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**Legions and Locals: Roman Provincial Communities and their Trophy  
Monuments**

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**Legions and Locals: Roman Provincial Communities and their Trophy  
Monuments**

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## **Dedication**

To my sisters, Micaela Rowlett and Nancy Galloway

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# **Legions and Locals: Provincial Roman Communities and their Trophy Monuments**

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This study considers five Roman trophy monuments in the context of global versus local culture in the provinces: the Sullan trophy at Chaeroneia, Pompey's trophy at Panissars, Octavian's campsite memorial at Nikopolis, Augustus's Alpine trophy at La Turbie, and Trajan's Dacian trophy at Adamklissi.

Each trophy represents a unique case study of an identifiable Roman form and tradition deemed appropriate for/by a provincial community. These individualized characteristics imply localized negotiation of imperial or global ideas—specifically, a non-Roman's ability to manipulate Roman concepts emanating from the capital and/or the desire for Romans to these ideas to appeal to a provincial audience. My study of these trophies uncovers a widespread phenomenon that contradicts the assumption that culture was dictated from the center to the periphery, from the elite to the non-elite and from the urban to the rural in the Roman Empire.

This dissertation is a response to Simon Keay's and Nicola Terrenato's lamentation over the lack of comparative analysis for these recent theories and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's challenge to concretize definitions of Romanization. In fact, I demonstrate how these five Roman trophies featured themes legible to a broad audience in the ancient world *and* specialized narratives that catered to the local scene. Altogether, these case studies represent compelling examples of a much more dynamic kind of Romanization than current scholarship admits.

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## INTRODUCTION

“It is demonstrable,” said [Doctor Pangloss], “that things cannot be otherwise than they are; for as all things have been created for some end, they must necessarily be created for the best end.”

Voltaire, *Candide*, 1759

This dissertation considers Roman trophy monuments in the context of global versus local culture in the provinces. I analyze each trophy both independently and in relation to the others in an effort to methodically identify consistencies and inconsistencies in the form, iconography, location, and interpretations (both ancient and modern) among the five surviving structures. Each trophy represents a unique case study of an identifiable Roman form and tradition deemed appropriate by/for a provincial community. These individualized characteristics imply localized negotiation of imperial or global ideas—specifically, the provincial person’s ability to manipulate Roman concepts emanating from the capital so that he or she could function successfully in his or her own cultural sphere.

I focus on five monuments commissioned by the Roman army because they stand out as examples of power-brokering between Romans and indigenous peoples. The Roman army erected trophy monuments to commemorate victories and to honor fallen warriors; these monuments loomed over the provincial landscape and perpetually announced Roman presence. The sites at Chaeroneia, Panissars, Nikopolis, La Turbie, and Adamklissi possess the only known physical remains of as many as nine trophies

cited in textual sources. More trophies may exist; they may have been despoiled beyond recognition or they remain undiscovered. If trophy building was indeed a recurring and perhaps even prescribed part of subjugation, we must consider what roles these trophies played in the histories of these provincial communities—beyond their overt statement of conquest.

### **Methodologies and Approaches**

Before addressing specific Roman trophy monuments, I will describe my particular approach in the analysis of these complex constructions. This approach provides an alternative interpretation for provincial material culture, one that considers as many perspectives on a given object as is feasible. Rather than concentrating on an anticipated definition or typology of a trophy, I rely on common parallels shared among the various buildings. These parallels are a combination of formal similarities, historical context, and/or uses and significance of the monument.

Firstly, I simply verify how closely the monuments resemble one another in my analysis of the archaeological remains of the five trophies. Specifically, I compare similarities and differences in their architectural form, decorative program, and dedication. The structures themselves vary from drum-shaped tumuli to monumental pedestals. Despite the differences in appearance, the primary aim of the architecture was to raise the sculpted trophy. It is this armored scarecrow that connects all of these buildings most prominently (Fig. 1). Additionally, their sculptural façades reveal specific messages (intended or unintended) about the events inspiring the trophy's construction and the intent of the trophy itself through both images and text. Moreover, stylistic

analyses of decorative elements reveal the identity of the craftspeople by comparing these elements with local aesthetic preferences of the immediate audience.

Secondly, I examine the historical events leading up to the raising of a trophy monument. I review the ancient sources for accounts of the military campaigns associated with the monument and for the roles of significant participants like Sulla, Pompey, Augustus and Trajan. Needless to say, these texts take either Roman or Greek perspectives written by elite individuals dealing in second or third-hand knowledge of provincial happenings. Nevertheless, such histories communicate some of the specific reasons and/or situations that necessitated a trophy—reasons potentially reflected and reinforced by the monument's decorative façade.

Thirdly, I explore how ancient audiences regarded these trophies. Once again, I rely on ancient sources that present opinions about the trophy from the local Roman and non-Roman population. I do so based on the belief that these complex works communicated different things to different people. This is the most tenuous part of my three-pronged approach, as it necessitates a great deal of extrapolation from ancient texts as well as provincial archaeological evidence. In reconstructing the provincial communities surrounding each trophy, I consider the origins of the Roman soldiers who paid for and built the trophy, looking for possible influences beyond those of the capital. Also important is whether these soldiers remained in the area in forts or even towns, or whether they moved on at the conclusion of a war. The presence of Roman villas, Roman-founded towns, and/or non-Roman settlements rounds off a glimpse of the potential viewers in a given location. While the creation of an accurate population demographic is not possible, getting a sense of the origins, interests, and agendas of

viewers in the vicinity of the trophy presents the potential for alternate readings of the monument.

It is in this final category that the interpretive analysis becomes polemic. Ancient historians created hierarchies that privileged their own culture in discussion concerning the characteristics and practices of foreigners. During his exile in Tomis, Ovid painted a barbaric picture of life in his descriptions of the uncivilized and warlike folk who lived along the Black Sea coast.<sup>1</sup> Cassius Dio describes the Dacians as belligerent and treacherous.<sup>2</sup> But not all the descriptions were overtly critical. Julius Caesar commented on the martial prowess of the Dacians, for example.<sup>3</sup> Tacitus sees good and bad qualities in the people of Germania, his opinions exclusively formulated vis-à-vis Roman ideals.<sup>4</sup> Whether the descriptions were positive or negative, the accounts are all fundamentally subjective. As seen in Tacitus, ancient writers oftentimes relied heavily on metaphorical strategies to relay strange and unusual occurrences in faraway lands to a Roman audience. In this way, Gallic gods are transformed into variations of Roman gods, hilltop communities become fortresses, and complex provincial social structures boil down to tribes. Although the metaphors make alien landscapes and concepts more tangible to the writer's intended audience, they can greatly skew the original context of any given provincial topic. This application makes all things provincial dependent upon and therefore subservient to the perceived Roman counterpart.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Tristia* 3.1-78 and 5.1-68.

<sup>2</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 51.22-23.

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, *The Deified Julius* 44.

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, *Germania* 1-46.

<sup>5</sup> Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia de la conquista de Nueva España*, 15<sup>th</sup> edition (Mexico, 1992). This metaphorical approach is echoed in one 16<sup>th</sup> century account of Spain's conquest of Mexico. Díaz describes a pineapple through the combined characteristics of Old World fruit. While faintly humorous in

Although most historians concede that their own objectivity is impossible, they generally treat primary sources as reliable and truthful material. Unfortunately, their definitions and categories arise from identifiable and commonly used patterns found in primary sources. These patterns are common vernacular or native knowledge stemming from local or even individual biases—one group’s skewed and often-polemic view of another group.<sup>6</sup> In this way, historical analysis of primary sources merely presents a myriad of perspectives organized *a priori* by the historian, and it does not produce any kind of definition or narrow understanding of a given subject.

Modern historians re-create and perpetuate this hierarchy due in large part to their exclusive dependence on classical texts. The primarily oral traditions of Gauls or Dacians, for example, were largely lost following Roman conquest or appropriated beyond recognition. Only material culture remains unbiased, in and of itself. However, one still needs to interpret the evidence. The inclusion of multi-cultural accounts or evidence is especially important because the trophies in question belong to provincial communities existing in the wake of Roman conquest—communities with populations ranging from non-Roman barbarians to Roman settlers from the capital itself.

The character of post-conquest culture in the Roman provinces is both geographically and chronologically specific. Distinguishing the extent of influence exacted by either Roman or local forces on a given material object is difficult to determine. Once again, the overwhelming amount of Roman sources describing provincial material culture skews and even limits our perception of art and architecture

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the context of produce, the persistent use of this strategy kept conquerors from exploring indigenous culture on its own terms as the New World was merely a deviant version of their own world.

on the margins of the Roman world. In many cases, not only are analyses of provincial works dependent upon Roman counterparts; scholars qualitatively compare both Roman and non-Roman subjects. Those that look more like Roman examples from the capital are valued as more successful, while stylistic or narrative deviations constitute non-Roman contamination.<sup>7</sup> The strict use of Roman models and the adherence to these examples as a cultural gauge presumes that provincials wanted to become Roman.

### **Burden of Romanization**

The earliest popular use of the term “Romanization” is found in Haverfield’s “The Romanization of Roman Britain.”<sup>8</sup> Colonialist notions markedly inform early manifestations of Romanization, proposing that provincial cultures and peoples, once exposed to a supposed newer and better way of life, gravitated toward superior colonizing powers. Like the British in India, the Roman conquest of a province, a destructive and violent process, is followed by an enriching cultural exchange. Other less benign versions of Romanization present Rome as a hegemonic force that was intolerant of foreign ideas and sought to actively assimilate or eradicate alternative views or opinions. Both promote the idea of a superior and uniform Roman culture that justifiably and

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<sup>6</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, 1984), 170.

<sup>7</sup> Again, Tacitus’s *Germania* serves as an example of ethnocentric views of Romans versus non-Romans—a Greek strategy previously employed by Herodotus, Hippocrates, and Aristotle. See B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, 2004) for an extended study of Greek and Roman ethnocentric constructions. Although Isaac’s main concern is the identification of racism in the ancient world, his presentation of “environmental determinism” as the logical explanation for superior and inferior groups. This same logic was later applied by colonial empires as justification for their conquests and by the Enlightenment in order to perpetuate a Greco-Roman legacy they viewed as their own.

<sup>8</sup> F. Haverfield, “The Romanization of Roman Britain,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1905-1906), 185-217. See also Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1923).

inevitably overwhelmed the primitive and divided communities of the world.<sup>9</sup> Theodor Mommsen's *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* represents the classic privileging of Roman perspectives based on Classical accounts that he then applies wholesale in the provinces.<sup>10</sup>

Recent contributors to the task of defining and contextualizing the concept of Romanization seek to abandon one-sided conclusions by separating the various elements of provincial society in an effort to preserve some aspects of Roman dominance. More correctly, they attempt to isolate and reinforce the truthfulness or reliability of their textual sources. In this way, the political entity known as the Roman Empire remains intact without affecting the process or degrees of acculturation in the margins of the Roman world.<sup>11</sup> In my opinion, making this distinction is as problematic as attempting to separate church and state in ancient or foreign cultures. The juxtaposition of different peoples can produce cross-pollination in any or all identifiable socio-cultural categories and institutions. Without more significant evidence, scholars cannot create arbitrary and ahistorical divisions to fit a theoretical model.

I believe that cultural interactions are always unique and dynamic, based on the site-specific variables that allow or deny any kind of mixing.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the product of cross-cultural pollination is a synthesis of multiple elements appropriated from the parent

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<sup>9</sup> S. Keay & N. Terrenato, *Italy and the West* (Oxford, 2001), 1-6.

<sup>10</sup> T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, trans. by W.P. Dickson (London, 1886). Mommsen never used the term Romanization itself, but greatly contributed to the proliferation of center vs. periphery constructions.

<sup>11</sup> Keay & Terrenato, ix.

<sup>12</sup> My view relies heavily on the work of O. Brendel in *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (New Haven, 1979) who questioned our definition of *Rome* and *Roman*, R. MacMullen's recognition of various degrees of influence among Roman and un-Roman populations in *Enemies of the Roman Order*



sources. These elements can be used in a fashion similar to the parent model or adopted for a vastly different context. This means that the syncretic object, person, or culture is not a mere derivative, watered-down, or contaminated version of the more identifiable sources; it becomes its own thing. If anything, the process of Romanization—based on the syncretic model—is a divisive phenomenon that creates fluid products that defy typologies.<sup>13</sup> For this reason, some scholars have sought different models for the paradoxical interactions occurring in the provinces.

Jane Webster proposes a complete alternative to Romanization: *Creolization*.<sup>14</sup> The historically specific concept derives from the French colonial phenomenon in the New World, used to describe not only racially mixed individuals but also the culture and material production informed by a diverse heritage. Scholars applying the term *creole* to describe cultural interactions mean to avoid privileging tendencies of acculturation and the overtly ambiguous process of acculturation. The privileging tendencies can be viewed as a Puritanical legacy of segregation, while the ambiguous process of acculturation presents the perceived *laissez faire* approach to cultural diversity in the French colonies in the Americas. Webster wants to place Romans and non-Romans on equal footing, going as far as suggesting that colonial communities can be formed from the bottom up. According to this model, non-Roman individuals in the provinces have the choice of resisting Roman culture, choosing to appropriate only what they deem

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(Cambridge, 1966), and, more recently, the debates concerning site-specific Romanization by G. Woolf, A. King, D. Mattingly, and M. Millett among others.

<sup>13</sup> C. Stewart and R. Shaw, eds., *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism* (London, 1994), 1-26. Stewart and Shaw term perspectives that deny mixing and insist on pure or authentic categories as anti-syncretic. Pure groups often claim superiority through linear histories that trace bloodlines and/or possess autochthonic origins. By comparison, syncretism produces fluid discourses that blur boundaries through bricolage.

<sup>14</sup> J. Webster, "Creolizing the Roman Provinces," *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001), 209-215.

useful. However, the term *creole* places these post-conquest communities in a cultural limbo. Just as Creole people possess a transition language and culture, so too must these communities inhabit a liminal world that robs them of self-determination and agency. They are stuck in a cultureless vacuum like so many hyphenated American communities.

In yet another objection to Romanization, J.C. Barrett challenges not only use of the term, but also the entire ontological basis for the “Roman Empire.”<sup>15</sup> Is the whole idea of a Roman Empire a manifestation of our own desire to project modern histories and social constructs upon Roman times? While our metanarratives and generalizations help us make sense of ancient sources and material remains, we remain blind to the local and oftentimes differing scenarios among provincial communities. In Barrett’s opinion, the idea of the Roman Empire is a reified totality constructed by historians while “it” never really existed in the first place. As for Romanization, Barrett explodes the binary constructions of cross-cultural consumption and influence of the syncretic model. According to his theories, there is no “Roman” against which one might explore and validate the non-Roman.

Barrett isolates a missing factor in comprehending the interactions occurring in the provinces throughout the Roman period: the question of agency. While we can no longer discuss these cross-cultural negotiations in terms of Roman and non-Roman, a construct that employs the histories and trajectories modern scholars have assigned as characteristic of the Roman Empire, there is still the possibility of exploring the

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<sup>15</sup> Barrett, J. C. "Romanization: A Critical Comment." in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly, (Portsmouth, 1997) *JRA* suppl. 23, 51-66.

interactions between agents that identify themselves with Rome and those representing provincial interests. Specific impetuses for these agents will be found at the local level.

If Romanization (defined by how these various synthetic communities relate back to Rome and to one another) is to remain a viable approach, scholars must be open to explore what “becoming Roman” gained for individuals in the provincial setting.

Moreover, whether it means using Latin, wearing togas, or joining the Roman army, we should keep in mind that we are not only dealing with the acculturation of provincials, but also that provincials are appropriating Roman signs and signifiers to function within their own communities and for their own specific purposes.<sup>16</sup> The key to Romanization lies in our comprehending the individual contexts in which individuals appropriated Roman forms on the margins of the Roman world for comparative analysis.

### **Toward a Negotiation of Cultural Identities**

Keay and Terrenato lament the lack of comparative analysis in Roman provincial studies. While nearly all studies compare provincial material objects or concepts to so-called counterparts in Rome, very few studies look for parallels in neighboring regions or even in the next province.<sup>17</sup> Nationalism in the modern era has created artificial boundaries in academia, based on contemporary differences in language and methodological approach to political strife between countries.

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<sup>16</sup> G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman* (Cambridge, 1998), 347; R. Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture* (London, 2005), 47.

<sup>17</sup> Keay & Terrenato, *Italy and the West*, 2. See also R. Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture*, 14-18.

One recent trend in academia moves away from national boundaries toward a globalized model.<sup>18</sup> Scholars regard the Roman Empire and the material production of Imperial Rome as akin to today's multi-national corporations. Despite the problems with such an ahistorical juxtaposition, this comparison creates compelling questions about the different manner in which Rome promoted itself or aspects of itself across the ancient world. Such a construction can focus upon regionalized variations, dictated by producers aware of their potential audience/consumers and their preferences. It can also recognize the acceptance and presence of *Romanitas* for more nuanced reasons, other than a direct statement of Roman dominance. Additionally, how much "Barbarization" of Roman culture followed conquest for the purpose of effectively communicating with new peoples?

People within a given community took on some form of Roman culture for their own particular purposes. The successful negotiation of Roman culture on the frontiers created different landscapes, necessitating multiple approaches for promoting *Romanitas*. Moreover, the hybrid product of every instance of negotiation should be recognized as unique. Every community will be different, albeit not completely independent of Roman influence. According to Woolf, "Romanization may have been 'the process by which the inhabitants come to be, and to think of themselves as, Romans', but there was more than one kind of Roman, and studies of provincial culture need to account for the cultural diversity, as well as the unity, of the empire."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> J. Toner, *Rethinking Roman History* (Cambridge, 2002), 14. R. Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture* (London, 2005).

<sup>19</sup> G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 7.

How is it then that in such a synthetic world there are still such strong notions of unity and homogenization in the provincial landscape? How can we create connections over vast expanses of territory without following the modern model of the nation-state? The key may lie with the “imagined communities” created via the material culture distributed throughout the Roman Empire. Benedict Anderson proposes an alternative version of nationhood as one defined as an extended form of community; a community is based on kinship or some other localized form of shared relationships. On the most concrete level, one establishes community with individuals in close proximity—people with whom one has met and created familial bonds and/or trade relationships. More powerful groups with access to greater resources can extend these connections to a greater extent through a complex process of *imagining* links.<sup>20</sup>

The process does not originate with an individual’s personal inclinations, but rather in the historically and culturally specific culture systems he/she inhabits. Nationhood is created by and against the political and cultural atmosphere of the past. Anderson’s analysis breaks down the modern Western transformation in political systems from autocracies to democracies and republics over the last five hundred years. Despite the seemingly radical changes, more often than not, it is the same ruling classes that maintain their privileged positions via new rhetoric and political roles. Within the privileged classes lies the impetus that drives the creation of outwardly homogenized societies—the desire to maintain their high status.

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<sup>20</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1983). In Lacanian terms this is how the symbolic Other can alter their perceived alien-ness. Anderson sees communities using outward displays of ritual and consumption as signifiers and the vehicle for negotiating otherness.

Material culture exponentially helps spread commonalities among a region's disparate populations. Adopting a new technology, drinking wine, or sharing fashions become vehicles from promoting commonalities. Additionally, material culture provides a means for limiting people's varying interest and can exercise control over their "imaginings."<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, the producer with the most power and resources exerts a certain level of control through the dominant narrative associated with the material object. The producer's power lies in the acceptance of the product, implying the possibility of alternative uses and narratives dictated by the consumer.<sup>22</sup>

For Hingley and Woolf, the constant flux of intersecting cultures does not produce independent communities, but groups, regions, and even an entire empire loosely tied together by identifiable cultural markers. For Romanists, the most prominent signifiers are those objects and practices promoted and widely disseminated by a resourceful and historically significant force—the Roman Empire. However, this is not a global force looking to create clones of itself throughout the world. Culture does not lend itself to this kind of reproduction. Rather, agents of one culture or another work to perpetuate conditions for continued interaction.<sup>23</sup> "Becoming Roman in this way allows

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<sup>21</sup> G. Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, trans. by D. Nicholson-Smith (New York, 1995). Debord deals with this similar phenomenon in a Western Postmodern context. Commodities can create the illusion of participation within a community by making aspects of society that are no longer directly perceived tangible through representations. Similarly, the slippery definitions for "Roman" in the provinces could be made manifest through material possessions associated with the Roman Empire.

<sup>22</sup> D. Howes, "Introduction: commodities and cultural borders", in D. Howes, ed., *Cross Cultural Consumption: Global Markets and Local Realities* (London, 1996). Applying N. García-Canclini's notions of hybridity, Howes describes how Haitians use Coca-Cola to raise the dead—a purpose never intended by soda producers. The producers do not attempt to correct this belief, so long as the product is consumed. See N. García-Canclini, *Culturas híbridas, Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad* (Grijaldo, 1990) for patterns regarding the promotion and consumption of products in the modern age.

<sup>23</sup> Hingley, 52-53.

for both the imperial context of social change and the local adoption of this identity to co-exist.”<sup>24</sup>

### **Local Uses for Imperial Trophies**

This study considers Roman trophy monuments in the context of global versus local culture in the provinces, testing the theories put forth by Woolf and Hingley. Each trophy represents a unique case study of an identifiable Roman form and tradition deemed appropriate and appropriated by a provincial community. Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 examine different instances of trophy building in five different regions of the Roman Empire: the Sullan trophy at Chaeroneia, the Pompeian trophy at Panissar, Octavian’s trophy at Nikopolis, the Augustan trophy at La Turbie, and the Trajanic trophy at Adamklissi.<sup>25</sup> Each chapter examines as many interpretations as possible, presenting the history and historiography of each trophy, paying close attention to the negotiations between imperial/global agendas and local perspectives. My conclusion compares any correlations among the trophies as well as any notable exceptions.

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<sup>24</sup> Hingley, 47-48.

<sup>25</sup> See the appendix for a list of all nine Roman trophies and further information on each.

## CHAPTER ONE

### History and Uses of the Classical Trophy and Trophy Monument

According to tradition, Roman armies raised an armored mannequin after victorious battles. It usually consisted of a tree trunk decorated with armor taken off the bodies of captured or dead enemy warriors (Fig. 1).<sup>26</sup> Greek and Roman representations consistently depict a helmet fixed atop the tree trunk; shields, spears, and swords protrude diagonally from the upper section of the log to simulate arms raised in either victory or defeat. Implications may have varied, as one could see raised arms as both symbolic gestures of celebration and surrender. The fact that the arms applied to the so-called scarecrow oftentimes belonged to the victor and not the loser complicates interpretations further.<sup>27</sup> The cuirass or upper-body armor constituted the central part of the composition. Below this, trophy builders oftentimes affixed a pair of greaves to the tree trunk. The Romans then made a pile of enemy armor at the foot of the mannequin. This practice produced either the symbol of a conquering Roman raised above his venerable feat or that of an impaled barbarian made a spectacle atop those that might follow such folly. This temporary symbol of conquest was often reworked in stone—a powerful embodiment of the image of perpetual victory.

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<sup>26</sup> See F. Lammert, “Tropaion,” in Pauly, *Realenc. der class. Altertumswiss* VII A (1939), 663-373; K. Woelcke, “Beiträge zur Geschichte des Tropaions,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 120 (1911), 127-235; G. C. Picard, *Les trophées romains* (Paris, 1957); A.J. Janssen, *Het antieke Tropaion* (Ledeberg & Gent, 1957); W.K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, Vol. 2 (Berkeley, 1974); and T. Hölscher, “The Transformation of Victory into Power,” in *Representations of Warfare in Ancient Rome*, S. Dillon, and K.E. Welch, eds. (Cambridge, 2006), 27-48 for the most complete examinations of the permanent trophy monument.

<sup>27</sup> I discuss the potential usefulness for the multiple compositions below.



There are numerous variations on trophies in the ancient world. The battlefield trophy consists of a temporary display of enemy arms raised on the battlefield in the wake of a victory. Some ancient sources refer to the mounds and tumuli marking the mass burials of soldiers as *tropaia* as well.<sup>28</sup> Finally, more permanent representations exist in pottery, on coins, in sculpture, and even architecture. This study specifically considers the trophy monument, a conglomeration of sculpture and architecture. I define the structure as a battlefield trophy petrified in sculpture and raised to various heights by an architectural structure. I will examine the nine known Roman trophy monuments dating from 121 B.C. to A.D. 109. Despite this specificity, it proves useful to explore the history of trophies dating back to ancient Greece in order to consider any pertinent disparities between each culture's uses for the monument.

The Romans were not the first people to practice trophy building. The act of displaying a foe's remains as evidence of conquest goes back to time immemorial. Beyond the pragmatic use of weapons as tools that enhanced violence in warfare, many ancient stories communicate the symbolic and even magical qualities of arms and armor. This widespread trope can be found in the stories of such mythical figures as Gilgamesh, Perseus, Theseus, and Beowulf, to name a few. Homer's Achilles possessed armor so visually striking, that enemies fled from its sight in panic. After the demise of Achilles, Ajax and Odysseus famously struggled for possession of the warrior's remains. W.K. Pritchett compares the ancient practice of collecting arms and armor on the battlefield to

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<sup>28</sup> W.K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, Vol. 2 (Berkeley, 1974), 250. Based on Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4.7.25 and Pausanias 3.2.6, Pritchett concludes that the tumuli "trophies" are Spartan-derived monuments with their own tradition and meanings separate from the anthropomorphic battlefield trophy.

the Native American practice of taking scalps.<sup>29</sup> It was not only the taking of the scalps and other prizes from their enemies, but the displaying of the trophies that held significance—a lasting symbol of martial prowess for an individual or group of people. Weapons represented the strength and power of the gods, an individual, or even a group of people; they are tangible manifestations of chronologically and geographically specific events in warfare.<sup>30</sup> In this way, martial remains concretely symbolize abstract yet important notions like strength or victory to a given community.

One manifestation of taking and displaying arms was in the practice of building mounds out of a vanquished enemy's weapons and armor upon a battlefield as a declaration of victory, a gesture that also marked the landscape as having martial significance. At some point the act of piling arms developed a more sophisticated and readily recognizable formal quality in Greece, the mound surmounted by the armored scarecrow described above. The first instance of this formal innovation is unknown. However, textual sources reveal that trophies gained widespread popularity throughout the Mediterranean around the fifth century B.C.

Historical references to trophies in Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodoros date between the late fifth through the early third-century B.C. (Fig. 2-4). W.K. Pritchett examines examples of the word *tropaion* found most frequently in the texts of these three ancient authors. Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodoros together provide a total of ninety-nine entries pertaining to trophy-raising. These references describe temporary trophies erected after military victories throughout mainland Greece, Peloponnesus, and even

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<sup>29</sup> Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, 246-275.

parts of Magna Graecia. By comparison, Polybius has only one reference to trophies (4.8.5), Herodotus presents a number of questionable references to early trophies, and Pausanias' accounts refer to permanent commemorative structures.<sup>31</sup> Lamentably, none of the ancient writers include detailed description of these trophies, leading scholars to rely on physical remains and representations of these structures.

The earliest representation of a battlefield trophy occurs on a fragment of a fifth century B.C. ceramic found in the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi near Thebes (Fig. 5). The fragment shows only the uppermost part of the panoply. The mannequin wears scaled cuirass and a Boeotian-style helmet, and supports a spear to the left and a shield to the right side of the body.<sup>32</sup> The helmet displays either a delta or lambda, but the markings are difficult to confirm from reproductions. Despite this early occurrence, representations of trophies on pottery are very rare.<sup>33</sup> In contrast, trophies found on Greek coins are quite common from the fifth century onwards. Although the armored mannequin appears in both media, there is no trace of the architectural pedestal in these representations. This could point to the fact that these early depictions worked to

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<sup>30</sup> It is also worth noting that the metal itself was valuable.

<sup>31</sup> Additional primary sources referring to Greek trophies (temporary or permanent) include Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 945; Aeschines, *Speeches* 2.74; Cicero, *De inventione* 2.23; Demosthenes, *Speeches* 3.24, 13.15.2, 13.19.3, 13.26, 15.35, 19.16, 19.148, 19.320, 20.76, 20.80, 20.83, 21.169, 61.49; Isocrates, *Speeches* 4.87, 4.180, 5.148, 6.10, 6.99, 10.67, 15.59; Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 13.249; Lycurgus, *Speeches* 1.73, 2.25; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.15.1, 1.32.5, 1.33.2, 1.36.1, 2.20.1, 2.21.4-8, 3.2.6, 3.10.6, 3.14.7, 3.24.6, 4.8.13, 4.32.5, 4.32.6, 5.27.11, 6.2.8, 6.21.2, 8.10.5, 8.10.8, 9.2.6, 9.4.7, 10.18.7; Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 29.1, 27.4, 29.3, 35.6, *Aristides* 9.2, 16.4, 20.1, 20.3, *Lysander* 5.2, *Nicias* 6.5, *Pericles* 19.3, *Themosticles* 3.4, 6.7; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.32. As for ancient authors mentioning Roman trophies, see Strabo, *Geography* 3.4.1-9, 4.1.3, 4.1.11; Pliny, *Natural History* 3.24, 7.27, 37.6; Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 11, *Augustus* 18, *Drusus* 1, *Germanicus* 1; Tacitus, *Annals* 2.18, 15.18.

<sup>32</sup> The open-faced Boeotian helmet and scaled armor indicate that the trophy commemorated some kind of cavalry action.

<sup>33</sup> H. Winnefeld, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* 1, P. Woldters & Gr. Bruns, eds. (Berlin, 1940). 123. Plate 19.7. See also L. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*

perpetuate the inviolable yet temporary battlefield trophies, rather than show their permanent counterparts.

Accounts of these permanent monuments are less frequent. According to Cicero, the Boeotians raised a bronze trophy after their victory at Leuktra in 371 B.C.<sup>34</sup> Despite the paucity of evidence, archaeologist Anastasios Orlandos identified the remains he discovered at Leuktra in 1922 as this very trophy. Although he unearthed the architectural pedestal, the bronze armored scarecrow was never found.<sup>35</sup> Diodorus Siculus and Thucydides also mention permanent trophies raised by Philip of Macedon in Lynkestis and Illyria in 358 and at Chaeroneia in 336.<sup>36</sup> Pausanias casts a shadow of doubt upon the existence of Macedonian trophies, by claiming that it was not their practice.<sup>37</sup> The contrary accounts in Diodorus and Thucydides, along with significant use of trophy iconography upon Macedonian coins shows that there was indeed some investment in raising trophies.<sup>38</sup> Whether temporary battlefield trophies, permanent structures, or two-dimensional representations, the Romans encountered countless trophies as they expanded into Greek territory.<sup>39</sup>

Trophies begin to appear in Roman material culture in the Late Republican age. Their late manifestation must coincide with Rome's increased exposure to the Hellenistic world in the third and second centuries, due in large part to territorial expansion and

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(Boston, 1963). 66-67 for the analysis of the particular fragment. Neither makes note of the Greek letter upon the helmet.

<sup>34</sup> Cicero, *De inventione* 2.23.

<sup>35</sup> See chapter 3, for analysis of the trophy at Leuktra.

<sup>36</sup> Thucydides 4.124.4, Diodorus Siculus 16.4.7 and 16.86.6 respectively.

<sup>37</sup> Pausanias 9.40.7-9

<sup>38</sup> See A.J. Reinach, "Trophées macédoniens", *Revue des études grecques* 26 (1913), 347-398.

subsequent conquest of Greece itself in the second and early first century B.C.<sup>40</sup> The trophy was neither part of Roman martial nor any other kind of symbolic tradition, but was instead adopted from the iconographic repertoire of Hellenistic kings.<sup>41</sup>

Representations of the armored scarecrow appear on coins in the late third century B.C. These so-called *victoriati* featured a laureate head of Jupiter on the obverse and a Nike standing next to a trophy on the reverse side (Fig. 6a). The *victoriatus* was a contemporary and greatly debased version of the *denarius*, struck by the Romans to pay accumulated debts from the Second Punic War. This particular coin is found exclusively in Greece and Hellenized areas of Apulia, Campania, and Northern Lucania.<sup>42</sup> Around the same time, the Romans shipped a second, equally debased, version of the *victoriatus* featuring a stalk of wheat between the Nike and trophy on the reverse in large quantities to Sicily (Fig. 6b). The money was intended to support the war effort and to help maintain Rome's control of the island through the Second Punic War.<sup>43</sup> The *victoriatus* reappears in various designs just prior to the Social War. Like the predecessors minted during the war with Carthage, the debased coin went to places where Rome required large amounts of revenue, such as the embattled areas around the Rhône Valley and

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<sup>39</sup> Polybius 4.8. Polybius comments that the Peloponnese was full of trophies. Moreover, the hundreds of textual references to trophies communicates that they were frequently erected throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>40</sup> Roman conquest of Greece started in the first half of the second century with the Aetolian War and the conclusion of the Macedonian Wars. Roman forces defeated the Achaean League and razed Corinth in 146 B.C., taking plundered Greek art back to the capital. Rome finally seized direct control of Greece in 86 B.C. when Sulla sacks Athens.

<sup>41</sup> T. Hölscher, "Images of War in Greece and Rome: Between Military Practice, Public Memory, and Cultural Symbolism," *Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003), 1-17. Hölscher also discusses the increased use of warfare iconography in the late Republic in "Die Anfänge römischer Repräsentations-Kunst," *RM* 85 (1978), 315-357.

<sup>42</sup> M.H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money Under the Roman Republic* (London, 1985), 55-56.

<sup>43</sup> Crawford, *Coinage and Money Under the Roman Republic*, 110-112.

Cisalpine Gaul (Fig. 6c).<sup>44</sup> Perhaps the trophy imagery was meant to appeal to soldiers familiar with the form and its significance on the battlefield.

Images of trophies continued to be applied to coins through the Civil War. Individuals like Sulla, Pompey Magnus, and Julius Caesar used the money to pay for their vast armies and as political propaganda (Fig. 7). Most notably, Caesar's *denarii* couple trophies with his own patron deity, Venus. The goddess replaces Jupiter on the obverse as the guarantor of the coin and of the victory claimed upon the reverse of the coin. The reverse also shows two captured barbarians bound to a trophy dressed in barbarian garb—a composition reiterated countless times in Roman trophy iconography through the Imperial period (Fig. 8). Earlier representations of trophies on coins are less striking, mostly relying on shapes of shields, swords versus spears, or helmet types to create distinction. Oftentimes it is difficult to ascertain whether the trophy bore the armor of the victor or the vanquished.<sup>45</sup> However, battles fought against Gallic warriors who wore little or no armor—and wielded distinctive and even bizarre weapons—produced an opportunity to clearly designate the outcome of war against Rome. In addition, the presence of barbarian captives promised Roman soldiers not only victory but also the spoils that accompany a successful campaign.

It is worth noting that the use of trophies by ambitious late Republican leaders did not evoke the ideals of Classical Greece—those of democracy and selfless service to the *polis*. Rather, the armored scarecrow called to mind the power and authority of

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<sup>44</sup> Crawford, 180-182.

<sup>45</sup> In some cases, trophies actively raise the arms and armor of the winner above the pile of impotent weapons of the loser. In other cases, the structure is entirely composed of enemy arms to emphasize the

Hellenistic rulers like Philip, the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, and especially Alexander the Great.

Representations of trophies became prevalent in the Late Republic and maintained their popularity through the Roman Empire in all manner of media. Numismatics, painting, sculptural relief, and mosaics featured the armored scarecrow in too many examples to cite in this study. While representations were frequent and widespread, only nine examples of permanent trophy monuments exist in both textual and material evidence.<sup>46</sup> But before we can discuss the dearth of trophies erected in Roman times, we must review the various definitions scholars applied to them in the past, their uses, and how they are distinctive from their Greek predecessors.

### **Historiography: Definitions and Distinctions**

Pritchett's chapter on the battlefield trophy reviews some of the most significant scholarship on this Greek construction, including K. Woelcke's "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tropaions," G.C. Picard's *Les trophées romains*, and A.J. Janssen's *Het antieke Tropaion*.<sup>47</sup> Pritchett cites these authors with the greatest frequency due to their efforts to define trophy building and categorize their various manifestations. In particular, the scholars distinguish between tumuli and anthropomorphic monuments—both referred to as "trophies" by various ancient writers. Furthermore, Pritchett makes a clear distinction

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identity of the defeated foe. The latter is hard to gauge in representations whenever ancient armies shared much of the same hardware.

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix for information regarding all nine Roman trophy monuments.

<sup>47</sup> K. Woelcke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tropaions," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 120, (1911) 127-235; G.C. Picard, *Les trophées romains* (Paris, 1957); A.J. Janssen, *Het antieke Tropaion* (Ledeberg & Gent, 1957).

between anthropomorphic trophies built on the battlefield and those later monumentalized in stone.<sup>48</sup>

For Pritchett, the tumulus connoted funerary messages whereas the battlefield scarecrow communicated martial messages. The tumulus recorded the loss of life from battle; it could not be confused or conflated with a battlefield trophy, since the battlefield trophy strictly communicated victory. As for the differences between temporary and permanent battlefield trophies, Pritchett presents a list of four conditions taken from classical texts for identifying the temporary monument.

- A. It was placed at the location where a rout or other tide-turning event of a battle occurred.
- B. It could not be renewed or repaired.
- C. Once erected, the monument was inviolable.
- D. The possession of a battlefield determined victor's ability to raise a trophy.<sup>49</sup>

In opposition to Pritchett's strict typology, Picard presents a different understanding of trophies in the ancient world. Picard describes the trophy as a "mannequin covered with arms. It is not a commemorative monument."<sup>50</sup> In his opinion, trophies were religious objects dedicated to gods and to the spirits of the dead, erected as appropriate thanks to a particular deity or deities for victory and in hopes of appeasing and/or confining the

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<sup>48</sup> Pritchett, 250. Pritchett adopts this distinction from Woelcke and elaborates upon it.

<sup>49</sup> Pritchett, 252-262. The author lists a fifth condition stating that Macedonians did not build trophies. However, he notes that there are numerous contradictions to this belief.

<sup>50</sup> Picard, "...*mannequin revêtu d'armes. Ce n'est pas un monument commémoratif.*" 13.



malevolent spirits of the departed and the malevolent spirit of warfare itself.<sup>51</sup> The two scholars stand completely opposed in the definition of the object and its purpose.

Pritchett dismisses the notion of the trophy having magical qualities, objecting to Picard's de-contextualized reading of a passage from Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*.<sup>52</sup> The trophy in the choral ode is part of a poetic metaphor rather than a literal monument raised in dedication to Até or Ruin, the malignant force targeted by the apotropaic device.<sup>53</sup> Pritchett concludes that because the Greeks did not have a notion of a spirit of violence and destruction, there could be no magical totem dedicated for its containment.

Both Picard and Pritchett construct flawed typologies and their creation of strict categories limits our understanding of such dynamic monuments.<sup>54</sup> Rather than limit interpretations of Roman trophy monuments by choosing between Pritchett and Picard, I will consider both classifications in an effort to examine the multiple functions of the trophy monument as directed at the diverse audiences of provincial Rome. I see both Pritchett and Picard as being correct in that the trophy is a commemorative *and* apotropaic object containing funerary *and* martial narratives. After all, a religious dedication can have commemorative aspects and a battlefield memorial can have religious connotations, depending on the viewer's perspective. We should explore all of the possibilities.

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<sup>51</sup> Picard, 28-35. Curiously, a monument for the deceased and/or martial powers cannot be considered to mark a historical moment in Picard's opinion. The trophy is merely a religious propriety and an apotropaic precaution.

<sup>52</sup> Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 949.

<sup>53</sup> Pritchett, 247. See A. Sidgwick, *Aeschylus Septem* (Oxford 1903), 62 and P. Groeneboom, *Septem* (Groningen, 1938) for in-depth analysis of the excerpt in question.

<sup>54</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 172. "The observer who divides a population into classes performs an operation which has its equivalent in social practice. If he is not aware of this, he is likely to present a more or less modified form of native classification as a scientific classification."

## Architectural Models

Architecturally speaking, a more open-ended approach allows comparative analysis of the multiple forms found on trophy monuments—a strategy that has yet to be applied to all five of the existing structures. Cylinders, vertical rectangular-prisms, and horizontal platforms all served to raise the armored scarecrow to a more prominent height.<sup>55</sup> Cylinders evoke the tumulus drums found on Republican tombs, vertical rectangles are found on altars and pedestals, and the most well-known Roman platform was the Rostra. Each of these forms connote funerary, religious, and commemorative contexts of Roman life. I propose that soldiers in the provinces adopted and applied these forms to the trophy, and that each one of these trophy monuments afforded patrons and viewers with specific vehicles of expression.

Roman trophy monuments primarily borrowed their architectural design from circular tombs like the Mausoleum of Augustus or Tomb of Caecilia Metella. These buildings in turn have their own inspirations. However, I am not interested in establishing an exclusive origin for legionary trophy monuments. Instead, I would rather explore the implications and nuanced meanings gleaned from the appropriation of certain varied architectural forms.

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<sup>55</sup> Hölscher, “The Transformation of Victory into Power,” 29, 32-33. Hölscher makes a distinction between the early trophies of Cn. Domitus Ahenobarbus and Fabius Maximus, Sulla, and Pompey from later ‘landscape trophies’ of Caesar, Augustus, and Trajan based on the former being conceptually site specific while the latter addressed larger themes, territories, and achievements. He is clearly not considering the monuments’ size or appearance throughout this chapter. K.E. Welch, “Introduction,” *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*. 13-14. Welch addresses Hölscher’s omission in the introduction of this same volume, making a stylistic differentiation between Greek trophies and Roman monumentalized ‘trophy towers.’ Tower is too vague a term and does not address the differences found in the appearance of the five remaining Roman trophy monuments.

The Roman trophy monument is a descendent of earlier circular buildings used throughout the Mediterranean since Neolithic times.<sup>56</sup> These circular monuments often served as tombs or burial sites. Ample archaeological evidence points to the continued association between the circular building and the dead well into the time of Roman dominance of the Mediterranean. Circular mausolea were popular among Romans of the late Republic<sup>57</sup>.

The earliest known circular tomb monuments appear to have been employed by Crete's early Minoan II and III civilizations (Fig. 9). The great number of these burial chambers found throughout the islands of Greece attests to their popularity. The burial chambers, or ossuaries, were meant for public use. The entire settlement would deposit the bones and/or ashes of their deceased into this one chamber. The ossuaries were generally conical in shape and stood as tall as 12 meters high. The lower drum of the ossuary varied between four and thirteen meters in diameter and was constructed of enormous cut and fitted stonework. This portion was often underground, offering only a small opening for limited entry—perhaps only for the depositing of remains. Sun-dried mud-bricks made up the tapered upper portion of the ossuary. The light mud-bricks ensured the cone did not crumble beneath its own weight.<sup>58</sup> The structure emulated a cave, evoking older sites where the deceased were deposited.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> See G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Die Mittelmeerischen Grundlagen der antiken Kunst* (Frankfurt, 1944).

<sup>57</sup> L. Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1992), 351-361. The tomb of Cornelia L. Scipionis, tomb of C. Gallonius and C. Gallonius Q. Marcius Turbo, tomb of M. Lucilius Paetus, tomb of Caecilia Metella, tomb of Sulla, Tumulus Iuliae, Tumulus Maecenatis, and the Tumulus Octaviorum are/were all circular in form. See also *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, Vol. IV, E.M. Steinby, ed. (Rome, 1999), 279-293.

<sup>58</sup> A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (New York, 1957), 18-21.

<sup>59</sup> R. Castleden, *Minoans: Life in Bronze Age Crete* (London, 1990), 152-154.

These structures eventually gave way to the well-known tholos tombs, built between the sixteenth and fourteenth-centuries B.C. (Fig. 10).<sup>60</sup> Tholoi were also round like earlier Cretan ossuaries. However, these burial chambers were built on mainland Greece and the Near East where land was less scarce. Construction began by cutting a trench into the side of the hill to an adequate depth. Then, the builders hollowed out the hill or mountain to create the burial chamber. Stone and brickwork was then added to secure the tapered shape of the chamber. Once the deceased occupied the chamber, the entryway was covered and another tholos was constructed.

In time, the entryways and interiors of the tholos tombs became more elaborate, implying that only certain individuals could be buried within these tombs. In Mycenaean culture, tholoi eventually became exclusive burial chambers for kings and other elites.<sup>61</sup> In these examples we find the first application of ideals pertaining to a royal tomb—a specialized, luxurious, and individualized tomb.

The tumulus tomb appears throughout the Mediterranean. The Etruscans, the Greeks, and the peoples of the Near East constructed them over a number of centuries (Fig. 11).<sup>62</sup> The tumulus was modeled after its tholos predecessors in form, but certainly not in construction. Although the drum base of the tumulus is largely subterranean, the chamber is not dug into the side of a mountain or hill. Instead, a cylindrical area is excavated out of almost any landscape, while dry stonework secured the space. This same circular wall served as support for the stepped conical roof. The stepped roof, in

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<sup>60</sup> H. Colvin, *Architecture and the Afterlife* (New Haven, 1991), 1-13. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, 57.

<sup>61</sup> Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, 57-64. The rest of the population still buried their dead in communal burial fashion, in ossuaries or in simpler tholos-like, man-made caves.

<sup>62</sup> Davies, *Death and the Emperor* (Cambridge, 2000), 52.

turn, held up the earthen (and later masonry) mountain heaped atop the drum base. From the exterior the majority of the stonework of the tumulus appeared only as a low, stepped base and a decorative entrance, although the artificial mountain of earth must have been impressive, and capable of being seen for many miles.<sup>63</sup> Through the first millennium B.C., the idea of the royal tomb was firmly established.<sup>64</sup> Consequently, rulers were looking for more and more impressive structures in which to reside in the afterlife, monuments that commemorated their greatness in life long after their mortal deaths.

The low, stepped embankment of the tumulus was eventually raised completely out of the earth. By the mid-millennium B.C. societies were building drum-base tombs higher and higher above the ground. Simultaneously, tomb builders applied lavish decorations upon these high walls. Eventually, narratives in the form of circular friezes, statuary, and metopes were introduced, further elaborating upon the accomplishments of deceased elites. Howard Colvin presents sixth and fifth century tumuli from the Hermos valley in Ionian Turkey, the tomb of Menekrates at Corcyra in Corfu from 600 B.C., and a monument from the Keramaikos cemetery in Athens as examples of this development (Fig 12).<sup>65</sup>

The Mausoleum of Halicarnassos once housed the remains of the satrap of Caria, Mausolus (Fig. 13). Mausolus' wife and sister, Artemisia, dedicated the monument after Mausolus' death in 353 B.C.. The monument once stood 42 meters tall and sculpture of the famous artists Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheus, and Leochares decorated the building.

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<sup>63</sup> G.T. Rivoira, *Roman Architecture and its Principles of Construction Under the Empire* (London, 1925), 7-8.

<sup>64</sup> Colvin, *Architecture and the Afterlife*, 15.

<sup>65</sup> Colvin, *Architecture and the Afterlife*, 23-29.

Vitruvius heaped many compliments upon the tomb's architectural and decorative elements.<sup>66</sup> The Romans knew the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

Structurally, although the Mausoleum followed a rectangular scheme, echoes of tholoi and tumulus elements influenced the final plan. Rather than a subterranean cylindrical chamber, the architects chose a tiered rectangular base. The base appears to have been lavishly decorated with sculpture and an Ionic colonnade. This sculptural program ran from left to right, in keeping with rituals of parading around the tomb. The most direct parallels between the Mausoleum and tumulus architecture existed in the pyramid-shaped roof noted by Vitruvius. Instead of an earthen mound, Mausolus' architects Satyrus and Pythius employed a marble pyramid, a form that still evokes the triangular tumulus mound. If it did indeed exist in this context, the marble statue of Mausolus atop a four-horse chariot depicted the ruler in perpetual victory. This privileged position at the Mausoleum's dizzying pinnacle, overlooking his newly re-built city of Halicarnassos, added to the glory of the deceased king buried in solitude beneath his gigantic tomb.<sup>67</sup>

One late Republican/early Imperial tomb of inestimable importance, both for its far-reaching influence and in its application of innovative concepts, is the Mausoleum of

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<sup>66</sup> Vitruvius, *The Ten Book on Architecture*, 2.8.11-16. See K. Jeppesen, "Did Vitruvius ever visit Halikarnassos?" *Anadolu* 22 (1981-83), 85-98 for Vitruvius's influence on Caesar and Augustus as a military engineer and possible visit to Halikarnassos. For archaeological evidence, see P. Pedersen, "The Ionian Renaissance and some aspects of its origin within the field of architecture," 11-35, and B. Poulsen, "The New Excavations in Halikarnassos," in J. Isager, ed. *Hekatomnid Caria and the Ionian Renaissance* (Odense, 1994), 115-131, both relate the similarities between the Augustan and Carian tombs in relation to the urban location.

<sup>67</sup> B. Ashmole, *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece* (New York, 1972), 147-191. See Ashmole's book for an in-depth analysis of the structural and decorative elements of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos.

Augustus (Fig. 14). Possibly based on the Mausoleum of Alexander (as well as that of Mausolus), built in Alexandria in 215 B.C., Augustus's tomb radically changed the established perception of the commemorative tomb. Augustus' likely idolization of Alexander is well documented in his words and actions as much as in the iconography that decorated his final resting place. Cassius Dio recounts Augustus' desire to view Alexander's remains within his mausoleum at Alexandria, but not those of the Ptolemies.<sup>68</sup>

Likewise, Augustus's enthusiasm for Hellenistic monarchs can be seen in official imperial portraits which closely resemble the busts of Alexander in their smoothed planes, sharp edges, turn of the head, and perpetually youthful appearance. "...[L]ike other Late Republican generals, Augustus liked to conceive of himself as a second Alexander..."<sup>69</sup> It is not surprising, then, that the building in which Augustus chose to eventually hold his earthly remains for eternity should also emulate the tomb of his hero and role-model.

All of these examples represent inspirations for the Roman development of architectural propaganda in the late Republic. It is a strategy that looked to consolidate numerous existing forms—from long-venerated tumuli and tholoi to sacred battlefield trophies—in an effort to communicate a grander vision for Rome's imperial ambitions. Hölscher refers to this late Republican phenomenon as a Roman desire to perpetuate once

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<sup>68</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.15

<sup>69</sup> Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 60. See also P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. by Alan Shapiro, (Ann Arbor, 1990) for discussion on the strategies behind the appropriation of foreign elements in Roman material culture toward the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the Roman Empire.

regionalized traditions on a larger temporal, geographical, and political scale. In his view, the Romans continued the process begun by Hellenistic monarchs.<sup>70</sup>

### **More Architectural/Sculptural Models**

The tumulus form inspired the trophy monuments at La Turbie (9 B.C.) and Adamklissi (A.D. 109). But what about those trophies mounted atop other architectural forms, such as the earlier trophies at Chaeroneia (86 B.C.) and Panissars (71 B.C.)? The monument at Chaironeia in Greece uses a large pedestal while the latter building at Panissars appears to potentially apply a variation of the Roman triumphal arch. Octavian placed his trophies at Nikopolis (29 B.C.) atop a monumental platform. These also need to be explored.

The pedestal and the platform share a similar history; they are both the manifestations of a basic human desire or necessity to elevate an object. The origin of the sculptural pedestal or the architectural platform cannot be pinned down to one example, people, or geographic location. The use of pedestals goes back as far as ancient Mesopotamia. The sculptors of the limestone representations of worshipers from the Square Temple at Eshnunna employed pedestals as early as c. 2700 B.C. (Fig 15). One could argue for a pragmatic rather than a symbolic purpose for the base. It helps to hold the vertical object steady. What is more, even the slightest elevation serves to raise the image, to give it more prominence, and to aid in bringing the viewer's attention to the representation. Early Sumerian ziggurats served to raise temples for equally pragmatic

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<sup>70</sup> Hölscher, "The Transformation of Victory into Power," 34-37.



and symbolic purposes. Further west, the Mycenaeans built their citadels atop natural platforms. From the late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic periods, the Greeks placed a great deal of symbolic and religious emphasis on the acropolis as sacred precincts, easily distinguishable from the habitats of common people down below. Greek and Roman statues serve as innumerable examples in the use of pedestals.

As for platforms, the Rostra in the Roman Forum presents the most famous and perhaps most important implementation of this architectural form for our particular audience (Fig. 16). The use of raised platforms likely goes back to natural formations that provided visible positions for speaking to crowds, formations that were later enhanced through architecture. The name of the structure comes from its being embellished with ship prows taken from enemy vessels. The earliest implementation of the practice came from Rome's naval victory over the Latins in 338 B.C.<sup>71</sup> Julius Caesar and Augustus further heightened the prominence of the Rostra in the late Republic and early Empire. Caesar moved the Rostra to the northwest end of the forum in 46 B.C. and Augustus monumentalized the Rostra further, extending the southeastern edge 10 meters closer to the Forum Square and widening the façade from 13 to 23.8 meters.<sup>72</sup>

The Rostra seemed to further distinguish ambitious would-be dictators of the late Republic from the traditional collectives of the Comitium and the Curia. As an important tool of distinction, it served to raise individuals temporarily to prominence in the political hub of the city as they swayed the crowds with eloquent speeches. Certainly, these same

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<sup>71</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 32.20.

<sup>72</sup> E.M. Steinby, ed., *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. Vol. 4 (Rome, 1999), 212-217; L. Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1992), 334-337; A. Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford, 1998), 81-82.

power-hungry Romans could see the benefit of applying rostra-like platforms to their own monuments in order to make permanent representations of a temporary position of power.<sup>73</sup>

Whether architects used drums, pedestals, or platforms, each of these forms served to attach other meanings or enhance narratives already associated with trophies and, particularly, the armored mannequin. This phenomenon is certainly not limited to trophy monuments. The Romans often combined styles and forms in order to communicate in more effective or appropriate fashions.<sup>74</sup> Chapters 3-7 of this study explore the potential messages implied by the application of drums, pedestals, or platforms for each of our five provincial trophies. But first, I will examine how such hybrid structures came about and how they spoke to such a varied and diverse Roman community. Although not strictly a trophy monument, the Mausoleum of Augustus provides a prominent centralized example of conflation—one that may have been informed by previous provincial conflations and inspired later trophy monuments.

### **Tomb and Trophy: The Conflation of Meaning in the Roman World**

In her book *Death and the Emperor*, Penelope Davies conducts an in-depth analysis of early Roman tumulus tomb monuments.<sup>75</sup> According to Davies the

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<sup>73</sup> See R. Morstein-Marx, *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge, 2004) for a recent study on the importance of the rostra for Roman politicians and the dynamics between elite speakers and the masses. See also F. Millar, *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* (Ann Arbor, 1998), 39-42 for the rostra as the locus of official and unofficial political displays.

<sup>74</sup> For example, the Colosseum was derived from two Greek-style theaters, the Pantheon is a porticoed tumulus, basilicas were eastern royal halls modified for public use, fora featured triumphal arches, temples, and stoa-like porticoes, and mausoleums were conflated tomb/trophies.

<sup>75</sup> Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 49-76. See also G.C. Picard, *Les trophées romains*, 21, T. Hölscher, *Monumenti statali e pubblico* (Rome, 1994), 23-24, D. Boschung, "Tumulu Iuliorum—Musoleum

Mausoleum of Augustus is a product of a combination of a number of architectural and ideological characteristics borrowed and modified through centuries. These were then appropriated and adapted to fit into the particular socio-political and religious canons of any number of tribes, settlements, and civilizations throughout the Mediterranean.

Subsequently, the Romans, Augustus in particular, changed the application and reception of these monuments to suit a Roman cultural sphere at a time when the Romans' understanding of their own world was shifting from a Republic to an Empire.

Until the time of Augustus, elite tombs had been exclusively associated with the dead they held or the legacy of their clan. The decorative programs of these late tumulus monuments, from the time of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos, celebrated the life of the elite interred within or beneath the tomb to the living, connoting nothing beyond the legacy of that individual. However, as a minor Hellenistic satrap, Halicarnassos's wondrous tomb presented a viable architectural model for an individual with the lofty ambitions of Augustus.

According to Davies, Augustus's emulation of Alexander in conjunction with a growing popularity of Egyptian motifs created the opportunity for radical changes in Roman reception. Although, as Davies states, the tombs of the Egyptian pharaohs carried an awe-inspiring magnificence suitable for use by the self-styled second founder of Rome, they also represented the widely unpopular position of king. However, kingship is

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Augusti," *Hefte des Berner Archäologischen Seminars* 6 (1980), 38-41, and H. von Hesberg, "Das Mausoleum des Augustus," *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* (Mainz, 1988), 244-251 for notions of multi-valency in Greco-Roman monuments. Picard views the cenotaph of Pyrrhus in the Argive agora as a conflated monument. Hölscher describes the expropriation of Perseus' monument at Delphi by Aemilius Paullus as a form of literal and symbolic act of trophy-taking. Boschung and von Hesberg specifically mentions calculated ambiguity in the Mausoleum of Augustus. Davies develops the notion of

fundamentally anti-constitutional and antithetical to democratic practices. With the exception of martial tyrants like Marius and Sulla, the Roman Republic prospered for centuries without the need of monarchies like those found outside of Rome. In fact, only ten years before the construction of the Mausoleum of Augustus, Julius Caesar was murdered on the basis of accusations that he aspired to take over as Rome's king. Because of the violent end of Augustus' great-uncle and adoptive father, perhaps it seemed reckless for Augustus to create a mausoleum reminiscent of kingship.

Therefore, Augustus diffused the direct implication of this recent past by selecting a Republican, tumulus-style model for his entire family, distancing him from the monumental tomb reserved solely for the king. In another ingenious move, Augustus constructed his Mausoleum on the Campus Martius. Upon this field sacred to the city of Rome, Romans performed military exercises and ceremonies in honor of Mars. Aside from these military ceremonies the field was also used for the burial of Roman heroes by decree of the Senate.<sup>76</sup>

Through this choice, Augustus was purportedly paying homage to Rome and Mars by celebrating his victory at Actium, bringing an end to civil war and initiating the *Pax Romana*. More importantly for Augustus, his mausoleum, whose construction on the Campus Martius went (as far as we know) unchallenged by the Senate, cemented his position as the unofficial leader of Rome and secured a legacy for his heirs who would one day be buried in his tomb as well. In this way, the Julio-Claudians would experience

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multi-valency in the Mausoleum of Augustus and applies them compellingly to the trophy monuments at La Turbie and Adamklissi.

<sup>76</sup> P. Rehak, *Imperius and Cosmos: Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius*, J.G. Younger, ed. (Madison, 2006), 9-30.

the same privileges as Augustus in life, reinforced in death as Roman *summi viri* or distinguished citizens buried in the field of Mars.

### **New Definitions and Uses of Tomb/Trophy Architecture**

Tumulus-style trophy monuments appeared around the time of the construction of the Mausoleum of Augustus. Until this time, the Republican tumulus, as an architectural form, had no martial associations. Clearly, Augustus' conflation had immediate ramifications across the empire, especially in the provinces. The adoption of the tumulus form by the legions in the provinces certainly reinforced its immediate martial connotations. Nonetheless, these provincial constructions must also be understood as both tomb and trophy.

The battlefield trophy existed within a martial context, as the armored scarecrow left in the wake of a Roman victory upon the battlefield to commemorate the destruction of the enemy. It also functioned to honor the memory of fallen Roman soldiers. Tacitus' account regarding the German campaign led by Germanicus reveals the commemorative and funerary practices of Roman soldiers.<sup>77</sup> Six years after the catastrophe of the Teutoburgian Forest, in which the Germans led by Arminius ambushed and slaughtered the general Varus and three divisions, Germanicus set out to bury the remains of their fallen warriors. In a funerary context that could by no means be conceived of as a victory, the Romans constructed no armored scarecrows. Instead, "Germanicus shared in the general grief, and laid the first turf of the funeral-mound as a heart-felt tribute to the

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<sup>77</sup> Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome* 1.61-63.

dead.”<sup>78</sup> The Romans built these communal burial mounds near or upon battlefields, perhaps even close to their temporary victory scarecrows.<sup>79</sup>

Cassius Dio’s accounts of the Dacian Wars elaborate upon the further developed understanding of these trophy monuments just over a hundred years after Germanicus. As Dio tells us, Trajan ordered a memorial erected in honor of the fallen Roman soldiers along with an annual ceremony of remembrance. Trajan decided this after a particularly bloody battle near Tapae during the first Dacian War. Dio recounts that Trajan engaged the enemy in a pitched battle and witnessed many wounded and killed on both sides. The casualties were so severe that the emperor even gave up his own clothing to be used as bandages.<sup>80</sup> This latter account hints at the conflated prescription for building trophy/tomb commemorative monuments. Unlike the disaster at the Teutoburgian Forest, the battle of Tapae’s outcome was a Roman victory. Nevertheless, victory exacted a heavy toll on Roman lives. This specific scenario served as the impetus for combining the two equally appropriate architectural forms—the trophy/tomb manifested in the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamklissi.

The *Tropaeum Traiani* gave the legionaries the unique opportunity to perpetuate forever the memory of both their fallen and their victories within one permanent monument. With the Mausoleum as model, the legions began constructing these

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<sup>78</sup> Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, 1.62. “*primum extruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos et praesentibus doloris socius*”

<sup>79</sup> Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* 23. “Indeed, it is said that [Augustus] took the disaster so deeply to hear that he left his hair and beard untrimmed for months; he would often beat his head on a door, shouting: ‘Quinctilius Varus, give me back my legions!’ and always kept the anniversary as a day of deep mourning.” I believe the severity of a battle, quantified by the loss of Roman lives, may have prescribed the appropriate rituals and monuments for commemoration to the Romans. Suetonius certainly illustrates how disastrous this defeat was to the Romans.

<sup>80</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 68.8.

conflated buildings throughout the provinces.<sup>81</sup> Cenotaphs, tombs lacking burial chambers, symbolically served as tombs for large numbers of dead soldiers, numbers that could not possibly see individualized burial at the height of a war. Moreover, remains of these fallen warriors would be impossible to identify after months and years of being exposed to the elements. The most likely scenario is that Romans buried their comrades' remains in communal graves, after the fashion of Tacitus' story, addressing the immediate health and religious concerns of the living. A proper monument was later built after the war was settled.

Since the *Tropaeum Traiani* follows the tumulus trophy form, the monument must be interpreted as functioning within this dual context. We might hypothesize that Adamklissi was indeed witness to a major battle. It was a victorious battle for the Romans, first and foremost, but it was also a battle in which many Romans perished. In my next chapter I will discuss the implications of the high cost of victory and the realities of war. How might the perception of this monument change from the point of view of the soldier-patron? How would he desire to depict not only his fallen comrades, but also the provincials responsible for their deaths? The answers to this question will vary from site to site due to the intended audiences and the relative attitudes shared between the conquerors and the conquered at each location.

For these same reasons, earlier examples of Roman trophy monuments are also multivalent. The newly discovered archaeological remains of the Sullan trophy at

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<sup>81</sup> Scholars have yet to question the reason for the relatively small number of tumulus-style victory monuments in existence. These monuments had a unique prescription in which their duality could be optimized: the need to negotiate a liminal aspect in the landscape and/or the historical event. More pragmatic reasons include the heavy loss of life, the desire to appease gods, a receptive audience, a large workforce, presence of construction material, and the time required to erect the monument.

Chaeroneia, the remains of Pompey's trophy at Panissars, Octavian's campsite memorial at Nikopolis, and the Augustan trophy at La Turbie display multiple narratives and have varying uses. Elements that allow interpretation of these multiple narratives include: the use of multiple architectural forms, placement in the landscape, decorative facades, epigraphy, and even the perspectives of multicultural provincial audiences. In the following pages, I will review the history and scholarship of five of these nine Roman trophy monuments. These buildings represent examples with significant material culture for in-depth analysis.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Roman Death and Commemorative Rituals**

Before discussing trophy monuments themselves, I will address the socio-cultural context for death in the Roman world. It is necessary to consider how the Romans understood death, how they treated corpses, how they displayed and ultimately disposed of the body, what rituals accompanied this process, who participated in the rituals, and how they perpetuated the memory of the departed. Because the Romans understood death in a fashion that did not emphasize the afterlife like Christian or Muslim faiths, the vehicles for communication emphasized maintaining an individual's legacy. Lastly, I will examine how these practices translated into the margins of the Roman world in the death rites of people considered marginally Roman.

#### **Death and the Aristocracy**

Death and the dead played a significant role in the lives of ancient Romans, as evidenced by the large body of literature and material culture dedicated to the deceased. Romans honored themselves and their ancestors with commemorations in the form of histories, biographies, festivals for the dead, funerals, epitaphs, and funerary monuments of various types. Honoring and remembering the dead was a particularly important element of Roman culture and key to their perception of an afterlife. Remembering and/or creating memories of a deceased individual worked to perpetuate their life in the

hereafter and helped maintain their individuality in the murkiness of both the underworld and the past.<sup>82</sup>

Romans' pious and even obsessive dedication to the dead demonstrates their belief in connections between this world and the next—the conception that the dead can affect the living both physically as well as symbolically.<sup>83</sup> If properly honored, the spirits of the dead were benign and even helpful to the living. The dead left improperly buried, forgotten, or unattended could turn potentially dangerous toward people by physically and spiritually polluting a landscape.<sup>84</sup> Taking all of this into consideration, it behooved the ancient Romans to take care of their dead.

Politically speaking, funerary practices could communicate powerful symbolic messages. Individuals who did not pay respect to their own ancestors could not be trusted to guide Rome to a prominent future; the people would fear the wrath of spiritual entities if men in political offices failed in their religious responsibilities. The Roman people also required politicians to sacrifice to the gods, take auspices, and oversee many other religious ceremonies that dictated their relationship with the spiritual world at every level of Roman society.

At the highest levels, ambitious politicians controlled the construction and destruction of memory in Rome, since the Senate controlled the official histories of the city by deciding which persons and events were worthy of remembrance. In the realm of visual representation, public commissions displayed throughout the Roman world worked

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<sup>82</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 7.24. Polybius. 6.53. Tacitus, *Agricola* 46. Penelope J.E. Davies, *Death & the Emperor*, 120-121.

<sup>83</sup> J.M. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London, 1971), 34.

<sup>84</sup> Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, 35, 37, & 43.

to communicate the official state-sponsored narratives. Architectural monuments, inscriptions, and public sculpture all served to tell the story of Rome.<sup>85</sup> “Deciding who or what would be remembered, and how, was an aspect of power and authority.”<sup>86</sup> These structures are concrete manifestations of such an abstract concept as Roman history—a history that justified its prominent place in the world.<sup>87</sup>

The connection between religious piety, political ambition, and eventual political dominance is best exemplified by Octavian’s transformation into Augustus. It is perhaps the most famous example of piety used to accomplish successful and desirable political placement in Roman society. In the wake of his adoptive father’s assassination, Octavian emphasized his actions against the senatorial conspirators as a just and even pious requirement.<sup>88</sup> Additionally, his consequent choice of name, Augustus, reflects the venerable quality of his loyalty to his deceased great-uncle and to the right and proper execution of the gods’ desires—one that led to a purported second golden age for Rome and her people. Augustus’ behavior makes him worthy of holding the most powerful position in the Roman world.<sup>89</sup>

The power of Republican patricians and the Imperial dynasties were based largely on family ties and ancestry. For example, Julio-Claudians traced their family lineage

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<sup>85</sup> Davies, 136. C. Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge, 1996), 42-43. F. Dupont, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1992).

<sup>86</sup> V. Hope, “Remembering Rome: Memory, Funerary Monuments, and the Roman Soldier”, *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies*. H. Williams, ed. (New York, 2003) 115.

<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, one of the legacies of the late Republic involved powerful individuals circumventing the established avenues for gaining recognition. These Romans often appealed directly to the people by erecting privately funded buildings for public munificence, effectively sidestepping bureaucratic obstacles intended to impede the monopolizing of power.

<sup>88</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 44-50.

back to the legendary Trojan Aeneas and the goddess Venus. A powerful lineage replete with “historical” successes helped justify the present prominence of an individual. In this manner, history was held out as a promise or a guarantee of future success. In a clever exercise in circular logic, elites justified their wealth and prominence as rewards for their exemplary lives and laudable feats.

For any ambitious person, funerals were a public way of reminding the populace of their excellent family history and also display their devotion to the dead and the gods alike. Both the funeral and the subsequent tomb served as vehicles for the expression of piety and power. So what were the rituals associated with the celebration of death? Before embarking on the analysis of Roman funerary monuments, an overview of Roman death rituals will provide a better understanding of the architectural forms that facilitated or enhanced the funeral.

After being washed, anointed, and embalmed by the *pollinctores*, the corpse was dressed and displayed in the home of the deceased for a certain number of days. Non-elite families displayed their dead for a much shorter amount of time than their elite counterparts.<sup>90</sup> As for the funeral ceremonies that followed, ancient accounts by Polybius and Cassius Dio provide a glimpse of the public spectacle of elite funerals. Dio recounts the funeral of Augustus Caesar.

The funeral itself began with a procession originating at the home of the deceased. For a particularly important person, family and other prominent members of the

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<sup>89</sup> F.E. Adcock, *Roman Political Ideas and Practice* (Ann Arbor, 1959), 74-75. Adcock succinctly summarizes Octavian’s promotion of his *dignitas* served his own ambitions.

<sup>90</sup> H.I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford, 1996), 92-94.

community carried the body to the Roman Forum. Participants also carried representations of the deceased's ancestors in the form of either death masks and/or busts. Specifically, actors were hired to wear ancestor masks during the procession.<sup>91</sup> Polybius communicates that some donned death masks in order to, in a manner, reanimate the long dead during the funeral.<sup>92</sup> Whether or not the populace that gathered in the Roman Forum actually believed venerable ancestors had returned from the afterlife, the practice had symbolic significance as far as communicating the importance of the deceased. The sheer number of reanimated ancestors was a simple and effective way to express the greatness of the individual and the family he left behind. Once at the forum, the body was displayed on the *rostra* alongside the images while family members recounted the great accomplishments of the departed.

Cassius Dio's description of Augustus' funeral offers us a glimpse of the elite rituals carried out after the forum spectacle. From the forum, Romans carried the corpse in another procession to a pyre and burial place beyond the *pomerium*, Rome's sacred boundary. His pyre and his tomb lay in the honorary grounds of the Campus Martius. Once the pyre was lit, priests, equestrians, senators, the Praetorian Guard, and any other individuals paying homage to the deceased paraded around the fire.<sup>93</sup> The *decursio* may also have taken place as part of the ceremony, which involved the circumambulation of

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<sup>91</sup> Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, 91 and 9-100. Polybius, *The Histories* 6.53.6-7. Flower points out that Polybius never specifies that the individuals donning the masks were family members, merely that they resembled the deceased in height and build.

<sup>92</sup> Polybius, *The Histories*. 6.53-6.54. Polybius describes the ancestral images as masks that could be worn.

<sup>93</sup> Cassius Dio, 56.42

the pyre by equestrians on horseback.<sup>94</sup> After the fire consumed the body, the ashes and bones were placed in an urn and transported to the tomb or mausoleum.

Romans did not disregard their dead following the funeral. Individuals often visited family tombs on significant anniversaries of the deceased such as birthdays and anniversaries of death. Moreover, the Romans had numerous festivals of the dead throughout the year. In particular, the Romans celebrated three festivals of the dead in February: the *Parentalia*, the *Lupercalia*, and the *Feralia*. Additionally, the Romans hoped to appease ghosts during the *Lemuria* in May. The *Parentalia*, 13-21 February, commemorated deceased parents. Much like an ancient Day of the Dead, Romans visited the tombs of family members to tend to the monument, offer sacrifice in the form of libations, and to share a meal with the spirits of the dead.<sup>95</sup> The pious celebrated the *Lupercalia* on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February; it was a festival to commemorate the dead as well as rite of urban purification. One ritual in the celebration required the *luperci* (the priests who performed the ceremony) to run a circular course around the old boundaries of Rome.<sup>96</sup> A.K. Michels suggests that the course cleansed the city annually polluted by dead spirits in February.<sup>97</sup> On February 22, Romans celebrated the *Feralia* in order to pay homage to the infernal powers. During the *Lemuria*, Romans hoped to exorcise the spirits of the restless dead (*lemures*) from the home through (yet another) ritual sacrifice.

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<sup>94</sup> S. Price, "From noble funerals to divine cult: the consecration of Roman Emperors," *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Society*, D. Cannadine and S. Price eds., (Cambridge, 1987) 57-70. Price explores the various sources for the rites carried out in the Roman funerals of Augustus, Pertinax, and Septimus Severus.

<sup>95</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 2.5.333-70; J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Ithaca, 1971), 62-64; J.R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans* (Berkeley, 2003), 182.

<sup>96</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Romulus* 21.3-8. Varro, *On the Latin Language* VI.34.

<sup>97</sup> A.K. Michels, "The topography and interpretation of the Lupercalia", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 84 (1953), 35-59.

The head of the household walked around the house barefoot while throwing black beans over his shoulder, creating or perhaps renewing a defensive barrier.<sup>98</sup>

H. Windfeld-Hansen expresses the importance of the circle and circular elements in funerary rites and architecture since the Neolithic age in Europe.<sup>99</sup> Penelope J.E. Davies also notes the recurrence of the circle and circular motion in rituals associated with death. Not only did the Romans circumambulate throughout the funeral, they also ritually circled tombs during any visits. Davies elaborates that the magical qualities of the circle led architects to adapt forms to complement and/or enhance the prescribed ceremonies.<sup>100</sup>

Certainly, the ideologies surrounding death and the deceased in the capital trickled into the belief systems perpetuated by the Roman army. However, the provinces are not Rome and the life of the soldier is not the same as that of a Roman aristocrat by any stretch of the imagination. There is no doubt that the Roman army also had an intimate relationship with death in a more immediate and visceral fashion than the kind found on the streets of the capital.

As active participants in the trade of death-dealing, soldiers were constantly exposed to and engaged in funerary rituals. Campaigns would only increase the frequency of such practices. Death was likely more prominent in the army than it already was in the ancient world. For the soldier, death provided a nexus for the formation of

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<sup>98</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 5.419-473

<sup>99</sup> H. Windfeld-Hansen, "Les couloirs annulaires dans l'architecture funéraire antique," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertentia* II, H.P. L'Orange and H. Torp eds., (Rome, 1965) 35-63.

<sup>100</sup> P.J.E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 120-135.

community and camaraderie behind an emotionally charged, yet everyday, occurrence.<sup>101</sup> While these warriors originated from diverse regions of the empire and oftentimes did not share many of the same perspectives or ideals, death and commemoration functioned to polarize identities into a simple case of *us* and *them*. However well polarization functioned in a martial context, living in the provinces necessitated certain levels of negotiation with the newly conquered population.

### **Death and the Roman Army: Soldier Rituals**

It is difficult to surmise how closely Roman religion in the provinces resembled that of the capital. The disparities certainly existed from one place to another. A military calendar found in Dura Europos contains the same holidays as those celebrated in Rome, particularly imperial holidays. It is a papyrus dating to the third century and features a large number of festivals commemorating emperors' birthdays, military victories, and ascension to power alongside holidays for traditional Roman deities such as Jupiter, Mars, Juno, Minerva, and Neptune. The prescribed sacrifice accompanied each holy day listed. According to Brian Campbell, the Dura military calendar was designed to help validate Severus Alexander's reign through sacred associations to historically successful and popular emperors and generals such as Julius Caesar, Augustus, Germanicus, and Trajan. If that was not enough inspiration, the sacrificial animals doubled as flesh for soldiers to feast upon on these days of repose.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Hope, "Remembering Rome," 130. R. MacMullen, "Legion as Society," *Historia* 33 (1984), 440-456.

<sup>102</sup> B. Campbell. *The Roman Army 31B.C.-AD 337: A Sourcebook*, (London, 1994) 127-131.



While the calendar includes state supported holidays, there are no references to any provincial gods or celebrations. Does this mean that Roman soldiers strictly practiced Roman religion? The presence of altars and temples dedicated to provincial deities by soldiers throughout the empire suggests otherwise. It was likely that individual soldiers could worship alien gods, so long as their religious inclinations did not prove detrimental to military discipline or political allegiance. These men formed communities revolving around syncretic provincial religions informed by foreign elements and their own Roman experiences.<sup>103</sup> The number of individuals participating in such hybrid religions only increased through the first and second centuries, as more and more soldiers were recruited outside of Italy and the popularity of eastern gods increased.

Drummond and Nelson present a skeptical view of provincial religious practices in the army. Soldiers performed Roman rites as requirements of service and not necessarily acts spurred by either religious piety or patriotic zeal. As for the imperial structure, they suggest that Roman authorities were satisfied with such superficial displays so long as they were public spectacles.<sup>104</sup> The public nature of Roman religious ceremonies served to make an individual's allegiance known to the entire community. Although Drummond and Nelson concede the fact that such attitudes cannot be

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<sup>103</sup> M. Beard, J. North, and S. Price, *Religions of Rome*, Vol. I, (Cambridge, 1998), 324-326. See also J. Elsner, *Roman Eyes* (Princeton, 2007), 242-243. Elsner contends that Romans in the east increasingly formed bonds around religion rather than civic associations in the second and third centuries.

<sup>104</sup> For the most part, only elites performed on such a public scale in Rome. In the provinces, common soldiers from the ranks of the legions acted as agents of Roman religion/culture. Despite their distance from Roman ideology emanating from the capital, martial communities in the provinces created bonds based on the immediacy of life and death. If their performances produced victories, it may not be so tenuous to think that these men started to believe to a certain extent.

determined from material and textual remains, a wealth of information about death and commemoration on the frontier lies in the monuments left by Roman soldiers.<sup>105</sup>

### **Soldier Monuments**

Funerary monuments, such as stelai, prominently depict the deceased as Roman through text and image. For a soldier, communicating one's martial status came second. In her study of first and second-century A.D. funerary stelai from Aquileia, Mainz, and Nîmes, Valerie M. Hope concludes that, unlike their legionary counterparts, marginally Roman individuals were inclined to emphasize their roles as soldiers upon funerary markers. In particular, she notes that auxiliary cavalymen recorded their military positions in their epitaphs and oftentimes included large visual depictions of a mounted soldier in action.<sup>106</sup> Sculptors executed these representations in low relief, creating a metope-like niche on the upper half of the tombstone, consistently showing the horseman in profile on a rampant charger in the act of trampling an enemy combatant. While the styles differ from region to region, the composition always remained true to this compositional formula.

Since funerals were public spectacles, we may posit that soldiers had to also conform to Roman prescriptions concerning such ceremonies. After all, funerals were yet another opportunity to communicate their own allegiance to the empire and Rome's dominance of the region. While the burial of a soldier was likely less lavish than the

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<sup>105</sup> S.K. Drummond and L.H. Nelson, *The Western Frontiers of Imperial Rome* (Armonk, NY: 1994), 196-204.

<sup>106</sup> V. Hope, "Inscriptions and Sculpture: the Construction of Identity in the Military Tombstones of Roman Mainz," *The Epigraphy of Death*, G.J. Gliver, ed. (Liverpool, 2000), 167.

funerals of elites in Rome, some noticeable fanfare could have accompanied the ritual. Even a small number of soldiers dressed in parade armor and processing around the community provided a potent spectacle in a provincial settlement.

The funeral itself may have followed the basic process described by Polybius for Roman aristocrats. The soldier's body was appropriately anointed and laid out for viewing. Soon afterward, the deceased was carried by his brothers-in-arms and family to the funeral pyre. Perhaps fellow soldiers or commanding officers delivered eulogies about the dead soldier's bravery, loyalty, piety, and such before the cremation. Perhaps comrades also performed honors like a *decursio*, if well deserved. As in Polybius, the bones and ashes were collected in an urn and deposited in a grave marked with a stele.

Soldiers in the provinces were cremated rather than inhumed or mummified through the Republic and early Empire. This was not a radical change or deviation for most people on the frontier as most of western Europeans cremated their dead during this period. Widespread inhumation practices in the Roman Empire began toward the end of the second century. Gallic and Germanian tomb remains indicate that bodies were cremated, placed in burial vessels, and buried with some material possessions. To be certain, the graves of elites contained more extravagant luxuries.<sup>107</sup> These facts suggest that both provincial soldiers and other non-Roman members of frontier communities could comprehend the Roman visual vocabulary of funerals as well as the presentation of conspicuously consumed material objects displayed in association with the deceased.

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<sup>107</sup> I. Morris, *Death-ritual and social structure in classical antiquity* (Cambridge, 1992), 42-68.

Although the local interpretation varied, the most important elements spoke to Roman and non-Roman alike.<sup>108</sup>

Therefore, material objects such as tombs and stelai may only conform to Roman models in a superficial manner. The form adhered to ritual and social expectations perpetuated by Rome. However, while a stele or a tomb may be generically categorized as typically Roman, decorative and stylistic deviations in the very same object can present alternative messages to multiple audiences. It is these deviations that provide evidence for scholarly diagnoses of producer and audience of any given piece of material culture in the ancient world, presenting a complex picture of provincial Roman communities.

According to Hope, the disparity between legionary and auxiliary self-representation lies with the potential of material culture to communicate social mobility to the greater world. She explains the phenomenon as an effort to enforce *distinction* between elites and non-elites, legionaries and auxiliaries, Romans and non-Romans. As more auxiliaries adopted the textual and visual vocabulary of the citizen army, those same Romans needed to find a way to distinguish themselves from individuals of lower status. Rather than create grander and/or more complex funerary monuments, legionaries simplified their ideal compositions and downscaled monumentality through the first century A.D. Thereafter, any ostentatious displays were considered vulgar and pretentious.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> T.S. Burns, *Romans and the Barbarians* (Baltimore, 2003), 54-55. Burns also suggests that some basic messages in Roman ritual and material culture translated quite easily into a barbarian context.

<sup>109</sup> Hope, "Inscription and Sculpture," 167 & 171.

The change in attitude and aesthetics and the boundaries they reinforce between elites and non-elites is famously exemplified in Petronius' *Satyricon*. At the dinner party, the wealthy freeman, Trimalchio, describes his plans for a monumental tomb. Trimalchio's desire for a prestigious landmark is undermined by his lack of restraint. The freedman's description of a monstrous tomb replete with all manner of decoration, statuary, and outrageous epitaph were a source of humor for Petronius' elite audience. Despite Trimalchio's wealth and prominence, he spectacularly remains a second-tier member of Roman society.<sup>110</sup> The phenomenon of distinction through nuanced changes in the code of ritual, language, and/or material culture is found throughout Western history. In the Greco-Roman world, and with regard to funerary monuments, Ian Morris explores a parallel shift in Greek tombs between 500 and 425 B.C. towards modesty and restraint as emphasis moved from the individual to the *polis*.<sup>111</sup> Consequently, the pendulum shift from ostentation to modesty returned to more bombastic expression in the Hellenistic period.

Pierre Bourdieu describes this perpetual shift in the context of elite representation and self-presentation and the subsequent emulation by the bourgeoisie and lower classes in nineteenth-century France. This construction only functions in the case of one group of people desiring to adopt alien material culture or rituals, for the purpose of gaining some kind of advantage. In the case of Bourdieu's study, the lower classes attempt to

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<sup>110</sup> Petronius, *Satyricon*. 71. J. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans* (Berkeley, 2003), 185-187 and L. Hackworth Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and History* (Cambridge, 2006), 50-60. See Clarke and Hackworth Petersen's analyses for further insight on understanding Trimalchio's tomb.

<sup>111</sup> I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1992), 146-147.

pass themselves off as members of the upper class to attain access to desirable resources or situations.

Elite trappings and practices can be seen as a kind of cipher or code that can be modified subtly or dramatically by members of the upper class looking to maintain the exclusivity of their socio-cultural circle and thwart individuals attempting to penetrate that circle. In this way, ambitious lower class individuals like Trimalchio stick out, no matter how many parts of the code they possess.<sup>112</sup>

Bourdieu's model appears compelling and applicable to Roman history. Wealthy and important Romans distinguished themselves through display. It is well known that senators' togas possessed a purple stripe. Most civil servants had a way to visually communicate their rank and significance, from impeccably clean togas to being accompanied by lictors and an entourage of followers. "It was a sign of a man's wealth and importance if. . .he was accompanied. . .by a large and noisy retinue. Seneca says that no poor man has such honor paid to him."<sup>113</sup> Not only were there prescriptions for elite representation, but also there are instances of censors policing these outward displays, pointing to the fact that misrepresentation was a common concern for Romans, meaning that non-elites were excluded from attempts to pass themselves off as part of Rome's upper crust.

Both elite and non-elite could suffer from not adhering to the right code. While ambitious lower-class individuals were ridiculed for their heavy-handed efforts to

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<sup>112</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by R. Nice (Cambridge, 1984), 2.

<sup>113</sup> M.J. Rivenburg, "Fashionable Life in Rome as Portrayed by Seneca," (Dissertation: University of Pennsylvania, 1939), 40-41.

impress, aristocrats could also suffer from being either too exorbitant or too frugal in their public displays.<sup>114</sup> The real problem lies in the assumption that lower-classes always want to pass themselves off as elites or, similarly, that non-Romans always sought to become Roman.

We must be careful in applying this model in the provinces. The death monuments of Roman provincial soldiers may follow different patterns dependent upon their success at any given place. Each monument must be examined vis-à-vis their Roman models as well as the local perspectives of death and commemoration. The following chapter presents a potential method for analyzing provincial monuments in a global as well as local context.

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<sup>114</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Cato the Elder* 18. Livy *Periochae* 14, 34.4. These examples cite instances of censors chastising individuals for exorbitant displays of wealth, showing that even the most elite had to follow prescriptions.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Sullan Trophies at Chaeroneia

Lucius Cornelius Sulla erected two trophies near Chaeroneia in 86 B.C. to celebrate his victory over the Pontic army in Boeotia. The First Mithridatic War (90-85 B.C.) spilled out of Asia Minor and onto Greek soil in 87 B.C. when Mithridates VI of Pontus looked to solidify his alliance to a number of Greek city-states. The Battle of Chaeroneia dealt a significant blow to Mithridates's influence in Greece when Sulla defeated the Pontic general Archelaus. Archaeologists discovered one trophy in 1990 approximately two kilometers west of Chaironeia, near the summit of Thourion Hill. A farmer unearthed another Sullan trophy outside Pyrgos in 2004, a village located about five kilometers north of Orchomenos (Fig. 17).

This region of Boeotia is dry and rocky with numerous steep hills that offer impressive views of the Kephisos valley adjacent to Chaironeia and Orchomenos. Now drained for agricultural use, the vast fertile lowland that was once Lake Copais in ancient times lays east of these towns. Sulla's trophies mark two spots of significance to his victory at the Battle of Chaeroneia: the place where the tide of the fight turned in favor of Rome near Thurion Hill and the location where the Romans cut down thousands of retreating Pontic troops in the marshes of Lake Copais.

Until recently, material evidence related to this Sullan victory eluded archaeologists. While the site of Chaeroneia was well known, the site of the battle and the location of either Roman trophy remained obscure, despite textual description of the



landscape found in Plutarch and Pausanias.<sup>115</sup> N.G.L. Hammond's misidentification of Thourion Hill in 1938, the site of the battle, only complicated the search for archaeological remains, as he believed the hillside battle took place on a hill west of the actual location of Thourion, now called Isoma by the local population.<sup>116</sup>

A fragment of the Sullan trophy was found on 17 February 1990 on the ancient hill of Thourion by archaeologists J. Camp, M. Ierardi, J. McInerney, K. Morgan, and G. Umholtz (Fig. 18). Their report states that the discovery was a weathered marble trophy base, possibly a fragment of one of Sulla's two trophies at Chaeroneia.<sup>117</sup> The base fragment measures .85m by .55m and is .32m thick. The top of the rectangular base features a plain torus molding with a circular dowel hole for either a column or another cylindrical construction, now lost. The bottom has no markings, with the exception of a rectangular dowel hole near the corner, indicating that the base sat atop a larger structure and was not an independent piece. According to the scholars, late Republican rubblework at the foot of Isoma hill provides additional evidence of the presence of a Roman monument.<sup>118</sup>

The inscription is quite well preserved. The three lines read:

Ὁμολώιχος

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<sup>115</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla* 19. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 9.40.

<sup>116</sup> N.G.L. Hammond, "The Two Battles of Chaeronea (338 B.C. and 86 B.C.)," *Klio* 31 (1938). See also W.K. Pritchett, "Observations on Chaironeia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 62.3 (1958), 307-311. Pritchett also concurs with Hammond in his own topographical identifications.

<sup>117</sup> J. Camp, M. Ierardi, J. McInerney, K. Morgan, and G. Umholtz, "A Trophy from the Battle of Chaeroneia of 86 B.C.," *American Journal of Archaeology* 96.3 (1992), 443-455.

<sup>118</sup> In viewing the site in 2005, I conclude that the sparse courses of Roman construction are far below the find spot and unlikely to be related to the Sullan trophy. Moreover, trophies were generally placed atop hills or in some other prominently visible location, as evidenced by the other monuments in this study.

Φανα[ξ]ίδαμος

ἀρ[ισ]τίς

[*Homoloikos*

*Anaxidamos*

*aristeis*]<sup>119</sup>

The first two lines name Homoloikos and Anaxidamos, two common names in ancient Boeotia. The archaeologists reconstruct the third and most damaged line as *aristeis*, a word referring to an award given to recognize exceptional feats on the field of battle.<sup>120</sup> Compellingly enough, Plutarch specifically mentions Homoloikos and Anaxidamos as the two local men who provided Sulla with intimate knowledge of the terrain. Their expertise gave Sulla the key to victory, a much-needed advantage against a Mithridatic army that held a superior position on Thourion Hill. The secret paths disclosed by the two Boeotians brought part of Sulla's forces into surprisingly advantageous positions, throwing the Pontic soldiers into a panic down the steep side of Thourion Hill. Both men received recognition from Sulla for their aid and had their names inscribed upon a Sullan trophy.<sup>121</sup>

Because of the awkward angles at which the inscription was carved, Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz came to the conclusion that the words were put there after the completion of the monument, even as they offer no explanation for this

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<sup>119</sup> Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, and Umholtz, "A Trophy from the Battle of Chaeroneia of 86 B.C.," 445.

<sup>120</sup> Homer, *Iliad* 2.204 and *Odyssey* 14.218; Herodotus, *The Histories* 6.81.1. Homer and Herodotus use the term, *aristis*, to refer to the bravest and most outstanding warriors. It was later used as an honorific title, as employed by a Hellenistic funerary epigram from Thisbe by a Boeotian soldier (*IG VII*, 2247).

<sup>121</sup> Plutarch, *Sula* 19.

curious fact. The carved characters are neither uniform in size nor in shape; they are also not organized in a uniform horizontal manner, indicating that they were possibly executed in haste. Would such an act be considered the defacement of a Roman monument—a potentially dangerous action, even if the message itself is neither subversive nor critical? If anything, the local men’s pride in a title bequeathed by a Roman general implies the loyalty of the Chaeroneians to their foreign overlords. Did Homoloikos and Anaxidamos inscribe their names on the trophy in effort to perpetuate their heroic act? Did members of the Chaeroneian community put them there to honor their local heroes? This inscription raises a number of questions regarding the viewership of the trophies at Chaeroneia.

Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz received criticism for their attribution of the fragment. C.S. MacKay refutes Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz’s conclusion that the trophy base found in 1990 is a Sullan trophy fragment. The author dismisses a potential Roman patron because of the Greek inscription, citing the Roman tradition of using Latin for dedications on monuments abroad. Specifically, he refers to L. Aemilius Paullus’s dedication at Delphi following his victory over the Macedonian king Perseus, a second dedication at Delphi belonging to M. Minucius Thermus (110-106 B.C.), and Augustus’ inscription upon his own trophy near Actium (29 B.C.).<sup>122</sup> To this list, I would add the inscription carved into Pompey’s trophy at Panissars (71 B.C.), Caesar’s trophy at Zela (47 B.C.), Augustus’ trophy at La Turbie (9

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<sup>122</sup> C.S. MacKay, “Sulla and the Monuments: Studies in his Public Persona,” *Historia* 49.2 (2000), 161-210.”

B.C.), and Trajan's trophy at Adamklissi (A.D. 109). Of the last two we have actual material remains of the Latin inscriptions.<sup>123</sup>

However, MacKay's claim of a *tradition* in the production of dedications is overstated. Taking only trophies into consideration, we know that the first Roman trophy ever erected was that of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Q. Fabius Maximus in 121 B.C. built in commemoration of their defeat of the Arveni and Allobrogi tribes in northern Gaul.<sup>124</sup> Thirty-nine years does not necessarily produce a tradition, particularly if we consider the fact that Sulla's trophies are only the second instance in the chronological sequence of Roman trophy building. If we consider a wider body of evidence, we find a number of examples of Roman patrons appropriating numerous identifiably Greek elements into Roman culture. Language should not be seen as an exception.

A second piece of evidence MacKay cites is the inscription on the fragment itself. The author dismisses Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz's description of the inscription as "...neatly carved".<sup>125</sup> MacKay's judgment that the entirety of the monument was "...a decidedly cheap affair," is based on the published pictures and drawings and not from autopsy. His qualitative assessment is certainly dubious, if not downright biased. He goes further by creating an artificial hierarchy among the Greek dialects of Sulla's time: "Furthermore, even if we could believe that Sulla erected such a

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<sup>123</sup> The discovery of another Sullan trophy nearby bearing a dedication in Greek definitively explodes MacKay's argument. See this chapter, below.

<sup>124</sup> Strabo, *Geography*. 4.1.11

<sup>125</sup> Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz, "A Trophy from the Battle of Chaeroneia of 86 B.C.," 445.

monument to Greeks serving under him, it is *impossible* to believe that a magistrate of the Roman People would have inscribed it in the uncouth dialect of Boeotia.”<sup>126</sup>

MacKay is more successful in his analysis of Plutarch’s text regarding the Sullan trophies at Chaeroneia than in his views of material culture. Plutarch’s mention of the inscription must refer to a Latin text because, as MacKay concludes, a discrepancy in the use of the title Ἐπαφρόδιτος as a Greek translation of Sulla’s own title of *Felix*, indicates that Plutarch is transcribing a later Latin inscription.<sup>127</sup> Historically speaking, Sulla did not receive the title of *Felix* until his consulship in 80 B.C. Therefore, the trophy with its Greek text cannot be Sulla’s trophy and must have belonged to a local patron.

Furthermore, MacKay’s consideration of the ceremonial and social context of the trophies falls short. According to the author, the trophy was strictly “a matter of a Roman magistrate dedicating the spoils of victory to the gods.”<sup>128</sup> He denies the monument’s potential for disseminating numerous messages and playing various roles in a given environment. His statement runs contrary to the Roman practice of building polyvalent monuments. Trophies themselves are conflated martial and funerary monuments that simultaneously commemorate a glorious victory and mark the place where many lives were lost.<sup>129</sup> The messages communicated by the architectural form, iconography, and/or

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<sup>126</sup> MacKay, “Sulla and the Monuments”, 171. My emphasis.

<sup>127</sup> MacKay, “Sulla and the Monuments”, 175. Plutarch, *Sulla* 34.

<sup>128</sup> MacKay, “Sulla and the Monuments”, 176. MacKay does not provide specific examples, but the fragment does resemble some of the dedication bases dedicated by Lucius Mummius Achaicus following the pillaging of Corinth in 146 B.C. This base could be the product of Sulla’s implementation of the practice.

<sup>129</sup> My defense of Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholz’s attribution is made in the interest of relaying the significance of the Sullan trophy. Aside from the textual evidence in Plutarch, no other fact supports their conclusion. At the same time, a new fact or argument that proves this assignment as incorrect has yet to appear. Still, none of the material evidence points to this fragment belonging to a trophy monument.

inscriptions were meant for a local audience that consisted of Romans, non-Romans, and the spectrum of individuals in between.

MacKay circumvented the issue of the foreign monument in a Greek territory by declaring that the trophy base fragment found in 1990 was not Sulla's trophy after all.<sup>130</sup> He dismissed this fragment on a qualitative basis rather than address the potential polemics this discovery presents, such as the use of Greek or the presence of two trophies at Chaeroneia. To be fair, MacKay's aim was to re-evaluate the historical incidents surrounding Sulla's building one trophy, not two, using textual and numismatic information. His approach and consequently his assessment come solely from a Roman perspective. In this way, he avoids the significance of the trophy's presence and its effect on the population of Chaeroneia.

None of MacKay's lines of argumentation definitively rule out the possibility that the 1990 fragment is indeed Sullan. The relatively small size of the trophy base is not indicative of the size or quality of the rest of this monument. Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz do not attempt to reconstruct the entire structure out of a single base, as it would be a futile exercise. Of the known remains of Greek and Roman trophies, we find numerous architectural forms applied in the fundamental aim of raising, both physically and ideologically, the symbolic element of the panoply for all to see. However, archaeologists have yet to find more architectural evidence to supplement our knowledge of this fragment.

While the attribution of Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz's trophy base is tentative, a more recent discovery appears to indisputably be one of Sulla's

trophies. In December of 2004, a farmer plowed up fragments of an ancient monument near the small town of Pyrgos, northeast of Orchomenos. Greek authorities concluded that this was indeed one of Sulla's trophies of 86 B.C. Fragments of the dedicatory inscription survive and definitively identify the archaeological remains.<sup>131</sup>

Dr. Eleni Kountouri led the December 2004 rescue excavation that unearthed a monument consisting of a rectangular stepped base, a vertical platform, fragments of carved façade panels, and an armored mannequin outside Pyrgos. The site is approximately five kilometers northeast of Orchomenos and about a kilometer south of Pyrgos. In ancient times this location was situated near the shore of Lake Copais. The troublesome flooding experienced by Kountouri and her team during the excavation reaffirms this fact.<sup>132</sup> In this prominent position, the trophy was visible by boat across many miles to the south in ancient times. It is possible that Sulla's monument was visible from as far away as Orchomenos.<sup>133</sup>

Much of the base was found and left *in situ* by the team. Archaeologists moved the armored scarecrow, façade panels decorated with friezes, and the inscription to the secured archaeological park at nearby Orchomenos in an effort to protect the remains most susceptible to thievery. The excavation took the form of a circular trench approximately five meters in diameter carried out in the immediate vicinity of the accidental find. There are potentially more remains to be found. Kountouri expresses

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<sup>130</sup> MacKay, "Sulla and the Monuments," 161-210.

<sup>131</sup> "Farmer Turns up Roman Trophy" *Kathimerini: English Edition* (December 8, 2004). [http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/ w\\_articles\\_politics\\_100012\\_08/12/2004\\_50471](http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/ w_articles_politics_100012_08/12/2004_50471).

<sup>132</sup> E. Kountouri, "Ενημέρωση για αρχαιολογικό εύρημα". Press release (December, 2004). Dr. Kountouri was kind enough to share this information, in lieu of forthcoming publications.

<sup>133</sup> Based on my own experience, the town of Pyrgos is certainly visible from the hills outside modern-day Orchomenos.

that a lack of time, resources, and personnel hinder the lengthy and large-scale excavation this site deserves. Nevertheless, they hope to carry out more meticulous excavations and eventually erect the reconstructed monument at some point in the future.<sup>134</sup>

In 2004, Kountouri's team uncovered a massive rectangular stepped base of local limestone (Fig. 19). Although only two courses are visible, more levels may exist.<sup>135</sup> To be certain, the lowest plane exposed was reclaimed by the elements. Rain and natural erosion partially re-filled the trench executed by archaeologists, so it is unclear whether the Greek archaeologists discovered the limits of the base itself. The uppermost level consists of rectangular stonework that covers an area of approximately four square meters at a thickness of around thirty centimeters. The lower level only extended the area by a few centimeters on each side, but its thickness is significantly smaller. Both levels of stonework feature a large square dowel hole at their centers that held the armored scarecrow upright. The limestone blocks were fitted without the use of any kind of mortar. Moreover, I saw no evidence of Roman-style concrete rubblework or brickwork among the excavated remains, indicating that the entirety of the trophy monument was stacked and fitted stone.

The armored scarecrow is also made from local limestone and presently resides just outside the Treasury of Minyas in Orchomenos. It stands about 1.5 meters tall and is poorly preserved. The fragment features only the area from the lower torso to just below the greaves. Nevertheless, one can still identify a pair of greaves and the lower part of

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<sup>134</sup> Kountouri, "Ενημέρωση για αρχαιολογικό εύρημα".

<sup>135</sup> The following analysis is based on my viewing of the monument on 29 July 2005. I must extend my thanks to Dr. Vassilis Aravantinos, Director of the Archaeological Museum at Thebes, for authorizing my visit to the site and to our guide Mr. Podouri. Dr. Aravantinos permitted my viewing of the archaeological



the skirt, containing the most intricate carving in the rendering of a waving pleated belt. Only a small part of the head of a captured barbarian can be seen at the lowest extremity of greaves. In addition to the remains of the armored mannequin, archaeologists recovered a number of carved panels. These panels feature representations of shields and spears—the remains of enemy weapons carved in stone petrified to evoke the mound of weapons upon a battlefield trophy. Although the craftsmanship of the decorative elements of the trophy is exceptional, they are dissimilar to contemporary sculpture in Rome or even Athens. For example, the artists forsake illusionistic space in favor of more didactic compositions. The carving on Sulla's trophy is much rougher and lacks the finish of late Republican state-sponsored sculpture of the capital. The sculptors also reduced details to produced patterned, highly legible images. The porous quality of the limestone may be a partial cause, but I believe that the trophy's appearance goes beyond the limitations posed by the material.

There are several possible explanations for the style of the carving. The simplified appearance could be the product of poor craftsmanship due to the limited time and/or talent present in the area. Its stylized rendering can also be understood as a conscious choice on the part of the patrons and the stoneworkers. The trophy is at least partially, if not completely, the product of *Soldatenkunst*.<sup>136</sup> Roman soldiers could build trophies just as successfully as camps, bridges, or fortifications. As stone carving—a skilled labor—may have been known to only a few soldiers, large-scale projects had to

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remains, however, he prohibited photographs of either the decorative elements or the inscription due to forthcoming Greek excavation publications. I have done my best to describe the artifacts.

<sup>136</sup> See G.A. Mansuelli, "Provinciale, Arte," *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* VI (Rome, 1965), 520-521 for an overview on the term's usage. See also N. Kampen, "The Art of Solders on a Roman Frontier," *The Art*

be executed by unskilled workers, possibly under the supervision of a small number of stoneworkers. How to explain the qualitative gap between the art of the capital versus that of the periphery? It may imply that under more favorable circumstances, the producers would prefer a finished work that looked more like those in Rome. A second hypothesis is that of a conscious stylistic choice. Sulla's late Republican soldiers were Italians, but not necessarily Romans. This style may reflect the aesthetic preferences of a population outside the capital. The continued belief that Boeotia was a backwater vis à vis Athens could extend to disparities in the aesthetic preferences of Boeotians.

The final archaeological remnant of the Sullan trophy to consider is the inscription. This is arguably the most important piece of evidence, as it identifies the monument as both Roman and Sullan. The fragmentary inscription is in Greek and prominently shows the names of Sulla and Mithridates, the two leaders facing off in the Mithridatic War.<sup>137</sup> The fact that the inscription is Greek may lead scholars to deny that the monument is Roman, since Romans are supposed to only make dedications in Latin. However, both the style of the lettering, spacing, and the presence of down-turned ivy leaf punctuation marks (*hederae*) all point to Roman production. Additionally, the script has a notably Roman shape and spacing found in Latin inscriptions.<sup>138</sup>

The style of the inscription may reveal a consideration of the men in Sulla's army, and the Greek inscription appears to show a consideration of the Greek audience. But how did individuals from each of these communities read and interpret the Sullan

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*of Citizens, Soldiers, and Freedmen in the Roman World*, E. D'Ambra and G.P.R. Métraux, eds. (Oxford, 2006), 125-134 for recent criticism of the usefulness of the term.

<sup>137</sup> I thank Jennifer L. Boger for her on-site translation of the Greek inscription. As with the decorative elements, I am not allowed to show images or disclose more specific information about the inscription.

trophies? Late Republican soldiers began to shun the ideologies of Rome, choosing to ally themselves with powerful generals rather than the senate. They created community and formulated their identity within the army—an army consisting of increasingly foreign men. Boeotians shared neither the aesthetics nor the perspectives of Athens. Therefore, it is naïve to anticipate either audience finding straightforward Roman or Athenian forms compelling.

My analysis depends upon the presentation of both Roman and Greek viewership that is geographically and historically specific. In order to explore how the Boeotians understood the trophies of 86, we must review the region's role in Greek history. In positing a Roman perspective I will examine the ethnic composition and disposition of the Sullan army. I will also consider the long history of trophy building in Boeotia, unique among the other sites in this study, before I propose a more nuanced reading of the Sullan trophies.

### **Boeotian Culture and History**

Who were the inhabitants of Chaeroneia in Sullan times? According to Thucydides, the Boeotians were originally a people expelled from Arne by the Thessalians in the migrations and re-settlements that occurred in the aftermath of the Trojan War. Present-day Boeotia was at some historically distant moment known as the land of Kadmus.<sup>139</sup> In the twelfth and eleventh-century B.C., these Thessalaian refuges known as the *Boiotoi* expelled Thracian tribes from Boeotia, possibly alongside native

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<sup>138</sup> L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (London, 1991), 20-21.

<sup>139</sup> Thucydides. 1.12.3

inhabitants. In addition, tenth-century geometric pottery from Boeotia shows a strong Attic influence.<sup>140</sup> Whether there is historical truth to the legendary, textual, and material evidence of these and many other migrations in the Greek world, it is necessary to point out that the Greeks understood the history of their people through migratory and settlement patterns.<sup>141</sup> More importantly, population shifts in Boeotian history point to the diversity of the inhabitants of Boeotia, making Boeotia a crossroads of Greece and a region of liminality laden with the positive and negative qualities of places in-between.<sup>142</sup>

The complexity of constructing a historically specific sense of Boeotian national, cultural, and political identity did not end with the mixed origins of its population. In the sixth-century B.C., Boeotian communities formed through *ethne* and via urban settlements. The *ethnos* was a regional brotherhood, a sense of belonging that revolved around the common religious practices of a given area. Boeotians could potentially share common beliefs and even see individuals from another part of the region as members of their own *ethnos*. At the same time, there were instances of conflicts between Boeotian communities despite this connection.<sup>143</sup>

Historians often polarize the formation of a region's social fabric around the *ethne* as opposed to societies that revolved around the *polis*—in modern sense of rural versus

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<sup>140</sup> J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia* (Edmonton, 1979), 80-81. For further arguments on the extent of Attic influence in Boeotia through Geometric pottery evidence see: J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968), 336.

<sup>141</sup> R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making 1200-479 B.C.* (London, 1996), 33-35.

<sup>142</sup> V. Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de passage*." *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca, 1967). I apply Turner's definition of liminality, particularly the anxiety associated with ambiguity within a given society. Liminality simultaneously promises unlimited potential for benevolent or dangerous products—whether than be an individuals or concepts.

<sup>143</sup> See Osborne, *Greece in the Making*, 286-287 and J.M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, ca. 1200-479 BCE* (Oxford, 2007), 90.

urban.<sup>144</sup> In this way, historians interpret Boeotian culture vis-à-vis the *polis*. Because modern historians privilege urban societies, the oppositions created favor major Greek cities such as Athens. Although Thebes and Orchomenos had a sizable influence in Greece, neither of these became the leading capitals that Sparta and Athens were in Peloponnesos and Attica. Except for some Bronze Age Mycenaean prominence at Orchomenos, Boeotia consistently found itself in the middle of Greek conflicts in the Archaic and Classical periods with little or no influence and everything to lose.<sup>145</sup> At one point associated with the Mycenaean powers in Peloponnesos, Boeotia became increasingly isolated after its Bronze Age struggles with Attica.

The agriculturally rich lands of Boeotia did not necessitate the dramatic colonization of the surrounding territories. Boeotia's agricultural self-sustenance produced a civilization that turned inward rather than outward.<sup>146</sup> Although recent scholars attempt to rectify the conventional belief that Late Bronze through Early Classical Boeotia was backward, they consistently make the perceived distinction between a rurally-defined Boeotia and its neighboring lands controlled from major urban centers.<sup>147</sup> Boeotia can only remain a marginalized cultural force due to the privileging

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<sup>144</sup> See C. Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis* (London, 2003) for further discussion of *ethne* versus *polis*.

<sup>145</sup> Buck, *A History of Boeotia*, 45-54. Buck points to the dubious assertions of Boeotia's three historians, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, and Pherecydes. The early traditions of Boeotia are problematic and oftentimes contradictory, based on the ancient writer's concerns and agendas.

<sup>146</sup> S. Hornblower, *The Greek World 479-323 B.C.* (London, 1983), 84-85.

<sup>147</sup> A few examples include F. Hartog, *Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales from Ancient Greece*, trans. by J. Lloyd (Chicago, 2001), 125-127; A. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Centuries B.C.* (Edinburgh, 1971), 69-70; and C. Hupperts, "Boeotian Swine: Homosexuality in Boeotia," *Journal of Homosexuality* 49.3 (2005), 173-192, among many others. Hartog describes Boeotian backwardness as a conclusion based on very few sources and proliferated primarily by moderns and that some so-called insulting descriptions were misinterpreted. Snodgrass calls Boeotian pottery in the Dark Age different rather than of poorer quality than that of Attica. Through a comparative study of sexual iconography found on Boeotian, Corinthian, and Attic pottery, Hupperts concludes that

of the city over the country in Western history.<sup>148</sup> Both the contemporary scholar and her audience must then negotiate the implications of making such a clear distinction:

urban/rural, progressive/backward, industrial/agrarian, extroverted/introverted, and so on. These dichotomies do not necessarily apply to every aspect of life and culture in Boeotia.

By the Archaic Period the *boiotoi* monarchy had been dissolved, leaving Boeotian communities free to rule themselves as they saw fit.<sup>149</sup> Most of these communities employed various forms of oligarchies. Although it sounds counterintuitive, the oligarchies of early Boeotia eventually led to the development of the federated Boeotian League around 520 B.C. in reaction to the growing powers of Thessaly, Athens, and the ever-potent Sparta. While oligarchies are aristocratic in nature, it is the people who bestow power and authority upon a chosen, privileged, or elected elite. These individuals in turn promise to look out for the best interests of their communities.<sup>150</sup> In a federation, a treaty holds numerous communities together in an alliance that gives the collective greater cultural, political, and martial potential. Federations make it difficult to realize unilateral policies and hegemonic states, especially when representatives have different concerns and agendas. Moreover, Boeotia's traditionally-divided *ethne* made a singular

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Boeotian's sexual appetites were no different than their fellow Greeks. He addresses the long-held belief that Boeotians took greater liberties than more civilized Greeks. See also the more recent publication by J. Buckler and H. Beck, *Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Cambridge, 2008).

<sup>148</sup> R. Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford, 1973). Continuing to use this polarized system will continue to result in the same history of the culture and its people.

<sup>149</sup> Buck, *A History of Boeotia*, 88. The *boiotoi* were Mycenaean migrants that invaded and ruled parts of Boeotia during the Bronze Age.

<sup>150</sup> Certainly, this is an ideological and simplified. Once in power, the elite are quite adept at perpetuating their status and subverting the democratic process.

vision of government near impossible. Hornblower notes that a side product of Boeotia's federated government was its success in suppressing tyranny.<sup>151</sup>

Boeotia's dealings with Sparta and Athens illustrate sophisticated interactions with two polarized governments. The monarchy of Sparta would certainly present an ideological clash with oligarchies and federations.<sup>152</sup> By contrast to the Spartan monarchy, Athenian democracy might not be expected to be a natural enemy of Boeotian government structures. However, Athenian legislation against tyranny in the fifth century (410 B.C.) took a much broader definition in its fourth-century bans (336 B.C.).<sup>153</sup> This later legislation added oligarchies to the list of political phenomena to be eradicated by democracy. One scholar, Janet McGlew, sees the 336 B.C. emendation as a response to Greek defeat at the hands of the Macedonians at Chaeroneia that very same year.<sup>154</sup> The growing strength of the traditionally oligarchic Boeotia is yet another factor, especially in the wake of the so-called age of Theban hegemony. The Boeotian victory over the Lacedaemonians and Spartans at Leuktra in 371 B.C. certainly dashed Athenian ambitions for a land empire. It would seem that Athens was at the mercy of numerous cities and the decisions of their respective governments by the late fourth century B.C.

It is not surprising, then, that Athenian democracy was greatly changed by both tyranny and the historical events of the fifth and fourth centuries. Athens had seen the fruits of its ambition for empire wither through its war with Sparta, as the great

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<sup>151</sup> Hornblower, *The Greek World*, 84.

<sup>152</sup> Aristotle, *On Politics* 3.7. Discussion regarding "The Lacedaemonian Constitution" reveals that although the king's powers were greatly reduced after the fifth century B.C., their office still held symbolic importance to Spartans.

<sup>153</sup> J. F. McGlew, *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca, 1993), 185. See *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, xii.87 for the decree by Eucrates found in the Athenian agora.

<sup>154</sup> McGlew, *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece*, 186.

democracy went from being the champion of Greek unity during the Persian Wars to the greatest threat to independence in the Peloponnesian War. Athens' struggle with this highly polemic position in the Greek world is directly evidenced in Plato's *Republic*. Governments vacillate between democracy and tyranny in the democratic *polis*, each one giving rise to the other in a cyclical and self-perpetuating system. And in Plato's opinion, neither extreme is ideal.<sup>155</sup> Perhaps Boeotian success under federated oligarchies was as confusing to Athenian statesmen as it was infuriating to Athenian populace living in a floundering democracy. Surely hurling insults and mocking their enemy's backwardness was as much a political strategy in ancient Greece as it remains today.<sup>156</sup>

Despite the fact that Attic and Peloponnesian historians deny Boeotia's political, historical, and cultural importance, their central role in the martial history of Greece as participant and theater belies their marginal status. After all, Boeotia was known as the "...dance floor of war".<sup>157</sup> In 480-479 B.C., the Boeotian contingency chose to ally themselves with Xerxes during the Persian invasion. Although Medism earned them the disdain of their fellow Hellenes, their refusal to join the Greek alliance reveals a people determined to shape their own future. At the victory of Leuktras, the Boeotian armies elevated the city of Thebes to the same status as Athens and Sparta—a political and cultural parity punctuated by the martial prowess of the Sacred Band. In 336 B.C., Philip of Macedon fought the Theban-led Greek resistance at Chaeroneia. One year later,

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<sup>155</sup> McGlew, *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece*, 206-208.

<sup>156</sup> Pindar, "For Agesias of Syracuse," *Odes*, 4. I refer to Pindar's well-referenced recognition of the snide remarks of "Boeotian swine". Cartledge proclaims that Boetians were politically savvy to a fault. Nuanced political statements and positions were eclipsed by more overt or vulgar assertions. For further arguments on Boeotian nuance see F. Ahl, "Pindar and the Sphinx: Celtic Polyphony and Greek Music," in *Harmonia Mundi: Musica e Filosofia nell' Antichità*, R.W. Wallace & B. MacLachlan eds. (Roma, 1991), 131-150.

<sup>157</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 193 E, 18.



Alexander destroyed Thebes after a revolt.<sup>158</sup> Alexander's choice of making an example of Thebes suggests his recognition of the city and the region as potentially threatening and powerful, particularly in their connections with Persia.

All of these events point to a region of Greece that took center stage, rather than the marginalized backwater status ancient Athenian historians assigned to Boeotia. Boeotia was a divided and divisive region that presented problems for scholars who may have privileged the imperial ambitions of Athens or the Pan-Hellenic phenomenon of Alexander of Macedon.

### **Sulla's Army and the Battle of Chaeroneia**

Two hundred and fifty years after Phillip's Battle of Chaeroneia, another imperial force fought on that same battlefield during the First Mithridatic War. Although the Boeotians, seemingly having no allegiance with the Pontic troops, were not the target of Roman aggressions, the show of force nevertheless served as a reminder of Roman dominance in the region and their potential for violence. Moreover, the battle at Chaeroneia came after Sulla's conquest and occupation of Athens. Athens had indeed allied itself with King Mithridates of Pontus hoping to shed itself of Roman control. Sulla's punitive expedition razed large portions of Athens in his siege of the city. After taking Athens, Sulla allowed his men to enact a number of cruelties upon her population.<sup>159</sup> The Roman general then marched northwest through Boeotia in pursuit of

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<sup>158</sup> Pausanias, 9.6.1 and 9.7.1

<sup>159</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla* 12-15.

the Mithridatic general Archelaus. The battle took place in the plains near the city of Chaeroneia.

According to Plutarch, a native of Chaeroneia, the battle between Sulla and Archelaos was an especially bloody affair. Whether exaggerated or not, Plutarch's graphic account is difficult to dismiss as pure sensationalism, especially as he describes the shore of nearby Lake Copais as being filled with blood and dead bodies to the extent that his contemporaries still found remnants of the great battle.<sup>160</sup>

The Greek author describes an enormous massacre of Pontic troops, a victory so complete that it claimed 110,000 Pontic soldiers versus sixteen Romans, a slaughter characteristic of Sulla and his men's anger and frustration exacerbated by the recent Social War. Archelaus had no desire to engage the Roman forces, instead intending to outmaneuver Sulla and cut off Roman supply lines. However, before this could occur, Archelaus's fellow Mithridaids went against this strategy and took the field against Sulla on the plains of Elateia.<sup>161</sup>

Ancient textual sources are vague about the battle itself, but all of the accounts agree that the outcome of the engagement rested as much on Sulla's genius as in Archelaus's folly.<sup>162</sup> Whatever Sulla's battle strategy may have been, the Romans forced the Mithridatic army into retreat. It was in the course of their retreat that Mithridates' army suffered the staggering loss of over a hundred thousand soldiers. Plutarch tells us that Sulla subsequently raised two trophies on that very battlefield, one near the brook

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<sup>160</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla*, 21. It is difficult to ascertain how much Plutarch had invested in the battle that took place near his hometown. Certainly, elevating the importance of this battle and of Chaeroneia's historical role played in his favor, as a historian.

<sup>161</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla* 15.1-2.

Molus, where Archelaos' troops first gave way to the Roman offensive, and the second on the crest of Thourion hill.<sup>163</sup>

As for the Sullan forces that marched into Greece in 87 B.C., these consisted of many individuals who had most recently participated in the Social War. Survivors on both sides of the conflict were most likely redistributed under the new consulship of Sulla. The consulship was a product of his march upon the city of Rome. In addition to Social War veterans, disenfranchised Italians from north of the Po most likely found refuge and the promise of citizenship in the army—the very same rights and freedoms they failed to attain in the Social War.<sup>164</sup> After the senate extended Roman citizenship to the *socii* through the *Lex Iulia* of 90 B.C. and the *Lex Plautia Papira* of 89 B.C., the more privileged positions in the army opened up to Italians.<sup>165</sup> The *socii Latini* (allies most often used on the wings of battle formations) were dissolved, leaving Roman generals to fill the gaps with foreign auxiliary units through the middle of the first-century B.C. The Roman historian Appian offers a glimpse of the cultural characteristics of both the armies that took the field at Chaeroneia, and potentially how the battle troops broke down demographically.

Thracian, Pontic, Scythian, Cappadocian, Bithynian, Galatian, and Phrygian troops fought under the command of Mithridates' general Archelaos. Sulla's troops were primarily Italians aided by Greeks and Macedonians. Altogether 160,000 men took the

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<sup>162</sup> Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 45. *Sulla* 15.2.

<sup>163</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla* 19.

<sup>164</sup> L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army: From Republic to Empire* (Norman OK, 1998), 68-71. Keppie notes the senatorial reforms made after the Social War extended rights and freedoms to Italians south of the Po River.

<sup>165</sup> E. Gabba, "Le origini della guerra sociale e la vita politica romana dopo l' 89 a.C.," *Athenaem* 32, (1954) 293-345.

field at Chaeroneia in 86 B.C.<sup>166</sup> Such large-scale warfare necessitated the participation of numerous cities, nations, and kingdoms for manpower alone. Resources in the form of food and supplies burdened even more communities.

As for Boeotia, it is unclear whether the entirety of the population supported Roman intervention.<sup>167</sup> Both Chaeroneia and Orchomenos backed Rome, as Sulla's allies from these cities pleaded for him to defend their respective communities from Pontic siege.<sup>168</sup> While the surrounding peoples of Achaia, Lacedaemonia, Euboea, Demetrias, Magnesia, and Attica sided with Mithridates, Boeotia put their faith in a long-established but unpopular outside force: Rome.<sup>169</sup>

Much like their Medistic actions of the fifth-century, Boeotian communities appealed to an imperial power that could deter their neighbors' perpetual coveting of their rich farmlands. Also, Chaeroneians had already witnessed a number of military actions between the Romans and the Pontic army. Prior to Sulla's arrival, Archelaus fought the Macedonian praetor Bruttius Sura three times without success.<sup>170</sup> While Archelaus won over the allegiance of Euboea and Attica, his reversals in Boeotia might have given those Greeks second thoughts as to whether they should ally themselves with Mithridates. Moreover, Plutarch mentions that Bruttius Sura had already achieved success in making the Greeks more disposed toward Roman rule prior to Sulla's

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<sup>166</sup> Appian, *The Mithridatic Wars* 41.

<sup>167</sup> Appian, *The Mithridatic Wars* 30. Appian may be overstating the claim that *all* Boeotia went over to Sulla upon his arrival in the territory.

<sup>168</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla* 18 & 16.

<sup>169</sup> Appian, *The Mithridatic Wars* 28. Pausanias 1.20.5-6

<sup>170</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla* 11.4-5.

arrival.<sup>171</sup> It is possible that Plutarch is specifically talking about the traditionally vacillating Boeotians, those Greeks who had immediately witnessed Bruttius' successes.

Although the percentages of Italians versus Greeks and Macedonians remain unknown, it is certain that Sulla led a multinational and multicultural army, as much as that of Archelaos. Therefore, the material culture produced by and for this army had to address and reflect their disparate perspectives. After all, it was the army with the help of local craftsmen that produced any monuments commemorating the Battle of Chaeroneia and Orchomenos.<sup>172</sup> The forms and messages found on these monuments also needed to be appropriate for the local Boeotian inhabitants. However, *appropriate* does not imply a positive or non-polemic, but rather a legible and compelling message understood by its intended audience.

### **The Trophies of Boeotia**

As a traditional architectural form of expression, the trophy monument has a long history in Boeotia that goes back to the Battle of Leuktra in July 371 B.C. The Boeotians raised a trophy on the battlefield following their victory (Fig. 20). Anastasios Orlandos discovered the remains of this trophy in 1922 and 1923, and then he reconstructed them on site in 1958. The archaeologist unearthed three fragments of curved triglyphs and metopes, seven trapezoidal-shaped pieces bearing shield decorations, and an eighth

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<sup>171</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla* xi.5.

<sup>172</sup> N. Kampen, "Soldatenkunst Revisited: Art on the Roman Frontier," College Art Association Conference lecture (February, 2000) and Kampen, "The Reliefs of the Northern Frontiers" (Unpublished, 1999). Although provincial Roman styles varied from the established urban, imperial works, these variations achieved consistency within pre-Roman geographic or provincial delineations. From these distinctions scholars have, in the past, created categories for various provincial styles such as Gallo-Roman, Romano-British, Romano-Dacian, et cetera.

fragmented shield stone belonging to the base of the Leuktra trophy. He reconstructed a round base approximately three meters in diameter and three meters tall; the curved Doric frieze formed a drum. The shield-decorated trapezoidal stones sat atop the drum and created a dome that would have secured the trophy in place.<sup>173</sup> The armored bronze scarecrow that once crowned the architectural pedestal is long missing.<sup>174</sup> To reconstruct the missing panoply, Orlandos used a Boeotian coin that commemorated the Battle of Leuktra. The reverse of the coin prominently depicts the mannequin shown with shield and spear at the ready (Fig. 21).<sup>175</sup> The reconstruction also included a six-meter-tall drum constructed beneath the Doric frieze. Although Orlandos found no archaeological evidence for this architectural element, he believed its discovery imminent.<sup>176</sup>

The Thebans built the Leuktran trophy not only to commemorate Boeotian victory over the Spartans, but also to celebrate the unification of Boeotia under Thebes. Shields are a common motif found on Boeotian coinage, mints shared by numerous communities in the territory. The circular shields carved upon the domed roof may also reference the Theban brotherhood of warriors known as “The Sacred Band” or the martial prominence of Boeotians in general. The Sacred Band was a strategic key in Boeotian general Epaminondas’ revolutionary off-balanced deployment of troops against the typical

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<sup>173</sup> Later trophies usually feature a conical rather than a domed rooftop. See the Adamklissi monument for the most developed example.

<sup>174</sup> Cicero, *De inventione* 2.23. Cicero references the Leuktra trophy as being made of bronze rather than wood, a rather pretentious alternate to what we assume was the norm. Certainly, temporary battlefield trophies were constructed of actual armor mounted on a wooden log or tree stump.

<sup>175</sup> B. Head, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins* (London, 1884), VI, 2. Despite their geographical and historical commonalities, there is no formal proof to support this link. The coin depicts no architectural platform of any kind and no archaeological remnants of the armored scarecrow remain.

<sup>176</sup> Anastasios Orlandos. “8. ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΙΚΗ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΛΕΥΚΤΡΩΝ” *ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ* (1965), 43-44. ΠΙΝ. 34-36. My thanks to Dr. Athanasio Papalexandrou for helping me with this aspect of my research.

balanced lines of men positioned twelve-deep found in Greek hoplite warfare.

Epaminondas defeated the Spartan Kleombrotus by making his left flank into a formation that was fifty-deep.<sup>177</sup> Xenophon relates that fourteen hundred Lacedaemonians and Spartans fell versus a much smaller number of Boeotians in this battle. The victory helped usher in the era of Theban hegemony in Boeotia.<sup>178</sup>

Thirty-five years later, Philip of Macedon established his own brand of hegemony over Boeotia. According to Diodorus Siculus, the battle between the Greek alliance, headed by Boeotian and Athenian contingencies versus the Macedonians was hard-fought and claimed numerous casualties on both sides. The pitched battle gave both Greeks and Macedonians the opportunity to claim victory, but Philip emerged victorious in the end. The Athenians lost more than a thousand men in battle and over two thousand more fell captive. The rest of the Boeotian forces suffered a similar fate.<sup>179</sup> Again, the Sacred Band was present at the battle; however, this time the elite force could not contend with the Macedonian phalanx and Greece fell into the hands of Philip. After the battle, Philip of Macedon raised a trophy to commemorate his victory, presumably near the site of the Battle at Chaeroneia. No architectural evidence of the Macedonian trophy remains, although strong textual evidence points to its existence.<sup>180</sup>

The victorious monarch elevated his trophy on the site of the battle, approximately forty kilometers northwest of Leuktra. Likely aware of Boeotia's

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<sup>177</sup> Deeper formations featuring warriors with longer spears became characteristic of the later Macedonian phalanx.

<sup>178</sup> See Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 20.1-3. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.4. Diodorus, 15.53-56 for accounts of the battle.

<sup>179</sup> Diodorus Siculus, xvi.86.1-6.

changing alliances and history of medism, and more importantly, familiar with this territory's divisive traditions, what better way to communicate Philip's Pan-Hellenic vision than to advertise the unification of ever-problematic Boeotia? If the earlier trophy at Leuktra signified Theban hegemony, Philip's trophy symbolized his own consolidation of power.

In light of this history, Sulla's raising of his own trophy worked as both a nod to the legacy of a great empire builder like Philip and as recognition of Boeotia's historical tendencies and role in the Greek world—adding to a landscape already laden with other symbolic monuments like the cenotaph of Pyrrhus of Epirus and the lion statue raised in memory of the Thebans who fell resisting Philip of Macedon (Fig. 22 and 23). The trophy stands as a symbol of unification, however, this time under Roman rule. A close examination of this trophy provides significant information about the tradition of trophy building, especially Rome's adoption of this foreign symbolic architectural form. What message was Sulla sending to the mixed audience of Romans, Greeks, and the vanquished Pontic army at Chaeroneia in 86 B.C.?

### **A Localized Reading**

The monument's audience may be understood as both the citizenry of Chaeroneia and the members of Sulla's army. Certainly, the division is porous and these categories did overlap. Indeed, some of Sulla's soldiers came from Chaeroneia and Italic or even Roman veterans settling in Chaeroneia could become part of the local citizenry. In the

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<sup>180</sup> Thucydides 4.124.4; Diodorus Siculis 16.4.7, 16.88.1-2, and 16.86.6; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.20.6, 2.21.4, and 9.40.10. Diodorus Siculis attests to the existence of the trophy. Pausanias insists that



following analysis I will propose a viewership for each of these two communities for the Sullan trophies near Chaeroneia and Pyrgos.

As for the trophy discovered near Thourion hill by Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz, its Greek inscription provides valuable insight into its intended audience and mode of address. Whether it belongs to Sulla or whether the Greek community built it subsequently, the trophy still commemorates the battle at Chaeroneia of 86 B.C. Since trophies had such a storied past in Boeotia, raising a trophy was the appropriate action following a battle for the local inhabitants. In many ways, Roman victory also encompassed a Boeotian success in their repulsion of southern Greek and foreign interests. Sulla's trophies were not merely an overt statement of *Roman* conquest, but the just triumph of two allied forces protecting their established interests. Boeotia was defending its own territories and Rome was regaining control of its province from eastern usurpers.

In addition, the Romans were exacting revenge for losing most of Asia to Mithridates, a takeover that cost the lives of as many as 80,000 Roman settlers.<sup>181</sup> For both communities, the martial action was justified. Tellingly, Plutarch records that Sulla dedicated the trophies to Mars among other deities.<sup>182</sup> Mars was also a dedicatee on Octavian's trophy at Nikopolis (29 B.C.), Augustus' Alpine Trophy at La Turbie (9 B.C.) and Trajan's trophy at Adamklissi (A.D. 109). This last is dedicated specifically to *Mars*

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the Macedonians did not erect trophies while Thucydides claims the opposite.

<sup>181</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla* 5.

<sup>182</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla* 19.5.

*Ultor*, Mars the Avenger. Therefore, we can infer that trophies commemorate a perceived just war.

The monuments also served a funerary purpose. The architectural forms found on trophies are reminiscent of tombs and cenotaphs. Not enough architectural evidence remains of either Sullan trophy to make this assessment more than just a hypothesis. Nevertheless, the predecessor at Leuktra bears architectural elements that are characteristic of later Roman trophy monuments: a circular or rectangular base, a drum-shaped body, topped with a conical roof. The trophy sits atop this arrangement. The circular forms are oftentimes accompanied by sculptural decoration that encourages a viewer to walk around the monument. The friezes upon the Sullan trophy at Pyrgos did, in fact, encourage the viewer to walk from left to right and possibly all around the structure. One must interpret trophy monuments featuring such characteristics in both funerary and martial contexts.

The trophy, as a cenotaph, marks the battlefield. More importantly, it marks the place where many individuals met with a violent death. For many ancient cultures, such a site is considered polluted. Sulla's trophy serves as a grandiose epitaph for all those that fell at Chaeroneia. More importantly, it marks sacred ground in much the same way that gravestones do. Culturally, the monument requires a certain amount of physical and religious maintenance. Specific ceremonies brought Greeks and Romans together to honor their valiant deceased on religious holidays throughout the year. Even the uninitiated would walk around the trophy and inadvertently sanctify the area through the act of circumambulation.

Furthermore, victory trophies in Boeotia could signify unity, a sign that is read from a number of perspectives. For the Chaeroneians, Sulla's trophies may have symbolized hope for the unification of a state that had been systematically torn apart by its neighbors. It held out the promise of Leuktra—a dream of Boeotian self-determinism cut short by the Macedonian empire. The Romans would come and go as the Persians did. What mattered was that Boeotia had yet again chosen the victor in spite of their countrymen's allegiances—alliances that were not in the best interest of Boeotia.

As the trophies speak to the entire community, their polyphonic message of funerary and martial commemoration functions for the Greeks as much as the Romans. In this way, the trophies are not a divisive monument that lords conquest over the Boeotian people, but a nexus of commonality. For the Boeotians, the monuments represent hope for a more self-determined future, especially under the protection of a Roman empire that often showed lenience toward loyal eastern territories. For the Romans, the trophies symbolized the unification of Boeotia under a Roman standard in defense of the empire's interest—a sentiment that reverberated toward every frontier of Rome. The representation of the Roman armor raised above the mixed panoply of foreign, allied, and even Roman arms communicated Roman supremacy. At the same time, this visual construction reminds a viewer that victory was realized through an alliance with Rome, shown through the multiplicity of arms, perspectives, and cultures that raises but also the supports the singular *Roman*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### The Pompeian Trophies at Panissars

The Roman general, Pompey the Great, raised a pair of trophies in 71 B.C. at Panissars to commemorate his pacification of Gaul and victory over Sertorius in Spain. A number of ancient historians comment upon their existence in the mountain range dividing present day France and Spain, near the borderline of the Roman provinces of Narbonensis and Iberia.<sup>183</sup> The town of Panissars is located in the Pyrenees, the mountain range dividing present day France and Spain, approximately twelve kilometers west of the Mediterranean coast (Fig. 24).

The material remains of Pompey's trophies at Panissars did not survive the test of time as well as Augustus' Alpine Trophy at La Turbie or the Adamklissi monument in Romania. Over the course of nearly ten years (1984-1993), archaeologists J.M. Nolla, I. Rodà, and G. Castellvi unearthed the remains of a monumental Roman base beneath the ruins of the medieval monastery of Santa Maria at Panissars.<sup>184</sup> The base stands directly over the present-day border between Spain and France, necessitating the joint Spanish

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<sup>183</sup> Strabo, *Geography* 3.4.1; Pliny, *Natural History* 3.3.18 and 7.26.96; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 41.24; Sallust, *The Histories* 3.89.

<sup>184</sup> Castellvi, Nolla, and Rodà, "La identificación de los trofeos de Pompeyo en el Pirineo" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8 (1995), 6-11. The archaeologists readily admit that earlier efforts to find the trophy using ancient accounts and the Peutinger Map failed to pinpoint its location. However, the data did narrow their search to somewhere between Sant Martí del Fenollar, France and La Jonquera, Spain along the *Via Domitia/Augusta*. Extensive surveys concluded with the detection of Roman construction in the ruins of Santa Maria at Panissars. Beyond the identifiably late Republican remains, Nolla, Rodà, and Castellvi's attribution relies on a dubious conclusion. The shape of the footprint does not coincide with any Roman military or religious building; therefore, the structure must be a commemorative monument. In their opinion, a Republican commemorative monument in this specific area could only be Pompey's Pyrenean trophies.

and French excavation and complicating the publication of a detailed, all-encompassing archaeological report.

The monument is divided not only by modern political boundaries; it is also perfectly bisected by the ancient Roman *via Domicia/Augusta*. The Roman builders cut two 30 x 15 meter rectangular bases out of the natural rock, leaving approximately five meters between the bases for the road (Fig. 25). One can still see deep grooves in the road produced by carts traversing the monument in ancient times (Fig. 26). The recovered remains at Panissars do not render a clear picture of the monument's original appearance. Archaeologists have yet to find the remnants of the superstructure or the marble façade. As the trophy became part of a church complex in the Middle Ages, much of the stonework was recycled and reused. At present, the limited lower courses of construction keep scholars from proposing reconstructions of the trophy. Castelvi, Nolla, and Rodà contend that a reconstruction that considered both footprints as belonging to a single monument would produce a "...building without parallels and of surprising originality."<sup>185</sup> Nevertheless, the excavation team has yet to suggest even the most tentative proposition.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Castelvi, Nolla, and Rodà, "La identificación de los trofeos de Pompeyo en el Pirineo," 14. "...un edificio sin paralelos y de una originalidad sorprendente."

<sup>186</sup> Curiously, the excavators do not consider the most elegant and plausible solution: the structure was an arch. The term is not used in ancient textual descriptions of the trophies. Modern typologies very likely discourage the scholars from entertaining such a reconstruction as well. However, my trophy case studies reveal that the word *tropaeum* was applied to varied architectural forms. Moreover, the interior massive stone courses found on the base at Panissars served to support the outward thrust of an arch and the weight of the superstructure. The Arch of Domitian at Cumae (Arco Felice) serves as comparanda—a stepped arch featuring two lower tiers on each end. A triumphal four-horse chariot ridden by Domitian likely stood atop the uppermost platform flanked by armored scarecrows upon the two lower platforms. A reconstruction of Pompey's trophy based on the Arco Felice produces a familiar (rather than unparalleled) monument that is a singular structure, can be referred to pluralistically due to its multiple trophies, and contains a representation of Pompey as described in the ancient sources. My thanks to Dr. Raybun Taylor

Only one scholar, J. Arce, produced a reconstruction of the Panissars *tropaeum*. His proposal is based on contemporary monuments and the textual description of the Pompeian trophies in the ancient sources.<sup>187</sup> There are discrepancies among the ancient authors as to whether there were one or two structures, from which, limited as they are, Arce claims to glean enough descriptive elements to formulate a reconstruction. In particular, he emphasizes Pliny's use of the *imago* in his description of the lost building. Pliny's lengthy criticism of Pompey compares the general's triumphal image in Rome to his image upon the provincial trophy.

*Erat et imago Cn. Pompei e margaritis illo relicino honore grata, illis probi oris venerandique per cunctas gentes, ficta ex margaritis, ita severitate victa et veriore luxuriate triumpho! numquam profecto inter illos viros durasset cognomen Magni, si prima Victoria sic triumphasset! e margaritis, Magne, tam prodiga re et feminis reperta, quas gerere te fas non sit, fieri tuos voltus? sic te pretiosum videri? non ergo illa tua similior est imago, quam Pyrenaei iugis inposuisti?*

[Here it was austerity that was defeated and extravagance that more truly celebrated its triumph. Never, I think, would his surname 'the Great' have survived among the stalwarts of that age had he celebrated his first triumph in this fashion! To think that it is of pearls, Great Pompey, those wasteful things meant only for women, of pearls, which you yourself cannot and must not wear, that your portrait is made! To think that this is how you make yourself seem valuable! Is not then the trophy that you placed upon the summit of the Pyrenees a better likeness of yourself?]<sup>188</sup>

The use of *imago* rather than *statuam* in Pliny's description of the trophy leads Arce to believe that a portrait of Pompey played a prominent role in the monument. Whether the representation was two or three dimensional remains a mystery, but Arce's

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for pointing out the significance of the interior stonework of the remains at Panissars and for providing the compelling Domitianic comparanda.

<sup>187</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 3.3.18. Pliny does not refer to Pompey's trophies as a pair; however, he does consistently use the plural in every reference.

<sup>188</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 37.2.14-15.

reconstructions cover both possibilities (Fig. 27). If Arce is correct about the presence of the general's portrait of some type, it sets a precedent for Roman trophy builders for the inclusion of conqueror portraits in the decorative program.<sup>189</sup> Later trophy monuments at Nikopolis, La Turbie, and Adamklissi all feature representations of Augustus, Tiberius, and Drusus, and Trajan respectively. There are no such references in descriptions of earlier trophies in the ancient sources and archaeological remains at Chaeroneia only name the victor, Sulla, but do not represent him.

Arce's second sources for his reconstructions are the remains of contemporary trophies. Specifically, he cites the archaeological find of Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz at Chaeroneia in 1990.<sup>190</sup> In the published material, those scholars made a compelling case for identifying the trophy base fragment as belonging to one of the Sullan trophies from 86 B.C. Arce claims to follow Camp's lead for reconstructing a trophy raised less than a generation after Sulla's monuments in Greece. Because they are close in time, referencing the Sullan trophies could produce a fruitful comparative study and plausible reconstruction. However, Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz never produced a reconstruction of the Sullan trophy due to the limited amount of information that could be extracted from the small and decontextualized fragment from 1990.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Another possible understanding of *imago* is as a metonymic rather than literal usage—one that allows the trophy to stand in for Pompey and his legacy. My thanks to Dr. Athanasio Papalexandrou for this suggestion.

<sup>190</sup> J. Camp, M. Ierardi, J. McInerney, K. Morgan, and G. Umholtz, "A Trophy from the Battle of Chaeroneia of 86 B.C.," *American Journal of Archaeology* 96.3 (1992), 443-455. See chapter 4 for my analysis.

<sup>191</sup> Arce's article was published prior to the discovery of another, nearly complete, Sullan trophy near Orchomenos in December 2004. The plan of that monument also does not adhere to Arce's reconstructions.

In his reconstructions of the Pompeian trophies at Panissars, Arce proposes two similar models. Both feature a long rectangular base containing the dedication and the lengthy list of subjugated communities. Two armored scarecrows sit atop each of the reconstructions, representing Pompey's victories in Gaul and Hispania and negotiating ancient accounts recording two trophies into his singular reconstruction.<sup>192</sup> The only distinguishing element has to do with the representation of Pompey the Great. One model features a prominent statue of Pompey in triumphal regalia flanked by trophies. The second model replaces the statue with a two-dimensional depiction of Pompey on the base, in a highly visible placement nearest the viewer. Curiously, Arce chooses a frontal composition, whereas profile portraits were much more common and widely disseminated through coinage (Fig. 28). The closest model for Arce's proposal appears to be another reconstruction, Charles-Picard's design for a trophy at St. Bertrand-de-Comminges that also features an elongated rectangular base.<sup>193</sup>

It is clear that Arce did not consider the material remains from Panissars and the archaeological evidence produced by Castelvi, Nolla, and Rodà. Neither the scholars, nor the excavation are cited in Arce's publication. In particular, the bifurcated footprint at Panissars in no way informed Arce's uniform bases, revealing his lack of knowledge of the excavation at Panissars. Arce received a great deal of criticism from the excavators for his envisioning of Pompey's trophy at Panisars. Castelvi, Nolla, and Rodà's major criticism deals with Arce's lack of intimate knowledge of the site and the fact that his

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<sup>192</sup> Strabo, *Geography* 3.4.1, 3.4.7, and 4.1.3; Pliny, *Natural History* 3.3.18.

<sup>193</sup> G. Charles-Picard, *Les trophées romains* (Paris, 1957), 270-273. Arce cites Charles-Picard many times in his article for various purposes, but he never suggests this reconstruction as his model. In any case, the trophy at St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges dates back to Octavian's victory over Marc Antony at Actium.



publication preceded their preliminary archaeological report.<sup>194</sup> However, their critique does not consider Arce's article in depth.<sup>195</sup> Indeed, although Arce's conclusions and his reconstructions are questionable, his perspective is worthy of a second look.

The sparse archaeological remains at Panissars defy in-depth analysis. With the superstructure and decorative façade gone, we cannot read an inscription, analyze the iconography, or consider the style of the architectural sculpture. The coursework found in the monument foundation only begins to tell us the story of this construction, as its excavators have thoroughly explored. However, as Arce suggested, comparing the remains of Sulla's trophies at Chaeroneia and Pyrgos to Pompey's trophies at Panissars produces some useful information in a process that does not involve the precarious art of reconstruction. It is unknown whether Pompey saw the Sullan trophies as predecessors or whether he felt compelled to follow the actions of his mentor. Nevertheless, the parallels between the two sites inspire my comparison.

A total of fifteen years separate the building of the Pompeian and Sullan trophies. In that span of time the Roman Republic suffered through exceptional social turmoil. While the Sullan regime carried out its own cruel brand of social order on the city of Rome, the chaos that erupted in the wake of the dictator's resignation was equally if not more destructive. In the years between Sulla and Caesar, the people of Rome witnessed unprecedented violence erupt in the capital as different factions tried to seize control. These same power struggles spread throughout Italy and spilled into the provinces.

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<sup>194</sup> Castelvi, Nolla, and Rodà, "La identificación de los trofeos de Pompeyo en el Pirineo", 18.

<sup>195</sup> J. Arce, "Los trofeos de Pompeyo," 261-268.

Edward Badian and Fergus Millar, among many other scholars, have extensively explored the changes in society and government of the late Republic and agree that popular opinion became a major motivating force for powerful individuals.<sup>196</sup> In particular, the restoration of the legislative powers of the *tribuni plebis* in the 70's made swaying the crowds in Rome that much more important. Fergus Millar explains that the reversal of the Sullan reforms was meant to thwart tyranny. However, this also cemented the powerful relationship between popular elected officials and the Roman mob.<sup>197</sup>

Does this phenomenon translate into the provinces? The building of trophy monuments by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Sulla, and consequently Pompey alongside numerous other public works in the provinces points to the fact that pleasing their provincial subjects was of some concern to these Romans. It is common knowledge that Romans erected buildings for their subjects as a kind of public munificence. However, one would think that trophy monuments did not curry a great deal of favor among conquered peoples. Native populations could not have welcomed the construction of an architectural statement of conquest to loom over their everyday lives. Moreover, trophies did not provide an overt benefit to the public, such as Roman bathhouses, aqueducts, or even amphitheaters.

My interpretation of trophies in the provincial setting positions these monuments as beneficial public works. They were viewed by a public composed of a mixed population and represented their common destiny—albeit a destiny shaped by Rome. While this idealist view is feasible for Sulla's trophies in Boeotia, the physical and

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<sup>196</sup> E. Badian, *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic* (Oxford, 1968).

<sup>197</sup> F. Millar, *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* (Ann Arbor, 1998), 49-72.

historical context of the Pompeian monuments presents some problems in making this comparison. I will draw parallels and note differences between these buildings in an effort to illustrate the versatility of Roman trophies.

The most striking difference between the trophies is their size. Although formidable in scale, the larger of the two Sullan monuments only has a footprint of approximately five square meters.<sup>198</sup> Pompey's trophies are many times bigger at 30 x 15 meters, even if we reconstruct the two bases at Panissars as two individual monuments. Is it possible that Pompey wished to show his conquests as surpassing the accomplishments of Sulla, made manifest in the physical size of his trophies? Did the people at Panissars understand the reference?

Although the limited archaeological evidence defies reliable, in-depth reconstructions, the sheer size of the trophy implies its importance to patrons and builders alike. Realizing the monument required an equally significant workforce. Considering the lack of communities around Panissars, it seems logical to conclude that the laborers consisted of Roman soldiers. However, the perspectives of those soldiers were not strictly the views perpetuated by the capital, since they were Italic rather than strictly Roman. Moreover, many of Pompey's men were raised in Gaul and his army also absorbed Sertorius's Hispanians at the conclusion of the Sertorian War prior to the construction of the trophy. I believe that an exploration of the historical and cultural background of the provincial population involved can provide additional insight for the aim of the builders, if not the appearance of the building.

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<sup>198</sup> Here I refer to the more recent discovery near Pyrgos, Greece in December 2004, discussed in chapter 3. There are not enough material remains of the earlier 1990 Sullan trophy to hazard reconstruction.

## **Spain Before the Romans**

The history of Spain and its people is long and complex, since it was continuously inhabited from the Paleolithic Age through the present day. The *Hispani* encountered by the Romans were neither culturally homogenized nor a politically unified group of people. Geographic characteristics like mountains and rivers physically separated populations and likely fostered the degrees of difference among Iberians since prehistoric times.<sup>199</sup> Because we know very little about the native Iberians, scholars tend to identify disparities among the various tribes based on later outside influences like the Phoenicians/Carthaginians, Greeks, Celts, and Romans.

The Phoenicians established colonies in southern and eastern Spain sometime between the twelfth and eighth centuries B.C. Greeks from the Ionian city of Phocaea set up colonies in northeastern Spain around the middle of the sixth century B.C. Celts from across the Pyrenees interacted with northern and northwestern Spain since *ca.* 1000 B.C., but significant migrations into eastern and even southeastern Spain occurred at the end of the sixth century B.C.

Each of these cultures contributed to the development of cultural and political practices in Spain through trade and warfare. For example, the Phoenicians and later the Carthaginians developed their colonies into cultivated large cosmopolitan cities, teaching the natives how to build and govern urban settlements. The Greeks concentrated on trade and introduced the Spanish to numerous luxury goods from throughout the Mediterranean. The Celts brought advanced iron forging technology and created smaller

communities; they resided in roundhouses and hillforts in central and northern Spain. Each of these foreign peoples also influenced local beliefs, as foreign gods like the Carthaginian Melkaart or the Greek Zeus appear to infiltrate local pantheons.<sup>200</sup>

Taking all of these influences into account, the Hispania Rome conquered between the third and first centuries B.C., was actually a conglomeration of tribes with varying degrees of commonalities and differences—a paradoxical situation for Romans looking for a centralized political and martial structure to facilitate political or martial conquest (Fig. 29). In fact, Rome's first conquests in Spain occurred against Carthaginian interests during the Punic Wars, the only force in the peninsula with identifiable centers.<sup>201</sup> Even after Rome defeated Carthage in the Second Punic War, further military actions against Iberian tribes continued for two more centuries. By the time of Sertorius, the Romans had already quelled numerous rebellions and waged two wars against the people of Spain: the Lusitanian Wars (155-139 B.C.) and the Celtiberian Wars (155-133 B.C.).<sup>202</sup> It should not be surprising that Sertorius found so many allies among the disgruntled population of the Iberian Peninsula. The Arevaci, Vaccaei, Celtiberi, Vettones, Pelendones and Ilergetes were among his fiercest supporters.<sup>203</sup>

### **Sertorius and the Sertorian War**

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<sup>199</sup> S. Keay, *Roman Spain* (Berkeley, 1988), 8-12.

<sup>200</sup> S. Keay, *Roman Spain*, 12-22.

<sup>201</sup> S. Keay, *Roman Spain*, 27-29

<sup>202</sup> S. Keay, *Roman Spain*, 33-42

<sup>203</sup> S. Keay, *Roman Spain*, 42.

Sertorius was born to a prominent family in the Sabine city of Nursia around 126 B.C.<sup>204</sup> He had a successful early career under Marius during his campaigns in Gaul from 105-102 B.C., prompting his becoming a military tribune under the Spanish praetor Didius. More brave actions as tribune earned his promotion to quaestor of Cisalpine Gaul around the time the Social War began, 90-88 B.C.<sup>205</sup>

Back in Rome, Sertorius lost a race for tribune to a Sullan-backed party around 88 B.C. However, it is possible that his opponent, Metellus, was a more seasoned politician with more political clout and recognition in Rome than a Sertorius only recently returned from the provinces.<sup>206</sup> In this tumultuous time, spectacularly marked by Sulla's siege of Rome, Plutarch's description of Sertorius' roles and allegiances are frustratingly vague. The so-called Consul War erupted in the wake of Sulla's march on Rome, pitting the consul Cn. Octavius against fellow consul L. Cornelius Cinna (both elected in 87 B.C.). The source of the feud was a bill supported by Cinna, a law that would distribute new citizens among all thirty-five Roman tribes rather than limit them to a prescribed eight.<sup>207</sup> Upon hearing that the bill was overwhelmingly defeated, a mob of supporters of both Cinna and the proposal took control of the Forum. Octavius's supporters managed to push back and overwhelm this force.<sup>208</sup>

Cinna was forced out of the city, only to gain the support of the newly enfranchised Italians outside of Rome. With the help of Sertorius and other Roman sympathizers, most importantly an army encamped relatively close to Rome, Cinna

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<sup>204</sup> C.F. Conrad, *Plutarch's Sertorius: A Historical Commentary* (Chapel Hill, 1994), 39.

<sup>205</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 3-4.

<sup>206</sup> Conrad, *Plutarch's Sertorius*. 58. Plutarch, *Sertorius* 4.6.

<sup>207</sup> Appian, *Civil Wars* 55.242 and 64.287.

regained the advantage over Octavius. Certainly soldiers would eagerly back a statesman and a general who offered more opportunities to new citizens, as so many soldiers were themselves newly recognized members of Roman society or marched for the promise of citizenship at the end of their service.

Cinna and Sertorius, with the help of Marius newly returned from exile, defeated Octavius, laid siege to Rome, and took physical and political control of the city in 87 B.C. Again, Plutarch does not specify Sertorius' role in the Civil War, probably desiring not to mar the history of the hero in the ugly business of civil war and the Marian prosecutions that followed. Infighting, treachery, and ultimately the deaths of Marius in 86 and Cinna in 84, brought Sertorius' association with the Cinno-Marian regime to an end.<sup>209</sup>

Sertorius quit Rome and Italy altogether, being assigned governor *pro consule* of Hispania circa 83-82, creating a base of power in Spain that also served as a refuge for like-minded Roman expatriates. Sulla fought his civil war at the same time, ultimately obtaining his dictatorship in 81 B.C.<sup>210</sup> Back in Spain, the Sullan-backed general Annus crossed the Pyrenees and invaded Sertorius' territory. Sertorius retreated to Africa, embarking from the southernmost port of New Carthage.<sup>211</sup> There he fell in with Kilikian pirates and had numerous adventures over the course of two years. Despite his time away from the limelight and continued military frustrations, Sertorius must have maintained

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<sup>208</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 4.8.

<sup>209</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 6.4.

<sup>210</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 6.5.

<sup>211</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 7.5.

some renown, as the Lusitanians invited him to lead their forces in Spain in 80 B.C.<sup>212</sup> If trading allegiances was not treasonous enough, certainly his expansion of Lusitanian territory into Roman-held lands brought Sertorius into direct conflict with Rome. According to Plutarch, Sertorius waged war against four different Roman generals simultaneously with a mere 8000 men versus a Roman contingent of over 120,000.<sup>213</sup> His greatest advantage was his and his men's familiarity with the rough Spanish terrain, picking and choosing their confrontations against the larger, less mobile Roman legionary forces.

The Sertorian War must have been a source of frustration and embarrassment for Rome. Not only did his martial prowess humiliate the Roman army and its generals, but the more territory Sertorius conquered the greater the threat of losing the entirety of Spain, one of Rome's oldest provinces. Potentially, the loss of Spain and Sertorian success could have plunged Rome into a full-blown civil war. So great was Sertorius' threat that the Roman senate nearly conceded in allowing the province to secede from the Empire and rule itself independent of Rome. It was treachery and not battle that brought Spain's successful defiance of Rome to an end. In an act of betrayal, Sertorius' own inner circle of high-ranking officials, led by Perpena, assassinated him at a banquet in 73 B.C.<sup>214</sup> Pompey brought the Sertorian War to a swift end following the death of Sertorius, defeating and executing the lead conspirator Perpena in 72 and destroying any significant remnants of the resistance in 71.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 9-10.

<sup>213</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 12.

<sup>214</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 26.10-11.

<sup>215</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 27.



## The Myth of Sertorius

Beyond the tragically heroic characterization of Sertorius, Plutarch goes to great lengths to mythologize this historical figure. Certainly, he was a gifted military tactician, but Sertorius was also a formidable spy who was once able to live among the Celts in Gaul—speaking the language and dressing like a native.<sup>216</sup> No doubt, this skill helped form later alliances with the Celtiberians. In particular, Plutarch gives Sertorius attributes of mythical and legendary individuals such as Herakles and Odysseus and exceptional historical figures like Philip of Macedon and Hannibal.<sup>217</sup> Moreover, the author draws parallels between Sertorius and local Celtiberian kings and deities as well.<sup>218</sup> Such high praise is perplexing considering Sertorius’s municipal origins. Sertorius’s status as a “new man” in the Roman political sphere couches his ambitions as borderline hubris and prepares the reader for an inevitable tragedy.

One prominent example deals with Sertorius’s one-eyedness, a loss suffered in a battle early in his career.<sup>219</sup> This state draws comparisons to other famous monocular generals.<sup>220</sup> In the Greek and Roman tradition, Philip of Macedon, Seleucus, and Hannibal had only one eye—a feature that curiously enough did not impede but rather enhanced their martial prowess. This may be rooted in a belief that a special kind of

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<sup>216</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 3.2

<sup>217</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 21.3. Although Plutarch does only make one direct comparison between Hannibal and Sertorius, there are numerous examples where the author evokes the Carthaginian general. Moreover, the story about the mysterious “Isles of the Blest” (*Sertorius* 8.1) reminds one of the far-flung travels of Odysseus and Herakles.

<sup>218</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 11.1-4.

<sup>219</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 4.2. Sertorius lost his eye in the Social War.

<sup>220</sup> See T.W. Africa, “The One-Eyed Man against Rome: An Exercise in Euhemerism,” *Historia* 19 (1970), 528-538 for more on the qualities of monocular generals.

clarity could be achieved through one eye. Binocular vision produces two slightly different visual signals that the human brain must then negotiate. Losing one eye circumvents this mysterious interpretive process—one with the potential to muddle “truth.” The ability to process a great deal of information quickly and to carry out a decisive course of action would be a very desirable quality in a general: the ability to *look* at a battle scene and *see* what needs to be done.

Beyond the martial context, the visually impaired played a prominent role as wise and even oracular figures. It is a well-known belief that the epic poet Homer was blind. One character from the Epic Cycle, Laocoön, plays a short but pivotal role in the story, warning the Trojans in vain about the nature of the Trojan Horse. The blind priest of Neptune had numerous interactions with the gods.<sup>221</sup> Teiresias was yet another blind priest with prophetic powers. He appears in several Theban tragedies to warn other characters or offer advice through his powers of divination. All three of these individuals suggest an ancient belief in a connection between poor physical sight and prophetic vision. In these cases, there is an inverse proportion or perhaps divine compensation for the blind.

Although Sertorius was not completely blind, the loss of one eye coupled with his astounding success could have suggested some degree of divine help for the upstart. For the Romans, references to one-eyed Hellenistic kings elevated Sertorius’s status more directly. This was a common practice for late-Republican generals who compared their exploits to those of Alexander the Great, for example. For Sertorius’s Hispanian

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<sup>221</sup> Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica* 12.176. According to the author, Athena amazingly caused Laocoön’s blindness through an earthquake.

followers, Plutarch or even Sertorius' own evocation of Philip or Seleucus might not have had much significance. However, a comparison to Hannibal of Carthage had historical and even political importance in Spain. As a latter-day Hannibal, Sertorius could lead the Hispanians against oppressive Roman rule, repeating the Carthaginian general's near destruction of Rome.

In the local traditions and beliefs of the Hispanian population, we find one-eyed gods akin to Odin, a Norse god that gave up an eye in exchange for magical sight. Odin was a chief god and his primary traits included extraordinary fighting skill, immense courage, and the gift of prophecy. He was also a lord of death who judged fallen warriors of their worth, granting or denying passage into the martial paradise of Valhalla.<sup>222</sup> The Celtiberians often conflated this native "supergod" with *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, providing a formidable patron deity for Sertorius.<sup>223</sup> Plutarch relates that Sertorius cultivated belief in his magical powers among his gullible and superstitious native followers. Plutarch's story of the white doe communicates Sertorius' manipulation of his own legend and perpetuating the idea of his magical powers. According to Plutarch, a group of Sertorius' men one day came across an unusually docile white doe in the wilderness and decided to present it to their leader. Sertorius kept the doe as a pet, claiming that he received messages from the gods via the animal.<sup>224</sup> The Romans interpreted the deer as a symbol of Diana/Artemis. In the Celtic tradition, white animals

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<sup>222</sup> S. Sturluson, *The Prose Edda*, trans. By J. Young (Berkeley, 1965), 26-28 and 31.

<sup>223</sup> L. Curchin, *Roman Spain: Conquest and Assimilation* (London, 1991), 160. The term "supergod" belongs to Curchin.

<sup>224</sup> Plutarch, *Sertorius* 11.

were often prophetic signs and the stag, in particular, served as a supernatural guide.<sup>225</sup> Whether or not Sertorius' claim worked on either Romans or Hispanians is not as important as the cultural significance of those signs and symbols—potent and relevant signs that gave his followers hope for defeating their powerful Roman overlords and allowed them to believe that Sertorius could realize this feat.

As stated earlier, the Sertorian War was an extremely important struggle, a civil war with the potential to tear the Roman world apart. The sources depict a frustrating scenario for Rome featuring a maverick leader who defeated, confounded, and/or eluded so many Roman generals and their armies through open warfare or guerilla tactics. Over the course of eight years (80-72 B.C.), the Romans could not eradicate this traitorous insurgent, nor were they able to break the spirit of his followers. It was only after his assassination that Pompey and his comrades annihilated the remains of Sertorius' army under the leadership of his conspirators. Magical powers or no, Sertorius was the key to the Hispanian resistance and the bane of Rome's existence.

Despite all of Sertorius' qualities and accomplishments, Pompey's monumental commemoration to his victory in the Sertorian War at Panissars did not mention Sertorius. Why not? This omission appears especially odd in the context of late Republican commemorative architecture, particularly anything with martial themes.<sup>226</sup> The growing Republican cult of the individual, Ronald Syme's so-called Roman Cultural Revolution, embraced the perpetuation of a person's legend—especially when coupled

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<sup>225</sup> L. Curchin, *Roman Spain*, 158.

<sup>226</sup> For example, the Columna Rostrata of C. Duillii lists Hannibal (*CIL*. 6.1300), L. Aemelius Paullus replaced the *imago* of Perseus at Delphi and names the defeated Macedonian king in a dedicatory inscription (*CIL*. 1.622), and the Sullan trophy at Chaeroneia names Mithridates (chapter 3). The obvious

with the Roman preoccupation with remembrance. Pompey defeating Sertorius, at the very least his armies, could only make Pompey the Great that much greater. The fact that Sertorius is a Roman greatly complicates such a straightforward statement of glorious conquest.

Instead Pompey chose to leave the Sertorian War out of his victory trophy, thereby emphasizing his submission of coastal Gaul. According to Pliny, the Pyrenean trophy listed the 876 towns Pompey subjugated between the Alps and the Rhône in 75 B.C., leaving Sertorius' name off the monument.<sup>227</sup> This was a conscious decision and not a mere accident. Despite the omission, ancient writers appear to have understood this trophy as a monument commemorating *both* the Sertorian War and Pompey's Gallic conquests. Pliny, Strabo, and Cassius Dio all consistently mention the trophy within the context of Pompey's campaigns in Gaul and Spain. Additionally, almost all the ancient sources speak of multiple trophies in calling them *tropaea*, implying that one was doubtlessly symbolic of Pompey's triumph over Sertorius.<sup>228</sup> Only Sallust describes the trophy as being erected only for the Spanish triumph.

*De victis Hispanis tropaea in Pyrenaei iugus constituit.*<sup>229</sup>

[After the Spanish were conquered he set up trophies on the heights of the Pyrenees.]<sup>230</sup>

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exception here is that Sertorius was a fellow Roman; Pompey's celebration of a civil war would have been inappropriate and made his victory ignoble.

<sup>227</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 7.26.96

<sup>228</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 3.3.18; Strabo, *Geography* 3.4.7; Cassius Dio *Roman History* 41.24

<sup>229</sup> Sallust, *The Histories* 3.89.

<sup>230</sup> I owe thanks to Dr. Thomas Ephraim Lytle for help on this translation. Lytle also suggests a second translation based on the literal translation of the Latin: "From [the spoils] of the conquered Spanish, he erected trophies on the heights of the Pyrenees."

Geographically, the trophy stood between Pompey's two great endeavors, on the boundary between Hispania and Narbonensis. Strabo contends that the trophy even marks the boundary between Celtica and Iberia. However, it appears that Pompey's magnificent statement of victory in the Pyrenees did not resonate quite so triumphantly back in Rome. Although no more specific reason is given, Pliny likens the luxurious displays Pompey paraded in Rome to his provincial trophy as being equally decadent and unbecoming of the great conqueror. However, we must consider that Pliny's objection to lavishness was informed by Nero's excesses in the author's own lifetime. According to Cassius Dio, Julius Caesar declined to erect a similar trophy in the Pyrenees "...because he understood that Pompey had gained no good name for so doing..."<sup>231</sup>

It appears that some elite members of Roman society disliked Pompey's success back in the capital. But this may not have been the case in the provinces. There are no texts communicating the impression provincials had of the Pyrenean trophy, so we must rely on the material remains and the attitudes of local communities in and around Panissars.

### **A Localized Reading**

In order to comprehend the number of idiosyncrasies that characterize the trophy and the situation surrounding its erection, we must attempt to reconstruct the community that came together at Panissars at the conclusion of the Sertorian War. While there is no conclusive archaeological or textual evidence about a settlement there, these men

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<sup>231</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 41.24.

nevertheless came together in 71 B.C. at Panissars in order to memorialize Pompey's glorious triumphs in Gaul and Spain. By examining their backgrounds and potential agendas, I will posit a provincial reading of the *tropaeum* to complement those found in Roman textual accounts.

Pompey's army erected his trophy in the northeastern foothills of the Pyrenees Mountains. The elevations in this area are relatively low when compared to the breathtaking snow-capped peaks to the west of Panissars. Rolling green hills dominate the region. A valley meanders through the mountains in a north-south direction, corresponding to the ancient Roman road and the modern highway. Panissars provides a prominent vantage point for seeing the ancient and modern road to the north and south for many miles (Figs. 30 and 31).

The mountains immediately to the east and west of Panissars are much taller than the elevation of the monument and obscure visibility of the trophy. Instead, the restricted visibility directs sightlines that correspond with the road, indicating a concerted effort to connect the monument to the traveler in an intimate and immediate fashion. Merely placing the structure atop the highest natural formation would have denied the casual spectator close inspection and physical interaction. The individual could not examine the building closely without first having to go through significant physical exertion. The ancient road ran directly under the Pompeian structure or in the shadow of two structures, communicating an inevitability in the traveler's interaction with Rome. Moreover, walking through, under, and/or around the monument were important rituals that

activated and perpetuated its commemorative purpose, whether done intentionally or unintentionally.<sup>232</sup>

The Pompeian trophy did not dominate the altitudes of the eastern Pyrenees; instead, it used nature as a kind of frame. The rectilinear architectural form and decorative façade of the structure provided a stark contrast to the surrounding green mountains. The large size of the Pompeian trophy as well as the juxtaposition of the man-made and the natural likely produced an eye-popping effect meant to communicate the equally dramatic political, martial, and cultural messages imbedded in the monument for the local population.

Although there were few people inhabiting the immediate vicinity of Panissars, there are nearby communities to the north at *Clausurae* and *Ad Centuriones* only a few kilometers away. The Peutinger Map locates *Ad Centuriones* the equivalent of twenty kilometers north of the *Summum Pyrenaeum*, the limit of the Via Domitia and the beginning of the Via Augusta located near the trophy. Vegetius attests to the existence of this community during the reign of the soldier emperor M. Claudius Tacitus (r. 275-276).<sup>233</sup> A large amount of archeological evidence, in the way of pottery and building remains provide testimony to Roman Republican presence in the area.<sup>234</sup> *Clausurae* was much closer to Panissars, but there is no clear evidence of the existence or the extent of Republican habitation.<sup>235</sup> Further to the northeast we find very large and important

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<sup>232</sup> P. Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 120-135. In her chapter “The Dynamics of Form”, Davies explains the importance of a monument’s shape and how it can manipulate a viewer’s experience.

<sup>233</sup> Vegetius, *De re militari* 2.13.

<sup>234</sup> Castelby, Comps, Kotarba, and Pezin, *Voies romaines de Rhône à l’Èbre: via Domitia et via Augusta*, 55.

<sup>235</sup> Castelby, Comps, Kotarba, and Pezin, *Voies romaines de Rhône à l’Èbre: via Domitia et via Augusta*, 55-56.



communities at the mouth of the Rhône such as Arles, Nîmes, and Orange. There are records of Roman influence, if not outright control, in this region from the time of the conquest of 121 B.C.<sup>236</sup>

Additionally, Pompey placed his trophy atop the major thoroughfare running through the Pyrenees, the Via Domitia/Augusta. This road connected Gaul and Spain by land and for this reason there was a great deal of traffic along this stretch of road. Pompey's trophies had a continuous flow of viewers because of this. In fact, there was no way for travelers to ignore a monument in the middle of the road. This placement could also be the reason for its great size, as it had to be large enough to traverse the width of roads that were an average of eight meters wide.<sup>237</sup> The topographical surroundings of Panissars may also have required a large-scale monument that needed to compete with the impressive peaks of the Pyrenees.

Two monuments could be understood as standing for each individual accomplishment of Pompey—his pacification of Gaul and eradication of Sertorius. However, the massive foundations are superfluous if their only purpose was to serve as bases for two independent structures. It seems more likely that they served to buttress a larger singular construction such as a gateway or an arch, even though the ancient sources do not ever refer to it as an arch.<sup>238</sup> It is probable that these writers never went to Panissars and based their choice of words on Pompeian propaganda that used the term

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<sup>236</sup> J. Bromwich, *The Roman Remains of Southern Gaul* (London, 1993), 83-89. H. Cleere, *Southern France: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford, 2001), 83-88, 11-118, and 149-153.

<sup>237</sup> Cleere, *Southern France*, 76.

<sup>238</sup> If indeed it was an arch, there are plenty of precedents in Rome such as the three arches erected by L. Stertinius (196 B.C.), the Arch of Scipio Africanus (190 B.C.), and the Arch of Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus (121 B.C.). The last example was positioned on the *Via Sacra*, much like Pompey's trophy

*tropaea*. This means that two sculptures of battlefield trophies surmounted the structure or that there may be a second, yet undiscovered, trophy in the vicinity. Alternatively, large stone lintels supported by a concrete superstructure could easily traverse the gap between the bases creating an elevated platform devoid of arches. But how did locals view this mysterious monument?

While it is difficult to ascertain the perspectives and ideals of the communities around Panissars and the travelers using the Roman road around the time of the Sertorian War, it is possible to find more concrete information about the forces Pompey raised for his campaign in Gaul and against Sertorius. These troops participated in the military actions commemorated upon the trophy at Panissars. Therefore, these men were invested in the messages communicated by the monument, specifically what it may have said about their roles in those wars. Additionally, Pompey's soldiers were also his master builders, craftsmen, and labor force for any construction project undertaken by the army, including fortifications, marching camps, bridges, and a number of less pragmatic structures like trophies. The army's martial and construction roles imply an especially privileged position in their determining the appearance of the finished product.<sup>239</sup>

But who were these soldiers? Sallust reproduces a letter written by Pompey to the Senate in which the young proconsul describes his campaign. The account boasts of Pompey's raising and equipping an army within forty days of his appointment in order to

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sits atop the *Via Domitia/Augusta*. See F. Coarelli, *Il foro romano: Periodo repubblicano e augusteo* (Rome, 1985), 171-173 for more on the *Fornix Fabianus*.

<sup>239</sup> Certainly, the extent of influence soldiers exerted upon their commanders is contentious, so far as monument-building is concerned. However, the tense relationship between Roman generals and their troops is well documented. The potential for violent disagreement could extend to construction, from an army's desire, or lack thereof, to build something relied on their acquiescence to the monument's overall message.

deal with the Gallic force threatening Italy.<sup>240</sup> The sources do not specify the tribes Pompey faced, but there is evidence that Gaul was in disarray due to M. Aemilius' unsuccessful insurrection in 78 B.C.<sup>241</sup> Pompey's recovery of Gaul most likely re-established Roman authority in the region, an effort to impede further opposition from either Roman rebels or ambitious Gauls. Since M. Aemilius was in control of Transalpine Gaul, Pompey had to raise his army somewhere in Italy. These men were the newly enfranchised Italians, recently given greater privileges in the capital and eager to take advantage of the resources provided by military campaigns. These Italians had also experienced the turmoil of the Social War and the precarious position of participating in yet another Roman civil war.

Pompey's letter to the Senate communicates his seizing control of Gaul and successfully repulsing Sertorius with a smaller force. Sertorius and his army crossed the Pyrenees back into Spain while Pompey wintered in Transalpine Gaul.<sup>242</sup> During that winter, the Roman proconsul likely recruited more troops from among the Gauls beyond the Alps in order to supplement his small force.<sup>243</sup> This means that Pompey's army consisted of Italians and Gauls at the time he traversed the Pyrenees to pursue Sertorius in Spain.

During Pompey's war in Spain, we have various accounts of soldiers and officers deserting the Sertorian forces and joining either the Pompeian or Metellan army.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Sallust, *The Histories* 2.98.

<sup>241</sup> Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.107 (13)

<sup>242</sup> Sallust, *The Histories* 2.98.

<sup>243</sup> A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis* (Ann Arbor, 1988). 56-57. Rivet refers to the extensive patronage carried out by both Pompeius Trogus and Pompeius Magnus to come to this conclusion, referencing the lists found in E. Badian's *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford, 1958), 310.

<sup>244</sup> Livy, *Periochae* 92; Plutarch, *Sertorius* 27.1.

Moreover, Pompey pardoned all those Sertorian soldiers who begged for clemency at the conclusion of the war.<sup>245</sup> No doubt a number of these individuals were reincorporated into the Roman army. These ex-Sertorians followed Pompey back over the Pyrenees and were present during the construction of the Pompeian trophy at Panissars. They were likely active builders of the monument that essentially commemorated their defeat. This fact constitutes yet another reason for the curious exclusion of Sertorius's name from the trophy text. Pompey must have been sensitive to these men and their continuing love for their slain leader.<sup>246</sup>

A second theory is that Pompey intended the exclusion as a kind of *de facto damnatio memoriae*, as he did not have the authority from the Senate to erase the memory of Sertorius. This practice was employed on several occasions in the late Republic, at a time when Rome's elite improve strategies for perpetuating memory for political advantage.<sup>247</sup> Efforts to negate or counteract these new strategies also developed in the late Republic.<sup>248</sup> Marius had Sulla declared an enemy of Rome, leading to the defacing of Sullan victory monuments and the razing of his house in late 87 or early 86 B.C. Sulla retaliated by destroying his rival's victory monuments and banning representations of Marius upon his return to Rome at the end of the Mithridatic War in 83

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<sup>245</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.5.153.

<sup>246</sup> Appian, *Civil Wars* 114.529-533. The Sertorian army became enraged upon learning that Perpenna, Sertorius' assassin, was their new leader. They followed Perpenna begrudgingly, as evidenced by the quick conclusion of the war in Spain after Sertorius' demise.

<sup>247</sup> E. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio Memoriae and Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden, 2004), 1-20. See Varner for a succinct historiography of *damnatio memoriae* and summary of the various prescriptions for destroying memory.

<sup>248</sup> See K. Mustakallio, *Death and Disgrace: Capital Penalties with Post Mortem Sanctions in Early Roman Historiography* (Helsinki, 1994) and H.I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* for more the development of strategies of the perpetuation and suppression of memory in the Roman Republic.

B.C.<sup>249</sup> Later, Octavian would also omit Antony's name upon his trophy at Nikopolis and have his enemy's memory suppressed throughout the Empire, simultaneously avoiding the stigma of civil war.<sup>250</sup> Pompey's own omission at Panissars was part of a larger phenomenon of memory manipulation during this period in Roman history. The exclusion of Sertorius upon the trophy monument was a concerted effort to lay shame on the memory of a traitor, if only to the recently pardoned ex-Sertorians that built and beheld the structure. To those Roman and Romanized soldiers, the trophy served as a warning of the consequences of defiance in this world and the next.

Pompey eventually settled the veterans of his Gallic and Spanish campaigns, including the ex-Sertorians, at Lugdunum Convenarum (modern-day St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges) in the Pyrenees.<sup>251</sup> The presence of Roman veteran settlements in the Pyrenees appears to create a convenient audience for Pompey's trophy and a compelling reason for raising a commemorative monument in their vicinity. The problem lies with the location of Lugdunum Convenarum. Pompey's veterans settled in the Midi-Pyrenees over a hundred and fifty kilometers northwest of Panissars.

Another difference between the Sullan and Pompeian trophies is found in the patron's and/or builders' choice of sites. As stated earlier, Sulla's trophies mark a battlefield where hundreds of thousands of individuals lost their lives. In contrast, no great battle took place at Panissars, meaning that the trophy did not protect the populace

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<sup>249</sup> Appian, *The Civil Wars* 1.86; Plutarch, *Caesar* 5; Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 18; T. Hölscher, *Monumenti statali e pubblici* (Rome, 1994), 50-55 and 71.

<sup>250</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus* 17.2; Plutarch, *Cicero* 49.4; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.19.3. See also chapter 5.

<sup>251</sup> Strabo, 4.2.1-2; Pliny *Natural History*, 4.108.

from the maligned spirits of the dead. Does this mean that the protective aspect of the trophy does not apply at Panissars?

I believe the answers lie in the liminal qualities of both the trophy monument and Panissars itself.<sup>252</sup> Although Panissars does not mark a battlefield, it does lie in between Gaul and Hispania. The site is also at the *Terminus Alpae*, the spot between the *Via Domitia* and the *Via Augusta*. Lastly, Panissars lies almost equidistant from Pompey's actions in Gaul and his martial victories in Hispania over Sertorius. An analysis of the trophy's liminal qualities reveals its role in the landscape as one influenced by the immediate concerns of the Gallic/Hispanian viewer and the provincial Roman soldier.

But what is the importance of liminality? For the Romans, and many other ancient cultures, places “in-between” were potentially dangerous. One is especially susceptible to demonic possession, the evil eye, curses, and disease in doorways, at crossroads, in changing rooms, and near any other line of demarcation—whether physical, spiritual, or biological. Romans placed charms in such areas: apotropaic devices designed to diffuse or confuse dangerous forces. These charms were meant to inspire fear, wonder, surprise, disgust, and oftentimes laughter (Fig 32).<sup>253</sup>

In the public context, architecture also possessed apotropaic qualities. Take arches, for example. While some arches served to commemorate a victorious individual, they were also portals erected over liminal spaces. Walking under an arch protected the

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<sup>252</sup> V. Turner, “Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de passage*.” *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca, 1967). I apply Turner's definition of liminality, particularly the anxiety associated with ambiguity within a given society. Liminality simultaneously promises unlimited potential for benevolent or dangerous products—whether than be an individuals or concepts.

viewer, as the busy decorative program and even the virtue and power of individual gods, heroes, or triumphal generals worked to deflect all evils. The third century B.C. *Porta Marzia* in Perugia featured representations of protector deities Jupiter, Castor, and Pollux for the benefit of the citizens of Perugia (Fig. 33).<sup>254</sup>

Moreover, the physical act of walking through the arch took time, as brief or indulgent as the stroll might be. In terms of illustrating the past, the arch's sculptural representations transported the ancient viewer to the depicted triumphal procession (as in the Arch of Titus). In allowing the viewer to relive the event, the arch delineated the moments before and after victory. It ushered a person from that threatening moment in Roman history to the point in which the threat was destroyed through victory, restoring the viewer's sense of security and guaranteeing the stability of his/her everyday life.

In discussing the liminal qualities of the Pompeian trophy, I am not suggesting a binary reading for this or any other provincial material culture, one that interprets the monument for Roman and non-Roman audiences. Such divisive interpretations already exist. Rather, I hope scholars will understand this monument (and many other provincial works) as polyvalent, capable of speaking to a wide audience, in a number of voices, and for a number of purposes all at once. For the Romans, the Panissars *tropaeum* was a statement of glorious conquest. For Romanized Gauls and for most travelers, it was a mark of reassurance and protective charm. At the same time, Sertorius's Spanish allies

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<sup>253</sup> C.A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans* (Princeton, 1995), 95-97. See also J.R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans* (Berkeley, 2003), 194-195 and 209-213 for discussion of various examples of apotropaic devices and their uses in an urban context.

<sup>254</sup> E. Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1956), 24; A.L. Frothingham, *Roman Cities in Italy and Dalmatia* (New York, 1910), 136-139. L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1992), 308. Richardson also describes the

could imagine the monument as a testament to their resistance of Rome and as a reminder of their fallen comrades and deceased leader.

Ultimately, for all of its nuance and innovation, Pompey's trophy monument at Panissars was not as successful as the preceding and proceeding structures in this study. The location remained an unsettled mountainous region with too small a population to maintain the trophy or celebrate glorious battles that occurred in distant places. There were no veterans or legionary forces stationed close enough to make Panissars a pilgrimage destination for themselves or the native population. And the transient population of traders traversing the Roman road could do little more than behold the trophy and guess at its significance. Moreover, Pompey's precipitous fall from grace through the course of the Civil War tarnished the perceived glory of his earlier achievements. Romans and Romanized peoples near Panissars likely felt no need to attend to a building commemorating a fallen hero or a war that Rome would rather forget about.<sup>255</sup> Natives had little, if any knowledge, of the significance of trophies; and therefore, they had little reason to care for a monument that eventually fell into disrepair, got plundered for construction material, and was nearly lost completely.

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practice of placing apotropaic devices upon gateways as common, citing the *Porta all'Arco* in Volterra and the *Porta Radusculana* in Rome.

<sup>255</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 41.24. Caesar's own refusal to follow in Pompey's footsteps and build a trophy in the Pyrenees after his own victories in Gaul foreshadows the failure of Pompey and his legacy.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### The Octavian Trophy at Nikopolis

The emperor Augustus commissioned a trophy at Nikopolis to commemorate his victory at nearby Actium in 31 B.C.<sup>256</sup> The battle ended the bloody civil war waged between Octavian and Marc Antony, both allied to the murdered Julius Caesar and perpetuators of his autocratic legacy. Octavian was Caesar's legal heir, but Antony was popularly regarded as the individual most capable of taking Caesar's place. The monument served as a political statement for the victorious general and aspiring leader of the most powerful empire in the known world.

The ancient city of Nikopolis lies on the northwestern coast of Greece, approximately ten kilometers north of modern-day Preveza. It is located in the region of Greece known as Epirus, on its southern peninsula flanked by the Ambracian Gulf on the east and the Ionian Sea on the west (Fig. 34). The peninsula features a series of hills running down its center along a north-south axis. Low-lying brush, small trees, and a plethora of weeds fill the countryside, offering a visitor ample visibility regardless of altitude or vantage point. The topography has changed little since ancient times. Nevertheless, Roman builders chose to place the war memorial not at Actium but at

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<sup>256</sup> K.L. Zachos, "The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis: interim report," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16 (2003), 65-92. Only Zachos consistently refers to it as a *tropaeum* based on Suetonius's description (*Augustus* 18.2). However, Suetonius is referring to the rams decorating the monument as naval trophies rather than to the entire structure as a *tropaeum*. Octavian's trophy at Nikopolis represents a deviation in form and use among the five monuments in this study. While it is indeed a victory monument, the ancient sources do not ever refer to it as a *tropaeum*. The purpose of its inclusion in the main body of the dissertation is that it serves as the "anti-trophy" in the group of selected examples—a distinction that will further unify the qualities found on the other four trophies.

Nikopolis, on a prominent hillside overlooking Cape Actium—the site of the Battle of Actium—allowing the viewer to see the monument from land or sea (Fig. 35).

Reconstructions of this open-air sanctuary suggest elements similar to those found on the Asklepieion at Kos, the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, and the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste (Fig. 36).<sup>257</sup> Although they are not exact models, the Nikopolis monument appears to employ a number of the architectural forms found in Hellenistic predecessors, such as the use of terraces, meandering pathways, and the presence of a *stoa*. Like their Hellenistic counterparts, the Romans positioned the monument in a prominent spot within the countryside. Additionally, the builders went as far as altering the hillside to accommodate and further emphasize the structure in an ostentatious display of human will over nature itself. Roman examples of the Greek *stoa*, known as porticoes, include the *Porticus Metelli* and the *Porticus Octavia*, among many others. Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus built his portico soon after his triumph in Greece in 146 B.C. Cn. Octavius commissioned his portico in after his naval victory over Perseus of Macedon in 168 B.C. Octavian restored the portico following his own success in Dalmatia in 33 B.C. Like Nikopolis, the Roman porticoes displayed spoils of victory taken by the conquerors. Sadly, little remains of these monuments for comparative analysis.<sup>258</sup>

The Augustan monument consisted of two man-made tiers built into the hillside north of the victory city. The southern façade faced Nikopolis and announced the martial and commemorative purpose of the trophy through a large dedicatory inscription in Latin and the inclusion of war spoils, such as the prominently displayed ship prows. The upper

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<sup>257</sup> K. Zachos, “The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis: interim report,” 69.

<sup>258</sup> *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, IV, 130-132 and 141-145.

terrace served as the base for a large *stoa*, characterized by covered colonnades on the western, northern, and eastern edges of the platform, leaving the central courtyard open on the southern side. This courtyard contained a large rectangular altar and two monumental statues (Fig. 37).

In order to experience the trophy, the viewer had to climb the hill and negotiate a specific path around and through the structure. The retaining walls and the rectilinear portico defined parallel paths throughout the monument. Initially, the visitor approached the building from the south and would first encounter the 71-meter-long retaining wall. The lower terrace was built of *opus caementicium* with *opus reticulatum* facing. At the height of two meters, a viewer could catch a glimpse of the second tier's decorative façade, the receding eastern and western peristyles, and portions of the altar on the upper platform.<sup>259</sup>

Despite the frontality of the southern façade, no point of entry existed on that side of the monument. There was not even an access point leading to the second level. Instead, viewers had to navigate their way around the retaining wall toward entrance ramps on the eastern and western extremes of the first terrace. At this point, the individual came face to face with the decorative façade of the second retaining wall. The limestone facing was 63 meters long and nearly six meters tall.<sup>260</sup> The lower portion of the façade featured the most striking visual element found on the monument: bronze

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<sup>259</sup> K. Zachos, "The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis: interim report," *JRS* 16 (2003), 70-71.

<sup>260</sup> Zachos, "The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis," 72-77.

rams captured from enemy warships in the Battle of Actium.<sup>261</sup> The stonecutters included approximately thirty-five sockets to hold the *spolia* in place. Builders organized the rams from largest to smallest, beginning with the largest examples on the left end and continuing in diminishing scale toward the right end. The size of the prows represented the size of the ships in Antony's fleet, emphasizing the fact that Octavian's smaller boats defeated his enemy's behemoths.<sup>262</sup> Octavian may have chosen the largest and most spectacular examples for his monument, as Plutarch informs us that the victors captured 300 enemy warships.<sup>263</sup>

After beholding the massive rams in amazement, the viewer might then scrutinize the dedication running along the top of the second retaining wall façade (Fig. 38). The architects organized the approximately half-meter-tall inscription in one single row. Reconstructions of the twenty-six known fragments of the text reveal the dedicatory nature of the trophy monument.

*vacat* Imp · Caesa] r · Div[i · Iuli · ]f · vict[oriam · consecutus  
· bell]o · quod · pro [· r]e[· ] p[ub]lic[a] · ges[si]t · in · hac ·  
region[e · cons]ul [· quintum · i]mperat[or · se]ptimum · pace [·] parta ·  
terra [· mari]que · Nep]tuno [· et · Ma]rt[i · c]astra [· ex ·] quibu[s ·  
ad · hostem · in]seq[ue]ndum egr]essu[s · est · navalibus · spoil]is  
[· exorna]ta · c[onsacra]vit *vacat* <sup>264</sup>

The inscription translates as:

<sup>261</sup> W. Murray and P. Petsas, "The Spoils of Actium," *Archaeology* (September/October 1988), 28-35. None of the bronze rams remain. Murray and Petsas were able to conclude their presence by comparing the mysteriously shaped sockets on the Octavian monument with a warship ram recovered from the sea floor off Athlit, Israel in 1980. The back of the ram corresponded to the shape of the sockets at Nikopolis.

<sup>262</sup> Murray and Petsas, "The Spoils of Actium," 33-35. Knowledge of the smaller vessels commanded by Octavian come solely from ancient accounts (Plutarch, *Antony* 61; Appian, *The Civil Wars* 5.106; Horace, *Epode* 1.1-4; Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.671-713; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 50.23.2-3.).

<sup>263</sup> Plutarch, *Antony* 68.1.

<sup>264</sup> W. Murray and P. Petsas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 79.4 (1989), 76.

[Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Julius, following the victory in the war which he waged on behalf of the Republic in this region when he was consul for the fifth time and commander-in-chief for the seventh time, after peace had been secured on land and sea, consecrated to Neptune and Mars the camp from which he set forth to attack the enemy, which is now ornamented with naval spoils.]<sup>265</sup>

Augustus dedicated the Nikopolis trophy to Neptune and Mars, the gods that made his victorious sea-battle possible, demonstrating the general's piety toward the gods by recognizing the role of divinities in the successful martial action. This also communicated that Augustus had the gods' favor. The text also validates his conflict as being in the best interest of the Republic, as opposed to relating a civil war marked by Romans killing Romans. Instead, the inscription mentions only an "enemy" devoid of identity.

The Latin inscription would have kinesthetically compelled the viewer to move along the façade from left to right, but it does not appear to lead one toward the next level. Once again, the visitor had to navigate his/her way around the eastern or western side of the monument in order to reach a point of entry. Zachos's reconstruction places an entrance to the uppermost area of the building on the eastern peristyle. At this point, the visitor could meander around the covered colonnade and examine whatever was housed there.

Unlike the other monuments in this study, the Nikopolis trophy was not simply an external marker. It also had an interior and required a walk-through so that the reader readily understand the experience of inhabiting the monument. It is not enough to

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<sup>265</sup> Zachos, "The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis," 76. Zachos's translation is based on the Murray and Petsas reconstruction. Archaeologists have yet to discover the entire inscription, making an indisputable reconstruction and translation impossible.

describe its outward appearance from a distance. Murray and Petsas suggest the presence of more military spoils within the *stoa*. Enemy arms, armor, and/or more ship prows on display served both as votive offerings to the gods and as reminders of a glorious victory.<sup>266</sup> No evidence of such a panoply remains, as any valuable metals were looted and reused long ago. Moreover, only dowel-sockets upon the limestone courses remain as evidence of the *stoa* itself. The courses are set five meters apart, indicating the width of the interior. A destruction layer containing roof tiles in the immediate vicinity of the *stoa* reaffirms the presence of the peristyle. In addition, archaeologists uncovered two column bases, two Doric capitals, two Corinthian capitals, two Ionic capitals, and twenty-two column drums—a characteristic combination found on other Hellenistic monuments. Although some of these remains belong to later Roman restorations, the diversity of orders incorporated points to a singularly innovative and dynamic design at Nikopolis.<sup>267</sup> It is an example of Augustan eclecticism, a hybrid of multiple styles and traditions found in the art and architecture of the Augustan age.<sup>268</sup>

The viewer could subsequently exit the peristyle onto the open courtyard at the uppermost level of the trophy monument. The courtyard is a 38 x 38-meter square that once featured an altar and two monumental statues at the center. The altar was 22 x 6.5 meters and marked the location where Octavian pitched his tent prior to the Battle of Actium. Fragments of the altar's decorative façade depict a complex program including naval references such as warship rams and stern ornaments, vegetal and floral motifs, a

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<sup>266</sup> Murray and Petsas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War," 91-92. Both scholars reference votive arms housed in both the Athenian *stoa* at Delphi and the Stoa Poikile for this conclusion.

<sup>267</sup> Zachos, "The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis," 77-78.

procession, an Amazonomachy, and piles of weapons.<sup>269</sup> The viewer also saw two statues immediately behind the altar. Each pedestal measures 3.6 x 3.55 meters; one supported a bronze statue of Eutychos and the other a statue of Nikon in ancient times. Plutarch provides the evidence for this odd sculptural element in a story about a prophetic encounter experienced by Octavian. The ancient writer relates that Octavian went to the harbor to examine his ships the morning of the Battle of Actium. On his walk, the young general met a local leading an ass and discovered that their names were Eutychos and Nikon, respectively. Octavian took his encounter with “Lucky” and “Victor” as a positive sign for the battle, and consequently included their effigies upon the Nikopolis trophy in recognition of their aid.<sup>270</sup> However, Plutarch does not give specific details about their appearance or location. Alternatively, the pedestals could have held up statues of Mars and Neptune, the two gods honored at the site. In either case, the two statues loomed over the altar and gazed down upon the ceremonies performed within the sacred precinct.

The visitor had a commanding view of Nikopolis and the Cape of Actium from the top of the monument. Essentially, he/she surveyed the feats performed by Octavian/Augustus—both the erection of the victory city out of nothing and the formidable victory achieved in the shadow of the monument.<sup>271</sup> Despite the fact that the

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<sup>268</sup> K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton, 1996), 146-150. Galinsky characterizes this multiplicity as an attempt to consolidate the various and sometimes disparate visual expressions of power in the late Republic.

<sup>269</sup> Zachos, “The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis,” 82-89.

<sup>270</sup> Plutarch, *Antony* 65.3. Suetonius, *Augustus* 96.

<sup>271</sup> J. Isager, ed. *Foundation and Destruction: Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece* (Athens, 2001), 109-112. The classical Greek city of Kassope was located north of Nikopolis and these individuals forced to move to the newly founded Roman city.

moment of victory is fleeting and even an abstract concept, the trophy serves to make it tactile and perpetual.<sup>272</sup>

The scholarship regarding the Nikopolis trophy remains limited due to the fragmentary evidence available. Analytical strategies are equally fragmented as classicists concentrate on the epigraphic evidence and archaeologists focus upon reconstructions of the material remains.<sup>273</sup> Robert Alan Gurval and Josiah Osgood provide a multidisciplinary interpretation of the trophy; however, their considerations play a marginal role in larger studies of Octavian/Augustus and not the monument itself.<sup>274</sup> All of these predominant interpretations privilege a Roman perspective. Murray and Petsas provide the most thorough interpretation of the Nikopolis trophy, contextualized within a cultural and historical framework. Their study considers the usefulness of the monument in the wake of a Roman civil war. They present a structure that functioned as an active piece of propaganda for what became the Augustan regime.<sup>275</sup> However, these conclusions do not consider the local Greek perspective or how the history of Epirus might contribute to a more profound and inclusive reading of the monument.

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<sup>272</sup> T. Hölscher, "Images of War in Greece and Rome: Between Military Practice, Public Memory, and Cultural Symbolism," *Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003), 1-17. Hölscher discusses the role of war-themed artworks in public memory. In particular, the author sees war monuments as a way to disseminate and extend a fleeting moment and an alien experience (for most) for the purpose of attaining or securing political power.

<sup>273</sup> See J. Gagé, "Actiaca," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 53 (1936), 37-100; J.H. Oliver, "Octavian's Inscription at Nicopolis," *AJP* 90 (1969), 178-182; V. Ehrenberg and A.H.M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (Oxford, 1976), 57; and J.M. Carter, "A New Fragment of Octavian's inscription at Nicopolis," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 24 (1977) for examples of epigraphy-heavy studies. See Murray and Petsas's (1989) or Zachos's (2003) publications for analyses based on archaeological evidence.

<sup>274</sup> R.A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor, 1995), 65-67. J. Osgood, *Caesar's Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 2006), 377-380.

<sup>275</sup> Murray and Petsas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War," 131-155.



## **Epirus before the Romans**

Epirus has a history that goes back to the Paleolithic age. More impressively, material remains suggest a continuous habitation of the region from prehistoric times to the present.<sup>276</sup> Such a long history presents the potential for a highly complicated construction of identity for the local population through Roman times. If anything, the consideration of Epirus as a unified political entity and Epirotes as a hegemonic people is a misinformed construction, one constructed by assumptions regarding this marginalized part of Greece. A brief overview of the history of Epirus is necessary in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of the territory and its inhabitants.

According to N.G.L. Hammond's book, *Epirus*, the earliest inhabitants of northwestern Greece were Paleolithic hunter-gatherers that migrated into the area from central Europe.<sup>277</sup> The inhabitants of Neolithic Epirus maintained consistent settlement patterns through the Bronze Age. During the Bronze Age, the presence of Early Helladic (c.2800-2100 B.C.) and Middle Helladic (c.2100-1550 B.C.) pottery indicate interaction among numerous small shepherd communities in Epirus, neighboring Macedonia, and central Greece, most likely through trade rather than conflict. By the Late Helladic period (c.1400-1060 B.C.), more pottery from central Greece and even Mycenaean material remains imply further foreign influence in Epirus.

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<sup>276</sup> J. Wiseman and K. Zachos, eds., *Landscape Archaeology in Southern Epirus, Greece I* (Athens, 2003), 2.

<sup>277</sup> N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus: The geography, the ancient remains, the history and the topography of Epirus and adjacent areas* (Oxford, 1967), 289-314. See also P. Elefanti, "Raw Material Procurement as an Indicator of Hunter-Gatherer Mobility Strategies," *Ákoue* 53 (2005), 23.

Despite its geographical location on the margins of the Greek world, Epirus did not revert back to obscurity during the so-called Dark Age (c.1100-750 B.C.). Textual evidence points to the common—if romantic—knowledge of Epirus throughout this period. Herodotus describes the Oracle of Zeus at Dodona as a major pilgrimage site.<sup>278</sup> Additionally, Achilles prays to the Dodonian Zeus in the *Iliad* and Odysseus visits the Oracle at Dodona and, more notably, the hero enters Hades near the mouth of the river Acheron in Epirus.<sup>279</sup> While Homer's verses dealt with Bronze Age figures and events, bards disseminated the stories in communities emerging from Dark Age obscurity. It appears that Epirus was a strange, far-off part of the Greek world for this particular audience of Greeks.

The Corinthians began colonizing Epirus around the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The earliest Corinthian colony dates to 733 B.C. and was located in Corcyra.<sup>280</sup> Seemingly, the culmination of Greek unity in the late sixth and early fifth centuries corresponds to yet another distancing of relations between Epirus and the rest of Greece in the aftermath of the Persian Wars. Even votive offerings at Dodona from southern Greece become scarce in the fifth century B.C.<sup>281</sup> Moreover, the subsequent Peloponnesian Wars split Epirus between the two major Greek factions of the conflict. The most significant historical outcome from these two wars was the homogenization of northwestern geography of Greece into the area now known as Epirus, as a region that

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<sup>278</sup> Herodotus, *The Histories* 2.52-59.

<sup>279</sup> Homer, *The Iliad* 16.234, *The Odyssey* 14.327, 19.296, and 16.234.

<sup>280</sup> Hammond, *Epirus*, 414.

<sup>281</sup> Hammond, *Epirus*, 488-489. Thucydides also marks their marginalization, noting that Pericles excluded the tribes of Epirus in the Panhellenic Congress of 448 B.C., despite their contribution to the Persian Wars (1.5.3-1.6.2).

needed to be dealt with in the wake of their role in the Peloponnesian Wars. The first example of an individual referring to himself as an Epirote comes from an inscription in Taenarum, Laconia dating to 427 B.C.<sup>282</sup> However, a map of fifth-century Epirus illustrates numerous independent tribes or factions, rather than a unified territory (Fig. 39).

In the fourth century, the Molossian state in southeast Epirus emerged as the dominant power in the region through an alliance with Phillip of Macedon in 357 B.C.<sup>283</sup> War tore Epirus apart after the death of Alexander the Great when conflict erupted among Macedonia, Molossia, and a collective of Epirotes known as the Epirus Alliance. A convoluted series of alliances and betrayals continued in the aftermath of Alexander's death until Pyrrhus (r. 297-272 B.C) gained control of the Molossian throne and transformed Epirus into a dominant force in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>284</sup> Epirus continued to be prosperous even after Pyrrhus's death, due in large part to the region's location on a prominent trade route to Italy.

Rome's punitive expedition against the Illyrians to the north of Epirus during the Illyrian Wars in 229 and 219 B.C. led to permanent Roman presence in Greece. After defeating the Illyrians, the Roman senate decided to make the region into a protectorate.<sup>285</sup> Rome came into conflict with Macedonia over claims to Epirus and Illyria, sparking the first of four Macedonian Wars between the two powers. The

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<sup>282</sup> Hammond, *Epirus*, 501-506.

<sup>283</sup> Hammond, *Epirus*, 532-533.

<sup>284</sup> Hammond, *Epirus*, 558-568.

<sup>285</sup> S.I. Oost, *Roman Policy in Epirus and Acarnania in the Age of the Roman Conquest of Greece* (Dallas, 1954), 1-11 and 17. It is difficult to surmise Roman intention in Illyria—whether policing the protectorate was the only plan or whether Illyria served as a foothold for future expansion.

conflicts split the region, with western Epirote tribes supporting Rome and eastern Epirotes backing Macedonia, ending the once-formidable Epirote Alliance. When the Roman general Lucius Aemilius Paullus decisively ended the third Macedonian War in 168 B.C., he decided to punish the Epirote towns that supported Macedonia by ordering his soldiers to sack and loot those communities, reinforcing the division of eastern and western Epirus. Epirus became part of the Roman province of Macedonia when the Romans decided to annex the region in 146 B.C. after the conclusion of the fourth Macedonian War.<sup>286</sup>

Epirus conducted no further campaigns of resistance following the Fourth Macedonian War. The Epirotes appeared reconciled to Roman rule throughout the second and first century. During the first Mithridatic War, Epirus hosted the landing of Sulla on its shores, indicating their continuing support of Rome versus the Pontic invaders supported by some Greeks in the south. Epirus likely had to choose sides whenever the Roman civil wars of the Late Republic spilled onto Greek lands, but they never again rose up against a united Roman campaign.

This brief history of Epirus points to a complex, multivalent set of identities for Epirotes. It is impossible to develop a generalized Epirote perspective because the collective was an artificial construction created by outsiders. However, there are a few consistencies worth noting. For example, communities in Epirus were smaller and less urbanized than their southern counterparts, so that other Greeks referred to them as backward and even barbarian. Leaders of these communities preferred to stay

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<sup>286</sup> Hammond, *Epirus*, 608-632. Oost, *Roman Policy in Epirus and Acarnania*, 91. First Macedonian War (215-205), Second Macedonian War (200-196), Third Macedonian War (171-168), Fourth Macedonian

independent and only created alliances in times of crisis, never creating proper leagues. More often than not, it was despots like Alexander or Pyrrhus that forced such hegemonies into existence.

Culturally speaking, the Epirotes were a combination of Illyrian, Macedonian, and Greek peoples, displaying any number of traits and employing numerous traditions derived from these sources. But in order to reconstruct the community at Nikopolis in the first century B.C., we must also consider the historical events leading up to the Battle of Actium and the subsequent construction of the Nikopolis *tropaeum*.

### **The Road to Actium**

The Battle of Actium is one of the most important battles in Roman history. Octavian's victory over Marc Antony made Caesar's heir and adopted son the most powerful individual in the Roman world. On 2 September 31 B.C., the naval forces of Octavian and Marc Antony with Cleopatra clashed at Actium on the western coast of the Greece. Although historians contest the details of the battle, I believe the collective ancient sources reliably communicate the essential elements of this event. Plutarch and Cassius Dio wrote the most complete accounts of the Battle of Actium, demonstrating its monumental importance to the Greek and Roman world.<sup>287</sup>

Actium was the final battle in a long period of political strife and civil wars that broke out in the wake of Julius Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C. Over the subsequent thirteen years, Octavian pursued his great uncle's murderers and destroyed anyone else

who stood in the way of Julian ambition. Octavian's transformation into Augustus was a long and complicated affair—a story replete with secret alliances, double-dealings, and backstabbing. Cassius Dio recounts the tale in no fewer than seven books in his *Roman History*.<sup>288</sup>

A conflict of words and images erupted between Antony and Octavian in the closing years of the civil war, as the two remaining Roman factions struggled for supremacy. Paul Zanker describes this exchange in a succinct statement, “One has the impression that two Hellenistic kings are competing for control of Rome.”<sup>289</sup> Although Antony's behavior reveals his despotic ambitions, Octavian was no less driven. If anything, Antony's greatest crime was modeling himself after an eastern king and currying the favor of foreign subjects. In the end, Antony's political and romantic courtship with Cleopatra, and his alliances with eastern kingdoms did not fare well against Octavian's Romano-centric approach. Had Anthony emerged victorious, he would have become a latter-day Alexander, having the queen of the Ptolemies at his side and making a capital out of one of Alexander's greatest cities, Alexandria. Like Alexander who abandoned Macedon in favor of Babylon in Persia, Antony would rule from the center of a culture laden with more archaic traditions than those of his homeland—particularly the monarchic traditions of the Ptolemies, Alexander, and the great pharaohs of ancient Egypt. Entrenched in such a potent political and symbolic

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<sup>287</sup> Plutarch (AD 46-120) lived closer to the actual time of the Battle of Actium, while Cassius Dio (AD 164-235) is writing long after the fact. Both accounts were written by Romanized Greeks relying on secondary or even tertiary sources.

<sup>288</sup> Cassius Dio. *Roman History* 44-50.

<sup>289</sup> Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor (1990), 33.

position of power, Antony's success would have marginalized Rome and Italy, or so Augustus would have everyone believe.

For his part, Octavian couples himself with a homegrown god: *divus Julius*. He represents himself as a supporter of Roman ideas and tradition; historians have come to call this a "conservative" position. However, this conservative façade veiled equally radical aspirations to those of Antony. After all, Octavian also invited comparisons between himself and Alexander the great, especially in the coins he issued in this time frame. The youthful Octavian bears striking resemblance to representations of the Macedonian king.<sup>290</sup> Did ancient Romans truly believe that Octavian wanted anything other than ultimate power, or were they choosing the lesser of two evils? Were they choosing to follow the ruler who might look after their own interests and investments in Rome and Italy?

By 32 B.C., the war between Octavian and Antony appeared inevitable as they flung threats and accusations across the Roman world. Antony accused Octavian of stealing Lepidus' soldiers and territories and usurping his position. Octavian, in turn, accused Antony of murdering Sextus and unjustly conquering Armenia.<sup>291</sup> In the end, the senate of Rome voted to go to war against Cleopatra, not Antony.<sup>292</sup>

In the spring of 31 B.C., the armies of Octavian and Antony were poised for battle in western Greece. Antony's forces were depleted by disease and desertion, no doubt compelling Octavian to muster his troops for battle. Sailing directly to Antony's position off the bay of Actium, Octavian prepared to make war against the largest portion of

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<sup>290</sup> Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor (1990), 35-37.

<sup>291</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 50.1-2

Antony's fleet, a crippled fleet to be certain.<sup>293</sup> On the second of September 31 B.C., Octavian's ships engaged the combined fleets of Antony and Cleopatra.

With the help of Agrippa, Octavian's smaller, faster ships defeated their enemies' larger, less-maneuverable warships in a daylong battle. The impending defeat sent Antony into despair and drove Cleopatra to flee back to Alexandria. Antony followed Cleopatra, leaving his fleet to its own devices. Without a leader, the remaining ships quickly surrendered to Octavian.<sup>294</sup> Octavian caught up with the two in Alexandria. He laid siege to Alexandria, driving Antony to commit suicide. Cleopatra followed suit, famously clutching an asp to her breast and dying from the snakebite. After thirteen years, Octavian managed to wrest ultimate power from a number of would-be rulers of Rome and truly become the heir of Julius Caesar's ambitions.

There are two main (and polarized) opinions about the scale of this engagement in contrast to the purported importance of the Battle of Actium. One side argues that we take the Augustan sources at face value and believe that Actium was indeed a large-scale event and was a glorious triumph for Octavian. The other side contends that the battle was a minor affair and that its widespread celebration was a result of Augustan propaganda.<sup>295</sup> In particular, Robert Gurval believes that the Augustan regime and/or Augustus himself did not especially favor accounts that portrayed Octavian's role in the civil war in a positive light. He cites Virgil, Horace, and Propertius as providing three disparate opinions that were widely disseminated throughout the Roman world. He

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<sup>292</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 50.6.1

<sup>293</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 50.11-12

<sup>294</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 50.13-34; Suetonius, *Augustus* 17.2

<sup>295</sup> R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), 289 and 335.



suggests that scholars put too much emphasis on the words of poets and to consider their ideas as fundamental tools of the new regime is problematic.<sup>296</sup>

Josiah Osgood reviews some of the same literature for evidence of political intervention. Popular works in Rome and Italy suggest that tastes gravitated toward ideals that championed moderation and humility as native and traditional behavior in the late Republic or Triumviral Period.<sup>297</sup> Octavian merely succeeds in co-opting these attitudes in association with his own propaganda. Osgood examines the implications of these accounts for Roman history, in many cases by looking at the views and actions of post-Actium allies such as Herod in Judea, the leaders of Ephesus, the Corinthians, and the Coans. He concludes that their pro-Augustan stance was self-serving or in the interest of self-preservation, rather than under the direct prompting of the Augustan regime.<sup>298</sup>

However, Nikopolis and the Actian trophy represent a direct intervention by the Augustan regime in the physical and cultural landscape of southern Epirus. Both Osgood and Gurval's positions can significantly change the interpretation of the construction of the victory city and trophy by a local population, particularly the motivations for soldiers and Greeks living near and viewing the monument.

### **Post-war Population**

The evidence for legionary participation at Actium is scattered and even contradictory. Textual accounts and epigraphic remains help scholars identify the units

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<sup>296</sup> Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, 5-7.

<sup>297</sup> Osgood, *Caesar's Legacy*, 298-319. Osgood relies heavily on Horace's *Satires* and Vergil's *Georgics*.

present at the battle. Exploring the origins and experiences of the Roman army is necessary; that army was the primary patron and viewer of monuments left in the wake of conquest—monuments like the Nikopolis trophy. Soldiers' recent experiences informed their agenda and ultimately delineated the purpose of the *tropaeum*. Although there is ongoing scholarly debate about the exact units present and their size at the Battle of Actium, more detailed evidence exists prior to and after the war.

Lawrence Keppie provides a summary of the legions led by Octavian and Antony during the Civil War, compiled from the ancient sources and soldier dedications and epitaphs found around the empire.<sup>299</sup> The men in both armies were markedly Italian or Gallic, many first raised for Julius Caesar's campaigns in Gaul. These same armies participated in the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey, and the history of internal strife that characterized Roman politics and warfare since Marius and Sulla was not lost on the soldiers that chose sides in the wake of Caesar's murder in 44 B.C., nor were the legionnaires ignorant of the promise of martial superiority for Octavian or Antony. A complete victory marked an end to the Civil War and an empire's worth of rewards for the victors. It is not illogical to feature Octavian's soldiers producing ostentatious monuments replete with triumphal narratives and iconography, perpetuating the very messages Octavian and Antony spread throughout Rome.

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<sup>298</sup> Osgood, *Caesar's Legacy*, 343.

<sup>299</sup> L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 201-202. Legions supporting Octavian included VII, VIII, IIII, V Macedonica, VI, IX, X Fretensis, XI, XII Victrix, XII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX. Units backing Marc Antony included I-XXIII, III Gallica, VI Ferrata, X Equestris, V Alaudae, XII Antiqua, XVII Classica, XVII Libyca, VIII, IIII Macedonica (duplicate), III Cyrenaica.

However, these Italic and Gallic soldiers created their own individualized and idiosyncratic communities based on their origins and experiences in the provinces.<sup>300</sup> Italian legionnaires did not necessarily have the same ideas as Gauls regarding Roman-ness. More than likely, neither expressed the version of *romanitas* found in Rome.<sup>301</sup> Analysis of their material production should consider this disparity or distinction. Martial works like the Nikopolis *tropaeum* can potentially deviate from centralized narratives and aesthetics in order to better adhere to those of legionary builders and viewers.

Even though Nikopolis did not host a legion, there was a great deal of martial activity in the region after the Battle of Actium. Moreover, the Romans built Nikopolis and its trophy with incredible swiftness, between 31 and 29 B.C., indicating that Actian veterans were immediately influential in producing in the new “victory city.” During this time period, the Roman army constructed Nikopolis, encouraged Greek settlers to populate the city, and helped maintain the peace among the transplanted Greeks.<sup>302</sup> According to Pausanias, the Romans populated Nikopolis with people from Ambracia, Anaktorion, and with Corinthians from Leukas (Fig. 40).<sup>303</sup> He goes on to say that Augustus laid waste to Aetolia and settled those displaced people at Nikopolis as well.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> R. Alston, “Ties that bind: soldiers and societies” in *The Roman Army as a Community*. 175-195.

<sup>301</sup> See S. Keay and N. Terrenato, *Italy and the West* (Oxford, 2001), Part 1 for analyses comparing Rome and the rest of Italy. The contributors found a more profound distinction between Rome and her closest neighbors than once believed, indicating that culture did not always translate directly from the center to the periphery in a linear, trickle-down fashion.

<sup>302</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.1.3; Suetonius, *Augustus* 18.2; Plutarch, *Antony* 65.3; and Strabo, *Geography* 7.7.6 and 17. All of these ancient authors relate the fact that Augustus populated Nikopolis with Greeks from the surrounding area.

<sup>303</sup> Pausanias, 5.23.2.

<sup>304</sup> Pausanias, 7.18.8-9.

It is probable that members of all these Greek communities aided in the construction of the city, especially as it was built so quickly.

At this point, it is fruitful to reconstruct the Nikopolitan community—one that was flung together so artificially. What was the relationship between Greeks and Romans working and, consequentially, living together at Nikopolis? J. Bergemann describes the migration of Greeks to Nikopolis in a positive light, suggesting that locals desired to take advantage of a modern, well-organized Roman city. He cites the continuation of local religious practices and the use of Greek. Official public inscriptions and archaeological remains serve as evidence of a peaceful, fluid, and volunteer phenomenon.<sup>305</sup>

The ancient sources suggest a forced migration for Epirotes, Corinthians, and Aetolians alike. In complementing the textual evidence, Murray and Petsas cite archaeological evidence from surrounding Greek towns that indicates Roman coercion. Octavian's soldiers apparently destroyed city walls and removed cult images in order to motivate people to move.<sup>306</sup> Such a forced type of colonization would have caused trauma and produced deep-seeded resentment among the Greeks that witnessed their cities razed, their altars destroyed, and their communities scattered by Roman forces. It is also worth noting that these communities had been at war and allied at various times in history, complicating the Greek perspective further. Most recently, the Epirotes had

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<sup>305</sup> J. Bergemann, *Die Römische Kolonie von Butrint und die Romanisierung Griechenlands* (Munich, 1998), 88-108.

<sup>306</sup> Murray and Petsas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War," 127. W. Hoepfner, "Nikopolis—Zur Stadtgründung des Augustus," in E. Chrysos, ed., *Nicopolis I: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Nicopolis* (Preveza, 1987), 131-132. From archaeological remains, Hoepfner determined that the Romans destroyed city walls, razed buildings, and destroyed cult images from surrounding communities in order to keep Greeks from returning to their towns.

backed Octavian, while the Aetolians had supported Antony. Nevertheless, both suffered the same fate.

I will maintain the importance of the patchwork community of Nikopolis as I analyze the material remains of the Augustan trophy monument overlooking the city. In the following pages, I will present the overt imperial Roman message of glorious conquest—one that emphasized the greatness of Rome’s new leader, Augustus. Additionally, I will consider how the monument negotiated Greek and Roman perspectives in the wake of civil war for Nikopolitans. Lastly, I will explore alternative and even subversive readings produced and perpetuated by disenfranchised members of this community.

### **Reading the Nikopolis *tropaeum***

Interpretive scholarship regarding the Nikopolis *tropaeum* is very limited. Since its rediscovery in 1805 by W.M. Leake, the monument has remained virtually unpublished and largely unknown. A. Philadelphus conducted preliminary excavations in 1913 and 1925 resulting in limited conclusions. Based on his discovery of capitals left unearthed, he deduced that the building was a Corinthian-style temple.<sup>307</sup> In 1936, J. Gagé noted in passing that the structure was a combination of Greek and Roman traditions. He did not go further than this, as his work revolved around the inscription.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> A. Philadelphus, *Les Fouilles des Nicopolis, 1913-1926* (Athens, 1938).

<sup>308</sup> J. Gagé, “Actiaca,” 37-100

Only Murray and Petsas's recent work, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War," interprets the potential symbolism of the trophy at Nikopolis.<sup>309</sup>

Before analyzing the monument itself, we must consider its placement within the Epirote landscape. The Romans chose a prominent location on the hillside overlooking Nikopolis, making sure all the new inhabitants were aware of their Roman overlords. Moreover, individuals could have seen the trophy throughout the southern part of the peninsula and out to the Ionian Sea to the west and the Ambracian Gulf to the east due to its monumental size and gleaming façade. Most importantly, the trophy looms over the site of the Battle of Actium, perpetually referencing Octavian's glorious victory over the "enemies of Rome." The location of the Nikopolis *tropaeum* also features a valuable sightline that connect Octavian's monument to the Greek sanctuary of the Actian Apollo to the south, one of the gods responsible for his naval victory. The trophy contains no other references to Apollo other than the sightlines, as it is specifically dedicated to Neptune and Mars.

P. Zanker succinctly summarizes Octavian's association with Apollo as a potent counterpart to rival Marc Antony's patron deity, Dionysus. Zanker relates that Romans used the powers and traits of the gods to enhance their own qualities, often employing the symbols of these deities within their own visual programs.<sup>310</sup> The author attests to the value of this comparison in the Roman sphere. The Roman soldiers at Nikopolis would

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<sup>309</sup> See Murray and Petsas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War." Even the publications produced by the ongoing "Nikopolis Project," led by J. Wiseman and K. Zachos, are largely scientific reports that summarize their finds in strictly empirical fashion. Their methodologies do not necessitate speculation over the cultural implications of their finds. See J. Isager, *Foundation and Destruction: Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece*. (Athens, 2001); Zachos, "The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis;" and J. Wiseman and K. Zachos, eds., *Landscape Archaeology in Southern Epirus, Greece I* for examples of this approach.

have been familiar with Octavian's propaganda and accepted further allusions to Apollo in hopes of eliciting continuing success. However, the reaction of Greeks to Octavian/Apollo conflation at Nikopolis could have been problematic. I postulate that some resented the comparison while others welcomed a familiar iconography, a foreign ruler actively working to negotiate Greek and Roman culture. The shrewd Octavian would have been keen to co-opt a local god using a structure that could appease both Apollo and the Nikopolitans while being appropriately awe-inspiring for a victory monument.<sup>311</sup>

As for the structure itself, the Nikopolis *tropaeum* is indeed a conflation of Greek and Roman forms and ideologies. Specifically, the builders combined a Roman rostra with a Greek-style stoa. Like previous Roman trophy monuments, the architects chose numerous evocative architectural forms to produce a unique and striking building. Moreover, the *Porticus Metelli* and *Porticus Octavia* in Rome appear to be predecessors of Octavian's campsite memorial.<sup>312</sup> Despite the fact that these structures did not adhere to a trophy typology, the monument's basic function was to commemorate a victory through the elevation of war spoils.<sup>313</sup> The architectural forms employed were appropriate for the historically and geographically specific situation.

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<sup>310</sup> P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 44-53

<sup>311</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.2-3 and Suetonius *Augustus* 28.3. Augustus also expanded a pre-existing temple to the Actian Apollo and maintained the ancient sacred grove belonging to the god.

<sup>312</sup> As noted above, these two buildings were Romanized stoas employed in part for the display of spoils. Both buildings were in the Hellenistic tradition, insofar as their patrons commissioned lavish monuments featuring precious building materials. However, there is no evidence that points to either portico possessing mounted ship rams.

<sup>313</sup> Unlike Nikopolis, the other trophy monuments in this study consist of a solid, uninhabitable structure used to raise the armored mannequin.

The lower part of the Nikopolis *tropaeum* consisted of a monumental platform featuring a façade decorated with ship prows. This architectural form mimicked the Roman speaking platform known as the rostra, a structure dating back to Rome's early history. The Republican rostra was a speaking platform located at the edge of the Comitium, the location where Rome's elites gathered to make legislative decisions. The rostra was a rectangular prism, with the exception of the rear which adhered to the rounded edge of the adjacent Comitium. The name refers to the ship prows, *rostra*, used to decorate its façade—a tradition dating back to the naval victory over the Latins at Antium in 338 B.C.<sup>314</sup>

In 145 B.C., the tribune C. Licinius Crassus moved this legislative body into the Forum, transforming the Forum square into the main stage of political activity through the end of Republican Rome.<sup>315</sup> Julius Caesar took advantage of the public arena, rebuilding the rostra on axis with the Forum Square shortly before his assassination in 44 B.C. The 13-meter long and 3.5-meter high concrete platform was faced with colored marble, its curved plan perhaps emulating the old curved structure in the Comitium. Octavian/Augustus monumentalized the rostra further after 42 B.C., extending the southeastern edge 10 meters closer to the Forum square and widening the façade to 23.8 meters. The staircase remained curved while the section facing the Forum audience became a rectangular marble façade. Bronze ship prows jutted out from the front and flanks of the Rostra, trophies from Rome's naval victories.<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Livy 8.14.12.

<sup>315</sup> Cicero, *De Amicitia* 96.

<sup>316</sup> L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1992), 335-336. F. Coarelli, "Rostra (età repubblicana)," *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vol. 4, 212-213.



The shift of Rome's political center to the Forum illustrates a change in the organization of Roman government. Control of the Roman Republic belonged to the aristocratic elites who gathered in the Comitium to perpetuate their rule among themselves. Romans at the lower rungs of society could only watch from the Forum. The Rostra was a product of a regime change, one that revolved around the gaining of public approval. Thus, a popular individual could gain an extraordinary amount of power. This change swiftly brought about the consolidation of power under one autocratic leader, marking the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the Roman Empire.<sup>317</sup>

Despite the autocratic realities of Octavian/Augustus's strategies, his propaganda revolved around the *restoration* of the Roman Republic. The rostra in Rome was symbolic of Republican glory and Augustus cleverly appropriated the form to emphasize his role as savior of the Republic. At the same time, finishing the rostra as well as other buildings commissioned around the Forum by his great-uncle, Julius Caesar, provided a visually stimulating, concrete continuation of a legacy. In this way, Octavian's use of this architectural model at Nikopolis was part of the developing program of the new regime.

A large percentage of Octavian's soldiers understood the significance of the *rostra* in Rome. Some may have even seen it in person, considering the frequent

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<sup>317</sup> For studies dedicated to the cultural and political changes from Republic to Empire see R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939) and recent responses to and revisions of Syme's seminal work in A. Giovannini and B. Grange, eds., *La Révolution Romaine après Ronald Syme* (Geneva, 2000). See also F. Millar's *The Crowd in the Late Republic* for more information on changes in behavior and attitudes of Romans in the forum landscape.

occupation of the capital by ambitious generals and their armies in the Late Republic.<sup>318</sup> The Caesarian legions absorbed into the armies of Octavian and Antony were likely aware of their deceased leader's ambitions in Rome and recognized the significance of the familial connotations in this new rostra. Coins also served to communicate the importance of a monument decorated with ship prows, as numerous Republican mints featured representations of rams struck on the reverse side of coins.<sup>319</sup> Nikopolis elevated the Actian victory to a level rivaled only by Rome's legendary past by evoking forms and imagery associated with glorious Republican triumphs.<sup>320</sup> What Roman soldier would discourage such comparisons?

Although the Greek population was not familiar with the architectural form known as a rostra, their martial traditions did include the capture and display of enemy weapons. After all, it was originally a Greek practice that the Romans emulated. The reaction to the display of ship prows must have been mixed, since the *tropaeum* may have featured Roman spoils—if the biggest and best prows available for display were Antony's and not exclusively Cleopatra's. On the one hand, a person could see the Roman spoils upon a Roman monument as a testament to the tumultuous state of the

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<sup>318</sup> Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 199-204. Members of Pansa's original *II Sabina*, *III Sorana*, and *V Urbana* legions were absorbed into the *III*, *VII*, and *VIII Macedonica* legions that fought on Octavian's side. Pansa raised these legions in the Sabine country, the town of Sora in Latium, and in the city of Rome itself, respectively, in 43 B.C. These men certainly knew the significance of the rostra and could communicate its importance to their fellows.

<sup>319</sup> See illustrations in M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* for a plethora of examples. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 41-42. Specifically, one *denarius* represents the *columna rostrata* awarded to Octavian for his victory over Antony, a monument modeled after an earlier monument dedicated to the consul Gaius Duilius in honor of his naval victory over the Carthaginians in 260 B.C. C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage: From 31 B.C. to AD 69*, vol. 1 (London, 1984), 73. The *denarius* of C. Sulpicius Plato depicts Augustus and Agrippa atop the rostra. However, both of these coins were minted after the construction of the trophy monument at Nikopolis.

empire and encourage dissent. On the other hand, a viewer might understand this as evidence of a general ruthless enough to celebrate the conquest of a fellow Roman. How would Octavian treat foreign opposition? As a Nikopolitan, the realization of Octavian's ruthlessness discouraged resistance.<sup>321</sup>

It was the inscription above the beaks that announced Roman primacy in a more direct fashion. While the population of Nikopolis spoke Greek and even used the Greek alphabet throughout the city, the inscription upon the trophy was in Latin, celebrated a Roman general, and dedicated the monument to Roman gods. For all of their alleged freedom, the Epirote, Corinthian, and Aetolian inhabitants of the new victory city were still subjects of Rome. For a Roman or Romanized audience, the inscription depicts Octavian as a pious Roman who appropriately honors the gods for their support. The fact that divinities granted Octavian victory proved that his martial actions were justified. Moreover, the inscription refers to Octavian's opposition only as enemies of Rome, selectively omitting the shameful fact that the battle pitted Roman against Roman. Alternatively, Octavian may have purposefully and openly omitted Marc Antony's mention as a kind of *de facto damnatio memoriae*—the removal of an individual from all remembrance. The dishonor made Marc Antony a traitor and Octavian, by default, a hero.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> These Republican victories pitted Romans against foreign forces, unlike the recent civil wars Octavian's soldiers fought. These men must have been eager to disassociate themselves of this fact and entertain propaganda that spoke favorably of their recent struggles.

<sup>321</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.2. Dio relates that Augustus punished the eastern communities and leaders that had backed Antony, but no one on this list was an Epirote.

<sup>322</sup> Sulla banning representations of Marius was a recent example of *de facto damnatio memoriae*, those not officially given by the Senate (Plutarch, *Caesar* 5). Octavian destroyed images and references to Marc Antony after his victory over Antony (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.19.3 and Plutarch, *Antony* 86). The omission of Antony's name at Nikopolis was another way to deny his adversary any recognition, just as

The upper part of the Nikopolis *tropaeum* consisted of a *stoa* and an altar. The *stoa*-type at provided a common reference for both Greek and Roman residents. As noted above, Greek and Roman examples show similar structures in the form of multilevel platforms surmounted by porticoed constructions. These *stoa* delineated a sacred precinct. In the case of Nikopolis, the uppermost region honored the Roman gods Neptune and Mars. The covered colonnade likely contained further evidence of glorious victory in the form of enemy weapons and perhaps even more captured rams, those deemed unsightly or too damaged to decorate the façade of the *tropaeum*. Octavian might have also decorated these halls with the arms and armor taken off of Antony's infantry, transforming this part of the building into a military museum or a cabinet of curiosity encompassing the Battle of Actium.<sup>323</sup> Romans loyal to Augustus took pride in their contribution to the restoration of the Republic whenever they gazed upon the now-impotent weapons.<sup>324</sup> For soldiers familiar with the *Porticus Metelli* and *Porticus Octavia*, Nikopolis referenced Roman conquests in Alexander's old kingdom of Macedonia—victories that connoted Rome's superiority over the legendary Macedonian king.

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destroying effigies symbolically reduced/negated a Roman's reputation. Pompey the Great similarly omitted the name of Sertorius upon his trophy at Pannisars, as discussed in Chapter 4. See K. Mustakallio, *Death and Disgrace: Capital Penalties with Post Mortem Sanctions in Early Roman Historiography* (Helsinki, 1994) and H.I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* for more on the various sanctions against disgraced individuals and Romans' concern with memory and legacy. See also E. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden, 2004) for a study of the manifestation of *damnatio memoriae* in material culture.

<sup>323</sup> Appian, *Illyrian Wars* 28. Appian mentions that Octavian placed the recovered standards on display in the Porticus Octavia in 33 B.C. This could be seen as a very recent predecessor to the Nikopolis *tropaeum*.

<sup>324</sup> Beyond pride, the trophy monument also served as a concrete testimonial an achievement with material ends. It was a reminder of the privilege and power promised to his soldiers by Octavian.

The local Greeks forced to look upon these spoils might have seen the remains as little more than a curious remnant of Roman history, but the act of depositing military spoils in a *stoa* mimicked their own traditions.<sup>325</sup> As a trophy monument, the Nikopolis *tropaeum* stood out as an ostentatious declaration of conquest; but in the *stoa*, local Greeks instead saw a gift to their new home from the benevolent Octavian. This type of structure was a civic center where numerous everyday transactions took place, from commercial and legal activity to religious and medical practices.<sup>326</sup> In particular, a new economic hub served as a welcome relief to the population of a fledgling city and the surrounding war-ravaged rural areas.<sup>327</sup>

Alternatively, the *stoa* at Nikopolis could produce valuable revenue for Octavian's glorious monument rather than for the Nikopolitans. J.J. Coulton presents instances of wealthy individuals or rulers using a *stoa* for profit in the Hellenistic period in *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*.<sup>328</sup> Octavian could not afford to construct an entire victory city in the midst of a civil war. Ancient historians attest to grievances from discharged veterans of the war settled in Brundisium in the summer of 30 B.C., soldiers assuaged with payment or promise of payment.<sup>329</sup> Octavian was able to solve his economic dilemma partially with taxes levied from Antony's supporters and

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<sup>325</sup> Murray and Petsas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial," 91-92. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10.11.6; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 12.70.5; and Plutarch, *De Genio Socrates* 34 all mention the practice of displaying military spoils in the *stoa*.

<sup>326</sup> J.J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford, 1976), 8-14.

<sup>327</sup> Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, 178-179. Coulton notes that there is a distinction in the use of the *stoa* in Greece and its adopted form in Rome. The Roman portico often served to shelter people from the noisy, busy street—in a similar fashion to the function of the domestic peristyle. The portico did not develop into the center of public commerce in Rome. However, this may not have been the case in Nikopolis for the primarily Greek population.

more significantly with the sack of Alexandria. In the meantime, Nikopolis had to fare for itself until Octavian returned to dedicate the campsite memorial and attend the first *Aktia* in August 29 B.C.<sup>330</sup>

If this is indeed the case, the Greeks neither saw the *stoa* as a benefit, nor did they consider Augustus their benign patron. Instead, the *stoa* reiterated their submissive role through economics, as Nikopolitan commercial endeavors ultimately went toward completing and running a city the Romans forced them to occupy. But the *stoa* was yet another part of the Roman complex.

The pi-shaped *stoa* at Nikopolis designates the edges of a monumental platform on three sides. Evidence for the sculptural and architectural program at the center of this courtyard is fragmentary. Firstly, only the platforms of the dedicatory statues remain. As noted above, scholars identify them as supports for representations of Eutychos and Nikon. In my opinion, these two bases supported statues of the two gods mentioned on the inscription below. Two monumental statues of Mars and Neptune visually complemented the inscription as well, especially when viewing the front of the structure from the south. By comparison, images of a peasant and his ass were not as appropriate or as potent as those of the god of war and the sea. Both Greek and Romans had to pay homage to these gods, whether they were called Mars or Ares, Neptune or Poseidon.

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<sup>328</sup> Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, 14-17. According to Coulton's, ambitious rich people loaned money to build or repair civic structures. In the case of the *stoa*, the investment could render immediate returns as a commercial venue.

<sup>329</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.4.1-5 and Suetonius, *Augustus*.

<sup>330</sup> Murray and Petsas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial," 129. The two scholars posit this date based on reconstructing the route taken by Augustus from Asia back to Italy, partially recorded in Thucydides (6.13.1). The ancient sources do not clearly attest the arrival of Augustus in Nikopolis, but other scholars suggest he arrived on September for the anniversary of Actium.

This visual reference would have served as a nexus for negotiation between Greeks and Romans at Nikopolis.

However, one medieval source appears to confirm that the monumental statues at Nikopolis were those of Eutychos and Nikon. Zonaras, the Byzantine historian and theologian, re-tells the auspicious story found in Plutarch (*Antony* 65.3) and Suetonius (*Augustus* 96.2) and adds that these very statues were carried off to Byzantium and placed in the city's hippodrome.<sup>331</sup> There is no evidence of the Romans having any objection to the statues of a commoner and his ass, especially as they stood unperturbed for two hundred to three hundred years *in situ*. The Greek Nikopolitans apparently took no offense either. The heroic representation of a local individual placed in a Roman commemorative monument may have served to evoke a story that brought Romans and Greeks together after all.

The last significant structure within the monument is the altar. The earliest altars in the Greco-Roman tradition were little more than sacred sites in nature, distinguished by manipulated piles of ash left over from routine sacrifices.<sup>332</sup> Architecture served to further enhance these sacred spots, and builders further embellished these stone structures with painted and/or carved decoration in the form of architectural motifs and sacrificial iconography.<sup>333</sup> Further architectural elaboration is found at the Altar of the Twelve

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<sup>331</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* 10.30. The reference does not specify a date. The statues may have been moved in 203, the date Septimus Severus erected the hippodrome in Byzantium. Theodosius the Great's embellishment of the hippodrome with spolia from throughout the empire in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD is another possibility. See S. Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, 2004), 62 and 213 for analysis of the placement and use of the statues in the hippodrome of Constantinople.

<sup>332</sup> See C.G. Yavis *Greek Altars* (St. Louis, 1949) for further information of pre-Greek and early Greek altars and their development.

<sup>333</sup> Early Greek altars were platforms often built before temples. In many cases the altar preceded the construction of a temple, suggesting that the altar could exist independently of the temple.

Gods in Athens during the sixth century B.C. In particular, builders added an enclosure that distinguished the sacred precinct from the rest of the city (Fig. 41).<sup>334</sup>

Builders of the Sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos enclosed the sacrificial site with a colonnade, potentially serving as the fourth century prototype for later monumental altars in Asia Minor and abroad.<sup>335</sup> One of the greatest examples of Hellenistic altars is the Altar of Zeus and Athena at Pergamon. The massive second century monument may commemorate the victory of Eumenes II over marauding Gauls in 168-166 B.C., giving the structure martial significance. Building a monumental altar showed Octavian's appropriate piety to the gods after such a victory. Emulating such lauded structures also linked Augustus to Hellenistic monarchs like the Seleucids, direct inheritors of Alexander the Great's legacy.

Moreover, Octavian may have also intended associations between himself and Aeneas, a legendary founder of Rome. In the legend, Aeneas found an auspicious sign in the form of a white sow and her offspring on the Italian shore. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassos, the hero sacrificed the animals to his *penates* and placed the images of his ancestral gods atop the location that also happened to be a prominent hill. He then moved his camp to the site and subsequently built a settlement there.<sup>336</sup> It should be noted that Nikopolis was also the site of Octavian's own camp prior to the Battle of Actium. The altar of the Nikopolis trophy could be construed as a prototype for the smaller but more iconographically suggestive *Ara Pacis*—specific in communicating

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<sup>334</sup> J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York, 1971). 458-461.

<sup>335</sup> V. Kästner, "The Architecture of the Great Altar of Pergamon," in *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods*, Helmut Kuester, ed. (Harrisburg, 1998), 137-161.

<sup>336</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* 1.57.1 and Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.389-93; 8.81.85.



Octavian/Augustus as a latter-day founder of a new Rome. Similarly, the victory city of Nikopolis could also be understood as an experiment in urban planning, the kind eventually carried out throughout Rome during the reign of Augustus.<sup>337</sup>

As for the decoration upon the altar, archaeologists recovered fragments of the altar's sculptural façade with martial iconography (Fig. 42). More images of ship prows, warriors, and even a pair of battlefield trophies reinforce the continuous theme of glorious victory, leaving little interpretive space between the Roman agenda and an alternative Greek reading. However, one must consider the close relationship between Greek and Roman art. Romans appropriated Greek forms, styles, and iconography to express their own desires and ambitions. Traditionally, Greeks and Romans are not as polarized as Romans and so-called Barbarians. This makes a nuanced interpretation of the *tropaeum* difficult. Nevertheless, this does not negate the possibility that the population of Nikopolis understood the *tropaeum* differently, as being something other than a mere display of Roman dominance.

The Amazonomachy presents some different messages for visitors.<sup>338</sup> As it was a representation of myths associated with the early histories of Greece (particularly Athens), its presence makes little sense on a Roman victory monument in northwestern Greece. Fights between Amazons and Greeks appear frequently in Greek art and literature around the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. and remain popular in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The most famous Amazonomachy can be found on the metopes

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<sup>337</sup> See chapter 1 discussion on similarities in urban planning between Halikarnassos and Rome, particularly the strategic/symbolic placement of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos and Mausoleum of Augustus.

of the Parthenon in Athens. Scholars hypothesize that Amazonomachies functioned as allegories that reinforced distinctions between “us” and “them,” civilization and barbarism, Greek and foreign.

Such a statement appears awkward and alienating, as it came from a Roman victor and was intended for a Greek audience composed of Roman subjects. It is difficult to imagine Greeks embracing a foreigner’s use of the Amazonomachy if the intended message was one of conquest and cultural superiority, unless the projected “other” was Marc Antony and his Egyptian allies and the local Greeks perceived Octavian and his Roman faction as being more in tune with Greek traditions than Antony. The possibility of both situations occurring at once is highly unlikely and only Octavian’s insistence on disseminating such a message could trump concerns about its inappropriateness.

Judith Barringer expounds upon an alternative reading of the Amazonomachy in ancient Greece; it is part of a more complimentary role for the “other” in narratives found throughout the Parthenon. Specifically, women and barbarians can be understood as necessary counterparts to Greek men rather than merely entities to be killed and/or conquered.<sup>339</sup> While the interactions between Greek men and barbarians were often tumultuous, these clashes did aid in the development and success of Greek culture. In this way, the presence of an Amazonomachy on the Nikopolis trophy may be an attempt to paint Rome’s role in a positive light—as another enriching cultural interaction for Greeks and Romans alike.

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<sup>338</sup> J.M. Barringer, *Art Myth and Ritual in Classical Greece* (Cambridge, 2008), 188. Amazonomachies on Greek stoas like the Royal Stoa and the Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora serve as precedents for Nikopolis.

While analyses of the architectural form and the decorative program reveal few apparent subversive or alternative narratives beyond that of Roman triumph or a type of cultural collusion, the rituals celebrated at the *tropeaum* presented provincials the opportunity to resist Romanization. A good deal of the Greek and Roman population of Nikopolis closely scrutinized the *tropaeum* on a daily basis due to its civic role in the community. These visits were not choreographed in any particular way except by the path leading up to the *stoa* and courtyard. Nikopolitans using the space for business were free to peruse the architectural and decorative program.

Ceremonial visits with prescribed behavior occurred during mandatory holidays. For certain, Rome's subjects participated in the Actian games every five years, re-instituted by Augustus in 29 B.C. to celebrate his victory over Antony.<sup>340</sup> Appropriate sacrifices were also made on the anniversary of the Battle of Actium. The military calendar found in Dura Europos mentioned above contains the same holidays celebrated in Rome, particularly imperial holidays; it features a large number of festivals commemorating emperor birthdays, military victories, and ascension to power alongside holidays for traditional Roman deities such as Jupiter, Mars, Juno, Minerva, and Neptune. The appropriate sacrifice accompanied each holy day listed.<sup>341</sup>

On these occasions, both Roman and Greek had to climb the hillside in a solemn procession. The pilgrims then followed the appropriate paths that ritualistically led them

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<sup>339</sup> J.M. Barringer, *Art, Myth, and Ritual in Classical Greece*, 82-85, 94-95, and 221. See footnotes 41 and 42 on page 221 for bibliography regarding traditional and alternative readings of the Amazonomachy.

<sup>340</sup> C. Habicht, "Eine Urkunde des Akarnischen Bundes," *Hermes* 85 (1957), 102-109. The Actian games ceased or were disrupted by the Illyrian Wars and/or the decline of the Akarnanian League—the Akarnanians being the original patrons of the spectacle in honor of the Actian Apollo.

<sup>341</sup> B. Campbell. *The Roman Army 31B.C.-AD 337: A Sourcebook*, (London, 1994) 127-131.

past the rams and allowed them into the upper *stoa*. Once in the *stoa*, they circumambulated the altar by walking through the peristyle prior to arriving before the altar itself. The leaders of Nikopolis sacrificed to the gods in order to celebrate the Actian victory, honor the emperor, and remember the men who died for the prosperity of the new regime. Additionally, the crowds gathered there at the commencement of the locally-founded Actian games. During these celebrations, it is possible that the Greeks prayed to Ares or Poseidon under their breath while the Romans sacrificed to Neptune and Mars. There certainly was neither a way for Romans to police the varied prayers of an individual nor was there any need to do so.

The reinstated Actian games had new implications for Greek participants and spectators alike, in much the same way that Augustus's restored Republic was a radical departure from the original construct. Secret prayers to Poseidon or even the Actian Apollo did not adequately counteract the powerful display of fealty to Rome expressed by their habitation of a Roman colony, the attendance of Roman-sponsored games, and celebration of Roman holidays.

Despite the immense changes forced upon the Epirotes by the Romans, there is no evidence of discontent Nikopolitans through the period of Roman rule. There is no recorded instance of rebellion or civil strife. According to Strabo, the population in and around Nikopolis continued to grow and prosper.<sup>342</sup> A recent study combining aerial photography, satellite imagery, and field surveys show continuous and even increased habitation of southern Epirus—even in places with little or no settlement in pre-Roman times. The cities the Romans razed to create Nikopolis were repopulated and new cities

sprung up in the vicinity.<sup>343</sup> Apparently, Roman presence stimulated a traditionally marginal region enough to promote immigration.

In addition, these new inhabitants had a preference for Italian goods and other foreign products made available by Roman traders. The analysis of ceramics collected during ten years of field surveys in southern Epirus conducted by the Nikopolis Project revealed steady increase in the consumption of imported ceramics in the Roman era. Larger and larger findings of foreign amphorae dating to the Roman period also indicates an increased desire for imported wine and oil. At the same time, local ceramic makers abandoned native styles in favor of tableware imitating Italian, Near Eastern, and North African types.<sup>344</sup>

The new immigrant population was not entirely composed of Roman colonists. Presumably, the Greeks in southern Epirus came to accept Roman presence or at least appreciate the luxuries facilitated by Rome's significant trade empire. Historically, Epirotes showed a tendency to embrace foreign cultures, from Classical motifs introduced by Corinthian colonists followed by Hellenizing trends and eventual Romanization.

Ultimately, the *tropaemum* at Nikopolis had little to do with the Romanization of southern Epirus. In this case, the Romans appealed to a local Greek population with long-negotiated, long-shared architectural forms, stylistic tastes, and iconography. There was little opportunity and little desire to formulate subversive or alternative narratives by

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<sup>342</sup> Strabo, *Geography* 7.7.6.

<sup>343</sup> J. Wiseman, "Landscape Archaeology in the Territory of Nikopolis," in *Foundation and Destruction: Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece* (Athens, 2001), 56-57.

the native population. Beyond its physical appearance, the Nikopolis trophy bears little resemblance to any of the other four monuments in this study. Its primary purpose is not the elevation of the armored scarecrow, it provides a valuable and verifiable economic service to the community, and it does not sanctify a battlefield that witnessed a significant loss of life. While the monument commemorates the Battle of Actium, Augustus could not erect a *tropaeum* that perpetually evoked the loss of Roman life at the hands of other Romans.

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<sup>344</sup> M.G. Moore, "Roman and Late Antique Pottery of Southern Epirus: Some Results of the Nikopolis Survey Project," *Foundation and Destruction: Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece*, 80-81 and 86.

## CHAPTER SIX

### The Augustan Trophy at La Turbie

What Roman strength Turbia show'd  
In ruin by the mountain road;  
How like a gem, beneath, the city  
Of little Monaco, basking, glow'd!<sup>345</sup>

The Trophy of the Alps commemorates Augustus' subjugation of 44 Alpine tribes between 16 and 14 B.C. in Gaul. Commissioned immediately after the final Roman victory of the Alpine War led by Tiberius and his brother Drusus, the Alpine Trophy was completed and dedicated to Augustus between 9 and 7 B.C. Its ruins still stand in the picturesque village named after the monument, La Turbie, on the mountains overlooking modern-day Monaco (Fig. 43).<sup>346</sup>

La Turbie lies on the ancient border between Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. A network of hills, kept lush and green by the humid conditions of the French Riviera, characterize the immediate landscape. The hillside upon which the trophy stands overlooks the Mediterranean Sea in dramatic fashion, an outcropping of the Alps, the westernmost chain that runs south into the Mediterranean (Fig. 44). Unlike the abrupt overhangs that mark the division between land and sea to the east in Liguria, the Alps taper off into rolling hills the further one travels west. The mountain peaks northwest of the monument are considerably higher, creating a green-forested frame for the trophy.

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<sup>345</sup> Alfred Lord Tennyson, excerpt from "The Daisy," (1852).

<sup>346</sup> B. Wilson, *The Trophy of the Alps* (Paris, 1934), 24-25. The building is a restoration carried out between 1927 and 1934 under the supervision of Jules Formigé.

This placement privileges views from the old Roman road and out to sea, both of which lay southeast of the structure.

According to reconstructions by Jules Formigé, the basic components of the trophy itself consist of a rectangular base approximately 15 meters tall and 47 meters wide and a colonnaded drum with a twelve-stepped conical roof, topped by a trophy—making it a total of 49 meters high. The construction is a largely solid mortar and rubblework with Carrara marble facing and the decorative program is rather sparse, giving the monument an austere appearance. It is mostly solid with the exception of small rectilinear passageways leading to four spiral staircases corresponding to the four corners of the rectangular base. These stairs give access to the roof of the base. A fifth spiral staircase connects the base roof level to the conical roof and the trophy statue itself (Fig. 45).<sup>347</sup>

At its pinnacle would have been a victory statue, a lost portion that was either an effigy of triumphant Augustus or an armored scarecrow type of trophy according to Formigé. The conical roof below this statue might have been a twelve-stepped or scalloped construction. Of the actual surviving elements, a Tuscan colonnade with triglyphs and metopes decorates the drum. The twenty-four columns along the drum have marginal structural significance, as the rest of the drum is nearly solid. The Tuscan columns and the surmounted metopes and triglyphs upon the frieze may have had symbolic purposes. Between each of the drum's twenty-four columns stood statues set into niches built onto the interior wall of the drum; the only one of which survives is a



statue of Drusus (Fig. 46 and 52). The rest may have been representations of Tiberius, Polibius Silius (who also led troops in the Alpine War), Augustus, other members of the imperial family, and/or the gods. However, there is no textual or material evidence for this hypothesis.

The base is undecorated except for the victory trophies and personified victories that flank the dedicatory text. Scholars have lavished the greatest amount of attention on the rectangular base of the monument, particularly because of its inscription (Fig. 47).

The inscription reads:

IMP CAESAR DIVI FILIO AVGVSTO  
PONT MAX IMP XIII-TRIB POT XVII  
SENATVS POPVLVS QVE ROMANVS  
QVOD EIVS DVCTV AVSPICIIS QVE GENTES  
ALPINAE OMNES QVAE A MARI SVPERO  
AD INFERVM PERTINEBANT SVB IMPERIVM P R  
SVNT REDACTAE  
GENTES ALPINAE DEVICTAE

[To Caesar Augustus/ Son of the Divine Caesar/ Grand Pontiff/ Imperator for the fourteenth time and in the seventeenth year of his Tribunate/ To Commemorate

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<sup>347</sup> These interiors elements were small and cramped. It is unknown whether they had ritualistic significance or whether they were merely access points for the purpose of routine maintenance of the monument.

that through His Auspices and Leadership/ All the Peoples of the Alps/ From the Major to the Lesser Sea/Have Been Subjugated and/ Reunited to the Empire.]<sup>348</sup>

This dedication is followed by a list of the 44 subjugated Alpine tribes.<sup>349</sup>

Significantly, this inscription provides us with geographical and historical information within its listing of the peoples. In an effort to discover the geographical extent of the Alpine Wars, it is still possible to accurately locate many of these tribes' territories throughout Gaul from studying the list. For example, in his book, *Le Trophée d'Auguste à La Turbie*, a one-time mayor of La Turbie, Philippe Casimir, traced the various Alpine tribes back to the very valleys, hilltops, and lakesides they once inhabited.<sup>350</sup> Casimir dedicates an entire chapter to this task, going as far as describing the flora and fauna found in these locations. However, Casimir does not consider these ancient places in relationship to one another, making it difficult for the reader to grasp any geographical uses for the list.

Nino Lamboglia's later monograph on the trophy at La Turbie synthesizes this information, considering the Alpine tribes upon the trophy's inscription within the larger geographical context of Western Europe and draws conclusions based on those

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<sup>348</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 3.136-138. It is important to note that a majority of the inscription was reconstructed with the help of Pliny the Elder who reproduced the text upon the inscription in his account of the inauguration of the Trophy of the Alps in 5 B.C. I thank James Inman for his help with the nuances of this translation.

<sup>349</sup> The list included the Trumpilini, Camunni, Venostes, Vennonettes, Isarci, Breuni, Genauni, Focunates/Vindellicorum Gentes quattuor, Consuanetes, Rucinates, Licates, Catenates, Ambisontes, Rugusci, Suanetes, Calucones, Brixentes, Leponti, Viberi/Uberi, Nantuates, Seduni, Veragri, Salassi, Acitavones, Medulli, Ucenni, Caturiges, Brigiani, Sogionti, Brodionti, Nemaloni, Edenates, Esubiani/Vesubiani, Veamini, Gallitae, Triullati, Ectini, Vergunni, Egituri, Nemeturi, Oratelli, Nerusi, Vellauni, and the Suetri peoples.

<sup>350</sup> P. Casimir, *Le Trophée d'Auguste à La Turbie* (Marseille, 1932), 63-114.

findings.<sup>351</sup> One of Lamboglia's most important discoveries is that the last tribes listed on the Alpine Trophy's inscription were more local than those inscribed at the beginning of the list. Although Lamboglia does not pursue this logic further, his finding suggests that the Romans' ordering of the 44 subjugated tribes is not arbitrary, but may have a geographical or temporal significance. Scholars have yet to address whether the list references temporal or geographical orders of conquest. Were the Veamini or the Svetri the last tribes conquered by the Romans on the road to La Turbie, or are they simply the closest potential viewers of the Alpine Trophy? In any case, the significance of this ordering was presumably meant for the informed Roman viewer—a viewer not only privy to such information, but also capable of decoding such a message. The individual needed to be capable of reading Latin and be able to identify the tribes listed.<sup>352</sup> Beyond making a statement of conquest that was both visual and textual, such listing might act as one general's *res gestae* and guarantee subsequent travelers' and traders' safe passage through once-dangerous territory, carefully outlining the territories under Roman control in an orderly geographical manner.

By cross-referencing Lamboglia and the trophy's inscription with the known locations of Alpine tribes found in the *Barrington Atlas of the Ancient World*, I was able to posit the geographical significance of the order of those forty-four Gallic tribes.<sup>353</sup> The first half of the listed tribes were located in the northernmost extremities of the Alpine chain, between the Rhine and the Elbe and just south of the Danube. The furthest

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<sup>351</sup> N. Lamboglia, *Le Trophée d'Auguste à La Turbie* (Marseilles: 1964).

<sup>352</sup> In many cases, Romans grouped communities into tribes strictly according to their own perspectives and/or necessities. The natives of Gaul may not necessarily have seen themselves as "Svetri" or "Veamini," for example.

identifiable peoples, the Runicates, lived over three hundred kilometers northwest of the *Tropaeum Augusti* at La Turbie. Those tribes listed toward the end of the inscription correspond to places much closer to the Alpine trophy. Still, the last tribe listed, the Suetrii, inhabited a region approximately sixty kilometers west of the monument. Nevertheless, the monument speaks directly to and about these Gauls, indicating their presence around La Turbie in a post-conquest context.

Corroborating Cassius Dio's account about the Alpine War, the tribes came exclusively from throughout Alps, spanning hundreds of miles of difficult terrain.<sup>354</sup> Dio's text situates the most difficult and bloody fighting on the other side of the Danube, including the largest battle of the entire campaign against an allied barbarian force led by the Rhaetian tribe. However, he relates that this last and greatest battle occurred at the northernmost part of the Alpine mountain chain—quite far away from La Turbie. Interestingly, the tribes in this last monumental clash mentioned by the ancient author are not recognized on the Alpine Trophy. These facts compel us to question why the Romans chose to build a monument to a war in a locale that witnessed little or no direct conflict. What is significant about La Turbie as a preferred location for a victory monument? Since ancient texts do not answer this question, we must re-examine the remains of the Alpine Trophy at La Turbie for additional information and our own understanding of it as a victory/commemorative monument, particularly its geographical and topographical placement.

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<sup>353</sup> *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*. R.J.A. Talbert, ed. (Princeton, 2000). Maps 10-12 and 16-19.

## Gaul before the Romans

Before a consideration of the monument itself, it is useful to think about the landscape surrounding the work in social and political terms. The Roman province of Gaul was an enormous territory, spanning from northern Italy to the northern borders of modern-day Holland and southwest as far as Marseilles.<sup>355</sup> Prior to the reorganization by Caesar and later by Augustus, the Romans generally divided the territory into two areas, Cisalpine Gaul (Gaul this-side-of-the-Alps) and Transalpine (Gaul beyond-the-Alps).<sup>356</sup> Roman writers also refer to these jokingly, but tellingly, as Toga-wearing Gaul and Long-Haired Gaul respectively. Given their closer proximity to Rome, the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul were predictably more Romanized than their Transalpine brothers, and thus, more civilized in the opinion of Roman writers. Surprisingly, Gaul was one of the last adjacent territories to come under Roman control, commonly marked by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus's and Q. Fabius Maximus's conquests in 121 B.C.<sup>357</sup>

The Gauls were composed of semi-nomadic tribes whose claims to land depended on the prowess of their warriors. In a kind of early feudal system, strong and charismatic warlords could carve out large territories for themselves and their allies. For this reason, the Gallic tribes lived in a state of perpetual warfare, forming loose confederations only in efforts to subvert powerful foes.<sup>358</sup> In this flexible and potentially combustible situation, the Romans saw only a chaotic world that did not reflect any of their own

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<sup>354</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.20-55.1

<sup>355</sup> It is important to note that the Romans had various interpretations for the boundaries of Gaul. For example, Caesar's Gallic campaigns extend Gaul to incorporate nearly all of modern-day France.

<sup>356</sup> Polybius, *The Histories* 2.15.9.

<sup>357</sup> Strabo, *Geography* 4.1.11.

<sup>358</sup> Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War*, trans. by Carolyn Hammond (Oxford, 1996), xxv-xxvi.

ideals, ones based on aristocratic social hierarchies, permanent land-holdings, and urbanization; therefore, they perceived a world ripe for Romanization. In an early kind of Manifest Destiny, this rhetoric justified Roman conquest and expansion.<sup>359</sup>

However, Rome's dealings with Gaul did not begin with Augustus' Alpine Wars, or with Julius Caesar's famous Gallic Wars between 58 and 51 B.C. In the early Republic, Roman influence in the region came by way of an alliance with Massilia, present-day Marseilles. Although sources for the earliest treaty are scarce, Polybius' account firmly places the pact at the birth of the Republic in *ca.* 509 B.C.<sup>360</sup> Whether or not this date can be confirmed, we can assume that relations between Rome and Massilia were long-standing.

Significant interaction between Rome and Gaul dates back to the infamous Gallic invasion of Italy in 390 B.C. At this time, Rome's armies appeared powerless against the Gallic hordes that crossed the Alps and swarmed into Italy. The Romans' modified phalanx suffered from a lack of maneuverability and all attempts at resistance ended in disaster for the Romans. However, the Gallic force never sacked the city of Rome and, seemingly content with the booty it had collected, returned to Gaul.<sup>361</sup>

Gaul became involved in the Hannibalic Wars in the late third century B.C., as Rome and Carthage solicited allies from the region. In 220 B.C., the Carthaginian

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<sup>359</sup> C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor, 1991), 29-47. In his second chapter, Nicolet discusses the visual and textual tactics for communicating ambitions of world conquest employed by ambitious individuals like Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus in the late Republic.

<sup>360</sup> Polybius, *The Histories* 3.22.1. For further discussion on the accuracy of this date, see N.J. DeWitt, "Massalia and Rome," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 71 (1940), 605-615 and Alföldy, *Early Rome and Latium*, 350-355.

<sup>361</sup> L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* (Norman OK, 1984), 18-19. For debates concerning the sack of Rome see T.J. Cornell, *The Beginning of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars* (London, 1995), 313-322.

general Hannibal led a second invasion of Italy over the Alps, recruiting troops and forming alliances with numerous Alpine tribes. One of the predominant peoples of Gaul, the Celts, provided a large number of cavalry for Hannibal's army. Yet again, the city of Rome remained unharmed and, unable to rally support in Italy, Hannibal returned to Africa.<sup>362</sup> The fact that some Gallic peoples joined Hannibal, coupled with the unchecked and unanswered Gaulish invasion of 390 B.C. made more direct control in Gaul a Roman priority in the second and first centuries B.C.

The threat presented by the Gallic tribes (Arveni and Allobroges) to Massilia brought Roman forces to the aid of their ally in the late second century. Roman consuls Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Q. Fabius Maximus arrived in Gaul in 122 B.C. to deal with the Gauls.<sup>363</sup> In a single battle the Romans overwhelmingly defeated the Allobroges, killing 20,000 and taking another 3,000 men captive near the city of Undalum.<sup>364</sup> Nevertheless, this great defeat was not enough to make the Gauls submit. At the battle of Isar, the Gauls lost an astonishing 120,000 men versus only 15 Roman casualties.<sup>365</sup> Both of these battles were commemorated by raising a trophy upon each battlefield.<sup>366</sup> This is also the first record of Romans constructing a victory monument.<sup>367</sup> Unfortunately, no material evidence remains from this campaign.

Soon afterward, the Romans organized Gaul into a province, a move that did little to quiet the newly annexed area. Further skirmishes in the early first century point to the

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<sup>362</sup> Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* (Norman OK, 1984), 24-33.

<sup>363</sup> Strabo, *Geography* 4.2.3.

<sup>364</sup> Orosius, *Historiae Adversum Paganos* 5.13.2

<sup>365</sup> Orosius, *Historiae Adversum Paganos* 5.14. Strabo, *Geography* 4.11.

<sup>366</sup> Florus, *Epitome of Roman History* 1.37 (3.2).

ongoing difficulties. On his march to fight Sertorius in Spain, Pompey pacified a large number of communities in Gaul prior to wintering in the Pyrenees around 72 B.C. He listed the names of these towns on a trophy erected in the mountains.<sup>368</sup> In 62 B.C., the Allobroges revolted yet again and were defeated by the Roman generals Marius and Ser. Galba that very same year.<sup>369</sup> This eruption of violence constituted the last significant revolt in southern Gaul.

The Gallic invasion of 390 B.C. and the Second Punic War served to illustrate Roman susceptibility to invasion through the Alps' mountain passages. While Rome's interests in southern Gaul were more or less secure by the middle of the first century B.C., ambitious Roman generals were eager to emphasize a continued threat from Gallic and Germanic tribes. This supposed threat justified the first military expedition led by Julius Caesar. For the first time ever, Roman forces invaded Gaul for the expressed purpose of subjugation (as opposed to the punitive exercises of the past).

Caesar's Gallic war was not fought in southern Gaul; rather, it functioned to pacify tribes in the north—most notably the allied Gauls led by Vercingetorix. Southern Gaul, the region later known as Gallia Narbonensis, played a significant role in these campaigns. According to Suetonius, Caesar raised an entire legion of Gallic recruits, the *Legio V Alaudae*, and likely used a large number of Gallic auxiliary troops.<sup>370</sup> The promise of booty and possibly Roman citizenship were compelling reasons to join the Roman ranks. Aside from military recruits, Caesar relied on the economy of southern

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<sup>367</sup> T. Hölscher, "The Transformation of Victory into Power: From Event to Structure," 29. Hölscher identifies this monument as the first of its kind: a Roman adaptation of a Greek form and practice.

<sup>368</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>369</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 37.47-48.



Gaul for the funding and the feeding of his armies. Roman colonies and its old ally Massalia likely contributed to Caesar's war machine.<sup>371</sup>

In the aftermath of his conquest, Caesar divided Gaul into three regions—areas that more or less coincide with the Augustan reorganization of Gaul into Narbonensis, Belgica, and Lugdunensis. Although Caesar defeated a great number of Gallic armies, internal problems in the capital shifted Rome's focus away from Gaul. Years of civil war kept Roman armies fighting one another. It was not until Augustus' solidification of power in Rome that a renewed interest in the conquest of Gaul emerged, almost immediately after the Battle of Actium.

### **Augustus' Alpine War**

In Augustus' Alpine Wars three generals, the legate P. Silius, Drusus, and Tiberius, carried out a successful battle strategy purportedly planned out by Augustus himself.<sup>372</sup> That the latter two leaders were members of Augustus' family reinforced the specifically Augustan glory of this victory. Over three years of war, three Roman armies subjugated a total of 44 Alpine tribes and brought the territory under the direct control of Rome. Augustus wanted not only to secure the passage into Italy, but also to open the possibility for expanding the empire into Germania.

Augustus turned his attention to Gaul as early as 27 B.C., immediately after the establishment of the Principate. The emperor visited Gaul on three occasions, in 27, 16-13, and 10 B.C. in order to oversee military operations and perpetuate the Romanization

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<sup>370</sup> Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 24.2

<sup>371</sup> A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis* (London, 1988), 62-68.

of the province.<sup>373</sup> This was possibly also the time that Augustus improved and expanded the Roman roads in Gaul, in particular the *Via Iulia Augusta* that ran along the coast of southern Narbonensis connecting Italy and Spain.<sup>374</sup>

Accounts of Augustus' Alpine War are obscure and there is no chronicle to match Caesar's extensive *Bellum Gallicum*, so we must rely on additional sporadic references to the later campaign in Cassius Dio and Tacitus in order to reconstruct accounts of the martial operation. The accounts of this war, particularly Cassius Dio's, are scattered and not particularly evocative of a major campaign, in part because the Romans did not concentrate their efforts against one particular tribe or region. Rather than presenting a picture of a committed war effort, the accounts suggest a series of skirmishes characterized by overwhelming Roman victories in various parts of Cisalpine Gaul, Transalpine Gaul, and as far north as Greater Germania.<sup>375</sup>

The Alpine War took place between 15 and 9 B.C. Cassius Dio begins his account by presenting Gaul's potential for significant unrest, evidenced by an armed resistance carried out by two Alpine tribes in 16 B.C.: the Camunni and the Venni. However, Polibius Silius subdued the insurgency that very same year, so this seems an unlikely impetus for a new campaign.<sup>376</sup> Rather, modern scholars propose that the Alpine War was an attempt to solidify Roman positions in northern Gaul.<sup>377</sup> This solidification was necessary in preparation for future campaigns in Germania, itself a threatening

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<sup>372</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.21-22.

<sup>373</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 54.19.2, 54.25.1, 54.36.3.

<sup>374</sup> A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narvonensis: with a Chapter of Alpes Maritimae* (London: 1988), 79.

<sup>375</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.

<sup>376</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.20.0-2. Curiously, the Cammuni are listed as one of the 44 tribes defeated in the later war, but not the Vennii.

emergent force, whose strength was underlined by the loss of three legions in Germany's Teutobergian Forest under the command of Publius Quinctilius Varus in 9 B.C.<sup>378</sup> The key to extended and successful expeditions into Germany lay in the martial pacification of northern Gaul. More importantly, only the social and economic development of the entirety of the province could provide the resources for such military ambitions. Additionally, taking permanent control of the mountain passes in the Alps and of the tribes entrenched in this difficult terrain was essential for effective and efficient movement of troops and supplies to and from Italy. The fact that some of the Alpine tribes exacted tolls and/or attacked Romans was yet another compelling argument for action against them.<sup>379</sup>

Dio informs us that Tiberius' army concentrated its efforts along the Rhine, and that Drusus' army fought in the Rhaetian lands just south of the Danube, while Silius battled west of Tridentum. According to Dio, the fighting ended around 14 B.C., after the three armies joined forces against the Brenner on the first of August in one giant, final battle. He offers no operational details beyond the fact that it was a decisive rout for the Roman armies.<sup>380</sup> Fighting erupted once again when the Sugambri and their allies felt emboldened by Augustus' departure for Rome in 12 B.C. Drusus fought these peoples as well as German forces looking to capitalize on the perceived lack of leadership.<sup>381</sup> It

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<sup>377</sup> E. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (Berkeley, 1985).

<sup>378</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus* 23.4. The importance of this loss is (melo)dramatically communicated by Augustus' alleged cry, "Quinctilius Varus, give me back my legions!"

<sup>379</sup> A. King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* (Berkeley, 1990), 56.

<sup>380</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 54.20-32 and 55.23-30. Dio cursorily mentions battles and skirmishes in Gaul but never refers to the collectively as a war. Geographically read, Dio's accounts reveal scattered fighting occurring throughout the Alps.

<sup>381</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.32.0-2.

appears that the German participation persuaded Drusus to carry the fight into *Germania Magna* from the Rhine and/or the Danube to the Elbe.

In Greater Germany in 9 B.C., Dio's account of the Alpine War becomes obscure and full of fantastical imagery. Moreover, greater resistance and increased bloodshed characterize the fighting in this region. As Dio relates, geographically, Drusus is impeded in his drive only by the river Elbe, proving itself impossible to ford for the Roman general. On the riverbank, a colossal woman foretold his premature death and also warned Drusus to stay away from these borderlands. Before returning to Gaul, Dio tells us that the general erected trophies on this boundary.<sup>382</sup> Indeed, Drusus died before crossing the Rhine into Roman-controlled territories, his death marked and verified by numerous omens.<sup>383</sup> For his efforts, Drusus received the honorific title of Germanicus, statues, and a cenotaph on the edge of the Rhine.<sup>384</sup>

### **Post-war Population**

As there appears to be little direct geographic correlation between the Gallic theatre of war and La Turbie, as evidenced by other trophies that tend to mark the actual battlefield or significant terrain nearby, it is important to scrutinize the site itself beyond its textual, and ostensibly non-geographic, association with the Alpine Wars. These hills allowed easy passage between Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for the Romans.

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<sup>382</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 55.1.2-5. C.A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans* (Princeton, 1995), 95-97. Giants, dwarves, and other physically outstanding individuals had apotropaic qualities among ancient Romans. Perhaps Drusus raising trophies was a recognition of or a counteractive apotropaic device to the German giant. I extend my thanks to Dr. John R. Clarke for this reference and to his knowledge regarding attitudes toward giants in Roman society.

<sup>383</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 55.1.2-5,

<sup>384</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 55.2.3.

Likewise, such maneuverable terrain posed a danger to Rome, as it presented access for invasions of foreigners into Italy. Perhaps it should come as no surprise that a declaration of Roman dominance was necessary for dissuading potential invaders—particularly at this threshold.

After taking the stated textual and epigraphic evidence into account, there is little doubt that the Roman campaigns in Gaul did not affect the provincial inhabitants of this area directly in the way of material destruction or loss of life. If this is indeed the case, the trophy's overt message of conquest, privileged by most scholars, would have been mitigated by different circumstances for the inhabitants immediately surrounding La Turbie—not only because of the relative martial inactivity of this region, but also due to the population's Romanized status. The great number of Roman colonies along the Mediterranean coast as well as Rome's longstanding relationship with Massilia meant that—more than any other area of Gaul—southern Gaul had the longest relationship with Rome even though it was not officially a conquered province.

In order to construct a clearer picture of the Alpine trophy and postulate a local viewership, we must reconstruct the community—both Roman and non-Roman—at La Turbie at the end of the first century B.C. Because the monument was likely constructed by and ultimately viewed primarily by Romans and Romanized Gauls, it is necessary to explore both peoples. It is well known that the Roman army built all manner of structures, from marching camps to commemorative monuments. However, realizing a project like the Alpine trophy required additional labor supplemented by local inhabitants.

Cassius Dio does not specify the legions that participated in the Alpine Wars. Augustus's *Res Gestae* is equally silent. With the conquest of Gaul by Caesar and the additional pacification of the region by Pompey, it is likely that many of these soldiers came from increasingly Romanized areas of Maritime Gaul, in addition to the Italic men had served Octavian during the Civil War. Inscriptions found in nearby Cemelum dating to 14 B.C. support this, listing a locally raised regiment (Cohors II Ligurium) and an eastern regiment (Cohors Gaetulorum) as the Roman forces stationed nearest La Turbie.<sup>385</sup> Essentially, the newly conquered took on the responsibility of conquering on behalf of their conquerors. While these troops were once or twice removed from their barbarian antecedents or newly enfranchised parents, they still did not embody the interests and ideals of Romans from the capital. It was these same men who erected a trophy that communicated Roman domination to the local populace. It seems probable that these marginal Romans exercised some degree of negotiation in their expression of conquest.

As for non-Romans at La Turbie, during construction the Romans would have populated the site with captives from the Alpine War.<sup>386</sup> The recently conquered Alpine Gauls also helped the Romans construct the monument that directly commemorated their defeat, possibly carving out their own names in Latin upon the trophy. If this is the case, the list of subjugated tribes is significant to the immediate audience—functioning to reinforce their new roles within the Roman world. However, the community that raised

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<sup>385</sup> J. Bromwich, *The Roman Remains of Southern France* (London, 1993), 278-279. Cemelum was the Roman military center of Nikaia, present-day Nice.

<sup>386</sup> There is a great deal of textual evidence attesting to Augustus transplanting locals at Nikopolis for the purpose of erecting a trophy, as discussed in chapter 5.

the trophy did not remain at La Turbie. The material remains do not indicate any kind of permanent habitation of the area until the middle ages.<sup>387</sup> The nearest Roman settlement was in present-day Nice and the Greek-Massilote Monoikos, also known as the Port of Hercules.<sup>388</sup> Nevertheless, the *Via Julia* to the southeast provided plenty of viewers and certain Roman holidays guaranteed the maintenance and close scrutiny of the monument by the closest inhabitants throughout the year. Festivals of the dead such as the *Parentalia*, *Lupercalia*, *Feralia* and *Lemuria* attracted nearby Romans or Romanized peoples to the trophy.<sup>389</sup> Additionally, celebrations honoring Augustus life and career may have also required homage to be paid at La Turbie.<sup>390</sup>

Taking all of this information into consideration, I posit an alternative impetus for the construction of such an audacious Roman victory monument at La Turbie—beyond an overt statement of conquest. This region represented or possessed elements important to the Romans' understanding of their world and perhaps even their very claims on any land or territory; I cite a number of different geographical motivations from practical and political to religious reasons that may have prompted the Romans to choose La Turbie as an appropriate site.

Even though no martial activity occurred around La Turbie through the Alpine Wars, we must consider the fact that this location overlooks the *Via Julia*—the primary Roman trade road that connected Italy to Spain and all the Roman colonies and outposts

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<sup>387</sup> N. Lamboglia, *Le Trophée d'Auguste a La Turbie*, 18-19. The earliest known settlement of La Turbie dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century, when warlords representing the Republic of Genoa transformed the pagan remains into a castle.

<sup>388</sup> C. Ebel, *Transalpine Gaul: The Emergence of a Roman Province* (Leiden, 1976), 28

<sup>389</sup> See chapter 3 for further information regarding funerary holidays.

<sup>390</sup> However, no archaeological or textual evidence indicates the presence of an altar at La Turbie.

along the Mediterranean coast. Whether or not the Alpine Trophy served as a reminder of subjugation and continued allegiance for the surrounding populace surrounding La Turbie, it certainly functioned as a guarantee of security for the *Via Julia* and perhaps even the Empire itself, as an assurance of continued uninterrupted trade between two dependent regions of the Roman Empire. Moreover, the trophy's position on a mountainside overlooking the Mediterranean extended that guarantee to trade at sea. In addition, the trophy's dual liminal position, between established Roman territories and between land and sea, places it in a potentially hazardous in-between part of the world. As mentioned above, liminal spaces have been regarded as dangerous and/or volatile regions—places where only magic can protect the initiated.

### **Reading the Alpine Trophy**

The Alpine trophy is a statement of Roman presence, a declaration of ownership, and a reminder of the potential force at Rome's disposal. Both its enormous dimensions, appropriately large for the intended Roman statement of power and dominance, and its equally important topographical placement on a prominently visible place in the landscape, enhanced its audacity and increased the possibility of viewership for the trophy. Only inhabitants of the nearest settlements and pilgrims paying homage or performing a ceremony at the trophy would have scrutinized the decorative program at length and in detail, taking in the sculpture and sculptural reliefs of personified victories, the field trophies, the generals in ceremonial cuirasses, the Gallic captives, and the Latin text. For those passing viewers, people seeing the Alpine Trophy from the road or from a boat at sea, the trophy would have registered as a Roman monument in a place of



topographical and geographical significance. Although the architectural form may have been unfamiliar, enough formal elements make the trophy markedly Roman. From a distance, viewers could have made out its columns and the field trophy. More importantly, the Romans employed imported Italian Carrara marble upon the entire facing and decorative program, making the trophy reflect brilliantly against the mountainous hillside of La Turbie.<sup>391</sup>

Although the Trophy of Augustus at La Turbie has been thought of as a unique form of trophy monument, it shares a number of characteristics with a vastly different kind of monument: the Mausoleum of Augustus (Fig. 14). I believe that the Augustan Mausoleum was the architectural model for the Trophy of the Alps, predating the structure by approximately twenty years. Few scholars have made the connection between the two or have chosen to ignore their striking similarities.<sup>392</sup>

It is not hard to imagine Augustus's close relations, Tiberius and Drusus, commissioning a monument after the innovative form recently constructed by their step-father in the city of Rome. However, it is not a matter of blind or simple devotion that inspired the brothers to produce a provincial emulation of Augustus's mausoleum.

Rather, it is the malleable qualities of this new form and the possibilities for communication presented by an architectural model that was not assigned any single,

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<sup>391</sup> In many ways, the placement and appearance of the trophy is reminiscent of the lighthouse. Moreover, the active function of the lighthouse as a marker of space, warning viewers of potential danger and signifying safe passage, resonates in the formal qualities of the trophy. Perhaps this association goes beyond the visual similarities, adding yet another architectural form to the purpose of the conflated tomb and trophy monument.

<sup>392</sup> Penelope J.E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor* (Cambridge, 2000), 64-67. Davies makes this connection with regard to the dual function of the Mausoleum of Augustus as a funerary and victory monument. She specifically sites the Augustan trophy at La Turbie and the Trajanic trophy at Adamklissi, Romania as having similar dualities.

overarching meaning by its potential viewers. Ongoing debates surrounding the Mausoleum of Augustus and its intended function corroborate the multivalent meanings. Falling somewhere between a commemorative monument and a tomb, I follow Penelope Davies' suggestion that the Mausoleum of Augustus in fact possessed a dual valence that allowed the monument to honor the deceased while legitimizing the ongoing actions of his heirs. Or as Davies states, "...just as [memorials to the dead monarch] commemorated one emperor's death, so they promoted another emperor's rise."<sup>393</sup> I suggest that our provincial trophy functions using a similar conflation of meaning via formal elements. However, I am not suggesting that these two monuments perform the same cultural work.

The Alpine trophy is a cenotaph, a commemorative tomb lacking an actual burial chamber. This indicates that while the iconography and inscription upon the monument celebrate the Roman victory and the glory of Augustus, the architectural form reminds the viewer of the price of victory, paid with the lives of Roman soldiers. Moreover, the monument does not alternate between being tomb and trophy, but instead perpetually exists as both to the informed Roman viewer. This interpretation would have been reinforced through ritual. For example, at the burial of the remains of the Roman soldiers killed in the Teutoburgian Forest disaster, Tacitus tells us that after building a funerary mound Germanicus gives a funerary oration in which the Roman soldiers "...at once mourned and hated."<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 49.

<sup>394</sup> Tacitus, *The Annals*, 1.62.

Up to this point I have only discussed the Alpine Trophy from the perspective of a Roman viewer, applying his/her values and worldviews to develop a more nuanced understanding of the monument. However, we must come to terms with the non-Roman viewers who inhabited ancient Gaul. Assuming that they too were the cultural consumers of Roman visual representation, it seems likely that the Romans took this audience into consideration when they formulated the architectural form, the sculptural program, and the potential messages of the trophy. I believe hypothesizing a provincial non-Roman viewer can provide an alternate reading of this trophy and further our understanding of trophy building.

I propose revisiting the notion of placement of the trophy within the provincial landscape. Aside from the pragmatic Roman choices associated with the visibility of the monument, further analysis regarding the significance of La Turbie itself does not exist. In his monograph concerning the Alpine Trophy, Beckless Wilson mentions La Turbie as having a historical significance due to its function as the site of a camp built by Julius Caesar during his Gallic War.<sup>395</sup> If that is indeed the case, the trophy's location also celebrates Caesar's triumphs, making a direct association between both campaigns and perhaps even punctuating a closure to conflict in Gaul through Augustus' bringing Gaul under direct Roman control. Additionally, legionary veterans from Caesar's wars settled in southern Gaul and would have been capable of making, communicating, and celebrating these associations whenever they did happen upon the trophy.

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<sup>395</sup> B. Wilson, *The Trophy of the Alps* (Paris, 1934). Wilson quotes a passage from Plutarch (*Caesar* 11.3) regarding Caesar crossing the Alps, but there is nothing specifically tying Augustus's adoptive father or his encampment to La Turbie. An earlier example of monumentalizing a marching camp exists at Nikopolis, Greece, making Wilson's story more plausible but, nevertheless, unsubstantiated.

Archaeological, textual, and material evidence verifies the Romans' preoccupation with location. For example, in the Roman Forum we find Roman buildings consecutively built one atop the other, because of the importance conferred upon sacred locations within the city of Rome. It is likely that Romans would follow this same rationale in choosing a pertinent location in the provinces, one that would enhance the significance of their message and resonate with the native populace. However, this requires a Roman patron knowledgeable of Gallic landscapes who is also familiar with and sympathetic to the Gauls' ideals regarding land and nature.

Unfortunately, our knowledge regarding the ancient viewers that passed through La Turbie as either travelers or pilgrims is extremely limited, and even more so concerning their diverse rituals and practices. The archaeology at La Turbie, our most immediate means for obtaining primary sources in the form of material remains, was spearheaded by French historian Jules Formigé between 1905 and 1929.<sup>396</sup> However, Formigé's primary interest was the reconstruction and restoration of the Roman trophy monument. After being actively defaced in the Middle Ages by local Christians in an effort to dismantle a pagan monument, the structure's resilient construction and prominent location were put to good use. The remains of the Alpine Trophy became the foundation for a medieval watchtower (Fig. 48).

Formigé first encountered the Trophy of the Alps as a medieval watchtower. With the help of the then-mayor of La Turbie, Philippe Casimir, Formigé was able to convince American philanthropist Edward Tuck of the cultural importance of the Alpine

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<sup>396</sup> J. Formigé, *Le Trophée des Alpes* (Paris, 1949), 35-77. See Formigé for detailed information regarding the reconstruction of the Alpine Trophy.

Trophy and to fund the restoration of the Roman monument. As the main aim of this project was reconstruction, the archaeology performed at La Turbie was primarily a recovery mission. Excavation around the trophy consisted of systematic trenches, strategically spaced for the purpose of unearthing the remains of the trophy facing quickly and efficiently. In addition, Formigé and Casimir recovered original Roman building material from homes in the village, leaving holes throughout residents' walls and floors.<sup>397</sup>

While Formigé's approach made the reconstruction of the Alpine Trophy a possibility, he had no interest in any remains that were not Roman. Excavators made no effort to dig beyond the stratigraphy related to the time of the Roman conquest, in order to discover architecture or material objects belonging to the pre-conquest Gallic inhabitants of La Turbie. Such artifacts might have communicated the native significance of this specific hillside location, if such existed among the Gauls. Even the absence of earlier remains could provide useful information for conjecture, perhaps allowing us to conclude that the importance of this site could have been entirely Roman.<sup>398</sup> Needless to say, Formigé's brand of archaeology offers little information for the reconstruction of provincial viewership—for our own reconstruction of native reaction to the dramatic Roman re-shaping of their landscape.

More recent analysis of the construction method could shed light on the nature of both local producers and viewers of this monument. Nothing is said of the identity of

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<sup>397</sup> The reconstruction completely demolished and carried away medieval elements of the tower. This later building phase is preserved in Renaissance and Baroque prints and drawings.

either producers or viewers in any of the books written about La Turbie. However both Casimir and Wilson discuss the monument's fidelity to Roman models. They do not discuss what models those may have been, merely referring to the quality of the façade as comparable to monuments in Rome.<sup>399</sup> I believe these early scholars had a clear agenda and a significant obligation to their source of funds, Edward Tuck, in their qualitative statements about the *Tropaeum Augusti*.

Making direct comparisons between La Turbie and comparable and contemporaneous decorative stonework in Rome reveals a marked disparity. The architects took a dynamic Hellenistic approach, applying Doric motifs to an innovative monument not found in the Doric tradition. Only the presence of Doric capitals and metopes and triglyphs indicate an interest in Classical models. However, upon closer inspection, one notices that the column shafts lack entasis and that they also possess bases. In actuality, the architect employed Tuscan columns. Another deviation is found in the metope friezes. These carvings communicate neither a historical nor a mythological narrative. Instead, they feature individual representations of ship prows, cuirasses, bull heads, and a curule chair—symbols of triumph, piety, and civic duty (Fig. 49). This is perhaps an effort to distinguish the monument as Roman and not Greek.

Stylistically, one finds inconsistencies from one area of the trophy to the next. For example, the nikes upon the inscription are rendered in a Hellenistic fashion. The sculptor depicted the figure naturalistically, but he also employed a level of theatricality

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<sup>398</sup> I recognize that this assumption privileges material remains and does not consider other prominent approaches for recognizing sacred places devoid of physical markers, such as the maintaining of certain areas of nature free of human intervention, for example.

in the nike's intricate flowing drapery and dynamic pose (Fig. 50). The images of battlefield trophies and captives on flanking the inscription are more stylized than the adjacent pair of nikes. The trophy itself is highly detailed and the bodies of the captives possess realistic proportions. However, their features are schematized and less naturalistic than those of the nike. They are also rendered in unnatural poses and disproportionate to the size of the battlefield trophy. If the center structure represents a temporary battlefield trophy, the human figures below must be read as diminutive (Fig. 51). Above this, the approach employed upon the metopes is remarkably stylized by comparison. The sculptors reduced the features of a bull, a ship prow, a cuirass, and a curule chair to a simplified and highly recognizable scheme.

Lastly, the statue of Drusus shows a different artistic approach from contemporary Roman commemorative portrait statues (Fig. 52 & 53). The statue of Drusus at La Turbie clearly deviates from the Augustan visual campaign; neither does this representation reflect the older veristic style of the Republic. Again, the sculptor reduces Drusus' facial features into a rigid scheme. His eyes are disproportionately large and his hair is little more than an incised bowl. This oddity is of great significance in the face of the great efforts Augustus and his image-makers went through to communicate a very specific message to the people of Rome—that of negotiating autocratic rule using a combination of eastern Hellenistic and archaized imagery. If Drusus and Tiberius employed this same strategy in the provinces, did they believe that the Augustan style would not resonate so successfully among the Gauls?

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<sup>399</sup> B. Wilson, *The Trophy of the Alps* (Paris, 1934), 7. Wilson calls the trophy, "...amongst the most beautiful and significant Roman monuments in the world." Both Wilson and Casimir dedicate their

The answer may lie with the producers, rather than the patrons, of the Alpine Trophy. After all, it was the Roman army that built a certain percentage of the monument, with the assistance of local manpower. A recent article by Luciano Manino analyzes the building techniques used on the trophy base, proposing that they reflect Italic stone-and-mortar work found on monuments like the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia and the Temple of Hercules at Ostia.<sup>400</sup> It seems counterintuitive for the interior construction to have Italic qualities while the exterior decorative elements are less recognizably Roman and/or Greek. This phenomenon may not be as odd as we first imagine. The scale of the *Tropaeum Augusti* required building methods that were proven to withstand monumental forces, like those employed in large Roman buildings in and around the capital. No matter what their origin was, Roman soldiers were well versed in Roman building techniques and used them frequently to build camps and fortifications.

In contrast, the decorative elements communicated a message and therefore needed to appeal to an audience. The audience for the Alpine Trophy consisted of Roman soldiers and auxiliaries, Roman veterans who settled in southern Gaul following Caesar's conquests, local Gallic peoples of different levels of Romanization, and the travelers and traders that took advantage of the *Via Julia Augusta*. The stylized approach to the figural decoration of the façade had two effects. First, it makes certain iconographic details that much more legible from afar. Second, it appealed to a larger and more diverse audience in its lack of specificity. Perhaps style was as flexible as its effectiveness.



Another, and perhaps more fruitful, source for hypothesizing the non-Roman audience of the Alpine Trophy is through our knowledge of Roman ritual—particularly those rites associated with commemoration and funerary practices. As stated earlier, the Alpine Trophy functions as both commemorative victory monument and as a funerary building. Naturally, this duality instantly doubles the number of ceremonies performed at the site of the trophy. We can assume that the Romans held at least two ceremonies annually at La Turbie, on the anniversaries of the victory of the Alpine War and on the day of the trophy's inauguration. In addition, the inscription, dedicating the monument to Augustus, would have made La Turbie the viable local site for commemorating the emperor.

Like numerous other Roman institutions in the provinces, the Romans required their provincial subjects to participate in festivals and rituals celebrating Roman interests. This participation served multiple purposes. Sacrifice and homage paid to Roman gods and emperors by provincial subjects insured continued Roman success and represented Romans performing their pious duties. Equally important, the physical participation introduced natives to Roman ideals and worldviews and reiterated their new allegiance to Rome. Whether or not the provincial inhabitant actually understood or believed the celebrations and actively sought Romanization does not matter. His or her very presence and participation, forced or otherwise, pervaded the psyche of the newly conquered Gaul. The repetitious act functions independent of the specific ritual honoring Jupiter, Mars,

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<sup>400</sup> L. Manino, "Elementi italici nell'architettura del trofeo di Augusto alla Turbie", *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 49 (1985), 28-36.

Minerva, and Augustus and becomes an effective method for the internalization of *Romanitas*.

In this way, the Romans transform the trophy into a symbol representing more than just ideals concerning death or victory, but as a virtual mnemonic device that triggers the memory of a shared moment between Roman and Gaul—a new interaction that complicates their heretofore martial relationship. However, this is not a phenomenon that only trickles down from conqueror to conquered, but rather is a process for the forming of a community, one that changes that Roman's perception of the Gaul as much as the Gaul's perception of the Roman.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### The Trajanic Trophy at Adamklissi

In A.D. 106, the emperor Trajan (r. A.D. 98-117) commissioned the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamklissi to commemorate his conquest of Dacia. Roman builders completed the monument in A.D. 109. The modern village of Adamklissi is located in the Danube basin of present-day southeastern Romania, 65 kilometers west of the Black Sea coast and ten kilometers south of the Danube River in the Roman province of Moesia (Fig. 54).

The landscape around Adamklissi features clusters of low hills interspersed with vast expanses of flat arable land. Roman builders placed the trophy monument on one of these hilltops, making it visible from a radius of many kilometers. Even today, the *Tropaeum Traiani* is visible from a hillside near the town of Șipote, approximately nine kilometers north of Adamklissi (Fig. 55 and 56). Needless to say, this structure was the most prominent man-made landmark in the surrounding countryside.

In its original form the *Tropaeum Traiani* measured 30 meters in diameter and stood 40 meters high. It sits on a nine-stepped base and consisted of a solid masonry drum and a conical roof topped by a hexagonal pedestal carrying a Roman battlefield trophy (Fig. 57). Seven layers of decorated stonework covered the massive drum base, distributed evenly.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>401</sup> Florea Bobu Florescu, *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi Tropaeum Traiani* (Bucharest, 1965). All measurements belong to Mr. Florescu.

The bottommost decorative registers on the drum featured six courses of faux blocks—decorative applications applied to the façade (Fig. 58). A continuous band with a foliage motif frieze surrounds the drum immediately above the blocks. This scroll frieze is below a register of triglyph-like forms and metopes. Both of these decorative elements are locally influenced variations of those found in Rome. In particular, the intricate foliage contains a Dacian dragonhead at the center of every curl (Fig. 59). Additionally, rather than the familiar stylized tripartite form, the “triglyphs” on the Adamklissi monument look more like pilasters with Corinthian capitals and shafts alternatively decorated with flutes and vegetal motifs (Fig. 60). The deviation emphasizes the triumphal and/or religious message, as the elaborate pilasters evoke the Roman practice of decorating columns during festivals and holidays.<sup>402</sup> Moreover, the Adamklissi stoneworkers employed local aesthetics in rendering the figures upon the metopes, producing more stylized compositions than those found on Greek or Roman counterparts (Fig. 61). Above the metopes, a viewer finds another continuous decorative band depicting alternating palmette patterns topped by a small rope-patterned register. The uppermost register contains sculpted panels as well as freestanding sculpture. Vertical rectangles containing renditions of captives interrupt a rectangular band of geometric patterns. Sculptors used the same aesthetic conventions in rendering the captives as that applied to the metope figures. Lastly, statues of lions positioned at the rim of the top register act as water spouts.

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<sup>402</sup> Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* 32.

A scallop-tiled roof covered the cylindrical base. A hexagonal pedestal rises from the pinnacle of the rooftop decorated with engaged columns and an inscription (Fig. 62). The dedication announces its commemorative intent. The fragment reads:

MARTI VLTOR  
IMP CAESAR DIV  
NERVAE F NERVA  
TRAIANI AVG GERM  
DACICVS PONT MAX  
TRIB POTES T XII  
IMP VI COS V P P<sup>403</sup>

[The Emperor Caesar, son of the divine Nerva,  
Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus,  
*pontifex maximus*, at the time of his thirteenth  
tribunician power, of his sixth imperial salutation,  
and of the fifth consulate, the Father of the Country  
dedicates this monument to Mars the Avenger.]<sup>404</sup>

The inscription dates the monument to A.D. 109, three years after the end of the Dacian Wars.

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<sup>403</sup> *CIL* 3.12467.

<sup>404</sup> Florea Bobu Florescu, *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi Tropaeum Traiani* (Bucharest, 1965), 63. “Marti ultori/Imp(erator) Caesar divi/Nervae f(ilius) Nerva/Traianus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus)/Dacicus pont(ifex) max(imus)/trib(unicia) potest(ate) XII/imp(erator) VI, co(n)s(ul), p(ater) p(atriciae),/[? Per exerc]itu[m....”

All of this architecture functions to elevate the petrified battlefield trophy which sat atop a hexagonal pedestal (Fig. 63). Representations of Dacian arms and armor in piles cover the sides of the pedestal, emulating the practice of creating heaps of weapons below the temporary battlefield trophy. Four statues of bound Dacian captives surround the base of the armored scarecrow. The single male figure most likely knelt before the trophy with his hands tied behind his back, while sculptors rendered the three Dacian female figures in seated positions to either side and behind the trophy. Anatomical proportions and costume function as identifying markers for the damaged remains. In particular, the larger masculine figure wears the typical loose Dacian trousers while the smaller women wear flowing pleated dresses also prominently depicted on the metopes (Fig. 64).

The lower portion of the trophy featured a pair of elaborate greaves decorated with a vegetal pattern leading upwards toward two wide-eyed Medusas (Fig. 65). Above this, the elaborate *cingulum* ended in tasseled hems or decorative pendants. A parade cuirass covers the area corresponding to the torso and is elaborated with acanthus leaves, a representation of Trajan on horseback, a *gladius* hung in its scabbard by a belt, and an eagle in flight (Fig. 66). The equestrian Trajan functions as the centerpiece of this busy composition. Sculptors chose to render it in higher relief and in the same style as the metope figures below. Two hexagonal shields dominate either side of the upper region of the panoply, but appear sparse beside the cuirass, as each is simply decorated with a *gorgoneion*.

The size and complexity of the *Tropaeum Traiani* communicate the importance placed on the monument by the builders for the people around Adamklissi, especially

when one considers the cost, the labor, and the time dedicated to its completion. I will explore the cultural and historical contexts of Romans and Dacians in an effort to reconstruct a more complete picture of the provincial community at Adamklissi, specifically the verifiable perspectives of trophy builders/viewers in a post-war environment. A review of the monument's historiography reveals a lack of perspectives from marginalized participants of the Dacian Wars, necessitating an evaluation of more than just an imperial Roman perspective.<sup>405</sup>

### **Dacia before the Romans**

In the late first and early second centuries A.D., the region known to the Romans as Dacia lay just north of the Empire's frontier lines. Nestled in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains, the kingdom of Dacia's borders were geographically defined in the south by the Danube River. The Carpathian mountain chain lay to the north providing a natural defense for the kingdom's largest settlements, including the capital Sarmizegetusa. In the west, the Tisi River was the line of demarcation. To the east lay the shores of the Black Sea, along the avenue of trade and outside influence—particularly that of Greek traders and colonists.

However, this region's history does not begin with the kingdom of Dacia and the Roman conquest. Neither does the "civilization" of the area start at the founding of Greek and Persian colonies along the Black Sea's western coastline in the seventh century B.C. In fact, a history of organized townships and farming communities in the

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<sup>405</sup> L. Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*. Translated by J.M.C. Toynbee (London 1971), 55-65. Rossi's description of the *Tropaeum Traiani* is an example of scholars privileging a Roman model. Rossi

region dates back to before the eighth millennium B.C. According to scholars Marija Gimbutas and Luminata Rollé, inhabitants of the Carpathian lowlands from this era, which they call “Old Europe,” formed civilizations as advanced as their Mesopotamian and Egyptian contemporaries.<sup>406</sup> A term coined and popularized by Gimbutas, Old Europe encompasses the economic, cultural, and social aspects of this Neolithic society.

Both scholars oppose Western views—ones shaped by the colonial mindset—held by archeologists who believe cultural and technological innovations always trickled in from either the Near East or Mediterranean cultures. Archaeologists have interpreted technological advancements as evidence of trade, unreasonably placing the so-called barbarian lands of ancient Romania at the bottom of a hierarchical structure.<sup>407</sup> In contrast, Marija Gimbutas claims a cultural autonomy for Old Europe, stating, “The European civilization between 7000 and 3500 was not a provincial reflection of Near Eastern civilization absorbing its achievements through diffusion and periodic invasion, but a distinctive culture, developing a unique identity.”<sup>408</sup> As evidence, she cites artifacts found in numerous excavations along the Danube River, from the central Baltic region through the Danube basin on the Black Sea. These archaeological finds provide evidence

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uses the Column of Trajan frieze to explain narratives upon the Adamklissi monument.

<sup>406</sup> For further information regarding contemporary Romanian scholars’ essentialist views on ancient Romania, see Luminata Rollé, “The History of Ancient Romanian Civilization” (Unpublished, 1999) and Marija Gimbutas, *The Living Goddess* (Berkeley, 1999).

<sup>407</sup> The Near East and the Mediterranean have received the most attention from Western archaeologists due to these cultures’ textual remains, an aforementioned privileged aspect of civilization in the study of ancient cultures. In addition, Western Christian culture’s interest in tracing Biblical sites fueled these aspirations for many years. Moreover, to find a single cradle of civilization for mankind would serve to create a simple chronology of history that would conveniently privilege Western European culture with its pinnacle.

<sup>408</sup> Marija Gimbutas, *The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe* (London, 1974).



of a developing writing system that dates back to the early fifth millennium.<sup>409</sup> Claywork and pottery unearthed near Belgrade from the Starcevo-Vinča culture, including ceramic vessels, spindle whorls, and figurines, showcase this writing. In the past, historians assumed the artifacts were evidence of early trade with the Near East. Thus, they interpreted the indiscernible writing as an early Sumerian script or a provincially stylized version. However, as Gimbutas is quick to point out, the Vinča script predates Mesopotamian writing by several thousand years and the two scripts bear no resemblance to one another (Fig. 67).<sup>410</sup>

Furthermore Gimbutas and Rollé propose that an advanced, matrilineal, agrarian society lived in the fertile lands along the Danube from as early as the Paleolithic era to the late Neolithic era (ca. 2300 B.C.).<sup>411</sup> Their timelines regarding the cultural upheavals between Old Europe, Indo-Europe, and later Classical civilizations demonstrate a preference for hybridity rather than the traditional hierarchical views. Traditionally, historians characterized Dacians as a conquered people, having lost all traces of their past traditions as they were voluntarily or forcefully assimilated into the culture, values, and practices of their conquerors. In contrast, Gimbutas suggests a model that considers the numerous invasions, from the Kurgans of the Russian steppes to the Romans legions, as contributors to Romanian culture.

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<sup>409</sup> She therefore does not dispute existing value judgements emphasizing literacy as a crucial component of civilized cultures, but merely seeks to add Old Europe to this group.

<sup>410</sup> M. Gimbutas, *The Living Goddesses*, 43-54. Gimbutas thoroughly dismisses hierarchical views held by older scholars, Miloje Vasic and M.S.F. Sinclair, in favor of newer notions articulated by archaeologists such as Shan M.M. Winn in his book, *Pre-Writing in Southeast Europe: The Sign System of the Vinca Culture, ca. 4000 B.C.* (Calgary, 1981).

<sup>411</sup> Both scholars work within a feminist perspective and their essentialist and nationalistic tone should be understood within the historical timeframe of post-Communist Romania.

The inhabitants of second-century Dacia were descendents of these assumed long-lost peoples of Old Europe mixed with wave after wave of immigrants from Celtic, Thracian, German, and Sarmato-Scythian tribes. In addition, Mediterranean influence had a long tradition in ancient Romania—a result of the cultural exchanges between the Dacian tribes and the Greek and Persian colonies along the Black Sea. The earliest contact between the Dacians and Mediterranean civilizations is uncertain, but evidence points to colonies established by Mediterranean peoples as early as the seventh century B.C. Stylistic comparisons among Proto-Dacian and Bronze Age artifacts such as ceramics hint at even earlier contact.<sup>412</sup> For example, an uncanny similarity exists between ancient Romanian, Cycladic, and even later Mycenaean statuettes. Scholars have traditionally thought that styles and iconographic forms trickled into Romania and spread throughout central Europe, despite compelling archaeological evidence showing the exact opposite.

I do not wish to propose a Romanian origin for Mediterranean styles and motifs, as Rollé and Gimbutas imply. My concern lies in highlighting a complex and developed culture in this region, one traditionally discounted as a barbarian territory with little cultural value of its own. The culture has too often been thought of as an empty receptacle, eager to adopt outside culture and influence. Although the theories of both Gimbutas and Rollé are based on a reactionary essentialist model—the polar opposite of the traditional Western archaeologists' views—their ideas are valuable in showing the

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<sup>412</sup> Paul MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak* (Chapel Hill, 1975), 6-10. MacKendrick notes stylistic similarities between Neolithic and Bronze Age art from this region to their Mediterranean contemporaries. He does this to prove the advanced status of Dacia's civilization through the association and adoption of Mediterranean ideals and styles. I mention this to underline the possibility of Dacia's early contact with peoples of the Mediterranean.

possibility of a different perspective and offer an alternative to the colonial mentality in the analysis of Dacian and Romano-Dacian culture.

### **The Dacian Wars**

Continued trade with a variety of cultures—including the Greeks, Middle Eastern peoples, tribes from central Europe, and even the northeastern nomadic tribes of the steppes—in conjunction with the discovery of rich gold, silver, and tin deposits from the Carpathians, allowed the tribes of Dacia to prosper. The territory and its people became a prominent force in the first century B.C. due to the tribal unification led by King Burebista (c.82-44 B.C.).<sup>413</sup> Under the tribal reunification of the late first century, led by the great monarch Decebalus, the Dacians experienced the height of their kingdom's power in both size and solidarity.

Militarily, Rome and Dacia shared an uncomfortable relationship as early as the middle of the first-century B.C. According to the first-century A.D. historian, Suetonius, before his assassination, Caesar planned a side-excursion campaign into the heart of Dacia that was to take place just prior to waging a major war against the Parthians. Caesar believed a humbling of the Dacians was required, as their strength and “boldness” was steadily increasing as the powerful monarch Burebistas unified Dacia. Caesar not only feared the power of a unified state, but also recognized the added threat of Dacians' renowned martial prowess.<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> I.H. Crişan, *Burebista and His Time* (Bucharest, 1978), 38-71. The author's third chapter presents a biography of Burebista from the scarce available documentation. Crişan presents an image of an incredibly successful but short-lived rule.

<sup>414</sup> Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 44.

The Romans consistently speak of the Dacians in a negative light in narratives that take place prior to the Trajan's Dacian Wars, as deceivers and war-mongers quick to take advantage of any perceived Roman weakness. For example, a group of Dacian warriors, turned away by Octavian, swore allegiance to Antony's army instead. These men were subsequently captured and forced to fight one another for Octavian's banquet entertainment, illustrating their lack of loyalty even among themselves.<sup>415</sup> Also, in 29 B.C., Marcus Crassus was sent to war against an incursion of the Dacians and the Bastarnae in Greece and Macedonia, where he waged a bloody campaign that pushed the invaders all the way back to the Danube and ended in the annihilation of Dacian and Bastarnae families as well as their warriors.<sup>416</sup> This level of brutality illustrates the continued animosity Romans felt toward the Dacians.

In 10 B.C., it was the Dacian raids into Pannonia that caused the doors to the Temple of Janus Geminus to remain open. Augustus sent Tiberius, from his campaigns in Gaul, to quickly reduce the Dacians back into submission.<sup>417</sup> Five years later, of the nineteen legions that remained in the empire after the loss of Varus' three in the Teutoburg Forest disaster, the Romans choose to position four legions in and around Dacia. Obviously Dacia represented a thorn in Rome's side that deserved the continuous policing by nearly a fifth of the empire's standing army to dissuade further troubles.<sup>418</sup> Nevertheless, revolts in Pannonia and Dalmatia caused by heavy Roman taxation in A.D.

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<sup>415</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 51.22-23. This observation is ironic vis-à-vis the backdrop of Roman civil war.

<sup>416</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.23.3-24.7.

<sup>417</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.36.

<sup>418</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 55.23.0-6. Dio places the *V MACEDONICA* and *XIII GEMINA* legions in Dacia, the *VII CLAUDIA* in Upper Moesia, and the second *XI CLAUDIA* in Lower Moesia (named Claudia for loyalty shown in the Camillus rebellion).

6 kept Roman forces busy long enough for the Dacians to ravage Moesia until Tiberius (yet again) was able to force them back across the Danube.<sup>419</sup>

Needless to say, it is not difficult to see Cassius Dio setting up the Dacians as a force that goes from being a constant nuisance to a veritable threat to peaceful Romans at the edge of the empire. This construction foreshadows and even helps justify Trajan's later invasion of Dacia, whose central narrative spans nearly two books in Dio's *Roman History*.<sup>420</sup> Dio's account of the Dacian Wars continues depicting the Dacian forces, particularly their king Decebalus, as dishonest rogues. The narrative begins before the Dacian Wars, recounting Trajan's concern over the tribute Rome paid to the Dacians and mounting threat these reparations created for the Romans. The treaty drafted under the emperorship of Domitian in A.D. 87 also required the Romans to recognize Decebalus' monarchy.<sup>421</sup> As Dio later clarifies, not only did Rome pay a monetary tribute to Dacia, but she also sent engineers and other skilled Roman laborers. Many of these Romans in time allied themselves with Dacia, marrying Dacian women and adopting Dacian customs.

Trajan justified the Dacian Wars as vengeance for heavy losses to a pair of Roman expeditions sent by Domitian. Furthermore, sporadic raids by the Dacians across the Danube made them purportedly a dangerous threat to the Romans. Consequently, the emperor Trajan and the armies of Rome destroyed the rich and complex civilization of the Dacians at its pinnacle. Between the years A.D. 101-102 and A.D. 105-106, the

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<sup>419</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 55.30.4.

<sup>420</sup> Tacitus' work also reflects the generally poor opinions Romans had of the Dacians as well, likewise portraying them as treacherous and deceitful. See Tacitus, *The Histories*, 3.46.

<sup>421</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 68.6.1; Pliny, *Panegyrics* 11.5

Roman legions of Trajan embarked on five campaigns to wipe out the Dacian threat just north of the Roman frontier line of the Danube River.

Information documenting the extent of the “Dacian threat” is problematic in that all the sources describing them as aggressive, barbaric and a threat to the security of the Roman frontier are Roman. Only four words of the account of the Dacian Wars, the *commentarii* written by Trajan survive. All other texts are second or even third hand accounts of the historical events. In particular, Cassius Dio, who wrote the most complete summary of the wars, completed the history over a hundred years after the fact.<sup>422</sup> Nevertheless, reviewing the textual information remains an important factor in piecing together the events

According to Dio, after Trajan received a warning written in Latin upon a large mushroom from Roman allies from this region, pleading with the emperor to reconsider the war, the Romans engaged the barbarian forces near Tapae, in southwest Dacia. After a bloody battle, in which both sides suffered tremendous casualties, Trajan emerged victorious. Consequently, Trajan commissioned an altar and ordered annual funeral rites in honor of this battle and its fallen Romans.<sup>423</sup> Before the next battle, Dio paints an unflattering picture of Decebalus, one of a desperate general eager to negotiate in an effort to buy time. Meanwhile, Trajan, neither deceived nor dissuaded by Decebalus’ ruse, does not yield, but continues his campaign deeper into Dacian territory, taking hill-fort after hill-fort and recapturing the weapons, war-engines, and standards from the

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<sup>422</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 68.

<sup>423</sup> If this battle took place near Tapae, we should not confuse this altar for the Adamklissi monument. However, it is important to note the annual celebration held around the altar ordered by Trajan, as Dio tells

prefect Fuscus' failed campaign in the time of Domitian.<sup>424</sup> At the same time as the armies laid siege to Dacian cities, the famous centurion Maximus captured Decebalus' sister.

It was perhaps the capture of his sister that caused Decebalus to sue for peace at his capital and only remaining stronghold, Sarmizegetusa. The Dacians pledged their allegiance to Rome and agreed to return Roman territory, property, and deserters, whom Dio credits as the strongest and most dangerous factor within Decebalus' army. Only then did Trajan return to Rome. Throughout this process, Dio does not mention Decebalus as one of the leaders to prostrate themselves before the emperor, as was common practice. (Perhaps this was done in order to foreshadow the coming of the second Dacian war and to highlight Decebalus's deceit.) The artists of the Column of Trajan in Rome represented Decebalus's resistance in the scene found mid-way through the Column's decorative program, which depicts the surrender of the Dacian armies at the end of the first Dacian War. A large group of Dacians lay down their arms, present their standards and ensignes, and kneel before the emperor, their arms held out in supplication. Decebalus stands atop an earthen platform at the end of the train of prostrated Dacians, hierarchically represented as Trajan's equal. While he also holds out his arms in supplication, Decebalus' posture and position allude to his future actions—to defy Roman rule and continue the Dacian Wars (Fig. 68).

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us. We may assume that other memorial structures, like the *Tropaeum Traiani*, saw at least one official ceremony a year on the anniversary of its honored battle.

<sup>424</sup> This recovery of treasured Roman standards may well be understood as Trajanic propaganda, eager to gain favor through correcting the failures of the widely unpopular Domitianic regime.

Shortly thereafter, Decebalus went back on the peace agreement, fortifying Dacia and raising armies. This time Decebalus took a more prominent role in the Dacian aggressions against the Romans. Dio's account of the second wave of campaigns into Dacia describes Dacian tactics more akin to guerrilla warfare than traditional, set-piece military actions. According to Dio, Decebalus found little support among his people for this second conflict. The author depicts Decebalus as demoralized noting how easily the Dacians were swayed into Roman allegiance. With little support from Dacian civilians, along with the wholesale slaughter of his troops in open combat, Decebalus was reduced to assassination attempts and hostage negotiations in order to maintain a foothold deep in the Carpathian mountains. Victory looked ever more bleak in the face of Rome's increasing occupation of Dacian territories. In one final battle, Dio tells us that Trajan and the Romans fought with exceptional bravery and managed to defeat the last of Decebalus' rebel force. Subsequently, Decebalus himself committed suicide just before being taken prisoner and his head was taken and displayed in Rome. The Dacian king's armies were destroyed, his cities razed, his people humbled, and even his own fortune confiscated by the Romans. In Dio's account, Decebalus was defeated in every way imaginable.<sup>425</sup>

By August of 106, the Romans had seized victory in Dacia, completely and thoroughly. After the war, the Roman army and Roman settlers pushed much of the Dacian indigenous population out of Dacia.<sup>426</sup> However, Paul MacKendrick describes

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<sup>425</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 68.14.

<sup>426</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*, 20-39. According to Rossi, the percentage of indigenous Dacians left in Dacia is unknown and the extent of their cultural influence upon Roman Dacia is uncertain. This view of a purely Roman Dacia was further reinforced by the Column of Trajan's final



post-war Dacia molded by the interaction between Dacian and Roman cultures.<sup>427</sup> In the wake of the conquest, the Romans commissioned a number of monuments in Dacia to celebrate Rome's victory and to commemorate Rome's fallen warriors. Western historians have long interpreted these monuments as supplementary or even substitute accounts for the written accounts available on the Dacian Wars, all of which represent a Roman point of view.

These one-sided Roman accounts of the Dacian Wars have in turn shaped our own impression of the Dacians, one that proliferates their image as a barbaric culture. These views can be understood as originating from a propagandistic slant promulgated by the Trajanic regime to justify the conquest of lands rich in gold and silver—resources in heavy demand after the wasteful emperorship of Domitian. In the light of the lack of textual information, considerations of Dacia have been formulated by Roman works of art themselves, primarily the Column of Trajan in Rome.

In the past, scholars have interpreted Roman sculpted or painted narratives as objective, historical sources—a view long questioned by more modern studies.<sup>428</sup> More contemporary researchers consider political and cultural deviations that Romans may have incorporated into their histories as inspired by their ever-expanding audience within the empire. This kind of appropriation was likely practiced more actively in the provinces. The viewership of urban Romans, one privileged by academic scholarship,

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scenes. These depict the Dacians upon carts and on foot moving to the right. However, these depictions do not specify a Dacian exodus, and therefore cannot be seen as evidence of a Dacian forced migration.

<sup>427</sup> MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak*, 107-143.

<sup>428</sup> K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule. Ein römisches Kunstwerk zu Beginn der Spätantike* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1926). With regard to the Trajanic Column, Lehmann-Hartleben had long since offered a sophisticated reading of the frieze. R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman*

was dramatically different from that of a provincial person. Any number of other factors, such as the identity of the patron, the freedom given to the artisan, the choice in appropriate iconography, and/or the selection of storytelling technique, could dramatically alter provincial narratives. However, before proposing alternate interpretations of the *Tropaeum Traiani*, it is necessary to present a potential population demographic around Adamklissi during its construction in an effort to identify both the provincial viewer and the provincial patron.

### **Post-war Population**

It is uncertain which legions were involved in the Dacian Wars. We have better knowledge of legions and/or auxiliaries present before the wars and of those that stayed afterward in Dacia to maintain peace; however, this evidence is scattered and tentative. A more complete analysis of provincial material culture necessitates a better understanding of the communities formed or reformed in the wake of the Roman conquest, as these “Romans” were ultimately the patrons and viewers of such monuments as the *Tropaeum Traiani*. Despite the silence of the sources regarding participating legions in the Dacian wars, a good deal of evidence for legionary movements before and after the Roman invasion can offer us some insight.

Recent scholarship concerning legionary deployment reveals a massive military build-up in territories surrounding Dacia. In the decade before Trajan’s conquest, up to nine legions and an unknown number of support forces were garrisoned in Moesia,

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*Art* (Ithaca, 1984). Brilliant’s interpretation of the column narrative even challenges the spiral reading of the frieze.

Dalmatia, and Pannonia. A total of fourteen legions took part in the Dacian wars, verified by epigraphic evidence that can be stylistically dated to this time period. These fourteen legions remained stationed in and around Dacia, relatively unchanged, for the next hundred and fifty years.<sup>429</sup>

Lino Rossi adds seventy-six praetorian cohorts to the list of participants in the Dacian Wars.<sup>430</sup> Along with the fourteen legions, the soldiers of the Roman army represented a cross-section of the empire's population, originating in far-flung locations such as Britain, North Africa, and even Cyprus. By far, the majority of these cohorts were non-italic (Fig. 69). This implies that the most prominent cultural influences for material production at Adamklissi were provincial rather than Roman—that is from the capital itself.

Unfortunately for historians, Adamklissi was not host to any of these legions or cohorts. However, this does not imply that a legionary presence was never felt in the region. Past historians have attempted to interpret the presence of the ostentatious *Tropaeum Traiani* as evidence of legionary activity and massive campaigning in this obscure part of the Dacian-Moesian frontier.<sup>431</sup> The trophy's dedicatory inscription likewise offers no information regarding patron identity. It contains only a dedication to

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<sup>429</sup> J.J. Wilkes, "Roman Legions and their Fortresses in the Danube Lands," in *Roman Fortresses and their Legions*, R.J. Brewer ed. (London, 2000). 101-119. Wilkes lists the following legions as occupying Dacia and surrounding territories through from the late first century to the middle of the third century: *XI Claudia, I Italica, XIII Gemina, V Macedonica, VII Claudia, III Flavia, II Adiutrix, I Adiutrix, XIII Gemina, X Gemina, II Italica, III Italica, XIII Gemina, V Macedonica*. Cassius Dio echoes five of these legions as well, as noted above (Footnote 15).

<sup>430</sup> L. Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*, 50-55 and 92-96. Rossi's information comes from military diplomas, usually in the form of bronze tablets, as well as other unspecified archaeological and epigraphical material.

<sup>431</sup> See L. Rossi's *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*, 146-148, for more on Trajan's supposed diversionary campaign in Lower Moesia.

Mars Ultor on behalf of the emperor Trajan. In the same vein, the only other inscription found in relatively close proximity belongs to an earlier dedicatory altar located nearly a quarter-mile south of the monument. Although the surviving text, a mere list of names, neither reveals a specific military unit nor does it communicate the altar's commemorative intent, these twenty names offer insight into the ethnicities of this particular group of soldiers.<sup>432</sup> According to Ian Haynes, the altar "...records 1 African, 1 Norican, 2 Britons, 1 Raetian, 3 Spaniards, and 12 Gauls, all of whom served in the same, unknown regiment during the Dacian Wars."<sup>433</sup>

The only two legions stationed near Adamklissi, in the lower Danube, around the time of the construction of both monuments were the *V Macedonica* in Troesmis and *XI Claudia* in Durostorum (Fig. 70). Troesmis lay about 100 km north of Adamklissi, while Durostorum was just 25 km due west of the trophy and altar. The history of *V Macedonica*, along with its relatively distanced position from Adamklissi, makes these legionaries unlikely patrons. Although first conscripted in northern Macedonia in 9 B.C., this legion spent most of the first century in Armenia and Jerusalem. In addition, fresh recruits for this regiment would have come from these eastern territories and thus the altar dedication would include Jewish and Armenian names rather than entirely western-derived *cognomina*. On the other hand, *XI Claudia* appears to be a better fit. First raised in 11 B.C. in northern Italy, this legion's complete campaign history was spent along the Danube and the Rhine. Specifically, *XI Claudia* lived and recruited in Upper Germany

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<sup>432</sup> *CIL* III, 14214.

<sup>433</sup> Haynes, "Military service and cultural identity in the *auxilia*." in *The Roman Army as a Community*, Goldsworthy and Haynes eds. (Portsmouth RI, 1999),166.

from 69 until its mobilization for the Dacian Wars in 101, making it a better fit for the Western European names found on the Adamklissi altar.<sup>434</sup>

When we take all of these various “origins” into consideration, we should cite Ian Haynes’ ideal of cosmopolitan regiments. As he sees it, recruits’ forced use of Roman signs and signifiers (such as elaborate armor, Roman cult groups and collegia, and the use of Latin) as their “only common point of reference. . .in the cosmopolitan mix of the army” represents their adoption of Roman culture piecemeal.<sup>435</sup> The end result is an acculturated Roman soldier ready to spread Roman culture to yet another part of the uncivilized world. Haynes’ lack of specificity in his definition of Roman leads us to believe that all recruits were becoming a very specific kind of Roman, no different from those found in the capital itself. By this standard, the process of Romanization should easily be traceable on a linear model that measures to what degree a provincial person has been Romanized.

An alternative to this model should consider Haynes’ cosmopolitan phenomenon as a separate cultural entity, one that is neither Roman nor provincial, but rather both at the same time. Although the material remains point towards the presence of familiar Roman institutions, the actual ritual practices and everyday understanding of their Roman status are lost to us. Richard Alston’s alternative model provides a more dynamic relationship between the centralized powers emerging from the capital and the influence of the marginalized provincial populations, the interaction between Roman imperial

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<sup>434</sup> J.J. Wilkes, “Roman Legions and their Fortresses in the Danube Lands.” 108-111. Moreover, J.C. Mann’s findings in *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate* (London, 1983) reiterate *XI Claudia’s* recruitment from (Gaulish?) Northern Italy and Spain and their subsequent settlements in the Danubian frontier.

polity and the numerous sub-polities found anyplace in the empire outside Rome.<sup>436</sup> It is a construction that denies the traditional notion of a trickle-down of culture—from the center to the margins, from the rich to the poor, from the urban to the rural, et cetera—and opens the door for a more localized history. Although potentially incomprehensible in scope, the exponential number of new historical narratives produced by such an undertaking could be best utilized to indicate patterns among the interactions between Rome and her numerous sub-polities. According to Alston, this enormous undertaking might prove more fruitful for understanding Rome’s relationship to her empire—should detectable patterns emerge.

We are dealing with provincial soldiers whose ideals concerning Rome are already twice or even three times removed from those found in the capital, and these self-contained sub-polities must be made to adapt to yet another set of political and cultural elements. All of these, in turn, must continue to function within the institutions imparted by the Roman army, if only superficially. Using Alston’s model, I believe that the Roman forces that occupied Adamklissi during and after the Dacian wars were not the idealized agents of Roman culture suggested by past studies. Rather, they were representatives of a Roman institution that many had never seen or known first hand. Although homogenized to a certain extent within the regiment, the cultural characteristic of the members of the *auxilia* or vexillation at Adamklissi were quite distinct Romans from those inhabiting the empire’s capital.

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<sup>435</sup> Ian Haynes, “Military service and cultural identity in the *auxilia*,” 165-173.

<sup>436</sup> Richard Alston, “Ties that bind: soldiers and societies” in *The Roman Army as a Community*. 175-195.

The importance in the cultural make-up of the Roman soldiers at Adamklissi lies in the fact that these warriors were also builders. Part of campaign life included the construction of camps, forts, bridges, and walls. Numerous representations of soldiers as builders exist, depicting the practice as a common event. However, the material culture produced by soldiers went beyond such basic structures. These men also constructed altars, temples, and the decorative sculpture accompanying such buildings. Additionally, they had to make everyday objects such as drinking vessels, furniture, and even clothing—not to mention the production and upkeep of their arms and armor. In some cases, soldiers fashioned the material objects themselves.<sup>437</sup> In other cases, they paid the skilled artisans that often followed the Roman army or they relied on local craftspeople for all manner of material goods.<sup>438</sup> It is likely that Roman patrons employed a combination of all three strategies of production depending on the situation and scale of the project. For this reason, the identity of people making art for the Romans varied in the provinces from location to location and perhaps even from one commission to the next.

The individuals who worked on the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamklissi were necessarily mixed. The sheer size of the ambitious project would have proved prohibitive for soldiers who split time between building and their martial responsibilities such as the continued patrol and policing of the frontier. Moreover, Dacian material culture from the

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<sup>437</sup> A.K. Bowman, *Life and Letters from the Roman Frontier* (London, 1994), 105-106. Bowman includes one tablet from the fort at Vindolanda, in present-day northern England, that reports work assignments for soldiers. *Tabula Vindolandenses* II.155 indicates that soldiers worked as shoemakers, as plasterers, and as various kinds of manual laborers.

<sup>438</sup> R. Birley, *Vindolanda: A Roman frontier post on Hadrian's Wall* (London, 1977), 31-79. Excavations at Vindolanda provided one of the most complete examples of a frontier community, particularly one with a

pre-conquest period serves as evidence of their exceptional skill as stone and metalworkers. Why would the Romans not take advantage of such a workforce? Erin Black's recent work on the carving techniques used on the trophy's decorative façade concludes that a large workforce of Dacians under the supervision of a few Roman master craftsmen produced the work.<sup>439</sup> Her study reveals that Dacians and Romans used different carving techniques and tools that left disparate and identifiable marks upon the trophy. The number of Dacian marks greatly outnumber Roman marks throughout the sculptural program, suggesting that the larger proportion of workers at Adamklissi were Dacian (or at the very least non-Roman). Such extensive participation in the construction process likely gave these Dacians opportunities to influence both the style and content of the finished monument—either overtly or covertly. But before we can analyze potential Dacian narratives upon the *Tropaeum Traiani*, we must examine the post-war indigenous population at Adamklissi that was likely disrupted or altered in the wake of Roman conquest.

As for the post-war Dacian population, some scholars perpetuate the *terra deserta* theory—the belief that the Romans forced the Dacians out of their homeland.<sup>440</sup> Cassius Dio's account states that Dacian survivors were either conscripted or sent back to Rome

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heavy martial presence. Like many other similar settlements, Vindolanda featured a civilian sector with various industries at the army's disposal.

<sup>439</sup> E. Black, "Center and Periphery: Column of Trajan, Italy, and the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi." Ph.D. Dissertation, Emory University (Eric Varner, Advisor). Forthcoming.

<sup>440</sup> L. Ellis. "*Terra deserta*: population, politics, and the [de]colonization of Dacia." *World Archaeology* 30.2 (1998). 220-237. Although Ellis' article deals with the later Aurelian withdrawal from Dacia (AD 270-275), she nevertheless contests theories revolving around cultural and ethnic clean slates. Ellis maintains that our understanding of population demographics during and following the Roman conquest are wrong, greatly influenced by recent political history. It is contemporary politics that influenced western understanding of ancient Romania rather than sound archaeology.



to participate in triumphal games and to be sold as slaves.<sup>441</sup> Additionally, the fourth century writer, Eutropius, relates that Trajan introduced masses of people for the purpose of repopulating the conquered territory, implying the eradication of the indigenous peoples.<sup>442</sup> Both texts appear to support the *terra deserta* theory on the surface.

Lino Rossi is the most persistent believer in the Dacian exodus. According to Rossi, the percentage of indigenous Dacians left in Dacia is unknown and the extent of their cultural influence upon Roman Dacia is uncertain. This view of a purely Roman Dacia was further reinforced by the scenes on the Column of Trajan which depict the Dacians on carts and on foot moving to the right.<sup>443</sup> However, these depictions do not specify a Dacian exodus, and therefore cannot be seen as evidence of a Dacian forced migration. While scholars support the idea, implied by the Column of Trajan's final friezes, of a Dacian indigenous population being pushed out of Dacia, they also cast the deviations from imperial Roman styles on the Adamklissi monument as evidence of indigenous handiwork (Fig. 71).<sup>444</sup> If we entertain the idea of a forced Dacian exodus, the builders and sculptors of this monument were Roman soldiers or colonials.

Dan Ruscu presents the most compelling challenge to this traditional view by positing an alternative reading of the texts of Dio and Eutropius. He suggests that the Dacians moved their population around the region for the tactical purpose of denying the Roman army large susceptible military and/or civilian targets. Once conquered, the

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<sup>441</sup> Cassius Dio, 65.18.

<sup>442</sup> Eutropius, *Breviary*, 8.6.2. Octavian used a similar strategy to populate his victory city at Nikopolis, Greece.

<sup>443</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*, 20-39.

<sup>444</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*. 58, 210-212. Rossi makes no attempt to negotiate this discrepancy in this book or in any of his articles pertaining to the Adamklissi monument.

Romans encountered collectives of shuffled and reshuffled Dacians rather than established communities. Both the textual accounts and visual representations actually reference the Roman task of maneuvering this mass of Dacians back into governable communities. It is for this very same reason that almost no epigraphic evidence of Dacians exists in the immediate post-war period: local governing structures were also disrupted. As the Romans could not rely on any kind of ruling class, they appointed members of their own ranks to oversee the period of transition.<sup>445</sup> Along these same lines, A. Diaconescu suggests that the unification of the Dacian state replaced ancient tribal communities with territorial units, producing the same seemingly-mysterious absence of romanized Dacian aristocrats.<sup>446</sup> I believe these theories are more feasible than wide-scale genocide.

If the Dacians did indeed remain, we must consider the culture of the peoples conquered and absorbed by the Empire in the second-century AD. As stated above, the Dacians were a mixture of different ethnicities. From the historical period, Thracians are the oldest and largest identifiable ethnic group in the region.<sup>447</sup> Their territory spanned from the Balkans to the Black Sea, exposing them to numerous alien cultures over the ages. In the centuries prior to the Dacian Wars, migrations, conquest, trade, and colonial contact presented many influential interactions for Thracian peoples occupying the

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<sup>445</sup> D. Ruscu, "The supposed extermination of the Dacians: the literary tradition," in *Roman Dacia: The Making of a Provincial Society*, W.S. Hanson and I.P. Haynes, eds. (Portsmouth RI, 2004), 75-85.

<sup>446</sup> A. Diaconescu, "The Towns of Roman Dacia: an overview of recent research," in *Roman Dacia: The Making of a Provincial Society*, 122-123.

<sup>447</sup> R. Florescu, *The Art of Dacian-Roman Antiquity* (Bucharest, 1986), 11. Homer mentions the Thracians as Trojan allies and describes them as excellent warriors of alien appearance (*Iliad*, 10.434).

Carpathian lands north of the Danube, those particular tribes that distinguished themselves as Dacians.<sup>448</sup>

In the fourth-century B.C., another Thracian tribe known as the Getae extended their influence into Dacian territory from their Balkan homeland. The Getae's greatest contribution was the mystery cult of Zalmoxis—a religion that promised an afterlife for initiates who upheld high moral and spiritual standards.<sup>449</sup> The greatest historical impact of the Zalmoxian cult occurred when King Burebista employed these beliefs to gain legitimacy throughout the politically fractionalized territory.<sup>450</sup> One theory suggests that Burebista presented a moral and spiritual obligation to his fellow Dacian chieftains by obtaining the support of the Zalmoxian priesthood.<sup>451</sup>

Additionally, central European Celts invaded areas of northwestern Dacia in the third-century B.C. They left behind advanced metalworking techniques and wheel-thrown pottery.<sup>452</sup> The fearsome Germanic tribe known as the Bastarnae swarmed over the region around a century afterward. While they contributed little or no material advancements, perhaps they helped in perpetuating the martial traditions of a local population still considered formidable adversaries by the Romans three centuries later.<sup>453</sup> Lastly, the Greek colonies along the Black Sea were also present to exert some degree of influence upon the Dacians through trade rather than open war.

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<sup>448</sup> Florescu, *The Art of Dacian-Roman Antiquity*, 12. The author relates that the distinction appears in Latin accounts by about the late second-century B.C.

<sup>449</sup> See M. Eliade, *Zalmoxis the Vanishing God* (Chicago, 1972) for detailed information about the religion.

<sup>450</sup> Florescu, *The Art of Dacian-Roman Antiquity*, 12, 16-17).

<sup>451</sup> Eliade, *Zalmoxis the Vanishing God*, 55-59.

<sup>452</sup> Florescu, *The Art of Dacian-Roman Antiquity*, 51.

<sup>453</sup> Florescu, *The Art of Dacian-Roman Antiquity*, 56.

The Dacians appropriated numerous elements from these various cultures in the same fashion as Romans borrowed from their conquests. These new religious, artistic, or technological ideas became more homogenized in their widespread application by Burebista and Decebalus throughout the unified kingdom of Dacia. By the time of the Roman triumph over Dacia in A.D. 106, the conquerors faced a population adept at cultural exchange. In this way, the process of Romanization was not a one-sided affair, characterized by Dacians adopting rather than adapting Roman concepts. Paul MacKendrick similarly describes post-war Dacia as a product of democratic relations between Dacians and Rome's agents.<sup>454</sup> Many contemporary scholars side with MacKendrick, proposing more nuanced interactions among peoples along the Roman frontier.

Archaeological evidence for this behavior in pre-Roman eras is sparse for Dacia. Until recently, Romanian archaeologists were not concerned with pre-Roman occupation layers, leaving us an incomplete picture of Dacian settlement patterns and their relationship to subsequent Roman presence. Additionally, many of the excavations are concentrated around the Carpathian mountains, corresponding directly to the locations of Dacian forts and fortified settlements (Fig. 72).<sup>455</sup> By comparison, excavations of purely civilian sites outside this area are rare and accidental affairs usually carried out by local officials. However, recent archaeology of small villages in southern Oltenia and southeastern Transylvania reveal communities that existed unperturbed from pre-Roman

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<sup>454</sup> P. MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak*, 107-143.

<sup>455</sup> A. Diaconescu, "The towns of Roman Dacia," 88.

through the provincial era.<sup>456</sup> It is feasible that similar, if not more, hamlets existed further away from major Dacian settlements in the territories like those surrounding Adamklissi. Despite the likely presence of indigenous peoples in the southeastern extremities of Dacia, a project like the *Tropaeum Traiani* still required a much larger workforce—a workforce supplemented by uprooted Dacians from other parts of the province. In this way, the laborers at Adamklissi potentially represented a cross-section of Dacian society that interacted with the Roman provincial soldiers present and contributed to the appearance of the trophy.

Although we can acknowledge the presence of indigenous influence at Adamklissi, any particular agenda and even first-century Dacian culture as a whole remain shrouded by uncertainties, as the Dacian Wars disrupted the more homogenized practices and beliefs of the ruling elite. Fortunately, the perspectives and desires of these individuals remain in the material production from this geographically and historically specific location, in the margins of such works as the Adamklissi monument. I believe an analysis of the vast decorative façade may reveal more about the views of all the people that helped realize the *Tropaeum Traiani*.

### **Re-reading the *Tropaeum Traiani***

Trajan's trophy at Adamklissi is most certainly an ostentatious statement of power in the Dacian landscape. Most noticeably, the imposing size of the trophy monument was meant to intimidate or at least astound a conquered population by dwarfing the viewer.

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<sup>456</sup> A. Diaconescu, "The towns of Roman Dacia," 122-128.

The placement of the trophy on a hillside, along with its grand scale, make the *Tropaeum Traiani* visible for many kilometers. Moreover, the architectural form is a visual intervention in the countryside—a man-made landmark that alters the natural topography of the area.

Unlike its predecessors, many of the decorative elements of the Adamklissi monument survived. Reconstructions reveal a very busy composition, a veritable *horror vacui*. Every level of the facing contains some degree of detail that arguably expresses the supreme meticulousness employed by Romans in both the execution of the project as well as their martial and political goals. More specifically, the sculptural program focuses on representations of military prowess.

For example, the entirety of the structure serves to raise a monumental battlefield trophy—Roman arms and armor situated atop enemy spoils. The anthropomorphic scarecrow standing over the disembodied remains of Dacian warriors was a potent and straightforward juxtaposition. Moreover, the sculptors rendered the statues of Dacian captives in submissive positions around the panoply and repeat the construction and the message immediately below upon the decorated crenellation along the drum's rim. Twenty-six rectangular panels depict barbarians from the far reaches of the Empire, extending the statement of conquest beyond the borders of Dacia. Florescu identifies Germans, Sarmatians, and Bastarnae among the foreign captives on the battlements.<sup>457</sup> Six shirtless Dacians in Dacian-style trousers accompany twenty other captives dressed in short tunics, long tunics fastened at the waist, or long flowing robes. Each captive is tied to a solitary tree in every composition. A number of these trees are markedly foreign to

Dacia, such as the palm trees on *Zinne I* and *Zinne XVI* (Fig. 73). On one hand, a very informed viewer could have identified the various people and places depicted. On the other hand, even the uninformed viewer would have recognized them as alien.

Alternatively, I believe these figures could represent the different kinds of Dacians the Romans encountered throughout the vast territory. The visible distinctions could be either geographic or hierarchical—a visual cross-section of Dacian society. The alien backdrops might represent the destinations of those conscripted soldiers sent abroad. As noted above, the Romans reorganized the remaining Dacians with little regard for pre-conquest society. It is this same shuffled indigenous population that encompassed the workforce for the *Tropaeum Traiani*, the same people forced to render their own likenesses upon the trophy.

The obvious and most overt message emerging from the battlement panels originates with its Roman patrons. Viewers identifying with Rome and invested in Roman interests primarily read a story of dominance whenever they looked upon the images of chained barbarians. Roman soldiers may have even recalled personal stories regarding the taking of captives. At the same time, subversive interpretations of the battlement friezes loom just below the surface. They only become apparent when one considers a Dacian perspective.

It seems unlikely that Dacians working on the trophy absolutely refrained from making some kind of commentary on the war upon the monument given such an

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<sup>457</sup> F.B. Florescu, *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi Tropaeum Traiani*, 508-510.

opportunity.<sup>458</sup> Close inspection of the captives reveals some alternative interpretations, messages that were useful to a still-defiant Dacian populace. The most daring example is found on the thin band of sculpted foliage, easily dismissed from afar as a common Roman decorative motif. But a closer look allows the viewer to realize that each curl ends in a representation of Dacian dragon—a warrior standard and symbol of the conquered people (Fig. 59). Even more compelling, the style employed by sculptors on the crenellation and the metope friezes more closely resembles Dacian aesthetics. If we compare a pre-conquest Dacian rhyton with one of the metopes, startling similarities emerge. There is a prominent use of lines to delineate the figure and to elaborate upon certain characteristics such as hair and clothing. The proportions of the figures also correspond; in both examples the artists created squat, thick-limbed bodies. The facial features on the rhyton and the metopes also show a preference for stylization and schematization of individual characteristics (Fig. 74). This comparison suggests that the Dacians continued to show themselves, even on a Roman monument, in a familiar native fashion. The aesthetics of the provincial Roman soldiers who spearheaded the decoration of the monument more closely resembled that of the Dacians than that of the Romans from the capital. If this is indeed the case, potentially the more subversive local messages escaped the close scrutiny of Roman censorship, of the Roman master stoneworkers overseeing Dacian laborers. But what usefulness did images of captive Dacians have for subversives?

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<sup>458</sup> The Roman characterization of Dacians as treacherous and underhanded actually supports the presence of subversive messages concealed within the decorative program of the *Tropaeum Traiani*.



Despite the fact that each barbarian is shown in the hopeless role of prisoner, the sculptors masterfully managed to capture compelling emotional drama within the stylized renderings of their subjects' facial features. Some of the expressions communicate despair, as the individual faces heavenward in search of answers for their plight. Other figures stare out into space with blank expressions, suggesting shock and disbelief in the face of the situation at hand. Still others look out at the viewer with determined defiance (Fig. 75). Such representations may have served to remind locals of similar scenes witnessed during the Dacian Wars and invoked the negative emotions associated with such memories. In this way, these scenes of Roman glory paradoxically functioned to focus Dacian animosity toward Rome.

The metopes on the monument present the most dynamic opportunity for creating subversive messages. The fifty-four panels feature unique reliefs communicating many potential narratives. In the past, these metopes were the focus of the limited scholarship concerning the monument (studies primarily concerned with deciphering the correct sequence of the panels). Metopes often contained a painted and/or carved scene. The Greeks often used a narrative strategy involving a number of metopes placed on a single monument. Although it is not a proven certainty, the panels often relate to one another, implying a narrative. The metopes seem to tell a story as a viewer navigates from one metope to the next, in the proper sequence and direction. Figures on the metopes of Adamklissi move from left to right, encouraging a ritual of circumambulation, a Roman rite of homage, consecration, and purification. In addition to knowledge of Roman ritual practices, the viewer must be versed in highly specialized Roman iconography. In this case, a specific rhetoric of conquest belonging to the legions of Rome further complicated

an interpretation. This strategy demands a culturally literate person, as it relies on the viewer's ability to recreate a story using only key scenes from a known history or myth along with their knowledge of ritual practices.

Scholars' preoccupation with the Roman strategy of historical narrative has resulted in the limitation of argumentation to directly matching metopes to events and characters of the Dacian Wars. Critical debates have long been limited to arguing the order of the metopes and the correct starting point of the story. The narrative of the metopes has remained problematic and mysterious as many do not fit into the traditional Roman known types of metopes and narratives. As many of the *Tropaeum Traiani's* metopes do not belong to recognizable Roman stock scenes and many are not repeated in any other known monuments, scholars have assumed the Roman narrative upon the monument was flawed and blame this on the provincial artisans.

The metope sculptors employed a Roman narrative structure that alternates *topoi*, or stock scenes, with depictions of historically specific events. In a society that relies heavily upon these small numbers of stock scenes as communicators of meaning, we should also consider variation in *topoi* as significant. The *topoi* serve two purposes. They symbolically communicate the emperor's virtues: *pietas*, *liberalitas*, *clementia*, *nobilitas*, *humanitas*, *civilitas*, *absentia*, *moderatio*, *continentia*, *comitas*, *facilitas*, *veritas*, *simplicitas*, and *frugalitas*.<sup>459</sup> They also structure time and space within a narrative

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<sup>459</sup> A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Emperor and his Virtues," *Historia*, 30 (1981), 298-323.

(employing marches, battles, building scenes, and processions) to connect one historical incident with the next.<sup>460</sup>

Needless to say, the order of the metopes determines one's reading. For the past forty years, Florea Bobu Florescu's *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi* has served as the authoritative voice and primary source for scholarship concerning the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamklissi (Fig. 76).<sup>461</sup> Florescu based his authoritative ordering on the original excavation data from 1943-1958.<sup>462</sup> Archaeologists unearthed the metopes in areas immediately surrounding the core of the monument. A medieval earthquake stripped the *Tropaeum Traiani* of its decorative façade, leaving only the concrete and rubble core. The metope find-spots supposedly correspond to their post-earthquake resting places. Presumably, the mere fall could not have dramatically altered the intended order of the panels. Florescu reinforced this premise with mathematical evidence.

Florescu's discussion of the monument begins with a seventy-two-page application of error-analysis and trigonometry to his organization of the metopes.<sup>463</sup> Florescu hoped to create an error margin in the areas surrounding each of the fallen metopes small enough to justify his arrangements, based on the order dictated by the original excavations. Quantifying trigonometric functions and the accompanying angles making up the initial and the final positions of the metopes—in conjunction with the

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<sup>460</sup> P.G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, Chapter 3, "The Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and their Narrative Treatment," (Copenhagen, 1945). Both the strategy proposed by Hamberg and the Roman understanding of representations of the emperor's virtues highlight the concerns of the centralized, imperial values of the urban population of the city of Rome. These virtues generally communicated the emperor's competence in controlling the chaos of the world, from the army to the barbarians, through his political prowess—a skill of utmost importance to the successful management of Rome.

<sup>461</sup> F.B. Florescu, *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi* (Bucharest, 1965).

<sup>462</sup> Florescu, *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi*, 10.

distance traveled in order to establish a path for the metopes' fall—simplifies the physical world of a falling object into a linear model rather than a quadratic interpretation. Moreover, his use of error analysis is fundamentally flawed. His use of mathematics in the relationships between objects in motion and their final positions is incorrect.<sup>464</sup> In the real world, falling objects are susceptible to rotational kinetics, not considered by Florescu. Rotational forces working upon the metopes dictated their behavior about three axes, those found in a falling object rotating about its center of mass in a three-dimensional space. The application of the principles of rotational kinetics alone could have dramatically changed the formula supposed to dictate the metope's final resting place.<sup>465</sup> In addition, Florescu does not take into account any human contact that could have changed the sequence of the metopes in the centuries between their fall and eventual unearthing. Despite these two variables, no scholar has challenged Florescu's ordering of the metopes. Scholars' concerns reflect a preoccupation with the chronological construction of a narrative, and therefore, imply some kind of literal history (Fig. 77a and 77b).<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> Florescu, *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi*, 69-141.

<sup>464</sup> A.A. Clifford, *Multivariate Error Analysis* (London, 1973). Clifford relates that researchers utilize error analysis in experiments that can be repeatedly observed in an effort to achieve a predetermined answer or goal. Thus, error analysis cannot provide answers but may only provide insight into the manipulation of an experiment's variables in order to obtain said answer.

<sup>465</sup> Although I mention only rotational kinetics, a number of significant factors from Newtonian Physics, such as acceleration due to gravity could have just as easily changed Florescu's formulas for deriving the placement of the metopes. I thank Roel Lopez for these important observations.

<sup>466</sup> This view is typical of traditional scholarship concerned with linear notions of time and history, in contrast to more contemporary approaches. While this application functions well within the contiguous spiral narrative of the Column of Trajan, it proves problematic for the interpretation of the Adamklissi monument's metopes. This is because the metopes are self-referential, that is self-contained images, scenes that function as individual pieces in isolation but also as potentially as parts of a narrative in the context of other metopes.

According to Florescu's ordering, the story begins with a cavalry action spanning seven metopes. In these metopes, Roman cavalymen brutally trample and spear Dacian infantrymen. The Roman soldiers are armored in chain and scale armor, while the Dacians are shown either naked or wearing only trousers. In addition, all Romans depicted on the metopes have short-cropped hair and no facial hair. All Dacians have long hair and beards, except for one solitary figure, a young barbarian pictured in Metope XL.<sup>467</sup> Following this battle sequence, a single panel shows Trajan, possibly delivering an *adlocutio* on Metope IX flanked by two attendants. The following four panels depict either a ceremonial procession or a march. Soldiers, horn-players, and standard-bearers march from left to right directly into battle. The next ten legible metopes portray hand-to-hand combat between Dacian and Roman infantry members. They seem to culminate in a metope showing the emperor on horseback trampling a fallen Dacian on Metope XXVIII. Five more marching scenes precede nine more battle panels. Of these nine, the last four (XL-XLIII) focus on a unique and peculiar battle among wagons, repeated only in the Column of Trajan in Rome.<sup>468</sup> The following metope, depicting goats, is equally unique, as it portrays a scene unfamiliar in the Roman imperial canon. Moreover, it is the only metope not depicting human figures. Scholars have theorized little about this panel, and it remains a mystery.<sup>469</sup> Five more marching scenes lead up to five last metopes depicting captured Dacians. While Florescu scrutinized every metope in detail, he never

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<sup>467</sup> All Roman numerals correspond to F.B. Florescu's sequence.

<sup>468</sup> An extensive analysis of the "Battle Amongst Wagons" can be found below.

<sup>469</sup> Lino Rossi, "A Historiographic Reassessment of the Metopes of the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi," *Archaeological Journal* 129 (1972), 64. Rossi is the only scholar to postulate anything regarding this goat metope. He hypothesizes that the goats might have been a legion's symbol or even Capricorns, the zodiac moon-sign of Augustus, in honor of the deified Augustus.

proposed an all-encompassing narrative. The fact that six of the fifty-four metopes are missing or only exist in small fragments may have lent to his hesitation.

Subsequent scholars, most notably Lino Rossi and I.A. Richmond, follow Florescu's ordering, declaring his "scientific" approach nearly infallible. Rossi and Richmond work to produce an overarching narrative for the Adamklissi metopes. The two historians primarily argued about where to begin reading Florescu's sequencing in order to produce the most successful historical reconstruction of the Dacian Wars.<sup>470</sup> Whereas on the one hand, Rossi remains loyal to interpretations of the monument based on classical imperial texts and comparisons to the Column of Trajan, Richmond, on the other hand, postulates a reading that considers the monument's entire decorative program and ancient sources concerning all commemorative war monuments. Consequently, Rossi's privileging of centralized perspectives, aesthetics, and monuments from the city of Rome lead him to view the Adamklissi monument as a derivative of the Column of Trajan; yet this is due only to their shared historical subject. He ignores their architectural or ritualistic connections and differences. In these comparisons, Rossi interprets the discrepancies between the two monuments as failures on the part of the provincial structure.

While Richmond's analysis is much more dynamic, considering a larger multitude of monuments beyond just the Column of Trajan, it remains entirely Romanocentric. In

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<sup>470</sup> Lino Rossi, "A Historiographic Reassessment of the Metopes of the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi," *Archaeological Journal* 129 (1972), 56-68 and I.A. Richmond, "Adamklissi," *Papers of the British School in Rome* 22 (1967), 29-39. Although Richmond scrutinizes the inscription and other decorative elements upon the *Tropaeum Traiani*, he does so only to challenge Lino Rossi's popular empirical interpretation. In his analysis of the metopes, Richmond relies heavily upon the work of Florea Bobu Florescu, changing only the starting point of Florescu's ordering of the panels to create a more recognizable martial narrative.

particular, Richmond likens the Adamklissi metopes to Roman cavalry tombstones.<sup>471</sup> Although he recognizes the soldier's role in the production and overall message of the *Tropaeum Traiani*, his conclusions still rely on Roman, Greek, and even Etruscan models. In the end, there is little room for the voice of the soldier and almost none for that of the barbarian. Iain Ferris's more recent article concerning representations of barbarians presents the potential of differences between Trajanic monuments in Rome, Beneventum, and Adamklissi as being motivated by their immediate audiences. However, Ferris does not elaborate on this important point. Instead, he concentrates on how these differences benefited the emperor's imperial message, interpretations that are ultimately dependent on centralized perspectives.<sup>472</sup>

All of these scholars shrink from returning agency to provincial Roman soldiers and the Dacian audience due to the lack of evidence regarding these communities. However, I believe that the Adamklissi monument spoke to the Roman and non-Roman alike. In particular, the metopes allow us to construct complex and compelling narratives. Like the representations of captives on the battlement friezes, the extensive metope program gave locals an even greater opportunity to communicate pro-Dacian or anti-Roman messages. This suggestion seems highly unlikely upon casual inspection of the metopes' content due to the fact that most deal with the death, defeat, and humiliation of Dacians, if one takes a strict Roman perspective.

The metopes' concern with active battle is glaringly obvious, with nearly half of the surviving panels presenting a martial action of one form or another. Scenes of

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<sup>471</sup> I.A. Richmond, "Adamklissi" in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 35 (1967), 33.

explicit violence against Dacians and the macabre depictions of the aftermath serve as reminders of Roman force and as warnings of the consequences of resistance (in marked contrast to Trajan's Column). No scholar has questioned or posited a reason for wanting to depict such a level of violence, if the choice did indeed lie with the patron in the production process. Perhaps the scenes showing the exact moment the deathblow was dealt, the exact moment the sword or spear penetrates Dacian flesh, are a manifestation of the lingering reproach felt against such a formidable adversary.

This interpretation would lead us to believe that the scenes upon the metopes are reenacted in the "memory theater" of both Romans and Dacians in a ritual of circumambulation, experienced as a reliving not only of the funerary honors signified by the monument itself, but also the horrors of war.<sup>473</sup> Using this strategy, the viewer transforms the entirety or parts of the monument into a mnemonic device. For the Roman soldier, the monument primarily honored his fallen comrades. On a secondary level, the metope narrative allowed the soldier to reenact vengeance for his loss year after year. In visual representation, the Dacian enemy is perpetually defeated and the Roman soldier forever obtains revenge for the loss of Roman lives. But what might a Dacian glean from such violent narratives?

### **The Battle Amongst the Wagons: Postulating a New Viewership**

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<sup>472</sup> I. Ferris, "The Hanged Men Dance: Barbarians in Trajanic Art" in *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*. S. Scott and J. Webster, eds. (Cambridge, 2003). 54-68.

<sup>473</sup> Bettina Bergmann, "Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle," *The Art of Ancient Spectacle, Studies in the History of Art*, 56 (1999), 9-35.



The metopes of Adamklissi may tell an entirely different story for a Dacian. The narrative that illustrates the “Battle Amongst Wagons” stretches across four metopes, the longest historical incident portrayed in the entire sequence. One scene depicts an ox-pulled wagon being led by a bearded Dacian holding a rod or spear (Fig. 78). Atop the wagon sit a woman, a boy, and a girl. The following scene reveals the sudden appearance of a battle-dressed Roman atop the wagon (Fig. 79).<sup>474</sup> It appears as if he takes the same rod from the surprised, wide-eyed woman. The ox and the man disappear from the scene. The girl has similarly disappeared, while the boy seems to be in the process of walking out of the scene. A young, beardless Dacian man wearing a Dacian cap suddenly appears below the wagon. He contorts his neck unnaturally and looks at the Roman soldier with the same wide-eyed expression as the woman, as he readies his battle scythe. The next metope illustrates Roman soldiers driving spears through unarmed Dacian men at the height of the battle (Fig. 80). The final wagon scene reveals the aftermath of the battle. The woman lies dead atop the wagon. The boy lies dead and contorted on the ground. Battle scythes and shields litter the scene. In the foreground, the capped young Dacian is reintroduced. Still alive, he rests his scythe against his thigh. His other hand touches his head in a gesture of disbelief (Fig. 81). The scene portrays all the tragedies of war on a microcosmic level, symbolically representing the destruction of a community within its varied but small cast. This personalized account of conquest also retains a hidden threat of the consequence of further resistance. For a Dacian forced to

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<sup>474</sup> Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War*, Translated by Carolyn Hammond (Oxford, 1996). 33. “They surrounded their battle line with waggons and carts, so as to leave no hope of flight. There they placed their women, who, with outstretched arms and weeping, begged the men setting out to battle not to hand them over into Roman slavery.” Although Caesar’s accounts deal with Gaul, it might appear that the Dacians, according to the Adamklissi monument, employed the same practices.

perform Roman rituals under these scenes of inglorious defeat, they served as a constant reminder of both individual and historical experience and memory.

The four metopes provide the possibility of multiple receptions. Was the scene conceived of as a visual warning to Dacian inhabitants? Or might we read in these images a more subversive account of a battle that ended in the murder of unarmed women and men? What are the implications of the characters portrayed on these four metopes?

Humiliated, defeated, and forced to work for their conquerors, the Dacians constructed a monument symbolizing Roman sovereignty. Like the Roman soldiers, did their own frustrations find an outlet in the narratives of the *Tropaeum Traiani's* decorative program? The annual duty of marching around the trophy must have reminded the Dacians of the awful battle that had taken place and of the friends and relatives lost in the Dacian wars. If we assume that the artisans were Dacians based on carving techniques and extrapolated population demographics, and that they had some liberties in the representations of the metope friezes, we can hypothesize a different meaning for the images on the *Tropaeum Traiani*.

In this scenario, the Dacian artisan's desire to depict such a graphic portrayal of violence upon fellow Dacians might reveal an interest in chronicling events from the wars and portraying the slaughter of unarmed women and children. In showing the battles' most horrific moments, perhaps the Dacian artist hoped to revive the spirit of resistance in light of the heavy loss of Dacian lives. Once again, the battle among

wagons proves to be a potent carrier of this message.<sup>475</sup> From the perspective of a Dacian viewer, the scene could be read in two ways: according to the “correct” Roman version or according to a subversive narrative constructed by an innovative and creative Dacian artisan. For a resistant subjugated Dacian, the scenes might seem to communicate a subversive nationalistic sentiment using the conqueror’s own monument. The battle among the wagons portrayed the Romans’ worst crime against the people of Dacia—the slaughter of unarmed men, women, and children. The remaining, youthful Dacian, still brandishing a war scythe despite all Roman attempts to crush resistance, could be read as an annual petition to Dacian youth of the future who would no longer have first-hand knowledge of the wars. This youth represented hope for the future of Dacia. While the scene is constructed potentially to place the viewer outside the frame, the isolation of the living figure within the scene actually seems to encourage an identification by the viewer with the youth.

The Adamklissi monument represents the most dynamic use of a trophy among the five structures in this study. The development of this multivalent construction was in response to the increasing ability to address the idiosyncratic communities on the Roman frontier through marginally Roman cultural agents. Additionally, the construction of identity in the provinces relied less and less on ideologies from the capital and relied more and more on legitimate institutions and practices that emerged from the outposts of the Roman Empire. In this way, the *Tropaeum Traiani* can possess conflicting narratives

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<sup>475</sup> I make this case because of the compelling allure of narrative sequence as it provides opportunities for extended interpretation.

and contrasting styles that perplex scholars searching for a single, overarching interpretation.

## CONCLUSION

Over two thousand years separate us from the first documented construction of Roman trophy monuments, making their forms and some of their meanings understandably alien to contemporary viewers. If anything, an individual with a Post-Modern perspective may well look upon trophies with suspicion in comparison to recent modern derivatives like the monument to Vittorio Emanuele II in Rome or any other symbol with nationalist and/or imperial sentiments. Modernist scholars often polarized these trophies alternatively as venerable symbols of Rome's greatness or of representations of the insidious barbarian element that eventually undermined Roman civilization. I believe both of these views do a disservice to the dynamic interactions that took place between Romans, agents of Rome, and non-Romans in the provinces; they also limit the creative negotiations that must have occurred among the people of these makeshift communities.

The five distinct case studies presented here on the basis of historical and formal parallels are monuments referred to as *tropaea* by ancient and modern historians. All of them share various qualities. Despite their overt similarities, each structure had to function within contextual specificities that subvert strict categorization, even as they can collectively be grouped as "trophy monuments." This is the legacy of Roman presence in the provinces—a presence characterized by a willingness and ability to negotiate with the disparate population of the known world.

Chapters three to seven serve as case studies that apply the recent developments in the concept of Romanization, particularly those that stem from Post-Colonial theory

and contemporary views on globalization. This dissertation was a response to Simon Keay's and Nicola Terrenato's lamentation over the lack of comparative analysis for these recent theories and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's challenge to concretize definitions of Romanization through (in my case) material culture.<sup>476</sup> What it revealed were five Roman trophies featuring themes legible to a broad audience in the ancient world and specialized narratives that catered to the local scene.

In this way, the Sullan trophies at Chaeroneia appealed to solidarity under a Roman banner against common enemies. Pompey's ostentatious trophy at Panissars became a painful reminder of a war Rome would rather have forgotten and a neglected monument to thwarted glory. Octavian's campsite memorial at Nikopolis may have served as a commercial and religious center and proof of Rome's benevolence, since the message of conquest was not directed at the local population. The Alpine trophy at La Turbie functioned as a guarantor of Roman security along a major trade route. And the Trajanic trophy at Adamklissi—being the most offensive and alien to natives—contained numerous subversive messages that expressed contempt of the Roman occupation.

Altogether, these five case studies represent compelling examples of a much more dynamic kind of Romanization, one that values local voices alongside global/imperial agendas. After all, trophy monuments were a product of the ongoing relationship between the conqueror and the conquered, interactions that spread well beyond the battlefield and consistently blurred notions of “us” and “them.” Ultimately, the trophy

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<sup>476</sup> S. Keay and N. Terrenato, *Italy and the West* and A. Wallace-Hadrill, “The Roman Revolution and Material Culture,” in *La Révolution Romaine après Ronald Syme*, A. Giovannini and B. Grange, eds. (Genoa, 1999).

monuments in my dissertation serve as test subjects for new interpretive strategies that explore negotiation on the frontiers of the Roman world.



Figure 1: Battlefield Trophy, Column of Trajan



TABLE 9  
BATTLEFIELD TROPHIES IN HISTORIANS  
THUCYDIDES

Reference	Battle <sup>a</sup>	Date B.C.	Victor	Vanquished	Dead given up under truce <sup>b</sup>	Other Details
1.30.1	Leukimme*	434	Kerkyra	Corinth		Prisoners (except Corinthians) put to death Corinthians collected dead and hulls from early engagement; Kerkyraians collected dead and hulls after Corinthian retreat
1.54	Sybota*	433	{Corinth Kerkyra}	{Both sides claimed victory}		
1.63.3	Isthmus of Poteidaia	433	Athens	Poteidaia	Yes	
1.105.6	Megara	460(?)	Athens	Corinth		Thucydides says Athens had the better of it; 12 days later Corinth tried unsuccessfully to put up a rival trophy
[ 284 ] 2.22.2-3	Phrygia (Attika)	431	Peloponnesians	Athens		Dead recovered without truce
2.79.7	Spartolos	429	Boiotioi and Chalkides	Athens	Yes	
2.82	Stratos	429	Stratos	Epirotos (Knemos)	Yes	
2.84.4	Gulf of Patras*	429	Athens	Peloponnesian Fleet		Trophy set up at Molykreion (= Antirrhion); <sup>c</sup> ship dedicated to Poseidon; defeated fleet sailed away
2.92.4-5	Naupaktos*	429	{Athens Peloponnesians}	{Peloponnesians Athens}	Yes	Athenians set up trophy at place from which they sailed (= Antirrhion); Peloponnesians set up trophy at Rhion for success in early action; dedicated one captured ship
3.91.5	Tanagra	426	Athens	Tanagra		
3.109.2	Olpai	426/5	Athens	Peloponnesians	Yes	
3.112.8	Idomene (Amphilochia)	426/5	Akarnanians	Amprakiotis		Dead were plundered and abandoned
4.12.1	Pylos	425	Athens	Lakedaimonians		Used shield as trophy of attack from sea
4.14.5	Bay of Pylos*	425	Athens	Lakedaimonians	Yes	Athenians secured wrecks
4.25.11	Messene	425	Athens	Messene		Messenians fled into city; Athenians withdrew
4.38.4	Sphakteria	425	Athens	Lakedaimonians	Yes	
4.44.3	Solygeia	425	Athens	Corinth		Stripped the corpses
4.56.1	Near Kotyrtia and Aphroditia	424	Athens	Spartan garrison		Raid on Lakonian coast; few killed and arms taken
4.67.5	Megara	424	Athens	Peloponnesians		Trophy was outside the long walls; presumably erected for the battle for the walls (4.69.1-3) in which the Peloponnesians fled
4.72.4	Nisaia (Megara)	424	Athens	Boiotians	Yes	Cavalry skirmish; engagement indecisive; Athenians gave back dead
4.97.1	Delion	424	Boiotians	Athens		Stripped dead; Boiotians refused to allow Athenians to collect dead until 17 days later
4.101.4	Sikyon	424/3	Sikyonians	Athens	Yes	Raid
4.124.4	Lynkestis	423	Brasidas and Makedonians	Lynkestis		
4.131.2	Skione	423	Athens (Nikias)	Skionaioi and Peloponnesians		Battle prior to a blockade
[ 285 ] 4.134	Laodokeion	423/2	{Mantineia Tegea}	{Tegea Mantineia}		Both cities claimed victory and set up trophies
5.3.4	Torone (plural)	422	Athens	Torone and Peloponnesians		1 trophy at harbor; 1 at the city wall
5.10.6	Amphipolis	422	Brasidas	Athens		Trophy for rout of Athenian center
5.10.12	Amphipolis	422	Peloponnesians	Athens		Trophy for main engagement on the Iophos
5.74.2	Mantineia	418	Lakedaimonians	Argos and allies	Yes	Stripped dead and then withdrew
6.70.3	Syrakuse (near Olympieion)	415	Athens	Syrakuse	Yes	Syracusans fled; a short pursuit
6.94.2	Raid near river Terkos	414	Athens	Syrakuse		Insignificant skirmish
6.97.5	Epipolai	414	Athens	Syrakuse	Yes	
6.98.4	Syke	414	Athens	Syrakuse		Rout of Syrakusan cavalry
6.100.3	Epipolai	414	Athens	Syrakuse		300 hoplites seized stockade and counter-wall
6.103.1	Epipolai	414	Athens	Syrakuse	Yes	
7.5.3	Epipolai	414	Athens	Syrakuse (Gylippos)	Yes	
7.23.4	Great Harbor*	414	Athens	Syrakuse		Trophy set up on island; Athenians collected wrecks

continued

Figure 2: Pritchett, Trophies in Greek Text (Part 1)

TABLE 9—Continued

Reference	Battle <sup>a</sup>	Date B.C.	Victor	Vanquished	Dead given up under truce <sup>b</sup>	Other Details
7.24 (plural)	Great Harbor	414	Syrakuse	Athens		3 trophies for seizure of 3 forts on Plemmyrion
7.34.7	Off Erineos of Achaia*	414	{Corinth} {Athens}	{Athens} {Corinth}		Athenian trophy set up at former Corinthian camp; both sides claimed victory; no pursuit, no prisoners; Athenians got wrecks
7.41.4 (plural)	Naval battles at Syrakuse*	414	Syrakuse	Athens		Trophies for both sea fights; first had been indecisive (7.38.1)
7.45 (plural)	Epipolai	414	Syrakuse	Athens	Yes	Two on Epipolai—one where Athenians ascended and the other where Boiotians first forced them to take flight
[ 206 ] 7.54	Syrakuse*	414	{Syrakuse} {Athens}	{Athens} {Gylippos}		Both sides erected trophies. Athenian fleet defeated; 70 horses captured (7.51.2). Athenian trophy for success on land in saving triremes driven ashore
7.72.1	Great Harbor*	414	Syrakuse	Athens		Athenians did not ask to recover dead or wrecks
8.24.1	Panormos (Miletos)	412	Athens	Lakedaimonians		Naval raid; trophy torn down by Milesians because Athenians did not control country when they set it up 2 days later
8.25.5	Miletos	412	Athens	Peloponnesians		
8.42.5	Syme*	412	Peloponnesians	Athens		Athenians took flight; Spartan fleet put in at Knidos, then sailed back to Syme to erect trophy
8.93.7	Eretria*	411	Peloponnesians	Athens		Crews slain or taken prisoner
8.106.4	Kynoscma promontory*	411	Athens	Peloponnesians	Yes	Athenians recovered wrecks

<sup>a</sup> An asterisk indicates a naval engagement.

<sup>b</sup> Yes = Statement that dead were surrendered occurs in the passage.

<sup>c</sup> See Gomme *IGCT* 2, p. 228.

<sup>d</sup> The plural may be used in Thucydides 3.112.F because the army of Demosthenes was arrayed in separate divisions. So at Sphakteria there were trophies for single attacks (σφαιρηται). At the battle of Laodokeion in Oresthis, it seems that the Mantinians and Tegeans, who were presumably on the right wing of the opposing armies, each defeated the other's allies and set up rival trophies (Thucydides 4.134). At Amphipolis there were trophies for two separate actions, one near the point of the initial rout and the other to mark the final engagement on the lopton. Gomme (*IGCT* 3, 651) believes that "there were doubtless others."

TABLE 10  
BATTLEFIELD TROPHIES IN HISTORIANS  
XENOPHON AND HELLENICA ΟΞΥΡΗΥΧΗΘΙΑ

Reference in Xenophon	Battle <sup>a</sup>	Date	Victor	Vanquished	Dead given up under truce <sup>b</sup>	Other Details
<i>Hell.</i> 1.2.3	Pygela (near Ephesos)	409	Athens	Miletos		Captured 200 shields
1.2.10	Ephesos (2)	409	Ephesos	Athens	Yes	One trophy for battle at the marsh; a second for that at Mount Koressos
1.4.23	Gaurcion (Andros)	408	Athens	Andros		
1.5.14	Notion*	407	Lakedaimonians	Athens		Lysander captured ships; Athenians took flight
1.6.35	Arginousai*	406	Athens	Peloponnesians		Peloponnesians fled; storm prevented rescue of im- perilled crews
2.4.7	Phyle	404	Thrasyboulos	The Thirty		The defeated fled; later recovered dead after victors retired
[ 207 ] 2.4.35	Peiraieus	403	Pausanias	Thrasyboulos		
3.5.19	Haliartos	395	Haliartos	Sparta	Yes	Battle took place beside the walls; trophy stood at gate; Spartans fled
4.2.23	Nemea River	394	Lakedaimonians	Athens and allies		Trophy set up where belligerents first engaged; allies fled to Corinth
4.3.9; Ag. 2.5	Pras (Thessaly)	394	Lakedaimonians (Agesilaos)	Thessalian cavalry		Cavalry engagement; Thessalians fled
4.3.21; Ag. 2.15	Koroneia	394	Agesilaos	Thebes	Yes	
4.4.8	Corinth	392	Praxitas and Corinthian exiles	Corinthians and Argives		Trophy stood at gate to long wall between Corinth and Lechaion
4.5.10	Corinth	390	Iphikrates and pellasts	Spartan mora	Yes	Battle described in 4.5.11-17; trophy remained in- violable
4.6.12; Ag. 2.20	Akarnania	389	Lakedaimonians	Akarnanians		300 slain; remainder withdrew
5.2.43	Olynthos	382	Lakedaimonians	Olynthos		Olynthians withdrew into city
5.4.53	Tanagra	377	Boiotia	Agesilaos (Skiritai)		None of Skiritai killed, but they retired

continued

Figure 3: Pritchett, Trophies in Greek Text (Part 2)

TABLE 10—continued

Reference in Xenophon	Battle <sup>a</sup>	Date	Victor	Vanquished	Dead given up under truce <sup>b</sup>	Other Details
5.4.65	Alyzeia	375	{Athens	{Lakedaimonians}		Xenophon says that Peloponnesians were defeated, but they too set up trophy on nearby islands because Timotheus did not put out again
5.4.66	(Akarnania)*		Lakedaimonians}	Athens}		
6.2.24	Kerkyra	373	Kerkyra	Lakedaimonians	Yes	
6.4.15	Leuktra	371	Thebes	Lakedaimonians	Yes	
7.1.19	Corinth	369	Corinth	Thebes	Yes	Skirmish; Corinthians dragged bodies to their walls
7.1.32	Medea (So. Arkadia?)	368	Lakedaimonians	Arkadians	Yes	"Tearless battle"
7.2.4	Phleious	369	Phleious	Argives		600 horsement put to flight the rearguard of Argive army of whom a few were killed
7.2.15	Phleious	366	Phleious	Pelleneans and Sikyonians		Detachment of Euphron's men defeated outside city gate
7.4.14	Elis	365	Elis	Arkadians		Horsement driven out of city agora
7.4.25	Kromnos	365	Arkadians	Lakedaimonians	Yes	Trophy erected at place where Arkadians began to advance
7.5.13	Sparta	362	Sparta	Thebes	Yes	A company of 100 hoplites defeat Thebans on a hill
7.5.26	Mantineia	362	{Thebans	{Lakedaimonians}	Yes	Trophies erected on both sides; Thebans were masters of field of battle; both gave back dead under truce
			Lakedaimonians}	Thebans}		
<i>Anab.</i>						
4.6.27	Pass occupied by Chalybes	401/0	Greeks	Chalybes		Trophy erected at top of pass after enemy fled
6.5.32	Kalpe	400	Greeks	Bithynians		Trophy erected where first encounter took place; Greeks returned to camp by sunset
7.6.36	---	400	Greeks	Barbarians		In public harangue to army, Xenophon refers to "many trophies of victory over the barbarians"
<i>Hell. Oxy.</i>						
7.1.33	Sardis		Lakedaimonians (Agesilaos)	Persians (Tissaphernes)	Yes	

<sup>a</sup> An asterisk indicates a naval engagement.  
<sup>b</sup> Yes = Statement that dead were surrendered occurs in the passage.

TABLE 11  
 BATTLEFIELD TROPHIES IN HISTORIANS  
 DIODOROS<sup>c</sup>

Reference in Diodoros	Battle <sup>a</sup>	Date	Victor	Vanquished	Dead given up under truce <sup>b</sup>	Other Details
13.19.3	Asinaros river	413	Syrakuse	Athenians		Two trophies, to each of which were nailed the arms of a general
13.24.5	---	413				Speech of Nikolaos (see supra p. 254)
13.40.6	Hellespont*	411	Athens	Peloponnesians		Trophy erected on Cape of Hekabe's Monument
13.51.7	{Kyzikos*	410	Athens	Peloponnesians		Erected on island of Polydoros.
	{Kyzikos	410	Athens	Pharnabazos		Erected at first τροπή
13.73.1	Outside walls of Athens	408	Athens	Boiotian cavalry		Agis challenged Athenians to battle for the trophy on the next day
14.24.4	Kounaxa	410	Klearchos	Persians		Erected at night
14.84.2	Koroneia	394	Lakedaimonians	Boiotians	Yes	
15.34.2	Thebes	377	Thebes	Lakedaimonians	Yes	
15.87.2	Mantineia	362	{Thebans	{Lakedaimonians}	Yes	Both sides erected trophies; Lakedaimonians were first to ask for dead
			Lakedaimonians}	Thebans}		
16.4.7	Illyria	358	Philip	Illyrians		
16.12.5	Syrakuse	357/6	Syrakuse	Dion		
16.20.5	Syrakuse	356/5	Dion	Mercenaries of Dionysios		
16.86.6	Chaironeia	338	Philip	Boiotians	Yes	
16.88.2	Chaironeia	338	Philip	Boiotians and Athenians		Quotation from speech of Lykourgos
18.11.5	Boiotia	323	Leosthenes	Boiotians		
18.15.4	Lamia	322	Greeks	Makedonians		Cavalry battle; Greeks gained control of dead and departed
18.32.2	Hellespont	321	Eumenes	Krateros		
20.39.4	Libya	308	Agathokles	Karthaginians		
21.2.3	Kerkyra*	299/8	Agathokles	Makedonians		Trophy set up after forces landed

<sup>a</sup> An asterisk indicates a naval engagement.  
<sup>b</sup> Yes = Statement that dead were surrendered occurs in the passage.  
<sup>c</sup> Woelcke (*Beilage* 131) gives an incorrect reference to Diodoros 2.85.94 as an example of τροφῶν στήθου. I cannot find the relevant passage. There is no index to Diodoros, and most of the examples listed here are not found in Woelcke or Janssen.

Figure 4: Pritchett, Trophies in Greek Text (Part 3)

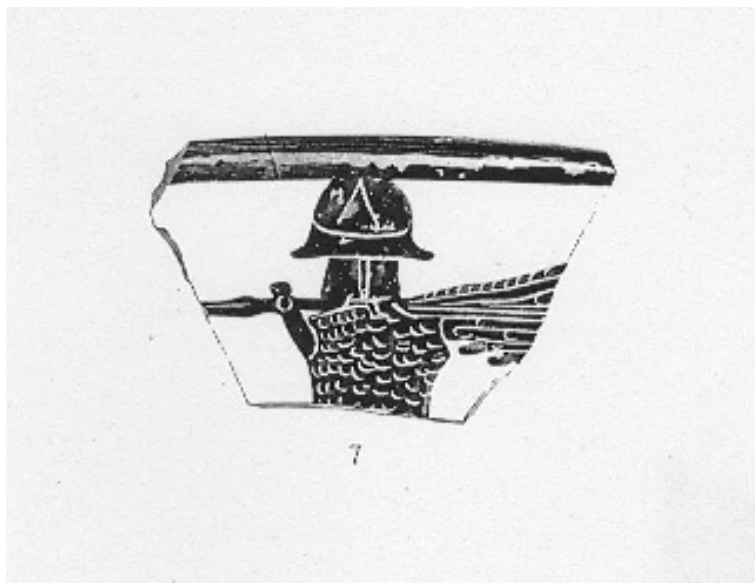


Figure 5: Painted Trophy



Figure 6a: Republican *Victoriatus*

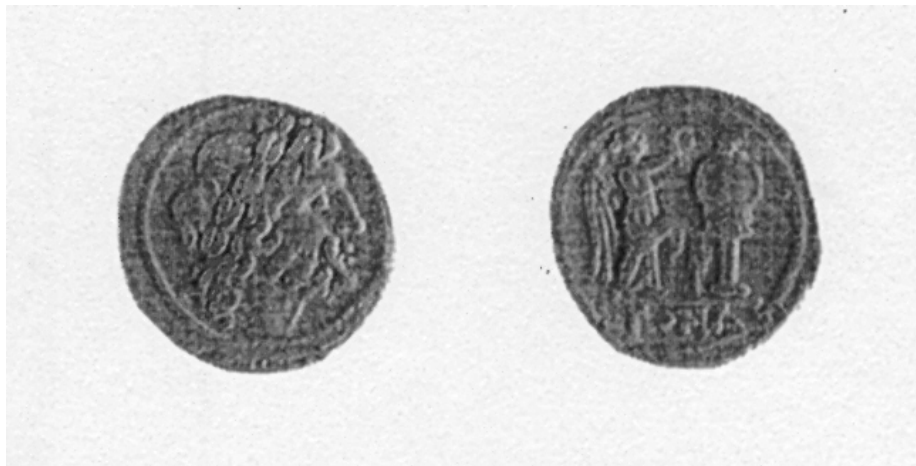


Figure 6b: Republican *Victoriatus*

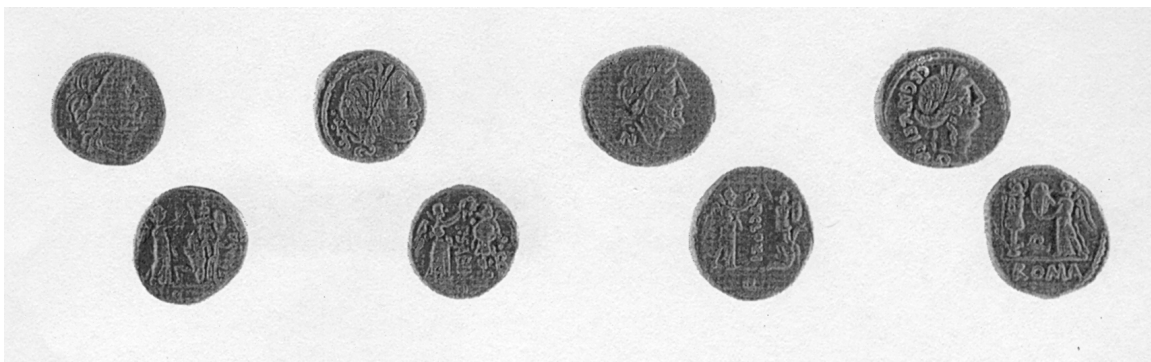


Figure 6c: Republican *Quinarii* featuring trophies  
228



Figure 7: Sullan *Aureus*



Figure 8: Caesarian *Denarii*

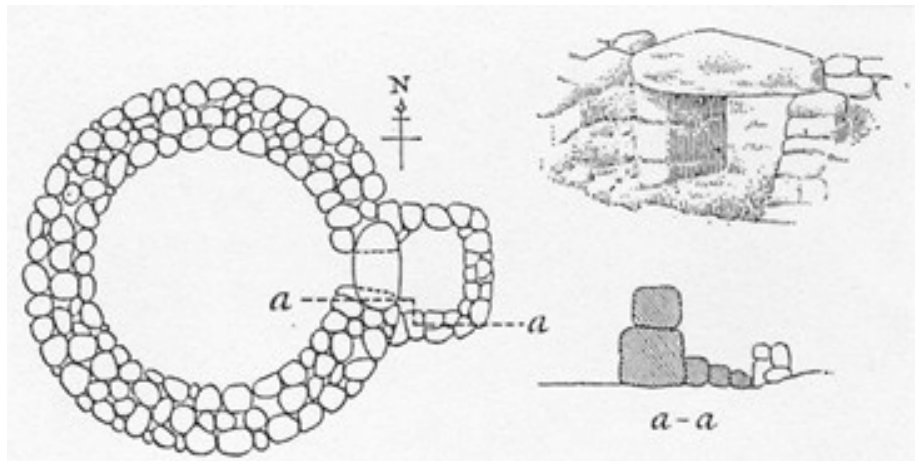


Figure 9: Early Minoan Ossuary

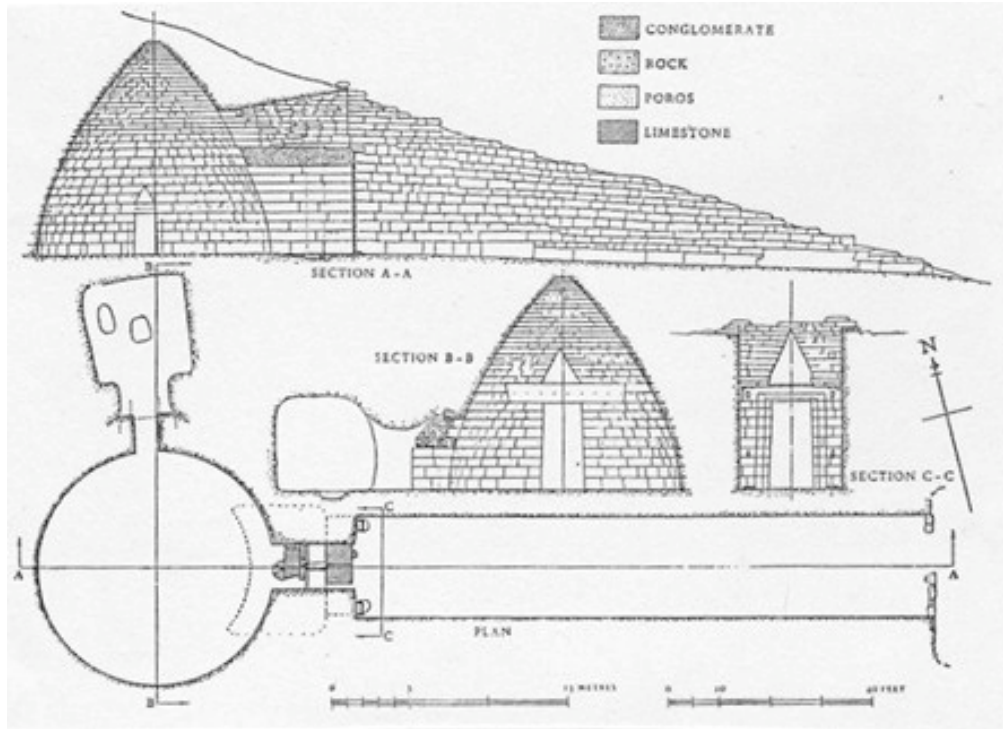


Figure 10: Mycenaean Tholos Tomb





Figure 11: Etruscan tumulus, Cerveteri, Italy

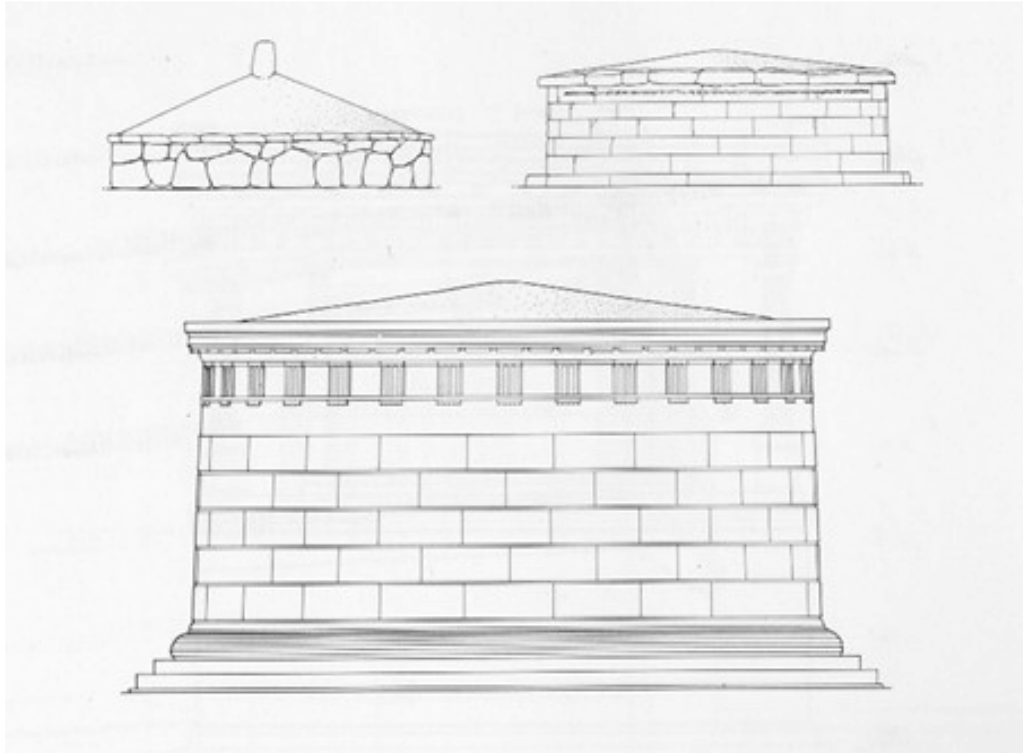


Figure 12: Tumulus from Hermos valley (top left), Tomb of Menekrates at Corcyra (top right), and Tumulus from Kerameikos cemetery in Athens (bottom)

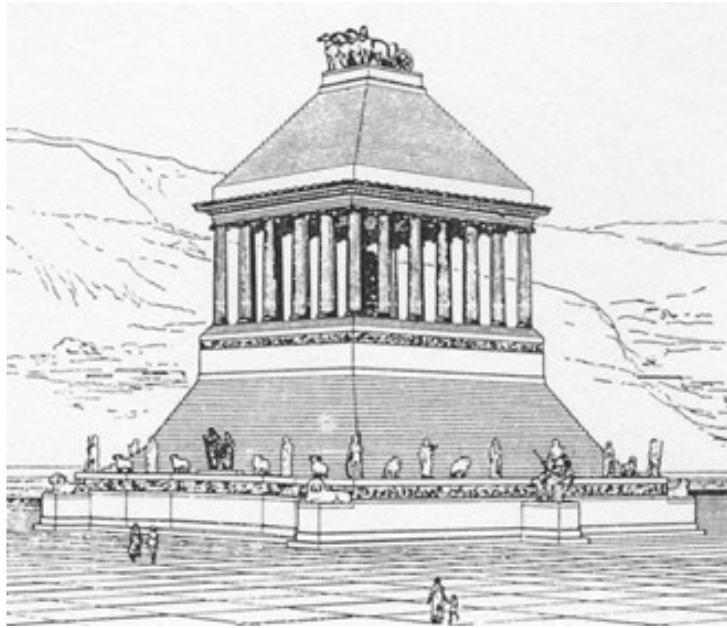


Figure 13: Mausoleum of Halicarnassos, reconstruction

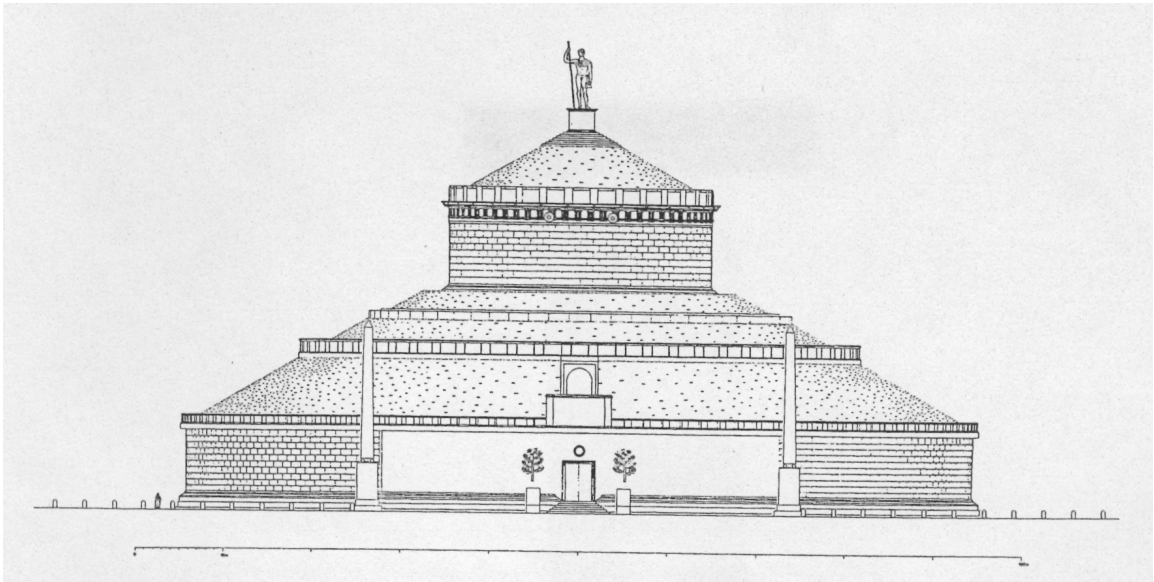


Figure 14: Mausoleum of Augustus



Figure 15: Sumerian votive figures, Tel Asmar

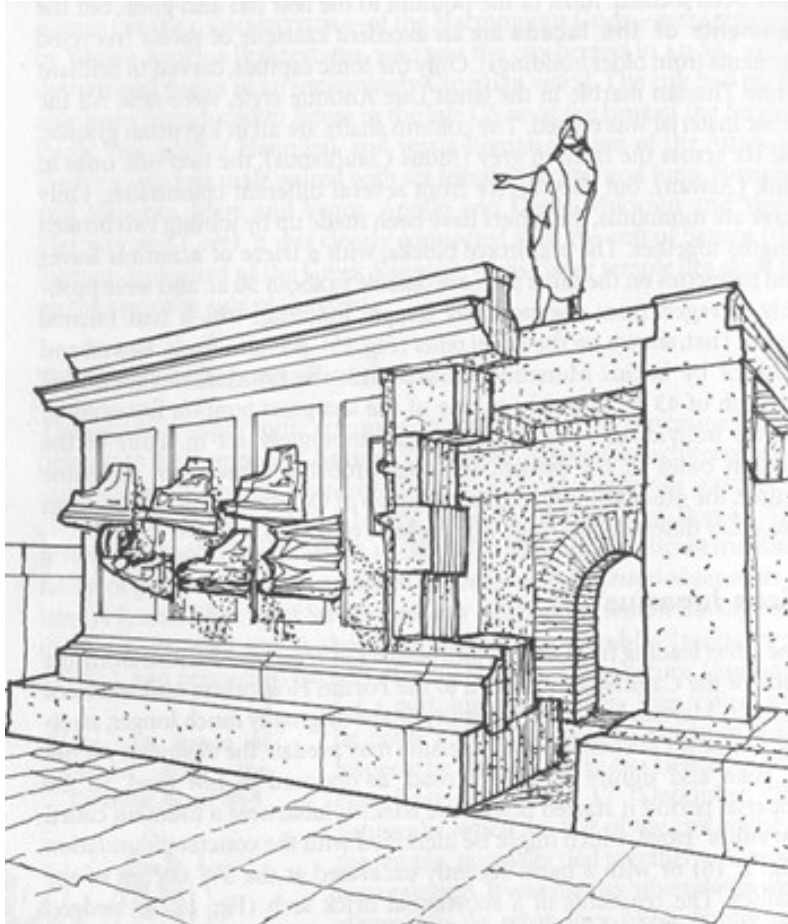


Figure 16: Roman *Rostra*, reconstruction



Figure 17: Map of Boeotia

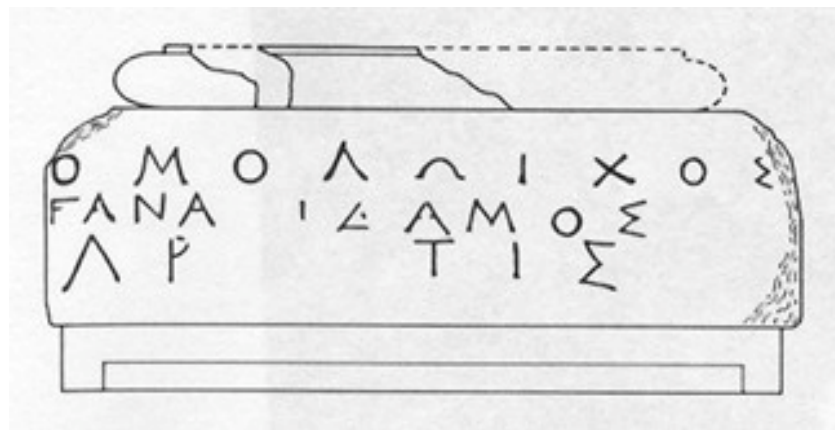


Figure 18: Sullan trophy base





Figure 19: Trophy Remains at Pyrgos, Greece



Figure 20: Trophy at Leuktra, Greece



Figure 21: Boeotian coin featuring trophy on reverse



Figure 22: Pyrrhic cenotaph, Chaeroneia, Greece



Figure 23: Lion Monument, Chaeroneia, Greece

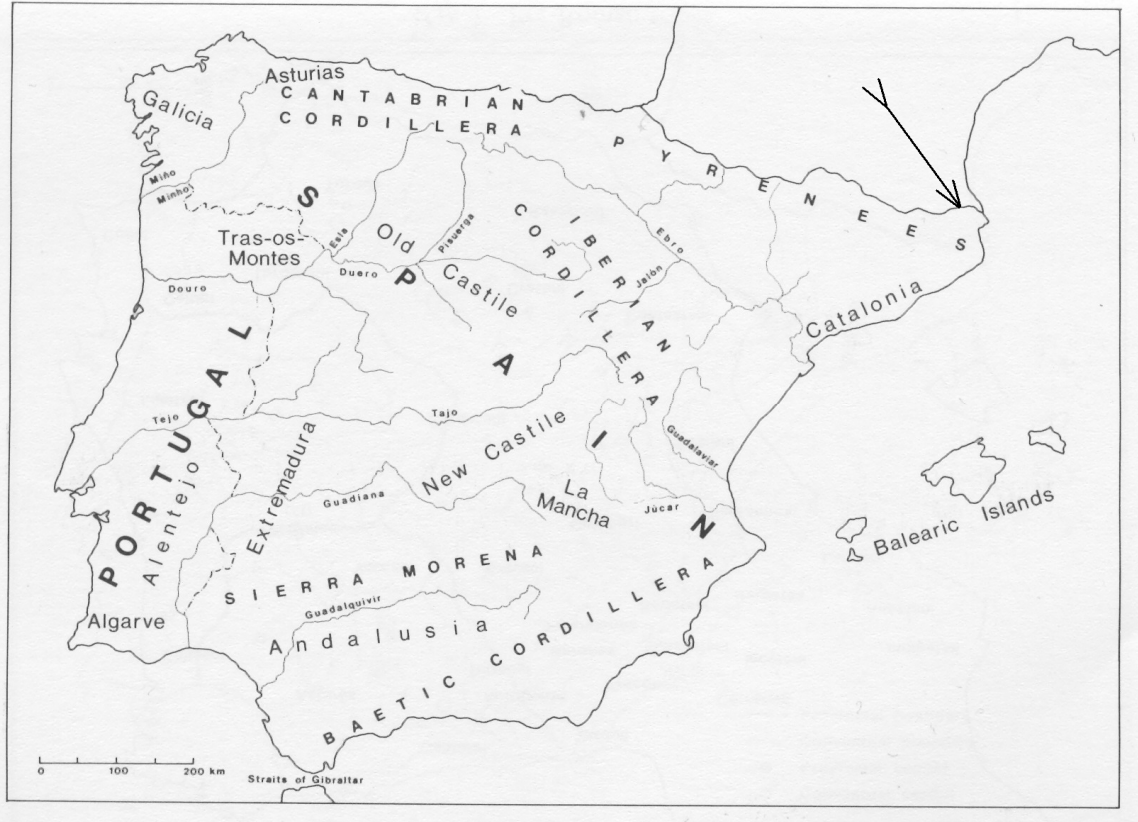


Figure 24: Map of Iberian Peninsula, with arrow indicating location of Panissars

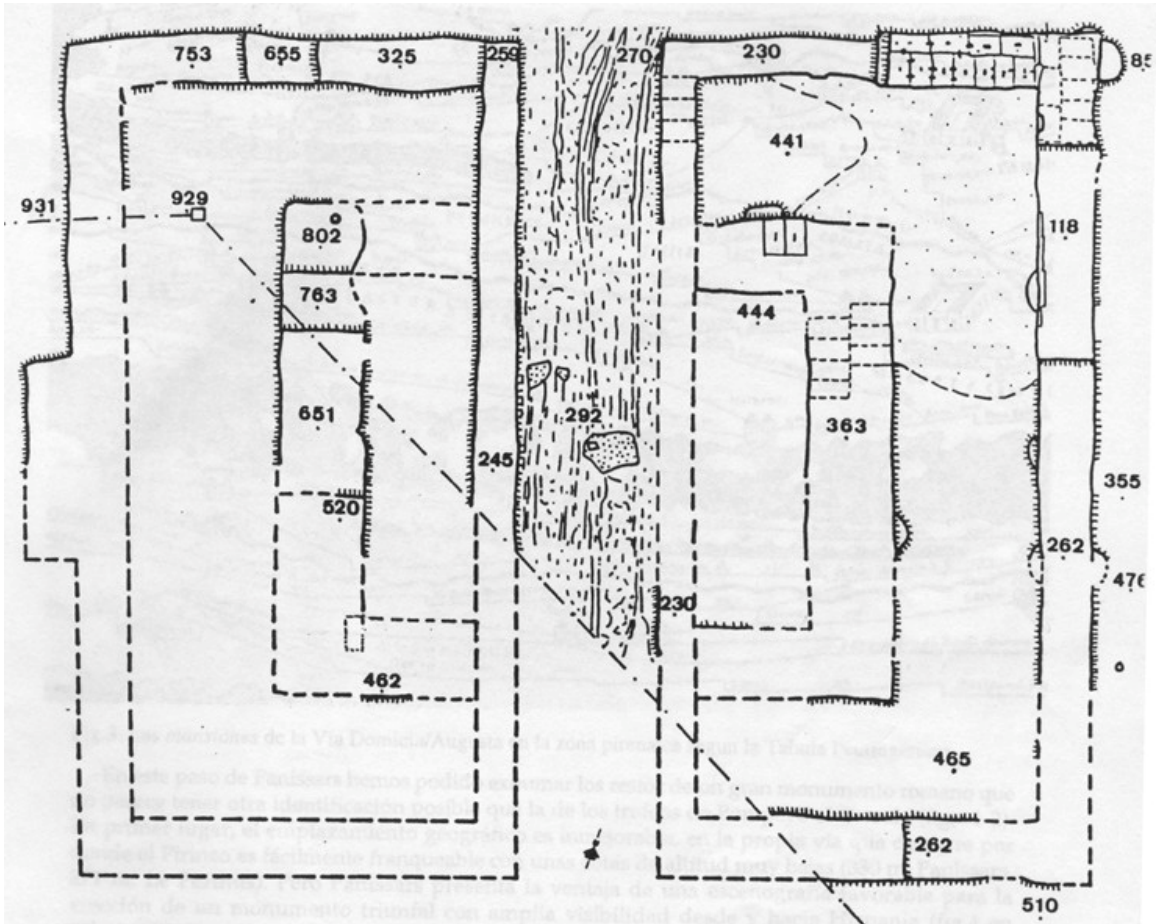


Figure 25: Panissars *tropaeum*, plan

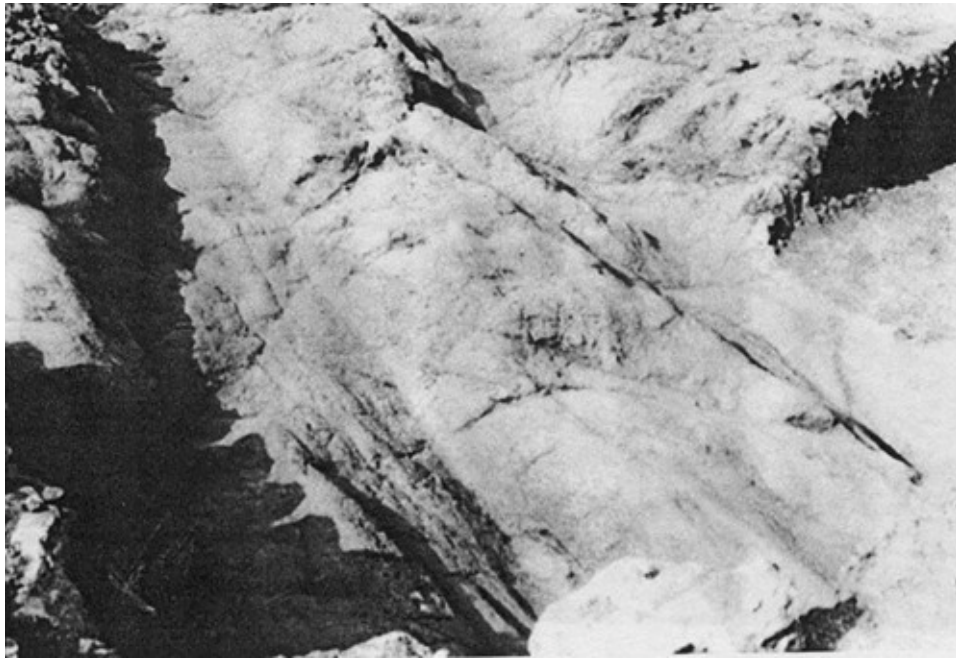


Figure 26: Panissars *tropaeum*, Via Domitia/Augusta



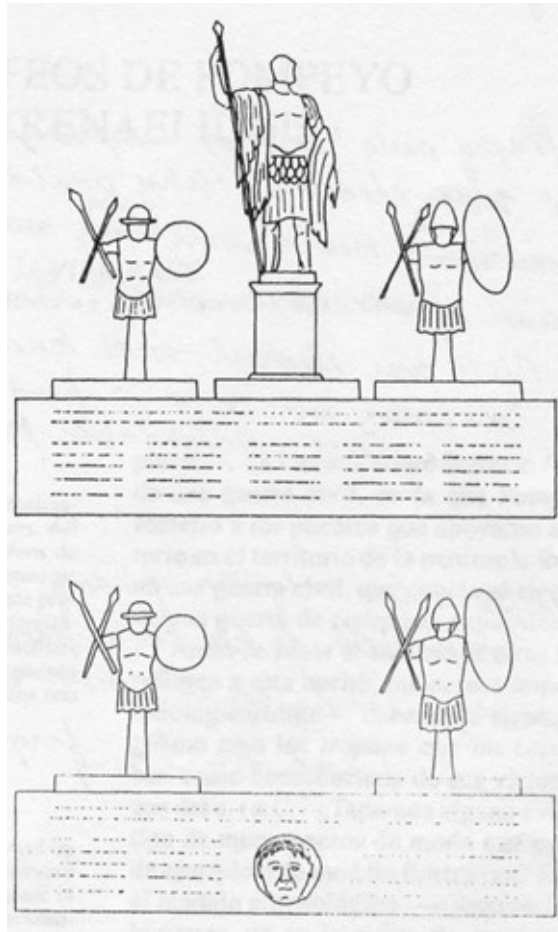


Figure 27: Panissars *tropaeum*, reconstruction



Figure 28: Coin of Pompey



Figure 29: Map of Pre-Roman tribes



Figure 30: View from Trophy toward North



Figure 31: View from trophy toward South



Figure 32: Apotropaic Device



Figure 33: Porta Marzia, Perugia

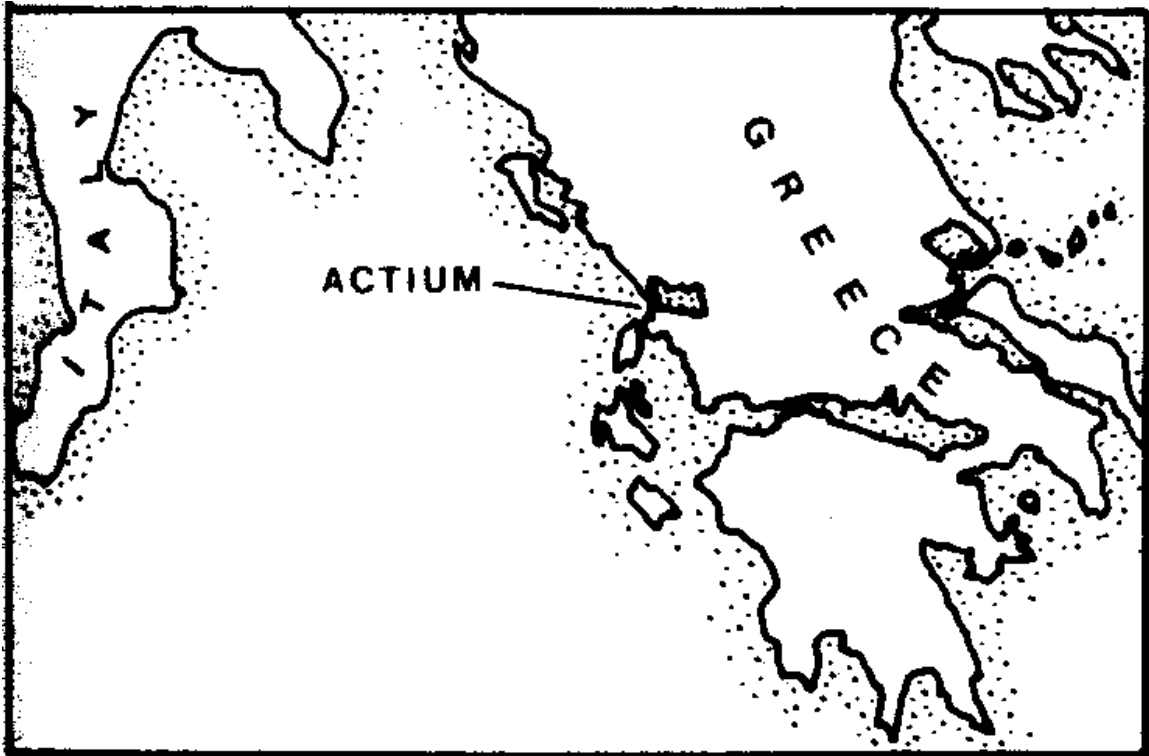


Figure 34: Map of Greece



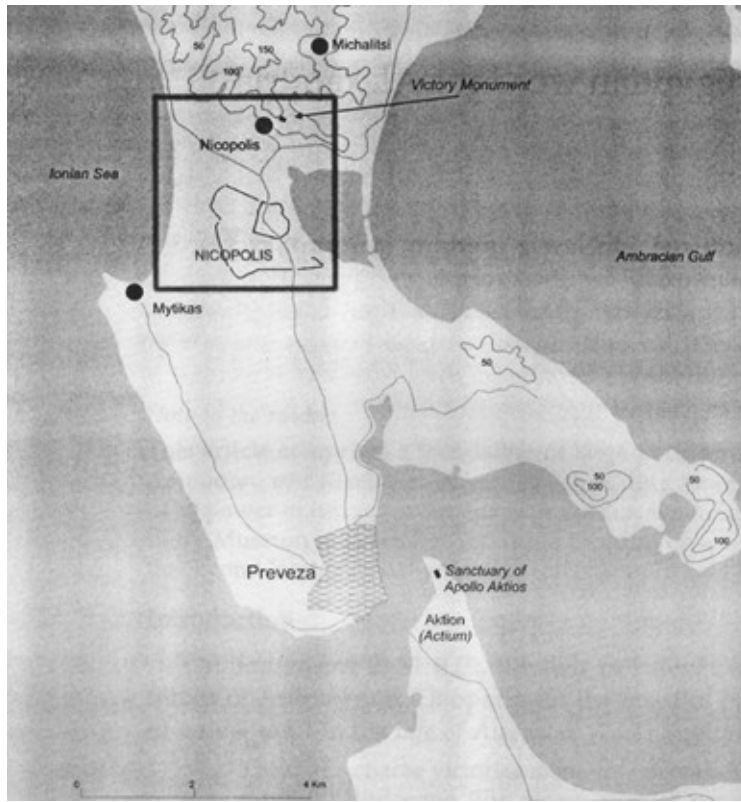


Figure 35: Map of Nikopolis, Greece

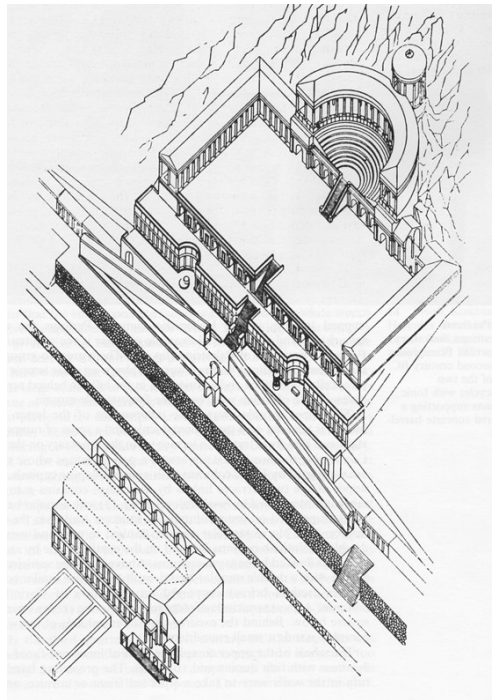
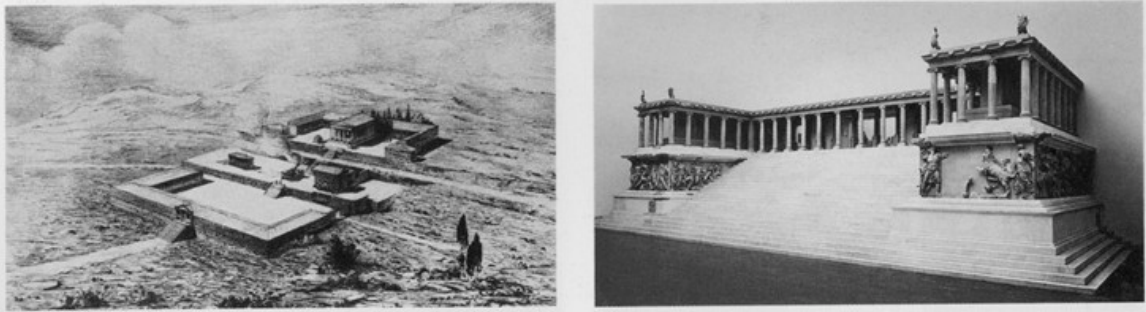


Figure 36: Asklepieion at Kos, Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, and the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste

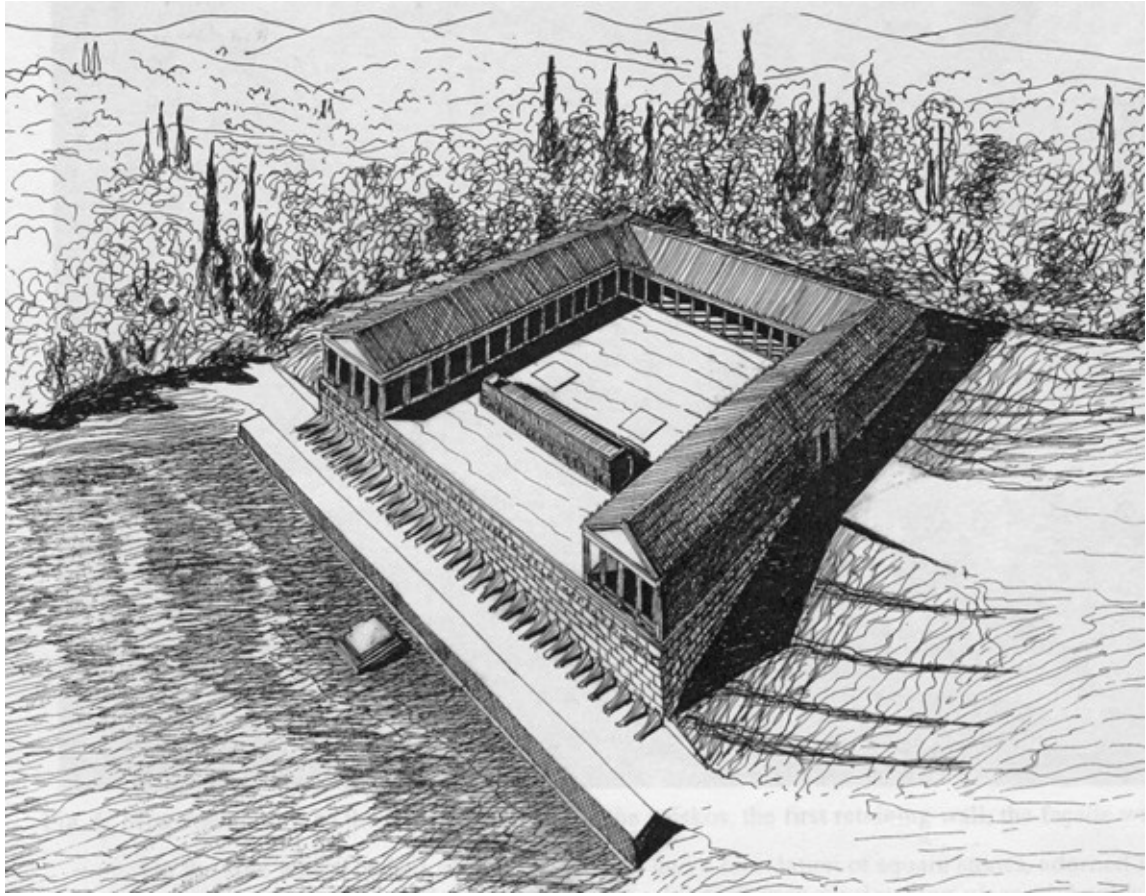


Figure 37: Reconstruction of Nikopolis *tropaeum*

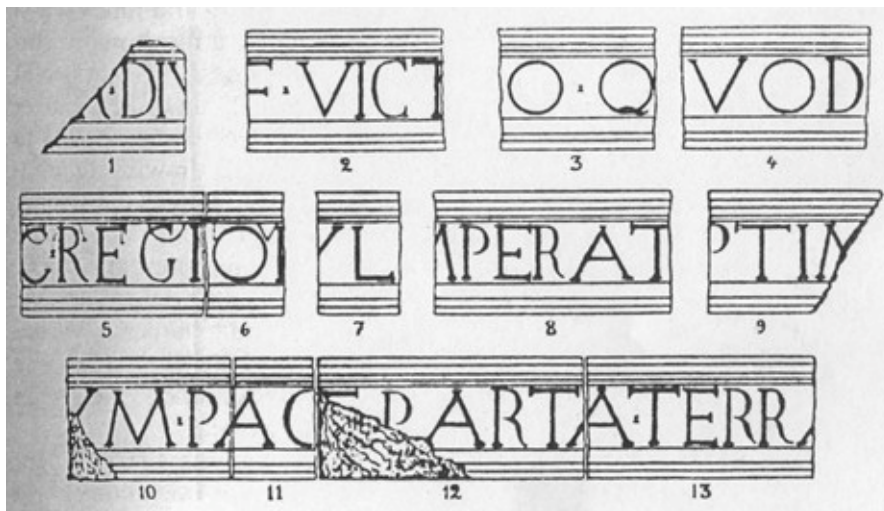


Figure 38. Nikopolis Trophy, reconstruction of inscription

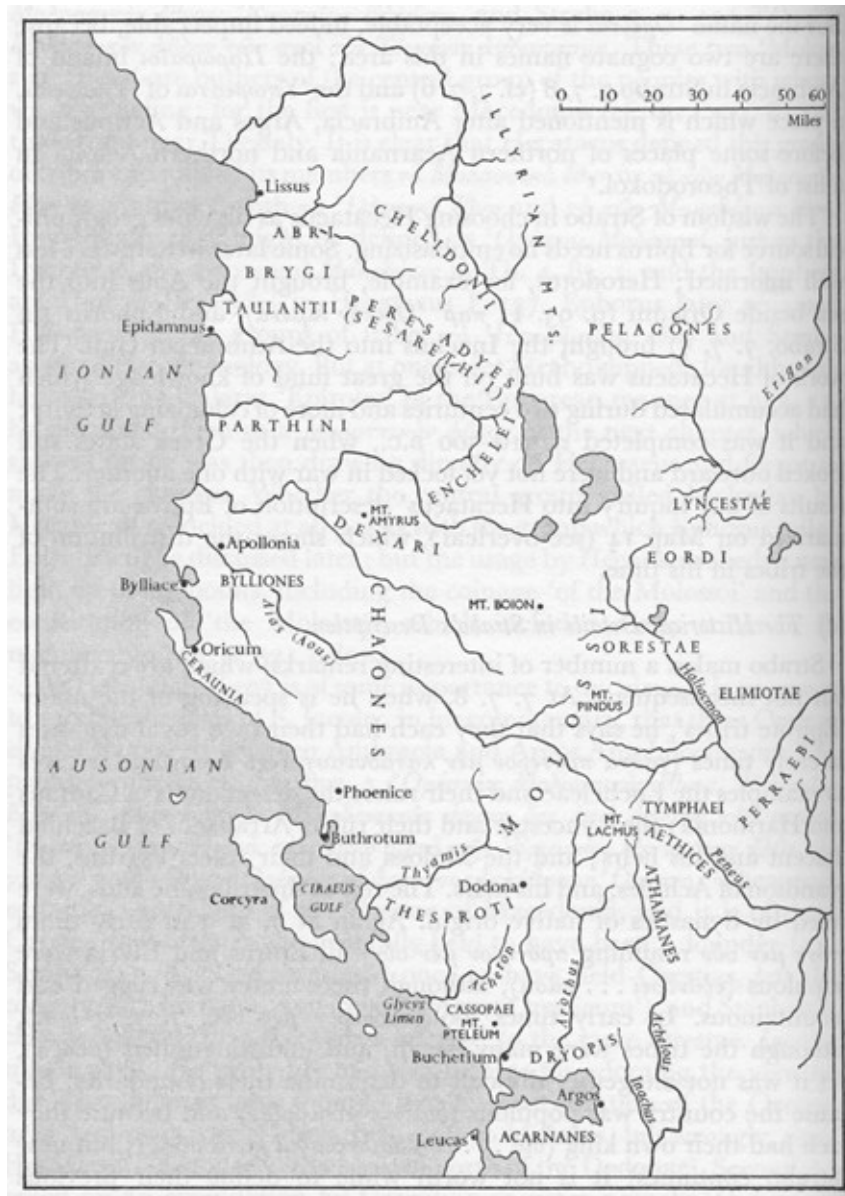


Figure 39: Map of Epirus, Greece



Figure 40: Map of S Epirus and W Aetolia, ca.270 BC

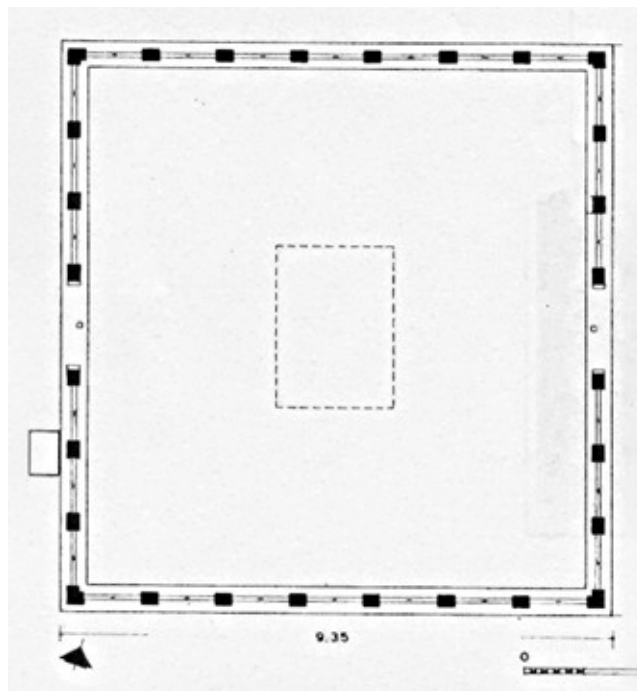


Figure 41: Plan of the Altar of the Twelve Gods, Athens, Greece

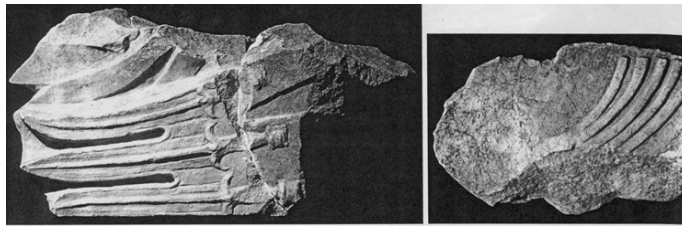


Fig. 28. Marble fragments from altar frieze: ram of a warship and stern ornament (*aphlaston*).

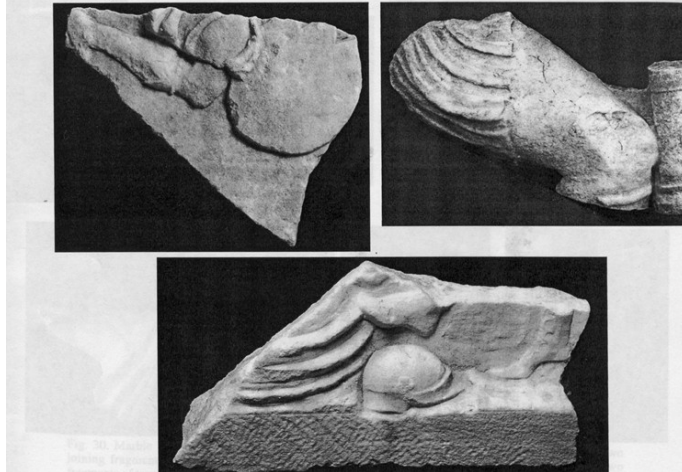


Fig. 30. Marble fragments from altar frieze.

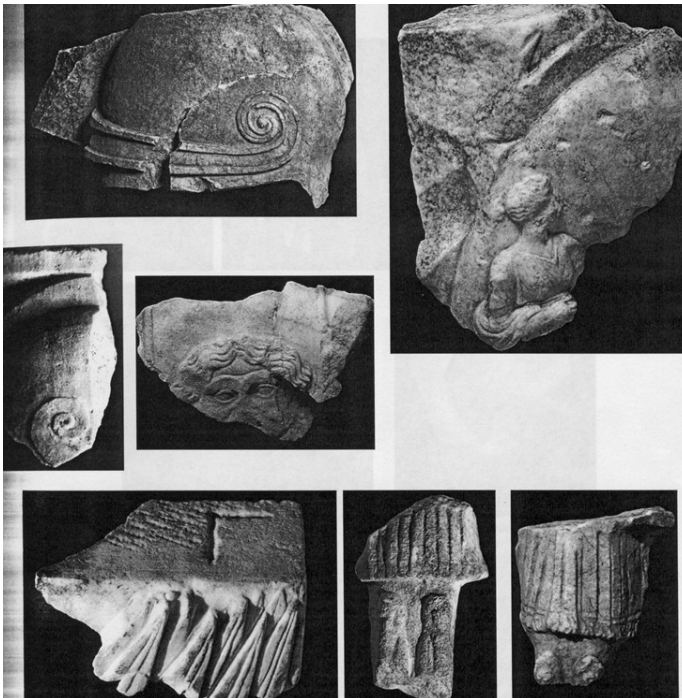


Figure 42: Nikopolis *tropaeum*, altar fragments





Figure 43: Alpine Trophy at La Turbie

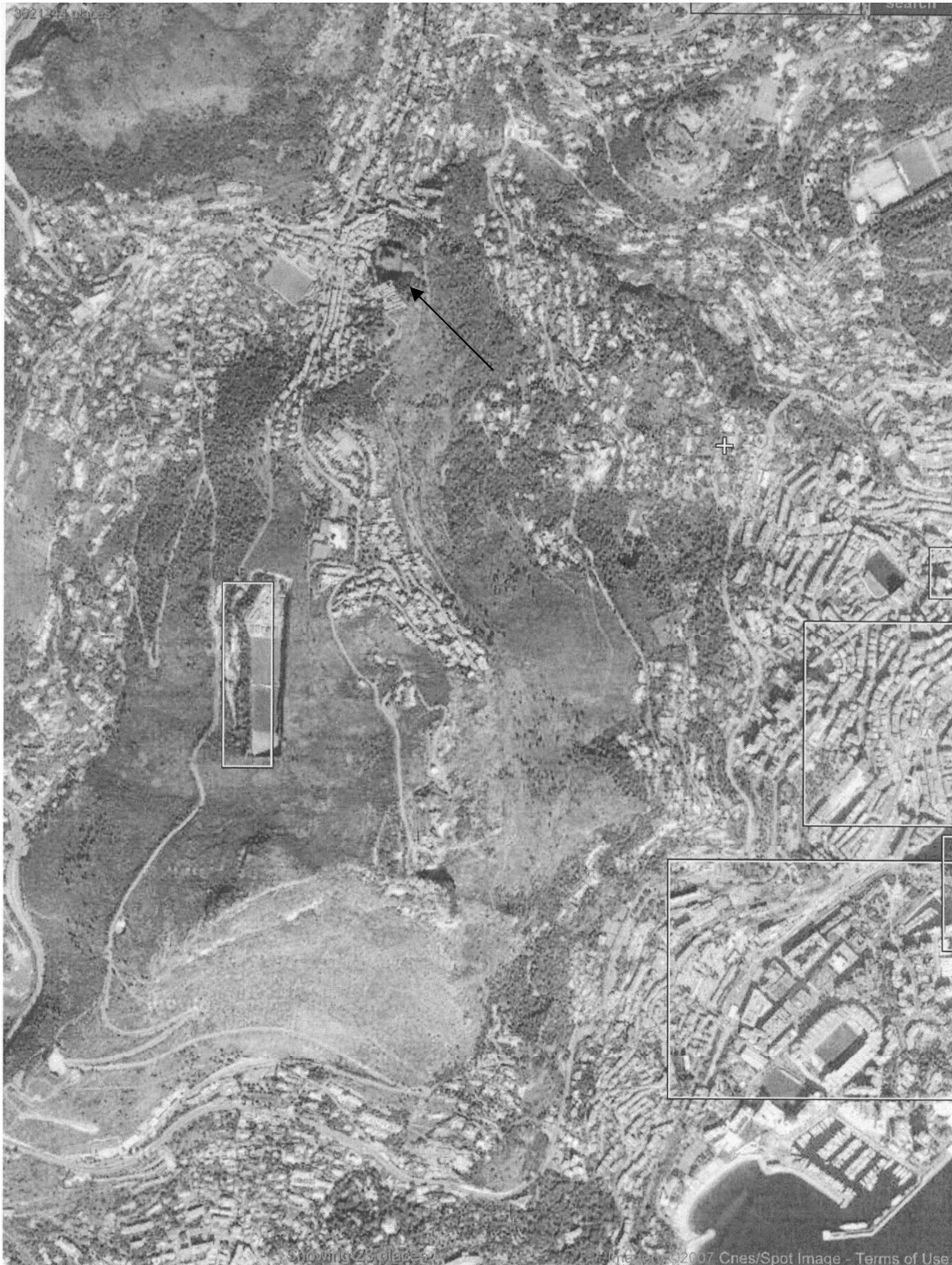


Figure 44: Aerial map of La Turbie and Monaco

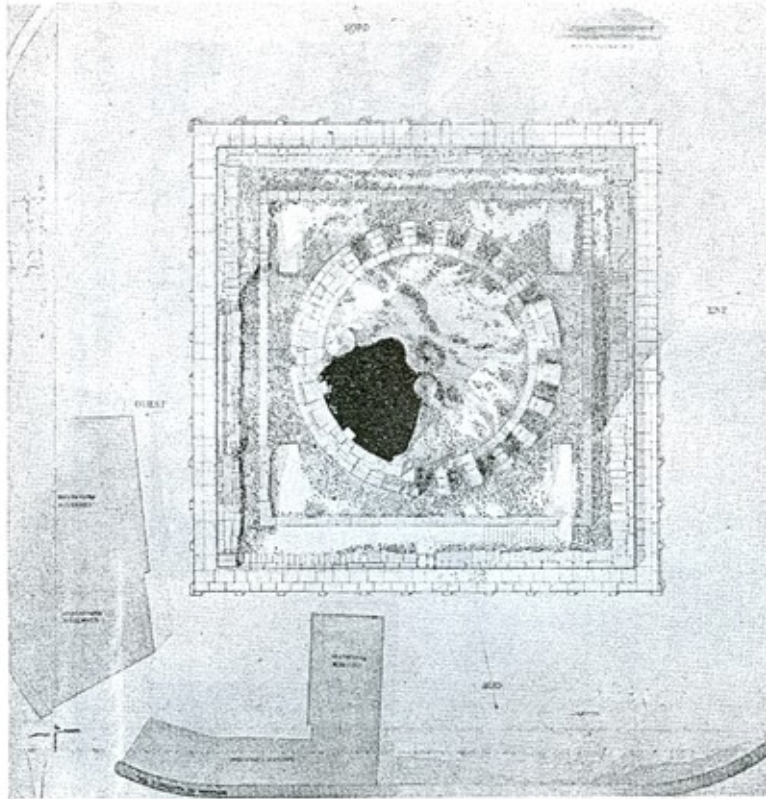


Figure 45: Plan of Alpine Trophy ruins

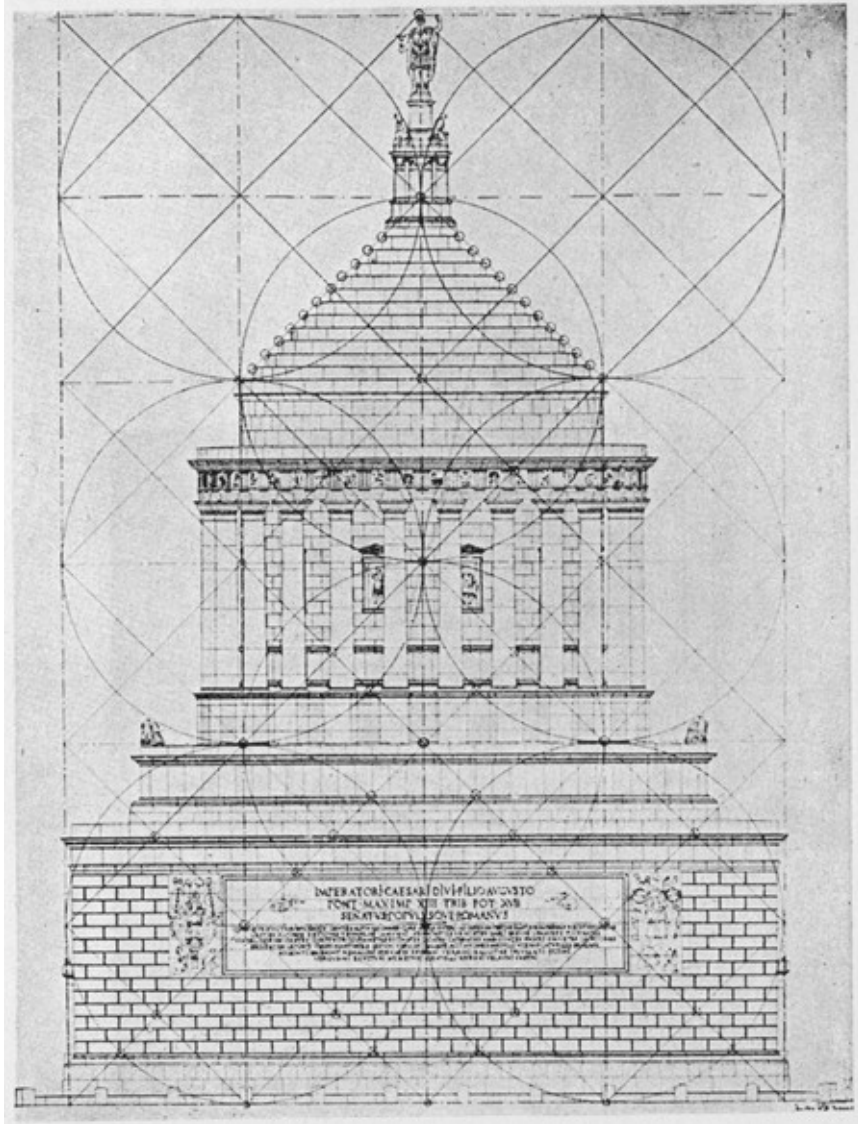


Figure 46: Alpine Trophy reconstruction



Figure 47: Alpine Trophy inscription

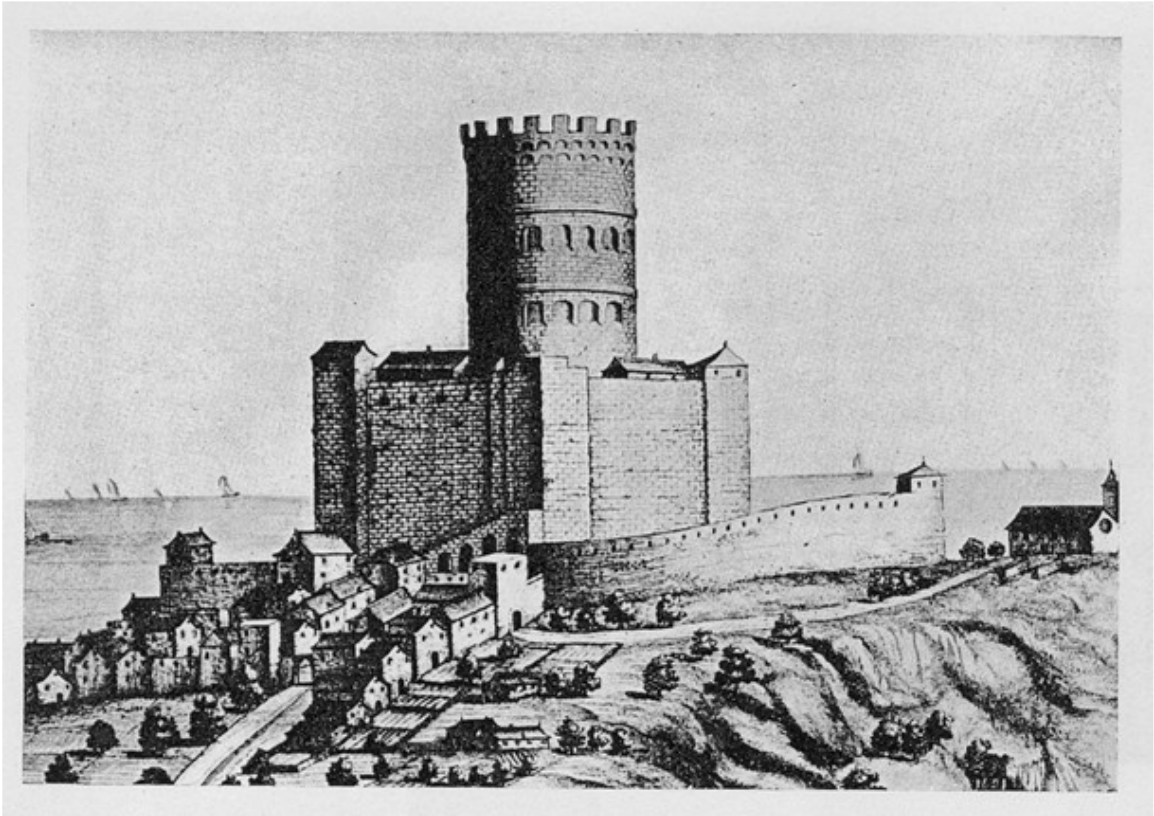


Figure 48: Alpine Trophy in the Middle Ages



Figure 49: Alpine Trophy, metopes and triglyphs



Figure 50: Alpine Trophy, inscription with Nike





Figure 51: Alpine Trophy, battlefield trophy frieze



Figure 52: Alpine Trophy, statue of Drusus



Figure 53: Augustus Prima Porta

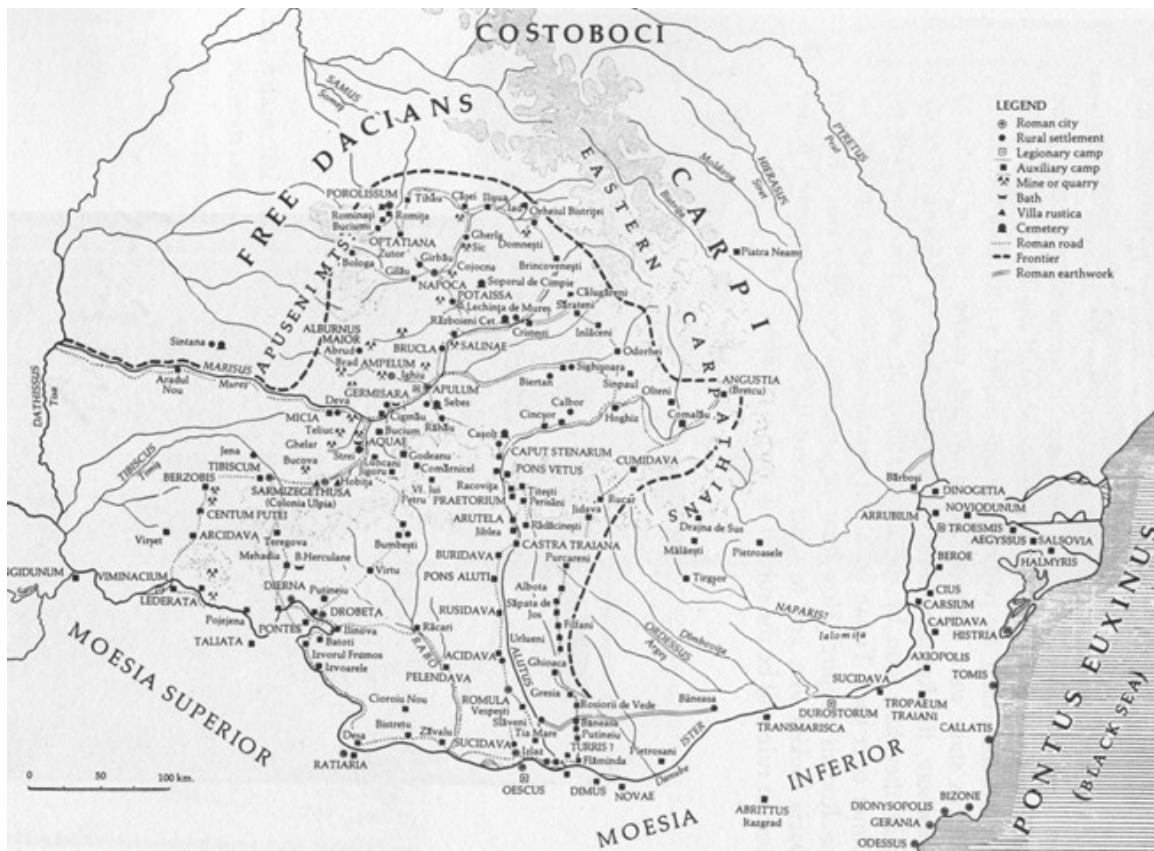


Figure 54. Map of Dacia, ca. AD 106

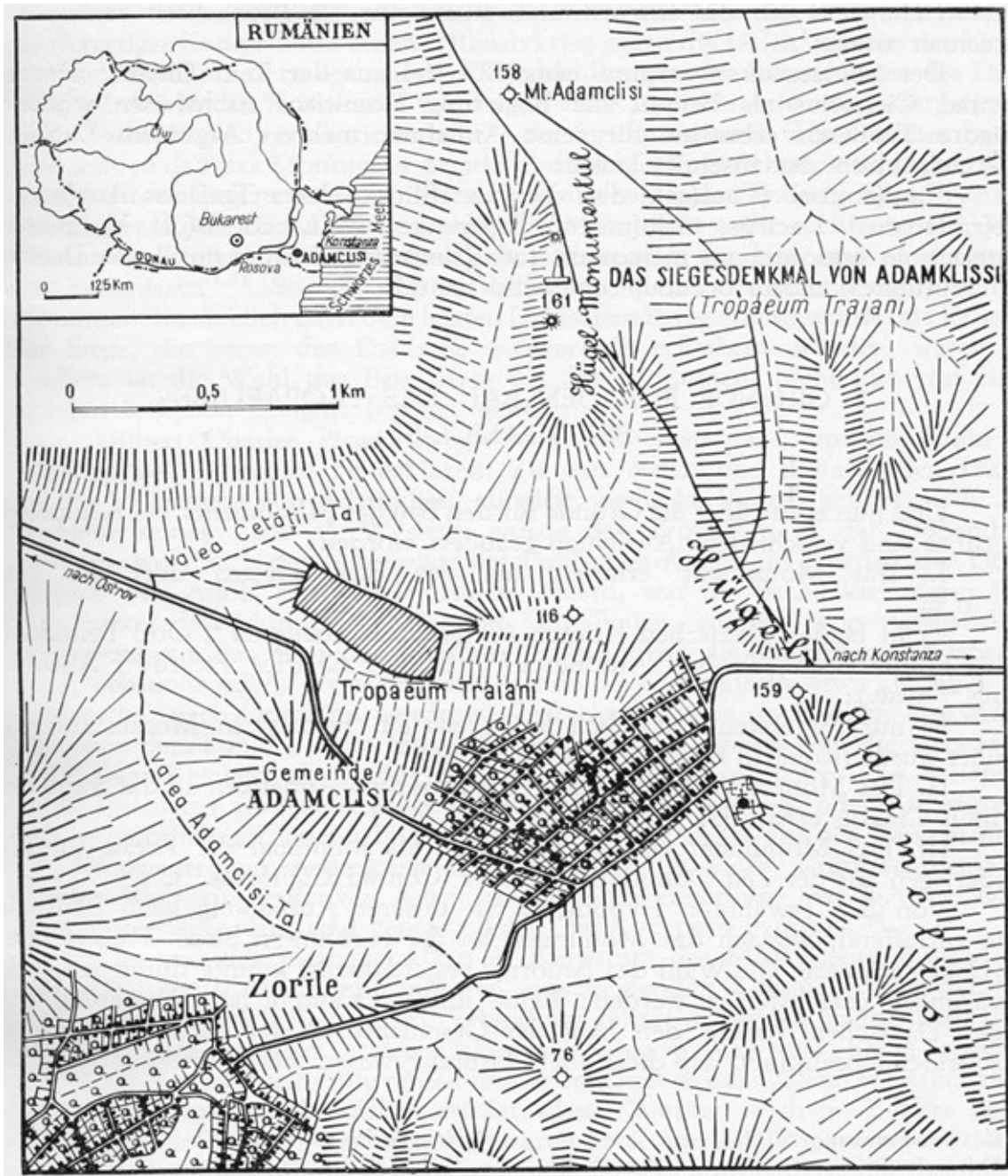


Figure 55. Topographical Map of Adamklissi, Romania



Figure 56. View of Trophy from Şipote, 9 km North of Adamklissi



Figure 57. *Tropaeum Traiani*, reconstruction (After F.B. Florescu)

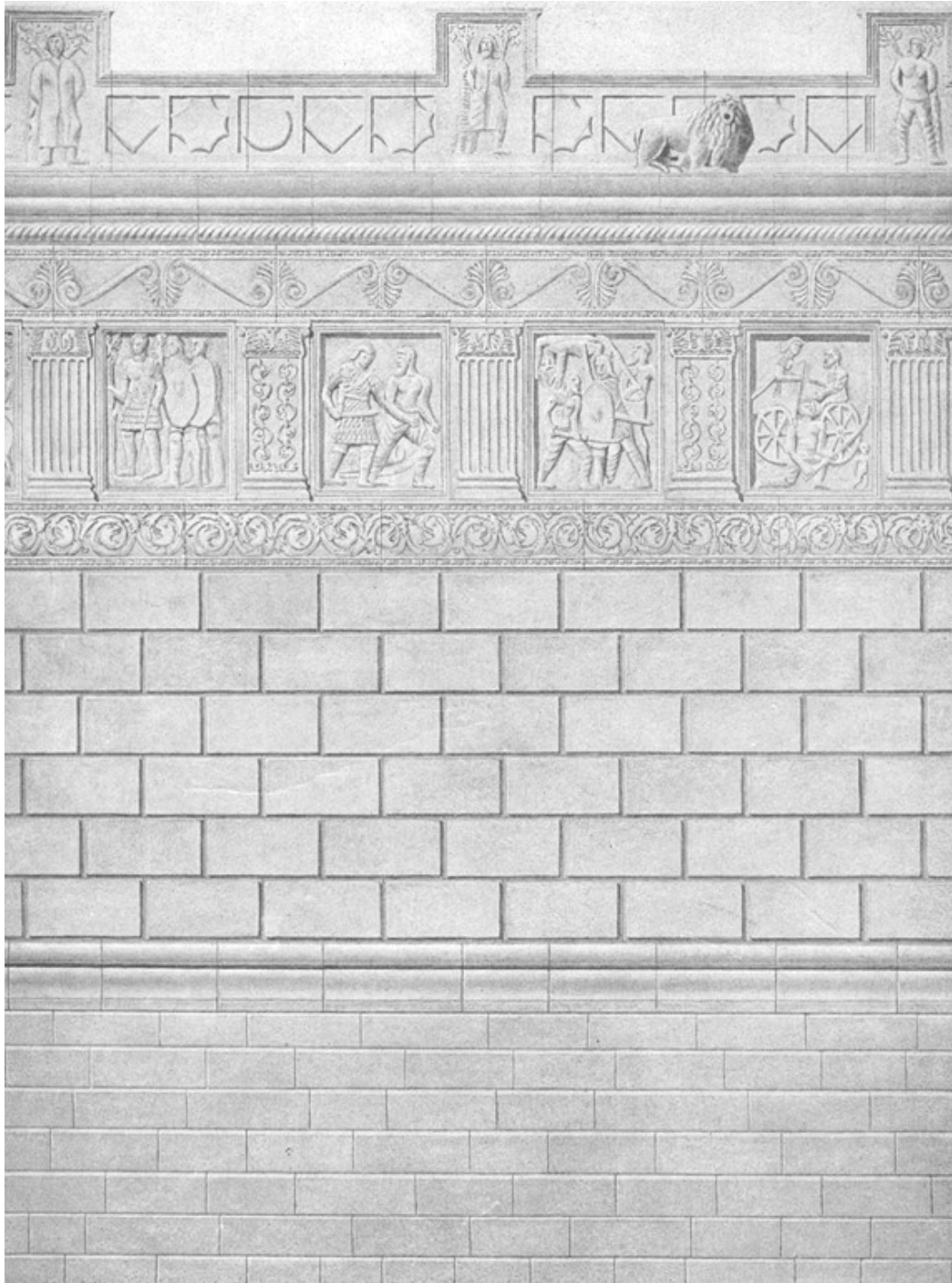


Figure 58. *Tropaeum Traiani*, façade (After Florescu)





Figure 59. *Tropaeum Traiani*, façade detail



Figure 60. *Tropaeum Traiani*, triglyphs



Figure 61. Typical metope/triglyph arrangement from the Athenian Parthenon

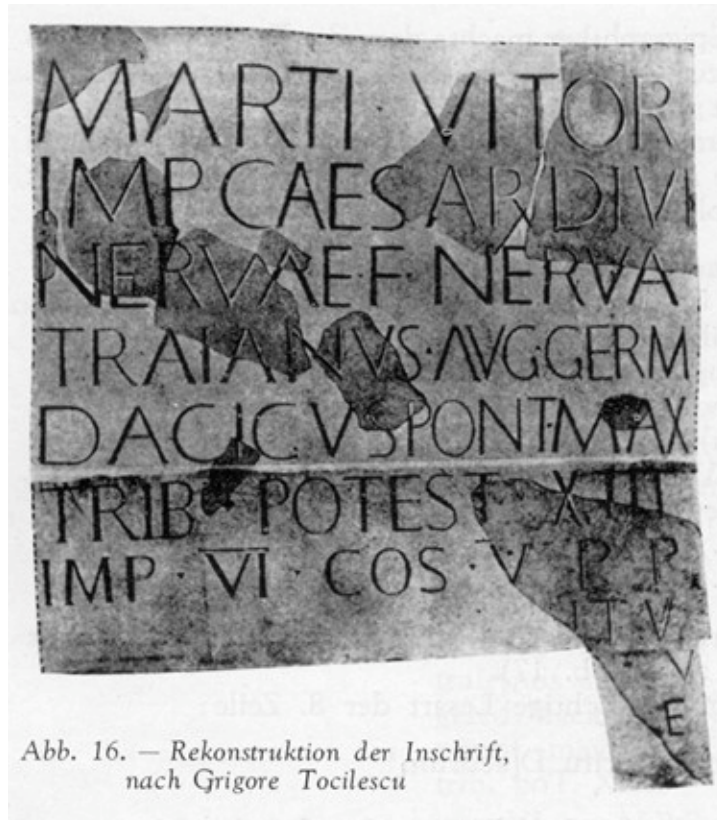


Figure 62. *Tropaeum Traiani*, reconstruction of inscription



Figure 63. *Tropaeum Traiani*, trophy sculptural program



Figure 64. *Tropaeum Traiani*, Dacian captives



Figure 65. *Tropaeum Traiani*, detail of greaves



Figure 66. *Tropaeum Traiani*, battlefield trophy



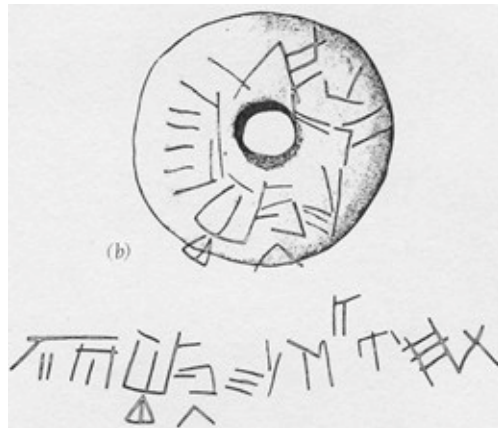
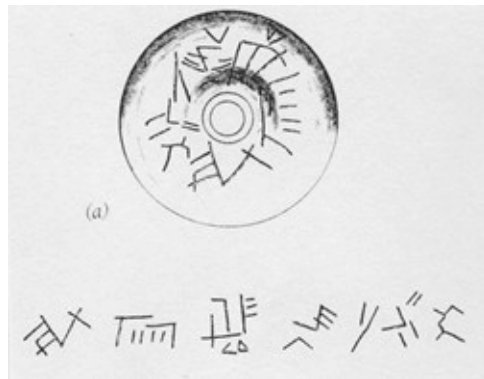


Figure 67: Early 5<sup>th</sup> Millenium BC Vinča script

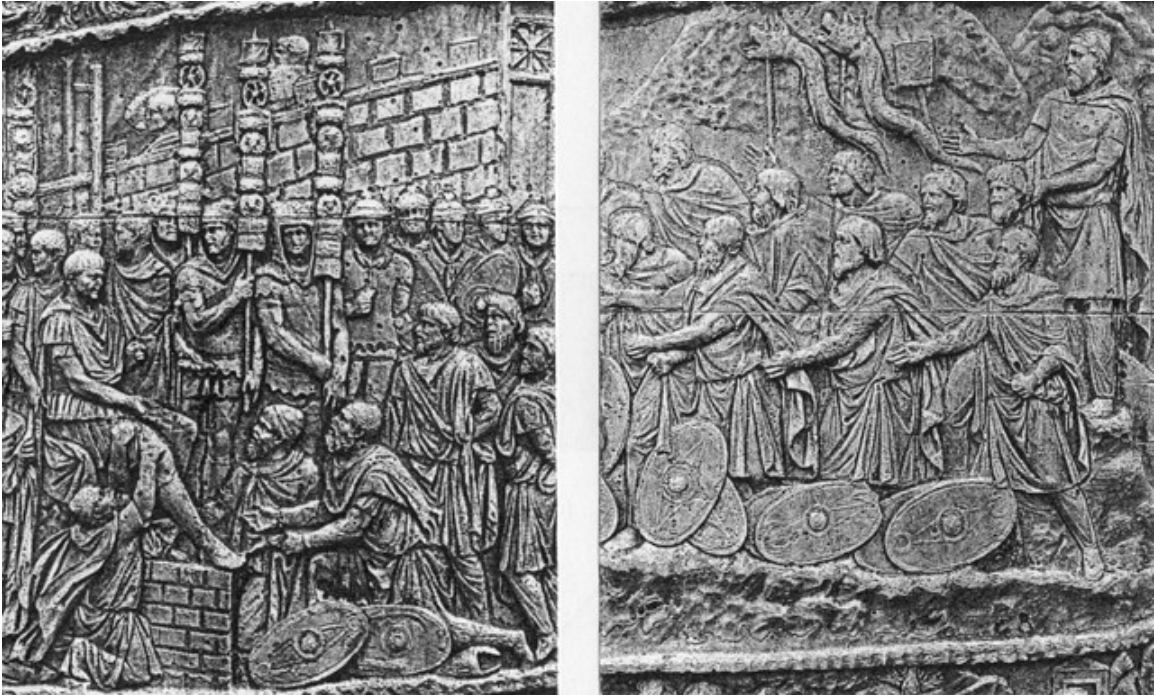


Figure 68: Column of Trajan, Decebalus defiant before Trajan

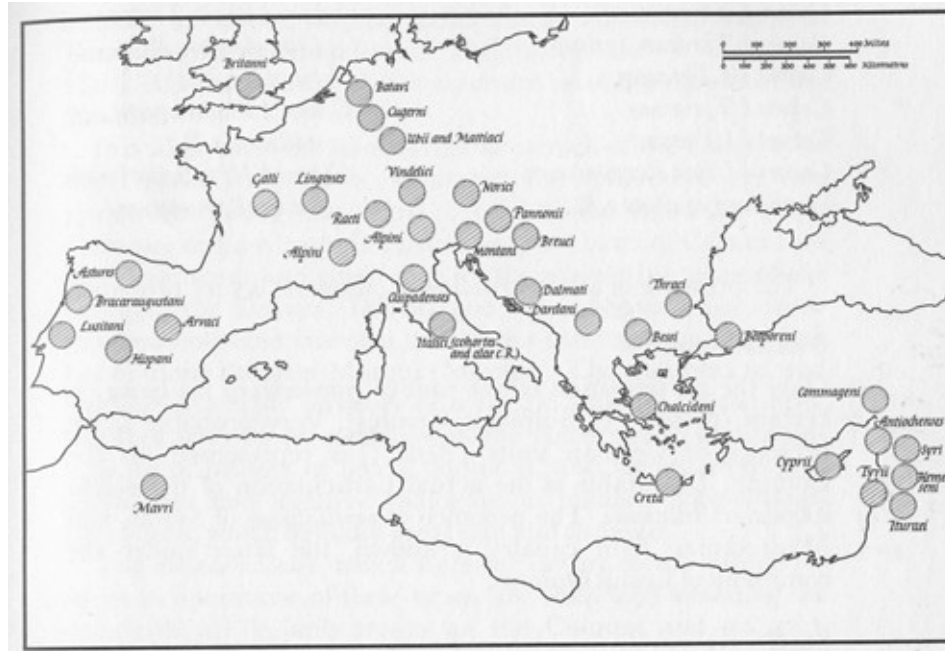


Figure 69: Cohort origins from the Dacian Wars

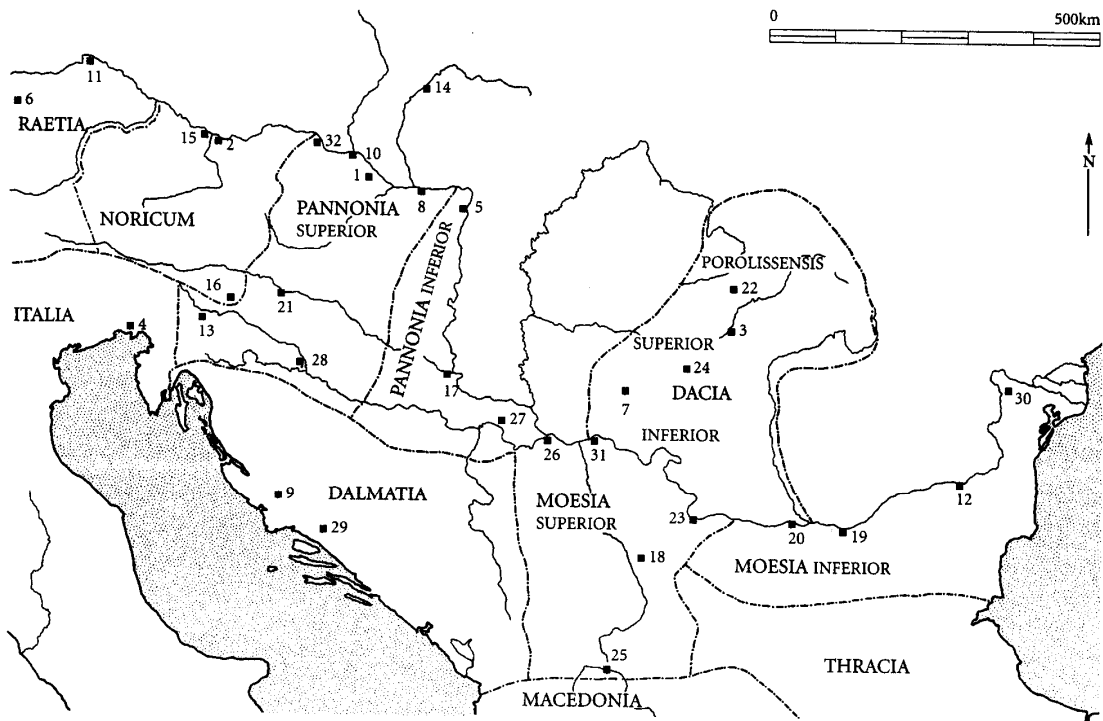


Figure 70: Legionary fortresses, #30 (*V Macedonica*) & #12 (*XI Claudia*)



Figure 71: Column of Trajan, Dacian Exodus

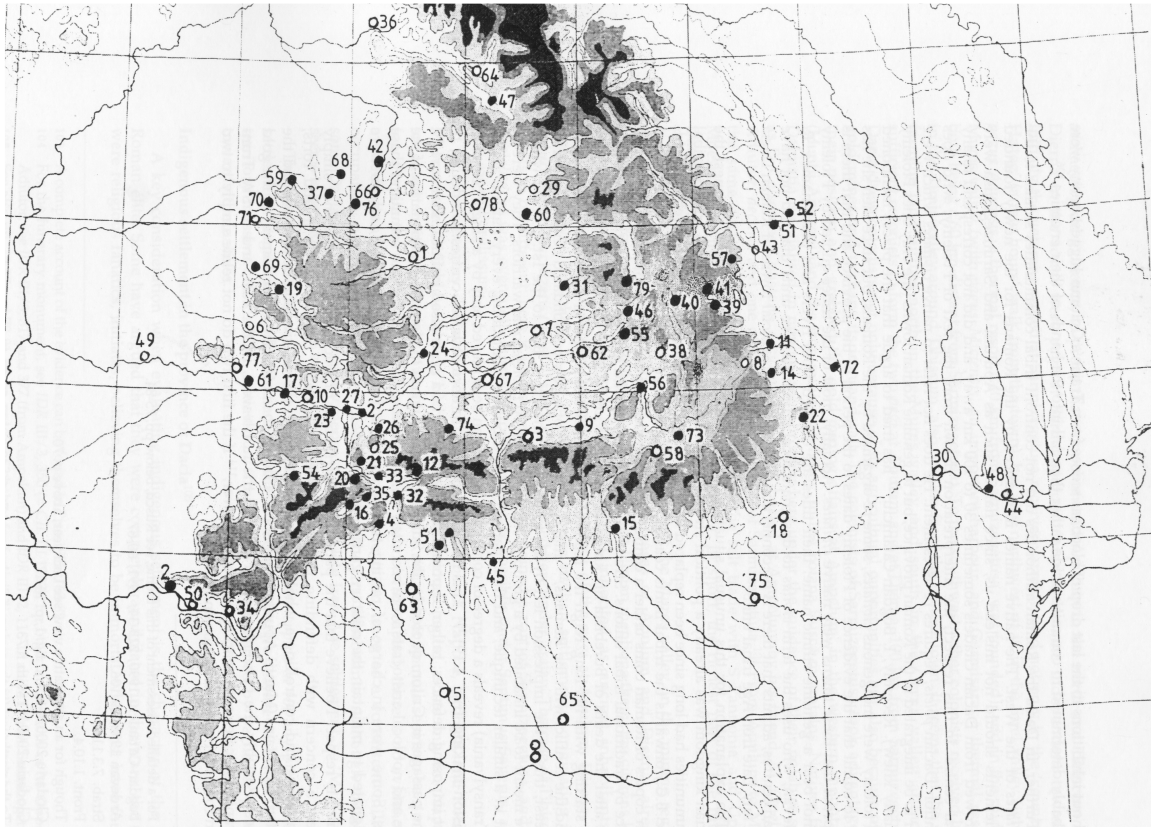


Fig. 4.19. Late Iron Age forts and fortified settlements. (Black dots = fort/citadel; rings = fortified settlement):  
 1. Aghireșu, 2. Ardeu, 3. Arpașu de Sus, 4. Bănița, 5. Băzdăna, 6. Berindia, 7. Bernadea, 8. Bicsad, 9. Breaza, 10. Bretea Mureșana; 11. Casinu Nou, 12. Căpâlna, 13. Celei, 14. Cernatu, 15. Cetățeni, 16. Cioclovina, 17. Cămpuri Surduc, 18. Căndesti, 19. Clit, 20. Costești-Blidaru, 21. Costești-Cetatuie, 22. Covasna, 23. Cozia, 24. Craiva, 25. Cucuș, 26. Cugir, 27. Deva, 28. Divici, 29. Dumitrița, 30. Galați-Barbosi, 31. Ghindari, 32. Grădiștea de Munte-Sarmizegetusa, 33. Grădiștea de Munte-Vârful lui Hulpe, 34. Liubcova, 35. Luncani-Piatra Roșie, 36. Malaja Kopanja, 37. Marca, 38. Merești, 39. Miercurea Ciuc I, 40. Miercurea Ciuc II, 41. Miercurea Ciuc III, 42. Moigrad, 43. Moinești, 44. Novoselskoe, 45. Ocnița, 46. Odorhei, 47. Oncești, 48. Orlovka, 49. Pecis, 50. Pescari, 51. Piatra Neamț-Bătea Doamnei, 52. Piatra-Neamț-Cozla, 53. Polovragi, 54. Porțile de Fier-Tapae, 55. Porumbeni Mici, 56. Racoș, 57. Racu, 58. Râșnov, 59. Sacalasaou, 60. Sărâtel, 61. Săvârșin, 62. Sighișoara, 63. Socu-Bărbătești, 64. Solotvina, 65. Sprâncenata, 66. Stărciu, 67. Șeica Mică, 68. Șimleul Silvaniei, 69. Șoimi, 70. Șusturogi, 71. Tașnad, 72. Târgu Ocna, 73. Teliu, 74. Tilișca, 75. Tinosu, 76. Tusa, 77. Vărădia, 78. Zalha, 79. Zetea.

Figure 72: Pre-Roman Dacian Forts and Fortified Settlements



Figure 73: *Tropaeum Traiani*, Zinne I and Zinne XVI



Figure 74: 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. Dacian rhyton and Metope LIV





Figure 75: *Tropaeum Traiani*, Zinne I, X, and XVI details

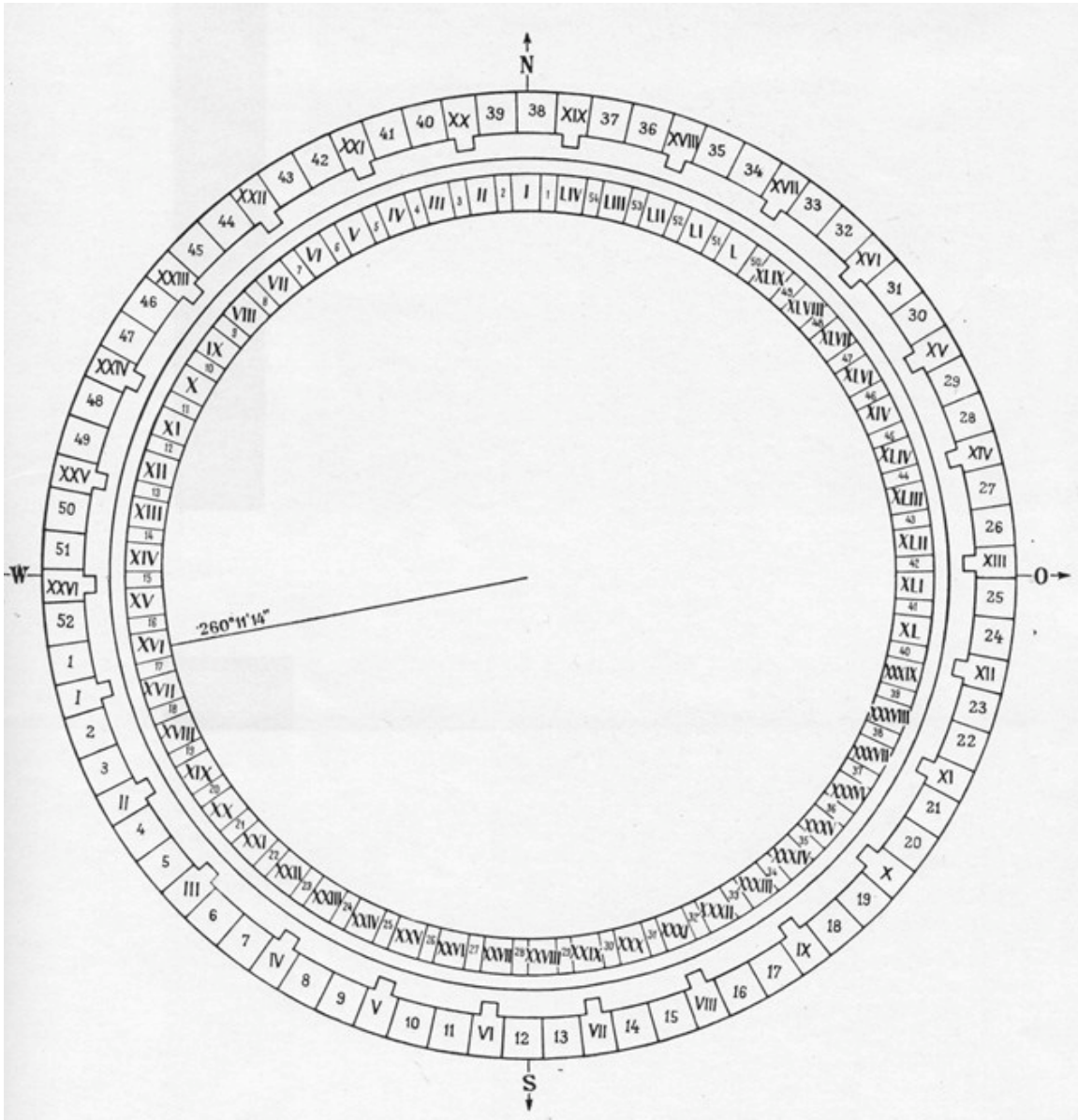


Figure 76: Florescu's metope order and location

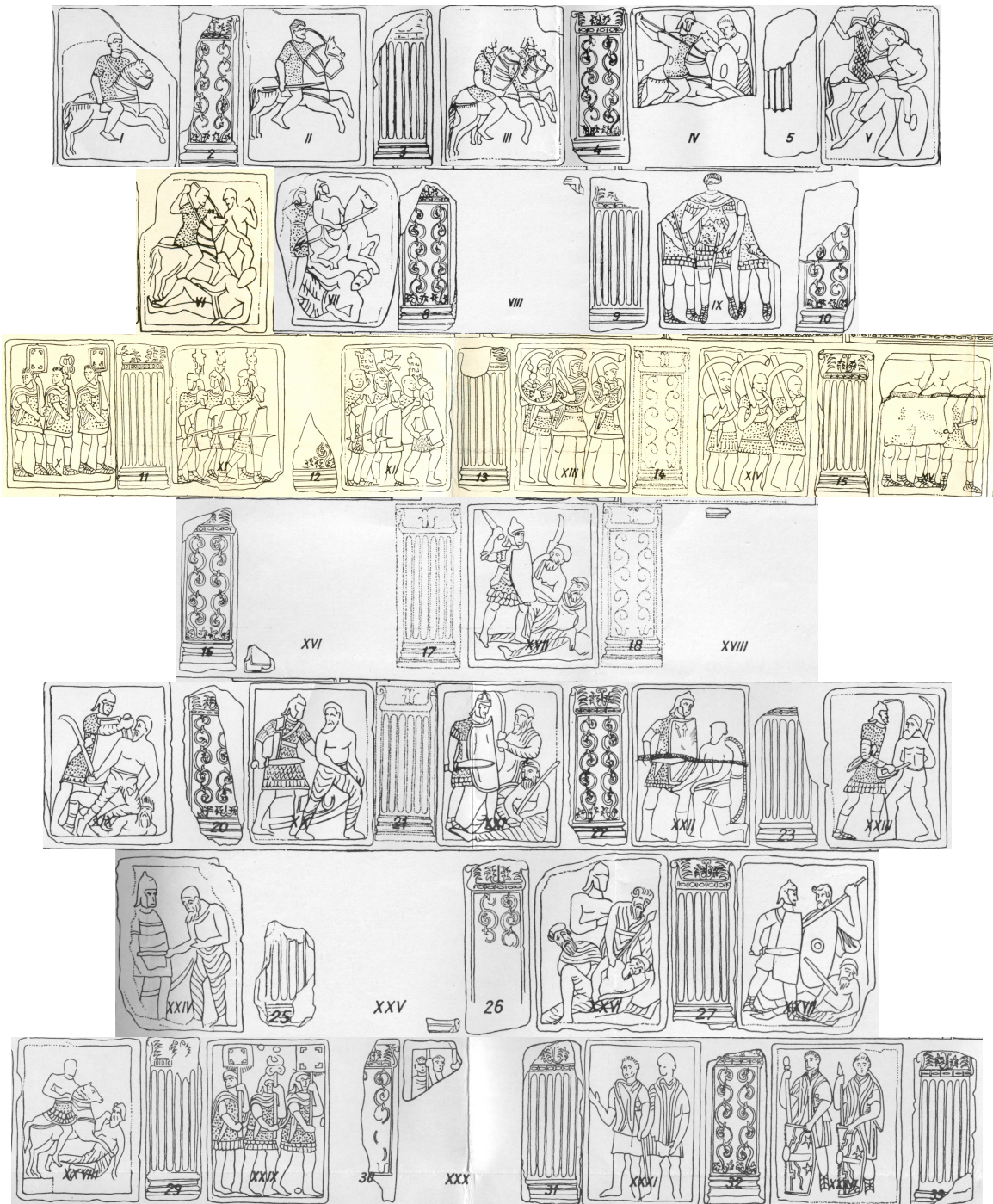


Figure 77a: Florescu's metope sequence

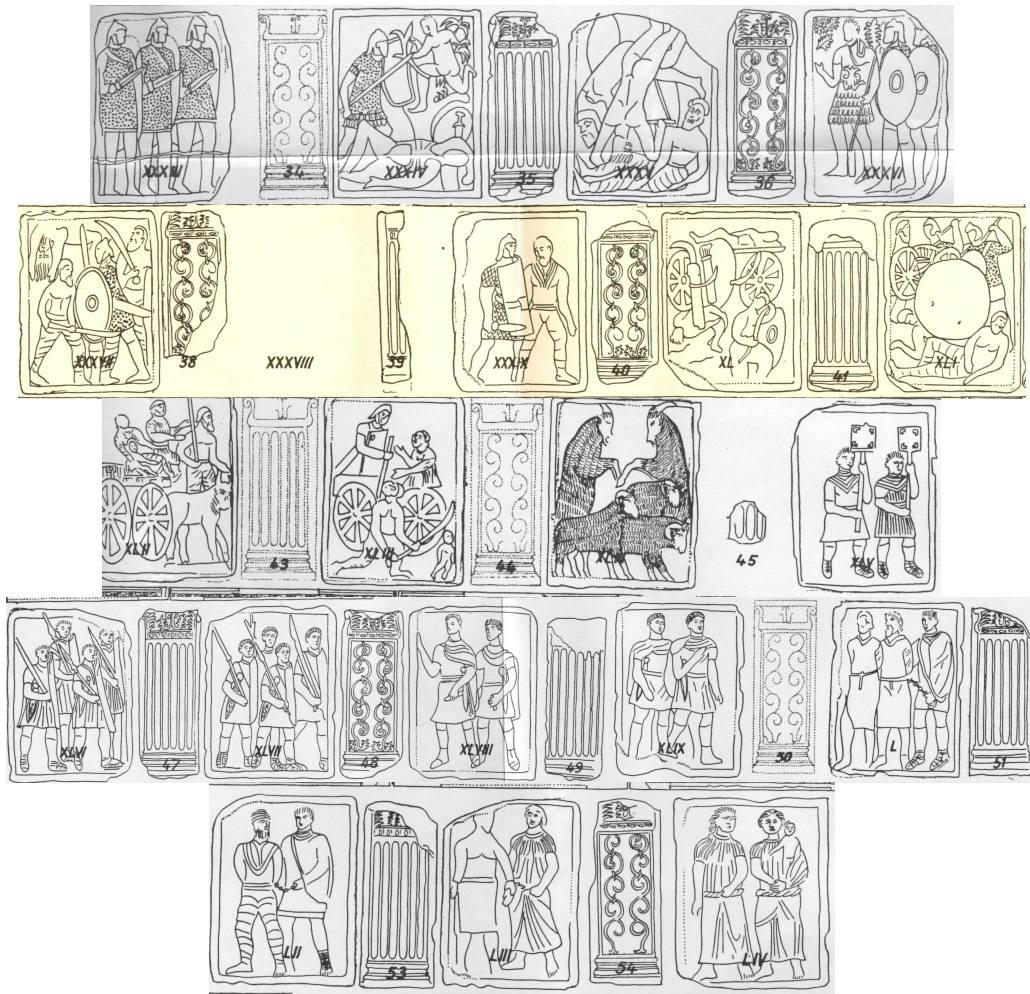


Figure 77b: Florescu's metope sequence, continued



Figure 78: *Tropaeum Traiani*, Metope XLII



Figure 79: *Tropaeum Traiani*, Metope XLIII



Figure 80: *Tropaeum Traiani*, Metope XLI

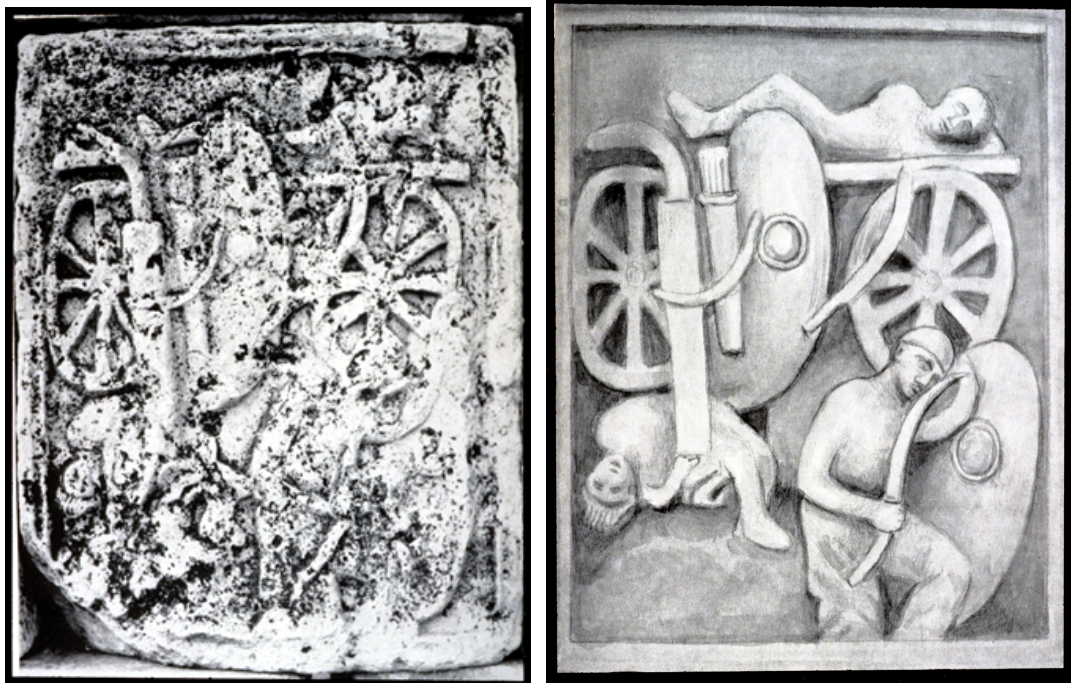


Figure 81: *Tropaeum Traiani*, Metope XL



## Appendix

The following text provides information regarding all nine known trophy monuments, those described as or discovered to be permanent structures commemorating military feats and/or disasters. Each entry lists the name of the trophy, its patron, the date of its construction, its modern-day location, known archaeological remnants, its *raison d'être*, and the ancient sources that reference the structure itself. The order is chronological.

### **Trophy of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Q. Fabius Maximus, 121 B.C.**

Côte du Rhône, France.

No archaeological remains.

Raised for defeating the Gallic Arveni and Allobrogi threatening Massilote allies.

Florus, *Epitome of Roman History* 3.2. Florus comments on the erection of two towers affixed with trophies and describes the act as an uncommon practice for Rome.

Strabo, *Geography* 4.1.11. Strabo describes two battles in detail and mentions the construction of one marble trophy, a temple to Mars, and a temple to Herakles.

### **Sullan Trophies at Chaeroneia, 86 B.C.**

Chaeroneia and Pyrgos, in Boeotia, Greece

Archaeological remains for both trophies.

Raised for Sulla's victory over the Mithridatic forces in Greece.

Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 9.40. Pausanias comments that there are two Sullan trophies in the territory of Chaeroneia.

Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 45. After a detailed account of the Sullan campaign, Appian describes the heaping of arms and armor into a giant pile.

Plutarch, *Sulla* 19. Plutarch provides a detailed account of the Battle of Chaeroneia and the significance of the location of the trophy.

### **Pompey's Pyrenean Trophy, 71 B.C.**

Panissars, on the eastern Pyrenean border between Spain and France

Archaeological remains.

Raised in commemoration of Pompey's pacification of southern Gaul and victory over Sertorius in Spain.

Strabo, *Geography* 3.4.1, 3.4.7, and 4.1.3. Strabo refers to the two trophies in a general description of the region.

Pliny, *Natural History* 3.3.18. Pliny's account explains that the trophies celebrated Pompey's subjugation of 876 towns in southern Gaul, as testified upon the structure.

Sallust, *History* 3.89. Only historian to claim the trophy solely commemorated Pompey's triumph over Sertorius.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 41.24. According to Cassius Dio, Julius Caesar came across Pompey's monument upon the Pyrenees in 49 B.C.

### **Julius Caesar's Trophy at Zela, 47 B.C.**

Zela, in central Anatolia, Turkey

No archaeological remains.

Raised in honor of Caesar's victory of Pharnakes, king of Pontus.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 42.48. The author relates that Caesar placed his larger

trophy near that of the Pontic king Mithridates to offset the older structure.

**Octavian's Actian Trophy, 29 B.C.**

Nikopolis, north of Preveza, Greece

Archaeological remains.

Raised in commemoration of Octavian's Actian victory over Marc Antony.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.1-3. Cassius Dio describes some of the characteristics of the monument, particularly the captured prows.

**Drusus's Trophy on the Elbe, c. 9 B.C.**

Northern Germany

No archaeological remains.

Raised to celebrate Drusus's victories in Germany and mark the frontier of Rome.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 55.1-3. The account elaborates upon Drusus's successes in Germania and his construction of two trophies on the banks of the Elbe.

**Augustus's Alpine Trophy, 5 B.C.**

La Turbie, Côte d'Azur, France

Archaeological remains

Raised to celebrate Augustus's subjugation of the Alpine Gauls.

Pliny, *Natural History* 3.20. Pliny reproduces the text upon the trophy, the primary source for the identification of the remains at La Turbie.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 53.26.5. Cassius Dio refers to an *arch* raised in the Alps in honor of Augustus Alpine victory.

Ptolemy, *Geography* 3.1.2. Ptolemy identifies the location of trophy as being on the coast of the Massilienses.

**Teutoburg Funerary Trophy, A.D. 15**

Osnabrück, in northern Germany

No archaeological remains

Constructed to honor the three fallen legions of the Teutoburg Forest disaster.

Tacitus, *The Annals* 1.62. Six years after the disaster, Tiberius and Germanicus came across the battlefield and built a funerary trophy/tumulus grave for unburied dead.

**Trajan's Dacian Trophy, A.D. 109**

Adamklissi, in Southeastern Romania

Archaeological remains

Erected in commemoration of Trajan's victories in the Dacian Wars.

There are no references to Trajan constructing a trophy monument in the ancient sources, Potentially due to the loss of Trajan's account of the war. The dedicatory inscription serves as the primary evidence for its attribution.

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