Engineering Power: The Roman Triumph as Material Expression of Conquest, 211-55 BCE

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Abstract

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This dissertation explores the intersection between the Roman triumph, architecture, and material culture. The triumph was a military parade that generals were granted for significant victories and represented the pinnacle of an elite Roman man’s career, engendering significant prestige. My interest is in the transformation of the transitory parade, into what I term “material expressions of power” including architecture, decoration, inscriptions, and coins. I assert that from the mid-third century BCE through the mid-first century BCE, material expressions of power became of central importance to elite expressions of prestige. More importantly, by tracing the process of bringing plundered material to Rome, constructing victory monuments, and decorating them with plundered art, I have determined that this process had a profound impact on the development of a luxury art market in Rome, through which elite Romans bought objects that resembled triumphal plunder, and on the development of a visual language of power that the Romans used to talk to each other about conquest and that they then exported into the provinces as material expressions of their authority.
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Introduction

In 146 BCE, the Roman general Lucius Mummius completed the conquest of Greece by looting and razing the city of Corinth. He returned to Rome the following year with his victorious army and gathered them together with the Senate and magistrates in the Campus Martius for his triumphal procession. Scattered along a triumphal route that stretched from the Campus Martius to the precinct of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill, spectators witnessed the exhibition of the myriad sculptures, paintings, gold and silver vessels, and other luxury goods that Mummius had seized on campaign.¹ After the parade, Mummius set about enhancing his reputation by building temples, including the Temple of Hercules Victor in the Forum Boarium, decorating them with spoils, and dedicating many of the plundered statues in Italy, Greece, and Spain.² Each sculpture highlighted the Greek artistry, while each accompanying statue base transformed the statue from a Greek votive object into a material expression of Roman conquest and reminded the viewer that Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth, honored the city and the gods with his dedication. While Mummius’ actions may seem commonplace when viewed from the perspective of late-Republican written sources, in actuality they represent a series of developments between the third and first centuries BCE that resulted in a sophisticated elite material culture that was rooted in the triumph. In this period, generals increasingly used architecture and material culture—art, luxury goods, coins, and inscriptions—to celebrate their military victories. Their actions and the patterns they established helped

¹ Among the various objects Mummius seized and paraded in his triumph were a bronze statue of Zeus and twenty-one gilded shields (Paus. 5.24.4; 5.10.5), a statue of the Muses and another of Venus, as well as a painting of Dionysius by Aristides and another of Hercules being tortured (Strabo 8.6.23). Mummius took numerous Corinthian bronzes (Pliny NH 37.7.18; Vitr. 5.5.8). He also seized a statue of Hercules, which he made the new cult statue for his Temple of Hercules Victor (CIL 1².626). See also Edwards 2003: 50.
² For a full list of the Greek and Latin inscriptions relating to Mummius, see Graverini 2001: 105-148. For Mummius’ Italian statue bases, see Imagines Italicae, vol.2, p.615. For Olympia, see SEG 44.410. For Argos, see SEG 30.365. For scholarly work on Mummius’ statue bases, see Pobjoy 2006: 54; Rutledge 2012: 43; Philipp and Koenigs 1979: 193-216.
transform the triumph from an ephemeral moment into a permanent representation of Roman power, authority, and elite prestige.

While war, violence, and aristocratic competition played critical roles in the development of a triumphal material culture, they are not the primary focus of this study. Instead, I concentrate on tracing the circulation of plundered goods into Rome through conquest, the architectural monuments that celebrated conquest, and the growing importance of foreign objects, both plundered and commissioned, as sources of elite prestige. Of equal importance is the circulation of the burgeoning Roman visual language of power out into the provinces as an expression of Roman authority. I examine the commemoration of the ephemeral triumphal parade through architecture, inscriptions, displays of plundered and commissioned art, trophies, and coins. The dissertation begins with the development of triumphal architecture, especially temples and other buildings that celebrated Roman victories or were financed through them. I argue that the clustering of triumphal buildings on the parade route effectively inscribed the triumph onto Rome’s urban landscape; in fact, this tendency to cluster buildings associated with the triumph along the path of the parade helped formalize the route, which, until this period, had fluctuated somewhat. Generals decorated these structures with the spoils of the conquests and often enhanced those spoils with commissioned art, such as paintings, reliefs, and other statues.³

Decorating buildings with plundered and commissioned art created a coherent and multi-layered visual message that provided a conquest narrative and emphasized the personal

³ Two of the earliest examples of temples decorated with commissioned art are the Temple of Consus and the Temple of Vertumnus, both from the third century BCE. Other well-attested examples of temples decorated with plundered art are the Temple of Juno Regina, built by Q. Caecilius Metellus in 145, and the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Dei, built by Q. Lutatius Catulus in 101 BCE.
contributions of the general to the state. These new decorative practices developed from traditional patterns for the disposition of spoils; the aesthetic and artistic qualities transformed plundered objects into prestige items that became a defining characteristic of elite social preeminence. Roman elites who had not earned triumphs sought to replicate the social value of artistic booty by purchasing or looting similar items, contributing to the development of a luxury art market. Consequently, the circulation of plundered items within the city in the form of money to pay for triumphal architecture, spoils to decorate triumphal structures and elite homes, and purchased goods that retained a patina of triumphal prestige because of their association with the parade transformed the Roman capital into a triumphal landscape. The central role of the triumph in the creation of an elite’s social influence and renown led to a proliferation of triumphal images, from architecture to spoils to coins. Ultimately, the development of a triumphal culture contributed to a new visual language of power that the Romans exported to areas of Roman expansion in the form of monuments, trophies, and iconography, including coins.

The concept of circulation is crucial to understanding the development of a triumphal material culture. Roman armies fanned out across the Mediterranean, where they conquered, plundered, and then returned to Rome carrying with them captives from newly conquered peoples, along with the despoiled wealth, art, and luxury goods. War booty then moved around the city first in the triumphal parade and then through their display in triumphal buildings and private homes. The importance of these objects as representations of victory within Rome

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4 As discussed in Chapter 2, the temple’s location provided a connection to the triumph, the display of plundered art, rededicated as Roman votives, combined with paintings that illustrated key moments in battle, retold the basic story of the conquest for visitors.
5 Cicero’s letters to his friend Atticus asking for Greek statues to decorate his villa and gardens demonstrate that by the late Republican period, elites had fully internalized this association between Greek art and prestige.
6 Wallace-Hadrill addresses part of this process of circulation in his study on Roman identity and consumerism (2008: 3-38, 73-144).
contributed to the circulation of the material, imagery and message of the triumph and victory back out into the provinces and areas of conquest. This new visual language of power used what had been a peculiarly Roman visual language to advertise their power and authority to the people they conquered. Consequently, the material culture of the triumph became a material expression of power that broadcasted Roman military victory to Romans, their subjects, and their enemies through both fixed and mobile triumphal images: trophies, coins, and inscriptions. Furthermore, the circulation of triumphal imagery out into conquered regions helped reinforce conquest, which brought more plundered material into Rome. In other words, the influx of booty into Rome via conquest and back out into conquered regions in the form of money to fund further wars and triumphal imagery, created a self-reinforcing cycle. In this cycle, the Romans dominated foreign peoples, celebrated and retold the story of that domination through art and architecture both in Rome and in conquered regions, and then used those physical expressions of power to broadcast their power and authority and create further opportunities for conquest. At the heart of this process was the triumph, because its prestige, rituals, iconography, and booty offered the Romans a visual language through which they could creating permanent and lasting images of power that could be read by Romans and foreigners alike. By examining the triumph as a process of circulation, this study argues that the parade became more than just an ephemeral political moment. The triumph became inseparable from its material, architecture, imagery, and prestige. The Romans thus enshrined the triumph as the pivotal component in a visual language upon which elites could draw to improve their own reputations, to speak to fellow citizens about conquest, and to convey Roman authority to foreigners.
The Triumph and Triumphant Material before the Third Century BCE

It is necessary to examine the role of the triumph before the mid-third century BCE to understand how it became a central theme in Roman material culture. The triumph was a military procession granted by the Senate to generals who had, in theory at least, soundly defeated a foreign enemy in battle and extended the dominion of the Roman state. Its relative rarity made it the pinnacle of Roman elite achievement, and earning one could bring a general enough prestige to secure future offices and garner fame for his descendants. The parade itself began in the Campus Martius and headed south, following the path of the Tiber River into the Forum Boarium and zagged briefly north again before turning east into the Circus Maximus (fig. 1-3). Upon exiting the east end of the Circus, it turned north and then west along the Via Sacra into the Roman Forum. At the west end of the Forum, the route ascended the Capitoline Hill along the Clivus Argentinus and culminated in front of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, where the victorious general offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, often comprised of a portion of his spoils. The general rode through the city on a chariot, dressed in a triumphal toga, accompanied by carts loaded down with his spoils, and by his soldiers, officers, fellow magistrates, and senators to the shouting and accolades of the spectators. While the parade was only a fleeting moment, it was a powerful one; it is not surprising that generals began to capitalize on the fame that the procession brought them by employing various forms of material culture to create enduring memorials to their achievements. Indeed, they sought to fix the transitory procession in more than just words

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7 There were multiple “rules” that a general was supposed to meet, but the decision to grant a triumph was left to the discretion of the Senate, which was often lax about generals meeting all the requirements, particularly if that general was popular. See Versnel 1970: 164-201.
8 Between 400 and 301 BCE, there were forty-three triumphs; between 300 and 241, thanks to the wars with the Samnites and Carthaginians, there were fifty-six triumphs, whereas between 240 and 201, there were twenty-two triumphs. Roman expansion into Greece in the second century led to another explosion of triumphs, with seventy-nine between 200 and 141 and twenty-five between 140 and 101. In contrast, between 100 and 19 BCE, there were sixty-three triumphs. This decline is due in part to more protracted wars, as well as to long periods of civil war, for which Roman generals could not earn a triumph. For a visual breakdown of these statistics, see the graph in the appendix.
or even Roman memory; they inscribed it onto the urban landscape through architecture and enshrined it in the landscape of cultural memory through the visual association engendered by the exhibition of war booty in triumphal buildings. In effect, the Romans repeated the glory of the initial victory in an alternative and permanent form.

Most of the triumphal parades before the mid-third century celebrated victories over Italian peoples, particularly the Etruscans and Samnites. Victorious Roman generals occasionally celebrated their achievements beyond holding a triumph. Some built temples as thanksgiving to gods to fulfill battlefield vows made before their crucial victories. Others emphasized the martial prowess of their enemies by melting down Samnite armor to make trophies or decorating a traditional trophy (tropaia)—two roughly hewn logs tied together in a T shape—with captured armor and weaponry. These displays highlighted martial characteristics, focusing on the favorable intervention of the gods in battle and on the weapons and armor of defeated enemies. This same emphasis on militarism is reflected in the architectural embellishments that were popular at the time; it was common practice for generals to display captured and dedicatory shields on the façades of houses and temples. M. Aemilius Lepidus, for example, orders the removal of numerous shields and military standards from the Temple of

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9 For example, M. Valerius Corvus triumphed twice in three years as consul, in 346 and 343, over the Volsci and Samnites, respectively. Of the thirty-eight triumphs on the fasti triumphales from the fourth century, thirty-two were over Etruscans, Samnites, and other northern Italic tribes, and the other six were over Gallic tribes living in northern Italy.

10 A. Postumius, for example, built the Temple of Castor to fulfill a vow he had made during the Battle of Lake Regillus in 499; Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus built the Temple of Jupiter Victor to fulfill a vow made during the Battle of Sentinum in 295.

11 Hölscher (2006: 29-33) provides an in-depth discussion of Greek and Roman tropaia. He argues that these were physical manifestations of a victor’s strength and power, and if the defeated questioned them, they risked being attacked by the victor again, which made trophies physical examples of the transformation of victory into power. Burns (2003: 42-56) also argues that the trophy was a common victory symbol in Samnite culture and was circulating at the same time that the Romans encountered them. This chronology fits well with Hölscher’s claim that the Romans began using trophies in the third century BCE (2006: 32).
Jupiter Optimus Maximus during his censorship in 179 BCE, which shows that it was a common enough practice to cause a temple to become cluttered (Livy 40.51).

The triumph was, ultimately, a ritual of war and that concern is evident in the celebratory methods of the Romans before the mid-third century. Early Roman generals typically paraded captured weaponry, armor, military technology such as catapults and chariots, captives, bullion, and coins. The latter prevented enemies from funding further wars and contributed to future Roman wars. The plundered goods, captive soldiers, and their families were a tangible testament to Roman military success. Effectively, the Romans paraded the material that their victory engendered and the people they defeated. Furthermore, they were reconstituted as Roman goods and slaves to perpetuate Roman aggression. As will be seen, by endowing foreign objects and people with new Roman meanings, the Romans made a powerful statement about their military prowess while at the same time drawing upon the original significance of the object and the renown that owning the objects brought them. Indeed, generals needed to retain the original, foreign meaning of the objects to convey a message about Rome and their own power. The esteem such ownership brought was especially useful for Roman generals who were competing against other elites for public office or further military assignments.

Generals used the triumph as a springboard to greater magistracies, particularly the consulship and censorship. The political cachet that a triumph could bring was often enough to impact elections. One political candidate earned himself a consulship by standing in the Forum each day next to the map he had commissioned of the area he conquered to offer personal

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12 Among those triumphantors who went on to earn a higher office after earning a triumph were C. Cornelius Cethegus (cos. 197, cens. 194), M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 196, cens. 189), T. Quinctius Flamininus (cos. 198, cens. 189), M. Porcius Cato (cos. 195, cens. 184), M. Fulvius Nobilior (cos. 189, cens. 179), and Q. Fulvius Flaccus (cos. 179, cens. 174). Considering that the censorship was available only every five years, it is rather telling that six of the ten men who served as censors between 194 and 174 were men who had earned triumphs.
explanations of key moments in the campaign. As one might expect, aristocratic competition was a significant catalyst for the growing emphasis on the triumph and for the role triumphal material culture played in defining elite prestige. The expansion of Roman power first beyond Latium and then Italy in the third century offered greater opportunities for earning a triumph, but also, to some degree, devalued the parade as a source of prestige because of its increased frequency. As Tonio Hölscher argues, it was the goal of the victor to transform a battle, “a momentary factual event, limited in space and time” into political power, which required the general to set himself apart from competitors. Since the triumph was no longer a rare highlight, Roman generals needed to find alternative methods of building up their reputations.

Roman expansion into the Hellenistic East in the late-third and second centuries BCE led to the circulation of new types of plunder into Rome and offered Roman generals the opportunity to make a different kind of visual impact on spectators through the introduction of new types of plunder. With the conquest of the Hellenistic East, the art and luxury goods of Hellenistic kings became Roman war booty; the artistic beauty and value of these goods helped shift the focus of the triumphal parade to the quality and type of plunder rather than on the general’s military credentials. In fact, many of the generals in this period did not achieve particularly impressive military victories and used their spoils to compensate for lacking definitive victories. This

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13 L. Hostilius Mancinus reportedly exhibited a painting of Carthage with references to his contributions—rather than those of his colleague Scipio Aemilianus—and would stand by it in the forum each day to help explain what viewers saw (Pliny NH 35.23).
14 Hölscher 2006: 27. He defines political power as “a long-term structural concept, based on political, social, and religious institutions as well as on ideological foundations…This is achieved through practical political measures that ensure the exercise of power by strong institutions, and through symbolic manifestations that fix and perpetuate conceptually the victor’s superiority and dominance.” The triumph was the primary “symbolic manifestation” in the Republican Roman world, but temples and other monuments, inscriptions, coins, were all part of the symbolic lexicon.
15 Indeed, the jump from twenty-two triumphs between 240 and 201 to seventy-nine between 200 and 141 suggests that Roman elites could not rely on the triumph alone to stand out from their peers.
16 This relationship between military defeat and the impulse to plunder and display prestige has been noted in Rosenstein (1990) and Pittenger (2009) in particular. Eric Orlin (1997: 129) also notes that triumphal generals who did not bring in much booty were often the ones to offer larger dedications or construct temples.
emphasis on plunder was of great benefit to many second-century generals, particularly those such as M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Scipio, and Cn. Manlius Vulso, whose triumphs were disputed by the Senate. Having such magnificent plunder enhanced their public standing and helped them overshadow the stigma of having their peers contest their right to a triumph. As each triumphal general paraded more Hellenistic statues, furniture, domestic arts, and paintings, it became almost compulsory for generals to display such luxury goods in their triumphs. The prestige of these objects and the fact that, in their original context, they were typically displayed in temples and royal palaces, helped contribute to a new pattern of creating decorative programs in triumphal buildings in which generals presented their plundered art as collections. This new model, as we will see, had a profound impact on the decorating and collecting habits of Roman elites in the first century BCE.

Considering that the triumph commemorated the slaughter of foreign peoples and the violent seizure of their goods, it is perhaps surprising that Roman generals began to emphasize the artistic qualities of war booty rather than the more martial characteristics that earlier processions honored through captured weaponry, armor, and captives. The celebration of war was, in a sense, diffused through the increasing emphasis on material objects, particularly the art and luxury goods seized in the Hellenistic East. Whether this shift was due to Rome’s expansion into the Hellenistic East or to an actual change in attitude toward plundered art is difficult to determine. However, it is certain that from the mid-third century, the Romans increasingly

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17 L. Scipio (triumph 189) and Cn. Manlius Vulso (triumph 187) both achieved underwhelming victories in the East, Asia Minor and Galatia respectively, and their triumphs were contentious in the Senate. Both men barely earned their triumphs and the overwhelming among of booty they brought back and paraded seems in part to have been an attempt to compensate for the lack of a definitive victory. I explore this theme further in Chapter 3. Even generals who achieved significant victories sometimes had those victories questioned or diminished by political rivals, including M. Fulvius Nobilior, who had to schedule his triumph quickly and without adequate preparation to avoid it being challenged by his rival M. Aemilius Lepidus (Livy 39.4.1-5.1-17). M. Claudius Marcellus also had to accept the lesser honor of an ovation because the Senate would not grant him a triumph (Livy 26.21.3-4; Plut. Marc. 22.1).
brought artistic spoils back to Rome and this plundered art had a profound effect on the decoration of public and private architecture and elite collecting habits. Indeed, over time the constant circulation of plundered luxury goods and art into Rome contributed to the development of a market in luxury art, which focused on objects that had a symbolic association with the triumph.

**The Triumph in Ancient and Modern Sources**

The triumphal parade has been the subject of significant scholarly debate in the past half century, most of it focused on determining the processional route, the rituals involved, and the circumstances required to earn a triumph.\(^\text{18}\) Some of the more recent studies, notably Mary Beard’s *The Roman Triumph* (2007) and Ida Östenberg’s *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphant Procession* (2009), have begun to take a more inclusive approach to the parade. They emphasize the impact that the triumph had on elite self-advertisement and examine how generals drew upon the spectacle of the parade, the plundered material, and the people they captured to bring “the world” to Rome. Other studies, such as Peter Holliday’s work on triumphal painting (2002) and Maggie Popkin’s work on triumphal architecture and Roman memory (2016), focus on specific categories of triumphal material culture. The present study differs from the critical work of previous scholars in its attempt to draw together the different visual and material elements of the triumphal parade to argue for the development of a broader triumphal culture that included not only war booty and manubial temples, but also other structures built along the triumphal route, commissioned art in temples, and luxury goods in private homes that retained a symbolic association with the triumph. This study also moves beyond the city of Rome to include the monuments, inscriptions, trophies, and

\(^{18}\) For examples of this type of debate, see Versnel (1970; 2006); Warren (1970); and Develin (1978).
coins in areas of Roman military expansion that utilize triumphal imagery. By moving beyond the parade to examine the development of a triumphal material culture, it is possible to see how Roman coins and provincial architecture are linked to triumphal architecture through their imagery and language. Ultimately, the triumphal material culture that developed from the mid-third century BCE connected elite self-representation with Roman expressions of authority in areas of expansion, creating a unified visual language of power rooted in the triumph.

To trace the development of triumphal material culture between the mid-third century BCE and the mid-first century BCE, I draw upon archaeological, literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence. Students of the Republican period understand the difficulties, particularly regarding architectural studies, in locating and dating evidence when the archaeological material is either scant or from a significantly later date. Where necessary, I utilize the available archaeological evidence from later imperial reconstructions, and literary evidence for the existence of Republican architecture. While there is some contemporary Republican literary evidence, including Polybius (died c. 118 BCE), Plautus (died c. 184 BCE), and Terence (died c. 159 BCE), and epigraphy, I rely heavily on the work of late-Republican and early imperial writers. Historians and geographers such as Livy (died c. 12-17 CE), Strabo (died c. 21 CE), Pliny the Elder (died 79 CE), Cicero (died 43 BCE), and Plutarch (died c. 120 CE) provide evidence of triumphal parades and for tracing the circulation of plundered material into Rome, the development of new architectural and decorative practices, and the development of the economy of prestige.\(^19\)

\(^{19}\) Mary Beard argues that the triumphal evidence of the late Republic and early empire is as much a product of the author’s experience of the triumph as it is a reflection of the third or second centuries BCE (2007: 58). Furthermore, she argues that “writers lingered on their triumphal descriptions because the ceremony seemed important to them” (60) and the preoccupation on the part of imperial writers with researching ancient triumphs and trying to understand the ceremony “offers us an unusually nuanced view of ancient attempts to explain and make sense of a ritual” (61).
Scholars’ reliance on these later sources inevitably presents challenges for analyzing the development of a triumphal material culture in the Republican period. The worldview of imperial writers was profoundly shaped by their attitudes toward the Republican period and their experience of a state in which the emperor was responsible for public construction and aristocratic competition and military experience was severely limited. However, these writers provide essential information on Republican military campaigns, plunder, triumphs, the style and location of triumphal architecture, and the decoration of elite homes with plundered and purchased art. Late Republican and early imperial writers offer real insight into the development of triumphal material culture because either they or their sources could see the material—the architecture, plunder, art, and triumphal culture—that is no longer extant. In other words, the developments of the Republican period were still visible and meaningful under the Empire, mainly because many of the practices that came to define elite prestige in the Republican period continued. Therefore, it is possible to see traces of the Republican period—for example, the triumphal material culture and the economy of prestige—in the worldview of imperial writers. Indeed, I argue that by the late Republican period, Roman men like Cicero had so thoroughly internalized the developments that I outline in this study that they took for granted both the process of parading and displaying war booty and the prestige that luxury consumer goods such as Greek sculptures brought their owners. The symbolic association between the luxury goods that Cicero commissioned his friend Atticus to purchase for him and the sculptures that were on display in triumphal temples is so ingrained that Cicero is not conscious of the connection. In other words, the views of late Republican and early imperial writers reflect the culmination of a long term series of developments within material culture that began in the mid-third century and were connected to the triumph in the collective memory of the Roman people.

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20 Cicero *Att.* I.4; I.6; I.8; I.10; II.4.
One further problem for anyone who relies on late Republican and imperial authors to discuss elite Republican culture is the strong association that later writers make between the triumph, elite culture, and luxury (luxus). In fact, some of the major triumphs discussed in this project, those of L. Scipio (189), Cn. Manlius Vulso (187), L. Aemilius Paullus (167), and Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (146), also play a central role in the late-Republican argument that Greek luxuries contributed to the decline of Roman values by introducing a craze for collecting art that engendered decadence. Livy and Pliny the Elder, for example, credit these triumphs with introducing Hellenistic luxury to Rome. L. Mummius, another of the major triumphatores of the first half of the second century BCE, provides a further example of the discourse on luxus. Mummius was mocked by later authors for his lack of artistic and cultural knowledge—namely his and his soldiers’ inability to recognize priceless art, but also praised for choosing not to showcase any plunder in his home. Strabo (8.6.23) and Pliny the Elder (NH 34.6-7; 35.24) comment that priceless paintings were thrown on the ground, others were used by soldiers as a dice board, and that Mummius only realized the value of one painting when King Attalus II of Pergamum bid a remarkable sum on it. In other words, appreciation for art was ingrained in the elite definition of cultural sophistication and an expected part of self-representation, yet at the same time, art represented the type of luxurious lifestyle, which, in the eyes of moralizing writers, distanced Romans from the virtues and moral uprightness of their ancestors. Eric Gruen argues that such passages reflect the tension between phil-Hellenism and what were seen as traditional Roman values (Gruen 1992: 52-84). The sources I employ are rife with allusions to moral decline, though this is not an obstacle to interpretation. Rather, the obsession with the influence of Hellenistic luxuries on Roman elite culture demonstrates the degree to which triumphal material culture permeated Roman collective memory. Later Greco-
Roman writers saw a link between moral decline and Hellenistic luxury for more than just the fact that the triumphs over the Hellenistic East introduced Greek art to Rome. They saw those triumphs as responsible for the insatiable desire among wealthy Romans for Hellenistic luxury goods with which to decorate their homes and villas. In the minds of later writers, this obsession with possessions contributed to a rapaciousness and vanity that was destroying Roman culture. As Lucan writes:

But in the state the seeds of war had taken hold, which have always engulfed the powerful. For indeed, Rome subdued the world, and when Fortune poured excessive wealth and morals gave way to prosperity, and spoils and enemy plunder urged luxury, there was no limit to the gold and houses, and hunger rejected the meals of former times; men seized clothes hardly decent for young women; poverty, which gives forth warriors, is shunned, and from the whole world comes that which ruins all peoples (Luc. 1.158-67, translated by Rhiannon Evans).

Woven into the rhetoric of these writers is an ongoing tension between believing that conquest made Rome great, but that it was also responsible for introducing the luxury that was, in their minds, Rome’s downfall. Indeed, as Juvenal proclaims, “Luxury has settled down on us, avenging the world we’ve conquered” (Juv. 6.294). However, by looking beyond the blame that is placed on the triumph for introducing the luxury that undermined traditional Roman culture, we can see the long-term impact that the development of a triumphal culture had in Rome. Luxurious and artistic plunder circulated into Rome through conquest, exhibited first in the triumph and then in often purpose-built triumphal buildings. War booty was also placed in private homes or was replicated through the purchase of similar objects. The association between the triumph and private art collections was about more than just an obsession with collecting, however. It reflects a significant shift in elite self-representation that allowed material objects to

22 Mary Beard argues that “the grip of the triumph on Roman culture is evident not only in the details of performance and preparation, or in the memory or anticipation of the great day itself. The triumph was embedded in the ways that Romans wrote, talked, and thought about their world” (2007: 49).
play as important a role in shaping the public reputations of elite men as the triumphal parade and military conquest. Indeed, Cicero, Lucan, and Juvenal do not doubt that art reflects a man’s wealth and taste, that perception of art is so ingrained that it does not need to be said. Rather, these writers were concerned with the decline of values that they believe at one time made Rome great.

As stated above, the belief that artistic taste and cultural sophistication reflected a man’s status by the late Republic is evident in the mocking descriptions of L. Mummius. Mummius’ career illustrates more than just the fact that elite self-representation had undergone a significant shift since the early Republic, particularly in the eyes of later Roman writers. Mummius’ career demonstrates the process of circulation of material and visual messages that I argue contributed to the development of the economy of prestige that so concerned later writers. Mummius’ return to Rome after his victory in the Achaean War brought Hellenistic luxury goods and captive soldiers into Rome, which he paraded during his triumphal procession. He donated plundered art to cities in Italy, Spain, and Greece, dedications known today through the survival of the statue bases on which they were displayed them.23 These dedications honored Mummius for his victory and showered cities with his beneficence. They had the added benefit of spreading Roman authority through visual representations of victory, spreading triumphal imagery into areas of Roman expansion. The inscriptions on the statue bases highlighted Mummius’, and therefore Rome’s, military prowess. The plundered art represented Roman dominance over foreign peoples and highlighted one general’s piety. The public presentation of these pieces also demonstrated a Roman appreciation for the aesthetic qualities of Greek art, even if some hostile

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23 I discuss these statue bases multiple times in the dissertation, particularly in Chapter 4, pp.29, 50. Examples include CIL 1.626 and 1.630. For more on Mummius and his use of plunder and statue inscriptions, see Pietilä-Castrén 1978: 115; Kendall 2009: 169-184; Cadario 2014: 83-105.
reports claimed that Mummius and his soldiers initially failed to recognize its value. Placing these dedications in areas of Roman expansion, particularly areas where Mummius had served as a commander, specifically Spain and Greece, reinforced Mummius’ conquests and helped perpetuate Roman authority by standing as a permanent reminder of victory decorated with words and images that highlighted Roman power. Indeed, Mummius dedicated one statue Italica (Seville), located in the region of Spain in which he had suffered a reversal, effectively overwriting that defeat with his Corinthian victory. He also made offerings of plundered statues and inscriptions throughout Greece, particularly in sanctuaries and other public spaces. Their location and the language of the dedicatory inscriptions served as daily reminders to the Greeks that Mummius had not only defeated them, but also expropriated their possessions and recrafted them as symbols of Roman military prowess (virtus) and piety. These dedications also offered tangible prestige to Mummius, who was recognized by later authors, particularly Strabo, for his generosity in donating these works of art. Mummius capitalized on his newfound fame to earn a censorship in 142, the highest magistracy in Rome (MRR I.465-6; 474).

Mummius added to this prestige by building a temple to Hercules Victor along the route of the triumph, using the location to both advertise his military success to other triumphal generals and to “participate” in future triumphs. His actions reflected another aspect of the process of circulation. Indeed, the only aspect of the developing triumphal culture that Mummius did not participate in was decorating his home with plundered and purchased art. In fact, Cicero praises Mummius for refraining from this decadence, which indicates that in Cicero’s period people believed the practice was and had been widespread enough that it was considered

25 Mummius’ inscriptions include SEG, 44.410, from the sanctuary at Olympia, and SEG, 30.365, from the sanctuary at Argos.
unusual—and praiseworthy for moralists—for Mummius to refrain (Cic. Verr. 2.1.55; Livy Per. 52). Mummius’ career thus offers a tangible example of how Roman generals contributed to the growing triumphal material culture and how significant an impact the burgeoning patterns for celebrating and advertising military victory had on both elite prestige and on Roman expressions of authority in newly conquered regions. Men like Mummius used architecture and material culture to “engineer power,” by both building and decorating structures to celebrate their victories and by drawing upon the symbolic value of these material expressions of power to enhance their prestige and gain political capital.
Chapter 1

A Triumphal Landscape:

The Development of Triumphal Architecture and the Transformation of Urban Space

“[Romans] have filled the city with many beautiful structures. In fact, Pompey [Caesar, and Augustus] have outdone all others in their zeal for buildings and in the expense incurred. The Campus Martius contains most of these, and… has received still further adornment as the result of foresight…. [including] the works of art situated around the Campus Martius… all this, I say, affords a spectacle that one can hardly draw away from. And near this campus is still another campus, with colonnades round about it in very great numbers, and sacred precincts, and three theatres, and an amphitheatre, and very costly temples, in close succession to one another, giving you the impression that they are trying, as it were, to declare the rest of the city a mere accessory.”

Writing in the first century CE, the geographer Strabo surveys buildings in the city of Rome erected from the late third century BCE through the first century BCE. He emphasizes the adornment (κόσμον) of the city, the works of art (ἔργα), the spectacle (τὴν θέαν) of the urban space, the clustering of buildings “in close succession,” and the tendency of these magnificent buildings to draw the eye and overshadow other buildings. The building practices implicit in Strabo’s description were the result of an emphasis on location, decoration, and the manipulation of urban space, all of which, I will argue, were rooted in the triumphal parade. Military victories had always played a role in Roman monumental building since many of Rome’s public buildings, including manubial temples, were constructed from the money brought into the treasury by conquest. However, in the late third century BCE, the triumph, the celebration of victory, began to influence monumental architecture in new ways that would ultimately transform the city of Rome into an “eternal triumph,” the collective material memories of

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26 Strabo 5.3.8, translated by Horace Jones. The quote continues: “…And again, if, on passing to the old Forum, you saw one forum after another ranged along the old one, and basilicas, and temples, and saw also the Capitolium and the works of art there and those of the Palatium and Livia’s Promenade, you would easily become oblivious to everything else outside. Such is Rome.”
Rome’s conquests.\textsuperscript{27}

The relationship that developed between the triumph and monumental architecture from the third century BCE revolved around the siting of a building and the manipulation of space. The location of new temples and other buildings began to follow the route of the triumph, with buildings clustering directly on or within sight of the parade route (fig. 1-2). The speed of the construction process also rapidly increased, so that projects took only a few short years instead of decades to erect.\textsuperscript{28} This rapid construction allowed Roman elites to enjoy the prestige their buildings brought within their own lifetimes. Furthermore, the new building was seen by subsequent, triumphal generals during their own processions, allowing generals to use their buildings to compete with potential political rivals through the location, design, and decoration of their buildings. The influence of the triumph is also evident in the growing tendency of Roman elites to manipulate and organize the building’s structure and its decorative contents—typically triumphal plunder—to emphasize their \textit{virtus} and \textit{gloria}.\textsuperscript{29} Lastly, these men frequently chose a god, goddess, or abstract deity, which had the effect of glorifying the general and his personal achievements, or a deity associated with the triumph, such as Jupiter or Hercules.

Over the course of the second and first centuries BCE, the architecture that we associate with the triumph—in particular manubial temples—developed into what I call “triumphal

\textsuperscript{27} Pliny the Elder uses a similar phrase (\textit{triumphabantque...aeternae domus}) when referring to houses decorated to remember and honor past family members, in other words with triumphal adornments (\textit{NH} 35.2).

\textsuperscript{28} This is not to say that temples were never built quickly prior to the mid-third century BCE. Ziolkowski (1992: 237) notes that the first temple to be vowed, located, and dedicated by the same person was the Temple of Juno Regina built by Camillus. Many temples in this period were vowed by one member of a family and dedicated by another, such as the Temple of Castor, vowed by A. Postumius Albus and dedicated by his son as duumvir (Liv. 2.42.5). It took thirty-two years from the \textit{votum} for L. Papirius to complete the Temple of Quirinus (293), whereas L. Licinius Lucullus built his temple in four years (146), and Metellus and Mummius finished in only one (145). Pompey built his massive theater complex in six years (61-55 BCE). Ziolkowski (1992: 238) notes that four years from vow to construction was very short for the fifth through third centuries and he implies that the temples built more quickly were not manubial foundations, which took longer because generals had to finance the construction themselves and offers L. Papirius’ thirty-two-year temple construction as an example (1992: 240).

\textsuperscript{29} I will return to the subject of manipulating space through decoration in the next chapter.
architecture.” This term denotes the location of temples and other built spaces, their spatial organization, their decoration, and their association with a victory or triumphal general. Unlike manubial temples, temples built from the proceeds of spoils (*ex manubiae*), triumphal architecture did not necessarily arise from the proceeds of plunder, nor even need to be a temple. In the late third and second centuries BCE, triumphal generals increasingly branched out into other architectural forms, including arches (*fornices*), porticoes, theaters, and basilicas. The Flaminian Circus, built by Caius Flaminius in 221 BCE, is an example of triumphal architecture. Ancient writers do not refer to the circus as *ex manubiae*, yet the structure is located on the triumphal route and was linked to C. Flaminius. It also served as the staging ground for subsequent triumphs where the spoils were displayed before the parade.

The result of this shift to triumphal architecture was the inscription of the triumphal procession onto the capital’s topography of the city of Rome and the creation of a new visual language that combined decoration and built space to create a triumphal landscape. This chapter will examine the locations of triumphal buildings and their spatial organization. I draw upon spatial theory—in particular the work of Kevin Lynch (1960)—to argue that generals located their buildings along the triumphal route in order to create visual associations with the triumph and to evoke memories of their past achievements. In doing so, they essentially transformed Rome into a “readable” space that performed the triumph in perpetuity. This chapter looks at architecture and the manipulation of public space; the next chapter takes up the decoration of these structures and the development of a visual narrative rooted in triumphal imagery.

**Manubial Temples: The Case for a New Terminology**

Temple construction in the fifth through third centuries followed a basic pattern, one
outlined by Adam Ziolkowski in his work on mid-Republican temples. The first step was the vow that often originated in a request for aid during battle or a thanksgiving after a victory. The choice of the god varied significantly and ranged from personal ties (Venus Genetrix) to state needs in times of crisis (Venus Erucina and Magna Mater). The vow was followed by the process of choosing a location, then construction, dedication, and finally consecration. The funds for monumental construction came either from public funds if the Senate ordered the building or, in theory, from a general’s manubiae. Indeed, the Roman writers suggest that generals had significant authority over the disposition of the spoils they seized on campaign (Shatzman 1972: 177-205).

Before the late third century BCE, temples and other public structures did not have an explicit association with the triumph beyond the fact that temple construction was funded by a general’s manubiae. While the evidence for manubial architecture is the source of significant scholarly debate, the term manubial is widely used to explain the construction of temples or other public buildings by Roman generals. Because ancient sources are often frustratingly vague on the origins of the vow and the funds for the temple’s construction, scholars do not agree on the number of existing manubial temples. Despite the difficulty of establishing how many manubial temples may have existed, it is important to note that the Romans allowed generals to

30 Ziolkowski (1992: 193-261) argues that Republican temples followed a basic process beginning with the vow (votum), followed by siting an appropriate templum (locatio), and concluding with the dedication (dedicatio), with a few other steps in between involving the priestly colleges and other ceremonial rituals.
31 Shatzman (1972: 177-205) is concerned primarily with the general’s authority over his booty; what the general chose to do with that booty is a secondary question. Orlin (1997: 1-9) argues that scholars have tended to overestimate the number of temples built ex manubiae, and that, rather, manubiae more typically refers to the plunder used to decorate temples, as in the case of M. Fulvius Nobilior’s decoration of his Temple of Hercules Musarum with statues from his conquest of Ambracia. While he may have spent some money that came from the sale of spoils on the temple, the temple was not built ex manubiae, rather the plunder dedications were ex manubiae.
32 Orlin 1997: 4-8. The argument generally falls into two camps. The more generous estimates of manubial temples in Aberson (1994: 10-102, 138-162) and Ziolkowski (1992: 17-185) owe their arguments in part to Shatzman’s argument that generals had significant authority over the disposition of their spoils (1972: 202-205). Eric Orlin (1997: 116-152) suggests a more conservative estimate of the number of manubial temples, arguing that the Senate had a much more significant role than Shatzman’s argument would allow.
construct temples from the proceeds of their spoils.

   While the term manubial suggests a relationship to the triumph, or at least to conquest, it is typically restricted to temples and construction paid for by spoils. Therefore it does not encompass the diverse structures built by triumphal generals from the mid-third century BCE on, many of which had overt triumphal overtones even if they were not manubial. Rather than relying on whether a building was manubial, I focus on whether the building sought to evoke associations with the triumph. Thus, the term triumphal architecture emphasizes how buildings were connected to the triumph through location, the achievements of the generals who commissioned them, and decoration, in other words through the display of triumphal spoils. Since there was no clear correlation between location and the triumph before the second century, and there were no discernable patterns to the placement of spoils in temples before the late-third century, manubial architecture cannot be explicitly linked to the triumph. However, in the late third and early second century BCE, Roman generals began to exhibit spoils as a collection in purpose-built structures that were predominantly clustered along the triumphal route, rather than scattering their spoils through state temples not associated with their names and achievements like the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus or Jupiter Feretrius. By the mid-first century BCE, the route of the triumph had become an indelible element of Roman topography due to the large number of triumphal buildings clustered along the route and the display of spoils, statues, and inscriptions throughout the city.

   The Route of the Triumph

   The exact starting point of the triumphal parade remains a matter of debate, especially as the route evolved as Rome developed. Some scholars assert that the procession started somewhere near the Flaminian Circus in the Campus Martius, once it was constructed in 221
Ancient sources offer a range of rather vague references to the Porta Triumphalis as the starting point for the parade (Cic. *In Pis*. 23.55; Tac. *Ann*. 1.8; Suet. *Aug*. 100). This has led some scholars to suggest other origin points as far north as the temples of Isis and Serapis and as far south as the Porta Carmentalis in the southwest corner of the Capitoline Hill (Versnel 1970: 132-164; *New Paully* 14: 944). Despite the difficulties of reconstructing where the parade began, most recent scholarship agrees on the remainder of the route once the parade entered the Circus Maximus (Warren 1970: 49-66; Beard 2007: 92-106; Bastien 2007: 249-265). Upon entering the Circus Maximus, the route turned sharply north (fig. 1) or extended briefly into the Via Appia before turning north to skirt the eastern edge of the Palatine hill. As the procession reached the northeast corner of the Palatine, it turned west onto the Via Sacra, descending into the Roman Forum. In the forum, the procession passed the Temple of Vesta (5th c.), the Temple of Castor (c.496/84, app. 10), the Temple of Saturn (c.501/498, app.7), the Regia, the Curia, and the Basilica Aemilia (c.179, app. 79) on the right. Just past the Basilica Aemilia, the route turned onto the narrow Clivus Capitolinus, ascending toward the final destination, the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (c.509, app. 9).33

The roughly four-kilometer route included open spaces in the Campus Martius, the Forum Boarium, the Flaminian Circus, and the Circus Maximus for crowds to congregate. There were more open spaces in the Vallis Murcia on the southeastern portion of the route, as well as in the small valley between the Palatine, Caelian, and Esquiline hills at the eastern end of the Forum. The open spaces were, for the most part, increasingly surrounded by triumphal temples in the Republican period, effectively demarcating those open spaces as places for triumphal spectators to gather. The alternation between open and closed spaces constricted the movement

33 For bibliographic guides to these monuments, see Coarelli (2007) and Richardson (1992).
of people so that those watching the procession were close enough to be participants. Some of the public spaces, such as the Flaminian Circus, served as a staging ground for the plunder displayed in the parade. Other spaces offered seating or shaded areas from which spectators could enjoy the parade. The triumphal procession moved through spaces associated with the army (Campus Martius), with war (Temples of Bellona, Jupiter Feretrius, Janus, Feronia), and with important state cults (Jupiter, Hercules, Castor, Juno). It also passed through the most sacred and political districts in the city, including the buildings in which Roman elites debated declarations of war and the granting of triumphs. Over the course of the middle and late Republic, this route would transform the city of Rome as generals and, at times the state, constructed new triumphal spaces along the route.

**Locations of Temples**

The location of new temples and other monumental structures as well as reconstructions of existing temples came to have major significance in the third century BCE. Triumphal generals increasingly focused on sites along the triumphal route in order to use not only inscriptions and spoils, but also the physical location of their building, to evoke memories of the triumphal parade. A particular edifice called to mind the triumph. In effect, Roman generals (or their buildings) could “perform” their triumphs perpetually for any and all visitors. This allowed generals to draw upon the prestige that the triumph granted as the pinnacle of elite Roman achievement long after the actual parade took place. In essence, triumphal buildings became *monumenta*, emphasizing personal and familial achievements. The use of architecture to memorialize personal achievement through association with the triumph is perhaps unsurprising if one considers the importance of public displays of *virtus* in Roman elite culture, such as
funerals or laudations.  

The term *monumenta* had a strong resonance for ancient Roman writers and encompassed the written word and concrete objects, including tombs, temples, and triumphal structures. *Monumenta* meant “something that makes one think,” whether that was something written or something concrete. The term *monumenta* is attested in Varro, who claims that:

> Remembering (*meminisse*) is derived from memory (*memoria*)...From the same root is reminding (*monere*), because he who reminds (*monet*) is just like a memory. So also the monuments which are on tombs and in fact by the roadside, that they may remind passers-by that they themselves were mortal and that the passers-by are as well. From this, the other things that are written or done to preserve memory are called monuments (*monimenta*) (*meminisse a memoria...Ab eodem monere...; sic monimenta quae in sepulcris, et ideo secundum viam, quo praetereuntis admoneant et se fuisse et illos esse mortalis. Ab eo cetera quae scripta ac facta memoriae causa monimenta dicta*) (Varro *Ling. Lat.* 6.49, translated by A. Meadows and J. Williams).

By Varro’s definition, triumphal structures are *monumenta* because they preserve the memory of a general’s triumph and his military achievements. Livy also employs the term in his preface, where he asserts that *monumenta* presented an accurate account of past events. As Gary Miles asserts, “the essential attribute of *monumenta*, whether written or not, is that they are themselves direct survivals from the past for which they provide evidence: they represent an unbroken link with the past, a part of the past that is still available for direct, personal inspection” (Miles 1995: 17). More importantly, Miles argues that Livy’s contrast between *monumenta* and *fabulae*, in conjunction with his claim to provide a model to readers for what to imitate or avoid, “suggests another subject for his narrative, the collective identity of the Roman people, a subject that depends less upon what actually happened in the past than upon how the past has been remembered” (Miles 1995: 18). By Livy’s definition, the significance of triumphal architecture is

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34 Roman elite funerals, for example, highlighted the virtue of the deceased and his ancestors through displays of ancestor masks. For elites’ performance of familial and personal achievements in Roman culture, see Harriet Flower 1996: 91-126.

35 Meadows and Williams (2001: 41-43) argue for the importance of architecture, as well as coins, as *monumenta* based on Varro’s definition.
that it shaped the collective memory of the Romans by standing as an unbroken testament to generals’ narratives of their military campaigns.

As will be seen, triumphal buildings both shaped collective Roman memory, memorializing the militaristic achievements of individual Romans, and shaped the urban landscape itself by inscribing a permanent triumphal route onto the landscape. Indeed, the evidence suggests that in the early Republic, there were multiple triumphal routes, but the increasing tendency to site buildings directly on the triumphal route created a single, coherent route that had an enduring impact on the urban landscape. An analysis of the temples built between 250 and 55 BCE reveals the perceived value of siting temples and other public works on or within view of the triumphal route and a shift toward other architectural forms beyond the temple, such as porticos, arches, basilicas, and complexes as acceptable *monumenta*.

In order to understand why the shift toward triumphal architecture is so significant, it will be helpful to examine the locations of temples before the mid-third century BCE. The choice of temple location in the fifth through third centuries focused more on the suitability of the *templum* site, religious ritual, and the characteristics of the god rather than from a purposeful connection to the triumphal parade (Ziolkowski 1992: 193-223). Other early temples located along the route like the temples of Saturn (Forum, app. 7), Volcanus (Campus Martius, app. 4), and Mater Matuta (Forum Boarium, app. 6) were rarely tied explicitly to the triumph. While the temples to various manifestations of Jupiter—Optimus Maximus (app. 9), Feretrius (app. 2), and Stator (app. 1)—were associated with warfare, their earliest temples were not linked to triumphal generals or a specific triumph and therefore do not fit the definition of triumphal architecture. The Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, purportedly built for Romulus to dedicate and display his *spolia*
opima, is a possible exception, but it has no confirmed historical record.\textsuperscript{36} Temples in the fifth through third centuries also appear on the Aventine, the Caelian, the Esquiline, and other areas of the city that have no relationship to the triumph. The relationship between the triumph and choice of temple location changed in the middle and late Republic.

Beginning in the third century BCE, Roman generals created more explicit associations with the triumph by choosing locations that were directly on or in sight of the triumphal procession. These sites included the Campus Martius, the Forum Boarium, the area around the Circus Maximus, the portion of the Aventine that overlooked the Circus Maximus, the Forum, the Capitoline, the portion of the Esquiline that overlooked the route, and the smaller pockets of space in between these defined regions. One of the earliest of these temples located on the triumphal route and associated with a triumphal general was the Temple of Jupiter Victor, built around 295 (app. 25; Livy 10.29.14, 18). This temple resulted from a vow made by Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus at the Battle of Sentinum in 295. Located on the eastern corner of the Palatine Hill, it stood above the triumphal route (Regio X, fig. 1,4). What differentiates this temple and similar early-to-mid-third century temples from the temples built by triumphal generals in the late-third and second centuries BCE was the fact that Rullianus did not, according to sources, decorate the temple with spoils from his campaign.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{36} Romulus was one of three men in the Republican period to earn the \textit{spolia opima}, or “greatest spoils,” which a Roman could earn only by killing the chief or leader of an enemy in single combat. The others were Aulus Cornelius Cossus (c. 430 BCE) for killing Lar Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus (cos. 222) for defeating Viridomarus, a king of the Gaesatae, a Gallic tribe situated between the Rhône River and the Alps in southern France.

\textsuperscript{37} Indeed, Rullianus burned the spoils of his Samnite enemies as part of his vow to Jupiter Victor after the battle (Livy 10.29.14, 18). Other temples that follow along a similar line to Rullianus’ Temple of Jupiter Victor are the Temple of Bellona (296 BCE, app. 24), vowed by Ap. Claudius Caecus during a battle against the Etruscans and Samnites (Livy 10.19.17) and located near the later Circus Flaminius; the Temple of Janus (260 BCE, app. 38), vowed by C. Duilius after his naval victory at Mylae and located in the Forum Boarium (Tac. Ann. 2.48.1; Festus 368L); the Temple of Salus (311 BCE; app. 22), vowed by C. Junius Bubulcus during the Second Samnite War and located in the Collis Salutaris on the Quirinal (Livy 9.43.25); and the Temple of Pales (267 BCE, app. 36), vowed by
The earliest temple that could fit the pattern of triumphal architecture—though it does not seem to follow the “plunder as decoration” pattern—is the Temple of Vortumnus (app. 37), vowed in 264 by M. Fulvius Flaccus after his defeat of Volsinii. Flaccus made his vow, possibly after conducting an *evocatio*, a ceremony in which the Roman general made a formal request to the divinity to leave its current city and come to Rome after Rome had defeated its home city (Prop. 4.2.3-4; Festus 228). Following the siege of the city, Flaccus needed to provide Vortumnus with a new temple (Prop. 4.2.1-4). The temple also contained a portrait of Flaccus dressed as a *triumphator* in the *toga picta* (Festus 228L) and, according to Pliny the Elder, may have contained some of the 2,000 statues that Flaccus seized from Volsinii (*NH* 34.16.34). The Temple of Vortumnus was built by a triumphal general and located on the triumphal route; the deity it honored and the objects dedicated inside highlighted Flaccus’ military campaign even if they did not yet fit the criteria of decoration that will be discussed in the following two chapters.

The pattern that began in the third century with Rullianus and others became more defined during and after the First Punic War. The temple that really sparked a transition away from manubial architecture toward triumphal architecture was the dual Temple of Honos et Virtus (app. 49), begun by M. Claudius Marcellus in 208 and dedicated by his son in 205. This temple was the culmination of two or possibly three, separate vows. The first belonged to Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, who made a vow to Honos during the Ligurian War (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61). In 222, M. Claudius Marcellus promised a temple to Honos et Virtus during his campaign against the Insubres, but did not construct a temple (Livy 27.25.7-9). He renewed the vow in 211

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M. Attilius Regulus after his victory over the Salentini (Florus 1.15.20) and likely located on the Palatine, the Campus Martius, or the Aventine. Richardson (1992: 283) argues that wherever it was located, it would have overlooked the triumphal route because it was considered a victory monument.  

after his conquest of Syracuse and sought to fulfill it first by refurbishing the temple to Honos built by Fabius Maximus and then rededicating it to Honos et Virtus (Livy 27.25.7-9, 29.11.13). This seems an odd choice considering that the temple would have been built only twenty years prior to Marcellus’ vow.\footnote{There is some debate that perhaps Cicero was mistaken in attributing the earlier temple to Fabius Maximus Verrucosus and perhaps it was instead built by Fabius Maximus Rullianus, who triumphed three times between 322 and 296, over the Samnites and Etruscans (Richardson 1992: 190).} Regardless, the Senate did not allow Marcellus to complete his rededication in 208, arguing that two gods could not be worshipped within the same cella. Marcellus therefore built a second cella for Virtus, which his son dedicated in 205. According to Livy (26.26.10-11), Marcellus also decorated his temple with the spoils from his campaign in Syracuse (see Chapter 2). While the Porta Capena is not precisely on the triumphal route and probably not within sight of the route, it was the place where Roman armies marshalled before heading out on campaign, so it still had some association with the triumph for generals leaving for their campaigns and aspiring to earn triumphs.

From the late third century, the consuls, censors, and other magistrates who had achieved significant victories and received a triumph overwhelmingly chose to build or reconstruct public works along the triumphal route. From 221 to 100 BCE, some thirty to fifty building projects linked to a victorious general were located on or in sight of the processional route (appendix).\footnote{There are two major reasons for the discrepancy between these numbers. The first is that many temples are only known through literary references and therefore their location is only approximate, though literary evidence often strongly supports the triumphal connection. The second is that scholars cannot always agree on the association between a temple and a triumphal general. Aberson (1994: 10-102, 138-162) and Ziolkowski (1992: 17-185) are generous in their estimate of temples with triumphal associations, but even if they are not correct, the evidence suggests that the numbers should be skewed toward the higher end of the range of 30-50 temples.} Between 179 and 100 BCE, for example, there were eleven construction projects in the Campus Martius alone and at least twenty in total along the triumphal route (fig. 2, 4). Within this eighty-year period, every new or reconstructed temple associated with a victorious general was located along the triumphal route. The increasing influence of the triumphal route on the choice of
location for construction projects is evident in the fact that many of these projects were refurbishments of older—often triumphal—buildings. While some refurbishments were necessary due to fire or neglect, aristocrats initiated other renovations to make particular religious or political statements. M. Claudius Marcellus’ Temple of Honos et Virtus, for example, had been built less than thirty years earlier (Richardson 1992: 190), but Marcellus rebuilt it because it drew on memories of his military achievements as well as the triumph of Q. Fabius Maximus.41

Some reconstructions likely resulted from the fact that there was limited space along the triumphal route for new construction. While refurbishment did not carry the same prestige as undertaking a new temple or complex, the general who completed the repairs could rededicate the space in his own name, which gave the general a building on the triumphal route connected with his name. Furthermore, a general who chose to rebuild and rededicate a structure also implicitly associated his name with the achievements of the building’s original patron. L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus, for example, rebuilt the Temple of Castor in 117 (app. 10), connecting himself to A. Postumius, who built the Temple of Castor to fulfill a vow made at the Battle of Lake Regillus in 499. Similarly, L. Caesar (cos. 90) rebuilt the Temple of Juno Sospita (app. 62), connecting himself to C. Cethegus (cos. 197), and M. Aemilius Scaurus rebuilt the Temple of Fides (app. 43) in 58, tying his name to A. Calatinus from the First Punic War.42 All of these men chose to rebuild a temple that associated them with an earlier triumphal general

41 Another example is the temple complex that Metellus built near the Circus Flamininus. It was associated with Metellus, but its Temple of Juno Regina also evoked memories of M. Aemilius Lepidus, who may have built the original temple in 179 after his triumph in Liguria. Richardson (1992: 216-217) thinks it unlikely that the Temple to Juno Regina dedicated by Marcellus was a reconstruction of Lepidus’ temple because a Ligurian shield from Lepidus’ campaign was still hanging on the temple in 124 (Obsequens 27), but Richardson does not offer an alternative explanation. It is possible that Metellus retained the shield from Lepidus’ campaign when he rededicated the building, as it would help emphasize the triumphal theme of his portico complex. The Temple of Jupiter Stator could also have evoked memory of the other triumphal temple to the same god located close by near the Porta Mugonia and built by M. Atilius Regillus in 293.

42 For other examples, see the appendix nos. 7, 11, 13, 35, 53, 79, 93.
outside their families, and each temple had some form of association with warfare or the triumph. Indeed, as will be seen, this is also the period in which generals began adding their names to temples, including the Temple of Mars nicknamed “Callaicus” after the general who built it in 138 BCE, Decimus Junius Brutus Callaicus.  

In the second century, probably in part due to the limited space for new construction along the triumphal route, generals began to branch out into new forms of monumental architecture, including porticoes, basilicas, arches, aqueducts, and complexes. The most common architectural form employed by triumphal generals outside of temples was the portico. These porticoes were often additions by triumphal generals serving as censors, as is the case with the porticoes built by M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior in 179, one of which was in the Forum (app. 81). As stated above, it does not matter whether Lepidus and Nobilior paid for these buildings out of spoils or built them during their consulships; what defines them as triumphal architecture is their location on the triumphal route and their builders’ triumph. The censors of 174, A. Postumius and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, built porticoes to connect temples, including one between the Temple of Saturn in the Forum and the Curia and another near the Porta Trigeminam at the southern end of the Forum Boarium (fig. 5, app. 90-92), which rebuilt a

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43 Platner and Ashby, 328. Other examples include the Temple of Hercules Pompeianus, the Temple of Hercules Sullanus, and the Augustan era Temple of Apollo Sosianus.

44 Using other architectural forms as victory monuments was not unprecedented. Triumphal generals used columns and the bronze prows of ships, called beaks (rostra) as victory monuments at least from the fourth century BCE. The most famous of these columns are the two columns of Duilius (c.260, app. 39), one before the Circus Maximus and the other in the Forum (Plin. NH 34.20; ILLRP 319). Duilius’ column was not the first built in Rome. There was an earlier column from 338 erected in honor of C. Maenius for his naval victory over the Latins at Antium (Pliny NH 34,20), though it seems not to have had an accompanying inscription (Richardson 1992: 94-5). M. Aemilius Paullus also built a column on the Capitoline decorated with the beaks of captured warships (Livy 42.20.1).

45 Livy 40.51.6. Nobilior earned a triumph over Ambracia in 187. His colleague Lepidus had not earned one by the time of his censorship, but did earn one over the Ligurians in 175.
portico erected by M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus in 193 (app. 65). Porticoes that linked pre-existing structures were one avenue for builders to create structures attached to their names along the triumphal route, and they had the added bonus of providing shaded areas and shopping districts to anyone attending a triumph or visiting a triumphal temple.\(^{47}\) While most of these porticoes were the projects of censors who had earned triumphs, there were some porticoes built explicitly by triumphal generals and from their spoils. Q. Lutatius Catulus constructed a portico (app. 125) on the Palatine out of the spoils from his campaign against the Cimbri in 101 (Cic. Dom. 62; Val. Max. 6.3.1), and others, such as Metellus and Pompey, built porticoes as enhancements of their triumphal temples.

In the second century BCE, triumphal generals began to use porticoes as part of larger building complexes, which allowed them to create a more cohesive space that was clearly delineated from surrounding buildings. In 146-145 BCE, Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus created the first triumphal complex (fig. 6; app. 107, 108) by surrounding his triumphal temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator with a portico. Metellus’ complex, explored in detail below and in the next chapter, drew upon the prior trends of rebuilding and rededicating preexisting structures in order to put his name on the building; he also drew on the recent trend of employing forms of monumental architecture beyond temples. Metellus’ choice of a site adjacent to the Circus Flamininus reflected his overall architectural message. It was close to the base of the Capitoline, the terminus for the triumphal parade, and its location on the boundary between the southeastern Campus Martius and the city proper highlighted the processional route. It may also

\(^{46}\) Livy 35.10.12. Flaccus earned a triumph over Spain in 180/79. A. Postumius did not earn a triumph in this period, but he came from a family with numerous triumphs and his brother or uncle earned a triumph in 178 over the Lusitaniians.

\(^{47}\) Richardson (1992: 312) notes that the other portico built by M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus in 193 linked the Clivus Argentarius in the Forum to the altar of Mars in the Campus Martius. It was constructed ostensibly to provide shade to censors walking to conduct the census, but would have provided a shaded walk to anyone walking from the Forum to the Campus Martius, which is also a crucial part of the triumphal route.
have served as a transitional space for triumphal spectators between the triumphal staging ground in the Circus Flaminius and the parade’s turn south into the Forum Boarium. Like Metellus, Pompey adopted the portico (app. 138) as a fundamental architectural enhancement of his elaborate theater complex, dedicated in 55 BCE. Both structures stood at key positions along the triumphal route: Pompey’s at the beginning of the parade route and Metellus’ near the Circus Flaminius, the staging ground for all the carts bearing triumphal spoils.

Certain areas like the Campus Martius (fig. 7-8) became clustered with triumphal architecture. The buildings were extremely close together and at times even connected, either in complexes built by one man, such as Metellus or Pompey, or in complexes that shared space with the temples of other generals, as in the Largo Argentina. While generals of the second and first centuries branched out into new architectural forms as part of the practice of erecting monumental architecture attached to their name, what unified these buildings was the location on or overlooking the triumphal route. As Strabo (5.3.8) indicates in the passage cited at the beginning of this chapter, the city “was filled with many beautiful structures.” What is not readily apparent in Strabo’s description, however—perhaps because it was taken for granted—is that most of these beautiful structures followed a triumphal topography. Moreover, while the triumphal route was the unifying element for most monumental construction in the late-third through mid-first centuries BCE, the processional route was not the only reason that generals chose their locations.

The Topography of Prestige

[48] Metellus’ use of a porticus as an explicit component of a triumphal monument was not the first, as Cn. Octavius had built the Porticus Octavia in 168 BCE near the Circus Flaminius. Octavius’ structure differed because it was in itself a victory monument, rather than an embellishment to a victory monument, as in the case of Metellus’ portico. Cn. Octavius dedicated his portico as a monument to his naval victory over Perseus (Pliny NH 34.13).
Locating a temple along or in sight of the triumphal route offered generals more than just a prime position along the route of the most prestigious parade in Roman culture; it offered the general and his descendants the opportunity to draw upon the generals’ military achievements and prestige as they competed in Roman political and social life. However, unlike *imagines* of ancestors displayed in the atrium or paraded in the streets into the forum at funerals, a triumphal building was a permanently public and tangible testament to the family’s accomplishments.⁴⁹ Each triumphal building stood as a *monumentum* that invoked memories and engendered thoughts about future triumphs. Siting a temple on the triumphal route allowed these structures to “participate” in future triumphs. Mary Jaeger suggests that *monumenta* evoked thoughts of the person, event, or place that the space commemorated as the viewer moved through the space; furthermore, experiencing the past in these spaces inevitably led the viewer to thoughts of the future.⁵⁰ Building on Jaeger’s argument, Larmour and Spencer assert that these spaces stood “metonymically for the processes of expansion, conquest or decline that have, or are ‘seen’ to have—transformed [them]” (2007: 12). The choice of location also allowed generals to compete against other triumphal generals, through rededications and by manipulating the view of either the parade route from the temple or of the temple from the parade route.⁵¹

While it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the thoughts of Roman generals in the third and second centuries, late Republican sources make repeated associations among Roman generals, the triumph, and their monuments. Some later writers, with the exception of Plautus,

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⁵¹ Such placement could also serve as a form of erasure, since those buildings closest to the parade route had the most impact on triumphal spectators, so blocking a building from view kept it from “participating” in future triumphs. For example, if the Circus Flaminius was used only as a staging ground and the parade did not move through it, then the porticoes of Cn. Octavius (c.165, app. 101) and Metellus (c. 145, app. 107, 108) would block triumphal participants’ views from the ground of the temples of Mars, Hercules Custos, Diana, Pietas, and likely also the Circus Flaminius itself. See fig. 7-8.
use these structures as topographical markers and occasionally reference the structure’s association with a triumphal general. In *Curculio*, Plautus has a scene where the choragus moves beyond the play, which is set in Epidaurus, into the world of the audience, who watched the play in the Roman Forum (*Curcul. 465-485*). In the scene, he mentions the Basilica—thought to have been located where the later Basilica Aemilia would be and replaced by the Basilica Porcia in 184—the forum piscarium, or Macellum, and the Temple of Castor, all of which were built by triumphal generals. While he makes no explicit reference to the triumph in this passage, his audience was positioned in the heart of Roman triumphal space, at the base of the Capitoline Hill where triumphal parades concluded and amidst numerous triumphal structures. Plautus also mentions a *gloriosus*, which in his plays can refer to either a soldier or general. Moore (1991: 348), drawing from Coarelli’s (1983: 87) reference to the coin of L. Mussidius Longus, posits that Plautus’ mocking placement of soldiers in front of the Shrine of Venus Cloacina could refer to the fact that the shrine was used not only in purification rituals before marriage, but also in similar rituals for soldiers returning from battle. The triumph itself was in part a purification ritual with a similar purpose (Versnel 1970). We may never know what triumphal generals intended in the siting of their projects. Later writers testify to Romans’ perceptions of the relationship between generals, triumphs, monumental architecture, and its effect in scripting the *memoria* of the general and his descendants.53

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52 Popkin (2016: 77-87) argues that triumphal buildings played a role in creating memories for the triumphal route. Some examples of temples that feature in Roman sources as landmarks include descriptions of Metellus’ complex (Strabo 5.3.8; Vell. Pat. 1.11.2-7), and Pliny makes frequent references to temples that generals decorated with their spoils in his book on art (for example, *NH* 34.7-8). Terence, and to a limited extent Plautus, also make use of buildings as topographical markers in their plays (*Ter. Adel. 573-85*).

53 Meadows and Williams 2001: 41-43. While Republican-era sources do not often use the term *monumentum*, buildings clearly functioned as *monumenta*. In a rare explicit reference to a *monumentum* Cicero praises his friend Atticus’ role in helping to pay for a *monumentum*, thought to be Caesar’s Forum (*Att. 4.16.8*). Vitruvius, who one might expect to make use of the term *monumentum* with regards to buildings, does not do so. However, his references to the term all relate to stone, so perhaps the relationship between the term monumentum and buildings is
Literary and epigraphic sources indicate that triumphal architecture could evoke memory in multiple ways. The location itself conjured memories of the triumph as a Roman institution and of the specific triumph commemorated by the construction of the building. The site likely had an immediate effect on viewers who gathered to witness later triumphal parades. These spaces also had a daily impact on Romans moving through their city by highlighting Rome’s triumphal past and the glory of individual aristocrats. Inscriptions, like that on the Column of Duilius, reminded literate Romans of the naval campaign that earned C. Duilius a triumph over the Carthaginians in the First Punic War in 260:

The legions of Carthage and all their top leaders were put to flight from their camp in broad daylight after nine days. He took the city Macela by assault. During this magistracy he was the first consul to win with ships at sea and to gather and equip naval forces, and with these ships he conquered the entire Punic fleet and their greatest armies in battle on the high seas in the presence of that dictator Hannibal and seized ships with their crews: 1 septireme and 30 quinqueremes and triremes and sank 13. Of gold he took 3,600 coins, of silver 100,000 coins. Total: HS 2,100,000. He was also the first to give the people naval plunder and led free Carthaginians in triumph (ROL IV 128, translated by Andrew Riggsby).

The inscription emphasizes two critical components that contributed to a general’s prestige in Rome: the magnitude of his victory and the stuff, including people, that he seized as plunder.

The column was situated in the Roman Forum close to the Capitoline Hill, a location rich in triumphal and political history, including numerous triumphs over the Samnites in the previous half century and the recent triumph of M. Fulvius Flaccus over Volsinii in 264. The importance of his exploits in Roman memory is evident in the fact that Duilius’ archaic inscription was restored multiple times, with the last restoration likely taking place under Emperor Claudius (Richardson 1992: 97).

The location of a temple could also evoke associations with pivotal moments in Roman implied (Vitr. 1.pr.3; 2.7.4; 2.8.3; 4.1.9-10). For more on the idea that the relationship between monumentum and buildings was typical in Rome even if the association is rarely mentioned, see Meyers 2012: 7-21.
history. Rome had many place-specific legends upon which generals could draw by erecting temples in the vicinity. The Temple of Castor in the Roman Forum, for example, was constructed where Castor and Pollux had reportedly appeared at a key moment in the battle against the Latins. The Temple of Hercules Victor in the Forum Boarium, built by L. Mummius in 146, was associated with the legendary triumph of Hercules and with the statue of Hercules that the Romans dressed in a *toga picta* during triumphs (Wiseman 1995: 39). Similarly, the temple complex that Metellus built near the Circus Flamininus was associated with Metellus, but its Temple of Juno Regina also evoked memories of M. Aemilius Lepidus, who may have built the original temple in 179 after his triumph in Liguria. It would seem that Roman generals consciously drew upon collective memory by situating their buildings in historically-significant places to invoke associations with Rome’s legendary and triumphal past, thus bathing their own accomplishment in the light of a glorious past. In effect, the site of a building “sited” the general and his own victory into Rome’s history.

Triumphal architecture drew on other topographical associations beyond historical legends. Buildings located in the Campus Martius could be associated with the starting point for the triumphal parade and with the area in which generals waited outside the pomerium with their armies while the Senate determined whether they had earned a triumph. The Campus Martius was the original staging ground for the Roman army and the Comitia Centuriata (Taylor 1966: 85). Marcellus and Q. Fabius Maximus drew upon such associations by locating their temples to Honos et Virtus at the Porta Capena, where armies typically gathered before heading out on campaign via the Appian Way. Rebuilding a temple and rededicating it not only drew upon the

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fame of the previous general but also, in a sense, competed with them, at least in the mind of the knowledgeable viewer. Such a visitor to the Temple of Castor (app. 10) in the first century, for example, could experience a triumphal space layered with memories of Castor and Pollux’s legendary appearance (Dion. Hal. 5.13.1-5), with one of Rome’s most famous historical battles—that of Lake Regillus in 499/498, which earned A. Postumius a triumph—and with L. Caecilius Metellus Deltamicus’ triumph in 117. For literate visitors, the triumphal memories in the Temple of Castor may have been emphasized by dedicatory inscriptions to A. Postumius and L. Caecilius Metellus Deltamicus.55 Because of the association between triumphs and family ancestry, visitors to the Temple of Castor may also have recalled the triumphal achievements of the Metellii, who had earned multiple triumphs and celebrated those triumphs through triumphal architecture.56

The evocation of collective memory through location was an important component of the overall architectural message of triumphal architecture. Strabo (5.3.8) comments by clustering their buildings in the Campus Martius, elites seemed to be trying to declare the rest of the city “a mere accessory.” He points to the architectural impact of triumphal architecture and hints that the

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55 While no record of Postumius’ inscription remains, it was common practice for a general to add a dedicatory inscription with his name and, often, with a description of his accomplishments. It is not clear, however, if Metellus retained Postumius’ original inscription or if he replaced it with his own. Livy indicates that Postumius built and dedicated the temple, to fulfill a vow made during the Latin War (2.42.5), making it clear that Postumius was associated with the temple in the late-Republican period. Cicero (Verr. 2.1.154; Scaur. 46), however, only associates the Temple with L. Caecilius Metellus Deltamicus rather than the original dedicator, Postumius. It should be noted, however, that in both cases Cicero is trying to make a point specific to contemporary events and that would be relevant to the men serving on the juries for both the trials of Verres and Scaurus, so referencing the more contemporary builder of the Temple of Castor made sense. Plutarch also notes that Metellus was decorating the Temple of Castor with spoils, but does not mention Postumius (Pomp. 2.4).

56 The Metelli were one of the most dominant aristocratic families of the second century BCE. Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (pr.148, cos.143), the uncle of L. Caecilius Metellus Deltamicus (cos.117), was famous not only for his own triumph over Andriscus and the portico complex he built to celebrate that triumph, but his four sons—Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus (cos. 123), L. Caecilius Metellus Diadematus (cos.117), M. Caecilius Metellus (cos. 115), and C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius (cos. 112)—all became consuls (Cic. Brut. 81). Three of the four sons (Balearicus, Caprarius, and M. Caecilius Metellus) all earned triumphs. Furthermore, the fact that L. Caecilius Metellus Deltamicus’ first cousin, L. Caecilius Metellus Diadematus, was consul the year that Deltamicus held his triumph and rebuilt the temple likely heightened the association of the Temple of Castor with the Metellii.
Campus Martius, one of the most overtly triumphal spaces in the city, overshadowed the rest of the city. As a triumphal landscape, it was the most dramatic representation of Rome’s victorious history. The location of the Campus Martius at the start of the triumphal route outside the Pomperium was a physical representation of Rome’s triumphal past and its potential triumphal future, since generals hoping to earn triumphs waited beyond the Pomerium for the Senate’s verdict.

**Engraved Buildings: Inscriptions, Personal Names, and the Co-optation of Abstract Deities**

Triumphal builders also evoked memories of their triumphs and enhanced their prestige through the use of inscriptions and names. First, triumphal generals placed inscriptions on and in their buildings to advertise their achievements, and the language of these inscriptions became increasingly explicit and colorful in the description of their martial qualities. Second, triumphal generals often chose gods with triumphal associations, like Jupiter or Hercules. In the case of a reconstruction a general could essentially write himself into the history of the building or absorb the contributions of the previous builder as his own if he chose to rebuild an existing temple. Generals also began to dedicate temples to abstract deities like Honos or Virtus, which allowed them to make claims about their own achievements. Even more significantly, as we will see, Roman generals began to play with their own names. Generals added to the overall visual narrative that triumphal architecture presented by choosing a deity that conjured recollections of their triumphs and personal achievements. Adding inscriptions enhanced the triumphal associations. This section will explore the epigraphic habits that triumphal generals utilized in their monuments and the increasingly triumphal overtones demonstrated through the choice of deity and other naming practices.

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57 Jupiter, for example, appears ten times in the appendix to this chapter in association with triumphal architecture, while Hercules appears seven times.
Triumphal inscriptions had always played a role in the monumental constructions of Roman generals, but the act of writing and displaying inscriptions seems to have become more a part of the overall message of triumphal architecture in the late third century BCE.58 These inscriptions could be dedicatory building inscriptions, votive inscriptions on altars in or adjacent to the temple, or inscriptions on statue bases that listed the temple or another architectural form in the list of the general’s achievements. Andrew Riggsby terms these inscriptions “general’s inscriptions,” by which he means any inscription that referenced a general’s military campaign, spoils, monuments, or triumphs.59 Typically, they highlighted a general’s successes in overcoming and subduing the enemies of Rome by listing the names of conquered peoples and places in conjunction with an aggressive verb like capere (to seize, capture), subducere (to take away, carry off), or subigere (to overcome, subjugate, conquer).60 We have some examples of these inscriptions from the early third century BCE, but most of the extant examples date to the late third century or later.61 While third-century inscriptions did include verbs such as capere, the inscriptions of the second century employed what could be termed the “language of conquest” to a much greater degree than previously. These inscriptions detail the act of overcoming and subduing peoples more explicitly than the inscriptions of M. Claudius Marcellus or M. Fulvius Nobilior. Livy provides copies of two early examples of this type of inscription. The first belongs to L. Aemilius Regillus, who earned a naval triumph over Antiochus III in 189; it dates

58 For example, as we will see, the inscriptions become longer and more detailed in their narration of the general’s achievements and many generals employed explicitly triumphal language, using words such as imperator and triumphare.
59 Riggsby 2010: 196-7. I will return to the subject of general’s inscriptions in Chapter Four.
60 Inscriptions that followed this pattern include those of M. Fulvius Nobilior (ILS 1.1.16; ILLRP 124; ROL 78; ILS 1.1.17; ILLRP 322; Cic. Pro Planc. 8.20; ROL 65).
61 Two early examples are the funerary inscription of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (c. 280) and the inscription on the Column of Duilius (c. 260). Barbatus’ inscription reads: [L. Corneli]o Cn.f.Scipio [two lines lost] / Cornelius Lucrius Scipio Barbatus, / Gnaivod patre / prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque, / quoius forma virtutei parisuma / fuit; / consol, censor, aidilis quei fuit apud vos; / Taurasia Cisauna / Samnio cepit, / subiget omne Loucanam op / siduesque abdoucit. “Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus, sprung from Gnaeus his father, a man strong and wise, whose appearance was most in keeping with his virtue, who was consul, censor, and aedile among you. He took Taurasia and Cisauna [in?] Samnium; he conquered all Lucanial[?] and took hostages” (ILS 1.1).
to c. 179 BCE:

_Duello magno dirimendo, regibus subigendis, patrandae paci hac pugna exeunti L. Aemilio M. Aemilii filio <<res cessit gloriose>> auspicio imperio felicitate ductuque eius inter Ephesus Samum Chiumque, inspectante eopse Antiocho, exercitu omni, equitatu elephantisque, classis regis Antiochi antea inuicta fusa contusa fugataque est, ibique eo die naues longae cum omnibus sociis captae quadraginta duae. Ea pugna pugnata rex Antiochus regnumque <<eius in potestate populi Romani redactum>> eius rei ergo aedem Laribus permarinis uouit._

By ending a great war, subjugating kings, and achieving peace, things went well for Lucius Aemilius, son of Marcus, leaving the field of battle. Under his aegis, command, fortune, and leadership between Ephesus, Samos, and Chios, with Antiochus himself and his entire infantry, cavalry, and elephants looking on, the previously undefeated fleet of King Antiochus was overwhelmed and put to flight. Then and there, 42 warships were captured with their crews. Once this battle was fought, King Antiochus and his kingdom were left in the power of the Roman people. Thus he vowed a temple to the guardian spirits of the sea (Livy 40.52.5–6, translated by Andrew Riggsby).

The inscription emphasizes Regillus’ actions with specific details and strong language, including the verbs _subigere_ (to conquer, subdue) and _fugare_ (to put to flight). This inscription was affixed above the doors of the Temple of Lares Permarini, vowed by Regillus in 190 on the eve of his victorious battle against Antiochus. The temple fit into the broader picture of second-century temple construction: it was located in the Campus Martius along the triumphal route, near numerous other third and second-century triumphal temples. Furthermore, the temple was associated with more than one Roman general; Regillus had made the vow in 190 but M. Aemilius Lepidus, censor in 180/179 dedicated it. Livy is clear that the temple was associated with both Regillus and Lepidus. The Lares Permarini’s association with the sea and the content of the inscription emphasized the naval victory of Regillus. The dedication, which would have had a further inscription, and the temple’s location near Lepidus’ other temples, allowed Lepidus to capitalize on the prestige of Regillus’ victory. Indeed, Livy makes it clear that late-first

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62 Lepidus also dedicated his temples to Juno and Diana, both _in Circo Flaminio_, in that same year.
century Romans associated the temple with both Regillus and Lepidus.  

A few years after L. Aemilius Regillus and M. Aemilius Lepidus established their temples in the Campus Martius, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus dedicated a topographical map of Sardinia in the Temple of Mater Matuta in honor of his triumph. Gracchus added a corresponding inscription, which Livy records, to enhance the overall triumphal message of the map. The inscription, which dates to c. 174 BCE, follows in a similar vein to that of L. Aemilius Regillus, explaining the scale and consequences of the military engagement:

\[
Ti\text{\ Sempron}\text{\ Grachi\ consulis\ imperio\ auspicioque\ legio\ exercitusque\ populi\ Romani\ Sardiniam\ subegit.\ In\ ea\ provincia\ hostium\ caesa\ aut\ capta\ supra\ octoginta\ milia.\ Religione\ publica\ felicissume\ gesta\ atque\ liberatis\ <<sociis,>>\ uectigalibus\ restituitis,\ exercitum\ saluum\ atque\ incolunem\ plenissimum\ praeda\ domum\ reportuit;\ iterum\ triumphans\ in\ urbem\ Romam\ redit.\ Cuius\ rei\ ergo\ hanc\ tabulam\ donum\ Iovi\ dedit.}
\]

Under the command and auspices of the consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the legion and army of the Roman people reduced Sardinia. 80,000 enemy were killed or captured there. Once things had gone well for the state, the allies had been liberated, and the tax revenues restored, he brought the troops home alive, safe, and full of loot. He himself returned to Rome in triumph for the second time. Thus he gave this tablet as a gift to Jupiter (Livy 41.28.8–10, translated by Andrew Riggsby).

Gracchus’ inscription was clearly intended to complement the topographical map, which included, according to Livy, representations of battle (\textit{simulacra pugnarum}) at the corresponding topographical points (Livy 41.28.8-10; Holliday 2002: 106). The inscription and painting together offered a detailed account of Gracchus’ military campaign for the literate viewer, while the painting on its own provided basic information to any non-literate observer. While it is possible that Livy embellished these inscriptions and they are not an accurate representation of the type of triumphal inscriptions that began appearing in the second century BCE, extant epigraphic examples follow similar patterns. The inscription of L. Mummius from c. 142 BCE

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63 The Temple of Diana was located in the actual Circus Flaminius, the Temple of Juno Regina was in what would become the Porticus Metellii, and the Temple of Lares Permarini was in the Porticus Minucia, now the Largo di Argentina.  

64 The map is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.
that was discovered on the Caelian Hill (*ILS* 1.1.2; *ILLRP* 122; *ROL* 82), for example, specifies that Mummius conquered Achaia and destroyed Corinth and explicitly states that he returned to Rome in triumph (*triumphans*). We also see the appearance of the triumph in verb form (*triumphare*) in the second century, such as those of L. Aemilius Paullus and P. Cornelius Paullus, the son of Paullus, from a wall in the Roman forum, dating to approximately 132 BCE.\(^65\)

These inscriptions with their emphasis on the act of conquest are part of the development of a larger triumphal culture that was taking place in the third through second centuries BCE. This triumphal culture focused on the specifics of conquest—the people and cities conquered, the spoils taken, and sometimes the violence—rather than on the triumphal parade itself. This attention to conquest and its benefits is evident in epigraphy and in visual media: the display of statues and paintings related to conquest, as well as the increasing use of triumphal architecture. Indeed, the third century BCE marked the introduction of triumphal painting, including battle paintings. The second century BCE offers the first evidence for Roman depictions of captives, including the painting of the bound captive being tortured from the Arieti tomb (Holliday 2002: 36-42), Marcellus’ model of captive Syracuse (Livy 26.21), and M. Fulvius Nobilior’s image of captive Ambracia (Livy 38.43.9). Why inscriptions and images in this period began to articulate the specifics of conquest is not entirely clear; it seems to result from an increased emphasis on the individual general’s role in Roman expansion, which is reflected in the growth in self-glorifying architecture, but also from a growing interest in the profits of conquest. This is the same period for which we see late Republican writers offering detailed plunder lists for triumphal generals, describing parades lasting multiple days, and Roman generals displaying

\(^{65}\) They read: *L. Aemil[ius] L.f. Paullus / co(n)s(ul) II cens(or) augur / triumpha[t] ter.* “Lucius Aemilius Paullus, son of Lucius, twice consul, censor, augur, triumphed three times” (*ILLRP* 392) and *P. Cornelius Paulli f. Scipio / Africanus co(n)s(ul) II cens(or) augur / triumphavit.* “P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Paullus, twice consul, censor, augur, triumphed” (*ILLRP* 763).
significantly more plunder in their processions than in previous generations.\textsuperscript{66} It is possible that the growing interest in profit produced a more explicit language in the inscriptions because, at least in part, these inscriptions focused on the proceeds of conquest in the form of land, material, and plunder; at the same time, these conquests also pointed toward future economic opportunities, even if future profit was not explicit in the language of conquest. It should be noted, however, that economic motives were not an explicit part of Roman foreign policy and any unconscious reasons Roman generals may have had for pursuing profit are impossible to reconstruct from ancient sources.\textsuperscript{67}

The emphasis on the individual general’s actions in this growing triumphal culture is also evident in the general’s choice of deity to honor for his triumphal building. Prior to the late-third century, the choice of deity typically reflected the personal affiliation of the general, who often made a vow to a god during battle and fulfilled that vow by constructing a temple.\textsuperscript{68} In the second century, however, the choice of deity seems to reflect the general’s desire to associate himself with the triumph or to exploit the characteristics of an abstract deity in order to make a statement about his campaign. This shift coincided with a development in Roman religion. Prior to the third century, the Romans typically vowed temples to established gods borrowed from

\textsuperscript{66} L. Aemilius Paullus, for example, held a triumphal parade that lasted three days because of the sheer volume of spoils he brought back from Macedonia. The celebration itself lasted at least six days with the days for banqueting and for plays that typified a triumphal celebration (Diod. Sic. 31A.8; Polyb.18.35)

\textsuperscript{67} The question of economic motives for Roman imperialism is the subject of some debate. Harris (1971: 1371-85) summarized the debate on the role of greed in second-century Roman imperialism, which in general argue against any economic motive for Roman war-making; Harris, however, suggests that economic advantages, even if difficult to reconstruct from ancient sources, should not be ignored.

\textsuperscript{68} Ziolkowski (1992: 200) argues that a significant portion of the mid-Republican vows were generals’ vows, including: Juno Regina (396), Juno Moneta (345), Quirinus (325), Salus (311), Victoria (305), Bellona (206), Jupiter Victor (295), Jupiter Stator (294), Fors Fortuna (293), Hercules Invictus (292-269/6), Consus (272), Tellus (268), Pales (267), Vortumnus (264), Minerva (262-62), Janus (260), Tempestates (259), Fides, Spes (258/7 or 254 or 249), Neptune (257-229), Volcanus (252), Ops Opifera (250), Juturna (242), Juno Curritis (241), Fortuna Publica (241), Honos (233), Fons (231), Feronia (225), Hercules Magnus Custos (223), Honos et Virtus (222). Ziolkowski argues that the temples of Fortuna Publica Citerior, Hercules ad Portam Collinam, Lares, Penates, and Vica Pota were also likely the result of generals’ vows made between 292 and 219.
Italic or Greek traditions (appendix). However, in the third century, the Romans dedicated cults to numerous abstract deities, who were personifications of desirable qualities; many of these were qualities that could be of benefit to a military leader. So while these deities did not necessarily have triumphal connotations, their connotations could be exploited by an ambitious general to enhance his claims to being a qualified and talented general. Locating the temples on or near the triumphal route gave generals the triumphal associations that the deity might lack.

The third and second centuries saw temple dedications to Victoria, Concordia, Felicitas, Honos, Virtus, Fides, Pietas, and various forms of Fortuna (including Equestris, Huiusce Dei, and Primigenia). The impact of Roman aristocratic values and military leadership, which were inevitably intertwined for Roman elites, are evident in the introduction of these cults. Victoria, Honos, Virtus, and Fortuna have obvious connections to Roman military life, while Concordia, Fides, Pietas, and Felicitas could all serve a useful purpose for the Roman elite advertising their personal achievements and contributions to the state.

Abstract deities allowed generals to make bold claims about their skills and virtues, to compete with rivals, and sometimes to rewrite their own histories. Abstract deities did not, it seems, have fixed associations with conquest so generals could create a new “triumphal” history for them. In other words, these deities did not have the same long-term associations with past triumphal generals that gods such as Jupiter, Castor, Mars and others had with triumphal generals. The generals who dedicated triumphal buildings to abstract deities therefore could draw

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69 Beard et al. (1998: 62) note that in the third century BCE, new deities came in the form of “personifications of desirable qualities or virtues such as Concord, Victory, Hope, Faith, Honour and Virtue.” They see this innovation in part as the result of internal and external conflict, and the fact that patricians “claimed special authority in relation to the community’s religious life (1998: 64).

70 The new temples to abstract gods included the temples of Victory (L. Postumius Megillus, 294) Honos (Fabius Maximus, 233), Honos et Virtus (Marcellus, 205), Fortuna Equestris (Fulvius Flaccus, 180), Felicitas (Lucullus, 151), Fortuna Huiusce Dei (Lutatius Catulus, 101), and another Honos et Virtus (Marius, 100). The rebuilt temples to abstract gods included Concord (L. Opimius, 121), Fides (M. Aemilius Scaurus, 115), Mens (Scaurus, 115 or 107), and Fortuna (unknown, first c. BCE). While the Temple of Victoria was not originally related to a triumph—it was built from fines collected during Megillus’ aedileship—Victoria is certainly associated with the triumph.
on the deity’s association with important elite virtue while at the same time offering a new triumphal history for the deity’s cult. The rivalry over the Temple of Honos between Q. Fabius Maximus and M. Claudius Marcellus, mentioned above, suggests how Roman elites could use these deified virtues to make competing claims. The Temple of Felicitas (app. 106) built by L. Licinius Lucullus in 151, for example, was likely an attempt to turn attention away from Lucullus’ violent and illegal campaign in Spain, in which he massacred the Vaccaei after they had surrendered (App. Bel. Ib. 9.51). While Lucullus was not prosecuted for his actions, the Senate refused him a triumph for his actions, since he had campaigned against the Vaccaei without the Senate’s authorization (App. Bel. Ib. 9.51). Lucullus built the temple from the proceeds of his spoils (Cass. Dio 22.76); this was typically an action taken only by triumphal generals since only their spoils were legitimate, so Lucullus again bent the rules to suit his needs. Lucullus’ plan for decorating his temple followed this same pattern of loosely interpreting the rules: he likely needed legitimate spoils and asked L. Mummius, who had earned a triumph over Spain in 152, to lend him some statues for his new temple (App. Bel. Ib. 57; Strabo 8.6.23). Of course, when Mummius asked him to return them, Lucullus had already dedicated them to Felicitas, making it sacrilegious to remove them. Lucullus’ choice of Felicitas (luck or good fortune) suggests that Lucullus felt his campaign against the Vaccaei brought good fortune to Rome and therefore should have earned him a triumph; indeed, dedicating a temple built from the proceeds of his spoils was exactly what a triumphal general did. Felicitas also may have helped Lucullus persuade any detractors who were upset that he escaped prosecution.71 Lucullus essentially used Felicitas to make a bold claim about his own achievements, one that ran counter to the Senate’s opinion of his campaign.

71 His colleague, the praetor Ser. Sulpicius Galba, also conducted an illegal campaign. Although Galba was brought up on charges, he escaped prosecution “by means of his wealth,” so it is possible that Lucullus’ temple also commented, in a tongue-in-cheek manner, on his own escape from prosecution (App. Bel. Ib. 12.59).
Following Lucullus’ model, L. Opimius also used a deified virtue to make a claim that flouted popular opinion, though in Opimius’ case senatorial opinions matched his own. Opimius built the Temple of Concord (app. 13) in 121 in an attempt to assuage the anger of the Roman people after the murder of C. Gracchus. While the construction of the Temple of Concord may have originally been intended as expiation for Gracchus’ murder, L. Opimius’ choice of location and his addition of a basilica named after himself suggest that Opimius was more interested in making a personal statement about his own achievements than in fulfilling the Senate’s request. Another temple to Concord existed on the Arx, built in 217, which Opimius could have rebuilt. Instead, he chose a location at the foot of the northeastern side of the Capitoline Hill, overlooking the Roman Forum. This site was where Camillus had designated for a temple to Concord in 367 that was never built. By choosing this location, Opimius connected himself to Camillus, built a temple that would be associated with his own name, particularly with the addition of a basilica, and sited his temple at a prominent point on the triumphal route. Opimius situated his temple at the final point before the procession turned up the Clivus Capitolinus to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the sacrifice. By erecting this temple, Opimius not only fulfilled the Senate’s request to build a temple that expiated the sin of murdering Gracchus, but also claimed that he had been the one to restore harmony and order. Opimius essentially turned the structure into a representation of what he saw as his own achievements. Indeed, Plutarch (Gaius Gracchus 17.6) remarks that the Roman people were angered by Opimius’ temple because it seemed more designed to glorify Opimius than to expiate his sins for being complicit.

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72 There is some debate whether L. Opimius' temple was an original or if he rebuilt an earlier temple erected for M. Furius Camillus (c.367 BCE). The only literary references to this temple come from Ovid (Fasti 1.637-644) and Plutarch (Cam. 42.4.6), though Plutarch only notes that the space—where Opimius’ temple stood—was only designated, so it is likely the temple was never built. Ziolkowski (1992: 22-23) argues that while older tufa was found in the foundation, it could have come from any neighboring building and no structural elements of an older temple have been discovered in situ. Ziolkowski also doubts the existence of the earlier temple because Livy, who carefully records temple foundations, makes no mention of Camillus’ temple.
in the murder of a Roman citizen.

**Architectural Complexes**

Generals in the second century drew upon the characteristics of abstract deities to make claims about their virtues and often reconstructed older temples in order to attach their names to a previous triumphal general. Choosing to rebuild a temple may have been a pragmatic choice based on the lack of available space or money to build a new temple. The temple’s location may also have been ideal or the original general had achieved something particularly meritorious to which the new general wanted to attach his name. The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, for example, was an ideal location for triumphal generals because it was the final stop for the triumphal procession; it was renovated at least six times in the Republican period (296, 193, 179, 142, 83, 69). These phases of construction could be as simple as the gilding of a ceiling, but nevertheless constituted a renovation. In each case, the person who “rebuilt” the temple added his own inscription to the temple that was representative of the triumph. While reconstruction was a popular means of advertising one’s achievements, generals who had the means to do so typically built new temples.

Generals who wanted to maximize the connection between a structure and their achievements increasingly chose to erect new structures; in the second century, that frequently involved utilizing new elements that were more architecturally complex and not characteristic of earlier manubial temples (Longfellow 2015: 347). In particular, generals used porticoes to provide “bounded spaces for crowds of people and sculpture” that also enhanced the space, making it more architecturally significant and visually dominant. The use of more complex

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73 Metellus, for example, attached his name to M. Aemilius Lepidus when he rebuilt the Temple of Juno Regina (Richardson 1992: 216-17).
74 For other examples of rebuilding, see appendix nos. 7, 11, 13, 35, 53, 79, 93.
architectural forms drew attention and their distinctiveness drew the eye in areas dominated by temples, so they offered generals a concrete visual means for distinguishing themselves and their structures from those of other triumphal generals. Some generals used these porticoes to create architectural complexes with multiple structures, including temples, gardens, and theaters; the portico complexes of Cn. Octavius, Q. Caecilius Metellus, and Pompey are prime examples. Porticoes, roads, basilicas, and aqueducts typically were named after the person who paid for them, so constructing a portico or similar space was an obvious way to put one’s name on a building.

The complexes of Octavius, Metellus, and Pompey were slightly different from other structures in their scale and in the fact that they were multi-functional spaces that typically included a temple, making them both public and sacred space.75 For the most part, buildings dedicated to cults were named after the deity housed there, and generals only added a dedicatory inscription; in other words, visitors to the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Dei (app. 124) would only know that Q. Lutatius Catulus had built it if they could read the dedicatory inscription or they knew from word of mouth. The increasing use of public buildings not intended for a religious cult allowed generals more freedom to name the building after themselves and create a firm association with their own achievements; the basilicas Opimia (app. 118), Aemilia (app. 79), and Porcia (app. 72), for example, drew their names from L. Opimius, M. Aemilius Lepidus, and M. Porcius Cato. The area of the Roman Forum in which these basilicas were located was transformed dramatically by architectural competition between Roman elites in the second century. In the third century BCE, the section of the Forum at the base of the Capitoline was dominated by the temples of Castor and Saturn, along with the Rostra, the Comitium, and a small

75 Though Russell notes that even the Romans had difficulty defining a complex as multi-functional as Pompey’s theater complex (2016: 25-43).
In the second century BCE, that single basilica was replaced by the Basilicae Porcia (184), Fulvia-Aemilia (179), Sempronia (170), and Opimia (121). The tendency to choose an architectural form such as the portico or basilica that a general could name after himself transformed Rome’s public space into a topographical representation of elite competition, with more and more buildings named after triumphal generals. In the first century, Sulla and Pompey took this practice one step further and added their own names to that of temple’s deity when they built the temples of Hercules Sullanus (app. 128) and Temple of Hercules Pompeianus (app. 140).

Architecture’s ability to remind viewers of Rome’s triumphal past and to point toward future triumphs essentially transformed Rome’s public space into a symbolic battlefield for triumphal generals. By constructing monuments to their military achievements, generals could compete with political rivals and tie themselves through location to past and future events. Triumphal structures tied generals to future events through their location on the parade route and because the buildings provided shade to spectators. Triumphal generals could also compete through the manipulation of space. Like location, the layout of the building could influence the experience of the visitor, allowing a general to emphasize his own triumphal achievements over those of a previous triumphal general.

**Manipulation of Space**

By attaching their names to triumphal edifices and dedicating public spaces, these elite men and their staff wrote themselves into Roman history and onto the urban landscape through the temples, complexes, and other public works that they erected and dedicated in honor of their

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76 The small basilica was built before 210, when a fire destroyed it (Livy 26.27.2-5; Richardson 1992: 55).
77 The Basilica Fulvia-Aemilia was originally contracted by M. Fulvius Nobilior in 179 (Livy 40.51.5) but rebuilt in 54 BCE by L. Aemilius Paullus, after which it was called the Basilica Paulli (Cic. *Att*. 4.16.8).
military prowess. Building sites, inscriptions, and names created a visual message that emphasized the triumph and allowed a general to advertise his achievements and garner prestige; however, they do not fully explain the degree to which Roman generals in the late-third through mid-first centuries BCE contributed to a dramatic shift in the use of built space. They created built spaces in which each element—location, layout, sight lines, inscriptions, and decoration—worked together to create a unified, coherent visual message that could, essentially, be “read” by observers. This unified, coherent message made these new built spaces a material expression of the triumph and distinguished them as triumphal architecture.

The spatial theorist Kevin Lynch provides a framework for understanding the siting of triumphal buildings in the context of urban space. In *The Image of the City* (1960), Lynch argues that cities create a shared mental image that invokes a sense of “legibility;” in other words a city is organized into a series of coherent patterns that viewers experience via easily identifiable landmarks, districts, and pathways (Lynch 1960: 3). Michel de Certeau suggests that cities have their own “language of power” (1984: 95). In these terms, space and architecture use a language of power that can be read just as one reads a speech. Indeed, I would argue that the language of power evident in second-century architecture is the language of the triumph, in other words a visual representation of conquest and *virtus*.

Lynch’s focus is on how people draw upon a city’s legibility to navigate it, but his framework of nodes, pathways, districts, and landmarks is helpful for considering how Romans experienced their city. It is also useful for determining how triumphal generals could exploit spatial organization to alter viewers’ experience during a triumphal parade and in their daily lives (fig. 9). Placing a temple on a sudden turn in the triumphal route or near the edge of a hill, for

78 Diane Favro (1996: 1-23) also makes use of Kevin Lynch’s model in her description of Republican Roman topography.
example, limited the approach to a building and effectively controlled the view for triumphal spectators (Lynch 1960: 95). In Lynch’s terms, we might say that triumphal architecture had an inherent “imageability,” a quality that evokes “a strong image in any given observer,” in this case the triumph. Cities themselves also have an imageability or legibility, one that draws upon a sense of shared culture and utilizes specific topographical elements to heighten that legibility (1960: 95). While Roman generals did not consciously plot out these topographical elements when they chose the locations of their triumphal spaces, one can nevertheless read the city of Rome in this fashion.

Using Lynch as a model, we can see how generals and architects drew upon Rome’s triumphal history and inscribed the triumph on the landscape by infusing it with topographical elements, including pathways, nodes, edges, landmarks, and regions. Pathways, for example, are networks of “habitual or potential movement through the urban complex” that should have some special use or characteristic that differentiates them from surrounding areas (1960: 96). The route of the triumph was itself a pathway, both habitual and potential, but it also created auxiliary pathways through the city that tied the observer back to the triumph through the combination of primary and secondary roads. The buildings associated with the triumph served to solidify the triumphal route as an essential pathway through the city. Indeed, the repetition of certain structures—in other words, triumphal architecture—helps to create a flow to the pathway that “will reinforce this familiar, continuous image,” in this case of the triumph (1960: 96). These pathways were also reinforced by controlling movement and sight (1960: 98). Porticoes, for example, provided shaded walkways for triumphal spectators, but they also directed the viewer’s sight along specific lines. For example, the porticus built by A. Postumius and Q. Fulvius Flaccus in 174 between the Forum and the Porta Trigemina, funneled people through the natural
pathway of the Velabrum, between the Palatine and the Capitoline, then through the Forum Boarium to the Porta at the southern end of the Forum Boarium where the Aventine meets the Tiber River (region XI, fig. 5). In other words, the portico guided people through key portions of the triumphal route where they would also see buildings that were either triumphal in origin or played a role in the procession, such as the Circus Maximus, the Temple of Hercules Victor, the statue of Hercules, and the triumphal temples clustered along the western edge of the Circus.79 Furthermore, these triumphal structures reinforced the natural pathway and their triumphal connotations transformed the path into a “continuous image” of the triumph.

The imageability of the triumph was reinforced by the fact that the pathway of the triumphal route shared a visual relationship with the other characteristic elements that defined the topography, particularly according to Lynch’s model. Lynch, for example, suggests the idea of an “edge,” which functioned as a visual and physical barrier or seam between regions (1960: 100). Edges served to circulate people along pathways and across various topographical features. The Flaminian Circus and Metellus Temple Complex were clear landmarks that formed an edge between the southern Campus Martius and the Forum Holitorium and highlighted the turn of the triumphal route east from the Campus Martius toward the Velabrum and Circus Maximus (fig. 1, 7).80 Lynch’s description perfectly encapsulates the importance of triumphal landmarks such as the Flaminian Circus or the Porticus of Metellus: distinctive structures with a strong historical association and imageability. As Lynch contends, clustering these landmarks only reinforced

79 Other temples in this area were the temples of Mater Matuta, Fortuna, and Hercules Pompeianus, and possibly the Temple of Vortumnus, which is thought to have been on the northwest side of the Aventine where it overlooked the triumphal route (Richardson 1992: 433).
80 Lynch defines landmarks as a distinct object that draws the observer’s attention and argues that the “image strength rises when the landmark coincides with a concentration of association. If the distinctive building is the scene of an historic event…then it becomes a landmark indeed. Even the bestowal of a name has power, once that name is generally known and accepted. Indeed, if we are to make our environment meaningful, such a coincidence of association and imageability is necessary” (1960: 101).
their importance and the association would have been obvious to Romans. Nevertheless, the architectural impact of the landmarks in the Campus Martius are evident in Strabo’s description. Strabo states: “…And again, if, on passing to the old Forum, you saw one forum after another ranged along the old one, and basilicas, and temples, and saw also the Capitolium and the works of art there and those of the Palatium and Livia’s Promenade, you would easily become oblivious to everything else outside. Such is Rome” (Strabo 5.3.8, translated by Horace Jones). Pompey’s Theater and Livia’s Promenade (formerly Metellus’ Complex) dominated the landscape and served as convenient visual reference points for anyone navigating the city.

Lynch defines a node as a “conceptual anchor point,” one that has a closed boundary and a “coherent spatial pattern” (1960: 102). Nodes could be buildings or open spaces, as long as they had a distinctive boundary. Furthermore, Lynch asserts that “it is possible to arrange a series of nodes to form a related structure” (1960: 103). Triumphal temples were clearly nodes, but I would argue that collectively, these triumphal nodes formed a related structure in the Roman mind, that of the triumph, allowing Romans to read and experience their city as a triumphal landscape (fig. 9). Triumphal structures shared certain characteristics that made them easily identifiable as triumphal. They were typically located on or near the triumphal route, so their association with the triumph was reinforced with every subsequent parade. Their inscriptions often linked them to past triumphs and therefore with particular generals and, as we will see in the next chapter, they were often decorated with the general’s spoils and paintings that evoked momentous battles. Indeed, the combination of location on the route and epigraphic and visual embellishments that reenacted the general’s triumph for viewers cemented these structures’ roles as *monumenta* and as nodes. As Lynch argues, nodes could be buildings or open spaces, as long as they had a distinctive boundary. Triumphal temples were clearly nodes, but I would argue that
collectively, these triumphal nodes formed a related structure in the Roman mind, that of the triumph, allowing Romans to read and experience their city as a triumphal landscape.\textsuperscript{81}

The Porticus of Metellus and the Theater Complex of Pompey exemplify the complexity of nodes and related structures; nodes did not follow uniformly identifiable patterns in Rome as they might in a modern context. The Porticus of Metellus (fig. 6, 7), built in 145 BCE, encompassed two temples, the Temple of Jupiter Stator and the Temple of Juno Regina, and was enclosed by a double portico of Ionic columns. Vitruvius (3.2.5) describes the Temple of Jupiter Stator, built by Hermodorus of Salamis, as a peripteral temple \textit{sine postico}: that is, it had columns on the front and sides but not in the back, which served to emphasize a frontal view. The Temple of Juno Regina was a prostyle hexastyle temple with a raised podium, a deep pronaos, and a large cella. The design was intended to accentuate the height of the temple, drawing the viewer’s eye upward and toward the front of the temple rather than equally to all parts of the temple as was common in the Greek world. Since it was common practice to place an inscription or triumphal shield in the pediment, the design of these temples served to draw the viewer’s eyes to the triumphal symbols. Indeed, there is evidence that a Ligurian shield was attached to the Temple of Jupiter Stator until at least 124 BCE (Obsequens 27). Enclosing the two temples in a double portico made them even more spatially dominant, since the portico blocked the view of other nearby buildings and served as a transitional space between the outside and the triumphal temples. The portico also served as the sharply defined boundary that Lynch argues is characteristic of a node. The architectural unity of the Ionic columns on the temples and the Ionic columns on the portico created the type of “singular and continuous quality” that for Lynch made a node “a distinct, unforgettable place” (1960: 102).

\textsuperscript{81} Lynch asserts that “it is possible to arrange a series of nodes to form a related structure” (1960: 103).
The Theater of Pompey (fig. 10), dedicated in 55 BCE in the Campus Martius, was an even more distinctive node than the Porticus of Metellus. Situated at or near the beginning of the triumphal route and just north of the Flaminian Circus and the porticos of Octavius (168 BCE) and Metellus (145 BCE), the theater complex dominated its district. The theater, 150 meters in diameter, could accommodate up to 17,580 spectators (Coarelli 2007: 283). The double portico, about 180 x 135 meters, connected the back of the theater’s stage to the curia on the opposite side. The Temple of Venus Victrix, located at the top of the theater’s seating (in summa cavea), was connected on an axial line with the curia attached to the portico. The entire complex was situated adjacent to the Largo Argentina, another triumphal space, and the complex may have been connected to the rest of the Campus Martius, particularly the Flaminian Circus, by an arterial road in the Republican period (fig. 5, 7, 8). Another road ran parallel to the Flaminian Circus, between Pompey’s complex and the other triumphal buildings in the region. The complex was a multi-purpose building and in some ways both a microcosm of Rome and, as Ann Kuttner argues, of the world Rome had conquered (Kuttner 1999: 345). It combined buildings to serve the major functions of elite Roman life—though most of the buildings were open to everyone—including a curia for Senate meetings, a portico and garden space for leisure, a theater for entertainment, and a temple to Venus Victrix (Coarelli 2007: 283). It also brought the conquered world to Rome through its decoration. Its placement and spatial dominance—it was significantly larger than the surrounding structures—combined with the overt triumphal overtones of the complex’s decorative scheme would have given it significant imageability in Lynch’s terms. Indeed, while modern scholars cannot accurately locate the Porta Triumphalis, the origin point for the triumph, many accept that it was near Pompey’s complex because of the strong association in ancient sources between the complex and the processional route (Beard
Lynch’s terms clarify the impact of triumphal architecture on the urban landscape and on collective memory, which we can observe in Roman texts. Strabo clearly references both triumphal buildings and the competition over constructing beautiful and distinctive buildings in his description of the Campus Martius (8.3.5). In the second-century BCE Terence, in the Adelphoe, has the slave Syrus give directions to the main character Demea by making use of the pathways and landmarks that Lynch argues define the legibility of a city. Syrus mentions an arcade (porticum) and a market (macellum); he suggests that Demea follow a road (clivus) first up then downhill to a little shrine (sacellum), then find the house of the wealthy Cratinus and head down the road past it to the Temple of Diana (Ter. Adel. 573-85). In the late-third and early-second century BCE, Plautus describes the Roman Forum, including the Temple of Castor, to explain how certain types of people congregate in specific areas of the city (Plaut. Curcul. 465-485). While Terence and Plautus do not directly connect topography to the triumph, they demonstrate that topographical landmarks played an important role in mental mapping of the city and in Roman collective memory. Furthermore, they confirm that landmarks worked this way as early as the late-second century BCE and that Romans used buildings to create mental maps of the city. The significant increase in triumphal construction in the second century transformed Rome into the triumphal landscape hinted at in later writers.

82 Terence also wrote his Adelphoe for the funeral games of L. Aemilius Paullus, in 160 BCE. Paullus had earned a triumph in 167 over the Macedonian king Perseus.

Conclusion

From the late third century BCE, elite Romans sought to move beyond simply constructing manubial temples to fulfill battlefield vows. Instead, they used built space to evoke specific visual associations and memories for observers. Kevin Lynch’s legibility model underscores how elite Romans employed sight lines, design, inscriptions, locations, and, as we will see in the next chapter, decoration to create a multi-layered experience for the viewer. The built spaces that resulted were not just ritual spaces, but spaces of power in which every aspect of the building combined to create a coherent message, one that monumentalized individual achievement. Architecture became for elite Romans a medium through which they narrated and experienced their own history. In triumphal architecture, the past, present, and future converged in the observer’s mind. Indeed, these buildings did not just narrate a general’s military achievements. They were performative spaces in which triumphal generals manipulated history, memory, and movement to recreate their triumphs for future generations. In a mostly non-literate world, architecture allowed elite Roman men to narrate and perform their achievements. In doing so, they not only created legible built spaces, they transformed the city of Rome into a visual narrative of Roman conquest and individual glory, inscribing the triumph into the history and topography of Rome.
Chapter 2

Triumphal Decoration and the Visual Language of Power

“The keenest of all our senses is the sense of sight, and that consequently perceptions received by the ears or by reflection can be most easily retained in the mind if they are also conveyed to our minds by the mediation of the eyes, with the result that things not seen and not lying in the field of visual discernment are earmarked by a sort of image and shape so that we keep hold of as it were by an act of sight things that we can scarcely embrace by an act of thought” (Cicero de Orat. 2.87.357-58, translated by E.W. Sutton).

In his discussion of the art of oratory and mnemonic devices, Cicero remarks on the importance of vision and images as educational tools. While Cicero is clearly speaking of vision and memory in the practice of oratory, his statement suggests a wider Roman understanding of the didactic value of vision. From at least the third century BCE, Roman elites decorated triumphal buildings with plundered objects and commissioned art. In this chapter, I shall argue that these works of art and the structures that housed them were, in essence, mnemonic devices that helped viewers visualize and remember conquest; in Cicero’s terms, seeing them allowed viewers to embrace conquest in a way that they could not “by an act of thought.” The arrangement of triumphal art, and particularly the mixture of plundered objects and commissioned art—typically topographical paintings and representations of battle—within public and private spaces created a visual narrative that retold the story of conquest, provided information about conquered peoples, and celebrated a general’s military achievements. In a sense, then, buildings celebrated victories, and the objects that decorated them stood in for the actions and qualities of the general and, at the same time for the peoples and places the Romans conquered.

The Roman use of spoils as decorations to convey coherent visual messages developed concomitantly with the rise of triumphal architecture. This chapter moves from the buildings and
location to the interiors, exploring how Roman generals from the third century BCE employed plundered and commissioned art to craft narratives about their personal achievements and qualities to viewers from diverse backgrounds. I begin with a brief examination of the new types of plunder circulating into Rome and the gradual inclusion of commissioned art as spoils, looking especially at how these objects came to stand in place of the actions and qualities of generals. Then I turn to the use of these objects as decoration. Buildings and decoration contributed to a new visual language of power—one that is at its heart triumphal—in effect, in Peter Holliday’s words, became “the medium of social advancement…without the underpinning of militant achievement” (Holliday 2002: 200). The following two chapters examine how this visual language of power circulated first into the private space of the Roman elite home and then outward into the world that Rome conquered.

The subject of this chapter owes a great deal to the work of Peter Holliday (2002), Katharine Welch (2006), and Tonio Hölscher (2004), who have explored the development of Roman art and its relation to conquest and imperialism. In his work on visual narratives and historical commemoration, Holliday argues that Roman historical painting depended on Greek models to create an innovative system that emphasized historical commemoration, in particular triumphal themes (Holliday 2002: 196-7, 204). Katharine Welch begins with the introduction of Hellenistic art into Rome through the triumphal parade and shows how plundered art transitioned into the private space of the home. She emphasizes how the second-century “booty mentality” contributed to this dramatic shift in practice, since before the late-third century private space was not an acceptable venue for plunder (2006: 132). Hölscher, on the other hand, explores the broader theme of the visual language of Roman art in the Republic, but concentrates on the

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84 Chapter 3 explores the circulation of different types of spoils into the city in greater detail.
Empire. Focusing on statues, he discusses the types of signals that Roman aristocrats could convey with statues and explains how those signals differed from Greek uses of art. In contrast, I argue that the changes in practice and in attitudes toward art that developed in the Republic cannot be understood by examining public and private space or artistic mediums separately. More importantly, my focus is on the triumph, not Roman art per se. Indeed, I argue throughout this dissertation that the triumph developed a material culture that had a profound effect on Roman definitions of prestige and on elite attitudes toward and uses of plundered and commissioned art.

**From Weaponry to Art: The Constitution and Disposition of Spoils**

The triumph was at its heart a ritual that celebrated war and violence, so it unsurprising that the earliest known types of spoils were military in nature. Fifth and fourth century spoils consisted mostly of captured armor, shields, weapons, and useful materials from baggage trains, particularly coins and bullion, though also likely foodstuffs and supplies. Captured arms and armor were transformed into the trophies (*tropaia*) carried in the parade. They formed part of the sacrifice to Jupiter at the end of the procession, and triumphal generals also offered captured weaponry as votive dedications to other gods, as L. Papirius offered captured weaponry to Quirinus in 293 BCE (Livy 10.46.7-8). These traditional spoils emphasized both the general’s *virtus* and Rome’s military dominance; offering them to the gods highlighted the association of victory and divine favor, bestowed on the general and Rome itself. This seems particularly true for votive dedications made to the gods to whom generals made battlefield vows, such as A. Postumius’ vow to Castor and Pollux at the Battle of Lake Regillus, followed by the construction of a temple in their honor in the Roman Forum (Livy 2.20.12, 2.42.5). In summary, up to the third century, spoils emphasized the violence of warfare, the military success of the conqueror,
and the ritual of purifying the army from its bloodletting. Over the course of the third century, as
the Roman army moved into the territories of older, often Hellenized cultures including the
Etruscans, Samnites, and the Greek cities in southern Italy, and encountered their first overseas
enemies, the range of plundered objects broadened. Triumphal spectators soon witnessed the
exhibition of statues, first terracotta and then bronze and marble. As Roman armies moved into
the Hellenistic East, other valuable objects including gold and silver vessels, paintings, furniture,
textiles, and dining ware joined statues as typical booty. Eventually, as discussed in the next
chapter, even unusual items such as tusks, poisons, and plants became spoils. While these new
spoils still celebrated war and violence, the relationship was not as direct and, over time, the
value of these objects grew beyond their symbolic association with conquest to include their
artistic value and, as we will see, their value as symbols of elite prestige.

Roman expansion into southern Italy and the Greek world introduced not only Hellenistic
art as Roman plunder but also contributed to the Roman adoption of Hellenistic artistic
techniques and styles, and the movement of Greek artists into Rome. The first art to enter
Rome via the triumphal parade came as a result of these conquests: the statues that L. Papirius
Cursor seized in Tarentum in 272 BCE and those that M. Fulvius Flaccus confiscated from
Volsinii in 264. Festus (228L), the only extant source on these triumphs, gives no clear
indication on what Cursor and Flaccus did with their statues, but it is possible that they placed
some of them in the temples of Consus and Vortumnus, which they built to celebrate their

85 L. Aemilius Paullus, for example, brought the artist Metrodorus to Rome (Pliny NH 25.135). Welch (2006: 140)
notes that Greek artists began coming to Rome after the initial Greek conquests.
86 For L. Papirius Cursor, see Eutrop. 2.9. For M. Fulvius Flaccus, see Festus 228L. M’. Curius Dentatus also
paraded statues in triumph over Pyrrhus in the 270s (Florus 1.13.26-7). There was an earlier triumph that brought
statues into the city, that of M. Furius Camillus in 396 over Veii, but scholars tend not to include this triumph either
because the statues were terracotta and therefore not as unusual to the Romans as marble nudes (McDonnell 2006:
84).
Although Roman generals paraded sculptures in the early-to-mid third century, Livy, Pliny the Elder, and Plutarch credit M. Claudius Marcellus with the introduction of artistic plunder with his ovation in 211 BCE (Livy 25.40.3; Pliny NH 33.148; Plut. Marc. 21). Marcellus’ parade included numerous statues, vessels of wrought silver and bronze, furnishings from the royal palace of Syracuse, and precious fabrics. The renown accrued by his parading and subsequently displaying these objects solidified art’s place in the repertoire of legitimate spoils. Indeed, as Livy states, “foreigners used to visit the temples dedicated by Marcellus at the Porta Capena, drawn thither by the magnificent examples of Greek art which they contained” (25.40). From that point on, triumphal generals regularly exhibited artwork, including statues, paintings, gold and silver vessels, furniture, and various other luxury goods in their parades. At the same time as these objects became legitimate spoils, sources suggest an increase in the number of triumphal buildings and public exhibitions of art.

One effect of the circulation of valuable objects into Rome as plunder was an emphasis on showcasing them. Romans always had, to some degree, placed triumphal plunder in public spaces—it was common practice to affix captured shields on the façades of public and private buildings (Welch 2006:110-112). However, their placement prior to the late-third century BCE emphasized their role as symbols of conquest. I argue that the introduction of sculptures as spoils

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87 Flaccus, at least, is known to have displayed some of his statues publicly, because statue bases with his name on them have been found in the Area Sacra di S. Omobono in Rome. This area is associated with the precincts of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta. The statue bases found in this area would have supported about thirty statues. McDonnell (2006: 73) suggests that Flaccus may have dedicated some of the other statues from the 2,000 he seized in Volsinii in his Temple of Vortumnus on the Aventine, which was nearby the Area Sacra di S. Omobono.

88 Livy 25.40.3; Polyb. 1.8.11, 16. Marcellus’ actions were not, of course, without controversy; he drew criticism from his contemporaries for his actions. See McDonnell 2006: 69-72, 80-81. Other examples include T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, who paraded a statue of Jupiter captured in Praeneste in 380 BCE and later dedicated it on the Capitol (Livy 6.29.8-10), and M’. Curius Dentatus, who carried statues and paintings in his triumph over Pyrrhus in 275 BCE (Epit. 1.13.27).

89 For more on the types of plunder and on triumphal parades, see Chapter 3.
led to a focus on these objects as decoration because of their artistic and social value. As generals concentrated on showcasing these objects in buildings that memorialized their triumphs, they used the plundered goods to stand in the place of the actions and personal qualities that earned them a triumph. Indeed, the constant influx of Hellenistic art and luxury goods was a contributing factor, as art lent itself to public exhibition. The placement of plundered objects in temples, particularly grouped together in general’s triumphal building, created a visual narrative that emphasized the general’s victory.

Over the course of the third century, Roman aristocrats elaborated on the typical arrangement of spoils by adding commissioned works of art to enhance the visual narrative of their conquest and triumph. These commissioned works effectively served as substitutions for the actions and events that led to triumphs and helped expand upon the story behind the spoils. While there were numerous reasons for seizing war booty, ultimately, spoils served as a physical manifestation of martial accomplishment a general’s person contributions to state power. Because commissioned works fulfilled a similar function—particularly in their role as simulacra and imagines during triumphal parades—and because they were often dedicated in temples alongside war booty, commissioned art became another type of spoil, at least in their role of documenting the effectiveness of the military campaign.

We see, for example, generals using topographical paintings to illustrate key moments in their military campaigns and commissioning paintings of battle scenes to narrate crucial battles. Romans were not unfamiliar with topographical or battle images, as simulacra and imagines were commonly paraded in the triumph to explain and offer commentary on the objects exhibited in the procession. L. Scipio, L. Aemilius Paullus, and Sulla all paraded representations of the towns they had conquered as well as placards detailing the vanquished towns and peoples (Livy
It seems to have been such a common practice that only the most notable examples were mentioned. Roman spectators received further information on the military campaigns through the *fabulae praetextae*, plays commissioned by generals, which took place after the parade. What changed was the placement of these objects alongside spoils in triumphal structures; according to a strict definition of booty as something seized while on campaign from a foreign enemy, these commissioned works should not have become spoils. However, one result of the growing emphasis on the decorative qualities of despoiled objects was that Roman elites mixed commissioned and plundered artwork together in their triumphal buildings.

Roman generals had some degree of control over their spoils—including the size of their portion and how much they donated to the state. However, their control was not enough “to overturn the overall impression of public ownership of spoils of war.” Before the late third century BCE, most generals donated their spoils to their soldiers and the state, or they used them to fund public construction. Often, however, there is little evidence for where spoils ended up after the triumphal parade. Roman historians before the third century BCE, whose records were known to later Roman historians, typically indicate that a triumph took place, and only mention the location of spoils if they fulfilled a battlefield vow. From the third century, however, Roman writers offer detailed lists of triumphal plunder and frequently indicate the location of the spoils, particularly in the case of the most famous parades. The typical pattern seems to have been to offer *praeda* as votive dedications, to sell them and donate the proceeds to the state and the

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90 There are a few known examples of these plays, including Naevius’ *Clastidium* about M. Claudius Marcellus’ 222 BCE victory, Ennius’ *Ambracia* about M. Fulvius Nobilior’s 187 victory, and Pacuvius’ *Paullus*, about L. Aemilius Paullus’ 167 victory (Flower 1995: 171).
92 For more on the evidence for generals keeping a portion of their spoils, see Shatzman 1972: 177-205.
soldiers. Nevertheless, it is hard to know if sources do not mention where spoils ended up because their readers would have assumed they ended up in public locations or if the sources did not know where the spoils ended up.  

93 Most of the sources on the triumph and triumphal plunder come from the late Republican historians, geographers, and annalists such as Livy, Strabo, and Pliny the Elder, who had access to much earlier written sources that are no longer extant. In analyzing the sudden presence of detailed plunder lists in their narratives of the third century BCE compared to earlier periods, historians must ask if the new level of detail reflects the interest of writers in the first century BCE and CE or a shift in practice dating to the third century BCE. However, later writers would not have been able to offer such detailed lists if detailed accounts did not exist in the first place. It seems to me that the new degree of detail reflects a change in practice in the third century BCE when generals began to parade new types of spoils in their triumphs and then to exhibit them in triumphal buildings.

The Value of Artistic Plunder: Versatility and Visual Messages

By the second century BCE, art and luxury goods had become the dominant type of plunder according to the lists of looted goods in later historical accounts.  

94 Traditionally, Roman generals used the triumph and their spoils to make statements to their elite peers and other Romans about their virtue and gloria, and this allowed them to garner the type of fame that could earn them political offices. However, the triumphal parade was transitory. The use of Greek art permitted more permanent representations of conquest and victory. By dedicating plundered art—particularly statues and paintings—in temples along with commissioned paintings that depicted significant battles or the procession itself, Roman generals crafted readable messages

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93 For example, sources offer detailed lists of the plunder exhibited in the triumphs of L. Scipio and Cn. Manlius Vulso, but give almost no information about where those spoils were displayed or if they even were displayed. For Vulso, see Pliny NH 34.8.14; for Scipio, see Pliny NH 33.53.148.

94 For more on these plunder lists, see Chapter 3.
that were accessible to a broad audience and did not disappear at the end of the parade. Furthermore, since these messages were permanent, figuratively “written in stone,” they extended the general’s renown to his descendants. In fact, many of these descendants were responsible for the final dedication of triumphal buildings begun by their triumphal ancestor, or they rebuilt them later to contribute to the family’s renown. This section explores the ways in which generals used statues to create multiple signals for their audiences and how they combined artistic spoils with commissioned paintings to form built spaces that narrated the general’s military successes and his triumphal parade.

The basic plot of these narratives begins with conquest and continues into a triumphal parade that served as a fleeting retelling of the victory through the exhibition of the soldiers, captives, plunder, and other participants. After the parade, the general commissioned a temple or similar structure to be built on the triumphal route as a memorial of his triumph—at times, fulfilling battlefield vows, which were paid by the proceeds of plunder. Location and the organization of urban space added to the triumphal story, as did exhibiting plundered art inside triumphal structures. Commissioned art such as topographical paintings or battle scenes enhanced the narrative by providing a backstory or offering more depth to the “plot.”

The dedications made by M. Fulvius Flaccus exemplify these triumphal narratives. As consul in 264, Flaccus defeated the Volsinii. He may have performed an *evocatio* to entice the god Vortumnus to come to Rome (Prop. *Eleg.* 4.2.2) and seized approximately 2,000 statues

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95 Examples include the Temple of Libertas, built by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos. 238) for his Sardinian campaign and dedicated by his son in 215 (app. 46). The son also dedicated a painting in the temple, adding to the family’s prestige. Another example is the Temple of Pietas, built by M’. Acilius Glabrio in 191, dedicated by his son in 181, and decorated with an equestrian statue of the elder Glabrio (app. 66). The Fornix Fabianus was built by Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus in 121 and restored by his descendant in 57 (app. 117).

96 For the purposes of this chapter, commissioned paintings will be addressed alongside plunder because the commissioned paintings were an essential part of the same visual narrative as plundered art. Furthermore, the paintings were often paired with statues in order to create specific signals. On triumphal painting, see Holliday 2002: 22-62.
from the city.\footnote{Pliny NH 34.16.34. For more on the possible evocatio of Vertumnus, see Ziolkowski 1992: 184; Gruen 1992: 87.} Upon his return to Rome, Flaccus celebrated a triumph and constructed a new temple for Vortumnus on the northwest corner of the Aventine Hill, near the southwest corner of the Circus Maximus, where it overlooked the processional route as it turned from the Forum Boarium into the Circus Maximus (fig. 1). Pliny (NH 34.16.34) and Festus (228L), the primary sources on Flaccus’ temple, do not state whether Flaccus decorated the temple with any of the 2,000 statues he seized from Volsinii, but it seems likely that he did so (McDonnell 2006: 75). A statue base found in the Area Sacra di S. Ombono, also on the triumphal route in the Forum Boarium, inscribed with Flaccus’ name suggests that he put his sculptures in more than one place (McDonnell 2006: 73; Longfellow 2015: 347; Östenberg 2012: 79). Besides decorating the temple with at least a few statues seized in Volsinii, Flaccus also commissioned a painting of himself wearing the triumphal regalia (toga picta), probably a fresco on the temple’s exterior wall (Festus 228L). The temple’s location overlooking the triumphal route and its decoration combined to tell the story of Flaccus ending a war that had plagued the Romans intermittently for more than a century. It also announced his pious introduction of a new cult to Rome.\footnote{Livy (5.31.32) mentions the Volsinii in his records for 391 BCE. Rutledge (2012: 140) sees the painting specifically as a celebration of Flaccus’ virtus and pietas, but I argue that it is part of the whole visual narrative of triumph, temple, and decoration.}

The basic narrative was edited and individuated by the particular ways that generals used plundered art. First, each piece of plundered art was removed from a specific context, whether that was as a cult statue, part of a royal art collection, or as public honorific art. In seizing the statue and removing it from that context, Roman generals could reproduce, modify, or ignore that original context once they brought the art to Rome. Approximating the original context of the seized object often meant that the original meaning of the object, in the case of a cult statue, was not completely lost. This use of plunder emphasized a general’s piety and honored the god
who was removed from his or her primary house and placed in a new, foreign space. Accounts of the ritual of *evocatio* depict the expropriation as the deity’s will.\(^9\) Propertius imagines that the god Vortumnus (Vertumnus) claims that he does not regret abandoning the hearths of Volsinii to move to Rome after Flaccus conquered the city (*Eleg. 3.2.4*), and the poet demonstrates the benefits of moving to Rome, where Vortumnus could overlook the Roman Forum. Such tales suggest that the Romans who seized cult statues did not want to commit sacrilege by dishonoring the gods, or at least that this is the way that the Romans wanted to think about their actions. In fact, statues of divinities often ended up in temples associated with that god. Q. Fabius Maximus, who conquered Tarentum in 209 BCE, seized a statue of Hercules from Tarentum’s temple to Hercules, and he rededicated it in one of Rome’s temples to Hercules (Strabo 6.3.1). Pompey dedicated a statue of Hercules by Myron in the Temple of Hercules Pompeianus that he built after returning from the East (Pliny *NH* 34.57). Borrowing the original meaning was a common choice in the late third and second centuries, so many of the Greek statues of divinities, such as Hercules, Zeus, and Neptune, ended up in temples to their Roman counterparts. Reproducing the original cultural meaning paid homage to the conquered culture and the god or goddess, much as manubial temples traditionally thanked gods for helping the Romans achieve victory.

We can see the underlying concern for demonstrating piety in the fact that generals who did not build new temples dedicated plundered statues of deities in the Roman temples to those gods. T. Quinctius Flamininus, for example, seized the statue of Jupiter Imperator in Greece and placed in the precinct of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Cic. *Verr. 2.4.129*). Moreover, often generals who decided to construct new temples had at least one statue of that god or goddess among those they seized that could be dedicated, or they commissioned a new one. For example,

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\(^9\) One famous example of an *evocatio* is that of Juno during Camillus’ conquest of Veii (Livy 5.21.1-4).
one of the statues Mummius brought home became the cult statue in his new Temple of Hercules Victor (CIL 1.626; Edwards 2003: 50). It is impossible to determine whether the Romans sought out statues of specific deities while on campaign for temples they already planned to construct upon their return or if they chose to build a temple to that god because they happened to seize a famous statue of that god after a battle. Regardless, the literary evidence in later Roman historians and geographers suggests a deliberate matching between the subject matter of plundered statues and the Roman temples in which they were housed.

Roman elites could also change the cultural meaning by adapting the original context. Generals often altered the original significance of the cult statue by placing it within a different divinity’s precinct. Fabius Maximus set a colossal statue of Hercules seized from Tarentum outside the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus next to his own equestrian statue. The statue of Hercules was still within a sacred precinct, but not the precinct of a temple for Hercules. Placing the statue of Hercules on the Capitol, the end point for the procession, reminded viewers of Fabius Maximus’ victory in the Punic Wars and his triumph over Tarentum. His dedication of another statue of Hercules in Rome’s Temple of Hercules suggests that he either had a particular affinity for Hercules or that he wanted to emphasize the triumphal associations of Hercules, thereby reminding viewers of his own triumphs. Even where the deity was the same, the statue’s use modified the original context. T. Quinctius Flamininus, mentioned above, seized a statue of Jupiter Imperator in Macedonia and placed it on the Capitol. It was still within the precinct of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, but it did not serve as the cult image (Cic.

100) Strabo 6.3.1; Pliny NH 34.40 Livy 27.16.7. Fabius Maximus apparently took so many statues that by Pliny’s time he was remembered for denuding Tarentum of its statues except for a colossal statue of Hercules by Lysippus, and only because it was too large to move (Pliny NH 34.18.40-1). The description of Fabius Maximus’ despoliation of Tarentum in Strabo, Livy, and Pliny contradicts Plutarch’s claim that Fabius Maximus left Tarentum with all its statues, unlike his rival Marcellus (Marc. 21).

101) Hercules was a popular figure for triumphatores, perhaps in part, because many Romans traced the triumph back to Hercules’ triumph over Cacus, as Rutledge (2012: 136) argues.
A statue base found in Piazza della Consolazione, the so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus (fig. 12), typifies the process of modifying the original context of a statue or work of art to convey a different cultural meaning. 102 This statue base has been the subject of significant scholarly debate, though I accept the recent argument that this relief is part of the statue base of Marcus Antonius rather than Domitius Ahenobarbus. 103 Antonius earned a naval triumph for his campaign against the Cilician pirates in 102 BCE. 104 The statue base had four sides with panel reliefs, three of which depicted a marine procession honoring the marriage of Neptune and Amphitrite. The fourth panel showed a very different type of procession, that of a census intended to register and enroll men in the army that culminated in a suovetaurilia, a sacrifice of a ram, a pig, and a bull to Mars. Mars presides over the census and sacrifice as the central figure.

Antonius earned a naval triumph in 102 BCE, so a relief depicting a marine procession evoked the memory of his own triumph and associated it with the god to whom the statue was dedicated, Neptune. The censorial procession continues Antonius’ narration beyond his triumph to his censorship in 97 BCE, demonstrating his service to the state first as a commander and then as a censor. Kuttner (1993: 198) asserts that Antonius also placed a statue of himself above the

102 Another relief also found in the Piazza della Consolazione is thought to be a victory monument of Sulla honoring his victory at Chaeronea (fig. 22).
103 The evidence for attributing the statue base to Domitius Ahenobarbus stems from Pliny and his association between Domitius Ahenobarbus, Skopas, and a dedication at the Temple of Neptune in the Campus Martius, near where the statue base was found. He states that Cn. Domitius dedicated a statue group commissioned from Skopas, a Greek artist from southern Italy living in Rome, in the temple depicting a marine thiasos, a procession for the marriage of Neptune and Amphitrite (NH 36.26). For a review of the debate on the attribution of this statue base, see Kuttner 1993: 198-229.
104 It is uncertain whether this triumph occurred since there is a lacuna in the Fasti that year, though the two literary references suggest it did occur. Plutarch refers to M. Antonius as "the man who triumphed" (Pomp. 24.6). Cicero also states that Antonius decorated the rostra with spoils in 97 (Orat. 3.10). If he did earn a triumph, it was likely a naval triumph. See also Lange 2014: 115-116.
reliefs, so that the reliefs, like the reliefs of L. Aemilius Paullus in Delphi, in the words of Hölscher, “[constituted], literally and metaphorically, the substructure for the fame of the single, great commander” (2004: 30). Much of the scholarly focus has been on reconstructing the Roman context and location of this monument and determining whether it was a free-standing statue base or a monument dedicated in the Temple of Neptune (NH 36.26). While scholars agree that the panel depicting the census and ones depicting the marine thiasos come from different workshops and date to different periods—second century BCE for the marine thiasos and early first century BCE for the censorial procession—they do not agree on the Roman context (free-standing monument or cella reliefs in Temple of Neptune) or who commissioned the monument (Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Antonius, or someone else). Furthermore, while scholars agree that the panel depicting the census is of Roman origin, there is no consensus on the original context or origin of panels showing the thiasos. Pliny incorrectly attributes them to Skopas, but its second-century BCE date makes that impossible. Florian Stilp (2001: 100) suggests that the marine thiasos was based on a fourth-century BCE painting, but does not offer any suggestions on the original context of the panel. Scholars do, however, agree that the artist was Greek (Stilp 2001; Kuttner 1993: 198; Coarelli 1968: 302-368). One can extrapolate, however, from other processional reliefs from the Greek world, such as the second-century BCE Pergamene Altar of Zeus, that the original context was likely to be a temple or altar relief and, based on the theme, could have been dedicated to Poseidon. Following Kuttner’s argument that this was a free-standing statue base for a triumphal monument, I argue that Antonius transformed the message of the distinctly Hellenistic marine procession by adding the census procession and by dedicating it as part of a trophy standing in the open space of the city, rather than in a sanctuary.

Some generals in the third and early second centuries chose to replicate or modify the
original context of their spoils, thus maintaining some of the statue’s original message; however, from the mid-second century BCE many Roman generals moved toward creating entirely new, and often wholly Roman contexts. They could create new themes by placing statues in completely different contexts, such as placing a cult statue in one’s home as L. Licinius Lucullus did with the statue of Hercules Tunicatus (Pliny NH 34.93). More commonly, Roman generals clustered sculptures from multiple different epochs and contexts in one place, typically their triumphal temple or associated structure. In similar fashion, generals who chose to reconstruct temples also employed the Greek art they seized to decorate their rebuilt temples. By grouping commissioned art with plundered objects that had been removed from their original contexts and re-labeled with Latin inscriptions proclaiming their status as triumphal plunder, generals emphasized victory and the transformation of foreign objects into plunder now dedicated to a Roman god. The placement of these objects in a temple in honor of a Roman god also pointed to the pietas of the general who chose to display them.

M. Fulvius Nobilior is a good example of a general who used his triumphal building and the art he seized during conquest to tell a story not only about conquest and virtus, but also his own cultural sophistication. He built the Temple of Hercules Musarum around 189 BCE to celebrate his victory and triumph over Ambracia, on the border between Epirus and Aetolia in Greece. In this temple, he dedicated the statues of the nine Muses that he had seized in Ambracia, along with a statue of Hercules playing the lyre (Pliny NH 35.66; Ovid Fast. 6.797-812). One of these statues likely stood atop the statue base found in the vicinity, inscribed “M. Fulvius M. f. Ser. n. Nobilior cos. Ambracia cepit, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, son of Marcus, grandson of Servius, consul, seized (this) from Ambracia” (ILS 1.1.16; ILLRP 124; ROL 78) (fig. 11).
Nobilior’s choice to dedicate a temple to Hercules and the Muses was an unusual divine pairing that suggests a transition from emphasizing only military prowess to including cultural sophistication as part of the triumphal narrative. Coupling a god connected with the triumph with deities linked to arts and culture was certainly not common in Rome in the early second century. The temple’s association with Hercules evoked associations with the triumph because of Hercules’ connotation with the parade. These associations stemmed from the legendary story of Hercules defeating the giant Cacus on the Aventine Hill and then erecting an altar (Verg. *Aen.* 8.195) and from the practice of draping a statue of Hercules in the Forum Boarium with a triumphal toga for each triumphal procession (Pliny *NH* 34.33). This legendary history spawned numerous sites dedicated to Hercules in Rome, most of them clustered along the triumphal route. These included the temples of Hercules Victor, Hercules Invictus, Hercules Pompeianus, Hercules Musarum, and the Ara Maxima. Nobilior’s temple, located in the Campus Martius adjacent to the Circus Flaminius, also underscored Nobilior’s triumphal message, since, as noted in the previous chapter, the Flaminian Circus served as the staging ground for triumphal spoils and the starting point for the parade was located nearby.

As Holliday argues, Nobilior’s choice of the Muses, also signaled a shift in Roman attitudes toward what constituted prestige. The Muses, the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Memory) symbolized knowledge and the arts, particularly literature, dance and music. By erecting a temple to Hercules and the Muses, Nobilior effectively associated Hercules, a divinity associated with the triumph, and the Muses, the embodiments of the arts. This could be an early example of discriminatory plundering, the practice of seeking out specific statues or types of art to seize while on campaign. In other words, Nobilior may have intended to build a temple to

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105 There are, for example, associations between the feasts held after the triumph, Hercules, and the Ara Maxima (Marzano 2009: 83-97). For the associations between Hercules and cultural space, see Spencer 2001: 259-284.
Hercules and the Muses before conquering Ambracia and purposefully sought out statues for his future temple.\textsuperscript{106} The pairing of Hercules and the Muses may also indicate that Nobilior followed the standard practice of seizing indiscriminately and chose to erect a temple to Hercules and the Muses after returning and cataloging his plunder. Regardless of how Nobilior came to his decision, the coupling of a triumphal god with artistic divinities signaled a transition toward a broader triumphal narrative that included stories about a general’s artistic taste and sophistication as well as his military skills.\textsuperscript{107}

Nobilior drew together the location of his temple, the deities to which he dedicated the temple, and the spoliated decoration to signal his military exploits to viewers and to remind them of his triumph and his artistic and cultural knowledge to enhance his reputation. For Holliday, Nobilior was a “uniquely self-conscious” example of the conscious deployment of art and architecture by elite Romans as a tangible expression of conquest, \textit{virtus}, and \textit{gloria}. In Holliday’s view “this moment closes a circle…by which military success, public triumph, appeals to forces of the divine, and works of art all support one another” (Holliday 2002: 199). Nobilior conquered, held a triumph, built a temple, and dedicated his spoils in the temple, emphasizing his personal achievements and state contributions, and he used art—both plundered and commissioned—to enhance that message.

\textsuperscript{106} There is some debate on Nobilior’s relationship to Hercules and the Muses. Some argue he only dedicated a temple to the Muses, others that he added the Muses to a pre-existing temple of Hercules Magnus Custos, and still others that Nobilior erected a new temple to Hercules and the Muses. Richardson (1977: 355) suggests that the decision to erect the Temple of Hercules Musarum was motivated by having seized the statues on campaign. Richardson also argues that Nobilior did not include Hercules in his temple at all, drawing on the fact that Cicero (\textit{Arch.} 27) and Pliny (\textit{NH} 35.66) do not list Hercules among the statues that Nobilior seized in Ambracia. Instead, drawing from Ovid (\textit{Fast.} 6.797-812). Richardson argues that Hercules was added to the cult by L. Marcius Philippus, who incorporated Nobilior’s temple into his Porticus Philippi. However, other scholars, myself included, disagree with this assessment. See Hardie 2007: 551-592; Flower 1995: 170-90; Bloy 1998: 49-61; Popkin 2015: 358-9; Coarelli 1997: 459; and Kolb 1995:226. Castagnoli (1961: 608) and Olinder (n.41, 60 n.157) argue that Fulvius added the Muses to an existing temple of Hercules Magnus Custos.

\textsuperscript{107} As quoted earlier, Holliday states that Nobilior’s “choice of dedicating his spoils to the Muses also suggests and emerging problem for the Romans: that style itself, and the cultivation of art without the underpinning of militant achievement, could become the medium of social achievement” (2002: 200).
Nobilior’s message regarding the value of cultural knowledge and art as forms of prestige is exemplified on a later coin of Q. Pomponius Musa (*RRC 410/1*) commemorating a rebuilding of the temple. The coin suggests that Nobilior’s relatively new conception of cultural knowledge and the arts as symbols of Roman value had, by the first century BCE, been internalized. Dating to 66 BCE, the coin depicts the head of Apollo, the god of music and poetry among other things, on the obverse and the statue of Hercules playing the lyre with the legend “HERCVLES MVSARVM” on the reverse (fig. 13). Q. Pomponius Musa, like Nobilior, signaled his cultural knowledge and contributions to the state by rebuilding the temple and commemorating it with a coin issue. Indeed, even his cognomen “Musa” pointed to his affinity for the Muses.

In contrast to Nobilior, many generals decided to renovate and decorate existing temples rather than erect new structures. Q. Lutatius Catulus, for example, rebuilt the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Dei (the Temple of Today’s Fortune) around 101 BCE after his triumph over the Cimbri and Teutones. According to Plutarch, Catulus’ temple fulfilled a vow that he made on the battlefield to Τύχη or Tyche, the Greek equivalent of Fortuna (Plut. *Mar.* 25-26). Archaeologists have long identified it as Temple B in the Largo di Argentina in the Campus Martius (fig. 14). The date of the temple’s initial structure is unknown, but it is likely the same temple in which L. Aemilius Paullus dedicated spoils in 167 from his Macedonian triumph.\(^\text{109}\)

Catulus may have chosen to rebuild that temple because of the controversy surrounding his triumph or an attempt to garner some of the luck and good fortune associated with his

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\(^{108}\) The image of Hercules playing the lyre is not thought to be an exact replica of Nobilior’s statue, but rather an artistic compilation of multiple different artistic representations of Hercules playing the lyre (Heslin 2015: 239).

\(^{109}\) It is unclear whether Catulus built a new temple or shrine or if he rebuilt an earlier temple, the one in which L. Aemilius Paullus dedicated some of his spoils in 167. Q. Lutatius Catulus did, however, vow a temple to the goddess in 101 BCE. See Richardson 1992: 156. It is possible that one was a shrine and the other a temple, but it is equally possible that the temple was simply rededicated in 101 to fulfill Catulus’ vow.
The Senate wanted to grant the triumph to Marius alone, despite the fact that a survey of the battlefield and spoils revealed that Catulus’ troops had achieved the greater victory against the Cimbri. Catulus could easily have felt that he deserved the association with good fortune as a result. Catulus’ son would later reinforce the family’s association with Fortune, as well as their dissatisfaction with Marius, by allying himself with Marius’ rival Sulla, who took the cognomen Felix. The temple to Fortuna offered Catulus numerous possibilities for crafting visual messages. The temple was associated with L. Aemilius Paullus, credited with the greatest triumph of that era, unsurpassed until Pompey’s third triumph. The goddess was also a Greek import and Catulus, as well as Aemilius Paullus, was a lover of Greek culture. Because both Catulus and L. Aemilius Paullus dedicated their spoils in the temple, Catulus’ reconstruction absorbed and played upon the visual messages of Paullus’ plunder. L. Aemilius Paullus dedicated a bronze statue of Athena by Phidias, which he had seized at Amphipolis (Pliny NH 34.19). There were also seven nude statues by Pythagoras of Samos, but it is unclear if those statues were part of the spoils of Aemilius Paullus, Catulus, or perhaps someone else (NH 34.19). Catulus added two bronzes dressed in cloaks, also by Phidias (NH 34.19). Catulus also commissioned Skopas to create a colossal cult statue of the goddess, which is now in the Museo

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110 Plutarch (Mar. 27), for example refers to Marius’ luck and good fortune in the same sentence as he refers to Catulus’ victory and triumph: “He [Marius] celebrated his triumph with Catulus, wishing to show himself a man of moderation after a course of so great good fortune. Perhaps, too, he was afraid of the soldiers, who were drawn up and ready, in case Catulus were deprived of his honour, to prevent Marius also from celebrating a triumph” (Mar. 27, translated by Bernadotte Perin). Plutarch’s references to Catulus’ achievements are purportedly drawn from Catulus’ biography (Leach 2010: 114).

111 Marius would ultimately turn against Catulus when he was accused by a tribune of an unspecified capital offense, according to Diodorus (38.4). When Catulus appealed to Marius for help, Marius reportedly refused and stated “You must die.” Catulus committed suicide by smoke inhalation in his newly built home (Diodorus 38.4).

112 Flower 2010: 167-8. Livy (30.45.6) claims that Sulla’s cognomen Felix began as a flattering appellation among his friends, so it is unclear whether Sulla would already have been called Felix at the time that Catulus erected the Temple of Fortuna. Catulus the Younger is credited with rebuilding the Tabularium for Sulla (CIL 1.591, 592=VI.1313, 1314, VI.916=31201).

113 Clark 2007: 130.

114 Pliny does not mention on which campaign Catulus seized the statues.
Following the pattern of adapting and redecorating existing temples to craft new messages, Catulus used his decorations to signal several overlapping themes. First, they signaled his good fortune in being responsible for ending the threat of the Cimbri, who only four years earlier in 105 had massacred 80,000 Roman troops (Livy *Per. 67*). This was especially important for Catulus, since his colleague Marius was, at this point, one of the most popular and powerful men in Rome and Catulus needed to distinguish himself and assert his own contribution to the defeat of the enemy and his own good fortune. The decorative scheme may also have alluded to Catulus’ rivalry with Marius and his subsequent support of Sulla who, as stated above, was increasingly a rival of Marius’ after the Jugurthine War ended in 106 BCE. Finally, Catulus’ artistic choices signaled his Greek cultural knowledge and education because the statues he seized were designed by famous artists such as Lysippus and Pheidias. Catulus was well-known for his knowledge of Greek literature and his own Latin poetry.  

Perhaps the most overt message of his temple was its triumphal location, not only adjacent to the triumphal route but within the small temple complex of the Area Largo di Argentina. Catulus’ temple, Temple B, was conspicuous among its fellow temples because of its circular shape (fig. 14).

**Enhancing Decorative Schemes with Commissioned Art**

Catulus’ dedication of commissioned artwork alongside his spoils represents a shift taking place in the second century BCE. Generals enhanced the visual impact of spoils employed as decoration by commissioning and dedicating paintings and other works of art that

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115 Centrale Montemartini, no.2779-2782.
116 Catulus is credited with introducing the Hellenistic epigram to Rome and a few of his shorter poems survive through copies. Pliny the Younger lists Catulus among the most learned of men in Rome (*Epist. 5.3.5*; *Cic. de Nat. D. 1.79*; *Aul. Gell. 19.9*).
complemented objects of plunder. Though commissioned art never strictly constituted spoils, many generals paraded illustrations of captured cities and key moments in their military campaigns (Holliday 2002: 105-6). L. Scipio, for example, presented 134 models (*oppidum simulacra*), likely panoramic views, of the cities he captured in his 188 BCE triumph.\(^{117}\) These commissioned works were typically paintings, though as with Catulus, some generals used statues. According to Holliday, these commissioned works served the didactic and propagandistic function of instructing spectators on the essential events and topography of military campaigns; they had the added effect of enhancing a general’s status because of the fame of the artists and the quality of the project (Holliday 2002: 105). Furthermore, commissioned art fleshed out the story of the campaign. These decorative programs juxtaposed objects that represented the campaign, i.e. plundered art, and representations of the campaign, i.e. commissioned art that told the story of the battles that provided the general with plunder and a triumph. The grouping of plundered and commissioned art within the same triumphal space blurred the lines between spoils and purchased goods. In effect, commissioned art became spoils themselves. Pictures in particular offered greater depth to visual messages, providing a continuous narrative of battles and other momentous events, including the triumphal parade itself. For example, as noted below, T. Papirius Cursor and M. Fulvius Flaccus purchased paintings depicting them in their triumphal togas for their temples of Consus and Vertumnus, respectively (Festus *Epit. 228*). Commissioned art also accelerated the process of transforming spoils into decoration by allowing generals to create decorative programs with coherent, readable

\(^{117}\) Livy 37.59.3-5. There are other examples of Roman generals parading models of captured cities, including Julius Caesar who paraded models made of ivory and Metellus Scipio, who paraded models made of wood. M. Fulvius Nobilior paraded a representation of captured Ambracia and displayed it in the atrium of his house (Livy 38.43.9) and M. Claudius Marcellus paraded a representation of captured Syracuse, which he likely displayed in his Temple of Honos et Virtus (Livy 26.21). Other generals paraded *imagines*, which scholars argue could be anything from paintings to wax reliefs to tapestries. These typically depicted key moments in the military campaign and would combine topographical and chorographical information with battle images (Holliday 2002: 104-119).
messages.

As with many of the changes to the material culture of the triumph that accelerated in the mid-third century, triumphal painting seems to have its origins in the late fourth and early third centuries. The earliest known triumphal painting—in other words, a painting commissioned for a victorious general and placed in a temple associated with that general—was that of C. Fabius Pictor from 303 BCE, housed in the Temple of Salus (Pliny NH 35.19). The temple was built at the behest of C. Junius Bubulcus and dedicated in 302 BCE in honor of his triumph over the Aequi that same year during the Second Samnite War.\(^{118}\) Two of the earliest generals to seize and parade statues as plunder, T. Papirius Cursor (272 BCE) and M. Fulvius Flaccus (264), also put paintings in their temples, Consus and Vertumnus, respectively.\(^{119}\) These paintings portrayed Cursor and Flaccus in triumphal togas, perhaps similar to the fresco from the late-fourth century François Tomb in Vulci. Besides representations of Etruscan and Greek heroes, it has an image of the tomb’s occupant, Vel Saties, dressed in a *toga picta*, the triumphal toga (Holliday 1980: 4-5).

Roman generals also used paintings as a substitute for spoils. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos. 215) commissioned a painting of a banquet scene, depicting his freedman and slave volunteer army after the Battle of Beneventum in 214 BCE (Livy 24.16.19). He placed the painting in the Temple of Libertas on the Aventine Hill (Livy 24.16.19), promised in a vow by Gracchus’ father (cos. 238 BCE) and dedicated by his son in 215 (Holliday 2002: 32). The

\(^{118}\) For the Temple of Salus: Degr. 542; Livy 9.43.25: 10.1.9; see also Richardson 1992: 340-341. Holliday (1980: 4-5) suggests that the subject matter of Fabius Pictor’s painting was similar to that of the Esquiline tomb paintings of Q. Fabius, as they were nearly contemporary. Furthermore, he argues that the painting likely blended historical and religious subjects, much like the Francois tomb from Etruscan Vulci, which is also dated to the late fourth or early third century BCE; it depicts men and heroes engaged in battle. Holliday points out that, at this time, young Roman men were sent to Etruria to complete their education and that the estates of the Fabii were nearby, in northern Latin territory; as such, the Esquiline tomb, the painting of Fabius Pictor—a member of the *gens Fabii*—and the Francois tomb likely shared a visual connection.

\(^{119}\) For T. Papirius Cursor and M. Fulvius Flaccus, see Festus Epit. 228.
choice of the Temple of Libertas had two meanings: it underscored the promise to manumit the
slaves and criminals who served in his volunteer army—thereby reinforcing the temple’s
meaning—and it highlighted his family’s contributions to the state. Another Gracchus, Ti.
Sempronius Gracchus (pr. 179) commissioned a topographical painting of Sardinia with
representations of battle (*simulacra pugnarum*) at the corresponding geographical points (Livy
41.28.8-10). Gracchus dedicated it in honor of Jupiter in the Temple of Mater Matuta in 174
BCE. This sort of painting provided an overview of the topography of a conquered region with
which many Romans would be unfamiliar and then used that topography to recreate the general’s
campaign for viewers. In other words, it familiarized Roman viewers with a land that was now
“theirs” while also reminding them of Gracchus’ military contributions to the state.

C. Sempronius Gracchus, M’. Valerius Messala, and L. Hostilius Mancinus also
employed topographical paintings to explain conquered territory and to remind viewers of their
martial achievements. Gracchus commissioned a map of Italy depicting all the newly conquered
territories in 252 and exhibited it in the Temple of Tellus built by his father in 268 (Varro *de Re
Rust.* 1.2.1). M’. Valerius Messala placed a painting of Carthage on an outer wall of the Curia
Hostilia in honor of his triumph in 264 (Pliny *NH* 35.22). As cited above, L. Hostilius Mancinus
exhibited a painting of Carthage with references to his contributions—rather than those of Scipio
Aemilianus. He would stand by it in the forum each day to help explain what viewers saw (Pliny
*NH* 35.23). His painting and actions helped him to be elected as consul the following year. Each
man exhibited their painting in the same manner as spoils in space on or overlooking the
triumphal route. For these men, their paintings stood in place of traditional spoils because they

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120 The Curia Hostilia was in the forum, near the end of the triumphal route before it turned up the Clivus Argentinus
to the Capitoline. The Temple of Tellus, built in response to an earthquake that occurred during a battle with the
Picentes in 268, was located on the western edge of the Esquiline Hill, overlooking the Forum, and therefore the
triumphal route.
were located in triumphal spaces and they represented the campaign; in the case of topographical paintings, they were a literal representation of the campaign because they offered a visual overview of the conquered region.

Since few Roman historical paintings have survived, scholars must extrapolate from related artwork. For topographical and chorographical paintings such as those of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, C. Sempronius Gracchus, and L. Hostilius Mancinus, scholars adduce the Peutinger Tabula and the Nile Mosaic (120-100 BCE) from Praeneste (fig. 16). For battle paintings, scholars often utilize the riot scene from Pompeii (fig. 17). For triumphal painting, there are a few extant examples from Roman and Etruscan tombs that help illustrate what form they may have taken. Two tombs found on the Esquiline Hill in Rome, one attributed to Q. Fabius and the other the so-called Tomb of the Magistrates or the Arieti tomb, are the best known Roman examples.121

The Esquiline tomb of Q. Fabius (fig. 18) is thought to date to the first half of the third century and likely belonged to Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus (died 280), who was consul five times and earned a triumph for defeating the Samnites at the Battle of Sentinum in 322 BCE.122 His son, also a general during the Samnite Wars, may have commissioned the temple and therefore the painting could have contributed to the family’s *gloria* rather than one member’s (Holliday 1980: 4). The surviving fresco has four registers.123 The top register portrays part of a fortified city with crenellations and has two figures standing behind the city. In the foreground,

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121 Holliday 2002: 33-48. The Tomb of the Scipiones is another contemporary example and is closely linked to numerous triumphal generals, but the damage to the frescoes makes it difficult to use the tomb as an example of triumphal painting.

122 The dating of this tomb is now fairly certain, but was the source of a long debate concerning which Q. Fabius had constructed it. Because of its triumphal overtone, scholars have variously attributed the tomb to Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus (141 BCE, Spain), Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus (209 BCE, Tarentum), and Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus (322 BCE, Sentinum). For a detailed explanation of the debate on this tomb, see Holliday 2002: 84-86.

123 For a detailed analysis of the Esquiline tomb, see Holliday 1980: 3-4.
M. Fannius, identified as the leader of the Samnites, stands on the left wearing a helmet, military cloak, and carrying his shield. His appearance is very similar to depictions of the so-called “Samnite Warrior” frequently depicted in Samnite tombs. He offers his hand in surrender to the figure on the right, Q. Fabius, who is wearing a cloak and lance as a sign of his imperium. In the second register, the names M. Fannius and Q. Fabius are inscribed above the two men, with M. Fannius appearing unarmed and again offering his hand in surrender, while Q. Fabius retains his lance and is accompanied by several soldiers. This register also depicts traces of a trumpeter behind Fannius. Below is another register that depicts a battle scene between men in Samnite armor and men in Roman armor. In the middle register, Fannius is unarmed while Fannius appears with his signs of imperium and his men. The scene marks Roman superiority, hinting at the outcome of the negotiations, namely the Samnite surrender. The battle scene and the trumpeter also point to the eventual triumph that Q. Fabius earned for his actions.

This fresco employs the Roman painting technique of continuous narrative: scenes can be either simultaneous or can occur before or after the main event; for the Fabius fresco, in other words, the two scenes of surrender could occur simultaneously, where all that separates the two scenes is Fannius removing his armor as a sign of his surrender. There are a few literary references to generals accepting armor as a sign of surrender. Alternatively, the events may not be contemporary. The first scene with Fannius in front of the fortified city could be initial negotiations before the battle ended, where the men in the fortified city waited to see what would happen before surrendering. The middle register depicting Fannius without his weapons would therefore be the formal surrender. In some ways, the use of continuous narrative in triumphal

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124 For example, the fourth-century BCE fresco from Paestum, in southern Italy, which depicts a Samnite warrior with a breastplate and greaves, wearing a horned helmet and carrying a lance (Burns 2003).
125 For example, Appian (Hisp. 52.221, 60.253-4) describes L. Licinius Lucullus accepting weapons from the Lusitanians as a sign of surrender.
painting replicated the style of the triumphal parade, in which *imagines* and plunder from different parts of the campaign were jumbled together in one parade and it was up to the spectators to determine the chronological order. As evidenced by the use of continuous narrative and the clustering of plunder and imagines in the parade without regard to order, Roman narrations of conquest emphasized the victorious outcome and the material seized in conquest rather than a faithful narration of the events in a coherent chronological order. The lack of concern for chronology or order, particularly in the decoration of triumphal buildings, placed emphasis on the objects themselves rather than on the particulars of the events they represented. Highlighting the objects seized in conquest and the visual narration of key moments in the campaign rather than the campaign in its entirety also focused attention on the general for his victory, his contributions to the state, his triumph, and his artistic knowledge through the plundered and commissioned art he displayed. Decorating a triumphal structure with these works of art repeated the message.

**Decorative Schemes in Roman Complexes**

The complexes of Metellus and Pompey illustrate how intricately Roman elites intertwined location, architectural design, decoration, and spatial organization shape spectators’ experience and their awareness of a general’s martial achievements and reputation. The descriptions of Metellus’ triumph in 146/5 are rather vague, but there is ample evidence of his temple complex, an indication of how collections of triumphal plunder were becoming important sources of prestige for Roman generals. Metellus began construction on a temple complex near the Circus Flaminius almost immediately after his triumph in 145. He chose the site of the Temple of Jupiter Stator, rebuilt it, added a temple to Juno Regina, and surrounded the two with a double portico (Vell. Pat. 1.11.2-7). Metellus dedicated an ivory statue of Jupiter by Pasiteles
in the Temple of Jupiter Stator in his temple complex (NH 36.4), but the primary focus of his temple complex was the portico that he decorated the portico with his spoils. The portico, with its intermittent niches, focused the viewer’s attention on the best of the despoiled items, the equestrian statue group of Alexander’s companions that Alexander had commissioned the famous sculptor Lysippus to construct.  

Each statue stood in a niche around the double portico. Metellus interspersed the equestrian statues with paintings depicting the most famous battles in his campaign.

The placement of the paintings in conjunction with the plundered statues reminded viewers of the statues’ origins and how Metellus acquired them. Furthermore, putting them above the statues provided supplemental visual information to help the viewer interpret the statues. Their placement also symbolically linked Metellus’ military abilities with those of Alexander the Great and his men, since the battle paintings had topographical markers to identify places and names to identify relevant individuals. The paintings helped the viewer understand that Metellus had conquered Andriscus, a successor to Alexander the Great. It is also possible that placing the images above the plundered statues subtly conveyed that Metellus was on par with or even superior to Alexander the Great. For elite viewers, Metellus’ ownership of Lysippos’ statues expressed his artistic and cultural knowledge, since the Romans considered Lysippos one of the most renowned sculptors of the Hellenistic world. Indeed, Lysippus’ statues seem to have been routinely sought by triumphatores, if the frequent appearance of his sculpture

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126 On the temple of Juno Regina, see Velleius Paterculus 1.1.3; Pliny NH 36.40; Vitruvius 3.2.5; Livy 39.2.1, 40.52.1.
127 Hölscher and Holliday make similar arguments for the statue bases of M. Antonius and L. Aemilius Paullus. They argue that placing the plundered and commissioned art, in this case of the battle and defeated enemies, under the statue of the general denotes that the conquered literally and figuratively supplied the base for the general and his successful campaign, Metellus’ use of paintings and plundered statues together is not the same thing as a statue base with an equestrian statue of the general on top, but considering that the Romans were already familiar with hierarchical arrangements of art and their potential meanings, it is possible that Metellus may have intended a similar message with his arrangement.
in triumphal processions is an indication of his popularity.\textsuperscript{128}

What is even more significant about Metellus’ visual arrangement is that it seems to have led the visitor on a chronological recreation of Metellus’ campaign and subsequent triumph. The design led the visitor around the portico, passing by Lysippos’ statues and the battle paintings to end at the temples that Metellus dedicated after his triumph and decorated further with spoils (fig. 19-20). The paintings not only offered information on Metellus’ campaign to viewers, but they were also likely the \textit{imagines} carried in Metellus’ triumph, thus reminding viewers of Metellus’ triumph as they walked around the portico viewing Metellus’ plunder. The placement of the paintings alongside Metellus’ spoils implied, as discussed above, that they were considered almost as spoils themselves. The location of Metellus’ complex on the route of the triumph further underscored the message. Every aspect of Metellus’ temple complex, from the location to the architecture to the decoration thus functioned as a visual representation of Metellus’ martial achievements. As mentioned above, the fact that most late-Republican descriptions of Metellus focus more on his temple complex and his statues than on his triumph indicate the degree to which these triumphal art collections were coming to represent and create prestige for Roman generals.

Following a little more than a century after Metellus’ complex, Pompey’s Theater Complex represents the culmination of the pattern of using urban space, architecture, and decoration to advertise victory and personal achievements.\textsuperscript{129} Completed in 55 BCE, Pompey’s

\textsuperscript{128} Pliny (\textit{NH} 34.37) states that Lysippus created 1,500 bronze works, so sheer volume could also explain his frequent appearance in triumphal lists.

\textsuperscript{129} While these two complexes are chronologically distant, they are not the only complexes, simply the best-known. Cn. Octavius built a portico complex, decorated with spoils, in 168 BCE. The Largo di Argentina could, in a way, be considered a complex since the temples were clustered so closely together and separated from surrounding complexes by the Portico of Minucius. For the role of porticoes in temple complexes, see Chapter 1. Furthermore, the fact that these are complexes as opposed to temples does not mitigate the fact that both complexes share in the
structure (fig. 10) goes far beyond Metellus’ in his use of physical space and objects to create a coherent visual narrative of conquest. Its design indicates the degree to which spoils had become decoration rather than symbols of violence and conquest. The complex consisted of a Roman theater with a temple to Venus Victrix at the top of the seating area. The designers decorated the *scaenae frons* with statues and golden tapestries from Asia Minor that had appeared in Pompey’s triumph in 61 BCE. The theater was attached to a double portico that provided a covered area with niches for more statues and paintings. At the end of the portico was a curia. Along one length of the portico, Pompey placed statues of the Muses, female poets, and other women dedicated to Venus (fig. 21). On the opposite side, Pompey placed statues of prominent male poets such as Aesop and a statue of the God Apollo, who was the patron of artists, and satyrs. On the third side Pompey commissioned the artist Coponius to sculpt statues of the fourteen nations Pompey had conquered.\textsuperscript{130} In the center of the portico complex was a large garden space, decorated with yet more spoils. The garden area included plundered statues, plants from the areas Pompey conquered, water fountains, and even live birds, making it a public version of the private gardens that many elites owned and decorated with their spoils in the first century BCE.

As with M. Fulvius Nobilior’s Temple of Hercules Musarum, mentioned above, the statues to the Muses represented Pompey’s cultural knowledge, as well as the fact that art could on its own convey cultural knowledge and social status. Pompey’s decorative program also illustrates how generals intertwined representations of the campaign, in the form of commissioned art, with representations of conquest, in the form of plundered art. Pompey, in fact, mixed plundered and commissioned art in both his Theater Complex and his actual triumph,

where he paraded a bust of himself made of pearls that he seized from Mithridates’ palace. He also mixed plunder with commissioned works to draw attention to his exploits. Pompey’s garden portico highlights the growing overlap between triumphal decoration in public spaces such as porticos and temples, and triumphal decoration in private spaces such as villas and gardens, a subject to which we will return in the next chapter. It represented the growing interest in creating luxury garden spaces in which to display Hellenistic statues, while also serving as a triumphal space because it housed plunder and it was located at the start of the processional route. The Romans had adopted the peristyle garden from Hellenistic models in the second century BCE, a further example of the cultural appropriation that resulted from the Roman conquest of the Greek world, as seen in the cultural borrowing of statues and artistic styles.\footnote{Welch 2006: 133-139 and Warden 1993: 230-34.}

By placing sculptures and other objects that he seized from the Hellenistic world in a Roman social space—one that had its roots in Hellenistic public spaces—Pompey synthesized Hellenistic architectural models, mythology, history, and art with the Roman triumphal culture (Kuttner 1999: 340-45). Pompey essentially transforms Hellenistic decorations into Roman plunder and then into representations of his triumph, cultural knowledge, and taste. In the case of Pompey’s garden, it was also essentially a microcosm of the world—a world that Pompey claimed to have subdued by earning triumphs on three continents.\footnote{Kuttner 1999: 344-5; Gleason 1994: 13-27.} This portico complex functioned essentially as a perpetual triumph, recreating Pompey’s triumph for visitors. It also mirrored the new style of private peristyle gardens that were becoming increasingly popular spaces in which generals and their elite imitators could display works of art—plundered and purchased—that proclaimed their wealth and prestige.\footnote{For the use of private spaces for triumphal decoration, see Chapter 3.}
Conclusions

From the third through first centuries BCE, the Romans developed what could be termed a “triumphal visual culture”—that is, collective reliance on triumphal objects, structures, and images to convey social standing and one’s contributions to society. The triumph was “materialized” and objects associated with it—temples, plunder, paintings, symbols such as trophies and shields—became the visual language of power in Republican Rome from the middle Republic. The widespread use of objects associated with the triumph as part of this visual language meant that the visual narrative was one easily interpreted by a wide-ranging audience (fig. 14). As Hölscher states:

The distinctive achievement of this system of forms in Roman art was that it was capable of fulfilling both the demands of an educated elite and the needs of the population of the Empire at large. The language of imagery could equally serve as an expression of cultured historical background and elitist way of life, and as a universally understood system of visual communication (2004: 125).

In other words, the artists who helped Roman generals design their visual programs imbued them with multiple layers of interpretation so that everyone from the lower classes to foreigners to elites could understand the basic information a general wanted to convey, and then read the visual narrative with greater complexity depending on their prior knowledge. In essence, the development of a triumphal material culture drew upon a fairly standard vocabulary, a combination of plundered objects and triumphal symbols, that was easily understood. Ultimately, as will be seen, the Romans would employ this visual language not only in public spaces associated with the triumph, but in their homes and in the provinces. Furthermore, the widespread use of Hellenistic art as part of the visual language—through their role as spoils—eventually led art itself to be a source of prestige. It is apparent from the decorative schemes of generals like Metellus and Pompey that Cicero’s claim that vision was the keenest sense and the
one most likely to create memories was an idea that the Romans had internalized from an early
date. Vision not only shaped memories, but Roman generals could also use objects and images to
instill memories in the observer that focused on their achievements.
Chapter 3

From Triumphal Plunder to Consumer Goods: The Roman Triumph and the Creation of an Economy of Prestige

In the 60s BCE, L. Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74 BCE) retired to a spectacular villa that he had built along the Bay of Naples. He decorated his house with the spoils of his campaigns against Mithridates and, by all accounts, lived an extravagant life of leisure. One of the more notable anecdotes from Plutarch’s Life of Lucullus (41.1-6) recounts a night when Lucullus’ steward, knowing that Lucullus was dining alone, chose to set a less lavish table than Lucullus normally had. When Lucullus noticed the setting, he reprimanded his steward, declaring “what, did not you know then, that today Lucullus dines with Lucullus?” At first glance, this anecdote seems more about perceptions of elite decadence than anything related to the Roman triumph or triumphal plunder. But it is possible that Lucullus’s real complaint was that his steward used what could be termed the “everyday” dining ware rather than the set that Lucullus seized while on campaign against Mithridates a decade earlier—a dining set he was known to use during his elaborate dinner parties (Plut. Luc. 38.2-41.6). Lucullus’ dinner guests would not likely be concerned over the use of triumphal plunder for a private dinner party, which is a marked change from earlier periods. Indeed, Lucullus’ actions represent the culmination of a series of dramatic changes to the perception and role of spoils over the course of the late third through mid-first centuries BCE that transformed triumphal plunder from symbols of foreign conquest, violence, and Roman dominion into decorative consumer goods.

Men like Lucullus embodied the final stage of a centuries-long shift in Roman perception of plunder and luxury goods. Plunder initially represented virtus through the arms, armor, slaves and coins—all of which carry clear connotations of military power and conquest—and was displayed publicly as a means of demonstrating the general’s virtus and pietas. As we will see,
by the late Republican period, plunder encompassed luxury objects with no intrinsic military meaning, which pointed to a shift in the definition of plunder and opened up opportunities for generals to convey different messages through their spoils. This chapter traces the transformation of plunder from symbols of military success and conquest into consumer goods first by examining the introduction of new types of plunder to the city through the triumphal parade and then by analyzing the development of new practices of display. Changes in display practices point to a more sophisticated awareness of these objects as decoration and hint at a broadening definition of prestige, one that was moving beyond *virtus* to include aesthetic taste and cultural knowledge. Finally, this chapter argues that expanding definition of prestige aided the development of a luxury art market for the type of goods that were first introduced to the city through the triumphal parade, what I term an economy of prestige. This luxury art market allowed elite Romans to demonstrate their prestige through the ownership and display of luxury goods rather than through conquest and military achievements.

**The Emphasis on Objects: From Triumph to Triumphal Plunder**

The conquest of the Hellenistic East, with its wealth of royal and civic collections of sacred and profane art, introduced art and luxury goods from the late-third century as a legitimate source of plunder and sparked an interest in Greek art for elite Romans. By the mid-first century BCE, Hellenistic art and luxury goods had become synonymous with social prestige. To explain how art and luxury goods could be transformed from symbols of conquest into social prestige, this section will first examine what constituted traditional booty and how generals used the triumphal parade to convey prestige before the late-third century. Then, a chronological analysis of the booty from eleven Hellenistic triumphs will highlight the increasing presence of

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134 Here I use profane in the classical sense of “not sacred” to refer to any artwork that is displayed outside a temple or sanctuary.
luxury goods as spoils of war from the late third century. The volume and diversity of plunder displayed in triumphal parades increased with the introduction of luxury goods, to the point where later writers write about the plunder by weight and type rather than describing each object. Next, I will show that the evidence points to an increasing awareness of the potential social value of these objects not only as symbols of conquest but also for their aesthetic qualities and decorative character. Nevertheless, I argue that the objects still retained a patina of *virtus* because they had initially come to Rome through the triumph. As the Romans internalized this relationship between Hellenistic art, luxury goods, and the triumph, they began to view these objects as sources of prestige in and of themselves. Indeed, as we will see, the presence of art and luxury goods in the triumphal parade and their association with prestige is reflected in the growing concern among later Roman moralists about the relationship between these luxury goods and a perceived decline in Roman values. This concern over Roman values is reflected in descriptions of the increasing willingness of Roman generals to break precedents and circumvent social taboos in order to seize more plunder and accrue greater social prestige.

As discussed in the opening chapter, the triumphal parade represented the pinnacle of achievement for elite Romans. While Roman generals always used the procession to convey their *virtus* and *pietas*, the introduction of art and luxury goods as spoils was a significant departure from the captured weaponry, coins, and bullion that typified traditional *praeda*. Indeed, the display of captured weaponry, armor, military equipment, and captives was fundamental to the

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135 The triumph of L. Aemilius Paullus (167), for example, was divided into three days, with each day representing a type of spoil, including martial booty, statues/paintings, and objects made of metal. For Paullus’ triumph, see Livy 45.35.3, 34.52.4-12; Diod. Sic. 31.8.9-13; Plut. Aem. 32-34.

136 The late third century was not the first time that Roman generals paraded artistic plunder such as statues, but as McDonnell (2006: 72-76) points out, any statues from earlier triumphs were Italic, and therefore generally terracotta, not bronze or marble. Descriptions of the luxurious spoils of the triumphs from 211-55 BCE vary from detailed plunder lists to lamentations on *luxus* to lists of triumphal dedications. It is not the goal of this chapter to unpack the moralizing descriptions of *luxus* in late-Republican sources, but it is worthwhile to understand the common types of triumphal spoils before the introduction of Hellenistic luxuries in order to grasp just how dramatically these spoils influenced not only the triumphal procession but also Roman aesthetics.
very nature of triumphal ritual and emphasized the martial prowess of the general and therefore of Rome. The arms and armor comprised the trophies (tropaia) carried in the parade and formed part of the sacrifice to Jupiter at the end of the procession. Triumphal generals also offered captured weaponry as votive dedications and habitually attached captured shields to the facades of their houses (Welch 2006: 110-12). These traditional spoils emphasized both the general’s virtus and Rome’s military dominance, and their dedication in Roman temples highlighted the divine favor bestowed on the general and Rome. Whereas weapons, armor, coins, and slaves emphasized Rome’s military superiority, the parading of art and housewares suggests an attempt to appropriate and assert dominance over Hellenistic culture. Horace commented on this complicated relationship with Hellenistic culture when he proclaimed, “When Greece surrendered she took control of her rough invader, and brought the arts to rustic Latium” (Ep. 2.1.156, translated by P. Holliday). While triumphal generals never stopped parading these traditional spoils, art and luxury booty were notably distinct from their more militaristic predecessors, and the new types of spoils emphasized the changes taking place in the triumph. These changes coincided with Rome’s entry into the Hellenistic East.

For ancient and modern scholars, Marcellus’ ovation (ovatio) over Syracuse in 211 marked the beginning of an emphasis on the quality and sheer volume of spoils and thus is a useful starting point for any discussion of the importance of triumphal spoils. Marcellus’ ovatio linked conquest, Hellenistic luxury, and virtus in the Roman mindset. The descriptions of Marcellus’ spoils match those of triumphal generals in terms of the detailed plunder lists and the implicit awareness of the impact of these spoils on observers, suggesting that Marcellus’ ovatio

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137 Some of this is simply proximity, in that Syracuse was a wealthy Hellenistic city and therefore had more material for Marcellus to plunder.
was no different than triumphal parades. The impact of Marcellus’ spoils is evident in the fact that late Republican sources credit him with introducing foreign luxuries and a taste for Greek art to Rome. Marcellus’ parade included traditional elements, such as captured weaponry and armor, but sources focus more on the new elements Marcellus introduced. He paraded numerous vessels of wrought silver and bronze, furnishings from the royal palace, precious fabrics, and famous statues “such as had put the glory of Syracuse above that of any other Greek city.” Marcellus also included eight elephants in the procession to represent his de facto victory over the Carthaginians. Part of what set this procession apart from its predecessors was the fact that the plunder came not only from Syracuse’s sacred spaces—as the statues from Volsinii (264) and Veii (396) had, for example—but also from the private collections of the king and other elites. It was not common before Marcellus to plunder private spaces, and it may have been unclear whether royal collections were private. Plundering “private” spaces drew criticism, particularly from Marcellus’ most outspoken opponent Q. Fabius Maximus, but would also be replicated in subsequent triumphs. Furthermore, Marcellus’ combination of silver and gold, furnishings, fabric, and statues had not been seen before in a Roman victory celebration but

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138 While it is possible that Marcellus used his spoils as he did because his political opponents had denied him a triumph for not meeting the requirements, it does not change the fact that he used his spoils to reinforce his status as one of Rome’s leading generals. Opposed by the faction of Q. Fabius Maximus, Marcellus was only granted an ovation because he could not bring his army back to Rome for the ceremony. In response, he also chose to resurrect the old practice of holding a triumph on the Alban Mount.

139 This “first” is likely more about the subject matter and medium of the artwork rather than that this was the first time the Romans encountered Greek art. McDonnell (2006: 84) argues that the fact that the statues were nude rather than cult statues or statues of leading statesmen is what set the Syracusan spoils apart and adds that bronze and marble would have been rather uncommon for the Romans of the late-third century (2006: 72-76), though not completely unfamiliar. We know, for example, that terracotta statues were present in the triumph over Volsinii and Veii. Livy also claims that T. Quinctius Cincinnatus paraded a statue of Jupiter captured in Praeneste in 380 BCE and later dedicated it on the Capitol (6.29.8-10). After Cincinnatus, M’. Curius Dentatus carried statues and paintings in his triumph over Pyrrhus in 275 BCE (Epit. 1.13.27). See also Östenberg 2009: 79; Hallett 2005: 102-159.

140 As with most parades, Marcellus’ triumph also included placards (titulae) and a painting (imago)—in this case depicting Syracuse surrounded by Roman catapults, artillery, and other siege engines—these are not strictly plunder, but rather visual and written descriptions used to narrate the general’s campaign to his audience.

141 Seeing the spoils of Syracuse’s royal palace was also a powerful reminder of how Rome dealt with defection, since Syracuse had been a loyal Roman ally during the First Punic War, particularly during the reign of Hieron II. His grandson Hieronymus defected to the Carthaginian side during the Second Punic War (Polyb. 1.8.11, 16).
thereafter became the standard that each subsequent general attempted to match or exceed.\textsuperscript{142}

Marcellus deviated from precedent not only in the locations he plundered and the types of goods he seized but also in how he displayed those goods after the parade. Because some of these objects, such as textiles and furniture, were associated with private space, they did not fit easily within customary practices of displaying plunder, such as in temples. The introduction of luxury goods that originated in private collections had no precedent in Roman habits for exhibiting plunder, allowing generals greater flexibility in how they chose to display them. While these objects lent themselves more to private display, it was still a significant departure from custom to put any plunder in a private space and generals’ control of plunder allowed them to set the precedent of using the objects for private display. This shift would have a significant impact on Roman attitudes toward art.\textsuperscript{143} The violation of long-standing taboos also became increasingly common. For example, Marcellus dramatically broke with precedent by displaying some spoils in his home, normally a taboo space for plunder since spoils were technically owned by the state.\textsuperscript{144} Welch (2006:103) argues that much of the criticism was more likely politically motivated rather than a genuine aversion to the display of \textit{praeda} in the home. This is a subject to which we will return.

The spoils Marcellus displayed marked such a profound shift that later descriptions focus

\textsuperscript{142} Livy 26.26.10-11. Östenberg (2009: 43) argues that Livy’s sequential description of Marcellus’ triumph (arms, art, animals, triumphator) follows the traditional sequence of a triumph, but she also notes earlier that many would argue Marcellus and Scipio Africanus marked a turning point in the shift from a purification ritual to an ostentatious parade (4). The argument that Marcellus and Scipio caused a shift hinges on Livy’s narrative.

\textsuperscript{143} M. Fulvius Nobilior, who triumphed over Ambracia in 179, is another early example of a general displaying plunder privately. He displayed some of his plunder and one of his triumphal \textit{imagines} in the atrium of his house (Livy 38.43.9).

\textsuperscript{144} Generals could and did display captured weaponry on the facades of their houses, but it was not common to display plunder within the home as decoration (Welch 2006: 110-12). See section on “Objects in Space: From Spoils to Decoration.”
more on what Marcellus displayed than on his other achievements as a general.\footnote{One need only look at the descriptions of his earlier triumph against the Insubres in 222 BCE, which emphasize his military skills and only refer to his spoils in so much as they are rare because Marcellus was one of only three men in Roman history to earn the spolia opima for defeating an enemy leader in single combat (Val. Max. 3.2.5; Livy Ep. 20.223-222).} This emphasis on Marcellus’ war booty is the first indication of a shift in focus from the general to object in association with the triumphal parade.\footnote{One could argue that this obsession with descriptions of spoils is more a reflection of the late Republican worldview of the authors than of Marcellus’ period, particularly because the list of Marcellus’ spoils is at times rather vague. Welch (2006: 103) argues that the fact that Polybius, the earliest source, only comments that Marcellus took “everything” indicates that details of Marcellus’ parade had already been forgotten. Despite this, sources take great pains to point out how different Marcellus’ spoils were and mention specific spoils, such as the two globes belonging to Archimedes. Detailed plunder lists would become more common with the triumphs after Marcellus.} As stated above, modern and ancient historians associate Marcellus with the introduction of statues and luxury goods (Livy 25.40.3, Plut. Marc. 21). Pliny (NH 33.148) credits both Marcellus and L. Scipio for the introduction of luxuries from the Greek East to Rome and explicitly links the introduction of these luxury goods to the triumph. As will be seen, the triumphs between 211 and 146 increasingly intertwined plunder, art, and prestige in the minds of elite Romans.

The changes that Marcellus represented—particularly in the diversity of objects paraded—became the standard for the major triumphs of the early second century onward. This emphasis on breadth and diversity of plunder was particularly true for generals who either did not achieve significant victories or generals, such as Cn. Manlius Vulso and M’. Acilius, who did not have the same family status as someone like Marcellus. Since martial prowess still played a significant role in defining prestige, men like Vulso and Acilius needed their plunder to stand in place of the personal military skill that someone like Scipio Africanus could display. L. Scipio, for example, used the spoils from his triumph to compensate for a minor victory over Antiochus III with his triumph in 189. L. Scipio’s plunder was so ostentatious that he would, ultimately, be
brought up on charges of extortion. According to Pliny, L. Scipio’s parade displayed 1,400 pounds of chased silverware and 1,500 pounds of gold vessels, 1,231 ivory tusks, 234 golden crowns, 137,420 pounds of silver, 224,000 drachmas, 327,700 cistophori (a coin-type from Asia Minor), and 140,000 Macedonian gold staters (Pliny NH 33.53.148). He also paraded 1,423 pounds of embossed silver vases—he was the first to do so—1,023 pounds of gold vessels, and valuable textiles (Livy 37.59.1-6; 39.6.7). L. Scipio’s spoils seemed even more excessive since his victory was underwhelming and he had only received his province in the first place because his brother Africanus promised to serve as his legate. As Livy charges “This triumph was more dazzling to the eyes than that of his brother Africanus, but in the recollection of what had transpired and in the judgment of the danger and struggle no more to be compared with it than if you were to put side by side general with general or Antiochus with Hannibal as a commander” (37.59.1, translated by Evan Sage). Clearly, L. Scipio’s victory would not earn him the same degree of prestige as his brother, so he used his ostentatious spoils to evoke a similar renown.

The triumphs of L. Scipio and Vulso would have a significant influence on the collecting interests of elite Romans, particularly through their introduction of luxury furniture and dining ware, while at the same time creating concerns about the decline of Roman values. Livy’s descriptions of these triumphs highlight the fears that later Romans had about the decadence and

147 Livy highlights L. Scipio’s greed by emphasizing that L. Scipio had allowed Antiochus a lax treaty because of his greed for Antiochus’ treasury, a treasury that translated to enough booty for L. Scipio’s triumph that it was as much as would normally appear in ten triumphs (38.59.1-3).

148 Livy’s citation of specific numbers was a common factor in all his triumphal descriptions.

149 Livy claims that, “There were some who tried to make out that that war had been magnified by rumour beyond its actual difficulty” (37.48.7). L. Scipio only added to the controversy by displaying some of his spoils in his home. Livy charges that L. Scipio displayed so much gold and silver that not even the sale of all his property could exceed the value (38.59.9-11). As will be seen, the practice of displaying plunder in the domus was still controversial, traditionally a taboo space for plunder (Rutledge 2012: 49). L. Scipio broke with precedent by plundering sanctuaries. Cicero discusses the taboo on plundering sanctuaries in his attack on Verres (2.4.4). Livy also mentions the edict against plundering sanctuaries when he discusses the general Pleminius, whom the gods punished for his sacrilege (29.8-19; 34.44).
immorality that the introduction of these luxury goods ultimately caused. Livy also explicitly marks Vulso’s triumph as the starting point for the introduction of luxus to Rome. Livy’s comments highlight not only the concerns the Romans had over the rapid changes taking place thanks to the introduction of foreign luxuries, but also how elite Romans were responding to the gradual cultural appropriation of Hellenistic art that would ultimately influence the economy of prestige. Livy’s comments are worth quoting in full:

For the beginnings of foreign luxury were introduced into the city by the army from Asia. They for the first time imported into Rome couches of bronze, valuable robes for coverlets, tapestries and other products of the loom, and what at that time was considered luxurious furniture — tables with one pedestal and sideboards. Then female players of the lute and the harp and other festal delights of entertainments were made adjuncts to banquets; the banquets themselves, moreover, began to be planned with both greater care and greater expense. At that time the cook, to the ancient Romans the most worthless of slaves, both in their judgment of values and in the use they made of him, became valuable, and what had been merely a necessary service came to be regarded as an art. Yet those things which were then looked upon as remarkable were hardly even the germs of the luxury to come (Livy 39.6.6-9, translated by Frank Gardner Moore).

Livy not only notes the negative influence that he perceives as linked to Hellenistic luxuries, but he hints that the Romans became so enamored of Hellenistic luxuries that they eventually took them for granted and those same objects became almost commonplace. His comment that what had been merely a cook’s utensils were now regarded as art suggests a parallel process in which foreign objects became Roman art and art also became everyday objects. This process would continue to develop throughout the Republican period.

Livy’s complaints about Vulso’s involvement in undermining Roman values do not prevent him from providing detailed records of Vulso’s triumph in 187 BCE, which included bronze-decorated dining couches, sideboards, and one-legged tables, silver and gold plate and

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150 For the discourse against luxus, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 215-356; Gruen 1992: 52-84.
151 See also Evans 2011: 1-12.
Like L. Scipio, Vulso displayed textiles including robes and tapestries, but Vulso’s textiles receive more detailed description because they represented the first time that Romans encountered tapestries woven with gold (vestes Attalicae). Enough domestic goods entered Rome through L. Scipio and Vulso’s triumphs that they seem to have influenced the purchasing habits of Roman elites, who began to buy citrus-wood tables, sideboards, and chased silver and gold dining ware. The growing interest in luxury furniture, for example, is evident from Cato the Elder, who mentions citrus wood and ivory in his complaint about the embellishment of private houses in c. 152 BCE. The triumphs of Marcellus, L. Scipio, and Vulso stand out because they were the first to introduce certain types of luxury goods, but they are part of a much wider trend that included both a greater volume and variety of spoils, along with a greater emphasis on detailed descriptions of those spoils in the sources. Whether this focus on detailed descriptions reflects a change in historical practice or a change in recording techniques, it does not detract from the fact that a startling array of art and luxury items entered Rome via the triumphal parade after the extravagant triumphs of L. Scipio and Vulso.

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152 Östenberg 2009: 122-23.
153 Diod. Sic. 31.8.12. Vulso’s parade had to have been an impressive sight for spectators, especially if they were aware that what they saw represented only a small portion of Vulso’s original tally, since he lost a large portion of his baggage train while trying to ship it overland through Thrace (Livy 38.40).
154 For Scipio, see Livy 38.59.1-3; 39.6.6-9 and Evans 2011: 1-12. For Vulso, see Pliny NH 34.8.14.
155 ‘Dicere possum, quibus vilae atque aedae atque expolitae atque maxim opera citro atque ebore atque pavimentis Poenicis sient...’ (I can state that, those who might have villas and houses built and embellished to the most impressive degree, with citrus wood and ivory and 'Punic pavements,...') (ORF 8.185=Cugusi 139). For the introduction of citrus wood and ivory, see Meiggs 1982: 287-91 and St. Clair 2003: 15-37.
156 Other examples to emphasize the volume and diversity of spoils, including specific numbers for the amounts, are prevalent in the second century BCE. They include M. Livius and Ti. Claudius Nero’s triumph over Hasdrubal in 207 (coinage) (Livy 28.9); L. Lentulus’ ovation over Spain in 200 (silver and gold) (Livy 31.20.6); L. Furius’ triumph over the Gauls in 197 (coinage) (Livy 33.27). For a more complete list of the triumphs and plunder, see the appendix.
157 For example, M. Fulvius Nobilior carried 785 bronze statues and 230 marble statues in his triumph over Ambracia in 189 BCE, apparently leaving behind only the terracotta statues (Pliny NH 34.37; Livy 39.5). T. Quinctius Flamininus seized more bronze and marble statues from Philip of Macedon than he did cities in his
Despite the growing concern over the possibility that Hellenistic luxuries were undermining Roman values, artistic plunder quickly became a standard feature, so much so that even men like L. Aemilius Paullus, who were held up by later Roman moralists as exemplars of frugality and Roman values, exhibited art and luxury goods in their triumphs. L. Aemilius Paullus, in fact, presided over the most ostentatious triumph to date.\textsuperscript{158} Paullus is, in a way, a study in the contrast between “proper” Roman behavior and the new standard of extravagant triumphs. He came from an old and well-established family—his father was the Aemilius Paullus killed at Cannae in 216—and he practiced a certain degree of personal frugality that appealed to later Roman moralists. His family history, his decision to give two of his sons up for adoption into other prominent families, and his moral behavior set him apart from the other Hellenistic *tribunatores*. As Livy proclaims:

But Perseus was not the only testimony at this time to the state of human fortunes, as he was led in chains before the chariot of his conqueror through the city of his enemies; the conqueror Paulus, in the splendour of his gold and purple, was no less a witness. For of the two sons whom he kept at home as the only heirs of his name, his family rites, and his household, after he had given two other sons to be adopted, the younger boy, aged about twelve, died five days before the triumph, and the elder, fourteen years old, died three days after the festivity…When a few days later an assembly of the commons was called by Marcus Antonius the tribune, and Paulus discoursed, as was customary for commanders, on his exploits, his speech was noteworthy and well-suited to a leading Roman (Livy 45.40, translated by Alfred Schlesinger).

Velleius Paterculus echoes Livy’s tribute, hailing Paullus as “a man worthy of the highest praise that can be associated with valour” (1.9.3-5) and Polybius states that Paullus gave so much of his plunder “into the hands of others” that his sons struggled to pay his wife’s dowry (18.35).

Despite those later laudations about his frugality, valor, and fortitude, Paullus was also the man

\textsuperscript{158} Furthermore, the increasing volume of spoils being paraded was not limited to the Hellenistic triumphs. Even the triumphs in Spain and Gaul demonstrate a significant increase in the volume of plunder, even if that plunder is predominately coinage, bullion, and weaponry.
who returned from Macedonia with so much plunder that it had to be divided into categories—
statues and paintings, gold and silver, decorative objects including textiles,\textsuperscript{159} and captured
weaponry—and took three full days to parade.\textsuperscript{160} Indeed, the ancient sources claim that Paullus
eclipsed all previous triumphs in the amount of spoils (Vell. Pat. 1.9.5).\textsuperscript{161} Records range from
300,000 sesterces (Pliny \textit{NH} 33.17.56) to 120 million sesterces (Livy 45.40) to 200 million
sesterces (Vell. Pat. 1.9.3-5).\textsuperscript{162} The sharp distinction between later descriptions of Paullus and
the actual account of his parade indicates that the concerns over \textit{luxus} and a decline in Roman
values that are rife in historical accounts of mid-Republican triumphs are more the product of the
Augustan period than a reflection of any genuine contemporary concern. As mentioned above,
Welch argues that any grumbling over extravagance is more the result of political rivalry or, as
in Cato’s case, religious concerns than of any genuine belief that luxury goods led to moral
decline.

Overlooking the preoccupation with Paullus’ character, the main component of historical
accounts of Paullus’ spoils is the categorization of spoils by type and weight rather than as

\textsuperscript{159} Pietilä-Castrén (1982: 135) claims that this is the first time that precious textiles are mentioned on triumphal lists,
stating that they came from Perseus’ court and from Meliboea, known for its purple fabrics (Livy 44.46.3; \textit{RE} 15;
Meliboea, 511). Since Both L. Scipio and Gn. Manlius Vulso paraded textiles twenty years earlier, this claim must
refer to a different type of textile.

\textsuperscript{160} See appendix for complete list. Sources on Paullus’ plunder include Livy 45.35.3, 34.52.4-12; Diod. Sic. 31.8.9-
13; Plut. \textit{Aem}. 32-34. Paullus’ plunder also included 2,000 ivory tusks, each three cubits long (Diod. Sic. 31.8.12).
Östenberg (2009: 92) states that since tusks were a common form of tribute, Paullus probably looted them from the
royal treasury, which would explain why they were present in the triumphs of both L. Scipio and Paullus.

\textsuperscript{161} Considering the rather spectacular amount of booty that Paullus displayed in his three-day triumph, it is amazing
that he purportedly left the greater part of Perseus’ city alone (Polyb. 18.35). Not only did Paullus apparently parade
more spoils than anyone until Pompey, but he also brought those spoils to Rome on Perseus’ flagship and displayed
it in his triumph (Livy 45.35.3, 45.42.12; Polyb. 36.5.9; Plut. \textit{Aem}. 30.1), even though the naval victory technically
belonged to his colleague Gn. Octavius, who earned a naval triumph (Livy 45.6.7-12; Plut. \textit{Aem}. 26.2-4).

\textsuperscript{162} Pietilä-Castrén argues that part of this numerical figure came from the sale of the less valuable booty at
Amphipolis (1982: 123, 135). Cicero (\textit{de Off}. 2B.76) claims that Paullus brought so much money into the treasury
that the Romans were able to abolish the property tax.

\textsuperscript{162} Gruen 1992: 125, Rutledge 2012: 42. Unlike Vulso, whose triumph occurred less than a decade before Paullus’,
Paullus was never criticized for his ostentatious parade. He was, however, criticized for not giving his soldiers a
large enough share of the booty, though Paullus reportedly retorted that if he had given the soldiers what their greed
demanded, there would have been no money left for the public treasury (Livy 45.35).
individual works of art. Welch (2006: 127-28) argues that this is because the Romans had not yet recognized the artistic qualities of Hellenistic art and still thought in terms of monetary value, in other words, they were not yet connoisseurs of Hellenistic luxury. While this seems unlikely considering Paullus’ background, it certainly helps to explain the differences in descriptions of Paullus’ triumph with those of Q. Caecilius Metellus and L. Mummius twenty years later, which emphasize the artist and the subject of the plundered artwork. I am not entirely convinced that Paullus was unaware of the artistic value of his plunder considering that the descriptions of Paullus’ parade indicate that he might have had specific types of goods in mind when he plundered Perseus’ city. The organization of his parade by type implies that he either sought these items out or organized his parade based on the origin of the plunder. There was, for example, a day for military equipment, another for coins, dedicatory plaques, and statues of divinities and men, which easily could have come from sanctuaries. There was a third day dedicated to luxury and exotic items such as an ivory chariot, a golden couch, and a golden palanquin, all objects that likely came from a royal palace (Diod. 31A.8). Livy mentions that Paullus plundered the palaces at Pella and Alexandra, along with numerous towns in Epirus and Macedonia. It is clear from descriptions of Paullus that he valued Greek culture (Plut. Aem. 28.6), so he likely sought out specific items as he despoiled Macedonia. Indeed, ancient sources stress that while Paullus himself did not keep any of his plunder, he did give a silver cup to his son-in-law Tubero (Plut. Moral. 198B-C; Val. Max. 4.4.9; Pliny NH. 33.142), and imported Perseus’ entire royal library (Plut. Aem. 28.11). The fact that generals were now searching out specific types of plunder, particularly pieces of art with aesthetic qualities or interesting provenances, points to the changing relationship between the triumph, plunder, and prestige, and

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163 Livy 45.33. Livy also mentions in the passage that Paullus exhibited his Macedonian plunder, including “statues, paintings, rare stuffs, and vessels made of gold, silver, bronze and ivory, manufactured with great pains in the palace at Pella” (45.33).
indicates that the Romans were developing a more sophisticated appreciation for art.\textsuperscript{164}

Q. Caecilius Metellus’ triumph in 146 BCE likely included many of the same types of plunder that his predecessors exhibited, but descriptions of his plunder focus heavily on the artistic quality and genealogy of the statues he acquired.\textsuperscript{165} It could be argued that the emphasis in the ancient sources on Metellus’ artistic plunder results from more sophisticated ancient reporting on triumphal plunder. However, the fact that there are numerous parades reported in the same sources without significant detail on their plunder suggests that the detail reported on the triumphs of men like Paullus and Metellus stems from the fact that these men were more discerning in the plunder that they seized and therefore paraded a higher quality of material.\textsuperscript{166}

The most famous of Metellus’ acquisitions was the statue group of Alexander’s Companions, which Alexander himself had commissioned from the famous sculptor Lysippus after his victory at the Granicus River.\textsuperscript{167} Metellus may also have paraded an ivory statue of Jupiter by the artist Pasiteles.\textsuperscript{168}

Another indication that artistic plunder was becoming a major source of prestige is the fact that generals immediately began construction of buildings to showcase their spoils after their

\textsuperscript{164} Cato the Younger, for example, focused on statues when he plundered Cyprus, though he auctioned all but the statue of Zeno the Stoic (Pliny \textit{NH} 34.92). Lucullus reportedly took only a globe by Billarus and a statue of Autolycus by Sthennis when he captured Sinope (Strabo 12.3.11).

\textsuperscript{165} The only other type of plunder attributed to Metellus is raw marble, which he used to build his temple complex (Vell. Pat. 1.11.2-7).

\textsuperscript{166} Sources for Manlius Aquillius’ triumph over Aristonicus in 129, for example, make no specific mention of his spoils, despite the fact that this was also a triumph over a Hellenistic ruler and therefore likely came with many opportunities for plunder (Cic. \textit{De Orat.} 2.195; Sall. \textit{Hist.} 4.67; App. \textit{BC} 1.22; Vell. Pat. 2A.4).

\textsuperscript{167} Vell. Pat. 1.11.2-7. Metellus may have looted many more than this single statue group, but without Livy, whose narrative ends in 167, the detail that characterizes earlier triumphs is lost. Velleius Paterculus’ description of Metellus’ triumph is the only extant source with any detail and he focuses on the Alexandrian statue group (Vell. Pat. 1.11.2-7). See Östenberg 2009: 15.

\textsuperscript{168} Pliny \textit{NH} 36.4. Pliny mentions that Metellus dedicated this statue. While the reference is not explicitly triumphal, it is probable that the statue was among Metellus’ spoils.
parades. There is even some suggestion that the generals were already planning their temples and complexes as they sought out plunder. Metellus was one of many generals who built an architectural complex to exhibit his choicest plunder. As discussed in previous chapters, Metellus juxtaposed the Alexandrian statues with paintings of his own victorious battles in his portico complex. The focus on Metellus’ statues and his complex among later historians is a marked change from the descriptions of earlier mid-Republican triumphs where the disposition of the spoils is usually mentioned separately or as an afterthought. This descriptive shift in the sources reflects a real practice: the increasing attention that generals gave to the display of their spoils after the parade. As generals focused more on signaling their prestige through the display of their spoils, those displays and the buildings that housed them became a central part of the collective memory of the general. It also shifted attention from the triumphal parade to the spoils, which allowed for a greater focus on display, a key component in the development of an economy of prestige. This emphasis on the spoils and their display instead of the actions of the general is evident not only with Metellus but also with his successor, L. Mummius.

L. Mummius, whose triumph also took place in 145, did not have an impressive pedigree and, in some ways, used his spoils to compensate. Mummius mostly seized statues and other works of art when he plundered Corinth. Descriptions of Mummius’ spoils focus first on listing the works of art with the artist and subject matter where possible and then on where Mummius dedicated the spoils. This emphasis on where Mummius dedicated his spoils is in part because unlike many triumphal generals of the second century, Mummius dedicated a significant portion

169 M. Fulvius Nobilior, for example, may have already had his temple to Hercules Musarum, mentioned below, in mind while conquering Ambracia. Kuttner (1999: 345) suggests that Pompey had his great theater complex in mind as he plundered Mithridates’ palace.

170 For example, L. Aemilius Paullus gave Perseus’ royal library to his sons and gave a cup to his son-in-law Tubero, both of which are not mentioned in Livy or Plutarch’s descriptions of the triumph, but are mentioned elsewhere (Plut. Mor. 198B-C; Val. Max. 4.4.9; Pliny NH 33.142).
of his spoils outside Rome, particularly in Italian cities that might earn him votes in upcoming elections or in Greek cities where the display of spoils could enhance his reputation.\textsuperscript{171} Mummius reportedly brought back so many statues, that he filled Rome with statues.\textsuperscript{172} He paraded a bronze statue of Zeus and twenty-one gilded shields (Paus. 5.24.4; 5.10.5), a statue of the Muses and another of Venus, as well as a painting of Dionysius by Aristiedes and another of Hercules being tortured (Strabo 8.6.23). Mummius took many Corinthian bronzes (Pliny \textit{NH} 37.7.18; Vitr. 5.5.8). He also seized a statue of Hercules, which he made the new cult statue for his Temple of Hercules Victor.\textsuperscript{173} One major source of information on Mummius’ spoils is the statue bases he placed with his dedications throughout the Mediterranean. These statue bases appear in Italy, Spain, and particularly in Greece, including Olympia and Argos.\textsuperscript{174} The fame of these statues and paintings made them more added Mummius’ reputation because they were well known and carried an inherent cultural value thanks to their renown, perfection, and age—a cultural value on which Mummius could capitalize.\textsuperscript{175} Indeed, the cultural value of these objects became a fundamental part of the economy of prestige discussed below.

Mummius’ actions point to an increasing awareness of the utility of these objects as markers of prestige. Sources such as Pliny the Elder place more weight on the artist, subject matter, and new location of Mummius’ statues than on any of Mummius’ achievements. This is a reflection of the increasing awareness of the aesthetic and cultural value of Hellenistic art. And it

\textsuperscript{171} The numerous anecdotes about Mummius indicate that he must have seized a significant amount of art, so he clearly sought out works of art specifically. Miles (2008: 74). These anecdotes stand in contrast to the praise that Mummius receives for not increasing his personal wealth (Cic. \textit{De Off.} 2B.78), to the point where he could not afford to pay a dowry for his daughter (Pliny \textit{NH} 34.36).

\textsuperscript{172} Pliny \textit{NH} 34.36. Livy gives a similar description, describing the statues as a whole rather than individually (\textit{Per.} 52).

\textsuperscript{173} \textit{CIL} 1.2.626. See also Edwards 2003: 50.

\textsuperscript{174} For the Italian statue bases, see \textit{Imagines Italicae}, vol.2, p.615. For Olympia, see \textit{SEG} 44.410. For Argos, see \textit{SEG} 30.365. For scholarly work on Mummius’ statue bases, see Pobjoy 2006: 54; Rutledge 2012: 43; Philipp and Koenigs 1979: 193-216. A list of the Greek and Latin inscriptions relating to Mummius appears in Graverini 2001: 105-148.

\textsuperscript{175} Welch 2006: 126-132.
suggests that Mummius, a New Man (*novus homo*) whose victory was somewhat overshadowed by that of his more elite colleague Metellus, used his plunder to emphasize his membership in elite Roman culture and to create political capital by displaying them in locations that could earn him votes, because the more his spoils impressed potential voters, the more likely they were to vote for him. Generals had historically used their triumphs to garner votes, but spoils left a lasting impression long after the parade. It is clear that Mummius’ fellow elites were aware that he was attempting to enhance his reputation by exhibiting his plundered art. Pliny the Elder, for example, both mocks Mummius for his lack of cultural knowledge, claiming that Mummius was unaware of the value of a particular painting until King Attalus bids on it at auction. Pliny also takes pains to describe the artwork Mummius acquired and what he chose to do with them (*NH* 35.24). Despite the mockery, it is clear that Mummius was aware of the political value of art, since he was careful to avoid the controversy that surrounded the private display of art, instead displaying it publicly in Rome and throughout Italy. The fact that Mummius also plundered a few well-known items from each style of art also suggests that he was aware of the value of owning pieces by famous artists.

Whereas Mummius’ triumph demonstrates a greater awareness of the aesthetic and cultural value of plundered luxury goods, Sulla’s triumph in 81 illustrates his willingness to break taboos and plunder sacred spaces. This points to a loosening of practices that allowed

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176 This was ultimately a successful endeavor for him, since he earned the censorship. For the competition between Mummius and Metellus, see Pietilä-Castrén 1982: 139.

177 Mummius would have been more aware about the possibility of falling victim to this political controversy than someone like Marcellus because Mummius was not from a prominent family. We have both literary references to Mummius’ public displays (Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.9), and some of the statue base inscriptions (see fn. 2). One of the best indications of exactly how much Mummius plundered and then displayed in temples is Strabo’s comment that most of the dedicatory offerings in Rome and its neighboring cities came from Corinth, i.e. Mummius (Strabo 8.6.23).

178 In Pliny’s description, almost all of Mummius’ plunder is singled out by name and artist (Pliny *NH* 35.24).
generals more opportunities to bring in more diverse and culturally valuable plunder. And while Sulla’s triumph did not display radically different types of objects than his predecessors, his triumph represents a major increase in the volume of goods paraded. It is also clear that the full extent of Sulla’s plunder cannot be known, since Lucian tells us that one of the ships transporting Sulla’s spoils sank en route. Sulla paraded 121,000 pounds of silver and another 15,000 pounds of gold that he seized in Greece. While parading silver and gold is not remarkable, seizing plunder from sanctuaries was still unusual, though it became more common in the second and first centuries BCE. Before that, generals either avoided plundering such sacred spaces for fear of incurring divine wrath or they were careful to avoid accusations of impiety if they did plunder sanctuaries. Indeed, Roman authors were harsh toward generals whose choice to violate the taboo was followed by some sort of calamity, as they perceived that

179 Previous generals, in particular L. Pleminius, had been severely criticized for plundering sanctuaries. For Pleminius, see Livy (29.8-19; 34.44). Cicero also discusses the taboo on plundering sanctuaries in his attack on Verres (2.4.4). See also Miles 2008: 15.

180 It is possible that Sulla added to the diversity of plundered objects, as Plutarch mentions the rarity and value of the spoils he seized from royal treasuries (Plut. Sull. 34.1). Sulla seized the baggage trains of the armies he conquered. Since the armies of Archelaus had previous plundered the Temple of Apollo at Delphi (Diod. Sic. 38/39.7.1), along with cities including Panope and Lebadeia, where he may also have pillaged the oracle (Plut. Sull. 16.4), Sulla could have acquired this loot when he defeated Archelaus. This plunder is not mentioned specifically in the lists, but the main focus in the sources on Sulla’s triumph are on the plunder he recaptured from Marius and on the importance of his captives. We know from other cases, such as L. Aemilius Paullus, that generals brought back plunder not mentioned in the ancient triumphal lists. Paullus, for example, gave his son-in-law Tubero a silver bowl from the Macedonian royal treasury and his sons books from the royal library (Plut. Aem. 28.11). Paullus reportedly seized the entire royal treasury (Plut. Aem. 28.10), so presumably he paraded a great deal that is not specified in the triumphal descriptions.

181 Lucian Zeux. 3. The only piece of plunder that survived the wreck was ostensibly a painting of a female centaur nursing twins by the artist Zeuxis.

182 Pliny NH 33.5.16. The figures for the amount of money paraded could reflect either money seized from enemy camps or proceeds from the sale of plunder, or both. Sulla also paraded simulacra for the 134 towns he conquered. While simulacra are not plunder, they play an important role in identifying the plunder for the audience. It is not difficult to imagine that plunder from famous places, such as Syracuse, Athens, or Macedonia, would garner greater excitement from the audience, so seeing those town names in conjunction with the plunder enhanced the prestige that objects could give a triumphal general. Sulla included imagines of cities he had conquered in Greece and Asia (Val. Max. 2.8.7).

183 Miles (2008: 82-87) discusses the contemporary criticisms for Roman plundering, including of temples and sanctuaries. She notes that the Romans typically did not destroy religious spaces, unlike some Hellenistic kings, particularly Philip V and Antiochus IV Epiphanes, but they did despoil them of their dedications and offerings. Similarly, Stek (2009: 29) argues that it was commonplace to raid sanctuaries for their spoils during war. The examples given come predominately from the second and first centuries BCE, with the notable exception of Locri, plundered in 205 BCE by Roman soldiers who defected to Hannibal (Livy 29.8.1).
as a divine punishment for impiety, as was the case with Pleminius. When Sulla needed money to pay his armies, he took the drastic measure of despoiling sanctuaries. He seized the treasuries of Delphi and Delos and plundered the sanctuaries of Asklepios at Epidaurus and of Zeus at Olympia. Some of Sulla’s spoils are specified, including a statue of Dionysus by Myron from Orchomenus (Pliny NH 9.30.1) and an ivory cult image of Athena from Alalcomenae after sacking the temple (Paus. 9.33; Aelian fr.53; Suda T’556). Sulla essentially treated these temples and sanctuaries as if they were not temples or sacred spaces. While contemporary Romans saw this as a dramatic break from previously-accepted behavior, Sulla’s actions are in many ways part of the larger trend toward repurposing plundered objects for display in new spaces.

Besides plundering temple sanctuaries, Sulla’s most radical departure from precedent was his incorporation of the 14,000 pounds of gold and 6,000 pounds of silver he seized during his civil war with the Marians into his parade (Pliny NH 33.5.16). According to the rules for earning a triumph, a general could not earn one for a civil war. A combination of technicalities allowed

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184 While ancient scholars emphasize that Sulla plundered these temples and treasuries, they do not specify what he took from each place, just that he seized a significant amount. It may be possible make an educated guess on some of the objects that Sulla seized, or at least could have seized, by comparing the temple inventories from these temples to the descriptions in Pausanias and others of what items still remained at the temples in their times. One would, of course, have to take into consideration other times that the temples were sacked, but at least some of the previous plundering was committed by Mithridates’ generals Archelaus and Aristion, according to Plutarch, so much of that booty probably still came to Sulla when he defeated them at Chaeronaea and Athens, respectively.

185 Diod Sic. 38/39.7.1. Diodorus Siculus notes that Sulla consecrated an area to the gods and set up an annual income from it in order to offset the impiety of plundering these temple sanctuaries and treasuries (38/39.7.1).

186 The latter is likely specified because taking it was a rather significant departure from standard practice, since it was extremely sacrilegious to seize a cult statue. It is no wonder that Pausanias decried Sulla for “worshipping the gods with other people’s incense” (9.30.1; 9.33.6-7). Sulla also stripped the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora of its dedicatory shields (10.21.6) and took the massive columns from the incomplete Temple of Olympian Zeus to be used in the rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Pliny NH 36.45). The only real precedent for seizing this type of architectural material is Q. Caecilius Metellus, but after Sulla it became more common. Both Crassus and Scaurus took columns to use in their homes, for example. Sulla also seized the library of Apellicon, which included works by Aristotle and Theophrastus (Strabo 13.1.54; Plut. Sull. 26.1). See Miles 2008: 24.
Sulla to ignore this rule. While later writers would criticize Sulla for his impious and borderline illegal actions, his power allowed him to circumvent or outright break long-established precedents. Sallust, for example, states that Sulla’s soldiers learned “to cultivate a taste for statues, pictures, and embossed plate, which they stole from private houses and public buildings, plundering temples and profaning everything sacred and secular alike. When victory was won, as might be expected of such troops, they stripped their enemy bare” (Cat. 11, translated by S.A. Handford). Ultimately, Sulla’s plunder was not a significant departure from previous triumphal generals, but his willingness to challenge accepted practices paved the way for radically similar behavior on the part of triumphant generals.

Whereas Sulla’s contribution to the changing perceptions of triumphal plunder was his willingness to abandon the standard practice and plunder sanctuaries, his successors in the campaigns against Mithridates contributed an emphasis on exotic materials and the aesthetic qualities of their plunder as decoration. The triumphs of L. Licinius Lucullus (63 BCE) and Pompey (61 BCE) are indicative of this interest in exotic items in addition to those works of art and luxury goods that were becoming an expected part of the triumphal parade. According to Pliny, L. Licinius Lucullus brought back everything from statues to shields to manuscripts. Lucullus did not bypass traditional plunder but included a vast array of military equipment.

His most significant contribution to the growing list of acceptable triumphal plunder was organic

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187 Sulla’s triumph was technically over Mithridates. For the war against Marius, it helped first that Marius was in theory an enemy of the state after Sulla’s march on Rome and it also helped that the final battle at the Colline Gate included Samnites. Sulla’s status as dictator aided his cause.

188 Other objects from Mithridates’ royal treasury included a statue Hercules Tunicatus that belonged to Mithridates (Pliny NH 34.93), a shield decorated with precious stones, a six-foot tall golden statue of Mithridates, twenty litters carrying silver vessels and thirty-two litters carrying gold vessels. He also carried back plundered armor, money, eight gold couches, fifty-six mules carrying silver ingots, Eastern manuscripts, and 2,700,000 silver coins (Plut. Luc. 37.3). Lucullus paraded titulae listing how much of his plunder he had already paid to the treasury and to his soldiers, which emphasized exactly how much wealth he had seized since everything he paraded was part of his own share of the spoils.

189 He paraded ten scythed chariots, catapults, ballistae, 110 bronze-beaked warships, plus the armor that served as trophies for the parade (Plut. Luc. 37.3).
materials. According to Pliny, Lucullus was the first person to bring to Rome a cherry tree, which he took from Pontus (NH 15.30.102). It is unclear whether Lucullus paraded the tree in his triumph since elsewhere Pliny credits Pompey with being the first to carry trees in his triumph (Pliny NH 12.9.20; 12.54.111). Regardless, Lucullus is one of the many generals whom Pliny credits with first introducing an object into Rome. The fact that the vast majority of these “firsts” are introduced through the triumphal parades of the second and first centuries BCE indicates how important it was to triumphal generals to use their plunder to signal their prestige. Lucullus’ cherry tree illustrates how generals were increasingly transforming a range of objects into prestige items. This is as much true for trees as it is for the books, dining ware, and furniture that other generals paraded. These quotidian objects, some quite luxurious, also signaled a general’s virtus due to their presence in the triumph.

The relationship between luxurious objects, prestige, and virtus is nowhere more evident than in Pompey’s triumph over Mithridates in 61 BCE. Pompey’s military victories gave him access to Mithridates’ palace and provided him with ample goods from which to choose. Considering the amount of wealth to which he undoubtedly had access, it is significant that Pompey singled out the more unusual objects such as books on poisons and antidotes to exhibit in his triumph.190 These books were significant first, because books were not nearly as common a source of plunder in recent triumphs as artwork or dining ware, and second, because Mithridates was famous for his obsession with testing poisons and antidotes on himself. Indeed, even knowledge could become plunder. Statues of King Pharnaces I (c. 190) and Mithridates reminded viewers of Pompey’s coup de grace against an enemy who had plagued the Romans for more than twenty years (Pliny NH 25.70.117). Another unusual piece was a gaming board

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190 Pliny NH 25.70.117. Mayor (2010) analyzes Mithridates and Pompey’s choice to take Mithridates’ books in her biography of Mithridates.
with pieces decorated with gems and gold, including a thirty-pound golden moon. Pliny notes that in his day, no one had seen gems as large as those on Pompey’s gaming board (37.6.13). In Pliny’s exhaustive list of Pompey’s plunder, he also mentions gold dining couches, “enough gold vessels inlaid with gems to fill nine display stands,” gold statues of Minerva, Mars, and Apollo, and some type of decorative shrine that Pliny describes as a square mountain of gold decorated with deer, lines, fruit, and vines, as well as a grotto of pearls with a sundial on top. Pompey also displayed a ring cabinet that had belonged to Mithridates and was the first to parade myrrhine bowls and cups, sparking a consumer obsession in myrrhine ware, much to Pliny’s chagrin. Pompey also gave 200,000,000 sesterces to the state treasury, 100,000,000 to his quaestors and other officers, and 6,000 to each soldier. (NH 37.6.16-17).

Pompey’s spoils were not radical departures from earlier triumphs, but he pushed conventional boundaries, first by riding in one of Mithridates’ ceremonial chariots and second by becoming the first general to parade a bust of himself in his procession. Chariots were not uncommon in triumphs, but the chariots he chose to display and to ride in were ostentatious gold and silver ceremonial chariots (NH 33.54.151). Perhaps the most unusual thing Pompey did with his plunder was to take pearls he had looted and have them made into a bust of his own likeness. To use pearls, a valuable object uncommon in Rome at this time, to create a bust was an ostentatious example of conspicuous consumption, particularly because pearls were an odd

\[\text{191 Pliny NH 37.6.11-37.7.19. Iron rings were typical for Roman elites, but Scipio Africanus, Marius, and Sulla popularized wearing rings of metals or minerals. Scipio Africanus had a ring of sardonyx (Pliny NH 37.23.87), Marius replaced his iron ring with a gold one during his third consulship (Pliny NH 33.4.12). Pliny states that Romans wore only iron rings in the home and seems to imply that Marius wore his gold ring in the home. Sulla wore a ring depicting Bocchus surrendering Jugurtha to Sulla (Plut. Sulla 3.4). Parading the ring cabinet was likely both an acknowledgement of the wealth that Pompey had seized from Rome and a representation of the elite lifestyle in which Pompey participated.}\]

\[\text{192 Pliny NH 37.5.11. Despite Pliny’s detailed description (37.6.14), it is unclear if this imago was an e margantis three-dimensional bust or, perhaps, a tapestry augmented with pearls, though the latter is more plausible.}\]
choice of raw material for a bust. This bust combined the legitimate spoils of the pearls themselves with the type of honorary statue that generals typically did not commission until after the triumph. The display of either pearls or a commissioned sculpture in a triumphal parade was unusual, but putting them together departed from triumphal precedent and exemplified how generals were growing more creative in how they adapted an object’s function and meaning. Furthermore, Pompey’s break from tradition by parading a bust of himself made of consumable goods contributed to the growing perception of spoils as decoration, as these busts (imagines) were typically displayed in the atria of elite houses. Indeed, Pompey not only parades spoils, he “consumes” them, adapting their function to create a new meaning as a self-portrait. It is significant that, in a period in which the triumphal parade increasingly focused on the objects rather than the individual general, Pompey found a way to use these objects to return the focus to his own image. Rarely do we see a Roman general so blatantly declare himself a collector and consumer of luxury goods.

Pompey’s triumph in 61 BCE in many ways represents the culmination of a series of changes to the status and perception of triumphal plunder that began in the late-third century BCE. His procession included an enormous breadth of objects, ranging from statues to luxury goods to exotic materials such as plants. However, what is even more significant about Pompey’s triumph is the way in which he seems to have organized his triumphal procession as a coordinated program, much like the sculptural programs that generals displayed in triumphal

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193 Pearls were a common part of the regalia of the Parthian Arsacid dynasty, of which Mithridates was a descendent. Pompey paraded thirty-three pearl-encrusted crowns he had seized from Mithridates, for example. It is well-known that pearls formed part of the regalia of later Parthian rulers, as depicted on coins of rulers such as Volosges IV, but they may also have been part of the regalia of earlier kings. A coin of Tigranes II, son-in-law of Mithridates VI and one of the losers of the Third Mithridatic War, depicts a crown that may have some decorative pearls. Coins of Mithridates II and others depict collars that may also use pearls. It is possible that Pompey was trying to coopt this regal tradition in order to display his virtus, since Pompey had defeated Mithridates. For the use of pearls in Parthian regalia, see R.A. Donkin 1998: 96.

temples. Descriptions of Pompey’s triumph indicate that he arranged his spoils much as Metellus had arranged his Alexandrian statues in his temple portico, to tell a visual narrative of Pompey’s military exploits and his dominance over Mithridates. Through the display of captured weapons and tools of war, Pompey highlighted the military prowess of Mithridates’ army, which he had conquered. The display of Mithridates’ private royal collection introduced viewers to the luxury of the Pontic court. The inclusion of the pearl-encrusted bust of Pompey, particularly when juxtaposed with the inclusion of only one statue of Mithridates, reminded viewers of Pompey’s superiority over Mithridates and of Pompey’s personal wealth. Pompey’s procession seems to represent his collecting habits and to foreshadow the thematic organization of his portico complex, which emphasized Pompey’s military supremacy through spoils and plants from each region he conquered, and his cultural knowledge as represented by statues of poets, intellectuals, and muses within the portico. Ultimately, Pompey’s triumphal procession demonstrates the degree to which decorative and aesthetic qualities had surpassed *pietas* and *virtus* as the primary objective of plundered objects, a change that would not have been possible without the contributions made by Pompey’s predecessors.

In sum, by the mid-first century BCE, it had become standard practice for generals to parade plundered art and to depart from customary practices for displaying their plunder. Beginning with Marcellus’ triumph in 211 BCE, the triumphs of the second century made the breadth and diversity of plundered objects the focus of their parades, rather than the military success represented by the display of captured weaponry. Second-century generals introduced statues, paintings, furniture, textiles, dining ware, and other luxury items as triumphal plunder, placing particular focus on any famous works of art they could seize. The triumphs of the first century continued the trend of emphasizing diverse objects but placed even greater value on
exotic items. First-century generals added gems, jewelry, manuscripts, raw materials, and trees and plants to the list of potential spoils. Because of the increasingly high value placed on this more unusual booty, generals were gradually overshadowed by the objects in the literary descriptions of triumphs. So while these objects never lost their symbolic association with *virtus*, over time, the emphasis became more about wealth, prestige, and cultural knowledge than about martial skill. The change in focus meant that *virtus* was increasingly a symbol of status that did not require Roman elites to provide proof of their prowess through military victory. Indeed, some of the most luxurious triumphal parades were granted to men whose victories were unimpressive or even manufactured, such as L. Scipio and Cn. Manlius Vulso. Instead, *virtus* could be expressed through the possession and display of luxury objects. It became possible first to exhibit these luxury triumphal objects in the home—traditionally a taboo—and then to purchase similar luxury goods to serve the same role, as markers of status.

**Consumerism: Theory and Application**

Recent scholarship on “consumerism” provides a useful framework for understanding how an object that was taken in conquest as plunder could be transformed first into decoration and then into a consumer good. Consumer theorists argue that just as individuals can have multiple overlapping and intersecting identities, so too can objects.195 Michael Dietler (1999) argues that the term “consumerism” should be understood not only in an economic sense but also in the sense of purchasing objects to convey certain messages. In the case of Hellenistic luxury

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195 Walsh 2014: 66. He summarizes this argument: “Identity groups are defined by descent, gender, political or social class, occupation or community role, age, or many other variables. The attribution of identity can be made by a person regarding themselves or regarding others, often based on markers such as dress, role, or association with certain kinds of objects. Identities can be consciously created by an individual to serve a purpose, or they can be created subconsciously in a manner that makes them seem, even to the individual themselves, to be fundamentally associated with that person. Where the former kind of identity might be called ‘constructed,’ the latter appears to be ‘essential.’ The existence of constructed identities draws attention to the fact that people can and do change their identity, often in response to different social contexts or in order to achieve short--or long-term--goals.”
goods, Roman elites purchased them to convey cultural knowledge and prestige. Summarizing Dietler’s argument, Justin Walsh (2014: 79) asserts that an object’s meaning is transformed “as it crosses cultural boundaries.” In other words, as luxury goods are transferred via conquest from the Greek East to Rome, they are converted from Greek sacred objects, Greek art, and Greek luxury domestic goods into Roman plunder and ultimately into Roman luxury consumer goods. The Romans even adapted Hellenistic practices of display, decoration, and architecture along with their art.\textsuperscript{196} Indeed, the act of parading, displaying, and purchasing Hellenistic luxury goods focused more on cultural appropriation and dominance than on Roman military superiority, which had been the primary emphasis in earlier triumphs in which the plunder was captured weapons, armor, money, and slaves. Indeed, Walsh (2014: 79-80) states that “the act of using a new foreign object (consuming it) requires the user to integrate it into pre-existing social and cultural structures.” This concept is useful in understanding how the Roman generals used the triumphal parade and the public exhibition of booty in Roman spaces with new Roman inscriptions to reshape foreign objects into visual representations of Roman authority that enhanced their personal reputations. Furthermore, consumer theory helps illuminate the process through which the display of plunder created a luxury art market. Drawing on André Leroi-Gourhan's concept of the chaîne opératoire ("operational sequence," or "life history"), Walsh argues that all objects have a chaîne opératoire:

[which covers] all phases of the object's existence, from the collection of raw materials, to manufacture, transport, sale, incorporation into the buyer's set of possessions, use, possible resale and reuse, breakage, and deposition… Every step in the chaîne opératoire may, to varying degrees, create an impact on the conscious (and perhaps even unconscious) meanings of the object to its consumer within their own culturally conditioned perspective (2014: 89).

Walsh’s summary of the chaîne opératoire allows for the possibility that objects retain elements

\textsuperscript{196} Welch (2006: 118-140) argues that the peristyle and Second Style wall painting were adapted from Hellenistic models and became popular in Rome due to a need to display plundered art to advantage in the domus.
of their life history even as they pass through many hands.

This life history helps explain the development of what I refer to as an economy of prestige. As luxury goods shifted from being defined strictly as plunder, which could only be “owned” by generals to being defined as decoration, they became something that could be “consumed.” In other words, once luxury goods became a source of prestige on their own, a triumph was no longer necessary to earn fame. Instead, a wealthy Roman only needed to purchase art or luxury goods and display them in their homes because statues, paintings, chased goblets, bronze couches, and other luxury goods retained a symbolic association with the triumph. Indeed, I would argue that these objects retained a patina of triumphal prestige because they were originally luxury goods, this is part of their chaîne opératoire. Even if the specific object had never been plunder, it carries the same meaning as a triumphal object because of the symbolic association with the triumph. Indeed, the increasing obsession with luxury goods that is evident in the collecting interests of Lucullus, Cicero, and their late Republican contemporaries is evidence of this economy of prestige.

**Objects in Space: From Spoils to Decoration**

The growing emphasis on the decorative rather than martial qualities of war booty that generals conveyed both in their triumphs and, as we will see, in their public exhibitions of spoils would not have been possible without significant changes to the practices of displaying war booty. Over the course of the mid-to-late Republic, Roman generals branched out from the traditional methods of exhibiting triumphal plunder. The increasingly luxurious spoils brought back from the Greek East lent themselves to a greater flexibility of visual messages, which contributed to shifts in practice, including building new complexes to showcase their spoils.

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197 I borrow this term from James English (2005).
presenting art as a collection, and displaying them in the *domus*. The combination of the flexibility these plundered objects provided and the opening of new spaces for exhibition gradually transformed plunder from a representation of foreign conquest into decoration. This section will trace that transformation by highlighting some of the key aspects of the new architectural spaces that generals used to showcase their spoils, discussed in Chapter 1, in order to understand how these buildings contributed to the transformation of spoils into decoration. Then we will turn to the increasing tendency to view spoils as a collection and demonstrate how that tendency contributed to elite perceptions of plundered objects as decoration. Finally, this section will explore how changes to both public and private display helped redefine prestige as the possession of luxury goods, of aesthetic taste, and of cultural knowledge rather than of military successes. The increasing sophistication that generals employed in displaying their plunder would, as we will see, contribute to the development of an economy of prestige, in which elite Romans without military backgrounds could use objects to display prestige.

In the mid-third century, Roman generals began to construct new temples or temple complexes to house their spoils. There is some debate on exactly how much authority Roman generals had over their *praeda*, and consequently over how they displayed it. See Shatzman 1972: 177-205 and Churchill 1999: 85-116 for the debate over a general’s control of his *praeda*. Orlin (1997: 122-129) also argues that scholars have vastly overstated the number of temples constructed *ex manubiae*, asserting that scholars assume the phrase *ex manubiae* where it is not attested. He also argues that manubiae were used more for decoration than for construction, though often in the temple the general constructed (136). Shatzman (1972: 177-205) argues that there was also a greater concentration of spoils because the portion the general kept for himself increased over time. Orlin (1997: 122-29) argues that there was less consideration for the
complex allowed generals to shape the chosen space to enhance the message conveyed by the plundered objects. It made the spoils seem more like a purposeful collection than individual objects, which aided their transformation into decoration. M. Fulvius Nobilior, for example, built a new Temple of Hercules Musarum after his triumph over Ambracia in 187. As discussed in Chapter 1, the temple showcased Nobilior’s statues of the nine Muses and the statue of Hercules playing the lyre. Nobilior sought to signal his success as a general to viewers by connecting himself to Hercules and creating a relationship between the architecture and the collection that resulted essentially in a thematic sculptural program.

By displaying the spoils as a collection, a general called attention to his personal achievements, making the entire space a testament to the general’s success. The display of spoils also aided the transformation of plundered objects into sources of prestige because these collections became famous and drew attention as fine examples of Hellenistic art. Plutarch, for instance, comments that before Marcellus, Greeks saw Rome as a “precinct of much-warring Ares,” but Marcellus’ actions transformed the city into one of Hellenistic grace and beauty (Marc. 20). Moreover, according to Livy, visitors flocked to the temple to see Marcellus’ spoils,

treasury on the part of the general during the second century. Since there was no explicit rule on how much of the praeda had to go to the treasury, it only took a general willing to break precedent to make this change.

Building new temple complexes did not, of course, preclude the possibility of dedicating some of one’s spoils in other temples. Marcellus, for example, displayed a gold torque in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Livy 33.36.13) and placed statues around the city to remind viewers of his military exploits (Plut. Marc. 28).

As discussed above, Hercules had a long history of association with the triumphal procession, in particular the statue of Hercules in the Forum Boarium that would be dressed in a triumphal toga for the procession. The location of Nobilior’s temple along the triumphal route reinforced that association with Hercules.

Pliny NH 35.66; Ov. Fast. 6.812; Ars Am. 3.168. At least one of the statues is known through an inscription (CIL I 6.615). It also included an inscription recording his campaign in the form of an epic poem by Ennius (Polyb. 21.30.9; Livy 38.43.5, 39.4; Pliny NH 35.66). Another statue base, now in the Museo Centrale Montemartini, proclaimed that he had defeated Ambracia (Ambracia cepit) and would have originally held a plundered statue. Statue base inscription, peperino Centrale Montemartini no.2082. The inscription reads “M.FOLVIVS.SERV.NOBILIOR.COS.AMBRACIA.CEPIT.”

The more distributive approach of scattering spoils throughout multiple temples had other advantages: it emphasized a general’s piety and linked the general to the triumph at multiple points along the triumphal route.

Both Marcellus and Metellus are good examples of this phenomenon.
in part because they were excellent examples of Greek art. These proto-museums also helped shape the tastes of elite Romans, aiding in the development of private art collections in the late-Republican and early imperial period, such as the collection in the Villa of the Papyri. While Livy is writing much later than Marcellus’ period, he indicates the growing perception of these spoils of war as works of art, valued for the aesthetic qualities and cultural genealogy as much as the fact that they represent Roman power. The fact that these collections were increasingly devoid of the more traditional displays of captured arms and armor further emphasized the artistic qualities of the booty. This attention to the artistic value of plunder over their value as representations of foreign conquest is evident in the temple complexes of Metellus and Pompey, discussed in Chapter 1.

This perception of art as a representation of cultural knowledge grew out of the increasingly sophisticated uses of objects and urban space employed by generals. This process was aided by the fact that the display of art in temples was divorced from the traditional votive dedication, making the process more voluntary and more focused on the objects as decoration. Artistic spoils offered greater fluidity for a general to signal his achievements thanks to the multiple meanings present in the objects, in other words, their “life history.” Because these objects by nature had multiple, overlapping meanings, generals could use them to signal their identity as triumphatores and second to signal their awareness of appreciation of the aesthetic

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205 “After the capture of Syracuse, Marcellus had made a general settlement of affairs in Sicily, and that, too, with such honorable integrity as could not but enhance the dignity of the Roman people as much as it added to his own reputation. This is undeniable: but at the same time he removed to Rome the beautiful statues and paintings which Syracuse possessed in abundance. These were, one must admit, legitimate spoils, acquired by right of war; none the less their removal to Rome was the origin of our admiration of Greek art and started the universal and reckless spoliation of all buildings sacred and profane which prevails today, and which ultimately turned against our own Roman gods, beginning with the very temple which Marcellus so splendidly adorned. For time was when foreigners used to visit the temples dedicated by Marcellus at the Porta Capena, drawn thither by the magnificent examples of Greek art which they contained; but hardly any of them are to be seen today” (Livy 25.40, translated by A de Selincourt).

206 For more on the Villa of the Papyri, see p. 47-48.
qualities of the plundered art and their facility with Hellenistic culture. These two different identities suggest that generals are gradually moving away from signaling their martial qualities and moving toward a broader definition of prestige that includes military prowess but also encompasses taste and cultural knowledge.

The Private Display of Art: Spoils in the Domus

The ability to use these objects as decorations to indicate taste and cultural knowledge spurred generals to open up the domus as a new venue for “public” display. It was a space that belonged solely to the individual and reflected his wealth and status. This is effectively what Pliny the Elder means when he claims that “houses celebrated eternal triumphs” (triumphabantque...aeternae domus), even though he is discussing Roman funerary practices. Pliny’s description points to the fact that Roman generals were now using their homes in the same way that they used temples, as a space in which to create permanent triumphs, spaces that their families could inherit and continue to employ. Pliny’s statement is echoed by Katherine Welch, who argues that the Roman house was an extension of the res publica, not just a private space to relax and entertain friends, and in the Republican period this meant the “business of war.”

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207 For the debate over the difference between public and private in ancient Rome, see Clarke 1991: 1-30; Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 43-97; 1994: 17-38. The main distinction that has bearing on this chapter is the debate over the legitimacy of displaying objects seized in foreign conquest in the domus. The Romans themselves disagreed on this issue and on whether they were sacred or profane objects, which is generally the source of the argument over the legalities of displaying the objects within the domus, as we see in Cicero’s case against Verres (Cic. Verr. 2.52-4).

208 Pliny NH 35.2. The houses of Q. Lutatius Catulus and Pompey were celebrated examples. See also Rutledge 2012: 127. We see further evidence of this familial “triumph” in triumphal coins minted by a triumphator’s descendants that reference their ancestor’s triumphs. L. Aemilius Paullus’ trophy coin for his ancestor’s 167 triumph (RRC 415/1) and Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius’ (RRC 374/1) elephant coin that recalled his ancestor L. Metellus’ triumph with elephants are good examples of this.

209 Furthermore, the extant literary reference to M. Claudius Marcellus’ globe of Archimedes is actually through his descendant, who still had it in his home in Cicero’s lifetime (Cic. Rep. 1.21).

210 Welch 2006: 91. As Welch states, “the pairing of the terms domi militiaeque, ‘at home and in the field,’ therefore, denoted not only a dichotomy but also a close relationship in Roman thinking between war and the
Credit for this new shift in practice goes, once again, to M. Claudius Marcellus, who chose to put one of two globes belonging to Archimedes on display in his home—the other he placed in his Temple to Honos and Virtus (Cic., Rep. 1.21). Katherine Welch argues that while it was standard practice for triumphal generals to display captured weapons on the façade of their houses in the third century, Marcellus’ decision to put Archimedes’ globe in his house crossed an unspoken line (2006: 111-112). Spoils, by tradition, were supposed to be divided between the treasury and the general. Because Romans before Marcellus classified plunder as captured military technology or sacred objects, the “private” space of the house was not an appropriate venue for artistic spoils.

One of the difficulties that both Romans and modern historians have faced in addressing the issue of displaying triumphal plunder in the domus or villa is the difference between public and private space. While the Romans saw the domus as an extension of the political sphere where clients and political supporters could come and go with few restrictions, certain aspects of public life were not acceptable within the confines of the domus. One of those boundaries is

domus.” For Welch, this relationship is the reason why it was acceptable for Roman generals and later for other elites to display plundered objects in the home, an area that was normally taboo. This relationship between war and the domus is clear in the evidence we have not only of generals who displayed spoils in their homes, but also generals such as M. Fulvius Nobilior, who displayed an imago of Ambracia, normally displayed in temples along with plunder, in his home (Livy 38.43.9).

211 McDonnell (2006: 81) discusses the criticisms surrounding Marcellus’ actions. See Shatzman (1972: 177-205) for the debate over the disposition of spoils. Welch (2006: 112-113) argues that acceptable forms of house decoration despite the controversy, which could have serious political consequences (116-117).

212 For Cicero’s distinctions between public and private space, see Scaur. 26; II Verr. 2.133; Q. Fr. 1.1.25; Off. 2.50. Vitruvius (6.5.1) also delineates the difference between public and private space, and Pliny the Younger (51.5, 83.1) praised Trajan for conducting business in plain view, implying that the domus was not an appropriate space for state business. Similarly, Bounia (2004: 205), in discussing how public spaces such as a library or gymnasium could become part of the private sphere, argues that the public nature of the client system already contained an element of public space, making the transition rather simple. She states that the client system “led to a theatricalization and sacralisation of the house (typical in the painting of the second style). Phenomena like the decoration of private space with pinacothecae, therefore, or Hortensius placing the painting of the Argonauts by Cydias that he had bought in an aedes (shrine) in his villa (35.130-132), or even the freedman who worshipped the lamp that had led him to his freedom and fortune (through a sexual relationship with his mistress) (34.11-12) come therefore to upset and unsettle the notion of sacred and profane, private and public, and to distribute power in a manner that disturbs the ‘natural order’ and, consequently, the political order. As Wallace-Hadrill has asserted, the locus of political
the separation between sacred and profane. A domus was private space in the sense that only private, family-oriented rites and rituals could be performed there. As a result, triumphal plunder did not belong there. What did belong to the general would traditionally be sold and turned into cash or dedicated as votive offerings to gods in thanksgiving. However, there were no explicit legal restrictions against the display of plunder in the home, nor was there an enforceable legal distinction between public and private space in the Republican period. All that was required, therefore, was a general willing to depart from custom.

While Marcellus broke with precedent by displaying the globe in his home, his decision was aided by the fact that much of his plunder did not come from explicitly sacred space and by the fact that the Romans were already familiar with Hellenistic art. Syracuse was the seat of a Hellenistic king with a vast royal collection of both public and private art and luxury goods. In many ways, these generals were importing pre-existing collections and practices of display as they conquered Hellenistic cities and then transforming them into representations of Roman power. These royal collections offered broader possibilities for display because such artwork occupied a blurred intermediate place between Rome’s definitions of sacred and profane. They were profane because they came mostly from private ownership but they were also somewhat sacred because of their classification as spoils. Because there was no explicit precedent

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214 Crawford 1985: 95-98.
216 What did change with Marcellus’ plunder was, according to McDonnell (2006: 72, 84) the style of the art, which was in marble, as opposed to terracotta and bronze, and included nude statues.
217 This distinction is implied in Polybius’s reference to the triumphs of M. Claudius Marcellus (211) and L. Aemilius Paullus (167): “It was just at the period [after Pydna in 168] we are treating of that this present tendency to extravagance declared itself, first of all because they thought that now after the fall of the Macedonian kingdom their universal dominion was undisputed, and next because after the riches of Macedonia had been transported to Rome there was a great display of wealth both in private and in public (περί τε τούς κατ’ ἱδίαν βίους καὶ περί τὰ κοινά)”
regarding plunder that came from private collections, generals like Marcellus could skirt or break accepted practice and display plunder in their homes. Writing generations later, Cicero compares Verres to Marcellus, arguing that Marcellus’ display of Archimedes’ globe was acceptable practice, because it reproduced the original context of the object—in other words a privately-owned object remained privately-owned. In Cicero’s mind, where Verres went wrong was in taking what had been sacred public objects and making them privately-owned by displaying them in his home.

Despite Cicero’s attempt to create a clear distinction between public and private spoils, it became increasingly common for generals to keep a portion of their spoils in their homes. Such behavior was not without criticism, however. Cato the Elder, for example, rails against the private display of cult statues: “I wonder that people dare, not respecting religious tradition, to place statues and paintings of the gods, as exempla of their forms, in their houses as if they were household furniture.” Cato’s comment is not directed at Marcellus per se, but at the increasing tendency for elites to display cult statues and paintings in a private context. Later sources indicate that Q. Fabius Maximus, Marcellus’ main political rival, tried to stand apart from Marcellus by not seizing sacred statues (Plut. Marc. 21.4). As with the plunder itself, the private display of plunder soon became more about one’s political power and popularity than about any real concern over the validity of displaying plunder in the domus. In other words, only political rivals were likely to complain about the practice (McDonnell 2006: 81; Welch 2006: 104, 123).

(Polyb. 31.25.6-8). Polybius praises Marcellus for maintaining the sacred-profane distinction in his appropriation of Syracuse’s spoils, stating “The Romans on the present occasion, after transferring all these objects to Rome, used such as came from private houses to embellish their own living spaces (τοὺς ἴππους βίους), and those that were state property for their public buildings” (Polyb. 9.10.12-13). See also Pape 1975: 33, n.46.

Cic. Rep. 1.21; Verr. 2.52-4; Sall. Cat. 12.4. For the purposes of this chapter, I will rely on Welch’s observation (2006: 91-2) that the domus was a quasi-public space designed for leisure, entertainment, politics, and “the business of war.”

Of course, Cicero had clear reasons for wanting to distinguish Verres from someone like Marcellus.

„Miror audere atque religionem non tenere, statuas deorum, exempla earum facierum, signa domi pro supellectile statuere” (ORF no. 98, translated by Welch 2006: 103).
Even with the possibility of facing severe criticism, many triumphal generals in the late third through early first centuries BCE chose to put some of their plunder in their homes, since they could project a very different, often more ostentatious, image of themselves there than they could by placing plunder in public spaces. M. Claudius Marcellus, L. Scipio, Cn. Manlius Vulso, L. Licinius Lucullus, and Pompey, for example, all displayed at least part of their spoils in their homes.\textsuperscript{221} The public display of plundered objects emphasized military success, which was important to a general’s political career. The private display of art, however, emphasized a dramatically different aspect of elite culture and allowed generals to compete for political power in new ways.\textsuperscript{222} Scholars including Welch (2006), Bartman (1991), Miles (2008), McDonnell (2006), and Gazda (1991) have emphasized that the private display of artwork signaled cultural and intellectual knowledge. In theory, such cultural knowledge and taste differentiated Roman elites from their more “brutish” peers, in other words, New Men or men with greater military skill. This helps explain the frequent criticism of L. Mummius that he did not understand the value of the art he plundered at Corinth (Strabo 8.6.23). An elite Greek education and an awareness of the aesthetic value of art enhanced a man’s reputation and could contribute to his political popularity.\textsuperscript{223} Combining public and private display allowed generals to emphasize two fundamentally different aspects of prestige: their martial and their cultural prowess.

The movement of plunder into the home marked a significant shift in the role of war booty over the course of the Republican period. Once a general could use art and cultural

\textsuperscript{221} Indeed, Katharine Welch (2006: 136-137) argues that the Second Style of painting grew out of a practical need to display booty to advantage in the \textit{domus}.

\textsuperscript{222} As Polybius states: “In their houses they hang up the spoils they won in the most conspicuous places (ἐν τε ταῖς οίκισις κατὰ τοὺς ἔπιφανεστάτους τόπους τιθάσαι τὰ σκῦλα), looking upon them as tokens and evidences of their courage. No wonder that a people whose rewards and punishments are allotted so carefully…should be brilliantly successful in war” (Polyb. 6.39.10, translated by Welch 2006: 110).

\textsuperscript{223} L. Aemilius Paullus is credited with being the first to give his children Greek education (Plut. Aem. 6.4-5), making it in a sense another triumphal introduction, in other words something introduced to Rome via the triumph.
sophistication to enhance his renown, it lessened the need to demonstrate significant military achievements. Martial prowess was still a major component of Roman elite self-representation, but it was now possible to signal one’s status by owning an art collection. As a result of this shift in practice, the value of triumphal objects gradually shifted from symbolic value (i.e. for their representation of violence and domination) to their more practical use value (Bounia 2004: 9-10).

In other words, the private display of plunder transformed plundered artwork into commodities. This transformation was made possible by the fact that these objects had multiple identities and functions that owners could “consume.” As elite Romans focused more on the artistic functions of these objects instead of their function as representations of conquest, they broadened the definition of prestige to include not only a symbolic sense of the triumphal origins but also a definition of prestige that included cultural sophistication and wealth. This form of prestige relied more on the decorative functions of these objects, a function that anyone could “consume” by purchasing and displaying art and luxury goods in his home.

**The Economy of Prestige**

While triumphal generals played a pivotal role in bringing plundered artwork into Rome, in many ways their increasingly sophisticated use of these objects would have a greater legacy. The multiple functions of plundered art—as symbols of conquest, as decoration, and as status symbols, for example—allowed generals to play with the meaning of their plundered art through display first in public and then in their homes. These displays became thematic representations of conquest and, in a sense, proto-collections. The increasing emphasis on objects both in the triumphal parade and in their display were part of a growing interest in Hellenistic art that spawned the development of a substantial market for art and luxury goods in Rome’s economy of prestige.
There is a clear association in the extant literary and archaeological evidence between the introduction of art and luxury goods in the triumphal parade and the interest among Roman elites in owning those objects. The evidence of shipwrecks discussed below clearly points to the growing elite interest in owning luxury objects. Moreover, Livy attributes the desire for owning bronze couches and other types of luxury furniture to the triumph of Gn. Manlius Vulso (Livy 39.6.7-9). Pliny also credits Vulso with the introduction of these luxury goods into Rome (NH 34.8.14). Similar “firsts” were ascribed to Marcellus, L. Scipio, L. Licinius Lucullus, and Pompey, among others. These men introduced luxury goods as plunder, but by using them as decoration in temples and their homes, they paved the way for other Roman elites either to steal, like Verres, or purchase similar luxury objects. For Roman elites, the value in purchasing these luxury goods was that they conveyed the same type of prestige that owning triumphal plunder gave to generals because luxury goods had a symbolic association with the triumph. Not only that, but the elastic functions of art and luxury goods allowed elite Romans to combine objects and architectural space to create visual messages that emphasized their taste and cultured backgrounds.

The popularity of art and luxury goods and their utility as markers of status drove elite Romans both to purchase and at times loot Hellenistic art and luxury goods to decorate their homes. Verres is the most infamous example of aristocratic Romans who while not on military campaigns looted and bullied local people into selling their art at ridiculously low prices, and commanded agents to purchase statues for private collections. Cicero and others attack Verres for his private use of his loot (Juven. 8.100-7). From the descriptions in Cicero, Verres stole or

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224 The literary evidence mainly takes the form of references to luxus in late Republican works, to the introduction of foreign artwork through the triumph, and to lists of objects owned by Roman elites. The primary archaeological evidence comes from shipwrecks, the excavations around Vesuvius, and from the predominance of sculptural copies of Greek originals, though these are hard to date accurately.
forced the purchase of luxury goods and seized statues from sanctuaries and temples, normally taboo, including a prized statue of Jupiter Imperator from its temple in Syracuse, as well as a statue of Paean and Aristeus from the Temple of Liber. He also confiscated a series of paintings depicting a cavalry engagement of King Agathocles from the Temple of Minerva (Verr. 2.4.30-2.4.47, 2.4.57.128-30, 2.4.57.122). In fact, Verres went so far beyond acceptable behavior in his search for luxury goods to display in his home that he stole some statues that Scipio Africanus had returned to various cities (i.e. Segesta) after his capture of Carthage (Verr. 2.4.32). He grabbed statues in Sicily that Marcellus had consciously left behind in his conquest because their locations were taboo. As Cicero proclaims, “This temple (of Minerva), which Marcellus did not touch, which he left full of precious things, has been so thoroughly stripped and plundered by Verres that it looks as if it had been ravaged not by an enemy in war-time, who would, after all, have kept some respect for religion and for established custom, but by a set of piratical savages (barbaris praedonibus)” (Verr. 2.4.54.122). Indeed, Cicero’s comment about Verres’ piratical tendencies is played out further by the fact that Verres collected and shipped his stolen goods back to his villa. While Cicero is keen to make Verres out as an exceptional case to highlight his wrongdoing, he is just one part of the growing late Republican trend of Roman elites collecting luxury items similar to those that entered the city via the triumphal parade by whatever means necessary. Plutarch, decrying Sulla’s proscriptions, charges that many of those killed were killed for their property, which would include their art. He claims:

In fact, it became commonplace for the executioners to say that so-and-so was killed by his great house, so-and-so by his gardens, and so-and-so by his baths. There was, for instance, one Quintus Aurelius who had nothing to do with politics and who imagined that he connected with these catastrophic events only because he sympathized with others in distress. He went to the Forum and, reading the list of the proscribed, saw his own name. ‘Woe is me!’ he said, ‘I am being hunted for my Alban Estate.’ He had not gone far before he was killed by someone who had been hunting him (Plut. Sulla 31.5-6; author’s translation).
Indeed, Verres himself would fall victim to the willingness of elites to steal art from the proscribed; Marc Antony tracked Verres down to Massilia (Marseilles), who had proscribed Verres to get his hands on Verres’ Corinthian bronzes.\textsuperscript{225}

As the desirability of luxury goods increased—particularly as symbols of status and prestige that any aristocrat could own—Roman elites followed Verres’ example and used their provincial magistracies as an opportunity to loot or forcibly purchase luxury goods.\textsuperscript{226} As praetor of Sardinia in 56/5 BCE, M. Aemilius Scaurus seized 3,000 bronze statues to place in the niches of the temporary theater he built in Rome and imported 360 columns made from Africano marble from Teos for his theater and to decorate his \textit{domus}.\textsuperscript{227} Like Q. Caecilius Metellus, Scaurus also imported marble to construct the walls of the temporary theater (\textit{NH} 36.8). This move increased his popularity and underscored his wealth because shipping marble was extremely expensive.\textsuperscript{228} Scaurus utilized what remained of the material and artwork he had either looted or purchased to

\textsuperscript{225} Pliny \textit{NH} 34.6. Verres purportedly refused to hand over his bronzes, so Antony had one of his agents send Verres some poison in Antony’s most expensive myrrhine cup. Verres drank the poison and then smashed the cup (Pliny \textit{NH} 34.6). Petronius’ \textit{Satyricon}, while a much later example, mocks the obsession with collecting luxury goods by having his nouveau-riche characters collect whatever they can. Petronius himself collected bowls and drinking cups and fell victim to Nero’s desire for one of his myrrhine bowls; he met the same fate as Verres and likewise destroyed the bowl to spite Nero (Pliny \textit{NH} 37.20).

\textsuperscript{226} M. Aemilius Scaurus, for example, likely pushed the town of Sicyon to sell him its artwork for a drastically reduced price when the town could not pay its debts (Pliny \textit{NH} 35.40.128). This artwork included paintings by Pausias, according to Pliny (\textit{NH} 34.50.128). Other examples of provincial looting in this period include C. Murena and C. Varro, who took wall paintings from a temple in Sparta (Vitr. 2.8.9; Pliny \textit{NH} 35.173), M. Cotta, for looting Heracleia (Val.Max. 5.4.4; Dio Cass. 36.40.4), and C. Dolabella, under whom Verres served as legate in Asia (\textit{Cic. Att.} I.2.1.95-100). C. Lucretius Gallus acquired pictures from Boeotia in 170 but through dishonest means and "was prosecuted for allegedly illegal appropriation of cultural property and criticized for his private use of artistic treasures” (Livy 43.4.7; \textit{Cic. Verr.} 2.1.55, 2.2.4, 2.4.120-1). For other extortion trials, see Alexander (1990), particularly his index of defendants (1990: 215-220) and Gruen 1974: 260-358.

\textsuperscript{227} Pliny \textit{NH} 36.2-3. Scaurus was accused of extortion but with Cicero’s defense, he was acquitted despite his probable guilt. Scaurus could have purchased the columns, but the fact that he imported them during his praetorship in Sardinia implies that he looted them, since that is the year for which he was accused of extortion. This marble from Teos became known as Lucullan marble, because Lucullus was the first to import it. Pliny simply refers to it as Lucullan marble in his description of Scaurus’ columns (\textit{NH} 36.3)

\textsuperscript{228} The weight of that much marble alone made this a costly shipping extravagance for a temporary theater. Pliny considered even the size of the temporary theater to be extravagant, stating that it held 80,000 citizens but Pompey’s huge theater needed to hold no more than 40,000 (\textit{NH} 36.24). See also Pietilä-Castrén 1982: 135.
decorate his villa. For both Verres and Scaurus, the appeal of these objects was as decoration and as a representation of their wealth and cultural sophistication. The lines between what one looted or purchased for public consumption—for temples, public spaces, etc.—and what one looted or purchased for private consumption had blurred completely. Verres looted public and private spaces, used both sacred and profane objects as decoration for his homes, and loaned or gifted these objects to friends. Scaurus used his imports both to augment his aedileship and to decorate his home, drawing on both raw materials such as marble and artwork to decorate his theater and his home.

While men like Verres tried to loot the provinces illegally, many more chose to purchase their luxury goods in order to decorate their homes and create private collections. The market for luxury goods that developed in the late Republican period had its antecedents in the triumphal plunder that entered Rome from the Greek East beginning in the second century BCE during the period of conquest. As Welch (2006: 132) argues, once these objects were no longer available via direct conquest, Roman elites began to purchase similar works of art, both originals and copies thanks to the burgeoning copy industry that developed simultaneously. Cicero provides ample evidence of the developing “collecting habit” of first-century Roman elites. This habit had its roots in a desire for prestige, as Rutledge asserts:

Price, artist, history, previous owners, all could impart value to a particular object which, owing to its expense, its rarity, or its origins could be converted into a piece of cultural

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229 Pliny NH 36.24. According to Pliny, the material enhanced the value of Scaurus’ villa enough that it had been valued at 30,000,000 sesterces when Scaurus’ angry servants burned it down (NH 36.24).
230 Michael Crawford (1985: 93-98) argues that the line between public and private was always hazy, but that definitions, particularly in terms of property law, became more complex in the Ciceronian period.
231 Pliny also notes that Scaurus owned a gem collection and was the first Roman to do so, and that the gems Pompey seized from King Mithridates were inferior to those of Scaurus (NH 37.5).
capital for its owner, with Greek cultural artefacts taking pride of place. Such objects in turn confirmed the power of the owner as a member of the elite and the values of his own class, reaffirming the importance of the movers and shakers who dominated the narrative of the historical past for Roman collectors. They simultaneously also reaffirmed the value of wealth and consumption by virtue of their power to collect (2012: 68).

Cicero’s letters indicate that he regularly asked his friend Atticus to act as his agent while in Greece to purchase specific statues, such as a Hermathena (Att. I.4), that Cicero wanted to decorate his houses and his gardens. Cicero relied on Atticus’ expertise to find specific statues to complete a sculptural program for a particular room, such as his gymnasium, and also relied on Atticus for general decorating, trusting Atticus to choose objects representative of Cicero’s sense of decor (Att. I.4; I.6; I.8; I.10; II.4).

It is clear from Cicero’s dialogue with Atticus that these objects, rooted in a triumphal past, were fully consumer goods by Cicero’s lifetime. Cicero was aware of their value as symbols of his—and Atticus’—taste and decorum (Att. I.8), but did not consciously connect the objects to the triumphal plunder they imitated. This burgeoning collecting habit is also evident in the behavior of first-century triumphal generals.234 These generals had legitimate spoils that they could use as both public and private decoration, but they also chose to purchase luxury goods to enhance their collections. Cicero tells us that the general Pompey—who seized unparalleled amounts of plunder on his military campaigns—also used an agent to purchase specific statues and paintings (Att. 4.9.1). The fact that these generals mixed plunder and

234 Pompey (Cic. Att. IV.9.1) and L. Lucullus are the most well-attested examples of this. Lucullus purchased a copy of a painting by Pausias (Pliny NH 35.125) and commissioned statues from Arcesilas, offering to pay one million sesterces for a statue of Felicitas (NH 35.155-156). Sulla owned a statuette of Herakles Epirapezios by Lysippus (Statius, 90-98). M. Aemilius Lepidus imported columns of Phrygian marble for the Basilica Aemilia in 78, as well as Numidian marble lintels for his house (NH 36.8). L. Crassus also imported Hymettan marble columns for his house (Pliny NH 36.3). Q. Hortensius paid 144,000 sesterces for a painting of the Argonauts by Cydias and created a shrine with it in his villa at Tusculum (NH 35.40). We also see evidence of a growing selectivity of plunder during conquest, which may be evidence of this collecting habit. For example, M. Porcius Cato the Younger only kept a statue of Zeno the philosopher out of his spoils (Pliny NH 34.92), Lucullus only took a globe by Billarus and a statue of Autolycus by Sthennis when he captured Sinope in 74 (Strabo 12.3.11), and Cicero praises Pompey for his selectivity (Pro. Leg. Man. 40; 66).
purchased objects underscores the growing desirability of displaying private collections;
Pompey, for example, mixed purchased and despoiled items, as did Lucullus.\footnote{235} Furthermore, this mixing between plundered and purchased objects points to the fact that it was the objects themselves that were desirable, regardless of how one acquired them.

The economy of prestige that developed over the course of the first century BCE pushed elite Romans to purchase luxury goods as a means of displaying their wealth and as a way to compete with their rivals. The emphasis on display, rooted in triumphal practices, is evident in Plutarch, who claims “most men think themselves robbed of their wealth if they are prevented from displaying it, and that display of it is made in the superfluities, not in the necessaries of life.”\footnote{236} It is clear that, by Plutarch’s period, the notion of having art in one’s home as a sign of one’s status was so widespread that it had been incorporated into Plutarch’s worldview as commonplace. While Cicero provides the bulk of the contemporary literary evidence for the economy of prestige, he is not alone in his desire to express his status through luxury goods. Pliny the Elder lists other Romans who also purchased expensive luxury goods, generally providing both a description of the object and a purchase price. C. Gracchus, for example, purchased two silver dolphin figurines for 5,000 sesterces.\footnote{237} The importance of display is also reflected in the design of houses, as is evident with the villas at Pompeii and Oplontis, as well as in Vitruvius, who advises elite Romans to include a picture gallery (\textit{pinacotheca}) in their

\footnote{235} For Pompey, see Pliny \textit{NH} 7.3.34-36; for Lucullus, see Pliny \textit{NH} 34.93.
\footnote{236} Plut. \textit{Cat. Mai.} 18. The trade of luxury goods became so popular that Pliny even noted that many Romans were cheated because they could not distinguish between authentic importations and counterfeit (\textit{NH} 37.75).
\footnote{237} Pliny \textit{NH} 33.147. Other examples include L. Crassus purchased a pair of chased silver goblets by the artist Mentor for 100,000 sesterces (\textit{NH} 33.147) and purchased other vessels for 6,000 sesterces per pound (\textit{NH} 33.147). The heirs of L. Crassus sold bronze dinner couches (\textit{NH} 34.8), indicating that he had likely purchased some at an earlier date. P. Lentulus Spinther owned onyx marble wine jars, though it is unclear if he purchased or looted them (\textit{NH} 36.12). Varro owned a marble group of winged Cupids playing with a lioness by Arcesilaus (\textit{NH} 36.4). Caesar purchased a pearl for Servilia (Suet. \textit{Cae.} 50.2). We also have descriptions of the private collections of L. Lucullus (Varro, \textit{Rust.} 1.2.10; Pliny \textit{NH} 34.36; Plut. \textit{Luc.} 39.2), Q. Hortensius (Pliny \textit{NH} 35.130, 34.48), and M. Terentius Varro (Pliny \textit{NH} 36.41). See also Rutledge 2012: 57-8.
homes. We also see evidence for the economy of prestige in the flourishing trade in the raw materials needed to create luxury goods, especially marble, expensive wood, and minerals for pigments. L. Crassus imported nettle trees to display in his house, at great expense, and Sosius imported cedar for a statue of Apollo in 66.

Both terrestrial and nautical archaeology indicate that an economy of prestige existed in the second and first centuries BCE; there is ample archaeological evidence for its existence not only in the remains of private collections such as in the Villa of the Papyri but also in shipwrecks. Three wrecks in particular—the Artemision (c. 140 BCE), the Mahdia (c. 100-70 BCE), and the Antikythera (c. 80s BCE)—illustrate the degree to which elite Romans engaged in both the looting and purchase of luxury goods, often simultaneously. Scholars are hard pressed to determine whether wrecks such as the Mahdia, which shows evidence that the statues were removed forcibly from their original location, were legitimate plunder destined for a triumph, the illegal loot of someone like Verres, or a mixture of plunder, loot, and even purchase. By the first century BCE, the method of acquisition did not carry nearly as much

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238 Vitr. 6.5.2. This room could be multi-functional. For archaeological evidence of the pinacotheca, see the House of the Vettii's cubiculum (Pompeii, VI.15.1).

239 Pliny NH 12.2. Propertius also indicates the extent to which citrus wood had become associated with domestic furniture, stating "thyio thalamo aut Orycia terebintho, a chamber in citronwood or in Orycian terebinth" (Proper. 3.7.49). Russell Meiggs argues citrus wood was known to the Romans as a luxury item, but not imported with any frequency until the end of the second century (1982: 46). Citrus wood also appears frequently in Roman sources, including Varro (Satires, 182); Statius (Silvae, 4.288-9); Martial (10.80, 14.3; 14.89-91); Petronius (119.27-32); Propertius (3.7.49); Plautus (Rudens, 629-30); Pliny (NH 19.38); and Strabo (17.3.22). After the conquest of Greece, the marble trade also came to Rome and the pentelic marble seen in the Round Temple in the Forum Boarium and in the Temple of Jupiter Stator shows evidence of this trade (Strauss 2008: 178).

240 The Antikythera wreck’s dating is the subject of controversy. Much of the argument for dating revolves around the astronomical device, which has been dated to the early first century by shipwreck specialists Strauss and Parker, but to 80-65 BCE by de Solla Price (1974). See Strauss 2008: 180, 224; Parker 1992: no. 44. The Pergamene coins dating to 88-86 BCE have led scholars to argue that the shipwreck consisted of looted goods that came from the Second Mithridatic War (Strauss 2008: 180).

241 The marble of the Mahdia wreck presents a complicated picture for determining what was looted and what was purchased. The only marble in the wreck that can reliably be considered looted is the seven life-sized marble busts thought to be designed for niches in a temple or sanctuary. Strauss (2008: 179). The Mahdia wreck included marble pillars, but Strauss (2008) and others argue that the pillars were most likely purchased.

242 Julia Strauss argues that most of these bronzes must have come from temples and sanctuaries, areas that had been taboo to earlier Romans but became common targets for looting in the second and first centuries. The Mahdia,
weight as the ownership of luxury goods did. Shipwreck evidence also reinforces the literary reports that point to a second-century date for the development of the economy of prestige, as wrecks with artwork and furniture that could arguably have been destined for Italy do not date to earlier than the second century BCE.243

These wrecks carried a mixture of bronze and marble statues—both originals and what are likely mass-produced copies—furniture, and other luxury goods that mirror the types of luxury goods that literary sources indicate were desirable for elite collectors.244 The presence of copies in particular points to the development of a copy industry in order to fulfill the needs of elite Roman clients for Hellenistic artwork. Welch (2006: 132-134) argues that the copying industry developed simultaneously with the popularity of villas. Villas offered both more space and greater flexibility in the use of space than the domus, with its closer ties to traditional Roman customs. Thus for Welch, the copying industry and the villa’s popularity developed simultaneously to fulfill the eclectic tastes of elite Romans that were, in many ways, rooted in the “booty mentality” of the second century BCE (Welch 2006: 132). The evidence of wrecks such as the Mahdia support the idea that the copy industry developed after 145 BCE, but I would argue that shipwreck evidence also points to the internalization of the relationship between triumphal plunder and luxury consumer goods, as these wrecks carried a jumbled mess of copies

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243 While archaeologists have only discovered a handful of wrecks from the period that fit this criteria—therefore not enough to indicate a reliable pattern—it is telling that there are no wrecks from before 200 that fit the criteria. See the shipwreck catalogues in Strauss (2008), Parker (1992) or in the shipwrecks database for the online Oxford Economy Project, at http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/databases/shipwrecks_database/.

244 Furniture, for example, became increasingly desirable over the course of the second century after the introduction of luxury furniture in the triumphs of L. Scipio and Gn. Manlius Vulso. Delos became known as a prime source for bronze beds (Pliny NH 34.9). The interest in beds is further attested in the complaints of Cato the Elder, who decries the extravagant importation of citrus wood and the pigments used to decorate furniture and mosaics (Rust. 3.2.3-4). Even the woods used to make tables—such as maple, citrus, cedar, boxwood—were considered luxuries (Meiggs 1982: 286-97).
and—likely looted—originals. The Mahdia wreck, for example, had numerous plundered marble pieces, including marble statues that closely resembled those found at Sperlonga, indicating they were probably mass-produced copies. The Antikythera wreck had thirty-six marble statues that were probably copies of bronze originals and could have been looted or purchased.

The extant literary and archaeological evidence clearly illustrates that an economy of prestige had developed by the first century BCE. Roman elites, acculturated to the symbolic value of triumphal plunder as prestige items, sought out art and luxury goods to display privately in their homes. These objects, once paraded in triumphs and dedicated in Roman temples, now could be found decorating elite gardens and houses. While most of these objects circulated into through the burgeoning luxury art market, their social value lay in the fact that they retained a symbolic association with the triumph. Furthermore, the fact that it is difficult to tell whether the archaeological evidence found in shipwrecks was looted or purchased suggests that Roman

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245 The Mahdia wreck is thought to be the collection of a Roman senator such as Lucullus because it combined looted and traded goods in large quantities and was quite diverse. See Strauss (2008: 179); Hemingway (2004). The bronzes from the wreck include a satyr, now in the Musée National du Bardo in Tunis, a Dionysius herm, inscribed with the name of its artist Boëthus of Chalcedon, a winged boy with an olive wreath thought to be Agon or Eros, a bust of Ariadne, and two statuettes of dancing dwarfs. Strauss (2008: 179, 222). The bronzes, at least, show signs that they were forcibly removed from their marble bases, which lead scholars to argue that the cargo belonged to someone like L. Licinius Lucullus or L. Licinius Crassus, or were destined for an unknown triumph. Strauss (2008: 222) argues for the possibility of L. Licinius Crassus. The Mazara del Vallo from the second-first centuries BCE is an example of a “copy industry” wreck, as it had a bronze satyr, thought to be a copy because of the high lead content (Strauss 2008: 224).

246 Strauss 2008: 179.

247 The Antikythera wreck included a dozen luxury glass vessels thought to be from Alexandria, jewelry, and fine and coarse pottery. The bronzes from the wreck include a philosopher’s head, dated to c. 230 BCE, a young man holding a spherical object, possibly Hermes, Paris, or a basic Ephebe, dated to c. 340-330 BCE and possibly the work of Euphranor, a bronze helmeted warrior, bronze bed decorations, and the famous astronomical device. The wreck also included thirty-six marble statues, possibly copies of earlier bronze originals (Strauss 2008: 180). The Pozzino wreck of 140-120 BCE contained Megarian bowls, blue frit glass, and pottery, plus some unfinished glass in ingot form, bronze vases, candelabra, decorative pieces including a shell-shaped lamp, and bronze couches (Strauss 2008: 218). The couches were numbered, indicating that the wreck included at least twenty-two (Strauss 2008: 224). The Artemision wreck included bronzes such as a fifth-century Poseidon brandishing a trident (or possibly a Zeus), possibly by Kalamis, a bronze of a young man riding a horse, dated to c. 140 (Strauss 2008: 223; Hemingway 2004). Hemingway attributes the Artemision wreck to Mummius. Strauss is not persuaded but she does argue that the wreck most likely occurred in the mid-second century BCE (2008: 180).
elites, including generals, participated in the economy of prestige and that, by the first century BCE, the origins of these goods did not matter as much as their symbolic value.

**Conclusion**

Perhaps the finest example of the result of the economy of prestige is the Villa of the Papyri. The artwork in the Villa of the Papyri demonstrates the degree to which Romans had internalized the relationship between triumphal plunder and luxury consumer goods. While the Villa of the Papyri was built after the period covered in this chapter—roughly between 50 BCE and 50 CE—it, like many other villas in the period, drew on the long-term trends of the earlier period, making it an appropriate example of the economy of prestige. The sculptures of the villa’s two peristyles were designed specifically for the space and were used to conduct the viewer through a specific visual narrative, much like Metellus arranged his portico, “manipulat[ing] [the viewer] visually and spatially” (Warden 1993: 232). Furthermore, the spatial and thematic relationship in the Villa of the Papyri offers archaeological evidence for the deliberate purchase of specific statues to complete a thematic collection.

The Villa demonstrates that the relationship between the triumph and Greek artwork had been internalized so completely that the mere ownership of Greek art could convey one’s elite status and prestige to visitors. Indeed, it is not difficult to see in the behavior of these elite Romans why Horace questioned who exactly had conquered whom (*Ep. 2.1.156-157*). The owner used his sculptural program to fashion his own identity, or at least signal his values, just as Cicero did. I would also argue that this may also be evidence of the tacit or subconscious awareness of the triumphal origins of these types of art. In essence, all Greek statuary in this period contained a patina of *virtus* because such statues initially came to Rome in triumphal processions. Indeed, the juxtaposition in the peristyle of well-known military and political
leaders with the poets and philosophers who represent the new Greco-Roman elite culture seems to be a retelling not only of Rome’s successful conquest of the East but also of the rise of artistic taste and cultural sophistication and signals of one’s status and reputation.

The Villa’s sculptures contained bronze dancers, herms, statues of Hellenistic kings and statesmen, and other works that bear a close resemblance to the literary descriptions of plundered artwork and the extant triumphal sculptures, such as those of M. Fulvius Nobilior now in the Centrale Montemartini Museum in Rome. The Villa’s garden peristyle also seems to follow the pattern known from Pompey’s portico and other triumphal examples. In other words, the villa shows how an elite Roman could use artwork and luxury goods to mimic the style present in triumphal temples. Pliny the Elder also provides literary evidence of this internalization of the relationship between the triumph and luxury goods. He connects the introduction of almost every type of luxury good—from bronze dining couches to chased goblets to Myrrhine ware—to triumphal processions and at times switches immediately from describing the introduction of a type of luxury good during a triumph to describing an elite Roman’s similar collection. For Pliny looking back to the Republic, the triumph brought the world to Rome where it was displayed in temples for Romans to enjoy and then replicate in private art collections. Indeed, Pliny (NH 36.101) alludes to the city’s role as a collecting ground for the world’s treasures when he states “If we imagine the whole agglomeration of our buildings massed together and placed on one great heap, we shall see such grandeur towering above us as to make us think that some other world were being described, all concentrated in one single place.”

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248 In a similar vein, Rouveret (1987: 126) states "…les merveilles de Rome sont entasées comme un trophée (aceruata, cumulum), leur masse imaginaire transforme Rome en un univers qui a absorbé tous les autres. Cet univers est de l'ordre de l'extrapolation et du récit et il s'agit d'un récit qui s'attache à un lieu: si mundus alius quidam in loco narretur. Rome est le lieu de mémoire du monde qui sanctionne ainsi sa domination universelle."
Pliny’s worldview encompasses the complex relationship between triumphal plunder, prestige, and display that transformed plunder from an object of conquest into something to be collected over the course of the mid-to-late Republic. The result of these long-term changes is clear in the anecdote about Lucullus that opened this chapter. By Lucullus’ lifetime, extravagant living and owning luxury goods, especially triumphal plunder, was not atypical but would have been unimaginable a few centuries earlier. Lucullus’ perception of the dining set as one of many that he uses for dinner parties indicates the degree to which plunder was no longer a material expression of conquest, but rather something for decorating one’s house and entertain one’s friends. While the collecting habits of late-Republican elites were not necessarily a direct result of the triumphal procession, the luxury goods that Lucullus and his peers owned were steeped in a triumphal history whose existence is evident in the literary and archaeological evidence of the late first century BCE and the first century CE.

The idea that the Romans, through their collections, brought the world to Rome is somewhat ironic, since later Romans believed, at least to a certain degree, that they were exporting their own civilization through conquest.
Chapter 4
Coins, Inscriptions, and Trophies as Material Expressions of Power

In honor of his military successes, Cn. Pompeius Magnus celebrated three triumphs (79, 71, and 61 BCE), erected inscriptions in Rome detailing his military exploits (Plut. Pomp. 45), and constructed a massive theater complex in Rome to house his spoils. He also built a monumental trophy in the Pyrenes proclaiming his conquest over 876 towns in Spain (Pliny NH 3.3.18), and he and his supporters issued a series of coins celebrating Pompey’s key victories (RRC 422/1b, 426/3, 426/4, 431/1). Pompey’s actions represent two distinct but overlapping methods that the Romans used to celebrate and advertise military victory in the Republican period. Generals celebrated military victory in the city of Rome by putting up fixed monuments including temples, trophies, and complexes to display their military success and their virtus. Initially, this method of celebration was a means for Romans to speak to each other about conquest, notably through the plundered objects that circulated into the city via conquest and the monuments that housed them. From the mid-third century BCE, the Roman state also used images of military victory on its medium of exchange, i.e. coins, as another means of conveying military victory to a Roman audience. In other words, elite Roman men from a very early date used a combination of fixed and mobile objects to express military success, authority, and dominance primarily to a Roman audience. From at least the late-third century BCE, however, these visual methods for communicating about conquest began to circulate outward into areas of Roman expansion as Roman generals began to construct fixed monuments in the form of trophies and inscriptions, as well as on mobile objects such as coins. Consequently, what had been a method for expressing military victory within the city of Rome was now used to articulate conquest among the conquered. Previous chapters have already established how the Romans
celebrated military victory in Rome through fixed and mobile objects (i.e. plunder). This chapter examines the evidence for the circulation of images of military victory, both fixed and mobile, in areas of Roman expansion, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula, Cisalpine Gaul, and the Greek provinces.

It is important to note that the evidence for the Roman use of coins and inscriptions in areas of Roman expansion can be problematic. While inscriptions provide written evidence, their language is often formulaic, and it can be difficult to determine the motivation for erecting a specific inscription. Some inscriptions, such as Pompey’s monumental triumphal inscription in the Pyrenees, are known only through descriptions by later Roman historians. Coins are particularly problematic because usually they are found in hoards, which do not always provide accurate information on coin circulation, and they were buried for reasons that are difficult to reconstruct. For this chapter, I do not attempt to make an economic argument or an argument about coin circulation per se. Instead, I look at the location of hoards and the images on the coins in those hoards. My questions concern if and how coins played a role in Roman conquest, as they circulated with the Roman army and as many of the coins in areas of Roman expansion bore martial images. Whether this use of coins was intentional or not, the result was the same: coins with images of military victory circulated in areas of Roman expansion. Even more significantly, the evidence indicates that conquered peoples—regardless of Roman intention—read these coins as representative of Roman power and reacted to them in different ways, including adopting Roman coinage or actively resisting Roman authority by minting their own coins. I begin with the nature of numismatic evidence and the relevant scholarship on coin use, reception, hoards, and iconography. Then, I turn to three case studies of the numismatic, monumental, and inscriptive evidence for three areas of Roman conquest. Lastly, I examine non-Roman
reactions to images of Roman military victory.

While the messages conveyed on Roman coins likely made sense to members of the community, these messages are not always clear to modern viewers. To understand the iconography of victory coins and the significance of the coin hoard data, one must understand the evidence itself. There are three aspects of coin use that are essential to the argument on the iconography of coins with martial images—what I term “victory coins”—and the messages they conveyed. First is the history of Roman coinage, including the introduction of the victoriatus and the denarius denominations, the role of moneyers, and the iconographic shift in the 130s BCE. Second is the overlapping issue of message and audience. In other words, understanding what the Romans hoped to convey with their coin images and who their intended audience might have been and whether the Romans consciously used coins as propaganda. Third, coin hoards provide most of the raw data for coin circulation, the economy, production, and changes in coin iconography. Thus, hoards are a crucial form of evidence, albeit one with limitations. In many ways, these three aspects of coin use were influenced by political and social changes both in Rome and in the provinces.

Coins served a communicative function in the ancient world that was both economic and symbolic (Noreña 2011: 248-49). Economically, they identified the issuing authority and served as a legitimate and standardized unit of exchange, one that was used with more regularity in the western provinces than in the eastern provinces, which continued to use their own coins.

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249 Levick 1999: 41-61; Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 66-87; Howgego 2005: 1-19. Noreña (2011: 250) uses the “Lasswell Formula” proposed by Harold Lasswell (1948), which asks “Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?” Noreña breaks this down into agency (who), messages (says what), medium (in which channel), audience (to whom), and impact (with what effect?). While I will not use this formula in the strictest sense, it does influence my approach to coins.

250 In fact, Roman merchants typically had to exchange Roman coins for Attic drachmae, Macedonian staters, or Asian cistophori in order to trade (Harl 1996: 61-62).
Symbolically, coins communicated state or individual interests depending on the social and political conditions of the issuing authority (Noreña 2011: 251). Ancient peoples used iconography to indicate the coins’ legitimate authority. Typically, the obverse (front) image identified the issuing authority using the bust of a god or goddess connected to the city’s understanding of itself, i.e. Roma or Jupiter for the Romans. The reverse (back) image communicated a message about the city, often an eponymous image or one connected to the city’s founding or history. The legends usually enhanced the “readability” of the coin’s message.\textsuperscript{251} The combination of the obverse, reverse, and legend conveyed both the symbolic and an economic meaning to the holder (Williamson 2005: 19-29; Noreña 2011: 248-249).

**Coin Use: Roles, Messages, Hoards, and Iconography**

The history of Roman victory coins begins with the silver victoriatus, the first Roman coin with victory images, in the period between the first two Punic Wars. First introduced c. 229 BCE during the conquest of Illyria, the victoriatus typically bore the laureate head of Jupiter on the obverse and the goddess Victory crowning a trophy on the reverse (fig. 23). This combination of Jupiter and the goddess Victory crowning a trophy became the most common victory iconography for the rest of the Republican period regardless of the coin’s denomination. Over time, the Romans elaborated upon the Victory-and-trophy design, but this stock image remained commonplace, likely because of its association with the triumphal parade since Jupiter,

\textsuperscript{251} While Wallace-Hadrill (1986: 67-70) focuses on the imperial period in his article on coin iconography, he presents a useful basic framework for understanding the iconography on the obverse and reverse of the coins, so while the obverse image played a greater role in the coin’s overall message in the imperial period, Wallace-Hadrill’s framework is still useful. He states that “in different periods and contexts, either the obverse or the reverse bore most of the discursive force of the coin’s message…but the full message of the coin depended on the image and text on both faces, and it is therefore vital to ‘read’ the entire coin as a single, composite whole.” However, he notes that the reverse image bore most of the “discursive force of the coin’s message” in the Republican period. Thus, it will be the focus of this chapter.
Victory, and trophies all formed part of the triumphal ritual (Versnel 1970).

Perhaps the most significant development in the history of Roman coinage was the introduction of the denarius around 212 BCE. In the view of many scholars, the introduction of the denarius attempted to stabilize the silver currency that had become debased during the First Punic War (264-241), yet the date is significant. 212/211 BCE marked a low point in the war against Hannibal, so the Romans had few real victories to display on their coinage. The victoriatus (RRC 44/1) issued that year commemorated their only victory, that of M. Claudius Marcellus at Syracuse. The fact that this is also the date of the denarius’ introduction seems more than coincidental. The issuing of a new denomination in order to stabilize the currency may have helped reaffirmed elite confidence in Rome’s ability to fund the war. However, advertising Marcellus’ victory on the dominant coin issue for the year also likely helped to restore the morale and confidence of the Roman army that had been on the defensive for years and had lost two of its most successful generals, P. and Gn. Cornelius Scipio, earlier that year.

As a matter of expediency, most of these first victory coins, particularly those with martial images, were minted at battlefield mints, typically the mints of allies or those seized during the conquest. In this early period, the denomination varied significantly; the issues were often bronze, and they were minted using local denominations or as overstrikes (fig. 25). Issuing an overstrike series, in other words stamping a Roman image on top of another image, is an obvious demonstration of power, particularly when the overstruck image is of military victory.

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252 The date of the denarius’ introduction has been the subject of significant debate, with proposed dates ranging between 216 and 187 BCE. The excavation of the burn layer at Morgantina in Sicily has helped scholars agree that the denarius could not have been introduced before 215 BCE, since the Romans destroyed Morgantina in either 214 or 211. Crawford (1974: 32) is slightly more tentative, stating that the denarius was introduced “a few years after 216/215.” Evans (2013: 118) summarizes the debate.

253 Bowen (1951: 94) suggests that the introduction of silver currency was necessitated by the depletion of copper resources thanks to the protracted wars and its necessity for both military and domestic purposes.

and the coins overstruck were commonly seized as plunder. Furthermore, these coins typically helped to fund the next military campaign, so these coins circulated in the same area from which the Romans had seized the coins. A prime example of an overstrike issue is RRC 61/6 (fig. 24), a bronze sextans with a Roman victory image overstruck on a coin of Hieron II of Syracuse from c. 215 BCE. The Roman sextans had the head of Mercury on the obverse and a ship’s prow with the goddess Victory flying above crowning the prow with a wreath. The original Syracusan coin had the head of Poseidon on the obverse and a trident on the reverse. Hieron II was a loyal ally of Rome during the First Punic War, but his grandson Hieronymus defected to the Carthaginian side. What was once the coin of an ally became the coin of an enemy, and the Romans signaled their hostile relations with Syracuse in the treatment of its coins. For much of the Republican period, the coins that the Romans seized in conquest were melted down to make Roman coins, but in this early period, when the Romans were struggling to defeat Hannibal, they chose to use overstrikes. More than a convenience, they became a powerful assertion of Roman power, when the coins with the image of a Roman victory stamped over the enemy’s image circulated among Roman soldiers on campaign.

In the 130s, however, Roman coin iconography underwent a drastic change. For almost the first century of its existence it adhered closely to the Greek practice by not varying the images on the obverse and reverse. The standard for the earliest denarius issues was the head of Roma on the obverse and the Dioscuri on horseback on the reverse. By the first quarter of the

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255 The Romans also overstruck Carthaginian coins, coins of Ptolemy II and some other Hellenistic rulers, and some Iberian coins. Michael Crawford argues that these coins were likely issued in connection with the arrival of Marcellus and the beginning of serious operation against Syracuse in 214 BC.
256 Evans 2013: 114, The entire RRC 61 series had Victory and a prow on the reverse, while using different gods on the obverse. Not all of the series consisted of overstrikes, however, and they were minted at different locations. Michael Crawford (1974: 43) argues that RRC 61/6, an overstrike, was minted for M. Claudius Marcellus’ expenditures during his campaign in Syracuse, which began in 214 BCE.
second century BCE, the denarius had added reverse types with Luna or other gods and goddess in bigas (ex: RRC 210/1) to the Dioscuri and Victory crowning a trophy types. The denarius absorbed the iconography of the victoriatus as the dominant silver coin issue until replaced altogether by c. 170 BCE. In the 130s, the iconography of the denarius began to change annually at the behest of the annually-elected tresviri monetales. The new images typically advertised one of four things: the genealogy of the moneyer (RRC 258/1, 354/1), his familial achievements (RRC 263/1, 269/1), civic activity (RRC 268/1, 301/1), or monuments dedicated by or to an ancestor (RRC 291/1, 293.1). Meadows and Williams (2001: 41-43) argue that the introduction of these new designs coincided with a period of political instability and increased competition that made it more critical for Roman elites to find new ways of advertising their family achievements.

The unprecedented shift in the typology of the denarius from immobility to constant motion is best understood in terms of monumentalization, that is the transformation of the previously neutral and unchanging field of coin design into an opportunity for commemorating and thereby advertising the reputations and achievements of the moneyer and his family. Those coins thus conceived—and it must be conceded that not all of the post-130s types were thus conceived—became small-scale but widely circulating monuments to the moneyer himself and to the family from which he sprang. They were also potentially long lasting, a crucial attribute of a successful monument. The ever-growing corpus of coin types in circulation in the late Republic thus came increasingly to constitute a competitive series of monumental images, testifying to the names and histories of some of the most famous Roman families (2001: 43).

In effect, coins made a logical choice for advertising family achievements. I would add that the pressure that Roman elite men felt to display their virtus also drove them, or the moneyers who supported them, to employ victory images on their coins. This desire seems to be reflected in the...

258 Meadows and Williams (2001: 41-43) cite Porphyry and Varro for the association of Moneta with both the verb monere and the Greek goddess Mnemosyne, i.e. Memory. Meadows and Williams state: “The architectural, and more specifically, sepulchral, sense of the word may be primary for Varro, but he is clear that anything that calls to mind the memory of a person or an event can reasonably be called a monumentum without resorting to metaphor, as would be the case in modern English. In Latin, anything that is intended to call to mind (monere) the memory of a person or event is a monumentum, be it a work of history or poetry, an inscription, a building, or a statue.”
rapid increase in martial coins after the 130s BCE. Furthermore, as Meadows and Williams note, Varro’s etymology for the verb *monere* implied both warning and memory, which for coinage meant both the memory of a debt and the memory of a person or event through the image. Martial iconography reflected a memory of victorious battles and Roman *virtus*, but, as argued below, the high volume of victory coins in hoards in areas of Roman expansion suggests that these coins may also have served as a warning of Roman authority, even if the Romans did not intend them to serve such a purpose. The high volume of victory coins in Iberian coin hoards combined with the number of rebellions, suggests the possibility that these coins signaled Roman authority and perhaps even functioned as a form of warning since the volume of victory coins is significantly higher than in other areas of Roman expansion.

It is difficult not only to reconstruct the purpose of the message—or if there even was a message—but also to determine the primary audience for the message and how people outside the exclusive audience may have understood the coins (Williams 2005: 69). Most scholars argue that the primary audience for a coin’s image is exclusive, usually a city (Howgego 2005: 30) or a specific subgroup of a population, such as the elite (Meadows and Williams 2001: 40-41) or the army (Kemmers 2014: 229-241). In part, this is a question of whether these coin messages were meant to be persuasive to outsiders, or if they were celebrations or acts of state legitimation (Butcher 2005: 144-145). Regardless, as argued below, the evidence of coin hoards suggests that these coins, regardless of their intended audience, circulated among non-Romans and would shape their perceptions of Roman power and their use of coinage from the second century BCE.

Coin hoards, however, are a complicated form of evidence with interpretative pitfalls that

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259 While Varro is ultimately incorrect in his etymology and therefore his etymology cannot be used to locate the mint in the temple of Juno Moneta, Meadows and Williams argue that Juno Moneta is a likely candidate for the mint because the *libri lintei* were housed there, and they were responsible for recording and preserving Roman history and memory (Meadows and Williams 2001: 41-43).
include evaluating the type or purpose of the deposition, accurately dating the *terminus post quem* of the hoard, and using the hoard to make any argument about coin circulation.

Determining the end date of a hoard can be difficult because the contents have often been disturbed or were removed from their original context. Scholars typically divide coin hoards into three categories of deposition: crisis, ritual, and communal.\(^{260}\) Despite having clear categories, it can be difficult to determine the reason for deposition unless there is evidence of military activity in the area or unless the location of the deposition is in a place that typically is utilized for rituals for the people in that region, such as bogs or springs in Gaul. For this chapter, determining the nature of the hoard—crisis, ritual, or communal—is less important than determining whether the hoard could have been deposited by a local person rather than by a Roman soldier. If it is not at least possible that the hoard belonged to a local person, then it becomes harder to argue that these coins circulated beyond the Roman army. While it is not possible to ascertain the origin of every hoard, it is feasible to make a case for the local origin of many hoards, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula. First, the other material buried in the hoard, such as jewelry, plate, or *hacksilber*, can be identified as Iberian in origin—which makes it more likely that the hoarder was Iberian.\(^{261}\)

Comparing the find site to known Roman settlements and military encampments can also help determine whether it would be possible that a Roman soldier buried the coins before a battle (Morillo 2006: 107-279). The size and content of a hoard can also help narrow down the possibilities for the nature of the deposit since a hoard with a longer time span, and higher volume of multiple coin issues suggests a burial of personal or communal wealth rather than the spontaneous action of a Roman soldier before battle.

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\(^{261}\) For coin hoards buried by Iberians, see Almagro-Gorbea 1995: 235-66; Raddatz 1969; Ripollès 1980: 119-126.
Even if the reason for the deposition or indication of the quantity of coin circulation cannot be determined, coin hoards provide evidence that coins circulated within a specific region and suggest how both the issuing authority and the local peoples viewed coins. Using the content and location of the hoards, I argue that while coins served the economic function of funding their military campaigns, the Romans also circulated coins with martial and victory images as a visual reminder of their authority. However, the particular evidence of coin hoards in the Iberian Peninsula, Cisalpine Gaul, and the Greek provinces indicates that the Romans used coins—and other forms of visual communication—differently in each region.

It is worth a slight digression from the issue of coin hoards to discuss the role the army played in circulating Roman coins not only among themselves but also among non-Roman populations in the areas in which they campaigned. Most new coinage was distributed through state payments, and Roman soldiers received the bulk of the state’s expenditures.262 A single legion cost between 550,000 and 600,000 denarii for the soldiers’ wages each year (Harl 1996: 42). Add to wages equipment, and food for the army and the cost of a legion rises to at least a million denarii a year. By the 70s BCE, the Romans consistently fielded twenty to twenty-five legions per year (Harl 1996: 54-5). As will be seen, there was a firm correlation between spheres of Roman military activity, particularly the location of permanent Roman camps, and coin hoards, as well as a relationship between coin hoard location and mining activity. Financing their armies required the Romans to maintain control over regular sources of silver to mint these coins—which certainly accounts for some of the military activity in Roman Spain—but it also meant a wide circulation of coins that supported the legions. While soldiers were paid in denarii, it is extremely unlikely that they were paid entirely in newly-minted coins because of the cost of

262 An estimated 77% went to soldiers, at least in the imperial period (Duncan-Jones 1994: 33-46).
shipping that much weight (Millar 2004: 89-104; Noreña 2011: 264-5). Most likely, the soldiers were paid predominately in recycled coinage, since most coin issues remained in circulation for decades, even centuries (Howgego 1994: 5-21; Noreña 2011: 264-5). The continued circulation of coins long after their initial issue meant that these messages had a long-term impact, what Carlos Noreña calls “the slow diffusion of messages over the long term” (2011: 250).263 Regardless of the intended audience, the evidence from coin hoards suggests that Roman victory coins circulated via the Roman army, but were used by both the legions and non-Roman populations during and after conquest.264

While coin hoards can be used to trace the circulation of coins over an extended period, they can also be used to chart the dispersal of particular iconographic types across regions, time periods, and within specific hoards. The primary focus of this chapter will be the diffusion of victory coins in three areas of Roman expansion: the Iberian Peninsula, Cisalpine Gaul, and Greece. This chapter will trace not only the geographic and chronological distribution of victory coins, but also investigate the different styles of victory coins, the historical moments they might represent, and examine how specific iconographic types are dispersed in the three regions discussed in this chapter. Victory coins appear in many forms, ranging from the formulaic to the specific. I have found that victory coins fall into three broad categories. First, some coins allude to victory in general, and usually, the coin depicts a god or goddess—particularly Jupiter and Victory—driving a quadriga or biga (fig. 26-27). The second type of images references the triumphal parade, including trophies, captured weaponry, spoils, captives, triumphal statues, and

263 While an individual coin might convey a message with “topical and short-term resonance,” these coin images circulated decades, even centuries, and were “embedded within larger networks of communications” (Noreña 2011: 257-8) and thus coin messages collectively diffused over the long-term.

264 For example, that the denarius was intended for larger transactions, since most day-to-day transactions only required the smaller bronze denominations, and that therefore the martial iconography on denarii was intended for a Roman audience. However, smaller denominations (ex: RRC 61, 39/3, 97/23, 145/2) also employed victory images (fig. 24-25).
triumphal generals (fig. 28). The third type features representations of battle, including naval battles shown through ship’s prows, soldiers fighting, and soldiers standing above captives (fig. 29).\(^{265}\) The data from coin hoards indicates two patterns that point to a link between coin circulation and Roman expressions of authority. First, there are significantly more coin hoards in the Iberian provinces than in Cisalpine Gaul or Greece in terms of overall numbers and geographic distribution. Second, there are considerably more victory coins within individual Iberian hoards than in hoards found in Cisalpine Gaul or Greece. As will be seen, this evidence, combined with the evidence for fixed objects such as trophies and inscriptions, suggests that the Romans employed material expressions of conquest differently in each region based on the particular experience of conquest in that region.

**Material Expressions of Power in Roman Spain**

Evidence for the circulation of victory coins in areas of Roman expansion is nowhere more evident than in the Iberian Peninsula (fig. 36).\(^{266}\) The abundant coin evidence and the relative dearth of inscriptions and monuments suggest that the Romans circulated coins in high

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\(^{265}\) Victory coins could make general allusions to military victory through the choice of reverse image, in particular Jupiter or Victory in a quadriga, Roma with trophies, monuments built after triumphs, wreaths and eagles, etc. Victory coins could also represent specific campaigns, (RRC 44/1, 105/2, 281/1), a past victory that has personal associations for the moneyer (144/1, 268/1), a specific general (269/1), or a triumph (326/1). Most of the early victory coins were of the same iconographic type, but over time, the Romans created many different victory images for coins. The earliest iconographic types are of Victory crowning a trophy and of Jupiter in a quadriga driven by Victory (RRC 42/1), which reinforces the idea that the Roman elites may have used these coins to make claims about their *virtus* through allusions to their own triumphs or triumphs of their ancestors, since Victory and trophies were common symbols of the triumph, as we established in previous chapters. The Jupiter in quadriga (fig. 26) was also a common victory image because Jupiter was the god to whom the triumphal general made his sacrifice at the end of his triumphal parade, after riding through the streets in a quadriga. In whatever form these victory coins took, they were clear assertions of Roman power and dominance because they typically portrayed Romans in a dominant position over enemies and captives and pointed to Roman military success through images of captured armor and weaponry.

\(^{266}\) I will use Iberian Peninsula and Spain interchangeably in this chapter; both refer to the provinces of Hispania Ulterior and Hispania Citerior.
volume in Iberia and that generals did not rely much on inscriptions or monuments to express power, perhaps in part because there was not a history of honorific inscriptions before the Roman conquest.\footnote{For Iberian epigraphy, see Beltràn Lloris 1999: 131-51; Rose 2003: 155-75. For the spread of literacy and monumental writing under the Romans, see Curchin 1995: 461-76; Woolf 1996: 22-39; Prag 2013: 320-48.} The fact that it took the Romans two hundred years to complete the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and they maintained a fairly regular military presence, which required coins to pay the army, also contributed to the emphasis on coins over inscriptions and trophies. The location and date of Iberian hoards also indicate that there was a significant correlation between coin circulation and the Roman army, and between coin circulation and Iberian mines. There is also a correlation between hoards with a higher volume of victory coins and the date and location of Iberian rebellions. The greater number of Roman coins in the hoards during and immediately after Iberian rebellions suggests an increased presence of the Roman army in the region, but also that victory coins, in particular, were tied to the military. The presence of the army had the added effect of flooding these areas with coins that advertised Roman authority and military success. It is possible that the Romans relied on coins to convey Roman power, both economically and symbolically through the circulation of victory coins in particular. To demonstrate the relationship between Roman military activity and coin circulation, I examine the pre-Roman and early Roman coins and hoarding practices, the geographical relationship between coin hoards, Iberian mines, and mints, and the correlation between Roman military activity and settlements and coin hoards.

Iberian coinage, like Roman coinage, began under the influence of the Greeks in the fifth century BCE. The first coins appeared at the Greek colonies of Emporion and Rhodes (Ripollès 2012: 357-61). As with most Greek coins, the iconography of Iberian coins was relatively static. The coins of Emporion and Rhodes typically had the bust of a god or goddess on the obverse and
Pegasus on the reverse, with the name of the city in Greek (CNH, no.72). Coin use in the Iberian Peninsula was concentrated mostly in the coastal regions that had the most contact with the Greeks and Phoenicians, but also in the interior regions that traded with the Greeks and Phoenicians and had had significant metal resources, particularly Celtiberia (Ripollès 2012: 363-4). Coins minted outside of the Ibero-Greek cities typically had a god or goddess (often Melqart) on the obverse and either an Iberian horseman (NAH, no. 367) or some sort of civic symbol such as a pine cone (CNH, no.10), tuna (NAH, no. 187), or palm trees (NAH, no. 453). Their legends used Greek, Punic, and Iberian scripts. Punic coins in the Iberian Peninsula tended to have ship’s prows on the reverse (CAH, no.24). In general, Iberian coin iconography and metrology tended to be influenced by the cultures who colonized and traded in the region and this would continue in the Roman period. Iberian coins were predominantly bronze, while the Greek and Punic coins circulating in the area were typically silver. 

Coin use was common enough in the pre-Roman period that Roman coinage spread rapidly, circulating alongside Greek, Punic, and Iberian coins in the late third century BCE, particularly in the Ebro Valley and in the Sierra Morena mountains, which had the highest concentration of silver mines.

A partially monetized economy and well-developed metallurgy meant that Iberian peoples mined gold and silver in large quantities before the Roman period. When the Romans entered the Iberian Peninsula during the Second Punic War, they moved quickly to seize any coinage and bullion they could find and take control of Iberian silver mines. Scipio Africanus, for example, paraded 276 paterae of gold, each weighing a pound, and 18,300 pounds of silver

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268 Coinage in Celtic regions tended to be bronze because gold and silver were used for jewelry, not coinage. In Gaul, silver did not hold much value and it therefore took longer for silver coinage to become widespread (Luley 2008: 174-95). Silver use was more widespread in the Iberian Peninsula, in part thanks to the abundant natural resources, so silver coinage caught on more rapidly among the Iberian tribes than among the Gallic tribes (Ripollès 2005: 82-3).

269 Much of the work on Roman Spain, and specifically coins and the economy, are in Spanish. See for example Blázquez 1978: 17-85; Villaronga 1979; Arciniega and del Hoyo 1999; Gonzalez Roman et al. 2010.
bullion (Livy 26.47.5-10) that he had seized at Carthago Nova in 209 BCE. Polybius (10.19.1- 2) also explicitly mentions that Scipio plundered minted coins—likely Carthaginian—along with bullion and that he took control of the silver mines in the region to help fund his campaign (Richardson 1986: 33). Scipio’s plan to control the silver mines became standard practice for the Romans. A comparison of the locations of the mines in the Sierra Morena in the pre-Roman and Roman periods indicates that the Romans took over existing mines but also established new ones (fig. 30-32).

Controlling the process of mining and minting money was a potent form of subjugation, mainly because the Romans made use of the Iberian mines and mints to fund their conquest of the Peninsula. Many of the hoards in Spain can be connected geographically to mines, particularly the mines at Pozoblanco, El Centenillo, and La Loba. While not all of the hoards are located in the towns associated with mine workers or in the mines themselves, they are at least nearby, often in the mountains or near the rivers used to transport bullion to the coast. At least twenty-two of the Iberian hoards are near mines, and Chaves Tristan (1996) refers to the entire area around Cordoba and Jaén as mining regions, which would increase the number of hoards related to mining to closer to fifty. How closely related these hoards are to mining is impossible to determine, as we cannot know the owner’s occupation or the intention behind the deposition. However, there was most likely a higher military presence in those regions to control the mines, and Roman and Italian traders tended to concentrate in areas close to mines (Harl 1996: 61-2), which would increase the coin circulation in the region. The hoards associated with mining have

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270 While Livy mentions 276 paterae of gold and 18,300 pounds of silver bullion, Polybius (10.19.1-2) states that Scipio seized 600 talents of silver.
a high number of victory coins in them. The hoard at La Loba in Baetica, for example, is composed entirely of victory coins except one representing Juno in a biga of goats (RRC 231/1).

While the Romans established their mints in the Iberian Peninsula, many of the Iberian mints remained under local control until the Julio-Claudian period. Some Iberian cities even began minting their own coins for the first time during the Roman period. Cities that had stopped minting coins took up the practice again, likely due to the need either to fund their wars against the Romans or to pay their soldiers fighting for the Romans (Ripollès 2005: 80). While the Romans did not prohibit Iberians from minting their own coins, at least not until the first century BCE (2005: 81), they did control the majority of the silver output in the Iberian Peninsula. By 150 BCE, the mines near Carthago Nova alone were producing 1,500 talents (about ten million denarii) per year for the Romans (Harl 1996: 46). The silver mines in Spain supplied approximately fifty percent of Rome’s silver bullion during the Republican period (Harl 1996: 46), so it was essential for the Romans to maintain control of the region.

The Romans maintained their control over the region using both permanent and temporary military fortifications and settlements and through the creation of military colonies. The almost constant presence of the Roman legions or smaller garrisons from Scipio Africanus’ victory at Carthago Nova in 209 BCE to the end of the Cantabrian Wars in 19 BCE led to a steady flow of Roman coins, mainly victory coins, into the region. The circulation of coins in

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272 While these hoards are loosely associated with the mines, only two have direct connections to the mines. The hoard at La Loba was concealed in the wall of a mine worker’s house (Chaves Tristan 1996: 51). One of the hoards associated with the El Centenillo mine, located in the province of Jaén, was found buried in the entrance to the actual mine. Chaves Tristan (1996, no.41) argues that the hoard was probably buried by someone who was counterfeiting or intending to counterfeit the coins.

273 There is a long-standing debate whether the Romans forced the Iberians to mint Roman coins in order to pay the stipendium, or taxes, and whether the mints in Spain that produced Roman denarii were under the control of Roman magistrates or local elites. For the minting of coins in Roman Spain, see Ripollès 2005: 79-95; Evans 2013: 110-123; for the stipendium, see Richardson 1986: 92.

general and victory coins, in particular, is reflected in the coin hoards. Comparison of the known coin hoards in the Iberian Peninsula and the military settlements points to a relationship between coin circulation and military occupation (fig. 33). There were at least twenty-five military camps and another seven military settlements located in the Iberian Peninsula from the Republican period (Morillo 2006: 77, 95). Most of these camps and settlements were concentrated in northern Spain around Numantia because this was the heart of Celtiberian territory and the site of frequent rebellions and skirmishes between 190 and 133 BCE. The hoards in this region include Numantia, Catalunya, and Maluenda. There are three known military settlements in the province of Murcia, which has seven hoards. Some hoards were also located near battlefields. It is possible that some of these hoards were buried hastily by Iberian or Roman troops before battle. The hoard at Cortijo de los Cosmes, for example, is located near Carruca, which is identified with the battle of Munda in 45 BCE between Caesar and Pompey. One of the hoards near the Pozoblanco mine is also close to a battlefield, so it could be connected to the mine or the battle.

The evidence of coin hoards makes it is clear that the Romans circulated victory coins in high volume in the Iberian Peninsula, especially considering the proportion of victory coin issues compared to other iconographic types. Between 215 and 55 BCE, the Romans issued approximately 180 different coin types that in some way alluded to military victory, and most of those iconographic styles appear in Iberian coin hoards. There are about 140 known coin hoards from the Iberian Peninsula with coins dating to the Republican period (fig. 34). Most of these hoards contain only Roman coins—mostly denarii, but with some victoriati, quadrigata, and

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275 The camps are Archivel, Santo Tome, and Cerro del Trigo. The hoards are Banos de Fortuna, Las Somblancas, La Grajuela, Fuente Alamo, Santa Catalina del Monte, Fuente-Librilla and Moratalla la Vieja.
276 The hoard, found in a ceramic vase, contains 122 denarii and 34 denarii serrati. It is located near where archaeologists have found a Caesarian camp, at Cerro del Aguila. The last seven coins in the hoard were minted by Caesar during his campaign in Spain, which emphasizes the military connection of this hoard. Nearby, at Alto de las Camorras, is a camp associated with the Pompeians, where archaeologists found a hoard comprised exclusively of Pompeian coins (Chaves Tristan, no.30).
quinarii—and some have a mixture of Roman, Iberian, and Greek coins. Only one known hoard contains only Iberian coins in the Roman period. Most of the coin hoards have more victory coins than any other iconographic type. As stated previously, the fact that the Romans circulated so many coins in Hispania points to the long-term presence of the Roman army. However, the high volume of victory coins suggests that the Romans were aware of the potential such coins had to influence not only the Roman soldiers but also anyone else who held the coins. After all, the Roman soldiers only required pay, regardless of the image on the coin. The possibility that the Romans may have purposefully circulated victory coins in Spain seems particularly true when one considers the high percentage of victory coins in areas of rebellion. The fact that victory coins are not common in the Greek East, as we will see, where armies were certainly present, suggests that victory coins were not present simply because the Roman army was. Furthermore, the reactions of local peoples to Roman coin images, as seen through the influence on iconography and metrology, indicates that even if the Romans did not purposefully circulate victory coins to influence local peoples, the coins nevertheless had that effect.

A detailed examination of a few coin hoards helps to determine whether there was a correlation between victory coins and areas of rebellion and whether it is possible that the Romans purposefully circulated victory coins—as opposed to other iconographic types. Figure 34 illustrates all the known coin hoards in Roman Spain between 206 BCE and 20 CE. It is impossible to discuss all these hoards in detail, but a few examples establish the general patterns of Iberian coin hoards, before turning to the correlation between victory coins and military actions in response to rebellions. The Villanueva de Cordoba hoard was located in the mountains

277 For example, Carissa, (Marrubiales de) Cordoba, El Centenillo/Sierra Morena, Santa Elena 2, Oristà, and Alt Empordà, among others.
278 The Granada hoard is the only one in Chaves Tristan’s catalog solely composed of Iberian coins in the Roman period (Chaves Tristan 1996: 488).
north of Cordoba. The hoard, dated to 112 BCE, contains 128 denarii and two denarii seratti. Found with two bracelets and a bronze situla, it is most likely a crisis hoard. Chaves Tristan (1996) indicates that this hoard shares similarities to other hoards from mining regions, including the hoards at Pozoblanco and Cordoba. The earliest victory coin is RRC 204/1 that dates to 152 BCE. It depicts the helmeted head of the goddess Roma on the obverse and the goddess Victory in a biga on the reverse. While most of the coins that are not related to military victory are Dioscuri-type coins, there are a few exceptions. One other significant coin is RRC 270/1, whose reverse has Libertas, crowned by a winged Victory, in a quadriga. This coin commemorates the *leges Porciae* (199-184 BCE) that extended the right of protection against summary execution on military service and provided the right of appeal for citizens living outside Italy, which was crucial for Roman soldiers, colonists, and traders living in the provinces.

The composition of the hoards at Santa Catalina del Monte and Villanueva de Cordoba

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279 The earliest coins in the hoard date to the late third century BCE (RRC 44/5, 122/2) and are of the Dioscuri-type. 280 RRC 236/1a depicts Apollo in a quadriga on the reverse. The most interesting exception is RRC 259/1, which depicts horsemen galloping on the reverse. This is significant because it bears a strong resemblance to pre-Roman Iberian iconographic types. This coin appears frequently in Iberian hoards and suggests the possibility that individuals retained coins as much for their imagery as for their intrinsic value. 281 For the *leges Porciae*, see Nicolet 1988: 109 and Kendall 2012: 114. For classical references, see Livy 10.9.4, Sall. *Cat.* 51.20, which mention the limits on scourging. Livy also mentions that the *leges Porciae* forbid the death penalty for soldiers, though he implies that as an extension of the death penalty limit for Roman citizens in Rome, this law still only applies to citizens. Most of the victory coin types in the Villanueva de Cordoba hoard are the more formulaic victory images, which are difficult to connect to a specific triumph or victory. These include Victory in a biga (289/1), Jupiter in a quadriga (285/1), and Victory in a quadriga (280/1). However, there are some more distinctive iconographical styles in this hoard, which allow us to trace their image to a specific military campaign. Villanueva de Cordoba contains coins that refer to Roman victories in Transalpine Gaul, including RRC 281/1 and RRC 282/5. 286/1, which has a horseman holding up a severed head, may refer to Gallic victories as well. This hoard also contains coins that refer not to military victory, but to triumphal architecture put up after triumphs. RRC 291/1 depicts the aqueduct begun by the *triumphatores* M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior in 179 and completed by Q. Marcius Rex (pr.144). 281 RRC 293/1, with the head of Philip V of Macedon on the obverse and an equestrian statue on the reverse, can also be tied to a *triumphator* due to the laurel wreath in the hand of the horseman. Crawford (1974: 302) mentions the possibility that the severed head on RRC 286/1 is that of a Gaul, citing Pliny *NH*, 7.104-6 and Cavedoni. *Ripostigli*, 263. The coin also refers back to the moneyer’s ancestor M. Sergius Silus (pr.197), who fought left-handed after losing his right hand in battle. Crawford (1974: 308) tentatively identifies the *triumphator* as Q. Marcius Tremulus (cos.306) an ancestor of the moneyer. His statue stood in front of the Temple of Castor and Pollux. The head of Philip of Macedon on the obverse is not meant to refer to Philip V specifically, but to the moneyer’s cognomen, Philippus.
are representative of the general pattern found in Iberian hoards. They contain high numbers of victory coins. There are other iconographic types in the hoard, but most of these date to before the 130s BCE, when the Romans began minting significantly more iconographic types. The presence of other iconographic types in these hoards, such as the Dioscuri types, may result from the limited number of iconographic styles used by the Romans before the 150s BCE rather than because those iconographic types were privileged over victory coins. Indeed, if any iconographic type was privileged, it was a victory coin. Virtually every type of victory coin appears in at least one Iberian hoard. The only exceptions are coins with limited issues (RRC 348/4, 358/1, 359/1) and coins minted on campaigns that only circulated in particular regions (RRC 105/1, 105/2). There are also some interesting geographical concentrations of coin hoards, around mines and military camps, two areas where Roman coins and Roman soldiers would have been prevalent.

While coins naturally followed the armies, as their primary form of pay, many coin hoards cannot be tied through date and location to the presence of a Roman army, indicating that even if they were initially in the hands of Roman soldiers, they nevertheless eventually circulated through local economies. Numerous hoards do correspond to the presence of the Roman military in the region, particularly to periods when hoarders—Roman soldiers or Iberians—would have been worried about protecting their savings. The date and geographical location of hoards point to a higher number of victory coins than other types, and possibly a purposeful circulation of these coins. While these coins could have been intended for circulation among the Roman soldiers, many coins would still end up in Iberian hands as Roman soldiers participated in the local economy on campaign.  

282 Harl (1996: 60-61) argues that the Roman army should be thought of as a “traveling city,” and that currency rarely left that “city.” If it did, he asserts, it circulated into the hands of Italian merchants and not locals: “to a great extent the absence of Roman coins reflects the nature of the Republic’s military operations, since, in the second century B.C., legions seldom remained in one area long enough to spend sufficient numbers of denarii to alter the
these coins circulated among Iberians (table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rebellion/War</th>
<th>Areas of Conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>197-195</td>
<td>Iberians and Ilergetes</td>
<td>Ebro Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189-178</td>
<td>Lusitanians, Celtiberians, Vascones</td>
<td>Guadalquivir Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155-132</td>
<td>Lusitanians (Viriathus), Celtiberians, Vettones, Callaeci</td>
<td>Territory of the Vettones, Lusitanians, Vascones, Celtiberians (Numantia), southern coast, Murcia, northern Portugal, Ebro River Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123-121</td>
<td>Callaeci</td>
<td>Northern Portugal, Balearic Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115-107</td>
<td>Lusitanians</td>
<td>Luistania, Ilerda, Barcino, Colenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-93</td>
<td>Lusitanians, Arevaci</td>
<td>Lusitania, Termes, Colenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82-72</td>
<td>Sertorian Wars</td>
<td>Lusitania, Langobriga, Ilerda, Ebro Valley, Celtiberia, Contrebia, Lauro, Italica, Valentia, Guadalquivir Valley, Vaccaei</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1, Date and Location of Wars and Rebellions in Iberian Peninsula, 107-60 BCE

Both the frequency with which local peoples rebelled against Roman authority and the duration of these wars are critical to a consideration of the circulation of coins in areas of conflict. A comparison of the date and location of the conflicts (table 1) with the date and location of the hoards (fig. 36-37) shows the degree to which coin hoards overlapped with military activity. Not every hoard buried in a region was a reaction to war, but since crisis hoards

region’s currency.” While this may be true of the earliest period of Roman activity in the late-third and early second century BCE, as is evidenced by the lower number of hoards, this does not hold true for the later periods. Harl partially acknowledges this, first by stating that soldiers likely sought out brothels, alcohol, games, and other entertainment in local villages while on campaign. He also acknowledges that as Rome established more permanent provincial administrations in the late second-century B.C., denarii began to circulate regularly among locals. I would argue that the evidence of coin hoards suggests that even if Roman currency did not profoundly affect regional currency, it did circulate widely enough that locals could collect coins to hoard. See also Ripollès 2005: 81.
are the most common form of hoards (Crawford 1969: 76-81), the evidence suggests a correlation. Indeed, some hoards strongly suggest a link to military activity. For example, archaeologists found a hoard at Orellana de la Sierra (Badajoz) on the right bank of the Guadiana River that dates to c. 93 BCE. Its date and location coincide with P. Licinius Crassus’ war against the Lusitani, which culminated in 93 BCE. The hoard contained 936 denarii and was found buried in a helmet, though the type of helmet is not noted, making it difficult to tell if a Roman or an Iberian soldier buried the hoard (Vaquerizo Gil 1987: 873-93; Curchin 1991: 42).

The Sertorian Wars provide significant evidence for a relationship between victory coins and rebellion is the Sertorian Wars. Numerous hoards date to 82-70 BCE, the period of the Sertorian Wars, and they are located in regions that saw conflict (fig. 37). One example is the Cabeca de Corte hoard from Portugal. The closing date for this hoard is 74 BC, suggesting it was a crisis hoard during the Sertorian War (80-72 BCE). Located near the Iberian oppidum of Conimbriga (modern Coimbra), the hoard contained 161 denarii and 25 denarii serrati. The earliest coin in the hoard (RRC 215/1) dates to 148 BCE. The earliest definitive victory coin in the hoard (RRC 252/1, c. 131 BCE) has Mars in a quadriga holding a spear, shield, and trophy.

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283 Ruivo (1997) includes Cabeca de Corte in his catalogue of Sertorian War coin hoards.
284 Of the 161 denarii, 16 are Iberian, leaving 145 Roman denarii. Of those 145, 90 are in some way related to military victory or warfare.
285 There is an earlier coin that refers tangentially to military victory and probably to victory in Spain. RRC 234/1 has an oath-taking scene on the reverse with two warriors facing each other and each touching a pig held by a figure kneeling between them. Crawford (1974) states that this coin recalled the Caudine Forks agreement and supported the foedus Numantinum of 137, the treaty negotiated between Caius Hostilius Mancinus and the Numantines. This was the treaty that Mancinus negotiated after the Numantines defeated him in battle. His lieutenant, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (Tr.Pl. 133), is credited with being instrumental in bringing about the treaty and saving the force of 20,000 soldiers. Mancinus, however, did not fare well and was put on trial by the Senate, who refused to ratify his treaty. The Romans then chose to hand Mancinus, naked, to the Numantines, who refused to accept him (App. Ib., 83). This particular coin is present in 27 hoards in Spain and one cannot help but wonder if the Iberians knew it referred to the Numantine treaty and enjoyed keeping a coin that referred to an Iberian victory, even if the moneyer intended it to be in support of a Roman achievement.
Some coins allude to Rome’s conquest of Transalpine Gaul (RRC 281/1, 282/2, 282/5).\textsuperscript{286} There are also coins that refer to battle or Roman supremacy (RRC 319/1, 329/1a).\textsuperscript{287} Overall, victory coins dominate this hoard, and most of the non-victory coins are only represented by single examples, whereas the victory coins are among the few for which there are two or three examples of the same coin in the hoard.

The Impact of Roman Coins on Iberian Coinage and Iconography

As can be seen, victory coins appeared in much higher volume in Iberian coin hoards than any other iconographic type, which suggests a purposeful use of these coins as an economic and symbolic reminder of Roman authority. Perhaps the most significant evidence that these coins served material expressions of conquest is the impact that these images had on Iberian coin imagery. While the Romans controlled Iberian mines and some mints for much of the Republican period, many Iberian cities continued or began to mint coins during Roman occupation (Ripollès 2005: 79-81). Roman symbols, such as the ship’s prow and the eagle, cropped up on Iberian coins from an early period (Ripollès 2005: 81). Iberian mints rapidly adopted Roman metrology. Moreover, some Iberian cities began using Latin as early as the second century BCE (Ripollès 2005: 82-3). In other words, we see ample evidence of the impact that Roman coinage had on Iberian coin issues. On the other hand, we also have evidence that some Iberians used coinage to react against Roman authority. For example, the Iberians who joined Sertorius in his revolt against Roman rule recaptured their mints and began minting their

\textsuperscript{286} The hoard also includes coins with Victory in a biga, triga, and quadriga, Jupiter in a quadriga, a \textit{triumphator} crowned by Victory, two trophies between a jug and lituus, a triumphal quadriga, and Roma seated on a pile of shields with Victory crowning her.

\textsuperscript{287} There are certainly coins in this hoard that do not refer to triumph, such as the coins depicting Juno Sospita (RRC 379/1, RRC 379/2) or RRC 380/1, or the coin depicting Hercules strangling the Nemean lion (RRC 380/1).
own coins (fig. 38). These coins returned to pre-Roman weight, iconography, and language. The most abundant of these “resistance” coins were the wolf coins of the Kese, who not only returned to their pre-Roman iconography but also reverted to the Tarraco-Kese metrology (ACIP 1269-82). Their practice could be compared to the Italian cities that minted coins with their own script and imagery during the Social War as an expression of defiance against Roman power. The fact that these Iberians expressed their resistance to Roman rule through coinage indicates that they were aware that coins could be used to assert power and authority. Moreover, these Iberians would not mint their own coins again until the mid-first century BCE (Ripollès 2005: 84). In this period, and particularly in the late-first century, the Iberians began minting coins that expressed their loyalty toward Rome, using what had been images symbolizing their own conquest to show their loyalty to Rome and perhaps to compete against other Iberian cities. The competition between Iberian towns was a long-standing practice that the Romans often exploited as they conquered the region. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that cities which had earned municipal status advertised it on their coinage (Fig. 35).

The names of Roman magistrates also began appearing on Iberian coins in the second century, particularly at Bailo and Lascuta, both of which are located in the far south near Gades. The mint at Bailo produced a coin in this period with Hercules and a vine on the obverse and a bull on the reverse, with the inscriptions BAILO and Q.MANL.P.CORN (CNH p.124; NAH 464). The coin is a hybrid of Ibero-Phoenician imagery, with the head of Hercules, and Roman

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288 The Kese, located in and around Tarraco, reverted to their traditional Tarraco-Kese metrology system and iconography during the Sertorian Wars. The mint at Ilirta is the best documented example. In the Social Wars in Italy, cities such as Corfinium and Bovianum minted coins with the head of Italia on the obverse and a non-Latin inscription with an Italic image on the reverse. See Imagines Italicae for the Social War coin legends.

289 Cities such as Corfinium and Bovianum in Italy minted coins with the head of Italia on the obverse and a non-Latin inscription with an Italic image on the reverse.

290 In 151, for example, the Roman consul Lucullus exploited a skirmish between the Vaccaei and the Carpetani to sack the city of Cauca without senatorial authority (Richardson 1986: 149).
imagery, with the bull and magistrate’s name. Lascuta minted a similar coin, with Hercules on
the obverse with the Latin inscription LSCUT and an altar with four palms and the Phoenician
inscription LSKWT (NAH 453; CNH p.126). In the same period, they minted a coin with the
names of magistrates on the obverse and reverse, along with a laurel wreath border (NAH 455;
CNH p.126). The wreath is not typical of Iberian coins and seems an obvious reference to Roman
victory iconography. The laurel crown also appears on coins from Emporion in the second half
of the second century BCE (ACIP 1036-38). Here the laurel is paired either with a Pegasus, a
traditional symbol on Emporion coins, or with a bull, more typically a Roman symbol. The use
of a bull on the obverse combined with a Latinized place name also appears on coins from
Castulo (Jaén) in the mid-second century (ACIP 2118-9; 1270-1291).

The most significant indication of Roman iconographic influence on Iberian coins is the
coins minted at Saguntum from the mid-second century into the first century BCE. These coins
have a ship’s prow on the reverse with a Victory and caduceus above, with an Iberian or Latin
inscription ARSE in exergue (ACIP 1984-95; CNH 309/9, 310/45-46, 310/64). The earlier coins
have a helmeted head on the obverse, but the coins from the late second century have the head of
the goddess Roma on the obverse, along with Phoenician inscriptions, such as BALKAKALTUR
and IKORBELES (CNH 309/9). Others have Roma and Latin inscriptions for the place names
Saguntum and Arse (CNH 310/45, 46). The coins from Saguntum are bronze coins and are
therefore unlikely to have been minted to pay the Roman army or indemnities.291 The Saguntine
coins that utilize a hybrid Ibero-Roman iconography continued into the first decade of the first
century, which is when the Romans took over all the mints. These hybrid coins demonstrate that
the people of Saguntum had internalized these victory images to the point that they minted them

291 The Romans generally expected payments in silver, which is partly why the Iberian denarius developed. See
Evans 2013: 120.
for their own purposes without Roman inducement.  

Ultimately, the circulation of Roman coins with martial and victory images had a profound influence on Iberian coin imagery. The fact that Iberians chose to use Roman images of power to assert their loyalty indicates that over the course of the period from 211 to 55 BCE, local peoples gradually internalized the visual language of power that the Romans expressed through their coinage. The Iberians and other conquered peoples internalized these images to such a degree that they used what had once been a symbol of their subjugation to express their right to participate in the workings of Roman government. Throughout Spain, Iberian cities such as Ebora and Kelse (fig. 35) began minting coins to show their loyalty to Rome and, in the Augustan period, their new municipal status. The coinage of Iberia had come full circle, from a victoriatus minted in Spain in 211 to boost Roman morale when it looked like they might lose their foothold in the region to Iberian coins that celebrated Romano-Iberian culture.

Inscriptions and Trophies in Roman Spain

Coins were typically one part of a much larger communication network that also consisted of monuments and inscriptions; however, the Romans seem to have made limited use of inscriptions or triumphal monuments in Spain. Much of the extant epigraphic evidence dates to the imperial period, though the tendency to reuse building materials could be skewing the evidence. What monumental and epigraphic evidence we do have indicates that the Romans made little use of local traditions. Roman Republican inscriptions in the Iberian Peninsula tended to be legal (decrees, magistracies, religious offices), road markers, or created by Roman

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292 Many Spanish mints also adopted Latin or bilingual Latin and Iberian script for their coin inscriptions beginning in the early second century BCE. Huelva, an oppidum of the Ituci, was one of the first to do so, modifying their coinage from an Iberian version of ITUCI to Latin (ACIP 839-840).
colonists, such as at Italicae, Cordoba, Carteia, and Valentia (CIL II.2741, 3733, 3736, 3745), all of which were military colonies established for Roman veterans.

Roman elite men had long used inscriptions to broadcast their military achievements to their peers within the city of Rome, to the extent that triumphal inscriptions became a standard part of triumphal celebrations. I adopt the terminology of Andrew Riggsby (2006: 196-7), who argues for the adoption of a generic category of “generals’ inscriptions,” meaning “any inscriptional text that makes overt reference to military action or its aftermath,” including epitaphs, dedications, honorifics, and the tabulae triumphales. Riggsby notes that these inscriptions all follow a similar pattern, indicating the general, the place he conquered, what he seized as spoils—land, people, or objects—and from whom he seized them. Nearly all use forms of the verb capere (to take). These inscriptions focus not only on the action of capturing but also on the individual general, as is indicated by the use of verbs in the active voice and singular person and the nominative for the general. The inscriptions are intended to demonstrate not only the general’s success but also his legitimate authority (auspici um, imperium, ductus), a requirement for earning a triumph. For much of the middle Republic, these inscriptions only appeared in Rome, but after the Second Punic War, the Romans began placing these traditionally Roman civic inscriptions in the regions that they conquered. These inscriptions served the same purpose as those in Rome, as statue bases for honorary statues of the triumphal general or his spoils or as architectural inscriptions.

The Romans often combined their triumphal inscriptions with trophies (tropaia), which

293 Those that do not use a form of capere use a more specific word for booty such as praeda or manubiae (Riggsby 2006: 196-7).
294 An obvious example of this epigraphic habit is the inscription of M. Fulvius Nobilior from 187 BCE. It reads “M.Folvius M.f. / Ser. n. Noblior / co(n)s(ul) Ambracia / cepit, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, grandson of Servius, consul, took (this) from Ambracia.” It served as the statue base for triumphal spoils and Nobilior placed it in his new Temple of Hercules Musarum, which he built after his conquest of Ambracia and subsequent triumph.
historically were a panoply of captured armor attached to a wooden pole or t-shaped platform.\textsuperscript{295} By the late third century shields, marble statues mimicking the traditional panoply, and reliefs depicting key moments in battle all constituted typical trophies, though the reliefs were more uncommon. The trophy often came with an inscription explaining what the general had done to deserve it (fig. 39). The trophies were often dedicated to Jupiter at the end of the triumphal parade and thus had an element of thanksgiving to the gods for victory.

In Spain, the inscriptions were always in Latin, even though most Iberian tribes utilized Punic or Greek for their epigraphy.\textsuperscript{296} The Romans did not employ inscriptions with nearly the same frequency as in Greece. There are only twelve inscriptions from Spain that can be connected to generals serving in the region, and not all can be construed as triumphal. Some, such as the lengthy inscription from Contrebia from 87 BCE, are clearly legal in nature.\textsuperscript{297} In it, the proconsul C. Valerius Flaccus arbitrates a dispute between two Spanish peoples over the public and private property. His use of the term \textit{imperator} reminds the two parties of his military success, particularly the fact that he had campaigned successfully against the Celtiberians, killing approximately 10,000 of them. The earliest inscription in Spain was a decree from c. 190 BCE found at Gades (Cadiz). It does not quite fit the category of generals’ inscriptions, but it is certainly military in origin. In it, L. Aemilius Paullus proclaims that he freed the slaves of the Hastenses and gave them back their land.\textsuperscript{298} Paullus served as praetor against the Lusitanians

\textsuperscript{295} This captured weaponry is what ancient sources usually referred to as \textit{arma telaque} and formed part of the triumphal spolia before the general dedicated them as a trophy.
\textsuperscript{296} In fact, the introduction of Latin contributed to a “significant spread of indigenous epigraphy...not only on coinages but also on other sorts of artefacts” (Ripollès 2005: 85). For Iberian epigraphy, see Velaza 1996. For the Roman influence on the spread of indigenous epigraphy, see de Hoz 1995: 68 and 1999: 433-70.
\textsuperscript{298} \textit{ILS} 1.1.15; \textit{CIL} 12, 614; \textit{ILLRP} 514. Paullus’ actions were part of an attempt to encourage the establishment of a proto-colony, one loyal to the Romans even if citizenship was not offered (Keay 1988: 32, 52). This is similar to what Ti. Sempronius Gracchus did by establishing Grachuris c.179 BCE. Paullus decree reads: L.Aemilius L.f. inpeirator decreivit, / utei quei Hastensium servei / in turri Lascutana habitarent, / leiberei essent; agrum
from 191-189 BCE, and while the decree does not employ the verb *capere*, it does use the epithet *imperator*. Since Paullus defeated the Lusitanians, he is clearly alluding to that victory.

These two inscriptions—while not traditional triumphal inscriptions—illustrate the degree to which the Romans were intervening in local politics and demonstrate that they expected to be viewed as successful conquerors. Other inscriptions from the region fit the traditional pattern of overt triumphal inscriptions, including one from L. Mummius found at Italica (Seville), which was one of the many statue base inscriptions Mummius placed throughout the Mediterranean in honor of his sack of Corinth in 146 BCE. The inscription reads: [L. Mummijus L.f. imp[erator] / [ded(it) Co]rintho capta / [vico Ital]icensi, “Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius, commander-in-chief, gave this on the capture of Corinth to the country-town of Italica” (CIL_1^2.630; *ILLRP* 331). Here Mummius clearly asserts that, as imperator, he captured Corinth. The fact that he plundered the town during his conquest is evident in the plundered statue that accompanied this inscription. As will be discussed, while Mummius’ statue dedication and inscription were not the results of an Iberian conquest, he had campaigned unsuccessfully in Hispania. Therefore, placing this statue and inscription in the Ibero-Roman city of Italica signaled Roman authority and, in a sense, obscured Mummius’ unsuccessful Iberian campaign with his overwhelmingly successful Corinthian victory.

While there is limited epigraphic evidence for the Republican period, coin legends indicate that the use of Latin spread quickly. By the end of the Republican period, Iberian cities had completely adopted Roman coinage and those cities that became *municipia* stamped their status on their coins. The widespread acceptance of Roman coinage ultimately led to the disappearance of Iberian coinage by the mid-first century CE (Ripollès 2005: 84). From that
point, the Iberian provinces relied on the imperial mints. This pattern stands in stark contrast to the evidence in Cisalpine Gaul and especially the evidence in Greece, where the Roman use of coins was almost non-existent in the Republican period, but trophies and inscriptions were much more widespread. The stark differences in material expressions of conquest demonstrate that the Romans adapted their visual communication systems based both on local traditions and on military experiences and necessities, using whatever medium—be it coins, inscriptions, or monuments—that best conveyed their authority. As we will see, coins were not always the primary medium for asserting power.

Material Expressions of Power in Cisalpine Gaul

The conquest of Cisalpine Gaul began in the 220s BCE, though as with the Iberian tribes, the Gauls did not accept subjugation quickly. Virtually all the Gallic tribes joined forces with Hannibal as he crossed the Alps during the Second Punic War, forcing the Romans to abandon the region temporarily. The Romans returned to the conquest of the area after the defeat of Carthage in 202, but it did not officially become a province until c.81 BCE. From 191 BCE until 81 BCE, the Romans maintained control in the region using a combination of military colonies—such as Mutina, Placentia, and Aquileia—garrisons, and roads to allow for the rapid mobilization of Roman troops. This period of colonization accounted for the highest number of coin hoards outside of the 40s BCE when the civil wars decimated the region.

The Roman pattern of circulating coins with victory images during and after conquest

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299 In the same period, there is an increase in Latin inscriptions, offices, and onomastics, but it is not clear if there is a correlation between an increase in Roman coin use and the spread of the Latin language (Ripollès 2005: 84-5). For more on the spread of Latin language and script, see García Bellido 1967: 10; Mariner 1989: 333-43; Panosa 1996: 217-46; Arasa 1994/5: 83-107.
also holds true in Cisalpine Gaul. As with the Iberian Peninsula, there was a long-standing presence of Roman armies in the region, which is evident in the coin hoard data. The long-term presence of the army reflects the fact that the Gauls in northern Italy also tended to rebel and were difficult to conquer. While there are around 140 known Roman coin hoards from the Iberian Peninsula, there are seventy-two known hoards in Cisalpine Gaul, though only fifty-one of those hoards have known end dates (fig. 40). The fifty-one hoards have closing dates ranging from 170 BCE to 14 CE. Twenty-six of the hoards date to between 59 and 20 BCE, which corresponds roughly to the period between Caesar’s conquest of Transalpine Gaul and Octavian’s rise to power. This cluster of hoards is understandable considering the increased presence of Roman armies in Cisalpine Gaul during the civil wars. Interestingly, while the majority of Iberian hoards date to the period 120-100 BCE, the period in which the Romans began to conquer Transalpine Gaul, there are only six hoards from Cisalpine Gaul that date to that initial conquest, between 127 and 100 BCE. Cisalpine Gaul also had more inscriptional and monumental expressions of power than in Spain during the Republican period, but not as many as in Greece. The combination of coin and inscriptional evidence makes Cisalpine Gaul a useful point of comparison to the two extremes of Spain, where coins are overwhelmingly the most common type of evidence, and Greece, where the Romans more frequently used inscriptions and monuments as an expression of power.

The presence of Roman coins and inscriptions, suggests that the Roman army was frequently present in the region, but may also suggest that the Romans reacted to Gallic rebellion with a visible show of force in the form of monumental inscriptions in cities like Arretium.

300 This is mostly because the remaining 21 hoards were discovered prior to the modern period and were broken up.
301 Those hoards are Belfiore (127), Masera (125), Gerenzago (118), Olmeneta (100), Bologna (100), and Imola (100).
located in the buffer zone between Cisalpine Gaul and Latin territories. The specific conquest experience in the Iberian Peninsula and Cisalpine Gaul explains some of the differences in the composition of the coin hoards, particularly the types and number of victory coins and the presence of non-victory coins. The hoards of both regions point to a close association between conquest, the army, and victory coins, but the relatively infrequent appearance of victory coins in Gallic hoards suggests that victory coins were more frequent with difficult and protracted wars, as in Spain. The evidence of Cisalpine Gaul’s hoards is different from the Iberian hoards in three distinct ways. There are fewer hoards in Cisalpine Gaul than in the Iberian Peninsula, seventy-two hoards versus 138. There are fewer victory coins in the Gallic hoards than in the Iberian hoards. Lastly, there is a greater variety of coin denominations in the Gallic hoards than in the Iberian hoards. A detailed look at two of the earliest Gallic hoards, Enemonzo and Maserà, will reveal some of the broad patterns of the Gallic hoards. In addition, an analysis of the general evidence of the hoards, including the number, location, and composition of the Gallic coin hoards in comparison to the Iberian hoards, will demonstrate the crucial differences between the Roman use of coins in the two regions.

The earliest hoard of Roman coins in Cisalpine Gaul is the Enemonzo hoard, located in northeast Italy, in the region of Cisalpine Gaul close to Noricum. The hoard has a terminus post quem of 170 BCE. It contains 359 victoriati and forty undocumented coins from Noricum. The earliest coin in the hoard is RRC 44/1, which is also the earliest victoriatus coin from the period 215-55 BCE. This coin was only minted between 211 and 200 BCE, but remained in circulation until c. 104 BCE, and while stamped with an overt image of victory, numismatists suggest it was primarily intended for commerce outside Italy, which fits with its presence in this hoard (BMCRR 295). There are 257 examples of this coin in the hoard, which is a high number
compared to the other hoards from Hispania and Gaul that contain this coin.\textsuperscript{302} Of the thirty-five victoriati minted between 211 and 190, the Enemonzo hoard contains twenty-four.\textsuperscript{303} The high number of victoriati in this hoard, particularly of a victoriatus issued during the Second Punic War, could indicate that the coins were either a gift or were taken as spoils by the Gauls.

Another hoard that illustrates the typical evidence of Gallic hoards is the hoard at Maserà (c.125 BCE), located in the foothills of the Alps northeast of Milan, contained 1,016 denarii and 189 victoriati.\textsuperscript{304} The earliest coins in the hoard are either victoriati or Dioscuri-type denarii, which tracks with the overarching minting practices of the period.\textsuperscript{305} The remaining coins in the Maserà hoard are overwhelmingly related to military victory. From 157 BCE, denarii with Victory or Jupiter in a quadriga or biga were the most common iconographical representations of military victory. The composition of the Maserà hoard suggests that the new iconographic style emphasizing military victory after 157 BCE spread rapidly, as the Maserà hoard was interred roughly a quarter-century after these new iconographic styles were first issued. The prevalence of Victory and Jupiter on victory coins in general circulation is mirrored in this hoard, as twenty-two out of the thirty-one coins that can be associated with victory are either Victory or Jupiter in

\textsuperscript{302} While there are 257 of RRC 44/1 in the hoard, the rest have less than ten each, which is still more than most hoards contain.
\textsuperscript{303} It contains RRC 71/1, 72/1, 83/1, 93/1, 95/1, 97/1, 98A/1, 102/1, 105/1, 89/1, 57/1, 58/1, 112/1, 119/1, 120/1, 121/1, 122/1, 124/1, 132/1, 133/1, 159/1, 162/1, and 168/1. The earliest coin in the hoard is the victoriatus RRC 44/1, just as with the Enemonzo hoard, though there are only 34 rather than 257.
\textsuperscript{304} The hoard, found in a valley near a river, could have been a ritualized deposit since Gallic tribes frequently deposited spoils of war in or near rivers or in peat bogs. Unfortunately, little has been published on this hoard beyond a list of its coins in the Coin Hoards of the Roman Republic database and occasional mention in numismatic texts, so it is impossible to verify what type of hoard this might have been. CHRR reference number for the Maserà hoard is RRCH 162 and it is listed on the online database as MAS. The hoard receives brief mention in Crawford (1974: 47) as part of his explanation of the chronology for second century coins. Mattingly (1923: 138) refers to the hoard only as evidence for a specific hoard. In both cases, the authors only refer to one coin in the hoard rather than the overall contents.
\textsuperscript{305} Maserà includes many coins with gods and goddesses in either bigas or quadrigas, including Mars (244/1), Apollo (236/1a), Juno (223/1), Diana (222/1), Hercules (229/1a), Sol (250/1), Venus (258/1) and Libertas (270/1). These coins date overwhelmingly to the 140s-120s BCE, with the Diana in biga (222/1) from 143 BCE representing the earliest besides Luna and Victory in this hoard and Libertas in a quadriga (270/1) representing the latest in 125 BCE. The Libertas coin is the same coin referring to the \textit{leges Porciae} that is seen in Iberian hoards.
a vehicle.

One of the more remarkable aspects of the evidence from Iberian and Gallic hoards is the appearance of coins with severely limited issues that one would assume would not circulate widely. The Maserà and Enemonzo hoards, for example, are the only hoards in Hispania, Cisalpine Gaul, or Greece to include RRC 58/1, minted in 208, which was a small issue with only twenty-five known reverse dies.\textsuperscript{306} Victoriati had an increasingly smaller output over the course of the late third century to early second century, until production stopped completely in c.170 BCE. RRC 44/1, for example, had a reverse die count of at least 250, whereas most of the victoriati after 207 had under twenty-five die counts. It is, therefore, even more remarkable that these victoriati show up with such frequency in the Iberian and Gallic hoards and suggests that these coins may have been intended for circulation among the legions. The Maserà hoard, for example, contains the only examples of the victoriatus RRC 90/2 that exist today. The other issue in that series, the double victoriatus RRC 90/1, also has only one known example anywhere in the world, which was found in the Cazlona hoard in Castulo, Jaén, Spain. While this may be a coincidence, it is interesting that the only known example of a victory coin was found in Iberia, where victory coins formed part of Rome’s material expression of authority, rather than anywhere else.

The hoards from Enemonzo and Maserà point to a higher volume of victoriati in Gallic hoards than in the Iberian Peninsula, which maps onto the basic pattern that victory coins appear in high volume in Iberian hoards but Gallic hoards reflect a wider variety, particularly of coins intended for commerce such as the victoriati and quinarii. Iberian hoards have a large number of victory denarii, including the earliest victory denarius (RRC 197/1a, minted in 157/6 BCE), but

\textsuperscript{306} The victoriati in the Maserà hoard are 44/1, 53/1, 67/1, 70/1, 71/1, 83/1, 90/2, 92/1, 93/1, 95/1, 97/1, 98A/1, 89/1, 57/1, 58/1, 112/1, 120/1, 122/1, 124/1, 132/1, and 133/1.
fewer victoriati. The Gallic hoards, however, have more victoriati than the Iberian hoards, though that is mainly due to the high volume of victoriati in the Maserà and Enemonzo hoards. The Gallic hoards also have more quinarii than the Iberian hoards. The high number of quinarii reflects Roman colonization of the region, as the quinarius was a half-denarius and was used more for daily transactions than paying the army—the main impetus for coin circulation in Roman Spain.\textsuperscript{307} The Gallic hoards also have more of the earlier denarii, those minted between c.215 and 157/6, that do not have victory iconography.\textsuperscript{308}

The evidence in Cisalpine Gaul suggests that while coins followed the army, those coins did not have to be victory coins and that the army was not the only means by which Roman coins circulated in a province. The differences in the hoard data between Spain and Gaul could indicate that the Romans circulated more victory coins in the Iberian Peninsula, either because of the frequency of rebellions or because the Roman armies were required to maintain more of a standing army in the region. While the Romans faced rebellions in Cisalpine Gaul, they were generally of shorter duration and seemed to have required a smaller number of Roman legions to end the threat. The lower number of rebellions is perhaps due to Cisalpine Gaul’s proximity to Rome, and the quality of its roads made it easy for the Romans to mobilize troops from closer to Rome to face any potential threats, which was not the case in Hispania. Despite these factors, it seems likely, based on the sheer volume of victory coins in the Iberian Peninsula, that the Romans did circulate more victory coins in the Iberian Peninsula than in Gaul, which suggests that there was a purpose behind the choice of victory coins more than other iconographic types.

\textsuperscript{307} This is not to say that Roman soldiers did not have smaller denominations of coins. In fact, excavations at military camps indicate that Roman soldiers had bronze \textit{asses} and \textit{semisses}, which account for almost all the casual loss finds at military camps, as the soldiers were much less likely to lose their silver denarii. It seems likely, however, that the Romans paid their soldiers mostly in silver (Harl 1996: 60-61; Evans 2013:120). This is certainly the case with donatives paid out to Roman soldiers by triumphal generals.

\textsuperscript{308} Maserà, for example, has almost all the denarii minted between 218 and 155 BCE, along with most of the victoriati from that period.
While there are more non-victory coins in Gallic hoards than in Spain, there are still a significant number of victory coins, particularly in proportion to the other types of material expressions of power, monuments, and inscriptions. These coins include a mix of victoriati, denarii, quinarii, and quadrigata. While the overall composition of the hoards resembles the Iberian hoards, there are some distinct differences. Spain’s hoards contain a high number of coins minted between 155 and 100 BCE, whereas the victory coins from the 70s to 50s BCE are underrepresented compared to the estimated circulation. The Gallic hoards, on the other hand, have a much higher concentration of coins from 135 to 100 BCE and from 59 to 50 BCE, including coins that do not have victory symbols. As with Spain, these statistics do not necessarily correspond to Roman activity in the region. The Romans founded numerous colonies in Cisalpine Gaul from the late third century to the early 170s BCE, and then a few colonies between 109 and 100 BCE, probably in part because of the threat of the Cimbri and Teutones.

The founding of colonies might be expected to augment coin circulation, but there are no discernable increases in the coins present in hoards from the periods surrounding the foundation of colonies when there would have been a sudden influx of both colonists and soldiers. The high volume of coins from 135 to 100 BCE probably reflect greater trade in the region in the wake of colonization, but as with the Iberian hoards that do not fully explain the concentration of victory coins in the hoards. The second peak of coins, between 59 and 50 BCE, does, on the other hand, seem to correspond to an increased military presence in the region.

The hoards of Cisalpine Gaul do not have as many victory coins as those in Roman Spain and have more examples of other iconographic types than in Roman Spain. This may indicate that the Romans used coins differently in Cisalpine Gaul than in Spain, perhaps because

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Cisalpine Gaul after the early second century BCE was not prone to rebellion and therefore did not require such overt military presence. The Romans did not need to maintain a significant military presence and could instead rely on their colonies to serve as garrisons. Cisalpine Gaul’s position between Italy and Transalpine Gaul and Spain also made it a key trading zone, which explains the higher presence of other coin types and other denominations, such as the quinarius that primarily was used in trade.

Inscriptions and Trophies in Cisalpine Gaul

In Cisalpine Gaul, as with Spain, inscriptions are mainly connected to the establishment of colonies, or they are cippi used as mile markers. While there are not many examples of triumphal inscriptions, there are more than exist in Spain. The relative lack of overt triumphal inscriptions in Cisalpine Gaul is because the region served in many ways as an intermediary zone between Romanized Etruria and Umbria and the more hostile tribes in the Transpadane region in the western Alps, and between Italy and the tribes of Noricum in the eastern Alps. The Romans, therefore, approached the control of Cisalpine Gaul differently than in the Iberian provinces or in Greece. After the—relatively—final conquest of Cisalpine Gaul in the 190s, the Romans focused on creating military colonies (Salmon 1970: 95) to have permanent garrisons that guarded the roads across the Apennines to Rome from any invading Gallic tribes (Laurence 1999: 7-27). The Romans also focused on building roads that would allow them to move troops rapidly and on creating patron-client relationships to ensure loyalty (Silverman 1965: 172-89; Laurence 1999: 39-58). These decisions are reflected in the epigraphic evidence.

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310 We have, for example, the foundation inscription for the colony of Aquileia (181 BCE): “L. Manlius L. f. / Acidinus triuvir / Aquileiae coloniae deducundae” (*ILLRP* 324; *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 27).
There are numerous road markers along the new roads, like the Via Aemilia that skirted the eastern side of the Apennines from Ariminum on the Adriatic to Placentia, one of the new colonies, on the Padus (Po) River in the heart of Cisalpine Gaul. This road, completed in 187 BCE by the consul M. Aemilius Lepidus, guarded the routes across the Apennines to Rome and linked all the new colonies founded in the 180s BCE, including Bononia (189), Mutina (183), Regium (183), and Parma (183). The Via Aemilia also connected to the the Via Flaminia, completed in 220 BCE by C. Flaminius. These two roads served as a means of defending Roman territory, but also because they were and each was completed at the end of a key phase of conquest of Cisalpine Gaul. They allowed the Romans to move men and materials, and in this way they served as a material reminder to the Gauls that the Romans had defeated them.

Reinforcing conquest through road-building continued with the construction of the Via Postumia (148 BCE) that linked the colonies of Placentia (218/191) and Aquileia (181), and the Via Aemilia Scaura that connected Genua (Genoa) in Ligurian territory to Pisae (Pisa) in the border zone between Cisalpine Gaul and Etruria. These roads could also help the Romans to suppress rebellion. Each of these roads was the work of a Roman magistrate, generally a consul, who placed mile markers (cippi) along the road with his name and office.311

Just as the Romans used roads to reinforce their military presence, they also reinforced their presence through triumphal inscriptions, cippi, and colonial inscriptions. The inscriptions from Arretium and Aquileia, for example, asserted Roman authority through the replication of the type of triumphal language common on inscriptions in Rome. Arretium was a principal city

311 For example, “M. Aemilius M.f.M.n. Lepidus. Cos. CCLXIX.XV,” ([ILLRP] 617-620), or “M. Aemilius M.f.M.n. Lepid cos. III / XXI / CCXXCVI” ([ILLRP] 450). Both of these inscriptions were markers for the Via Aemilia and were found near the colony of Bononia.
in the intermediary zone between Etruria and Cisalpine Gaul, guarding one of the passes across the Apennines. The Romans used it as a base during the second Punic Wars (Polyb. 3.77.80), particularly because Arretium’s loyalty was suspect (Livy 28.45). Its role as a buffer between Rome and Cisalpine Gaul, as well as Rome and the Ligurians, made it an essential site for more than one Roman general’s triumphal inscriptions and the projection of their military prowess and authority toward the people they conquered. Interestingly, as Riggsby (2006: 196-7) indicates, triumphal inscriptions overwhelmingly used the verb *capere*, “to take.” The inscriptions at Arretium, however, are among the few to use the verb *triumphare*, which can mean “to triumph over,” “to celebrate a triumph,” or “to conquer completely.” There are three notable triumphal inscriptions in Arretium that use this verb.\(^{312}\) The first belongs to Q. Fabius Maximus, whose inscription lists all his offices and his achievements, his triumph over the Ligurians (233/232 BCE) and his triumph over Tarentum (c.208 BCE).\(^{313}\) The second is L. Aemilius Paullus’s inscription that follows the same pattern as Fabius Maximus’ inscription, stating that “having conquered the Ligurians before his consulship, he celebrated a triumph,” “Liguribus domitis priore consulate triumphavit.”\(^{314}\) The inscription goes on to mention Paullus’ success over King Perseus using *capere* instead of *triumphare*.\(^{315}\) The final inscription of note from Arretium is Marius’ inscription emphasizing his triumph over the Cimbri and Teutones. Marius uses even stronger vocabulary to indicate his military prowess, including the verb *delere*, (to annihilate, overthrow, or destroy completely) and the verb *fugare* (to rout or to flee), as well as *capere* and

\(^{312}\) Q. Fabius Maximus, L. Aemilius Paullus, and C. Marius are not the only ones to erect these inscriptions at Arretium. There are also earlier inscriptions from Ap. Claudius Caecus (*ILS* 54) and M. Valerius Maximus (*ILS* 50), and later inscriptions from Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (*ILS* 58) and L. Licinius Lucullus (*ILS* 60).

\(^{313}\) This inscription must date to between 208 BCE, when Maximus celebrated his Tarentine triumph, and 203 BCE, when he died (*ILS* 56).

\(^{314}\) *ILS* 57.

\(^{315}\) Because of the reference to his conquest in Macedonia, this inscription must date to after 167 BCE when Paullus returned to Rome for his Macedonian triumph.
The triumphal inscription from Aquileia is another inscription placed in a military colony projecting military victory outward toward an external enemy. In 129 BCE, the consul C. Sempronius Tuditanus dedicated an inscription to the river god Timavus at a sanctuary just outside Aquileia. As with the inscriptions at Arretium, it emphasizes his triumph, though in this case putting triumph in the accusative. By pairing the noun *triumphus* with the verb *agere*—in this case probably “to conduct” or “to give”—he shifts the emphasis from the more violent aspect of achieving a triumph—killing at least 5,000 men in battle, i.e. “to conquer completely”—to the more celebratory aspect of the triumph. Tuditanus campaigned against the Taurisci, the Carni, the Liburni, and the Iapydes of Histria, achieving a triumph for his victory in Histria. Histria (modern Istria, the peninsula in Croatia) was located across the eastern Alps from Aquileia. Aquileia’s position in the foothills of the eastern Alps made it a crucial military colony, which helps explain why Tuditanus chose to place his inscription there rather than in Histria, which he did not—despite his triumph—conquer completely. In the case of these triumphal inscriptions the enemies—the Ligurians, the Cimbri and Teutones, and the peoples of Histria—were located near the city where the general placed the inscription. Despite the fact that each of these generals earned a triumph, these were dubious victories. Other than Marius’ victory, the campaigns did not result in complete conquest, which would ordinarily preclude the general from earning a triumph. Perhaps the location of the inscriptions was intended to obscure the fact that these were minor victories. They may also have been designed to act as deterrents

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316 *ILS* 59. This inscription is also one of the few to mention a captive being led in triumph, in this case Jugurtha.  
317 *CIL* I².652.  
against subsequent action on the part of the people that were not completely conquered. The choice of Arretium for the location of so many triumphal inscriptions is particularly interesting. None of the inscriptions are for campaigns in or near Arretium, so it seems that Arretium functioned as a type of symbolic border and a triumphal satellite, since it occupied a liminal space between what the Romans traditionally saw as Gallic territory and what they saw as Roman territory.

**Material Expressions of Power in Greece**

The Greek numismatic, monumental, and epigraphic evidence underscores the very different approaches that the Romans could take in how they used objects to express their power. For example, the only hoard with an end date before the 50s BCE is a hoard found in the Piraeus dating to 86 BCE, but this hoard is thought to belong to a Roman soldier who buried it during Sulla’s siege. Roman intervention in the Greek world began in the late third century BCE, but the coin hoards do not correspond in date to the period of conquest as they do in Spain, where Roman coin hoards begin appearing soon after Rome’s initial arrival. While there are around 138 Roman coin hoards in Spain, there are only twenty-three known Roman coin hoards in Greece, and only fifteen of those are datable (fig. 41). Not only are there significantly fewer hoards in Greece, but there are significantly fewer victory coins among those hoards. Of the fifteen datable hoards, none date to before the Mithridatic Wars (89-63 BCE). Coin evidence in Greece clearly demonstrates that the Romans utilized coins differently in Spain than in Greece and that Roman coins did not circulate strictly with Roman military presence since Roman armies were frequently involved in the Greek East from the second century BCE. In fact, literary and archaeological evidence indicates that the Romans used local coinage in the Greek world
throughout the period.\textsuperscript{319} However, there are many more inscriptions and trophies illustrating Roman power and celebrating Roman military victory in Greece than there are in Spain. The Romans circulated images of victory and power in Greece, but more through fixed monuments than mobile coins.

Because the Hellenistic kings and the Greek city-states had their own coinage and access to local gold and silver mines, Roman coins did not become common in the region until the imperial period (Kremydi-Sicilianou 2005: 96-7; Howgego 2005: 14). In fact, the Romans were more likely to cart away Greek and Macedonian coins to melt down and turn into Roman coins than to bring their own to the region. It was standard practice for victorious Roman generals to seize coins and bullion in any area they conquered, but the Greek provinces provided coins and bullion on a scale dramatically higher than anywhere else in the Mediterranean. As Harl (1996: 44) states, “The Macedonian treasures, whose value totaled 30 million denarii, filled state coffers to the brim, providing the basis of a reserve that swelled to over 18 million denarii by 157 BC. With this reserve plus the annual Macedonian tribute of 672,000 denarii and the income from the Spanish mines, the Republic never again had to tax Roman soil.” Antiochus IV, the Seleucid king, had to pay indemnities of 22.5 million tetradrachmae (over 100 million denarii) between 189 and 176 BCE, plus an additional 790,802 tetradrachmae to Rome’s ally Eumenes II of Pergamum. The Romans also redirected the flow of bullion that the Seleucids had imported from the Black Sea. These changes forced Antiochus IV to reduce the weight of his tetradrachma due to a shortage of available silver and to begin issuing bronze fractional coins, which Greeks disliked using (Harl 1996: 67). Macedonia also suffered from Rome’s victories. Philip V of Macedon had to pay an initial indemnity of 500 talents (750,000 tetradrachmae) and annual

\textsuperscript{319} Burnett (2005: 177-78) argues that the dearth of Roman coins in Greece is due to local derision for Roman coinage.
payments of fifty talents.

The coinage that Roman generals seized while on campaign was typically melted down and re-minted as Roman denarii. When L. Aemilius Paullus defeated the Macedonian King Perseus at the Battle of Pydna in 168 BCE, he seized more than 120 million sesterces’ worth of Macedonian tetradrachmae (Livy 45.40). After his triumph the following year, the Romans melted those coins down and minted new Roman denarii. Harl argues that RRC 197/1a, the first Roman victory coin, with the goddess Victory driving a biga on the reverse, was among the coins minted from the former Macedonian coins (1996: 44), suggesting a relationship in the minds of elite Romans between conquest and victory iconography. The Romans also overstruck old coins. As explained above, this meant that the Romans stamped their own image on top of an existing coin.\(^320\) Coins seized during the First Macedonian War (214-205) from Oeniadae and the Acarnanian League were overstruck with a Roman triens bearing the image of Minerva on the obverse and a prow on the reverse (RRC 100/3). The Romans also overstruck coins seized from the Syracusan kings, a few of the Ptolemies, and the Carthaginians (Crawford 1974: 105-119).

Both the act of melting down and re-minting and of overstriking coins seized during campaign served as overt indications of Roman victory.

The Romans further strained the Macedonian economy by closing Macedon’s mines for ten years to prevent Macedon from recovering after the Third Macedonian War (172-167 BCE). This decline in royal coinage allowed the Greek city-states to begin minting coins again.\(^321\)

\(^320\) The practice was rare and mostly utilized during wartime shortages and fell out of use with the end of the Second Punic War. The practice was replaced by melting the coins down and re-stamping them (Evans 2013:114; Harl 1996: 44).

\(^321\) Harl 1996: 68. Athens, for example, had not been allowed to mint its own coinage for a century. Their return to minting began with the introduction of the New Style coinage, with Athena’s head on the obverse and an owl on the reverse, ringed by a laurel wreath. There is some debate as to whether the laurel wreath alluded to the wreaths that
Despite the frequent depletion of coinage and bullion from the Greek provinces, the Hellenistic kings and the city-states continued to mint coins and did not utilize Roman coinage. Roman coins were accepted in trade, particularly in Delos, that functioned as the financial trading house for the Aegean world. Delian inventories indicate that the denarius was accepted as early as 153 BCE, but the coinage of Athens, Rhodes, and Pergamum continued to be the principal coinage there until the First Mithridatic War (89-86 BCE) (Harl 1996: 61-2; Burnett 2005: 177-8).

The Greek ambivalence toward Roman coins certainly shows in the hoards. Not only are there significantly fewer hoards in the region, but victory coins are also much less prevalent. Only five hoards contain victory coins before the 140s BCE.322 It is also unclear whether the Greek hoards were deposited by local people, by Romans who hid their money before going into battle, or by Italian merchants who lived in the region. The hoard at Actium, with a closing date of 31 BCE, seems very likely to be the deposit of a Roman soldier made before the Battle of Actium. The Peiraeus hoard from 86 BCE is also likely a Roman soldier’s hoard, possibly buried as part of Sulla’s siege of the port. Most of the Greek hoards contain as many non-victory coins as victory coins. The glaring exception to this is the Maluk Chardak hoard from Thrace (modern Bulgaria) with a *terminus post quem* of 39 BCE. It corresponds more to the patterns of Roman Spain, which include significantly more victory coins than regular coins. It also contains most of the victory issues between RRC 197/1a, the first victory denarius from 157/6 BCE, and RRC 429/1 from 55 BCE. Overall, Roman denarii are not found in Greek hoards with closing dates before the beginning of the first century BCE and not in large numbers until after 81 BCE (Harl 1996: 61). So while victory coins did circulate with the army, in Greece they likely remained

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322 Those hoards are Macedonia 1, Corfu, Thrace, Medovo, and Maluk Chardak.
with the military and did not circulate in the local economies. Roman iconography also had little influence on local coinage, at least not until the imperial period (Howgego 2005: 14) except for the gold stater for Flamininus and Sulla’s Athenian coinage.

The most distinct difference between the Roman use of victory images in the Aegean and the West was the minting of Greek coins while on campaign, albeit on rare occasions. The earliest example of this is the gold stater that T. Quinctius Flamininus minted in 196-94 BCE. Minted to celebrate his victory over King Philip V of Macedon, his staters were modeled on the Macedonian regal staters except they had his image on the obverse and Latin inscriptions next to the goddess Nike (Victory) who holds a laurel wreath. This stater was extremely unusual for the Romans. Not only was this the only gold coin minted by a Roman in the second century BCE, but it also was the first coin minted by a Roman to have the image of a living Roman on the obverse. The image of a living man would not reappear on a Roman coin until Julius Caesar. Flamininus most likely distributed these coins at festivals to proclaim his restoration of freedom to the Greeks. Needless to say, these coins did not conform to Republican ideals and greatly alarmed Flamininus’ contemporaries. Sulla also minted Greek coins to proclaim his achievements. After the Battle of Chaeronea in 86 BCE and his subsequent sack of Athens, Sulla minted an Athenian New Style tetradrachm, with two trophies flanking the owl on the reverse. Sulla mirrored this issue a similar series of Roman coins, RRC 359/1 and 359/2, both of which had the head of Venus on the obverse and two trophies flanking a jug and lituus on the reverse.

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323 Sulla’s face appears on coins, but they were not minted until 54 BCE, more than twenty years after his death.

324 Harl 1996: 49. There is some dispute over whether Flamininus played any role in minting these coins or if they were honorary. Harl (1996: 49) seems to think that Flamininus had a hand in the creation of the coins, but Gruen (1984: 167) argues that the coins were honorary and gifted to Flamininus. Carson (1955: 12) speculates that Flamininus had a hand in the minting because he was competing against Scipio Africanus who, possibly, issued Punic coins with his face as the model for the male head on the obverse (Villaronga n.69; Burgos n.552). Generally, the argument that this Punic issue depicts Scipio is no longer accepted.
with the inscription IMPER.ITERVM, “imperator for the second time.” By seizing the Athenian mint and superimposing references to his victory over them on their own coin iconography, Sulla asserted his dominance over the Athenians and reinforced his conquest. For the Athenians, it must have been especially galling considering that they had only been able to mint their coins again for less than a century after centuries of Macedonian subjugation.

Sulla’s coin issues demonstrate the degree to which Roman generals used coins to broadcast their achievements. By Sulla’s lifetime, power had concentrated so much in the hands of individual generals that he was able to utilize coinage to set the tone for what he intended to do, rather than to look back upon past achievements. Sulla’s use of gold in many ways demonstrated how much he was commandeering coinage to make a statement. For the most part, minting gold seemed too royal to the Romans, and they chose not to use gold for their currency. The Romans had briefly issued gold coins during the Second Punic War in the form of staters and asses, and almost all of the issues were minted in southern Italy, where Greek influence made gold coins more common. However, the Romans stopped minting gold coins by 208 BCE. Other than Flamininus’ limited issue gold stater that likely only circulated in the Aegean, Sulla was the first to issue gold coins. Choosing to do so as he planned to invade Italy and march on Rome in order to seize power from the Marian faction is telling. The Marians had tried to strip Sulla of his Eastern command, so by minting coins that glorified his victories, using a metal that the Romans closely associated with the Greek world, reminded his enemies that Sulla

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325 There is some debate about the chronology of the issue. Crawford (1974: 80) compares the chronology of three of Sulla’s issues, RRC 359, RRC 367, and RRC 368. Using the evidence of coin hoards whose closing date cannot be past 82 BCE, Crawford argues v. Thompson (1961: 425-39) that RRC 359, whose two trophies mirror the two trophies on the New Style issue, should be dated to 83 BCE and connected to Sulla’s planned invasion of Italy. Crawford dates RRC 367, a denarius with the image of a triumphator crowned by Victory driving a quadriga, to 82 BCE. He dates RRC 368 to 82 BCE as well. This means that Sulla minted his New Style issue before its Roman counterpart, RRC 359, and probably minted it c. 87/86 BCE, right around the time that Sulla defeated the forces of Mithridates VI at Chaeronaea in 86 BCE. For a summary of the debate between Thompson and Crawford over the dating of the Sullan issues, see Camp 1992: 449.

326 For a discussion of Rome’s early gold coins, see Crawford 1974: 593.
controlled Greece and was willing to break precedent to maintain his authority. Furthermore, Sulla chose to use the Greek “Epaphroditos” on his inscriptions in Greece rather than the Roman “Felix,” which suggests that Sulla may have been drawing upon the language and legacy of Hellenistic kings with his inscriptions and coins (Santangelo 2007: 9). Indeed, Santangelo (2007: 199-213) argues that Sulla’s use of “Epaphroditos” was not just a direct translation of Felix, but rather an attempt on Sulla’s part to counteract accusations of impiety due to his plundering of Greek sanctuaries.

While Sulla broke with precedent to make a statement with his gold coin, he did so on a somewhat limited scale. His aureus, RRC 359/1, was a limited issue with only six known dies. The denarius version of this coin, RRC 359/2, circulated fairly widely and appeared in Iberian and Gallic hoards. Sulla’s largest issue was RRC 367. Minted in 82 BCE, before his victory at the Colline Gate in November of that year, RRC 367 indicated what Sulla expected to achieve. It had the head of Roma on the obverse, associating Sulla with the res publica and legitimacy, and a triumphator crowned by Victory driving a quadriga on the reverse. As with RRC 359, this issue included both aurei and denarii. The size of the issue is evident in the fact that, between three denarius issues in the series, this denarius appeared in 172 hoards. Choosing to use the image of a triumphator was unusual, considering that the Roman law technically dictated that a general could not hold a triumph over Roman citizens.

Inscriptions and Trophies in Greece

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327 RRC 367/1, 367/3, and 367/5 are the denarius issues. 367/1 appears in 30 hoards, 367/3 appears in 40 hoards, and 367/5 appears in 102 hoards. 367/3 and 367/5 appear in 29 hoards in Hispania, Cisalpine Gaul, and Greece.

328 Focusing on the Samnites in the Battle of the Colline Gate and combining the victories with his victories over Mithridates VI allowed Sulla to get around that taboo.
One interesting aspect of the Roman triumphal inscriptions in Greece is that they were predominantly in Greek or both Greek and Latin, and sometimes in Latin transcribed into the Greek alphabet. Paullus’ inscription at Delphi is a rare exception. The inscriptions are also consistently placed in the sanctuaries where Greek conquerors and Hellenistic kings put their inscriptions: Delphi, Delos, and Olympia. M. Minucius Rufus (*CIL* 1² 692; *ILS* 8887; *ROL* 6) and L. Calpurnius Piso (*ILLRP* 0756) were among the many who dedicated inscriptions at Delphi. Sulla placed a triumphal inscription (*ILLRP* 711) at Delphi despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that he plundered Delphi’s sanctuary in 86, an act that was traditionally taboo. The fact that the Romans so frequently chose to use bilingual inscriptions indicates a desire to work within the traditional framework for Greek honorary inscriptions and respect for Greek traditions and the language of powerful Hellenistic kingdoms. This accommodation of Greek tradition did not, on the other hand, carry over to the inscriptions dedicated in Gaul or the Spanish provinces.

Sulla’s victory at Chaeronea and the direct threat to his legitimate authority from the Marian factions compelled him to commemorate his victories with coin issues, inscriptions, and trophies between his victory in 86 BCE and his triumphant return to Rome in 82 BCE. Before

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329 Others include: L. Licinius Lucullus (*ILLRP* 0865), a later Flaminius (*ILLRP* 0762), Q. Pompeius Rufus (*ILLRP* 0361), one of Caesar’s ancestors (*ILLRP* 0345), and C. Rabirius (*ILLRP* 399).
330 Harl 1996: 70-71. Sulla also plundered the sanctuaries at Olympia and Epidaurus (Harl 1996: 70-71), seizing the contents of the treasures in all three locations.
331 Gruen (1992: 237-40) notes that Romans switched between Latin and Greek depending on what level of authority they wanted to convey. *Imperatores*, for example, would utilize Latin and rely on subordinates to translate, but official documents would be crafted in both languages. Inscriptions could be bilingual, in Latin, or in Greek depending on who paid for it. This is understandable in the context of Elizabeth Meyer’s argument that: “This epigraphy therefore constituted, and takes its rightful place at the center of, a complex Roman communicative system that included many sub-genres of monumental inscription and had its own idiosyncratic characteristics. This system is, in particular, distinguished by an over-emphasis on monuments that assert belonging and connection; that report (only) positive achievements; that are socially appropriate, that is, they endorse or embody harmonious, elite-dominated social relationships; and that intentionally create not just personal but also political and communal memories” (2011: 192). On the broader pattern of Roman use of Greek in inscriptions, see Santangelo 2007: 199-213; Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 143-181.
leaving Greece, Sulla dedicated two trophies commemorating his victories, one in Chaeronea and one nearby on Mount Thourion where he routed Archelaus’ troops (Plut. *Sull.* 19.9-10). In 1990, archaeologists discovered a statue base inscription near Chaeronea, which is now thought part of one of Sulla’s two trophies (Camp 1992: 444). A trophy found nearby at Orchomenos (Skirpou) may be connected to Sulla, as won a third victory at Orchomenos.\(^{332}\) Cassius Dio’s (42.18) comment that Sulla wore a signet ring engraved with three trophies has led some scholars to argue that the trophy at Chaeronea is one of Sulla’s.\(^{333}\) This is significant because it demonstrates the spread of triumphal imagery into the provinces, symbolically extending the topography of the triumph to include conquered regions.

The presence of so many trophies and inscriptions illustrates how differently the Romans approached, and celebrated, the subjugation of the Greeks, the Iberian tribes, and the Gauls. Inscriptions allowed generals more versatility in proclaiming their achievements than coins necessarily could. An inscription could provide more information, outline exactly how many cities a general captured or how much plunder he seized. Inscriptions were used with much greater frequency in Greece than in Cisalpine Gaul or the Iberian Peninsula. The earliest generals’ inscriptions to appear outside Rome appear in Greece in the 190s BCE. These take the form of honorary inscriptions to celebrate the victory of T. Quinctius Flamininus over Philip V of Macedon. In these inscriptions, Flamininus is hailed as savior (*soter*) and benefactor (*euergetes*). These were common epithets for Hellenistic kings. Other inscriptions refer to his good deeds (*euergesia*), his excellence or strength (*arête*), and his goodwill (*eunoia*). These inscriptions appear in Chalcis, Cos, Gytheum, Corinth, Scotussa in Thessaly, and Phanotia in

\(^{332}\) Gansiniec (1955: 122, n.132) suggests a Sullan connection, but Vermeule (1959: 74) suggests it is imperial.

\(^{333}\) Since it is unknown exactly when Sulla commissioned the signet ring, the third trophy—the one not depicted on his coinage—could commemorate either his victory at Orchomemos or his victory at the Colline Gate. If it commemorates the former, the identification of the Orchomenos trophy as Sullan seems more likely.
Phocis. Gruen (1984: 167) argues that these inscriptions were honorary decrees made by local Greeks, either out of enthusiasm for Flamininus’ achievements or to curry favor. The Greeks also dedicated an equestrian statue of Flamininus at Delphi. These honorary dedications coincided with Flamininus’ dedications, including a shield and crown at Delphi (Plut. *Flam.* 12.6-7) and Delphi.

Flamininus’ dedications at Delphi followed the traditional pattern of Greek conquerors who commemorated their victories with dedications at Delphi’s sanctuary. Flamininus was not the only Roman to make dedications there. L. Aemilius Paullus celebrated his victory over Perseus by taking over a monumental pillar at Delphi, which had been intended for Perseus himself (Strong 1995: 37). Paullus added battle reliefs with cavalry and both Roman and Macedonian armor. One figure engaged in combat is thought to be Paullus himself, and a riderless horse identifies the battle as Paullus’ victory at Pydna in 167 BCE since the account of the battle mentions a runaway horse (Plut. *Aem.* 18.1). Paullus added a triumphal inscription celebrating his victory: “L. Aemilius L.F. Inperator de rege Perse / Macedonibusque cepit” “Lucius Aemilius, son of Lucius, commander, seized this from the kingdom of Perses and the Macedonians” (*ILLRP* 323; Polyb. 30.10; *ROL* 66). Taking over the victory monument of the king he conquered was an overt reminder to Perseus and his followers that Paullus had defeated them, “a double victory” over Perseus, as Diana Kleiner asserts, first at Pydna and then at Delphi (1992: 26-7).

One of the more famous Roman generals to utilize triumphal inscriptions in conquered

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334 Chalcis: *IG* XII, 9, 931; Cos: *IG* XII, 4, 1049; Gytheum: *SIG* 592; Corinth: *SEG* XI, 73 = *ISE*, n.27; Scotussa: Mastrokostas, *REA* 66=ISE, n.98; Phanoea: Klaftenbach 1971: 167-68; Livy 32.18.6.
335 For the equestrian statue, see *FD* III 4, 244; *SIG* 3, 616.
336 The dedications at Delos are known through inventory lists where he appears as a dedicant. *IG* XI, 439A, lines 77-78; 442B, lines 85-86; 1429A, lines 21-22; 1441A, lines 105-106; 1446, line 15.
regions is L. Mummius who dedicated triumphal inscriptions commemorating his 146 BCE victory at Corinth all over the Mediterranean world. Mummius placed his inscriptions throughout Italy, Greece, and even in Spain. The surviving statue bases from Olympia (SEG, 44.410), Argos (SEG, 30.365), and other Greek cities indicate that Mummius distributed much of his spoils in Greece. Such statue bases also appear throughout Italy. Mummius’ inscriptions subscribed to the traditional pattern of generals’ inscriptions. They give his name in the nominative, refer to his legitimate authority, and proclaim that he captured Achaea. Mummius is an extreme example of the increasing Roman tendency toward placing a general’s inscription—typically a dedicatory or honorific inscription—proclaiming one’s status as a triumphator in a province rather than in Rome. Mummius scattered dedicatory inscriptions throughout the Mediterranean world, including in Greece, Italy, and Spain. In some ways, Mummius’ inscriptions are an attempt to re-write his own history, transforming him from a novus homo of relatively obscure origins into a triumphator of the highest standard and the conqueror of Greece. The inscription that Mummius dedicated at Italica in southern Spain is an even more blatant attempt at re-writing his past. It reads: “[L(ucius) Mum]mius L(uci) f(ilius) imp(erator) / [co(n)s(ul) Co]rintho capta / [populo Ita]license (Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius, imperator, consul, [gave this] to the people of Italica having captured Corinth).” Considering that Mummius had lost a significant battle as praetor in southern Spain in 154—losing 9,000 of his 14,000 men as well as his camp and all his booty—in a battle against the Lusitanians (App. Ib. 57.237-238), it is interesting that he chose to place a trophy in the region. Even worse, the Lusitanians captured his standards and paraded them throughout the region (App. Ib. 57.237-238). While Mummius regained his standards and

337 Gruen 1984: 266.
booty, and ultimately won a significant enough victory to merit a triumph, according to Appian, this loss was a huge blow and likely an embarrassment to Mummius and his fellow Romans. Placing an inscription proclaiming his greatest achievement, the destruction of Corinth, in the region where he lost his greatest battle, seems a clear attempt at erasing his past failures. Mummius’ actions are, in many ways, an extreme example of the Roman tendency toward using the language and images of victory to emphasize major successes and obscure defeats.

In Roman Greece, language, in the form of inscriptions and monuments, was a critical component of Roman elite expression. Whereas coins served as a symbol of Roman authority in Spain, even if that symbol was just a byproduct of the presence of Rome’s armies, in Greece, the Romans relied on a purposeful visual language to convey their power and prestige. Monuments and inscriptions stood as overt symbols of Roman power that relied heavily on images of Roman soldiers, weapons, and conquered peoples, combined with inscriptions that utilized a particular set of formulaic tropes. These inscriptions employed words that emphasized conquest such as *capere*, *fugere*, and *triumphare*, thus reinforcing the images on the monuments and the coins. The vastly different choice of visual language in Spain and Gaul, as opposed to Greece, strongly suggests that the Romans were aware of the visual power of both mobile (coins) and fixed (inscriptions and monuments) victory iconography and that they employed each differently depending on local circumstances. Indeed, the dearth of victory coins in Greece compared to the wealth of inscriptive evidence supports the idea that the Romans purposefully circulated victory coins in the Iberian Peninsula rather than employ fixed monuments.

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340 For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on what Andrew Riggsby (2006: 196-7) terms “general’s inscriptions,” meaning “any inscriptive text that makes overt reference to military action or its aftermath,” including epitaphs, dedications, honorifics, and the *tabulae triumphales*.
**Conclusion**

Inscriptions like those from Aquileia and Arretium as well as Pompey’s inscription mentioned in the introduction to this chapter demonstrate how overt the Romans were about describing acts of conquest. Using the traditional language of power made sense in Rome, where generals competed against each other to display their prestige. Moving these inscriptions to conquered regions marks a change in epigraphic behavior. While such overt signs of Roman power were common in the imperial period, when emperors placed inscriptions describing their military prowess throughout the empire, it seems somewhat surprising that the Romans would do this in the late third through early first centuries, when their hold over conquered regions was often tenuous. The fact that they did so indicates that they saw these inscriptions as more than just a means of competing with their peers. Indeed, they may have included an audience of the conquered; thus they became a means of exerting control over conquered peoples. Trophies paired with these triumphal inscriptions served the same function. Each was a tangible reminder that the Roman conquest was successful, a physical version of Caesar’s iconic statement, “veni, vidi, vici (I came, I saw, I conquered).”

This practice carried over, in many ways, to coins that conveyed words and images related to conquest to all areas of Roman expansion. The slow progress of Roman conquest also allowed victory coins to circulated in high numbers in areas, because of the continued need for Roman military presence. Similarly, areas without a long-standing epigraphic habit made inscriptions a less-than-ideal means of displaying Roman power. The use of coins as a tool to display Roman power only increased during the late Republican period, when coins with personifications of captive regions such as Africa, Gaul, and Spain, became standard images.
depicting the subjugation of the conquered rather than the triumph or victory of the conqueror. The use of these coins essentially as a form of propaganda was the status quo during the imperial period but the process began during the Second Punic War, when the Romans began reacting to the overseas power of Carthage and the Hellenistic kingdoms by taking the Roman civic tradition of triumphal traditions and turning it outward and by minting coins that celebrated Roman power.

Because of the overt display and legitimation of Roman authority provided by their images and language, coins, inscriptions, and monuments may also have aided the Romans in deterring rebellion and assimilating local cultures. The success of coins in asserting Roman authority is evident in the fact that rebels reacted to the images when minting their coins and later cities in Spain and Gaul gradually began to mint coins with Roman victory images to celebrate their civic identities. This trend started with the coins minted at Saguntum (ACIP 1984-95; CNH 309/9, 310/45-46, 310/64) in the early first century and continued with the municipal coins of the Augustan period. Other cities, such as Antipolis in Transalpine Gaul, actually minted victory coins to celebrate the fact that they were loyal to Rome and had chosen the right side in the civil war between Caesar and Pompey (Délaval 2011: 17). By the mid-first century, the local people in Spain and Gaul had internalized these images of victory to the point that they used them willingly, without Roman intervention, and to express their loyalty.

This use of victory images to express loyalty to Rome carried over to inscriptions and trophies. Greek cities began early on to curry favor with the Romans by erecting statues and inscriptions on behalf of Roman generals.341 The use of inscriptions and trophies was not as common in Spain and Gaul, but there is one obvious example of how Iberian peoples used

341 The statues erected for Flamininus in 197-94 BCE, for example.
inscriptions and statues to express their loyalty to Rome. The people of Tarraco erected a statue to Pompey, whom they supported during his campaigns against Sertorius and Caesar. The inscription originally dates to 71 BCE, after Pompey defeated Sertorius. It demonstrates how the Iberians at Tarraco had begun to adopt Roman methods for proclaiming military victory. The inscription reads: [Cn(aeo) Po]mpei(o Cn(aei) F(ilio)])[M]agn(o) im[p(eratori) iter(um)], “To Gnaeus Pompeius the Great, son of Gnaeus, imperator for a second time.” This inscription follows the pattern of triumphal statue inscriptions from Rome. The people of Tarraco chose to set it up themselves, not so much as an attempt to curry favor but as an indication of their support of Pompey and their willingness to fight for him. The statue accompanying the inscription was a typical Roman portrait statue of Pompey. The people of Tarraco saw themselves playing a vital role in what was, realistically, a civil war between Romans. By the late Republican period—almost two hundred years after the Romans began their conquest of Spain—Rome’s continual use of victory images had succeeded in instilling loyalty toward Rome in the people of Tarraco. To preserve that loyalty once Pompey and his supporters lost the war, the people of Tarraco removed the statue of Pompey. They then flipped the inscription around and wrote a new inscription, honoring P. Mucius Scaevola, one of Caesar’s supporters. Their reversal of the inscription also indicates that they understood exactly what these inscriptions signified. Ultimately, these material expressions of conquest spread throughout the Mediterranean world. They influenced local visual culture to the point that what had once been a symbol of defeat and subjugation to the Romans became a symbol of loyalty. The very symbols that represented their own defeat served as a means of expressing a new civic identity that often combined indigenous and Roman traditions.

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342 *RIT* 1 and 2, also Ruiz de Arbulo 2006: 39.
343 The text of the new inscription read: P(ublio) Mucio [.f(ilio)] / Scaevol[ae]. *RIT* 1 and 2, also Ruiz de Arbulo 2006: 39.
By the mid-first century BCE, the triumphal material culture that began to develop in the mid-third century BCE had fully materialized, moving far beyond the ephemeral moment of the parade to include triumphal architecture, the public display of war booty, particularly in large collections, as part of an overt statement of military victory, and the decoration of private homes with art and luxury goods inspired by similar triumphal plunder. At the heart of this triumphal material culture was the elite desire to make a lasting, visible statement about their own, and consequently, Roman power. This material culture retold the story of Roman domination of the Mediterranean and helped the Romans reinforce ongoing conquest through the circulation of triumphal imagery out into the provinces and areas of Roman expansion. The Romans began by conquering foreign peoples and removing plundered goods and captives from the vanquished cities to bring them back to Rome. Conquest was followed by the triumphal parade, where the plundered goods and people moved through the city following the developing topography of the triumph. The parade passed sights/sites that enhanced the experience of the parade, including triumphal architecture, trophies, statues, and the sacred temples and political spaces that defined Rome. After the parades, generals then added to the triumphal topography by erecting new buildings to house their spoils, along with inscriptions, paintings, and maps to label and reenact the process of conquest. These structures and the parades they witnessed stood metonymically for conquest.

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344 The concept of sights/sites comes from Larmour and Spencer (2007).
345 Larmour and Spencer 2007: 12.
The concept of circulation helps explain the relationship between the provinces and triumphal imagery and between plunder and triumphal architecture. It illustrates that the triumph is the unifying theme for the development a new material culture and economy of prestige. This circulatory process explains how the Romans drew in foreign material and translated it into a victory narrative. Roman generals used the plundered objects they seized, along with triumphal imagery, to reify both personal and state narratives and then distributed that imagery back out into the provinces to reinforce conquest. It was a continual process of circulation that worked to inscribe conquest onto the urban topography of Rome and to inscribe Roman authority onto the topography of the provinces. By the late-Republican period, this process had coalesced into a vibrant visual language of power that the Romans would continue to employ well into the imperial period. The triumphal arches of Titus, Constantine, and Septimius Severus that bound the space of the Forum are testaments to this triumphal vocabulary.\footnote{Each arch has overt triumphal imagery, most famously the Arch of Titus with its illustration of the sack of Jerusalem and Vespasian and Titus’ Judean triumph. The location of each arch, near or on access points into and out of the Forum, also, I would argue, signal their role in demarcating triumphal space.}

The continual flow of foreign objects and people into Rome through conquest cemented the triumph and representations of victory as sources of elite prestige. Victory, however important, did not necessarily provide lasting fame, so generals increasingly turned to material culture to create an enduring reputation for themselves and their descendants.\footnote{See Hölscher 2006: 27-48.} Generals typically built structures on or within sight of the triumphal route after earning a triumph. The siting of triumphal architecture and the labeling of those structures through inscriptions and plundered decoration made these spaces legible as representations of victory. Furthermore, these structures created a triumphal topography that drew past and present together, so that triumphal generals and spectators interacted with previous \textit{triumphatores} through their monuments.
Triumphal generals also split their booty between their triumphal buildings and their homes, enhancing their prestige by creating multiple decorative programs that permanently retold the story of the personal achievements. The growing value of plundered objects as representations of status contributed to the development of a new elite habit of collecting art and luxury goods to display wealth and status in the home. Indeed, the economy of prestige had become so accepted that Cicero and others like him simply took it for granted that elite men displayed their prestige, social status, and cultural knowledge by owning and displaying Hellenistic art and luxury goods. The private display of luxury goods was an important facet of triumphal material culture, but also part of the process of bringing plundered and purchased goods into the capital and using them as part of a broader language of power.

The other critical facet to the process of circulation was the incorporation of the provinces into the material culture of the triumph through the distribution of coins, inscriptions and monuments in provincial cities. This distribution extended the visual topography of the triumph, linking the conquered to the conquerors through a visual narrative of victory. There is nothing quite like stamping a conquered city with symbols of Roman victory, the very same symbols that dominated the capital, to indicate military success. As previously discussed, the Romans adapted their triumphal narratives to local patterns, using predominantly coins in the Iberian provinces but inscriptions and monuments in Greece. These symbols of victory advertised Roman military prowess, but also helped reinforce the process of conquest, particularly because coins tended to follow the legions.

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348 Consider the examples of Marcellus, Lucullus, and Pompey, all of whom were discussed above.
349 Cicero *Att.* 1.4; 1.6; 1.8; 1.10; II.4
350 See Harl 1996: 42, 54-5; see also Chapter 4.
To illustrate how triumphal material culture had taken shape over the course of the mid-third through mid-first centuries BCE, let us return to the case of Pompey the Great. In 61 BCE, Pompey held his third and most glorious triumph over King Mithridates of Pontus. Pompey’s spectacular parade included all the wonders of Mithridates’ palace: silver statues, gaming boards made of precious metals, ceremonial chariots, manuscripts, golden tapestries, luxury dining ware, and exotic plants. The parade far eclipsed anything seen since L. Aemilius Paullus’ parade in 167, particularly because Pompey continued the celebration with banquets and elaborate games with races and animal fights. Almost immediately after his parade, Pompey and his staff began plans to build a monumental complex near the starting point of the triumphal route. By 55, only six years later, the project was completed. It included a massive permanent theater with a stage whose screen (scaenae frons) was decorated with Pompey’s plunder. Adjacent to the theater was a large double portico displaying statues of poets and playwrights, both commissioned and plundered, whose decorative scheme emphasized Pompey’s world conquests, cultural knowledge, and taste. The portico enclosed a shaded garden planted with exotic plants from the regions Pompey had conquered and provided Romans of all backgrounds with a quiet place to stroll or to wait for future triumphs to begin. Pompey did not stop with simply building the most elaborate triumphal structure to date. He, like his contemporary Cicero, sent agents to Greece to purchase art with which to decorate his homes, partly because most of his plunder ended up in public spaces. He also chose select pieces of his plunder, including Mithridates’ ring cabinet, to add to his home. Pompey’s home thus combined plundered and purchased goods within the same spaces, both his public complex and his private home,

351 Pliny NH 12.54.111, 25.70.117, 33.54.151, 37.6.13-17.
352 Indeed, Velleius Paterculus made that explicit comparison (2.40.3).
demonstrating that by the mid-first century, ownership of artistic and luxury goods, regardless of their origins, was a critical component of elite self-expression.

Pompey also helped disseminate triumphal imagery into the provinces by minting coins and erecting triumphal monuments in the regions he conquered. Pompey and the moneyers who supported him minted coins celebrating his three triumphs and military victories (RRC 426/3, 426/4), his conquest of Africa (RRC 402/1, 422/1b), his Eastern campaigns including his victory over Judea (RRC 431/1), and possibly his victory over the pirates (438/1). These coins have been found in numerous hoards, as seen in table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>RRC</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>Hoards</th>
<th>Moneyer</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>402/1</td>
<td>Aureus</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>None (only 1 die so extremely limited issue)</td>
<td>Pompey</td>
<td>Head of Africa, wearing elephant’s skin. On l. is a jug with handle; on r. is a lituus.</td>
<td>Pompey in triumphal quadriga, holding branch in r. hand; flying Victory with wreath above Pompey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>422/1b</td>
<td>Denarius</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>9 hoards Iberian Peninsula 21 hoards in Cisalpine Gaul 8 hoards in Greek provinces</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Scaurus</td>
<td>Camel r., kneeling figure before holding reins in l. hand and olive branch tied with fillet.</td>
<td>Jupiter in quadriga l.; holding reins in l. hand and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; scorpion below horses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>426/3</td>
<td>Denarius</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>3 in Iberia 8 in Cisalpine Gaul 2 in Greece</td>
<td>Faustus Sulla</td>
<td>Bust of Venus, draped, wearing laurel and diadem.</td>
<td>Three trophies between jug and lituus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>426/4</td>
<td>Denarius</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>3 in Iberia 7 in Cisalpine Gaul 1 in Greece</td>
<td>Faustus Sulla</td>
<td>Head of Hercules wearing lion skin.</td>
<td>Globe surrounded by three small wreaths and one large wreath (3 triumphs of Pompey and corona aurea granted to him in 63).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>431/1</td>
<td>Denarius</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>6 in Iberia 12 in Cisalpine Gaul 2 in Greece</td>
<td>A. Plautius</td>
<td>Head of Cybele r.</td>
<td>Kneeling figure r. with camel. Legend reads BACCHIUS JUDEIUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>438/1</td>
<td>Denarius</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>2 in Spain</td>
<td>Ser.</td>
<td>Laureate male head</td>
<td>Naval trophy with a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These coins clearly circulated back out into the provinces, appearing in hoards in the Iberian provinces, Cisalpine Gaul, and Greece. Coins such as the ones that Pompey minted helped fund Roman armies and spread a message of Roman authority. Pompey also relied on fixed objects to memorialize his campaigns, erecting monumental trophies including a famous example in the Pyrenees. Pompey clearly participated in a process of crafting visual narratives that encompassed both the overtly triumphal topography of the capital and the provinces he helped conquer.

Not only did Pompey employ each aspect of the triumphal material culture outlined in this study, he also encapsulates the likely reasons for the development of the material culture in the first place. He needed political power and used any and all material expressions of his military success, be they art, architecture or coins, to accrue political capital. Indeed, his coins demonstrate how Pompey utilized material expressions of power to enhance his reputation and present alternative historical narratives. The coins RRC 402/1 and 431/1 contradict other generals’ claims to victory, Sulla in the case of the African campaign and multiple generals including Lucullus in the case of the campaign in Asia Minor. Crawford (1974: 413) suggests that for 402/1, Pompey deliberately chose to emphasize the African campaign that had occurred years prior rather than the war against Sertorius that he had brought to an end the year before the

\[\text{Table 3: Coins that reference Pompey's military achievements.}\]

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Sulpicius & (possibly Triumphus). \\
\hline
naked and bound captive on r. Another figure on l. is fully clothed and looking on. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\[354\] Indeed, some coins (RRC 444, 446, and 447) were minted by Pompey at battlefield mints amid the civil war against Julius Caesar. Many of Pompey’s coins have been found in hoards in Spain.

\[355\] Pliny *NH* 3.3.18. The inscription states that Pompey had subjugated 876 towns between the Alps and the borders of Further Spain.

\[356\] For analysis of these coins, see Crawford 1974: 413, 454.
coin was minted. This is because the African campaign had ended swiftly and decisively whereas the Sertorian campaign dragged on for years and only ended because of Sertorius’ murder rather than Pompey’s contributions. The African coin this diverted attention away from the underwhelming Sertorian War, which was also, technically, a civil war, something the Romans typically did not celebrate with triumphal imagery.

Pompey represents the culmination of a long-term process of transforming the triumphal parade and the prestige it garnered into material things that stood in for the triumph and conquest, memorializing events that occurred far from Rome. By Pompey’s lifetime, the triumph had been fully materialized and was enshrined not only in elite culture but also in the very landscape of Rome. Indeed, Pompey’s theater complex was only the largest of many triumphal buildings that had transformed the urban landscape into a physical representation of Roman military might. The corpus of triumphal architecture included ornate complexes such as those of Metellus and Pompey and temples to new or newer gods such as Consus, Vertumnus, Fortuna, Honos and Virtus, and Hercules and the Muses. It included new architectural forms such as porticoes, circuses, gardens, and theaters. Pompey himself built every new architectural form that triumphal generals were using except a circus.

What makes Pompey so important a case study—beyond the fact that scholars have access to more information on him than most Republican generals—is that Pompey bridged the gap between the Republic and the Principate. Pompey drew together all the various aspects of triumphal material culture that had developed over the previous 150 or so years and employed them to create a cohesive visual message that reflected and created his fame. His actions paved the way for the types of coordinated architectural programs and numismatic issues that Caesar, Augustus, and their followers would use. Augustus’ new forum, dominated by his Temple of
Mars Ultor, exemplifies how rulers under the Principate were indebted to the triumphal material culture. Its architectural space resembled that of Metellus with a central temple inside a double portico. Its visual language drew on triumphal themes, genealogy, and Roman history and mythology to project a message of Roman and Augustan supremacy. Indeed, the main difference between Pompey and his imperial successors was that their control over public works gave them an even greater canvas for self-glorification and for creating a visual language of power. Ultimately, however, the propagandistic uses of material culture that were employed with such dynamic effects by the emperors were not revolutionary. In crafting their own language of power, one that in some ways stood in contrast to triumphal material culture in its reliance on genealogy and mythology, Caesar and his successors remained heavily indebted to, and worked in dialogue with, the long Republican tradition of creating visual narratives of Roman victory.

357 For the Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars Ultor, see Zanker 1988: 101-238. For Caesar's Forum, see Ulrich 1993.
358 For Augustan visual themes, see Zanker 1988 and Heslin 2015.
Maps and Figures

Fig. 1: Proposed map of the triumphal route. Note that according to this model, the triumphal procession began north of the Campus Martius, at Versnel’s proposed location for the Porta Triumphalis. From New Pauly 14: 944, adapted from Versnel (1970).
Fig. 2: Map of manubial temples and triumphal monuments in Rome, fourth through second centuries B.C. Drawing by Leah Solk and Maggie Popkin. From Popkin (2016).
Fig. 5: Map of Forum Boarium, showing Temple of Fortuna, Temple of Mater Matuta, Temple of Hercules Invictus, Temple of Hercules Pompeianus, and the Ara Maxima. From Pauly Wissowa.
Fig. 6: Plan of the Portico Complex of Q. Caecilius Metellus, c. 145 BCE. Left: Temple of Juno Regina. Right: Temple of Jupiter Stator. Plan from Senseney (2011: 426).

Fig. 7: Plan of the Campus Martius. Note the clustering of triumphal buildings within this space. Every structure on this map except for the Diribitorium, the Nymphae, and the Theatrum Ad Aedem Apollinis were built or rebuilt by triumphal generals. From Coarelli (2007).
Fig. 8: Plan of the Campus Martius. This map illustrates the complexity of trying to determine the location of Republican structures. The plan is roughly similar to that of Coarelli (fig. 7) but postulates the sites of a few structures that Coarelli does not locate within the Campus Martius, including temples of Vulcanus, Jupiter Fulgur, and Juno Curritis. From Bastien (2007).
Fig. 9: Diagram of select triumphal structures and the various nodes of the triumphal route that were in sight of the processional route and had numerous triumphal buildings within them or attached to them, as in the case of the two circuses. Diagram from Popkin (2015a: 290).

Fig. 10: 3-D reconstructed model of Pompey's Theater Complex, created for the Pompey Project. Model by Martin Blazeby, Department of Digital Humanities, King’s College London.
Fig. 11: Statue base for a triumphal dedication of M. Fulvius Nobilior (189 BCE) from his Temple of Hercules Musarum. The inscription reads: "M. FOLIVVS M.F. SERV. NOBILIOR COS AMBRACIA CEPIT. Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, son of Servius, consul, captured [this] from Ambracia." Centrale Montemartini Museum, Rome. Photo by Author.

Fig. 12: Friezes from the so-called Altar of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, now identified as a statue base of M. Antonius, c. 102 BCE. The first three panels are from the Glyptothek Museum, Munich. The fourth panel is in the Louvre, Paris.
Fig. 13: RRC 410/1 (66 BCE), a denarius of Q. Pomponius Musa. The obverse has a statue of Hercules playing the lyre and the legend "HERCVLES MVSARVM." Coin image from the Coinage of the Roman Republic Online, http://numismatics.org/crro/.

Fig. 14: Temple B in the Largo di Argentina. This temple is identified as the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei rebuilt by Q. Lutatius Catulus in 101 BCE. Photo by author.
Fig. 15: Colossal head of the Goddess Fortuna, a triumphal dedication of Q. Lutatius Catulus in the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Dei, c. 101 BCE. The statue is now in the Museo di Centrale Montemartini, Rome, no.2779-2782. Photo by Author.

Fig. 16: The Nile Mosaic from Praeneste (c.120-100 BCE). This is an example of the type of narrative frescoes that prevailed in the Roman period. Now in the Museo Archeologico, Palestrina.
Fig. 17: Fresco depicting an amphitheater riot scene, Pompeii. Second half of the first century CE. This fresco suggests how artists creating triumphal paintings might have illustrate battle scenes. Now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples.

Fig. 18: Fresco from the Tomb of Q. Fabius, Esquiline Necropolis. The fresco suggests the victory of Q. Fabius Rullianus over Q. Fannius at the Battle of Sentinum, 322 BCE. Now in the Museo Centrale Montemartini, Rome. Photo by Author.
Fig. 19: Artist’s 3D model of the Porticus of Q. Caecilius Metellus. The Temple of Juno Regina is on the left, built by M. Aemilius Lepidus in 179 BCE and rededicated by Metellus in 145. The Temple of Jupiter Stator is on the right, built by Q. Caecilius Metellus. Model from Rome Reborn project, http://romereborn.frischerconsulting.com/ge/PO-009.html.

Fig. 1: Artist’s drawing of the Temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina showing a possible location for the equestrian statues of Lysippus in front of the temples. Image from Popkin (2015b).
Fig. 21: Statue of the Muse Calliope, from Pompey’s Theater Complex. The statue is likely one of those that Pompey seized in the East. Now in the Museo Centrale Montemartini, Rome. Photo by Author.

Fig. 22: Relief with triumphal imagery, including a cuirass on the right, two trophies, and a shield (clupeus) in the center. Scholars suggest it dates to the Sullan period and suggest it was one of Sulla’s triumphal monuments erected to honor his victory at Chaeronea. From the Piazza della Consolazione, Rome.
Fig. 23: Roman denarius (RRC 44/1), with Laureate head of Jupiter on the obverse, Victory crowning a trophy on the reverse (211-208 BCE). From the Coinage of the Roman Republic Online, http://numismatics.org/crro/.

Fig. 24: Roman sextans (RRC 61/6) from c.215 BCE. The coin is a Roman overstrike of a ship’s prow with the legend ROMA onto an image of Poseidon from a coin of Hieron II. From the Coinage of the Roman Republic Online, http://numismatics.org/crro/.

Fig. 25: Roman bronze dextans (RRC 97/23) depicting Victory in a quadriga (c. 211-208 BCE). The image of Victory in a quadriga is one of the standard iconographic styles of victory coins. From the Coinage of the Roman Republic Online, http://numismatics.org/crro/.
Fig. 26: Roman denarius (RRC 42/1) depicting Jupiter in a quadriga, c. 214-212 BCE. This is a common iconographic type for victory coins. From the Coinage of the Roman Republic Online, http://numismatics.org/crro/.

Fig. 27: Roman denarius (RRC 197/1a) depicting Victory in a quadriga, c.157/6 BCE. From the Coinage of the Roman Republic Online, http://numismatics.org/crro/.

Fig. 28: Roman denarius (RRC 326/1) depicting a triumphator (Marius) in triumphal quadriga, c. 101 BCE. From the Coinage of the Roman Republic Online, http://numismatics.org/crro/.
Fig. 29: Roman denarius (RRC 429/1) depicting a horseman fighting soldier with captive stabbing a prisoner, c. 55 BCE. From the Coinage of the Roman Republic Online, http://numismatics.org/crro/.

Fig. 30: Map of the pre-Roman mines in the Sierra Morena region. The notations represent silver, gold, tin and copper mines, along with foundries and mints. The size of the image precludes differentiating between the different types of mines, but a basic comparison of the two maps indicates the degree to which the Romans took over pre-existing mines. Map from Blázquez (1996).
Fig. 31: Map of the Roman mines in the Sierra Morena region. Note both the overlap with Iberian mines and the expansion within the region. From Blázquez (1996).

Fig. 32: Map of the mines and mints in Roman Iberia, second through first centuries BCE. Map from Keay (1988).
Fig. 33: Map of the Roman military camps in the Republican period. A comparison to the location of coin hoards in the next figure shows a clear geographic overlap. From Morillo (2006).
Fig. 34: This is a map of all known coin hoards in the Iberian Peninsula in the Republican period using GPS data from Coinage of the Roman Republic Online. Map created by author on Google Earth. The white pin represents hoards from 206-140 BCE. The yellow pin represents hoards from 139-120. The red pin represents hoards from 119-100. The green pin denotes hoards from 99-80. The blue pin covers hoards from 79-60, the purple those from 59-40. The pink bubble with the black square denotes undated hoards. The other GPS markers covers hoards with an end date between 40 BCE and 20 CE that include victory coins dating to the period 215-40 BCE.

Fig. 35: A bronze coin minted at Ebora (Evora, Portugal) in the Augustan period. It shows Augustus on the obverse with the legend AVG P M PERM CAES. The reverse has a wreath border with the legend LIBERALITATIS IVLIAE EBOR. The coin celebrates the name that Caesar gave the town in 57 BCE when he conquered it, Liberalitas Julia. Coin image found at: http://www.forumancientcoins.com/catalog/roman-and-greek-coins.asp?vpar=2742&pos=0&iop=50&sold=1.
Fig. 36: Map of some of the indigenous groups in Iberian Peninsula, c. 133 BCE. From Velaza (1996).

Fig. 37: Comparison of the hoards dating to the period of the Sertorian Wars (82-72 BCE) and the areas of conflict, including those towns and cities that supported Sertorius. The images on the left are the author’s creation using Google Earth and GPS data from Coinage of the Roman Republic Online. The map on the right is from Curchin (1991).
Fig. 38: Local coinage of the Kese, Iberian Peninsula. They depict a male head on the obverse and a wolf standing or kneeling on the reverse with Iberian script denoting the issuing authority. The coins were minted during the Sertorian Wars (82-72 BCE) and reverted to a pre-Roman traditional iconography and metrology. From Villaronga (1987).
Fig. 39: Inscription from Saguntum (CIL 2.3836), c. 207-205 BCE. The inscription, set up by P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus in Saguntum, highlights the fact that Scipio was proclaimed imperator and restored Saguntum to Rome. It reads: “P. Scipioni consuli imperatori ob restitutam Saguntum ex senatus consulto bello Punico secondo.” Photo from Velaza (1996).

Fig. 40: Map of the known coin hoards in Cisalpine Gaul in the Republican period. Map created by author on Google Earth using GPS data from Coinage of the Roman Republic Online. The white pin represents hoards from 206-140 BCE. The yellow pin represents hoards from 139-120. The red pin represents hoards from 119-100. The green pin denotes hoards from 99-80. The blue pin covers hoards from 79-60, the purple those from 59-40. The pink
bubble with the black square denotes undated hoards. The other GPS markers covers hoards with an end date between 40 BCE and 20 CE that include victory coins dating to the period 215-40 BCE.

Fig. 41: Map of the known coin hoards in Greece from the Republican period. Map created by author on Google Earth using GPS data from Coinage of the Roman Republic Online. The white pin represents hoards from 206-140 BCE. The yellow pin represents hoards from 139-120. The red pin represents hoards from 119-100. The green pin denotes hoards from 99-80. The blue pin covers hoards from 79-60, the purple those from 59-40. The pink bubble with the black square denotes undated hoards. The other GPS markers covers hoards with an end date between 40 BCE and 20 CE that include victory coins dating to the period 215-40 BCE.
## Appendix 1

### Triumphal Buildings Associated with the Triumph, the Route, Triumphal Generals, or Roman Victory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Temple/Public Work</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Built to fulfill vow?/ Who paid for it/ordered it</th>
<th>Vower/Builder</th>
<th>Location Attested?</th>
<th>Circumstances/battle</th>
<th>Triumph Associated with vower/builder?</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jupiter Stator</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>votive</td>
<td>Romulus; T. Tatius</td>
<td>Described as at or near the Porta Mugonia in Regio IV at the foot of the Palatine.</td>
<td>Battlefield vow at a critical moment; temple never built as an aedes by Romulus</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Degr. 534, Livy 10.63.11, 37.15-16, 1.13.3-6; Dion. Hal. 2.50.3; Ovid, Trist. 3.1.31-12; Plut. Cic. 16.3; Pliny, 34.29; App. B.C. 2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jupiter Feretrius</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?, associated with victory or triumph but unclear if manubiae</td>
<td>Romulus</td>
<td>Originally a templum high on the Capitoline that Romulus dedicated to receive the spolia opima, probably high within the Area Capitolina</td>
<td>Dedicated for Romulus to receive spolia opima after defeating Acron, king of Caenina (Livy 4.20.3, Richardson 219)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Degr. 534; Livy 1.10.4-7, 4.20.3, 1.33.9; Dion. Hal. 2.34.4; Val. Max. 3.2.3-6; also depicted on a coin c. 50 BCE by P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (RRC 439/1) as a tetrastyle temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jupiter Feretrius</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?, associated with victory or triumph but unclear if manubiae</td>
<td>Ancus Marcius</td>
<td>Enlargement of Romulus' structure, then referred to as an aedes not a templum</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Degr. 534; Livy 1.33.9; Dion. Hal. 2.34; see above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Volcanus (aedes)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Romulus</td>
<td>Temple in the Campus Martius supposedly built by Romulus, certainly very old. Attested as in Campo (Livy 24.10.9), and in Circo Flaminio (Fasti Vallenses), with the latter thought to be more precise. Possibly the enigmatic building on the edge of the Tiber shown on the Marble Plan</td>
<td>Possibly built for Romulus to meet with Senate in a secluded place (Plut. Rom. 27.5); had some dedications near it of equestrian statues of Verres set up by himself supposedly on behalf of Sicilian planters (Cic. Verr. 2.2.150)</td>
<td>Not with this temple</td>
<td>Plut. Rom. 27.5, Quaest. Rom. 47; Livy 24.10.9; Degrassi 500-501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Temple/Public Work</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Built to fulfill vow?/Who paid for it/ordered it</td>
<td>Vower/Builder</td>
<td>Location Attested?</td>
<td>Circumstances/battle</td>
<td>Triumph Associated with vower/builder?</td>
<td>References</td>
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<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Volcanal</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N, still manubiae</td>
<td>Romulus (Aberson); Titus Tatius (Richardson)</td>
<td>Probably same as Area Volcani, an area adjacent to the Forum Romanum; distinctly higher than the forum and Comitium; likely the lower slope of the Capitoline along the stair that extended the line of the Sacra Via up the hill (later Temple of Concord)</td>
<td>Earliest is a bronze quadriga dedicated by Romulus (Dion. Hal. 2.54.2); statue of Horatius Cocles (A. Gellius 4.5.1-4; Aur. Vict. De Vir Ill. 11.2; Plut. Poplic. 16.7); and a statue of a player killed in circus mounted on column over his grave (Festus 370L); also a lotus and a cypress tree (Plin. 16.256)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Degr. 534; Dion. Hal. 2.50.2-3; Varro, Ling. 5.74; A. Gellius 4.5.4;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mater Matuta</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?, rebuild may be manubiae</td>
<td>Servius Tullius, Camillus</td>
<td>Forum Boarium</td>
<td>Camillus rebuilt and rededicated it following the siege of Veii (Livy 5.19.6, 23.7; Plut. Cam. 5.1). Rebuilt in 213 after a fire (Livy 24.47.15-16). In 196, L. Stertinius erected 2 arches here de manubiis (see entry for this); in 174 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus dedicated a bronze tablet with a map of Sardinia and representations of his battles here (Livy 41.28.8-10)</td>
<td>Likely associated with Camillus' triumph</td>
<td>Richardson 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Saturn</td>
<td>501/498 possibly rebuilt after Gallic sack (Macrobr., Sat. 1.8.1)</td>
<td>Possibly dedicated by Titus Larcus as dictator sometime between 501 and 498. Others associate it with Aulus Sempronius Attratinus and Tullus Hostilius (Macrobrus), L. Tarquinius let contract (Varro), T. Larcus dedicated (Varro)</td>
<td>Oldest temple whose building was recorded in the records of the pontifices. Its location was variously given as in faubus (Montis Capitolini)</td>
<td>Albani, Sabini?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Degr. 534, Macrobr., Sat. 1.8.1; Livy 41.21.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Temple/Public Work</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Built to fulfill vow?/Who paid for it/ordered it</td>
<td>Vower/Builder</td>
<td>Location Attested?</td>
<td>Circumstances/battle</td>
<td>Triumph Associated with vower/builder?</td>
<td>References</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ceres, Liber, Liberaequē</td>
<td>499 or 496, 493 (ded.)</td>
<td>Syb. Books</td>
<td>A. Postumius Albus (vow), Sp. Cassius (ded.)</td>
<td>Lower slope of the Aventine near the northwest end of the Circus Maximus, just above the carceres (Dion. Hal. 6.94.3)</td>
<td>Vowed in consultation with the Sibylline books after a famine in 499 or 496, dedicated in 493. Decorated with numerous decorations including oldest bronze statue in Rome paid for by proceeds from sale of confiscated property of Sp. Cassius (Livy 2.41.10; Pliny, 34.15). Also had a famous painting of Dionysus by Aristides which Mummius brought from Corinth (Pliny 35.24 and 99; Strabo 8.6.23)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Jupiter Optimus Maximus</td>
<td>509 (dedicated)</td>
<td>Votive</td>
<td>L. Tarquinius Priscus, L. Tarquinius Superbus</td>
<td>Lower cast of the Capitoline Hill</td>
<td>Vowed by Tarquinius Priscus during his war with the Sabines</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Degr. 535; Richardson 221-224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Castor</td>
<td>496 (Aberson)</td>
<td>Votive, likely manubial</td>
<td>A. Postumius</td>
<td>Southeast corner of the Forum Romanum flanked by</td>
<td>Dictator 499 or 496. Livy says 499 (dedicated 484). Richardson says vowed 493 by A.</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>Degr. 536; Broughton vol. 1, p.22; Livy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Temple/Public Work</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Built to fulfill vow?/Who paid for it/ordered it</td>
<td>Vower/Builder</td>
<td>Location Attested?</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Villa Publica</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>Censors, Aberson says possible manubiae</td>
<td>C. Furius, M. Geganius</td>
<td>Originally a large park on the edge of the Campus Martius just beyond the Petronia Amnis.</td>
<td>430 (Aberson). Censors C. Furius Paculus and M. Geganius</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Livy 4.22.7, Richardson 430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Juno Regina</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>Yes, likely manubiae</td>
<td>M. Furius Camillus, Dictator 396, 390, 389</td>
<td>On the Aventine</td>
<td>Built by Camillus immediately after the destruction of Veii, following his evocatio. (Livy 5.21.1-3, 5.22.3-7, 5.31.3). Dedicated by Camillus in 393. Image of Juno from the Veii evocatio installed here.</td>
<td>396, 390, 389</td>
<td>Degr. 539, Livy; Richardson, 215.</td>
</tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Concordia (aedes 367; aedicula 304)</td>
<td>396, 390, 389 (Aberson )</td>
<td>M. Furius Camillus</td>
<td>At the foot of the northeastern lobe of the Capitoline Hill overlooking the Forum Romanum at the end of the Sacra Via.</td>
<td>Traditionally vowed by Camillus during the troubles connected with the passage of the Licinian laws (Plut. Cam. 42.3) but this temple never seems to have been built. The first monument here is the Aedicula Concordiae of Cn. Flavius, built 304, which was replaced by the temple of Opimius in 121. Some dispute on whether there was more than one temple, whether Opimius' dedication was a rebuild of Camillus', and if Camillus' was ever built. Ziolkowski suggests Opimius rebuilt and monumentalized</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Degr. 539; Richardson, 98-99</td>
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<td>Temple/Public Work</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Built to fulfill vow?/Who paid for it/ordered it</td>
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<td>Location Attested?</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Mars 387</td>
<td>Votive, likely manubial</td>
<td>T. Quinctius Cincinnatus (dedicator); Triumvir 387, dictator 380?</td>
<td>Outside the city between the first and second milestones from Porta Capena on the NE side of the Via Appia, just outside the Porta S. Sebastiano (Porta Appia) of the Aurelian Walls.</td>
<td>Dedicated 387 (Aberson); Vowed 388 by T. Quinctius during invasion of the Gauls (Livy 6.5.7). Vowed to Mars in his aspect as warrior god. Armies met here before setting off on campaign.</td>
<td>380?</td>
<td>Degr. 539 sq., Livy</td>
<td></td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Muri 374?</td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>374?</td>
<td>Livy 6.32.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Muri et Turre 352</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Livy 7.20.9</td>
<td></td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Juno Moneta 345</td>
<td>Votive, likely manubial</td>
<td>M. Furius Camillus, Cos. 349, dictator 345</td>
<td>Built on the site of the house of M. Manlius Capitolinus, razed in 384, also the site of the house of Titus Tatius. No vestiges of the temple positively identified. Presumed that it represented one of the two groves of the Inter Duos Lucos, with the other being the Area Capitolina, but hardly much space left at that time.</td>
<td>345 Livy (Aurunci); vowed by M. Furius Camillus as dictator during the war against the Arunci in 345, built by duovirs appointed by the Senate after Camillus resigned his dictatorship, dedicated the following year (Livy 7.28.4-6). Mint established here in 273. Ziolkowski suggests that there were two temples to Juno Moneta and that the second was built in the second century (75)</td>
<td>338 (Tiburt.es)</td>
<td>Degr. 541, Broughton vol. 1, p. 131; Ziolkowski, p. 73-75</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Columna Maenia 338</td>
<td>Likely manubiae</td>
<td>C. Maenius</td>
<td>West of the Curia Hostilia, near Erected in honor of C. Maenius, victor over the Latins in</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pliny 34.20; Richardson 94-5</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Aqua Appia</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>Possible manubiae; censors</td>
<td>Ap. Claudius Caesar, C. Plautius; Censor 312, cos. 307, 296.</td>
<td>Entered the city ad Spem Veterem and extended to the salinae at Porta Trigemina at the foot of the Clivus Publicius. It ran along the brow of the Caelian to the neighborhood of the Porta Capena then crossed that valley on arches and ran underground along the Aventine above the Circus Maximus to the Porta Trigemina.</td>
<td>the naval battle of Antium (Pliny 34.20). Alternative story is that when Cato was purchasing land for the Basilica Porcia, Maenius, whose house Cato needed to complete the parcel, stipulated that one column should be salvaged from his house to provide a vantage point from which he and his descendants could watch the games given in the forum. This story is thought to be invention, but it indicates that there was likely no inscription on the column.</td>
<td>CIL XI 1827; Vir. Ill. 34.6-7; Diod. 20.36.1; Eutr. 2.9; Frontin. Aq.5; Livy 9.29.6; Paul. Fest. p.23 L; Pompon. Dig. 1.2.2.36</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Via Appia</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>Built as censor Possible manubiae</td>
<td>Ap. Claudius Caesar</td>
<td>Built from Rome to Capua in initial phase, then extended to Venusia in 291, Tarentum in 281, and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CIL XI 1827; Frontin. Aq.5; Livy 9.29.6</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Salus</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>Votive, likely manubiae</td>
<td>C. Junius Bubulcus (let the contract as censor in 307); Cos. 317, 313, 311; censor 307; dictator 302</td>
<td>Stood on the part of the Quirinal known as the Collis Salutaris, so possibly an ancient altar or sacellum there. Possibly the temple drawn by Palladio (Richardson p.342)</td>
<td>317 or 313 or 311; vowed by C. Junius Bubulcus when he was consul and commander in the Second Samnite War, probably 311 BCE. Contract let as censor in 307, dedicated 302 as dictator. Had paintings by C. Fabius Pictor dedicated in it (Pliny 35.19). Also had a statue of Cato Maior in it (Plut. Cato Mai. 19.3)</td>
<td>311, 302</td>
<td>Degr. 542, Broughton vol. 1., p. 165, 169; Livy 9.43.25, 10.1.9</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Viae per Agros</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>C. Junius Bubulcus</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>Livy 9.43.25</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Bellona</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>Votive, likely manubial</td>
<td>Ap. Claudius Caecus Censor. 312, cos. 307, 296</td>
<td>Vicinity of the Circus Flaminius, Coarelli identifies it as just east of the Temple of Apollo Medicus Sosianus</td>
<td>296, vowed during battle against Etruscans and Samnites by Ap. Claudius Caecus (Livy 10.19.17; Pliny 35.12; CIL 12, p.192; ILS 54; Ovid, Fast. 6.201-4)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Degr. 547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Jupiter Victor</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>Votive, likely manubial</td>
<td>Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus Cos. V 295</td>
<td>East corner of the Palatine, probably the temple in Vigna Barberini, where it would have overlooked the route of triumphal processions.</td>
<td>295 (Livy), vowed by Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus at the Battle of Sentinum in 295. He burned the spoils of the Samnite enemy to this divinity after the battle (Livy 10.29.14 and 18).</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>Degr. 543 sq.; Richardson, 227</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>Built from fines collected during aediles' ship</td>
<td>L. Postumius Megillus Aedile, cos. 294</td>
<td>On the Palatine. Must have been on the Clivus Victoriae, not far from the</td>
<td>Built by fines collected during his aediles'hip and then dedicated when he was consul in 294. Probably within the</td>
<td>Livy 10.33.9; Degr. 489</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Fors Fortuna</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>N. still manubiae</td>
<td>Sp. Carullius Maximus</td>
<td>Cos. 293</td>
<td>On the right bank of the Tiber just outside the city</td>
<td>Originally supposed to have been founded by Servius Tullius or Ancus Marcus. In 293 Sp. Carullius let a contract for another temple near the original. Ultimately there would be four temples to the same divinity in close proximity.</td>
<td>293</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Jupiter Stator</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>Votive/manubial</td>
<td>M. Atullius Regulus</td>
<td>Cos. 294</td>
<td>Described as at or near the Porta Magnonia in Regio IV at the foot of the Palatine. Said to have been built where Romulus' temple of the same name stood.</td>
<td>293 Livy</td>
<td>294</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Quirinus</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>Y. in response to vow made by father of Cursor</td>
<td>L. Papirius Cursor Dictator</td>
<td>324, 309; cos. 326, 320, 319</td>
<td>Northwest side of the Alta Semita</td>
<td>Dedicated 293; earliest temple reportedly built in response to appearance of Romulus, we hear of a Senate meeting there in 436/5, but earliest recorded building is by consul L. Papirius Cursor in response to vow made by his father as dictator.</td>
<td>293, 272</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Feronia</td>
<td>292-265, likely 272, 225?</td>
<td>Y. associated with conquest of Sabines</td>
<td>M'. Curius Dentatus</td>
<td>Censor 272</td>
<td>Campus Martius</td>
<td>Feronia thought to come to Rome before the evocatio of Vortumnus and Coarelli argues that it was associated with the conquest of the Sabines in 290 and likely constructed during the 272 censorship of Dentatus, the conqueror; Ziolkowski argues that it was vowed</td>
<td>290, triumphs over Sannites and Sabines</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Hercules Invictus</td>
<td>292-269/66</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Circus Maximus, near the carceres, near the intersection of Via dell Ziolkowski p. 46-48; Platner-Ashby, p.254</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Consus</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>Y, manubiae</td>
<td>L. Papirius Cursor Cos. 293, 272</td>
<td>Aventine, thought to be near the Temple of Vortumnus on the northwest side overlooking the triumphal route.</td>
<td>Dedicated during consulship in 272 after his defeat of Tarentum. Its association with his triumph inferred from the fact that he had himself painted on the walls wearing the triumphal toga (Fest. 209).</td>
<td>Festus 209; Fast. Vall. ad xii Kal. Sept.; Amit. ad prid. Id. Dec.; Ziolkowski, p.24; Platner and Ashby p.141</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Anio Vetus</td>
<td>272-71</td>
<td>Censors; manubiae</td>
<td>M'. Curius Dentatus; L. Papirius Praetextatus</td>
<td>Entered the city ad Spem Veterem (Porta Maggiore), distributed to most of the city except Palatine, Caelian, Aventine, and Circus Maximus</td>
<td>272-271; paid for by spoils taken from Pyrrhus (Frontin. Aq. 1.6) Repaired by Q. Marcius Rex in 144</td>
<td>Vir. Ill.33.9; Frontin. Aq.6.1-4; Broughton, 1.198</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Emissari um Laci Velini</td>
<td>272-71</td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>M'. Curius Dentatus</td>
<td>272-271</td>
<td>Cic. Att. 4.15.5</td>
<td></td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Tellus</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>Votive, possible manubiae</td>
<td>P. Sempronius Sophus Cos. 268</td>
<td>On the Carinæ</td>
<td>268; vowed by P. Sempronius Sophus during a battle with the Picenes in 268 after an earthquake, presumably built by him, but others say the Roman people built it (Val. Max. 6.3.1b; Dion. Hal. 8.70.3). Possibly a rebuilding of an earlier temple Allegorical map of Italy on its wall (Varr. Rust. 1.2.1), which was regarded as a magmentarium, a reliquary, and possibly an objet d'art. Removed and displayed in the</td>
<td>Degr. 547</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Pales</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>Votive, manubial</td>
<td>M. Atilius Regulus Cos. 267</td>
<td>267; built by M. Atilius Regulus after his victory over the Salernii in 267 (Florus 1.15.20; Schol. Veron. And Bern. Ad Verg. Georg. 3.1)</td>
<td>Degr. 547; Richardson, 283.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Vortumnus</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>Votive, likely manubiae</td>
<td>M. Fulvius Flaccus</td>
<td>Temple in the Vicus Loreti Maioris on the Aventine; PA (who?) puts the temple on the northwest of the Aventine where it would overlook the route of the triumph. It seems to have been a close neighbor to, and rival of, T. Papirius Cursor's Temple of Consus of a few years earlier by the evidence is insufficient. See Richardson p.433</td>
<td>Flaccus triumphed over the Volsiniums in 264 and Vortumnus was a particular Volsinian divinity (Propertius 4.2.1-4) so it is likely that Flaccus built this temple as a victory offering following an evocatio during the siege of the city. There was a portrait of Flaccus dressed as a triumphator in the toga picta in the temple (Festus 228L).</td>
<td>264 over Volsinians</td>
<td>Richardson, p.433; Propertius 4.2.1-4; Festus 228L; Degrassi 494-95; Hulsen (HJ 162-63);</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Column of Duilius</td>
<td>260?</td>
<td>Built with manubiae</td>
<td>C. Duilius Cos. 260</td>
<td>Actually 2 columns. First erected by Duilius in honor of his naval victory over the Carthaginians in 260, stood ante circum a parte ianuarum (Circus Maximus). Second column erected on the rostra to celebrate same victory, later moved to the Forum Romanum.</td>
<td>260? Sil. Ital.</td>
<td>260, naval</td>
<td>Degr. 548; ILLRP 319; Plin. 34.20; Quint. Inst. 1.7.12; Serv. Auct. Georg. 3.29</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Tempesta tes</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>Votive, possible manubiae</td>
<td>L. Scipio Barbati f. Cos. 259</td>
<td>Listed in the Notitia in Regio I, perhaps not far from the tomb of the Scipios</td>
<td>259; vowed by L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus when caught in a storm of Corsica in 259 (CIL 12.9=6.12897=ILS 3; ILLRP 310)</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>Degr. 547; CIL 12.9=6.12897=ILS 3; ILLRP 310</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Spes</td>
<td>257?</td>
<td>Y (Aberson)</td>
<td>A. Attilius Calatinus B. Cos. 258, pr. 257</td>
<td>Forum Holitorium</td>
<td>257?; built and dedicated by Calatinus during the First Punic War (Cic. Leg. 2.28; Tacitus, Ann. 2.49) In 179, M. Fulvius Nobilior let the contract for a Porticus Post Spei ad Tiberim. This was probably a relatively simple building, most likely utilitarian, and perhaps intended rather to serve commerce than as a frame for the temple.</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>Degr. 548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Columna Rostrata (M. Aemilii)</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>Manubial</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Paullus Cos. 255</td>
<td>Column on the Capitoline</td>
<td>Erected with the beaks of captured ships of war in honor of Paullus,</td>
<td>Livy 42.20.1</td>
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<td>Paulli)</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Fides</td>
<td>258/7</td>
<td>?, likely votive, assoc. with manubiae</td>
<td>A. Atilius Caiatinus?</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Cos. 258, pr. 257; dictator 249</td>
<td>Capitoline, in the vicinity of JOM, within the Area Capitolina, probably southwest part of the hill west of the square in front of JOM.</td>
<td>258 or 257; dedicated by Calatinus and restored by M. Aemilius Scaurus, perhaps as curule aedile in 58 BCE (Cicero, Nat. D. 2.61)</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>Pliny, 35.100; Cicero, Nat. D. 2.61; Cato, ap. Cic. Off. 3.104</td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Juturna</td>
<td>242?</td>
<td>?, likely votive, assoc. with manubiae</td>
<td>Lutatius Catulus, probably C. Catulus Cos. 242</td>
<td>Campus Martius, near the Aqua Virgo, probably west side of Via Latina</td>
<td>242; probably built by C. Catulus, the victor of the First Punic War, cos. 242, who triumphed in 241</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>Servius, ad Aen. 12.139; Ovid, Fast. 1.463-64; Cic., Clu. 101___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Juno Curritis</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>Y, evocatio</td>
<td>A. Manlius Torquatus Cos. 241</td>
<td>Campus Martius, possibly Temple A of the Largo Argentina, possibly at the intersection between the Largo Arenula and the Piazza Mattei</td>
<td>Vowed after performing an evocatio for Juno Curritis in Falerii and the destruction of that city in the war against the Faliscii.</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>Ziolkowski, p. 62-66; Platner-Ashby p. 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Libertas</td>
<td>238, 215</td>
<td>Y, manubial</td>
<td>Ti. Sempronius Gracchus Cos. 238</td>
<td>Aventine</td>
<td>Built by Gracchus to fulfill a vow for his campaign in Sardinia, dedicated by his son in 215 after his campaign against Hannibal and decorated with a painting of his slave and freedmen army from the</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>Location Attested?</td>
<td>Circumstances/battle Associated with vower/builder?</td>
<td>Triumph Associated with vower/builder?</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>Honos</td>
<td>234/3</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus (Cunctator) Cos. 233, 215, 214, 210, 208; dictator 217</td>
<td>One temple to Honos (oldest) is outside Colline Gate. The double Honos et Virtus is near the Porta Capena</td>
<td>233 Cic.; double temple said to have been founded by Q. Fabius Maximus during the Ligurian War (Cicero, Nat. D. 2.61) as a single temple to Honos. It’s possible that Cicero is mistaken and that the Q. Fabius Maximus is Rullianus, who triumphed over the Samnites twice and over the Etruscans in 322-296. Marcellus vowed a temple to Honos et Virtus in 222, renewed the vow after capture of Syracuse, attempted to fulfill vow by refurbishing Maximus' Temple and rededicated it in 208, but pontifices said no because the 2 gods couldn't occupy the same cella, so Marcellus restored the Temple of Honos and built a new cella for Virtus, making it a double shrine. His son dedicated it in 205.</td>
<td>Battle of Beneventum</td>
<td>233 Ligurini Degr. 549; Ziolkowski, p. 57; Platner-Ashby, p. 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Hercules Magnos Custos</td>
<td>c. 225-218</td>
<td>Y?</td>
<td>C. Flaminius?</td>
<td>In Circo Flaminio</td>
<td>Ziolkowski argues that the vow resulted from a combination of a consultation of the Sibyline Books and a victory vow, either in 225 or 223</td>
<td>221, over Insubres</td>
<td>Livy, 21.63.2, 23.14.4; Plut. Marc.4.6-7; Ziolkowski, p.50-55; Platner-Ashby, p.252;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Honos et</td>
<td>222, 211</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>M. Claudius</td>
<td>Ad Portam</td>
<td>222, 211 Livy; 211</td>
<td>222 (211</td>
<td>Degr. 550 sq.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Virtus</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cic.: see entry above for Honos</td>
<td>Alban Mount)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Circus Flaminius</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>Censor</td>
<td>C. Flaminius</td>
<td>Southern Campus Martius, gave its name to the ninth regio of Rome.</td>
<td>Called a circus but no games held there. Public assemblies and markets there. Also staging ground for triumphs, where spoils were displayed on the days proceeding the ceremony and the procession likely crossed through the circus (likely all processions).</td>
<td>Livy, 39.5.17, epit. 20, 3.54.15; Paulus ex Fest. 79L; Val. Max. 1.7.4; Plut. Lucul. 37.2;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>218 (v), 216 (ded)</td>
<td>Votive, unclear if manubial</td>
<td>L. Manlius (Vulso?), Pr. 218</td>
<td>On the Arx, somewhere on northeastern height of the crest of the Capitoline.</td>
<td>218 mutiny (? Aberson); vowed by L. Manlius while praetor in Gaul in 218 (Livy 22.33.7); begun in 217 by the duovirs C. Pupius and K. Quinctius Flamininus, dedicated the following year by duovirs M. and C. Atilius (Livy 23.21.7).</td>
<td>Livy, not mentioned</td>
<td>No Degrassi; Broughton vol. 1, p.238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Muri et Turres</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>Q. Fabius Maximus, dictator, M. Minucius Rufus, mag. Eq.</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>Livy 22.8.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Fortuna</td>
<td>5th c., burned 213, rebuilt the next year</td>
<td>Special commission rebuilt it</td>
<td>Special commission</td>
<td>Forum Boarium, area of Sacra di Sant'Omobono.</td>
<td>Originally thought to have been founded by Servius Tullius, twin to a Temple of Mater Matuta, it burned in the fire of 213 and was rebuilt the next year. (Livy 25.7.6). It contained an archaic statue of gilded wood that survived the fire. This was draped in 2 togas described as praetextae.</td>
<td>Livy 25.7.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Muri et Turres</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>Quintemviri (Viri) muris turribus reficiendis</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>Livy 25.7.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Atrium Regium Macellum</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>Possible manubiae (Aberson)</td>
<td>M. Cornelius Cethegus, P. Sempronius</td>
<td>Northeast side of the Forum</td>
<td>209; mentioned by Livy as one of the buildings burned in</td>
<td>Livy 27.11.16</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>Vower/Builder Location</td>
<td>Attested Circumstances/battle</td>
<td>Triumph Associated with vower/builder?</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Via 209</td>
<td></td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>M. Livius Salinator, C. Claudius Nero</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>Livy 29.37.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Juventas 207</td>
<td>(vow), 191 (ded)</td>
<td>Votive, likely manubiae</td>
<td>M. Livius Salinator, Cos. 207, censor 204</td>
<td>In Circo Maximo, near temple of Summanus, so on the Aventine side of the Circus 207 Livy; vowed by consul M. Livius Salinator at Battle of the Metaurus in 207; begun by him as censor in 204, dedicated by C. Licinius Lucullus in 191.</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>Degr. 551; Cass. Dio 54.19.7; Pliny 29.57</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Fortuna (Tres), principal was Fortuna Primigenia</td>
<td>204 (vow), 194 (ded)</td>
<td>Y P. Sempronius Tuditanus; Q. Marcius Ralla, Cos. 204</td>
<td>Quirinal, just inside the Porta Collina 204 Livy; vowed by P. Sempronius Tuditanus in 204 at outset of battle with Hannibal at Croton (Livy 29.36.8), Q. Marcius Ralla dedicated it in 194 (Livy 34.53.5). Ziolkowski argues that Tuditanus' temple to Primigenia was the latest of the three temples to Fortuna and distinct from the cult of Fortuna Publica, which he states was vowed 292-219, and likely in 241 by Q. Lutatius Cerco as consul to give thanks for battle of the Aegates Islands and its aftermath. Livy, not mentioned</td>
<td>204, 196, 199 (v), 192 (d)</td>
<td>Degr. 551; Ziolkowski, 40-44; Platner-Ashby 214-215</td>
<td></td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>Veiovis/Vediovis (1) Vediovis/Vediovis (2)</td>
<td>200 (v), 194 (d)</td>
<td>Y L. Furius Purpureo, Pr. 200, cos. 198</td>
<td>On Tiber Island (1) Inter duos lucos on the Capitoline, between the two crests of the hill (2) 200, (196) Livy; vowed by Purpureo in 200 BCE at the Battle of Cremona (Livy 31.21.12), dedicated in 194 by C. Servilius (34.53.7) Vowed by Purpureo in 198 as consul, dedicated by Q. Marcius Ralla in 192 (Livy 35.41.8). 200, refused one in 1967</td>
<td>200, 198 (v), 192 (d)</td>
<td>Degr. 551</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Jupiter 199</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y P. Vilius Tappulus, Cos. 199</td>
<td>199 Val. Antias</td>
<td>Livy, not mentioned</td>
<td>Livy, not mentioned</td>
<td>Degr. 551; can't find this in Richardson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Fornices III 199</td>
<td></td>
<td>Built with manubiae</td>
<td>L. Stertinius</td>
<td>2 arches erected de 199</td>
<td>199?</td>
<td>Only Livy</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Juno Sospita</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>Votive, likely manubial</td>
<td>C. Cornelius Cethegus, Cos. 197, censor 194</td>
<td>Forum Holitorium, probably the northernmost of the three temples built into the church of S. Nicola in Carcere, a single-cell temple, peripteral sine postico, with six columns on the façade.</td>
<td>Vowed by consul Cethegus during the Insubrian War (Livy 32.30.10), vowed while censor in 194 (Livy 34.53.3). Restored in 90 BCE by L. Caesar after a dream.</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>Degr. 551; Richardson 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Victoria Virgo</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>Votive, likely manubial</td>
<td>M. Porcius Cato, Cos. 195; procos 194</td>
<td>On the Palatine, likely within the temenos of the Temple of Victoria</td>
<td>195 (Aberson); Probably within the temenos of the Temple of Victoria, M. Porcius Cato dedicated an aedicula to Victoria Virgo in 193 (Livy 35.9.6).</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>Degr. 553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Atrium Libertatis et Villa Publica</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>Sex. Aelius Tubero, C. Cornelius Cethegus</td>
<td></td>
<td>195</td>
<td>Livy 34.44.5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Portico</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>Aediles</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus</td>
<td>Portico from the Porta Fontinalis to the Altar of Mars in the Campus Martius.</td>
<td>Built in 193 by the aediles</td>
<td>Livy 35.10.12; Richardson 245.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Pietas</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>M'. Acilius Glabrio, Cos. 191, procos 190</td>
<td>Forum Holitorium</td>
<td>191 Livy, decorated with a gilded equestrian statue of the Glabrio (cos 191), the first such statue in Rome (Livy 40.34.4-6;</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>Degr. 555; Livy 40.34.4-6; Val. Max. 2.5.1; Richardson 290</td>
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<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Fornix Scipionis</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>Built with manubiae</td>
<td>P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus</td>
<td>190, adorned with seven gilded statues and two horses; in front were two marble basins (Livy 37.3.7), presumably fountains.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Only in Livy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Lares Permarini</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>L. Aemilius Regillus, Pr. 190, propr. 189</td>
<td>189 Livy</td>
<td>189, naval</td>
<td>Degr. 553</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Substructiones et via</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>T. Quinctius Flamininus, M. Claudius Marcellus</td>
<td>189</td>
<td></td>
<td>Livy 38.28.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Diana and Juno</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>Votive, possibly manubial</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Lepidus, Cos. 187, dedicated as censor in 179 (Juno).</td>
<td>Circus Flamininus (Juno Regina).</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Lepidus apparently vowed a temple to Juno Regina in 187 during the Ligurian Wars (Livy 39.2.11), perhaps part of an imperfect offering stemming from the construction of the Circus Flamininus. But in the first regular battle of his campaign, Lepidus vowed a temple to Diana, likely because he was fighting in mountainous country against a tough, fiercely independent people. So the vow to Juno was in the final battle. The space for this temple had likely already been set aside (from the earlier imperfect offering/temple to Jupiter Stator).</td>
<td>Livy, not mentioned</td>
<td>Degr. 554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Venus Erycina</td>
<td>184 (v), 181 (d)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>L. Porcius Licinus, Cos. 184</td>
<td>In front of Porta Collina</td>
<td>184 Livy; vowed during the Ligurian wars by L. Porcius Licinus as consul in 184, dedicated by him as duovir in 181 (Livy 40.34.4); supposed to be a</td>
<td>Livy, not mentioned</td>
<td>Degr. 554</td>
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<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Basilica Porcia</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Porcius Cato, M. Valerius Flaccus</td>
<td>Near the Clivus Argentarius and the Curia Hostilia</td>
<td>184, built against senatorial opposition (Plut. Cato Mai. 19.2);</td>
<td>Vir. Ill. 47.5; Livy 39.44.7; Plut. Cat. Min. 5; Ps. Ascon. Diu. In Caec. 16</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Via a Porta Capena ad Martis</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>T. Quinctius Flamininus, M. Claudius Marcellus</td>
<td></td>
<td>184</td>
<td>Livy 38.28.3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Lacus et Cloacas</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Porcius Cato, M. Valerius Flaccus</td>
<td></td>
<td>184</td>
<td>Livy 39.44.5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Molem et Viam</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Valerius Flaccus</td>
<td></td>
<td>184</td>
<td>Livy 39.44.6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Fortuna Equestris</td>
<td>180 (vow), 173 (ded.)</td>
<td>Votive, manubial</td>
<td>Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Procos. 180, cos. 179</td>
<td>Near the Theater of Pompey</td>
<td>180, in fulfillment of vow made during his Spanish campaign (Livy 40.40.10, 44.9), dedicated in 173 (Livy 42.10.5). For this temple Flaccus took some of the marble tiles of the Temple of Juno Lacinia near Croton but the Senate ordered him to return them (Livy 42.3.1-11). Flaccus strove to make the temple so magnificent that there should be none larger or more splendid (Richardson 155).</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>Degr. 555; Vitr. 3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Molem</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Lepidus, M. Fulvius Nobilior</td>
<td></td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Livy 40.51.2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Aqua</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Lepidus, M. Fulvius Nobilior</td>
<td></td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Livy 40.51.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Basilica Fulvia (Paulli)</td>
<td>Also known as Basilica Aemilia</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Fulvius Nobilior</td>
<td>Located at the juncture of the Argiletum and the Via Sacra</td>
<td>179, built post argentarias novas (spoils?), later rebuilt by L. Aemilius Paullus in 54 BCE (Cic. Att. 4.16.8), where Cicero says Paullus reused the columns from the old</td>
<td>Livy 40.51.5</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>Triumph Associated with vower/builder?</td>
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<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Work on the Temple of Jupiter</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Lepidus</td>
<td>179</td>
<td></td>
<td>building for his basilica. He likely did first a restoration with minimal expenses and then a magnificent rebuilding financed by Caesar from the spoils of the Gallic Wars (Plut. Ces. 29; App. B.C. 2.26). Always called the Basilica Paulli after this date.</td>
<td>Livy 40.51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Forum and Porticus quinque</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Fulvius Nobilior</td>
<td>179</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Livy 40.51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Macellum</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Lepidus, M. Fulvius Nobilior</td>
<td>179</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paul. Fest. p.112L, Varro ling. 1.147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Forum Piscatorium et Tabernae</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Fulvius Nobilior</td>
<td>179</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Livy 40.51-52</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>Pilae Pontis Tiberis</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Fulvius Nobilior</td>
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<td>Livy 40.51.4</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>Portus</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Fulvius Nobilior</td>
<td>179</td>
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<td>Livy 40.51.4</td>
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<td>86</td>
<td>Theater (provisoriae)</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Lepidus, M. Fulvius Nobilior</td>
<td>179</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Livy 40.51.3</td>
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<td>87</td>
<td>Pavement for Clivus Capitolinus</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>A. Postumius, Q. Fulvius Flaccus</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Livy 41.27.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Pavement for Emporium at Portam Trigeminam</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>A. Postumius, Q. Fulvius Flaccus</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Livy 41.27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Pavement of viae?</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Livy 41.27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Porticus and Curia</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td></td>
<td>Possibly the one that was built from the Temple of Saturn to the Senaculum, Same</td>
<td>Livy 41.27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Temple/Public Work</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Built to fulfill vow?/Who paid for it/ordered it</td>
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<td>Circumstances/battle</td>
<td>Triumph Associated with vower/builder?</td>
<td>References</td>
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<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Porticus Aemilia</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Livy 41.27.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Porticus intra portam trigeminarum</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Livy 41.27.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Scaena and other construction in the Circus</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Overhauled the entire complex (Livy). Rebuilt the carceres, set up the ova, by which number of laps indicated to spectators.</td>
<td>Livy 41.27.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Ascensum ab Tiberi in Emporium</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Livy 41.27.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Vias et pontes</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Livy 41.27.5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Temple of Castor and Pollux in Circus Flaminii</td>
<td>Between 179 and 100?</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>In the Circus Flaminii. West of the Via della Cinque Scule.</td>
<td>Richardson, p.76</td>
<td></td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Temple/Work</td>
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<td>Triumph Associated with vower/builder?</td>
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<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Hercules ad Portam Trigeminam</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>occupying most of the area of Piazza delle Cinque Scorte behind the southern end of Piazza Cenci. On the Marble Plan (FUR pl.56.614; Rodriguez pl.24), see Richardson p.76</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Juno Moneta on Alban Mount</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>173 Y C. Cicereius, pr. 173, propr. 172</td>
<td></td>
<td>172 Livy 172 on Alban Mount</td>
<td>Degr. 556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>House for Perseus</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>Senate Cn. Sicinius, pr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Livy 42.19.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Basilica Sempronia</td>
<td>170/169</td>
<td>Censors Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, C. Claudius</td>
<td>Behind the Tabernae Veteres toward the statue of Vertumnus, at the point where the Vicus Tuscus entered the Forum. 169; Built by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus as censor; built on land formerly occupied by the house of Scipio Africanus; must have been replaced by the Basilica Julia, likely built to balance the basilica of Fulvia and Aemilia on the opposite side of the forum</td>
<td>Livy 44.16.10-11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Porticus Octavia ad Circum Flaminium</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>Possible manubiae Cn. Octavius</td>
<td></td>
<td>165</td>
<td>RGDA 19; Fest. p.188 L; Plin. 34.13; Vell. 2.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Porticus Nasicae in Capitolio</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>Censor P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica</td>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
<td>Vell. 2.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Cloacae</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>Censors Censors</td>
<td></td>
<td>155 T.A.Q.</td>
<td>Dion. Hal. 3.67.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Curia Concordia</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>Censors C. Cassius</td>
<td></td>
<td>154</td>
<td>Cic. Dom. 130</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Theater</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>Censors M. Valerius Messala, C.</td>
<td></td>
<td>154</td>
<td>App. B.C. 1.28.125; Livy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Felicitas</td>
<td>151?</td>
<td>?, associated with victory or triumph but unclear if manubiae</td>
<td>L. Licinius Lucullus (?), Cos. 151</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>151?</td>
<td>Degr. 632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Jupiter Stator ad Circus Flaminius</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>?, associated with victory and triumph, likely manubiae</td>
<td>Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, Propr. 147-6, cos. 143</td>
<td>It is referred to as aedes Iovis Metellina and aedes Metelli. It was inside the porticus Metelli, close to the circus Flaminius, and its exact site is known, beneath the church of S. Maria in Campitelli.</td>
<td>Built with the Temple of Juno Regina together, both surrounded by portico of Metellus Macedonicus in 146 B.C.; first portico (most likely) with more than one wing. Provided setting for 34 equestrian statues by Lysippus that he brought back</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>Degr. 554; Vell. Pat. 1.11.3-4; Vell. I.I.3; Festus 363; Plin. 36.40; CIL VI. 8708; Vitr. 3.2.5; Macrobr. iii.4. 2; Hemer. Urb.; CIL i. p. 252, 339;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Juno Regina ad Circus Flaminius</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>?, associated with victory and triumph, likely manubiae</td>
<td>Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, Propr. 147-6, cos. 143</td>
<td>Same as Jupiter Stator.</td>
<td>This temple could be a rebuild of the temple of Lepidus from 179, but this is unlikely since there was still a Ligurian shield on the temple in 134 (Obsequens 27). Richardson (216-17) doesn't provide an alternative explanation, though.</td>
<td>See above, plus Richardson 216-17.</td>
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<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Porticus around Jupiter Stator</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, Propr. 147-6, cos. 143</td>
<td>See above</td>
<td>See above</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>Degr. 554; Vell. 1.11, 3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Hercules Victor</td>
<td>146? Y</td>
<td>P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus</td>
<td>In Foro Boario</td>
<td>Ad Portam Trigeminam</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>Degr. 557; ILLRP 122</td>
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<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Hercules Victor</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>L. Mummius, Cos. 146</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Festus 282 L; Coarelli 1988 p.84-92;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Aqua Marcia</td>
<td>144-140</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>Q. Marcii Rex, pr. Peregr., Praetor urbanus 144</td>
<td>Seems to be an addition to the Aqua Appia, which Marcus was commissioned to repair along with the Anio Vetus in his</td>
<td>Extremely expensive. Shown on coins of L. Marcus Philippus (RRC 425)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frontin. Aq. 7; Plin. 31.41; Plin. 36.121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References:
- Cassius
- Degr. 48; Oros. Hist. 4.21.4; Val. Max. 2.4.2; Vell. 1.15
- Degr. 632
- Richardson 216-17
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<th>Triumph Associated with vower/builder?</th>
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<td>113</td>
<td>Fornices Pontes</td>
<td>142</td>
<td></td>
<td>P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, L. Mummius</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>Livy 40.51.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Guilded ceilings on the Capitol</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>L. Mummius</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>Pliny 33.57</td>
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<td>116</td>
<td>Aqua Tepula</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>Cn. Servilius Caepio</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>Frontin. Aq. 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Fornix Fabianus</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus</td>
<td>East end of the Forum Romanum, regarded as one of the boundaries of the forum</td>
<td>Built to celebrate his victories over the Allobroges. Decorated with statues of family members, possibly part a restoration, and was the first triumphal arch in or near the forum. Restored by his grandson of the same name, as curule aedile in 57</td>
<td>CIL 6.1303, 1304, 31593; ILS 43</td>
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<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Basilica Opimia</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>L. Opimius, Cos 122</td>
<td>Closely linked to the Temple of Concord next to it, almost like an accent, likely on the southwest side of the temple</td>
<td>Perhaps only an annex to the temple, known only from a mention in Varro and a couple inscriptions</td>
<td>Cic. Sest. 140; Varro, ling. 1.156, 5.15.6; CIL 6.2338, 2339=ILS 1969</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Castor</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>N, still manubiae</td>
<td>L. Metellus (Delmaticus?), Cos. 119, procos. 117</td>
<td>Forum</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>Degr. 560, Broughton vol. 1, p.529</td>
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<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Magna Mater</td>
<td>112/117</td>
<td>Possible votive, possible manubiae</td>
<td>C. Metellus Caprarius?</td>
<td>112-111?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Pons</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Aemilius</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Amm. 27.3.9;</td>
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<td>122</td>
<td>Milvius Scaurus</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Scaurus</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Vir. Ill. 37.2;</td>
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<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Honos et Virtus</td>
<td>102/101</td>
<td>N. still manubiae</td>
<td>C. Marius, Cos. 107-101</td>
<td>102, 101 INSCR.</td>
<td>101 Degr. 562</td>
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<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Fortuna Huiusce Dei</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Q. Lutatius</td>
<td>101 Plut.</td>
<td>101 Degr. 566</td>
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<td>125</td>
<td>Porticus Catuli</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>Q. Lutatius Catulus, Cos. 102, procos. 101</td>
<td>101 Plut.</td>
<td>101 Degr. 566; Cic. Dom. 102, 114; Cic. Cael. 78</td>
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<td>126</td>
<td>Porticus Minucia</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>M. Minucius Rufus</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>Vell. 2.8</td>
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<td>127</td>
<td>Rostra</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>Censors</td>
<td>M. Antonius</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>Cic. De orat. 3.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Hercules Sullanus</td>
<td>c. 88</td>
<td>Y, likely manubiae</td>
<td>L. Cornelius Sulla Felix, Cos. 89</td>
<td>Sulla likely built the temple as well as a shrine to Hercules Custos, near the site of his battle with the Marians in the Forum Esquilinum (Richardson 188)</td>
<td>81 Richardson, p. 188; Plut. Sull. 12;</td>
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<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Tabularium</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>Q. Lutatius Catulus</td>
<td></td>
<td>ILLRP 367</td>
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<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Edifice not identified</td>
<td>68?</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>M. Piso Frugi, pr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ILLRP 377</td>
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<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Venus Victrix?</td>
<td>66-61</td>
<td>Possible votive, likely manubiae</td>
<td>Cn. Pompeius</td>
<td>66-61</td>
<td>61</td>
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<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Curia</td>
<td>66-61</td>
<td>Likely manubiae</td>
<td>Cn. Pompeius</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
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<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Porticus</td>
<td>66-61</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Cn. Pompeius</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
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<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Theater</td>
<td>66-61</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Cn. Pompeius</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
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<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Theater Complex of Pompey (no. 132-135 above)</td>
<td>61-55 BCE</td>
<td>Y, manubial</td>
<td>Cn. Pompeius</td>
<td>Located in the northern Campus Martius, adjacent to the Largo Argentina complex</td>
<td>This complex included a theater, whose scenae frons was decorated with spoils, a temple to Venus Victrix, a double portico surrounding a garden, both of which were decorated with spoils including plants from conquered regions, and a curia. For more on the decoration, see Chapter 2.</td>
<td>81/79, 71, 61 Plut. Pomp. 45, 48, 52; Sall. Hist. 3.84-5; Strabo 3.160; Cicero ad Att. 5.1.6; Mon. Ancyr. 4.9; Ascon. In Pison. 1; Vell. Pat. 2.48, 2.130; Plin. NH 7.3.34, 8.20, 33.54, 34.40, 36.115; Seneca ad Marc. De cons. 22; Tacit. Ann. 3.72, 6.45, 13.54,</td>
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<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Forum</td>
<td>59?</td>
<td>Possible manubiae</td>
<td>C. Julius Caesar</td>
<td>59?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.20; Martial 6.9, 10.51.11, 14.28.3, 14.166.1; Appian B.C. 2.115, 5.15; Florus 2.13.8, 2.13.91; Sueton. Aug. 31; Cass. Dio 1.8.3, 39.38, 50.8, 57.21, 60.6, 63.6, 66.24; Fast. Allif. Amit. ad pr. Id. Aug., CIL I². p. 217, 244, 324; CIL. P. p. 244</td>
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<td>138</td>
<td>Villa Publica</td>
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Graph Charting the Number of Triumphs per Year in the Republican Period
### Appendix 2:

**Coin Hoards in Spain (Red), Cisalpine Gaul (Green), and Greece (Purple) by Date**

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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Coins in Spain</th>
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<th>Coins in Greece</th>
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<td>Pieve di Olmi (79)</td>
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<td>Kavalla (58)</td>
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<td>Mertola 1941 (100-90)</td>
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- Martos (206)
- Francoli (170)
- El Sancejo (bf. 147)
- Fuente-Librilla (132)
- La Loba (119)
- Mertola 1941 (100-90)
- Monroy (79)
- Aida (64)
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Bibliography

List of Abbreviations


CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Corpus of Latin Inscriptions).


FD = Fouilles de Delphes, III, Épigraphie, 1-6 & Chron. delph.

IG = Inscriptiones Graecae (Greek Inscriptions)

ILLRP = Degrassi, A. Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae rei publicae. Firenze.


REA = Revue des Études Anciennes.


SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.

SIG = Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.


Chaves Tristàn, F. (1996). *Los tesoros en el sur de Hispania: conjuntos de denarios y objetos de plata durante los siglos II y I aC Fundación el Monte*.


