similarly equivocal about the length of the Hercynian Forest. See Tac. *Germ.* 28, 30, and *Ann.* 2.45; Plin. *Nat.* 4.25; Strabo 4.6.9, 7.1.3-5.

³⁷ The Germans claim it requires nine days to traverse. Caesar acerbically notes *non enim aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras iterum noverunt* (It cannot otherwise be marked, and they are not acquainted with the measures of roads).

³⁸ Rambaud 1974: 118-29; Riggsby 2006: 24-8, 61-2.

measurement that would require him to traverse the forest successfully. Indeed, Caesar's description of a journey through the forest as *incertis itineribus per silvas* (Caes. *Gal.* 5.37.7) suggests that the depth of the forest ultimately is indeterminable, for the shifting nature of its interior precludes any exact measurement. In the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar treats forests as *terra incognita* in a literal sense, imagining the forest as a terrain that denies passage through and any knowledge of what lies beyond.

In an inversion of the Roman unfamiliarity with and anxiety over forests and swamps, Caesar represents these terrains as far more hospitable to his foes, providing refuge and natural fortifications for the Gauls, Germans, and Britons. The image of the skulking Gaul, lurking hidden in the forest, is a constant one in Caesar's presentation of the war.³⁹ The Menapii and the Morini are perhaps the worst offenders. Possessing "endless forests and swamps" (Caes. *Gal.* 3.28.2: *continentesque silvas ac paludes*), they frequently retreat into the forest to escape Roman aggression and term the forest their defense (Caes. *Gal.* 6.5.4: *perpetuis paludibus silvisque muniti*). The densest forests allow them to conceal themselves from Caesar's scorched earth tactics and to evade his best efforts to force a battle (Caes. *Gal.* 4.38.3). Indeed, Caesar views deforestation as the only option that will allow him to pursue the Menapii and Morini effectively (Caes. *Gal.* 3.28-29); he claims that when the Romans attempted to pursue the Menapii and Morini into this "almost impassible place" (Caes. *Gal.* 3.28.4: *impeditioribus locis*), it led only to Roman casualties. Yet, this supposed impassibility – the *impeditioribus locis* or terrain of *incerta itinera* (Caes. *Gal.* 3.28.4, 5.37.7) is a peculiarly Roman concern, for the forest does not hinder the Gauls in any appreciable way.

³⁹ See, for example, 2.18.5-7, 3.28.2-4 (discussed in more detail here), 4.18.4, 4.19.2, 4.32.4, 5.9.4-7, 5.15.1, and 6.30.3-4.

The asymmetrical effects of forests emerge most overtly in the barbarians' ability to use forests as fortifications and roads. In stark contrast to Caesar's representation of forests as dimensionless and untraversable spaces for the Romans, he represents the Britons as moving through forests as easily as over roads. British charioteers frequently surprise Caesar's cavalry, bursting out from the forest from every imaginable *via* or *semita* (Caes. *Gal.* 5.19.2; see also 4.24 and 5.15).⁴⁰ The British or Celtic chariot was not well suited to forest warfare, meant instead to dart into battle, deliver its warriors to fight on foot, and then return only to extract them.⁴¹ Caesar's vocabulary, however, overlooks not only standard chariot tactics, with which he was certainly familiar, but also implicitly equates British movement in the forest to Roman movement along roads (*viae*). Caesar imagines the forest as an intelligible landscape for the British, as a space of *viae* and *semita* rather than *incerta itinera*.

More dramatically, Caesar employs the same vocabulary used for Roman camps and fortifications to describe the relationship between barbarians and forest forts. Caesar typically describes the construction of defenses for his camps with *munito* and *castrum* and refers specifically to the fabrication of the *fossa* and the *vallum*.⁴² When he describes one of Vercingetorix's camps in Book 7, Caesar presents the nearby forests and swamps as the sole fortifications of the camp (Caes. *Gal.* 7.16.1: *locum castris... paludibus silivisque munitum*). Similarly, Caesar describes British defenses consisting of trenches and felled trees as *locum nacti*

⁴⁰ 5.19.2: *omnibus viis semitisque essedarios ex silvis emittebat et magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum cum eis confligebat* (He would send his charioteers out of the wood along every *via* and *semita*, and, to the great danger of our cavalry, engage with them in battle).

⁴¹ For comparative study of chariot warfare in the ancient world, including the British, see J. K. Anderson 1965; for the Celts in particular, Powell 1958: 105–112.

⁴² For a few of the many examples, see Caes. *Gal.* 1.24.3, 2.5.5-6, 2.12.3, 3.1.6, 3.21.2-6, 5.11.7, and 5.50.5.

egregie et natura et opere munitum (Caes. *Gal.* 5.9.4).⁴³ He describes Cassivellaneus's forest stronghold in nearly identical terms: *locum reperit egregie natura atque opere munitum* (Caes. *Gal.* 5.21.4). Caesar represents these somewhat crude natural fortifications as insurmountable barriers to the Roman forces, either preventing the cavalry's approach or hindering an attack. In his narrative, forests and marshes provide more than refuge and escape for barbarian groups. Rather, Caesar represents these features as a natural analog to Roman fortifications and road networks, as locations that provide protection and mobility to the barbarians at the expense of Roman movement and knowledge.

Although Caesar imagines forests and marshes as sites of a disparity of mobility, terrains that the Romans can inscribe with technology level this disparity, granting Caesar and his army an incredible degree of mobility. While Caesar seldom refers to the Roman road network explicitly, his descriptions of his personal movement not only assume the existence of Roman *viae* in Gaul, but also that these same *viae* allow nearly unbelievable rates of movement.⁴⁴ In the time it takes for the Helvetii to move to their *fines* along the Rhone, Caesar not only receives news of their planned migration, but also travels from Rome to Geneva and still has time to fortify the Roman side of the river before the Helvetii arrive. Likewise, Caesar describes Roman messengers traveling twenty-five miles in thirteen hours (Caes. *Gal.* 5.45-6) or, more impressively, one hundred and sixty miles in less than fifteen hours (Caes. *Gal.* 7.3.3). Even in battle formation, the Roman army can advance eight miles quickly enough to surprise a

⁴³ "A location extremely well fortified by nature and by handiwork." Based on archaeological evidence, Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1992: 88 suggest that this combination of natural and man-made fortifications was typical of Gallic and Celtic fortifications at this time. For more on the rhetorical relationship between labor and nature in these fortifications, see below.

⁴⁴ The link between the presence of the army and the construction of roads is well attested. See especially Laurence 2001; Stephen Mitchell notes a similar trend in Anatolia, arguing that road construction was critical to imperial expansion. See Mitchell 1993.

Germanic force (Caes. *Gal.* 4.14-5). Throughout the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar and his army engage in movements that seemingly defy reality, covering vast distances in little time and with few difficulties.

Caesar often describes these incredible movements as the results of *magnum itiner* or *maximum itiner*, phrases that implicitly acknowledge the role of Roman roads and other Roman practices for structuring travel.⁴⁵ In his study of the Roman conquest and incorporation of Britain, Ray Laurence connects the initial Roman presence in Britain to a rapid construction and expansion of the road network throughout the province.⁴⁶ He expands on this correlation, arguing that one of the primary goals of Roman imperialism was to enable the circulating movement of people, goods, and ideas, a goal directly realized through Rome's system of roads.⁴⁷ Caesar's preferred terminology for this movement necessarily recalls the principal device through which Romans represented and structured journeys throughout the empire: *itineraria*. These documents are descriptions of a linear series of staged journeys between fixed points and accompanied the Roman network of roads, structuring and defining the flow of peoples along it.⁴⁸ Together, these technologies – the *viae* and the *itineraria* – structure Roman travel by transforming an indeterminate area into a series of defined islands of space connected by known paths of known distance, constructing an ordered and orchestrated journey out of unordered and unorganized *terra incognita*. Caesar's use of *magnum itiner* to describe his movement, particularly movement in stages between two fixed points, suggests the creation and use of the Roman road system and a supporting *itineraria*; every time Caesar makes a *magnum*

⁴⁵ Caes. *Gal.* 1.7.1, 1.10.3, 1.37.4, 1.38.5, 2.6.1, 2.12.1, 5.48.1, 6.3.6, 7.9.3, 7.35.6, and 7.56.3. Both of these phrases typically are translated as 'forced marches.'

⁴⁶ Laurence 2001; also noted in Anatolia: Mitchell 1993.

⁴⁷ Laurence 2001b.

⁴⁸ Brodersen 2001; Salway 2001; Salway 2005.

itiner, he retraces the roads that Roman technology inscribed throughout Gaul, emphasizing the physical signs of Rome's imperial presence.

Although Caesar implicitly acknowledges the importance of roads, rivers provide the most overt spectacle of the dichotomy between Roman mastery of terrain and barbaric failings. Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* contains a rare and rightly famous representation of the deployment of Roman technology in Caesar's description of the construction of the wooden bridge over the Rhine.⁴⁹ In ten days, Caesar collects the necessary material and constructs the bridge, devoting eleven lines to glorifying its construction (Caes. *Gal.* 4.17.1-18.1). Despite his pride, Caesar's presentation of the bridge's speedy construction and its summary dismantling eighteen days later suggest that he did not consider it a particularly unusual feat, but a typical exhibition of Roman engineering ingenuity.⁵⁰ Indeed, Caesar's stated reason for constructing a bridge rather than effecting a crossing with boats or swimming is that he considered the bridge a more dignified and safer way of crossing the Rhine (Caes. *Gal.* 4.17.1). In a less showy exhibition of engineering, Labienus manages to construct a bridge over the Seine rapidly enough to capture the town of Senones (in modern Lorraine, France) without a fight (Caes. *Gal.* 7.58.2-6).⁵¹ In the narrative, Caesar even allows the Roman army to cross treacherous rivers without the need of a bridge. Although he describes the Thames as difficult to cross under the best of circumstances, Caesar represents the army's crossing as an event characterized by such speed and vigor that the Britons could not withstand the resulting assault (Caes. *Gal.* 5.18.1-5). Within the narrative,

⁴⁹ For technical information, see Gilles 1969.

⁵⁰ Morgan 1980: 154n53 suggests that Caesar designed this passage specifically to illustrate the ease with which this task was completed.

⁵¹ Caesar attributes part of the success of this gambit to Vercingetorix's mistaken belief that destroying a pre-existing bridge in this location would prevent the Romans from crossing. See Caes. *Gal.* 7.35.1-2.

Caesar represents Roman river crossings as at most a nuisance and, more often, as an opportunity for a spectacle of Roman engineering prowess.⁵²

As Caesar's Romans are masters of the rivers and roads of Gaul, Germany, and Britain, his image of his foes emphasizes their lack of familiarity with rivers. In the *Bellum Gallicum*, barbarians rarely regard rivers as fordable, but treat them as barriers that only can be crossed unopposed, and then with great difficulty. Accordingly, Cassivellaneus draws the Britons up along the banks of the Thames, believing this position would allow them to easily repel any assault that even made it across the river (Caes. *Gal.* 5.18.1-5). Likewise, the Gallic defenders of Senones believe that the Seine offers a sufficient barrier to the Roman army, allowing Labienus to capture the city unopposed when he crosses the river (Caes. *Gal.* 7.58.2-6). The consistent failure of barbarian groups to successfully cross the river only emphasizes their unfavorable relationship with it. The first armed clash between the Romans and the Gauls features a failed Gallic attempt to force their way across the Rhone with devastating consequences (Caes. *Gal.* 1.8.4, 1.12.1-3). The Germans fare no better when attempting crossings; both times Caesar expels the Germans from Gaul, they suffer more casualties from drowning as they attempt to swim across the Rhine than from Roman arms (Caes. *Gal.* 1.53.1-3; 4.15.1-3). Indeed, Caesar often describes the Roman army's successful attacks on enemies in midstream, casting these battles as devastating for his enemies (Caes. *Gal.* 1.12.2-3, 2.10.2-4, 2.23.1-2, 4.4.1-7, 5.58.4-7). Even his initial description of Gaul implicitly acknowledges the prohibitive effect rivers have on barbaric movement, for he represents the various rivers of Gaul as part of the *fines* for the three large groups (Caes. *Gal.* 1.1.1-7). Although mere nuisances for Caesar and the Roman army, the

⁵² Riggsby 2006: 41–2 notes that rivers typically serve as divisions within tactical space, the space in which Caesar represents battles as occurring. For further examples of the ease with which Romans fought in or crossed over rivers, see 1.13.1-2, 2.10.2-4, 2.23.1-2, and 6.9.1-4.

rivers of the *Bellum Gallicum* represent difficult and dangerous barriers for his barbaric antagonists.

The relationship Caesar constructs between types of terrain and their effect on Roman and barbaric mobility is ultimately an asymmetry defined by ethnography. Caesar's Romans can move quickly and easily over roads and rivers, yet forests and swamps are untraversable and unknowable sites of flux for them. Conversely, forests and swamps provide refuge, protection, and mobility to the barbarians of the *Bellum Gallicum*, but most Gallic and Germanic attempts to cross a river are fatal. Indeed, Caesar rarely, if ever, acknowledges the possibility that the Gauls even *could* use the bridges and roads that he created. The presence or absence of Roman technologies of transportation underscores these dichotomies: the Romans prosper where they have already or can apply techniques to organize the terrain, while the barbarians prosper where the Romans cannot or have not done so. These techniques and technologies are the harbingers of Rome's imperial presence, physical signs of Rome's control inscribed onto the very land. In addition to granting freedom of movement to the Romans, these technologies are one of the practices through which the Romans exercise and reaffirm their *imperium*, their ability to control movement, within an area. Caesar's *magnum itiner* and his bridges not only retrace the structures of Roman imperialism, but also serve to construct his *imperium*: Caesar's ability to move easily and without constraint within the *Bellum Gallicum* reifies and reaffirms his possession of *imperium*.

This relationship between his freedom of movement and his *imperium* underlies the anxieties and fears with which Caesar represents forests and swamps, the terrains of barbaric mobility. As terrain that bars his movement, terrain that he cannot inscribe with roads or define with *itineraria*, forests and swamps fundamentally negate Caesar's *imperium*. In addition to

denying his *imperium*, they actually invert it. Although Caesar studiously avoids the subject, his representation of Gallic movement within forests and swamps suggests that the Gauls possess *imperium* within them: they can move freely and, by virtue of Caesar's conceptualization of forests and swamps, can deny Roman movement. This Gallic *imperium* is not, however, proper *imperium*, for it exists only in indeterminate zones, in places where order and structure cannot exist. In the same way that the relationship between barbaric mobility and terrain is an inversion of the relationship between Romans and terrain, so too is Gallic *imperium* an inversion of the order Rome inscribes on the land and its inhabitants through Roman *imperium*, manifested in *fines*, roads, and bridges; Gallic *imperium* is bred from *incerta itinera* and measureless forests.

In Caesar's representation, then, the possibility of Gallic *imperium*, manifested in areas where the Gauls are masters of movement, is utterly inimical to order and society. Caesar's debate with Ariovistus in Book 1 indicates that Caesar saw no place in his worldview for barbaric *imperium* constructed in Roman terms, let alone for a perverse inversion confined to forests and swamps.⁵³ While Caesar can refute Ariovistus's claim by driving the Germans out of Gaul and crossing into Germania himself, the chaotic *imperium* of forests and swamps requires a conceptual rebuttal. Caesar solves this quandary in the *Bellum Gallicum* by representing Gallic *imperium* as the *imperium* of outlaws, of men who exist beyond the spectrum of civilized and uncivilized.⁵⁴ He characterizes the ability to move through marshes and woods as a sign of banditry: *non hos palus in bello latrociniisque natos, non silvae morantur* (Caes. Gal. 6.35.7).⁵⁵

⁵³ Caes. Gal. 1.44.7-8, in which Ariovistus defines his possession of Gaul in terms of *fines* and access control, terms identical to those Caesar uses.

⁵⁴ For more on the role of bandits in Roman society at this time, see Chapter 1 on Pompey and the pirates. See also Shaw 1984 for an excellent survey of Roman cultural and legal attitudes towards bandits from the Republic to the Late Empire.

⁵⁵ Neither swamps nor forests hinder these men born into war and brigandry. See also 6.23.6, where Caesar imagines a society so degenerate that its citizens practice banditry (*latrocinium*)

Andrew Riggsby highlights the separation from society that this characterization constructs in the *Bellum Gallicum*:

Bandits (*latrones*) are neither criminals subject to the ordinary process of the legal system nor foreign powers against whom wars are declared and fought. They are literally outlaws, who fall between the cracks of human society. The Germans' tendency to banditry is not merely a sign of criminality. It is a sign of their complete divorce from human civilization.⁵⁶

Caesar implicitly connects the absence of civilization with the absence of Roman *imperium*: if Gallic *imperium* is a negation of Roman *imperium* and is also the *imperium* of those removed from civilization, then the absence of Roman *imperium* necessarily represents an absence of recognizable civilization. He constructs a dichotomy between chaos, manifested in the literally un-civilized and outlawish freedom of barbaric movement, and order, produced through Roman *imperium*'s control and curtailment of the movement of others. In the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar constructs a relationship between his exercise of *imperium*, the control of movement, and the creation or maintenance of a properly ordered world.

Place and Order: The Construction of an Ordered Gaul

Caesar uses the movement of his enemies to constitute order negatively; that is, Caesar represents barbaric movement as a sign of the negation of Roman *imperium* and the absence of human civilization. By extension, then, the absence of movement, the confinement of groups to their appropriate *finis*, stands as a positive example of order and of the effects of properly constituted *imperium*. The role of order in Roman imperial thought is far more complicated than a simple question of movement. C.R. Whittaker's brilliant discussion of the Roman cultural and

against each other, and 4.1.9, where their social structure is so loose that they degenerate into social groups composed of individuals.

⁵⁶ Riggsby 2006: 61.

social construction of the empire's frontiers reveals the centrality of perceptions of order to Roman imperialism.⁵⁷ In his analysis, Whittaker connects Roman administration to organization and order; what we term the empire represents the peoples that Rome actively and directly organized, while all other people were under Roman control, but not directly organized by Rome.⁵⁸ In Julius Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*, *imperium*, the ability to control movement through the creation and maintenance of *fines*, provides the mechanism for this active organization. Yet, as Caesar limits movement through the production of *fines*, the prohibitive barriers to the movement of specific people, he implicitly confines each Gallic group to a particular place: if Caesar bars a tribe from transgressing its *fines*, he necessarily confines it and locates it within the place constituted through these *fines*. In his schema, place functions as an inversion of the freedom of movement, for the confinement of a tribe to a place operates through the prevention of its movement out of that place. Place, then, is a product of Caesar's exercise of his *imperium*, a sign of the creation and maintenance of order against the chaos of barbaric movement.

Although this sense of place seems to resemble territory and territoriality as we understand it, namely in the context of modern nation states divided by infinitely thin lines on a map, Caesar's views of place and *fines* are distinctly Roman concepts that operate on and through people, not on territory or representations of geographical space like a map. Although Caesar's use of *fines* implicitly produces spaces for each tribe, he seldom refers directly to this place. Instead, Caesar defines the place through a reference to the people themselves, usually in the context of their *fines*: the *fines Germanorum* (1.27.4) the *fines Allobrogum* (3.1.1), the *fines Eburonum* (4.6.4), or the *fines Belgarum* (1.1.5), for example. He produces place as a byproduct of this limitation of movement through *fines*. In contrast, modern senses of territory and

⁵⁷ Whittaker 1994: 10–30.

⁵⁸ Whittaker 1994: 13–7.

territoriality operate on geographically constituted swathes of space, categorizing landscapes rather than populations. The names of these places name the space itself, rather than the people within it: France, Lorraine, or Paris exist and are named independently of and without reference to their native populations. In the *Bellum Gallicum*, Julius Caesar produces place through the limitation of people; in a modern atlas, the cartographer produces place through the limitation of geography.

The difference between these two constitutions of place centers on the distinction between prescriptive and descriptive understandings of place. The modern sense of place and territory is a descriptive one, conceptualizing place as a distinct space about which we can say, “This area *is* France.” Our sense of territory describes space by identifying the space itself, by conceptualizing it as a distinct geographical entity. In contrast, Julius Caesar views place as a prescriptive conceptualization of peoples. When he writes about Gallia, or more frequently the *fines Gallorum*, he constructs a space about which we can say, “In here there *should* be Gauls and beyond here Gauls *shall not* go.” In short, ‘what-a-space-is’ defines our sense of place, while ‘what-a-space-should-contain’ constructs Caesar’s sense of place. The Gauls, then, are not Gauls by virtue of living in Gaul, as the modern French are; rather, Gaul is Gauls because its licensed population is the Gallic people. Accordingly, rather than rendering *Gallia* or *in Galliam* as references to some cognate of a modern country, as ‘Gaul,’ we might read each as a reference to the Gauls themselves. Caesar does not describe place in a modern paradigm. Rather, he describes place through the prohibition of cross-contamination of populations across their respective *fines*. Caesar necessarily links the production of this place to the maintenance of order: the only situation in which such prohibitions are absent is the free movement of the a-civilized *latrones* in the woods.

Throughout the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar seeks to construct a representation of Gaul as an ordered land of properly placed peoples. Within the first three words of the text, *Gallia est omnis* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.1.1) explicitly begins to construct a totalizing pan-Gallic identity, a necessary prerequisite for any claim that he left the Gauls as an ordered people. This phrase situates the following narrative within a single, totalizing space and necessarily presupposes an underlying unity of the whole; to refer to ‘All of Gaul,’ or, as I suggest above, ‘All of the Gauls,’ Caesar necessarily assumes the existence of ‘Gaul’ or ‘the Gauls’ as a singular and unique entity, an assumption he invites his readers to share.⁵⁹ Modern commentators often focus on the geographical implications of this passage, noting that it clearly delineates and localizes Caesar’s area of responsibility such that he can reasonably claim that his campaign led to the conquest of ‘all of Gaul.’⁶⁰ Yet, as with the translation of *fines* as ‘borders,’ this emphasis on geography risks the imposition of anachronistic concepts on Caesar’s narrative. Although his use of ‘all of Gaul’ overlaps to some degree with territoriality, he primarily deploys the concept of an underlying unity in representations and constructions related to the Gauls themselves, not to their land. Caesar uses a representation of an underlying unity to define the Gauls as a singular people, crafting a totalizing Gallic identity that overrides more specific tribal identities as convenient, to provide the logic behind the *fines* placed upon these disparate peoples.

Caesar frequently conflates the actions of an individual tribe with generic Gallic practices, synecdochically constructing essentialized Gallic practices out of highly specific examples. Of the nearly thirty times Caesar mentions *mores* or *consuetudines*, only three refer to a specific tribe; the rest generalize a practice as a custom of either the Romans, the Germans, or

⁵⁹ Cf. Riggsby 2006: 30, who argues that this description necessarily refers to territory rather than people; he suggests that a reference to people must take the form “*omni est Galli*.”

⁶⁰ Rambaud 1974: 114–5; Bertrand 1997; Riggsby 2006: 30–1; Schadee 2008.

the Gauls.⁶¹ The manner in which the Nervii and the Aduatuci prepare for war thus comes to represent the *more Gallicorum* for war (Caes. *Gal.* 5.56.2). Likewise, the roofs of Q. Cicero's winter quarters are built with materials and techniques in keeping with *Gallico more* (Caes. *Gal.* 5.43.1).⁶² Rather than treating it as an isolated example of a single tribe's influence, Caesar terms the Venetii's ability to influence their neighbors a sign that "the plans of Gauls are rash and hasty" (Caesar. *Gal.* 3.8.3).⁶³ Despite the fractured reality on the ground, Caesar employs the concept of Gallic *mores* and *consuetudines* to represent the Gauls as a single, monolithic people sharing fundamental cultural practices and traits.⁶⁴ Ignoring the true extents of certain cultural practices, Caesar's invocation of a fundamental Gallicness allows him to craft a monolithic abstraction of the peoples contained within the *fines Gallorum*, excluding or including populations entirely as convenient.

In addition to its essentializing descriptive uses, Caesar deploys this fabricated pan-Gallicism in a causal manner, as a motivator for Gauls that extends beyond their immediate or personal concerns. His representation of Ambiorix's rather insincere apology for his attack on Roman foraging parties illustrates the perceived potency of this underlying Gallic identity (Caes.

⁶¹ Riggsby 2006: 70–1.

⁶² There is a degree of truth to Caesar's claim here, for central Gaul tends to exhibit a uniform material culture of the La Tène type. See especially Wells 1972: 15–23; as well as Hachmann, Kossack, and Kuhn 1962: 110–3, 126–33; Todd 1975: 42–9; Haselgrove 1995; Mattern 1999: 76; Riggsby 2006: 65–7.

⁶³ *Ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia.*

⁶⁴ For the heterogeneity of the Gauls, see especially Greg Woolf's study of processes of Romanization in Gaul: Woolf 2000: 77–105, 142–68; Williams 2001: 12–3 demonstrates the problematic nature of the category of "Celt"; Caesar's claim of Gallic uniformity becomes even more problematic in light of his insistence that the Germans, all of whom dwell beyond the Rhine, are fundamentally different. See Riggsby 2006: 65–7, who notes that the La Tène culture extends throughout most of Northern Europe; Wells 1972: 313–4 notes that Caesar's presence in Gaul may even predate the sound changes that made Germanic a distinct language group. Burns 1994 in particular argues for considerable transculturation between Gauls and Germans in this period.

Gal. 5.27). Ambiorix claims that his participation in these attacks did not stem from his desires or intentions, but from the inability of the Eburones to resist a *repentina Gallorum coniuratio* (Caes. *Gal.* 5.27.4). He states that the attack was *Galliae commune consilium* (Caes. *Gal.* 5.27.5), concluding with a succinct summary of his argument: *non facile Gallos Gallis negare potuisse, praesertim cum de recuperanda communi libertate consilium initum videretur* (Caes. *Gal.* 5.27.6).⁶⁵ Issues of sincerity aside, Ambiorix's justification not only assumes the existence of pan-Gallic bonds and pan-Gallic plans, but also represents them as a form of coercion; his apology functions believably only when the coercive nature of this bond can ameliorate the treachery and hostility of the attack.⁶⁶ This apology also constructs pan-Gallicism as a conscious concern for the Gauls. Ambiorix presents this shared identity as a factor that he and his *civitas* knowingly and rationally considered while making their decision to attack. Caesar treats pan-Gallicism not merely as convenient descriptive shorthand or essentializing abstraction, but also as a self-constructive process through which the Gauls define themselves as a coherent group and thus prove Caesar's totalizing description.

This communal identity, however, is only the first layer in a series of interrelated levels of representation. Although the first three words of the *Bellum Gallicum*, supplemented by constant references to the *mos* or *consuetudines Gallorum*, represent the Gauls as a cohesive group, Caesar immediately imposes subdivisions on this image through the presentation of increasingly fine distinctions between Gallic tribal groups and individual tribes. Caesar's famous tripartite division of Gauls is the first and most generalizing of these distinctions (Caes. *Gal.* 1.1). In it, he divides the generic Gauls into three distinct groups of Gallic people – the

⁶⁵ Gauls cannot deny Gauls without difficulty, especially when a plan seemed to be entered into for the sake of recovering communal freedom.

⁶⁶ This justification works both ways. Riggsby 2006: 30 notes that Caesar often wages war against a specific, "innocent" Gallic tribe on the basis of a generalized Gallic breach of fides.

Belgae, the Aquitani, and the Gauls or Celts - each separated by terrain that, in Caesar's schema of terrain and movement, hinder or prevent Gallic movement, primarily rivers and mountains. In each case, Caesar names groups of *people* and locates them in relation to one another; nations and territories are conspicuously absent from what scholars often regard as a description of the physical geography of Gaul. Rather, Caesar describes and defines the tribal groups in terms of *fines*, explicitly referring to them four times (Caes. *Gal.* 1.1.4 (twice), 1.1.5, 1.1.6). When he does not mention *fines* explicitly, Caesar instead uses rivers and mountains to separate groups. As terrains that not only divide two groups but also prevent their movement across, the rivers and mountains in this case implicitly mark *fines* for the tribal groups in question. This passage, then, subdivides the generic category of 'Gauls' into three more specific tribal groups and, through the explicit or implicit articulation of *fines*, creates a proper place for each group. Translated into Caesar's schema of place and order, this tripartite division of the Gallic people produces a rough sense of order, for it begins to categorize and localize the generic Gallic people into more specific groups with more specifically delineated ranges of movement.

Caesar quickly obscures these broad tribal groups, for ultimately the *Bellum Gallicum* is a narrative about Caesar's organization of narrowly identified, highly specific tribes. Again, one of Caesar's principle concerns within the text is the maintenance and enforcement of his and Roman *imperium* by preventing transgressive movement across *fines*. With few exceptions, mostly centered on German incursions across the Rhine, Caesar rarely defines these *fines* more generally than for a specific tribe. Indeed, Caesar's text is noteworthy for its specificity in this regard. Throughout the narrative, Caesar provides a vast quantity of tribonyms, 121 in all, but distributes them unevenly through his text:⁶⁷ they tend to appear only in long, catalogue-like

⁶⁷ Riggsby 2006: 232n73.

lists. Drew Mannetter argues that Caesar uses these catalogues to give the impression of an expansive conquest and of Caesar's great attention to detail.⁶⁸ Andrew Riggsby supports this reading to some degree: "Caesar's aggressive naming is a gesture of possession, but a somewhat empty gesture as Caesar uses it."⁶⁹ He connects the catalogues of the *Bellum Gallicum* to the *tituli* carried in Roman triumphal processions, as devices that allow Caesar to portray the campaign as an expansive one without providing any precise information or differentiation; the reader is left with the impression that Caesar subdued significant populations without any clear sense of the actual scope of the victories.

The logic and function of these catalogues, however, lies in their locative and placing functions, not in their potential use for anthropological or ethnographical discussions of the named tribes. These catalogues appear primarily as lists of tribes that have accepted Roman domination, usually following a decisive battle.⁷⁰ Again, Caesar's terms to the Helvetii in Book 1 (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.1-4) illustrate the terms Caesar might impose on such tribes: he seeks to return the Helvetii and the other subdued tribes to their proper *fines* and to confine them within these *fines*, casting the presence of a tribe in its *fines* as a sign of properly exercised *imperium* and of order. Again, these terms of peace, then, serve a placing function, locating the defeated tribes within their proper *fines*. By extension, a list of tribes that accepts Roman domination and *imperium* is necessarily a list of tribes that dwell within their *fines*. Indeed, Caesar's insistence on the integrity of *fines* both in negotiations (Caes. *Gal.* 4.16.1-4) and in terms of peace (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.1-4) suggests that he views Roman domination and maintenance of *fines* as one and the same.

⁶⁸ Mannetter 1995: 138.

⁶⁹ Riggsby 2006: 71.

⁷⁰ For example, 1.51.2, 2.34.1, 3.27.1, 5.21.1, 7.7.1-5, and 7.90.1-7. By Andrew Riggsby's count, of the 121 tribonyms, sixty-two appear only in the context of such lists. See Riggsby 2006: 71.

Although he may not specifically name the *fines* or locate *fines* in reference to natural landmarks or terrain, these identifications are unimportant in the context of both Roman *imperium* and Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*. In terms of *imperium*, the exact location of *fines* is somewhat irrelevant, for Caesar's *imperium* allows him to redefine *fines* as necessary and as convenient. Accordingly, he can create new *fines* for the Boii (Caes. *Gal.* 1.28.4) without consulting a map; the key sign of his *imperium* is that he can control the movement of the Boii, not that they have *fines* in a particular place. In the context of the *Bellum Gallicum*, the physical location of *fines* is less important than the knowledge that these prohibitions on movement exist. However convenient it might be for modern scholars, Caesar does not seek to construct an accurate map of the Gauls, with each tribe tidily located in a little box. Rather, Caesar constructs a mental image of all-encompassing Roman control over Gallic movement through the presence of *fines*. The terrain, the exact placement of the *fines*, even the nature of the people are all less important than the knowledge that Roman *imperium* has imposed place on the Gauls through *imperium* and *fines*. Indeed, we might see the production of this knowledge as a goal of his catalogues of tribonyms: they indicate the comprehensiveness of Caesar's subjection of the Gauls to *imperium* and place without the need to provide any corroborating details.

In the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar constructs three interrelated levels of representation: pan-Gallic, tribal group, and specific tribe. On each of these levels, he defines a group of people contained within their unique *fines*. Although these *fines* may appear similar to modern borders, Caesar's interest lies not in the land, but in the people, for whom terrain and topography may provide barriers or hindrances to their movement. His emphasis is on the creation of proper, prescriptive *place* for the Gauls. At each level of representation, Caesar articulates a more specific and more confining *fines* for each group, limiting their potential range of movement. As

he subdivides, organizes, and orders the Gauls through the creation of increasingly fine places, Caesar necessarily constructs a more ordered whole of Gaul: succinctly, if the pieces are where they ought to be, then the collection of those parts necessarily is where it ought to be. If he confines every tribe to its specific place and *finēs*, then all the tribes within a particular tribal group also lie within the larger *finēs* of that tribal group; in turn, if Caesar localizes all three tribal groups to within their *finēs*, then the *finēs Gallorum* necessarily contain all of the Gauls. In effect, locating a specific tribe within its particular *finēs* necessarily moves all of Gaul one step closer to order. These three interlocked levels of focus, then, allow Caesar to connect his activities against any individual tribe to his efforts to control and organize all of Gaul, regardless of cultural unity or geographical proximity. These levels of representation together combat a-civilized chaos of freedom of barbaric movement by imposing multiple levels of placed-ness on the Gauls through *finēs* and *imperium*.

Ethnographies of Place: The Narratological Romanization of the Gauls

In the very act of writing the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar recognizes the fundamental instability of the order he imposes on the Gauls, for the text is a chronicle of a series of unsuccessful Gallic or Germanic challenges to Roman order and *imperium*. The intersection of history, text, and Caesar's political needs presents an odd challenge for the construction of the text. Caesar's command is unprecedented in its duration and its extent, lasting nearly a decade and allowing Caesar to operate in three Gallic provinces, as well as in Britannia and Germania. Cicero's *De Provinciis Consularibus*, delivered to the Senate in 56 BCE, suggests that the continual extension of Caesar's command was a delicate subject and required political justification (Cic. *Prov.* 18-9). Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* offers some justification in its

portrayal of the Gauls as chaos incarnate, as people who, if untamed, will not only undo the tenets of Roman *imperium*, but also perhaps sack the city of Rome again. Yet, Caesar could scarcely justify this command to his political enemies, let alone claim the overwhelming victory that his honor and ambition demanded, were he to leave Gaul no more stable than a house of cards, with the structures of *imperium* ready to crumble should a single tribe seek to exit its *fines*. Caesar's solution is at once elegant and representative of what we might call Roman colonialism: as the narrative of the *Bellum Gallicum* progresses, Caesar represents the Gauls as a people not only increasingly confined to their specific *fines*, but also as an increasingly Roman-like people. Through this strategy of representation, he can imagine the Gauls of the initial book of the *Bellum Gallicum* as deadly threats and the Gauls of the later books as people who thoroughly embrace the places Caesar assigns them.

By the time Caesar began his campaigns against the Gauls, ancient ethnographers, both Roman and Greek, had articulated a well-developed image of northern barbarians, a group including Germans, Gauls, Britons, and Celts.⁷¹ Three Greek ethnographic works survive from around the time of Caesar: Posidonius's *Historiae*, Diodorus Siculus's *Bibliothēke*, and Strabo's *Geography*.⁷² These ethnographies offer a remarkably consistent image of the northern barbarians, characterizing them as an essentially migratory and vagrant group.⁷³ Strabo compares these migrations to those of animals, claiming that northern barbarians "travel in herds,

⁷¹ On ancient ethnographic traditions in general, see Rives 2001; Jervis 2001. The earliest Roman account is a few fragments in a lost history by Cato the Elder.

⁷² For the chronological issues for these sources in regards to Caesar, see Riggsby 2006: 47–50. In broad terms, Posidonius predates Caesar, Diodorus Siculus seems to have used Caesar's work (5.25.4), and Strabo postdates Caesar.

⁷³ For the use of Posidonius as a common source for all, see Edelstein and Kidd 1972: 8–10; for more detail, see Tierney 1960; Nash 1976; for a discussion of the few inconsistencies throughout this discourse, Jervis 2001: 17–60; Riggsby 2006: 50 argues for the lack of a single archetype, preferring instead to postulate the existence of a "loosely connected tradition or 'discourse.'"

army included, or rather households and all, when they are ejected by other, stronger peoples” (Strabo 4.4.2; cf. 7.1.3).⁷⁴ He implies that these migrations are not only violent upheavals, but also that they are a fairly frequent event with characteristic and standardized practices. Diodorus Siculus likewise notes and expands on this predilection: according to Diodorus Siculus, the Gauls move about in groups of tens of thousands and refuse to let even rivers bar their movement (Diod. Sic. 5.25.2-5). According to these ethnographers, northern barbarians eschew any practices that might bind them to a place and inhibit such movements; accordingly, they have no sense of personal property and disdain agriculture and animal husbandry (Strabo 4.4.2; 7.1.3). Indeed, ethnographers imagine them primarily as hunters and gathers, ascribing a diet to northern barbarians that includes inordinate amounts of meat (Diod. Sic. 5.28.4, Strabo 4.4.3, Ath. 4.151e). Their diet, living conditions, and disdain for non-portable goods all enable the chaotic fluidity of movement that defines their status as barbarians.

Caesar’s representation of Gallic tribes in the early portions of the *Bellum Gallicum* draws heavily on these ethnographic tropes.⁷⁵ Again, the proximate cause of the war is an attempted Gallic migration stemming from a belief that the Roman-imposed *fines* were too confining to provide sufficient space for vagrant-like wandering.⁷⁶ The Helvetii’s preparations for this movement emphasize their fleeting connection to the land. In a peculiar display of precision, Caesar claims the Helvetii burned twelve Italian-style towns (*oppida*), four hundred

⁷⁴ See also Livy’s discussion of the Gauls, for which see Chapter 3.

⁷⁵ Caesar may draw directly on the works of Posidonius. Both Pompey and Cicero were quite familiar with Posidonius (for Pompey, see Plin. Nat. 7.112; Strabo 11.1.6; for Cicero, Cic. Nat. Deo. 1.123, 2.88; Fin. 1.6; Att. 2.1.2; Tusc. 2.61), suggesting that Caesar likely was as well. Osgood 2009: 334 argues that Caesar must have sought out Posidonius’s work, for it gave invaluable information on Gallic fighting styles and basic features of intertribal politics, both topics of interest to a governor of Gaul.

⁷⁶ Caes. *Gal.* 1.2.4: *minus late vagarentur*. See Glare 1982: s.v. *vagor*, where nearly all senses of the word suggest an aimless and unbound wandering, often contextualized in terms of animal movement.

small groups of primitive dwellings (*vici*), all private buildings (*privata aedificia*), and any grain they could not carry (Caes. *Gal.* 1.5.2).⁷⁷ The archaeology of pre-Roman Gaul, however, suggests that Caesar's claim derives entirely from Roman ethnographic traditions, not from his experiences in Gaul. Sites throughout Gaul demonstrate a relatively uniform material culture centered on *oppida*, much like Alesia (modern Alise-Sainte-Reine, France) and termed the La Tène type after a site in Switzerland.⁷⁸ Although Caesar acknowledges the existence of Helvetian *oppida*, he represents these settlements as a distinct minority in his figures, comprising a mere 3% of the listed types; Caesar claims the rest as *vici*, a term suggesting small, disorderly, and impermanent settlements. Further, the Helvetii consign all their structures and cultivated fields to the fire without significant debate or lamentation. According to Caesar, they do so *ut domum reditionis spe sublata paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.5.3).⁷⁹ In his narrative, the Helvetii value the potential for vagrant-like wandering more than the reality of the few permanent structures and organized settlement patterns they possess; although perhaps not entirely meaningless, the practices and structures that tie the Helvetii to the land are not particularly meaningful in the context of Caesar's text. In an extension of classical ethnographic tropes, Caesar represents the Helvetii as a group so fluid and prone to mass migration that they will destroy anything that ties them to a distinct place, should it potentially inhibit their free movement.

This lack of attachment to fields, structures, and villages causes Caesar significant difficulties in the initial prosecution of the war. Again, Caesar imagines forests as a sanctuary

⁷⁷ Glare 1982: s.v. oppidum and vicus.

⁷⁸ For the La Tène material culture and Gaul, see Wells 1972: 15–23; as well as Hachmann, Kossack, and Kuhn 1962: 110–3, 126–33; Todd 1975: 42–9; Mattern 1999: 76; Riggsby 2006: 65–7; for post-conquest Gaul, Woolf 2000.

⁷⁹ In order that, because they had destroyed any hope of returning home, they might be prepared to endure through every danger.

for rebellious Gauls and as an impenetrable barrier for the Roman army.⁸⁰ The asymmetry of movement fundamentally challenges and denies Roman *imperium*, replacing what Caesar portrays as order with a twisted and chaotic form of barbaric *imperium*. On a tactical level, this dichotomy hinders Caesar's military mission, for he cannot force a decisive engagement against an enemy that he cannot reach. Accordingly, Caesar engages in what we might term 'scorched earth' tactics, burning his enemies' crops and buildings, in an attempt to draw the barbarians out of the forest to defend their homes. For example, when the Menapii and Morini first retreat into the forest (Caes. *Gal.* 3.28.2), Caesar launches a campaign of deforestation, attempting to cut them out of the forest. Caesar's understanding of forests as infinitely vast and dimensionless terrains guarantees the failure of this plan: the Menapii and Morini can always retreat deeper into the woods and further from Caesar's reach (Caes. *Gal.* 3.29.2). Next, Caesar attempts to draw them out of the forest by destroying their crops and buildings, a tactic he explicitly connects to their continued skulking (Caes. *Gal.* 4.38.3).⁸¹ As with a similar attempt against the Germanic Sumabrigi (4.18-9), Caesar's plan fails to tempt the Menapii to leave the forest and risk battle. Like the Helvetii, the Menapii, Morini, and Sumabrigi privilege their free movement over their fields and homes throughout the early and middle portions of the *Bellum Gallicum*.⁸²

As the *Bellum Gallicum* progresses, Caesar gradually abandons this image of barbaric apathy towards non-portable goods. Despite its universal failure throughout the early and middle books of the *Bellum Gallicum*, beginning in Book 6 Caesar presents his scorched earth policy as

⁸⁰ For example, 2.18.5-7, 3.28.2-4 (discussed in more detail here), 4.18.4, 4.19.2, 4.32.4, 5.9.4-7, 5.15.1, and 6.30.3-4. See also above.

⁸¹ *Omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, aedificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant* (He ravaged all their fields, cut down all their crops, and burned their buildings, because all the Menapii had concealed themselves in the densest woods).

⁸² Or perhaps Caesar was not, in fact, burning what his enemies considered to be *oppida*. After all, Caesar later claims that British *oppida* were actually forests fortified with a trench and a rampart (Caes. *Gal.* 5.21.3).

a remarkably successful tactic; contrary to his earlier representation, Caesar suddenly depicts the Gauls as a group attached to their property, as people who suffer from the loss of their homes and fields. In his most remarkable success and most apparent reversal of this representation, Caesar's third attempt to draw the Menapii out of the forest by threatening their homes leads them to not only leave the woods, but also to sue for peace immediately (Caes. *Gal.* 6.6.1).

The Gallic adoption of property destruction as a defensive measure rather than as preparation for migration is equally remarkable and, as Ambiorix notes, completely contrary to previous Gallic practices (Caes. *Gal.* 7.14.2). Throughout Book 7, Caesar's Ambiorix repeatedly advises that the Gauls burn their fields and buildings in order to deny resources to the Romans, co-opting Caesar's tactic. More significantly, and in a dramatic departure from the cavalier attitude of the Helvetii, the Gauls under Ambiorix's are reluctant to adopt this suggestion, debating the merit and utility of burning their own goods (Caes. *Gal.* 7.14.10; 7.15.3-4). Ambiorix couches his policy in terms of the common Gallic good, noting that while his plan might seem cruel and painful, it was certainly preferable to their fate should the Romans win (Caes. *Gal.* 7.14.10). Caesar's Vercingetorix reaffirms this sentiment, claiming that the Gauls must recognize that through the destruction of their private property, they were securing perpetual *imperium* and freedom (Caes. *Gal.* 7.64.3). While the Gauls adopt this policy, Caesar describes their response to the sight of these pyres as one of bitter pain (Caes. *Gal.* 7.15.2: *magno dolore*).

The shift in Caesar's representation of the relationship between the Gauls and their non-portable goods is a dramatic one. In the early books of the *Bellum Gallicum*, the Helvetii burn their villages without apparent regret. Likewise, the Menapii and Morini will not emerge from the forest to defend their homes and fields. In the last two books, however, these goods and

structures suddenly gain an intrinsic value for the Gauls. The Menapii and Morini emerge from the forest and surrender when Caesar threatens their homes. Although the Gauls under Ambiorix are, like the Helvetii, willing to sacrifice their homes and fields for their war effort, the choice is no longer an easy one, nor is it merely in preparation for a migration. In Book 6, Caesar's strategy for representing the Gauls shifts radically. The Gauls of the later books are willing to leave their protective forests to defend their non-portable goods and express pain at the thought of losing them. Indeed, the only reason the Gauls fight the Battle of Avaricum (in 52 BCE near modern Bourges, France) is that their attachment to the city, to its symbolic value as the most beautiful city in Gaul, outweighs Vercingetorix's advice to abandon and burn it (Caes. *Gal.* 7.15.4-5). In the early books, Caesar's representation of the Gauls matches the trope of the northern barbarian: they are an essentially placeless people, predisposed to wander at will and unattached to any goods or practices that inhibit migration. By the end of his narrative, Caesar's Gauls are a group for whom place holds an intrinsic value: they fight to defend their homes and fields, and weep at the thought of losing the fairest city of Gaul. In effect, Caesar's evolving representational strategy enacts a progressive colonization on the Gauls. In the Roman paradigm of place and order, the Gauls at the end of Book 7 are more ordered and more 'placed' than the Gauls of Book 1, continuing rebellion notwithstanding.

As Caesar portrays an increasingly place-centric system of Gallic values, so too does he depict an increasing Gallic proficiency at protecting these newly valued places with sophisticated Roman-style fortifications.⁸³ In the early sections of the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar represents Gallic technology in fairly crude terms. The first Gallic fortifications he describes, those of Noviodunum (modern Pommiers, Aisne, France), consist of little more than a wall and a shallow

⁸³ For a discussion of the relationship between Gallic technology and *virtus* in the *Bellum Gallicum*, see Riggsby 2006: 73–106. The following discussion draws heavily on his work.

trench (Caes. *Gal.* 2.12.2). Although the Gauls can construct such minor defensive works, they abandon most of their towns to make a stand in a single town *egregie natura munitum* (Caes. *Gal.* 2.29.2). Their fortifications here are a mix of natural defensive works, specifically cliffs, rocks, and sharp stakes, with human works enhancing those provided by nature (Caes. *Gal.* 2.29.2-4).⁸⁴ The Britons employ similarly mixed defensive works in Book 5, enhancing protective forests and marshes with ramparts and trenches (Caes. *Gal.* 5.21.3). In the early and middle books of the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar carefully characterizes barbaric fortifications by their underlying primitive and crude nature. Much as his contemporaneous ethnographers imagined northern barbarians living off the land through hunting and gathering, Caesar extends this trope to encompass defenses: the barbarians largely adapt what may already exist. In turn, the adaptation of nature grants them fluidity, for they can readily abandon towns and previous fortifications to construct new ones elsewhere. Even when defending a place, Caesar initially depicts his enemies as a group unattached to the very place they seek to defend.

Despite their early crudeness, Caesar depicts Gallic fortifications as a technology that quickly evolves in the course of the text, transforming from natural fortifications into the massive artificial walls, typically referred to as *opus Gallicum* or *murus Gallicum*, of the type seen in Avaricum (near modern Bourges, France) in Book 7.⁸⁵ Caesar highlights the vivid contrast between these styles of fortifications by devoting an entire chapter to his description of

⁸⁴ Archaeological surveys of contemporary sites in central Gaul suggest that Gallic works frequently were a combination of man-made and natural work, although Caesar overemphasizes the natural component here. See Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1992: 88; cf. M. Wheeler and Richardson 1957 and below for more sophisticated types of fortifications in Gaul.

⁸⁵ Based on the commonality of *opus Gallicum* through Gaul, Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1992: 92–3 conclude that Caesar certainly encountered this type of work prior to his description in Book 7. See also M. Wheeler and Richardson 1957, who note the prevalence of *opus Gallicum* in hill forts in northern France; and Cotton 1957, who catalogues the appearance of *opus Gallicum* throughout the area of modern France.

the walls and their construction (Caes. *Gal.* 7.23).⁸⁶ The only comparable mention of technology in the *Bellum Gallicum* is Caesar's description of his bridge over the Rhine. He dwells at length on the techniques used to construct these walls, noting the precision and care with which the Gauls built the wall. Indeed, Caesar's language and emphasis suggests a degree of admiration and respect for the technology. He views its construction as nearly artful, requiring an intricate and attractive combination of stone, wooden beams, and rubble (Caes. *Gal.* 7.23.3, 7.23.5). His description emphasizes the artificiality of the wall, firmly separating it from nature through its undeniable constructedness.⁸⁷ Unlike previous hybrid fortifications, the walls of Avaricum prove difficult and time consuming for Caesar to overcome, requiring substantial siege works and effort on his part. The *opus Gallicum* of Avaricum represents a remarkable and, in the representation advanced in the *Bellum Gallicum*, unprecedented evolution in Gallic technology, one that the length and breadth of the description suggests is comparable to one of Caesar's great engineering triumphs.

Caesar's depiction of an evolving technology of Gallic defensive works across the *Bellum Gallicum* is, however, a hollow act of dissimulation. According to Caesar, the walls of Avaricum are representative of *all* Gallic walls (Caes. *Gal.* 7.23.1: *muri autem omnes Gallici hae fere forma sunt*).⁸⁸ Indeed, *opus Gallicum*-type fortifications are prevalent in the archaeological record of the region, nearly guaranteeing that the Romans would have encountered such works prior to 52 BCE and Avaricum.⁸⁹ Yet, up to this point, Caesar consistently represents Gallic defensive technology only in the crudest terms, as either wholly natural or as a hybrid of natural features with minor human improvements. Andrew Riggsby sees in this dissimulation Caesar's

⁸⁶ For the walls of Avaricum in particular, Scarola 1987; and Riggsby 2006: 78–80.

⁸⁷ Riggsby 2006: 79–80.

⁸⁸ All the walls of Gaul are typically of this type.

⁸⁹ See especially Cotton 1957, a catalogue of *opus Gallicum* works in northern France.

typical narrative strategy: “Earlier we saw a few cases where the narrator seems to withhold information temporarily to emphasize a narrative progression in Gallic technical abilities; here is a dramatic example.”⁹⁰ Yet, this feigned development is not simply a matter of technology, as Riggsby suggests, but of order and place. The later Gallic fortifications bind the Gauls to the city and to the site through the massive expenditure of labor and material in their construction; unlike natural fortifications, they are not portable and cannot be replicated easily elsewhere. Although the Gauls are better able to resist Caesar as the narrative progresses, this increased capability comes at the cost of their fluidity and mobility. Moreover, this decreased mobility, or increased placed-ness, mirrors the increasing valuation of structures that tie the Gauls to a particular place. Together, Caesar’s disingenuous representation of evolving Gallic defensive technology and place-centric values construct an image of the Gauls as an increasingly placed people.⁹¹ In Caesar’s narrative, the Gauls come to embrace forms of thought and techniques that reinforce the prohibitory purposes of *fines*: both limit Gallic mobility by binding the Gauls to a specific place, effecting an overall progression of the Gauls towards submission to Roman order and *imperium*.

Caesar’s monolithic and unwavering representation of the Germans in the *Bellum Gallicum* offers a clear foil to his shifting depiction of the Gauls.⁹² Caesar’s depiction of the Germans mirrors ethnographic tropes of northern barbarians, with few significant deviations. Caesar’s Germans have no concept of private or separate land, largely because they engage in

⁹⁰ Riggsby 2006: 80.

⁹¹ Although the transition from migratory tribes to place peoples has a basis in history, this transition predates Caesar and certainly took more than the seven years between Book 1 and Book 7 of the *Bellum Gallicum*. Again, the archaeological record indicates that this transition had concluded long before Caesar’s presence in Gaul. For a discussion of the rise of more formal political and social organization among the Celts, see Brun 1995.

⁹² Riggsby 2006: 59–71 highlights the degree of difference between the two groups, as well as their deviation from tropes of northern barbarism.

annual migrations (Caes. *Gal.* 4.1.7; cf. Strabo 4.4.2, Diod. Sic. 5.25.2). Rather than growing crops, they subsist mainly on cattle, milk, and whatever they can hunt (Caes. *Gal.* 4.1.8, 6.22.1; cf. Diod. Sic. 5.28.3, Ath. 4.152c, 153e). Caesar's Germans explicitly reject agriculture: they leave much of their land untenanted and without owner, believing this is a sign of their might as a people (Caes. *Gal.* 4.3.1-2). Even in the coldest weather, the Germans wear only skins rather than woven fabrics (Caes. *Gal.* 4.1.10; cf. Strabo 4.4.3). They live in a land characterized by infinitely large, impenetrable forests full of marvelous creatures, including unicorn cattle, elk without knees, and bulls the size of elephants (Caes. *Gal.* 6.26-8).⁹³ Caesar neatly summarizes the Germans by declaring that their daily exercise, diet, and free way of life deprive them of any sense of *officium* or *disciplina*, replacing both with their *voluntates* in every case (Caes. *Gal.* 4.1.9; cf. Diod. Sic. 5.26.3, 5.32.7; Strabo 4.4.6; Ath. 13.603a). Caesar's representation of the Germans varies little throughout the *Bellum Gallicum*, serving instead as a static image of northern barbarism against which Caesar can set the dynamic nature of the Gauls.

Caesar's characterization of the Germans operates on the nexus of fluidity, disorder, and placelessness, depicting them as an inversion of the order achieved through proper Roman *imperium*. Riggsby summarizes the inversion succinctly: "In the case of the Germans, the problem is their fluidity."⁹⁴ The ascribed cultural practices enable the relentlessly nomadic nature with which Caesar characterizes the Germans. Their diet and their lack of property both divorce them from the land, allowing them to roam freely and widely without concern. Even their clothing emphasizes their removal from any certain place; the Germans can acquire skins anywhere they can hunt, while woven fabrics require agriculture for the materials and a degree of

⁹³ Sadly, only the last of these may have existed. The "bull the size of an elephant" likely was the auroch, a colossal bovine species. See van Vuure 2005.

⁹⁴ Riggsby 2006: 69.

stability to weave.⁹⁵ Germany's forests underscore the Germanic negation of Roman order and *imperium*. Caesar represents Germany as a land of infinitely large forests (Caes. *Gal.* 6.10.5, 6.25.1), as a land of *terra incognita*. In this representation, Germany is antithetical to the ordering practices of *imperium*.⁹⁶ It is a land that the Romans cannot inscribe with a road network, nor can they locate and localize its people through the imposition of *fines*. In Caesar's narrative, Germany and the Germans embody the chaos with which Romans characterized areas beyond the bounds of Roman *imperium*.⁹⁷ Their static barbarism, their inherent placelessness, accentuates Caesar's evolving depiction of the Gauls, emphasizing their progression towards an ordered and placed nature.

In the course of the narrative of the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar progressively represents the Gauls as an increasingly ordered and placed people. He fabricates and imposes a hierarchical set of identities for the Gauls, ranging from the generic 'Gallic' to the specific tribonym. Caesar constructs *fines* for each level of identity, constraining the movement of people to increasingly specific and narrow limits. In essence, Caesar creates and imposes 'place' on the Gauls, a concept that he codes in terms of the exercise of *imperium* and the production of order. Caesar reinforces this ordering process with his shifting representation of the Gauls, transforming them from paragons of barbaric nomadism to a placed people. By the end of the narrative, the Gauls exhibit and embrace place-centric thought, assigning property an intrinsic value and seeking to defend it from Roman aggression. Mirroring this shifting valuation is an increased capability to defend their property and fields through the application of permanent, manmade fortifications.

⁹⁵ See, for example, the epitaph of a Roman matron from the second century BCE: *domum servavit lanam fecit* (CIL 6.15346). The epitaph connects her maintenance of the *domus* with her weaving of wool.

⁹⁶ For Germany as *terra incognita*, Krebs 2006: 112, 19–24.

⁹⁷ Whittaker 1994: 10–30.

Each of these shifts serves a locative function, implicitly placing the Gauls by tying them to specific sites within their *fines*.

In effect, Caesar's representation of the evolution of Gallic place-centric thought and technology is in fact a representation of their internalization of the sense of place articulated through *fines* and of their subjection to Roman *imperium* that defines this place. At the end of the narrative, Caesar can represent the Gallic rebellion in terms that reaffirm and reify the mechanisms and concerns of Roman imperialism even as they feign to challenge them. While Caesar enters a disordered Gaul, his narrative leaves it ordered in the Roman paradigm. More importantly, however, Caesar represents the creation of this place-based order as one that the Gauls themselves internalize and reproduce. The narrative of the *Bellum Gallicum* represents an idealized image of the process of Romanization, tracking the progress of the Gauls from placeless barbarians to a placed and subjected population; the *Bellum Gallicum* enacts colonialism, or at least produces a knowledge of the Gauls as a colonized people, as its readers progress through the text and its evolving image of the Gauls.

Domination and the Art of Roman-ness

In the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar proposes a fairly simple paradigm rooted in *imperium* to define Roman domination: possession of *imperium* means movement, while subjection to *imperium* means staying put. Caesar's debt to Pompey's intensely controversial policy of resettlement and rehabilitation is immediately apparent here, which reconceptualized the pirates as potentially legitimate subjects of Roman *imperium* by virtue of their newly imposed place. Yet, Pompey's resettlement could not offer a viable model for Caesar, for it transformed the pirates from outlaws to subjects through the dissimulation of the reality of the pirates' past;

Pompey waged a war against the pirates, but, within his refigured history, subjected the people who were certainly no longer pirates, if they ever had been, to the place-based practices of *imperium*. While Pompey ushered in a new mode of Roman imperialism, one that privileged containment and rehabilitation over utter destruction, it was an entirely theoretical one.

In many ways, Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* is an adaptation of Pompey's theories, which were propounded in the context of the extreme case of the pirates, to the practical requirements of Roman imperialism, namely the subjection of recognized enemies. Where Pompey identified the concerns of Roman *imperium*, namely the nexus of movement, place, order, and perceived Roman-ness, Caesar described the tools by which Rome could achieve these ends: *finēs*, *imperium*, and the promotion of place-centric thought. The Gauls of the *Bellum Gallicum* serve as an idealized test case for these procedures, as a group who, when subjected to Roman *finēs* and Roman *imperium*, gradually abandon the practices and attitudes that made them dangerous barbarians. To adopt the terms proposed by Louis Althusser, the *Bellum Gallicum* redefines the nature of subjectivity for the Gauls.⁹⁸ Where the apparatuses of Roman ideology previously interpellated the Gauls as implacable barbarians bent on the destruction of Roman order, Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* interpellates the Gauls as a population that consciously embraces the practices and attitudes that constitute proper order in Gaul. In addition to acting as subjects in the post-modern sense, the Gauls at the end of the *Bellum Gallicum* become recognizable subjects of Rome: like the Bithynians of Cicero's *De Lege Manilia* (Cic. *Leg. Man.* 17), the Gauls are now placed insiders, not placeless outsiders. Where Pompey offered the idea that peoples without a history of place, like the pirates, could be placed and thus become legitimate

⁹⁸ Althusser 2006.

subjects of Roman *imperium*, Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* offers a blueprint for how future generals might achieve this goal.

CHAPTER THREE

Limits, Exceptions, and Control: Movement in Augustan Rome

Writing nearly a century after Augustus's death, Suetonius summarized a program of the *princeps* that left Rome with a radically altered face: *Urbem neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam excoluit adeo, ut iure sit gloriatus marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset* (Suet. *Aug.* 28.3).¹ The Augustan building program fundamentally transformed the cityscape, constructing a city that seemed to bear little semblance to its Republican antecedent. Augustus's *Res Gestae*, a monumental autobiography inscribed outside his mausoleum and in cities throughout the empire, records the nearly hundred buildings that Augustus built or restored in Rome, a figure echoed in a summary appended to the *Res Gestae* in Ancyra (*Aug. RG.* 19-21, App.2-3); the prominence of Augustus's building projects in the Ancyran appendix only confirms the centrality of these buildings in the historical memory of the man, for even distant provincials found the program worthy of commemoration. In addition to the major building projects listed within the *Res Gestae* and Suetonius's *Vita*, Augustus also populated the city with a veritable army of lesser works, including numerous altars, statues, and general urban improvements.² In the course of his reign, Augustus fundamentally altered the cityscape of Rome, transforming the somewhat haphazard city of the Republic into the more unified, more directed city of the Empire. Although Rome still lay in the same location in Italy, Augustus's building program transformed the space within which Romans would lead their lives.

¹ "Since the city was not adorned as the greatness of the city demanded and was exposed to flood and fires, Augustus beautified and improved it to the point that he could boast that he had found it a city of sun-dried bricks and left it a city of marble." Cf. Dio. 56.30.3-4, in which Augustus makes this claim on his deathbed as a reference to the strength of the empire.

² See Favro 1996: 79–142 for a chronology and fairly detailed examination of Augustus's building program.

A larger issue lies behind the transformation of the Roman cityscape, for such a dramatic building program necessarily had a similarly dramatic effect on the way Romans experienced the city and, indeed, led their lives. The rise of Augustus coincided with a shift in the nature of space, with the way the Romans conceived of the space of the city and the space of the empire.³ In his attempts to reconcile mental space, or the space of the philosophers, and real space, or the physical and social spheres as we live them, Henri Lefebvre provides a useful model to consider the interplay between the goals of a builder of such projects, namely Augustus, the actions of the population, and the significance of this interplay for imbuing space with meaning.⁴ Lefebvre rejects the idea that space simply ‘exists’ prior to its use, casting space instead as a distinct product of a given society: “(Social) space is a (social) product.”⁵ He suggests that the dialectical, albeit typically unbalanced, interplay of a triad of concepts – spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces – provides the mechanism through which a society can produce its unique space.⁶ The first, spatial practices, is space as perceived, emerging from the practical bases of the perception of the world; that is, spatial practices and space-as-perceived reflect the intuitive awareness that certain spaces are different. The second, representations of space, is space-as-conceived. Lefebvre terms this “the dominant space in any society,” characterizing it as the space that society overlays with its signs and codes. The third,

³ For the space of the city, see Favro 1996 and below; Nicolet 1991 argues that Augustus promoted a more geographical form of knowledge, one akin to modern geopolitical conceptions, as a practice of power. However, his reliance on unsupportable assumptions about the nature of the so-called Map of Agrippa in the Porticus Vispania, attested only in a passage from Pliny the Elder (Plin. Nat. 3.17), renders his argument in favor of a recognizably geographical type of knowledge less effective than it might be; for a discussion of the improbability of a “geographic” map in the Porticus and for a discussion of Roman mapping practices, see Salway 2005.

⁴ Lefebvre 1991.

⁵ Lefebvre 1991: 26. See also 15: “To speak of ‘producing space’ sounds bizarre, so great is the sway still held by the idea that empty space is prior to whatever ends up filling it.”

⁶ Lefebvre 1991: 33, 38–46.

representational spaces, is space-as-lived. This category seeks to encapsulate the way in which inhabitants directly live space through its associated images and symbols. To oversimplify Lefebvre's triad, we might define space-as-perceived, -as-conceived, and -as-lived, respectively as the awareness that different spaces exist; the belief that these different spaces have different significances, values, and meanings; and the way in which an inhabitant or viewer negotiates or uses these spaces.

The transformation of the space of Rome under Augustus, then, necessarily reflects the rise of what we might call Augustan society. The space produced or articulated encapsulates, in Marxist terms, the arrangement of and relationship between the forces of production that emerge in the wake of and because of Augustus's rise; put another way, the refigured cityscape forces a new negotiation between the goals and concepts of the builders and designers, and the actual use of the city by the average citizen.⁷ In this chapter, I investigate the manner in which three Augustan-era spatial practices constructed and articulated a conception of Roman society as subject to the emperor's *imperium*. In Book 5 of his *Ab Urbe Condita*, the historian Livy offers a new conception of the relationship between the Romans and the space of Rome, one that fixes the Romans to a proper place through the threat of sacrilege and loss of identity. I argue that Livy's presentation of the spatial fixity of the Romans within the city suggests that the Romans no longer exercise or possess the *imperium* that should allow them unrestricted mobility. In turn, Augustus's building program relocates *imperium* to the emperor, both constructing him as an exception to this limited mobility and as the arbiter of all movement within the city. I suggest

⁷ Michel de Certeau conceptualizes this distinction as strategy, propounded by the institutions and structures of power, and tactics, the actual use of the environments constructed through strategy. In a particularly relevant chapter, de Certeau explores the interplay between the strategy of the designers of New York and the tactics of an individual walking its streets. See de Certeau 1984: 91–110.

that altars commemorating his return to the city redefine his transgressions of the *pomerium* as divinely favored acts, while the refigured cityscape transforms all movement in the city into a profoundly Augustan experience. At heart, the shifting conceptions of space during Augustus's reign are not a simple matter of geography and urban design. Rather, they produce a space of Augustan ideology, one that interpellates all inhabitants of Rome as not only individuals lacking any personal *imperium* but also as subjects to the omnipresent *imperium* of Augustus.

Camillus and the Retrojection of *Fines*

Book 5 of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* begins and concludes with a pair of inverted images. The book opens with the narration of Rome's siege, capture, and sack of the wealthy Etruscan city of Veii in approximately 396 BCE. It closes with an ironic inversion, in which the Romans shift from victorious conquerors of cities to the defeated population of a city conquered by foreigners. Between these paired sieges, the Gallic Aequi offer their typical resistance to Roman control and the tribunes introduce a motion to move half of Rome's populace and senate to Veii. Livy then offers an excursus on the nature of the Gauls, followed by a series of Roman diplomatic blunders that culminate in the Gallic siege and sack of the city. Although Camillus ultimately rescues the city, the siege of Rome and its subsequent reconquest leaves the city devastated, providing an opportunity for yet another proposal to move the population of Rome. A passing centurion, however, provides a *signum* suggesting that the Romans should remain in Rome: while passing through the *comitium* with his troops, he proclaims, "*signifer, statue signum; hic manebimus optime*" (Liv. 5.55.1).⁸ The book concludes on a moment of abortive

⁸ Standard-bearer, plant the standard; here is best for us to remain

hope; moved by this omen, the Romans elect to remain at Rome, but rebuild the city in a haphazard manner.

The drama of this narrative, the vicissitudes of fortune that the Romans experience, obscures a larger programmatic point that Livy makes by concluding the first pentad, his narration of the quasi-legendary origins of Rome and the Republic, with these inverted images. At the beginning of book 6 (6.1.3), Livy suggests that these moments mark a second founding for the city (*secunda origine*), following which the city attained a more fertile and fruitful growth (*laetius feraciusque renatae*). In his commentary on the first pentad, Robert Ogilvie notes this pattern, claiming that the conclusion of book 5, particularly Camillus's speech, "recapitulate[s] the contents of the whole book and highlight[s] the great moments of the narrative which Livy has already spread before us."⁹ Gary Miles echoes Ogilvie's conclusion, arguing that the first pentad offers a cyclical view of history in which greed and luxury cause a decline that only a refoundation can provide an acceptable answer. He further notes that Camillus's refoundation of the city falls chronologically halfway between Romulus's foundation of the city and Augustus's restoration of constitutional government.¹⁰

Miles's theory of cyclical historical reoccurrence offers a valuable window into the role of book 5 in the overall structure of not only *Ab Urbe Condita*, but also in Livy's conception of Roman history as a coherent whole. He claims that, "taken together, the preface and narrative of Livy's first pentad imply the possibility that the Roman identity and greatness may be preserved indefinitely through successive reenactments of an historical cycle that is exemplified in the first

⁹ Ogilvie 1970: 742.

¹⁰ Miles 1997: 75–109. Miles's claim, however, that Livy is unique in doing so perhaps overreaches. Themes of moral decline followed by refoundation appear at least as early as Ennius.

half of Roman history.”¹¹ In this view, the drama of book 5 does not and, indeed, *cannot* exist outside the context of both the original foundation of Rome and the rise of Augustus. Instead, book 5 encapsulates and re-presents the very nature of what it means to be Roman. In the same way that the foundation of the city creates a theoretical space in which the identity of citizens can be defined, a refoundation, especially one following conflict and disaster, reinscribes a proper or licensed identity on the citizen body.

If Livy views the events of book 5 as a pivotal moment in the history of Roman identity, the question becomes less ‘what happened’ and more ‘how does Livy *use* what happened to construct what it means to be Roman?’ Fortunately, Livy’s construction of the narrative provides an overt interpretive paradigm; he frames each of the major debates that occur in book 5 with speeches delivered by Roman greats: at the beginning, Appius Claudius offers an impassioned appeal for the Romans to maintain the siege of Veii, and Camillus twice speaks against the persistent emigration measures. Through each speech, Livy articulates a preferred interpretive lens through which a reader should view the debate. The speeches serve as ciphers to the debates, projecting what is immediately at stake into a larger theoretical battleground, one that functions on a truly imperial scale. They transcribe the immediate or actual situation, namely the experience of the besiegers and the besieged, into the realm of identity and morality.

Book 5 opens with the advent of an unprecedented situation for the Roman army. Accustomed to swift and decisive actions, the army’s morale begins to flag during the siege of Veii, particularly as winter starts to set in. The tribunes seize upon this issue, agitating for the return of the army. Appius Claudius’s speech (5.3-6) urges the Romans to maintain the siege, arguing that abandoning it would have catastrophic effects on Rome. He summarizes the

¹¹ Miles 1986: 2.

principal line of argument in a single line: *Aut non suscipi bellum oportuit aut geri pro dignitate populi Romani et perfici quam primum oportet* (Liv. 5.4.9).¹² On the surface, this claim addresses only the issue at hand, namely the discomfort of a siege in winter: the Romans should not undertake wars that they will not see to completion regardless of the cost. His evocation of the *dignitas populi Romani*, however, also serves a larger programmatic point. His speech makes frequent recourse to the immediate dangers any society would face should they abandon their assault. He appeals to the resources and labor required to construct siege works (5.5.5-7), to the likelihood that the Etruscans would come to the aid of the Veientes (5.5.8-10), and to the possibility that Rome would leave the war at Veii only to resume it on Roman soil (5.5.3). These general dangers, however, do not lie at the heart of his argument. Rather, Appius Claudius's speech, as the phrase *pro dignitate populi Romani* suggests, ultimately is a meditation on what is proper specifically for the Romans to do.

Livy structures Appius Claudius's speech around two irreconcilable categories, namely the behavior characteristic of non-Romans and the behavior appropriate for proper Romans. Appius Claudius imagines several uncomplimentary analogies for the proposal to abandon the siege. He equates it to the behavior of migratory birds, which would promptly abandon a location with the arrival of fall (5.6.2). Similarly, he links the proposal to the logic of an incompetent physician: rather than force a patient to undergo a difficult, albeit healing treatment, an ignorant physician might transform a simple illness into an incurable malady by indulging the patient's desires (5.5.12).¹³ Further, he claims that the proposal presumes that the Roman soldier

¹² Either we ought not to have undertaken the war, or we ought to conduct it in accordance with the *dignitas* of the Roman people and finish it as soon as possible.

¹³ Livy does not refer to a physician directly here, instead saying *si quis aegro qui curari. Curo*, however, carries a number of medical connotations, specifically to the formal procedures that a physician might conduct. See Glare 1982: s.v. *curo*. Moreover, Livy rarely uses any variations

possesses an effeminate body (*effeminata corpora*) and a soft, even emasculated *animus* (*molles animos*; 5.6.4). The force of each analogy lies in its clear opposition to the fundamental characteristics of a Roman citizen, namely his status as a human, as a citizen of Rome, and as a man, echoing Ennius's earlier definition of Rome: *moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque* (Enn. *Ann.* 18).¹⁴ Livy's Appius Claudius constructs the desire to quit an unfavorable location as characteristic of an animal, an ignorant foreigner, and a woman. In effect, Appius Claudius's negative examples suggest that, in order to abandon the siege, the Romans would have to forfeit everything that defines them as a Roman citizen male.

Livy's Appius Claudius opposes this image of the unhuman foreign woman, who would abandon the siege, with an idealized version of the Roman citizen male. He locates the significance of the siege not in benefits of capturing Veii but in its ramifications for the very nature of Roman-ness (5.6.1). In his speech, Appius Claudius imagines how the soldiers themselves might respond to the implications of the tribunes' proposal. His rhetorical soldiers reject any suggestion that they might be effeminate or that they might wish the tribunes to protect such traits; instead, they have a manly *corpus* and *animus* (*contendantque et animis et corporibus suis virilem*) and resent the idea that the tribunes might protect effeminacy and sloth (*patrocinium mollitiae inertiaeque*; 5.6.5). Indeed, the *virtus* of the soldiers demands that the Roman army maintain the siege until victory precisely to confirm this image of the Roman army. The speech constructs an alternate image of the Roman army, one opposed to the beastlike, foreign, and effeminate one of the tribunes: *an hic sit terror nominis nostri ut exercitum*

of *medico* or *medicus*, with variants appearing a total of seven times throughout the entire *Ab Urbe Condita* and exclusively in the middle and late books (22.18.9, 40.51.6, 42.40.3, 42.47.6, 45.19.8, and Frag. 55). Based on the medical association of *curo* and on Livy's rare usage of *medicus* or *medico*, I suggest that it makes sense to read *si aegro qui curari* as a periphrastic reference to the actions of a physician.

¹⁴ The Roman state stands firm on the ways of the ancestors and of its men.

Romanum non taedium longinquae oppugnationis, non vis hiemis ab urbe circumsesssa semel amovere posit, nec finem ullum alium belli quam victoriam noverit nec impetus potius bella quam perseverantia gerat? (Liv. 5.6.8)¹⁵ Appius Claudius's speech hinges on a very simple dichotomy: animals, foreigners, and women move, but Roman citizen males hold their location at all costs.

At the end of the book, Livy propounds a similar dichotomy between proper and improper Roman behavior through the speech of Camillus.¹⁶ In his speech, Appius Claudius defined Rome and Romanness through the body of the Roman soldier: to be Roman is to be human, not animal; to be Roman, not foreign; and to be masculine, not effeminate. Although these ideas underpin Camillus's speech, Camillus focuses on the relationship between *religio*, the city itself, and movement. Movement and boundaries were critical considerations in Roman religion. Indeed, one of the most technical and complex areas of Roman religious practice and thought was the definition of religious boundaries and religious space, considerations that hang heavily over Livy's rendition of Camillus's speech.¹⁷ From the start of the speech, Camillus defines Rome in terms of ritual practices and ritual space: *Urbem auspicato inauguratoque conditam habemus; nullus locus in ea non religionum deorumque est plenus* (Liv. 5.52.2).¹⁸ To leave this space, he claims, is *nefas*, an act of impiety worse than the recent ones that brought

¹⁵ Or whether the terror of our name is such that [men believe that] neither the weariness of a protracted siege nor the force of winter can move the Roman army, once it has encircled a city? That the Roman army knows no other end save victory, that it relies in war more on perseverance than on a swift assault?

¹⁶ My treatment of Camillus's speech owes a great debt to an unpublished talk by Sandra Joshel: Joshel 1995.

¹⁷ For the role of boundaries and space in Roman religion, Beard, North, and Price 1998: 22–3; for further bibliography and an examination of Roman traditions about the link between religion, history, and boundaries, as well as their use in the *Aeneid*, Huskey 1999: , esp. 78–79; for gender, purity, and boundaries at the edges of the empire, Whittaker 2004: 4–5, 127–8.

¹⁸ We have a city founded by augury and omens; there is no space in it that is not full of *religiones* and gods.

such great ruin on the city (5.52.1). Further, he defines this space as an immutable and unmovable one, rejecting the suggestion that the Romans might simply bring their gods to Veii. According to Camillus, the places for sacrifices are as fixed as the days on which they should be performed; he notes that the *flamines* and *sacerdotes* must spread Jupiter's *pulvinar* on the Capitoline hill, just as the Vestal Virgins must preserve the eternal hearth fire in the temple of Vesta. For Camillus, Rome functions as an irreplaceable religious space, one in which every corner possesses a sacral character dating to the foundation of the city.

By itself, Camillus's argument that immigration is *nefas* might be persuasive, as much of Livy's fifth book is a meditation on the dangers and disasters of ignoring proper religious practice. Indeed, Livy pointedly and directly contextualizes Camillus's speech in terms of the events of book 5; Camillus opens his speech with the claim that, *igitur victi captique ac redempti tantum poenarum dis hominibusque dedimus ut terrarum orbi documento essemus* (Liv. 5.51.8).¹⁹ Yet, Livy's Camillus offers an odd twist on the concept of sacral space, already firmly enshrined in Roman ritual practices in the form of the auspices. In their survey of Roman religion, Beard, North and Price define augural expertise in terms of the demarcation of space: "[Auspices] operated as a system of categorizing space both within the city and between the outside world and its boundaries."²⁰ For Camillus, however, neither the *religiones* and gods that fill the city, nor the auspices and omens of the founding, make Rome a sacred site. According to Camillus, the absence of the Romans would mean that the holy objects and sites of the city would sit on unconsecrated ground: *Haec omnia in profano deseri placet sacra* (Liv. 5.52.7).²¹ Herein lies the heart of Camillus's argument: although the gods desired Rome to be a sacred

¹⁹ Therefore we were conquered, occupied, and put to ransom, and suffered such punishments at the hands of gods and men, in order that we might be a lesson to the world.

²⁰ Beard, North, and Price 1998: 23.

²¹ Would you allow all these holy objects to be left behind in a profane place?

space at the head of an empire, only the presence of the Romans and their maintenance of appropriate rituals can fulfill Rome's destiny. Without the Romans, Rome is simply a space of *sacra in profano*.

Although Livy's Camillus claims that it is *nefas* and *piaculo* to transfer Roman rites and gods from Rome to Veii, the opposite is not true. In his speech, Camillus reminds his audience of the *evocatio* of Juno during the siege of Veii and her subsequent willing migration to Rome (5.21.3, 5.22.4-7). Livy's Camillus terms this movement *religiosum* (5.52.8) and declares the day of her installation on the Aventine hill was outstanding and distinguished (*quam insigni*; 5.52.10). This behavior, the transfer of foreign gods *to* Rome, marks a return to *veterum religionum memores* (5.52.10), a realignment of contemporary Romans with the ideals enshrined in the *mos maiorum*. Proper movement, then, is unidirectional: the goods of empire, of which the gods of conquered peoples are one example, should come to Rome and should not leave it. In effect, Livy's Camillus suggests that one of the material signs of empire, namely the exploitation of the periphery for the benefit of the center, is not just a sign of proper religious practice, but of practices in keeping with those of Rome's legendary founders and heroes.

Both Livy's Appius Claudius and his Camillus articulate a vision in which the maintenance of place is of paramount importance for Rome and for Romans. For Appius Claudius, a refusal to move, or, more precisely, an ability to stay in one's appropriate place, is the defining characteristic of the Roman citizen male: should the Romans abandon the siege, should they leave a place, they are no better than a flock of female birds that lives in Greece. For Camillus, a movement *to* Rome, followed by immobility at Rome, is not just *religiosum* but also a requirement of the *pax deorum*: foreign gods come willingly to Rome, but the Romans cannot leave Rome *sine piaculo* (52.5.8). Each speech constructs a fundamental element of Roman

identity, whether articulated in terms of humanity, gender, race, and religion, in terms to maintaining place. With the exception of when the fruits of conquest come to Rome, movement becomes antithetical to being Roman in the course of this book; the true Roman is one who remains in his proper and designated place, whether it is on a siege line or in Rome.

Livy emphasizes this construction of Roman-ness through his representation of the Gauls in the course of book 5. As Christina Kraus observed in an article on refoundation in book 5, Livy uses other races and peoples, particularly the Gauls, as an ethnographical mirror for the Romans, representing other groups as an inversion of Roman *mores* and practices.²² Livy's Gauls stand in stark contrast to the ideal Romans imagined in the speeches of Appius Claudius and Camillus.²³ The Gauls appear as a violent and bellicose race. When the Romans send ambassadors to treat with the Gauls outside Clusium, Livy describes the Roman legates as *praeferoces legatos Gallisque magis quam Romanis similes* (Liv. 5.36.1);²⁴ although the Roman ambassadors initiate hostilities, Livy characterizes their behavior as more akin to that of Gauls. Accordingly, the Gauls, when asked what right (*ius*) they have to the land of Clusium, offer a suitably bellicose response: *cum illi se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium virorum esse ferociter dicerent* (Liv. 5.36.5).²⁵ In each instance, Livy represents the Gauls as a race so defined by their bellicosity (*ferocitas/praeferocitas*) that the urge to battle overrules even *ius gentium* (5.36.6). Indeed, Livy casually defines the race in terms of their inability to master their wrath: they are *flagrantes ira cuius impotens est gens* (Liv. 5.37.4).²⁶

²² Kraus 1994; see Hartog 1988 for a similar approach to Herodotus's *History*.

²³ They do, however, fit ethnographic conceptions of northerners. For near contemporary ethnographic traditions, see Chapters One and Two.

²⁴ Extremely impetuous ambassadors more akin to Gauls than to Romans.

²⁵ They insolently claimed that they carried their right (*ius*) with them in their weapons and that all things belonged to powerful and bold men.

²⁶ A race powerless against their monstrous wrath.

In Livy's ethnography, the bellicosity of the Gauls is but a subset of a larger category of moral failing, namely a lack of *disciplina* and a certain weakness of the *animus*. Throughout the book, Livy imagines the Gauls as an incredibly frenetic race, incapable of remaining still or silent. When the Gauls begin their march on Clusium, they do so in disorder. Livy describes their movement as churning or convulsive (5.37.4: *convolsis*). Rather than marching silently, the Gauls travel with excessive noise (5.37.5: *tumultum raptim; magno clamore*). They are not an army on the march, but a scattered wave that stretches across the entire land (5.37.5: *longe ac late fuso agmine immensum obtinentes loci*).²⁷ A race given to vainglorious displays, the Gauls throw up wild songs, discordant shouts, and fill the air with hideous noises (Liv. 5.37.8). When they capture Rome and enter the city, they disperse and roam through the city, entering buildings at random to loot (Liv. 5.41.4-8). Camillus's pre-battle speech to the men of Ardea emphasizes the Gauls' lack of discipline. He declares that when they grew oppressed by the tedium of the siege, the Gauls began to roam randomly through the countryside (5.44.5). They gorge themselves on food and wine and, thus sated, throw themselves down beside a stream to sleep, just like a wild animal (5.44.6). He concludes that, though they have big and bold bodies and spirits, they do not have ones that are resolute (5.44.4: *corpora animosque magna magis quam firma*). Even their siege of Rome confirms this image of the undisciplined and weak spirited Gaul: having never considered laying siege to a city and having destroyed the city's grain supply (5.43.5), the Gauls lack the stomach to maintain the siege and require only a meager payment to lift it (5.48.7). In Livy's representation, the Gauls are a race whose lack of *disciplina* and weak *animi* define and chart all of their actions. They are caught in a cycle of frenetic activity, unable to break free and remain in a place in an ordered manner.

²⁷ Although *agmen* can refer to the orderly march of an army, its principal definitions all relate to the flow of water or of animals. See Glare 1982: s.v. *agmen* (1).

Livy's Camillus lays out the dichotomy between proper Romans and Gauls most clearly in his appeal for the Romans to remain in Rome following the sack of the city. In his first protest against immigration to Veii, Camillus claims that it was *nefas* for the Romans to inhabit conquered soil, to exchange their conquering *patria* for a conquered one (Liv. 5.30.3: *victrix patria victam mutari*). The movement of the goddess and plunder from Veii to Rome, however, was a *religiosum* act, one in keeping with Rome's status as a divinely ordained *patria*. He characterizes abandoning Rome, however, as something shameful (*misera ac turpis*) for the Romans and glorious for the Gauls (*gloriosa*): *non enim reliquissse victores sed amisissse victi patriam videbimur* (Liv. 5.53.5).²⁸ On the surface, Camillus establishes a simple paradigm: *victores* bring goods to their *patria* and remain there, *victi* move from their *patria*. Put another way, centripetal motion is *religiosum* and centrifugal motion is *nefas*, *misera*, and *turpis*.

Livy's account of the Gauls' entrance into the city offers perhaps the most direct example of this discourse of movement and virtue. Again, the Gauls enter Rome in the manner of wild beasts. They approach the city in a rambling horde, pillage Rome without any sense of order or organization, and quickly move on.²⁹ Throughout the narrative, Livy emphasizes their weak *animi* and their lack of *disciplina*; indeed, his claim that the Gauls enter Rome in this manner *sine ira sine ardore animorum* (5.41.4) intentionally separates their actions from potentially excusable wartime excesses, suggesting that the Gauls are incapable of ordered action even at the

²⁸ Indeed, we shall not seem to have left our patria as conquerors (*victores*), but to have lost it as the conquered (*victi*).

²⁹ This image stands in stark contrast to Polybius's descriptions of Roman procedures for sacking cities, to which he was eyewitness. Although the procedures sometimes fail, notably at Corinth (39.2) and Astap (11.24), Polybius describes a system in which the Roman army systematically loots a city and shares the dividends, all while maintaining a defensive posture sufficient to repel a counterattack (10.16.2-9, 16.5). He also claims that the Romans swear and obey oaths not to plunder secretly, so no man must fear that he will be cheated (16.6-9). For looting as moral cipher in Polybius's works, see Eckstein 1995: 166–8.

best of times. His tales of the behavior of the old senators offers a pointed contrast to the Gauls (5.41). These men don the attire suitable to their station, seat themselves on their curule chairs in their homes, and, with their *animi* steeled against death (*obstinato ad mortem animo*), await the coming of the Gauls. For the Gauls, an encounter with these men becomes an uncanny, nearly religious experience. They enter the houses in a state of religious awe (*venerabundi*), seeing figures whose attire (*ornatum habitumque*), majesty (*maiestas*), and gravity (*gravitas*) is akin to that of the gods (Liv. 5.41.8). Indeed, Livy's description of their location as *medio aedium* (Liv. 5.41.2) exploits the linguistic ambiguity of *aedes*, a term that can refer either to a room within a dwelling or to the inner sanctuary of a temple:³⁰ Livy suggests that the Gauls implicitly engage in a religious or ritual act when they approach and slay the senators, perhaps even aiding in a *devotio* (cf. Liv. 8.9). The contrast, as well as the programmatic message, is clear. As a race characterized by disordered and constant movement, the Gauls are more beastlike than human. The Romans, especially those living avatars of the *mos maiorum* who await the Gauls resolutely in their *domus*, are nearly godlike; at the very least, their appearance and behavior suggests an uncanny resemblance to the cult statues that grace the other sort of *aedes*. These tales glorify the ability to remain fixed in place: to maintain one's proper place signifies not only a proper male citizen body but also proper *pietas*.

The unveiling of this discourse through the traditional tales of Roman *virtus* and morality, however, obscures its problematic implications for *imperium*. Livy privileges and praises Roman fixity: Romans who remain fixed in Rome demonstrate *virtus*, *disciplina*, and *pietas*. To be a proper Roman, then, requires one to remain confined in Rome. Yet, the Romans also conceived of *imperium* as the ability to control the movement of people, goods, and ideas. The

³⁰ Glare 1982: s.v. *aedes*.

conflict between the two is clear: if the Roman people cannot leave Rome without offending the gods and compromising their identity as Romans, they necessarily do not possess or exercise *imperium*, all claims about the reality of *imperium populi Romani* aside. This conflict becomes more problematic when placed in the context of the relationship between Roman *imperium* and conquered peoples: Caesar and Pompey both characterized their control of the movement of subject peoples in terms of *imperium*. By extension, then, not only do the Roman people not possess *imperium*, but they are also the subjects of some other entity's *imperium*, a situation quite relevant under Augustus. Livy implicitly suggests that the Roman people have *fines* that limit their movement to the city of Rome, albeit coded in terms of religiosity and virtue.

In book 5 of the *Ab Urbe Condita*, these *fines* are a byproduct of, or perhaps the very underpinnings of, religious realities. As D. S. Levene notes in his examination of the role of religion in the *Ab Urbe Condita*, book 5 is “overtly centered around religious themes, a point that is brought out by the climactic speech of Camillus which summarizes the events of the book in religious terms.”³¹ Livy's Camillus claims that all the reverses of book 5 are meant as a *documentum* of the costs of religious failings (Liv. 5.50.4-10). He also claims that the Romans can only maintain a proper relationship with the gods if they remain in Rome. This argument transcribes the construction and enforcement of the implicit *fines* from the human realm to the divine realm. At heart, Livy's Camillus claims that it is divine will for the Romans to remain in Rome, or, put another way, for the Romans to have *fines*. This presentation dissimulates the role of *imperium* in the control of movement; rather than an issue of subjection, as it would be in terms of *imperium*, the limitation of the Roman people's movement instead becomes a sign of virtue, of their *pietas* and their desire to maintain a proper relationship with the divine. Yet,

³¹ Levene 1993: 175; for a similar line of argument, see also Miles 1997: 75–105.

Augustus's monopolization of the auspices reveals the truth behind this representation: when Romans leave Rome to engage in the practices of empire, namely conquering new territories and ruling old ones, they do so by the indulgence of the emperor and as proxies for his *imperium*.

The Augustan Exception

Livy's fifth book articulates an imperial schema of movement, one structured and enforced through the strictures of *religio* and the attendant dangers of the violation of this *religio*. In short, the fruits of empire, whether people, goods, or gods, should come into Rome but the Romans themselves should not leave Rome. Again, this schema requires an uneasy balance of dissimulation: the Romans hold *imperium* over the world, allowing for the extraction of the fruits of empire, but do not possess the *imperium* necessary to leave the space of Rome. Previously, the division between *imperium domi* and *imperium militiae*, separated by the boundary of the *pomerium* offered a solution to this difficulty: a Roman citizen male, when properly elected to office by the corporate *populus Romanus*, would gain *imperium* from the gods upon crossing the *pomerium*. On his return, he would surrender this *imperium* before re-entering the city; in effect, a holder of *imperium militiae* could not be re-integrated into the city of Rome. Aulus Gellius offers the most direct expression of this sanction, declaring it *nefas* for military *imperium* to be exercised within the city limits (Gell. 15.27).³² Lucan's account in the *Pharsalia* of the Roman response to Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon further underscores the ritual power and

³² *Centuriata autem comitia intra pomerium fieri nefas esse, quia exercitum extra urbem imperari oporteat, intra urbem imperari ius non sit* (It is a violation of divine law for a meeting of the centuriate assembly to be held within the *pomerium*, since an army must be commanded outside the city and there is no right to command within the city).

significance of such boundaries; Lucan describes at length the ritual purification of the city as the Romans waited anxiously for Caesar to march on Rome (Luc. 1.584-608).³³

The trajectory of Augustus's rise to power problematizes the traditional boundaries for *imperium* imposed by the *pomerium*. The opening paragraphs of the *Res Gestae* unequivocally link Augustus's military prowess and success with the events of his reign. Within the first four chapters, Augustus describes his commands in multiple ways with varying degrees of directness, ranging from the overt exercise of force (Aug. *RG* 2, 3)³⁴ to euphemisms that hint at battle (Aug. *RG* 4).³⁵ Although the monument segues from wartime activities to Augustus's benevolence and republicanism, the structure of the *Res Gestae* ensures that his war record defines the context for his reign. Augustus highlights this connection in his summary of 28 – 27 BCE, the years that defined his reign and earned him the epithet 'Augustus:' *in consulatu sexto et septimo, bella ubi civilia exstinxeram per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populi que Romani arbitrium transtuli* (Aug. *RG*. 34).³⁶ His success in the civil wars serves as the critical locative point for this passage, providing the impetus for both Augustus's control of the state and the subsequent 'restoration' of the Republic; the passage links his victory in the civil war to his reign, inscribing both on the historical memory of his life.

³³ Beard et al suggest that this occasion may be a historical liberty taken by Lucan, but notes nonetheless, "... [the lustration] remains a vivid reflection of the religious ideology of the imperial period. Rome could never allow another Remus to cross the pomerium; at times of threat the boundary had to be strengthened and purified." Beard, North, and Price 1998: 178.

³⁴ 2: *postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie* (When they later made war on the republic, I defeated them twice in battle); 3: *bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum suscepi* (I undertook wars on land and at sea, both civil and foreign, throughout the world).

³⁵ *Ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspiciis meis terra marique prospere gestas* (For successful accomplishments on land and at sea carried out by me or by my legates under my auspices).

³⁶ In my sixth and seventh consulships, when I, as master of all matters through the common assent of all, extinguished the flames of civil war, I then transferred the Republic from my power to the supervision of the Senate and Roman people.

Command of the army and control of the related auspices played a central role not only in Augustus's reign but also in his posthumous self-presentation.³⁷ Although the careful phrasing of the *Res Gestae* obscures its role, Augustus's monopoly over *imperium* contextualizes both his rise to power and his subsequent reign. The *pomerium*, then, poses a potentially insoluble difficulty for Augustus. According to Roman law and tradition, Augustus could not enter the city of Rome without either forfeiting his *imperium* or, by acting contrary to *religio* and retaining his *imperium*, offending the gods and threatening the *pax deorum*.³⁸ Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price offer a concise summary of the problem: "The basic rule was that this authority lapsed whenever a commander crossed the pomerium: civil and military power were entirely separate; the area within the sacred boundary was so outside the sphere of military power that a general could not even enter it without laying that power down."³⁹ As the lustration of Rome following Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon indicates, the movement of a figure endowed with *imperium* across such sacral boundaries was a matter of concern, one that Romans felt required drastic and immediate action. Yet, implications of religion and tradition aside, Augustus could ill afford to lay down the power that secured his position. The nature of the *pomerium*, linked to the *fines* suggested in Camillus's speech, presented a nearly insoluble problem: Augustus needed to be able to cross the *pomerium* freely with his *imperium* intact and without invalidating his auspices, but also needed to do so without committing an act of sacrilege.

Modern scholars often point to the legal wrangling between 27 and 19 as a solution, seeing the emergence of a series of complex constitutional 'fixes' as the means to sidestep such

³⁷ Numerous scholars have noted in detail Augustus's monopoly of the auspices and military glory. See Schumacher 1985; Bowersock 1990; Hurler 2001; Beard 2007; Dalla Rosa 2011.

³⁸ The importance of the *pomerium* is most apparent in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* 2.10-12, in which a magistrate's repeated crossings of the *pomerium* cause him to forfeit his *imperium*, invalidating his auspices.

³⁹ Beard, North, and Price 1998: 179.

religious and social difficulties.⁴⁰ Cassius Dio provides the best description of the moment when Augustus's actual power, constitutional position, and issues of *religio* all came to a head. In 23 BCE, Augustus resigned the consulship and retired to somewhere outside the city (Dio 53.32.3). In turn, the Senate responded by heaping titles and powers on Augustus, making him tribune and holder of *imperium proconsular maius* for life (Dio 53.32.4-5), later supplemented with consular *imperium* for life (Dio 54.10.5; Aug. *RG* 8). According to Cassius Dio, the Senate bestowed these powers specifically so that Augustus would not have to lay down his power or have it renewed when he crossed the *pomerium* (Dio 53.32.5).⁴¹ From a legal standpoint, Dio Cassius's presentation of the settlement is satisfactory: the settlement emerged as a way to negate the implications of the *pomerium* by granting Augustus a comprehensive enough set of powers that the *pomerium* would be irrelevant. Moreover, it fits neatly into Augustus's summary of his career in the *Res Gestae*: *Post id tempus praestiti omnibus dignitate, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam qui fuerunt mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae* (Aug. *RG*. 34).⁴² The legal solution seems perfectly Augustan, deflecting a legal concern through the grant of unprecedented powers disguised as traditional Republican powers.

For all its explanatory power, the legal-constitutional approach to the *pomerium* cannot guarantee that the people found its terms palatable or even acceptable. Indeed, Camillus's speech in book 5 serves as a pointed warning against the legal-constitutional view; at heart, Camillus's argument is that issues of *religio* overrule any judgments or decrees of the Senate. While the Senate's decree may permit Augustus to cross the *pomerium* in full possession of his

⁴⁰ Syme 1939; Meier 1990; Linderski 1990; Beard, North, and Price 1998: 180 suggests that Augustus simply ruptured the distinction between *domi* and *militiae* to avoid this issue.

⁴¹ Richardson 1991: 8 argues that this settlement suggests that Augustus's *imperium* was seen as primarily *militiae* here, noting the *pomerium* was not an issue for *imperium domi*.

⁴² After that time, I stood foremost in worth and authority, yet I had no more power than any of my colleagues in the magistracies.

imperium, this permission does not negate the fact that, as Aulus Gellius notes much later, transgressing the *pomerium* in any case is still *nefas* (Gell. 15.27). Simply, a political settlement cannot adequately address a religious and social issue, one with taboos that the Romans date to the legendary foundation of the city and the tale of Romulus and Remus. Further, Augustus cultivated an identification with Romulus, the constructor and preserver of a nascent *pomerium*, not Remus, whom Romulus executed for the transgression of this boundary.⁴³ Indeed, Augustus's expansion and re-inscription of the *pomerium* served only to draw the attention of Roman observers to the continuing social and ritual significance of the boundary. The legal permission to cross the *pomerium* with *imperium* intact could not, and indeed did not, overrule the deep-seeded cultural taboos embedded within the *pomerium*.

Rather than relying on the illusory license of senatorial decrees, Augustus also sought a religious and social solution to the problem of the *pomerium*. In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus explicitly singles out two times when he returned to the city and re-entered it, presumably without surrendering his *imperium*. The first, the Altar of Fortuna Redux near the Porta Capena along the Via Appia, marked his return from settling the affairs of Sicily, Greece, Asia, and Syria in 19 BCE:⁴⁴

Aram Fortunae Reducis iuxta aedes Honoris et Virtutis ad portam Capenam pro reditu meo senatus consecravit, in qua pontifices et virgines Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit eodie, quo consulibus Q. Lucretio et M. Vinucio in urbem ex Syria redi, et diem Augustalia ex cognomine nostro appellavit.⁴⁵ (Aug. *RG.* 11, cf. Dio. 54.10)

⁴³ For this identification, see Suet. Aug. 7.2; Morwood 1991; Miles 1997; Kellum 1990: 289–91; Eder 1990: 116 notes that Augustus rapidly dropped his preference for this name in favor of “Augustus.”

⁴⁴ Coarelli 1995.

⁴⁵ The Senate consecrated the Altar of Fortuna Redux at the Porta Capena in honor of my return, on which it ordered that the pontiffs and Vestal Virgins make yearly sacrifices on the anniversary of the day on which I returned to the city from Syria in the consulships of Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinucius, and named that day the Augustalia from my cognomen.

Augustus's return from Hispania and Gaul in 13 BCE, commemorated by the construction of the Ara Pacis in the Campus Martius, merited an uncannily similar remark in the *Res Gestae*.⁴⁶

Cum ex Hispania Galliaque, rebus in his provinciis prospere gestis, Romam redi Ti. Nerone P. Quintilio consulibus, aram Pacis Augustae senatus pro reditu meo consecrari censuit ad campum Martium, in qua magistratus et sacerdotes et virgines Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit.⁴⁷ (*Aug. RG. 12*)

The narrations of the two events proceed along nearly identical lines. In each, Augustus's return from successful campaigning leads the Senate to vote for the consecration of an altar. These altars then become the site of an annual sacrifice marking the day on which Augustus returned to the city.

The true significance of these altars emerges when their location is mapped onto the likely trajectories of Augustus's movement from these provinces to the city. Each altar stands at the spot in which Augustus probably effected his transition back into the city (the Ara Pacis along the Via Flaminia leading northwest towards Spain and Gaul, the Altar of Fortuna Redux along the Via Appia, which leads to Brundisium and Apulia, two major Roman port cities facing the east); although perhaps not immediately located on the line of the *pomerium*, each altar nonetheless identifies and consecrates the space in which Augustus legally transitioned from *imperium militiae* to *imperium domi*.⁴⁸ Indeed, the *Res Gestae* specifically locates the Altar of Fortuna Redux in relation to one of the gates of Rome, the Porta Capena. In a reading grounded

⁴⁶ Torelli 1999.

⁴⁷ When I returned from Hispania and Gaul after successful operations in these provinces, in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius, the Senate voted in honor of my return that an altar of Augustan Peace [the Ara Pacis] be consecrated in the Campus Martius, on which the Senate ordered the magistrates, pontiffs, and Vestal Virgins to make a yearly sacrifice.

⁴⁸ No *cippi* have been found to support Dio's claim that Augustus extended the *pomerium* (Dio 55.6.7). For assessments of the likelihood of an extension and its possible shape, see M. T. Boatwright 1986; Andreussi 1999; Lott 2004: 88–90. In the absence of firm indications of the location of the *pomerium*, however, I suspect that these altars likely do, in fact, indicate the liminal point. If, however, the *pomerium* lay beyond these sites, the altars nonetheless marked a transitional point into the recognizable space of the city.

in Roman tradition, the space in which Augustus transitions from *extra urbem* to *in urbe* should be a sacrilegious space, one that threatens the integrity and safety of the entire city. The altars, however, offer a new signification for this space, re-presenting it as a consecrated space, as a space of *religio*.

These altars provide a ritualistic reinterpretation of an act of transgression, constructing Augustus's violation of the tenets of the *pomerium* as a divinely sanctioned event. The supporting sacrifices expand on this interpretation by linking it to the ritual health of Rome. By themselves, the altars only mark the space through which Augustus moved, monumentalizing a transitory moment of movement. They are devices that operate on historical memory, constructing and articulating a new meaning for an event in the past. The sacrifices, however, revitalize and re-present both the fact of Augustus's transgression and its 'proper' interpretation. Every year, the pontiffs, Vestal Virgins, and magistrates not only recall the moment of transgression, but also again refigure it as a divinely sanctioned event. Indeed, the annual sacrifices transform what should be *nefas* into an integral part of *religio* and the *pax deorum*; the celebration and commemoration of Augustus's movement in and out of Rome as divinely ordained becomes an act of *pietas*. The sacrifices implicate all of Rome in Augustus's transgression, requiring Romans either to reaffirm the fiction proposed by the altars or to risk the displeasure of the gods.

The altars and sacrifices not only provide a ritual solution to the religious and social challenges of the *pomerium* but also offer a neat counterpoint to the injunctions presented in Livy's fifth book. Again, Livy's Camillus offers a construction of Rome structured implicitly by *finis*: the Romans cannot leave the space that the actions of the *maiores* have inscribed with *religio*. Camillus grants no exceptions to any magistrates, pontiffs, or similar figures, offering

instead a comprehensive religious prohibition to emigration. The *pomerium* provides an identical barrier in reverse: a Roman endowed with *imperium*, or one who could cross the *fines* of Rome, must surrender that power to return to the city; he must be reintegrated ritually into the city, which necessarily requires his re-subjection to the *fines* of Rome. In effect, the ritual fabric of Rome proposes a binary division: either a Roman has *imperium* or he is inside the city.

In the *Res Gestae*, however, Augustus emerges as a case of exception. In their survey of Roman religion, Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price conclude that the question of Augustus's *imperium* altered the nature of the *pomerium*:

Inevitably, however, the emperor's power altered the conceptual distinction between the 'civil' and the 'military' spheres: unlike republican magistrates, emperors exercised authority in both those spheres simultaneously... The consequences of this extended beyond the political sphere. The combination of civil and military power in the hands of the emperor meant that the *pomerium*, as a religious boundary, ceased to exclude the military.⁴⁹

This claim, however, ignores the continuing significance of the *pomerium* in Roman thought, manifested most strongly in Aulus Gellius's claim that crossing the *pomerium* without surrendering *imperium* was *nefas* (Gel. 15.27). The secret to Augustus's *imperium* lies not in a reconceptualization of the *pomerium* but in the establishment of a case of exception. If Livy's Camillus suggests that the Romans have divinely sanctioned *fines*, the altars and sacrifices commemorating Augustus's transgression of these *fines* unbind Augustus, exempting him from these boundaries.

In terms of *religio*, *imperium*, and the *pomerium*, Augustus exists in a state of exception. As a Roman, he should be bound by the ritual strictures of the *pomerium* to surrender his *imperium*; as Augustus, his movement inscribes his perpetual *imperium* onto the religious fabric of Rome. Carl Schmitt's discussion of the "paradox of sovereignty" offers a useful way to

⁴⁹ Beard, North, and Price 1998: 180.

conceptualize the significance of the intersection of *pomerium* and Augustan altars. In his *Politische Theologie*, Schmitt defines sovereignty in terms of exclusion and exception: “the sovereign stands outside the juridical order and, nevertheless, belongs to it, since it is up to him to decide if the constitution is suspended *in toto*.”⁵⁰ He argues that if the sovereign has the legal power to suspend the validity of the law, he also legally places himself outside the law; he is “at the same time outside and inside the juridical order.”⁵¹ For Schmitt, this ambivalent position, the uneasy balance between being under the law and being outside the law, serves as the hallmark of the sovereign.

Unsurprisingly, there is an uncanny resonance between Schmitt’s figure of the sovereign and Augustus’s relationship to the *pomerium/fines*. Augustus is the Roman who is unbound by the ritual strictures of Rome, an exception whose existence the altars and sacrifices continually revalidate. He does not shatter the distinction between *imperium domi* and *imperium militiae*, but, as Schmitt suggests, serves to revivify this distinction through his existence as the exception to it. Augustus’s construction as an exception to the ritual barriers, his possession of unceasing *imperium*, transforms him into the Roman sovereign. Yet, by virtue of the altars and sacrifices, the very facts that construct Augustus as a sovereign are not signs of a sacrilegious state of affairs. Rather, these ritual activities implicate not only Rome, but also the gods themselves, in an ongoing re-presentation of the rightness of this order. In effect, *pietas* demands that the Romans not only accept Augustus’s *imperium*, but that they also celebrate the proof of it.

Constructing a City of *Imperium*

⁵⁰ Schmitt 1934: 13. My translation.

⁵¹ Schmitt 1934: 13; this concept forms the basis of Agamben 1998.

In his study of the role of tradition in the transition from the Republic to the Empire, Walter Eder emphasizes the centrality of power in any discussion of Augustus:

To speak of Augustus means to speak of power: of power overtly exercised, of power disguised, of power relinquished; of the relationship between power and authority; of the delegation of power among collaborators and among public bodies such as the senate, the colleges of magistrates, and the assembly.⁵²

A discussion of Augustus, then, necessitates a discussion of the power relationships that defined his extraordinary and, as Eder admits, nearly unquantifiable position. At heart, a power relationship requires the clear identification of three constituent parts: an inferior party, a superior party, and the nature of the relationship between them. In the preceding sections, I lay out the framework for a power relationship between the corporate Roman people and Augustus, articulated in terms of licensed movement. In the speeches of Appius Claudius and Camillus in book 5 of the *Ab Urbe Condita*, Livy constructs a definition of the Roman people based on immobility: being Roman means maintaining a fixed place within the ritual limits of Rome. In turn, the ritualization of Augustus's transgression of the *pomerium* constructs a category for Augustus: he exists in a state of exception, being the Roman who enjoys freedom of movement.

At this point, it is useful to return to one of the key issues surrounding spatial practices of any era: in Marxist terms, the space that a society produces or articulates necessarily encapsulates the arrangement of and relationship between the forces of production that characterize that society. In these terms, Livy's fifth book and the commemorative altars produce a space that defines the nature of these forces of production, the Roman people and their ruler, through the issue of licensed movement. In each case, the city of Rome serves as a focal point, as the arena in which the discourse of space can construct new categories for its participants. The centrality of the city in this process of representation is not surprising; one of

⁵² Eder 1990: 71.

Augustus's most famous projects, the transformation of the cityscape, signals his sense of the city's role in his career. Accordingly, we might look to the city as the bridge that connects the various forces of production: the space of the city, the way in which Augustus conceived it and the Roman people experienced it, necessarily signifies the movement-based relationship between these two parties.

The end of Livy's first pentad creates an image of Rome as a city in desperate need of such a transformation. Book 5 ends on a note of aborted hope. Following Camillus's speech and the timely presence of a vocal centurion, the Roman senate and people embrace their fixity, choosing to rebuild Rome rather than quit it for Veii; in Livy's religious schema, the Romans restore *pietas*, respect proper *religio*, and maintain their place. However, Camillus and the senate's grandiose plans for the reconstruction do not come to fruition, for the people reject the bill that would provide for and govern the efforts. According to Livy, the rejection of this bill leads to a fragmented and disordered city plan:

Antiquata deinde lege promisce urbis aedificari coepta... Festinato curam exemit vicus dirigendi, dum omissio sui alienique discrimine in vacuo aedificant. Ea est causa ut veteres cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc privata passim subeant tecta, formaque urbis sit occupatae magis quam divisae similis (Liv. 5.55.3-5).⁵³

The reconstruction creates a city that stands in stark contrast to the Rome and Romans imagined in the speeches of Camillus and Appius Claudius. Livy describes the Roman efforts in terms reminiscent of his Gauls: the Romans build indiscriminately (*promisce*) and with excessive haste (*festinato*). Like northern barbarians, they pay little heed to issues of private property, preferring instead to build wherever is most convenient. The end result is a disordered city. The streets

⁵³ When the bill was rejected, the city began to be built haphazardly... Because of their undue haste, the people took no care to align the streets, while, ignoring any divisions between what was theirs and what was others', they built on vacant spaces. For this reason, the old sewers, which at first ran through the public ways, now consistently run under private structures, and the appearance of the city is of a captured one rather than one properly laid out and partitioned.

lack a proper alignment, a defining characteristic of a properly centuriated Roman town. Most pointed, however, is the comment with which Livy concludes his first pentad: even after Camillus drives the Gauls out and the Romans rebuild, the city nonetheless looks like a conquered city (*forma urbis occupatae*). Although they are the *victores*, the Romans build like barbarians and produce a city of the *victi*. On a linguistic level, Livy implies that Rome post-Camillus was a paradoxical space: it was a permanent city, but one built in the image of conquered wanderers, northern barbarians, and other un-placed groups.

When Livy penned this conclusion to the first pentad between 27 and 25 BCE, his pessimism was understandable, if not unavoidable.⁵⁴ Alex Scobie's study of urban conditions and mortality in the early Empire offers a particularly revealing reminder of the experience of living in an ancient city.⁵⁵ His discussion of the structural shortcomings of Roman buildings, particularly *insulae*, supports Livy's claim that Rome looked like an *urbis occupata*: "Poor building materials, inadequate preparation of foundations, and inexpert or careless workmanship seem often to have resulted in structural collapse, a fate which was also feared through probably not so frequently experienced by the occupants of *domus*."⁵⁶ Although he rightly credits the Romans for "some degree of progress in the sphere of public hygiene," he concludes that the average Roman faced a dismal life, in terms of quality and length.⁵⁷ Diane Favro offers a supporting, albeit more experiential, image of life in Rome at the end of the Republic: "Temples and public structures crumbled from neglect. Fires and floods repeatedly damaged large sections

⁵⁴ I follow Miles 1986: 18, who bases this date on Livy 1.19 and 1.20, in which Livy mentions Augustus, but records only one closure of the Temple of Janus; Walsh 1974: 6 provides a survey of the various arguments for the dating of Livy; for strong disagreement to this dating, see Syme 1959: esp. 43–44.

⁵⁵ Scobie 1986.

⁵⁶ Scobie 1986: 404. See also Sen. Ep. 90.43.

⁵⁷ Scobie 1986: degree of progress: 400; short life: 433.

of the city. Unmaintained streets were all but impassable. Tiles from derelict buildings threatened to crash on unsuspecting passers-by. The air of the city was filled with the dust and noise of collapsing buildings.”⁵⁸ The cityscape of Rome was unattractive enough that Julius Caesar’s detractors could suggest convincingly that the Dictator intended to shift the capital to a more ornamented and more suitable site, such as Troy or Alexandria (Suet. *Jul.* 79). Even Cicero could not bring himself to list Rome of the late Republic as one of the cities in the world that merited the stature and name of an imperial city (*imperi gravitatem ac nome*), reserving that designation for Corinth, Carthage, and Capua (Cic. *Agr.* 2.87).⁵⁹

Livy’s pessimistic conclusion to Camillus’s speech, supported by the realities of urban living in Rome, posed a distinct problem for Augustus: the image of Rome was not suitable for the *caput mundi* of an empire that ruled the world. Although he wrote a full century after Augustus’s death, Suetonius conveys both the nature of the problem and Augustus’s solution in a famous passage: *Urbem neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam excoluit adeo, ut iure sit gloriatus marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset* (Suet. *Aug.* 28.3).⁶⁰ Augustus’s boast, or at least the lingering memory of it, is well deserved. In the course of his reign, Augustus undertook a massive building program that led to the construction or renovation of hundreds of buildings throughout Rome. In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus devotes a significant amount of space to documenting this particular form of civic munificence for posterity; in addition to the variety of buildings that he personally sponsored

⁵⁸ Favro 1992: 61; for a similar view, see Zanker 1988.

⁵⁹ Favro 1992 places this comment in the context of the Hellenistic architectural *koine*, in which a capital city manifested its grandeur through elaborate buildings and spaces suitable for their position. See especially 61-2.

⁶⁰ “Since the city was not adorned as the greatness of the city demanded and was exposed to flood and fires, Augustus beautified and improved it to the point that he could boast that he had found it a city of sun-dried bricks and left it a city of marble.” Cf. Dio. 56.30.3-4, in which Augustus makes this claim on his deathbed as a reference to the strength of the empire.

(Aug. *RG.* 19, 21), he pointedly lists the various public works he either restored or completed on behalf of others, all without inscribing his own name (Aug. *RG.* 20). The Ancyran appendix to the *Res Gestae*, a summary of the text seemingly appended by the citizens of Ancyra (modern Ankara, Turkey), confirms the centrality of the Augustan building program to the historical memory of the man: fully half of the appendix (Aug. *RG.* App.2-3) details Augustus's building projects, suggesting that even distant provincials found this program worthy of commemoration.⁶¹

Modern studies of Augustan Rome often focus on the symbolic and programmatic aspects of the constructions, dwelling on the myriad ways in which a fully knowledgeable viewer might understand a single structure or complex.⁶² Diane Favro, however, offers a salutary reminder of the way in which an average Roman citizen might have experienced such a building: "Augustus built dozens of projects in Rome. Observers saw these tangible architectural products first; they understood the motives for construction and iconography second."⁶³ Favro rightly emphasizes the immediacy of the visual and kinesthetic experience of the building – the way a Roman might understand the basic building type and make use of it – in addition to the long term consumption of the building's programmatic message. She implicitly suggests that there was a divide between the intentions of a patron, reified in the typologies and iconographies of the structure, and the way in which the population actually consumed or used the structure and its space. Indeed, Favro highlights one of the potential weaknesses of standard approaches to

⁶¹ Interestingly, the Ancyran appendix lists Augustus's building projects with far greater specificity than it details his other accomplishments, which appear only in broad strokes.

⁶² For example, Cordingley and Richmond 1927 (Mausoleum of Augustus); Gowers 2010 (Augustus's "workshop"); Heslin 2007 (Horologium); P. J. Holliday 1990 (Ara Pacis Augustae); Sumi 2009 (Aedes Castoris); Zanker 1968 (Forum of Augustus).

⁶³ Favro 1996: 143.

Augustan architecture: many scholars implicitly dissect the Romans out of their study of Roman architecture, glossing over the everyday experience and non-elite receptions of monuments.⁶⁴

Although Augustus's building program was extremely comprehensive, incorporating a wide range of construction and reconstruction efforts, three projects in particular offer a revealing look into the relationship between the Augustan refiguring of the cityscape and the resulting kinesthetic experience of the city: neighborhood altars to the *Lares Compitales*, monumental arches, and the Forum of Augustus. Each project represents a construction effort in which one of Lefebvre's triad of space-producing mechanisms is predominant: lived space and neighborhood altars, perceived space and monumental arches, and conceived space in the Forum of Augustus.⁶⁵ To return to Lefebvre, the way in which these building projects produce space must reflect the rise of what we might call Augustan society; the space produced or articulated encapsulates, in Marxist terms, the new arrangement of and relationship between the forces of production that emerge in the wake of and because of Augustus's rise. Such monuments, then, define an intersection between the expression and imposition of Augustan ideology and power, and the way in which the average Roman citizen would experience the reality of Augustus's domination of Rome, both as an empire and as a city.

In approximately 7 BCE, Augustus undertook a massive administrative restructuring of the city of Rome.⁶⁶ Where previously the city consisted of seven hills and a series of poorly

⁶⁴ There are notable exceptions to the rule. For excellent considerations of the kinesthetic experience of monuments, especially on the everyday level, see Favro 1992; Favro 1996; Davies 1997; Marlowe 2006.

⁶⁵ Lefebvre notes that, in most societies or spaces, one of the realms indeed dominates the others. Lefebvre 1991: 40–2.

⁶⁶ For the division, see Alföldi 1973: 18–36; Liebeschütz 1979: 69–71; Kienast 1982: 164–6; Fraschetti 1994: 204–73; Nicolet 1991: 195–6; the most recent and best treatment on Augustan *vici* is Lott 2004. For ancient sources on the compitalia cults, see Ov. *Fast.* 5.129, 147–8; Suet. *Aug.* 31.4.

delineated *vici* (neighborhoods), Augustus reorganized the city as one of fourteen regions, demarcated by *cippi*, and 265 *vici*, demarcated by and characterized by altars to the *Lares Compitales*.⁶⁷ On the surface, this reorganization provided a framework for improved municipal management by defining clear areas of responsibility and jurisdictions for figures ranging from the *vicomagistri* to the *vigiles*.⁶⁸ Indeed, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill emphasizes the effect of this change on the way the city was defined: "The Augustan reorganisation of Rome created a city that was defined and knowable in a fundamentally different way... Every corner of the city could be defined and listed in terms of *regio* and *vicus*."⁶⁹

Yet, this restructuring also emphasized a significant change in the nature and role of the altars that defined the *vici*.⁷⁰ The Romans believed that every intersection (*compitum*) was charged with energy and divinity, a belief reified in the form of the shrines dedicated to the *Lares Compitales* and *Liber Pater* that stood at most significant urban intersections in the city.⁷¹ These shrines were the subject of the Compitalia or *ludi compitalici*, an annual festival featuring

⁶⁷ For a collection of evidence of the compital shrines, see Pisani Sartorio 1988; Lott 2004: 136 notes the low survival rate of Augustan-era altars, of which five secure and eight possible examples remain. Based on these remains and other complementary inscriptions, Lott argues that such an altar necessarily lay at the center of each *vicus*.

⁶⁸ Favro 1992: 80–82.

⁶⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 275; see also Zanker 1988: 155; Nicolet 1991: 195–205; Favro 1996: 139.

⁷⁰ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 277: "But the *vici* were not simply administrative units: ritual and symbolic aspects are prominent in all the evidence, and central to their conception. The monuments themselves, especially the rich harvest of dedicatory altars from the *vici*, foreground the religious functions."

⁷¹ Five definitively Augustan compital shrines survived, of which four have known locations: one each from the Vicus Statae Matris in Regio II, the Vicus Aesculeti on the western edge of the Campus Martius, the Vicus Sandaliarius in Regio IV, and from the Vicus Compiti Acili in Regio IV. See Lott 2004: 136–52; Hano 1986 surveys the evidence for the survival rate of the Augustan altars; Galinsky 1996: 302 suggests that perhaps five percent of the 265 total altars, or 14, survived; Lott suspects significantly less than five percent survived, acknowledging the five certain examples and eight borderline cases.

sacrifices of honey-cakes to the *Lares Compitales* (Dion. 4.14).⁷² According to Suetonius, Julius Caesar abolished the *Compitalia* during the civil wars, regarding the festival as too incendiary due to the use of the *vici* as centers for organization and, therefore, potential sites of resistance (Suet. *Jul.* 42).⁷³ When Augustus became *pontifex maximus* in 12 BCE, he reinstated the festival of the *Compitalia* and, according to Suetonius, instituted twice-yearly celebration: *Compitales Lares ornari bis anno instituit vernis floribus et aestivis* (Suet. *Aug.* 31.4; see also Ov. *Fast.* 5.128-44).⁷⁴

Suetonius's claim, however, omits a significant change in the nature of the *Lares Compitales*, for Augustus supplanted the traditional combination of *lares* and *Liber Pater* with the *Lares Augusti* and, in one case, the *Genius Caesarum*.⁷⁵ Ovid captures this transition succinctly in the *Fasti*. According to Ovid, Augustus replaced the *Lares Praestites* of Curtius, which had succumbed to the ravages of time, with his own *Lares* and *Genii*: *bina gemellorum quaerebam signa deorum / viribus annosae facta caduca morae / mille Lares Geniumque ducis qui tradidit illos / urbs habet et vici numina tria colunt* (Ov. *Fast.* 5.143-6).⁷⁶ At sites where

⁷² Lott 2004: 31–41 traces the uncertain origin and nature of the *Lares*, the *Compitalia*, and their link to neighborhood religion. He notes, however, that Dionysus of Halicarnassus indicates that the Romans of Augustus's day were convinced that this combination was of the highest antiquity, dating back to Servius (578 - 533 BCE; Dion. 4.14.3-4).

⁷³ The use of *vici* as centers for organization is most apparent in Livy, who refers to numerous activities as *vicatim* or *per vicos*. See Lott 2004: 37–41; Tarpin 2002: 94.

⁷⁴ He provided that the *Lares Compitales* be crowned twice a year with spring and summer flowers.

⁷⁵ The one surviving mention of the *Genius Caesarum* on an altar appears on Vatican inv. 311, for which inscription see CIL 6.445 = ILS 3613. For modern commentary and bibliography, see Lott 2004: 140–2, 184–5.

⁷⁶ “I sought the paired images of the twin gods / but they had fallen with from the weight of the ages. / A thousand *Lares* and *Genii* of the leader, which he gave to us, / the city now has and the neighborhoods worship three spirits.” For the debate about the inclusion of the *Genii*, see Lott 2004: 110–14, who notes that there is no evidence of their inclusion on any of the surviving compital altars; Cf. Tarpin 2002: 312–14, who notes the repeated formula of *laribus Augustis et*

Romans previously worshipped the guardian deities of the city and a deification of the male life force, they now venerated Augustus's family gods and his personal guiding spirit; in effect, Augustus's private or family religious practices supplanted those of the state, firmly binding Augustus to the maintenance of the *pax deorum* and the practice of proper *religiones*.⁷⁷

Despite the significance of this transformation of the subject of worship, the formal expression of this change, namely the celebration of rituals at the newly consecrated compitalian shrines, occurred only two to three times annually.⁷⁸ The religious elements of the shrines, then, largely belong to the realm of the first two of Lefebvre's triad, namely the ways in which space is perceived and conceived. Excluding the festival days on which the altars were the formal subjects of ritual observance, the religious implications say little about the effect the altars might have on the day-to-day life of the average Roman citizen, or, to connect them again to Lefebvre's triad, on the way citizens actually experienced and lived the spaces of the *compita*. The actual placement of these altars likely had a greater impact on the experience of daily life in Rome, for each altar stood sentinel over one of the ubiquitous *compita* of the city. Even on a simple every day errand, whether heading to the baths, the market, or a patron's house for the morning

Geniis Caesarum in post-Augustan dedications, adding epigraphic evidence to Ovid's claim. Beard, North, and Price 1998: 186 take the inclusion of the *Genii* for granted.

⁷⁷ Beard, North, and Price 1998: 186; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 277–79; Taylor 1931: 180–91 connects the Augustan reform to his decision to make his house public in 12 BCE, when he refused to move to the Regia as was typically required of the Pontifex Maximus. For contemporary evidence of this dedication, see *Insc. Ital.* 13.2 452; Dio 54.27.3; Ov. *Fast.* 4.949–954, *Met.* 15.864–865; Frascchetti 1994: 354–75 expands on this argument, suggesting a process by which Augustus included state cults in his family worship and distributed his own gods to the public; against the idea that Augustus's family religion supplanted state religion, Laurence 1994: 39–40 argues that the worship of the old *Lares Compitales* survived alongside worship of the *Lares Augusti*; Lott 2004: 101 notes that there is no epigraphic or archaeological evidence to support a claim of coexistence.

⁷⁸ Suetonius (*Aug.* 31.4) claims that the altars were twice yearly adorned with flowers. Niebling 1956 suggests that the Romans might also have adorned the altars on Augustus's birthday in the fall.

salutatio, a Roman might expect to pass through several *compita* and, therefore, move by several shrines to the *Lares Augusti*; the most basic movement through the streets of the city exposed a traveler to multiple images of Augustus and material projections of his place in the ritual fabric of Rome.⁷⁹

On a practical level, the presence of the Augustus-centric shrines would not change the basic paths that a resident of Rome might employ daily. Regardless of the presence of these shrines, there are a limited number of paths a resident might take between two locations, a number that the construction or dedication of these shrines would not affect. To move from a residence to the Forum, for example, a traveler necessarily would pass through the same series of *compitia* before and after 12 BCE. Although his or her path would remain the same, a traveler's experience of that journey, however, might differ significantly after 12 BCE and the emergence of the Augustan crossroads altars. In addition to their obvious religious aspects, each altar visually brought the emperor to every corner of the city through the iconography of the altars. Beyond images of the new *Lares Augusti*, all of the surviving altars bear well-known and frequently repeated symbols representing the princeps and his regime, taken from state monuments and coins (see figure 2). In particular, oak wreathes and laurels prominently in the reliefs, visual references to the Senate's decree of 27 BCE that Augustus should adorn the entry to his house with these items (Aug. *RG.* 34, Ov. *Tristia* 3.1. Val. Max. 3.8.7, Dio 56.16.4).⁸⁰ Indeed, the

⁷⁹ Lott 2004: 120 emphasizes that the vicomagistri would highlight the Augustan nature of these shrines: "The Augustan neighborhoods for their part placed great emphasis on their relationship with the princeps, not on a municipal scale in elections and organized demonstrations - which were completely forbidden - but locally in each individual virus and neighborhood association. After 7 BCE prominence within a vicus required participation in a neighborhood structure that was built around overt and implied displays of loyalty to the new regime."

⁸⁰ Hano 1986; Lott 1995: 132–7; Zanker 1970 suggests the regular appearance of these indicates a formal mechanism to supply the *vici* from a limited number of dedicated workshops; Lott

laurel and the oak wreath were among the most common images on Augustan coinage, appearing on both the reverse and the obverse of coins throughout the empire.⁸¹

On a journey to any point of the city from any other, then, a traveler might expect to pass by at least one image of Augustus's household gods, if not multiple ones. At every single major crossroads to which he came, an image celebrating Augustus's gods and Augustus's domination of the state would confront him.⁸² A traveler might go around an altar, go past one, turn left at one; in each case, however, these images of Augustus would nuance and contextualize the movement. These altars were deeply implicated in the dialogue between the existing topography of the city and patterns of use, refiguring existing spaces and uses. The altars define the passage through a *compitum* in terms of itself and, hence, in terms of Augustus's centrality to the ritual health of the city. They associated the most fundamental aspect of the network of paths through the city, the crossroads, with the figure of the emperor, turning any movement through the city into one nuanced and defined in terms of Augustus.

The altars to the Lares Compitales were not the only structure whose meaning Augustus appropriated and profoundly altered. Perhaps the most familiar example is the freestanding monumental arch, an architectural form that, thanks to the impressive remains of the Arches of Titus, Septimius Severus, and Constantine, often dominates modern understandings of the Roman Empire.⁸³ From its earliest incarnations as the Republican *foris*, the Roman arch, referred to during the Empire as *arcus* or ἀψίς, was a public commemorative and honorary

2004: 136–7 demures, noting that, despite the regular iconography, the altars nonetheless each demonstrate a unique composition that reflected elements specific to a particular vicus.

⁸¹ See, for example, BMCRE I 134, 139, 147, 157, 165, 171, 175, 178, 181; RIC 12 Augustus 26, 33, 36, 50, and 52.

⁸² Lott 2004: 121 even suggests that the iconography of the altars implicitly assimilated Augustus's household to each *vicus*, making him a symbolic resident of every *vicus* in the city.

⁸³ Arch of Titus: Pfanner 1983; Arch of Septimius Severus: Brilliant 1967; design of the Arch of Constantine: M. W. Jones 2000; program of Arch of Constantine: Peirce 1989.

monument, even when erected by private citizens.⁸⁴ From their origins as city-gates, arches evolved into elaborate free-standing monuments. Pierced by vaulted passageways, arches typically spanned roads or entrances to sacred precincts within cities and were crowned by massive statue groups, such as equestrian statues, images of the emperor, or depictions of *spolia*. In their urban context, freestanding honorary arches were massive interactive monuments, simultaneously functioning as an urban doorway, an enormous statue base, and a billboard that advertised the *virtus* and accomplishments of the honoree.

The reign of Augustus saw a veritable explosion in the construction of arches in the city of Rome. From the expulsion of the Tarquins to the fall of the Republic, the Romans built fewer than six arches in the city. Under Augustus, however, Senate and the Roman people built at least eight new arches, all dedicated to the emperor and his family.⁸⁵ The attractions of the arch for Augustus are readily apparent, for, lacking a useable interior or apparent ‘use,’ they allowed for a relatively dense iconographic and programmatic message in comparison to the space and material they required; as Diane Favro notes, arches “made excellent billboards.”⁸⁶ Their appeal extended beyond even their programmatic functions, for the iconographic density of the arch was merely a function of its form. Moreover, the freestanding honorary arch was perhaps a reassuring sight to a populace traumatized by the Roman civil wars. Although the arches offered a subtle reminder of Augustus’s monopoly on the coercive force of the empire, they tempered

⁸⁴ Etruscan origins of the arch: Tameanko 1999: 187; Greek origins: Wallace-Hadrill 1990; uniquely Roman invention derived from Greek use of columns as statue bases: Plin. Nat. 34.27; historiography of the debate: Kleiner 1985: 12–13; Beard 2007: 45–6 notes that although Romans often erected arches to celebrate military victories, the term *arcus triumphalis* did not appear until the 3rd century CE.

⁸⁵ Favro 1996: 157.

⁸⁶ Favro 1996: 157–9.

this image with a combination of republican imagery, reminders of general Roman greatness, and the fact that the arches themselves were a traditional display of aristocratic munificence.

This potential iconographic density too often informs modern studies of arches. In his study of the lost Arch of Nero, Fred Kleiner inadvertently summarizes a gap in modern historiography, noting that, although there is a vast bibliography of studies on the arch, it largely consists of “annotated lists of all known arches” or “articles and books on individual monuments or very specific questions, such as the origin of the Roman arch.”⁸⁷ Indeed, scholars, particularly those focusing on the Augustan Age, often have devoted their attention to reconstructing destroyed iconographic programs, to determining when and where a particular arch was built, or to reconstructing fragmentary inscriptions.⁸⁸ Although such investigations are important, they reduce the arch to a generic monument, one that is no different from any other monument. The arch becomes nothing more than a display stand for its reliefs, inscriptions, and monumental sculptures, and scholars observe no implications or significance in its form beyond its overt programmatic ornaments.

Perhaps the most significant gap in these studies is that while they can explain the significance of a generic monument in a given location, they cannot explain why the Romans might build an arch in particular in a specific location. The logic of building an arch does not derive from its iconography or its inscription but from the dialogue between the unique form of the arch and its location within the city. Urban planner Kevin Lynch provides a useful theoretical

⁸⁷ Kleiner 1985: 7.

⁸⁸ Location and design of Arch of Augustus: Holland 1953; general study of Augustan arches: Richmond 1933; dating of Augustan arches and buildings: Shipley 1931; there are noteworthy exceptions to this tendency, particularly Favro 1996; Wilson Jones 2000; for an excellent treatment of the Arch of Constantine that privileges the form of the arch itself, see Marlowe 2006.

model for understanding the role an arch might play in an urban landscape.⁸⁹ Lynch analyzes cityscapes through their apparent clarity and ‘legibility,’ the ease with which a viewer can construct a unified image of the city. To this end, he conceptualizes the city based on five inter-related elements, of which paths, edges, nodes, and landmarks are most salient.⁹⁰ In Lynch’s model, both paths and edges are linear elements related to transit and movement. Paths are channels along which an observer can move, while edges are the boundaries between regions. Edges may be literal barriers, barring travel from one region to another, or they may be more conceptual, merely seams reflecting where two regions meet and join. In contrast to these linear elements, nodes are areas of the city defined by travel and use; broadly, a node is an area to or from which one travels and which is visited or ‘used’ by a significant concentration of people. Landmarks are readily identifiable objects that serve as reference points.

In an urban context, arches were landmarks that articulated and reified the transition between nodes. Discussing Augustus’ building program at Rome, Diane Favro argues that, “... being bifocal and permeable, arches simultaneously demarcate and unite distinct spaces; in effect, they are urban doorways announcing transitions in the experience of the city.”⁹¹ Augustus and the Senate did not place arches haphazardly throughout the city, but instead located them on the delineating edge between two large-scale nodes. For example, the Arcus Augusti spans the Sacra Via between the Forum and the Palatine. Flanked by the Temple of Castor and the Temple of the Deified Julius, the arch provided an official and nearly unavoidable entrance into the Forum. It acknowledges that the Forum and Palatine nodes are spatially linked and that a traveler can move from one to the other, but also visually defines each as a distinct space.

⁸⁹ Lynch 1960.

⁹⁰ Lynch 1960 Paths: 49-62; Edges: 62-66; Nodes: 72-78; Landmarks: 78-83.

⁹¹ Fredrick 2003: 157–9.

Likewise, the Arcus Octavii stood between the Forum and the Palatine, articulating a transition from the business of the Forum to the Augustan-centric religiosity of the temple complex atop the Palatine.⁹² In a city as built up as imperial Rome, arches provided a necessary degree of legibility. Again, Livy imagines the appearance of post-sack Rome as a city still occupied by its barbaric conquerors. A century later, Suetonius reaffirms this image in his biography of Nero, describing the streets of Rome as “narrow and winding” (Suet. *Nero* 38: *angustiis flexurisque*), features that complicate both travel and Lynch’s ‘imageability.’ Beyond the monumental heart of the city, Rome was filled with narrow and winding streets, complicating navigation and travel through the city, especially for non-residents. Arches provided a sensation of transition between the nodes of the city, a feeling that the very nature of the streets might otherwise deny.

The connotations of the appearance of the arch complemented this pattern of deployment. Regardless of their exact provenance, arches most strongly recalled the form of a city gate, the liminal point where ‘city’ and ‘outside’ meet. In this case, the ‘arch’ forms a literal doorway, one that necessarily could be closed and barred as desired. It establishes a right-of-way through the border of the walls, marking the sanctioned path between the city and the outside. A freestanding arch produced a similar sense of regionality, right-of-way, and access control. Placed between two urban nodes, an arch emphasized the distinct nature of the two nodes: the broad, flat front of the arch suggests a longer edge extending beyond the arch, much like literal walls might. Yet the arch links the node, even as it separates them. The front of the arch is pierced by the vaulted passageway, creating a route through it and, by extension, between the two nodes. While its form subtly implies dividing walls, the overt structure of the arch presents an image of permeability, of licensed movement from one node to another.

⁹² For the Augustan Palatine complex, see Zanker 1988: 50–1.

Arches were deeply implicated in the dialogue between the existing topography and patterns of use, representing a new arrangement of space to its users. The arch defines passage between the nodes in reference to the arch itself, its location, and the person or event it commemorates: travelers now pass *through* the arch, rather than moving along an undistinguished path. Although a traveler might choose not to pass beneath the arch and walk around it, the arch still acts as a reference point for his or her movement; the attempted subversion of the right-of-way only reinforces the ‘official’ or ‘proper’ passage represented by the arch. On a basic level, the arch’s creation of an ‘official’ path represents a claim to control the direction of the flow of travelers between nodes. Control, however, is central to the way in which these arches produce space. As symbolic doors or city gates, the arches explicitly invite movement through, but do so in a form that suggests that this movement is conditional: as a gate can be barred if the ruling powers deem it necessary, so too do arches suggest that the builder could ban movement through the arch, but merely chooses not to at this point.

The statues that crowned arches only emphasized the official nature of the passages articulated by the Augustan arches. Although the statues themselves did not survive, numismatic depictions of the Arcus Augusti uniformly depict it as a triple-bayed arch crowned by a statue of the emperor in a quadriga (see figure 3).⁹³ Elizabeth Marlowe’s phenomenological analysis of the relationship between the statues atop the fourth century CE Arch of Constantine and its surroundings illustrates the role such statues had in constructing a meaningful experience of a monument, providing a useful model for how we might approach Augustan arches and statue groups.⁹⁴ By tracing lines of sight as a viewer approached and passed through the arch, Marlowe charts the interplay between the quadriga on top of the Arch of Constantine and the colossal

⁹³ Rich 1998.

⁹⁴ Marlowe 2006.

statue of Sol behind it: as a viewer moved closer to the arch, the apparent position of the colossal Sol would shift from looming over the emperor's shoulder to being framed by the central *fornix* of the arch (see figure 4). Marlowe suggests that this transition – reframing, partial obscuring, and sudden revealing – articulates a relationship between Constantine's military successes and the favor of Sol Invictus, presenting this link to the viewers through the kinesthetic experience of the arch.

Although we cannot construct a similarly compelling and tidy link between an Augustan arch and the surrounding topography, Marlowe's phenomenological approach hints at the critical role a statue group over an arch might play in structuring a viewer's experience and understanding of an arch. As a traveler moved toward and through an arch, his or her perspective of the statue group would change. From far away, the statues might appear just as Pliny the Elder suggests, like statues atop columns in Greece (Plin. *Nat.* 34.27). As he or she approached, however, the discrepancy in elevations between the statue and the traveler would grow more apparent, until the statue literally loomed over the traveler. The traveler performs his or her movement, makes the transition between nodes, under the unwavering gaze of a marble or bronze image;⁹⁵ if, by virtue of its resemblance to city gates, the arch suggests that passage through it is contingent, the statues represent the implicit judge of this contingency, standing in for the individual who built the arch and, by virtue of the implications of the form of the arch, a claim to control the movement of the observer.

The sudden surge of arch construction under Augustus, then, redefined the nature of movement between the nodes of Rome, both long-standing Republican ones and newer Augustan ones. Arches innately articulated a contingent right-of-way; for example, the Arch of Augustus

⁹⁵ Fredrick 2003 traces a similar pattern of building practices under Domitian.

suggested that not only was the Sacra Via the ‘proper’ route into the Forum, but also that the ability to move along this route depended on the good will of Augustus, the constructor of the arch. The presence of a quadriga statue of Augustus atop the arch only emphasized the emperor’s role in defining the inherent ‘rightness’ of this movement, for his statue subjected all travelers to his unwavering gaze as they moved between the two nodes. The arches constructed a system of surveillance, in which the emperor, or at least a simulacrum of him, watched over his transitions and his subjects that traversed them. These arches constrained and controlled the flow of people through the city at critical junctures, forcing them not only to define their movement in terms of Augustus, but also to perform such movement under the ceaseless gaze of the emperor.

The monument that most fully articulates the relationship between Augustus and movement, however, is the Forum of Augustus. In 42 BCE, the young Octavian vowed a temple to Mars Ultor should he succeed in the battle of Philippi against the assassins of his adopted father, Julius Caesar (Suet. *Aug.* 29.2). Forty years later, in 2 BCE, Augustus dedicated a temple to Mars Ultor as the centerpiece of an elaborate monumental presentation of the “new mythology” of the Augustan Principate, the Forum of Augustus.⁹⁶ Unlike many of his other projects, Augustus’s role in, and responsibility for, this monument was overt and exclusive, for he built it on his personal property (*in privato solo*) and financed it through the spoils of war (*ex manubiis*, Aug. *RG* 21). The Forum of Augustus presented a distilled image of Augustan ideology and mythology, one largely unfettered by the conceit that the Senate and Roman people somehow shaped it; in the Forum of Augustus, the *principate* overshadowed any other concerns.

⁹⁶ “New mythology:” Zanker 1988: 194; the definitive studies of the Forum, neither translated into English, are Zanker 1968 and Spannagel 1999; for the dating, see Luce 1990: 123–4.

Augustus carefully orchestrated the design, decoration, and use of the Forum of Augustus in order to further a particular image of himself and his relationship to Rome. A visitor would enter the Forum of Augustus through a passageway from the Forum of Julius Caesar. At the end of a long rectangular courtyard stood the promised Temple of Mars Ultor, featuring a colossal statue of Mars flanked by statues to Venus Genetrix and Divus Julius.⁹⁷ To either side of the temple pediment, the walls of the forum precinct curved outward to form a pair of *exedrae*; the *exedra* to the right contained a statue of Romulus with the *spolia opima*, while its mate opposite it held a statue group depicting Aeneas carrying his father Anchises with the Trojan penates and leading his son Ascanius by the hand. The two *exedrae* stood at the head of colonnaded porticos running the length of the forum, which held statues of the so-called *summi viri*, a progression of statues depicting the illustrious men of Rome from its foundation to the present day.⁹⁸ Each of the statues had both an inscribed base and a larger *elogium* summarizing his noteworthy deeds. In the center of the Forum stood a large *quadriga* sculpture of Augustus, bearing the simple inscription *PATER PATRIAE*, a title only recently voted to Augustus by the Senate (Aug. *RG.* 35).

Together, these three elements – the statues of the *summi viri*, the quadriga of Augustus, and the Temple of Mars Ultor – presented to the viewer a sophisticated experiential program, designed to redefine Augustus's relationship to Rome and its history. The statues of the *summi viri* and their accompanying *elogia* make this intention explicit.⁹⁹ Suetonius cites an inscription accompanying the sculpture gallery that described a preferred reading of the collection:

commentum id se, ut ad illorum vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium

⁹⁷ Zanker 1988: 195–201.

⁹⁸ The name comes from a reference in SHA *Alex. Sev.* 28.6.

⁹⁹ Pliny the Elder suggests that Augustus himself composed the *elogia* (Plin. *Nat.* 22.6.13).

aetatum principes exigerentur a civibus (Suet. *Aug.* 31.5).¹⁰⁰ Although the type of collection – a visual representation of the importance of a *gens* through statues of honored ancestors – was hardly novel, the scale of the display in the Forum of Augustus was unprecedented.¹⁰¹ In addition to including images of the distinguished members of the Julian *gens*, the *summi viri* display drew on figures from throughout Roman history, regardless of familial or political connections; according to Suetonius, the sole criteria for inclusion was that the man had advanced the *imperium* of the *populus Romanus* (Suet. *Aug.* 31).¹⁰² Accordingly, the Forum of Augustus featured a diverse cast drawn from pre-Roman and Roman history, beginning with Aeneas, Ascanius, and the kings of Alba Longa, and moving through up to the present day with Augustus's stepson Drusus. At its heart, then, the Forum of Augustus presented an image of Roman history sanctioned by Augustus, one that charted the foundation and rise of Rome through the deeds of its so-called 'great men.'

This image of Roman history, however, was a very particular one, one revised to meet the needs of the *princeps*. By the criteria Augustus used, the greatest Romans were the conquerors, the men who ventured forth from Rome and successfully conquered other areas in Rome's name. The statues of the *summi viri* re-presented Roman history as an unbroken stream of conquest, setting aside the political squabbles and divides that had defined the early and mid-Republic.¹⁰³ The clearest indication of this prioritization lay in the unabashed juxtaposition of one-time political rivals whose strife had led to civil war: Marius stood beside Sulla, Lucullus next to Pompey. As a visitor entered the Forum of Augustus and approached the Temple of Mars Ultor,

¹⁰⁰ I devised this [collection of *summi viri*] in order that the citizens might measure both myself, while I live, and succeeding *principes* by the standards set by the example of their lives.

¹⁰¹ Zanker 1988: 210.

¹⁰² *Qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent* (who advanced Rome from obscurity to its greatest *imperium*).

¹⁰³ Zanker 1988: 211.

he experienced a repackaged version of this history, one that channeled territorial expansion back to Rome, re-presenting and representing it through an unbroken progression of the great *imperatores* of Rome. A coherent and comprehensive vision of Roman history would greet any traveler entering the Forum of Augustus. He or she would see a seemingly unbroken progression of Roman conquest stretching out before him or her, providing a material timeline to the history of Rome. Moreover, the traveler would re-enact this history of Roman imperialism as he or she moved towards the Temple of Mars Ultor; his or her movements would parallel the progression of time, re-enacting the conquests and expansions that brought Rome to its current state. In effect, a traveler experienced a condensed and edited version of Roman history simply by entering and moving through the Forum of Augustus.

The structure of the Forum Augustus, however, emphasized that this representation of Roman history was not a neutral one but one firmly grounded in the new realities of the Augustan age. Paul Zanker highlights a subtle example of this contextualization in his discussion of the sculptural program of the two exedrae of the Forum. The two exedrae juxtaposed the Julian *gens* with images of Romulus and similar great men, a juxtaposition that both justified the current prominence of the Julii and concealed the relative unimportance of the Julii between the fourth and second centuries BCE.¹⁰⁴ The quadriga statue of Augustus offered the most explicit articulation of the centrality of the *princeps* in the Forum and this new Roman history. In physical terms, the statue stood at or near the center of the Forum of Augustus, an inescapable sight for any visitor. The minimalistic inscription accompanying the statue complemented the physical remove with a conceptual one. In stark contrast to the elaborate *elogia* and *tituli* of the *summi viri*, Augustus's statue bore only a recently bestowed two-word

¹⁰⁴ Zanker 1988: 210–11.

title: *pater patriae*. Rather than diminishing Augustus's achievements and position, the paucity of the inscription constructed Augustus as the only meaningful reference point in the Forum's history of Roman imperialism. While the aggregate deeds of the *summi viri* created the empire, Augustus watched over it as Rome's *paterfamilias*, as the man with *ius vitae necisque* and full property ownership. The inscription for his statue did not need to list his personal deeds, because the *elogia* and *tituli* of the *summi viri* were, in fact, his.

Through a sophisticated dialogue between image, text, and spatial layout, the Forum of Augustus articulated a new relationship between Augustus, Rome, and time itself. If the *summi viri* represented the history of Rome, then Augustus, placed centrally in this schema, became its natural culmination.¹⁰⁵ The Forum juxtaposed the growth of Rome's empire with the advent of Augustus, suggesting that the path to greatness inexorably led to the rise of Augustus. His statue's inscription added a new dimension to this teleology: not only was Augustus inevitable, but, as father of the country, he also was somehow responsible for and in control of this progression. In effect, the Forum of Augustus proposed a paradoxical relationship between Roman history and Augustus, in which Augustus controlled the timeline that made his rise an inevitability. The Temple of Mars Ultor, however, resolved this seeming paradox through the simple application of divine will. The temple featured cult statues of Venus, Mars Ultor, and Divus Julius. Based on a relief found in Algiers and a remark in Ovid's *Tristia* (Ov. *Tr.* 2.295), Paul Zanker theorizes that the group likely depicted the disarming of Mars, in which Eros offers Mars's sword to Venus. He suggests the combination depicted not only the special destiny of the Julii as the chosen of Mars but also the joys of peace following a war of vengeance.¹⁰⁶ The entirety of the Forum reinforces this message, in which Augustus's rise is the natural outcome of

¹⁰⁵ Zanker 1988: 214.

¹⁰⁶ Zanker 1988: 195–201.

the special destiny of the Julii. In turn, the just wars of the *summi viri* culminate in the Pax Augusta, heralded in and maintained by the princeps himself.

Augustus ensured the widespread consumption of this programmatic message through the simple expedient of transferring a number of ceremonies from their traditional locations to his forum. Following its construction and dedication, young men donned the *toga virilis* in the shadow of the *princeps*' statue. The Senate met in the Temple of Mars Ultor to debate war and peace, as well as to award the resulting triumphs. Provincial governors met in the Forum before departing for their provinces. Foreign dignitaries ventured into the precinct in order to sue for peace or to beg Rome's friendship. As Paul Zanker succinctly states, "the new Forum of Augustus became the showplace of Rome's 'foreign policy,' for everything associated with *virtus* and military glory."¹⁰⁷

Although these three examples are but a paltry sample of the Augustan reconstruction of Rome, the extent of their impact on the daily life of a typical Roman citizen male was nonetheless considerable. We might consider the example of a young man about to assume the *toga virilis* at the turn of the millennium.¹⁰⁸ Leaving his father's *domus*, he would pass through several crossroads and their ubiquitous altars to the *lares* and *genius* of Augustus. He might uneasily note that, at each point, the *princeps* seemed to watch him as he made his journey, or perhaps he might make token obeisance at one of the altars. As he moved down the *Sacra Via* towards the Forum Romanum, the Arch of Augustus and its crowning statue of Augustus increasingly loomed large, neatly delineating the Forum from the surrounding environs. Passing

¹⁰⁷ Zanker 1988: 214; Kellum 1996 analyzes the first of these categories, *virtus*, in depth. She suggests that the Forum of Augustus served a critical role in the cultural construction of gender and masculinity during the reign of Augustus.

¹⁰⁸ Kellum 1996 is particularly relevant here, for the relocation of the assumption of the *toga virilis* to the Forum of Augustus only emphasizes the forum's significance in constructing gender and masculinity.

through the arch, he unconsciously might recall a similar feeling as he approached the door to a house and wondered if the owner would grant him entrance, or possibly feel an inexplicable sense of relief when he no longer lay under the eyes of the statue. He would then walk through the Forum Romanum, with sights like the rostra calling to mind his father's tales of Rome's rise to glory during the Republic. Turning from the center of Republican Rome, he would enter the Forum of Julius Caesar, the general-cum-god and father of the *princeps*. From there, he would enter the Forum of Augustus. As he came through the entrance, a glorious statue of the emperor, the *pater patriae*, greeted him, watching him as he walked into the Forum. To his left and right stood statues of the great men of Rome, statues his father had led him along and related their noteworthy deeds in an illustrated history of Rome. As he walked toward the base of the Temple of Mars Ultor, where he would assume the toga, he unknowingly re-enacted a journey through Roman history for the second time in a brief period: first, in the movement from the Forum of the Republic to the Forum of Caesar, and then into the Forum of Augustus; second in his transition along the parallel lines of the *summi viri*.

From even this fanciful account of this journey from *puer* to *vir*, the true impact of the Augustan reshaping of the city is apparent. Movement within the city became a profoundly Augustan experience. Augustan altars associated the movement through any crossroads with the *princeps* and his personal gods. Augustan arches divided nodes from one another, intimating that the transition between such nodes came only through the permissiveness of the emperor. These monuments suggested that the emperor not only defined the nature of movement and transitions in the city, but also controlled them. The Forum of Augustus extended this message to even time itself, physically positioning an image of Augustus as the supervisor of both the represented progression of Roman history, the *summi viri*, and the re-enactment of this history in

the movement of the numerous citizens required to come to the Forum. In each case, countless images of the *princeps* watched citizens, gazing unflinchingly as the inhabitants of the city moved through it. At every step of every journey through the city, Augustus charted, controlled, and supervised the movement of a traveler.

We might cast Augustus's control of movement within the city in two lights, one contemporary and one current. In Roman terms, the Augustan reshaping of the cityscape represented a subtle extension of *imperium* inwards, albeit under the guise of Augustus's generosity. Again, *imperium* referred to the ability to control, both in positive and negative terms, the movement of people, goods, and ideas. The Augustan cityscape, then, encapsulated several dimensions of this control. By transforming the majority of the landmarks in the city into Augustus-centric sites, most notably on the a mundane and permeate level through the ubiquitous shrines to the *Lares Compitales*, Augustus defined all movement through the city in terms of himself: a Roman charted his or her path in terms of images and altars to Augustus and his various tutelary deities. The explosion of arch construction in the city called a traveler's freedom of movement into question, suggesting that, for example, Augustus, or at least an image of the man, supervised all movement into the Forum Romanum, the heart of the Republic. Finally, the Forum of Augustus suggested that even time flowed in accordance with Augustus's role; supplemented by mechanisms like the *Fasti Triumphales* on the Arch of Augustus, the Forum of Augustus symbolically placed Augustus in control of the flow of time itself, transforming the *princeps* into both the custodian and the necessary teleology of Roman history. Under Augustus, the city became a mechanism of *imperium* writ large, subjecting all within its bounds to Augustus's subtle control of all movement. In effect, Augustan Rome interpellated all within its

bounds as subjects to the emperor's *imperium*, albeit in the guise of standard, even praiseworthy, civic munificence.

In modern terms, Michel Foucault's notion of biopower offers a compelling model for the effects of the Augustan cityscape. Foucault defined biopower as an entirely modern practice characterized by "an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations."¹⁰⁹ In particular, he investigated the particular technologies of power by which the biological realities of humanity became a legitimate object of political strategy; he marked the emergence of biopower in eighteenth-century Europe, when power ceased to be "directed at man-as-body, but at man-as-species."¹¹⁰ Although Foucault explicitly denied the existence of biopower in the ancient world, he emphasized the regulation of customs and habits as typical examples of the exercise of biopower. The Augustan city profoundly altered the practice of customs and habits in Rome through a radical reimagining of the cityscape, resulting in a significant shift in the imageability of the city. Through his building program, Augustus altered the most basic practices and rhythms of human life by recreating the environment in which and through which human life occurred; although the paths of movement may or may not have shifted, the experience of this movement and its meaning necessarily did under Augustus. The programmatic city laid claim to the right to move and the experience of movement; Augustus recast one of the fundamental characteristics of animal life, namely movement, in terms of himself and his supervision. Although Roman citizens might not experience the city in the way Augustus intended, participation in the daily rhythm of Roman life, even the decision to leave one's house, exposed a Roman to the myriad movement-shaping

¹⁰⁹ Foucault 1978: 1:140.

¹¹⁰ Foucault 2003: 243.

and experience-defining effects of the city's new face.¹¹¹ The Augustan city represented biopower in perhaps its purest incarnation, for it constructed movement, an inescapable and fundamental characteristic of human life, as a legitimate subject to Augustus's control and regulation.

The Interiority of *Imperium Sine Fine*

In the first book of the *Aeneid*, Vergil offers one of the most famous expressions of Rome's divinely-mandated destiny: *His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono / imperium sine fine dedi* (Verg. *A.* 1.278-279).¹¹² According to Vergil, Jupiter assigns to the Romans a divinely-sanctioned mission of imperialism, charging them to expand to the very limits of the known world. Indeed, Vergil hails Caesar as one whose *imperium* will be bound only by the heavens and the Ocean (Verg. *A.* 1.286-7).¹¹³ Modern scholars focus almost exclusively on the external connotations of this message, viewing the promise of *imperium sine fine* primarily in terms of world domination.¹¹⁴ However, this sense of a world-wide destiny is not unique to Augustus and the *Aeneid*; Cicero, for example, often uses *imperium* in contexts implying a world wide extent (Cic. *Cat.* 3.11.26, *Sest.* 31.67, *Balb.* 17.39, *Prov. Cons.* 12.31; cf. *Ov. Fast.* 2.127-38).¹¹⁵ Yet, Augustus does not use this phrase in his personal manifesto, the *Res Gestae*. Rather than

¹¹¹ De Certeau examines a similar distinction in New York: although the designers of the city conceived of it as a synoptic, unified whole, the average pedestrian moves in ways that cannot be determined fully by this plan, taking, for example, shortcuts rather than the regular gridded streets. He suggests that daily life is the process of using the rules in a culture in a way that is influenced, but not determined, by those very rules. De Certeau 1984: 91–110.

¹¹² “To them I grant *imperium* without limits, unbound by either of time or space.”

¹¹³ *Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar, imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris* (Trojan Caesar will spring forth from this illustrious line, who will bound his *imperium* by the Ocean, and his fame by the heavens)

¹¹⁴ For more on the relationship between *imperium sine fine* and the belief that the Romans actively controlled, or sought to control, the world, see Chapter 5.

¹¹⁵ Richardson 1991: 6.

referring to his deeds as establishing *imperium sine fine*, Augustus instead claims that the *Res Gestae* documents the deeds by which he subjected the *orbis terrarum* to the *imperium* of the Roman people (Aug. *RG.* 1).¹¹⁶ Similarly, he claims that he extended the *finēs* of the empire and penetrated the *finēs* of the Cimbri, suggesting that Rome's *imperium* was, in fact, constrained by *finēs* (Aug. *RG.* 26). The explicit focus of the ancient sources on Rome's territorial expansion, especially under Augustus, understandably predisposes modern scholars to read the phrase *imperium sine fine* in external terms.

The genealogy of the image of Rome as the dominator of the world raises two distinct questions in relation to the phrase *imperium sine fine*: why did this phrase become so important under Augustus and why did he not use it in the cases that explicitly and obviously refer to Rome's territorial expansion?¹¹⁷ I suggest that, under Augustus, this phrase does not exclusively refer to what we might consider 'foreign policy' – that is, territorial expansion – but primarily to a domestic issue. Following his victory at Actium in 31 BCE and the settlements of 27 BCE, Augustus needed a way to define his relationship to Rome in a way that avoided any implications of kingship. The practices of Roman imperialism provided a solution, for the Roman governor in his province offered a model for a culturally acceptable power relationship between unequal parties: through his possession of *imperium*, the Roman governor possessed the right and the ability to regulate the movement of provincials, a situation Romans equated with order and governance.

¹¹⁶ *Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit* (The deeds of the deified Augustus, by which he subjected the entire world to the *imperium* of the Roman people).

¹¹⁷ Although he never directly addresses this issue, it is implicit in Nicolet 1991, a study of the production of geographic knowledge under Augustus.

For Augustus to exercise *imperium* directly and overtly over Romans throughout the empire, however, would be unacceptable, for it would necessarily construct the *populus Romanus* as a conquered population. Instead, Augustan material practices subtly set up a situation that both sublimated and naturalized Augustus's *imperium* over the *populus Romanus*. The fifth book of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* glorified Roman immobility as a sign of virtue and civilization, linking implicit Roman *fines* to the practice of fundamental traits of *Romanitas*. When the Senate consecrated altars to mark the locations at which Augustus re-entered the city, it ritualized the moment at which he crossed the *imperium* without surrendering his *imperium*, transforming a transgressive act into an integral part of Roman *religiones*. As Augustus transformed Rome from a city of brick to one of marble, he constructed it as a large-scale mechanism of *imperium*, one that regulated and controlled the movement of all its inhabitants in fine detail. Each of these practices cloaks a larger programmatic statement behind a traditionally Republic act: *fines* in edifying tales, transgression in religion, and control in civic munificence. The true significance of the phrase *imperium sine fine* in Augustan ideology emerges from these nested practices. Augustan literature, religion, and building practices channeled *imperium* inwards; they reconstructed the inhabitants of Rome as legitimate subjects of *imperium* rather than its executors. Simultaneously, they defined Augustus as the exception to this rule, as the Roman who is not subject to the new *fines* of Rome. Yet, in true Augustan fashion, each of these practices was in fact an expert exercise in dissimulation, obscuring the underlying subjection of Rome with images of Republicanism and euergetism. Indeed, the reconstruction of Roman citizens as subjects of Augustus's *imperium* perhaps represents a more telling way to understand the phrase *imperium sine fine*. Prior to Augustus, the *pomerium* of Rome served as a theoretically impenetrable barrier to *imperium*, demarcating the possessors of *imperium* from the

subjects of *imperium*. Under Augustus, however, this border necessarily became a permeable one, for *imperium* provided the mechanisms and conceptions by which Augustus could rule Rome and the empire without seeming a king. Although Augustus certainly extended the reach of Roman *imperium* through his continual campaigning, the distinction between Roman subjects and Roman citizens no longer limited the *princeps'* *imperium*.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Spectacle of Empire: Simulating Empire in the Flavian Amphitheater

Between 83 CE and 85 CE, the mint of Rome issued a bronze quadrans for Domitian (See Figure 5).¹ The reverse is a typical example of imperial coinage. It lists the emperor's titles, IMP(ERATOR) DOMIT(IANUS) AUG(USTUS) GERM(ANICUS), and bears prominently the mark of the senate's approval, S(ENATUS) C(ONSULTO). The obverse, however, where traditionally the emperor's portrait would appear, depicts a rhinoceros with two horns. It is no coincidence that the most famous rhinoceros in Roman history is one that Domitian displayed in the arena (Mart. *Epigr.* 14.53.1). Rhinoceroses were a rarity in Rome, exhibited previously only by Pompey and Augustus (Pompey: Plin. *NH.* 8.71; Augustus: Dio 55.33.4). Flavian literature prominently celebrates the presence of this rare creature and its activities. In particular, four epigrams by Martial either star or feature the rhinoceros's exploits in the arena (Mart. *Sp.* 11, 29; *Epigr.* 14.52, 14.53).² As the smallest denomination in circulation, the bronze quadrans was disseminated widely and would reach the largest audience possible; the emperor or the imperial minters would select the image such a coin would bear carefully, for its wide distribution ensured that the image would play a significant role in shaping public perceptions of the emperor's reign

The rarity of the rhinoceros' presence, however, occludes the greater rarity of its commemoration. On the surface, the rhinoceros coin echoes 'geographical' coins like the

¹ BMCRE ii.411 nos. 496-700; RIC ii.208 nos.434-5. The coin can be dated by the presence of the title Germanicus, placing it after the defeat of the Chatti in 83, and the lack of the consular year in the imperial legend, which began appearing in 85 CE.

² Scholars often use the rhinoceros coin to link the *Liber spectaculorum* to Domitian. For the most forceful articulation of this theory and general historiography, see Buttrey 2007; Coleman argues against this use of the rhinoceros, claiming, "the coin-issue commemorating the rhinoceros is a salutary reminder that, in the case of most of the spectacles commemorated in the *Liber spectaculorum*, we lack any certainty whatsoever concerning the occasion to which they belonged." Coleman 2006: liv–lix, here lix.

Augustan *Aegypto Capta* series: the Augustan denarius features a crocodile with the legend AEGYPTO CAPTA, using the crocodile to evoke the newly dominated province (see Figure 6).³ Yet, Domitian's rhinoceros coin differs profoundly from the *Aegypta Capta* coin. His coin does not overtly celebrate conquest of a particular territory, which the rhinoceros signifies; in fact, the moneyers elect not to mention the rhinoceros' origin. Indeed, modern scholars debate the exact species of the rhinoceros, unable to localize it definitively.⁴ Even in the context of Domitianic coinage, the rhinoceros coin is atypical. Many of his coins deploy traditional signifiers of conquest and domination. They feature laureate busts of the emperor and images of spoils and defeated Germans (see Figure 7). One coin represents Germania in the guise of a mourning captive, seated on a shield over a broken spear (see Figure 8). The coins indicate an awareness and utilization of traditional manners of commemorating victory through numismatics, linking the portrait of the emperor with a symbol that stands in for the conquered territory.

More importantly, Domitian's coin signifies a moment of spectacle rather than a moment of conquest; the coin can refer only to the rhino's appearances in the arena. Numismatic commemoration of Roman spectacle was extraordinarily rare, a less likely occurrence than the appearance of the rhinoceros itself.⁵ The combination of subject and numismatic commemoration yields a rather unusual coin. It is a rare way of commemorating a rare occurrence, yet the denomination of the coin, one of the smallest in the empire, ensures its wide spread circulation, bringing a wide audience in contact with this symbol. The coin identifies spectacle entertainment as a critical element in Domitian's self-presentation, as one of his activities that he wanted to broadcast to as much of the empire as possible.

³ RIC 545 = RSC 4 = Sears 1565.

⁴ See Coleman 2006: 101–6 for historiography of this debate.

⁵ Buttrey 2007.

In the context of the Flavian dynasty, the link between spectacle and the emperor's self-presentation is not unusual. The Flavians are an obvious focus for a discussion of the spectacles of the early Roman Empire, for the construction and dedication of the Flavian amphitheater, better known as the Colosseum, is an unmistakable sign of the importance the Flavians saw in spectacular entertainment. Begun under Vespasian, finished by Titus, and further modified by Domitian, the amphitheater did not merely provide a permanent home for spectacles in Rome; it was also in itself spectacular, a marvel of Roman engineering and construction. It stood nearly 50 meters high, could seat nearly 50,000 spectators, and was decorated in an innovative and unprecedented combination of Greek and native Italic forms.⁶ To celebrate the completion of the largest amphitheater in the Roman world, Titus gave a series of inaugural games that lasted more than a hundred days. These games, and future entertainments, occasioned commemoration in a variety of forms. In addition to coins and monuments, the Flavian dynasty also marked the creation of the only known collection of epigrams to focus on Roman spectacle: Martial's *Liber spectaculorum*. Martial's text offers the most complete and thorough treatment of Roman spectacle in ancient sources. Dedicated to an anonymous 'Caesar,' the collection of poems forges a permanent memory of the transitory experience of the spectacle.⁷ Long after the cheers of the crowd fade, Martial invites his readers to experience the sights and sounds of a Flavian spectacle in all its glory.

⁶ For a history of the architectural form and its decor, see Welch 2007: 108–128.

⁷ Scholars debate the identity of this "Caesar," claiming it refers either to Titus or Domitian. I follow Kathleen Coleman's alternative perspective: "If one sets that conundrum aside, Martial's 'Caesar' starts to look almost like an idealized abstraction, above identification" (lxiv). Accordingly, I treat "Caesar" as an archetypal construction of a Flavian emperor. For historiography and arguments supporting each identification, see Coleman 2006: xlv–lxiv.

The Flavian emperors did not invent spectacle entertainment in Rome, and they did not definitively establish new spectacular practices.⁸ The Flavians, however, did produce and circulate new types of knowledge about the spectacle, one centered on the natures of and the interactions between the emperor, the audience, and the performers within the spectacular venue. A variety of unusual material practices materially verify the interest in this production, notably the Domitianic rhinoceros coin, the remains of the Flavian amphitheater, and Martial's *Liber spectaculorum*. Although Juvenal would decry this interest as the hallmark of *panem et circenses* (Juv. 10.81), the Flavians devoted immense resources and labor in its support, suggesting that they perceived in the patronage of spectacle entertainment significant value for their rule. The rhinoceros coin and the *Liber spectaculorum* in particular advertised this interest, circulating representations of Flavian spectacles to a population far beyond Rome. Although the limitations of space and time confined the actual entertainment to the Flavian amphitheater and a given moment, the Flavians produced knowledge of these moments that could spread throughout the empire, extending their effective impact far beyond the walls of the arena. The ideology of the spectacle occupied a central role in how the Flavians publicly presented themselves, with each Flavian emperor seeking to ensure a widespread awareness of their spectacular practices.

The poet Martial's *Liber spectaculorum*, a collection of epigrams written under the Flavians and focused on spectacles, is an unmatched example of the mechanisms by which the Flavians produced and circulated this knowledge. The collection describes a series of entertainments staged in the Flavian amphitheater by an anonymous 'Caesar.'⁹ The text is unique in its exhaustive discussion of spectacle entertainments; where other sources may bury a

⁸ The best survey of spectacle in Rome is Beacham 1999.

⁹ Scholars debate the exact date of the text, the identity of "Caesar," and the text's relationship to the inauguration of the Flavian amphitheater but have not achieved any consensus. For historiography of these discussions, see Coleman 2006: xlv–lix.

few lines about the spectacle in the midst of a biography or a letter, Martial offers thirty-six epigrams exclusively devoted to the subject. The *Liber spectaculorum* was an unprecedented attempt to eternalize a transitory series of events, to grant permanence to a series of discrete moments. Every time a reader read the poems, he re-actualized the events described within, re-performing Martial's understanding and presentation of the spectacles. Kathleen Coleman stresses that this visual emphasis is a significant departure from Martial's previous works, noting, "But in the *Liber spectaculorum* the emphasis is upon neither reading nor hearing, but watching... The poet is encapsulating the experience of the spectacles for an audience of vicarious spectators."¹⁰ Indeed, Martial largely divorces his voice, his poetic persona, from the collection, instead directing the reader's attention to 'Caesar' and the spectacles.¹¹ As Martial represents the practices of the spectacle, describing the action on the sands and in the stands, he creates an ideological framework within which the spectacle should be read; through his representational apparatus, Martial distills the happenings of the Flavian amphitheater into a collection of epigrams that construct the underlying meaning of the entertainments in the context of the Flavian dynasty.

In this chapter, I examine the Flavian practices of spectacle and their role in constructing a new conception of the Flavian Principate's domination of the empire. Although it is impossible to identify definitively any distinctly Flavian changes in imperial spectacular practices, I suggest that the reign of the Flavians marked the emergence of a new analytical and descriptive framework for the discussion of spectacles. Rather than the generalizing and factual view of Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, that there *was* a spectacle, Flavian authors adopt a dissecting view, laying bare to readers the constituent components of the spectacle: the audience,

¹⁰ Pailler 1990; Lorenz 2002; Coleman 2006: lxxxii.

¹¹ Gunderson 2003.

the performers, the emperor, and the interactions between them. Through a careful analysis of Martial's *Liber spectaculorum*, I argue that this representation constructs a discourse in which the amphitheater programmatically signifies new conceptions of the subjects of Roman *imperium* and the center's relationship to the provincial periphery: it presents the image of a dominated world to the reality of the dominated subjects. Finally, I examine the role of the *Liber spectaculorum* as both a text – the words on the page – and as a material object – the book itself. By situating the materiality of the *Liber spectaculorum* in the context of similar material practices, notably the Domitianic rhinoceros coin and Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, I argue that the imperially aided circulation of these images and texts complemented this new conception of *imperium*, linking a representation of *imperium* with its exercise. Although the Flavians offered Roman *panem et circenses* (Juv. 10.81), the Flavian discourse of spectacle produced a vision of empire in which all subjects simultaneously participated in the *imperium* of Rome, but were subjected to the *imperium* of the emperor. Rather than simply signaling extravagance and luxury, Flavian spectacles present an inclusive, albeit dominating, view of the empire to the subjects of the empire.

History and Historiography: Flavian Developments?

In the *Res Gestae*, an official autobiography written shortly before his death, Augustus indicates the importance of spectacle in the construction of the memory of his reign. Although Augustus used the *Res Gestae* principally as a chance to boast of his military prowess and his building programs, he also took the opportunity to highlight his acts of public munificence. In particular, he emphasized the spectacle entertainments of his reign, noting the massive gladiatorial exhibitions, *naumachiae*, and *venationes* he funded (Aug. *Anc.* 22-3). This section

reads like a list of spectacles, briefly defining each in terms of grandeur, cost, and scale. An appendix to or summary of the *Res Gestae*, appended to the text as it appears on the Temple of Augustus and Rome in Ancyra (modern Ankara, Turkey) underscores the list-like nature of the section: “*Impensa praestita in spectacula scaenica et munera gladiatorum atque athletas et venationes et naumachiam... innumerabilis.*”¹² (Aug. *Anc. App.*4) In the *Res Gestae* and in the Ancyran summary, the *fact* of the spectacle, the knowledge that Augustus funded a show, effaces the *what* of the spectacle, the knowledge of what Augustus displayed and how the show unfolded; rather than a dissecting view that lays the actions of audience, performers, and emperor bare, Augustus and the Ancyran appendix offer only essentializing categories of spectacle.

Writing nearly a century after Augustus, Suetonius followed Augustus’s autobiographical precedent in the *De Vita Caesarum*, including descriptions of each emperor’s spectacles in his biography. His descriptions, however, far exceed the simple enumeration of the *Res Gestae* and the Ancyran appendix. Rather, Suetonius focuses on particular components and events of a each spectacle, revealing the actions and interactions of the stands and the sands of the arena. A general remark on Augustan spectacle reveals the vast difference between these foci. According to Suetonius, Julius Caesar faced widespread censure and criticism for his habit of answering letters and petitions on the rare occasions he attended games. Augustus, determined to avoid this mistake, either gave his full attention to the performers when present or, when unable to attend, would appoint a delegate to preside in his place and to offer apologies for his absence (Suet. *Aug.* 45.1). By comparison, the *Res Gestae* never mentions whether Augustus actually attended the spectacles he staged, let alone his apparent level of interest; his personal conduct is an irrelevant category.

¹² The sums expended for theatrical spectacles and gladiatorial games, as well as for athletic contests, *naumachiae*, and *venationes*, were uncountable.

Suetonius's attention, however, extends beyond the emperor himself, encompassing the performers and the audience as well. Suetonius emphasizes the size of the audience and Augustus's efforts to reduce the disorder that previously characterized the stands of the arena (Suet. *Aug.* 14.1, 40.1, 43.1, 44). He also singles out exceptional displays, such as the appearances of a deep-voiced dwarf, Parthian hostages, and a variety of rare animals (Suet. *Aug.* 43.3-4). Suetonius offers a general description of the performers of an Augustan spectacle: Augustus displayed anything rare and worth seeing that was brought to the city (Suet. *Aug.* 43.4). Unlike the *Res Gestae*, Suetonius seems to relish the constituent elements of the spectacle, namely the emperor, the audience, and the performers, perceiving them as elements worthy of elucidation in an imperial biography.

Suetonius's expansive focus is common in the context of Flavian and post-Flavian descriptions of spectacle. Many Flavian and post-Flavian authors, notably Tacitus, Juvenal, Statius, and Martial, discuss the 'what' of the spectacle, commenting on the relationship between the emperor, the audience, and the performers. Whatever its origins may have been, spectacle served as a highly visible practice of power, making them a useful and convenient way by which writers might characterize imperial power: the power of the conqueror, the power of the Romans, and, eventually, the power of the emperor. Accordingly, these writers often deploy this focus in service of larger moralizing or propagandizing points about the emperor's character. Tacitus uses Nero's establishment of the *Neronia*, a Greek-style quinquennial contest, as an opportunity to decry the failure of traditional Roman morals. He claims that the idleness of seated spectators, the shamefulness of elite males serving as performers, and the licentiousness of such a lavish spectacle can only signify Rome's degeneracy (Tac. *Ann.* 14.20-1). Further, he terms Nero's appearance on stage *ludicra deformitas* and emphasizes Nero's attempts to control spectator

reactions as signs of wanton cruelty (Tac. *Ann.* 16.4-5). Juvenal singles out the appearance of a woman as a *bestiarius* as an example of the social deviancy that provoked him to write his satires (Juv. 1.22-3). Moreover, he conceptualizes the stands of the theater and the arena as the principal sites for the demonstration of vice, lamenting the presence of descendants of pimps, auctioneers, and gladiators in the first rows of the theater (Juv. 3.153-158) and claiming that the lascivious character of women is most apparent in the theater (Juv. 6.62-75).¹³

Imperial spectacles also offered a cipher for the emperor's benevolence. Statius's *Silvae* 1.6 celebrates a Domitianic spectacle for the Saturnalia, placing imperial generosity on display in the form of the rare entertainments and the gifts Domitian lavished on the crowd. In turn, Statius claims that the audience loudly acclaimed the emperor for his generosity: *tollunt innumeras ad astra voces / Saturnalia principis sonantes et dulci dominum favore clamant* (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.81-82).¹⁴ As noted above, Martial wrote an entire programmatic collection of epigrams, the *Liber Spectaculorum*, to celebrate and commemorate a series of spectacles in the Flavian amphitheater, describing audience, performers, and emperor alike in detail. The post-Flavian Pliny the Younger even recognized the emperor's behavior at spectacles as an appropriate way to eulogize him, praising Trajan for his restraint and insistence on the public's pleasure (Plin. *Pan.* 33).

For a historian seeking to write a history of imperial spectacular practices, the history of the ancient texts presents a nearly insoluble problem. As the extant sources for Julio-Claudian spectacular practices were written under or after the Flavian emperors, the evidence for the practices of even the most theatrical Julio-Claudians, Gaius and Nero, filters the Julio-Claudian past through a lens of Flavian historiography. The interest of these later authors becomes even

¹³ For a complete discussion of Juvenal's relationship to Roman spectacle, see Keane 2003.

¹⁴ "They raise innumerable voices to the stars, singing of the princeps' Saturnalia and with sweet applause acclaim him *dominus*." Newlands 2003 argues that Statius likens Domitian to Jupiter to reconcile his potential both for benevolence and for overwhelming coercive force.

more problematic in light of the Flavian emperors' treatment of spectacle as a prominent imperial device, manifested most prominently in the unprecedented size and placement of the Flavian amphitheater.¹⁵ Notably, the first writers to devote significant attention to the constituent elements of the spectacle, Martial and Statius, both wrote under the Flavians. As a result, the history of the inner world of the spectacle lies concealed by the history of our histories. Although the retrospective accounts of later writers may present a history of Julio-Claudian spectacles and spectacular practices, they may also present a historiography, projecting the Flavian practices and interests onto an underlying, yet unrecoverable, reality. Our sources impose a veil of sorts between the Flavian and Julio-Claudian spectacles; the difference between the history and the historiography of spectacles lies in how transparent this veil is.

Yet, as much as this historiographical veil complicates an attempt to chart the development of spectacles in the Early Empire, its very existence hints at the development of an ideology of spectacle under the Flavians, manifested discursively in the practices of Flavian writers. The *Res Gestae Divi Augustus* was not the simple list of his deeds it feigned to be, but was an attempt to govern the historical memory of his reign, to control the discourse of imperial power in Rome. The *Res Gestae* obscures the *what* of the spectacle, shifting focus instead to generic discussions of cost and type. Particularly in comparison to the detailed discussions of civic and military accomplishments, this relative absence suggests that Augustus did not consider the exact nature of his conduct, the audience, or the performers in his spectacles something that should be remembered. Instead, Augustus sought to remind readers of his generosity, which required the *Res Gestae* only to mention how many spectacles he gave and how much they cost. Flavian writers, however, reverse this trend. Under the Flavians, annalistic, epigrammatic, and

¹⁵ Welch 2007: 132.

biographical writers treat the inner world of spectacle as a topic of interest; a veritable explosion of interest in the nature of the performers, audience, and the emperor replaces the absence in the *Res Gestae*.

The nature of the sources makes it impossible to assess exactly how spectacles changed in the period between the rise of Augustus and the Flavian dynasty. Flavian writers working under direct imperial patronage, most notably Pliny the Elder, typically attribute the first displays of rare or unusual sights to the last generation of the Roman Republic or to Augustus's reign; according to Pliny, for example, the Domitianic rhinoceros was preceded by the appearance of the first rhino in Rome in Pompey's games of 55 BCE. While the individual components of the spectacle were not novel in most cases, the production and circulation of knowledge about spectacles evolved. While earlier emperors made similar displays, the Flavians promoted the production of a particular type of knowledge about the spectacle. In this new system of spectacular knowledge, the building blocks of spectacle were paramount, captivating Flavian writers in a manner unseen before.

The emphasis on this particular knowledge is unsurprising in the context of the Flavian dynasty. The material practices of the spectacle, including both the actual spectacle and its subsequent representations, enact and articulate power relationships. The dissecting view of spectacle dramatically increases the potential subjects available, interpellating the audience, the performers, and the emperor as potential nodes within the represented power network; rather than a simple representation of imperial munificence and benevolence, Flavian spectacles could construct and articulate a complicated series of relationships between the emperor, the sands, and the stands, instantiating the emperor's power and control in relation to each. The thorough articulation of power and control was a grim necessity for the Flavian dynasty. As Ronald

Mellor points out, the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the rise of the Flavians produced “the previously unthinkable: anyone could be acclaimed emperor.”¹⁶ Tacitus appropriately summarized this moment as revealing the *arcanum imperii*, namely that the emperor could be made outside of Rome, without the Senate’s involvement, and through the army (Tac. *Hist.* 1.4).

As the winner of the civil war, Vespasian was in a curious position, holding *de facto* power without a legitimizing familial connection to the Julio-Claudian family. In an effort to solidify their position, Vespasian and his descendents deployed a wide range of material practices designed to assert and, eventually, naturalize his control. A.J. Boyle summarizes the wide-ranging nature of his program: “This short period witnessed an unusual and unusually well-documented degree of social change and cultural activity (in architecture, sculpture, literature, in the formation of a new social elite) within an extremely patronal and pyramidal society at the apex of which were the Flavian court and its emperors...”¹⁷ Vespasian reformed imperial finances such that Domitian would inherit an empire with adequate income for foreign and domestic purposes. He inducted men of low birth but great ability into the Roman elite, appointed new senators and patricians, and created numerous offices to implicate them in the running of the government. The destruction of the fire of 64 CE and the Flavian siege left Rome devastated, paving the way for numerous Flavian building projects; indeed, much of the remaining core of ancient Rome consists of Flavian era buildings.¹⁸ Although any of these practices in isolation might be remarkable, the true significance of the extension of Flavian

¹⁶ Mellor 2003: 70.

¹⁷ Boyle 2003 provides an excellent overview of the extension of Flavian influence over numerous facets of the empire, as well as of the anxieties and problems that the Flavians faced. Here 2.

¹⁸ Fredrick 2003 argues that Domitian constructed a panoptical space firmly grounded in Flavian power through his architecture, into which he could look while those inside only know that they might be watched at any time, not whether they actually are.

control lies in its exhaustive nature. Together, the Flavian practices of power assert not only the ability to exert control over every aspect of the empire but also the right to do so

The material practices of the Flavians articulated an expansive economy of power and empire. Pliny the Younger's lamentation of the ubiquity of the *delatores* under Domitian hints at the effect: Pliny the Younger sadly claims that that not even the highest classes, temples, or sealed documents were hidden from the emperor's agents, for everyone and everything was under Domitian's scrutiny at all times (Plin. *Pan.* 34.1). In the process of constructing Flavian power and legitimacy, these practices also signified an underlying change in the nature of subjectivity in Rome: if the emperor has the right and ability to assert control over these aspects of the empire, the same aspects, then, are necessarily legitimate subjects for the emperor's domination. In effect, the Flavian practices of power subject the empire on multiple levels and along various axes. The rise of a new representative strategy for imperial spectacles is but one of these practices, exposing the bodies on the sands and in the stands, whether human or animal, as potential subjects for use in the construction of Flavian power and domination.

World of Stands

Although many of the extant sources focus on the action on the sands of the amphitheater, the assembled crowd provided an equally impressive spectacle. Capable of holding around 50,000 spectators, the Flavian amphitheater placed the Roman populace on display during any spectacle entertainment. As much as the amphitheater's design provided all spectators with a largely unobstructed view, it also ensured that spectators could see their comrades in the stands. While literary sources often privilege the sands, actions and types of performers, Roman law, dating back to Augustus, regulated the spectators, carefully constructing

a programmatic display of the populace. According to Suetonius, Augustus issued special legislation, the *Lex Julia Theatralis*, assigning separate seating areas for senators, soldiers, citizens, married plebeian men, freeborn boys, and women (Suet. *Aug.* 44).¹⁹ Augustus zealously defended this seating arrangement, ejecting soldiers (Suet. *Aug.* 14.1) and envoys (Suet. *Aug.* 44.1) from inappropriate sections and allowing equites who lost their estates in the civil war to retain their position (Suet. *Aug.* 40.1). He reinforced his seating legislation with laws requiring citizens to wear togas in public, implicitly mandating that every male citizen declare his status through the distinctive colored stripes of each order (Suet. *Aug.* 40.5).²⁰

By segregating the orders and requiring each to wear distinctively colored dress, Augustus transformed the stands of a spectacle venue into an easily intelligible, color-coded representation of Roman society, with the most important and honorable placed in the most visually exposed positions at the bottom of the venue.²¹ Tacitus's narration of a diplomatic mission from Germany during Nero's reign illustrates the power of this representation (Tac. *Ann.* 13.54). According to Tacitus, the German diplomats were taken on a tour of Rome, including a visit to the Theater of Pompey so that they might see the magnitude or greatness of the Roman people (*magnitudinem populi viserent*). Gazing on the audience, the diplomats noted the divisions within the crowd and asked which order sat where; reckoning themselves the equals of a Roman senator, they then took seats in the front with the senators. Although Tacitus describes a Neronian incident, his account underscores how the seating arrangements construct the

¹⁹ For a full discussion of the seating arrangements, see Beacham 1999: 122–28; for its instantiation in the Flavian amphitheater and in comparison to Nero's Domus Aurea, Welch 2007: 158–60; for the *Lex Julia Theatralis*, dated to sometime after 5 CE, Kolendo 1981: 301–15; Rawson 1987; Rose 2005.

²⁰ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 41–43 argues that the toga served as the principal signifier of the Roman identity beginning in the mid second century BCE.

²¹ Fredrick 2002a.

‘spectacle’ of its audience. In particular, Tacitus represents the Theater of Pompey less as a site of spectacular entertainments than as a way to place the Roman people and Rome’s social organization on display. Tacitus constructs the arrangement of the audience in the theater as a self-evident display of the Roman social order, one so clear and unambiguous that even recently pacified *barbari* would recognize it and understand its implications.

Tacitus further suggests that this modeled social order is a self-aware and self-correcting one. When the Germans, not yet Roman citizens, let alone senators, arrogantly proceed to their presumed seats amongst the senators, the spectators accept the transgression courteously (*comiter*), seeing it as standard barbaric impulsiveness and a good-natured emulation of Rome (Tac. *Ann.* 13.54). During the reign of Augustus, the impetus for corrective actions lay with the emperor, both legislatively and, as seen in the ejection of a soldier from the rows reserved for senators (Suet. *Aug.* 14.1), *ex tempore*. Fifty years later, however, Tacitus can locate this agency in the audience itself. Although the spectators accept the presence of the German diplomats in seats that law and tradition would deny them, this very acceptance implies that the audience could also prohibit the diplomats from these seats. Where Augustan spectacles required imperial enforcement, Tacitus constructs this Neronian-era audience as a singular entity that has so thoroughly internalized the logic of the seating and dress laws that it can and will act in concert to preserve this internal order. Indeed, Juvenal’s complaints about freedmen and wealthy businessmen suggest that Flavian-era writers were equally sensitive to this hierarchy. He laments the presence of the sons of pimps, *praecones*, and gladiators in the fourteen rows reserved for equestrians (Juv. 3.153-59), claiming that such a situation indicates that Rome is not, in fact, Roman any longer.

Augustan spectacles constructed a model of society that was profoundly and exclusively Rome-centric. In the visual model, clothing could only differentiate Roman citizens, or more precisely, Roman citizen males, for it visually segregated them through variations in the toga.²² This scheme constructs Roman society purely in reference to its male citizen population, excluding women, slaves, and foreigners. Indeed, Suetonius states that Augustus was ambivalent at best about allowing women to view spectacles, placing them in the top seats for gladiatorial shows and outright banning them from attending athletic contests (Suet. *Aug.* 44.2-3). The rationale for Augustus's refusal to allow envoys of free and allied states to sit in the *orchestra* underscores the rigidity and exclusivity of this model. Augustus's decision stemmed from the fact that such envoys were, on occasion, freedmen, not free born (Suet. *Aug.* 44.1). Although they represented polities to which the Romans had extended citizenship, these envoys were not themselves citizens and, as such, did not belong in the orchestra. Rather than judging on a case-by-case basis, Augustus chose to outright bar all envoys. Although Suetonius does not make Augustus's logic explicit, this decision suggests that Augustus believed that the members of any society that might appoint freedmen as ambassadors to Rome could not possibly be counted among Rome's elite, regardless of an individual's exact status.

In the third epigram of the *Liber spectaculorum*, Martial poses a question that might have horrified Augustus: *Quae tam seposita est, quae gens tam barbara, Caesar / ex qua spectator non sit in urbe tua?* (Mart. *Sp.* 3.1-2)²³ Martial describes a cosmopolitan audience for the games, hyperbolically claiming that there are representatives from every imaginable *gentes* present. This imagined audience presents a radically different image than the Romanocentric one

²² Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 41–43.

²³ What race is remote, so barbarous, that there might not be a spectator from it in your city, Caesar?

constructed through the *Lex Julia Theatralis*. Martial implicitly emphasizes this separation from the Augustan model through his description of the various *gentes*. Rather than simply quantifying the peoples in terms of their origins, Martial further classifies each spectator in terms of his or her mode of dress and food.²⁴ Accordingly, Martial describes the Sarmatians as drinkers of horse blood and an imagined Egyptian tribe as those who drink from the mythical headwaters of the Nile (3.5). Further, he ascribes distinctive hairstyles to the Sugambri and the Ethiopians (3.9-10); the Cilicians are those sprayed with saffron (3.8). Rather than an audience comprised predominantly of men clad in minor variations of the toga, Martial describes a variegated one, filled with peoples distinct in attire and appearance.

Unlike the Augustan audiences described by Suetonius, Martial in the *Liber spectaculorum* does not explicitly organize his audience in a hierarchy that privileges adherence to the Roman male citizen standard. Instead, Martial's epigram directly deconstructs the Romanocentric model. It culminates in a couplet designed to normalize the divergent forms of dress and food previously described. Martial claims that, "*vox diversa sonat populorum, tum tamen una est / cum verus patriae diceris esse pater*" (Mart. *Sp.* 3.11-12).²⁵ Martial minimizes typical ethnographic signifiers of identity, privileging subordination to the emperor, expressed through the acclamation *pater patriae*, as a more encompassing identity; likewise, the exact location in which each class sat, including freedmen who usurp inappropriate seats, is less significant than the audience's corporate submission. Kathleen Coleman emphasizes the totalizing effect of this claim, noting that "... Martial's list of peoples is almost exclusively from the fringes of the Empire, where the civilizing effect of Greek and Latin had penetrated scarcely

²⁴ Ancient ethnographers frequently used the consumption of certain types of food to classify or identify various peoples. See Garnsey 1999: 69–72; Riggsby 2006: 47–50.

²⁵ The voice of the peoples sounds different, and yet they speak as one when you are hailed as the true *pater patriae*.

or not at all... Martial's point is that, despite the multiplicity of languages spoken in the Empire, its subjects are unified under the emperor's rule."²⁶ In this epigram, Martial juxtaposes the image of easily intelligible cultural differences with a broad claim of homogeneity manifested through subordination to the emperor. Notably absent from this formulation is the Augustan emphasis on the audience's visual *Romanitas*, regulated through seating arrangements and dress codes. Instead, Martial implicitly assimilates the Roman audience, clad in its togas of various hues, to the barbaric/foreign audience: if there is no race so far removed or so barbarous that it is not present in the stands, acclaiming the emperor the *pater patriae*, Roman citizens are certainly doing the same. Although senators, equestrians, and freedmen still had their unique places in the arena, Martial effaces the distinctions that previously offered visual structure to the stands, replacing them instead with a group's subordination to Caesar.

Martial's imagery articulates a new vision of the society that the stands modeled. Again, the Augustan model, given legal force through the *Lex Julia Theatralis*, was profoundly Roman. It articulated an image of a society so exclusive that even the implication of a non-citizen sitting with Roman senators could lead to Augustus barring an entire polity from the privileged seating of the orchestra. Martial deconstructs this model on two levels. First, Martial constructs a sense of Roman-ness whose most important signifiers are attendance at an imperial spectacle and vocal subordination to the emperor. He detaches inclusion in Roman society from the issue of citizenship, extending membership it to populations that potentially would not gain the franchise until the reign of Caracalla; necessarily, he hints at the realization of the Augustan promise of *imperium sine fine*, extending the promise of Roman domination and potential participation to

²⁶ Coleman 2006: 52; Coleman operates from the standard perspective that the Romans considered the use of Latin a marker of Roman identity, for which see J. N. Adams 2003; cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 41–43 for the claim that the Romans seldom made no significant effort to enforce the use of Latin, regarding the toga instead as the premier sign of *Romanitas*.

every population: all who acknowledge the emperor's domination become part of Roman society and subject-participants in Roman *imperium*.

Second, Martial eschews the majority of the social, order-based hierarchy inherent to the visual presentation of the Augustan audience. When Tacitus and Suetonius comment on Julio-Claudian audiences, they emphasize its rigid hierarchy mapped directly to the social orders: senators here, *equites* there, women and slaves in the back. This formulation is absent in Martial's *Liber spectaculorum*, in which he does not represent the audience as a similarly stratified body. Instead, Martial constructs a more generalizing social hierarchy of two levels: the emperor and everyone else. Rather than distinctions between orders or genders of Roman citizens, he emphasizes the subordination of every member of the audience to the emperor. In effect, Martial opens up equal membership in this modeled society to anyone who falls under the *imperium* of the emperor: no matter how foreign and barbarous, or near and civilized, there is no population that does not fall equally under the emperor's *imperium*.

This imagined model of society is not, however, a culturally essentializing one, for Martial carefully preserves points of distinction. Again, Martial suggests that there is no population so remote or so barbarous that a member is not present in the stands, implying that at least some members of the audience are, in fact, quite barbarous. For Martial, some populations are inescapably foreign, alienated from an implied Roman standard by their dress, food, or language.²⁷ Tacitus's tale of the German ambassadors preserves a similar conceit. Although the German ambassadors ultimately gain a place of honor in the society modeled in the stands, they are nonetheless identified as distinct from it by virtue of their barbaric passions and desire to

²⁷ Surprisingly, Martial does not include in this category slaves, ex-slaves, or similar individuals in the *Liber spectaculorum*. Indeed, slaves and freedmen curiously are absent in the *Liber spectaculorum*.

emulate Rome; although they might act in Roman-like manners and reckon themselves the equal of the best Romans, Tacitus maintains an inherent distinction between the two groups that shared seating cannot resolve. The populations present in the stands in Martial and in Tacitus are inescapably un-Roman, for their actions or their *habitus* betray their true origins. Yet, their very presence in the stands incorporates them into a larger vision of what it means to be a Roman subject, if not necessarily culturally Roman.

Martial's representations of the Flavian stands does not articulate a vision of Romanness constructed purely in terms of male citizens living in Rome, as did the Julio-Claudian stands. Rather, it suggests that the extent of the empire, or more properly, the extent of the emperor's *imperium* over various subject peoples, defines Roman society. In effect, he uses the Flavian stands to equate Roman society with the emperor's domination, eliding other cultural markers in favor of a power relationship between center and periphery. Where an Augustan audience represented the social hierarchy of Rome, Martial instead represent the world as a whole through the vehicle of the stands. It holds members from every conceivable population from throughout the world, emphasizing the characteristics that located them within the world; according to Martial, the world's entire population is represented in the stands of the Flavian amphitheater. They offer a visual representation of what Nicolas Purcell calls "a cellular empire," a "great mass of individual units whose only common matrix was a relationship to Rome."²⁸ In a single glance, any member of the audience can behold the world arrayed around him, experience the world's submission to the emperor, and acknowledge his or her own position within that submissive world. Placed on display to one another, the spectators in the stands in fact become tacit performers, performing localizing and identifying signifiers in concert with larger rituals of

²⁸ Purcell 1990: 8.

submission. In the context of the *Liber spectaculorum*, the Flavian stands effectively transformed the world population into a population of actors and placed this new spectacle on display to itself in a carefully delineated play culminating in the inescapable domination of the emperor.

The Many Worlds of the Sand

Although Martial and his contemporaries suggest that the assembled audience, decked out in all its Roman or foreign splendor, provided a worthy sight in the amphitheater, people did not travel to the arena simply to stare at one another. Beyond visually representing Rome's social order, the audience served another seemingly simple, yet significant purpose: the audience watched the spectacle and its performers. The *Liber spectaculorum* reflects this interest: although Martial devotes the initial three epigrams to situating the Flavian amphitheater and describing the audience, the balance of the collection painstakingly describes the entertainments provided on the sands. Exotic animals, brave gladiators, mythical scenes, and historical reenactments fill the pages of the collection. Nor is Martial unique in this respect, matched by similar, albeit less extensive, discussions in works by Tacitus, Suetonius, Statius, and, most unusually, Pliny the Younger's panegyric to Trajan. Notably, Pliny the Elder's sense of the natural history of animals was, in fact, a history of when they first appeared in the Roman arena.²⁹ A famous set of inscriptions and drawings from outside the Porta Noceria in Pompeii, commemorating gladiatorial games held in nearby Nona, confirms this focus (see Figure 9).³⁰ The inscriptions and drawings reproduce the games in surprising detail, depicting each gladiator

²⁹ See for example his discussion of the spectacular history of elephants (8.6-7), lions (8.20-21), tigers (8.25), rhinoceroses (8.29), and hippopotami (8.40).

³⁰ CIL IV, 10236-10238.

in his characteristic garb and identifying him by name and record; they further indicate the outcome of each match, naming the victor and noting if the loser survived the match. Although simple graffiti, the care and detail of the inscription provides vivid testament to the draw of the sands of the arena: those who attended would wish to share their experience, and those who could not attend would want to experience the games vicariously.

Like his description of the audience in the stands, Martial's presentation of the myriad entertainments housed on the sands operates through a sophisticated representative apparatus. While Martial feigns to present accounts of the spectacles for the vicarious enjoyment of his readers, the strategies of representation he employs allow him to use the sands to construct a larger programmatic statement about the nature of Roman *imperium*. Martial presents three basic categories of display on the sands: displays of the fruits of empire, displays of history and myth, and displays of virtue and vice with their attendant rewards. Placed in the context of *imperium* and its extractive properties, these categories effectively communicate statements about the Roman mastery of space, of time and reality, and of character, respectively. The presence of a performer on the sands, whether an exotic animal, a criminal fighting as an Athenian in a mock battle, or a valiant gladiator, interpellates him or her as a legitimate subject of Roman *imperium*: his or her presence signifies and proves the existence of *imperium*, for *imperium* both enabled and commanded the movement from his or her origins to the sands of the arena. The sands become a symbol of the possibilities of the world, alternately presenting the spectacle of rare and foreign animals and of myths becoming real, of gladiators showing their bravery and criminals their *nocens*. In his representation of the performers on the sands, Martial implicitly subjects all the possibilities of the world to Roman *imperium*, constructing all as a

subject that, through the exercise of *imperium*, can appear on the sands; they transform the promises of *imperium sine fine* into a reality, placing all at the beck and call of Rome.

Suetonius's account of Augustus offers the clearest expression of the interest in ensuring the presence of rare and unusual performers for the sands, an interest that the Flavian amphitheater subsequently appropriated. On days without more elaborate spectacles, he would arrange for special exhibits, such as a rhinoceros or a fifty cubit long snake (Suet. *Aug.* 43.4). Although Augustus painstakingly maintained a careful and respectful relationship with the Senate, he defied a senatorial decree that no *equites* should appear in theatrical or gladiatorial spectacles in order to exhibit a young man of respectable parentage, who happened to be two feet tall, weigh seventeen pounds, and have a booming bass voice (Suet. *Aug.* 43.3). He even displayed the first Parthian hostages ever sent to Rome, parading them through the center of the arena before granting them seats in the stands (Suet. *Aug.* 43.4). Suetonius's language is suggestive here; he claims that Augustus sought to display anything *invisitatum dignumque cognitu advectum*, charting Augustus's interest in three categories: the unseen, the worth knowing, and the foreign. In effect, Augustus's choice of performers was similar to the selection process employed in assembling seventeenth-century cabinets of curiosities: if it is somehow unusual, put it on display.³¹ Augustus's preoccupation with exhibiting oddities was but an imperial appropriation of a Republican trend: the use of spectacle as a programmatic way to showcase the reach of Roman *imperium*.

While Suetonius claims Augustus only displayed that which came to Rome, Martial imagines a more active process for Flavian spectacles, depicting the Flavian arena as a device capable of pulling in and placing on display the fruits of the world. The animals of the *Liber*

³¹ For more on cabinets of curiosities, see Impey and MacGregor 2001; Schramm, Schwarte, and Lazardzig 2005.

spectaculorum are perhaps the most overt example, for Martial chooses to represent them implicitly or explicitly in manners that emphasize their alien nature.³² Martial often highlights animals native to areas on the periphery of the empire, particularly large African game like lions (*Sp.* 12), elephants (*Sp.* 20), and, most famously, a rhinoceros (*Sp.* 11, 26, *Epigr.* 14.53). Martial explicitly assigns foreign provenances to common animals as well. For example, Martial identifies a bear in a fatal charade as a Scottish bear (*Caledonio ... urso*; *Sp.* 9.3), a reference unique in ancient literature;³³ likewise, the *bestiarius* Carphorus does not simply slay a local Italian bear but the *primus in Arctoi qui fuit axe poli* (*Sp.* 17.4), or a massive polar bear. In the case of an Italian bear, Martial links it to Lucania in southern Italy, alienating the bear from its Roman surroundings (*Lucano... urso*: *Sp.* 10.1). Similarly, Martial locates a tigress' origins in the Hyrcanian peaks, an area in central Iran (*Sp.* 21.2). In a second appearance, Carphorus uses a specifically Norican spear, from an area in Transpadana and Illyricum, rather than a spear of indeterminate origin (*Sp.* 26).³⁴ Even the oxen of the collection are foreign species, for the rhinoceros does not battle the generic *bos* but the uniquely Germanic *uison*, a species native to Germany, Pannonia, and Thrace (*Sp.* 26.10).³⁵ Martial either showcases obviously foreign animals, like lions and rhinoceroses, or intentionally alienates more common species, transforming the mundane into the exotic and alien. Indeed, Romans often used animals in iconography as shorthand for representing a particular area, as with the Roman wolf or the Egyptian crocodile. In the *Liber spectaculorum*, the animals become signifiers for the world

³² Again, Pliny the Elder offers a clear comparison: the first appearance of an animal in the arena is central to his understanding of the natural history of terrestrial animals. See for example his discussion of the spectacular history of elephants (8.6-7), lions (8.20-21), tigers (8.25), rhinoceroses (8.29), and hippopotami (8.40).

³³ Keller 1963: 175; Coleman 2006: 88.

³⁴ Coleman believes these lines belong elsewhere in the collection and were interpolated in later. For discussion and historiography, see Coleman 2006: 186–88.

³⁵ Keller 1963: 341; Coleman 2006: 191–93.

appearing in the arena, with each species implicitly or explicitly representing a portion of the empire and its presence on the sands.

In addition to its ability to pull exhibits in from around the world, Martial also constructs the amphitheater as a device that can transcend time, calling up historical and mythical moments to appear on the sands. *Naumachiae* appear in two separate epigrams in the *Liber spectaculorum*. Martial does not mention that these battles were historical re-enactments, using the opportunity instead to eulogize a particular technical achievement of the Flavian amphitheater, namely its ability to convert from land to water swiftly (Mart. *Sp.* 27), and the ways in which ‘Caesar’ surpassed the example of Augustus (Mart. *Sp.* 34).³⁶ In these epigrams, he evokes a range of historical and mythical precedents. As Coleman notes, “the *locus classicus* for the *adunaton* of converting land into sea and vice versa is Xerxes.”³⁷ To an audience familiar with the tropes of classical literature, as Martial’s readers surely were, the Flavian amphitheater’s rapid transition between water and land necessarily evokes this moment, suggesting that the Flavian emperors can re-perform, if not outdo, Xerxes’s achievement.³⁸ Similarly, Martial does not call the sea battle a *naumachia*, but instead refers to it as *ratibus naualis Enyo* (Mart. *Sp.* 27.3). *Enyo* appears prominently in Statius’s *Thebiad*, an epic poem narrating the wars between the legendary sons of Oedipus (Stat. *Theb.* 8.655ff; cf. Aes. *Sev.* 41), and in Homer’s *Iliad* (Hom. *Il.* 5.318, 5.333, 5.590). By terming the display *ratibus naualis Enyo* rather than *naumachia*, Martial incorporates a range of historical precedents, associating the display with the mythical battles of Thebes and Troy. Even if the described *naumachia* is not a re-enactment of these

³⁶ For a full discussion, see Ville 1981: 146–47.

³⁷ Coleman 2006: 195.

³⁸ The Flavians were not the first to harbor this desire. Gaius constructed a land bridge between Baiae and Pueteoli, which he then rode across with Parthian hostages, in an attempt to outdo Xerxes’s bridging of the Hellespont. See Suet. *Cal.* 19.

battles, Martial's strategy of description transforms the spectacle into a shard of history and legend that the arena calls into being.

Although Martial does not identify the exact moments each spectacle sought to portray, other sources provide intriguing possibilities. Cassius Dio describes one of Titus's *naumachia*, which replicated the battle between Corcyra and Corinth in 435 BCE (Dio 66.25.2-3), in terms strongly reminiscent of Martial's *ratibus naualis* Enyo above (Sp. 27). Similarly, Suetonius and Cassius Dio's accounts of a *naumachia* held in the Augustan *stagnum*, a re-enactment of the Athenian attack on Syracuse in 414 BCE, enumerate a list of displays, including aquatic beasts, races, and the *naumachia*, that correspond to Martial's description of the *naumachia* that outdid Augustus (Suet. *Tit.* 7.3; Dio 66.25.2-4); although he does not comment on it, Cassius Dio's account includes an unhistorical conclusion, with the Athenians victorious over the Syracusans. These battles, then, summon forth episodes from history, including the protagonists and necessary 'set dressing,' such as strongholds and monuments. Such historical re-enactments suggested that not even time could limit the pull of Roman *imperium*.

Roman *editores* did not, however, draw exhibits equally from throughout history, but confined their displays to historically attested, or at least historically plausible, battles from the Greek world. Kathleen Coleman emphasizes the dangers of using Roman history in the arena to explain this absence, noting, "No Roman emperor was likely to risk an Actium won by the eastern faction."³⁹ While Coleman is certainly correct, the Roman conception of the history of *imperium* also mediated against the inclusion of Roman conflicts. Again, the historical re-enactments represented an incredible claim made through *imperium*, that Roman *imperium* could reach through time and move men from past to present, from Greece to Rome. In the *Aeneid*,

³⁹ Coleman 1990: 71.

Vergil expressed this ability in a famous phrase: *His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono / imperium sine fine dedi* (Verg. *A.* 1.278-9). According to Vergil, Jupiter granted the Romans *imperium* without any limits, unbound by space and time. Augustan writers use this idea prominently, describing Rome as an eternal power (Tib. 2.5.23; Livy 4.4.4, 4.5.7-10; 28.28.11; CIL 3.1422, 5443; 5.4484; Ov. *Fast.* 3.72).⁴⁰

The historical moment within the *Aeneid*'s narrative, however, also projects this conception into Rome's past. Within the timeline of the *Aeneid* and the Roman foundation myth, Jupiter's grant of *imperium sine fine* predates the foundation of Rome, granting Rome *imperium* over the world extending back to the end of the Trojan War. The ability to call forth Greek historical moments, then, only reifies this claim: by virtue of Jupiter's grant, Rome held *imperium* over Greece even at the time of the Peloponnesian War. Beyond the potential embarrassment of a triumphant Marcus Antonius, the extension of *imperium* over the actors of Roman history poses a significant challenge to Roman self-identity. Just as animals in the arena signified contemporary Roman *imperium*, historical reenactments represented a type of trans-historical *imperium*, extracting performers from history to appear in the arena. The recreation of a battle from Roman history, then, would require a similar exercise of *imperium* to bring the protagonists from history into the contemporary arena; in effect, re-staging a Roman battle would require the subjection of the *populus Romanus* to *imperium*. While the sight of Antony beating Octavius would embarrass an *editor*, the claim that *imperium* could exercise Octavian, or that someone held *imperium* over a general already endowed with *imperium*, was incomprehensible: if Augustus held *maius imperium*, could an *editor* ever possess enough *imperium* to move Augustus from his historical context into the present of the arena? To summon Roman history

⁴⁰ Richardson 2008.

would expose the falsity of one of the fundamental myths about the Empire: that the *populus Romanus* still held *imperium* rather than being the subject of another's *imperium*.

Although he excludes Roman history, Martial imagines the arena as a device capable of surpassing all other limits of history in order to call mythical and legendary moments to the sands. Myth in the *Liber spectaculorum* appears in two different, albeit overlapping, guises: as a comparison and as legend made reality. First, he uses the spectacular vignette to evoke a mythical resonance, as when he compares the battle of a female *bestiarius* and a lion to the slaying of the Nemean lion by Hercules (Mart. *Sp.* 8; cf. 17 with Carpophorus). These epigrams are examples of what Otto Weinreich described as “Synkrisis-Epigramm,” favorable comparisons of the present to the past; in this epigram, the emperor offers a spectacle surpassing myth by requiring of a woman what Eurystheus required of Hercules.⁴¹ Likewise, Martial uses a pregnant sow's miraculous delivery, birthing a healthy piglet through a fatal spear wound, to recall the birth of Bacchus (Mart. *Sp.* 14); in the following epigram, Martial exploits the juxtaposition of the piglet's birth and the sow's death to evoke Diana in her guise as goddess of the hunt and goddess of childbirth (Mart. *Sp.* 15.5-6). In these epigrams, the arena not only calls myth forth into its sands, but also offers the audience an improved version of the myth.

Beyond these implicit resonances in Martial's descriptions, myth and legend also take on a material reality within the arena. The technology of the arena in particular allows the emperor to stage seemingly miraculous displays. Martial celebrates a display lifting a bull into the air, likening it to Jupiter's bull that carried Europa (Mart. *Sp.* 18, 19). In a fatal charade involving ‘Orpheus,’ the arena's machinery creates the illusion of cliffs crawling and trees moving, culminating in the opening of a pit to the underworld (Mart. *Sp.* 24, 25). In each case, Martial

⁴¹ Weinreich 1928: 36.

minimizes or effaces the role of the arena's machinery. He claims that *pietas*, not *artis*, lifted the bull into the air (Mart. *Sp.* 18.2); likewise, his description of the Orphic spectacle ignores the logistics of such a display, leaving modern scholars baffled by the technical requirements.⁴²

Martial's reluctance to comment on the technology of the arena, preferring to focus on the resemblance of spectacle to myth, is not an oversight but a larger programmatic statement. In his description of a fatal charade recreating the coupling of Pasiphae and the Bull of Dictae, Martial makes his interests explicit: *quidquid Fama canit, praestat harena tibi* (Mart. *Sp.* 6.4).⁴³ While modern scholars wonder at the machinations required to stage this spectacle, whether as true *damnatio ad bestias* or not, Martial obscures the staged nature of the display.⁴⁴ Rather, he represents spectacle as the a way to vindicate the truth of myth. The epigram opens with an exhortation (*credite*) that his reader must now accept that Pasiphae did, in fact, couple with a bull, for the audience saw it happen (Mart. *Sp.* 6.2: *vidimus accepit fibula prisca fidem*). Martial sets up a correspondence of senses and degree of reality. He suggests that the voice, expressed in *Fama canit*, can only provide an invented account, or a *fabula*. By comparison, Martial claims that seeing is believing: because a Roman audience has seen the myth in the arena, the *fabula* gains *fides*.⁴⁵

He exploits a similar conceit in the punishment of Laureolus, who hung from a crucifix as a bear ate him. Martial links this execution to the punishment of Prometheus, but again distinguishes between the apparent falsity of myth and the reality of the arena: *in quo, quae*

⁴² Beacham 1991:183, Coleman 2006: 177.

⁴³ Whatever Fame sings, the arena presents to you.

⁴⁴ Coleman 1990; Coleman 2006: 64–65.

⁴⁵ In her analysis of Tacitus's History, Haynes 2003 sees a similar conflict between *res* and *verba*. She suggests that Tacitus uses these and other “sense” words to depict the Year of the Four Emperors as inevitably leading to Vespasian and the restoration of reality.

fuera fabula, poena fuit (Mart. *Sp.* 9.12).⁴⁶ The arena, in effect, becomes a mechanism that transforms myth into reality through the mediation of spectacle. It calls forth the impossible, the moments so fantastical that they can only be *fabulae*, and grants them materiality on the sands. It effects a transition of a legendary vignette from *fabula* to *fides*, from myth to reality.

In these mythological reenactments, Martial depicts a functioning of *imperium* that fully realizes the promises of *imperium sine fine*. When he characterizes a myth as gaining reality in the arena, he implicitly defines two distinct categories of time and space. The first is that of time and space as natural and historical, as the space of reality, materiality, and experience. The second is of time and space as myth, which stretches beyond history or nature. The force of these epigrams operates on the assumption that these two categories necessarily are antithetical; he imagines an impermeable membrane between history and myth, a barrier in terms of which he defines *fides* and *fabula*, respectively. Martial's epigrams suggest that, prior to the entertainments of the Flavian amphitheater, this barrier marked the ultimate *fines* to Roman *imperium*, for mythical events were inherently unreal. Yet, Martial imagines a Roman *imperium* that is truly unbound here, *imperium* that can transcend even the *fines* imposed by reality. The interpellative pull of the arena extends *imperium* beyond time and space as natural and historical. For myth to become reality, Martial necessarily constructs as subjects to Roman *imperium* that which, by virtue of its fundamental non-existence, should not be legitimate subject: for Martial, not even reality can limit the reach of Roman *imperium*.

This focus on the provenance of the performers – where they came from and the role of *imperium* in bringing them to the arena – conceals an otherwise obvious issue: a spectacle requires not just performers, but performers that actually *do* something. Indeed, Martial includes

⁴⁶ What was a fable is now punishment.

a teasing reminder that the audience was not satisfied with the sight of an unmoving performer, even the rare Flavian rhinoceros: *Desperebantur promissi proelia Martis... I nunc et lentas corripe, turba, moras* (Mart. *Sp.* 26.2, 12).⁴⁷ The audience entered the amphitheater with distinct notions of the types of events they might see and would express their displeasure should their expectations not be met.⁴⁸ Indeed, graffiti from Pompeii advertising gladiatorial exhibitions indicates that these expectations were limited to the *type* of entertainment, not the way in which the action would unfold (see Figure 10). These advertisements indicate only the general category of entertainment offered: so many gladiators will fight, there will be a hunt, or there will be athletic displays.⁴⁹ When Roman writers conceptualize spectacles as occasions that draw in and represent the fruits of the dominated, they refer to this categorical presentation: the presence of performers, the very *fact* of a performance reifies Roman *imperium* through the bodies of the performers on the sands.

Although he emphasizes the foreign provenance of the performers, Martial also draws attention to their actions and performances in the arena. In the *Liber spectaculorum*, the sands become a stage for the performance of innate character: men can display *virtus* or *nocens*, animals docility or savagery. Through these displays, Martial constructs a system that programmatically places virtue and vice on display, along with their proper rewards and punishments. Throughout the *Liber spectaculorum*, the emperor explicitly punishes lapses of virtue and various transgressions. Indeed, the first display that Martial describes is the exile of the *delatores*, performed as a reverse triumphal parade that moves from the arena to outside the

⁴⁷ Men began to lose hope for the promised battle... Go now, unruly crowd, and complain of sluggish delays!

⁴⁸ See Aldrete 1999 for methods of expressing these grievances and the ramifications of such dissatisfaction.

⁴⁹ See also CIL 4.3884, 4.7992, 4.1185, 4.7995, 4.1189-90, 4.7991, 4.9662, 4.1180.

city (Mart. *Sp.* 4). His language emphasizes the disgraceful nature of these men, labeling them as a *turba*, *inimical quieti*, and, most pointedly, as men stained with crime (*nocentis*). Other criminals face a worse fate, playing a starring role in what Kathleen Coleman calls ‘fatal charades,’ executions staged as mythological re-enactments.⁵⁰ She argues that two epigrams describe these fatal charades, namely the reenactment of Pasiphae and the bull (Mart. *Sp.* 6), with its “ultimately fatal rupture,” and the spectacle of Orpheus (Mart. *Sp.* 24-25), who a bear tears apart.⁵¹ Martial makes the link between social transgressions and punitive display most apparent in his description of a *damnatio ad bestias*. After describing the man’s evisceration by a bear, he conjectures about the man’s crime:

Denique supplicium <meruit quo crimine tantum?>⁵²
 uel domini iugulum foderat erat nocens,
 templa uel arcano demens spoliauerat auro,
 subdiderat saeuas uel tibi, Roma, faces.⁵³ (Mart. *Sp.* 9.7-10)

Martial postulates three possible crimes, all appearing in pseudo-Quintilian’s *Declamationes* as crimes of extreme depravity and demand the death penalty (ps.-Quint. *Decl.* 9.21). Each of these crimes represents a fundamental violation of *fides* and *pietas*, whether against a master/social better, against the gods, or against the state, respectively. The exact crime fades into the background, replaced instead by the knowledge that the emperor will punish lapses in these virtues, publicly and brutally. Coleman summarizes the function of these spectacular executions: “In this context the emperor was seen to be the person who enabled the ultimate processes of the

⁵⁰ Coleman 1990.

⁵¹ For Pasiphae and the bull, see Coleman 2006: 64–65; for Orpheus, see 174–85.

⁵² This line is defective in all manuscripts. I follow Coleman’s restoration, as the following lines seem to require a rhetorical question of this sort. See Coleman 2006: 93–94. Other suggested emendations do not change the sense of the poem, however.

⁵³ So what crime merited such severe punishment? Either in his guilt stabbed his master in the throat, or in his madness stole the hoard of gold from a temple, or in his savagery set you alight, Rome.

law to take their course, and at the same time provided thrilling and novel entertainment for his people.”⁵⁴ Although disguised as entertainments, fatal charades visually produced an immediate and graphic system of crime and punishment for the consumption and internalization by the audience.

As Martial constructs the arena as a site in which failures are punished publicly, he also acknowledges the inverse function: the arena can reward proper behavior as well. Martial glorifies displays of *virtus* in the arena and emphasizes the associated rewards, particularly in the case of the evenly matched gladiators. As Carlin Barton notes, “The concept of ‘the equal opponent’ was fundamental to the Roman warrior’s concept of glory. As in a modern boxing match or a bullfight, in an unequal fight both the contestants were debased, regardless of their rank or skills.”⁵⁵ The gladiators in *Liber spectaculorum* 31, then, represent the most glorious gladiatorial match imaginable, two warriors so equally matched that neither can triumph. If unequal opponents offered no valor, then truly equal ones represented the greatest potential for valor, albeit without the possibility of a cathartic conclusion through death or submission. Their equivalence allows Martial to transform a simple combat into an evocation of an array of virtues: the *virtus* and *ingeniosa* of the gladiators, the refusal to surrender, and the submission of all, including the emperor, to Roman law.

Yet, this exhibition of virtue is secondary to the moral of the epigram. For their displays of virtue, the emperor awards both gladiators *lances donaque* (Mart. *Sp.* 31.6), declares both victor (Mart. *Sp.* 31.11-12), and grants both their freedom (Mart. *Sp.* 31. 9). Indeed, Martial makes this moral explicit: *hoc pretium virtus ingeniosa tulit* (Mart. *Sp.* 31.10). This depiction of the gladiators and their reward is remarkable in the context of the ambivalent conceptions of

⁵⁴ Coleman 1990: 72.

⁵⁵ Barton 1993: 28.

gladiators.⁵⁶ Roman admired gladiators for their indifference to pain and death, claiming that witnessing such a display would instill an *animus virorum* in any audience.⁵⁷ At the same time, philosophers and orators decried gladiators as debased men of the lowest condition and fortune, suggesting that viewing the games would taint the viewer.⁵⁸ The second century Tertulian summarizes this ambivalence clearly: *amant quos multant, depretiant quos probant, artem magnificent, artificem notant, quale iudicium est, ut ob ea quis offuscetur, per quae promeretur*⁵⁹ (Tert. *Sp.* 22.3-4). Romans maintained conflicting attitudes towards gladiators, conceptualizing them as men full of glory but utterly debased. This epigram, however, extends the promise of redemption, suggesting that a gladiator can rise above any sense of taint. This transcendence, however, requires imperial sanction and imperial agency. For their displays of *virtus* and *ingeniosa*, the emperor refigures the gladiators as proper Roman men, men untainted by their role as gladiators.⁶⁰ Their *virtus* overwrites their shame as gladiators, allowing Martial to refer to them only in laudatory terms. In effect, the epigram sets up a programmatic exchange: through the emperor's agency, displays of *virtus* can redeem and ennoble anyone.

Although the equal gladiators are the most extreme example, the *Liber spectaculorum* consistently links displays of Roman virtue with rewards, which the emperor directly bestows or

⁵⁶ For the best treatment of these paradoxical views, see Barton 1993: 11–81.

⁵⁷ Admiration: Sen. *Const.* 2.16.2; Cic. *Tusc.* 2.41; witnessing gladiatorial games as beneficial: Plin. *Pan.* 33.1; SHA. *Max. et Balb.* 8.7. Barton 1993 also notes that Seneca constructs his ideal philosopher in terms of a gladiator.

⁵⁸ Debased: Cic. *Mil.* 94; Calp. *Decl.* 52.39.18-23; Sen. *Nat.* 7.32.3, 37.1-2; Juv. 8.183-99; viewership and taint: Sen. *Ep.* 7. Cicero also notes that men might be ashamed to admit to enjoying the games: Cic. *Mur.* 40.

⁵⁹ They love those they punish, depreciate those they commend, they glorify the art and brand with disgrace the artist; what judgment it is, when they throttle him for the very things they esteem on stage!

⁶⁰ This transformation, however, is likely a literary conceit. Juvenal's distaste for the presence of the sons of gladiators in the seats reserved for equites (Juv. 3.153-8) suggests that such men were never free entirely from the taint of their past; he also suggests that a single performance as a gladiator tarnishes a man for life (Juv. 8.183-99).

which the emperor's very presence enables. According to Martial, the *bestiarius* Carpophorus earns *gloria famae* and a *patera* for his exploits in the arena, including slaying a polar bear (Mart. *Sp.* 17.1-2, 8). Carpophorus's performance takes on additional significance when read in its Flavian context. In his analysis of an equestrian statue of Domitian, Steven Tuck traces the role of hunting in Domitian's imperial imagery and argues that Domitian refigured *virtus* from its nearly exclusively military mode to a more Hellenistic form that incorporated non-military achievements, most notably hunting.⁶¹ His frequent appearance in the *Liber spectaculorum* is a peculiarly Flavian touch, perpetuating the memory of a great hunter as a man of great *virtus*.

Martial does not, however, confine the rewards of virtue to men, but also allows animals to participate in this system. He makes the causal link overt in his epigram about the submissive doe (Mart. *Sp.* 33). For the doe's display of *pietas*, her obeisance to the emperor's manifestly divine aura, the doe receives the prize of her life. Indeed, Martial's imagery emphasizes this link and its significance for humans. He likens the doe to a petitioner (Mart. *Sp.* 33.3: *similisque roganti*) and her salvation to a prize earned for her conduct (Mart. *Sp.* 33.6: *dona tulit*). In each case, Roman virtues, whether *virtus* or *pietas*, offer immediate rewards, rewards that the emperor enables and bestows in recognition of these virtues.

The sands allow the emperor to place the reality of virtues and vices on stage, namely that men and animals alike have the potential for both: gladiators can display their *virtus*, criminals their *nocens*, and animals their docility or savagery. Yet, the arena also allows the emperor to stage a compact with the audience through his programmatic displays of punishment and reward. When the emperor rewards virtues and punishes vices in such a public setting, he reifies these values and showcases his willingness to live by them; these displays allow the

⁶¹ Tuck 2005; Roller 2001 traces the emergence of a non-militaristic definition of *virtus* based in Stoic philosophy in Seneca's work.

emperor to rationalize and justify his incredible power by fitting it to an easily and widely intelligible framework that dictates how and when he will exercise it. The audience can then expect the emperor, both in spectacular and non-spectacular contexts, to approve of shared values and deplore shared vices.

Yet, this compact also binds the performers to a matching framework of behavior and interactions. A performer ‘earns’ the emperor’s goodwill by buying into the morality underlying the system of rewards, by internalizing the rightness of the virtues and vices involved. Accordingly, men will expect rewards for *virtus*, *pietas*, and *fides*, while the emperor will expect men to behave in accordance with these values. The death of the treacherous lion encapsulates this dynamic in its entirety (Mart. *Sp* 12). Prior to its unprovoked attack on its trainer, the lion never suffered a beating, living a comfortable and pampered life in exchange for its docility and willingness to perform. When it attacked without reason, Martial brands it *perfidus* and *ingratus* and lauds the emperor for ordering it put to death. Like men, the lion could display both virtue and vice, but its fate and well being depended entirely on which.

If the stands present the Roman-dominated world, the sands of the arena put the *possible* world on display. Roman writers conceptualize spectacles as occasions that draw in and represent the fruits of a dominated world.⁶² The very presence of exotic animals, foreign prisoners, and, on some occasions, booty from war evokes the periphery of the empire, summoning its representatives to the heart of Rome for display to Romans and making the periphery present for the center. Yet, the arena’s reach also extends beyond geography into time itself, offering up re-eneactments of mythical and historical moments. With the notable exception of Roman history itself, the arena fully expresses the potential of *imperium sine fine*,

⁶² Coleman 2006: lxxii–lxxv.

subjecting reality itself to the arena's draw. The space of the sands transcends geography, history, and even reality, offering displays ranging from the mundane to the exotic, from the ordinary to the downright impossible, from the human to the divine: all appear in the arena for the pleasure of the audience.

The stands of the amphitheater construct a model of the world that channeled all peoples into a singular social hierarchy, in which the members put their submission to the emperor's domination on display. In contrast to this monolithic representation, the sands of the arena put a multiplicity of worlds on display. Rather than postulating a teleological inevitability, the acknowledged and inescapable domination of the emperor, the sands provided a space in which the *possibilities* of the world could exist. The actors summoned to the arena enjoy the full range of virtues and vices, complete with their attendant rewards. No innate moral valence endows the actors, but, just as in life outside the arena, their actions within the arena, judged by the same standard, determine their worth and their fate. The sands offered up the possibilities of the world for display, presenting everything from the virtuous gladiator to the treacherous lion.

Like the world represented in the stands, the variety seen in the world(s) of the sands is deceptive. The presence of anything, whether animal, person, object, or god, interpellates it as a subject of Roman *imperium*: Roman *imperium* has drawn it to the arena. Although they hail from everywhere but Rome, we cannot construct the spectacle performers simply as the non-Roman 'other.' In his discussion of the effects of the gaze in relation to social status, David Fredrick argues that imposition of distinctly Roman elements onto the performers, in the form of familiar Roman mythologies and the technology of the spectacle, prevents the use of this dichotomy.⁶³ Like the stands, the sands of the arena celebrates the diversity of its inhabitants;

⁶³ Fredrick 2002a: 244–45.

again, Martial pointedly localizes performers in the *Liber spectaculorum*, ensuring that his readers know that one bear hailed from Caledonia but the other from the Arctic. Despite this conspicuous variety, the emperor's domination unites all performers. Just as the world of the stands openly acknowledges the emperor as their master and performs their submission to him, the existence of an element in the sands similarly locates it through its submission to Roman and, specifically, the emperor's *imperium*. Whether god, man, or animal, whether good or bad, all performers in the sands implicitly perform their acceptance of the emperor's domination. The sands do not offer a venue to display the fruits of empire, but articulate an imperial view of the dominated world.

The Emperor and the 'True' World

The history of the rise of the Flavian dynasty placed the Flavian emperors in a curious position. Vespasian's rise to power came at the cost of two significant blows to the empire and the imperial system. First, the death of Nero, the last of the Julio Claudians, severed the *de facto* hereditary line of emperors, for the accession of each Julio-Claudian emperor, as well as much of his power and legitimacy, derived from a carefully cultivated and advertised connection to Augustus. Indeed, Julio-Claudian portraiture provides an uncanny reminder of the importance of being Augustus-like, with each emperor adopting certain iconographic similarities, most notably a characteristic hairstyle.⁶⁴ Second, the resulting power vacuum spawned four emperors over the course of a year of civil war, culminating in the Flavian siege of Rome memorably narrated in Tacitus's *Histories*. Vespasian's rise to power required the spectacular failure of the only

⁶⁴ N. H. Ramage and Ramage 2001: 138–40.

precedent for imperial rule, the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and a year of warfare that led to the devastation of the *caput mundi* and some of its most sacred sites.

Together, these events called the viability of the imperial system into question. Prior to Nero's death, the Pisonian conspiracy, only one of several failed attempts to restore the Republic, hinted at the dissatisfaction some Romans felt towards the very idea of an emperor. With the extinction of the Julio-Claudian bloodline and no clear successor, the desire for a new beginning likely intensified. Further, Vespasian's bloody accession to the throne and his distance from the Julio-Claudian dynasty left him without a clear claim to authority, a fact astutely captured in Tacitus's famous sentiment about *arcana imperii*: the emperor can be made outside of Rome by an army (Tac. *Hist.* 1.4; cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 7.2). Vespasian thus had to balance two divergent impulses in his self-presentation, a balancing act that defined the Flavian dynasty. First, his overt monopoly over the coercive forces of the empire, asserted through his victory in the civil wars, predicated his claim to power. In order to reaffirm his position and deter opponents, the Flavian Principate increasingly unveiled the true nature of the Principate as a military autocracy, emphasizing the power and position of the emperor.⁶⁵ However, the examples of Gaius and Nero, emperors who openly abused their power, forced the Flavians to cultivate a benevolent Augustan appearance: they had unquestioned power but only in service to Rome. The *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*, the law through which Vespasian defined his powers as emperor, reifies this balance. Among its many provisions, this law stipulates

utique quaecunque ex usu rei publicae maiestateque diuinarum
humanarum publicarum priuatarumque rerum esse

⁶⁵ Mellor 2003 charts one expression of the increasingly militaristic nature of the Flavian Principate. Through prosopography, Mellor argues that the Flavians increasingly appointed praetorians from the eastern legions to power, replacing the largely Italic aristocracy of the Julio-Claudians with eastern, military men.

censebit, ei agere facere ius potestasque sit, ita uti diuo Aug(usto), Tiberioque Iulio
Caesari Aug(usto),
Tiberioque Claudio Caesari
Aug(usto) Germanico fuit⁶⁶

In this law, Vespasian grants himself the power to do anything he desires, so long as he can cast it as in the Republic's interests, but justifies this right by attributing it to the reputable Julio-Claudians, namely Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius. It juxtaposes an unabashed claim to supreme power with a position of benevolence, modeled on a carefully selected Julio-Claudian precedent.

The Flavian spectacle, an unparalleled public opportunity for the emperor to display his generosity and his position programmatically, offers one of the most visible manifestations of this tension between the realities of power and the need for authority. Literary representations of the emperor at spectacles carefully balance the emperor's power against his benevolence. Statius's *Silvae* 1.6, published in 93 CE, describes a Saturnalian spectacle staged by Domitian. The poem focuses on the many forms of public entertainment provided by Domitian, enumerating the gifts, banquets, and shows he provided. He sponsored a public banquet featuring food and wine imported from throughout the empire, seating every class of person, whether child, woman, plebs, *eques*, or senator, at a single common table (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.9-38). Domitian then gave a series of games filled with unique sights, including female gladiators and a melee of dwarves (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.43-45). He complemented the spectacle of these pugilists with the sight of numerous rare birds from throughout the world, including cranes, flamingos, pheasant, and guinea fowl, and encouraged the audience to seize birds from the dense cloud

⁶⁶ In order that whatsoever he judges to be in accordance with the advantage of the Republic and the majesty of things divine, human, public, and private, he shall have the power and the right to do and to execute, just as it was for the deified Augustus, Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus, and Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. CIL VI, 930.

flying through the arena (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.75-80). The poem contextualizes the emperor through an overwhelming display of generosity, one that Domitian extended to all Romans; the poem constructs his power entirely positively, articulating it exclusively through the emperor's munificence.

The oddity of Statius's account does not, however, lie in his description of the entertainments Domitian offered, for even Suetonius grudgingly noted that Domitian provided grand and costly spectacles of exotic sights, as well as numerous public feasts (Suet. *Dom.* 4). Rather, Statius's representation of the emperor himself is the most unusual element. He constructs the emperor as a curiously removed figure, directly mentioning the emperor only four times. The first three appearances of the emperor are all genitive nouns, reducing the emperor to a descriptor or reference point for defining other people and concepts (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.8: *Caesaris*; 1.6.50: *ducis*; 1.6.81: *principis*). The emperor appears as an active agent only once, when he forbids the audience to salute him as *dominus* near the end of the poem (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.84). Carole Newlands succinctly summarizes this representation: "The emperor instead dominates the poem. His presence is everywhere directly felt, but his actual person is nowhere described."⁶⁷ Although Statius's poem focuses on imperial largesse, Domitian is primarily an implied presence, secondary to the festivities and enjoyment of the audience.

On the surface, Statius's treatment of Domitian presents a problem by depicting the emperor as a simultaneously absent, yet inescapable, figure. Statius rationalizes this apparent paradox through a sophisticated representation of the nature of Domitian's power. Although the emperor forbids the crowd to address him as *dominus* in the poem, Statius nonetheless casts

⁶⁷ Newlands 2003: 508.

Domitian in a nearly divine light, referring to him as *nostri Jovis* (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.27).⁶⁸ His portrayal of the audience's relationship to the emperor and his munificence underscores this representation. Statius likens Domitian's generosity to a rainstorm that showered the assembled audience with food and gifts (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.21-27); in turn, he depicts the audience as a vocally appreciate body, claiming, "*tollunt innumeras ad astra voces / Saturnalia principis sonantes et dulci dominum favore clamant.*"⁶⁹ (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.81-82) Statius constructs the emperor as a nearly divine figure and force of nature, one that exists outside of standard human conceptions. In *Silvae* 1.6, the relationship between the unknowable power of the emperor and his subjects functions positively, with the emperor showering prosperity on Rome and the Romans showing appropriate submission and gratitude. The poem, however, dissimulates the converse: if Jupiter/Domitian can bring nourishing rain, he can also bring ruinous lightning.⁷⁰ The force of the poem operates on this implicit tension, constructing his power in terms that suggest that benevolence and force are merely two sides of the same coin.

Martial represents the anonymous 'Caesar' of the *Liber spectaculorum* in a similar mode, portraying the emperor as a more-than-human figure. Throughout the collection, the emperor serves as a focal point of power, the figure through which the audience and performers alike can effect change. In the *Liber spectaculorum*, the audience twice makes vocal petitions to the emperor, asking him to stage particular gladiatorial match-ups or to grant *missio* to both

⁶⁸ Newlands 2003: 508–512. In his *Panegyricus*, Pliny the Younger deploys this imagery to criticize Domitian, emphasizing the "thunderbolts" that rained down on the heads of unwitting senators (Plin. *Pan.* 66, 90.5).

⁶⁹ They raised countless voices to the stars, singing of the princeps' Saturnalia and acclaiming the sweet nature of their master.

⁷⁰ Bartsch 1994 illustrates the difficulties with that this dual identification presents Pliny the Younger in the *Panegyricus*: he must emphasize the potential of the emperor's power for both destruction and munificence.

gladiators in a well-fought match (Mart. *Sp.* 23, 31).⁷¹ In each case, the emperor graciously grants the request, allowing the requested performers to appear or declaring both victors. Martial concludes both epigrams with an apostrophe about the emperor's glory. When the emperor allows the requested fighters to appear, Martial declares it a sign of *dulce invicti principis ingenium* (Mart. *Sp.* 23.4).⁷² Similarly, Martial celebrates the emperor's decision to name two contestants victor, claiming *contigit hoc nullo nisi te sub principe* (Mart. *Sp.* 31.11).⁷³

Imperial deference to popular will in the games was a common theme in imperial biography and panegyric, exploited by Suetonius and Pliny in their laudatory discussions of Titus and Trajan (Suet. *Tit.* 8.2; Plin. *Pan.* 33.3). Martial expands on this sentiment, recasting a typical display of imperial benevolence as a sign of the sweet disposition of the unconquerable emperor; moreover, the 'Caesar' of the *Liber spectaculorum* surpasses the examples of his predecessors, offering an unprecedented programmatic display of his generosity. At heart, these exchanges are highly typical examples of vocal petitions and imperial responses, exchanges critical for the construction of imperial power and authority.⁷⁴ These petitions establish a relationship between the two parties, in which the emperor is the dominant holder of power and the audience the subordinate party; the audience cannot effect change through its own agency and must instead work through the emperor. These moments represent the emperor as the only legitimate locus of power, tempering this display of power with undertones of approachability and goodwill. Yet,

⁷¹ Scholars debate whether the audience was calling for two gladiators or two bestiarii. For full discussion and historiography, see Coleman 2006: 169–70. Coleman identifies them as gladiators, citing the unique nature of the occasion.

⁷² The sweet spirit of the unconquerable princeps.

⁷³ This has never happened except under you, Princeps.

⁷⁴ Millar 1977 examines these interactions in their more formal, written forms. Aldrete 1999 focuses on the more informal forms that might occur in public gatherings, like those in the *Liber spectaculorum*.

Martial constructs Caesar's entirely ordinary displays as somehow exceptional, as unprecedented signs of the good character of an unconquerable emperor.

Martial expands on these sentiments to characterize Caesar as a more than human, albeit unthreatening, figure. He suggests that the emperor has a superhuman nature, one proven when animals recognize and react to the emperor's very presence. In each case, Martial sets typical expectations against the animal's actual behavior, transforming otherwise ordinary spectacular events into vivid testaments to the emperor's power. For example, Martial represents a typical elephant trick, kneeling to show deference, as the elephant's spontaneous deference to the emperor's divinity (Mart. *Sp.* 20). Seneca and Pliny the Elder both describe an elephant's ability to either perform *proskynesis* or offer a crown at its trainer's behest (Sen. *Epist.* 85.41; Plin. *NH.* 8.1). Martial, however, emphasizes the spontaneity of the elephant's action on two counts. First, Martial reminds his readers that this same elephant performed fiercely in a contest against a bull, contrasting the elephant's respect to the emperor with an otherwise bellicose performance (Mart. *Sp.* 20.2: *qui tauro tam metuendus erat*; cf. 22). Second, Martial claims that the elephant bowed without any commands from its masters. Roman tradition viewed elephants as inherently religious creatures that often worshipped the rising sun and new moon with voluntary and spontaneous *proskynesis* (Plin. *NH.* 8.1-2; Ael. *NA.* 4.10, 7.44; Plut. *Mor.* 972c); Martial constructs the performance as an unexpected, instinctual action rather than a learned, commanded one. Martial's wording is particularly important here. Martial uses *adoro* to describe the elephant's action, choosing a word primarily used to describe formal acts of

religious worship.⁷⁵ Indeed, Martial makes the sentiment explicit, assuring his readers *crede mihi nostrum sentit et ille deum* (Mart. *Sp.* 20.4).⁷⁶

Martial similarly transforms the surprising conclusion to the fight between a doe and a pack of Molossian hounds into an affirmation of the emperor's manifest divinity. Again, the punch line of the epigram turns on the fact that the hounds and doe alike acted contrary to their expected behaviors, with the doe ceasing her flight to fall in supplication before 'Caesar' and the hounds sparing her for it. As with the elephant's *proskynesis*, Martial categorizes the doe's action as a spontaneous reaction to the emperor's divinity, not simply his temporal power. He claims that the emperor has a *sacer numen* and *sacra potestas*, granting him a divine aura proven by the doe's supplication. Martial even guards against claims of falsehood, that the emperor's divinity exists only in what James Scott calls the public transcript, stating that, unlike men, animals simply do not know how to lie (Mart. *Sp.* 33.8; cf. *Ep.* 1.4.5-6 for a lion and rabbit).⁷⁷ The unexpected twist in this display allows Martial to represent the emperor as a being with a superhuman control over nature, able to force predators and prey alike to defy their natural instincts in deference to the emperor's sacred presence. Indeed, Martial implicitly suggests that the emperor's presence so overwhelmed the doe and hounds that they could only fall to their knees before him.

In addition to animals' recognition of the emperor's inherent divinity, Martial frequently casts unlikely or incredible spectacles in terms of the emperor's divinity and power. Although

⁷⁵ Glare 1982: s.v. *adoro*; cf. *adoratio*; see also Coleman 2006: 157–58.

⁷⁶ Believe me: he indeed sensed our god.

⁷⁷ Scott 1990; Coleman 2006: 248 summarizes the train of thought thusly: "...if the doe had been able to pretend that she did not recognize the superhuman power of the emperor, she would have kept running away from the hounds instead of collapsing to her knees; but it was precisely her inability to pretend that saved her..."; Bartsch 1994 puts this approach to good use to analyze Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus*.

the exact nature of the display is unclear, Martial chides a participant in a recreation of the myth of Leander for marveling that a wave spared him. Instead, Martial ascribes Leander's survival to Caesar's mercy, reminding the performer that it was, after all, Caesar's wave (Mart. *Sp.* 28.2). Coleman emphasizes that this epigram extends the emperor's sphere of influence, noting, "Not merely humans and animals, but even the 'sea' (artificial as it is) succumbs to the emperor's *clementia*."⁷⁸ Likewise, Martial obscures the role of the arena's machinery in a spectacle culminating in the raising of a bull into the air: rather than the work of machinery (*artes*), Martial claims that *pietas* levitated the bull (Mart. *Sp.* 18.2: *non fuit hoc artis, sed pietatis opus*).

Despite these epigrams, Martial and other Roman writers took great pride in the machinery of the arena and its nearly miraculous ability to alter the very terrain of the sands. Apuleius marveled at the sudden appearance of a mountain in the arena and Seneca described in some detail the use of collapsible stage devices in one of his letters (Apul. *Met.* 10.30.1; Sen. *Epist.* 88.22). Modern scholars similarly glorify the machinery of the arena, attempting to figure out the mechanics of its use and extolling it as a way to Romanize otherwise distinctly 'foreign' performers.⁷⁹ Even Martial celebrates this transformative potential, asking his readers to imagine the reaction of a foreigner who saw the Flavian amphitheater flooding and emptying as it alternated between naval and terrestrial spectacles (Mart. *Sp.* 27). Yet, Martial eclipses these descriptions with the emperor's majesty, suggesting that anything that occurs within the walls of the arena is ultimately a manifestation of the emperor's incredible power and control over man, nature, and even geography.

⁷⁸ Coleman 2006: 206. Ovid uses similar imagery to imagine something of Caesar's saving an individual from death (Ov. *F.* 3.702).

⁷⁹ Beacham 1999; Fredrick 2003.

Beyond granting the emperor nearly divine powers over men, animals, and nature, Martial carefully suggests that the emperor stands above even the gods themselves. In one epigram, Martial makes the claim explicit, placing the gods in service to the emperor: *Belliger invictis quod Mars tibi servit in armis / non satis est, Caesar: servit et ipsa Venus*⁸⁰ (Mart. *Sp.* 7.1-2). Kathleen Coleman offers an interpretation that sidesteps the theological danger of addressing the emperor as a god, stating, “the contrast between *Mars in armis* and *Venus* (s.c. *in armis*) is a literary conceit alluding to the female equivalent of (male) combatants.”⁸¹ Although the epigram offers an interpretation that avoids the living apotheosis of the emperor, Coleman also notes that the idea of gods serving the emperor, a common feature of Flavian poetry, nonetheless elevates the emperor to the station of a senior divinity.⁸² In other instances, Martial compares the emperor’s power to that of the gods. When lauding the above display that lifted a bull into the air, Martial calls upon Fama to take note of the superior performance of Caesar’s bull: while Jupiter’s only managed to carry Europa over the seas (19.1: *per aequora*), Caesar’s carried an equal burden to the stars (19.2: *in astra*). Likewise, Martial’s chiding reminder that it was Caesar’s wave that spared Leander (Mart. *Sp.* 28.2) implicitly dismisses divine intervention, grounding an otherwise miraculous occurrence solely in the power of the emperor. Martial rarely terms the emperor a god, a conceit entirely unacceptable to a Roman audience and appearing only once (Mart. *Sp.* 20.4: *nostrum ... deum*). Like Statius’s Domitian-Jupiter amalgam, Martial rather employs analogies and intimations to narrow the interpretative field. While each epigram independently offers an alternative reading, in which the emperor is entirely

⁸⁰ That warlike Mars in invincible armor serves you is not enough, Caesar: Venus herself serves as well.

⁸¹ Weinreich 1928: 35; Carratello 1965: 301; Moretti 1992: 57; Coleman 2006: 70.

⁸² Coleman 2006. For similar examples, see Mart. *Sp.* 30 and Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.16-17.

mortal, the collection as a whole accepts only one reading: the emperor is a super-divine entity, existing above the natural and supernatural worlds.

Spectacle offered a solution to a problem that Vespasian noted shortly after his rise to sole power: although he possessed all the power of the position, as a newly raised *princeps* he lacked the *auctoritas* and *maiestas* to exercise it (Suet. *Vesp.* 7.2).⁸³ Suetonius identifies three major concerns for the Flavian Principate in this statement: the position, *auctoritas*, and *maiestas*. In the *Liber spectaculorum*, Martial constructs an image of ‘Caesar’ that addresses each. In the *Liber spectaculorum*, ‘Caesar’ possesses nearly unimaginable power, manifested in his miraculous control over man, nature, and space. Moreover, this power is an innate characteristic, springing from what Martial terms his *sacra numen* and *sacra potestas* (Mar. *Sp.* 33.8). The scope of these powers, their supernatural valence, imbues ‘Caesar’ with an unimpeachable sense of *maiestas* and *auctoritas*: how can anyone question a super-divine entity? Yet, the *Liber spectaculorum* wraps the steel fist of the emperor’s power and majesty in a velvet glove of benevolence and justice. Throughout the *Liber spectaculorum*, Martial painstakingly emphasizes that a shared cultural code of virtue and vice binds the emperor, that so long as the populace is virtuous the emperor will act benevolently on their behalf. The ‘Caesar’ of the *Liber spectaculorum* is the symbol the Flavian Principate needed, the figure whose existence solves the crises of power and authority caused by the bloody fall of the Julio-Claudians and the rise of the Flavians.

World of Worlds: The Spectacle of Empire

⁸³ *Auctoritas et quasi maiestas quaedam ut scilicet inopinato et adhuc novo principi deerat* (Suet. *Vesp.* 7.2)

Although underutilized in modern discussions, the first three epigrams of the *Liber spectaculorum* are critical for understanding the nature of Flavian spectacle. Superficially and individually, each is an entirely typical celebration of the emperor's munificence and the empire's magnificence, extolling the virtues of an imperial building project and its funder. In this reading, however, their placement at the beginning of a 'book of spectacles' is incongruous, a strange departure from the remainder of the collection's intense focus on the actual spectacles. Read together, however, the three epigrams construct a programmatic representation of the relationship between the arena, its contents, and the wider empire, providing the necessary context for understanding the spectacles themselves.

Martial structures the first epigram as what modern scholars call a *priamel*, a poetic structure comprised of a 'foil' of successive clauses with similar content and a 'climax.' A priamel simultaneously lays out a large context through its representative parts and grants a particular force to its point.⁸⁴ In this epigram, Martial exhorts various local peoples to cease boasting of their particular Wonders of the World, claiming that the Flavian amphitheater will eclipse monuments such as the pyramids, the walls of and hanging gardens of Babylonia, and the Mausoleum in Halicarnassus.⁸⁵ The epigram culminates in the climactic couplet *omnis Caesareo cedit labor amphitheatro / unum pro cunctis Fama loquetur opus*⁸⁶ (Mart. *Sp.* 1.7-8). On a basic level, Martial uses the epigram to situate the Flavian amphitheater in an international context, affording it a status that equaled or surpassed that of the canonical Wonders.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Race 1982: 109; Coleman 2006: 2.

⁸⁵ For a proposed identification of the wonders enumerated, see Coleman 2006: 3–13.

⁸⁶ All labor falls to Caesar's amphitheater; Fame will sing of one work in place of all.

⁸⁷ Weinreich 1928: 1 suggests that this notion was perhaps a feature of the contemporary reaction to the completed building.

The programmatic message of the epigram is not simply that the majesty of the Flavian amphitheater grants it a supreme status. Rather, Martial uses the epigram to supplant the local Wonders with a new Roman one. In the foil of the *priamel*, Martial chides local groups of people or towns, telling them to cease boasting of their local Wonder: Memphis and the Pyramid (1.1), Assyrians and the Babylonian wonders (1.2), Ionians and the Temple of Artemis (1.3), Carians and the Mausoleum (1.5-6). Instead, Martial claims that Fama will tell of a single monument in place of the collected wonders, *unum pro cunctis* (Mart. *Sp.* 1.8). The final couplet does not suggest that the Flavian amphitheater is superior to the other wonders, but intimates that, although located in Rome, it will replace the other wonders as focus of attention. Martial claims that the Flavian amphitheater will be as meaningful to the Ionians as the Temple of Artemis. Rather than situating the Flavian amphitheater in an international context, Martial reduces the entirety of the world to the local context, grounded in Rome through the existence of the Flavian amphitheater. He uses the *priamel* form in this epigram to construct the Flavian amphitheater as the paramount local wonder, relevant to every location and people regardless of their more native wonders. It does not surpass the other wonders but entirely replaces them.

The first epigram channels the world into Rome, leading its readers on a *periplus* of the empire that culminates in Rome with the Flavian amphitheater. The second epigram in the collection continues this journey into the heart of Rome, enacting a contrast between Nero's *Domus Aurea* and the Flavian public works that replaced it. Martial covers nearly the entire extent of Nero's palace, extending from the Palatine to the Velian hill (Mart. *Sp.* 2.1-4), across the valley housing the amphitheater to the Oppian hill (2.7-8), along the Esquiline hill to the gardens of Maecenas, and up the slope of the Caelian (2.9-10). When describing the *Domus Aurea*, Martial carefully employs words emphasizing its private, closed-off nature: it is the hated

hall of a cruel *rex* (2.3), a single *domus* standing in place of *tota urbe* (2.4), a *superbus ager* (2.8), and the *deliciae domini* (2.12). Like many post-Neronian authors, Martial states that Nero claimed a large area of the heart of Rome as a private luxury villa, an area that the Flavians returned to the people with the amphitheater (cf. Suet. *Ner.* 31; Plin. *Pan.* 33.1, Tac. *Ann.* 15.52). Indeed, Kathleen Coleman argues that the ancient criticism of the Domus Aurea centered around the theme that Nero appropriated for his palace land that properly belonged to the *populus Romanus*.⁸⁸ In effect, Martial and his contemporaries imply that Nero had effected *fines* within Rome, blocking the *populus Romanus*, the holders of *imperium sine fine*, from access to the urban heart of the city. In this tradition, Nero divorced Roman *imperium* from the Roman people, transforming it from a tool that the people might use into one that Nero used against them. Suetonius's allegation that Nero planned to rename Rome 'Neropolis' (Suet. *Ner.* 55) captures this idea fully: the city would no longer serve the Romans, only Nero.

Modern scholars have debated the truth in these ancient criticisms of the Domus Aurea. While Nero may have made efforts to re-house and compensate the evicted population, scholars emphasize the dissatisfaction Nero's plan would cause, regardless of the degree of compensation.⁸⁹ Coleman succinctly summarizes this position, noting, "Infuriating to rich and poor alike would have been the fact that the centre of Rome was now virtually the emperor's exclusive domain."⁹⁰ Yet, Coleman's statement is somewhat disingenuous, as she notes, for one of Nero's explicit intentions in the construction was the accommodation of public access to a

⁸⁸ Coleman 2006: 28.

⁸⁹ Satisfactory compensation: Morford 1968; little to no compensation for most: Newbold 1974: 866.

⁹⁰ Coleman 2006: 29; Welch 2007: 150–52 suggests that the primary hostility came from the elite for personal, commercial reasons.

variety of its areas.⁹¹ In his treatise on architecture, Vitruvius noted that the Roman *domus* had distinctly public functions and areas, for the vestibulum, the atrium, and, occasionally, the gardens of an important person's home were open regularly to the public, albeit always at the discretion of the owner (Vitr. 6.5.2). As a self-titled 'domus,' the Domus Aurea likely possessed a similar mix of public and private spaces. Rather than alleviating concerns that the Domus Aurea privatized the center of Rome, the overtly conditional nature of the public's access recalls the *finis* of Julius Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*.⁹² Rather than a basic barrier, the Domus Aurea allowed Nero to directly and overtly exert *imperium* on Roman citizens, barring or allowing movement across as Nero desired. The colossal statue of Nero only exacerbated the injury, placing this denied movement on display to a mammoth representation of the emperor.

Flavian propaganda plays heavily on the transition from the quasi-private Domus Aurea to the public pleasure of the Flavian amphitheater. In particular, the innovative decoration of the amphitheater's exterior offered a visual retort to Nero's patronage of Greek theaters. Katherine Welch traces the evolution of the architectural form of the Roman amphitheater from its traditional, plain appearance to the elaborately decorated façade of the Flavian amphitheater.⁹³ The Flavians wrapped the amphitheater in a Greek skin, decorating it with shields, a triumphal arch, Greek architectural orders, and statues of Greek subject matter or theme. On the lowest story, the amphitheater included Tuscan order columns, rather than the Doric used elsewhere, closest to the public eye. The decorations of the Flavian amphitheater symbolically repurposed Nero's philhellenism, seen most immediately in the Domus Aurea, which critics saw as an attempt to supplant Roman virtues with subversive and dangerous Greek values. Instead, the

⁹¹ Griffin 1984: 149–40; Darwall-Smith 1996: 38; Champlin 2003b: 206–9; Coleman 2006: 29.

⁹² See chapter 2.

⁹³ Welch 2007: 138–47.

Flavian amphitheater links Greek styles to native Italian orders and building types. Further, the Flavian amphitheater and its surrounding environs was an intensely public zone, a fact celebrated throughout Flavian literature. The Flavian amphitheater radically refigured the Neronian heart of Rome, re-appropriating typically Neronian decorations and private spaces for new, public, intensely Roman spaces. Martial's second epigram, then, does not simply situate the Flavian amphitheater within Rome, locating it in reference to other Flavian public works. Rather, he uses the amphitheater programmatically to construct a new Rome in opposition to Nero, re-imagining Rome as an open and welcoming location.

In the third epigram, Martial fuses the cosmopolitanism of the first epigram with the rhetoric of openness from the second, depicting the results through the vehicle of the audience. Again, Martial's description of the audience simultaneously alienates and incorporates its members, emphasizing the traits that visually distinguish them while nonetheless situating them within a visual representation of the Roman social order. The presence of these distinct peoples, described in ways emphasizing their nativeness, proves Martial's claim that the Flavian amphitheater will become *the* local wonder for all. Second, they pointedly deconstruct the rhetoric of exclusivity surrounding Nero's Domus Aurea: where previously Romans could not go, people from throughout the world now sit. Through the first three epigrams, then, Martial enacts a centripetal process. He begins with a *periplus* of the Wonders of the World, finishing in Rome. He then continues the journey within Rome, offering a tour of the heart of Rome culminating in the arena. Finally, Martial steps back to show his readers the result: the entire world has come to and is contained within the Flavian amphitheater. The result is a bizarre equivalence. The sands and stands both simulate the world, yet the real world exists only in the exterior of the arena; the arena both exists within and contains the world. In essence, Martial

collapses the entirety of the world to a single point, centered on and encapsulated in the amphitheater.

For all its programmatic power, Martial's introductory trilogy of epigrams in the *Liber spectaculorum* raises problematic questions about the nature of *imperium* in relationship to the Flavian amphitheater. On one level, Martial self-consciously deconstructs Neronian exclusion, overwriting it with imagery that draws the entire world into the amphitheater. The very presence of obviously foreign peoples suggests their possession of or participation in Roman *imperium*: if there is no population so barbarous or far removed that it has no representative in the audience, then necessarily even the most barbarous, distant tribe can exercise *imperium* to the extent that it can move freely to the amphitheater. Rather than the curtailed movement of Caesar's Gauls, all populations presumably can now enjoy freedom of movement from the periphery of empire to the center defined by the Flavian Amphitheater.⁹⁴ In effect, Martial opens the possibility that, under the Flavian, everyone in the world shares in the privileges and benefits that *imperium* promises.

Martial balances this disturbing possibility against the implication that these peoples do not exercise *imperium*, but rather that *imperium* exercises them. For example, Martial directly addresses 'Caesar' in the third epigram, contextualizing the presence of so many foreigners by locating them in the confines of *urbe tua* (Mart. *Sp.* 3.2); the concluding couplet reiterates the emperor's domination through a ritualized and universal display of the audience's subordination to him. Martial carefully does not say that the amphitheater itself attracted this audience, but grounds the impetus for travel in the emperor and *his* city. He also juxtaposes the presence of a people and the presence of their characteristic goods, employing the paradox of distant travelers

⁹⁴ For Caesar, the Gauls, and movement, see Chapter 2.

encountering a local product in Rome. When the Cilicians, for example, arrive in Rome, the arena's technology sprays them with their characteristic saffron unguent (Mart. *Sp.* 3.8). Prior to the arrival of the Cilicians, the mechanisms of *imperium* had already reached Cilicia, extracted a local product, and transported it to Rome. While the Cilicians may exercise *imperium* in their journey to Rome, they may also be commodities, like their saffron, moved by the emperor's *imperium*. The *Liber spectaculorum* poses its cosmopolitan audience on this tenuous balance between status as participants in or as subjects to Flavian *imperium*.

Numerous equally dangerous paradoxes lurk beneath the surface of Martial's celebration of Flavian spectacles. Two of these prove especially problematic, for they threaten to break down the fundamental distinctions through which the Romans and the audience understood their place in the world. The first is the distinction between the audience in the stands and the performers in the sands. Again, the sands and the stands both represent certain images of the world. The sands represent the possibilities of the world, visually cataloguing its history and myth, its wide range of inhabitants, and the spectrum of virtues and vices. In turn, the stands represent the emperor-dominated world, displaying the entirety of the world arrayed in its subjection to imperial authority.

While the arena purports to display the fruits of the world to its audience, the dual identification of the world, existing symbolically and, more importantly, distinctly in the sands and the stands, problematizes this conception: if the sands and the stands both represent the world, how separate can they be? The result is not an arena that displays the subjection of its performers but one that signifies and constructs the relationship of reality to itself through an elaborate series of simulations and dissimulations. Martial places the audience on display, emphasizing that the spectators and their experiences form a significant part of the overall

spectacle. Tacitus similarly treats an audience as the principle attraction in a spectacle, one worth bringing foreign dignitaries to see. In effect, Martial and Tacitus both cast the audience as legitimate targets for the gaze of any spectator; the spectators play to one another, moving beyond simple spectators to become spectator-actors. They become witnesses to a larger spectacle that revolves around the performance of their subjection and domination, one that the performers in the sands, the traditional site of domination, only mirror. The arena becomes a monumental version of the literary *mise en abyme*, presenting the overt meta-narrative of the sands hidden behind the actual narrative of the arena. The sands and the stands ultimately signify the same element, both pointing to the world of the Flavian emperors.

The key to the functioning of the arena's *mise en abyme* lay in its combination of simulation and dissimulation. The simulative aspects of the arena are closest to the surface. The arena simulated the world in all its possibilities in the sands, invoking *imperium* overtly. The presence of performers signifying specific locations throughout the empire, the malleability of the arena's topography, and the potential for the sands to display moments from history and myth visibly manifest the emperor's *imperium*, testifying to his ability to draw forth performers and geographies regardless of space and time. The display of the possible in the arena programmatically suggests that the emperor possesses *imperium since fine* in the most literal sense, an *imperium* unbound even by the constraints of reality. The stands of the arena similarly simulate a world dominated by the emperor, tacitly representing its members as yet another display assembled through the exercise of the emperor's *imperium*. In effect, Martial constructs everything within the arena, sands and stands alike, as part of the spectacle, with the presence of all enabled by the emperor's incomprehensible *imperium*.

Roman literature, however, does not and cannot make this simple equivalence explicit: if the sands put the world on display and the stands put the world on display, then the sands and stands are one and the same, both parts of a world on display. Indeed, Roman literature pointedly dissimulates against the implication that the audience is no different from the performers, representing the physical gap between the audience and the actors as an impenetrable conceptual barrier. The most powerful illustration of this barrier appears in Suetonius and Pliny's moralizing descriptions of the behavior of Domitian at the games. In one particularly memorable example, Suetonius describes Domitian's condemnation of a *paterfamilias* to *damnatio ad bestias*: *Patrem familias, quod Thraecem murmilloni parem, munerario imparem dixerat, detractum spectaculis in harenam canibus obiecit cum hoc titulo: "Impie locutus parmularius"* (Suet. *Dom.* 10.1).⁹⁵ Pliny references this event in his *Panegyricus*, remarking that, under Trajan, no one had to fear charges of impiety or damnation in the arena for disliking a particular gladiator (Plin. *Pan.* 33.3). Similar instances of the audience entering the arena abound in Suetonius's biography of Gaius, which Suetonius characterizes as signs of the emperor's *superbia saevitiaque* (Audience cast into arena: Suet. *Cal.* 26.4, 27.2, 35.1-3; *superbia saevitiaque*: 34.1).

Suetonius and Pliny both cast the potential danger for the audience in terms of the transition from spectator to spectacle. Suetonius tracks the movement of the *paterfamilias* from the stands to the sands, emphasizing the connection between motion and changed status: *detractum spectaculis in harenam*. Likewise, Pliny carefully constructs a line between spectator and spectacles to remind his audience of Trajan's benevolence and Domitian's cruelty: *nemo e*

⁹⁵ Because a *paterfamilias* said that a Thracian gladiator was a match for a murmillio but not for the giver of the games, Domitian had him dragged from the stands and thrown into the arena with dogs, with this placard: "This little shield [i.e. a little Thracian] spoke impiously."

spectatore spectaculum factus (Plin. *Pan.* 33.3). Their phrasing reveals the true horror of this incident for Romans, locating it less in Domitian's cruel and fickle punishment than in the collapse of the distinction between spectator and spectacle and the transition from watcher to watched. Tacitus similarly capitalizes on the perceived horror of becoming an unexpected spectacle in his description of Domitian in the Senate. According to Tacitus, one of the particular miseries of Domitian's reign was the sight of the emperor's blood-red countenance turned towards the senate, knowing that he was watching, taking careful note of every sigh and every pale face, and that, if Domitian blushed with shame for his unveiled surveillance, his red coloring hid it (Tac. *Ag.* 45).

Later accounts of Domitian's reign frequently emphasize this sense of unregulated and inescapable surveillance as a sign of his inhumanity. In the *Panegyricus*, for example, Pliny claims that Domitian's *delatores* so thoroughly penetrated Roman society that not even the highest classes, temples, or sealed documents were inviolate (Plin. *Pan.* 34.1). Likewise, Suetonius claims that Domitian constructed a mirrored wall along a porticus so that he literally might watch his own back (Suet. *Dom.* 14.4). David Fredrick characterizes Domitian's architectural projects as examples of surveillance as a spatial practice; he argues that Domitian constructed through his buildings a panoptical space firmly grounded in Flavian power, into which he could look while those inside knew only that they might be watched at any time.⁹⁶ The omnipresence of Domitian's gaze forced Romans into what James Scott terms "command performances," an inferior's carefully regulated display of situational appropriate words, actions, and emotions to a superior.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Fredrick 2003.

⁹⁷ Scott 1990: 28–29.

Scholars examining Roman visual theory emphasize the anxiety Romans might feel over such a situation.⁹⁸ According to Carlin Barton, an uninhibited gaze, or the threat of one, was a terrifying thought to most Romans and provided the centerpiece to some of the most terrible dramas of Roman life.⁹⁹ Accordingly, Ovid's Procne murders her child with an unwavering gaze (Ov. *Met.* 6.619-52); Seneca lists Gaius's gaze as a torture equivalent to the rack, cords, and fire (Sen. *Ira.* 3.19.1); and Varro maintained in his *De Lingua Latina* that the word *videre*, to see, derived from *vis*, force (Varr. *L.* 6.80: *video a visu*). Under Domitian's unwavering stare, all Romans necessarily became constant performers, the sign of a fatal rupture in the boundary that constrained performers to the sands. Later authors' intense focus on this rupture and their characterization of the effects emphasize the normative nature of this distinction: only under tyrants, only when the world was turned upside down, did non-performers become performers and did the barrier between the two collapse.

The problem of Romans in the arena, then, is not that they act as performers per se. Rather, the problem of Gaius, Nero, and Domitian is that each moved spectators from the stands into the sands. This movement compromised the barrier between the two simulations, violating the necessary conceit that the two are somehow different. In imperial biographies, the greatest sign of the cruel emperor was that he collapsed the critical illusion dividing performers and audience, revealing all as performers. In his semiotic analysis of Disneyland, Jean Baudrillard helps us to see the power of this form of simulation and the danger of its loss. Baudrillard terms Disneyland "a deterrence machine set up in order to rejuvenate in reverse the fiction of the

⁹⁸ Fredrick 2002b contains an excellent collection of essays examining aspects of visual theory in the context of the Empire.

⁹⁹ Barton 2002: 223–5.

real.”¹⁰⁰ He argues that the explicit childishness of Disneyland, its direct evocation of youthful fantasy and imagination, necessarily suggests that the adult world exists outside of and separate from Disneyland. He concludes pessimistically that Disneyland seeks, “to conceal the fact that real childishness is everywhere, particularly among those adults who go there to act the child in order to foster illusion of their real childishness.”¹⁰¹ In effect, Baudrillard claims that the simulation of Disneyland, namely that it is an infantile place, validates and perpetuates the corresponding dissimulation of the real world, namely that it is not, in fact, an infantile place.

In the arena, the sands serves as a Roman Disneyland designed to exhibit a dominated world. The fiction of the arena dictates that performers come to the sands to play out their subordination to Roman *imperium* for the audience in the stands, suggesting that all that is dominated appears only in the sands. Through this fiction, the arena validates the dissimulation surrounding the stands, namely that they are not a site equally dominated by a singular locus of Roman *imperium*. More simply, the arena’s feigned display of the subordinate in the sands validates the conceit that the audience in the stands is not also a subordinated body on display; although Romans might admire some traits of the gladiator, for example, they *needed* to construct him as *infames*, as a lesser being. Rather than facing the anxieties and agonies of unceasing ‘performances to power,’ the deterrence apparatus of the arena rejuvenates the fictionally superior station of the audience.

In addition to its role in concealing the erosion of the audience-performer distinction, the deterrence mechanisms of the arena also conceal a more troublesome elision: the failing distinction between animals and humans in the sands of the arena. Nearly every human act in the *Liber spectaculorum* has a direct analog acted out by an animal. The Flavian rhinoceros’ battles

¹⁰⁰ Baudrillard 1994: 13.

¹⁰¹ Baudrillard 1994: 13.

with bulls, bears, and lions (bulls: 11; bears and lions: 26) resemble the feats of the great *bestiarius* Carpophorus, who slays boars, bears, and, in theory, all the monsters from Hercules's labors (boars and bears: 17; recreate Hercules's labors: 32). Although unable to vocally express their subordination like the audience, a doe, hounds, and elephant express submission to the emperor through programmatic gestures (audience: 3; doe and hounds: 33; elephant: 20). Treacherous men, like the *delatores*, face punishment in the arena (4 and 5), matched by the death of a lion that bites its master (12). Interestingly, Martial imagines a relationship between men and animals such that men are the appropriate executioners for animals and vice versa: men spear the lion to death (12.), while bears and bulls tear apart criminals (bears: 9, 10, 24, 25; bull: 6).¹⁰² In the *Liber spectaculorum*, the animals and humans alike are subjected, transformed into subjects of the empire and subjects for *imperium* and imperial control. The Domitianic rhinoceros coin, then, invites a layered reading. Rather than referring exclusively to the sands, the 'proper' space for a rhinoceros in spectacle, the rhinoceros is also subjected in the same manner as any human subject: although it directly references the sands, the coin also tacitly represents the stands as site of subjection.

This resonance, that the Flavian Principate subjects men and animals in parallel terms, appears in other examples of Flavian literature as well. Martial's tale of a tiger that is sweet to its keeper and fierce in battle offers a parallel to Tacitus's depiction of Agricola. Tacitus redefines *virtus* in the course of the *Agricola*, claiming *ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat* (Tac. *Ag.* 8).¹⁰³ He later expands on this sentiment to eulogize Agricola, stating *posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse*,

¹⁰² For *Sp.* 24 and 25 as an execution see Coleman 2006: 174–85; for the bull mounting Pasiphae as execution, see 62–65; and Coleman 1990.

¹⁰³ Thus by his *virtus* in obsequiousness and his shameful modesty in speech, he was beyond hatred but not glory.

obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint (Tac. *Ag.* 42).¹⁰⁴ Tacitus does not, however, see language denoting slavishness (*obsequium*) or effeminacy (*modestia, verecundia*) as incompatible with his assertions of Agricola's masculine virtues (*industria, vigor*). Indeed, Tacitus represents this combination as the mark of a *magnus vir*, even claiming that Domitian and his sycophants feared Agricola for his great *virtus* (Tac. *Ag.* 41). The behavior of Martial's tiger offers a similar apparent paradox. Martial describes the glorious performance of the tiger in a battle with a fierce lion, depicting the tiger as a fierce and savage beast (Mart, *Sp.* 21.3-6). However, he begins the epigram by describing a ritualized display of the tiger's submission to her master: *lambere securi dextram consueta magistri* (Mart. *Sp.* 21.1). Like Tacitus's description of his father-in-law, Martial juxtaposes an image of servility with one of *virtus*, suggesting that, for men and animals alike, docility and submission are not incompatible with *virtus*. Although Tacitus's father-in-law is not Martial's tiger and vice versa, both authors depict the subjection of their subjects in parallel terms.

Martial nearly makes this point explicit in one epigram. After describing the punishment of the treacherous lion, Martial asks *quos decet esse hominum tali sub principe mores / qui iubet ingenium mitius esse feris* (Mart. *Sp.* 12.5-6).¹⁰⁵ He directly compares the expected behaviors of men and animals, stating that the emperor's will exerts equal control over his human subjects and the natural world. He consistently elides the distinction between men and animals in relation to the emperor, stating with varying directness that, under the emperor, men and animals are somewhat the same. The arena mediates against this insinuation by rigidly locating animals in the sands, much as it dissimulates the similarity between performers and viewers. By physically

¹⁰⁴ It is possible to be a great man under a bad *princeps*, if slavish obedience and feminine restraint are joined to industry and vigor.

¹⁰⁵ What must the behavior of men be under an emperor whose command it is that the nature of wild beasts be so tractable?

distancing the two, the physical structure of the arena distracts its consumer from the underlying symbolic closeness of men and animals.

The seams in this representation occasionally emerge, however, in Martial's representation of the emperor. Martial constructs a unique position for the emperor, casting him as a figure that exists outside the arena, but also the only one that can effect change in the arena. Much like Statius's representation of Domitian, Martial imagines the emperor as a strangely detached presence looming over the spectacles. He often refers to the emperor's spectatorship of the events through a second person singular verb accompanied by a vocative address, limiting its potential subject to the emperor alone. Perhaps the most important example appears in the third epigram, in which Martial describes the assembled audience. Although Martial terms the members of the audience *spectatores*, he constructs the poem as a direct address to Caesar; he asks Caesar to examine the audience and note its incredible variety (Mart. *Sp.* 3.1-2). In effect, Martial places the audience itself on display before Caesar; if the audience members are performer-spectators, the only true spectator is Caesar, who watches the audience without being part of its playacting. Similarly, Martial does not say that the amphitheater makes myth a reality for the audience. Rather, he represents the spectacles as a display offered to Caesar personally (Mart. *Sp.* 6.4: *praestat harena tibi*; 24.2: *exhibuit, Caesar, harena tibi*). Unlike the audience and the actors, both of which Martial imagines as performative elements in the spectacle, Martial constructs the emperor as the only true spectator for the spectacle, the one to whom all displays, audience and actor alike, are offered.

The Flavian amphitheater, then, puts two simulations of the world, each separated from the other by a thin veil of dissimulation, on display to the emperor. By virtue of his quasi-external position, the emperor also offers a mechanism through which the audience can affect

and interact with the sands without rupturing the illusion of separation and difference. When the audience desires two particular gladiators to compete, they must call upon the emperor, who, as a sign of his *dulce ingenium*, generously displays both (Mart. *Sp.* 23). Similarly, the audience requires the emperor's intercession to grant *missio* to two equally matched contestants, making their desire known through *magno clamore petita* (Mart. *Sp.* 31.3). In both cases, the audience cannot directly engage with the spectacle, for doing so would expose their true relationship to the actors: the more vast the distance between the two seems, the less apparent the similarities are. Instead, the audience deploys the mechanisms of verbal petitions, asking the emperor, the one figure outside this simulation, to intercede.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, this exchange becomes a trope of the 'good' emperor in the post-Flavian historiography, appearing extensively in Suetonius's biographies and Pliny's *Panegyricus*. Suetonius's Titus and Pliny's Trajan are both responsive figures, *editores* who stage games in accordance to the audience's wishes (Suet. *Tit.* 8.2) and under whom the audience will not become part of the spectacle (Plin. *Pan.* 33.3; cf. Suet. *Dom.* 10.1). The preservation of the imagined distinction between audience and actors, manifested through the emperor's responsiveness, became a crucial yardstick by which Romans measured their ruler's fitness.

By comparison, Tacitus's discussion of Nero constructs the spectacular conduct of a 'bad' emperor and its attendant dangers. Shadi Bartsch argues that overt theatricality, the need for the subjects of the emperor and for the emperor himself to act out certain 'scripts' when dealing with one another, characterizes Tacitus's depiction of Nero in the *Annals*.¹⁰⁷ She directs attention to Tacitus's use of the paradigm of acting to chart Nero's reign, highlighting reactions

¹⁰⁶ For verbal petitions in the arena, see Aldrete 1999: 129–64; for a general study of the petition-response mechanism, focusing on formal written examples, see Millar 1977.

¹⁰⁷ Bartsch 1994: 1–35.

to Nero's murder of Britannicus, his murder of Agrippina, and his punishment of Julius Montanus; according to Bartsch, Nero's real-life audience, especially the senatorial elite, found themselves forced to divine their proper role and play-act accordingly.¹⁰⁸ The punishment of Montanus illustrates her point best. Nero often dressed himself as a man of lower station and wandered the city at night, frequenting taverns, playing pranks, and attacking unwitting citizens (Suet. *Ner.* 26.2; Cass. Dio. 61.8-9; Tac. *Ann.* 13.25). After Nero maltreated his wife during one of his nocturnal excursions, Montanus delivered a sound beating to the emperor. According to Tacitus, Montanus happened to recognize Nero after the assault and wrote an apology to the emperor, but was still forced to commit suicide. In ancient accounts, the illusion of anonymity, created through the use of disguises, predicated these excursions; the victims were not supposed to know their assailant's identity.

Yet, Nero's entourage of tribunes and gladiators, combined with the widespread knowledge of his activities, ensured that the illusion was flimsy at best, for the victim would undoubtedly recognize the emperor before or after the attack. Bartsch argues that Montanus's fatal misstep lay in offering a response grounded in reality, in which he acknowledged Nero's true identity, rather than offering a dissimulated, albeit role appropriate, response that accepted Nero's flimsy and ineffective disguise.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, when Nero takes the stage as Hercules in chains, a nearby soldier, honestly believing the emperor's life to be in danger, rushes to Nero's aid (Suet. *Ner.* 21.3). Bartsch argues "the mark of an inability to remain wholly within one of two possible interpretative frames, the reality-frame or the theater- frame;"¹¹⁰ the soldier could not understand the performance as Hercules in chains or as Nero playing a part, but as an

¹⁰⁸ Bartsch 1994: 36–62.

¹⁰⁹ Bartsch 1994: 16–20.

¹¹⁰ Bartsch 1994: 49.

amalgam of the real, Nero, and the dramatic plot, in chains. In Tacitus's accounts of Nero's reign, the emperor's theatricality shatters the boundary between the arena and 'real life,' potentially transforming every day-to-day activity into a command performance staged for the emperor. In effect, Tacitus suggests that Nero's theatricality allowed spectacle to break free of its typical locations and reveal all Romans as actors to the audience of the emperor.

Tacitus's description of the Flavian siege of Rome in 69 CE reveals the dangers of compromising this boundary, of revealing that all Romans are, in fact, simply actors. As he describes the siege, Tacitus's language begins to collapse on itself, imploding into increasingly dense formulations. His imagery suggests a world turned topsy-turvy, but one that has been upset in a very particular way: its inhabitants can no longer distinguish between spectacle and reality. Tacitus describes the culmination of the siege in highly theatrical language, saying, "*Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus, utque in ludicro certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu fovebat*" (Tac. *Hist.* 3.83). In his narrative, citizens gather in the streets to observe the battle. They cease to be besieged citizens, becoming an audience to the spectacle of the conflict. They also become participants in the spectacle, directing the soldiers and glorying in the spoils and destruction of war. Tacitus emphasizes their pleasure in observing the battle, likening their responses to the celebration of a particularly twisted holiday: *velut festis diebus id quoque gaudium accederet, exultabant, fruebantur, nulla partium cura, malis publicis laeti* (Tac. *Hist.* 3.83).¹¹¹ Tacitus collapses identities and realities here, eliding key distinctions between spectacle and reality. During the Flavian siege, the populace is interpellated both as citizens and as spectators, while the soldiers are both military men and actors. When Nero dissolved the

¹¹¹ 2003: 108–15 Haynes 2003: 108–15, who suggests that this passage functions to condemn Vitellius to the realm of simulators, while granting Vespasian and the Flavians some degree of "reality."

barrier between the audience and actors, between spectacular and non-spectacular locations, the distinctive identities of the participants and locations collapsed, openly revealing all of Rome as a stage and all its citizens as actors. When this dissimulative veil vanishes, Tacitus imagines all societal norms, all propriety, all humanity, vanishing with it.

When it functions properly, when its illusions are maintained, the arena presents a reassuring image of the world for and to the subjects of the emperor. In it, there are two separate constructions of ‘the world.’ The first, the audience, is the Roman-empowered world, representing the holders of Roman *imperium*, nominally the *populus Romanus*. The second, the actors, represent the Roman-dominated world, exhibiting Roman mastery over space, time, nature, and character. In the Roman visual schema, the audience’s viewership reaffirms their dominance over the sands, exposing the subjection of the performers through this unmediated gaze.¹¹² The emperor exists primarily in the arena as a referent, as an entity through which the audience can contextualize and explain happenings. He also serves as their intermediary, fulfilling the wishes of the audience at the expense of any desires he might harbor. This representation of the arena programmatically constructs a very positive, reassuring image of *imperium*: the *populus Romanus* holds and exercises *imperium* over the world through the stewardship of the emperor.

In its material reality, the Flavian amphitheater serves to confirm Roman *imperium* on two distinct levels. The audience’s presence, its individual members’ ability to move from the periphery to the center, confirms the locative promise of *imperium*; Rome enabled and allowed for the circulation of people. The performers on the sands affirm the extractive potential of Roman *imperium*, providing material examples of *imperium*’s promise of the movement of

¹¹² Benton 2002 emphasizes the hierarchical nature of the Roman gaze. In cases of disparate social standings, the elite gaze typically was a subordinating one.

goods and ideas from periphery to center. The dissimulative apparatus of the arena grants the audience the illusion of control over, or participation in, Roman *imperium*: they enjoy the travel afforded through and the entertainments provided by *imperium*. The emperor's symbolic removal allows for the audience to side step the true reality of the emperor's domination: if the emperor, as Martial suggests, is the true consumer of the joint spectacle of audience and actors, then the audience's presence is merely one more sign of his ability to control and adjudicate movement. While this implication hangs over the *Liber spectaculorum*, Martial's deft representation of the emperor as a super-human figure, albeit one in service to the people, addresses this concern, camouflaging the emperor's monopoly over Roman power behind a veil of mutual participation in *imperium*.

Imperium Within Imperium: Circulating Images

The Flavian amphitheater strikes a curious balance in its construction of Roman *imperium*, superficially opening its promises to every inhabitant of the empire while tacitly conceding its entirety to the emperor. When used to house spectacles, it visually articulated the power networks upon which the emperor's position depended. Yet, as I suggest above, the actual entertainments of Flavian spectacles were seldom novel; Flavian authors, notably Pliny the Elder, consistently noted Late Republic and Augustan precedents for most Flavian displays. With the Flavians, however, came the production of a new type of knowledge about the spectacle. Hidden in the emergence of this type of knowledge is a critical connection between Flavian spectacular practices and the construction of *imperium*. In their works, Flavian and post-Flavian writers emphasize the cosmopolitanism of the Flavian amphitheater, connecting it and

the world through the bonds of *imperium* and domination. The works themselves, however, complement these representations through their material existence and the emperor's patronage.

The *Liber spectaculorum* was an attempt to eternalize a transitory series of events, to grant permanence to a series of discrete moments. Every time a reader read the poems, he re-actualized the events described within, re-performing Martial's understanding and presentation of the spectacles. Kathleen Coleman emphasizes that this visual emphasis is a significant departure from Martial's previous work, noting, "But in the *Liber speculorum* the emphasis is upon neither reading nor hearing, but watching... The poet is encapsulating the experience of the spectacles for an audience of vicarious spectators."¹¹³ Indeed, Martial largely divorces his voice, his poetic persona, from the collection, instead directing the reader's attention to 'Caesar' and the spectacles.¹¹⁴ With every reading, the *Liber spectaculorum* reiterated and reinforced its message of worldwide *imperium* centered under the emperor and, in theory, the Roman people.

Yet, this profound engagement with the reader, this attempt to replicate spectacle for his reader, raises a key question: why would a person outside Rome, one who did not attend the described spectacles, care about a series of spectacles staged only in Rome? Although we are not sure the extent to which the *Liber spectaculorum* circulated in ancient times, comparable collections of short poems raise the possibility that not only did the *Liber spectaculorum* circulate fairly widely, but that it did so in several competing editions, each arranged in a novel way.¹¹⁵ Adducing other Flavian works, most notably Josephus's *Bellum Iudaicum*, Kathleen

¹¹³ Pailler 1990; Lorenz 2002; Coleman 2006: lxxxii.

¹¹⁴ Gunderson 2003.

¹¹⁵ For Catullus, Barchiesi 2005: 337–8; for the Milan papyrus of Posidippus, in which a second hand denotes several of the epigrams for later reading or copying: Johnson 2005: 77.

Coleman persuasively argues that the emperor likely took an active role in circulating works like the *Liber Spectaculorum*.¹¹⁶ As Coleman provocatively asks,

If the emperor could circulate provincial governors with the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* in the form of a lengthy inscription on bronze to be erected in the main city of every province and in every legionary headquarter, why should we not imagine the imperial copyists in Rome, and perhaps the staffs of provincial governors, playing a role in disseminating this literary *chef d'oeuvre* to selected audience in the greater Empire?¹¹⁷

The existence of the Domitianic rhinoceros coin, a rare numismatic commemoration of spectacle minted on a widely circulating denomination, demonstrates a significant imperial interest in promulgating knowledge of the games. Other Roman *munerarii* often sought to perpetuate the knowledge of their munificence in the form of inscriptions; if the inauguration of the Flavian amphitheater occasioned the greatest show on earth, then ‘Caesar’ would certainly deploy any means to perpetuate the memory of the occasion, including epigrams, a literary device acknowledged for its role in court.¹¹⁸

In addition to already possessing the motivation and mechanisms, the Flavian emperors’ reputations as literary patrons would provide the opportunity for circulating the *Liber spectaculorum*. The Flavians were conspicuous patrons of literary figures, cultivating connections to such men and nurturing their careers.¹¹⁹ Indeed, Statius suggests that a poet should always submit his work to the emperor, claiming that it is more important to send poems to the emperor than to publish them for a wider audience (Stat. *Silv.* praef.28-9). In his first book of epigrams, Martial indicates that he followed such precepts and presented manuscripts of his first book of epigrams to both Titus and Domitian; indeed, Martial boasts that he sent so many

¹¹⁶ Coleman 1998; Coleman recants her identification of “Caesar” as Titus in Coleman 2006: xlv–lxv; for Josephus’s relationship to the Flavians, see Rajak 2002: 194–96.

¹¹⁷ Coleman 1998: 32.

¹¹⁸ Coleman 1998: 29–31; for a study of other examples of imperially mandated and aided circulation of media, specifically portraits and texts, see Ando 2000.

¹¹⁹ For Domitian in particular as a literary patron, Coleman 1986.

poems to the emperors that the handwriting of his secretary was familiar to both (Mart. *Epigr.* 1.101.1-2). If he sent a book of random epigrams, Martial almost certainly presented his anonymous ‘Caesar’ with the manuscript to the *Liber Spectaculorum* as well. As literary patrons understandably proud of the amphitheater, the Flavian emperors possessed the will and the means to ensure the circulation of the *Liber spectaculorum*. Although their exact involvement is impossible to discern, the trajectory of Martial’s career and the demonstrable Flavian interest in circulating knowledge of the spectacles strongly suggests that they aided the circulation of the *Liber spectaculaorum*.

Through imperial patronage, then, the *Liber spectaculorum* as a text reverses the centripetal forces that it documents. While the epigrams document the movement of the world to Rome and its subsequent allocation into the loci of sands and stands, the text pushes the entirety of this image out of Rome, back into the world. Throughout, it nuances this movement in terms of the emperor, who enables movement inside the text as *editor* and who moves the book itself as its patron. Both forms of movement, centripetal to the arena and centrifugal to the provinces, become imperially enabled and activated mechanisms. In effect, the work seeks to present a representation of the Flavian dominated world to the reality of the Flavian dominated world. In terms of the individual reader, this message becomes even more powerful. While the centripetal motion remains the same, namely that the periphery merges into the center, the *Liber spectaculorum* distills the world into a single point within the arena and gifts that to the reader; the emperor essentially gives the entire world to the readers scattered around the empire. Much as Rome and the Flavian amphitheater replace local monuments, its programmatic function in turn makes the entirety of the empire a personal, relevant idea to all.

These mechanisms of circulation, enacted in architecture, literature, and numismatics, are typical of the Flavian emperors. The Vespasianic Temple of Peace deployed a variety of Egyptian elements in its construction, most notably the use of uniquely colored Egyptian marble, basinites, for the columns (Plin. *NH.* 36.11.55) and the presence of a Hellenized statue of the Nile in the gardens.¹²⁰ Pliny the Elder offers a contemporary interpretation of the role of Rome's architecture:

Verum et ad urbis nostrae miracula transire conveniat DCCCque annorum dociles scrutari vires et sic quoque terrarum orbem victum ostendere. quod accidisse totiens paene, quot referentur miracula, apparebit; universitate vero acervata et in quendam unum cumulum coiecta non alia magnitudo exurget quam si mundus alius quidam in uno loco narretur (*Plin. NH.* 36.24.101).¹²¹

Much as Martial does with spectacle, Pliny imagines Roman architecture constituting another world, one defined in terms of Roman *imperium* and Rome itself. He imagines Roman architecture as a mechanism that simultaneously projects Rome to the edges of the earth while pulling the world into its borders. The Temple of Peace, which Pliny terms one of the three finest public works in Rome (Plin. *NH.* 36.24.102), represents a Roman-dominated Egypt brought to Rome. It glorifies the foreignness of Egypt, deploying its native stones and gods in its décor, yet constructs the province in terms of its subservience to Vespasian, peace, and Rome.¹²²

¹²⁰ Pliny the Elder suggests that the stones used for divine images should come from the god or goddess' native land, highlighting a Theban statue of Memnon in a shrine of Serapis carved from basinites as an appropriate example (Plin. *NH.* 36.11.55). For more on the perceived relationship between marbles and their origins, see chapter 5. For the importance of this building and the concept of Pax in Vespasianic ideology, see Levick 1999: 68–71.

¹²¹ To be sure it is now appropriate to move on to the miraculous buildings of our city and to examine the resources and experience of eight hundred years and thus prove that we have surpassed the entire world. This will appear to have occurred nearly as many times as there are marvels that I shall mention; if, in fact, all the buildings in the city were considered together and assembled as if in a single pile, the united grandeur would seem as if we were describing some other world in that one spot.

¹²² Notably, miraculous events and prodigies in Egypt also solve Vespasian's crisis of authority and majesty. See Suet. *Vesp.* 7-8.

It brings Egypt to Rome only in order to produce knowledge of its subjection, a fact that Vespasianic propaganda's emphasis on peace served to circulate widely.¹²³

Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* offers the best analog to Martial's *Liber spectaculorum*, albeit a significantly more ambitious one. While Martial's topic is spectacle, specifically those within the new Flavian amphitheater, Pliny declares that his subject is *rerum natura hoc est vita* (Plin. *NH.* Pref.13). In the course of the text, he reorients an entire Greek and Roman intellectual universe by placing Rome firmly at its center. In the midst of his discussion of vines, Pliny offers a panegyric view of the relationship between Roman *imperium* and knowledge:

illud satis mirari non queo, interisse quarundam memoriam atque etiam nominum quae auctores prodidere notitiam. quis enim non communicato orbe terrarum maiestate Romani imperii profecisse vitam putet commercio rerum ac societate festae pacis omniaque, etiam quae ante occulta fuerant, in promiscuo usu facta (Plin. *NH.* 14.1.2)¹²⁴

Pliny links the advent of Roman *imperium* and the subsequent subjection of the world to Roman *imperium* to an unprecedented circulation of knowledge, people, and goods; his encyclopedic project is a literary monument to the effects of *imperium*, a reification of this circulatory system. However, Pliny contextualizes this circulation entirely in terms of Rome and the emperors. As Trevor Murphy notes in his study of the *Naturalis Historia* as a cultural artifact, "Roman power gives the contents of the *Naturalis Historia* an ideological unity. Though knowledge is not, at the level of the text, submitted to a totalizing structure, it is totalized ideologically... there is no

¹²³ B. W. Jones 1971: 251 notes that nearly 1/3 of Vespasian's coins celebrated military victory or peace.

¹²⁴ And yet who does not readily admit that now, when intercommunications have been opened between all parts of the world, thanks to the majestic sway of the Roman empire, civilization and the arts of life have made a rapid progress, owing to the interchange of commodities and the common enjoyment by all of the blessings of peace, while at the same time a multitude of objects which formerly lay concealed, are now revealed for our indiscriminate use?

doubt that the *Naturalis Historia* has a centre, a point of anchorage, in Rome.”¹²⁵ Murphy compares the work to a triumphal procession, parading for its readers the knowledge of the world, compiled through and shaped by Roman *imperium*.¹²⁶

As the spectacles in the *Liber spectaculorum* are not presented for the nominal ‘audience,’ Pliny presents the knowledge contained in the *Naturalis Historia* to the emperor alone. In the preface to the work, Pliny expressly dedicates the work to the emperor, contextualizing his intellectual pursuits in terms of the emperor’s virtues, offices, and intelligence. His description of the nature of the work, however, is critical. Pliny does not claim to offer genius, tales of adventures, or wondrous orations; rather he presents to the emperor the knowledge of everything in the cosmos, a feat that he modestly notes no Roman has attempted before him (Plin. *NH*. Pref.14). Pliny suggests that his text has no intrinsic value, but the dedication to the emperor necessarily grants it authority and significance: *haec fiducia operis, haec est indicatura; multa valde pretiosa ideo videntur, quia sunt templis dicata* (Plin. *NH*. Pref.19).¹²⁷ Although Rome sits at the geographical center of the text, Pliny situates the emperor at the intellectual and ideological heart of the *Naturalis Historia*.

While Pliny produces the knowledge of the empire in its entirety, gathering information from throughout the world by virtue of Roman *imperium*, he defines it exclusively in terms of the emperor. In the model Pliny proposes, the *Naturalis Historia* offers a recursive proof and display of *imperium*. If *imperium* is the ability to move people, goods, and ideas, then, as Pliny directly notes, the *Naturalis Historia* is a text that could not exist without the imposition of

¹²⁵ T. Murphy 2004: 50.

¹²⁶ T. Murphy 2004: 129–64.

¹²⁷ Nor does this [the dedication to the emperor] give value or truth to the work, but actually determines its value; many things are considered of great value because they are dedicated in a temple.

imperium on the entire world. Yet, the publication and circulation of the text equally represents an act of *imperium*, one that re-circulated knowledge, pushing the entirety of the world's knowledge back out into the world. Yet, this re-presentation offers a twist on the conglomerate knowledge, for it also produces knowledge of the world's subjection to emperor. When a reader picked up the *Naturalis Historia*, he faced a text that advertised Roman *imperium* both in its contents and in its presence in his hands.

This very real cardiac rhythm lies at the heart of Flavian innovations in *imperium*. The *Liber spectaculorum* and the *Naturalis Historia* both bring the world to Rome within their texts, the *Liber spectaculorum* through its overlapping simulations in the sands and stands and the *Naturalis Historia* through its conglomeration of knowledge. Despite their divergent subjects, Martial and Pliny in effect produced images of a Roman dominated world, in which Roman *imperium* gathered people, goods, and ideas from throughout the empire, brought them to Rome, and presented the result to the emperor. The material life of the texts, their materiality as actual objects, adds another wrinkle. Each text internally represents the centripetal pull of *imperium*, but its subsequent circulation, moving from Rome to outlying regions, enacts the centrifugal possibilities of *imperium*. The texts become a way for *imperium* to advertise *imperium*, for the emperor to produce and circulate the knowledge of his ability to circulate people, goods, and ideas.

The circulation of images of *imperium* is only half the story of Flavian innovations. As the Flavian emperors used their *imperium* to advertise their *imperium*, the conception of what *imperium* meant for Rome and the *populus Romanus* shifted. In their spectacles, the Flavian emperors carefully negotiate the tenuous balance of *imperium* and Roman self-conception: who holds *imperium*? Over whom is *imperium* exercised and by whom? The Flavian amphitheater, a

deterrence mechanism on a truly monumental scale, sidesteps these issues through its elaborate program of simulation and dissimulation. Beyond these veils, however, the emperor emerges as an incomprehensible power, as a nearly god-like figure, as the sole possessor of *imperium*. In comparison to the emperor, the distinctions between Romans and Rome's foreign subjects, even the distinctions between man and animal, fade, effaced in comparison to the majesty of the emperor. The Flavian spectacle transforms all populations into subjects of the emperor's *imperium*, granting them a precarious position between being subjects and executors of *imperium*. The Flavian amphitheater serves as a material sign and mechanism of an underlying transition in conceptions of the relationship between *imperium*, subjects, and empire. Rather than an empire in which the *populus Romanus* uses *imperium* to localize and contain incurably foreign populations, the Flavian amphitheater and its spectacles re-present and redefine the empire as a puppet show of sorts. On stage, the 'world' of the stands enjoys *imperium*, moving freely about and extracting the fruits of empire into the sands for its viewing pleasure. Above it all, however, the emperor alone watches the entire show and his *imperium* alone pulls the strings in the spectacle of empire.

CHAPTER FIVE

Journeys, Villas, and Walls: Hadrian's New *Imperium*

Although they are all the same man, history knows of three different emperor Hadrians (r. 117 – 138). Visitors to Rome may know Hadrian the eclectic collector, the Hadrian who built a sprawling villa near Rome and filled it with a miscellany of art and architecture hailing from throughout the empire. The British and individuals vacationing in northern Britain may have met Hadrian the builder, gaining a sense of the man from the majestic and eponymous wall that stretches from coast to coast across northern Britain. Biography aficionados, or truly zealous epigraphists in Athens, might know the restless Hadrian, the first, and indeed only, emperor to travel throughout the entirety of the empire on a grand tour of the provinces under his command.¹ The appeal of these personas is clear, for each derives from a moment or construction nearly unique to, or at least a remarkable example from, Hadrian's reign: his Villa at Tivoli, his Wall in northern Britain, or his journeys throughout the empire. The scarcity of primary literary sources for Hadrian necessarily attracts scholars to these material practices, for they offer contemporary points of references to the two major literary sources, an eleventh century epitome of Cassius Dio's *Historia Romana* and the tabloid-like accounts offered in the *Vita Hadriani* in the *Scriptores Historia Augusta*. Yet, it is Hadrian's tours of the provinces, his villa at Tivoli, and his Wall in Britain that captivate modern audiences, forming the best known images of the emperor.

The combination of compelling material practices and scarce narrative sources, however, has led to a somewhat unbalanced body of scholarship. Many scholars use one of these practices as a key for understanding his entire reign. In these views, Hadrian's journeys become the sign

¹ The standard biography is Anthony Birley's *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor* (1997). For the Athenian inscription, see IG II² 5185.

of his restless spirit and wanderlust, which led him to collect items from his travels in Tivoli. Similarly, Tivoli marks his nearly kleptomaniac-like eclecticism, which led him to travel the empire and carry the fruits of the empire back to his villa. The construction of the Wall marks his desire to consolidate the empire and abandon the promise of *imperium sine fine* of Virgil's Jupiter. Yet, each of these approaches suffers from a similar methodological flaw: they insist on a synecdochal conception of Hadrian, in which a single practice defines the logic that all others must follow. Rather than searching for a unifying conceptual foundation to Hadrian's reign, such approaches treat a narrow selection of his program as a category into which the rest of his reign must fit.

In this chapter, I attempt the reverse, examining the larger framework into which all three practices fit. I suggest that Hadrian's reign marks a new way of conceptualizing the participants and the subjects of *imperium*. Beginning with Hadrian's tours of the empire, I trace the interplay between his movements, his benefactions to various cities, and his commemoration of his journey in Rome. I argue that Hadrian's journeys and their various commemorations, both at the local level and in Rome, serve to reify and promote *imperium*'s promise of the free circulation of people, goods, and ideas. Second, I analyze the programmatic message of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli as articulated through its architecture, decoration, and use. I suggest that the Villa presents a scaled simulacrum of the empire to viewers through the combination of its structures named for famous buildings from the empire and the carefully constructed pastiche of cultural signifiers in its decor. In turn, the prominence of entertaining in Hadrian's reign ensured that viewers would not only experience the simulation, but also would travel through this simulated empire, implicitly exercising *imperium* through their experience of the Villa. Finally, I turn to the construction of the Wall in northern Britain. I argue that the design of the

Wall, especially viewed in the context of its topography, indicates that it was not meant to serve as a defensive platform or as a barrier to the north; rather, the Wall's design makes it a mechanism that defines Roman-ness or barbarism in terms of a population's access to *imperium*. I suggest that the Wall did not seek to bar outsiders, but to enact an allegory of endowment or loss of *imperium*, coincident with the gain or loss of Roman identity, as a traveler moved towards and through it. In each of these three practices, I chart the articulation of a new vision of *imperium*, one that allows for the full realization of the free circulation of goods, ideas, and peoples; I suggest that Hadrian's practices demonstrate a fluid conceptualization of both Roman identity and possessors of *imperium*, opening *imperium* to any who count as Roman within Hadrian's framework. Perhaps more significantly, Hadrian's practices of empire mark a radical reconceptualization of the space of empire, evolving from earlier hodological visions to encompass notions of territoriality in a nearly modern sense.

Hadrian's Journeys

In the course of his twenty-one year reign, Hadrian spent nearly half of it outside of Rome, traveling through the provinces of the empire on a series of 'tours' of the areas under Roman domination. In addition to a series of 'lesser' travels around Italy and neighboring areas, Hadrian undertook three extensive journeys, the itineraries of which cover the majority of the provinces of the empire. To ancient and modern commentators alike, Hadrian's journeys are one of the most remarkable features of Hadrian's reign; characterized as 'wanderlust,' they become a cipher for the man himself in ancient and modern accounts. The author of the *Historia Augusta* attributes these journeys to Hadrian's *cupidus peregrinationis*, claiming that he wished to see

everything about which he read (SHA *Hadr.* 17.8).² Although he views it as a political concept at heart, Helmut Halfmann nonetheless sees “congenital wanderlust” (*angeborene Reiselust*) as a central explanation for Hadrian’s extensive journeys.³ Anthony Birley, Hadrian’s most recent biographer, even adopts this motif in his title, styling Hadrian *The Restless Emperor*.⁴

Although the epigraphic and literary sources for Hadrian’s travels range from fragmentary to inconsistent, the wealth of dedications, diplomas, statues, and the larger literary narratives provide the general contours of his movements (see Table 1).⁵

117 – 118: Hadrian’s Return to Rome	
117	Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia and Pontus
118	Bythinia and Pontus, Thracia, Moesia Superior and Inferi, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, Dalmatia, Italia
121 – 125: Grand Tour of North and Northeast	
121	Narbonensis, Lugdunensis
122	Lugdunensis, Germania Superior and Inferior, Raetia, Noricum, Britannia, Belgica, Aquitania, Tarraconensis
123	Tarraconensis, Syria, Cappadocia, Bithynia and Pontus
124	Bithynia and Pontus, Asia, Achaia
125	Achaia, Macedonia, Epirus, Sicilia
128 – 132: Grand Tour of East and South	
128	Sicilia, Africa Proconsularis, Numidia, Mauretania Caesarensis, Achaia

² *Peregrinationis ita cupidus ut omnia quae legeret de locis orbis terrarum praesens vellet addiscere* (He was so desirous of travel that he wished to learn more in person about all the things which he had read about the places in the world).

³ Halfmann 1986: 42.

⁴ A. Birley 1997.

⁵ The most comprehensive treatment of imperial journeys in general, and Hadrian’s in particular, is Halfmann 1986. See 188-215 for Hadrian’s itinerary based on a wealth of literary and epigraphic material. See Højte 2000: 234–5 for an English sketch of the itinerary, albeit one lacking Halfmann’s extensive documentation. The tables above are based on Højte; see also Syme 1988; M. Boatwright 2000 for the east; and Fraser 2006 for the west; Speller 2003 offers an impressionistic view of Hadrian’s journey, marred by the author’s disdain for “a history well secured in original sources” (xiii) and the fictional memoirs of Julia Babilla prefacing each chapter.

128 – 132: Grand Tour of East and South (cont.)	
129	Achaea, Asia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria
130	Syria, Arabia, Iudaea, Aegyptus
131	Aegyptus, Lycia and Pamphylia, Asia, Thracia, Moesia Inferior, Macedonia, Achaea
132	Achaea

Table 1 - Hadrian's Itineraries

Notification of Trajan's death and Hadrian's subsequent elevation to the emperor provided the impetus for his first journey, a voyage overland from Syria to Rome through the Near Eastern and Balkan provinces rather than a more expedient sea voyage. After viewing Trajan's remains in Seleucia, Hadrian sent them on a boat back to Rome and travelled through Asia Minor and the Balkans for nearly a year on his way back to Rome (SHA *Hadr.* 6.9-10; cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14.2). After his return to Rome in 118, Hadrian remained in the capital for only three years, during which he cultivated his relationship with the senate and began his building projects in Rome and its surrounding environs, but departed on his tour of the northern and northeastern provinces in 121, spending much of his time in Greece (SHA *Hadr.* 10.1-11.2; 12.1-13.3). In 128, Hadrian began his final journey, visiting Rome's African and Near Eastern provinces and returning to Rome through Greece (SHA *Hadr.* 13.4-6; 14.3-14.5; Cass. Dio. 69.11).

The comprehensive scope and non-militaristic nature of Hadrian's journeys mark a strong departure from his predecessor's patterns of travel. Hadrian's journeys form a virtual world tour of the empire. Material and literary evidence suggests that he visited nearly every single province in the course of his journeys, as well as the four mythical 'edges' of the world and the empire: Britannia to the north, North Africa to the south, Hispania to the west, and Syria to the east. The *Historia Augusta* preserves a verse attributed to Florus that pokes fun at the undesirability of some destinations: *Ego nolo Caesar esse / ambulare per Britannos / latitare ... /*

Scythicas pati pruinas (SHA *Hadr.* 16.3);⁶ the force of the joke depends on Florus's implicit assertion that nobody would want to visit these places, particularly someone as powerful as an emperor. The uniqueness of these travels, as well as the fascination with which ancient and modern commentators alike regard them, suggests that a typical emperor would agree with Florus: when an emperor could vacation in Lilybaeum or Capreae, who would *want* to visit Scythia and Britain for pleasure?

Two Julio-Claudian emperors, Augustus and Nero, provide a possible precedent, albeit an ill-fitting one. According to Suetonius, Augustus visited every province, save Africa and Sardinia. Yet, Suetonius's justification of this absence from Rome reveals a crucial difference, for he says that Augustus had neither occasion (*occasio*) nor reason (*causa*) to visit either (Suet. *Aug.* 47). Military concerns, not wanderlust, determined Augustus's choice of when and where to travel. When no military threat presented itself in Sardinia or Africa, Augustus elected to direct his attention and effort to more pressing matters. Nero's artistic endeavors in Greece provide a more appropriate analogue, both in their pleasurable purpose and their Hellenic focus. Near the end of his reign, Nero went to Greece to participate in a variety of athletic and musical competitions, travelling to numerous *poleis* before he returned to Rome in a faux triumphal procession.⁷ Yet, the differences are clear: Nero was absent from Rome for about one year and visited one province, while Hadrian left for nearly twelve to visit the entire empire. Despite their superficial resemblances, the journeys of previous emperors cannot compare to the thorough and

⁶ I do not want to be a Caesar / to wander amongst the Britons / to lurk amongst the... / and to suffer Scythian frosts.

⁷ Beacham 1999: 248–9 is the most complete analysis of this episode. Suetonius (Nero 22.3–25.3) offers the fullest near contemporary account.

lengthy travels that characterized Hadrian's reign; Hadrian's travels are unprecedented in the history of Rome.⁸

In the course of these extensive travels, Hadrian did not move through each province like a ghost, leaving no traces behind. Beyond the fleeting effects of Hadrian and his retinue's presence in each locale, his journeys also provided the opportunity for a wide-ranging program of civic munificence felt throughout the empire.⁹ The ancient sources unanimously agree that Hadrian celebrated his time in the provinces by restoring or dedicating buildings and staging games and festivals (SHA *Hadr.* 9.6, 10.1, 13.2, 14.3, 19.2; Cass. Dio 69.10.1). The fourth-century *Epitome de Caesaribus* claims that a team of builders, stonemasons, architects, and construction specialists, organized along military lines, accompanied Hadrian on his travels, allowing him to "restore every town" (*oppida universa restitueret*, Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14.4-5). Contemporary material sources attest to the widespread nature of his munificence. Halfmann reconstructs the majority of Hadrian's journey not from the literary sources, but from the trail of dedicatory inscriptions littering the emperor's wake.¹⁰

Although the available evidence suggests that Hadrian's munificence benefitted more than 130 cities, the nature of these benefactions varied significantly from place to place.¹¹ Mary Boatwright emphasizes the gap between the material evidence and the literary accounts: "The ancient writers celebrate Hadrian for his liberality to the cities, but as a rule they speak

⁸ Halfmann 1986 offers the most compelling evidence of the oddity of Hadrian's journeys. While the tables of known destinations for other emperors span perhaps two pages and are organized by wars, Hadrian's journeys require nearly eight pages.

⁹ Duncan-Jones 1994: 13, refers to this as a Hadrianic "building boom."

¹⁰ Halfmann 1986; Højte 2000, however, casts doubt on the connection between imperial visits and portrait statues: "The epigraphic evidence from the statue bases of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius show that imperial visits generally did not motivate cities or individuals in the provinces to immediately erect statues of the emperor..." (232).

¹¹ For the number of cities included, see M. Boatwright 2000: 5.

imprecisely.”¹² In her study of his interactions with primarily eastern cities, Boatwright argues that Hadrian sought the “renewal, preservation, or promotion of the unique history of [a] place.”¹³ Accordingly, she demonstrates that the typical Hadrianic improvements were engineering projects, like flood control and aqueduct construction, new buildings and reconstructions, completions, architectural enhancement, or decoration of older edifices.¹⁴ According to Trudie Fraser, Hadrian’s efforts in the west present a similar picture. Although the types of projects differed significantly from province to province, the number of Hadrianic civic building exceeded Trajanic and Antonine projects by more than thirty percent.¹⁵

In the east and in the west, Hadrian tailored his building projects to suit local needs and customs, rather than imposing a generic building program across the empire.¹⁶ A famous passage from Aulus Gellius’s *Noctes Atticae* reinforces the image of Hadrian’s desire to preserve local customs and traditions. According to Gellius, Hadrian expressed confusion over people’s preference for *colonia* status over *municipium* status; Hadrian could not understand why people would prefer the standard constitutional charter of a *colonia* to the combination of Roman citizenship and local ancestral customs offered by a *municipium* (Gell. *NA* 16.13). Moreover, Hadrian introduced a law designed to preserve buildings within towns, ruling that material from a demolished building may not be used in any other town (SHA *Hadr.* 18.2). Further, Hadrian seldom placed his name in restoration inscriptions, preferring to rededicate a building in the name of its original founder (SHA *Hadr.* 19.9-10, 20.7). These habits and practices reinforced the underlying conceit of his program of civic munificence, namely that he sought to encourage,

¹² M. Boatwright 2000: 5.

¹³ M. Boatwright 2000: 13.

¹⁴ M. Boatwright 2000: 108.

¹⁵ Fraser 2006.

¹⁶ Cf. Mitchell 1993: 1:220–1, who argues that Hadrian’s sponsorship of local festivals and games was, in fact, a subtle effort at Hellenization.

restore, and preserve local customs and traditions rather than replace them with archetypal ‘Roman’ practices.

The rhetoric of Hadrian’s desire to preserve local customs and traditions, manifested in his epigraphic habits and categories of munificence, obscures an underlying layer of subtle Romanization. The *Historia Augusta*’s note on his epigraphic habits offers the clearest example: although Hadrian preferred not to place his name on building inscriptions, he nonetheless gave the name Hadrianapolis to numerous cities, including Carthage and a section of Athens (SHA *Hadr.* 20.7). An inscription from the monumental Hadrianic arch in Athens, spanning the road leading from central Athens to the Temple of Olympian Zeus, offers a tongue-in-cheek comment on this practice: αἴδ’ εἴς’ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ Θησέως πόλις.¹⁷ Although less overt than renaming a city, Hadrian’s sponsorship of local games presents a similar mechanism. The Athenians, for example, held Panhellenic games in the newly constructed Panhellenium, a large shrine in his honor (Cass. Dio 69.16.2). Following his visits, at least twenty-one cities began to celebrate games that carry some form of Hadrian’s name in the title, appearing in locations throughout the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁸ In both cases, Hadrian’s apparent restoration or sponsorship of local custom manifested itself as a rebranding, linking entire cities and their customs to Hadrian’s presence and patronage. Cities like Ephesus and Tegea made this link explicit: Ephesus founded a new festival celebrating Hadrian’s disembarkation, the Hadrianeia Epibateria, and Tegea revised its calendar to start a new era from the date of Hadrian’s arrival.¹⁹

¹⁷ “This is Hadrian’s city, not Theseus’s.” IG II² 5185.. For the arch specifically, see A. Adams 1989; for a more general examination of Athens under Hadrian, see Willers 1990.

¹⁸ M. Boatwright 2000: 94–104, discusses these games in detail, with a list of the “Hadrianic” games and supporting bibliography on 99–100; Mitchell 1993: 1:220–1 views these games as a conscious effort to foster Hellenic culture.

¹⁹ Ephesus: IGR IV 1542; Tegea: IG V 2, 50

Divergent priorities explain the distance between Hadrian's desire to foster local customs and the cities' emphasis on Hadrian himself. Mary Boatwright argues that the material evidence of Hadrian's munificence suggests that the cities were less concerned about the particular form of his benefaction than the fact that he favorably recognized the city; she notes that the surviving inscriptions visually and semiotically privilege Hadrian's name and titles in a manner similar to official imperial inscriptions.²⁰ The inscriptions for reconstructions and the literary rhetoric should not be taken at face value nor dismissed as meaningless bombast.²¹ The weight of the evidence, most notably Hadrian's emphasis on reconstructing extant works and patronizing local festivals, suggests an underlying interest in preserving local customs. However, the public memory surrounding the event or monument preserved the underlying source, celebrating Hadrian's role without fixing it in the material record.

Hadrian's civic munificence offers a 'trail of breadcrumbs' for his journey, inscribing his movement through the empire in a series of permanent monuments and ongoing events that celebrate his presence.²² Yet, its audience is strictly provincial and local, bound to the particular sites of the monuments and festivals. Hadrian complimented these spatially and temporally limited celebrations, however, with series of coins, primarily minted in and circulated throughout Rome and Italy, commemorating his interactions with the provinces in sweeping generalizations. Hadrian emphasized four distinct aspects of his journeys.²³ The simplest of the coin types is the 'province' type, featuring a female personification of the province on the reverse, identifiable by characteristic tokens and the province's name in the nominative case (see figures 11 and 12).

²⁰ M. Boatwright 2000: 35.

²¹ Thomas and Witschel 1992 in particular argue for a more nuanced reading of such inscriptions.

²² Cf. Højte 2000, who casts doubt on the connection between statues and imperial visits.

²³ Halfmann 1986 and Fraser 2006 both describe these categories in greater detail.

The second type, the ‘adventus,’ commemorates Hadrian’s arrival in a province, displaying the emperor gesturing towards a female personification of the province over an altar; the legend reads ADVENTUI AUG, with the province appearing in the genitive case (see figures 13 and 14). A third type, the ‘exercitus,’ depicts Hadrian’s *adlocutiones* to the armies of several provinces, displaying him on horseback speaking to several soldiers. The coins again locate themselves through the prominent display of the province’s name (see figures 15 and 16). The final coin type, the ‘restitutor,’ eternalizes Hadrian’s general civic munificence in a province, depicting him in the act of raising the province to her feet with the legend RESTITUTORI and the province in the genitive case (see figures 17 and 18).

The coins suggest an apparent illogic about Hadrian and his self-representation: the emperor minted coins celebrating his journeys to and munificence in other provinces, yet circulated them primarily in the capital of the empire, where he spent far less time than was traditional. On the surface, Hadrian’s journeys seem to defy logic: an emperor, who comes to power in uncertain circumstances and makes several unpopular decisions early in his reign, elects to leave the seat of his power for a significant portion of his reign. Mary Boatwright notes that although Hadrian’s journeys produce some obvious benefits, including increased army discipline, urbanization, Romanization, and direct supervision of law and bureaucracy, they also removed the emperor from the Roman elite accustomed to access to him.²⁴ To a modern audience, a ruler who spends nearly half of his reign travelling the empire, as if on vacation, seems irresponsible at best, if not outright unethical. Despite these apparent disadvantages, Hadrian and contemporary commentators spent a significant amount of time and effort commemorating his travels, celebrating them in media as diverse as monumental architecture,

²⁴ M. Boatwright 2000: 135; cf. Millar 1977, who might argue that Hadrian’s journeys simply spread access to a wider base.

coins, and literature. Indeed, Hadrian's series of travel coins indicate a significant interest in not only commemorating these journeys, but also in ensuring that a wide audience was aware of them.

The Roman conception of *imperium*, the ability to control the movement of people, goods, and ideas, offers a multivalent solution to this problem. On the most basic level, Hadrian's journeys are an exercise of *imperium*, demonstrating a Roman's ability to move throughout the empire freely. Yet, as the movement of an emperor traveling purely for pleasure, Hadrian's journeys are more than an example of *imperium*; they are a reification of *imperium*, granting a materiality to a theoretical capacity. The comprehensive nature of the journeys, especially Hadrian's visit to the 'edges' of the empire, signifies that there are no barriers to his exercise of *imperium*. Indeed, the non-militaristic nature of his journeys renders them nearly movement for the sake of movement, the exercise of *imperium* as a way to demonstrate its reality.

As Hadrian moves throughout the empire, he brings Rome to the provinces materially and symbolically through his benefactions and his presence. In rhetoric and practice, Hadrian's patronage seeks to preserve local customs and structures, privileging the apparent maintenance of local flavor over increased homogenization. Local responses, however, defy Hadrian's stated purpose, commemorating the emperor's role by renaming festivals after him and by visually privileging the emperor in commemorative inscriptions. Again, such local commemoration enacts a subtle process of Romanization, recasting a 'local' event, building, or custom in terms of the emperor and, necessarily, of Rome. In essence, they celebrate the emperor's presence in and interaction with the city, transforming an assertion of native diversity into an indication of a closer connection to Rome.

Although the cities and Hadrian diverged in their conceptualization of his benefactions, the actions of both transform local monuments and festivals into devices that re-present and reify the *imperium* that brought Hadrian to each area. Festivals like Ephesus's *Hadrianeia Epibateria* celebrate this *imperium* overtly, drawing their name and occasion from his disembarkation. The *Hadrianeia Epibateria* ritualizes *imperium*, linking the actual movement of the emperor with annual civic festivities; the festival literally celebrates the fact that Hadrian came to the city. The annual festivities recall and re-present the definitive proof of the emperor's *imperium*, his arrival, reenacting a moment of his travels in a ritual context. Rather than a local celebration that might evoke a sense of community identity, the name of the festival and its context refigures each performance of the celebration as a programmatic statement of a close connection to Rome and an affirmation of the emperor's continued *imperium* in the area.

While the Ephesian festival is perhaps the most overt example, Hadrian's benefactions similarly operate as loci that re-present and rearticulate his *imperium* through the interaction of local inhabitants with the monument or event. Again, local conceptions of these benefactions privilege Hadrian's role and, by extension, his presence in the area. The emphasis on Hadrian's presence highlights its unusual nature; the cities sought to present munificence as a sign of their close connection to Hadrian because the emperor's presence was such a rarity. Implicitly, the reconstructed monuments and buildings, the newly funded festivals, all memorialize Hadrian's journeys, the unprecedented element that brought the emperor to their city. In this context, Hadrian's civic munificence becomes evidence of his *imperium*, a permanent testament to his desire and, more importantly, ability to move around the empire.

Hadrian supplemented these local *imperium*-promoting actions with his travel coins, devices that could circulate similar messages to a wider audience. Largely minted at Rome,

these coins again advertised the effects and fact of Hadrian's journey to non-local audiences, informing them in schematic terms of his activities in the provinces. The categories Hadrian emphasized are particularly significant; of the four types, the most common was the 'adventus' coin, which depicted Hadrian in the climactic moment of movement, namely his arrival. These coins re-presented and represented Hadrian's movement to viewers as they circulated, producing knowledge of the 'fact' of Hadrian's ability to move. Indeed, when a viewer used such a coin, they implicitly reperformed the movement through their consumption of the iconography and, in the process, affirmed the *imperium* underlying the movement.

These coins articulated Hadrian's *imperium* on a secondary symbolic level as well. If *imperium* is the ability to circulate goods, ideas, and people, then the minting and distribution of coins, as well as their subsequent use, reified the *imperium* of the issuing authority: the issuer enabled the movement of the good of the coin, of the ideas contained in its iconography, and of the goods exchanged. Coins that depict and construct an emperor's *imperium* transform this function into a feedback cycle, in which both the circulation of the images and the images themselves signify *imperium*. In effect, the medium and the message of the coins transform the abstract theory of Hadrian's *imperium* into a material reality, forming a symbolic resonance of *imperium* production.

Hadrian's journeys and their commemoration are the full realization of the promises of *imperium*. On a basic level, Hadrian's movement throughout the provinces for the apparent purpose of pleasure is the most fundamental exercise of *imperium*. Yet, Hadrian's extraordinary position grafts additional layers of symbolic significance onto an otherwise ordinary vacation. As Hadrian travels through the provinces, he metaphorically brings Rome itself to the provincial citizens. As the superlative Roman, Hadrian is nearly a living avatar of Rome; if the Principate

is a personal network of alliances centered on the emperor, than the central locus of Rome lies wherever the emperor is.²⁵ Hadrian's presence brings with it material benefits for local inhabitants in the form of building projects and funds for festivals, both of which local memory recontextualize as an indication of a close connection to Rome. Likewise, Hadrian's coins, presenting his journeys to a large audience, invite viewers to participate vicariously in the movement. They bring the movement into a province to their viewers, bringing the provinces to wherever the coins might be. Indeed, Hadrian created the conditions in which the image of Rome and the image of the provinces, the basic concepts, circulate freely throughout the expanse of the *imperium populi Romani*.²⁶ Kinetically and symbolically, Hadrian's journeys fulfill the promise of *imperium*, enabling and actualizing the free and multi-directional movement of people, goods, and ideas throughout the empire.

Tivoli and the Simulation of Empire²⁷

In 117 CE, Hadrian began the construction of a palatial villa complex approximately thirty miles northeast of Rome. Situated on the plains beneath Tibur (modern Tivoli, Italy), the complex was an elaborate expansion and renovation of a modest, pre-existing Republican villa. In the course of three phases of construction, Hadrian expanded this small core into a massive complex spanning more nearly 1.2 km² and encompassing more than nine hundred rooms and corridors in a complicated network of public, semi-private, and private spaces; the complex covers nearly as much area as Pompeii at the time of its destruction.²⁸ Laid out along three

²⁵ Syme 1939; Roller 2001.

²⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

²⁷ See figure XX10 for a map

²⁸ M. Boatwright 1987: 141; Bloch 1968 determined these dates through brick stamps used in the construction. Broadly speaking, the phases are: I) Construction of the original Republican Villa;

sprawling axes through the gently undulating hills, the complex simultaneously dominates the landscape with its incredible scale and embraces it, utilizing the scenery to create viewpoints from the villa. Hadrian supplemented the visual magnitude of the complex with an ambitious decorative program of elaborate marble floors and revetments, replicas of famous sculptures in rare materials, and playful water features. Centuries later, the remains of the villa, even stripped of much of their original decorative program, are an impressive site, daunting in their scale and splendor.

Despite the sheer quantity and quality of the remains, modern studies and, as a result, understandings, of the villa are limited. As recently as 1987, Mary Boatwright lamented the lack of a single work that studied the villa in its entirety, adding that no scholar produced a scientific map of the villa until 1906.²⁹ At this point, scholars even disagree on the layout of the villa; in Benedetta Adembri and Giuseppina Enrica Cinque's centennial collection of floor plans for the villa, the various plans deviate from one another frequently and significantly.³⁰ With a few notable exceptions, most recent scholarship on the villa focuses on a single structure or decorative feature, such as the cryptoportico, the Serapeum, the statuary in the Canopus, or the Tomb-temple of Antinoös.³¹ Moreover, English-speaking scholars have largely ignored the villa, relegating its study to German and Italian scholars. The current historiography of the site does, however, offer a slightly more optimistic outlook; English audiences can now turn to William MacDonald and John Pinto's monograph or a translation of Benedetta Adembri's short guide,

II) 117-125, initial remodeling; III) 125-133, addition of more traditional villa embellishments, including groves, pavilions, and exedrae; Oppen 2008: 140, suggests that Hadrian had a "masterplan" for the villa from the start.

²⁹ M. Boatwright 1987: 141.

³⁰ Adembri and Cinque 2006.

³¹ Cryptoportico: Di Mento 2000; Serapeum and Canopus: Grenier 2000; statuary program of Canopus: Calandra 2000; tomb-temple: Mari 2005. These are but a small selection of the massive bibliographies on even these limited subjects.

while Marina Sapelli and Helmut Schareika offer the most current study of the villa for Italian and German audiences respectively.³² Although long neglected, historians, especially English speaking historians, have begun to re-examine the villa as a valuable source for the reign of Hadrian.

This focus on individual elements of the villa, however, reflects the most compelling literary account of the complex, the *Vita Hadriani* in the *Historia Augusta*. According to the author, “*Tiburtinam Villam mire exaedificavit ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lyceum, Academicum, Prytaneum, Canopum, Poicilè, Tempe vocaret. Et, ut nihil praetermitteret, etiam inferos finxit*” (SHA Hadr. 26.5).³³ Although written several centuries after the construction of the villa, the *Historia Augusta* imposes a compelling unified vision of the site for modern viewers, providing a certain logic to an otherwise heterogeneous series of buildings. Many of these identifications seem secure, such as terming the reflecting pond and triclinium in the southern portion of the complex the ‘Canopus’ and ‘Serapeum.’ Yet, this logic comes at a cost for modern scholarship, leading many scholars to focus on individual buildings dissected out of their larger context. Recent studies of the villa as a whole reveal this cost clearly: Benedetta Adembri’s guide proceeds building by building, linking each structure to its traditional ‘name,’ rather than treating the villa complex as a whole. Rather than examining the logic of the villa, scholars contend over the names of individual buildings, spilling ink over whether one grotto or another is the infamous *Inferus*. A map in the catalogue for the British Museum’s exhibition on Hadrian illustrates the problematic effects of

³² MacDonald and Pinto 1995; Adembri 2000; Salza Prina Ricotti 2001 was the standard Italian treatment for nearly a decade; Sapelli 2010; Schareika 2010.

³³ He constructed his Tiburtine Villa wonderfully in this way, such that he inscribed parts of it with the names of famous provinces and places, calling them Lyceum, Academy, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poicilè, and Tempe. And, in order that he might omit nothing, he even crafted an Inferus.

this classicizing scholarship succinctly: the map's legend juxtaposes two possible identifications for many buildings, one based on the actual appearance of the structure and the other on the *Historia Augusta*.³⁴ Bettina Bergmann provides perhaps the most realistic assessment of such efforts, noting that, absent the semiotic 'keys' of buildings, sculpture, landscaping, and décor, it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify sites within the villa.³⁵

Although Hadrian's villa offers perhaps the most famous examples, many Romans named sections of their villas after famous locations, decorating them and using them in manners consistent with their namesake. Several generations after Cicero's death, Pliny the Elder was still aware of and found worth mentioning the area of Cicero's villa called the *Academia*. According to Pliny, Cicero used his personal *Academia* to replicate the function of the structure in Athens, composing many of his philosophical treatises within its walls (Plin. *NH*. 31.2). Cicero's letters to friends and family offer some insight into the method of constructing such an environment. In his letters to Atticus, Cicero frequently entreats Atticus to send statues, vases, and paintings from Greece that are suitable for his Academy, Gymnasium, Palaestra, and Amaltheum. Cicero desires statues of Megaric marble and *hermathea* worthy of his Academy (Cic. *Att.* 1.9.2, 1.4.3), as well as anything that Atticus feels might be worthy or fitting for these Greek-themed sections (Cic. *Att.* 1.16.18, 1.4.3, 1.6.2, 1.10.3). In a letter to M. Fadius Gallus, Cicero complains bitterly about statues Gallus acquired for him, claiming that they are thematically inappropriate for Cicero as a person and for his villa's thematic layout; although he feels that Metellus's statues of the muses were overpriced, they, at least, would be *aptum bibliothecae studiisque nostris congruens* (Cic. *Fam.* 7.23).³⁶

³⁴ Opper 2008: 138–39: For example, the Canopus is listed as “Scenic Canal (‘Canopus’).”

³⁵ Bergmann 2001: 165.

³⁶ Suitable for a *bibliotheca* and appropriate for my pursuits.

Cicero's obsession with named areas in his and others' villas appears in his philosophical works as well. In the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, Cicero connects his admiration for the practices of the Academics and the Peripatetics of Greece to the use of the Academy in his villa. For Cicero, the Academy in his villa provides a suitable location for a philosophical discussion because it consciously evokes the Athenian Academy, a place traditionally associated with intellectual pursuits (Cic. *Tusc.* 2.9). Cicero employs a similar conceit for the setting of *De Oratore*. As the participants of the discussion walk through Lucius Crassus's gardens, Scaevola says they should imitate Socrates of Plato's *Phaedrus*; seeing a plane-tree, Scaevola wants to recreate the Socratic scene by sitting beneath the tree in order that they might discourse (Cic. *Orat.* 1.7(28); Plat. *Phaed.* 229a, 230b).³⁷ With a pointed *ibi*, Cicero emphasizes the importance of the location for the ensuing discussion: *ibi, ut ex pristina sermone relaxarentur animi omnium, solebat Cotta narrare, Crassum sermonem quemdam de studio dicendi intulisse* (Cic. *Orat.* 1.8);³⁸ the location and its evocation of a Socratic scene provide the inspiration and impetus for a philosophical discussion, symbolically relocating the speakers to a different time and place. Cicero deploys a similar trope in his text on divination: *Nam cum ambulandi causa in Lyceum venissemus, id enim superiori gymnasio nomen est, 'Perlegi,' ille inquit* (Cic. *Div.* 1.8).³⁹ As in the *Tusculanae Disputationes* and *De Oratore*, the location creates a context in which a philosophical disputation not only might but indeed ought to occur. Cicero does not name areas of his villas after Greek sites as an attempt to be fashionable. Rather, he consciously depicts

³⁷ *Cur non imitamur, Crasse, Socratem illum, qui est in Phaedro Platonis? Nam me haec tua platanus admonuit* (Crassus, why do we not imitate Socrates as he appeared in the *Phaedrus* of Plato? For your plane-tree reminds me of it...).

³⁸ There, in order that the minds of all might be granted respite from the discourses of the previous day, Crassus, as Cotta was fond of relating, introduced a discourse on the study of oratory.

³⁹ We had come to my Lyceum, for that is the name of my upper gymnasium, for the sake of a stroll, when he remarked, "I have carefully read..."

such areas of his villa to evoke a larger context and set of connotations, using them as a way to relocate the participants of his discussions to new cultural and semiotic contexts.

In her analysis of the cultural and political significance of Augustus's 'Syracuse,' a room Suetonius claims served as the emperor's τεχνόφυον ('laboratory' or 'workshop;' Suet. *Aug.* 72.2), Emily Gowers provides an analytical framework for approaching the named places of Hadrian's villa.⁴⁰ Gowers seeks to challenge the two analytical frameworks that dominate the study of such places, namely the 'sentimental' and the 'politicized.' In the strongest assertion of the sentimental view, Woldermar Görler surveyed the variety of places names that Romans applied to their houses, gardens, and colonies.⁴¹ Although Görler acknowledges the topographical analogies such names create, he regards them as a sentimental affectation, one more element of the past that the Romans casually pillaged to forge an amalgamated cultural heritage. Thomas Oppen extends this line of thought to Hadrian's villa, claiming that deploying such place names was "nothing but a well-established topos," adducing Cicero's villa as evidence of the longevity of this tradition.⁴² In a more historicized and politicized reading, Bettina Bergmann suggests that the Romans' nostalgic construction of their cultural heritage derived from the "appropriation of another's past for self-definition;" she argues that the names and their associations are the cultural products of conquered cities and peoples.⁴³

Gowers rejects this dichotomy, arguing that Augustus's so-called 'Syracuse' "evoked a city 'annexed' to Rome but emblazoned with an independent identity and, more importantly, a tyrannical past — harbouring possessions, material and cultural, that were still objects of

⁴⁰ Gowers 2010.

⁴¹ Görler 1990.

⁴² Oppen 2008: 148.

⁴³ Bergmann 2001.

desire.”⁴⁴ She further stresses the historical aspect of the name, noting that Syracuse was still a living place that Augustus had visited, linking the historical associations of Syracuse with Augustus’s experience on the ground. Working from this triad of interrelated concerns, Gowers offers a range of interpretive possibilities, claiming that Augustus’s ‘Syracuse’ served as an arena that played the contradictory cultural and political impulses of empire off against each other.⁴⁵ In essence, Augustus’s ‘Syracuse’ constructed and articulated meanings of empire, synthesizing the centrifugal tendencies of Republican facades and dynastic desires, of Roman glorifications of conquest and urge to reject ‘foreign’ cultural impulses, into an increasingly unified vision of empire.

While Augustus’s ‘Syracuse’ played on the contradictions and tensions of empire signified by a single city, the variety and geographical range of names from Hadrian’s villa suggests a broader, more comprehensive representation. A unified and focused geography tends to define the comparable antecedents: Augustus has only his Syracuse and Cicero’s villa largely features Athenian locations. The heterogeneity of named locations, primarily from Greece and Egypt, sets Hadrian’s villa apart. Earlier villas seem to evoke very specific locations in order to tap into their historical and cultural associations. Yet, the desired ambience of several locations in Hadrian’s villa is perhaps less clear; one reasonably might question Hadrian’s purpose in including a ‘Canopus,’ a town best known for its Egyptian aura, its pleasurable and exotic dining, and, according to Juvenal, its notorious debauchery (Juv. 6.84).

The inclusion of and ascribed reason for the ‘Inferus’ offers a solution to this quandary. After listing a sampling of the named rooms in Hadrian’s villa, the author of the *Vita Hadriani* claims that Hadrian even included the ‘Inferus’ to ensure that nothing was left out (SHA. *Hadri.*

⁴⁴ Gowers 2010: 78.

⁴⁵ Gowers 2010: 86–87.

26.5). An imaginary location, the 'Inferus' could not offer the range of potential interpretations that a Prytaneum, Academy, or even a Canopus afforded. Rather, its inclusion signified the comprehensive nature of Hadrian's villa: everything within the empire existed within the limits of the villa's grounds. Through its eclectic collection of buildings, all identified in a manner that located them outside of Rome and Italy, the villa symbolically collapsed the periphery of the provinces to single point within the center of empire, one only slightly removed from the so-called 'head of the world.'⁴⁶ Such a representation implicitly signifies Hadrian's *imperium* as well, providing a physical monument to his ability to draw everything included in the Roman conception of the world into a single location. The villa expressed the nearly limitless extents of the emperor's *imperium*, suggesting that *imperium sine fine* might even encompass the underworld. It offers a new dimension to Aelius Aristides's hyperbolic boast, made twenty years after Hadrian's death, that one can find anything that has ever existed within Rome: thanks to Hadrian's villa, even entire buildings and cities can be found in the vicinity of Rome (Ael. Arist. *Or.* 26.13).

Hadrian complemented this representation with a decorative program best described as 'eclectic.' The sculptural program drew strongly from a wide repertoire of Egyptianizing, Classical Greek, and Hellenistic forms.⁴⁷ The materials were equally diverse, with many of the statues carved from a variety of rare and colored marbles. The Canopus-Serapeum, the best excavated and most studied section of the villa, is a typical representation of the contours of the decorative program. The Canopus-Serapeum featured a variety of Egyptianizing statues, including a series depicting the rites of Serapis, complete with cult attendants, carved in grey and

⁴⁶ Oppen 2008: 148 notes the possibility of this reading, but rejects it on the grounds that the use of place names was a long-established cliché by this time.

⁴⁷ The most comprehensive study of the statuary is Raeder 1983.

black marbles. Hadrian juxtaposed these with copies of fifth century Greek masterpieces, copies of the Erechtheum Caryatids, and a number of Hellenistic sculptures.⁴⁸ Until recently, scholars interpreted this decorative program as an indication of Hadrian's interests and travels, based on the diversity of the sculptures and the maritime themes of some.⁴⁹ Mary Boatwright, however, emphasizes the heterogeneity of the program, noting that the Canopus-Serapeum juxtaposed Egyptian and Greek statues with a Roman-style colonnade of alternating flat and curved lintels.⁵⁰ Although she ascribes this to the "eclectic tastes of the time," Boatwright astutely notes that the important aspects of the decorative program are not the individual statues, but rather the overall lavishness and heterogeneity of the program within its particular location.⁵¹

As much as it frustrates the taxonomic efforts of modern scholars, this eclecticism lies at the heart of the décor's programmatic message. In his letters, Cicero repeatedly emphasizes his desire that each of his named rooms have culturally appropriate sculptures; he desires Greek statues sourced from Greek marbles for rooms named after Athenian buildings. Conversely, Hadrian intentionally juxtaposes a variety of artistic and architectural forms within any given room, with scant regard for the topographic and temporal 'appropriateness' of any individual piece. Where Cicero would demand exclusively Egyptian or Hellenistic artwork crafted from local marbles for the Serapeum-Canopus, Hadrian adds Roman architectural forms and classical Greek copies. The eclecticism elides the semiotic keys, which in Cicero's villa determined the general ambience and function of any given room, preventing a viewer from reading the Canopus-Serapeum, for example, in terms of the Egyptian delta city. Rather, the juxtaposition of

⁴⁸ For a list of the 35 statues found in and near the Canopus, see MacDonald and Pinto 1995: 142; MacDonald and Pinto comment that this range of figures is typical of the rest of the villa.

⁴⁹ Kapossy 1969; Zanker 1979; M. Boatwright 1987.

⁵⁰ M. Boatwright 1987: 147–49.

⁵¹ M. Boatwright 1987: 149.

forms, names, and décor re-presents each area, enforcing a new interpretative paradigm that functions independent of historical and cultural conventions. The juxtaposition strips the constituent elements of the nexus of localizing and identifying characteristics, leaving only certain aspects that identify each as Roman or ‘foreign:’ the name of the Canopus-Serapeum as Egyptian, the Erechtheum caryatids as classical Athenian, the colonnade as Roman (see figures 20, 21, and 22). The decorative program combines these elements in manners distinct from their typical ‘native’ uses, balancing the identifying aspects of their native uses and appearances with a larger alienation from their standard context. The juxtaposition enacts a symbolic unification on these, reconstructing the cultural and historical semiotics of each element such that the unusual combination of elements from the three continents becomes entirely normative.

The kinesthetic experience of a visitor to the villa amplifies this symbolic unification in myriad subtle ways. Although the sculptural program and the buildings preoccupy many scholars, the elaborate pavements of the villa reaffirm the centrality of unity and *imperium* in the complex’s programmatic meaning. In 1991, Marina De Franceschini published a comprehensive catalogue of the floors of Hadrian’s villa, identifying types of marble, patterns, and installations throughout the villa.⁵² From this data, De Franceschini identified a hierarchy of uses for the buildings, correlating more elite areas to polychromatic marble floors and *vermiculatum* mosaic panels. She suggests the existence of three distinct categories of classification: servants’ quarters, undecorated or decorated with cheap materials; secondary buildings, paved with simple black and white mosaics; and noble buildings, paved with *opus sectile* or polychromatic mosaics.⁵³

As insightful and valuable as her analysis is, De Franceschini’s work leaves two important questions unasked: which types of marbles were most common and where did Romans

⁵² De Franceschini 1991.

⁵³ See Figure 6 for her conclusions.

obtain these marbles?⁵⁴ A histogram of the appearance of various marbles in the pavements reveals several interesting trends (see figures 23 and 24). Many of the pavements utilize a wide variety of colored marbles, featuring as many as seven distinct marbles in a single room. By far, the most common marbles are Giallo Antico (ancient *marmor numidicum*), a yellowish marble from Numidia and Tunisia, and Pavonazzetto (ancient *marmor phrygium* / *dokimaion* / *sunnadikon*), a white marble with prominent multi-hued veins from central Turkey. Few of the marbles originate from Italy; rather, non-Italian, especially Greek, marbles dominate the floors of the villa. Pliny the Elder's ruminations on the transportation of marble emphasize the significance of the movement of marble to Roman *imperium*, reflecting on the great masses of marble moved throughout the empire (Plin. *NH.* 36.1.3) and the particular difficulty in moving large pieces (Plin. *NH.* 36.14.69-70). The presence of so many types of marble in such quantities is a subtle representation of the extent of Hadrian's *imperium*, inscribing his ability to move massive quantities of material in the very pavement of the villa.

The history of the Roman marble trade suggests that a visitor to the villa would recognize the provenance of the marble and understand its programmatic significance.⁵⁵ The Roman marble trade at the time of Hadrian was well established, publicly and privately dating back to Q. Caecilius Metellus's marble Temple of Jupiter Stator of 146 BCE (Vell. 1.11.5) or the veneered walls of the house of Caesar's *praefectus fabrum* in the mid first century BCE (Plin. *NH.* 36.7) respectively. J.B. Ward-Perkins emphasizes the links between the rise of empire and the rise of the marble trade; he argues that the appearance of the primarily Aegean- and Egyptian-sourced

⁵⁴ Like the Romans and their use of *marmor*, I use marble broadly here to refer to any of the variety of hard stones employed for decorative purposes.

⁵⁵ The most recent study of marble and quarries is Hirt 2010; Fant 1988 offers a collection of essays, with a particular focus on white marbles; until Hirt (2010), the definitive study of marbles was Pensabene 1998; Ward-Perkins and Dodge 1992 collects the papers of J.B. Ward-Perkins, many of which remain definitive treatments of various subtopics.

marbles required the rise of Rome as an imperial capital and the resulting *pax Romana*.⁵⁶ The mass deployment of architectural marbles, one of the most enduring images of ancient Rome in the modern imagination, was an imperial project, enabled by, yet also celebrating, Roman *imperium*.

Hadrian's reign, however, marked a significant shift in the dimensions and organization of this marble trade. First, Hadrian's reign coincided with a significant expansion in the amount of marble quarried and the number of available quarries. Epigraphic evidence places centurions at many quarries during Hadrian's reign, most notably T. Sergius Longus in Karystos around 132 CE. The presence of centurions demonstrates at least an imperial interest in and, perhaps, control over, these sites of production; moreover, the inscription regards this quarry as a newly opened one, suggesting a greater degree of imperial control over marble production.⁵⁷ Further, Roman builders increasingly exploited several varieties of colored marble; in his magisterial treatment of marbles, Raniero Gnoli emphasizes the growing use of verde antico (ancient *lapis atracius*) from Thessaly and granito grigio from Troad under Hadrian.⁵⁸ The principle quarries for white marbles also shifted under Hadrian, moving to the east. While previous builders drew material from the quarries of Luna (north of Pisa) in Italy, Hadrian developed quarries for white marble in the east, especially in Proconnesus (modern Marmara Island, Turkey).⁵⁹ The development of

⁵⁶ Ward-Perkins 1992a: 21–22.

⁵⁷ ILS 8717: Ex m(etallis) n(ovis) Caesaris n(ostri) r(ationis) d(omus) A(ugustae) sub cur(a) C(ai) Cerealis pr(ocuratoris) / subseq(vente) Sergio Longo l(centurione) leg(ionis) XXII Primig(eniae) prob(ante) / Crescente lib(erto) n(umero) VIII // n(umero) VIII // CXXX n(umero) VIII; see also Hirt 2010: 170–72; Ward-Perkins 1992b: 25.

⁵⁸ Gnoli 1988: 153–63; reaffirmed by Ward-Perkins 1992b: 25.

⁵⁹ Gnoli 1988; Ward-Perkins and Dodge 1992: 22n30.

these new sources stands in stark contrast to Trajan's reign, in which the local Luna quarries operated at their peak extent, fulfilling much of Rome's need for white marbles.⁶⁰

The second shift in the use of marble served to popularize the increasing availability of colored marbles. The design of Hadrian's public works employs a new aesthetic, particularly in comparison to Flavian buildings. Christoph Leon and Donald Strong chronicle the most notable shift, the appearance of an increasingly Asian style carried by craftsmen to Rome.⁶¹ Overall, however, Hadrian's buildings are far less ornate and detailed than comparable Flavian-era buildings. Flavian architects tended to favor intricate carvings and reliefs, primarily executed in white marbles. The large scale of Hadrianic buildings made such carvings and reliefs irrelevant, for the craftsmanship of the work would be lost in the grandeur of the structure itself. Instead, Hadrian's buildings tend to employ colored marbles in place of these sculptural elements, such as replacing the typical Flavian fluted columns with columns of colored marbles.⁶² Hadrian's public buildings in Rome publicized the increasing availability of foreign colored and white marbles, deploying them in massive quantities. Even in cases where a more local supply might be traditional, as in the case of the Luna white marbles, Hadrian imported Greek marbles. Indeed, the Temple of Venus and Rome made extensive use of the distinctively blue-veined Proconnesian marble, marking the first known major public building to use it in Rome.⁶³ J.B. Ward-Perkins summarizes the end result succinctly, arguing that the reign of Hadrian heralded

⁶⁰ Ward-Perkins 1992a: 22.

⁶¹ Leon 1971: 238–43; Strong 1971: 119–22, 133–40.

⁶² M. Boatwright 1987: 21.

⁶³ Ward-Perkins 1992c: 101; M. Boatwright 1987: 123.

the massive introduction of imported architectural marbles, both to Rome and to a variety of other cities throughout the empire, a change seen in the very floors of his villa.⁶⁴

Even before the dramatic expansion of foreign colored marbles under Hadrian, the Romans were savvy consumers of marble. In his Flavian-era discussion on stones, Pliny the Elder repeatedly draws attention to the particular provenance of marbles used in various structures. Following an account by Corenlius Nepos, Pliny the Elder identifies the marble columns in Mamurra's house, the first to have walls with marble veneers, as solid Carystos or Luna (Plin. *NH.* 36.8.49). He further claims that Lucius Lucullus introduced a black marble to Rome that could be found only in Chios (Plin. *NH.* 36.8.49). He notes Vespasian's use of Egyptian stones, namely basanites or Greywacke, for the Temple of Peace. The Temple of Peace showcases the Nile as its subject, suggesting that the relationship between the subject and the stone is singularly appropriate; Pliny the Elder reinforces this idea through an appeal to a statue of Memnon in a Theban shrine of Serapis carved from the same stone (Plin. *NH.* 36.11.55). Likewise, Pliny terms the Basilica of Paulus remarkable for its columns of Phrygian marble. Indeed, Pliny devotes much of Book 36 of the *Historia Naturalis* to noteworthy uses of various types of marble, indicating that such uses were rare enough to merit inclusion.

For all his discussion of their uses, however, Pliny the Elder does not believe it necessary to provide a description of the marbles or their origins in most cases. Pliny the Elder explicitly denies the need, saying "*Marmorum genera et colores non attinet dicere in tanta notitia nec facile est enumerare in tanta multitudine. Quoto cuique enim loco non suum marmor invenitur? Et tamen celeberrimi generis dicta sunt in ambitu terrarum cum gentibus suis.*" (Plin. *NH.*

⁶⁴ Ward-Perkins 1992c: 101; Fraser 2006: 6 notes that Hadrian ordered a survey of the imperial marble yards in 132, allowing the release of marbles to provincial cities.

36.11.54)⁶⁵ Pliny's refusal reveals two types of 'common knowledge' about marble that he expected of his readers. First, Pliny assumes that any readers, almost exclusively upper class Romans, were familiar with the colors and types of marble available. Second, Pliny presumes that his readers could identify the provenance of any stone based on its distinctive appearance. Following Pliny's logic, if each area of the empire has its own marble and his readers are aware of this marble, then, implicitly, they are aware of its provenance. The Roman system of nomenclature for marble ensures this geographical familiarity, for the names of the marbles often derive from their origins: yellow-purple *phrygium/dokimaion* came from Docimum in Phrygia, dark green *lacedaemonium* from the Peloponnese, and so on. Hadrian's expanded use of foreign marbles would only further privilege this type of knowledge, ensuring that an increasing number of Roman aristocrats would be capable of identifying distinctive foreign marbles and recognizing their provenance.⁶⁶

To a knowledgeable visitor, as most Roman aristocrats likely were, the marble pavements of Hadrian's villa presented a powerful, albeit subtle, programmatic message celebrating Roman *imperium*. Again, the floors deploy easily recognizable marbles drawn from the entirety of the known world: they juxtapose marbles from Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt within a single pattern. In light of the new aesthetics of Hadrianic public works and Hadrian's reshaping of the marble trade, the class of people most likely to visit the villa would recognize the multifaceted provenance of the pavements. As they walked through the villa, they walked across floors that

⁶⁵ The colors and types of marbles are too well known to require me to speak of them. Indeed, they are so numerous that it would not be easy to list them. For what place is there, in fact, that does not possess its own marble? Besides, the most celebrated types of marble were mentioned in the description of the world and its peoples.

⁶⁶ The marble stockpiles in Ostia and Rome, evidence of a system of bulk production and deployment that reached its zenith under Hadrian, only increases the accessibility of such knowledge. See Dodge 1988: 215; and Ward-Perkins 1992b for a discussion of the shape of the Roman system of marble production and trade.

signified and celebrated *imperium*. The floors are a material testament to two distinct aspects of *imperium*. First, the increased use of foreign marbles provided a powerful symbolic statement of Rome's ability to enable the movement of goods and materials throughout the empire, regardless of the difficulty; as Pliny the Elder notes, transporting marble was not a simple task (Plin. *NH*. 36.14.69-70; cf. 36.1.3). The floors represented and required Rome's ability to extract resources from throughout its domain and transport them to distant locations.

Second, a visitor to the villa necessarily walks across symbolic evocations of distant areas under Rome's dominion. With a single step, the visitor can travel across marbles that visually and terminologically evoke areas far removed from Rome: the viewer strides across the very stones of Sparta, Phrygia, Carystos, and Chios. In the process, each step enacts a symbolic traversal of empire, allowing the visitor to re-enact the freedom of mobility promised by Roman *imperium*. Viewed in terms of *imperium* and the kinesthetic experience of a visitor, these pavements become more than elaborate floor coverings. Rather, they are subtle mechanisms that, through the interaction between movement and viewer knowledge, reify and celebrate Roman *imperium*.

At its heart, Hadrian's villa was not meant as a private retreat from the pressures of Rome but as a venue for both official and unofficial mechanisms of governing the empire. Inscriptions record the presence of minor functionaries at the villa, including keepers of trial records and of permits.⁶⁷ An inscription found in the town of Tivoli, likely brought from the Villa in its afterlife, commemorates the gratitude of Spanish municipalities for various benefits received in 135, many of which Hadrian issued from the villa.⁶⁸ Most famously, Hadrian sent a series of letters to Delphi to settle the dispute between Delphi and the Amphietyonic League in 125,

⁶⁷ CIL 14.3635-3637

⁶⁸ CIL 14.4235

portions of which appear in an inscription found in Delphi.⁶⁹ Rather than a secluded hideaway from the weight of empire, Hadrian's villa served as an official site of state business. In the words of Thorsten Opper, the villa offered a place "where imperial policy was formulated and disseminated in a more informal setting to invited members of the empire-wide elite."⁷⁰

The villa further served a key role in governing the empire, albeit an informal one, by providing a site for regular large-scale entertaining. The extravagant suites for guests and multiple massive baths offer material verification for a theme prevalent in the literary sources, Hadrian's love of the *convivium*. According to Cassius Dio, Hadrian typically dined in the company of the foremost Romans, using the shared meal as an opportunity to engage in a wide range of conversations (Cass. Dio. 69.7.3).⁷¹ The *Historia Augusta* reiterates or amplifies Cassius Dio's claim on four occasions, detailing Hadrian's consistent attendance at the *convivia* of friends and his generous provisions at his own (SHA, *Hadr.* 9.7, 17.4, 22.4-5, 26.4). Pliny the Younger's account of his time at Trajan's Civitavecchia villa indicates the values of these informal entertainments for the conduct of government business, depicting the experience as a mixture of pleasant relaxation and participation in important cases (Plin. *Ep.* 5.6.36). Such activities provided a valuable social lubricant for the smooth functioning of the Roman government.

Hadrian's *convivia*, however, served a larger programmatic function when staged in the context of Hadrian's villa. The villa contains numerous rooms that, at various times, scholars have identified as *triclinia*. Both the Serapeum-Canopus and an area of the Residence preserve

⁶⁹ Oliver 1989: #75.

⁷⁰ Opper 2008: 140.

⁷¹ Roller 2001: 127–211 examines the role of dining in defining the relationship between the Julio-Claudians and the senatorial elite. He notes that the *convivium* offered an ideal venue in which an emperor could communicate an ideology without appearing tyrannical.

the characteristic structural core of a *stibadium* beneath a vaulted canopy, allowing scholars to identify both as *triclinia* with some certainty.⁷² The certain and potential *triclinia* are located in distinct, separate areas, with several at the end of some of the axes of the site. None of the *triclinia* appear in close proximity to the apparent formal entrance to the villa, the so-called Vestibule in the southwestern portion of the site. From a practical point of view, the presence of multiple *triclinia*, all located an inconvenient distance from the primary entrance to the villa, is an illogical design choice for Hadrian to make. In a kinesthetic or experiential reading, however, the siting of the *triclinia* allows for the full presentation of the symbolic and programmatic message of the villa to the numerous banquet guests; if the *convivia* served to draw viewers to the villa in order to experience Hadrian's vision, the walk to reach any of the *triclinia* ensured their consumption of the message.

The design of the villa transformed the process of attending a *convivium* into a symbolic exercise in *imperium*. In their path from the Vestibule to a particular *triclinium*, the guest move through rooms named after famous sites from throughout the empire. They would walk across floors composed of marbles brought to Tivoli from throughout the known world. The combination suggests a symbolic traversal of the world, as the guests move from an 'Athenian site' to an 'Egyptian site,' walking on marble floors signifying numerous distant areas; in both types of movement, the guest performs a semiotic journey through the empire. Upon reaching the *triclinum*, the direction of this traversal reverses, with food and entertainment recreating this movement to reach the guests. Hadrian's desire to select entertainments appropriate to the occasion perhaps reinforced this reversal, leading him to select foods and pleasures drawn from

⁷² For a full discussion of the potential banquet halls in the villa, see MacDonald and Pinto 1995: 102–16. For potential locations, see Figure 19, numbers 7 (Imperial Triclinium in the Residence), the southeastern portion of 18, the far end of 28 (the Serapeum/Canopus).

beyond Italy (SHA, *Hadr.* 26.4). In essence, a *convivium* at the villa becomes a programmatic party that stages two aspects of *imperium*. First, the guests move through a semiotic representation of the empire, performing the free movements promised through *imperium*. Second, goods, in the form of food and entertainment, from throughout the empire come to the guest. From the guest's point of view, these 'goods' re-perform his earlier traversal of 'empire,' albeit with an important reversal: the goods move from the peripheries of the empire, from 'Greece' and 'Egypt,' to him. Placed in the villa, the simple act of serving a guest symbolically represents the extractive promise of *imperium*, that Rome can enable and control the movement of goods throughout the extent of its *imperium*.

Hadrian's *convivia* were a celebration of Roman *imperium* through a symbolic representation and performance of *imperium*. Yet, the view of *imperium* and empire expressed in these banquets is a relatively expansive one, marking a shift in the possible participants. The emperor is not the only beneficiary of *imperium* in the context of these *convivia*. Rather, all of his guests exercise their own *imperium* and enjoy the fruits of it to the same degree as the emperor. To some degree, even the slaves serving the emperor gain some small stake in *imperium*, for they, no less than the emperor and his guests, can engage in similar transitions across a represented world. Yet, the emperor's control constrains this free exercise of *imperium* in his servants and, less overtly, in his guests. While both parties can and do perform *imperium*, they do so within constraints determined by the emperor: the servants move to serve the emperor, while the guests travel to wherever the emperor has chosen to stage the *convivium*. While the emperor establishes limits to their movement, however, the guests and the servants alike enjoy movement throughout the represented empire in service to the emperor: they enjoy *imperium* when it is in service to the emperor's *imperium*, expressed in his use of servants to transport

goods or when he directs guests to a particular *triclinium*. Although the degree of exercise is limited, the villa radically expands the ‘participants’ in *imperium*, transforming all movement through its halls into an affirmation of *imperium*.

Hadrian’s Villa refigures the promises of *imperium*, transforming the expansive theories into a symbolic reality. On a theoretical level, *imperium* extended throughout the empire, promising the circulation of people, goods, and ideas from any one point to any other. The pervasive eclecticism of the villa’s design and decoration, combined with its actual use, reifies this theory. Hadrian purposefully eschews locally sourced stones, drawing marble from throughout the empire. He names various areas of the villa after famous sites in the empire, placing the Canopus of Egypt within walking distance of the Prytaneum of Athens. Within its wall, the villa contains a fairly comprehensive representation of the entirety of the Roman empire; while the grounds are vast, a visitor conceivably could engage in a symbolic journey throughout the empire in a long afternoon. While suitably vast as to suggest the incredible reach of Roman *imperium*, Hadrian’s villa presented the empire in a manner that allowed an individual to actually fulfill the promise of *imperium* and move freely through it.

The incorporation of the elements into a single, easily traversable site necessarily subsumes them into the category of ‘Roman.’ The villa’s intentional eclecticism of design and decoration haphazardly juxtaposes architectural and artistic forms, stripping them of the larger semiotic elements of nativity. Moreover, it places these muddled forms in a villa that, by virtue of its owner and use, is overwhelmingly Roman. Again, the emperor serves as a mobile locus of Roman-ness and, to some degree, of Rome itself. When the emperor was present and conducted public business at the villa, its proximity to the city of Rome only emphasized this amalgamation; it could serve as a type of stand-in for the city, containing the exemplary Roman

and serving as a site of government. The numerous cultural forms of the villa, then, are placed within the context of a larger representation of Roman-ness. The program of the villa intentionally mixes all of these elements, presenting them both as part of Rome and as in service to Rome. On a symbolic level, the villa self-consciously deconstructs foreignness for anything subject to Roman *imperium* and amalgamates it into a representation of Rome. The villa refigures the meaning of empire and *imperium*, casting anything under Roman *imperium* as ‘Roman’ and, more importantly, extending the promises and rewards of *imperium* to all that is Roman.

Walls, Frontiers, and Being Roman

Stretching across the frontier of northern Britain, Hadrian’s Wall remains one of the most iconic marks of his reign in the modern imagination, especially since significant portion of the wall survives to this day, particularly in the central stretch of its original length. The wall was originally 120 kilometer (eighty Roman miles) long. It ran between Segedunum on the Tyne river (modern Wallsend near Newcastle-upon-Tyne) in the east and Bowness-on-Solway in the west, stretching across the hills and valleys of northern Britain. The width and height of the wall vary along its length by location, standing nine to ten feet in height and ten to twenty in width. There are fourteen forts along the wall, as well as smaller milecastles, which appear approximately every Roman mile, and intervening turrets. Twenty feet to the north of the wall, the Romans constructed a defensive ditch and glacis; the Vallum, a massive and, in the context

of Roman fortifications, unique earthworks, averaging twenty feet wide and ten feet deep, protected the southern side of the wall.⁷³

Hadrian's wall possesses a strong hold on the imaginations and attentions of academics and aficionados alike. In its post-Roman life, the Wall serves as a cultural and touristic destination for those seeking to experience something of 'Roman life,' annually drawing thousands of visitors from around the world to walk the 135-kilometer long 'Hadrian's Wall Path.'⁷⁴ Films, particularly period pieces, frequently center on the Wall, with 2010's *Centurion* and 2011's *The Eagle* only the most recent examples. In March of 2010, Hadrian's Wall Heritage, Limited, sponsored a commemorative event called "Illuminating Hadrian's Wall," in which volunteers lit gas lanterns along the entire route of the wall to mark the beginning of British Tourism week and to draw attention to the wall as a World Heritage site. The Wall's prominence in the public sphere even leads cultural theorists like Divya Tolia-Kelly and Claire Nesbitt to analyze the relationship between the Wall and the evolution of modern British identity, arguing for the need to incorporate post-colonial non-linear narratives into the interpretative sites along the wall to reflect better the ancient and modern heterogeneity of the local populaces.⁷⁵

The 2007 film *The Last Legion*, however, showcases the most common analytical paradigm for the Wall. In the climax of the film, Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor in the west, travels to the Wall, where he and a token force of legionaries use the Wall to wage a desperate battle against an army of Goths and Britons seeking to kill him. In this vision, the

⁷³ The name 'Vallum' derives from its first literary appearance in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.12.

⁷⁴ Sample itineraries, typically spanning six to seven days, appear in numerous books. A bookstore in Newcastle, for example, had an entire table dedicated to such guides. A few recent examples are Richards 2004; Burton 2010; Stedman 2011.

⁷⁵ Nesbitt and Tolia-Kelly 2009; Tolia-Kelly 2011.

Wall becomes a liminal site for the clash between civilization and barbarism; the Romans, fighting in their orderly ranks, matching uniforms, and in the shadow of a typically Roman stone structure, stand in stark contrast to the churning, unruly mass of Britons and Goths. The Wall serves as a barrier frustrating the desires of barbarians to sweep over the Romans, protecting a world of peace and production from a storm of swords. Media casts the Wall as a profoundly defensive structure, representing choice to fight from the confines of the fort as a normative decision.

Popular media is not alone in perpetuating this image of the Wall as a defensive structure, one from which the Romans would oppose the unruly hordes to the north. One of the central historiographical struggles over Hadrian's Wall revolves around its role in Roman practices of frontier defense: "Today, the argument has become fossilised between those who see the Wall as such a [frontier] marker, its main purpose being frontier control, this interpretation being supported by the lack of forts on the Wall in the first plan; and those who see the Wall as essentially defensive in character."⁷⁶ For Edward Luttwak, perhaps the most well known advocate for the theory of 'scientific frontiers,' Hadrian's Wall is both incontrovertible evidence of these frontiers and a way of contextualizing their evolution. According to Luttwak and his supporters, the completion of Hadrian's Wall marked the final moment in the demarcation of the Roman frontiers and in the establishment of a complex of fixed defenses along the newly marked frontiers.⁷⁷ Although many scholars reject Luttwak's 'grand strategy,' they embrace its ramifications for the Wall as a limit of empire. Anthony Birley provides the most vocal statement of the Wall's relationship to continued expansion: "by the construction of this

⁷⁶ Breeze 2003a: 7.

⁷⁷ Luttwak 1976: 57–66; Ferrill 1991; E. L. Wheeler 1993; Potter 1996; Lo Cascio 2000; for Hadrian's Wall in particular, see Lattimore 1979; Dobson 1986; Maxfield 1990.

monumental barrier Hadrian was again, as in Germany, indicating that the age of expansion was over. Jupiter's promise to Aeneas of an 'empire without end in time or space for his descendants, *imperium sine fine*, as Virgil had rendered it, was significantly adjusted.'⁷⁸

Yet, just as Luttwak's 'grand strategy' required the imposition of contemporary geopolitical concerns onto the material remains of Rome, these conceptions of the wall overwrite the Wall with ahistorical military tactics and spatial concepts. As early as 1921, John Collingwood argued that the physical remains of the Wall strongly suggested that the Romans did not fight from the Wall itself: not only did typical Roman tactics and weaponry mediate against the use of the Wall as a defensive structure, but the physical layout of the Wall and the relatively late addition of the forts and mile castles also suggest that defense was, at best, a secondary purpose.⁷⁹ Brian Dobson indicates the logistical difficulties of fighting from the top of the Wall, noting that it would have required a significant number of men in order to mount a successful defense from the Wall itself. Based on the archaeological evidence, he argues that the milecastles housed perhaps eight men, pessimistically claiming, "the number of men in the forts near enough to act as Wall defenders, whether on the Stanegate or later on the Wall itself, was never sufficient to provide a convincing defense of a 120 km line."⁸⁰ Viewing the Wall as a defensive structure requires the ahistorical imposition of medieval military tactics on the Romans.

Roger Kendal's sobering analysis of the transport logistics required for the construction of the Wall further reinforces the contention that the Wall did not serve a defensive purpose.⁸¹

⁷⁸ A. Birley 1997: 133; see also Maxfield 1990; Dobson 1986.

⁷⁹ Collingwood 1921; reaffirmed and supported by Mann 1990; Isaac 1990: 198–208; Breeze 2003a; Breeze 2003b.

⁸⁰ Dobson 1986: here 7.

⁸¹ Kendal 1996.

Kendal emphasizes the vast scope of the required resources in terms of actual construction materials, workers, transportation, and the maintenance of the assembled men and animals; he concludes that even were the construction to last for the majority of Hadrian's reign, the project would still require an average of 900 vehicles and drivers, 1,800 oxen, and 4,400 mules to provide transport, in addition to the typical logistical requirements of provisioning local garrisons.⁸² If Britain were restive enough to require the construction of a defensive structure like Hadrian's Wall, it is unlikely that the Romans successfully could gather, protect, and utilize these resources in the face of aggressive foes. Accordingly, Kendal terms the soldiers building the Wall and extracting material "a sitting target for any concerted enemy action," the transport vehicles and animals "very vulnerable to enemy attack," and the mile castles built into the Wall "little more than a token gesture."⁸³ He argues that were northern Britain truly violent enough to require this sort of a defensive structure, it could never successfully be completed, concluding, "it would appear, therefore, that there could have been little feat of a major attack at the time the Wall was built."⁸⁴ In effect, Hadrian's Wall does not make sense as a Roman defensive structure: even if the Romans would fight from the Wall, an area dangerous enough to require its construction would be too dangerous to actually build it.

Yet, if both Roman tactics and practical considerations mediate against a defensive purpose for the wall, why would the Romans exert the effort and resources required to build it? When Collingwood dismissed the Wall's defensive capabilities, he postulated instead that the Wall served as a frontier-marker, denoting the symbolic limits of the empire.⁸⁵ Many scholars link the construction of the wall to Hadrian's withdrawal from Trajan's conquests in

⁸² Kendal 1996: 148.

⁸³ Kendal 1996: 150.

⁸⁴ Kendal 1996: 151.

⁸⁵ Collingwood 1921.

Mesopotamia and Dacia, seeing the Wall as an emphatic rejection of further expansion. Again, Birley unequivocally claims that the construction of the Wall offered an emphatic rejection of *imperium sine fine*, serving as one of many devices that surrounded Rome with inviolable boundaries.⁸⁶ Indeed, he suggests that Suetonius's representation of Augustus has a "suspiciously Hadrianic character" meant to justify Hadrian's renunciation of expansion.⁸⁷ Mary Boatwright adduces a series of four Hadrianic *cippi* from 121 CE, all of which claim that Hadrian restored the *pomerium*.⁸⁸ She connects the restoration to Hadrian's withdrawal from the Trajanic conquests in Dacia and Mesopotamia, seeing in the combination a firm rejection of expansion, even when it predated his reign: by rejecting Trajan's conquests, Hadrian 'restored' the *pomerium* to its proper pre-Trajanic extent.

Yet, the extant material evidence largely fails to support the assertion that Hadrian imagined Roman rule ending at the Wall or its analogues elsewhere. In the same period of time in which he renewed the *pomerium* and withdrew from the Trajanic conquests, Hadrian also issued a series of coins, dateable through his titles to 119 – 121 CE, bearing the legend *RESTITUTORI ORBIS TERRARUM* (see figure 25).⁸⁹ The issuance of these coins reveals an immediate problem in the conception of Hadrian as anti-expansionist: if Hadrian firmly rejected *imperium sine fine*, how could he also claim the restoration of the entire world? More immediately relevant for Hadrian's Wall are the remains of numerous forts and connecting roads to the north of the Wall, all constructed contemporaneous with or after the construction of the Wall. Birley notes the presence of these forts with some discomfort: "Further, albeit the Wall

⁸⁶ A. Birley 1997: 133.

⁸⁷ A. Birley 1997: 96.

⁸⁸ M. Boatwright 1987: 64–5. The *cippi* are CIL 6.1233a = 31539a, 6.31539b, 6.1233b = 31539c, and (potentially) ILS II.248.

⁸⁹ RIC 594 = Sears 3637 = Cohen 1285 = Banti 676.

was to mark the limit of the empire, the lands beyond it were given some direct protection.

There were to be several northern outposts, two of them on the high road from Coria to the north, at Habitancum (Risingham) and Bremenium (High Rochester).”⁹⁰ Similarly, the rhetoric of Hadrian’s withdrawal from Dacia conceals the historical reality of Dacia’s continued status as a Roman province with a substantial Roman presence until the reign of Aurelian (270 – 275 CE). The verifiable Roman presence and interest in areas beyond the Wall and similar frontiers offers a radically different reading of Hadrian’s renewal of the *pomerium*. Rather than symbolizing the end of the era of expansion, the renewal suggested that such ‘withdrawals’ did not, in fact, diminish the promise of *imperium sine fine*; walls, administration, and rhetoric in no way altered Jupiter’s promise or Rome’s control.

The literary accounts of Hadrian’s reign offer a potential resolution to the apparent friction between the Wall and continuing claims of *imperium* over the areas beyond.⁹¹ In the *Historia Augusta*, Hadrian decides to build the Wall following his tour of Britain: *in qua multa correxit murum que per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret* (SHA. Hadr. 11.2).⁹² According to the *Historia Augusta*, the Wall does not serve as a defensive structure but as a marker of division and distinction between barbarians and Romans; beyond its suggestions of physical division, *divido* also carries connotations of the creation of proper categories and an attempt to prevent mingling.⁹³ Indeed, the close link provided by *que* implies that the lack of distinction between barbarians and Romans at the frontier may be one of the issues Hadrian corrected (*multa correxit murum que*). Although the *Historia Augusta* was

⁹⁰ A. Birley 1997: 134.

⁹¹ Kennedy and Riley 1990, however, note the difficulty of determining policy from remains, a useful caveat in any such discussion.

⁹² There he corrected many issues, and was the first to order a wall built, stretching for eighty miles, in order that it might distinguish Romans and barbarians from one another.

⁹³ Glare 1982: s.vv. *divido*, esp. 2–5, 7.

written nearly three hundred years after Hadrian's reign, its author was familiar with Hadrian's autobiography, explicitly citing it in the *Vita Hadriani* (SHA. *Hadr.* 1.1, 7.2, 16.1); if this attributed motivation does not derive from the autobiography, it is highly unlikely that the *Historia Augusta* contradicts it.⁹⁴ The *Historia Augusta* preserves a similar conceit in its description of the construction of the Antonine Wall: *Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro caespiticio summotis barbaris ducto* (SHA. *Pius.* 5.4).⁹⁵ In each case, the text does not claim that the walls limit Roman power or that they offer a defensive purpose. Rather, the text represents the construction as a categorizing process, recasting the reality of messy and complicated identities on the frontier as a simple dichotomy. In the context of the *Historia Augusta*, the Wall serves only as a symbol relative to which the author can distinguish between Romans and barbarians, offering a clear demarcation between two imposed totalizing identities.

Yet, this newly articulated distinction between Romans and barbarians was not the result of the Wall *qua* wall or its physical location but of the relationship between the structure of the Wall and concepts of *imperium*. On a basic level, walls privilege certain types of action and forms of movement at the expense of inhibiting others, or support the goals of some travelers and deter the goals of others. Hadrian's Wall divides 'barbarians' and 'Romans,' but it also articulates paths of circulation between the two in the form of the Roman network of roads and the gateways that pierce the Wall. On a practical level, these paths of licensed movement are not

⁹⁴ For more on the sources of the *Historia Augusta*, see Syme 1971a; Syme 1971b; Barnes 1978; although he argues for its use of contemporary sources, Sir Ronald Syme also views the *Historia Augusta* as a fictional history, albeit an erudite and elaborate one: Syme 1983; Dobson in turn notes that the logic of "dividing barbarians and Romans" was not alien to the 2nd century CE. See Dobson 1986: 5.

⁹⁵ For his legate Lollius Urbicus conquered the Britons and built another wall of turf, having displaced and barred the barbarians.

absolute, for the reality of Roman fighting styles and the low troop density along the Wall guaranteed that the Romans could not prevent determined people on foot from crossing at unauthorized points. Yet, the Wall forced important categories of traffic, namely horsemen, driven animals, and carts, to cross only at licensed gateways; several scholars note that limiting such types of traffic to certain zones allowed the Wall to function as an ideal toll station, guaranteeing Roman oversight of merchants and the exaction of tolls by *conductores*.⁹⁶ Although not insurmountable, the Wall's structure certainly encouraged travelers to utilize paths and gateways that the Romans constructed, supervised, and legitimized: it funneled people through set areas of Roman control and supervision.

This funneling mechanism was a bidirectional one, however, for it shaped equally the movement of people in both directions: a person moving from south to north equally was bound to pass through the gates as one heading from north to south. The odd layout of and placement of the forts along the Wall only serves to emphasize this bidirectionality. A well-preserved cavalry fort at Cilurnum (modern Chesters Roman Fort; see figure 26) offers a clear example. The line of the Wall bisects the fort slightly north of its midpoint, placing approximately a third of the body of the fort north of the Wall. Although the majority of the fort lies to the south of the Wall, three of its four gates nonetheless lie on the northern side of the Wall, one on each face; in strategic terms, three of the four weakest points of the fort, namely these gates, face the supposedly insecure north. These gates seem to have no relationship to the location of the barracks and the stables, which lie in the northeastern quadrant. Each, however, offers a direct and unambiguous path to a space in front of the headquarters in the center of the fort, which likely served as a processing area for traffic heading from north to south (see Figure 27). Rather

⁹⁶ E. Birley 1961: 269; Breeze 1982: 86; Dobson 1986: 5–12, although he dismisses the potential for civilian traffic through these gateways; Isaac 1990: 415, with the note that the gateways do not always have relevance to routes across the line of the Wall; for comparable conclusions about the African *fossatum*, see Fentress 1979: 98ff; for Tunisia in particular, Cherry 1980.

than barring the entry of these northerners, the fort at Cilurnum seems designed specifically to funnel them through the checkpoint as efficiently as possible; in other words, the fort does not prevent movement from north to south but licenses and, indeed, expedites it.

The fort's southern aspect underscores the privileged nature of this north-to-south movement. The strongest strategic profile faces south, offering only a single gateway for entry. Further, the efficient traffic shaping seen in the northern section is completely absent to the south; rather than three obvious points of entries leading directly to a central processing zone, southern traffic moves through a single entry and must make an awkward and narrow jog around the headquarters building (see figure 27). Moreover, traffic from the south perhaps flows against the stream, moving against the flow from the three northern gates. The design of the fort does not indicate a desire to defend against 'northern barbarians' or to enable Roman traders to head north. Rather, the fort suggests an interest in the inverse, in establishing a schema of mobility that hinders traffic originating on the Roman side and enabling 'barbaric' ingress into the empire proper.

The apparent preoccupation with matters to the south manifests itself in two other unusual aspects of the Wall: the location of several forts and the *vallum*. Again, Benjamin Isaac demonstrates beyond doubt that the placement of many of the forts seemingly defies defensive concerns.⁹⁷ The auxiliary fort at Vercocivum (modern Housesteads Roman Fort) offers a well-preserved example. The fort lies on the southern slope near the top of a plateau, with the line of the Wall running along its northern edge. The topography of the surrounding area grants a commanding line of sight to the south from the fort, spanning a wide arc and extending far on a clear day (see figure 28). Yet, the northern side of the fort offers a curiously restricted line of

⁹⁷ Isaac 1990: 198–208.

sight, blocked by a slight rise shortly beyond the northern face of the fort (see figure 29). The placement of the fort allows it to survey and control the areas to the south of the wall, yet denies similar control over the north.⁹⁸ Vercocivum's location and surrounding topography suggests that its designers were either more concerned with what lay to the south of the Wall than to the north, that one of the principle functions of the Wall was to supervise peoples to the south as they approached the Wall.⁹⁹

The unique presence of the Vallum to the south of the Wall only compounds the seeming oddity of the design and placement of the forts at Cilurnum and Vercocivum, respectively. At some point after the construction of the initial forts along the line of the Wall, Hadrian or his builders ordered the construction of the Vallum along the entire south side of the Wall.¹⁰⁰ Although the Vallum was deep and wide, it was not an impassable obstacle and, as Brian Dobson suggests, it was not constructed well enough or carefully enough to suggest a combat role;¹⁰¹ its gently sloping sides offered a barrier to wheeled traffic alone and a minor inconvenience to foot traffic. Although it did not bar such movement, the Vallum did, however, guarantee the supervision of such movement. Where previously local populations might approach the rear of the Wall unnoticed, the Vallum articulated an area of forbidden territory to the south, in which soldiers might observe and challenge any travelers. As with the placement and design of the

⁹⁸ Breeze notes that the limitation of view to the north is a consistent feature of many forts, one that the builders could easily correct by selecting a slightly different line for the Wall. He appropriately concludes that defense and observation, especially of the north, was not a primary consideration in the design of the Wall. Breeze 2003a: 6–7.

⁹⁹ Although Dobson notes that the construction of the Wall and the relocation of the forts restricted access across the Wall to the forts and actually made access from the north more efficient, he nonetheless argues for the use of the Wall as a base for rapid deployment of Roman troops to the north. Dobson 1986.

¹⁰⁰ For a proposed chronology of the construction process on archaeological grounds, see Kendal 1996: 131.

¹⁰¹ Dobson 1986: 8.

forts, the Vallum seems to offer a chance to regulate movement from the south, to restrict it and channel it through a small number of passageways.

Three of the ‘mysteries’ of the wall – the functions of the Wall, the milecastles, and the Vallum- all suggest a similar preoccupation: the supervision and control of movement across the Wall from both sides. The Wall, then, was a mechanism of *imperium* writ on a truly monumental scale. Much like the provincial monumental arches, the Wall and its passageways define a series of ‘proper’ channels of movement, over which the Romans maintain control. The fortifications do not seek to bar movement, but to regulate and profit from it. Rather than signifying the abandonment of *imperium sine fine*, the Wall reifies the Roman claim to *imperium* even near the mythical edges of the earth. The Wall articulates the continuing existence of *imperium* over populations on both sides of the Wall through this regulation of movement.

Moreover, the very construction of the Wall also serves as proof of the extractive potential of *imperium*. Again, Roger Kendal emphasizes the incredible logistical challenge the construction of the Wall presented, one that required millions of tons of material, transportation for that material, tens of thousands of workers, and all the supporting resources for such an endeavor.¹⁰² The strip surrounding the wall could not even provide sufficient fodder for draught animals during the building season, let alone the mass of material and other elements;¹⁰³ all of the required material, animal power, and man power necessarily was drawn from other areas of Britain and the empire. Regardless of its theoretical functions or realistic ability to fulfill those functions, the very existence of the Wall reified Roman *imperium* over the world: Rome’s *imperium* could reach so far and extract so much that Hadrian could order a structure of this sort and scale built even near the edges of the earth.

¹⁰² Kendal 1996.

¹⁰³ Kendal 1996: 149–50.

The division between barbarians and Romans along the Wall, then, is not a manifestation of the curtailment of the dream of *imperium sine fine*, for Hadrianic propaganda and the Wall itself both represented continuing claims to *imperium* over the known world. Rather, the Wall articulates a distinction based on a population's relationship to *imperium*. Again, Hadrian's travels and his villa at Tivoli both suggest the full realization of the promises of *imperium*, namely the circulation of goods, people, and ideas; through his travels and through the villa, Hadrian actualizes these movements throughout the empire either through the circulation of his person or through the extraction of and programmatic presentation of cultural forms from throughout the empire to Tivoli. Hadrian's activities suggest unlimited and full *imperium* for those on the 'inside' of his walls and border fortifications. Further, his encouragement of native forms and customs and his personal appropriation of them subsumes them into the category of 'Roman,' transforming Roman-ness from specific practices native to a city into an overlapping container for a heterogeneous mixture. In effect, Hadrian connects a population's access to the fruits and benefits of *imperium* with its perceived Roman-ness: if populations on the inside of the fortifications are Roman and populations on the inside share in the benefits of *imperium*, then a population's ability to exercise *imperium* is the measure of its Roman-ness.

In turn, populations that lie on the 'outside' of the Wall and similar structures are both barbarians and subjects to Roman *imperium*. They do not have unregulated access to the people, goods, and ideas from the inside of the empire. Rather, their access to any of these requires passage through the wall of either their person or of the goods themselves, a passage that Romans invested with *imperium* arbitrate and control. Rather than participants in *imperium*, populations outside the Wall are subjects to Roman *imperium*, unable to enjoy the network of roads and mechanisms of circulation without intercession by mechanisms of *imperium*. Their

status of barbarians does not derive from any inherent cultural, political, or social practices they might enjoy. Instead, they are barbarians because mechanisms of *imperium* regulate their access to the fruits of *imperium*, transforming these populations into subjects of *imperium*.

Trajan's construction of a bridge across the Danube in Dacia and Hadrian's subsequent destruction of the bridge provides a compact example of this discourse. In his account of the construction of the bridge, Dio Cassius claims that Trajan constructed the bridge out of fear that when the Danube was frozen, war might be waged on the Romans on the far bank and that Trajan would be unable to help them; the bridge would allow him and his legions access to these Romans (Dio Cass. 68.13.1-6; cf. Proc. *Aed.* 4.6.12-3). Cassius Dio presents Hadrian's decision to destroy the superstructure of the bridge as based on nearly opposite concerns and desires. He claims that Hadrian feared that the 'barbarians' might use the bridge to cross easily into Moesia if they overpowered the bridge guards (Dio Cass. 68.13.6). Cassius Dio's account is undeniably problematic, especially as this section exists only in Xiphilinus's eleventh century epitome. The assumptions in each account, however, are nonetheless significant. In the construction of the bridge, Cassius Dio's Trajan is concerned with the lands and peoples beyond the actual boundary of the empire. The concepts of 'Rome' and 'Roman' do not end at the border; the presence of and perceived need to protect Romans in Dacia determines the utility of the bridge. In contrast, Cassius Dio's Hadrian sees Rome as stopping at the Danube; he is not concerned with protecting Romans on the far bank of the Danube but with protecting those on the near side. In this view, the Danube again becomes a divider between Roman and barbarian, a dichotomy that directly denies the historical reality of Dacia's continued existence as a Roman province until the reign of Aurelian (270 – 275 CE). In short, the perceived Romanness of Dacia was a construction that was not necessarily rooted in reality, but instead in the existence of a means to cross the Danube.

The kinesthetic and symbolic journey across the Wall represents the nature of this binary depiction of the world as constructed by *imperium*. The Wall guarantees the careful regulation and control of an individual moving from south to north. Such a traveler faces a variety of obstacles and movement shaping devices: the Vallum, the single entrance gate at Cilurnum, the uncompromising surveillance of his movement at Vercovicum. In effect, his movement toward and through the Wall parallels his transition from participant to subject in terms of *imperium*: the structure of the Wall subjects him to the movement controlling power of *imperium*. To some degree, then, the traveler loses his Roman-ness as he moves towards and passes through the Wall, a status loss marked by his shifting relationship to *imperium*. In turn, a traveler moving from outside to inside faces the reverse: the Wall seems to invite and ease his movement inside with multiple gates, lower degrees of surveillance, and a generally simpler path through the forts. His transition, then, is an allegory for his assumption of *imperium*: once through the Wall and beyond its traffic shaping functions, he becomes a fully endowed participant in *imperium*, able to move freely through the interior of the empire.¹⁰⁴

Hadrian's Wall itself is not a frontier marker. Rather, the Wall becomes a frontier marker in the interactions between its architectural design, the material practices enacted in or on the structure, and the conceptual paradigm of *imperium* that shapes it. The Wall does not mark a physical boundary or frontier, as emphasized by the seemingly ambiguous combination of the Vallum to the south and several forts far to the north of the Wall. Rather, it demarcates a conceptual frontier of identity that operates within a particular space. The Wall defines Roman identity in terms of 'haves' and 'have nots': all Romans possess and exercise *imperium*,

¹⁰⁴ Tolia-Kelly 2011: 74 working from a post-colonial context, Tolia-Kelly argues that the role of the Wall in shaping identity continues to the present day. However, she suggests that this identity is a fixed one rather than the relative one for which I argue above.

manifested in their free movement throughout the ‘interior’ of the empire, and anyone who is a subject of *imperium*, marked by their lack of access to the interior, is a barbarian. In keeping with Hadrian’s cosmopolitanism, however, this division of identity is a flexible and permeable one, allowing transition between Roman-ness and barbarism. The Wall does not mark the end of the dream of *imperium sine fine*. In fact, it articulates the opposite: nearly anyone can gain access to the mobility of *imperium* if they pass scrutiny at the Wall. Rather than a barrier to barbaric Britons, the Wall is a monumental invitation to all to share in *imperium*.

Inclusion/Exclusion: Aelius Aristides

A profound paradigm shift in the nature of *imperium* now allows us to combine the three Hadrians of history – journeyer, collector, and builder – into a single, albeit complicated, emperor. A new conception of *imperium*, one radically different from those of the Julio-Claudians or the Flavians, provides the common logic for his activities. At heart, his practices marked the extension of the promises of *imperium* to any population on the ‘inside.’ His journeys proved that it was, in fact, possible for an individual possessing *imperium* to move throughout the empire. His villa simulated the empire and his journey, allowing those elites without the resources or time to simulate these journeys, to enact symbolically their own empire-spanning travels. The wall distinguished identities in terms of *imperium*, delineating those who possessed *imperium*, the Romans, from those subjected to *imperium*, the barbarians. Together, these practices construct a binary view of the empire, one uncannily familiar to modern commentators on empire: insiders who are Roman and enjoy the fruits of empire, outsiders who are not and do not.

In an oration written nearly twenty years after Hadrian's death, the Greek orator and philosopher Aelius Aristides offers a vision of the impact of Hadrian's reign. His oration of praise for the city of Rome offers an uncanny parallel of the programmatic messages of Hadrian's journeys, Villa, and Wall. Aelius Aristides glorifies the cosmopolitan products available in the city of Rome, claiming that merchant ships daily convey goods and peoples to Rome, transforming the city into the production center for the world (Ael. Arist. *Or.* 26. 11). He expands on this sentiment to claim that anything and everything that has ever existed has been brought to Rome (*Or.* 26.13). Aelius Aristides further constructs the population of the empire as a unified and homogeneous body. He represents the various populations under Roman rule as a single unified tribe living in an uninterrupted land (*Or.* 26.30); he claims that neither ocean nor intervening land prevents someone from being a citizen of Rome (*Or.* 26.60). Rather than using Roman as the designator for the city or as a single race out of many, he re-constructs Roman-ness as a "balance of all remaining races" (*Or.* 26.63). Indeed, Aelius Aristides states that the categories of Greek and barbarian no longer exist, supplanted by a binary division into Romans and non-Romans (*Or.* 26.63). Perhaps his most telling statements, however, concern the Hadrianic and Antonine Walls in northern Britain. Aelius Aristides dismisses their use as a defensive structure and as a marker of civilization. Rather, he likens the Walls to those of the *Iliad*, suggesting that they are ornamental and fairly useless (*Or.* 26.82-4). These Walls, he claim, lay so far beyond the edges of the inhabited world that it would take a journey of months or years just to reach them (*Or.* 26.80-1). Throughout the speech, Aelius Aristides presumes a situation in which the symbolic effects of Hadrian's practices took hold.

Hadrian's view of *imperium* and Roman-ness, rooted so strongly in the construction of the Wall, also marks the first appearance of a truly territorial sense of empire. However,

Hadrian's territorial empire is not that of the great European empires of the 18th- and 19th-centuries. Aelius Aristides again provides a possible way of understanding the uniquely Hadrianic intersection between space and empire. Throughout the speech, Aelius Aristides uses a city as a metaphor for Rome's empire. At one point, he makes the point overtly, claiming that Rome governs the empire as if it were a single city (Ael. Arist. *Or.* 26.36). Similarly, he compares the Hadrianic and Antonine walls to those of a city; indeed, he suggests that these walls actually remove the need for Rome to have its own walls (*Or.* 26.80-1). These statements provide certain logic to many of his claims: if the empire is a single city, then it makes sense to refer to its inhabitants as a single tribe and as all Roman.

Yet, this metaphor provides a useful spatial perspective for understanding the logic of Hadrian's practices as well. City walls seem to resemble the function of Hadrian's Wall: beyond dividing the 'inside' of the city from the 'outside,' city walls, pierced as they are by gates, serve to channel traffic in and out of the city, not to prevent movement. However, the city's influence and presence does not simply end at its walls, but extend into the hinterland surrounding it. Further, the city offers a set of benefits to those who lay within its walls, including access to its population, infrastructure, and goods; those beyond the walls are either denied access to these benefits or must access them through the mediation of the gate. Moreover, the city articulates a simple identity based on an individual's position relative to these walls: one is either inside of the walls, with access to the benefits of the city, or outside the city and denied them. This identity is not, however, absolute, for such an individual simply must pass through the gate to become an insider.

Hadrian seems to reconceptualize the empire as a city writ on a global scale. Within this framework, his actions and practices assume a clear and unifying logic. Yet, the ramifications of

this reconceptualized view of *imperium* are perhaps more important. Although the Romans tended to understand space hodologically, there was one category of space that the Romans defined in a manner similar to our mapping schemes: the city. The Romans created and understood the space of the city in terms of its centuriation by the *agrimensores*, who charted the city out in a grid. Hadrian's reign, then, may mark the true beginning of a way of understanding empire in territorial terms rather than in domination of peoples. Although *imperium*, defined in terms of controlling or regulating movement, provided the implicit logic, the identity shift enacted at the wall, based on a distinction between insiders and outsiders, suggests that Rome was starting to become something more than the rule of peoples.

CONCLUSION

In that Empire, the Art of Cartography attained such Perfection that the map of a single Province occupied the entirety of a City, and the map of the Empire, the entirety of a Province. In time, those Unconscionable Maps no longer satisfied, and the Cartographers Guilds struck a Map of the Empire whose size was that of the Empire, and which coincided point for point with it. The following Generations, who were not so fond of the Study of Cartography as their Forebears had been, saw that that vast Map was Useless, and not without some Pitilessness was it, that they delivered it up to the Inclemencies of Sun and Winters. In the Deserts of the West, still today, there are Tattered Ruins of that Map, inhabited by Animals and Beggars; in all the Land there is no other Relic of the Disciplines of Geography.

Suárez Miranda, *Viajes de varones prudentes*, Libro IV, Cap. XLV, Lérida, 1658¹

In a short story masquerading as a literary forgery, Jorge Borges imagines an empire in which cartography can produce a perfect simulation of the empire. The mountains on the map overlay the physical mountains, the illustrated cities cover the actual cities, and so on; as the empire expands and contracts, the map mirrors the shifting borders in its own size, until the map and the empire together crumble into ruins. It is perhaps the perfect simulacra. Utterly indistinguishable from the empire itself, we might imagine, as Jean Baudrillard suggests, that the inhabitants of the empire spend their lives in a desperate struggle to ensure that the cartographers faithfully represent and circumscribe their place within this representation;² although we might say that the people live in the map, the darker truth is that the map and the empire are one and the same.

Borges's imagined empire exploits the unease inherent to what philosophers refer to as the 'map/territory relation,' the relationship between the physical topography and the representation of a territory. Alfred Korzybski offers the most succinct summary of this relationship: "The map is not the territory."³ Despite the apparent logic of this claim, namely

¹ Borges 1999.

² Baudrillard 1994: 1.

³ Korzybski 1950: 58.

that an abstraction or representation is not the same as the represented object, Gregory Bateson suggests that there is considerable leakage between the two categories in the case of maps:

We say the map is different from the territory. But what is the territory? Operationally, somebody went out with a retina or a measuring stick and made representations which were then put on paper. What is on the paper map is a representation of what was in the retinal representation of the man who made the map; and as you push the question back, what you find is an infinite regress, an infinite series of maps. The territory never gets in at all. [...] Always, the process of representation will filter it out so that the mental world is only maps of maps, *ad infinitum*.⁴

Bateson pessimistically concludes that it is impossible to ever know what territory actually is, for any understanding of territory is necessarily the product of a series of representations and reductions. Although both philosophers emphasize the distinction between the representation and the reality, they ultimately agree with Baudrillard: at some point, the simulation in fact replaces the reality and exists entirely divorced from it.

The perhaps inevitable collapse of the distinction between geographic representations and geographic realities reveals the second attraction, or 'logic,' of Borges's parable: if the map is the empire, and maps conceptually are indistinguishable from the territory they represent, then the empire *is* the territory. Accordingly, we tend to define empire precisely in terms of territorial hegemony, a definition reflected even in the names we assign to such colonized areas: the Belgian Congo, British India, American Guam, and so on. Indeed, perhaps the most graphic example of this tendency lies in imperialist claims to Antarctica or the moon: nations claim territories that are not only uninhabited but, for all purposes, uninhabitable. In our discourse, empire means rule over territory, with people and institutions conveniently subordinated into the territory, or otherwise abstracted out of the representation. The people who inhabit these territories emerge again in the context of post-colonial studies, but the terminology of the field

⁴ Bateson 2000: 460–1.

alone suggests its separation from studies of empire and imperialism. The contours of the fields follow suit: studies of imperialism trace the control of territory, studies of colonialism the control of people.

The Roman empire presents a peculiar challenge to this rubric of imperialism and colonialism. As Borges, Korzybski, and Bateson all suggest with varying levels of directness, the very concept of the map/territory relation relies on the existence of mapping technologies: without the ability to make maps, the elision between the representation and the reality of topography is an empty concern. Indeed, it is no coincidence that Borges's parable hinges on the state of the art of cartography, suggesting that the territorial breadth of the empire increases only because improving cartographic practices allow for the representation of this expansion. With the possible exception of the so-called Map of Agrippa in the Porticus Vipsania, little to no evidence exists of Roman geographical maps in the Early Empire.⁵ The existence of the Roman empire, then, poses a conundrum to the relationship between maps, territory, and empire: one of the largest, in terms of territory, empires the world has ever seen did not use maps to represent the territory that it controlled. Unlike modern empires, Rome did not inscribe its empire on the land, spurning the maps and border markers that delineate the boundaries between modern nation states.

Rome, however, was not an empire of territory but an empire of people. Coding its rule in terms of *imperium*, Rome sought to regulate and control the movement of an increasing body of subjects during the Early Empire. During this period, evolutions in the practices of power,

⁵ Nicolet 1991 is the most vocal advocate of the Map of Agrippa as a recognizable and geographic map of the world; Brodersen 1995: 284–7 vigorously refutes the case for the Map of Agrippa as a graphic representation; in Brodersen 2001, he suggests that *itineraria* instead served to represent the world; Salway 2005 analyzes the state of Roman cartographic practices as a means to contextualize the Peutinger table.

along with their corresponding representations in a variety of material practices, expanded the nature of subjectivity of Roman *imperium*; from Pompey's pirates to the complex dissimulations of the Flavian arena, Romans increasingly constructed *imperium* as a relationship applicable to the entire population of the empire. Unsurprisingly, the conception of *imperium* contemporary to the Flavians, manifested most prominently in the Flavian amphitheater and its various forms of commemoration, marked the zenith of the subjectivity of *imperium*. Within the representative schema deployed by Martial to chronicle the opening ceremonies of the Flavian amphitheater, the entire world became subject to the movement controlling effects of *imperium*; regardless of their position in the stands or in the sands, the presence of actors and performers alike symbolized the reach of Flavian *imperium*. In effect, the Flavian empire, or more specifically, Flavian *imperium*, was written in the movement of the bodies of Rome's subjects, as they made their authorized movement towards the center of the empire.

The material practices of Hadrian's reign marked the first tentative step towards conceiving of empire and *imperium* within a recognizably territorial paradigm. Hadrian's travels, his villa at Tivoli, and, most obviously, his wall across northern Britain presented a re-imagined view of the Roman empire as a dichotomy between those 'inside' the boundaries of empire, all of whom can exercise *imperium* through their free movement throughout the empire, and those 'outside' of the boundaries, for whom the wall acts as a checkpoint blocking their access to the interior. This conception of empire, however, was not identical to the modern conception of the territorial nation state. Rather, Hadrian's empire derived from a long-standing Roman model of territoriality, one intimately connected to Rome's expansion throughout the Mediterranean basin: the centuriated city. The Hadrianic empire offered an analog to many of the elements of the centuriated city: an internal area containing the residents of and visitors to the

city/empire, an external hinterland of those who do not have immediate access to the perks of the city/empire, and walls and gates that provide controlled access between these two spatial categories. Indeed, Hadrian's villa may direct our attention to the suitability of this model; the villa, like the city/empire, is a planned and, in spatial terms, well-defined structure, one with a lengthy Roman pedigree, that symbolically encapsulates the entirety of the empire. Twenty years after Hadrian's death, Aelius Aristides confirms the successful advent of this new model, claiming that Rome governs the empire as if it were a single city (Ael. Arist. *Or.* 26.36).

Following Hadrian's reign, Romans elaborated on this model of empire, developing it from a concept analogous to the city to a concept that strongly resembles our understanding of the state as a territorial entity. It may not be a coincidence that our strongest evidence for Roman geographic representations all date to long after Hadrian's reign. Ptolemy's *Geographia*, written sometime around 150 CE, sets forth a system of principles for producing a map of the world and of each of the Roman provinces. Literary evidence provides explicit testimony to the existence of geographical representations of the world, suggesting that Roman cartographers embraced Ptolemy's system, or at least some similar method. In 298, Eumenius delivered an oration to the provincial governor of Gaul in which he imagines a map of the world that he wishes to see added to the porticos of rebuilt schools in Augustodunum (modern Autun, France): *Videat praeterea in illis porticibus iuuentus et cotidie spectet omnes terras et cuncta maria et quidquid inuictissimi principes urbium, gentium, nationum aut pietate restituunt aut uirtute deuincunt aut terrore defigunt* (Eum. *Oratio pro instaurandis scholis* 20.2).⁶ In 435, Theodosius II commissioned a world atlas, the contents of which Aemilius Probus describes in his preface to the work: *hoc opus*

⁶ Moreover, let the young people daily see and consider in those porticoes every land and every sea, as well as whatever cities, peoples, and nations that the unconquered peoples either restore by affection, conquer by *virtus*, or restrain through fear.

*egregium, quo mundi summa tenetur, aequora quo, montes, fluuii, portus, freta et urbes signantur, cunctis ut sit cognoscere promptum quidquid ubique latet.*⁷ Even the Peutinger table (Figure 30), a highly schematic fifth century map depicting the road network of the empire, betrays its debt to this nascent sense of territoriality:⁸ although the map eschews scale completely and is primarily a representation of the *itineraria* of the *cursus publicus*, the creator of the map elected to depict this information visually and quasi-cartographically rather than in the standard table form of *itineraria*.⁹

Although an admittedly problematic document, the Peutinger table provides an ideal cipher for the history of Roman empire and Roman *imperium* that I present here. The map is an uneasy amalgam of two disparate understandings of the nature of empire. On one hand, the Peutinger table's debt to people-centric notions of *imperium* is clear. It does not provide an accurate depiction of the empire, evading the representational difficulties of the map/territory relation. Rather, it equates empire with *imperium*, defining the reach of Roman sovereignty through a representation of the licensed channels of movement through the empire. It suggests an empire conceptualized through the rule of people and the control of their movement. The map, however, reflects a wrinkle in this view, one first introduced by Hadrian: although an empire predicated through the control of the movement of people, the map locates this movement within a defined and distinct territory. While created nearly three hundred years after Hadrian's death, the map represents the legacy of the Hadrianic conceptions of empire. After Hadrian, *imperium* still referred to the control of the movement of people, at least for a time.

⁷ "This outstanding work, in which the whole world is included and in which seas, mountains, rivers, harbors, straits, and towns are indicated, so that all might know where each lies." Probus's preface is preserved in the *Geographi latini minores*, for which see Riese 1964: 19–20.

⁸ The best recent treatment of the Peutinger table is Salway 2005.

⁹ For the nature and use of *itineraria*, see Salway 2001.

Yet, Rome no longer exercised this control within an undefined and indistinct space, but within the boundaries of a charted space. Although *imperium* did not yet mean territory, Hadrian started a metonymic process, the conclusion of which Borges expresses in his parable: empire came to mean territory.

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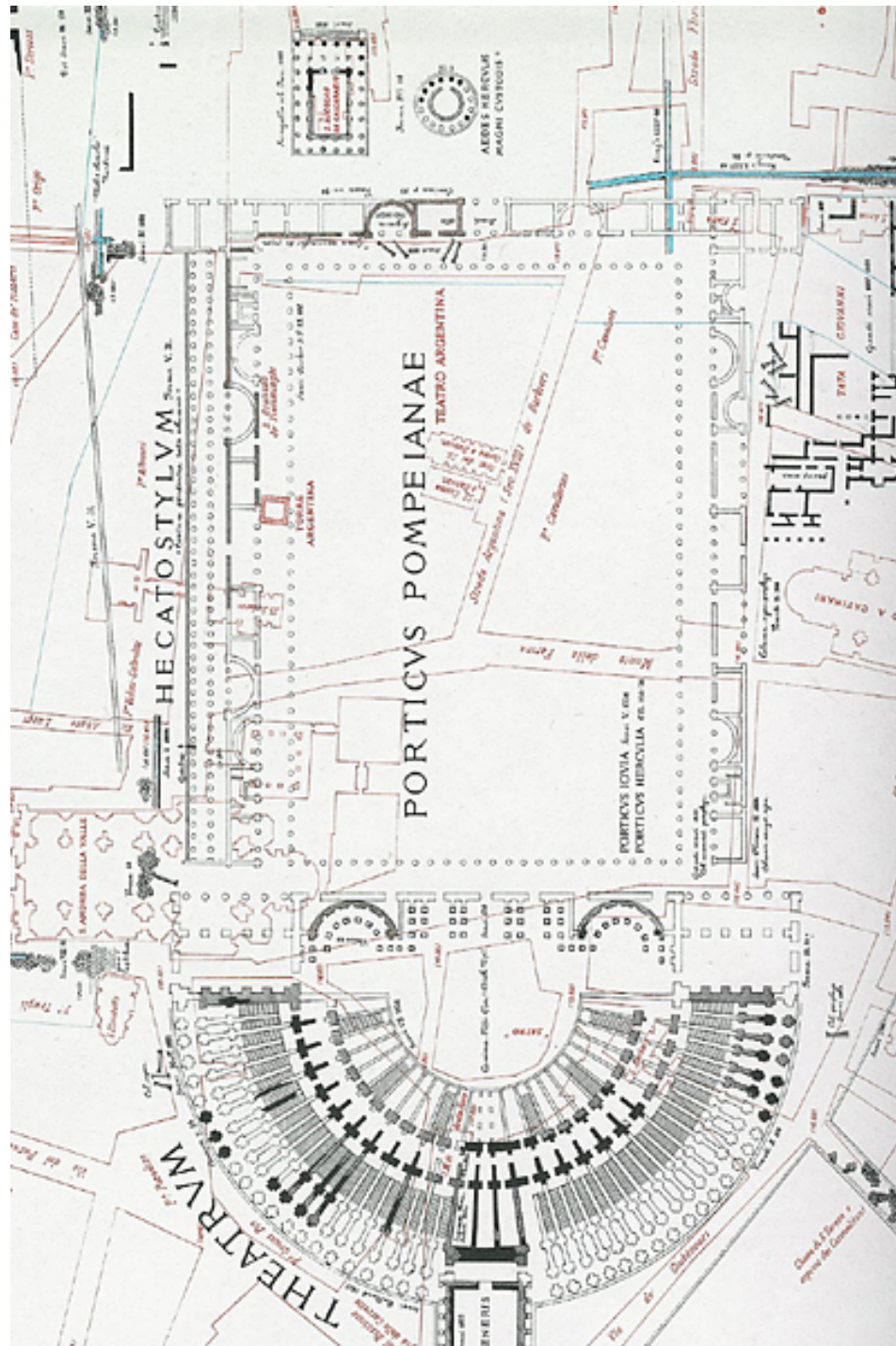


Figure 1 – Plan of Theater of Pompey
 From Lanciani, Rodolfo. 1901. *Forma Urbis Romae*. Rome: Edizioni Quasar.



Figure 2 – Augustan Altars to the Lares Compitales and Genius Augusti
 Left: Altar from Vicus Sandalarius, currently in Galleria degli Uffizi inv. 972
 Right: Altar from unknown vicus, currently in Musei Vaticani, Sala dell Museo inv. 311



Obverse: SPQR IMP CAESARI AVG COS XI TR
POT VI

Reverse: CIVIB ET SIGN MILIT A PART
RECVPER

Reference: RIC 132, RSC 85

Obverse: SPQR IMP CAESARI AVG COS XI TR
POT VI
Reverse: CIVIB ET SIGN MILIT A PART RECVPER
Reference: RIC 134a, RSC 84, BMC 428



Figure 3 – The Arch of Augustus on Augustan Coins

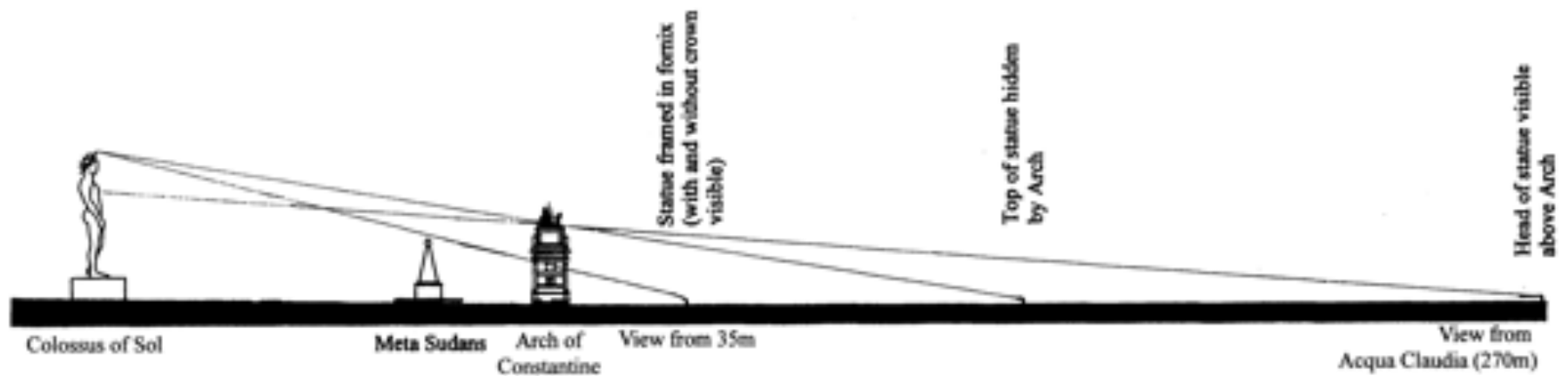


Figure 4 – Perspective and the Arch of Constantine
 Images from Marlowe, Elizabeth. 2006. "Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape." *The Art Bulletin* 88 (2): 223–242.



Figure 5 – Domitianic Rhino Quadrans

Obverse: IMP DOMIT AVG GERM around large SC

Reverse:

BMCRE ii.411 nos. 496-700; RIC ii.208 nos.434-5



Figure 6 – Augustan *Aegypto Capta* Denarius

Obverse: CAESAR DIVI F COS VI

Reverse: AEGYPTO CAPTA

RIC 545 = RSC 4 = Sears 1565

Figure 7 – Domitianic Coins Celebrating Germanic Campaign



Sestertius

Obverse: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XI CENS POT P P,

Laureate bust right, drapery over left shoulder with aegis

Reverse: S C, Domitian standing left holding spear, German kneeling at foot offering shield

RIC 357 = Cohen 489



Reverse of Sestertius

SC in exergue, emperor riding right, holding shield, trampling & striking with spear a fallen German

RIC 358 = Cohen 484 = BMC 339

Reverse of Sestertius

GERMANIA CAPTA, SC in ex, trophy of arms, below which are Germania seated left on shields in attitude of mourning, and a captive standing right, head left, hands bound, shield before

RIC 351 = Cohen 136





Figure 8 – Domitianic Aureus (86 CE)

Obverse: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P V, laureate head right
Reverse: IMP XII COS XII CENS P P P, Germania, as a mourning captive with head resting on hand, naked to the waist, seated right on oblong shield with thunderbolt decoration, a broken spear below.
RIC 442 = Cohen 206.



Figure 10 – Graffiti Advertisement for Spectacle

From Pompeii, West side of IX 8

D(ecimi) Lucreti †Scr(ipsit) / Celer † / Satri Valentis flaminis Neronis Caesaris Augusti
fili(i) / perpetui gladiatorum paria XX et D(ecimi) Lucreti{o} Valentis fili(i) / glad(iatorum)
paria X pug(nabunt) Pompeis IV V VI III pr(idie) Idus Apr(iles) venatio legitima / et vela
erunt // Scr(ipsit) // Aemilius / Celer sing(ulus) / ad luna(m)

CIL IV, 3884



Figure 11 – Britannia ‘Province’ Type

Obverse: HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP, laureate head right

Reverse: BRITANNIA, Britannia seated slightly left, head facing and resting on right hand; spear over left arm; foot on rocks; round shield to right; SC in exergue

Reference: RIC 845; BMCRE 1723



Figure 12 – Africa ‘Province’ Type

Obverse: HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP, laureate head right

Reverse: AFRICA S-C, Africa reclining left, in elephant headdress, holding scorpion & cornucopia, basket of fruit at her feet

Reference: RIC 841, Cohen 145, BMC 1714



Figure 13 – Gaul ‘Adventus’ Type

Obverse: HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP, laureate head right

Reverse: ADVENTVI AVG GALLIAE, Hadrian, standing right, holding roll and raising right hand, facing Gallia standing left, left hand at side, sacrificing at lighted altar between them, sacrificial victim below. SC in exergue

Reference: RIC 884, Cohen 31



Figure 14 – Iudaea ‘adventus’ Type

Obverse: HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP, draped bust right

Reverse: ADVENTVI AVG IVDAEAE, Hadrian standing right, raising right hand, facing Iudaea standing left, holding cup & patera; at her feet, two small boys before her, one behind her, each holding a palm; altar between, S C in exergue

Citation: RIC 893, Cohen 56



Figure 15 – Dacia ‘exercitus’ Type

Obverse: HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP, laureate head right

Reverse: EXERCITVS DACICVS (SC below, off-flan) Hadrian on horseback right haranguing three soldiers, the first (right) holds an eagle, the others hold standards.

Reference: RIC 919



Figure 16 – Syria ‘exercitus’ Type

Obverse: HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP, draped bust right

Reverse: EXERC SYRIAC SC, Hadrian on horseback right, hailing three soldiers, one with eagle, two with standards

Citation: RIC 931, Cohen 568



Figure 17 – Hispania ‘Restitutor’ Type

Obverse: HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP, laureate head right

Reverse: RESTITVTORI HISPANIAE, Hadrian standing left, raising up Hispania kneeling right & holding branch, rabbit between them

Reference: RIC 327, RSC 1260, BMC 889



Figure 18 – Syria ‘exercitus’ Type

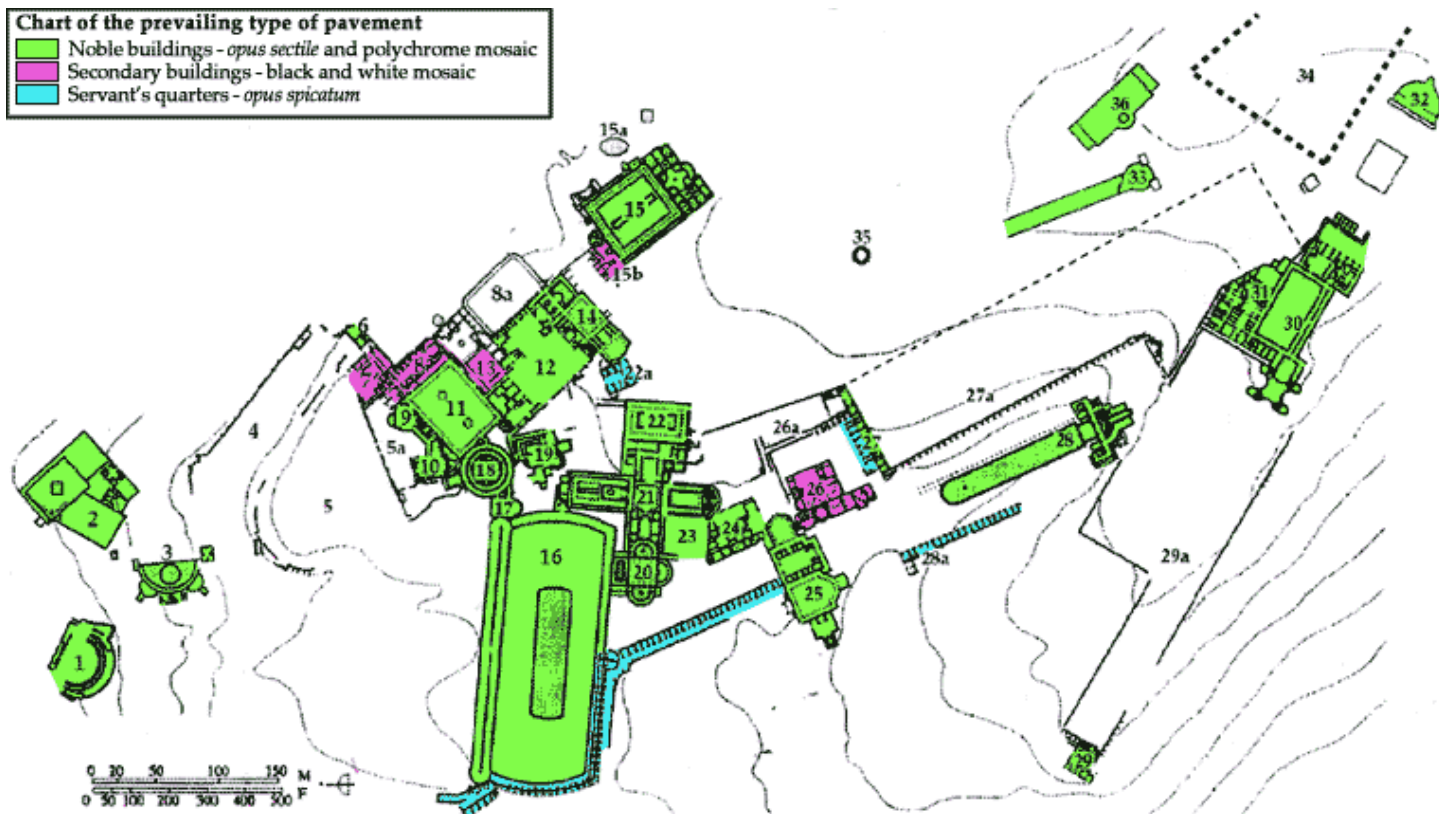
Obverse: HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP, laureate bust right

Reverse: RESTITVTOR ACHAEA, the emperor standing left in toga, raising Achaia, kneeling right, vase between them. SC in exergue.

Citation: RIC 938, Cohen 1216, BMC 1781, Sears 3627

Chart of the prevailing type of pavement

- Noble buildings - *opus sectile* and polychrome mosaic
- Secondary buildings - black and white mosaic
- Servant's quarters - *opus spicatum*



1 Greek Theater	11 Courtyard of the Libraries	21 Garden Stadium	28 Canopus
2 Palestra	12 Imperial Palace	22 Winter Palace	28a West Canopus Substructures
3 Ninfeo Fede	13 Cryptoporticus with Mosaic Vault	22a Firemen's Headquarters	29 Roccabruna
4 Terrace of Tempe	14 Hall with Doric Pillars	23 Quadriporticus	29a Roccabruna and
5 Lower Terrace of the Libraries	15 Piazza d'Oro (Golden Square)	24 Small Baths	Accademia Esplanade
5a Upper Terrace of the Libraries	15a Gladiator's Arena	25 Vestibulum	30 Accademia
6 Tempe Pavillion	15b Farmhouse near Piazza d'Oro	26 Great Baths	31 Temple of Apollo
7 Imperial Triclinium	16 Pecile & Hundred Chambers	26a Cryptoporticus near	32 Odeon
8 Hospitalia	17 Philosopher's Hall	the Great Baths	33 Inferi
8a Outer Peristyle	18 Maritime Theater	27 Praetorium Pavillion	34 Great Trapezium
9 Latin Library	19 Thermae with Hellocaminus	and Substructures	35 Mausoleum
10 Greek Library	20 Casino with Semicircular Arcades	27a Praetorium Esplanade	36 Temple of Pluto

Figure 19 – Map of the plan
From De Franceschini 1991



Figure 20: View along Canopus toward Serapeum, showing colonnade and statuary



Figure 21: View along Canopus away from Serapeum with Cariatids



Figure 22: Canopus and Serapeum

Figure 23 - Marble Pavements by Room

Location	Room#	Type	Type	Ardesia	Palombino	Pavonazzetto	Rosso Antico	Giallo Antico	Serpentino	Africano	Portasanta	Cipollino	Bardiglio	Marmo Bianco	Alabastro	Granito Grigio	Porfido
Biblioteca Graeca	9	Room	III, C1			x		x		x							
Biblioteca Graeca	19	Ambiente	I, D1					x		x							
Biblioteca Graeca	ABC	Portico	III, B1		x			x		x							
Biblioteca Latina	5	Ambiente	I, A2		x												x
Biblioteca Latina	6	Ambiente	I, A2		x												x
Biblioteca Latina	10	Ambiente	I, B1											x			
Biblioteca Latina	17	Vano	II, 13			x		x	x								x
Biblioteca Latina	8	Ambiente	II, 2								x			x			
Biblioteca Latina	9	Ambiente	II, 2								x			x			
Canopus	27	Exedra	I, A4											x			
Canopus	36	Exedra	I, A4											x			
Canopus	21-25	Corridor	I, A1					x		x	x						
Canopus	29	Esedra	II, 10		x						x						
Cortile della Biblioteche	2	Portico	II, 3							x	x						
Ed Peschiera	60	Ambiente	I, B6	x	x					x							
Ed Peschiera	60	Ambiente	I, B7	x	x					x							
Ed Peschiera	39	Ambiente	II, 15	x	x		x	x					x				
Ed Peschiera	40	Ambiente	II, 10			x	x			x	x						
Ed. Pilastri Dorici	3	Portico	I, B2					x					x				
Ed. Pilastri Dorici	4	Corte	I, B2					x					x				
Ed. Pilastri Dorici	7	Sala	III, A1									x					
Heliocaminus	9	Frigidarium	I, A1									x					
Heliocaminus	26	Ambiente	I, B2				x							x			
Heliocaminus	2	Ambiente	II, 10			x		x		x							
Ninfeo Fedè	4	Ninfeo	I, D2						x		x						
Ninfeo Fedè	9	Ninfeo	I, D2						x		x						
Ninfeo Fedè	3	Portico	III, A4	x							x						
Ninfeo Stadio	2	Room	I, A5			x			x								
Ninfeo Stadio	3	Ambiente	I, B13			x		x			x					x	
Ninfeo Stadio	13	Pavillion	I, B3								x			x			
Ninfeo Stadio	13	Ambiente	I, B14			x		x		x	x						
Ninfeo Stadio	2	Sala	II, 17	x	x	x	x	x	x								x
Padiglione di Tempe	5	Corridor	III, A1	x				x									
Palazzo Imperiale	1	Corridor	I, A1								x						

Location	Room#	Type	Type	Ardesia	Palombino	Pavonazzetto	Rosso Antico	Giallo Antico	Serpentino	Africano	Portasanta	Cipollino	Bardiglio	Marmo Bianco	Alabastro	Granito Grigio	Porfido
Palazzo Imperiale	9	Corridor	I, A1								x						
Palazzo Imperiale	12	Corridor	I, A1								x						
Palazzo Imperiale	49	Ambiente	I, B5			x	x	x			x	x					
Palazzo Imperiale	56	Portico	III, A2		x			x			x		x				
Palazzo Imperiale	7	Ninfeo	II, 10			x	x	x		x							
Piazza d'Oro	49	Ambiente	I, D2		x		x								x		
Piazza d'Oro	53	Ambiente	I, B1			x											
Piazza d'Oro	53	Ambiente	I, B8			x	x		x								
Piazza d'Oro	2	Vestibolo	III, E2														x
Piazza d'Oro	45-46	Corridor	III, A1	x										x			
Piazza d'Oro	8	Corridor	III, A1	x				x									
Piccole Terme	13-14	Corridor	I, A2											x			x
Piccole Terme	20	Sala	III, D1		x					x							
Piccole Terme	3	Frigidarium	III, A3														x
Piccole Terme	6	Corridor	II, 11			x		x		x							
Piccole Terme	7	Ambiente	II, 19			x	x	x	x								x
Quadriportico	2	Portico	II, 10			x		x		x							
Teatro Maritimo	3	Niche	I, B1											x			
Teatro Maritimo	4	Niche	I, B1											x			
Teatro Maritimo	36	Corridor	I, B1			x											
Tre Esedre	10	Ambiente/D	I, B4			x		x		x							
Tre Esedre	13	Portico	I, E1			x	x	x		x							
Tre Esedre	2-3	Portico	II, 1			x			x				x				
Tre Esedre	20	Ambiente	II, 9			x				x							
Tre Esedre	21	Niche	II, 9					x						x			
Tre Esedre	22	Ambiente	III, E1		x				x								
Tre Esedre	23	Ambiente	II, 14						x								
Tre Esedre	24	Ambiente	III, C2			x			x								
Tre Esedre	26	Ambiente	II, 12		x		x		x				x				
Tre Esedre	5	Corte	II, 5			x		x	x								x
Tre Esedre	6a-b	Portico	I, B4			x		x		x							
Vestibolo	6	Ambiente	I, C1	x	x												
Vestibolo	14	Ambiente	I, B11		x			x				x					

Figure 24 - Marble Provenance and Frequency

Marble	Origin	Period of Exploitation	Ancient Name	Continent	# Appearances
Giallo Antico	Smitthus, Numidia, modern Chemtou, Tunisia	2nd BCE - Late Roman	numidicum	Africa	26
Pavonazzetto	Docimion, Phrygia, Western central Turkey	1st BCE - 6th CE	phrygium/dokimaion/sunnadikon	Asia	23
Africano	Teos, Central Aegean coast of Turkey	1st BCE - late 2nd	leukolleion/luculleum?	Asia	18
Portasanta	Chios, eastern Aegean	late 1st BCE - Roman	carystium	Eur/Asia	17
Palombino	Carrara, Italy			Eur	15
Serpentino	Croceai, Sparata, Laconia, Peloponnese	Roman	lacedaemonium	Eur/Asia	13
Marmo Bianco	Luna, Italy; but largely Proconnesus and east. Med	Hadrianic		Eur/Asia	12
Rosso Antico	Cape Taenaros, Peloponnese, Greece	late 1st BCE - Roman	taenareum	Eur/Asia	11
Ardesia	Liguria, Italy			Eur	9
Porfido	Mons Porphyrites, e. desert of Egypt	1st CE - early 5th	porphyrites	Africa	9
Bardiglio	Luna, Italy;			Eur	6
Cipollino	Carystos, Euboea, Greece	1st BCE - Late Roman	chium	Eur/Asia	4
Alabastro	Everywhere - hard to localize, but Egypt, Asia Minor, Tunisia, Algeria, maybe Italy			Asia/Africa	1
Granito Grigio	Mostly Asia Minor/Egypt			Africa	1



Figure 25 – RESTITUTORI ORBIS TERRARUM Coin
122-125 CE

Obverse: IMP CAESAR TRAIANUS HADRIANUS AUG P M TR P COS III

Reverse: RESTITUTORI ORBIS TERRARUM, SC in exergue
RIC 594b

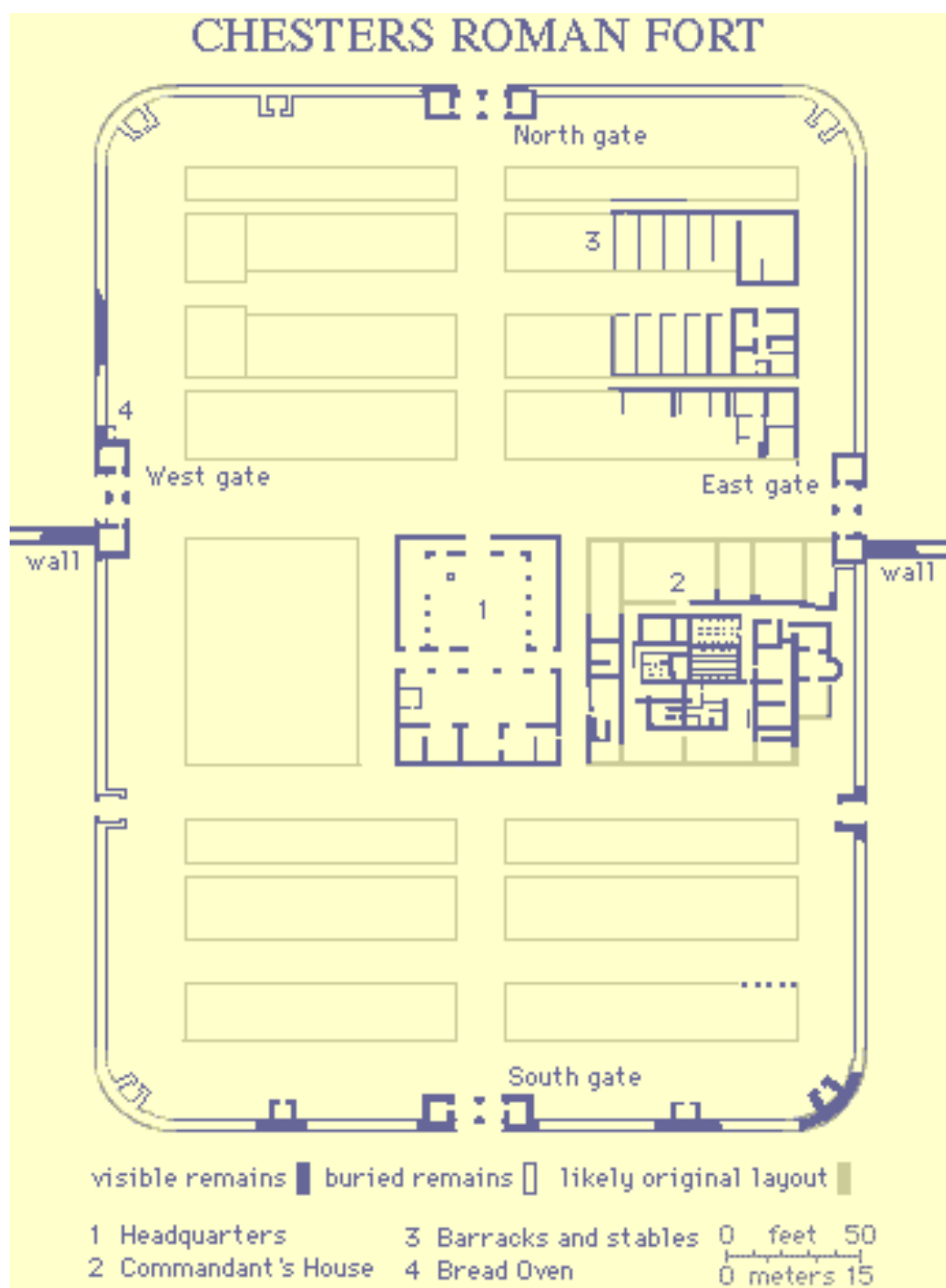


Figure 26: Cilurnum (Chesters Roman Fort)

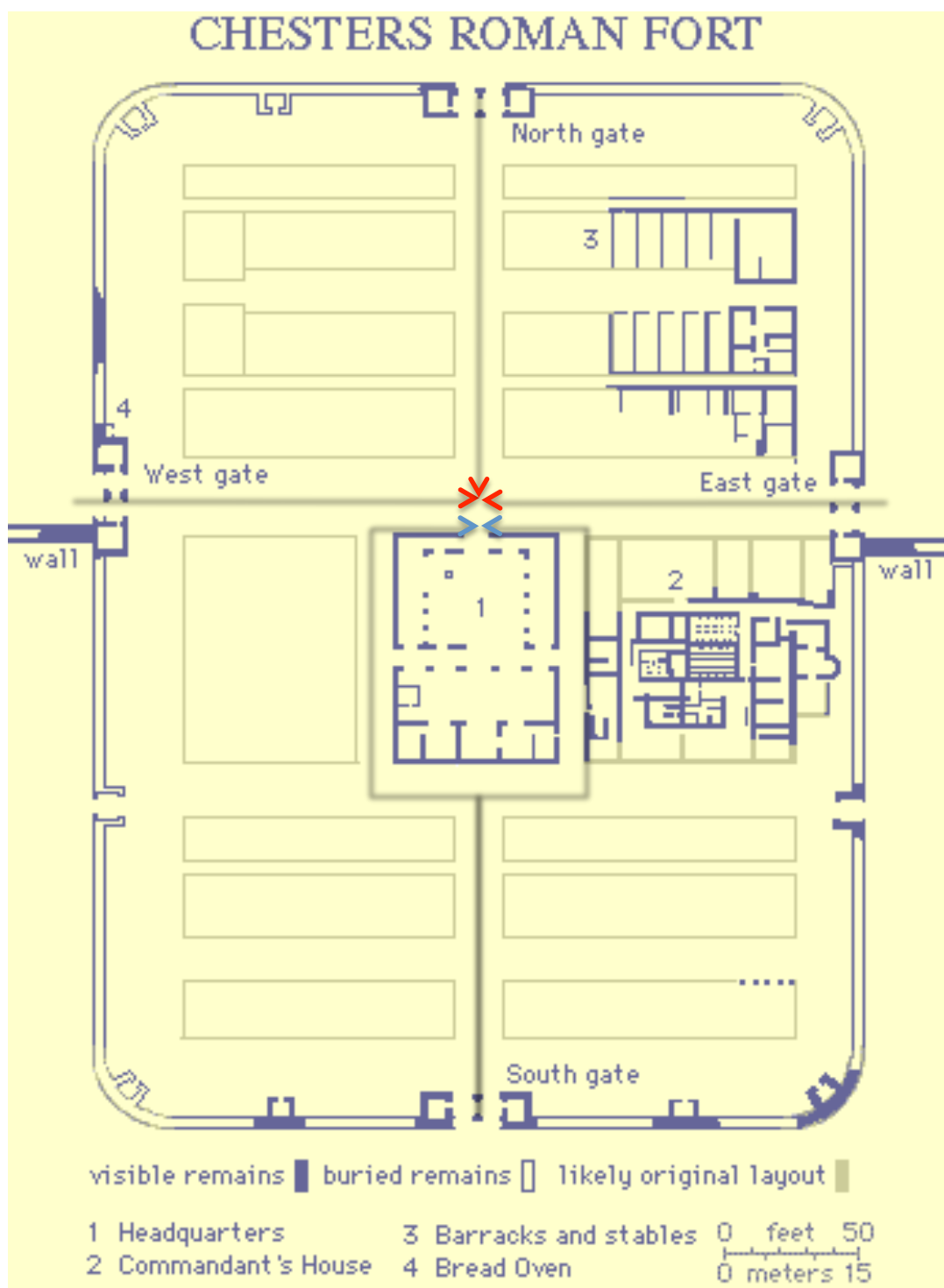


Figure 27: Paths into Cilurnum





Figure 28 (top and bottom): Views south from Verocivum (Housesteads Fort)





Figure 29 - View North from North Gate at Verocivum (Housesteads)



Figure 30 – Peutinger Table versus Modern Map

Left: Section of Peutinger Table depicting Dacia, Epirus, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Achaia, Sicily, Cyrenaica
 Right: Modern Map depicting Same