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The Aesthetics of Assimilation: Non-Elite Roman Funerary Monuments, 100 B.C.E. – 200 C.E.

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An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History
2014

Abstract

The Aesthetics of Assimilation: Non-Elite Roman Funerary Monuments, 100 B.C.E. – 200 C.E.
By Devon A. Stewart

Funerary monuments with portraits represent the single largest genre of art commissioned by non-elite Roman patrons, especially manumitted slaves, in the city of Rome from the first century B.C.E. through the Imperial period. With little or no access to other forms of public, monumental self-representation, freedmen used funerary monuments to give shape to their social and commemorative concerns. These concerns revolve primarily around assimilation into Roman society, resolution of the destructive effects of death on the family and community, the preservation of individual and collective memories, and the assertion of status and erudition. This dissertation explores the aesthetic and commemorative strategies deployed in non-elite Roman funerary monuments to achieve these goals. Whereas previous studies have characterized non-elite patrons as passive consumers of elite visual culture who imitate elite models blindly, this dissertation demonstrates that non-elite patrons actively engaged with contemporary social, political, and visual culture in order to create innovative monuments for themselves and their families. Moreover, it privileges the sepulchral context of these monuments in order to reframe the discussion of social status in terms of anxieties over death and the obliteration of freedmen's newly acquired citizenship. Freedmen patrons appropriated the style and iconography of elite visual culture in order to contest the social dominance of the elite, and to assert concomitant claims to legitimacy in Roman society. They utilized aesthetic strategies such as repetition, reproduction, imitation and emulation in ways analogous to the Roman emulation of Greek ideal sculpture, exhibiting a high degree of visual literacy and art historical knowledge. Similarly, they used reproduction to establish a sense of communal or collective identity within their broader social group that endured over the course of centuries. This dissertation refutes the traditional contradistinction between elite and non-elite Roman art, instead emphasizing the concordances in the patrons' artistic and self-representational interests.

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Introduction

Portraits were a central component of funerary commemoration in the ancient Roman world. The sheer number of portraits recovered from sepulchral contexts, as well as their vast geographic and temporal range, affirms their enduring importance. The tradition of portrait-making for funerary monuments survived radical changes in Rome's political, social and religious life over the centuries, including the transition from republic to empire, the rise of a wealthy freedman class, and the growth in popularity of Eastern mystery cults which emphasized personal salvation after death. As the empire's borders expanded, the tradition traveled to other parts of the Mediterranean. Provincial Roman funerary art, such as the well-known Egyptian mummy portraits, bears the influence of Roman portrait-making.

The majority of Roman portraits convincingly linked to funerary contexts come from the city of Rome itself and date from the end of the Republic through the end of the second century C.E. Frequently the images commemorate individuals from the non-elite classes. Portraits, especially tomb monuments with portraits, represent the largest group of non-elite artistic commissions known today, and typically belong to a few well-established types, most notably the group relief and the altar with portrait. Both monument types are urban Roman phenomena, with the overwhelming majority discovered in the capital itself or its immediate environs. However, both types eventually diffused throughout Italy and the empire at large. The geographic and temporal specificities of these monuments confirm that their initial meaning derives, at least in

part, from the particular cultural and visual context of the capital at the end of the Republic and throughout the early Imperial period.[1]

Approaching the city, one first passed through a dense architectural landscape of tombs that crowded the roadside. Inscriptions on the exterior of these tombs exhorted passers-by to stop, read and remember the dead.[2] Funerary monuments were often decorated with exterior sculptural decoration that featured portraiture prominently. The crane relief from the Flavian Tomb of the Haterii reflects the richness of decoration possible in Roman tomb architecture (Fig. 1).[3] In addition to decorative motifs such as garlands, *putti* and *bucrania*, the exterior of the temple-type tomb portrayed on the relief includes multiple portraits of its occupants, such as the half-length pediment portrait of a deceased woman, or the three bust portraits of youths displayed in tondi along the long exterior wall. Epitaphs gave voices to the dead with which they might address the living community, and portrait sculpture served as a material embodiment of the deceased that remained long after they had perished physically.[4]

The group relief developed in the first decades of the first century B.C.E., and rapidly became popular among manumitted slaves. Most group reliefs follow a standardized visual formula, wherein a narrow rectangular frame encloses bust or half-length portraits of at least one, but usually two or more, individuals in raised relief. The subject commemorate their manumission with symbols of their Roman citizenship, such as fashionable contemporary coiffeurs and national costume, such as the toga. Few surviving group reliefs can be associated with their original monumental context today,

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[1] Trimble 2011, 2, 61-2.
[2] See also Chapter One, 13-16.
[3] Construction relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, marble, c. 80-90 C.E. H. 1.04 m. Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 9997. Jensen 1978, Kleiner 1992, 196-99, Bodel 1999, 268-70, Leach 2006.
[4] For examples of “speaking” epitaphs, see Chapter One, 15.

but literary and archaeological sources confirm that they were erected on the exterior walls of tombs.

Group reliefs decline in popularity by the Tiberian period, when smaller funerary altars or cinerary urns with figural decoration become fashionable. These monuments closely follow contemporary typologies, but with the addition of bust or half-length portraits or, less frequently, more elaborate figural scenes. Like the group reliefs, altars with portraits seem to be an exclusively non-elite phenomenon. Patrons belong to the upper echelons of both the freedmen and non-senatorial freeborn communities. Imperial freedmen, slaves manumitted from the emperor's household, are attested frequently, but some high-ranking freeborn equestrian patrons are also known. Unlike the group reliefs, funerary altars with portraits could be set up on either the exterior or interior of the tomb.

The prominence of sepulchral monuments within the corpus of non-elite art reflects a more general trend in Roman funerary commemoration. From the middle of the first century B.C.E. through the Imperial period, non-elite patrons dominated the necropolis. Dedicatees include slaves and freedmen, along with their patrons, spouses, offspring, extended family members, descendants and associates. Scholars have offered various explanations for the preponderance of non-elite funerary monuments. Most interpretations place significant emphasis on the patrons' social status as the primary factor in determining their commemorative activities, as well as the style, iconography, and meaning of their monuments.[5]

The proliferation of non-elite tomb monuments may simply reflect demographic disparities between the relatively small number of elite Romans and their much more

[5] Gazda 1971, Zanker 1975, Kleiner 1977, Kleiner 1987, Wrede 1981, Kockel 1993, D'Ambra 1995, D'Ambra 2002, Koortbojian 2006.

numerous non-elite counterparts. Other social factors must have likewise shaped non-elite patrons' commemorative impulse, however. Elite self-representation diffused over a variety of media, including images, architecture, written texts and ritual performances. All of these cultural phenomena belong to a broader system of mnemonic processes meant to forge memories that affirmed elite identity.[6] Whereas elite patrons enjoyed a wide array of commemorative opportunities outside of the necropolis, freedmen, due to the limitations of their legal status, had significantly less access to traditional commemorative media and civic spaces, such as the Forum. For freedman patrons, private tomb monuments served as mnemonic agents that forged or preserved individual and social identities in the same way that statues, inscriptions and architectural dedications served the elite.

Without access to other commemorative processes, tomb monuments offered the only means of socially visible self-representation for a socially *invisible* non-elite population. The primary audience for most funerary monuments would be the decedents' immediate survivors, who would visit the tomb at the time of the funeral and on significant dates throughout the year, including festivals such as the *Parentalia* as well as birthdays, death days, and anniversaries. However, festivals also provided opportunities for the general public to view funerary monuments collectively as they moved through the necropolis. The general public might also engage in "passive viewing" of funerary monuments as they traveled the roads along which tombs were erected.[7] Inscriptions that

[6] For an overview see Hölkeskamp 2004, 57-72. See also Flower 1996, Hölscher 2001, Hölkeskamp 2001, Morstein-Marx 2004, 92-117, Walter 2004, Hölkeskamp 2006, Welch 2006.
[7] See Chapter One, 13-15.

address the traveler directly, or anachronistic tomb forms, attest to some patrons' desire to attract the attention of transient viewers.[8]

Non-elite self-representational and mnemonic strategies are concentrated in a limited repertoire of monuments and images. Portraits became a primary, enduring component of non-elite commemorative practice because of their traditional function as vehicles for public self-representation. Consequently, non-elite tomb monuments are particularly suitable for exploring the eschatological role of portraits with specific attention to how they create memories of the dead and attendant social identities. The eschatological functions of portraits are by no means exclusive to non-elite tomb monuments. However, the surviving quantity of non-elite material offers a greater and more diverse body of evidence than the elite comparanda.

The eschatological context of these images distinguishes them from other kinds of commemorative or honorific art. The Romans were acutely aware of their mortality, and visual images gave shape to their attempts to overcome it. Funerary monuments serve the purpose of distancing or negating the destructive effects of death for the living community above all else. Literary, epigraphic and art historical evidence demonstrates that Romans of all social classes achieved that goal through the preservation of memory. Death threatened the loss of individual and social identity for living and dying alike. It created a void within the family, community and society at large. Slaves had no legal rights, and only achieved recognition as social entities after their manumission. The destruction of the individual as a social entity therefore was threatening particularly for freedmen patrons.

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[8] Chapter One, 15, n. 17-18.

The Romans negotiated the experience of death through closely intertwined acts of ritual, performance, and material commemoration. The performance of death rituals and acts of commemoration provide a way for the living to reconcile the destructive effects of death on their families, community and society at large. Visual images in particular provided a medium through which that void might be filled, or at least reshaped, by means of memory.[9] Sepulchral monuments were so closely associated with memory that Varro remarked:

> ...so monuments which are on tombs, and in fact along the roads, in order that they can warn anyone coming along that the deceased themselves were once mortal, just as they are now mortal. From this, other things which are written or done for the sake of memory are said to be monuments.[10]

The Romans invested material objects with mnemonic agency in an attempt to counter the ephemerality of human life and human memory. Monuments, especially those with portraits, constitute part of complex system of cultural materials and practices designed to preserve memory threatened by oblivion.[11] Moreover, negating the social death of an individual simultaneously validated his or her existence as a social entity.

This study explores the aesthetic strategies devised by non-elite patrons to achieve the commemorative imperatives of distancing the effects of death, preserving the memory of the deceased, forging social identity and effecting a relationship between the past and the present. Death is a social experience as well as a biological process, and as such it is enmeshed in contemporary social, political, intellectual and art historical issues.[12] However, this study privileges the funerary context of non-elite tomb monuments, and the aesthetic strategies deployed therein, thereby creating a slightly different perspective

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[9] Hallam and Hockey 2001, 24-25.
[10] Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 6.49. Translated in Varner 2004, 2, n. 7.
[11] Hallam and Hockey 2001, 7.
[12] Hallam and Hockey 2001, 16.

that conditions the discussion of social status in terms of eschatological anxieties and commemorative concerns. Above all it emphasizes the role of the living, both patrons and survivors, in the construction of enduring and effective memories.

Shifting the agency back to the patrons reveals non-elite Romans' marked visual literacy and engagement with elite aesthetics and ideologies. Previous studies portray non-elite patrons as more or less passive consumers of elite culture, who imitate or copy the fashions of the elite without any significant understanding of the underlying aesthetic strategies. The traditional characterization of the elite/non-elite binary is analogous in some ways to that of Roman copies of Greek ideal sculptures. However, commissioning and setting up a funerary monument is an active process. Any kind of social display constitutes an exercise in selective emphasis, with some ideas foregrounded while others are concealed.[13] Commissioning a tomb monument represents a curation of memory conditioned by diverse factors including decorum, appropriateness, and visual legibility in addition to the patron's commemorative imperatives. As such it requires some degree of active participation on the part of the patron. Furthermore, the aesthetic strategies deployed in non-elite tomb monuments demonstrate patrons' immersion in contemporary social, political, aesthetic trends. The innovative and eclectic forms of non-elite tomb monuments do not only reveal patrons' sophisticated understanding of elite visual culture, they also attest to their creative contributions to Roman art as a whole.

Chapter One explores two primary commemorative and mnemonic functions of portraits within an eschatological framework. Scholars have long recognized the unique capacity of Roman portraits to manifest the presence of their absent subjects. This ability likewise was acknowledged in antiquity. Roman audiences endowed portraits with

[13] Ibid, 9.

degrees of social and psychological agency that rendered them closely analogous to their subjects. Patrons deployed this quality to distinct ends in eschatological contexts, where portraits and subsidiary images played a central role in shaping the interaction between the living and the dead. Images could serve a purely commemorative purpose by providing a comforting physical manifestation of the deceased for the survivors. Furthermore, they could facilitate a continuing, and ever-evolving, relationship between the living and the dead. Often, portraits operated on both levels within a single image or monument, thereby establishing a sense of continuity between past and present.

The complex eschatological ideas and the aesthetic strategies deployed to express them reveal non-elite patrons' high degree of visual literacy. This evidence undermines previous characterizations of non-elite Roman art as more or less naïve derivations of elite material. Traditional interpretations reflect a more general characterization of Roman art in terms of binary oppositions. Recent studies have criticized this system, however, as too reductive to permit the eclecticism characteristic of Roman art. Chapter Two follows in this vein by exploring how ancient and modern biases have shaped scholars interpretation of non-elite art in general and non-elite tomb monuments in particular. Although the majority of these monuments commemorate manumitted slaves, freeborn dedicatees, including high-ranking equestrians, are also attested. Therefore our "non-elite" patrons should be considered non-senatorial. The profound degree of diversity within Rome's non-senatorial population and the unequal distribution of surviving evidence from different social classes make distinguishing a "non-elite aesthetic" nearly impossible. Surviving evidence instead suggests a significant level of

concordance between senatorial and non-senatorial commemorative imperatives and the aesthetic strategies used to achieve them.

Nonetheless, many non-senatorial patrons commissioned funerary monuments of a particular type: the group relief in the first century B.C.E. and early first century C.E. primarily, and the altar with portrait in the later first and second centuries C.E. These two types represent the most popular non-senatorial figural funerary monuments until inhumation replaced cremation as the primary burial custom in the later second century C.E. In antiquity, as today, both the group relief and the altar with portrait therefore must have distinguished their dedicatees and patrons as non-senatorial Romans of a certain social standing.

Chapter Three situates the proliferation of non-senatorial tomb monuments within the artistic, social and political milieu of the end of the Roman Republic. By the first century B.C.E., realistic portraiture represented a crucial component of senatorial self-representation. Portraits, especially the *imagines maiorum*, were closely associated with Rome's great ancestors, from whom senatorial families derived their authority and social prestige. However, from at least the middle of the second century B.C.E., prominent *novi homines*, new men, contested senatorial authority by representing themselves as the true heirs of Rome's great ancestors by virtue of their character and industry. Chapter Three demonstrates that non-senatorial patrons likewise laid claim to the cultural authority of the *mos maiorum* by appropriating the traditional portrait styles of the senatorial elite and all of their ideological weight. Non-senatorial patrons represented themselves as fully enfranchised and assimilated members of Roman society. They did not contest accepted social values, but rather contested senatorial dominance of those values. Patrons used

portraits in particular to craft a posthumous identity that denied their status as social outsiders and asserted a fully Romanized identity.

The reproduction of the group relief and, to a slightly lesser extent, the altar with portrait was largely formulaic and consistent even over the course of centuries. Both monument types probably held some financial appeal, as both were less expensive alternatives to sculpture in the round. However, financial considerations alone cannot account entirely for their proliferation among non-senatorial patrons. Scholars increasingly recognize the importance of reproduction and replication as key aesthetic strategies in Roman art. Reproduction is not a value-neutral act, but rather a deliberate and meaningful decision on the part of the artist and the patron. Chapters Four and Five consider the aesthetic and eschatological roles of reproduction, replication and emulation in non-senatorial tomb monuments.

Chapter Four addresses the close formal relationship between senatorial and non-senatorial art. The idea of "trickle-down aesthetics," in which elite visual culture diffused slowly to the lower classes, informed many previous studies of non-senatorial artwork. Non-senatorial commissions generally were considered simple or naïve imitations of elite models. This interpretation parallels the traditional interpretation of Roman ideal sculpture as copies of Greek originals. Recent responses to the "copy problem" provide useful methodological models for re-evaluating the role of reproduction, imitation and emulation in non-senatorial tomb monuments.[14] Chapter Four assesses the act of copying as an intentional and informed aesthetic strategy utilized by non-senatorial patrons to achieve their commemorative goals. The innovative ways in which patrons deployed copies, imitations and emulations of elite models affirmed their

[14] See Gazda 1995, Marvin 1997, Gazda 2003, Perry 2005, Varner 2006, Marvin 2008.

erudition and knowledge of elite visual culture, thereby shaping their posthumous identities in terms of traditional social values.

Scholars' interest in non-senatorial art's relationship to its elite models has left the dialogue between non-senatorial monuments themselves only superficially explored. Chapter Five addresses the formal and conceptual relationships between non-senatorial tomb monuments from their inception until the end of the second century C.E. Repetition and reproduction once again emerge as key aesthetic and commemorative strategies. The consistent replication of certain basic visual formulae created an aesthetic of sameness within the corpus, which in turn forged a powerful sense of community or collective identity for those patrons who chose to embrace it. This chapter also considers the eschatological and art historical implications of reuse of existing objects, as well as the revival of monument typologies long after they had fallen out of fashion. Like the people they commemorated, tomb monuments could suffer social "death."[15] However, as long as they remained accessible in the visual landscape they held the potential for reactivation. Moving from one physical or temporal context to another, the monuments could be recontextualized and take on new or additional meanings. This chapter approaches reuse as a creative resource which generates relations of distance and proximity to the past.

This study restores the agency of non-senatorial patrons by highlighting the innovative ways in which they crafted their tomb monuments. The evidence demonstrates that non-senatorial Romans in general engaged actively with contemporary aesthetic, ideological and social issues. They contributed to mainstream visual culture rather than consuming it passively. Moreover, this study underscores the crucial role of images as mediators of the experience of death in ancient Rome. Images, and portraits especially,

[15] Hallam and Hockey 2001, 7-8.

served as commemorative agents through which patrons curated, preserved and even reconstituted the memory of the dead. They could provide solace for survivors, give tangible expression to abstract ideas about the afterlife, and facilitate continuous relationships between multiple generations. By exploring the eschatological functions of portraits we can begin to reconstruct how the Romans conceived the relationships between the material world of the living and the inaccessible realm of the dead.

Chapter 1:

Representation and Viewing in an Eschatological Framework

Contemporary studies of the bereavement process reveal that keeping a memento of a deceased individual, such as a photograph, an article of clothing, or a favorite object, is a common way for survivors to maintain emotional bonds with their departed loved ones.[1] These objects need not represent or refer to the deceased in any obvious way. Often they acquire their highly personal meaning as a result of regular or routine use.[2] Repeated encounters or interactions between subject and object blur the distinction between the two such that the object assumes a metaphorical or metonymical association with the subject.[3] The mementos provide accessible material connections to the absent deceased that minimize or negate some of death's powers of obliteration as a result. They also serve as repositories of memory.[4] Mementos of the dead therefore possess the capacity to evoke profound emotional experiences for the survivors.

Portraits and their attendant images played a central role in shaping the relationship between the living and the dead. In that respect they are analogous to contemporary mementos in several important ways. Both serve as material signs of the absent subject. Portraits reify the intangible presence of the dead for the survivors in a more or less literal manner. Furthermore, portraits and their attendant imagery stimulated the living to recall, interpret and enliven memories of the dead.[5] However, portraits

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[1] See for example Gorer 1977, Parkes 1986, Bennet and Bennet 2000, Howarth 2000, Hallam and Hockey 2001.
[2] Lupton 1998, 144, Hallam and Hockey 2001, 42-43.
[3] Lupton 1998, 144.
[4] Lupton 1998, 148,
[5] Farrell 1997, 382-83.

acquired their mnemonic and commemorative capacities through a different process of association. The Romans invested portraits with a level of social and psychological agency that destabilized the boundaries between subject and object. [6]

The portrait's mnemonic capacities and its ability to reify the absent subject are not confined to eschatological contexts, but it is there that they are most evident. Some of the most compelling testimony to the evocative power of portraiture, such as Polybius's account of the Republican *pompa funebris* or the use of effigies at Imperial funerals, relates directly to the commemoration of the dead. The Romans pursued this commemoration with an urgency that attests to their profound anxiety over death and the restoration of social order after death. This chapter explores several functions of portraits within a private eschatological framework. It considers how patrons deployed portraits in their tomb monuments to achieve the fundamental goal of preserving the memory of the dead.

Like other types of Roman art, these portraits appeal directly to an anticipated audience in order to accomplish that purpose.[7] Indeed, tomb monuments often *require* the viewer's analysis to attain their fullest meaning. Patrons furthermore anticipated different levels of interaction between the monument and the audience. Roman tomb monuments were both public and private in nature, and their potential audiences ranged from the casual observer moving through the necropolis on festival days or traveling along the road, or those survivors most immediately affected by the death. The interaction between the living and the dead accordingly could be passive or active depending on a number of

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[6] Hallam and Hockey 2001, 43. In Roman sculpture, see Huskinson 1998, 133, Wood 1999, 17-18, Edwards 2003, 46,Varner 2005, 67-68.
[7] See Nodelman 1993.

factors. In any case, monuments, their attendant images and texts conditioned the interaction between the viewer and the dead in specific ways to different ends.

Portraits were the central medium of this commemorative system. This chapter draws on the work of Erwin Panofsky and Michael Koortbojian to elucidate two primary eschatological functions of portraits.[8] The first function is purely commemorative. Portraits reified the absent deceased in material form through their close metaphorical and metonymical relationship with the subject. They could call to mind memories, associations, and personal experiences to provide solace for the survivors. The durable materiality of the portrait furthermore defied the deterioration of the dying body and the cadaver. Portraits did not necessarily require resemblance or lifelikeness to function within this framework. The expression or denial of either quality had potentially important implications.

The second function of portraits in an eschatological context projected beyond the purely commemorative. Iconographic cues embedded in the monuments prompted viewers to visualize the new state of the deceased through the process of imagination. Visual metaphor and iconography dense with potential meanings defied rigid or static definition. Many monuments instead left the message open-ended. Viewers were required to recognize the monument's visual cues and synthesize them into a meaningful conclusion based on their personal knowledge. The ultimate result varied according to the viewer's visual literacy, sense of decorum, experience and personal beliefs. Because anticipatory images leave so much up to the viewer, the memory of the dead is left highly malleable. These images create a dynamic process of viewing that is constantly open to reinterpretation or revision.

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[8] Panofsky 1965, Koortbojian 2005.

Many Roman funerary monuments combine retrospective and anticipatory images. In these examples, the portrait becomes the nexus of a dense network of memories and associations that project into the past as well as the future. The effect creates a kind of panoramic perspective that suggests continuity between life and death. Such images maintain powerful emotional, familial and social bonds across generations.

Types of Viewing

In his discussion of Roman portraiture, Sheldon Nodelman identified, "the will to reach out actively into the world of on-going life and to accomplish specific purposes within it…" as a central organizing principle of Roman art.[9] Always implicit within this system is the presence of a viewer or viewers. Roman portraits in particular reflect an awareness of the viewer that collapses the space between object and audience.[10] The portrait's self-consciousness as object sets up a system of viewing that is not just active but *interactive*. Roman viewers were conditioned not just to gaze at images, but to interact with them in culturally determined ways.

The types of interaction possible between the living and the dead (as embodied by their portraits) vary according to many factors, including the temporal and situational contexts, as well as the viewer's relationship to the deceased. Generally one can categorize these interactions as passive or active. Roman patrons anticipated both types of viewing when designing their tomb monuments. This section first reviews the types of

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[9] Nodelman 1993, 11.
[10] Ibid, 20-21.

encounters possible between image and viewer, and then considers how formal and iconographic strategies shaped that interaction.

Casual or transient viewing of a tomb's decoration facilitated passive interactions, as when travelers moved through the necropolis on the roads outside of the city. Scholars disagree on how much attention funerary monuments would have received in this way. Mouritsen, for example, has argued against the viability of the tomb as a vehicle of self-promotion because they simply would not have drawn a significantly large audience.[11] He argues that the necropolis was a physically and ideologically marginal zone subject to religious taboos and inhabited by beggars, prostitutes and other social outsiders. Most Romans probably only ventured into the necropolis in observance of religious festivals such as the *Parentalia*, or on personally significant days, such as the deceased's birthday.[12]

However, Roman patrons anticipated transient viewing and attempted to engage viewers in more active encounters. Tombs and their decoration reach out actively into the world of the living to solicit attention. Some monuments appeal to the traveler through their physical form, such as the *schola* tomb of Marcus Alleius Minius outside the Stabian Gate in Pompeii.[13] The tomb is carved from tufa and takes the shape of a semi-circular bench. The dedicatory inscription is carved in tall letters along the backrest. It identifies the dedicatee, Alleius Minius, as a *duovir* whose tomb was erected at public expense.[14] *Schola* tombs served the dual function of grave marker and honorific

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[11] Mouritsen 2005, 52.
[12] Toynbee 1971, 63-64.
[13] Mau 1907, 422-23;
[14] *M. ALLEIO Q. F. MEN. MINIO, II V. I. D.; LOCUS SEPULTURAE PUBLICE DATUS EX D. D.* See Mau above.

monument for leading citizens of the city.[15] The respite they offered weary travelers became a kind of final benefaction to the city, as well as a reminder of donations past.

Other monuments solicited the attention of the viewer more actively. The direct, frontal gaze of some tomb portraits in relief, such as the relief of the Vibii (Fig. 2) confronts the viewer with its immediacy.[16] Vibius and his wife Velicia are depicted in strict frontal poses within the deep recess of the relief. The half-length portraits terminate mid-torso, which suggests the continuation of the body beyond the relief's lower edge. Velicia's draped right arm rests on the bottom of the frame, intensifying the impression that the couple stands behind a parapet. The "window effect" created by the relief's composition renders the presence of the subjects, and the nature of the space they occupy, ambiguous. Vibius and Velicia are at once the object of the viewer's gaze and viewers themselves. The act of looking is reciprocal. As a result the space between the monument and the viewer becomes highly charged with the potential for interaction. Similarly, many epitaphs were written in the first-person voice of the deceased, allowing him or her to address the living from beyond the grave. In some examples, the dead appeal to transient viewers specifically. A second century C.E. epitaph warns, "Traveler, what you are I was, what I am now you will be," a common theme in tomb inscriptions.[17] Another admonishes the passer-by to stop and contemplate the tomb as a *memento mori*.[18] Whether by text or image, tomb monuments equipped the dead with the capacity to interact with the living, thereby endowing them with social agency.

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[15] Zanker 1998, 123-24, Cormack 2007, 586-88, D'Ambra 2012, 410-12.
[16] Relief of the Vibii, marble, late 1st century B.C.E. Rome, H .75m., W .945m. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 2109. Kleiner 1977, 234-35, no. 69, Kockel 1993, 180-81, L7, Koortbojian 1996, 214-21.
[17] *CIL* XI 6243: *Quod tu es, ego fui; quod nunc sum, et tu eris*. Geist 1969, n. 503. See *CIL* VIII 9913, *CIL* II 2262 for similar sentiments.
[18] *CIL* IX 2128.

Granting the dead agency may seem anachronistic, for many cultures design funerary rites and images to *limit* the agency of the dead out of fear of their capacity to harm the living.[19] Such a fear informs Ovid's account of the *Parentalia*:

> But once, while they were engaged in lengthy wars with weapons of battle, they neglected the *Parentalia*. It didn't go unpunished, for it is said that from that omen Rome grew hot with funeral pyres. For my part, I hardly believe it. Forefathers are said to have come out of their graves and complained in the silent night-time, and through the streets of the city and the broad fields they say misshapen spirits howled, a phantom crowd. After that the omitted honors are restored to the tombs, and a limit comes to both portents and funerals.[20]

Rome's failure to observe the rites of *Parentalia* provoked the dead to act against the living. The ancestors manifested as misshapen spirits (*deformes animas)*, a phantom throng (*volgus inane*), responsible for a rash of untimely deaths as well as a ghastly haunting. Despite Ovid's personal skepticism, his account reflects a popular belief in the capacity of the dead to affect the living community in potentially destructive ways.

Why, then, would Romans patrons take pains to provide their dead with active voices and gazes? If the primary purpose of funerary monuments is to mitigate the destructive effects of death, then granting the dead the capacity to interact through text and image restored some of their lost social agency. This strategy goes beyond the mere preservation of memory to reintegrate the dead into the community as social actors rather than a shadowy throng. However, they were not granted an unlimited capacity to act. Funerary monuments typically conform to a fairly narrow iconographic repertoire that emphasizes conventional social roles or categories rather than individual identity. The dead may be empowered to speak to the living, but they do so within the boundaries of social and artistic decorum. Texts and images provided a framework that safely mediated the interaction between the living and the dead.

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[19] Panofsky 1965, 9-10.
[20] Ovid, *Fasti* II.547-556. Trans. Wiseman and Wiseman 2011, 32.

The deceased individual's immediate survivors engaged in the most active relationship with the tomb and its decoration. They possessed the most intimate and recent knowledge of the deceased, and were most emotionally and socially impacted by the loss. Survivors were charged with the maintenance of the funerary cult as well as the tomb's upkeep. Therefore the immediate survivors were the primary audience for funerary monuments. The following section will consider how images, especially portraits, actively conditioned the survivors' experience of the dead.

Viewing and Representation

The prevalence of portraits in Roman tomb monument demonstrates their crucial role in shaping the interaction between the living and the dead. This section describes the two primary eschatological functions of portraits that serve that purpose. The first is essentially commemorative. Portraits became physical manifestations and reminders of their absent subjects. They reified the presence of the dead to create an enduring visual monument. The second function is more abstract. It appropriated the mimetic authority of the portrait, but manipulated it and the attendant imagery in such a way that the subject's memory became malleable and open to interpretation. Writing forty years apart, Panofsky and Koortbojian identified separate but related elements of these eschatological functions. Panofsky described the thematic and temporal aspects, while Koortbojian analyzed the modes of representation and viewing necessary to apprehend the images' fullest meanings. This section integrates both scholars' observations into a broader interpretation that underscores the portraits' active role in shaping encounters between the living and the dead.

In his study of tomb sculpture, Panofsky distinguished between retrospective and prospective tendencies in sepulchral art.[21] For Panofsky, the retrospective mode commemorated the deceased by celebrating his or her lifetime experiences and achievements. Panofsky would consider the group reliefs of the late Republic and early Empire "purely retrospective" monuments. They represent the deceased in portraits that refer only to biographical or demographical information, such as social status, financial standing, or familial relationships. The prospective mode, to the contrary, refers to or magically manipulates what happens to the individual after death. The altar of Laberia Daphne, for example, portrays the deceased girl in the guise of Daphne as she transforms into a laurel tree.[22] Through metaphorical allusion, the altar depicts Laberia Daphne's transition from mortal life to a more enduring state in the afterlife. Roman funerary monuments often use metaphor rather than direct description to represent ideas about the afterlife, allowing greater room for flexibility of interpretation.[23] This chapter will refer to such images as "anticipatory" in order to avoid confusion with the concept of "prospective memory" often discussed in reference to Roman children's monuments. [24] Finally, Panofsky observed Roman commemorative art's tendency to embrace both modes within a single image or monument. The combination of retrospective and anticipatory images created a "panoramic vision" that blurred the temporal and metaphysical divide between life and death.[25]

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[21] Panofsky 1965, 16.
[22] Funerary altar of Laberia Daphne, marble, 90-120 C.E. Urbino, Palazzo Ducale. *LIMC* III.1, 345, no. 3, *CIL* VI 20990, Ritti 1977, 268, no. 4, P. II.1, Wrede 1981, 113, n. 473, Kleiner 1987, 203-4, no. 75, Pl. XLII.3, Minten 2002, 132, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 150, Varner 2006, 297, Huskinson 2007, 330, Mander 2013, 20-21, 56, Chapter Four, pgs. 191-97.
[23] Panofsky 1965, 16.
[24] Mander 2013, 59-64.
[25] Ibid, 36.

Koortbojian's discussion of two representational modes in Roman commemorative art complements Panofsky's distinction between retrospective and anticipatory imagery.[26] The first mode is essentially mimetic, and depends on the representational power of visual forms for its meaning. The mimetic mode was fairly conventional, drawing on the viewer's experience and expectation to achieve its meaning. However, the second mode is more abstract and figurative. It required the presentation of visual cues to evoke images or experiences which were absent from a monument but necessary for realization of its full meaning. The second representational mode prompted viewers to complete the intended message through use of imagination. Koortbojian connects these representational modes to the mental processes of *mimesis*, which was grounded in external reality, and *phantasia*, which expanded on that reality through the imaginative power of the mind. Although *phantasia* was mimetic in form, its content was wholly imagined.[27] In both cases the imagery required that the viewer identify its representational mode, recognize its visual cues, and fulfill the image's meaning through active mental participation.

The two modes of representation and viewing described by Koortbojian, one dependent on *mimesis*, the other on *phantasia*, complement the two commemorative trends identified by Panofsky. Panofsky and Koortbojian essentially describe different aspects of the same artistic phenomena. Panofsky addresses themes and content, while Koortbojian considers the dynamics of the relationship between image and the view. Both relate to the broader eschatological functions of images, and especially portraits, within the funerary monument.

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[26] Koortbojian 2005.
[27] Ibid, 289.

Retrospective Images and Commemoration

Retrospective images, which referred to the life and biography of the deceased, invited mimetic viewing based on one's knowledge or experience of the subject. Portraits are the most common type of retrospective image. As images of the deceased, portraits record aspects of the subject's appearance and identity no longer accessible to the living. As a sign of the absent subject, however, the portrait is always fundamentally different from what it represents.[28] Yet at times the distinction between subject and object is so fine that the two become nearly indistinguishable. The boundaries between the portrait and its subject are particularly permeable in an eschatological context.

The use of images as surrogates for the dead occurs already in the Republican period. The procession of *imagines*, wax masks which represented their subjects faithfully, in the aristocratic funeral is a familiar example of surrogation. In the *pompa funebris*, living relatives or hired actors donned the *imagines*, along with costumes and attributes appropriate to each individual's rank. Alone the *imagines* possessed an inherent ability to evoke the names and biographies of accomplished ancestors. When united with a living body, however, the absent subject was not just remembered but revivified.

Surrogation also informs the relationship between the emperor and his portrait. The physical body of the emperor was sacrosanct, and that status extended to his image.[29] Imperial images were so closely analogous to their subjects that laws were passed to regulate people's treatment of and interactions with those images.[30] Furthermore, by the second century C.E., a funeral might be held for a wax effigy of the emperor if he died

[28] Bažant 1995, 75, Huskinson 1998, 131, cf. Bowie 1997.
[29] Varner 2005, 67-68.
[30] *Digesta* 48.4.4.1-6, Crawford 1983, 49, Varner 2005, 67.

outside of the city, as happened with Trajan.[31] An effigy could also replace the body of the emperor if it had been damaged or disfigured. Pertinax, for example, was murdered and his corpse decapitated by his troops in 193 C.E. An intact wax effigy of the emperor replaced the mutilated body during the state funeral granted to Pertinax by his successor Septimius Severus several months later.[32]

This phenomenon was not restricted to the Imperial sphere. An inscription from Lanuvium dating to 136 C.E. records the rules and procedures of a local burial *collegium*.[33] The inscription states that if a slave member of the *collegium* died and his master or mistress refused to turn over the body for interment, the funeral rites would be held for an image (*imago*) of him.[34] The *imago* serves as a direct surrogate for the deceased individual. The situation clearly was not ideal, but the members of the *collegium* agreed that a portrait was an acceptable substitute for the physical body. They could fulfill their obligation of providing a proper burial satisfactorily according to these terms.

Two wax heads discovered in a tomb in Cumae in 1852 provide a similar example. Apparently they served as replacement heads for the tomb's occupants, who had been decapitated.[35] One head has been lost, but the other survives in the Naples Archaeological Museum.[36] Decapitation of a body, either living or dead, had profoundly

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[31] See Chantraine 1980, 75-82, Arce 1988, 49, 71-72, Varner 2005, 67-68. See also Davies 2000a, 2000b.
[32] Dio 73.10, 75.4.2-5.5, Voisin 1984, 252, Price 1987, 61, Varner 2005, 70.
[33] *CIL* XIV 2112, 20-41, Hope 2000, 19, Friggeri 2001, 175-6, Hope 2007, 87-88, no. 3.2.
[34] *Item placuit: q[ui]squis ex hoc collegio servus defunctus fuerit et corpus eius a domino dominav[e] iniquitatae* [scr. *iniquitate*] *sepulturae datum non fuerit neque tabellas fecerit, ei funus imag[ina]rium fiet.*
[35] See Drerup 1980, 93-4, Pl. 49.1. The tomb type was in use in Campania from the Samnite period until the second century C.E. A coin of Diocletian associated with the tomb suggests it was put out of use and filled in at this time. See also Chapter Three, p. 95-6.
[36] Inv. 86.497.

negative social, political and religious connotations.[37] Decapitation was considered the third most severe form of capital punishment in Rome, and even decapitation of a corpse bore connotations of public execution. The reconstitution of the decapitated heads from Cumae through the use of wax surrogates reflects a desire to negate those associations posthumously. Perhaps the tombs' occupants were decapitated in some horrible accident, or perhaps their survivors hoped to rehabilitate the deceased individuals' memories in death. In either case, the wax heads served as surrogates for physical heads which had been lost or corrupted.

Surrogate images could also provide solace for survivors in their time of grief. In an inscription from a tomb in North Africa, Cornelia Galla claims that the sight of the marble portrait of her husband, Varius Frontonianus, will provide her comfort and satisfy both her eyes and her soul.[38] Roman portraits were treated as exact analogies for their subjects in some contexts, but in this case Cornelia Galla recognizes the portrait as material object functioning as a surrogate for her departed husband. However, the portrait does not simply preserve the features of her husband. It also revives the memories of their life together. Cornelia Galla states that she added the portrait to restore the sweet solaces of their old life (*dulcia restituens veteris solacia vitae*). In this respect the portrait serves a mnemonic function. The familiarity of her husband's dear form (*kara figura*) evokes a host of memories of their shared life, and it is these memories that that provide true solace for the grieving wife.[39] The portrait provides a satisfactory alternative to the

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[37] See Varner 2005 for discussion and earlier bibliography.
[38] *CIL* VIII. 434: *Hic situs est Varius cognomine Frontonianus, quem coniunx lepida posuit Cornelia Galla, dulcia restituens veteris solacia vitae. Marmoreos voltus statuit oculos animumque longius ut kara posset saturare figura. Hoc solamen erit visus: nam pignus amoris pectore contegitur, memor<i>dulcedine mentis, nec poterit facili labium oblivione perire; set, dum v<i>ta manet, toto est in corde maritus.* See Koortbojian 2005, 293, n. 31, 32 for additional examples of similar sentiments.
[39] Koortbojian 2005, 294.

deceased Frontonianus precisely because of its ability to mediate the memories of the couple's former life.[40]

The success of a portrait as a surrogate for its absent subject was not necessarily dependent on physical verisimilitude. For the Romans, likeness was a complex idea that encompassed aspects of social identity and personal character as well as physiognomic specificity. However, recognizable physical resemblance could minimize the conceptual distance between the portrait and its subject, especially if the viewer had known the subject in life.[41] Cornelia Galla makes no mention of how closely the marble portrait resembles her husband, but the inscription implies some degree of similarity.

In addition to likeness, the lifelikeness of a portrait could serve an important purpose in an eschatological context. The lifelike quality of a portrait denied the deleterious effects of death on the human body by preserving the subject's uncorrupted countenance. The physical effects of death and putrefaction on the human body would have been familiar to most Romans. Recent studies, especially by Emma-Jayne Graham, have considered the role of the cadaver in the Romans' experience of death, especially in the making of embodied memories forged by survivors' sensory encounters with the materiality of death.[42] The decomposition of the corpse, for example, elicited responses from the living meant to deny or counteract the process, such as the use of scented oil to anoint the body or the burning of incense to mask the odor of decay during the laying in state. The mingled smell of incense and decay must have created a powerful memory of the corpse and the funeral rituals for the survivors. It might also evoke memories of

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[40] Rock 1996, 2, Hallam and Hockey 2001, 26.
[41] Freedberg 1989, 201, Huskinson 1998, 133.
[42] Hope 2002, Graham 2009, Graham 2011.

previous encounters with the dead.[43] Embodied memories of interactions with the deceased as a cadaver contrasted sharply with the comparatively sterile sensory experience of encountering the deceased in the form of a material object. Although they can reproduce the illusion of life, portraits are not subject to the vicissitudes of decay. Portraits reconstituted the dead and therefore countered the survivor's embodied experience of deceased as a corpse.

It is evident in all types of Roman portraits that verisimilitude and lifelikeness were not necessarily bound together. However, the divergence of the two concepts manifests in particularly interesting ways in eschatological contexts. Portraits of children modeled on the concept of prospective memory often reveal such inconsistencies. [44] Prospective images memorialized the unrealized potential of a child snatched away by immature death.[45] Some prospective portraits of children combine age-appropriate physiognomic characteristics with attributes or costumes befitting adults. This group includes images that pair juvenile heads with adult bodies. In the altar of Aelia Procula, for example, the subject is depicted in the guise of Diana. Her chubby, childish facial features contrast sharply with the goddess' adult body.[46] The resulting visual disjuncture parallels, for example, the juxtaposition of mature female portrait heads with youthful, nude bodies of Venus.[47] In portrait statues, the head conveyed individual identity, while

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[43] Graham 2011, 29-30.
[44] Mander 2013, 59-64.
[45] Huskinson 1996, 89-90, Harlow and Laurence 2002, 49-51, Sigismund Nielsen 2007, 39, Mander 2013, 59-64.
[46] Altar of Aelia Procula, marble, c. 140 C.E. H .99m, W .72m. Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 1633. Wrede 1971, 138-39, Wrede 1981, 226, no. 91, Kleiner 1987, 241-2, n.104, Varner 2006, 295-97, D'Ambra 2008, 172-75. Here Chapter Four, 176-78.
[47] Kleiner 1981, Wrede 1981, D'Ambra 1996, D'Ambra 2000.

the body described the subject in social and symbolic terms.[48] Even seemingly disparate heads and bodies worked together to portray a specific person in terms of social values or categories. Roman viewers were conditioned to 'read' these images as holistic representations of individuals rather than disjointed assemblages of inconsistent parts. This type of prospective portrait would not pose any problem of interpretation.

Other prospective portraits of children depict their subjects with physical traits that do not correspond to their age at death.[49] One can identify this kind of discrepancy only when an inscription providing the child's age survives alongside an intact portrait, so it is difficult to measure the frequency of the phenomenon.[50] When it does occur, the children almost always appear older than their years.[51] The altar set up by Gaius Oenucius Delus commemorates his wife, Maena Mellusa, and their two young sons.[52] This altar is the earliest surviving example to identify deceased infants by name.[53] The first-born child, Dexter, died at eleven months; the younger, Sacerdus, aged three months and ten days. Mother and both children are depicted on the altar's facade below the inscription. Maena Mellusa holds an infant in her arms, presumably the younger Sacerdus, while reaching out with her right hand toward an older child, Dexter. Although both children died in infancy, the first-born son bears the features of a toddler or older

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[48] Brilliant 1974, 166-68, Hallet 2005, Stewart 2003, 53 and Chap. 2, Ma 2006, Fejfer 2008, 181-83, Trimble 2011, 151-52.
[49] Huskinson 1996, 89-90, Harlow and Laurence 2002, 49-51, Sigismund Nielsen 2007, 39, Mander 2013, 19-23, 59.
[50] See Mander 2013, 59, and Backe-Dahmen 2006, 89, for the difficulties of identifying "prospection" in Roman children's funerary monuments.
[51] Only five examples depict their subject younger than appropriate. See Huskinson 1996, 88 and Minten 2002, 60-62.
[52] Funerary altar of Maena Mellusa, marble, first century C.E. H. 1 m., L. .59 m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Chiaramonti Corridor, inv. 543a. *CIL* VI.21805, Rawson 2003, 43-44.
[53] Rawson 2003, 44.

child. The manipulation of Dexter's age probably reflects an attempt to identify the children visually in terms of birth-order and chronology.

In some cases the motives behind the manipulation of age are less clear, as in a second century C.E. marble grave relief from Rome now in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Fig. 3).[54] The relief shows the portrait bust of an adolescent male, aged perhaps twelve or thirteen years. His full, oval face still bears some of the fleshiness of childhood. The eyes are set deeply and lidded heavily. Pupils and irises are carved, with the gaze directed out and to the boy's right. The hair falls over the forehead in thick locks. Unlike contemporary Roman busts, in which the subject often turns or inclines his or her head to one side, the young boy depicted in the relief is represented in strict frontal pose.

The bust form extends to just below the sternum and includes the boy's shoulders and arms to mid-biceps. The folds of his garment are indistinct, making its identification difficult. Koch suggested a *chiton*, but the arrangement of folds, falling over the proper right shoulder at a steep angle before sweeping up over the left, is suggestive of a *paludamentum*, although there is no obvious clasp pinning it in place.[55] The bust is placed in the center of an aedicular shrine, with Corinthian pilasters on pedestals flanking either side. The triangular pediment above is decorated with a *phiale* and palmette acroteria on the sides. The plinth is decorated with volutes and is set upon the tabula bearing the inscription.

The boy's eager, youthful expression stands in contrast to the *paludamentum* that he wears. Although he was clearly too young to have commanded troops, the boy's military costume may represent the aspirations of his parents, aspirations denied by the

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[54] Grave relief of Agrippina, marble, c. 150 C.E. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 71.AA.456. Frel 1981, 90, 129, no. 72, Koch 1988, 82-4.
[55] Koch 1988, 84.

boy's premature death. However, prospective memory alone does not completely explain the image. The Greek inscription below the bust contradicts the portrait above.[56] Instead of naming a young man, the inscription identifies the deceased child as a girl, Agrippina, aged three years, one month and twenty-seven days at death.

It has been suggested that the relief with its portrait may have been purchased pre-fabricated, with only the inscription added for Agrippina.[57] This is certainly possible, given the evidence for the manufacture of stock funerary monuments, which then could be customized by the purchaser through the addition of an inscription or portrait. It is nonetheless significant that Agrippina's parents accepted a portrait of a male child to commemorate their daughter. They might have ordered a custom monument, if their financial situation allowed, or waited until a monument for a young female became available.[58] They might have even looked to a different workshop. Or Agrippina's parents might simply have opted to remember their daughter with an epitaph but no portrait at all. Despite the range of possible explanations, it is tempting to see the relief of Agrippina as a custom commission, given the fine quality of the carving and the relative rarity of grave reliefs in the second century C.E.[59]

In either case, Agrippina's parents apparently found a portrait of an adolescent boy acceptable to commemorate their young daughter. The manipulation of Agrippina's gender as well as age in this portrait prospectively appropriates masculine attributes associated with battle and triumph. At the same time, it underscores the unrealized

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[56] "To the spirits of the dead. For Agrippina, [our] daughter, who lived three years, one month, and 27 days, [we] the parents had this [relief] made in her memory." Koch 1988, 82.
[57] Frel and Morgan 1981, 90, no. 73, Kock 1988, 82-3.
[58] In any case it is likely that some funerary monuments were not erected until well after the deceased's remains were deposited in the tomb.
[59] The group reliefs popular in the late Republic and early Empire do experience a modest revival in popularity in the second century C.E. (see Chapter Five, 247-59). However, Agrippina's monument does not resemble either the early or late group reliefs in format.

potential of a child who died prematurely. Though the patrons' choice may seem anachronistic for its unexpected representation of a female child, other transgendered Roman portraits are attested in both the Imperial and private spheres.[60] Portraits of young children who had yet to acquire a gender identity can be particularly, and deliberately, ambiguous.[61]

The altar of Hateria Superba from the Via Flaminia depicts its young female subject in a full-length portrait on the altar's face (Fig. 4).[62] The inscription records that Hateria died at the age of one year, six months and twenty-five days. Hateria's portrait bears infantile physiognomic features. The body retains some of the chubbiness and proportion of a child, but the suggestion of breasts and the curve of the hip belong to a more mature female body. The disjuncture between juvenile and adult features is further complicated by her costume, a tunic and *toga praetexta*. Both girls and boys under the age of twelve could wear the toga, as does the young girl in the procession of the Imperial family on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis (Fig. 5). [63] However, Hateria's secondary sex characteristics suggest more advanced age at which the *toga* would be inappropriate female costume.

The full-length portrait of Hateria bears close formal resemblance to contemporary altars of men and boys depicted as *togati*, such as the well-known altar of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (Fig. 6).[64] She is, curiously, the only female child who wears

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[60] See Varner 2008a.
[61] Ibid, 195.
[62] Altar of Hateria Superba, marble, c. 100-110 C.E. H .97m., W .69m. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, atrio ascensore Uffizi, inv. 942. Kleiner 1987, 183-84, no. 58, Scott 1999, 71, Harlow and Laurence 2002, 6, Minten 2002, 130, no. A16, Huskinson 2007, 311, Mander 2013, 153-55, no. 70.
[63] Gabelmann 1985, 517-38, Goette 1990, 5, 80-82, Stone 1994, 13, Sebesta 1994, 46-48.
[64] Altar of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus, marble, c. 94-100 C.E. H 1.61m., W .98m. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1102. Kleiner 1987, 162-65, no. 45, Rawson 2003, 17-20, Huskinson 2007, 329-30, Mander 2013, 150-51.

the toga on a funerary altar. Hateria's costume might be dismissed as an anachronism if not for her similarly masculine coiffeur. The hair falls in thick, straight locks from the crown of the head over the forehead in a manner typically worn by boys in the Trajanic period. The juxtaposition of masculine costume and coiffeur with feminine body and physiognomy forges an androgynous identity for the young Hateria. The rich symbolic elaboration of the attendant images, winged putti who crown Hateria with a wreath, the Isiac ornament in her hair, and the dog and bird which flank her, confirms that this altar was a custom commission. Therefore Hateria's parents deliberately chose a transgendered portrait to commemorate their daughter. As in the case of Agrippina, the manipulation of Hateria's age and gender belongs to the realm of prospective memory, though its precise meaning (if a precise meaning was ever intended), remains mysterious.

There is no reason to believe that the portraits of Agrippina and Hateria were any less closely analogous to their subjects for lack of physical verisimilitude. Some portraits required no resemblance at all to commemorate their subjects satisfactorily. Unfinished portrait heads found on some later second and third century sarcophagi suggest that facial features could be omitted from a portrait entirely and still be acceptable, even desirable.[65] It is difficult to determine when the non-completion of the portrait was the result of circumstance or a deliberate choice. However, the widespread acceptance of these images suggests that third century patrons invested substantially less importance in the individualizing identity of the portrait head than in previous generations.[66] The acceptance of unfinished portraits may reflect the more general rejection of naturalistic

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[65] Andrae 1984, Huskinson 1998. The term is generally applied to portrait heads which have been left in a state of preparation, sometimes even when the rest of the carving has been brought to a substantial state of completion. These sarcophagi were produced in and around Rome from the mid-second to the fourth centuries C.E.

[66] Huskinson 1998, especially 149-52, 154-55.

images that took place in the later third century in favor of those that capture the spiritual or psychological character of the subject.[67] Huskinson also suggests that the rejection of a fixed image reflected an interest in keeping the identity of the dead open and flexible.[68] The underlying animistic understanding of portraits remained the same; only the concerns of the patrons changed.

No matter how they are configured, Roman portraits provided a material manifestation of the dead. They functioned as surrogates for the absent deceased which could offer solace in the wake of loss. Furthermore, viewing a portrait could evoke potent memories of the dead that affirmed or maintained emotional bonds between the deceased and his or her survivors. The portrait's effectiveness in an eschatological context did not derive necessarily from likeness or lifelikeness, but from the popular perception of portraits as more or less analogous to their subjects.

Anticipatory images and *phantasia*

Anticipatory images evoked experiences of the dead that, by their very nature, could exist only in the mind of the living. The experiences of death and the afterlife are restricted to the human imagination; neither can be known in a direct sense.[69] Recourse to metaphor to make the intangible experience of death accessible for the living is a common cultural solution to this problem.[70] Roman patrons often used metaphor in anticipatory images to give shape to the inherently unknowable fate of the human soul.

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[67] L'Orange 1973, Wood 1986, Andrae 1984, 125, Huskinson 1998, 145-53.
[68] Huskinson 1998, 152.
[69] Hallam and Hockey 2001, 23.
[70] Hallam and Hockey 2001, 29-36.

Some *kline* monuments, popular from the middle of the first to the second centuries C.E., use sleep as a metaphor for death.[71] An early Imperial *kline* monument depicts its young male subject reclining on a couch.[72] The boy is bare-chested with a mantle around his hips. He is propped against a cushion with his upper torso turned slightly toward the viewer, eyes closed and expression serene. The right arm falls across his lap. The left leg folds beneath the slightly bent right. Although relaxed, the body is not limp or feeble. Rather it gives the impression of restful repose. However, a snake slithers across the couch next to the boy towards an egg held in his left hand. These symbols allude to funerary cult, adding a grim subtext to the image. Here the imagery elides sleep and death, rendering the subject's state of being ambiguous.

The ambivalence of the image is reinforced by the couch itself, which could simultaneously refer to the domestic setting for sleep or the bier on which a corpse was laid out for display. Furthermore, the couch held close associations with banqueting, especially the heroic banquet depicted in Greek *Totenmahl* scenes.[73] There is no indication of food or drink, but the boy's costume connects him to the *Totenmahl* tradition. Like the heroic symposiast depicted in a 4th century grave relief in the Michael C. Carlos Museum (Fig. 7), the boy wears only a mantle around his hips.[74] However, the heroization of the boy, and the scene's associations with drinking parties, are inappropriate to the subject's age. Roman *kline* monuments that commemorate women and boys do not depict their subjects with drinking cups, presumably for reasons of

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[71] Wrede 1977, Wrede 1981, Berczelly 1978, Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 58-61, Wrede 1990, 26-28. For relationship to banqueting images, see Dunbabin 2003, 110-20.
[72] *Kline* monument of a boy, marble, early first century C.E. L 1.78m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 61586. Wrede 1977, 402, Dayan and Musso 1981, 177-78, no. II, Dunbabin 2003, 110-111.
[73] See Dunbabin 2003, 103-140, esp. 114-20, with additional bibliography. For *Totenmahl* scenes, see Fabricius 1999, 21-30.
[74] Banquet relief, marble, 4th century B.C.E. H .57m., W .84m. Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum, inv. 1999.011.003.

decorum.[75] Therefore the image belongs to the realm of prospective memory. The boy's costume might be inappropriate for an adolescent, but it was fully appropriate for an adult banqueter. In the well-known *kline* monument of Flavius Agricola (Fig. 8), for example, the subject reclines on a couch propped on his left arm.[76] He wears the himation and holds a drinking cup in his left hand. Both the portrait and the inscription, now destroyed, fully embrace the role of heroic banqueter.[77]

In the *kline* monument of the boy, only the subject's costume refers directly to the *Totenmahl* tradition. The other iconography minimizes associations with banqueting that were potentially problematic or taboo for the young subject. This allows the artist to appropriate the heroic connotations of the scene without transgressing rules of decorum. The layers of allusion – to sleep, to death, and to the heroization of the dead – embedded in the monument's iconography offer the viewer a multiplicity of visual prompts to guide his or her interpretation. The metaphorical visual language leaves the monument's meaning open and flexible. It is left to the viewer to recognize the visual cues, apprehend their meaning, and construct an interpretation based on factors such as context, sense of decorum, and personal belief.

The *kline* monument of the boy compels the viewer to interpret the eschatological implications of the metaphorical visual language through the process of imagination. The experiences of death and the afterlife are unknowable, but this monument suggests a range of possibilities to the viewer. In this case, the juxtaposition of the youth's immature

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[75] Dunbabin 2003, 114. Women were depicted reclining at banquets in non-funerary contexts, and on smaller funerary monuments, such as altars, urns and reliefs.
[76] *Kline* monument of Flavius Agricola, marble, c. 160 C.E. H .67m., L 1.78m., D .69 m. Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, inv. IMA72.148. Wrede 1981, 101-9, Zanker 2000, Dunbabin 2003, 103-4, Zanker 2012, 153-54.
[77] *CIL* 6.17985a.

body and adult costume underscores the child's premature death and of the pleasures of life he has been denied. His implicit heroization suggests reward for virtuous character in life as well as transformation after death. The image provides solace in suggestion that the subject will find peaceful respite in death. Perhaps in the afterlife he will enjoy the pleasures of banqueting that he was denied in the world of the living. The monument presents a range of visual cues that resist a singular interpretation. Instead, it is flexible enough that that meaning might change from viewer to viewer, or even from viewing to viewing.

Retrospection, Anticipation and Continuation

The decoration of the altar of Publius Vitellius Sucessus combines both retrospective and anticipatory images. The combination of the two perspectives creates what Panofsky describes as a "panoramic vision" that spans the deceased's mortal life and afterlife, suggesting a continuity of existence that transcends biological death. Sucessus and his wife, Vitellia Cleopatra, are represented in bust portraits in the segmental pediment crowning the altar.[78] Both subjects bear visible signs of aging. Sucessus appears as a mature man in his late thirties or forties. He has some wrinkles on his brow, and his close-cropped hair recedes deeply from the forehead. Cleopatra has pronounced naso-labial lines, slightly sunken cheeks, and loose flesh around her jaw. Cleopatra appears somewhat older than her husband. The inscription states that she

[78] Altar of Publius Vitellius Sucessus, marble, 75-100 C.E. H .945m, W .655m, D .39m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria delle Statue, inv. 546. Toynbee 1971, 267, Kleiner 1987, 158-59, no. 43.

outlived her husband and dedicated the altar to his memory, so the age discrepancy may reflect the order of death.

The framed face of the altar is divided into two parts. The bottom half bears the inscription, framed on either side by putti. Above, a relief panel depicts Sucessus reclining on a couch, drinking cup in hand. He wears a wears a tunic and mantle and is attended by his wife Cleopatra. She sits on the end of the couch near his feet and clasps his right hand in *dextrarum iunctio*. Cleopatra wears a mantle over a long tunic. The drapery slips low off of her right shoulder. Both wear the same hairstyles as in the bust portraits above, but Cleopatra appears somewhat more youthful than her husband. The couple occupies two-thirds of the panel. The scene is divided by a palm tree to Sucessus' left, beyond which stands a horse.

Like the *kline* monuments discussed previously, the scene draws on the *Totenmahl* tradition. Traditionally, *Totenmahl* scenes depict the hero wearing a tunic and mantle, like Sucessus, or bare-chested, as in the monument of Flavius Agricola. The hero reclines on a couch with a drinking cup, his female consort seated near his feet. A servant brings food and drink. In the Classical tradition, the horse, symbol of the hero, usually observed the banquet through a window. The basic visual formula of the *Totenmahl* scene offers a great deal of flexibility in both the Hellenistic and Roman traditions. It could be expanded through the addition of figures, architectural embellishment or symbolic iconography, or it could be contracted to a more modest composition.[79] Indeed, Dunbabin suggests that the banqueting motifs remained popular for so long precisely because the ambiguous content lent itself to variation and reinterpretation.[80]

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[79]Dunbabin 2003, 103-40, esp. 103-10.
[80] Dunbabin 2003, 109-10.

Successus, accompanied by Cleopatra, is the heroic protagonist of this banquet. The relief reproduces the essential elements of the *Totenmahl* scene with some additions. There is no architectural elaboration to indicate an interior setting. Instead, the palm tree simultaneously evokes an outdoor setting and suggests a location in the east. It also may allude to contemporary Roman victories in Judaea.[81] The horse is usually represented from the neck up in the Hellenistic tradition, but here it is show in its entirety. More importantly, the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio*, which usually indicates marriage, adds a distinctly Roman aspect to the *Totenmahl* scene.

Some elements of the altar's decoration are retrospective in character. The independent portrait busts in the pediment are purely commemorative. They provide the most direct mimetic imagery, offering physical manifestations of the absent subjects. Cleopatra outlived her husband, and the resulting age discrepancy between the portraits underscores their claim to mimetic authenticity. The inscription does not record how Cleopatra related personally to the portrait of her husband. However, the power of the portrait to manifest the presence of the dead kept Sucessus present in the world despite his physical absence. Epigraphic evidence suggests that for some survivors, like Cornelia Galla, portraits provided comfort or solace by reifying the presence of the dead in the physical world.[82] Furthermore, the portrait might provide the survivors with a prompt for the recollection of shared memories and experiences of the deceased, thereby keeping them present and active.

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[81] Kleiner 1987, 160.

[82] *Effigiem pro te teneo, solacia nostri/quam colinus sancte sertaque multa datur*, *CIL* VI 37965, trans. from Gordon 1983, no. 65; *Vultus tuos intuendo solaci(um) prestas*, *CIL* VIII 19606. See Koortbojian 2005, 293, n. 31, 32 for additional examples.

The main scene of the altar also referred to lived experience and therefore required mimetic viewing to acquire some of its significance. In its primary meaning, for example, the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio* refers to the couple's marriage and married life. Like the portrait, which could call to mind a broad spectrum of memories and experiences of the deceased individual, the scene of *dextrarum iunctio* provided a prompt for recollections about the couple's connubial life. Furthermore, the context of the banquet might recall actual feasts enjoyed in life or held at the tomb as part of funerary ritual. The images refer directly to lived experiences and therefore belong to the realm of retrospective imagery.

Other aspects of the altar's decoration are anticipatory in nature. In an eschatological context the *Totenmahl* motif might represent the pleasures of the banquet which the dead hoped to enjoy in the afterlife. It also implies the heroization of the dead Sucessus. Cleopatra's slipping drapery, a mythologizing allusion to Venus, parallels the heroization of her husband. Furthermore, she is renewed to a state of youthfulness that contrasts the signs of aging in the bust portrait above. "Private apotheosis," in which individuals are commemorated with the attributes of a deity or mythological hero, did not necessarily imply that the subject achieved divine status after death.[83] However, this image uses visual metaphor to imply that the dead will undergo some level of transformation after death, if not outright apotheosis.

Moreover, the scene deliberately obscures the boundaries between life and afterlife. Retrospective and anticipatory images are combined in such a way that the temporal or metaphysical setting is ambiguous. For example, the *dextrarum iunctio* refers to the couple's marriage during life. However, the ambiguous geographic, spatial

[83] See Wrede 1981.

and temporal setting of the scene provides a flexible framework in which to read the relationship between Sucessus and Cleopatra. The gesture of *dextrarum iunctio* could allude to their final farewell, their happy reunion in the afterlife, the persistence of the marital bond despite the separation caused by death, or perhaps all three simultaneously, depending on the viewer's interpretation.[84] Boundaries between the past and the present are left indistinct so as to suggest continuity between the two.

These visual cues could evoke vivid emotional responses that were wholly imagined. The image asks the viewer to imagine a relationship between Sucessus and Cleopatra that can exist solely in the minds of the living. Although they are separated physically by death, the image evokes a bond between the spouses that might continue to be felt long after their parting. However, the viewer can only experience that relationship through the power of the imagination. The relief harnesses the power of imagination to create vivid emotional responses for the viewer in order to ensure an uninterrupted relationship between the living and the dead.

Conclusion

Portraits lay at the center of a complex network of relationships between the living and the dead. Viewers considered portraits so closely analogous to their subjects that the ontological boundaries between the two could become indistinct. This almost "animistic" understanding of portraits extended from the very highest levels of Roman society to the non-senatorial classes. The capacity of portraits to manifest their absent subjects gained particular importance within the funerary context.

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[84] Davies 1985.

Portraits served several distinct eschatological purposes. They not only reified the presence of the absent dead, but they also endowed the dead with agency to reach out to the living. In both cases, portraits mitigated the destruction of individual personalities and bodies through the process of surrogation. Retrospective images, which commemorated the life and biography of the deceased, could provide solace to the survivors in their time of grief. They might also serve as prompts for the recollection of shared memories and experiences. Anticipatory images provided visual and material access to the inherently inaccessible realm of the dead, often through the use of metaphor. These images invited or even required that the viewer engage mentally with the provided visual information, and complete the intended message through the mental act of imagination.

There is a notable chronological division between primarily retrospective eschatological images and those that utilize anticipatory images. The earliest surviving funerary monuments were commissioned by wealthy non-elite patrons beginning in the early first century B.C.E. Those monuments are emphatically retrospective, and portraits are the central medium for commemoration. The retrospective tendency indicates a profound concern for the preservation of social identity and, in turn, the denial of social death. It is not until the first century C.E., when patrons were more willing to cast their imaginations into the murky realm of the afterlife, that any sort of anticipatory elaboration appears. Many monuments combine commemorative and anticipatory images in a way that suggests continuity between life and afterlife. These images evoke powerful mental experiences that solidify emotional, familial, and social bonds in defiance of death’s destructive force.

The chronological division suggests that an important shift in patrons' commemorative concerns or interests occurred in the first decades of the Imperial period. The following chapters primarily examine the earliest examples of non-elite tomb monuments, group reliefs with portraits. Previous studies interpret the monuments' formal and thematic content in relation to their patrons' non-elite status. This study reframes the discussion by privileging the patron's commemorative interests and the aesthetic strategies they employed to express them. The monuments' emphatically retrospective orientation suggests that patrons were far more concerned with their relationship to and place within the living community than with the fate of their souls.

Chapter 2:
Non-Elite Tomb Monuments and the Myth of the "Freedman Aesthetic"

This chapter explores the issues surrounding the elite/non-elite binary which has been established in the study of Roman art, especially as it relates to the manufacture of funerary monuments in general and funerary portraits in particular. The characteristic stylistic eclecticism of Roman art often has been understood in terms of binary oppositions (elite/non-elite, Roman/Hellenistic, etc.).[1] Social boundaries usually delineate these classifications. Recent scholarship, however, has challenged the binary view of Roman art as being too reductive and ill-suited to explain those Roman monuments that employ multiple styles, such as the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus or the Column Base of Antoninus Pius.[2] In the study of non-elite Roman art, scholars are increasingly challenging the notion of a monolithic non-elite aesthetic in favor of a more fluid spectrum of artistic possibilities.[3]

The developments in the study of non-elite art are particularly important in an eschatological context. Many scholars have seen funerary commemoration as a distinctly "non-elite" phenomenon, especially after the first century B.C.E.[4] This is an inaccurate representation of the situation for two primary reasons. First, there were proportionately far more non-elite than elite Romans. A relatively small percentage of non-elites had access to the financial resources to commission large-scale figural funerary monuments, but the preponderance of even modest monuments, such as the simple plaque commemorating Aemilius Aristomachus and Aemilia Hilara, demonstrates all Romans'

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[1] See Perry 2005, 38-49.
[2] Brendel 1953, 72; Perry 2005, 38-40.
[3] See, for example, D'Ambra 2002, Petersen 2003, Petersen 2006, Varner 2006, D'Ambra 2008.
[4] MacMullen 1982, Mouritsen 2005, Carroll 2006, 247-53, Mouritsen 2011, 127-28, 279-82.

concern to commemorate their departed loved ones.[5] Furthermore, non-elite Romans had far fewer commemorative opportunities outside of their necropolis than their elite counterparts. It is therefore logical that the majority of the commemorative activities would be focused in the mostly private sphere of the necropolis. The intensity with which non-elite patrons pursued the commemoration of the dead should not be seen necessarily as a unique phenomenon driven solely by the patrons' social status.

Moreover, some fundamental components of commemoration, including the role of the dead as *exempla* for the living, the emphasis on the survival of an individual's memory after death, and the apparently crucial importance of the portrait to the preservation of that memory, pervade all levels of Roman society. The prevalence of certain integral aspects of commemoration suggests that there existed some overarching themes in commemorative practice. This should not be surprising, for while the physical experience of death is universal, culturally-specific traditions, beliefs and religious practices shape the emotional experience of death for both the individual who dies and his or her survivors. Likewise, these cultural forces also govern the production of images and monuments that honor the deceased. Such cultural imperatives were not restricted by the boundaries of the Roman social hierarchy.

Non-elite funerary monuments therefore offer a unique opportunity to generate new questions about funerary portraiture as a genre related to other types of honorific portraiture but nonetheless distinct. Unlike elite portraiture, which with few exceptions rarely can be directly linked to funerary contexts, the non-elite portraits under consideration here can be linked to tombs, cenotaphs and other sepulchral contexts

[5] Tomb relief of A. Aemilius Aristomachus and Aemilia Hilara, marble, 1st century B.C.E. Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, inv. 1187. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932, 26, 43, pl. IV; Flower 1996, 7, Pollini 2007, 238-9; Pollini 2012, 14-5.

through archaeological, epigraphic, iconographic or typological evidence. They represent the most direct evidence for the role of portraiture in the commemoration of the dead.

Furthermore, the increase in non-elite funerary monuments can be understood in terms of a more widespread interest in self-representation, particularly in the eschatological context with all of its attendant social weight. That the earliest non-elite funerary monuments are almost exclusively retrospective in their commemoration of the deceased's lives and achievements supports this perspective. In this way, the commemorative impulse evident in the monuments parallel those of elite patrons in other venues and media. All public monuments, from reliefs erected in the necropolis to honorific statues erected in the Forum, are commissioned for the sake of memory and therefore belong to the same commemorative spectrum. Only the terms of the commemoration and the context in which is occurs differ.

This chapter challenges the authority of the elite/non-elite binary particularly as it relates to tomb monuments. It highlights the thematic and aesthetic concordances between elite and non-elite art in order to generate new questions about the motives and interests of non-elite patrons. This chapter first generally describes the social orders in ancient Rome. The urban Roman population, especially that segment today known as the "non-elite," was incredibly diverse in terms of social background, education, ethnic identity and wealth. This diversity undermines the artificial sense of homogeneity suggested by the elite/non-elite opposition. This chapter then reviews the types of monuments primarily considered in this study, the group relief and the funerary altar with portrait. Both types of monuments have been the subject of previous studies and provide the best source of evidence for non-elite funerary commemoration. However, previous

studies consider the patrons' social status as a primary factor in determining the monuments' form, style and content, in essence reinforcing the elite/non-elite binary rather than confronting it. This chapter explores how ancient and modern biases influence scholars' interpretations of non-elite tomb monuments and reinforced the false dichotomy between elite and non-elite artistic traditions. Once one discards the oppositional baggage attached to the binary conception of Roman art, the decisions made by non-elite patrons become more clearly visible and open to investigation.

"Elite" and "Non-Elite" in Ancient Rome

"Non-elite" is a fairly broad term that has come to be used to describe those individuals who did not belong to the upper echelons of Roman society. From its origins Roman society was stratified, hierarchical and highly class-conscious. Social mobility was possible to a certain extent. However, real opportunities to advance in society were limited at best. Wealthy senatorial families dominated Roman political life throughout the Republican period. Senatorial status was defined primarily by election to political office, although there was also a financial requirement of property holdings valuing at least 1,000,000 *sesterces*. Those senatorial families who could count a consul as ancestor were considered *nobiles*. The first member of a family to claim this honor was referred to as a *novus homo,* a "new man."[6] This term could also describe the first member of an equestrian family to achieve political office and advanced to the senatorial class, or, more rarely, to describe an equestrian elected consul, as in the case of Cicero.

[6] See Chapter Three, 103-15, for further discussion of *novitas*. See also Wiseman 1971.

The difference between senatorial and equestrian status was economic as well as political. The second highest rank in Roman society, equestrians were required to possess a stable minimum amount of property worth at least 400,000 *sesterces*. During the Republican period, equestrians were drawn primarily from wealthy, socially well-connected families. By the second half of the first century C.E., however, the pool of candidates for equestrian status expanded to include any Roman of free birth. In the Imperial period, even freedmen could achieve equestrian rank if appointed by the emperor.[7] This was likely the case for the *procurator* of Judea, Antonius Felix, a freedman of the family of Claudius who had almost certainly had achieved equestrian status by the time of his appointment in 52 C.E.[8]

The vast majority of Rome's population would have fallen into the broad category of "non-elite." This included those freeborn Roman citizens who did not meet the political or economic requirements to achieve senatorial or equestrian status as well as freedmen, slaves and foreigners. Although their political, social and economic opportunities were limited, non-elite Romans citizens were legally entitled to wear the toga, the symbol of Roman citizenship, to contract a legal marriage with another Roman citizen (*conubium*), and to pass their citizen status onto their offspring. The non-elite were by far the most diverse group of Romans, including all freeborn citizens, from wealthy merchants and craftspeople to the urban poor.

Slaves who had been formally manumitted by their masters, or who had purchased their freedom, occupied a semi-enfranchised position in Roman society. Technically, *liberti* (or *libertini*) achieved Roman citizenship upon manumission.

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[7] Kleiner 1987, 262.
[8] Weaver 1972, 279, 282.

However, *liberti* did not enjoy the full rights and freedoms enjoyed by freeborn Roman citizens. They took the *tria nomia*, were entitled to wear the toga, and passed full citizen status onto their offspring, but they could not hold public office. Freedmen were also legally obligated to their former masters, who became their patrons after manumission. The lasting and highly formalized relationship between a manumitted slave and his or her patron in Rome has few direct parallels in other slave societies.[9]

Although freedmen could not overcome the limitations of their legal status in their own lifetimes, it is important to recognize that in practical terms, their social and political opportunities did not differ dramatically from their freeborn plebian peers. Theoretically any freeborn Roman could amass enough wealth and influence to move up the ranks of Roman society, earn equestrian status and hold political office. However, the overwhelming majority of freeborn Romans would never advance far beyond the station into which they were born. A freeborn plebian was no more likely to earn an honorific statue in the Forum or to see his name inscribed on a temple than his freedman neighbor. The rigidity of Rome's social classes effectively curbed social mobility on any grand scale. Nonetheless, freedmen could amass great wealth and influence, especially during the Imperial period. Imperial freedmen, slaves manumitted from the emperor's household, enjoyed a social status and quality of life much higher than the majority of Rome's freeborn population.

Freedmen in particular and non-elite Romans in general are poorly represented in the historical record. Slaves, who occupied the lowest rungs of the Roman social order, are the most poorly represented. Slavery was practiced in Rome by at least the fifth century B.C.E., well before the expansion of the empire throughout the Mediterranean

[9] Mouritsen 2011, 146-7.

brought an influx of foreign slaves into Italy.[10] Based on the prevalence of Greek names amongst slaves and freedmen from the late Republic onward, scholars have asserted that Rome's servile class primarily came from the eastern Mediterranean.[11] That position has been challenged, however, and there is evidence to suggest that Greek *cognomina* need not necessarily indicate either origin in the eastern Mediterranean or servile origin in general.[12] Roman slaves came from all parts of the Roman Empire, including Syria, Egypt, Bithynia, Gaul, Germany and Thrace. Cicero mentions one L. Publicius who brought slaves from Gaul for sale in Etruria in 83 B.C.E.[13] Pliny the Elder reports that Marc Antony purchased two male slaves, supposedly twins, from Torranius Flaccus for 200,000 *sesterces*.[14] It was soon revealed that one boy came from Asia Minor, the other from north of the Alps.

The demographics of Roman slavery remain woefully unclear. Scholars have not reached a consensus on the slave population of Rome. Estimates range between half a million and one million urban slaves at the most populous.[15] Likewise, manumission rates are largely unknown. The origins of the practice likely date to the earliest historical periods.[16] Manumission must have been a fairly common occurrence by the middle of the fourth century B.C.E., at least in urban centers such as the capital, for Livy reports that a five percent manumission tax (*vicesima libertatis*) was introduced in 357 B.C.E.[17]

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[10] Joshel 2010, 54.
[11] A viewpoint advanced by Frank (1916), and subsequently supported by Duff (1928, 55-6), Thylander (1935), Taylor (1961, 113-33), and Kajanto (1968).
[12] See for example Gordon 1924, Treggiari 1969, 231-4, Weaver 1964.
[13] Cicero, *Pro Quinctio* 24.
[14] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 7.10.
[15] Scheidel 2010, 5, Scheidel 2005, 66-71, De Ligt 2004, 745-7.
[16] Fabre 1984, 5-7; Mouritsen 2011, 11, n. 8.
[17] Livy 7.16.7; Mouritsen 2011, 121.

Manumission usually has been considered a fairly common practice.[18] Scholars estimate that most, if not all, urban slaves had a fairly good chance of being freed. Mouritsen, however, has challenged this assumption, at least in its broadest application.[19] Although manumission was very common in Rome, it was not necessarily a given. Evidence from ancient sources suggests that the process was highly selective, and epigraphic evidence from the *columbaria* of the Volusii and the Statilii suggest that only a quarter to a third of the servile members of households were freed at any time.[20] As accurate manumission rates are elusive, it is difficult to estimate what percentage of Roman freedmen commissioned tomb monuments.

Nonetheless, the relatively high frequency of manumission (typical of urban slave societies both ancient and modern), combined with the preponderance of epigraphic evidence for freedmen at Rome, led some scholars to conclude that anywhere from half or even virtually all of Rome's urban plebian population was made up of freedmen.[21] Yet the epigraphic and onomastic evidence on which these estimates are based is not necessarily representative of the actual composition of the Roman population.[22] Not only did epigraphic practices vary according to location and period, they also distort the demographic picture because of the expense involved in commissioning an inscription in stone.[23] Most urban non-elites, whether freeborn or freed, would not have commanded the necessary financial resources to commission a costly funerary monument. The scanty evidence for burial costs suggests that freedmen burials in Italy could range from 1,000 to

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[18] For manumission generally, see Carroll 2006, 235-41 and Mouritsen 2011, 120-205 with earlier bibliography.
[19] Mouritsen 2011, 131-41.
[20] Ibid, 139.
[21] Patterson 1991, 235, Brunt 1971a and b, Purcell 1996, 797, Jongman 2003, Morley 2006, 31.
[22] Taylor 1961, Mouritsen 2005, Mouritsen 2011, Chap. 5.
[23] Brunt 1971a, 132, 387, Harris 1980, Wiedemann 1985.

500,000 *sestertii*, with a median cost of 10,000, a sum higher than most individuals' yearly salaries.[24] Some non-senatorial patrons chose to identify their occupations, and those that do belong to a "middle-class" of financially secure skilled laborers. Nonetheless, freedmen's early preference for collective tomb monuments, which commemorate anywhere from two to upwards of six individuals, may reflect in part a conscious attempt to pool financial resources. *Collegia*, professional, religious and social organizations that provided for burial of members in good standing operated in much the same way.[25]

Roman freedmen engaged in a number of different trades. In both the ancient and modern scholarly traditions freedmen are generally associated with or defined by the types of work they performed, which usually involved manual labor, trade or craft.[26] The Roman elite considered such activities too vulgar to be undertaken by respectable members of society. Elite Romans instead were expected to accumulate their wealth through the traditional pursuits of land-ownership and agriculture.[27] Non-elite professions such as medicine and education might be considered more dignified, at least from an elite perspective.

Some non-elite patrons took apparent pride in their work despite the elite bias against labor. Publius Curtilius Agatus, a silversmith and freedman who died at the beginning of the first century C.E., chose to identify both his libertine status and his profession in the inscription accompanying his funerary relief (Fig. 9).[28] The relief

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[24] Duncan-Jones 1965, 199-200.
[25] Carroll 2006, 45-48, Perry 2006, Arnaoutoglou 2011, 257-60, Perry 2011, Broekaert 2011, 225-6, Verboven 2011, 187-89, Borbonus 2014, 12-14.
[26] See for example Zanker 1975, Zimmer 1982, D'Ambra 1988, Joshel 1992, George 2006.
[27] Cicero, *De Officiis* I.150-1. See also Joshel 1992.
[28] Tomb relief of Publius Curtilius Agatus, marble, 1-25 C.E. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 96.AA.40.

depicts Agatus as a middle-aged man with a contemporary Augustan hairstyle in a half-length portrait. He wears the toga in accordance with his citizen status and holds a worked silver cup, the product of his profession, in his left hand. On the relief of the two freedmen Publius Licinius Philonicus and Publius Licinius Demetrius, the two portrait busts are framed by an aedicular niche (Fig. 10).[29] The tools of the subjects' trades, probably smithing and carpentry, decorate the pediment and proper left side of the frame. To the right are the *fasces* used in the manumission ceremony. Although their elite counterparts generally viewed work negatively, choosing instead to commemorate prestigious political and military achievements, freedmen patrons were not necessarily ashamed of their livelihoods, and sometimes included signs and symbols of their occupations in their funerary monuments. They also highlighted the material trappings of success by including symbols of wealth in their monuments, especially fashionable coiffeurs and jewelry. Agatus, for example, wears a large ring on the third finger of his left hand.

The public lives of elite and non-elite Romans were defined according to the different social and political opportunities available to them, which consequently defined their access to public social display. Following Taylor and MacMullen, Mouritsen suggests that the demographic discrepancy evident in the epigraphic evidence results from the fact that freed and freeborn patrons did not share a uniform motivation to commission inscribed funerary monuments.[30] Manumitted slaves did not typically have access to other means of public self-representation in the community, such as honorific

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[29] Tomb relief of Publius Licinius Philonicus and Publius Licinius Demetrius, marble, 30 B.C.E. – 10 B.C.E. London, British Museum, inv. 1954, 1214.1. *CIL* XIV 2721, 2722. Kleiner 1977, no. 3, 34-5, 196-7, Kockel 1993, D'Ambra 2002, 225-6.

[30] Taylor 1961, MacMullen 1982, Mouritsen 2005, Mouritsen 2011, 131-41.

portraiture or inscriptions in the Forum or patronage of buildings. The Forum was the primary sphere for aristocratic self-representation throughout the Republic, and even elite ancestral images, such as the *imagines maiorum*, were highly visible in elite houses and in public funeral processions. Rome's highest-ranking citizens dominated the most geographically and ideologically powerful spaces in the urban landscape, relegating non-elite Romans to the more marginal zone of the necropolis. Non-elite patrons therefore turned to funerary monuments as their primary means of visual communication. Nonetheless, both groups used images and monuments to memorialize their public identities, whether as general, statesmen, or accomplished silversmith. Elites and non-elites also visually expressed conformity to tradition and accepted social values.

There are also elite precedents for the use of tomb monuments as vehicles of social display. Elite patrons built impressive, even idiosyncratic, tomb monuments to commemorate themselves in the sepulchral landscape. In the visual cultural of the late Republic, for example, the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius is really no more or less anachronistic than the tomb of the baker Eurysaces. Both belong to a culture of artistic innovation and competition that is typical of the period.[31] Although the social identities of the elite and the non-elite were very different, the two groups shared the same set of commemorative concerns. Therefore all acts of social display belong on a shared commemorative spectrum. The material product of the commemorative act may be nuanced by the patron's social status, but it is not defined by it.

The Monuments

[31] Petersen 2003, Petersen 2006, 84-120.

The funerary monuments considered in this study were set up in and around Rome beginning in the first quarter of the first century B.C.E. through the end of the second century C.E. Of particular interest are two types of funerary monuments associated with non-elite and especially freedmen patrons, the group relief and the altar with portrait, for these are the most numerous examples of securely-identified sepulchral monuments. These monuments also have been well-studied and catalogued, particularly by Diana Kleiner, Paul Zanker and Valentin Kockel.[32] Group reliefs and altars with portraits, along with images of "private apotheosis" in which deceased individuals were depicted in the guise of deities or heroes, form the foundation for many discussions of non-elite funerary commemoration. In their interpretations of these monuments, scholars have emphasized patrons' non-elite status as a major contributing factor to the monuments' form, content and iconography, as well as the formal dependence of freedmen monuments on elite models.[33]

From the late first century C.E. onward, funerary monuments commissioned by elite and non-elite freeborn patrons swiftly decline in popularity. In cities such as Ostia and Pompeii, both of which had strong social, political and artistic ties to the capital, the tombs of freeborn patrons disappear almost entirely after the Augustan-Tiberian period, just as monumental funerary commemoration of freedmen escalates. Mouritsen suggests that outside of Rome, elite families focused their efforts at public self-representation in civic rather than funereal contexts, including fora, temples, other building projects and public statues.[34] Non-elite but particularly freedmen patrons were largely denied access to those spaces, and so instead continued to utilize funerary monuments as their primary

[32] Zanker 1975, Kleiner 1977, Kockel 1993.
[33] Gazda 1971, Kleiner 1977, Kleiner 1987, Wrede 1981, Kockel 1993, D'Ambra 2002.
[34] Ibid.

means of commemoration. Retreat from the necropolises, and the general tendency toward funerary restraint, by the elite after the reign of Tiberius may in part reflect a desire to distinguish themselves from the rising "middle-class" of wealthy freedmen. Rejection of ostentatious funerary monuments also follows a model of commemoration wherein conspicuous display eventually loses its value as a marker of status (driven, in part, by non-elite imitation) and is replaced by an ideal of modesty.[35]

In Rome itself, elite funerary commemoration diminishes but continues on a modest scale through the Imperial period.[36] The domination of public spaces by the emperor and imperial family limited senatorial clans' opportunities for public self-representation, therefore necessitating a continued, if somewhat diminished, presence in the suburban necropolis. The shift in commemorative patterns between freeborn and freed patrons need not, however, necessarily be viewed as indicative of a difference in commemorative desires or impulses. To the contrary, both practices reflect a desire for self-affirmation, visibility and enduring presence within one's immediate social peer group and the community at large. It is the types of public space available to the patrons that dictates the ultimate form of commemoration.

Although some monuments identify their subject explicitly as freeborn Roman citizens, sometimes of high-rank, the majority identify their subjects as freedmen. Sixty of 159 examples of group reliefs with portraits, approximately 38%, and 26 of 132 examples of funerary altars with portraits, approximately 20%, identify explicitly one or more of their subjects as *libertini* or slaves.[37] Fifteen examples of group reliefs with surviving inscriptions (approximately 9%), and 50 (approximately 38%) of altars with

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[35] Cannon 1989.
[36] Mouritsen 2005, Mouritsen 2011, 131-41.
[37] Group reliefs catalogued by Kockel, 1993. Altars with portraits catalogued by Kleiner, 1987.

surviving inscriptions do not indicate the status of their subjects. These figures do not take into account monuments which are too fragmentary to detect the presence of an inscription.

Of the monuments that survive with an intact inscription, the majority identify one or more of the honorees as *libertini*.[38] A small percentage of the monuments commemorate persons of freeborn status, often the freeborn children of manumitted slaves, or freeborn patrons or associates. Eight of 159 examples of group reliefs with portraits, approximately 5%, identify their dedicatees as freeborn Romans.[39] Often the freeborn dedicatees are the offspring of freedman couples, but some reliefs commemorate freeborn plebians as well. One monument commemorates Lucius Septumius (Fig. 11), the freeborn son of a freeborn member of the Arnensian voting tribe, who achieved equestrian rank and held the office of *magister Capitolinus*.[40] In the case of the relief of the Gessii (Fig. 12), the monument commemorates the freeborn patriarch, Publius Gessius, along with his two freed slaves, Gessia and Publius Gessius Primus.[41] The relationship between the figures is difficult to parse, for although the elder Gessius is the patron, it is unclear how Gessia and Gessius Primus relate to him and to each other.[42] Freeborn dedicatees are even more common in funerary altars with portraits. Thirty-four of 132 funerary altars with portraits, approximately 26%, identify their dedicatees as

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[38] Freedmen, however, were not compelled to do so. Taylor 1961, 121-22.
[39] Kockel 1993.
[40] Relief of Lucius Septumius, travertine, 75-50 B.C.E. H .65m, W 1.55m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Chiostro di Michelangelo, inv. 125655. Nicolet 1966, 244, Zanker 1975, 281, Kleiner and Kleiner 1975, 258-60, Kleiner 1977, 218, no. 39, Giuliano 1984, 258-60, n. 50, Kockel 1993, 101-2, C1, Keppie 1998, 199, 5a.
[41] Relief of the Gessii, marble, c. 50 – 20 B.C.E. H .65., L 2.04m. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 37.100. Zanker 1975, 273, 279, 303-4, Kleiner and Kleiner 1975, 260, Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 200-1 no. 319, Kleiner 1977, 36-7, 219-20, no. 41, Vermeule 1988, 114, no. 359, Devijver 1989, 427-28, Kockel 1993, 108-9, 155-57, J1.
[42] As Kleiner (1977, 37) notes, it is unlikely that Gessius Primus is the offspring of Gessius and Gessia, for if so he would be identified as freeborn rather than a *libertus*. It is unclear, therefore, whether the two manumitted slaves are siblings, spouses, or unrelated *conliberti*.

freeborn Romans.[43] Four explicitly identify their subjects as equestrians, while others mention lower-level political offices or service in the military.[44] Although the group relief apparently was preferred by freedmen patrons primarily, the type was not available to them exclusively. Some higher-ranking freeborn Romans also found the monument type desirable and suitable for their tombs.

Some patrons chose not to identify themselves explicitly as either freed or freeborn Romans, whereas other monuments bear no inscription at all. This is more common during the early Imperial period, when 50 out of 110 (approximately 45%) funerary altars with surviving inscriptions fail to indicate status, than in the group reliefs of the Republic and early Empire. Then, only 15 out of 83 examples with surviving inscriptions (approximately 18%) fail to denote social status. [45] These unidentified Romans are therefore known as *incerti*, individuals of unknown legal status. When the inscription fails to identify the subjects as freed or freeborn explicitly, scholars often infer libertine status based on internal evidence. Filiation, a fundamental right of a freeborn citizen, was one of the most essential components of Roman self-identification. The acknowledgement of one's ancestry proclaimed one's place not only in the nuclear and extended family, but also in society at large. It is therefore improbable, though certainly not impossible, that freeborn Roman citizens would neglect to include filiation in their epitaphs. Because slaves had no legally recognized ancestry, they adopted their former master's *praenomen* and *nomen* at manumission. Often they maintained their slave name

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[43] Kleiner 1987.
[44] G. Petronius Virianus Postumus (child, equestrian status); T. Claudius Liberalis (equestrian); M. Iunius Rufus (Equestrian); Laberius Diadumenianus (equestrian); S. Pedius Hirrutus (praetor); T. Statilius Aper (promensor aedificiorum); G. Nonius Ursus (priest in Alban hills, and curio); M. Aurelius Secundinus (3rd praetorian cohort); L. Septimius Valerinus (9th praetorian cohort); Aurelius Pyrrhus (8th praetorian cohort); M. Aurelius Vitalis (8th praetorian cohort). Kleiner 1987.
[45] Kleiner 1977, 1987, Kockel 1993.

as a *cognomen*. When two or more named individuals share a *praenomen* and *nomen*, it may indicate manumission from the same master. Although the subjects do not explicitly identify themselves as *libertini*, their backgrounds may be inferred from their shared nomenclature.

Approximately 48% of surviving group reliefs and 24% of funerary altars with portraits bear no inscription, leaving the legal status of their subjects uncertain.[46] Furthermore, the number of funerary monuments that do not record the legal status of the dedicatee or dedicatees increases dramatically after the first century C.E., leaving those patrons' social status ambiguous as well.[47] Based on the available evidence, it is likely correct to identify the subjects as freedmen, although some of these anonymous *incerti* may be freeborn plebians, who are represented in the historical and archaeological records even less than slaves and freedmen.[48]

The surviving evidence supports scholars' classification of the group relief as a predominantly "freedman" commission favored by the wealthy manumitted slaves who emerged as patrons in Rome at the end of the Republic. However, previous studies have not sufficiently investigated the social, historical and art historical implications of this phenomenon. The rapid development and proliferation of the group relief in the first half of the first century B.C.E. raises important questions about freedman patrons and their artistic activities. Which formal, ideological and eschatological characteristics made the group relief particularly appealing to freedman patrons of a certain social standing at this specific historical moment? What, if any, significance does the proliferation of this

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[46] Seventy-six out of 159 examples of group reliefs with portraits, and 32 out of 132 examples of funerary altars with portraits. Kockel 1993, Kleiner 1987.
[47] Taylor 1961.
[48] Petersen 2006, 96.

monument type over multiple generations hold? These questions undermine the elite/non-elite binary by removing the oppositional orientation and instead approaching non-elite monuments on their own terms as aesthetic objects. The questions also privilege the agency of non-elite Romans as patrons actively engaged in the curation of their posthumous memories instead of passive recipients of "trickle-down" elite culture. By altering our approach to non-elite tomb monuments, we can begin to restore their aesthetic and art historical value.

Ancient and Modern Perspectives

Scholars' interpretations of non-elite tomb monuments have been profoundly influenced by both ancient and modern attitudes towards Roman art, as well as an unequal distribution of surviving archaeological evidence. As a result, scholars have developed the idea of a "freedman aesthetic" which distinguishes non-elite art from elite comparanda. To define a group of tomb monuments or an aesthetic sensibility as "non-elite," however, assumes a fundamental difference between the visual literacy and art historical knowledge of those belonging to Rome's highest social ranks and those outside. Yet any meaningful distinction between the two groups is difficult to establish for several reasons.

First, and primarily, there is a significant discrepancy in the volume of surviving non-elite and elite material. The discrepancy results, at least in part, from simple demographics. Non-elite patrons wealthy enough to afford a tomb monument represent a small part of the overall non-elite population. Nonetheless, they still were probably more

numerous than senatorial families, who represented a very small fraction of the overall urban population. Furthermore, material evidence for elite funerary commemoration after the first century B.C.E. is scanty at best due to accidents of survival, as well as incomplete or non-existent documentation of early archaeological excavations. While the shells of several elite tombs from Republican and early Imperial periods survive, their decoration and grave goods have largely been lost over the millennia.

Lacking substantial visual evidence of the commemorative practices of the elite, one must turn to other sources in order to fill in the gaps in the material record. Literary accounts of death, dying and remembrance offer a glimpse into the social, emotional and physical constructs of commemoration amongst the elite in ancient Rome. Accounts range from Polybius's observations as a cultural outsider of the elite funerary procession (*pompa funebris*) in the Republican period, to personal letters from figures such as Cicero and Pliny the Younger detailing the emotional aftermath of death for private citizens, to fictionalized and fantastical accounts of tomb-planning such as that of the boorish freedman Trimalchio in Petronius's *Satyricon*.[49] While these accounts offer diverse insights into the experience of death for the elite Roman, they often lack specific details of certain components of funerary commemoration and custom, knowledge of which Roman authors may have assumed their audiences already possessed.[50]

Furthermore, there is no equivalent set of written sources documenting the experiences of those outside the small circle of elite Roman society. The voices of Rome's non-elite population are largely silent in the literary record. Any written testimonials from non-elite Romans which may have existed once no longer survive.

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[49] Polybius, *History* 6.53-54, Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 3.10.6, Petronius, *Satyricon* 26-78.
[50] As stated by Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.22.55.

Inscriptions on funerary monuments often record demographic and some biographical information about the deceased, such as name, age at death, marital status, composition of the household or family unit, occupation and sometimes the particulars of plans for commemoration as stipulated in a will. Expressions of grief or mourning, however, are usually short and formulaic, following established cultural conventions. While the value of this information about an otherwise largely invisible segment of the Roman population cannot be overstated, it nonetheless presents substantial interpretive limitations. The inscriptions do not convey the range and depth of emotion concerning death and commemoration often found in elite-produced documents, nor do they usually include detailed information regarding the circumstances surrounding a death.

The contemporary scholar is therefore left with two closely related but ultimately quite different sets of information: written accounts of death and dying for the elite, and visual, archaeological and epigraphic evidence of the disposal and commemoration of the dead for the non-elite. That is not to suggest that the two sets of evidence are fundamentally incompatible or incomparable. Art historians and archaeologists have long used texts to give voice to the mute monuments of the past. This methodology is not inherently flawed, and, when judiciously deployed, mutually enriches the study of both visual and literary material. Nonetheless, written testimonials may sometimes over-determine discussions and interpretations of ancient monuments. Petersen asserts as much in her discussion of the scholarly phenomenon she calls "Trimalchio vision."[51] "Trimalchio vision" refers to the invocation of Petronius's fabulously wealthy but hopelessly churlish ex-slave Trimalchio as a means of understanding the attitudes and values of historical freedmen. She argues that equating Petronius' character with

[51] Petersen 2006, 6-10.

historical Roman freedmen risks reducing the experiences and intentions of all freedmen into a "single, monolithic 'thought-world.'"[52]

Historical approaches to the study of Roman portraits likewise can over-determine contemporary methodologies. From the Renaissance until the twentieth century, the desire to identify surviving Roman likenesses with figures from the historical past has dominated the study of Roman portraits. Scholars largely rejected portraits as aesthetic objects, regarding them primarily as documents or artifacts that functioned as a sign of the sitter by means of physiognomic, spiritual or psychological resemblance.[53] The systematic study of portraiture as an artistic genre in its own right flourished in the twentieth century. However, the legacy of the earlier tradition can still be detected in modern scholarship.[54] The discussion of private portraits is almost always framed in terms of their relationship to elite or Imperial models. The imitation of certain portrait models is a widespread occurrence in Roman art, particularly during the Imperial period.[55] Imitation or emulation of elite fashion in art is sometimes referred to as "trickle-down aesthetics," and the ubiquity of the aesthetic strategy is well-attested in Roman

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[52] Petersen 2006, 8-9, citing Purcell 1987, 25.

[53] See Bažant 1995, especially pp. 7-50, for a discussion of the historiography of Roman portraiture studies.

[54] As in the case of the Arles Bust, discovered in the Rhone River in 2007 by the French Department of Subaquatic Archaeological research. Archaeologists soon suggested that the portrait might represent Julius Caesar, who founded the Roman city at Arles in 46 B.C.E. The identification was announced officially by Minister of Culture Christine Albanel in 2008, and reports of the discovery of the "oldest bust of Julius Caesar" circulated rapidly through the international media. Yet the identity of the portrait's subject is far from certain. The Arles Bust bears some superficial resemblance to securely identified portraits of Caesar, especially of the Tusculum type. However, it is the specific dissimilarities between the two portraits, especially in the proportions of the face, the shape of the eyes and the skull, and the hairline, that are most striking. The similarities between the subject of the Arles Bust and Julius Caesar probably arise from a more general contemporary aesthetic, "period face" (Zanker 1982, 307-12, Fejfer 2008, 270-285, Fittschen 2010, 236-9, D'Ambra 2013). Yet some scholars continue to support the Julius Caesar identification despite criticism. Neither physiognomic comparison nor portrait typology alone perpetuates the Arles Bust controversy. The nearly irresistible impulse to recover the faces of Rome's leading citizens continues to exercise its influence even in the twenty-first century. The popular interest in famous individuals and their likenesses still influences the way scholars approach portraits of private citizens.

[55] See Zanker 1982, Smith 1998, Fittschen 1999, Fittschen 2010.

portraiture. However, recent studies of non-elite and Imperial art alike have challenged "trickle-down aesthetics" as a consistently viable model.[56]

The gesture of *dextrarum iunctio*, clasping right hands, provides an example particularly relevant to non-elite tomb monuments. The standardization of the group relief in the first century B.C.E. brought several new visual conventions into the language of Roman commemorative art. One of the more common conventions was the use of *dextrarum iunctio* to clarify social relationships within multi-figure compositions. Artists used the gesture as convenient shorthand for expressing fidelity, concord, and marital affection between partners. However, *dextrarum iunctio* seems not to have been utilized in Roman funerary art until the emergence of the group relief in the first century B.C.E. In Classical Greek and Etruscan funerary art, the handshake bore connotations of departure and reunion, and sometimes implied marriage between male and female figures.[57] In Roman art of the later Republic, the handshake primarily expressed military or political accord, especially on coins.[58]

In the context of the group reliefs, the gesture seems to indicate marriage primarily, with less emphasis on the concepts of departure or reunion. The tendency of group reliefs to present their subjects in a vivid, almost iconic, manner emphasizes the continued presence of the deceased rather than alluding to any sense of departure. None of the group reliefs that employ the gesture specifically identify the couple as husband and wife, although all are identified as *conliberti*.[59] However, in only two cases is the gesture employed between individuals of the same sex: a relief commemorating Fonteia

[56] See for example Fittschen 2010, 237-9, D'Ambra 2013. See also Chapter Four, 143-44.
[57] Davies 1985.
[58] Brilliant 1963, 42, 44, Davies, 637.
[59] Kleiner 1977, 24-29.

Eleusis and Fonteia Helena, and a funerary altar in the Vatican depicting father and son Q. Flavius Crito and Q. Flavius Proculus.[60] Later examples of funerary altars and cinerary urns bear images of *dextrarum iunctio* with inscriptions that point away from marriage, such as a parent commemorating a child, so it is possible that as time progressed the gesture took on more general connotations of fidelity and concord.[61] However, in the specific context of the group relief, the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio* was a convenient way to represent the bonds of marriage and fidelity between two partners, especially in a multi-figured relief where this relationship might not be easily discerned otherwise.[62]

The clasping of hands already bore connotations of fidelity and accord in the Republican tradition, and was a part of the confarreate wedding ceremony. Nonetheless, the use of the gesture in private monuments, especially to express marital or familial harmony, represents an important development in Roman commemorative art. The gesture remained in use throughout the Imperial period, and Alexandridis has recently argued that it was adopted in Imperial iconography of the second century C.E. to express marital concord similarly.[63] If so, the transmission of the gesture from private, non-elite funerary monuments to state-sanctioned Imperial commissions would represent an

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[60] Funerary relief of the Fonteiae, marble, late first century B.C.E. H .54 m, W .56 m. London, British Museum, inv. 1973,0109.1. *CIL* VI 18524. Walker and Burnett 1981, Stupperich 1983, Davies 1985, 634, Kockel 1993. 215, O4. Altar of Q. Flavius Crito and Q. Flavius Proculus, marble, early second century C.E. H .895 m, W .74m, D .6 m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 10533. Davies 1985, 633-34, Kleiner 1987, no. 73, Boschung 1987, no. 556, Goette 1990, 133, Sinn 1991, 72-3, no. 39.
[61] Davies 1985, 634.
[62] Ibid, 633.
[63] Alexandridis 2004, 92-8.

important challenge to the model of "trickle-down aesthetics" which has long dominated the study of Roman art.[64]

The idea of a fundamental opposition between elite and non-elite art is inherent to the concept of "trickle-down aesthetics." Originality and innovation belong to the elites, while imitation and derivation characterize the art of the non-elite. The contradistinction derives from a system for understanding Roman art based on binary oppositions (elite/non-elite, Imperial/private, Classicizing/Italic, original/derivative) rather than spectrums of legible and contextually appropriate images. The elite/non-elite binary creates an artificial sense of homogeneity within what was certainly a socially and economically diverse population. The "non-elite" Romans represented within the body of surviving funerary monuments range in status from slaves without any legal standing to equestrians, high-ranking and fully enfranchised members of Roman society. Within this group, there certainly existed variation in education, financial resources, and visual literacy, not to mention the great variety in experiences that would shape an individual's response to death and loss As Petersen notes, the attempt to pinpoint a distinctly non-elite aesthetic, "risks creating an essentialized, predetermined, and self-fulfilling art historical category that reinforces the polarity between monuments of freed slaves and the elite, without allowing for a commonality between the two…."[65]

Furthermore, the idea of a distinctly non-elite or freedman aesthetic is not always supported by the evidence. Some non-senatorial patrons chose to commemorate themselves and their loved ones with portraits that followed contemporary elite fashions closely. Others engaged with and appropriated the elite visual language in new and

[64] See, for example, the argument of D'Ambra 2013 challenging traditional models of artistic transition in portraiture.
[65] Petersen 2006, 11-12.

innovative ways. External factors, such as the monument's typology, setting, context or inscription, might identify the subject as a slave or freedman, but the portraits themselves do not.

Despite the relative scarcity of elite funerary material from the first century B.C.E. onward, the controversial first century C.E. Tomb of the Licinii may offer invaluable comparanda to contemporary non-elite material.[66] Excavated near the Porta Salaria in Rome between 1884 and 1885, the tomb consisted of three connected subterranean chambers containing high-quality sarcophagi, altars and portrait busts. The inscriptions on these objects identify members of some of Rome's most elite aristocratic families, including the Licinii Crassi, descendants of Pompey the Great and Marcus Licinius Crassus. However, incomplete documentation of the original excavation activities leaves many questions about the tomb unanswered, including whether the grave goods were original to the chambers, and if the collection of subterranean chambers themselves should even be considered a tomb. Furthermore, there is some doubt as to whether the sixteen portraits purportedly discovered in the tomb and now held in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek actually belong to the original collection of grave goods. The sale of the portraits, including the exceptional Carlsberg Pompey, was brokered by the German archaeologist Wolfgang Helbig. Helbig had an unsavory reputation as an unscrupulous dealer of antiquities, and his character has cast doubt on both the authenticity of the objects and their provenance.[67] However, a recent re-investigation of the tomb, including

[66]Boschung 1986, Kragelund 2002, Van Keuren 2003,Kragelund et. al. 2003a, 2003b.
[67] Pompey the Great, marble, 1st century C.E. copy of original of 60-48 B.C.E. H .25 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 733. Kragelund et. al. 2003a, 113, no. 24, with earlier bibliography.

previously unpublished records of the excavation, by Kragelund et. al. concludes that least some of the portraits most likely came from the tomb.[68]

The collection of bust portraits from the Licinian tomb raises the distinct possibility that many first century B.C.E. and C.E. portrait statues and busts of private persons were at one point displayed in tomb contexts. Other examples of high-quality portrait busts recovered from funerary columbaria in and around Rome also support this idea. Three columbaria of Imperial date discovered in the Vigna Codini in 1852 contained the remains of slaves and freedmen of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian Imperial households.[69] Three fine marble busts depicting a woman and two men (Figs. 13-14) were recovered from Vigna Codini II (photographed *in situ* in Fig. 15).[70] Surviving inscriptions identify the majority of the dead as slaves or freedmen of Livia, Drusus the Elder, Marcella the Elder and Marcella the Younger. All date to the second half of the first century C.E. and probably represent slaves or freedmen of high standing in the Imperial household. In form, style, material and general quality, all three busts are indistinguishable from other contemporary private portraits. Had the busts not been found *in situ*, it would be impossible to determine either the original context of their display or the legal status of their subjects.

Another portrait (Fig. 16), from a columbarium discovered on the grounds of the Casa Generalizia dei Padri Marianisti on the Via Latina, underscores the difficulty of

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[68] Kragelund et. al. 2003b.

[69] Grana and Matthiae 1959, 746-48, Toynebee 1971, 113-14, Coarelli 1975, 336-37, Staccioli 1986, 56-58, Anderson 1988, 65-68, 78-80.

[70] Portrait bust of a woman, Luna marble, c. 54-68 C.E. H .4m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 370931. Boschung 1986, Poulsen 1973, 111-12, n. 75, Anderson 1988, 76-78, no. 16. Portrait bust of a man, Luna marble, c. 40-60 C.E. H .42m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 370932. Anderson 1988, 76-77, no. 15. Portrait bust of a man, Luna marble, c. 69-80 C.E. H .41m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 370933. Pensabene 1983, Grana and Matthiae 1959, Anderson 1988, 78-80.

distinguishing the legal status of an individual based on portrait alone.[71] The portrait bust depicts a young woman with the clear, regular portrait features typical of the Augustan period. She wears a variant of the *nodus* coiffeur, with the hair brushed forward from the back of the skull and folded into a loose knot of curls over the forehead. The hair along the side of the face rolls back into braids behind the ears, which form a thick band around a chignon at the base of the skull. Thick, waving locks fall down her neck on either side. The base of the portrait has been worked for insertion, perhaps originally into a herm.

The columbarium on the Via Latina was in use from the early first century B.C.E. until the fourth century C.E. Epitaphs discovered within name freeborn citizens as well as manumitted slaves among the individuals interred there.[72] As the portrait was not associated with a particular epitaph, it is impossible to identify its subject as either freeborn or freed. However, Anderson's discussion of the portrait reveals some modern scholars' biases against freedmen patrons. He emphatically states, "…it is not to be assumed that this young woman was a freedwoman."[73] Anderson prefers to see the high-quality portrait as a representation of a well-to-do citizen rather than an "extravagant investment of a bereaved family of *liberti*," despite the lack of evidence for either identification.[74]

Anderson's comments illustrate a well-established bias that non-elite Roman art necessarily is poor or derivative in quality. The fine carving and expressive character of the Via Latina portrait places it within the realm of elite rather than non-elite art, at least for Anderson. There is an undeniably greater range of aesthetic quality, artistic originality

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[71] Portrait of a woman, Luna marble, c. 25-20 B.C.E. H .36m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 125591. Solin 1975, Sensi 1980-81, 83, Anderson 1988, 72-73, no. 13.
[72] Solin 1975, 27-35.
[73] Anderson 1988, 72
[74] Ibid.

and overall sophistication in the corpus of non-elite art than in that of the elite. However, this surely reflects the diversity of financial means, education and expectations present within the equally diverse non-elite population.

Anderson furthermore uses the quality of the portrait to suggest that it was carved during the subject's lifetime and later transferred to the tomb, rather than being commissioned exclusively for it. He presents this as additional evidence that the portrait depicts a freeborn rather than freed subject. Anderson's interpretation is based on the common assumption that freedmen reserved most or all of their limited financial resources for funerary commemoration.[75] If the portrait does commemorate a freedwoman, it is then an "extravagant investment" on the part of the deceased's freedman family. However, commissioning a marble portrait in the round would be a fairly substantial expenditure for the majority of Romans, freeborn or freed alike. Because the portrait was discovered in a columbarium rather than a private tomb, it is fair to expect that all of the people interred there commanded the same or similar financial resources regardless of their legal status. It is therefore just as likely that a freeborn family of modest means invested their money in a fine portrait to commemorate a deceased loved one.

Finally, Anderson's description of the portrait as an *extravagant* investment bears some trace of "Trimalchio Vision," contemporary scholars' tendency to conflate Petronius' character and historical freedmen. In the *Satyricon* Trimalchio subjects his dinner party guests to an extended ekphrasis describing the tomb he wants the stonemason Habinnas to construct for him.[76] The monument is large, measuring 100 feet

[75] See, for example, Zanker 1975, Kleiner 1977, Kockel 1993, Whitehead 1993.
[76] Petronius, *Satyricon* 71.

wide and 200 feet deep, and it includes an orchard, a vineyard and a sundial amid rich sculptural decoration. Trimalchio's tomb has come to represent the excessive and garish tastes of the *nouveau riche* freedman class for many scholars.[77] It has informed the interpretation of several historical tombs, including the Tomb of Eurysaces and the Tomb of the Haterii.[78] The influence of Trimalchio's tomb extends beyond the necropolis as well. Many interpretations of the idiosyncratic house of Drusus Octavius Quartio in Pompeii, with its extensive garden spaces and water features, fall along these lines.[79] To Zanker and Clarke, for example, the house and its decoration possess all of the sophistication and good taste of an ancient "Walt Disney World."[80] As a result, the house has become emblematic of wealthy freedmen's inevitably unsuccessful attempts to emulate their social betters through material excess and luxury.[81] Anderson's description of the Via Latina portrait as an "extravagant" investment by a family of freedmen is relatively innocuous in comparison to the characterizations of some non-senatorial commissions, but in this context his choice of adjective is loaded nonetheless.

Ultimately one is hard-pressed to identify a distinctive "freedman aesthetic" in any of the columbaria portraits discussed above. The objects underscore one major flaw in the elite/non-elite binary as it is usually constructed in studies of Roman art. In some cases there are no significant formal differences between the artistic commissions of the elite and non-elite classes. Only external evidence, when it exists, can confirm the legal status of the patron. The portraits from the Vigna Codini and Via Latina columbaria

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[77] See especially Petersen 2006, Chapter 2.
[78] See, for example, Whitehead 1993, Leach 2006.
[79] For the house in general, see Spinazzola 1953, 367-434, de Vos 1991, 42-108.
[80] Clarke 1991, 207, Zanker 1998, 156.
[81] Against these ideas, see Petersen 2006, 129-36, 159-61, 228-29.

demonstrate that Romans of different social strata had access to and engaged with contemporary visual culture to the same or similar degrees.

The portraits also underscore the inadequacy of the elite/non-elite binary to describe the variety and eclecticism in both Roman visual culture and commemorative practice. Many Roman freedmen commissioned tomb monuments identified especially with individuals of a certain social station, such as the group relief. The monuments express a profound desire to demonstrate assimilation and conformity to accepted social values, but there is no discernible attempt to conceal the dedicatees' libertine status in these monuments. To the contrary, many patrons openly acknowledge, even celebrate, their status. The relief of the Licinii, for example, commemorates its subjects' freedom by including a representation of the *fasces* used in the manumission ceremony.

By the end of the first century B.C.E. the group relief must have been associated closely with socially and financially successful freedmen, especially among freedmen patrons themselves. When they commissioned group reliefs for their tombs freedmen patrons chose to engage with a visual tradition that had very specific social connotations. Other non-elite or freedman patrons, such as those depicted in the columbaria portraits, were commemorated in media and monuments that left the subjects' legal status more ambiguous. The columbaria portraits raise the distinct possibility that at least some of the private bust portraits known today commemorated wealthy "middle-class" Romans, their eschatological function unrecognized now as a result of separation from their original contexts. Still other non-senatorial patrons, including freedmen, chose different kinds of figural monuments for their tombs, such as three first century B.C.E. (or possibly C.E.)

marble plaques that appear to represent enshrined wax *imagines* (Figs. 17, 28-29).[82] The surviving evidence confirms that non-senatorial patrons of means had a number of commemorative options available to them when planning for their tomb monuments. A wealthy patron might in fact display multiple representations of him or herself, including external reliefs with portraits and sculpture in the round, within a single monument.[83]

Scholars today typically regard the group relief as the quintessential freedman funerary monument. The number of surviving examples, more than three hundred including fragmentary pieces, confirms that the type was enormously popular in its heyday. It was not, however, the only available option. The distinctive "freedman aesthetic" some scholars attempt to discern in the group reliefs actually represents the aesthetic of a group of freedmen patrons who chose to engage with an emerging artistic form that suited their commemorative needs especially well. That is not to say that these monuments do not offer important insight into the social and eschatological concerns of non-elite patrons in particular and Roman patrons in general. However, scholars must also acknowledge the small but important set of evidence that evokes not a singular artistic paradigm, but rather a spectrum of possibilities. It is this material that undermines the elite/non-elite binary because it provides aesthetic and conceptual links between the two poles. Recognizing the spectrum of aesthetic possibility is important if scholars are to

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[82] Tomb relief of A. Aemilius Aristomachus and Aemilia Hilara, marble, 1st century B.C.E. Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, inv. 1187. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932, 26, 43, pl. IV; Flower 1996, 7, pl. I; Pollini 2007, 238-9; Pollini 2012, 14-5. Tomb relief of T. Paconius Caledus and Octavia Salvia, marble, 1st century B.C.E. or C.E. H. .20m, L. .57m Rome, Musei Vaticani, Gabinetta delle Maschere, inv. 808. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932, 43, pl. Va; Helbig 1963, n. 210; Flower 1996, 8; *CIL* 6.23687. Funerary relief of P. Junius Philotimus and Fuficia Philematium, marble, 1st century B.C.E. or C.E. H .10m, W 1.18m. Rome, Museo Capitolini Centrale Montemartini, inv. 15712. These reliefs are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three, 97-99.

[83] As in the tomb of Claudia Semne (Wrede 1971), which contained multiple representations of the deceased, or the tomb of the Manilii, which included free-standing portrait statuettes as well as portrait busts (Wrede 1971, 144, 146, 158, no. 2,Wrede 1981, 308-09, no. 293, D'Ambra 1996).

glean any information about the broader self-representational and eschatological function of images in Roman culture. It also demonstrates that non-elite patrons engaged consciously with contemporary aesthetic traditions and reinvests patrons with a greater level of agency.

Conclusion

The contradistinction between "elite" and "non-elite" art itself establishes a tacit expectation that the commemorative, self-representative, and honorific desires, as well as the visual literacy of ancient patrons, necessarily differed according to their legal status or social standing. This perspective fails to account for the diversity within Rome's population, as well as the possible range of interests and motives they brought to their artistic commissions. As in any society, the choices of Roman patrons were dictated by a complex interplay of factors which ultimately contributed to the final form and appearance of their commissions. These factors might include the desire for visual recognizability or legibility, propriety and decorum, financial means, access to materials, and the patron or dedicatee's personal wishes. While an individual's social status may contribute, to a greater or lesser extent, to one or any of these factors, it should not necessarily be seen as *the* determining factor of any.

In the study of funerary monuments, any attempt to generalize about an "elite" or "non-elite" experience of or response to death, and subsequently attitudes toward the commemoration of the dead, from this body of evidence will undoubtedly overlook many variables that certainly existed within the group at large. The formal diversity of Roman

art indicates the broad range of possibilities in the spectrum of Roman visual culture. These possibilities transcend the oppositional categories often assigned to Roman art, including Hellenistic/Roman as well as elite/non-elite.[84] An inclusive perspective enriches our understanding of ancient art and its multiple levels of meaning

Furthermore, the explosion in popularity of funerary portraiture in the middle of the first century BCE suggests a turning point in Roman commemorative practice, especially in terms of the relationship between the living population and their ancestors. This phenomenon grew out of the culture of aristocratic competition that characterized the end of the Roman Republic. As rivalries between competing families and a handful of distinguished individuals reached a fever pitch, the culture of artistic and monumental competition expanded to include even non-non-elite patrons. Although Roman freedmen could not hope to achieve the fame or success of a Pompey or Caesar, it is inappropriately dismissive to suggest that they "had nothing to gain by" participating in this culture of self-promotion.[85] The very suggestion presumes that non-senatorial patrons perceived themselves as in competition with their senatorial counterparts, a situation Mouritsen notes is not supported by the evidence.[86] It is not necessary to place elite and non-elite patrons in competitive opposition in order to understand the commemorative and assimilative functions of funerary monuments amongst freedman patrons.

The proliferation of portraits in funerary commemoration coincides with a radical shift in Roman culture. During the Republic, portraiture, especially when accompanied

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[84] Petersen 2006, 12-13.
[85] Zanker 1998, 15.
[86] Mouritsen 2005, 57.

by other material signs of status, including costume and attributes, carried an immense cultural weight for the Romans. It embodied not only the gravity, restraint and dedication to public service valued in the Republic, but also the quality of *romanitas*, a fundamental notion of cultural identity, inextricably linked to the city's long history. By the end of the Republic, when great families openly competed for control of the city, and Romans slaughtered Romans in brutal civil war, those very qualities which once defined Roman civic life crossed a fine line from currency into the realm of the past, and thus took on a new cultural value. The following chapters will explore how a rising segment of Rome's population, the newly enfranchised freedman class, appropriated the iconography of the past, and laid claim to a set of ideals which had become available to all Romans as part of a common heritage to be revered and emulated. In doing so, these new patrons affirmed themselves as inheritors of a Roman identity worthy of perpetuation.

Chapter 3:
Moribus non maioribus: Images, Ancestors and Freedman at the End of the Roman Republic

The middle of the first century B.C.E. represents a watershed moment in Roman art, when Roman freedmen first began to commission monuments commemorating themselves and their associates on a relatively large scale. The emergence of non-elite commemorative art raises important questions not only about the formal relationship between the elite and non-elite artistic traditions, but also about the social, cultural and eschatological contexts of their development. Non-elite patrons commissioned tomb monuments that were almost entirely retrospective in character. Monuments make little or no reference to the fate of the individual personality after death despite the sepulchral context. Instead they commemorate the often-modest lives and achievements of their subjects using the traditional visual vocabulary of elite portraiture. Non-elite tomb monuments emphasize their subjects' assimilation and acceptance of social values above all else. Is this phenomenon a case of simple mimicry, with a newly enfranchised patron group copying the fashions of their social superiors, or are there more nuanced processes at work?

That non-elite Romans, especially freedmen, deliberately emulated elite portraiture in order to assert concomitant claims to legitimacy in society is not necessarily a new idea. However, this chapter situates the emulative process within a broader cultural phenomenon described by T.P. Wiseman as the "ideology of *novitas*." New men in Roman society contested the social dominance of elite through the ideology of *novitas* by positing themselves as the worthy heirs to Rome's great men because of their virtue

and industry rather than ancestry.[1] This ideology probably originated in the second century B.C.E., but was developed most fully at the end of the first century B.C.E. New men in Roman society felt compelled to renegotiate their relationship to Rome's illustrious forebears in terms of moral or spiritual inheritance. This chapter demonstrates how freedmen, new men in their own right, likewise deployed the visual vocabulary of elite portraiture to assert their merit as Roman citizens.[2] While previous studies have portrayed non-elite patrons as more or less passive recipients of elite visual culture, I argue that they actively participated in an on-going dialogue about ancestry and merit that was current during the late Republic. Non-elite patrons used portraits on tomb monuments to appropriate the legitimizing authority of ancestral images such as the *imagines maiorum* (literally the portraits or representations of ancestors), thereby establishing themselves as fully assimilated members of Roman society with ancestral roots otherwise denied to them.

Ancestors and Images

For the Romans, remembering the past was a social and political imperative that defined both the present and the future. The ability to define the past, what was worth remembering and what was worth forgetting, was central to the political authority of the ruling elite.[3] Aristocratic elite families in Republican Rome controlled and conditioned the collective memory of the community through memorialization of famous men and their achievements, especially by means of visual culture. Through the reproduction and

[1] Wiseman 1971, 107-115.
[2] This idea is suggested but not developed by Pollini (2002, 262, 2012, 55-6).
[3] Gowing 2005, 2. See also Connerton 1989, 2, 86, Le Goff 1992, 54, Pollini 2012, 18-20.

repetition of not only images, but also ephemeral but spectacular ritualistic performances such as the *pompa funebris*, the authority of the ruling elite was solidified, legitimized and perpetuated. The past was not simply an abstract concept. The past was a material, tangible and defining component of contemporary society.

Within the city, statues, monuments, porticoes, temples, and trophies commemorated great men and the great deeds they had accomplished. Honorific statuary had been a feature of the urban landscape since the first half of the fourth century B.C.E.[4] Early honorific portrait statues probably commemorated contemporary personalities, while famous ancestors, historical and mythological alike, only enter the scene later as Rome began to expand her power throughout the Mediterranean.[5] Portrait statues were supposed to be sanctioned by the Senate, but many were erected illegally by private initiative.[6] The proliferation of portrait statues throughout the city of Rome provided citizens with ample opportunity to contemplate the past. Strolling through the Forum in the early Imperial Period, one would be confronted with buildings, monuments and images associated with both famous individuals and, more generally, with the political traditions of the Republic.[7]

These famous personalities were presented as *exempla* of character, behavior and achievement for the edification of contemporary society. The effectiveness of these *exempla* as didactic tools was dependent upon familiarity, repetition and recognizability. The memory of famous individuals tended to become "encrusted" in certain moments,

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[4] Sehlmeyer 1999, 48-52, Geiger 2008, 27-8.
[5] Sehlmeyer 1999, 109, Geiger 2008, 28.
[6] The erection of honorific statuary could not have been strictly controlled by law, even in the Republic. A decree of 158 B.C.E. recorded by Pliny (*Natural History* 34.30-1) and Ampelius (19.11) called for the removal of all statues not decreed by the Senate from the Forum. This suggests that a fair number of unsanctioned statues were set up by private initiative. See also Geiger 2008, 28-30.
[7] Gowing 2005, 132.

situations or achievements for this reason, creating not a narrative of Roman history, but rather a series of iconic moments and events.[8] Subsequently, visual representations of famous figures were identified often by symbolic or traditional attributes alluding to their famous deeds and moral qualities. This may well have been the case with the statues of the *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus. The surviving fragments of these statues are too sparse to enable a detailed reconstruction, but literary evidence suggests that at least some of the honorands were identified by symbolic attributes. Valerius Maximus Corvinus, for example, was identified by a crow.[9] The repetition of familiar and recognizable figures from a generally accepted canon of historical and mythological *exempla* reinforced a conventional, and decidedly aristocratic, construction of the past.[10]

Even the Roman house could embody the past. Pliny's traditional aristocratic house, discussed in Book 35 of the *Natural History*, is both internally and externally framed by material embodiments of the past.[11] Wax masks and painted portraits filled the atrium, written accounts filled the archives, and the entrances were framed not only by portraits, but also spoils of wars won by famous generals, as were displayed in public spaces throughout the city. The *domus* itself became a tangible incarnation of the achievements of its occupants.

During the Republican period, images of ancestors were central to the self-representation of elite Roman families. The *imagines maiorum* were perhaps the oldest and most famous of these ancestral images. Only individuals who had held a curule magistracy (aedile, censor, praetor or consul) were entitled to have a wax mask, a right

[8] Geiger 2008, 33.
[9] Flower 1996, 235, Geiger 2008, 34. For the description of the statue of Corvinus, see Gellius 9.11.10.
[10] Geiger 2008, 34.
[11] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.

known as the *ius imaginis*. This rule was probably more customary than formal law, especially during the Republic.[12] Nonetheless, the tradition forged a powerful association between the *imagines* and the elite elite.

The precise origins of the *imagines* are unclear. The earliest extant literary reference to the *imagines* dates to the end of the third or beginning of the second centuries B.C.E. Plautus is the earliest source to use the term *imago*, and the first to refer to ancestor masks.[13] Notably, in the text it is a slave, Sosia, who alludes to the practice of presenting *imagines* at the aristocratic funeral procession, an honor he will not be granted due to his servile status.[14] Plautus' reference suggests that already by this point the making and display of wax ancestor masks was a common practice, and moreover a practice that distinguished the elite elite from other segments of the Roman population.

This date is further confirmed by Polybius' well-known account of the display of *imagines* that he witnessed during a *pompa funebris* in the second century B.C.E.[15] Polybius describes the typical proceedings of an aristocratic Roman funeral, including the procession of the body to the Forum, its display on the Rostra, and the delivery of the *laudatio* by a living family member. Most importantly, Polybius describes the procession of *imagines* of the family's ancestors. The *imagines* were worn by family members or perhaps hired actors who closely resembled the deceased subject in height, build, and general appearance. The wearers would also assume the costume, ornament and attributes appropriate to the ancestor's rank. Ancestors were revivified through the union

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[12] In the Imperial period, *imagines* were subject to increasingly strict, official governance. See Flower 1996, Chapter 3, especially 58-9, and Chapters 8-9.
[13] Plautus, *Amphytriton* 121, 124, 141, 265, 458. In line 265, Mercury decides that since he is the physical double (*imago*) of Sosia, he should likewise have the same dress, habits and mannerisms. The imitation of not only appearance, but also clothing and manner is strikingly similar to Polybius's account of the parade of *imagines* during the *pompa funebris*.
[14] Plautus, *Amphytriton* 458: "*Uiuo fit quod numquam quisquam mortuo faciet mihi*."
[15] Polybius, *Histories* 6.53-4.

of living bodies and material objects in order to welcome the newly deceased to their ranks and celebrate the family's glory.

Portraits in wax were not unprecedented in the ancient Mediterranean world, although today they are poorly represented in the archaeological record.[16] Two wax heads discovered in a tomb in Cumae were apparently replacement heads for the tomb's two occupants rather than masks of any kind.[17] No *imagines* survive today, making it difficult to reconstruct their actual appearance. However, the *imagines* seem to be represented, or at least alluded to, in a handful of surviving objects. The Barberini Togatus (Fig. 18) is sometimes cited as a representation of a man displaying the *imagines* of his ancestors.[18] The standing figure holds a bust of a balding, middle-aged man in his left hand. With his right, he embraces a second, somewhat more veristic bust portrait of an older man, which rests on a support in the shape of a date palm tree. The head of the standing figure is not original to the statue. There is, however, some resemblance between the two men depicted in the busts, especially in the shape of the nose, the set of the eyes and eyebrows, and the overall shape of the face. The resemblance suggests that the three men represent multiple generations of a single family. The Barberini Togatus does not truly represent a Roman with the *imagines* of his ancestors, which are identified explicitly in the ancient sources as wearable masks rather than busts. However, the statue undoubtedly alludes to the practice of keeping and displaying images of ancestors. The ease with which the standing figure holds the bust in his left hand suggests to the viewer

[16] See Flower 1996, 33 n. 2.
[17] See Chapter 1, 21-22, n. 35.
[18] "Barberini Togatus," marble, 1st century B.C.E. H. 1.65 m Rome, Museo Capitolini Centrale Montemartini, inv. MC2392. Fittschen, Zanker and Cain 2010, 47-51, no. 38, pls. 40-41, Beil. 30b, 31c-d (with earlier literature) and 41, no. 28, pls. 30 for the head.

that the object is made from a relatively lightweight material, such as terracotta or even wax, evoking if not representing directly the materiality of the *imagines*.[19]

Three small funerary plaques from the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. depict ancestor masks more literally. The first, now in the National Museum in Copenhagen, commemorates A. Aemilius Aristomachus and Aemelia Hilara, *conliberti* and presumably husband and wife.[20] On either side of the relief, bust portraits are depicted in profile, the male portrait on the left and the female on the right. Both figures face inward toward the inscription carved in the center of the relief. The female figure wears an Augustan *nodus* coiffeur, with a thick lock of hair escaping the chignon in the back and falling down the side of the neck. The male figure's hairstyle is rendered more summarily, the hair forming a thick cap over the head, with individual locks suggested only by irregularly incised lines. Neither portrait is supported by any sort of plinth. They are enclosed in small cupboards with doors thrown open. These cupboards represent, or at least allude to, the *amaria* in which the *imagines* were stored in the *atria* of aristocratic Roman houses. Although in appearance the portraits themselves are indistinguishable from other Roman depictions of busts, their display in *armaria* clearly indicates that they be understood as *imagines* or, more generally, ancestral images.

A second relief in the Vatican commemorates Titus Paconius Caledus, a freeborn Roman of the Collatina tribe, along with his wife Octavia Salvia, freedwoman of Aulus.[21] The central scene of apiculture is flanked on either side by inward facing bust portraits, a

[19] Kleiner 1992, 36-7, Flower 1996, 5-6, Pollini 2012, 16.
[20] See Chapter Two, 78, n. 88.
[21] Ibid.

female on the left and male on the right.[22] As in the Copenhagen relief, the female figure wears a contemporary Augustan *nodus* coiffeur with Venus locks falling over her visible shoulder. The male figure of the Vatican relief likewise bears a striking resemblance to the male figure in the Copenhagen relief, with similar generic hairstyle and facial features. Thin supports, wholly inadequate to support the weight of a heavy material such as marble, connect the busts to plain round plinths. Instead of *armaria*, the busts are enclosed by simple diamond-shaped frames. If the central scene does indeed represent apiculture, the allusion to wax *imagines* may have been heightened. Paconius himself may also have been a wax merchant.[23]

The final relief, now in Central Montemartini, commemorates P. Junius Philotimus, whose legal status is not mentioned, and Fuficia Philematium, who is identified in the accompanying inscription as a freedwoman of a female patron (Fig. 17).[24] Two facing male bust portraits supported by rectangular plinths are depicted on the left, framed in a rectangular depression, with a male bust facing a female depicted on the right. As in the relief of Paconius, thin supports connect the portraits to their plinths, evoking a lightweight material such as wax. In this relief the rectangular framing devices are not conceived as *armaria*, but the image nonetheless evokes *imagines* or ancestral portraits.

Notably, all three reliefs identify at least one figure as a manumitted slave, whose exclusion from holding political office eliminated the possibility of earning the right to an *imago*. Furthermore, the reliefs all commemorate women in *imago*-like form. Like

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[22] The interpretation of the rural scene as apiculture was first suggested by Benndorf and Schoene 1867 (p. 249), followed by Huelsen 1887 and Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932 (p. 43). Flower (1996, 8) also accepts this interpretation.
[23] Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932, 43.
[24] See Chapter Two, 78, n. 88.

freedmen, women could not hold political office, and therefore could not earn the right to wax ancestral masks.[25] Nonetheless, some evidence suggests that by the late Republic, and certainly by the Julio-Claudian period, masks of female ancestors were made and displayed in domestic contexts, if not in funeral processions.[26] Female ancestors are not specifically excluded from Pliny's description of *imagines* and genealogies (*stemmata*) displayed in the atria of Roman houses.[27] Furthermore, female portraits were included in the decoration of curule chairs, about a dozen representations of which survive from the second half of the first century B.C.E. onward.[28] The female figures were paired with male portraits facing each other on either side of the front of the chair. Individualized physiognomies suggest that the images represent historical individuals rather than personifications or deities.

The formal similarities between the opposed portraits on the curule chairs and those of the two funerary reliefs, particularly the profile format, contrast with the strict frontality seen in contemporary group reliefs popular with non-elite patrons.[29] These similarities suggest a relationship between the curule portraits and those on the small tomb reliefs. Nonetheless, as ancestral images, both the curule portraits and the relief busts refer to the *imagines*. Both sets of images also defy the customs that govern the production and display of *imagines* by including women and, in the case of the funerary reliefs, manumitted slaves.

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[25] Distinguished female ancestors could be and were commemorated in other ways, however, including public statues, as in the case of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi. See Flower 2002.
[26] Slater 1996, 37-9.
[27] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.6.
[28] Flower 1996, 77, see also Schäfer 1989, 167, for examples.
[29] Only in the Augustan period do turned heads and poses such as *dextrarum iunctio* break the static, frontal orientation of the figures. Kleiner 1977, 188.

John Pollini recently placed the origins of the *imagines* in the second half of the fourth century B.C.E.[30] At this time, conflict between patrician and wealthy plebian Romans gave rise to the emergence of a new plebian nobility of wealth, from whom patrician families sought to distinguish themselves.[31] Around the middle of the fourth century B.C.E., the office of military tribune with consular power was replaced with two consuls. The offices of praetor and curule aedile were also created. At this time the highest political offices in Rome began to open to plebian families, creating a new political elite comprised of both patrician and plebian families. In a political environment that was already fiercely competitive, Pollini argues that the *imagines* developed as a means by which the older patrician families could distinguish themselves from their plebian counterparts.[32]

Innovations in portrait sculpture presented new opportunities for creating lifelike images that closely reproduced individual physiognomies in the fourth century B.C.E. as well. Pollini identifies the invention of plaster cast-making, attributed to the Greek sculptor Lysistratos (the brother of Lysippos) by Pliny, as a turning point in ancient portraiture.[33] Reproducing likeness directly by means of cast-making inverted traditional approaches to portraiture, in which an ideal type was modified to reflect an individual physiognomy. Casting, to the contrary, begins by reproducing an individual physiognomy, which the artist then modifies into an aesthetic object. The timing of this

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[30] Pollini 2012, 29-40.
[31] Ibid., 29-32.
[32] Pollini 2012, 31-2.
[33] "The first individual, moreover, to mold a human portrait out of plaster from the face itself and to introduce a way of correcting [the end result] from the wax poured into the plaster mold was Lysistratus of Sicyon, brother of Lysippus, about whom we have [already] spoken. Lysistratus introduced a way of rendering likenesses, for before him they would take pains to make [portraits] as beautifu [i.e., idealized] as they could. The same [Lysistratus] invented making casts from statues, and [this] practice grew to such an extent that no figures or statues were produced without clay models." Pliny, *Natural History* 35.153, trans. Pollini 2012, 33.

innovation coincides closely with the development of realistic portraiture in Rome. Pollini suggests that both the *imagines* and Roman portraiture in other media evolved from the practice of life casting.[34]

Although sudden or unexpected deaths may have necessitated taking casts from dead bodies on occasion, in general the *imagines* were probably based on life masks taken at one or more points in an individual's career. The timing of each casting likely corresponded to election to successive political offices. One advantage to life-casting is the ease with which new molds could be produced from sculpted portraits in the event that the originals were lost or damaged.[35] Likewise, portraits in other media as well as wax masks could be reproduced from original plaster molds. Large-scale reproduction and dissemination of portrait sculpture did not become commonplace until the Imperial period, but in the Republic there would have been demand for small-scale reproduction of portraits and wax masks within extended elite family groups. Each family member was entitled to display the *imagines* of his ancestors, and the creation of new masks must have happened on a fairly regular basis as family members married and formed new households. Each household had its unique collection of *imagines*, but the deeply entangled ancestry of Rome's few elite clans meant that there were a considerable number of ancestors shared between families.[36] Multiple *imagines* of a given individual were in circulation at any given moment. Furthermore, the masks must have required regular maintenance and repair, perhaps even replacement. After repeated handling and

[34] Flower also argues that the *imagines* were made as life masks, although she does not speculate on the relationship between the *imagines* and the development of realistic Roman portraiture. Flower 1996, 2, 36, 38, Pollini 2007, 238, Pollini 2012, 40.
[35] Pollini 2012, 48.
[36] Geiger 2008, 26.

use, especially during the hot summer months, the wax masks easily could be damaged or distorted. The use of plaster molds would have simplified the maintenance process.

Direct reproduction by means of casting raises interesting questions about recognizability and identification in the *imagines*. How crucial was internal consistency between multiple representations of one individual? Lifelikeness and recognizable resemblance to the subject seem to be hallmarks of the *imagines*. These two qualities are implied by the use of the term *imago,* which as early as Plautus can suggest exact likeness or "copy", and also are attested explicitly by sources such as Polybius and Pliny the Elder.[37] The likenesses of less accomplished family members might fade from memory in a generation or two, but the faces of famous men would have been familiar to all of Rome through public statues and numismatic portraits, as well as the *imagines*. Some internal consistency among the group would be necessary. If these images were not consistent and recognizable, their effectiveness would be greatly diminished.[38]

The portraits, monuments and *spolia* that decorated both public spaces and private homes did not simply memorialize the achievements of great elite families. They also kept those achievements (and the names attached to them) current in the minds of contemporary Romans. Images and monuments, such as statues, trophies, buildings, numismatic portraits and the spectacular pageants of elite funerary processions, were the primary source of information about the past for the average Roman. Most Romans would probably never sit down to read histories, biographies, or consular lists, but a walk through the Forum might bring to mind any number of famous names or deeds. For this

[37] Polybius, *Histories* 6.53-4, Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.4-14.
[38] See Pollini 2012, 19-20.

reason, a legacy of political success and service to Rome was crucial to the continued prominence of a elite family.

New Men and the "Ideology of *Novitas*"

The profound reverence for the ancestors, their customs and their achievements (*mos maiorum*) influenced all aspects of Roman culture, but especially politics. Often the reputations of a family's ancestors determined the political success of subsequent generations. Candidates commonly were judged not by their own qualifications, but by that of their forebears.[39] In this way, the social and political authority of the ruling elite was continuously reinforced by the power of tradition. But what of those who could not claim any famous ancestors?

In Roman society, the first man in a family to be elected to the Senate, specifically to the office of consul, was a *novus homo,* a new man. The precise definition of a "new man" in Roman culture remains ambiguous beyond election to consular office. The term was generally employed to imply political, social and/or ideological opposition the *nobilis*, the elite aristocracy, by at least the middle of the first century BCE.[40] *Novi homines* claimed no illustrious ancestors of their own. Some new men, however, adopted famous exemplars of virtue on which to model their careers and behavior. In a society where tradition and the *mos maiorum* exerted profound influence over contemporary life,

[39] Van der Blom 2010, 1.
[40] The term *nobilis* itself seems to be a somewhat ambiguous categorization, less technical or legal and more political or ideological. For a discussion of the terms *novus homo*, especially in contrast to *nobilis*, and recent bibliography, see Van der Blom 2010, 35-41.

a new man could present himself as a legitimate heir to Rome's great men through his virtue and industry.

As ancestors were central to the self-fashioning of elite Roman familes, so too were they paramount in the construction of the ideology of *novitas*. This ideology provided a framework within which *novi homines* could assert the legitimacy of their political achievements despite their relatively humble backgrounds. Written and material evidence confirm that there existed a dual conception of "ancestors" in Roman culture: first, an individual or family group's ancestors, related either through blood or marriage; and second, the collective whole of previous generations, to whom all Romans were bound. As an individual owed reverence to the memory of their relations, so too did Rome as a whole bear the responsibility of observing and maintaining the traditions of their collective ancestors. Early Roman historians explicitly linked the morality of the ancestors with the growth of Rome as an imperial power in the Mediterranean.[41] In order to maintain Rome's position of power, her people were expected to imitate the ancestors in character and behavior. The legitimizing power of ancestral tradition reinforced social boundaries (e.g. *nobilis* opposed to *novus*) at the same time that it created a shared cultural identity.

The flexible "ownership" of Rome's ancestors facilitated the development of the ideology of *novitas*. Although Cicero is the primary source for this ideology, there is evidence to suggest that it was not entirely his invention.[42] Evidence for the origins of the ideology of *novitas* appear in surviving fragments of the writing of Cato the Censor, one of Cicero's personal role models, and in the speech of Marius written by Sallust in

[41] Van der Blom 2010, 13-14.
[42] Wiseman 1971, 111.

his account of the Jugurthine war. The extent to which the speech was fabricated by Sallust to suit his own agenda is debated, but certain key points may reflect Marius's actual ideas or ideology. Furthermore, the influx of new men into the Senate after the Social Wars may have prompted increasing challenges to traditional concepts of *nobilitas* and *novitas*. Finally, Cicero's success as an orator suggests that his rhetoric resonated with his audience, who already may have been familiar with his ideas, or at least have been willing to be persuaded to them.[43]

Cato the Censor, along with Marius and Cicero himself, was one of the most famous *novi homines* of the Roman Republic. From a non-elite Tuscan family, Cato was elected to the consulship in 195 B.C.E. and to the censorship in 184 B.C.E. Cato fashioned his public persona around the rustic simplicity and agrarian values which formed the core of Roman cultural identity. In a surviving fragment of a speech delivered in defense of his censorship against L. Minucius Thermus, Cato claimed to have spent his youth toiling away at agricultural labor in the Sabine hills.[44] He also explicitly connected Rome's agrarian past with the military might that had made her an imperial power in the Mediterranean.[45] Cato attempted to compensate for his *novitas* by embedding himself in the simple and austere agrarian mythology of Rome's past. He could not claim descent from politically successful men. Nonetheless, Cato could access the authority of the *mos maiorum* through positive comparison of their value system and his own. His qualification for office derived not from descent from famous men but from *virtus* he shared with them.

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[43] Van der Blom 2010, 40.
[44] "*Ego iam a principio in parsimonio atque in duritia atque industria omnem adlescentiam meam abstinui, agro colendo, saxis Sabinis silicibus repastinandis atque conserendis*." Cato, *ORF* 51, fr. 128.
[45] Cato, *Agr.* 1.1.

Cato also ennobled the memories of his father and great-grandfather, both of whom had served admirably in the military. Cato described himself as "new in respect of office and glory, but exceedingly old in the deeds and virtues of his ancestors."[46] Although Cato's ancestors had not achieved political success, they share the character of the famous men of Rome's past. Cato did not undermine the value system of the elite aristocracy while negotiating his political identity. Rather, he used those values to achieve assimilation into elite ranks.[47]

Sallust's account of a speech by Marius at the time of his election to the consulship in 107 B.C.E. is more polemical in tone.[48] Rather than seeking assimilation with the *nobiles*, Marius sets up a negative contrast between himself and the elite elite. He was the energetic new man who won glory through personal achievement and military valor. The aristocrats depended on the reputations of their ancestors, as well as their hereditary wealth and resources, to achieve political success. The contrast is vividly illustrated by Marius's claim that his military decorations, spoils and battle scars were his *imagines*.[49] *Nobilitas* derived from personal and individual *virtus* which could not be handed down from generation to generation according to Sallust's Marius.[50] Furthermore, he asserts, this was the definition of *virtus* held by the ancestors themselves. Like Cato, Sallust's Marius appropriates the legitimizing power of the *mos maiorum* by presenting himself as a true successor to Rome's ancestors through virtue, toil and character rather than ancestry.

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[46] Cato, *ORF*3, fr. 173
[47] Astin 1978, 66-8.
[48] Sallust, *Jurg.* 85.10. See Van der Blom 2010, 51-3, Flower 1996, Chapter 1, especially 16-23, Earl 1967 47-52, Syme 1964.
[49] The same statement also appears in Plutarch, *Marius* 9.2. See below.
[50] Earl 1967, 48-9.

The extent to which Sallust's account of Marius's speech reflects the ideology of the historical Marius is unclear. The passage reflects Sallust's agenda of attacking the *nobiles*, and, more generally, attitudes towards *nobilitas* and *novitas* in the middle of the first century B.C.E., in both tone and content. However, Sallust's account shares three important points of contact with another source, Plutarch's later biography of Marius: first, the image of capturing the consulship as spoils from the *nobiles*; second, the specific attack on Albinus and Bestia; and finally, the equation of Marius's wounds or scars with the *imagines* of the *nobiles*.[51] There is no other evidence to suggest that Plutarch used Sallust's account of the Jugurthine war, suggesting to some scholars that the two must have shared a common source or sources, probably contemporary with Marius.[52] Much of Sallust's account may be invention, but it probably is built around a core of ideas either promoted by Marius himself or attributed to him by his contemporaries.[53]

The fragments of Cato and Sallust's Marius suggest that the seeds of the ideology of *novitas* were planted in the second century B.C.E. Both Cato and Marius were tremendously influential figures for Cicero, who was acutely aware of his precarious position as a *novus homo* in Roman politics.[54] Cicero constantly stressed the need for a new man to emulate the virtues that had made the great men of Rome's past worthy of honor. The aristocrat could rely on the accomplishments of his forebears to achieve political success. The new man, however, had no such ancestors to support his claim. In his speech *De Lege Agraria* II of 63 BCE, the newly elected consul Cicero states that a

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[51] Flower 1996, 17, n. 4.
[52] Flower 1996, 18, following Passerini 1934, 20-2, Carney 1959, Syme 1964, 169 n. 37.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Data from Hopkins and Burton (1983) and later Beck (2005) suggests that the consulship and entrance into the Roman Senate in general was much less exclusive than generally thought by modern scholars. Burkhardt (1990) concluded that the exclusivity of the elites must have been illusory, at least to a certain extent. Nonetheless, the distinction between *nobilis* and the *novus homo* must have been felt pointedly, at least by some newcomers.

discussion of the *imagines* of his ancestors is not only customary, but expected at that time.[55] Yet as a *novus homo* Cicero has no *imagines* to discuss. This is not, he explains, because his ancestors were unworthy of praise. Following Cato, Cicero describes his ancestors as capable and virtuous, if nonetheless anonymous. Because Cicero lacked famous ancestors, it was crucial to choose as *exempla* those Romans whose energy, industry and virtue had made them worthy of recognition.

The use of historical *exempla* as role models enabled Cicero to present himself as a credible interpreter of *mos maiorum* and thereby gain the influence necessary for election to political office. Contemporary elite families, Cicero argued, had degenerated in virtue despite their noble lineage. The new man's success would be achieved if he imitated Rome's ancestors in character and deed. Like Cato, Cicero inserted himself into the normalizing discourse on tradition by emphasizing the qualities he shared with the great men of Rome's past. While seeking assimilation into the elite system, however, Cicero also deployed the ancestors to criticize his aristocratic competition. The new man could make a place for himself in the increasingly competitive political climate of the Late Republic by using these tactics.

Several portraits of Cicero from the height of his political career have survived. A heavily restored example in Apsley House, London, depicts a mature man, perhaps in his late forties or early fifties, identified as Cicero by an inscription on the plinth generally accepted as ancient.[56] The facial features of this portrait match those of other examples in the Uffizi, the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 19), and the Museo Chiaramonti,

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[55] Cicero, *De Lege Agraria* II 2.22-6.

[56] Portrait of Cicero, marble, c. 50 B.C.E. H. 62 cm. London, Apsley House, inv. WM 1443-1948. Schweitzer 1948, 91, n. 1, Toynbee 1978, 28, Goette 1985, 292 n. B6.

though they are slightly more youthful.[57] Cicero has eyes set deep under a pronounced, furrowed brow, high cheekbones and fleshy jowls. In general, the overall treatment of Cicero's portraits reflect the same combination of Hellenistic influence and Roman verism typical of the finest portraits of this period, including those of his contemporaries, Pompey, Crassus, and Antony. Yet unlike those men, Cicero was not an experienced general, let alone an Alexander reborn. It is possible that Cicero merely copied the portrait style fashionable amongst his political cohort. It is more likely, however, that the Hellenistic veneer of Cicero's portraits alluded not to the military prowess of Hellenistic kings, but rather to the oratorical, rhetorical and philosophical education Cicero received studying in Greece early in his career. For it was through those skills – intellectual rather than martial – that Cicero earned his reputation and glory in Rome. The veristic style of the facial features situates Cicero firmly within the aristocratic tradition of realistic portraiture, especially with its connections to the *cursus honorum*. As a new man, Cicero's political successes were hard-won. His portraits reflect assimilation not only with Rome's elite class, but with the very highest ranking members of that class. When read against his biography, the portraits of Cicero celebrate his status as a new man made good.

A similar strategy was used by the emperor Augustus to enhance his own status while still respecting the traditional use of ancestral images as symbols of power and prestige. In the Forum of Augustus, portrait sculpture depicting famous men of Rome's past were set up in the semi-circular exedrae and porticoes which framed the Forum. The

[57] Portrait of Cicero, marble, Flavian (?) copy of original of 50-40 B.C.E. H. .74 m. total, head .37 m. Florence, Galleria Uffizi, Saletta delle Sculture, inv. 1914, n. 352; Portrait of Cicero, marble, Augustan (?) copy of original of 50-40 B.C.E. H. .93 m. Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza dei Filosofi, inv. MC0589. Portrait of Cicero, marble, second half of the 1st century C.E. copy of original of 50-40 B.C.E. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti, inv. 698. See Schweitzer 1948, 91-114, Toynebee 1978, 28, Goette 1985.

full-length portrait statues were carved from marble and accompanied by *tituli* and *elogia* identifying the subjects and enumerating their accomplishments. Great men of the Julii were displayed on the northwest side beginning with their mythological progenitor Aeneas. Heroes of the Republic, led by Romulus, on the southeast side complemented the Julian line. Provisions also were made for bronze statues of future worthies to be erected in the Forum.[58]

In the *Fasti*, Ovid notes the striking similarity between the display of heroes in the Forum of Augustus and the traditional display of *imagines* in the aristocratic atrium house.[59] The *tituli* and *elogia* accompanying the statues in the Forum would have further reinforced the connection between the *summi viri*, *imagines* and funerary monuments in general. While it is safe to assume that every historical figure represented amongst the *summi viri* in the Forum had an *imago*, not every person who had earned an *imago* could claim a place among Augustus' famous men.[60] The "curation" of heroes in the sculptural program of the Forum further reinforced its association with the display of *imagines*. Correspondence between Cicero and L. Papirius Paetus suggests that individuals or families chose which *imagines* to display based on various factors, including tradition and personal preference.[61] Both the act of display and the objects displayed linked the heroes of Augustus' forum and the display of aristocratic *imagines*.

Suetonius recounts that Augustus selected only individuals who had enhanced the power and prestige of the Roman people for commemoration in the Forum.[62] Furthermore, the *princeps* openly invited comparison between himself and the heroes.

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[58] Dio 55.10.3.
[59] Ovid, *Fasti* I.593-4.
[60] Geiger 2008, 27.
[61] Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 9.21.
[62] Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.

Augustus explained in an edict of 2 B.C.E. that the statues displayed in the Forum depicted his personal role models, to whose deeds he hoped his own would be compared favorably.[63] The comparison highlighted the extraordinary accomplishments of the *princeps*, who had achieved more than any of his predecessors. Undoubtedly the sculptural program of the Forum advanced the political and didactic agenda of Augustus primarily. Nonetheless, it reflects those principles that were central to the ideology of *novitas*, especially the primacy of virtue, character and achievement as measurements of merit. That is not to say, of course, that these values were not prized by elite families. Nor was familial legacy unimportant to Augustus. The display of statues of Julian heroes in the Forum is but one of many places where the *princeps* celebrated his family's ancestors. However, the sculptural program of the Forum of Augustus should be recognized as an attempt to reconcile the dual conception of ancestors for the purpose of legitimizing a remarkable new social and political order.

Although the Julii were sufficiently noble to have their own collection of *imagines* (a more sparse collection, perhaps, than some other elite families), Augustus expanded the ranks of his ancestors beyond the family line. The funeral procession of Augustus included not only the *imagines* of his own family, but also the *imagines* of other famous Romans not directly related to the emperor. These were displayed in a secondary procession led by the mask of Romulus. That there was a significant overlap between the *summi viri* represented in the Forum and in the funeral procession is all but certain. The *imago* of Pompey the Great is specifically mentioned among the ranks of famous non-relatives, along with representations of the provinces he had added to the

[63] Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.5.

Empire.[64] It is not clear if Pompey was included among the *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus, but he fit the criteria for inclusion, having substantially contributed to Rome's territorial holdings.

The display of the *imagines* of non-relatives at Augustus' funeral marked a profound break with Republican tradition, which the *princeps* elsewhere strove to uphold. Flower suggested that the funeral processions of both Marcellus, in late 23 B.C.E., and Agrippa, in 12 B.C.E., similarly included extended processions of *imagines* of famous non-relatives. Cassius Dio reports that Augustus carried out the funeral of Agrippa in the same manner as his own, but his account lacks specific details regarding the procession of *imagines*.[65] Augustus effectively merged the dual conception of the ancestors (both personal and collective) into one spectacular display by claiming the illustrious ancestors of Rome's leading families for his own. In doing so, he emphasized the collective responsibility of Roman society to uphold traditional values while legitimizing his own status as lead citizen and *pater patriae*. His right to display the *imagines* of other families was earned through the positive comparison of his own character and achievements to those of Rome's ancestors.

Augustus was not a new man, and therefore would have no reason to engage directly with the ideology of *novitas*. Yet in a general way, the ideology's emphasis on virtue, character and merit as legitimizing forces formed part of the *Zeitgeist* of the Late Republic. Some Romans perceived those values to have degenerated amongst the ruling elite, leading to political and social instability. Like prominent new men of the Republic, Augustus presented himself as worthy of recognition precisely because he restored those

[64] Cassius Dio, *History* 56.34.3
[65] Dio 54.28.3.

virtues, and thereby restored the state.[66] The *princeps* never abandoned the traditional discourse on ancestry, nor did he deprive the elite elite of their ancestral glory. Rather, Augustus redeployed those famous men to solidify and legitimize his own power.[67]

In his own portraits, Augustus rejected the veristic style favored during the Republic in favor of a perpetually youthful, Classicizing style more appropriate to his age and extraordinary political position. Just nineteen when he came to Rome as Caesar's heir, Octavian was far too young for depiction in the veristic style. His youthful early portraits reflect the influence of Hellenistic ruler portraits, like those of his contemporaries, Marc Antony and the sons of Pompey.[68] Yet as his political program evolved, this style was more and more at odds with his message of *res publica restituta*. How could Octavian be trusted as a credible interpreter of *mos maiorum* if he presented himself like a Hellenistic king? Around 27 B.C.E., when Octavian assumed the titles "Augustus" and "Princeps," a new portrait type was introduced, which rendered the unique physiognomy of Augustus with Classical harmony, symmetry and clarity.

The new style, exemplified by the Augustus of Prima Porta (Fig. 20), rejected both the cartographic rendering of the mature male physiognomy of the veristic style, so intimately associated with the elite elite, and the Hellenized portraits of figures like Pompey and Antony.[69] The new, Classicizing Augustan style of portraiture marked a profound break with traditional Republican portraiture. He is mature but not haggard, dignified and serene but not "regal" in the conventional sense. The new Augustan style

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[66] Geiger 2008, 68.
[67] Geiger 2008, 81.
[68] Portrait of Octavian, marble, before 31 B.C.E. H. .24 m. (from chin to part in hair). La Alcudia, Mallorca, private collection. Borg 2012, 32, with earlier bibliography.
[69] Cuirassed statue of Augustus (Augustus of Prima Porta), marble, c. 14 C.E. copy after original c. 27 B.C.E. H. 2.04 m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, inv. 3390. Kähler 1959, Gross 1959, Zinserling 1967, Ingholt 1969, Zanker 1973, Johansen 1976, 49-57, Vierneisel and Zanker 1979, Hausman 1981, Zanker 1988, 175-76, 188-89, Pollini 1987-88, Simon 1991, Kleiner 1992, Boschung 1993, 179-81.

preserved the Roman preference for recognizably individualized portraits while simultaneously signaling the end of the old political system embodied by the veristic style.

Both the ideology of *novitas* and the sculptural program of the Forum of Augustus reflect a broader cultural phenomenon in which some Romans contested the traditional elite system by reframing claims to honor from ancestry to merit. Although this phenomenon developed fully at the end of the Republic, its roots appear in the second century B.C.E. Only a few generations later, around 75 B.C.E., Roman freedmen began to commemorate themselves and their families with funerary monuments closely modeled on the realistic portraiture of the elite. The timing suggests that even non-elite patrons were aware of and responding to the emerging ideology of *novitas* in order to assert claims to legitimacy in Roman society. The Roman freedman was barred from holding political office, but he nonetheless held a position in society roughly analogous to that of a new man in politics. Upon manumission, the freedman literally, if not in the traditional sense, became a new man. He transitioned from slave, human chattel, to semi-enfranchised Roman citizen. He took the *tria nomina*, donned the toga, and passed full citizen status onto his offspring. However, he still had no legally recognized ancestors.

Having no ancestors of their own, freedmen (and, to a certain extent, non-elite freeborn Romans) were adrift in a culture in which ancestry or lineage in many ways defined one's place in contemporary society. Funerary monuments offered one medium for freedmen to establish themselves and their descendants visually as fully assimilated members of Roman society. Images and monuments were the primary means of communication for most Romans, who were semi-literate at best. Furthermore,

portraiture was one of the most recognizable and visually potent commemorative media by the end of the Republic, and certainly the most accessible for patrons who could not hope to erect monuments or temples.

To suggest that freedmen used funerary monuments to establish themselves in Roman society is not new.[70] Many studies have considered how freedman tomb monuments celebrated their patrons' newly won status by appropriating the symbols of elite culture to which they had only recent, if any, access. The remaining sections of this chapter, however, situate those monuments and the aesthetic strategies they employed in the specific context of the ideology of *novitas*. Freedmen deliberately adopted the visual vocabulary of realistic, elite Roman portraiture in order to emulate the great men of Rome's past, to whom they might link themselves through merit, if not through blood. If realistic portraiture was a material reminder of Rome's great ancestors, then portraiture would likewise be the most appropriate and recognizable means by which to express a relationship to those figures visually.

Portrait and Likeness

The preference for realistic portraiture in Roman society, especially in the middle and late Republic, may naturally lead to the assumption that these objects present their subjects with precise physical verisimilitude. That perspective was supported in large part by ancient evidence. Indeed, many of the uses of the word *imago*, the most common term

[70] See, for example, Zanker 1975, Kleiner 1977, Kleiner 1988, D'Ambra 1995, D'Ambra 2002, Koortbojian 1996, Koortbojian 2006, Leach 2006.

for a portrait or portraiture statue, suggest exact likeness, copy, or reflection.[71] A passage from the *Natural History* makes clear that Pliny considers verisimilitude and recognizability the hallmarks of excellent portraiture. Lamenting the degeneration of the portrait genre in his own day, he writes, "true it is that people prefer showing off the valuable material, to having a faithful likeness.... Thus it is that we possess the portraits of no living individuals, and leave behind us the pictures of our wealth, not of our persons."[72] One detects the same idea already in Polybius's much earlier second century B.C.E. description of the *imagines*.[73] Polybius marvels at the remarkable fidelity with which the masks reproduce the physiognomies of dead ancestors. Polybius's observation suggests, moreover, that even from the Republic period, physical verisimilitude was only a partial component of likeness. The living reanimated their ancestors by assuming the masks, costumes, attributes and manner of the deceased subject during the funeral procession. Some element of biography, as conveyed by dress and the signifiers of office or achievement, was necessary to round out the likeness.

The use of the terms "biography" or "history" to describe accounts of individuals' lives in Roman literature is in itself problematic, for in their contemporary sense both terms derive their claim to authenticity from presumed basis in fact. In practice, contemporary biography and history are just as subject to bias as any narrative. Nonetheless, there still exists an expectation of factual basis for the information presented. This was not necessarily the case in Roman history and biography. For the Romans, any attempt to transmit the events of the past could be considered *historia*; the term described less a genre and more the type of subject matter treated in a text.

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[71] Daut 1975, 54.
[72] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.2.
[73] Polybius, *Histories* VI.53-54.

Furthermore, accounts of the past almost always were concerned with providing moral *exempla*, positive or negative, for the reader. Livy states that it is, "especially healthy and fruitful in the study of history that you look upon examples of every kind as though they were set on an illustrious monument. From there you can choose for yourself and your state what to imitate and what, foul in both its beginnings and result, to avoid."[74] Nor did Roman writers shy away from embellishing or improving on the truth. In a letter to his friend Lucceius, Cicero requests that an account of his political achievements be written, with an allowance for a little embellishment so as to further enhance his reputation.[75] The desire to embellish reality for the purpose of enhancing one's memory falls well within the acceptable boundaries of Roman history, biography and commemoration in general.

Other evidence suggests that likeness in visual representations was equally complex. In a first century C.E. letter to Vestricius Spurinna and his wife Cottia, Pliny the Younger, who is preparing a eulogy for their recently deceased son, writes:

> It is difficult for you to concentrate on this at a time of suffering. However, if a sculptor or painter were producing a portrait of your son, you would tell him what features to express or re-do, so I hope you will guide and direct me in producing this enduring likeness which shall, if you are pleased to think it, last forever.[76]

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[74] Livy, *Preface* 10.

[75] Cicero, *Letters to his Friends*, 5.12.1.

[76] Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 3.10.6. Notably, Pliny uses the term *imago* to refer to the visual portrait produced by a sculptor or painter, and *effigia* for the likeness that he intends to produce ("*Difficile est huc usque intendere animum in dolore; difficile, sed tamen, utscalptorem, ut pictorem, qui filii vestri* imaginem *faceret, admoneretis, quid exprimere quid emendare deberet, ita me quoque formate regite, qui non fragilemet caducam, sed immortalem, ut vos putatis,* effigiem *conor efficere: quae hoc diuturnior erit, quo verior melior absolutior fuerit.*"). Both *imago* and *effigia* can refer to portraits or likenesses, but apparently Pliny wanted to distinguish between the two, despite the analogy he draws between the role of artist and writer. It is likely that *imago*, with its special association with visual representations of ancestors, was more appropriate contextually for a visual portrait, especially of a deceased individual.

Pliny likens his role as eulogizer to that of the artist, both of whom produce likenesses of the deceased according to the wishes of the survivors. Other passages show that Pliny considered the production of artistic and literary portraits closely analogous.[77] Both portraitist and writer assumed the difficult task of capturing the true character of the subject while respecting the demands of recognizability, cultural conventions and decorum. Leach explored Pliny's attitudes towards portraiture in terms of an integrative self-representation, which "…creates the appearance of consistency in a civic actor through a reliable integration of public persona and private character."[78] Pliny's suggestion that a family might instruct an artist to emphasize or revise particular features eliminates the possibility that likeness was understood strictly in terms of physical verisimilitude.

Of the features of the boy to be commemorated, Pliny asks, "*quid exprimere, quid emendare deberet*."[79] In Latin literature, *exprimere* is frequently used in the context of literal, direct, or close translation. The physical act of copying is implied by the primary meaning of *exprimere*, to press out, as a seal. In the passage from the elder Pliny describing the invention of life-casting (see above), the author uses *exprimere* to describe the action: "*Hominis autem imaginem gypso e facie ipsa primus omnium* expressit *ceraque in eam formam gypsi infusa emendare instituit Lysistratus Sicyonius, frater Lysippi de quo diximus*."[80]

Exprimere implies mechanical reproduction of an original, a faithful copy for both visual artists and writer. *Emendare*, to the contrary, is not typically associated with

[77] See Leach 1990.
[78] Leach 1990, 16.
[79] Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 3.10.6, see n. 83 above.
[80] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.153.3.

visual arts. Usually *emendare* refers to the correction of a text or, especially in the Imperial period, the correction or reform of character and behavior. The passage from Pliny the Elder cited above provides a rare example of *emendare* referring to the "correction" or "improvement" of an image or likeness.[81] Pliny the Elder credits Lysistratus as the first artist to create faithful likenesses of his subjects, unlike his predecessors, who sought only to make their subjects as attractive as possible.[82]

The parallel uses of *exprimere* and *emendare* by Pliny the Elder and his nephew reflect the authors' mutual interest in the moral character of portraiture. What constituted likeness, and moreover *enduring* likeness, was the assemblage of relevant details to justify or ensure the preservation of an individual's memory after death. Such details might include positive character traits, intellectual, social or political achievement, and, especially in the case of a young child, the unfulfilled hopes of the family. As Leach observes, these requirements "designate the likeness produced by portraiture as a complex intermesh of features and attributes embodying not merely the physical form of the subject, but also impressions and interpretations."[83]

Both written and visual likenesses were didactic in nature, and therefore required the participation and judgment of the audience. The didactic potential of portraiture was apparently well-established already by the second century B.C.E., for Polybius asks what could be more ennobling for young Romans than to see the ranks of distinguished ancestors revivified during the *pompa funebris*.[84] Later sources on portraiture echo this sentiment. Pliny the Younger writes explicitly that the value of portraiture

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[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Leach 1990, 23.
[84] Polybius, *Histories*, 6.53-4.

(commemorative statues erected in public spaces in particular) lays not only in its ability to record the appearance of famous men, but to remind the viewer of their fame and glory.[85] The statues to which Pliny referred commemorated his friend, Vestricius Spurrina, and the deceased son Cottius, whose eulogy Pliny intended to write for the family. The public statue of young Cottius was awarded by the Senate along with that of his father, an exceptional honor for the young man. The statue commemorated the youth's interrupted potential rather than any actual achievement, for he had died young during his father's campaign.

This flexible conception of likeness may extend beyond individual physiognomies to collective or group identities as well. Early investigations into Rome's freedman population were often concerned with the racial or ethnic composition of Rome's non-elites. This line of inquiry corresponds generally to the growing interest in race and national identity that occurred in the first decades of the twentieth century in Europe. In an investigation into the racial diversity of Roman society, Tenney Frank looked to *cognomina* as indicator of ethnic or racial origins of the "ordinary type of urban plebians."[86] From the high frequency of Greek cognomina, Frank concluded that the massive influx of slaves from the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Republic led to a mass "Orientalizing" of Rome's non-elite population by the Imperial period. For Frank this explained, at least in part, Rome's gradual "disintegration" in the Imperial period.[87]

Despite the fundamentally racist rhetoric of Frank's argument, his article sparked a discussion of the origins of Roman slaves and the significance of non-Latin cognomina

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[85] Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 2.7.7: "*non modo species et vultus illorum, sed honor etiam et gloria refertur*."
[86] Frank 1916, 690.
[87] "The lack of energy and enterprise, the failure of foresight and common sense, the weakening of moral and political stamina, all were concomitant with the gradual diminution of the stock which, during the earlier days, had displayed these qualities." Frank 1916, 705.

in identifying freedmen and their descendants in the archaeological and epigraphic record. Frank's proposition appears to be confirmed by Iiro Kajanto's study of Latin and non-Latin *cognomina* as indicator of social or ethnic origin.[88] Kajanto examined the *cognomina* recorded in inscriptions from nine major Italian towns, including Rome, in an attempt to determine to what extent non-Latin *cognomina* were integrated into Roman nomenclature. Kajanto found that freedmen bore Latin *cognomina* almost as frequently as non-Latin *cognomina* at all of the cities surveyed *except* Rome.[89] Kajanto explains the unequal geographic distribution of non-Latin *cognomina* amongst Italian freedmen and *incerti* by arguing that slaves in smaller Italian cities were usually acquired from nearby Latin-speaking provinces, while those in the capital were imported from the Greek east.[90] However, Mary Gordon convincingly argued that Greek names were favored for slaves regardless of ethnic origin, even if Greek or non-Latin *cognomina* were preferred for urban slaves.[91] She provided epigraphic and literary evidence to demonstrate that Greek supplied many of the non-Latin cognomina, regardless of an individual's ethnic origins, because it was the language of the ancient Mediterranean slave trade.[92]

Nomenclature alone cannot uncover the ethnic origins of slaves because of the Romans' preference for Greek slave names. Ancient testimony suggests that the population of Rome's slave population in the Republic was much more diverse. Rome's military conquests throughout the Mediterranean from the third century B.C.E. onward resulted in the mass enslavement of captives from numerous ethnic groups. In the late third and first half of the second centuries B.C.E., Scheidel estimates that anywhere from

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[88] Kajanto 1968.
[89] Kajanto 1968, 527. In addition to Rome, Kajanto studied material from Aquileia, Beneventum, Cremona, Florentia, Mediolanium, Parma, Puteoli and Verona.
[90] Kajanto 1986, 527-9.
[91] Gordon 1924.
[92] Ibid.

672,000-731,000 captives were taken in various military campaigns, including the Third Samnite War, the First and Second Punic Wars, the Gallic War and the Sack of Epirus.[93] From the end of the second into the first century B.C.E., considerable numbers of foreign captives likewise were enslaved. Marius reportedly took 60,000 Cimbri and 90,000 Teutones captive in 102-1 B.C.E., and Caesar supposedly seized an incredible one million Gauls during his campaigns in the 50s B.C.E.[94] Likewise, the Mithradatic wars in Asia Minor of the first half of the first century B.C.E. must have generated a substantial number of slaves for Rome.[95] The numbers recorded in ancient sources may be inflated to a greater or lesser extent, but they nonetheless attest to the vast number of foreigners being brought into Rome as slaves. A substantial number of non-Hellenic foreigners must have made up the slave population despite the preponderance of Greek cognomina among slaves and freedmen in Rome.

Gordon observed that portraits of freedman do not distinguish between individuals of servile or free descent in dress or appearance. Once manumitted, freedmen were entitled to wear the toga, and they do so without exception in their funerary monuments. In no example does a freedman wear a *pilleus*, the symbol of freed status and of dependence on a former master. There is likewise little or no physiognomic difference to indicate foreign birth. While Rome's slave population was drawn from all over the Mediterranean, including Italy, Western Europe, the east and North Africa, the

[93] Scheidel 2011, 294-5.
[94] Marius: Livy, *Perichoae* 68. Caesar: Plutarch, *Caesar* 15; Appian, *Keltika* 1.2; Velleius Paterculus 2.47.1.
[95] Scheidel 2011, 295.

portraits with which some commemorated themselves after manumission are, "strong, shrewd, and decidedly Roman" in appearance.[96]

Ethnic identity as expressed in portraiture largely has been neglected until recently, despite the increased scholarly interest in issues of identity in the ancient world.[97] Elizabeth Bartman eloquently summarizes the main obstacle to such studies: "…proposing a link between physiognomy and ethnicity comes uncomfortably close to racial determinism and its ugly historical legacy in modern times."[98] However, she goes on to note that scholars' failure to acknowledge ethnic difference or foreignness in some portraits excludes a potentially valuable source of information on difference and the alien in Roman art.[99]

In a city as diverse as Rome, a fair amount of physiognomic variation might be expected within the non-elite classes. Yet portraits, as opposed to generic or stereotypical images, of recognizably foreign individuals are far less common. Of particular interest to this study, however, is a fine portrait of a young man reportedly from Rome and now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 21).[100] His densely curled hair and facial features suggest African or North African descent.[101] The overall treatment of the portrait, especially the hair, general proportions and shape of the bust, suggests an Augustan or Julio-Claudian date. Vermeule proposed that the portrait came

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[96] Gordon 1924,
[97] See Bartman 2011.
[98] Ibid, 222.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Portrait of a young man, Pentelic marble, c. 1-50 C.E. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 88.643. Vermeule 1964, 336, pl. 107, Snowden 1970, 28, fig. 68, *Ancient Portraits* 1970, no. 19, Comstock and Vermeule 1972, no. 47, Comstock and Vermeule 1976, no. 339.
[101] Snowden (1970, 92, no. 68) proposes mixed Negroid and Caucasoid descent. Vermeule (1964, 1976) notes the similarities to another portrait head generally identified as a Libyan. See *AM* 34 (1909), pl. 1 and Rosenbaum 1960, pl. IVf. However, Bartman (2011, 244) rightly points out that physiognomic traits alone are not necessarily sufficient to confirm a particular ethnic identity without corroborating inscription, costume or gesture.

from one of the many columbaria set up by funerary *collegia* during this period, though the original find spot is unknown.[102] Without any archaeological context or associated inscription, it is impossible to determine the legal status of the subject.[103] Nonetheless, it is safe to assume that he belongs to the diverse population of non-elite Romans.

This portrait is exceptional for its early date, for the majority of portraits displaying ethnic difference date to the later first or second centuries C.E.[104] Group reliefs, portraits in the round, and even in the slightly later funerary altars with portraits, omit physical characteristics which might distinguish one as foreign, or at least non-Italic. Kleiner noted the absence of physiognomic variation in the reliefs, but attributed this phenomenon to the replication of current and earlier aristocratic models by non-elite, non-Roman freedman patrons.[105] Kleiner's interpretation presents freedmen patrons as passive consumers of elite culture rather than active participants in their own commemoration.

Rather than simply mimicking the styles favored by elite Romans, I propose that non-elite Romans sought to minimize or omit entirely any physiognomic characteristics that could identify one as foreign or 'other'. Roman portraits with ethnic markers identifiable to an ancient audience demonstrate a cultural hybridity that asserted membership in multiple social or cultural groups.[106] For provincial elites, cultural hybridity could be an asset, asserting Romanization while preserving some aspect of local

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[102] Vermeule 1964, 336, Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 214-5, no. 339. By 1888, the portrait was in the possession of Luigi Jandolo, who sold it to R. Lanciani.
[103] Vermeule (1964, 336, repeated in 1976, 214-5) seems quite uncomfortable suggesting that the subject of the portrait was a slave or freedman: "This must be a funerary portrait, probably from a columbarium, of a man of good breeding who found his way to Rome, either in an official capacity or perhaps (through misfortunes of war) as a slave."
[104] The examples cited by Bartman 2011 and Snowden 1970 are all of Imperial date.
[105] Kleiner 1977, 186-7.
[106] Bartman 2011, 245.

identity. The desire to *minimize* difference, to erase all traces of cultural hybridity, informed the portrait commissions of the urban non-elite classes in Rome.

The Romans acknowledged the ethnic identity or origin (*natio*) of their slaves, but they treated it as a personal characteristic which made one more or less suited to certain tasks.[107] Gauls, for example, were valued for their strength and endurance. But just as slaves were denied all legal ancestry, so too did they lose their ethnic identities.[108] Ethnic identity was not restored after manumission, at least not in any way recognized by the Romans, for the freedman became a citizen of Rome. By adopting Roman or Italic physiognomies and rejecting any visual sign of outsider status, freedman patrons expressed their new legal status and asserted their complete assimilation into Roman society.

Conclusion

The profound social and political upheaval of the late Republic brought remarkable changes to Roman visual culture as well. During the Republic, realistic portraiture, and especially the *imagines*, was inextricably linked with elite, elite Roman families. For those Romans, ancestors and images of ancestors were crucial to both public and private self-representation. But during the political crises of the end of the Republic, non-elite Romans increasingly challenged the authority of the ruling elite. The very ancestors who legitimized the power of elite families could be deployed against them as new men laid claim to the character, virtue and influence of Rome's forebears.

[107] Joshel 2010, 38.
[108] Joshel 2010, 42.

The ideology of *novitas* that appeared most fully developed in the writing of Cicero privileged moral and spiritual inheritance from the ancestors over direct lineage. By emulating the ancestors in character and deed, even men without a famous name could achieve greatness. Although Augustus was not a new man, the general influence of the ideology of *novitas* can be detected nonetheless in the great men of the Julian family and those of Rome's other great families of the sculptural display of *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus. The appropriation of famous men not related to Augustus in the secondary display of *imagines* at the *princeps'* funeral was an even more overt example of the new emphasis on merit as the primary qualification for achievement and recognition.

In the first quarter of the first century B.C.E., non-elite and especially freedman patrons began commissioning funerary monuments with portraits modeled on the realistic portraiture of the elite. Just as new men deployed the ancestors to criticize the ruling elite and to legitimize their own achievements, freedman used the visual vocabulary of ancestral and honorific portraiture to assert their own claims to legitimacy in Roman society. Although they had no legal ancestors of their own, freedman patrons could liken themselves visually to the men who had made Rome great in order to express their assimilation into Roman society. That assimilation was furthermore reinforced by the omission of any physiognomic features, costumes or attributes which might identify them as foreign. Freedman patrons chose to represent themselves for eternity as fully enfranchised and integrated members of Roman society.

Chapter 4:
Imitation and Replication as Aesthetic Strategies in Non-Elite Funerary Monuments

The previous chapter situated the early funerary portraiture of the Roman non-elite classes within the broader context of the ideology of *novitas* and the decline of elite hegemony in visual culture. Non-elite patrons actively deployed portraiture as a means to affirm their place in society specifically because it bore the weight and authority of the *mos maiorum*. The appropriation of traditionally elite commemorative forms, especially realistic portraits, asserted the non-elite patrons' concomitant claims to status in Roman society. Moreover, those appropriations demonstrate non-elite patrons' sophisticated understanding of contemporary visual culture.

Issues of appropriation, imitation and emulation recently have come to the fore in studies of Roman sculpture, in particular ideal sculpture, which represents gods, heroes, mythological and related images.[1] Until the 1970s, scholars largely approached ideal Roman statues as more or less faithful copies of lost Greek masterpieces, lenses through which one might reconstruct a no-longer extant corpus of originals through their many reproductions. The study of Roman copies, *Kopienkritik*, is roughly analogous to textual criticism, in which an original or *Ur*-text is reconstituted through careful analysis of subsequent copies. While *Kopienkritik* is still considered a useful method for the study of some Roman objects, especially Imperial portraits, scholars have questioned its usefulness or suitability as a monolithic method for the study of ideal sculpture.[2] In particular, many scholars are recognizing that direct or "mechanical" reproduction was

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[1] On *Idealplastik*, see Trillmich 1973, Zanker 1974, Fittschen and Zanker 1985, Fittschen 1996, Boschung 2002, Koortbojian 2002, Fittschen 2010.
[2] Ridgway 1984,Gazda 1995, Mattusch 1996, 141-190, Marvin 1997, Gazda 2002, Perry 2002, Koortbojian 2002, Perry 2005, Marvin 2008.

possible but not necessarily commonplace in Roman art production. Instead, more nuanced processes of emulation (*aemulatio*), imitation (*imitatio*), replication and reinterpretation were quite common. New studies of Roman ideal sculpture place less emphasis on the search for the lost original, and instead focus attention on the *romanitas* of Roman ideal sculptures within their original context, the dialogue between Roman artists and their Greek predecessors, and the social values of copying and reproduction.

The Apollo Belvedere (Fig. 22) is among the most familiar ideal sculptures whose attribution has been reevaluated recently.[3] Winter first identified the Apollo Belvedere as a Roman copy of a marble statue by the fourth century B.C.E. sculptor Leochares.[4] Winter's assessment was based on stylistic similarities between the Apollo Belvedere and a marble table leg in the Vatican which depicts Ganymede carried off by Jupiter in the form of an eagle.[5] Winter identified the Vatican Ganymede as a Roman copy of a bronze by Leochares mentioned by Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History*.[6] He therefore attributed to Leochares the Apollo based on stylistic similarities between the two sculptures. Today, some texts and guidebooks still echo Winter's attribution, but increasingly scholars have questioned its validity. The table leg in the Vatican which provided the tenuous stylistic link between the Apollo Belvedere and the sculptor Leochares was substantially restored in the eighteenth century by Vincenzo Pacetti before

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[3] Apollo Belvedere, marble, first half of the second century CE. H 2.24 m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile Ottagono, cat. 1015. Mattusch 1996, 141-46, with earlier bibliography, Spinola 1996, 49-51, no. APO2, Mattusch 2002, 99-100, Perry 2005, 1-6, Vaner 2006, 288-89. For the discovery and early modern history of the Apollo Belvedere, see Haskell and Penny 1981, 148-151.

[4] Winter 1892, followed by Furtwängler 1895, 409, Amelung, 1903-8, 264, Bieber 1961, 63.

[5] Winter 1892. Winter follows Baumeister (1885, Vol. II, 815) and Visconti (1782-1790, Vol. II, 241-47) in connecting the statue mentioned by Pliny with the Vatican table leg.

[6] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 34.79: "Leochares [made] an eagle carrying off Ganymede, in which the bird realizes what he is seizing and for whom, and is careful not to let his claws injure even through the boy's clothes." Translation from Perry 2005, 1.

entering the Vatican, raising the possibility that the Apollo Belvedere itself informed Pacetti's restorations.[7] Furthermore, the literary testimony is vague at best. Pausanius mentions a statue of Apollo by Leochares in Athens, but his description offers little detail.[8] Finally, and most importantly, the Apollo Belvedere does not belong to a replica series. The statue was copied widely throughout the Early Modern period, but there are no extant, uncontested ancient examples replicating the composition.[9] For these reasons, some now reject the classification of the Apollo Belvedere as a Roman copy of a Greek original, instead identifying the work as a Roman original of the Hadrianic period executed in a classicizing style.[10]

Advances in the study of Roman ideal sculpture may provide a useful model for better understanding the relationship between elite and non-elite artistic commissions in the late Republic and early Empire. The characterization of non-elite art work as dependent on or imitative of elite models within the study of Roman art bears some resemblance to the traditional interpretation of Roman art in general and ideal sculpture in particular as derivative of Greek originals. In both cases, patrons and artists employed a canonical visual vocabulary, adapting it to suit their particular needs in a given commission. The repetition of an accepted repertoire of types helped to ensure an image's intelligibility across sometimes vast temporal and geographic expanses. Variation or alteration of those types invited closer scrutiny and consideration.

Just as the search for the lost Greek original has in many ways rendered the supposed Roman copies and their original contexts "invisible", so too has the pursuit of a

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[7] Perry 2005, 5.
[8] Pausanius 1.3-4.
[9] Mattusch 2002, 101, Perry 2005, 6.

"freedman" or "non-elite" aesthetic in many ways obscured the motivations, nuances and creativity involved in the development of non-elite commemorative art. The result, a scholarly discourse concerned primarily with social status and the "unique" life experience of former slaves, largely denies non-elite monuments an aesthetic identity of their own, just as Roman ideal sculpture has been denied a distinct aesthetic identity until recently.

This chapter uses recent re-evaluations of *Kopienkritik* and its legacy in the study of Roman ideal sculpture as a model for reformulating our understanding of elite and non-elite art. It focuses on portraiture especially, as portraits represent the central component of figural tomb monuments. As Marvin notes, the tendency to approach Roman portraits as aesthetic objects produced by artists, and ideal sculpture as uninspired reproductions produced by professional copyists, has obscured the close relationship between the two genres. Literary and archaeological evidence suggests that workshops and even individual artists executed objects in a variety of materials and genres, supporting the notion that the same aesthetic strategies could be employed across genres. This chapter explores issues of copying, reproduction and replication as they pertain to non-elite funerary monuments in relation to elite visual culture.

Kopienkritik and its Legacy

The method of *Kopienkritik*, through which art historians attempt to identify lost "original" masterpieces through reverse analysis of Roman replicas, has its foundation in the nineteenth century study of classical literature. Philological methods were soon

likewise applied to ancient sculpture. Building on established practices of identifying some Roman sculptures as replicas of Greek masterpieces, particularly those few examples described explicitly in literary testimonia, the practice of *Kopienkritik* emerged at the end of the nineteenth century as a systematic way to reconstruct lost works of Greek art. The advent of photography allowed scholars, especially Germans working in the circle of Heinrich Brunn, to compare large numbers of ancient sculptures in minute detail for the first time. With this new and easily accessible body of evidence, Brunn suggested that methods for recovering ancient texts might likewise be applied to ancient sculpture.[11] In his system, each surviving example of a statuary type was treated as equivalent to a copy of a text, with its own accretions, revisions and errors. By working through these errors and variations, more accurate reproductions could be separated from less faithful examples, and thus the lost original Greek masterpiece could be reconstructed. Brunn was emphatic that the value of a Roman ideal sculpture was not its own aesthetic success or innovation, but rather its authenticity as a source for an earlier object.[12]

The method of *Kopienkritik* was further advanced by Brunn's student Adolf Furtwängler, whose *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* was published in 1893.[13] The rapid translation of the book into English made the method of *Kopienkritik* widely available to English-speaking scholars in England and North America. Subsequently the search for the lost Greek original proliferated on both sides of the Atlantic. The method was further refined by Furtwängler's student, Georg Lippold, who recognized that

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[11] Brunn 1888-1900.
[12] Brunn 1905, 327.
[13] Furtwängler 1893.

Roman sculptors sometimes made changes to their "prototypes" rather than copying directly.[14] In order to account for these apparently deliberate deviations, he introduced additional terms to describe Roman ideal sculptures that presented greater or lesser degrees of variation from the original, including, for example, the "transformation" (*Umbildung*) and "use" (*Benutzung*). Although Lippold permitted Roman artists more creativity and ingenuity than Brunn or Furtwängler, the terms of *Kopienkritik* still strictly confined Roman ideal sculpture to its role as reflection of the earlier Greek original.

From its inception, the method of *Kopienkritik* was not without criticism.[15] Nonetheless, it had a profound effect on art historical scholarship throughout the twentieth century. At the core of *Kopienkritik* lay a set of assumptions that dismissed the possibility of Roman originality and artistic innovation. The typical assumptions, summarized by Perry, are as follows: first, that a Roman ideal sculpture replicates a Greek prototype, even if no such prototype is known through material or literary evidence; that literary evidence is useful for recovering the original; that the unique, identifying quality or "hand" of an artist can be discerned through a copy made by another artist centuries later; that one can assess the accuracy or faithfulness of a copy without the original for comparison; and finally, that stylistic similarities between multiple works are indicative not only of regional or temporal practices or preferences, but of an individual artist's hand.[16] These assumptions render the Roman sculpture invisible as an individual aesthetic object, and deny both the object's social and historical context and the meaning of replication as an aesthetic strategy in its own right.

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[14] Lippold 1923.
[15] See Perry 2005, 84-90, for discussion of early criticisms of *Kopienkritik*.
[16] Perry 2005, 6.

Since the 1970s, scholars have increasingly questioned the usefulness of *Kopienkritik* for the study of Roman ideal sculpture. Objections to *Kopienkritik* vary, but scholars increasingly are attempting to reunite Roman ideal sculpture with its Roman context. The many approaches to the "copy problem" in Roman art reflect the richness and nuance of copying, reproduction and repetition as social and aesthetic strategies in Roman visual culture. Direct, "mechanical" replication of entire works was not without precedent in Roman visual culture, although sources suggest it was neither a common nor especially esteemed practice.[17] Despite the potentially negative connotation of exact copying, the existence of replica series of certain statuary types affirms that in certain contexts the Romans found the replication of well-known images acceptable and useful.

Repetition and Reproduction in Portraiture

The method of *Kopienkritik* remains useful in genres other than ideal sculpture, especially portraiture.[18] Perhaps even more so than ideal sculpture, portraiture as a genre offers insight into repetition and replication as an aesthetic strategy in Roman art. Because portraiture as a practice was fundamentally social and often political in nature,

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[17] Perry 2005, 90-96. In a passage discussing literary *imitatio*, Quintillian (*Inst.* 10.11.6-7) criticizes artists who seek only to copy (*describere*) paintings using measuring stick and plumb bob (*quidam pictores in id solum student, ut describere tabulas mensuris ac lineis sciant*). His use of *describere* is unusual in a discussion of visual arts, as it is typically used to refer to the direct copying of a text, a task often undertaken by slaves. In Quintilian's context the term carries a negative or derogatory connotation, denigrating the work of copyists (see Perry 2005, 96, n. 40). A letter from Pliny the Younger to Vibius Severus (*Epistles* 4.28.) suggests that modification of an original by a copyist was, in fact, more commonplace, even when the goal was exact or direct reproduction. In requesting copies of two portrait busts, Pliny emphasizes the need for precision, and instructs Severus not to allow the artist to go astray, even if toward improvement (*ne in melius quidem*).

[18] See Hallett 1995, Pollitt 1996, Varner 2006 and Fittschen 2010 for the continued usefulness of *Kopienkritik* in certain contexts.

the repetition of hairstyle, costume, attribute and even physiognomy in Roman portraits takes on a meaning that exceeds the bounds of taste or fashion. Even the act of commissioning and displaying a portrait was a social statement, especially for the non-elite classes who had limited access to other forms of public commemoration. Approaching reproduction and imitation as both aesthetic and social strategies nuances the dialogue between original and model instead of reducing that relationship to one of mere mimicry.

In private portraits, whose subjects are not members of the Imperial family, and especially members of the non-elite classes, widespread replication was not necessarily commonplace. For many non-elite Romans, social, political and probably financial considerations circumscribed access to portraits in bronze or stone. Non-elite patrons did not qualify for the creation of funerary *imagines*, nor did they have access to the political or military positions which might lead to commemorative portrait statues erected in public spaces such as the Forum. During the Republic, however, at least some elite portraits must have been replicated on a limited scale, and a certain degree of consistency of likeness must have been necessary within this series in order for the images to serve their commemorate purposes. In addition, *imagines* themselves may have been replicated by collateral descendants of famous ancestors.

In other private portraits of Imperial date, the imitation of Imperial models, especially in hairstyles, represents a widespread type of aesthetic reproduction.[19] Even Imperial physiognomies might be reproduced, sometimes to such an extent that it is difficult to identify a portrait's subject as a member of the Imperial family or a private

[19] Fittschen, 2010, 236-9. See also Zanker 1982, Smith 1998, Fittschen 1999.

individual. Such may well be the case for the recently discovered Arles bust, which appears to be a private portrait modeled closely on the physiognomy of portraits of Julius Caesar.[20] Although private portraits themselves may be single commissions, the repetition of certain portrait features and coiffeurs nonetheless reflect an aesthetic strategy with strong social and political implications. The decision to imitate the features of the emperor or Imperial family is a profound statement of allegiance to the ruling regime and visually affirms a collective social identity. Likewise, as Fittschen notes, the decision *not* to imitate Imperial fashions may reflect similarly the patron's social, political or personal motives.[21] In some cases, it was not the imperial family who set the fashion, but rather they who responded to fashion set by private patrons. D'Ambra's recent examination of the portraiture of Julia Titi and Domitia Longina convincingly suggests that the Imperial women adapted a hairstyle already popularized in the early 70s C.E. by respectable matrons of elite rank.[22] Whether styles diffused from the imperial court into private portraiture or vice versa, the act of imitation implied membership in a larger group.

In the case of Imperial portraiture, consistency of appearance and recognizability were of great importance. Numismatic portraiture guaranteed that images of the Imperial family, particularly the emperor, were spread throughout the empire. Likewise, the widespread distribution of typologically consistent portraits throughout the empire confirms the existence of original "prototypes" that were replicated many times over. Sculpted portraits of the emperor and his family were expected to conform, at least

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[20] See Chapter Two, n. 54.
[21] Fittschen 2010, 237-9.
[22] D'Ambra 2013.

generally, to established types, even if this expectation was not always met.[23] A letter from Arrian, newly appointed governor of Cappadocia, to Hadrian confirms the importance of consistency within an imperial portrait series, even across vast geographic distances. Arrian requests a new statue of the emperor to replace an example in Trezibond which failed to capture the emperor's likeness successfully. His letter reveals that consistency of appearance and character were important attributes of an acceptable Imperial portrait, even if the viewers might never see the emperor in person for comparison. *Kopienkritik* therefore proves an invaluable method for the reconstruction of original portrait prototypes, allowing scholars to then analyze their development, geographical and temporal distribution, and reception history.[24]

The replication of portraits on either a small, intra-urban or large, extra-urban scale reflects not just the desire to preserve the countenances of famous men, but also the proliferation of the value system encoded within those portraits. Despite the arresting individuality of many Roman portraits, the consistency with which certain traits, including physiological and psychological traits, as well as hairstyle, costume and attributes, were replicated reveals a conventionality of type informed by social and ideological motives.[25] Nodelman described the Roman portrait as "an ideogram of 'public' meanings condensed into the image of a human face."[26] The portrait was constructed from a system of formalized, conventional references which existed independently and functioned discretely within the context of the image. The veristic portraits popular in the late Republic, with their characteristically grim expressions and

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[23] See Marvin 2008, 235 n. 88.
[24] See Fittschen 2010, especially 223-6.
[25] Nodelman 1993, 11-12.
[26] Nodelman 1993, 10.

aged visages, provide a counterpoint to the Hellenized, heroized portraits of famous personalities such as the general Pompey. Their very frankness, though conventional rather than individualized, expressed the subject's resolute adherence to traditional values of service to the state, self-discipline and social obligation.[27] Civic and magisterial attributes such as the toga further reinforced the public and political meaning of the veristic portrait.

Three first century B.C.E. portraits illustrate the conventionality of the veristic style. A portrait now in the Vatican (Fig. 23) depicts an elderly man as a priest, his bald head veiled.[28] Skin stretched taught across his head reveals the contours of the skull below. The subject's face is lined deeply, especially on the brow and around the sunken eyes. A serious, almost grim, character is suggested by the downward turn of the subject's pinched mouth and the frankness of his gaze. The portrait evokes the sense of determined individuality for which Roman portraits have long been admired when viewed in isolation. However, when compared to contemporary portraits, the underlying formula of the veristic style undermines the sense of individual identity. A tomb relief in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek depicts a subject who bears startling resemblance to the subject of the Vatican portrait.[29] Zanker has noted the close similarity of the Vatican and Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek portraits, suggesting even that they were produced in the same workshop.[30] The portrait of Publius Licinius Demetrius, introduced in Chapter Two, likewise can be compared to these portraits. All three examples share a similarly gaunt

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[27] Nodelman 1993, 11-13.
[28] Portrait of a man, marble, c. 50 B.C.E. H .37 m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti, inv. 1751. Amelung, n. 135, Andreae 1995, 58-9.
[29] Tomb relief with five figures, marble, early first century C.E. H .74m., W 1.85m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 2799. Zanker 1976, 593-94, Kleiner 1977, 246-47, n. 88, Devijver 1989, 429, Kockel 1993, 182-83, L9, Pollini 2007, 261.
[30] Zanker 1976, 593-94, Pollini 2007, 261.

visage marked by thinning skin, sharp cheekbones, protruding ears and sunken, almond-shaped eyes. The portraits display variation in certain features, such as the depth and arrangement of wrinkles on the face and the volume of the lips. These small discrepancies bestow individuality upon each portrait. However, the objects share a common configuration of physiognomy that illustrates the underlying formula of the veristic style when they are viewed collectively.

Viewers supplied the interpretation of these separate components as well as the active mental participation necessary to unify the image into a legible and meaningful whole. Repetition is crucial to this process of signification, for if the conventional references and their accompanying associations were not familiar to the viewer and thus easy to apprehend, the interaction between image and interpreter would break down. Standardized repetition as an aesthetic strategy thereby clarifies and intensifies the social and political messages embodied within the portrait. Physiognomic features, such as pronounced naso-labial lines, horizontal furrows in the brow, sunken cheeks and receding hairlines, as seen in the aforementioned portraits, unite portraits and the subjects they represent under a common aesthetic. Moreover, these features bore positive connotations as signs of age and esteemed character traits, such as *severitas, gravitas,* and *auctoritas*. The repetition of these features in private portraits embedded the subjects visually and conceptually within a shared set of social values.

The fairly limited repertoire of stock body types used for full-length portrait statues enhanced and enriched the communicative power of the portrait. These stock types were reproduced with a profound degree of consistency, sometimes for generations, as in the case of the Large Herculaneum Woman type widely employed for female

portrait statues.[31] The standardized repetition of statuary types emerged as an artistic practice in the late second and early first centuries B.C.E., and remained central to Roman honorific portraiture until the Late Imperial period. While in the Classical and Hellenistic traditional stock types were repeated with enough variation to disguise their similarity, the precision with which body types were reproduced by Roman artists *emphasized* their similarity.[32] The serial production of certain stock body types also offered practical advantages, such as convenience, dependability and accessibility, especially considering the immense number of statues commissioned in major urban centers during the Imperial period.[33]

The Large Herculaneum Woman, for example, developed as an accepted type to depict a woman in a public or civic role, as in the portrait of Plancia Magna from Perge, which was installed outside the Hellenistic city gate which she had remodeled in the Hadrianic period.[34] Most examples commemorate the civic contributions of elite women in the public spaces of urban centers across the empire (although the strong honorific associations led to its use in funerary portraiture as well).[35] The Large Herculaneum Woman type embodied the role of benefactress. In contrast, other types, such as portraits of Roman matrons in the guise of the goddess Venus, as in the statue of an older woman, popularly identified as Marcia Furnilla but almost certainly depicting a private person,

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[31] Trimbell 2011.
[32] Marvin 2008, 228 n. 43-4.
[33] Marvin 2008, 241.
[34] Portrait statue of Plancia Magna, white marble, c. 120 CE. H 2.01 m. Antalya, Turkey, Antalya Museum, inv. A3459. Inan 1974, 648-49, pls. 195-97, Mansel 1975, 74-5, figs. 36, 37a, Kruse 1975, 48-9, 151, 260, 274 (B15), Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 248, Alexandridis 2004, 239, Özgür 2008, 100-1, Trimble 2011, esp. 166-170, 192-5.
[35] See Trimble 2011, esp. Chapter Five.

commemorated a woman's beauty and fecundity.[36] The consistency of the stock body type provided a stable visual and conceptual anchor for the more or less individualized components of the statue, including the portrait head and identifying inscription.[37] The reliance on established types allowed artists and patrons a greater degree of flexibility in their representational choices while preserving overall semantic meaning of the image.[38]

Despite the continued usefulness of *Kopienkritik* as a method for analyzing some works of Roman sculpture, its criticism with regard to the study of Roman ideal sculpture has opened new avenues of research into Roman aesthetics and artistic practice. In particular, the concepts of *aemulatio* (creative, competitive emulation) and *imitatio* (imitation) have enriched our understanding of how the Romans deployed and engaged with Greek artistic traditions. These terms may also provide new insights into the way non-elite patrons engaged with the visual culture of the Roman elite. The tomb monuments discussed previously demonstrate that non-elite patrons (especially those affiliated with the upper echelons of Roman society) engaged elite Roman visual culture actively and with perspicacity. These patrons demonstrated their visual literacy, education and sophistication while still fulfilling their personal, commemorative needs. The following sections explore how *aemulatio* and *imitatio* might be profitably applied to the study of non-elite funerary monuments.

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[36] Portrait of a matron as Venus, marble, 90-100 C.E. H 1.91 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 711. Wrede 1981, 306-8, no. 292, Kleiner 1992, 177-79, D'Ambra 1996, 223-26; D'Ambra 2000, Stewart 2003, 51-3.

[37] Portrait statues of this type are rare in funerary contexts, and more common in the eastern Mediterranean, but one example still stands in the Isola Sacra necropolis in Ostia (Portrait of a woman, white marble, c. 200 CE. H 1.28 m. Ostia, Isola Sacra Necropolis inv. 1301). See Calza 1964, 109, no. 189, pl. 105, Kruse 1975, 65, 222, 292 (B52), Alexandridis 2004, 241, no. 90, Trimble 2011, 200-1, no. 56. Representations of the type in funerary reliefs and sarcophagi are more common, see Kruse 1975, 264-66, Mühsam 1952, Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, Moock 1998, Daehner et. al. 2007 106-9, 133-36.

[38] Trimble 2011, 177.

Emulation and Imitation

At the heart of recent reevaluations of Roman ideal sculpture lays the acknowledgment that multiplicity, seriality and reproduction were crucial components of Roman artistic practice. Indeed, multiples or replica series are attested in almost every category of Roman art. The degree to which these same aesthetic strategies were deployed in private portraiture has begun to be explored only recently. With regard to non-elite portrait commissions in particular, issues of appropriation, emulation and imitation are especially useful for better understanding the formal and conceptual relationship between non-elite portraits and their elite counterparts.

Unlike ideal sculpture, the portrait genre usually has been treated as a truly Roman artistic phenomenon, albeit a phenomenon influenced to a greater or lesser extent by both Greek and Etruscan traditions. Non-elite portraits, however, often have been denied the same status as aesthetic objects assigned to their elite counterparts. They are instead treated as derivations of elite prototypes, replicating forms, typologies, styles, clothing, coiffeur and attributes. The close formal relationship between elite and non-elite portraiture is undeniable, but the visual evidence suggests that non-elite patrons engaged with elite or "mainstream" Roman aesthetic strategies in a manner far more nuanced that previous studies have suggested.

Indeed, for the wealthy freedmen and freeborn who were able to commission tomb monuments with portraits, the visual culture of the elite must have been very familiar. The vast number of portraits and ideal sculptures populating the urban landscape, as well as those decorating the private elite homes in which at least some non-

elite patrons served as slaves and later freedman clients of a *patronus*, rendered the art of the elite fairly accessible to a wide range of Romans. Factors such as education, access to financial resources, commemorative imperatives and personal preferences dictated the extent to which patrons engaged with artistic trends and aesthetic strategies, but this is as true for elite patrons as it is for the non-elite classes. To assume that non-elite patrons as a whole were ignorant of contemporary artist practice, or of the artistic and social implications of their emulation of elite fashions, is to rob these monuments of much of their nuance, inspiration and creativity.

Borrowed from recent reevaluations of Roman ideal sculpture, the concepts of emulation (*aemulatio*) and imitation (*imitatio*) are useful when modeling the relationship between elite and non-elite artistic commissions. Imitation (*imitatio*) can imply direct mimicry, the attempt to reproduce something with a fair degree of faithfulness. Pliny the Younger, for example, uses the term with reference to the artist's task of copying a copy, that is, the portraits of Cornelius Nepos and Titus Catius he requested from Vibius Severus: "*Nam cum est arduum similitudinem effingere ex uero, tum longe difficillima est imitationis imitatio.*"[39] Yet the term can imply far more than the deliberate replication of a single original. There is scant ancient discussion of artistic imitation, but rhetorical treatises offer insight into Roman attitudes toward the process of *imitatio*. Many ancient authors themselves drew parallels between artistic and literary endeavors, and the principles of literary *imitatio* as described by the ancient sources may likewise be applied profitably to the study of Roman sculpture.[40]

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[39] Pliny the Younger, *Epistles* 4.28.1.1: "While it is difficult to copy from an original, it is more difficult to imitate an imitation."
[40] See especially Perry 2002 and Perry 2005, Chapter Four.

Discussions of literary imitation reveal that *imitatio* was best used as a pedagogical tool, but was insufficient alone for the production of truly great works. Rhetorical treatises of the late Republic and early Empire betray contempt for exact copies.[41] Precise imitation of a single model was regarded typically as a fruitless pursuit, for the orator (or artist) could not hope to produce a finished work superior to his model. Dionysius of Halicarnassus further nuances the practice of imitation by defining two different types.[42] The first type of imitation is achieved through long study and familiarity with both one's craft and the work of one's predecessors. Dionysius regards this type of imitation as natural and almost subconscious, the product of a pedagogical system based on careful study and analysis of the best *exempla*. The second type of imitation is more stilted and artificial, reproducing the formula of the original, but failing to capture the very qualities which made the model successful. Part of the reason why this type of imitation was inherently inferior was the need for *decor*, appropriateness, to subject and circumstance. The best type of imitation, therefore, involved the careful study of many excellent examples, and the judicious selection of the aspects, qualities and characteristics best suited to the task at hand.

Usually translated as "emulation," *aemulatio* bears more intense creative, competitive connotations than the simple emulation. In the Roman sense, *aemulatio* implies not only achieving the same degree of excellence as ones predecessors, but actually surpassing those *exempla*. It encompasses not only an awareness that one is following closely a model, but that one is engaged actively in a reciprocal relationship with that model, a relationship which in some ways may be characterized as a rivalry.

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[41] Quintillian, *Instit*. 10.11.6-7, Dionysius of Hallicarnassus, *Din.* 7.
[42] Dionysius of Hallicarnassus, *Din*. 7.

Although the typically conservative Romans respected the established traditions of Greek art as their models, they did not merely repeat the same formulae as their predecessors. Rather, they adopted and adapted style, subject and iconography to suit the needs of the patrons, all the while striving not only to achieve similar success, but to exceed it.

Closely linked with the concepts of *imitatio* and *aemulatio* is the idea of *decor* or *decorum*. The Romans' preoccupation with tradition and custom demanded that artists and patrons assemble their monuments from a fairly limited repertoire of genres, styles and iconography. *Decor* or *decorum*, usually translated as "appropriateness", served as a guiding principle not only in the selection or commissioning of works of art, but also as a convention governing all aspects of public life.[43] Cicero cites *decorum* as an important aspect of behavior in areas of public life including recreation, humor, and rhetorical practice. According to Cicero, the orator must take into consideration the appropriateness of his language and thoughts to a given subject, as well as anticipating the needs and expectations of his audience.[44] Likewise, Vitruvius considers *decor* a crucial component of architectural practice. He defines *decor* as the "faultless appearance of a work that has been put together on approved principles and with authority," which is achieved through the observation of custom and convention.[45] Vitruvius further connects the idea of *decor* to the idea of *natura*, the quintessential character of a person, building or object. Appropriateness was achieved through consistency with the character of a person or

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[43] In this chapter, *decor* and *decorum* are treated as interchangeable terms. Pollitt (1974, 343) proposed that the two terms were not directly synonymous, but rather refer to moral or ethical propriety (*decorum*) and aesthetic propriety (*decor*). Perry (2005, 31, n. 8), however, refutes this distinction, citing examples from Cicero and Vitruvius to show that in at least some contexts the terms could be used interchangeably. In any case, many types of aesthetic objects (especially portraits) in Roman culture bore profound moral and ethical weight. To sever aesthetic and moral appropriateness may overlook an important connection.

[44] Cicero, *Orat.* 70-74.

[45] Virtuvius, *De Arch.*, 1.2.5: "*Decor autem est emendates operis aspectus probatis rebus conpositi cum auctoritate. Is perficitus statione, quod graece* thematismos *dicitus, seu consuetudine aut natura*."

object. Therefore, it would be inappropriate for a person of humble means to have grand public spaces in his home, for he had no need to accommodate large gatherings of clients during the morning *salutatio.* A *patronus*, to the contrary, had need of more grand public spaces in his home.

No single source provides a precise definition of *decor* or *decorum*, or a specific prescription for how best to achieve the quality in art. *Decor* and *decorum* are defined and validated by those who possess authority, *auctoritas*, and, ideally, social consensus.[46] The vagueness of the definition suggests that in practice, the *decor* of an object or building was determined by a variety of factors, including subject, form and context, as well as the will of the patron and the judgment of the audience. No single definition of appropriateness was possible because every situation presented a unique set of demands to be fulfilled. Through education, good taste, and the observance of tradition, artists and patrons could create appropriate and effective images that adhered to generally accepted conventions while still achieving the commission's specific goals. The requirements of *decor* provided the theoretical framework in which the repetition of visual formulae developed into an aesthetic strategy.[47] Yet despite its inherent conservatism, the flexibility of the concept of *decor* permitted and sometimes compelled artists and patrons to devise innovative aesthetic solutions to fulfill the demands of a particular commission.

Within the context of private portraiture, the concepts of *imitatio* and *aemulatio* may be used to characterize the relationship between elite and non-elite patrons. Although artists and patrons must have worked more or less closely together on all types of commissions, this discussion necessarily must focus on the intent of the patron over

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[46] Perry 2005, Chapter 1, especially 31-38.
[47] Perry 2005, 31.

that of the artist. Scholars today lack information on the perspectives and intentions of Roman artists, and it is difficult to discern how much artistic agency they may have exercised on any given commission. However, the expectations of the patron must have contributed at least basically and perhaps substantially to the final appearance of a work of art.[48] Therefore the will of the patron must be considered as a part of any evaluation of an object. This is especially true of funerary monuments, which, although bound by artistic tradition and *decorum*, nonetheless presented the opportunity for somewhat more personalized artistic expression. Within this formula, it is the artistic commissions of the highest ranking members of Roman society that serve as the *exempla*, both aesthetic and conceptual, for other patrons.

Portraits of the Roman elite served as models for the burgeoning group of wealthy non-elite patrons beginning in the first half of the first century B.C.E. At the same time that visual and monumental display among elite families in Rome was growing increasingly competitive, non-elite families (including recently enfranchised citizens from cities across the Italian peninsula as well as wealthy freedmen) likewise began to assert their status in Roman society by means of visual art. The honorific and social associations of portrait statuary made the genre particularly suitable for the public self-fashioning of elite and non-elite patrons alike. Unlike their elite counterparts, non-elite patrons had limited opportunity for social display, and therefore turned to the necropolis as their primary venue of self-representation.

Non-elite patrons would have to observe the same general artistic conventions as their elite counterparts in order to create visually potent tomb monuments. The elite

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[48] Perry 2002, 154.

monopolized the visual landscape of Rome until the middle of the first century B.C.E., and possessed the *auctoritas* to define what constituted appropriate imagery. Elite portraiture set the standard for what constituted appropriate imagery through generations of accumulated value, a collectively accepted set of conventions which would render an honorific image legible as such to all or most who viewed it. Monuments must be accepted and understood by an audience with fairly diverse levels of visual literacy in order to attain and retain their communicative power. Therefore, non-elite patrons would be bound by the rules of *decorum* established by their elite counterparts if they wished to commission effective images. It is important nonetheless to remember that these conventions largely are self-imposed. Just as Roman artists deliberately chose to adopt the artistic *langue* of their Greek predecessors when creating ideal sculptures, so too did non-elite patrons choose to share in the visual language of elite portraiture to achieve their own honorific, eschatological and artistic imperatives.[49]

The relief of the Vettii, from the Via Salaria, serves as a useful case study to illustrate how the concepts of *imitatio* and *aemulatio* might be applied profitably to non-elite artistic commissions.[50] The relief is surrounded by a roughly finished rectangular frame. A carved inscription on the lower edge identifies the figures as Antonia Rufa, C. Vettius Nicephor, C. Vettius Secundus, and Vettia Calybe.[51] The inscription identifies

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[49] Marvin 2008, 3-4. In the introduction to her argument, Marvin draws a parallel between the "poetic *langue*" shared by Greek and Latin writers, described by Gian Biagio Conte (1986, 92), and the artistic *langue* shared between Greek and Roman artists. Conte borrows the term from de Saussure's distinction in linguistics between *parole*, individual speech, and *langue*, the syntax and vocabulary of a language from which speech is constructed and understood by speakers of that language. For Saussure on *langue* and *parole*, see de Saussure 2011.

[50] Relief of the Vettii, marble, c. 20 B.C.E. H .65 m, W 1.35 m. Rome, Via Po, 1A. Kleiner 1977, 243-44, no. 84, Kockel 1993, 145-6, H13.

[51] *Antonia P. l. Rufa // C. Vettius (mulieris) l. Nicephor // C. Vettius C.f. Secundus // Vettia C. l. Calybe.* Above both Nicephor and Vettia Calybe is inscribed *v(ivit).*

Antonia Rufa, Vettius Nicephor and Vettia Calybe as freed slaves, Rufa of one Publius Antonius, Nicephor of a woman, Vettia, and Calybe of a Caius Vettius. The relationship between the figures is not explained explicitly. It is likely that Rufa and Nicephor are married based on their positions within the composition and their relative ages, although there is no gesture of *dextrarum iunctio* to support this assumption. Judging from the shared *nomen*, Nicephor and Calybe were likely slaves from the same household. If Calybe is the offspring of Rufa and Nicephor, she was born before her father's (or both parents') manumission.[52] Vettius Secundus is the only figure identified as freeborn, presumably the offspring of Rufa and Nicephor, produced after manumission. Both Nicephor and Calybe are identified as living (*v(ivit)*) at the time of the monument's execution.

The four figures are depicted in half-length portraits extending to the middle of the torso. Rufa is a mature female figure wearing a complex hairstyle, with two braids encircling the head and one rising up over the center of the brow. She wears a mantel, her right arm just visible under the heavy fabric as her hand emerges to touch the hem. Nicephor stands to her left, overlapping her arm slightly. The portrait depicts Nicephor as a somewhat older man, with strong naso-labial lines, pronounced bags under his eyes, crow's feet, and a heavily furrowed brow. He wears the toga, the symbol of his citizenship, and a short-cropped hairstyle. To his left, the young Vettius Secundus likewise wears the toga, as well as a *bulla*, a protective amulet worn by freeborn Roman males until maturity. His short-cropped hair and rounded, juvenile features are reminiscent of the portraiture of Augustan princes. The hair, however, comes together in

a distinct trefoil motif in the center of the brow, perhaps referencing the children's *Scheitelzopf* coiffeur. Finally, Calybe is depicted as a youthful woman with a centrally-parted hairstyle. A thick, corkscrew-shaped lock falls alongside the left side of her neck. She wears a ring on her left hand, and touches the edge of her mantle in an inversion of the *pudicitia* type. Overall, the quality of the carving is good but not excellent. The figures are rendered according to familiar types, with little attention to individualizing detail.[53] Their features are regular, symmetrical, somewhat linear and lacking robust three-dimensional volumes. The drapery especially has a flat, ornamental quality.

The relief of the Vettii deploys conventional commemorative imagery in order to situate the family favorably within the broader artistic and cultural milieu of early Augustan Rome. Rufa and Nicephor are rendered in a more veristic style than those of their children. The deepened lines and volumes around the eyes, eyebrows and mouth, as well as the addition of furrows and wrinkles, provide visible signs of their advancing age. On a practical level, the signs of aging are useful for conveying social and familial relationships in a monument that commemorates multiple generations of a family group. The pronounced age difference between Nicephor and his partner Rufa reflects typical non-elite marriage demographics (if not, perhaps, this particular couple's lived experience). Saller's examination of commemorative patterns in non-elite funerary monuments suggests that there was usually a ten year age gap between spouses at time of first marriage.[54] Furthermore, the long standing relationship between an older man and a younger woman is a common theme found in funerary monuments of non-elite patrons,

[53] See Kockel 1993, 145-6 for comparison to contemporary reliefs.
[54] Saller 1994, 25-32.

as is the case in the relief of Aurelius Hermia and Aurelia Philematio discussed in Chapter Five.[55]

Rufa and Nicephor's maturity also preserves the veristic style of portraiture that was popular in the late Republic but declined after the introduction of Augustus' new, more classicizing portrait style in the last two decades of the first century B.C.E. The almost cartographic rendering of signs of aging reflected a complex set of ideas about social position and obligation, as well as positive character traits. Veristic portraiture also probably bore some formal and conceptual connection with ancestor portraits in general, and the *imagines maiorum* in particular, though the precise nature of that relationship remains difficult to articulate.

The retention of the veristic style for mature male portraits, even juxtaposed with portraits rendered in the more idealizing Augustan style, is a hallmark of non-elite portraits of the early Empire. Usually scholars attribute this to Roman freedmen's simple, conservative aesthetic sensibilities and slow response to artistic innovation. However, Roman visual culture was highly conservative at all levels of society. Artists and patrons relied on an established corpus of styles, types and iconography from which images were assembled according to the rules of artistic *decorum*. Imitation of traditional imagery, especially a well-established portrait genre associated especially with social achievement and conformance to accepted values, places the monument of the Vettii well within mainstream Roman artistic discourse.

Notably, more veristic portraits of women begin to emerge in the Augustan period.[56] Portraits of women were typically youthful and idealized in the Republic,

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[55] Kootbojian 2006. See also Weaver 1991.
[56] For more on mature female portraits, see Matheson 2000.

betraying no sign of age beyond sexually mature adulthood. After around 30 B.C.E., female portraits begin to display increasing individualization of facial features, as well as physiognomic signs of age, such as sunken cheeks, thin lips, bags under the eyes, loose skin around the neck, and either gauntness or fatty deposits around the cheeks, chin and jaw.[57] Some examples, such as the portrait bust of a mature woman wearing a *nodus* hairstyle in the Palazzo Massimo (Fig. 24), cannot be associated securely with a funerary context. However, many of these mature female portraits belong to group reliefs, such as the bust portrait of Antistia Plutia (Fig. 25).[58] The proliferation of individualized portraits of aging women, comparable to earlier and contemporary veristic portraits of men, in the group reliefs suggests that female verism may have been a non-elite innovation. Female "verism" could have originated among freedmen as a means to clarify visually familial relationships within multi-figure compositions. It would also convey positive character traits and acceptance of predominant social values in a manner analogous to veristic portraits of non-elite males. Character traits most typically assigned to women in epitaphs include fidelity, chastity, piety, and dutifulness as a care-giver, all domestic and matronly virtues. These traits are comparable to those assigned to men in that they fulfill expected social roles within the familial framework. Therefore, non-elite patrons were able to deploy verism, an established artistic convention, in a new way in order to express visually female subjects' acceptance of and conformance to expected social roles in a manner comparable to those of their male counterparts.

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[57] Kleiner 1977, 96-107.

[58] Portrait of an older woman, marble, late first century B.C.E. H .32 m. Rome, Palazzo Massimo, inv. 124493 Toynbee 1965, 35, Bianchi Bandinelli 1976, 95, Giuliano 1983, 272-73, no. 167. Funerary relief of L. Antistius Sarculo and Antistia Plutia, marble, c. 20 B.C.E. H .64 m., L .97 m. London, British Museum, inv. 2275. Smith 1904, 289-90, Sandys 1969, 70-1, Zanker 1975, 296-8, fig. 34, Kleiner 1977, 106, 207, n. 20, Kockel 1993, 178-79, L4, Rüpke 2007, 225-6.

As argued in Chapter Three, non-elite patrons appropriated the style and iconography of elite honorific, specifically ancestral, portraiture in order to lay claim to the dignity, authority, and social legitimacy embodied by those images. At the outset, the aesthetic imitation of Republican elite styles paralleled non-elite patrons' emulation of the values and character of the great men who preceded them. That some non-elite patrons continued to deploy the veristic style after it had gone out of fashion among their elite counterparts should be viewed as a conscious decision to continue affirming their integration and assimilation into Roman society. Furthermore, it is perhaps unjust to compare freedmen's use of the veristic style unfavorably to that of their elite counterparts. By the end of the first century B.C.E. non-elite patrons largely were competing with and responding to the aesthetic activities of their social and economic peers as much as, if not more so than, their elite counterparts.[59]

The patrons of the relief of the Vetti (Nicephor himself, perhaps together with Calybe) were not simply mimicking elite portraits. Imitation of the veristic style in the portraits of Rufa and Nicephor established the subjects as fully integrated members of Roman society who conformed to traditional values and exemplified socially accepted virtues. The juxtaposition of the older veristic style with the more classicizing Augustan-style portraiture of the younger Vettii, Calybe and Secundus, affirms that the appropriation was deliberate and not simply convenient. Unlike the portraits of their parents, those of both Calybe and Secundus embrace current trends in portraiture. Calybe is depicted as a youthful woman, the planes of her face smooth and regular, her expression serenely remote. She bears resemblance to contemporary portraits of Livia

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[59] See Chapter Five.

and Octavia, with almond-shaped eyes, pursed lips and pronounced labiomental crease. She also wears a fashionable centrally-parted coiffeur, a curled lock escaping down the left side of her neck.

The emulation of Imperial women, along with the modified *pudicitia* pose, situates Calybe firmly within the artistic milieu of Augustan Rome. The new importance of women within Augustus' program of cultural renewal increased their visibility and offered a framework through which women's private, familial duties could be celebrated in a more public, officially-sanctioned way. Imitating the portraits of Imperial women established Calybe as a fashionable woman of some, although likely modest, means, and aligned the young woman with the virtues and personal characteristics the Imperial women embodied.[60] Just as the portrait features of Augustus' female family members were assimilated to one another in order to present a visually unified family group, so too did the emulation of those portraits among private persons emphasize the subject's alliance with the court. The imitation of Imperial models demonstrates allegiance and conformance to the emperor's program, the emulation of the Imperial family as *exempla*.[61] Calybe probably was unmarried at the time of the monument's commission since the relief commemorates her alongside family rather than a spouse.[62] Nonetheless, she embodies the virtues of chastity, modesty and character possessed by the emperor's female family members, which presents her as a suitable potential wife and fully engaged with Augustan moral initiatives.

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[60] Fittschen 2010, 235-8.
[61] Zanker 1982, 309, Fittschen 1999, 106 ff., Fittschen 2010, 237-8.
[62] Saller 1994, 32.

The portrait of the young Secundus likewise reflects contemporary Augustan artistic fashion. With his round, chubby countenance, regular features, and close-cropped cap of hair, the young boy resembles childhood portraits of members of the Imperial family, including Augustus' heirs and relatives on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis. Secundus wears a toga and a *bulla*, proclaiming visually his status as a Roman citizen. Scholars have long recognized the inclusion of children, especially male children, deceased or living, on the funerary monuments of freedmen as a celebration of the achievement of full Roman citizenship passed on from manumitted slaves to their offspring. Familial relationships and the production of legitimate heirs was an important concern for freedmen, and it appears as a recurring theme in their tomb monuments. That does not, however, render such imperatives unique to that particular segment of Roman society. Augustan monuments such as the Ara Pacis brought children into the repertoire of Roman visual culture as symbols of fecundity, dynasty and familial unity. Augustan legislation such as the *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus* of 18 B.C.E. and the later *lex Papia Poppaea* (9 C.E.) were aimed at regulating marriage and stimulating childbirth among Roman citizens in general and the elite in particular, but the laws also incentivized child rearing for manumitted slaves.[63] Patrons for whom the creation of legally and socially recognized family was already a priority readily appropriated the imagery for

[63] Under these laws, freedmen who had two or more children were exempted from certain obligations to their masters as conditions of their manumission, as were freedwomen who married their former masters or who were over the age of fifty. Likewise, freedwomen with four or more children were exempted from having a legal guardian under the *ius trium liberorum* (which required freeborn women to bear only three children). Freedmen who had married but failed to produce three children could also be penalized, their patrons granted certain rights of inheritance over them. Finally, the laws also permitted marriage between all non-elite freeborn males and freedwomen. Rontondi 1962, 443-45, 457-62, Frank 1975, Csillag 1976, Treggiari 1991, 402-3, McGinn 1998, 70-139.

themselves. Non-elite patrons proclaimed themselves not only newly enfranchised Roman citizens, but Romans citizens who embraced the moral initiatives of their ruler.

The imitation of diverse elite styles, veristic portraits for the older generations, and up-to-date Augustan portraits for the younger family members, served multiple purposes within the funerary monuments of non-elite Romans. It allowed patrons to represent legibly the biological and social relationships between multiple generations of a family group within a single composition. Expressing generational chronology was important because the creation and perpetuation of family units, sometimes celebrating biological relationships, other times commemorating the bonds between *conliberti* or professional colleagues, was a priority for many non-elite patrons. Likewise, the close conceptual, if not also formal, relationship between the veristic style and ancestral images such as the *imagines maiorum* established visually the older generations of non-elite families as ancestors to be revered and emulated by their descendants.[64] Because manumitted slaves had no legally recognized ancestors of their own, just as most non-elite Romans would have no famous ancestors commemorated by *imagines* or known by famous reputation, the appropriation of ancestral imagery anchored non-elite families in a culture that placed immense importance on the lineage.

Finally, the veristic style embodied the values of hard work, dignity and restraint which were valued in the Republican period, especially in contrast to the more bombastic, Hellenized portraiture of the political and military rivals who rose to power in the last generations of the Republic and essentially effected its destruction.[65] In light of the Augustan rhetoric which privileged and sought to revive the values and moral

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[64] D'Ambra 2002.
[65] Nodelman 1993, 12-16.

uprightness ascribed to the Republic, freedmen's imitation of the veristic style may be interpreted, in part, as a further attempt to express assimilation in Roman society in general and acceptance of the emperor's ideology in particular. A similar effect is achieved in the appropriation of the current Augustan portrait style in the representations of the younger generations, but also in their more direct emulation of the coiffeurs and portrait features of the Imperial family, as illustrated in the images of Calybe and Secundus.

The juxtaposition of portrait styles observed frequently in non-elite tomb monuments reflects a more general preference for eclecticism in Roman art. Formal eclecticism, in which disparate styles are deployed within a single, unified work of art, appears at all levels of Roman artistic production. The ideal sculpture of the first century B.C.E. artist Pasiteles and his circle provides evidence that artists consciously employed eclecticism as a formal strategy. [66] Scholars have not yet identified any works executed by Pasiteles himself, but several by his student Stefanos and Stefanos' pupil Menelaos are known. Those works, including the Stefanos Athlete, the Orestes and Electra from Pozzuoli, and the S. Idelfonso group, combine disparate elements of Greek Classical styles in single compositions.[67] The juxtaposition of heterogeneous styles within an individual composition demonstrates the artists' knowledge and mastery of the styles of the famous predecessors, including the Classical sculptors Polykleitos and Praxiteles. Mastery of *exempla* was a central component of rhetorical and artistic training alike,

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[66] Borda 1953, Ridgway 2002, 157-60, Varner 2006, 284-87.

[67] Stefanos Athlete, marble, c. 50 B.C.E. H 1.44m. Rome, Villa Albani, inv. 909. Pollitt 1986, 175, Bol 1989, 115-17, Kleiner 1992, 29-30, Varner 2006, 285. Orestes and Electra, marble, c. 40 B.C.E. H 2.1m. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archaeologico, inv. 6006. Pollitt 1986, 175, Pozzi et. al. 1989, 108, no. 71, Kleiner 1992, 30-1, Varner 2006, 285, Kousser 2008, 146-49. S. Idefanso group, marble, c. 10 B.C.E. H 1.61m, W 1.06m, D .56m. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. E00028. Zanker 1974, 28-30, Palma 1983, 44, Palma 1986, 89-93, Kleiner 1992, 31, Varner 2006, 285-87.

according to ancient sources, and the ability to draw what was most useful from different sources a necessary skill for adapting to the demands of *decorum*.[68] The resulting work furthermore requires a high degree of visual literacy on the part of the audience to achieve legibility. Testimony from Pliny and Varro confirms that elite Roman patrons appreciated the work of Pasiteles for its quality and innovation.[69] The same was apparently true for the work of Pasiteles' pupils, for the Stefanos Athlete was copied no less than seventeen times.[70] The popularity of Pasitelean sculpture confirms that artists and patrons of all social strata utilized eclecticism as a creative and innovative aesthetic strategy.

The relief of the Vettii not only asserts the family's identity as assimilated members of the broader community, but also as members of a distinct social group within that community. Well-to-do non-elite Romans sought to forge a relatively uniform group identity which distinguished them from their elite counterparts while at the same time observing the traditions and conventions of Roman commemorative art. In this way, they observed artistic *decorum* and used the established visual *langue* of Roman portraiture to express assimilation into Roman culture in a manner at once recognizable and innovative.

In the Tiberian period, the group reliefs began to fall out of fashion. Non-elite patrons instead began to commission burial markers in the form of altars, often with portraits of the dedicatee and commemorative inscription. The portrait appears either on the segmental or triangular pediment of the altar, with the face occupied by a framed inscription, or on the face of the altar itself. Some of the altars bear shallow cavities to

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[68] Perry 2005, 181-82, Varner 2006, 285.
[69] Pliny, *Natural History* 35.156, 36.39, who cites Varro as an admirer of Pasiteles.
[70] Borda 1953, 26-34, 43-78, Zanker 1974, 49-50, Gazda 1995, 134, Perry 2005, 11,Varner 2006, 285.

receive votive offerings, while others have deeper cavities, presumably for the deposition of the deceased's cremated remains.[71] Inscriptions confirm that these altars often served as *cippi* delineating the boundaries of larger burial complexes, and were not necessarily the only portraits included in tomb's decoration. The altar of Tiberius Claudius Dionysius, dedicated by his wife and freedwoman Claudia Prepontis, for example, was found along with a figural relief bearing a nearly identical dedicatory inscription, probably meant for the exterior of the tomb.[72] As funerary altars were parts of larger tomb complexes, intended for display either in front of or within the precinct, it is possible that many more altars were complemented by additional portraits.

Like the group reliefs of the previous generations, funerary altars with portraits seem to have been a uniquely non-elite phenomenon. However, the typologies of the altars themselves follow closely those of ceremonial altars without portraits produced by elite patrons. The richly adorned altar of Junia Procula, from the Via Flaminia in Rome, for example, may be compared to a similarly ornate altar dedicated to Licinia Magna, possibly from the tomb of the Licinii on the Via Salaria.[73] The two altars are contemporaraneous, both dating to c. 80 C.E., and are of roughly the same size, standing

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[71] Kleiner 1987, 21-3. This practice is confirmed further by epigraphic evidence, see n. 26.

[72] Altar of Tiberius Claudius Dionysius, marble, c. 40-50 C.E. H .97 m., W .46 m., D .32 m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 9836. Boschung 1987, no. 974,Kleiner 1987, 107-9, no. 7, Goette 1990, 118, Sinn 1991, 67, no. 34, Relief of Tiberius Claudius Dionysius, marble, c. 40-50 C.E. H .615 m., W .89 m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 9830. Boschung 1987, 75, Kleiner 1987, 107-9, no. 7, Sinn 1991, 32, no. 10.

[73] Altar of Junia Procula, marble, c. 80 C.E. H .99 m, W .63 m, D .51 m. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, corridoio II, inv. 950. Kleiner 1987, 132-4, no. 23, Minten 2002, 130, A7, Rawson 2003, 48, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 149, A9, Huskinson 2007, 330, Mander 2013, 80-81, no. 44. Altar of Licinia Magna, marble, c. 80 C.E. H 1.02m, W.80 m, D .42 m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Gabinetto delle Maschere, inv. 811. Boschung 1987, no. 657; Pietrangeli 1989, 130, n. 36; Grassinger 1994, 82 n. 14; Spinola 1995, 59 n.103, 77 n. 108; Spinola 1999, 166. no. 36; *CIL* VI 1445; Kragelund et. al. 2003a, 52-3, 110-11, no. 8.

just around a meter in height. Likewise, both served as ossuaries for the cremated remains of the deceased. Today, both are missing their lids.

Junia Procula was the freeborn daughter of Marcus Junius Euphronsynus and his freedwoman, Junia Acte. Although the altar was originally dedicated to all three family members, Acte was later stricken from the monument, her memory condemned in a second inscription on the back.[74] The altar is decorated with heads of Jupiter Ammon at the top front corners, and with rams' heads on the rear. Unfurling ribbons spring from the tops and bottoms of the figures' horns. Eagles are placed at the bottom front corners, mirrored by sphinxes on the back. A fruit garland is draped between the heads of Jupiter Ammon on the face. Above the garland, a dog overturns a basket held by a putto, and below, a winged griffon attacks a bull. The sides of the altar are festooned with garlands, laurel instead of fruit. Above the laurel garlands are the patera and pitcher, located on the right and left sides of the altar, respectively, with two birds below. On the right side, below the garland, a rodent gnaws a piece of fruit. On the left side is another griffin.

Between the Jupiter Ammon heads on the altar's face, a square panel frames a bust portrait of a young woman in a shell-shaped tondo. The bust form, which extends to the breastbone and includes the shoulders, dates to the late first century C.E. No garment is visible. Although the inscription records that Junia Procula was eight years eleven months and five days old when she died, the portrait depicts a more mature adolescent female. Her hairstyle, a tight cap of deeply-drilled corkscrew curls, is reminiscent of that worn by Julia Titi in a portrait in the Museo Nazionale Romano, with the addition of two

[74] *CIL* VI, 20905. For the secondary inscription, see Mansuelli 1961, Vol. I, 213-14.

longer corkscrew curls which fall below each ear.[75] The epitaph is carved below the face on the socle.

The altar of Licinia Magna is of slightly finer quality than that of Junia Procula, but has very similar decoration. The face of the altar is framed by heads of Jupiter Ammon above and eagles below. Between the heads of Jupiter Ammon is a recessed, framed square panel. Instead of a portrait, the panel contains the epitaph identifying the dedicatee as the daughter of Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi (consul 27 C.E.) and wife of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, who served as consul of 57 C.E. and was executed for conspiring against Vespasian.[76] A fruit garland drapes low below the inscription. Just above the garland is a Gorgoneion framed by two snakes and two swans. Below, two eagles vie over a wreath. The heads of Jupiter Ammon correspond to rams' heads on the rear, but instead of sphinxes, the lower rear corners are decorated with swans. Like the altar of Junia Procula, the sides are festooned with laurel instead of fruit garlands. Above the garland on the left side is the pitcher and two birds, one of which is eating a berry. Below the garland is a laurel tree, besides which is a second bird consuming a piece of fruit. The right side likewise has a patera and two birds above the garland, with a seated goat below.

The only significant differences between the two altars, one belonging to a daughter of a wealthy non-elite family, the other to two of the most high-ranking, albeit politically controversial, elite families, is the placement of the inscription and the addition of a portrait. The similarities between the altars confirm that wealthy non-elite patrons

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[75] Kleiner 1987, 134. Portrait of Julia Titi (Ludovisi head), marble, c. 80-81 C.E. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 8638. Giuliano 1983, 32, Alexandridis 2004, Alexandridis 2010, D'Ambra 2013.

[76] Kragelund et. al 2003a, 34.

not only had access to fine-quality monuments, but also were as engaged with contemporary visual culture as their elite counterparts. It is indeed difficult to identify a distinctly "freedman" aesthetic when comparing the altars of Junia Procula and Licinia Magna. Nonetheless, the consistent inclusion of portraits in relief on the sepulchral monuments of non-elite patrons from the late Republic through the Imperial period remains a distinguishing feature of the genre. Rather than an aesthetic preference, however, this should be understood as a commemorative preference that linked successful non-elite patrons across generations.

The altar of Junia Procula also illustrates the increasing complexity of the relationship between non-elite, elite and Imperial art as it developed through the first and second centuries C.E. With the growth of a wealthy and politically influential class of Imperial freedmen in the first century, and the simultaneous decrease in the power and influence of elite families under the emperors, the social and cultural disparities between the two groups began to diminish. It is difficult to maintain the notion that non-elite patrons were appropriating the visual culture of the elite so much as the two groups were sharing a truly common visual language, perhaps even the same workshops in some cases.

Reproductions of Ideal Sculpture

Non-elite patrons of the Imperial period also exhibited sophisticated understanding of elite artistic culture in other ways. References to ideal sculpture, both well-known and more obscure examples, demonstrated the patrons' familiarity with elite

visual culture and artistic practice. Tomb monuments often reproduced well-known or recognizable ideal statuary types as vehicles for portraits of the dedicatees. Roman artists had combined individualized portrait heads with conventional and symbolically-charged heroic or divine body types from the Republic onward, and these "composite" portraits became popular among elite and non-elite private patrons alike.[77] Today scholars generally accept that a separate conception of the portrait head as the seat of individual identity and the body as a kind of costume heavy with symbolic meaning unites these sometimes shocking juxtapositions into a single holistic work of art.

Scholars have considered eschatological implications in terms of "private apotheosis," but generally reject the idea that the adoption of mythological or heroic attributes implied a belief in actual divinization after death.[78] Instead, the mythological bodies are thought to communicate something about the subject's social identity or character through metaphorical allusion. D'Ambra, for example, has considered the social contexts of portraits of matrons in the guise of Venus, which were produced in the late first and second centuries C.E. These portraits juxtapose individualized portraits of grim-faced, aged Roman matrons with the youthful, idealized body of the goddess Venus. Notably, these statue types represent the goddess in full or partial nudity, an ostensibly scandalous state for a respectable Roman matron. D'Ambra argued that the nudity of the Venus portraits served two primary purposes. First, the domestication of the goddess's eroticism in Roman culture transformed the sexually unrestrained Greek Aphrodite into a model of productive fertility and matronly virtue for Roman wives and mothers.[79] The

[77] Niemeyer 1968, 54-64, Wrede 1971, Wrede 1981, Stewart 2003, 46-59, Hallett 2005.
[78] Wrede 1971, Wrede 1981, D'Ambra 1993, D'Ambra 1996, D'Ambra 2000, D'Ambra 2008.
[79] D'Ambra 1996.

appropriation of the divine body for portraits of older matrons evoked their sexual and familial virtue, and perhaps suggested the renewal of the matronly body after death. D'Ambra later nuanced this interpretation by suggesting that the body's nudity served as a kind of adornment akin to the subjects' highly dressed and styled hair, for example.[80] The cultivation of feminine beauty reflected favorably upon the subject as well as her spouse in a way that was worthy of recognition and remembrance. The social and ritual associations of the goddess's nude body temper its eroticism, situating it within the socially-acceptable realms of female virtue, self-restraint and productive sexuality.

Varner considered some of the art historical and eschatological implications of the reproduction of famous statues in Roman funerary monuments, most of which commemorate non-elite patrons, as well.[81] Any reference to an established statuary type presupposes the viewer's knowledge and recognition of that type. Replicating ideal statuary types allowed patrons to demonstrate their knowledge of art and art history, as well as contemporary aesthetic trends such as eclecticism and mythological portraiture.

Furthermore, the transformation of a deceased subject into a work of art results in what Stewart calls a "statuesque statue," an object that self-consciously presents itself as a statue, either through artistic conceit or through reference to another work of art.[82] "Statuesque" statues objectify the subject in such a way that he or she assumes the reputation or qualities ascribed to the work of art itself. Commemorating an individual with a "statuesque" statue likewise elevates the honor bestowed on the patron.

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[80] D'Ambra 2000.
[81] Varner 2006, 290-97.
[82] Stewart 2003, 79-117. See also Chapter Five for the aesthetic and eschatological implications of "statuesque" portrait busts in Roman tomb monuments.

Commissioning a work of art implies a certain level of erudition, wealth, and status. [83] Setting up a memorial icon for a deceased loved one also is an act of piety akin to dedicating a votive object, especially when the object reproduces a divine body type. Some evidence even suggests that the ontological distinction between the subject of a divine portrait and the divine body itself could be unclear. Statius comforts his friend Abascantus, a high-ranking freedman of Domitian who had recently lost his wife Priscilla, stating that, "to love a wife is a joy, while she is alive, and a religion, when she is departed."[84] Statius' comment evokes supreme devotion to a dead spouse. However, in his letters Statius also praises Abascantus for setting up statues of his deceased wife Priscilla in the guise of the goddesses Maia, Diana, Ceres and Venus.[85] Statius' observation suggests a level of reverence for the departed that extends beyond marital duty when considered in conjunction with the array of mythological portraits Abascantus erected in his wife's memory.

Some funerary monuments are dedicated to the deceased subject as well as the deity whose guise they wear. The altar of Aelia Procula, discussed below, represents the subject in the guise of Diana, and her parents dedicated the object to both their daughter and the goddess.[86] Likewise, a woman named Sallustia dedicated a statue now in the Vatican to Venus Felix (Fig. 26) on behalf of herself and another individual, Helpedus.[87]

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[83] Varner 2006, 289-90.
[84] Statius, *Silvae* 5.4-5: "*uxorem enim vivam amare voluptas est, defunctam religio*." Trans. D'Ambra 2000, 101.
[85] Statius, *Silvae* 5.231-33.
[86] Altar of Aelia Procula, marble, c. 140 C.E. H .99m, W .72m. Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 1633. Wrede 1971, 138-39; Wrede 1981, 226, no. 91; Kleiner 1987, 241-2, n.104; Varner 2006, 295-97; D'Ambra 2008, 172-75, Mander 2013, 58, 146, no. 113.
[87] Venus Felix, marble, c. 170 C.E. H 2.14m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio-Clementino, Cortile Ottagono, inv. 936. Helbig 1963, 186, Haskell and Penny 1981, 323-25, n. 87, Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 94-5, n. 137, Wrede 1981, 313-14, n. 306, Delivorrias 1984, 78-9, n. 696, Andreae 1998, 190-96, *CIL* VI 782.

Both the figure of Venus and the Eros who forms the leg support bear individualized portrait features, perhaps representing the dedicators in divine guise. The assimilation of Sallustia and Helpedus with Venus and Eros is reinforced by the placement of their names directly beneath the figures in the inscription. Here the boundaries between human and mythological dedicatee are blurred to such an extent that the division between the two is unclear. Ancient sources suggest that Roman viewers usually distinguished between the subject of a mythological portrait and the deity whose guise they wore, but in some cases patrons and artists may have obscured that distinction deliberately, especially in eschatological contexts.[88]

This section considers some of the social and art historical implications of the reproduction of ideal sculpture in non-elite tomb monuments with respect to the eschatological concerns of the patrons. Replication and reproduction as aesthetic strategies serve the goals of assimilation and normalization of freedman patrons' place within Roman society. Non-elite patrons displayed their erudition and learning, as well as their wealth, by commissioning tomb monuments that reproduced famous or well-known works of art. Moreover, these monuments testify to the innovative ways in which non-elite patrons engaged elite artistic practices. The Venus portraits, for example, are certainly influenced by representations of Imperial women in the guise of goddesses. However, surviving examples of Imperial women as goddesses only reproduce fully-draped statuary types rather than the nude or semi-nude forms preferred by non-elite patrons.[89] The introduction of nudity in female mythological portraits may well represent an important artistic innovation by non-elite patrons and the artists they employed.

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[88] Suetonius, *Gaius*, 7, Statius, *Silvae* 5.1.231-3. See Stewart 2003, 54.
[89] D'Ambra 2000, 102.

The requirements of the eschatological context also condition the act of artistic reproduction. Literary and archaeological evidence confirms that at least some, and probably many, of private reproductions of ideal statues with portraits were created for installation in tomb contexts. Funerary altars, such as that of Aelia Procula, were set up either within tombs or at the boundaries of the plot. Wrede's reconstruction of the tomb of Claude Semne, whose husband was an Imperial freedman of Trajan, included several statues of the deceased in divine form, which parallels Statius' description of Priscilla's tomb.[90] The tomb of the Manilii on the Via Appia was equipped with portrait busts, as well as two full-length mythological portraits of a woman as Venus and a man as Mercury.[91] A portrait of a woman as Venus in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 27) was found in Rome near San Sebastiano, suggesting that it was originally set up in or around a tomb on the Via Appia.[92] The evidence strongly suggests that patrons commissioned mythological portrait statues for an eschatological context primarily. It is not necessary to interpret the reproduction of heroic or divine statuary types for private funerary portraits as evidence of a literal belief in apotheosis or posthumous divinization. However, it is just as unnecessary to limit their interpretation to social values alone.

The reproduction of ideal statuary types for funerary monuments began as early as the first century C.E. The altar of Tiberius Octavius Diadumenus (Fig. 28) dates to the Augustan period, and depicts the deceased in the form of Polykleitos' famous statue of

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[90] Wrede 1971.
[91] Portrait of a woman (Manilia Hellas?) as Venus, marble, 100-10 C.E. H. 1.17m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Magazzini, inv. 267. Wrede 1971, 144, 146, 158, no. 2, Wrede 1981, 308-09, no. 293, D'Ambra 1996.
[92] Portrait of a woman as Venus, marble, Trajanic. H. 1.835m. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, inv. 245. Wrede 1981, no. 309, Fittschen and Zanker 1983, III, 52, no. 68, D'Ambra 2000, 105-7.

the same name.[93] The direct reference to Polykleitos' *Diadumenus* as a work of art is emphasized by the addition of a narrow rectangular plinth on which the figure is mounted. Roman funerary monuments sometimes represent the deceased as a work of art within the work of art, as a bust, a full-length statue erected on a base (as in the case of Diadumenus), or even an *imago clipeata* (Fig. 29), as in the Testamentum Relief.[94] The representation of the deceased as a work of art emphasizes the commemorative honor bestowed upon the subject in addition to creating a further degree of temporal and (meta)physical distance between the living viewer and the deceased subject. The reference to a famous Greek statue reflects an onomastic play on the deceased's Greek cognomen. Furthermore, it projects the virtues of the statue's subject, a victorious athlete, and the aesthetic superiority of Polykleitos' statue, onto the subject, Diadumenus.[95]

Likewise, the altar of Aelia Procula depicts the deceased in the guise of the goddess Diana. Aelia Procula is represented in an aedicular niche in the upper center of the altar. Although her portrait bears the physiognomy of an immature female, with round, child-like features, the juvenile head has been set upon the body of the adult goddess. The body follows the 'Diana of Versailles' type, in which the goddess strides forward vigorously, bow extended in her left hand, while she retrieves an arrow from the quiver over her left shoulder. A hound springs forward at her left heel. The type is

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[93] Altar of Tiberius Octavius Diadumenus, marble, c. 31 B.C.E. – 14 C.E. H .85 m, L .47 m, W .33 m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile Ottagano, inv. 1142. Ritti 1977, 313, no. 74, pl. 12.2, Kleiner 1987, 97-8, no. 1, Spinola 1996, 43-4, no. PE 29, Koortbojian 2002, 187-8, Varner 2006, 292-95,

[94] Testamentum relief, marble, early second century CE.H .85 m, L 1.45. Rome, Museo Capitolino, inv. S308. Stuart Jones 1912, 153, no. 65, pl. 23, Winkes 1969, 213-15; Wrede 1977, 404, 406, figs. 82-5; D'Ambra 1995.

[95] Varner 2006, 292-5.

further characterized by the thick band of fabric that girds her short chiton around the waist and loops over the left shoulder.

The 'Diana of Versailles' type was associated originally with the Greek sculptor Leochares by Furtwängler.[96] Without the benefit of ancient testimonia, Furtwängler's attribution of the 'Diana of Versailles' type to Leochares was based on stylistic similarities between the Louvre example (Fig. 30) and the Apollo Belverdere, which he also ascribed to Leochares.[97] However, the Apollo Belvedere is now generally regarded as an original work of Roman ideal sculpture executed in a classicizing style and dating to the Hadrianic period. This alone should raise serious questions about the attribution of the 'Diana of Versailles' type to Leochares. Unlike the Apollo Belvedere, which exists as a single composition, multiple examples of the 'Diana of Versailles' type survive.[98] Nonetheless, it may still represent an original Roman composition similarly executed in a classicizing style. The existence of a replica series need not necessarily point to the replication of a specific original, famous or otherwise.[99] Trimble posits that if the "aesthetic power and fame" of a Greek original motivated the replication of a particular statue type, one would expect to see certain evidence of that imitation. Such evidence might include the equal temporal distribution of copies through the Roman period; an indication that the replicas were displayed within a wide range of contexts, or within contexts specifically associated with aesthetic appreciation; or some identification

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[96] Furtwängler 1895, 409.
[97] 'Diana of Versaille', marble, Hadrianic period. H 2.01 m. Paris, Louvre, inv. MA 589. Bieber 1977, 73, Pfrommer 1984, Simon 1984, 805-06, Ridgway 1990, 93-94, 97-98. In relation to Aelia Procula, see Varner 2006, 295-97, D'Ambra 2008, 174-75, Mander 2013, 58, 146.
[98] Simon 1984, 805-6.
[99] Trimble 2011.

(perhaps by inscription naming either the artist or subject) of the original that might suggest a collective Roman appreciation for that object.[100]

The 'Diana of Versailles' type fails to fulfill these conditions. Examples date primarily to the Hadrianic and Antonine periods, and many functioned as vehicles for portrait heads, as in the case of Aelia Procula.[101] A variation on the type in which Diana stands firmly with her weight on her right leg, rather than striding forward, her hound seated faithfully by her right leg, likewise was used for portrait statues. It is therefore possible, if not probable, that the Diana of Versailles type represents an original Roman composition dating to the Hadrianic period which quickly gained popularity in private funerary commemorations. Young Roman girls were often commemorated with the attributes or in the guise of the goddess Diana as a way to celebrate their virginal status and virtue.[102] As Varner notes, however, reducing these references to simple visual equations between the deceased and the original statues' subjects deprives the reproductions of their "inherent art-historical implications."[103] By quoting famous, recognizable statues (or perhaps, in the case of the Diana, a recognizable statuary *type*), the patrons of both Diadumenus' and Aelia Procula's funerary altars anticipated a high degree of visual literacy in at least some of the monuments' viewers. Whether the altars were meant for more or less private (that is, familial) viewing, or more public, external display, the expectation of art historical knowledge in the audience is significant.

Both Diadumenus and Aelia Procula belonged to the circles of wealthy freedmen who commissioned funerary monuments for themselves and their families during the

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[100] Trimble 2011, 26.
[101] See Wrede, 1981b, 222-30, n. 84, 90, 91.
[102] Wrede 1981, 222-29, D'Ambra 2008.
[103] Varner 2006, 297.

Imperial period. Diadumenus is not identified as a freedman, but the combination of Latin *nomen* and *praenomen* with Greek *cognomen* suggests libertine status. The inscription on Aelia Procula's altar, however, proudly names her father, P. Aelius Aesclepiacus, as a freedman of the Imperial house. The title "AUG LIB" is given its own line in the inscription, and it is situated close to the exact center of the altar's face, proclaiming his status boldly. Aelia Procula's mother, Ulpia Priscilla, may also descend from freedmen of Trajan's house. The art historical sophistication suggested by the monuments of Diadumenus and Aelia Procula demonstrates the visual literacy at least some of her non-elite population.

Direct quotations of famous statues or statue types also were used in sculptures in the round. The popular portraits of Roman patrons as Venus often reproduce well-known statuary types, such as the Capitoline Venus, Knidian Venus or the Venus of Capua. [104] These statues were preferred by high-ranking non-elite patrons, including Imperial freedmen, of the same social circle as Diadumenus and Aelia Procula.

The repetition of certain recognizable Venus types for portrait statues embeds the subjects in a dense network of artistic, political and divine associations. Any woman commemorated in the guise of Venus at once is in dialogue with other women depicted in this way, with the goddess Venus, and with the original statues or statue types themselves. Variations in composition, costume, gesture and attribute further nuance the conversation. Sometimes the variations are subtle, deviating from the prototype only slightly, while other examples display a richness of allusion that is more characteristic of the Roman preference for eclecticism discussed previously.

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[104] Wrede 1971, Kleiner 1981, Wrede 1981, 306-22, Kleiner 1992, 248-49, D'Ambra 1993, D'Ambra 1996, D'Ambra 2000, Perry 2005, 122-48.

The Capitoline Venus is one of the most common statuary types utilized for portraits of Roman matrons, and indeed one of the most common Venus types adopted, adapted and replicated in Roman ideal sculpture.[105] Patrons and viewers alike must have recognized the Capitoline Venus (or Venus Pudica) either as a familiar statuary type or, perhaps, in reference to a particularly well-known example or examples.[106] The type captures the nude goddess at her bath. Having been interrupted, Venus modestly covers her breasts and genitals with her hands, and hunches her shoulders against the visual intrusion. Despite the ostensible attempt to conceal her nudity, the goddess's gesture nonetheless draws attention to her revealed body. The modesty of the type therefore is erotically charged, although Venus's sexuality was directed towards martial fidelity and reproductive capacity in a Roman context.[107]

Well-known examples of matrons depicted in the guise of Capitoline Venus include the matron in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, a small statue from the tomb of the Manilii in the Vatican, and two statues from the Farnese collection now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (Figs. 31-32).[108] All four figures replicate the type with only minor variations in pose and attribute. The Hadrianic woman in Naples is more robust in figure, and hunches forward over her exposed body, while the others stand in more erect poses. The matron from the tomb of the Manilii bears her weight on her right leg instead of the usual left. All of the subjects wear fashionable contemporary hairstyles

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[105] For the type, see Delivorrias et. al. 1984.
[106] Stewart 2003, 109-110.
[107] D'Ambra 1996, 221-22.
[108] Portrait of a woman as Venus, marble, 1st century C.E. H. 1.96m. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 6291. Felletti Maj 1951, 63, no. 44, Mikocki 1995, 191, n. 273, Rausa 2007a, 34, Rausa 2007b, 164, no. 31.1, Gasparri 2009, 79-80, no. 34. Portrait of a woman as Venus, marble, Hadrianic. H. 1.84 m. Naples Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 6299. Felletti Maj 1951, 64, no. 45, Muthmann 1951, 106-7, n. 22, Wrede 1971, 144, 158, A14, Poulsen 1974, 92-3, no. 72, Bieber 1977, 66 Wrede 1981, 310-11, no. 297, Schmidt 1997, 205-6, n. 127, Zanker-Ewald 2008 197, Gasparri 2009, 80-82, no. 35.

except the first century C.E. example in Naples, whose hair is arranged in a typical centrally-parted Venus coiffeur topped with a loose cascade of curls. That matron also wears an armband around her left biceps. Finally, each example uses a different device for the leg support. The Glyptotek matron was supported by Eros, whose feet are still visible on the base to the proper right of the main figure (instead of the proper left). The Manilii matron is supported by a dolphin wrapped around a tree stump, the first century C.E. matron by a dolphin, and the Hadrianic woman by a loutrophoros covered by a fringed drape. Each device was associated with Venus traditionally, but they acquired additional meanings in commemorative and eschatological contexts (see below).

The so-called Venus Felix type was another sometimes used to commemorate Roman matrons, particularly in the second century C.E. The Venus Felix derives from the popular Knidian Venus type attributed to Praxiteles. However, instead of representing the goddess at her bath, the Venus Felix type seems to bear associations with the goddess's birth. The statue nonetheless expresses the same implicit eroticism. The partially-draped goddess holds a fringed garment around her waist, using her right hand to draw the edge over her genitals. The left arm is raised and bent at the elbow, supporting the other end of the drapery. As in the Capitoline Venus, the goddess's drapery at once conceals and draws attention to her sex, creating an erotic tension that is tempered and enhanced by Venus's attempt at modesty.

The type is named for the portrait now held in the Vatican (Fig. 14) dedicated to Venus Felix on behalf of Sallustia and Helpedus. The subject of this portrait sometimes has been identified as an Imperial woman, such as Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, but it seems more likely to commemorate a private woman in the guise of the goddess who emulates

the portrait features of the Imperial court.[109] The figure's upraised left hand is now missing, as is the upraised right hand of a similar example in the Villa Medici, preventing any conclusion about what she might have held.[110] However, the Vatican Venus Felix is accompanied by the figure of Eros, who stretches upward toward the raised hand of his mother as if he is reaching for whatever she holds, perhaps an apple. The young Eros may bear portrait features like his divine mother. A version of the Venus Felix type without portrait features now in the Naples Museum is likewise accompanied by Eros, but in a different pose and carrying a shell in reference to the goddess's birth from the sea.[111] An example in the J. Paul Getty Museum, the Mazarin Venus (Fig. 33), uses a dolphin instead of an Eros as the support.[112]

The replication of well-known Venus types for private funerary monuments demonstrates the art historical sophistication of the patrons, and anticipates that future audiences (presumably of similar social status) would likewise appreciate the reference. Reproducing a well-known work appropriates the fame and reputation of the original for the portrait's subject, inserting her into the art historical lineage attached to the image. Both the Capitoline Venus and the Venus Felix types are related to the fourth century B.C.E. Aphrodite of Knidos by Praxiteles, and both types often are linked to originals by the same artist. The Aphrodite of Knidos was considered the pinnacle of divine beauty rendered from stone in the most lifelike fashion. Pliny the Elder names the statue superior

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[109] Haskell and Penny 1981, 324.
[110] Portrait of a woman as Venus, marble, 160-180 C.E. H 1.71m. Rome, Villa Medici. Cagiano de Azevedo 1951, 108-9, n. 264, Wrede 1981, 313, no. 305.
[111] Statue of Venus, marble, second century C.E. (Hadrianic?). H 1.24m. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 6300. See Gasparri 2009, 83-86, no. 36, with earlier bibliography.
[112] Statue of Venus (Mazarin Venus), marble, 100-200 C.E. H 1.84m. Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 54.AA.11. Lapatin and Wright 2010, 164-65.

not only to all Praxiteles' other works, but to all other works in the world.[113] Other sources praise the statue for its realism, soft sensuality and the expressive quality of the face.[114] The widespread reproduction of Praxitelean Venus types affirms Roman patrons' esteem for the artist's style and skill, especially in representations of the goddess. Mythological portraits executed in this form elevate their subjects to the same level of regard as the originals in terms of beauty, realism and expressiveness. The supreme beauty of Praxiteles' Venuses translates into a statement about the unequaled matronly virtue of the portrait's subject, the goddess' coy sexuality translated into an appropriately modest affirmation of productive sexual capacity.

Each Venus portrait upholds its subject as the pinnacle of virtue and beauty, but each iteration of the type refers to the other examples in the series as much as it does to an "original" source, especially since the prototype was reproduced, with and without portraits, to such a great extent. The objects subsequently acquire meaning as a collective as well as individual works of art. Women memorialized in the guise of Venus all purport to share the virtues and character traits associated with the type. Furthermore, the body of the goddess communicates much about the subject's social age and social identity. Venus portraits commemorate older women from high-ranking non-elite families, often freedmen attached to the Imperial household. The statues identify their subjects as members of a social group distinguished by their wealth and connection with the highest levels of Roman society. The "veristic" style of the portrait heads, which emphasizes signs of aging such as wrinkles, sunken eyes, pronounced naso-labial folds and sagging skin, assigns all of the subjects to a particular social age. They are established matrons

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[113] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 36.20.
[114] Hölscher 2004, 94, n. 28.

who have achieved a certain dignity by virtue of their familial devotion. The somewhat masculine quality of their features may also reflect contemporary physiognomic theories that equate masculine physiognomic features in women with positive character traits, and therefore further heighten the subjects' virtue.[115]

Fashionable coiffeurs also contribute to the subject's virtue. Most of the subjects of Venus portraits wear contemporary hairstyles, sometimes with the addition of long "Venus locks" falling along the neck and shoulders. Elaborate hairstyles bind the subject to a particular time period and status, and may also bear social implications of restraint, modesty and controlled beauty.[116] The coiffeurs provide individualizing elements that distinguish the subject from the goddess Venus, but they are as much a part of the subject's "costume" as the body of the goddess.[117] Notably, the first century C.E. statue of a woman as Venus from Naples (Fig.19) represents the subject with a typical Venus hairstyle rather than a contemporary coiffeur. The hairstyle no longer serves as a social and temporal anchor, but instead links the subject more closely with the goddess and her sculptural tradition. Rejecting contemporary fashion in favor of a canonical hairstyle imbues the composition, and its subject, with a sense of timelessness and eternity particularly appropriate for an eschatological image.

Most examples of Venus portraits reproduce established statuary types with a fair degree of fidelity. Variations in pose and attribute, however, offered the opportunity to nuance the social and eschatological meanings of each individual statue. Diversity is especially apparent in the conception of the leg support. The supports take the form of

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[115] D'Ambra 1996, 225-27.
[116] D'Ambra 2000, 108-10, D'Ambra 2013, 523-24.
[117] D'Ambra 2000, 103.

dolphins, Eros, or water vessels, traditional attributes of Venus. However, the selection of support device apparently was flexible. All three attributes are represented among the four Capitoline Venus-type portraits mentioned previously. Selection of leg support offered an additional means by which patrons and artists could individualize the portrayal of the subject, and each device bore potentially potent symbolism in an eschatological context. The dolphin alludes to Venus's divine birth from the foam produced when Cronos castrated Uranus and tossed his genitals into the sea. In an eschatological context, the dolphin might evoke concepts of rebirth or transformation in the afterlife.

The figure of Eros emphasized Venus's maternal role, a crucial part of her divine identity in Roman culture. As mother of the Roman people through her son Aeneas, Venus served as ancestress as well as divine *exemplum* for Roman matrons. The state cult of Venus Verticordia promoted marriage and maternity for all Roman women.[118] Julius Caesar and Augustus celebrated her especially as *genetrix* of the Julian line and Imperial women from Livia on were depicted in her guise. The figure of Eros, also used as the support together with a dolphin on the Augustus of Prima Porta, confirmed Venus's productive sexual capacity and her role as divine mother. The use of Eros as a support in the matron portraits therefore gives the statues a particular familial and maternal meaning, emphasizing the fertility of the subject and her familial role as wife and mother. The figure of Eros could also have portrait features, as in the Vatican Venus Felix, and perhaps also the portrait of the Glyptotek matron.[119]

A draped vase, often a loutrophoros, is a common support used in Capitoline Venus types, as in the Hadrianic Naples woman. The water vessel, along with the

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[118] Pagnotta 1978-79, Schilling 1954, 389-95, Scheid 1992, D'Ambra 1996, 221
[119] Wrede 1981, 307, D'Ambra 1996, 225.

goddess's discarded robe, implies bathing, a scene usually interpreted in erotic terms. However, the process of bathing and the loutrophoros in particular may convey additional eschatological meanings. The loutrophoros was used to hold the water used in wedding ceremonies in the Greek tradition. The composition therefore represents Venus concluding her pre-nuptial bath preceding her marriage to Vulcan.[120] Furthermore, Andrew Stewart suggests that the composition of the Capitoline Venus type implies the presence of two spectators, the viewer who approaches the statue frontally, and a third party to the right, towards whom the goddess turns her gaze.[121] Stewart identifies Mars, Venus' lover, as the most likely candidate. The "triangular relationship of voyeuristic complicity and erotic rivalry" formed between viewer, Venus and the implied Mars prefigures the cuckolding of Vulcan. However, the Romans glossed over the illicit nature of the relationship between Mars and Venus, instead celebrating the couple as divine ancestors of the Roman people. Portraits of women as Capitoline Venus therefore may anticipate the slightly later second century C.E. private portraits of men and women in the guise of Mars and Venus.[122]

The loutrophoros could also serve as a grave marker. Sometimes the bottom of the vessel was left open to allow the passage of libations and offerings into the grave. Furthermore, washing the corpse was an important component of the funerary rituals which marked an individual's transition from life to death. The *deposito* and washing of a corpse paralleled the laying out and washing of a newborn child, creating a ritual cycle that initiated and closed an individual life with a bath for which female family members

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[120] Brückner 1904, 16-17, Stewart 2010
[121] Stewart 1997, 168, Stewart 2010, 13-17.
[122] Kleiner 1981, Perry 2005, 122-48.

were responsible primarily.[123] The reference to bathing implicit in the Capitoline Venus type therefore could take on profound ritual significance in an eschatological context. It could not only allude to the familial duties the Naples matron may have performed for her own deceased loved ones, but also to the same rituals that family members performed for her. The transformative power of the bath also might allude to a transformation that took place *after* death, the transformation from a corrupt mortal body to the eternal, divine body of Venus.

Patrons also appropriated and recombined elements of familiar statuary types in addition to reproducing them directly. In a visual system that privileged repetition as an aesthetic strategy, deviation from tradition could also represent a powerful visual tool. It too anticipated and required the visual literacy of the audience, but also demanded further analysis on the part of the viewer. A portrait of a matron as Venus in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 53) combines elements of several different Venus types within a single, eclectic composition. The statue is draped in a manner similar to the Venus of Capua, with a heavy mantle riding low across the hips and falling in thick folds along the left thigh. The Capitoline woman's high Trajanic toupet hairstyle echoes the height and shape of the diadem worn by the Venus of Capua. Unlike the Venus of Capua, whose body turns to the proper left as the goddess admires her reflection in the shield of Mars, the Capitoline Woman is in an erect, frontal pose. The pronounced outward thrust of her right hip is reminiscent of the Aphrodite of Knidos, but more extreme, as in the Lovatelli Venus statuette from Pompeii.[124]

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[123] See Graham 2011, 29-31.

[124] Lovatelli Venus, marble, first century C.E. Pompeii, Antiquarium, inv. 6233. Reuterswärd 1960, 184-91, Donati 1998, 317, no. 154 (with bibliography), Østergaard 2008, 46-48.

The Capitoline portrait appropriates formal elements from a number of different Venus types in an eclectic figure that rejects the coy eroticism of the Capitoline Venus and Venus Felix types. The statue instead conveys a sense of self-possessed authority as much as frank sexuality.[125] The image also presents a challenge to the viewer, who must parse the statue in order to apprehend all of the artistic references in a manner similarly required by the ideal sculptures of Pasiteles and his school. The eclectic assemblage of elements from different Venus types evokes a variety of associations, including bathing and victory, both of which potentially were rich with eschatological meaning. Moreover, it demonstrated the patron's knowledge of a variety of different canonical statue types, as well as the artist's skill at adapting them into a single composition.

A portrait of a matron as Cybele in the J. Paul Getty Museum requires a similar analysis (Fig. 34).[126] The statue represents an older woman with fleshy, mature features. She is seated on a throne and wears the guise of the goddess Cybele, including a high-girded chiton, mural crown and long veil which falls over the left shoulder and drapes over the arm. Her waved hair is centrally parted, and thick, gently curling locks fall on either side of the neck, a coiffeur similar to Livia's final "Iulia Augusta" portrait type.[127] An armband in the shape of a snake encircles the right biceps just above the elbow. At the woman's right foot is a small lion, an attribute of the goddess. To the left rests a rudder and cornucopia. In her right hand, the woman holds a sheaf of wheat and poppy. The left hand, now missing, was upraised.

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[125] D'Ambra 2000, 105-6.

[126] Portrait of a woman as Cybele, Thasian marble, c. 50 C.E. H 1.62 m, W .70 m, D .64 . Malibu, The Getty Villa, inv. 57.AA.19. Vermeule 1957, 22-25, Bieber 1968, Wrede 1981, 220-21, n. 78, Frel 1981, 42-43, no. 28, Sande 1985, 155, 230-31, Smith 1994, 96 Spinelli 2014.

[127] In fact, some scholars have identified the subject of the Getty Cybele as an aged Livia, or other imperial women. See, for example, Beiber 1968, 17 and Sande 1985, 155, 230-31.

To date, the Getty Cybele is the only full-length portrait of a private person in the guise of Cybele. The portrait was subject to close study by Margarete Bieber, who focused primarily on the identification of the portrait's subject.[128] The portrait is usually identified as a priestess of Cybele or someone closely associated with her cult, and its original context identified as a temple or temple precinct. However, Ambra Spinelli recently offered a new interpretation of the Cybele Getty as a funerary monument whose iconography evoked not only one goddess, but positive female character traits associated with the four goddess to whom the statue's iconography refers.[129] The identification of the Getty Cybele as a funerary monument is argued most convincingly by virtue of the large, deeply cut rectangular cavity in the back of the statue.[130] While some scholars have suggested that the cavity served as a dowel hole for affixment to a wall, there are no parallels for a dowel hole of such large dimensions in Roman sculpture. Furthermore, it is unlikely that such a large and heavy sculpture would need to be secured to a wall in order to stand stably. Spinelli argued that the cavity was intended to receive the cremated remains of the deceased. She noted that while the cavity could accommodate a cinerary urn of typical proportions, the remains may also have been deposited wrapped in a more flexible material such as cloth.

Despite initial suspicions about the foreign goddess and the strange rites of her ecstatic followers, the cult of Cybele was assimilated with that of Magna Mater, and achieved an important place in the Roman pantheon. Her Phrygian roots appealed to elite

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[128] Bieber 1968.
[129] Spinelli 2014.
[130] The exterior of the cavity measures .28 m in width and .205 m in height, while the interior measures .375 in width and .34 m in depth. A three centimeter groove around the edge of the cavity suggests that it was once covered over with a plaque. The interior of the cavity is patinated, confirming that the cavity is ancient. Spinelli 2014.

families who traced their ancestry back to Troy.[131] The Trojan roots of the goddess made her particularly suitable for veneration under Augustus, who made his home close to her temple on the Palatine, and rebuilt it after it burned in 3 C.E. Furthermore, the Claudian side of the Imperial family had strong ties to the goddess. On Cybele's arrival in Rome in 204 B.C.E., it was Claudia Quinta, an ancestress of Livia through her father's side, who freed the transport ship after it became mired in the mud of the Tiber. Subsequently a number of her Claudian descendants sponsored the games held in her honor, the *ludi Megalenses*.[132] Finally, in the Roman context, Magna Mater/Cybele was closely associated with female chastity, for in the post-Augustan tradition, Claudia Quinta was a Vestal Virgin who redeemed a sullied reputation by successfully freeing Cybele's ship from the Tiber.[133] She was subsequently celebrated as an *exemplum* of feminine virtue. This association accorded well with the public portrayal of Livia's character, and the close association between the empress and Cybele is illustrated in an onyx cameo portrait of Livia in the guise of the goddess (Fig. 35) which reveals the complex associations between the Claudians in general, Livia in particular, and Cybele. [134]

While portraits of Imperial women are more common, portraits of private women as Cybele are much less numerous.[135] Additionally, no representations of Cybele combine the diverse group of attributes found in the Getty example, including the snake armband, rudder, cornucopia, and sheaf of wheat and poppy. These attributes are

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[131] Littlewood 1981, 383, especially n. 15 for additional bibliography.
[132] C. Claudius Pulcher in 99 B.C.E. and Ap. Claudius Pulcher in 91 B.C.E.,for example. (Cicero, *Verr*. 4.6, 4.133).
[133] Wiseman 1979, 94-99.
[134] Cameo of Livia and Divus Augustus, sardonyx, c. 15 C.E. or later. H 9cm, W 6.6cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. IXa95. Megow 1987, 254, no. B15, Bieber 1968, 12, 25, Sande 1985, 154, Smith 1994, 95.
[135] See Wrede 1981, 220-22, ns. 78-81.

typically associated with other Roman goddesses, including Bona Dea (armband), Fortuna (cornucopia and rudder), and Ceres (wheat and poppy). Spinelli argues that these attributes draw on the iconography of all four goddess in order to express the subject's positive virtues, especially those related to sexual honor, including *prosperitas*, *pudicitia*, *castitas*, *abstinentia*, and *fecunditas*.

Many Roman funerary monuments use "private apotheosis" to draw positive comparisons between the portrait's subject and the mythological figure with whom they are assimilated, but here the eclectic combination of mythological iconography creates a more complex message. Not satisfied with a singular identification, the patron borrowed iconography from multiple goddesses in order to underscore her claim to matronly virtue. The addition of attributes typically associated with other goddesses must have been a noticeable departure from convention for viewers familiar with representations of Cybele. Deviation from a familiar type would have invited closer scrutiny of the object, and perhaps prompted consideration of the similarities and differences between the goddess to whom the statue refers, as well as between those goddesses and the woman with whom they are assimilated. The appropriation and recombination of divine attributes in portraiture likewise can be observed in the aforementioned cameo portrait of Livia, who combines the mural crown of Cybele with the wheat and poppy of Ceres, as well as the slipping drapery of Venus. These complex iconographic amalgamations require the visual literacy and active analysis of the viewer in order to convey the maximum amount of information.

With neither an identifying inscription nor a known find spot, it is impossible to determine the social status of the woman assimilated with Cybele in the Getty statue.

Certainly she was a woman of some financial means to have been commemorated with a full-length seated portrait statue. The identification of the statue as a funerary monument does not negate the possibility that its subject was a priestess of the goddess. The subject (or her dedicators) may have wanted to celebrate her status in life as well as to invoke positive associations with not one but multiple related deities in death.

Another funerary altar whose decoration reflected learned onomastic and art historical references is the funerary altar of Laberia Daphne.[136] The face of the altar is carved with a plain rectangular frame, within which is a representation of the mythological Daphne in the midst of her transformation into a laurel tree. Daphne, a maiden nymph and daughter of a river god, was pursued and eventually overtaken by Apollo. Rather than submit to him, she was transformed into a laurel tree, which Apollo subsequently declared sacred and whose leaves he wore as a crown. The female figure is nude and standing in a fully frontal pose, her legs held close together, lower legs merging and losing individual articulation as they transform into the trunk of a tree. The figure's arms are upraised to either side of her head. From both her legs and mid-biceps sprout branches. Likewise, her hair has been entirely transformed into a crown of laurel leaves. Daphne is depicted, therefore, in the midst of her transformation. Although the facial features are weathered and in general rather summary, Kleiner has suggested that a portrait was intended.[137] Despite the lack of datable details, such as clothing and coiffeur,

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[136] Funerary altar of Laberia Daphne, marble, 90-120 C.E. Urbino, Palazzo Ducale. *LIMC* III.1, 345, no. 3; *CIL* VI 20990; Ritti 1977, 268, no. 4, P. II.1; Wrede 1981, 113, n. 473. Kleiner 1987, 203-4, no. 75, Pl. XLII.3; Mander 2013, 20-21, 56.
[137] Kleiner 1987, 203.

the *nomen* of Flavia Horaea, mother of the deceased and one of her commemorators, suggests a date in the late first or early second century C.E.[138]

Above the face of the altar, the epigraph extends over the otherwise undecorated segmented crowning element, acroteria and cornice. It names Daphne's parents, M. Laberius Daphnus and Flavia Horaea, as the dedicators.[139] Daphne's age at death was originally included on the inscription, but the proper left side of the altar has been damaged and this section is not preserved. However, it is likely that Daphne was a young woman not yet married, as it is her parents rather than a husband who commissioned her funerary monument.[140] Like Diana, Daphne would be an appropriate choice for the commemoration of a young, unmarried woman.[141] As a maiden, the reference would celebrate her chastity and virginity, in addition to highlighting the onomastic play. Likewise, the transformation of Daphne into a tree may serve as an analogy for the transition from life to death, with the memory of the deceased commemorated eternally just as Apollo vowed to preserve the memory of his beloved.

While representations of laureate youths pursuing women, and Apollo pursuing other quarry, date as early as the Greek Classical period, representations of Daphne do not appear before the first century B.C.E.[142] Palagia connects the tradition to Hellenistic predecessors, but no famous original sculpture has been identified.[143] Most of the Roman representations of the myth, which may have been influenced by Ovid's account in the

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[138] Kleiner 1987, 204.
[139] *D LABERIA // DAPHNES · V · A · // M · LABERIUS ·DAPH // L ·HORAEA ·PARENTE // FIL · DULVISSI*. *CIL* VI, 20990.
[140] Saller 1994, 35-32.
[141] Daphne is a virgin huntress dedicated to Artemis in the Arcadian Version of the myth. Palagia 1986, 344.
[142] See Palagia 1986, 348, esp. n. 42, 43 for misidentifications.
[143] Ibid.

Metamorphoses, come from wall-paintings from Pompeii and other cities on the Bay of Naples. Usually these images depict the pursuit of Daphne by Apollo, or the two figures seated or standing in conversation. Sometimes the identity of Daphne is indicated by the inclusion of a laurel tree or leaves in the scene. However, in these scenes she is always depicted as a young female not yet transformed.

Literary testimonia suggests that other artistic traditions represented Daphne in the midst of her transformation. Lucian refers to a tradition in which Daphne was represented as fully human from the waist up, but transformed below.[144] Likewise, ***Anth. lat.*** 1.172 suggests the existence of a marble statue of Daphne's transformation, which may or may not have included the figure of Apollo. The only surviving sculptural representation of Daphne in the midst of transformation, the so-called "Daphne Borghese", likely dates to the Augustan period.[145] Daphne is depicted wearing a peplos belted high under the breasts. Her pose is fully frontal, and her legs are embedded in the trunk of a tree. Laurel leaves and branches are carved in low relief over her lower legs and hips, while her upper body remains untransformed. Both head and forearms are missing from the statue, so it is unknown if her hands and hair had begun to sprout twigs.

No other Roman funerary monuments represent Daphne's metamorphosis into a laurel tree. In this respect, Laberia Daphne's altar is a unique commission. Not only was assimilation with Daphne atypical for the commemoration of Roman dead, but so too were sculptural representations of the myth in general. This is perhaps due to the obvious

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[144] Lucian, *Ver. Hist*. 1.8: Τότε δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν διαπεράσαντες ᾖ διαβατὸς ἦν, εὕρομεν ἀμπέλων χρῆμα τεράστιον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὁ στέλεχος αὐτὸς εὐερνὴς καὶ παχύς, τὸ δὲ ἄνω γυναῖκες ἦσαν, ὅσον ἐκ τῶν λαγόνων ἅπαντα ἔχουσαι τέλειατοιαύτην παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τὴν Δάφνην γράφουσιν ἄρτι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καταλαμβάνοντος ἀποδενδρουμένην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δακτύλων ἄκρων ἐξεφύοντο αὐταῖς οἱ κλάδοι καὶ μεστοὶ ἦσαν βοτρύων. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐκόμων ἔλιξί τε καὶ φύλλοις καὶ βότρυσι.
[145] Palagia 1986, 345, n. 1 with earlier bibliography.

formal and technical challenges of representing Daphne's transformation in so unyielding a material as stone. Nonetheless, the representation of Daphne on a funerary altar would have operated on many levels. The onomastic reference would underscore the connection between the deceased and her namesake, and invite positive comparison between the chaste, determined nymph and the deceased young woman. In this way the assimilation of Daphne and Laberia Daphne functioned as did those of young women and the goddess Diana.

The unusual sculptural representation of Daphne in the midst of transformation may have called to mind other representations of the myth. The "Daphne Borghese" and fragmentary literary evidence hints at the existence of a sculptural tradition depicting Daphne's metamorphosis, but there is little to suggest that the subject matter was popular or widespread in that medium. The myth was perhaps more familiar to the viewer from other artistic media such as painting, if the evidence from the Bay of Naples is indicative of more widespread patterns. Therefore, the very novelty of the altar's sculptural decoration may have captured the attention of the viewer. The repetition of conventional figural types and well-known compositions, such as the Diana of Versailles or the *Diadumenus*, conveyed and even reinforced widely understood and mutually accepted visual message. A departure from conventional imagery invited closer scrutiny and contemplation of the image.

Usually those representations focused less on Daphne's transformation and more on the moments leading up to it. Unlike visual narratives that depicted Daphne's pursuit by or interaction with Apollo, the altar's decoration focuses entirely on the nymph's transformation. The emphasis on the act of metamorphosis is significant. First,

Daphne's transformation into a laurel tree invites contemplation of the transition from life to death. In the myth, Daphne's ephemeral human body is transformed into something more durable. As an evergreen, the laurel defies seasonal "death" and remains forever verdant. Although there was neither a single, widely accepted conception of the soul in Roman culture, nor an agreement on the condition or fate of that intangible presence after death, from the earliest times Roman custom seems to have acknowledged some continuity of spirit or personality after death.[146] Daphne's metamorphosis could express the patrons' hope for the continuity or immortality of Laberia Daphne's spirit or memory, even after the termination of her human existence. Indeed, with Apollo entirely absent from the image, the viewer instead assumes the role of the god witnessing his beloved's metamorphosis. In witnessing the moment of transformation, the viewer is invited to share in the god's grief, as well as in his commemorative burden.

The laurel also bore strong connotations of victory. As a symbol of Apollo, a laurel crown was awarded to victors at the Pythian Games at Delphi. Likewise, the Romans used the laurel to construct the *corona triumphalis*, connecting the tree firmly with ideas of victory and triumph. Daphne's metamorphosis may therefore also refer to the deceased's triumph over death, a theme which would later be explored through actual battle and hunt scenes on Roman sarcophagi.

In the altar of Laberia Daphne, the patrons chose a novel visual device to represent their daughter. Although the assimilation of deceased individuals with deities or mythological figures was common practice in Roman funerary monuments, there are no other surviving examples of an individual assimilated with Daphne. The onomastic

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[146] See Hope 2009, Chapter 4, for overview and bibliography.

reference was certainly an important contributing factor, but the patrons must have also understood Daphne as a positive *exemplum* with their daughter. The allusion to a rare sculptural type would have drawn attention to the subject, and highlighted the artist's attempt to capture the moment of transformation in an inherently difficult and unyielding material such as stone. Furthermore, the departure from the more common visual narrative, that of Daphne's pursuit, further emphasized the moment of transformation, particularly appropriate in a funerary context. Despite its overwhelmingly conservative nature, Roman visual culture was also flexible enough to allow patrons to devise novel or innovative artistic devices when it best suited their commemorative imperatives. In this case, Laberia Daphne's parents diverged from conventional divine associations in order to communicate complex ideas about metamorphosis and transformation. While the repetition of forms and types imbued those types with accumulated value, divergence from tradition invited the audience to delve into deeper consideration and contemplation. There is no firm evidence for the social standing of Laberia Daphne's family, although her mother's *nomen* may suggest descent from freedmen of the Imperial family, as was common among the patrons of funerary altars with portraits.[147] Like Octavius Diadumenus and Aelia Procula, Laberia Daphne's dedicators engaged with contemporary visual culture in a sophisticated way. Instead of referring to famous or recognizable sculptural types, however, they chose an unconventional image in order to highlight particular commemorative themes which would have been apprehended by an educated audience familiar with both the myth and its visual representation. The originality of the image in no way diminishes its effectiveness.

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[147] Kleiner 1987, 204.

Conclusion

The close formal relationship between elite and non-elite funerary monuments traditionally has been characterized as one of mimicry and imitation. Scholars generally have assumed that restricted access to commemorative opportunities, cultural and artistic sophistication, and financial resources limited non-elite patron's understanding of and engagement with contemporary trends in visual culture. Closer examination, however, demonstrates that non-elite funerary monuments utilize the aesthetic strategies of repetition and reproduction in a variety of ways that suggest their patrons' active engagement with elite visual culture. In the Forum, in temples, in gardens and in the households of their masters and patrons, non-elite Romans were exposed to a wide range of elite artistic traditions. While they may not have had the opportunity to commission lavish public monuments of their own, nor to assemble impressive art collections, non-elite Romans were surely not entirely ignorant of contemporary aesthetic trends. Indeed, the very nature of Roman art as a visual system that expected and often required the analytical participation of the viewer should in order to function effectively suggests that a broad segment of Roman society possessed a fairly high degree of visual literacy.

Recent re-evaluations of Roman ideal sculpture have led to a greater understanding of repetition, reproduction, imitation and copying as artistic practices in Roman visual culture. The results of these studies have shown that for the Romans reproduction was a widespread, varied and nuanced aesthetic strategy which might be deployed in a variety of media, including architecture, decorative arts and portraiture as

well as ideal sculpture.[148] Although direct reproduction of a single model was not commonplace in Roman private portraiture, some of the issues raised by the "copy problem" nonetheless can be profitably applied to the funerary portraits of the non-elite classes.

In the group reliefs of the late Republic and early Empire, non-elite patrons appropriated the visual *langue* of the elite portraiture tradition in order to affirm their legitimate place in Roman society. Yet their appropriation was not passively imitative. Instead, non-elite patrons redeployed the visual language of elite portraiture in innovative ways, adapting style and iconography to express their commemorative imperatives. In the funerary relief of the Vettii, the portraits of the family imitate those of elite counterparts, both past and current. The juxtaposition of the older veristic style of portraiture with contemporary Augustan fashion highlights the diversity of the monument's sources rather than disguising them. Indeed, this juxtaposition is not uncommon in non-elite funerary monuments dating from the Augustan period. The co-existence of monuments that imitate both the veristic and Augustan styles within a single composition alongside monuments that use one or the other exclusively confirms that patrons and workshops had a variety of models available from which to work. The decision to emulate one style or another, or both, must have been deliberate, and made according to the specific wishes of the patron. This process aligns well with the ancient sources' definition of good *imitatio* – drawing the most successful and most useful elements from a variety of sources and deploying them into something new and original using judicious discernment.

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[148]Marvin 2008, 168-27.

The funerary altars with portraits, which replaced the group relief as the preferred type of funerary monument among non-elite patrons beginning the reign of Tiberius, likewise demonstrated non-elite patrons' knowledge of elite artistic traditions. The types of altars commissioned by non-elite patrons follow precisely those made for their elite counterparts, as evident in the comparison of the altars of Junia Procula and Licinia Magna. Indeed, in the Imperial period it becomes increasingly difficult to characterize the relationship between non-elite and elite monuments as truly imitative.

However, non-elite patrons in the first and second centuries C.E. continued to commission funerary monuments which employed elite visual vulture in innovative ways. The reproduction of a famous sculpture or sculptural type appropriated the characteristics of the sculpture's subject for the deceased while also displaying the cultural erudition of patron and dedicatee. The funerary altars of T. Octavius Diadumenus and Aelia Procula both utilize well-known works to enhance the commemorative message while also demonstrating the patrons' art historical sophistication. Portraits of Roman matrons in the guise of the goddess Venus reproduce popular statuary types which take on new social and eschatological meanings when erected in a tomb context. The nude body of the goddess not only affirmed the subject's productive sexual capacity and matronly virtue, it also appropriated the fame of the artistic models it claimed as a source. Mythological portraits often reproduce their source images faithfully, but statues like the women in the Capitoline Museum also appropriated visual elements from a number of Venus statues in order to create an eclectic final monument.

The Getty Cybele likewise deploys a familiar sculptural type, that of the enthroned goddess with mural crown and lion, but amplifies the message of female sexual virtue with the addition of attributes belonging to other goddesses. The eclectic iconographic assemblage anticipates that the viewer will first recognize the departure from convention, and then draw connections between the goddesses to whom the statue refers and the deceased. Indeed, similar eclecticism is seen in Imperial portraits, and reflects a general Roman preference for variety.

Just as repetition of conventional types could be a powerful visual strategy, so too was deviation from those types. The altar of Laberia Daphne depicts the deceased in the guise of the nymph Daphne at the moment of transformation. In both the choice of subject matter and the narrative moment depicted, the metamorphosis is unusual. The imagery creates a distinctive monument which allowed patrons to explore more complex ideas about death, commemoration, and continuity than typically was possible on funerary altars. The choice also displayed the patrons' knowledge of the myth of Daphne, their familiarity with the artistic tradition, and perhaps even literary tradition as well.

The extent to which any given patron understood and engaged with contemporary aesthetic trends when commissioning a funerary monument must have varied substantially. However, on the whole non-elite funerary monuments display an active and nuanced understanding of elite visual culture. Far from merely mimicking the portraiture of the elite, non-elite patrons drew from the established visual language of elite art in order to create innovative monuments for themselves and their families. These monuments inserted non-elite patrons into the broader landscape of Roman visual culture, while at the same time distinguishing them as patrons of culture and erudition.

Chapter 5:
The Aesthetic and Social Functions of Repetition in Non-Elite Tomb Monuments

Although non-elite patrons engaged actively with the established visual language of elite Roman art, the monuments they commissioned responded to and engaged with each other as often, if not more so, than with those of their elite counterparts. The main function of non-elite funerary monuments was to establish a legitimate place for patrons within mainstream Roman society using conventional forms and values derived from elite artistic traditions. However, from early on the monuments of the non-elite classes were also largely self-referential. The funerary monuments of the non-elite in the late Republic and early Empire consistently utilized a formulaic set of typologies, portrait types and visual devices that distinguish the patrons as members of a distinct social group. The rapidity with which the group relief monument proliferated amongst freedmen stands in stark contrast to the otherwise diverse and even anachronistic funerary monuments that were built at the end of the Republic, such as the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius or the tomb of Caecilia Metella. Even the idiosyncratic Tomb of Eurysaces, which commemorates the patron's success as a baker and contractor for the state in a unique monumental form, may nonetheless have utilized a group relief with full-length portraits on one side of the structure.[1] However, that same culture of innovation offered non-elite patrons an opportunity to create a new type of monument that distinguished them among their social and economic peers. The consistent use of the group-relief by

[1] Brandt 1993, Petersen 2003, Petersen 2006, 84-122. Brandt (13-14) has called into question the association of the portrait relief with the Tomb of Eurysaces. Finds discovered in the 1838 excavations included several architectural fragments decorated with round loaves of bread and a wicker basket, as well as an epitaph dedicated to one Ogulnius, baker of white bread. Ciancio Rossetto (1973, 71-3) suggests that these fragments belong to another, probably more modest, tomb of a baker in the vicinity of the Tomb of Eurysaces and the Porta Maggiore. It is therefore difficult to assign the portrait relief to the Tomb of Eurysaces definitively.

freedmen suggests that for many, the monument type offered a way to express membership in a distinct social group by visual means. That the group relief was used exclusively by non-elite patrons suggests that as a type, it took on a particular meaning within that social stratum and the Roman visual landscape at large. Just as some statue types, such as the Large Herculaneum Woman or various Venuses, acquired particular meanings and implications not necessarily associated with an original composition, so too did the group relief with portrait apparently acquire a uniquely identifying value for the non-elite patrons.

Early Diversity in Non-Elite Funerary Monuments

The earliest examples of group reliefs display a fair amount of diversity that contrasts with the uniformity that coalesces in the genre in the middle of the first century B.C.E. However, the variety evident in these early monuments is not unexpected. At the beginning of the first century B.C.E., wealthy non-elite Romans only just were beginning to emerge as patrons of monumental art. Until then, the Roman visual landscape had been dominated by the elite, whose monuments were commissioned within the specific framework of public service and achievement to which non-elite patrons had no meaningful access. There was no visual precedent for monuments commemorating the decidedly more modest lives of non-elite patrons. The appropriation of elite style and iconography conferred legitimacy and legibility on these new commissions, but patrons also experimented with innovative visual elements that distinguished their monuments as something new and unique. Many of the products of this experimental phase, which

lasted roughly from 80 B.C.E. to 50 B.C.E., would eventually be discarded. A brief examination of several examples, however, elucidates the development of the monuments as a whole.

The relief of Lucius Aurelius Hermia and his wife Aurelia Philematio, from the Via Nomentana in Rome, dates to the first or second quarter of the first century B.C.E. (Fig. 36).[2] The relief is one of the earliest surviving non-elite funerary monuments, and it appears to predate the conventionalization of the later Republican and early Imperial group reliefs so closely associated with the non-elite classes.[3] The inscription identifies the subjects as *conliberti* of a Lucius Aurelius. Hermia is further identified as a butcher on the Viminal Hill. It records that Philematio, who came under her husband's protection at the tender age of seven while they were both still slaves, predeceased her husband. Both partners praise their spouse's faithfulness and mutual devotion in a pair of tender inscriptions composed in elegiac couplets.[4]

Hermia and his wife are depicted in a recessed rectangular frame. The figures share a common ground line. Hermia stands on the left in three-quarters view, his weight resting on the left leg. He is beardless, with a short-cropped hairstyle, and he wears the *toga exigua* over a short-sleeved tunic. There are subtle signs of aging on his face, evidence that he is more advanced in age than his spouse. Aurelia Philematio faces her husband and clasps his right hand with her left. Her body is depicted mostly in profile, only her relaxed left leg projecting out to the rear. In an affectionate gesture, Philematio

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[2] Relief of L. Aurelius Hermia and Aurelia Philematio, stone, c. 80 B.C.E. H .58 m., W 1.04 m. London, British Museum, inv. 1867,0508.55. Pryce and Smith 1892, n. 2274, *CIL* VI 9499, Kähler 1960, 112-13, Hofter 1988, 338, Chioffi 1999, 14-17, cat. no. 4, Koortbojian 2006, Massaro 2007a, 137, Massaro 2007b, Faßbender 2007, 181, n. 6, 191 no. 130.

[3] The early date of the relief of the Aurelii is suggested by the *toga exigua* worn by Hermia, which similarly is worn in late Republican monuments such as the *Arringatore* and the monument of Domitius Ahenobarbus, as well as the style and the language of the inscription. See Koortbojian 2006, 92.

[4] *CIL* VI.9499.

raises her husband's hand to her lips in a kiss. She wears a *stola* and a *palla* drawn over her head, as appropriate for a respectable Roman matron. Her hair, just visible under the edges of the *palla*, is swept back from the forehead in gentle waves.

Notably, neither figure draws on the established corpus of conventional sculptural types utilized in the late Republic. Furthermore, at this early date, the full-length representations of the Aurelii are unusual, though not wholly unattested. Scholars have recognized a similarity to some late Hellenistic grave stele, and a handful of Hellenized, full-length portraits survive from late Republican Rome.[5] In some respects, the relief of the Aurelii also anticipates the later full-length portrait reliefs that depict two individuals, or sometimes two adults and child, that will emerge slightly later, around the 60s B.C.E. Those reliefs, however, are typically large (approximately life-size), emphatically frontal, and rarely depict physical interaction between the figures.[6] Likewise, the figures often correspond to known statuary types, such as the *togatus* with arm sling for males or the *pudicita* type for females, unlike the figures of the relief of the Aurelii.[7]

However, the relief of the Aurelii prefigures later non-elite funerary monuments thematically and aesthetically. First, both the decoration and the inscription emphasize the marital unit and harmony between the spouses. The inscription emphasizes the mutual affection, devotion and obligation between the spouses in a manner consistent

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[5] For similarities to Hellenistic grave stele, see Zanker 1975, 267-315, especially 310, n. 146, Hofter, 1988, 338, Kähler 1960, 113. For other Republican examples, see Koortbojian 2006, 93, n. 30.

[6] Of the nine surviving examples of reliefs with full-length portraits, only two appear to include the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio*. One, a heavily weathered and damaged example now in the chiostro of the Museo Nazionale Terme di Diocleziano, dates to the Augustan period and preserves only the now-headless figure on the proper right (Kleiner 1977, 213, n. 13, Kockel 1993, 220, O25). The second example (Kleiner 1977, 232-3, n. 65, Kockel 1993, 221, O27) now in the giardino of the Terme di Diocleziano, is substantially less weathered but broken in half vertically. It preserves most of the figure of a male and the head and shoulders of a young boy. The right hand of a second figure, now missing, is preserved clasping the hand of the man. It too dates to the Augustan period.

[7] Kleiner 1977, 78.

with traditional social roles.[8] Notably, the inscription records that the relationship between Hermia and Philematio began when they were both enslaved and continued after manumission. In later monuments, freedmen patrons likewise celebrated the relationships that formed during servitude and survived afterward. Often *conliberti* are identified through shared nomenclature, though sometimes the artist made the relationship more explicit visually. In the relief of the Visellii, for example, two men are both identified as freedmen of one Lucius Visellius.[9] The artist has taken pains to create distinct, dissimilar physiognomies for each man, and the age discrepancy further supports the identification of the figures as *conliberti* rather than brothers. By refashioning socially and legally illegitimate relationships formed during enslavement into socially acceptable, socially recognized relationships in their sepulchral monuments, freedmen patrons affirmed their assimilation into Roman society.

Furthermore, the physical interaction between Hermia and Philematio links the two figures in a manner that anticipates the introduction of the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio* into Roman funerary art in the middle of the first century B.C.E. Kissing of a partner's hand is unusual in depictions of spouses in Roman art.[10] Sebesta interprets this gesture as expressing Philematio's deference to her husband, as well as a gesture of farewell. The gesture also may be a visual pun on Philematio's name, "little kiss."[11] In the context of this relief, the kiss links Hermia and Philematio visually, uniting the couple by a gesture that implied affection, deference, departure, and perhaps eventual reunion.

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[8] Koortbojian 2006.
[9] Relief of the Visellii, marble, 30-20 B.C.E. H .53 m., W .85 m. Rome, Palazzo Mattei, atrium. Kleiner 1977, no. 5, 35, 197, Kockel 1993, J6, 160.
[10] Kissing as an act of affection, greeting or farewell between spouses usually seems to have been face to face, while kissing the hand seems to primarily represent an act of deference or submission. See Sebesta 2011, 5.
[11] Sanders 1991, 427-80, Koortbojian 2006, 92.

The gesture underscores the couple's harmonious married life, as well as the pain of their farewell, sentiments likewise expressed in the inscription.

Additionally, the depiction of the spouses gives no sign of their freedmen status. Although the inscription identifies both Hermia and Philematio as manumitted slaves, the relief depicts the figures as fully enfranchised Roman citizens. Hermia wears the toga, Philematio the *tunica* and *palla*. They bear no physiognomic signs of difference or foreignness. Hermia and Philematio are represented as fully assimilated into Roman society, as are their later counterparts. Likewise, the inscription emphasizes the couple's adherence to expected social roles. The Aurelii are commemorated for their fulfillment of traditional Roman values in both word and image.

The first group reliefs are roughly contemporary with the relief of the Aurelii, and likewise share key iconographic and thematic traits with later examples.[12] However, they also display a fair amount of stylistic and iconographic variety, which makes the absolute chronology of the monuments difficult to determine. The earliest examples, such as the reliefs of the Clodii and those from the tomb of Caecilia Apollonia, are still in situ along the Via Statilia on the grounds of the Villa Wolkonsky.[13] Based on hairstyles and the inscription, the reliefs likely date to c. 80 B.C.E., although without any securely dated comparanda a precise date is difficult to determine.[14] The reliefs are carved from travertine blocks set into the tufa façade of the double tomb, the Clodii to the left of the entrances and Caecilia and Plotia to the right. The sides and bottom of the reliefs are

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[12] Kockel 1993, 83.
[13] Reliefs of the Clodii, travertine, c. 80 B.C.E. H .6 m, L 1 m. Rome, Via Statilia (Villa Wolkonsky), in situ. Toynbee 1971, 117-18, Zanker 1975, 271-72, Kleiner 1977, 7-8, 219, n. 40, Eisner 1986, 213-14, Kockel 1993, A1, 83-5. Reliefs from tomb of Caecilia Appollonia, travertine, c. 80 B.C.E. Rome, Via Statilia (Villa Wolkonsky), in situ. Kleiner 1977, no. 9, 199-200. Kockel 1993, A2, 85.
[14] Kockel 1993, 83.

surrounded by a narrow frame, while the top is articulated as a semi-circular arch over each half-length figure, enhancing the impression that the subjects are gazing out from a window. The arcuated frame is a unique feature of these reliefs, a feature which does not reappear in later examples.

Notably, these reliefs are among the earliest surviving examples of half-length portraits, which extend from the head to the middle of the torso, including shoulders and usually arms. The truncated figures suggest the continuation of the subject's body beyond the lower edge of the frame. Some scholars have suggested that the half-length relief developed as a less expensive alternative to full-length portrait statues, a probable explanation.[15] However, the half-length portrait also gives the impression that the subjects are gazing out from behind a parapet.

The identical, if somewhat clumsy, handling of the portraits suggests that they are the work of one artist or workshop. The figures are flat and schematic, with only a rudimentary attempt at individualization of the physiognomies. Caecilia and Plotia, for example, are distinguished primarily by the shapes of their faces. Caecilia's face is more round, while Plotia's is more elongated. The women are further distinguished by their hairstyles. Otherwise there is little differentiation between the two. Within the compositions each figure is conceived as an isolated individual, with no communication between any of the subjects. The strict frontality of the figures, the lack of individualization and the rigidity of the forms give the portraits an iconic, highly formalized quality that will be common in later group reliefs. Likewise, the "window effect" created by the half-length portraits disappearing behind the lower frame will become a defining feature of the later examples.

[15] Kockel 1993, 91-92, Fejfer 2008, 235-36.

Other early monuments show similar innovations. A relief from a columbarium on the Esquiline (Fig. 37) depicts four figures packed tightly into a frameless rectangular plane.[16] Three of the figures, two women and a man, are depicted in half-length portraits that end just below the torso. The man and woman on the right link hands in the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio*, probably the earliest surviving example of the gesture in Roman funerary art. The fourth figure, a togate youth, is depicted in a full-length portrait between the single woman on the left and the man. The figure appears to be standing on the bottom edge of the relief, his feet placed forward beyond the plane of the half-length figures. Because of the poor state of preservation, it is difficult to tell if the figure stands on a plinth, which would identify the form as a statue explicitly. Instead, he is an ambiguous figure in the composition. The single woman touches the *togatus* with wide-stretched fingers, a gesture that visually echoes the *dextrarum iunctio* of the couple. The cramped composition, the combination of half-length and full-length figures, and the ambiguous status of the *togatus* all render this relief unique within the corpus.[17]

The idiosyncrasies of the earliest non-elite monuments began to coalesce into a more formulaic type by the 60s B.C.E. Marble is introduced as a material alongside travertine and tufa around this time, allowing for more plastic handling of faces, as well as increased individualization and signs of aging on the male physiognomies. Although he dates these early marble reliefs as chronologically later than their travertine counterparts, Kockel also suggests the possibility that the two groups may represent

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[16] Tomb relief from the Esquiline, limestone, c. 80 B.C.E. H .52 m, W .62 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano Chiostro di Michelangelo, inv. 126.107. Zanker 1975, 289, Kleiner 1977, 243, n. 83, Kleiner 1987, 770, Kockel 1993, A3, 85-87.

[17] Only one other surviving example, an early Augustan travertine relief in the Museo Chiaramonti (no. 13a) combines bust- and full-length portraits. Zanker 1975, 293, Kleiner 1977, 241-2, no. 81, Kockel 1993, G9, 132-3.

parallel, contemporaneous artistic trends that developed before the middle of the first century B.C.E.[18]

As they develop, the group reliefs become increasingly homogeneous in format, style, and iconography. By the middle of the second half of the first century B.C.E., a basic visual formula was set. Most group reliefs were surrounded by a narrow rectangular frame, enclosing half-length portraits of one, but usually two, or more individuals placed shoulder to shoulder in an isocephalic composition within the frame. The figures wear costume appropriate to their citizenship, and give no visual indication of libertine status or any non-Italian physiognomic characteristics. One or both hands are visible emerging from the toga sling, in the case of males, or mantle, for females. Often these poses refer to established statuary types, such as the *pudicita*, 'Fundilia', or 'Berlin' types.[19] Sometimes the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio* is used to connect two figures, almost certainly suggesting marriage in this context. The dedicatees are most frequently adults, but the reliefs also sometimes include children. If an inscription is included, it is usually placed on the edge of the frame above or below the figures.

Some variation continued to occur throughout the history of the group relief. The basic visual formula of the group relief could be contracted to a single figure, as in the relief of a woman from the Via Appia or expanded to include numerous subjects, as in an Augustan relief that originally included as least six individuals (Fig. 38).[20] Likewise the relief could be further embellished with architectonic elements, such as the aedicular

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[18] Kockel 1993, 83.
[19] Kleiner 1977, 158-72, Stewart 2008, 93-97.
[20] Relief of a woman, marble, c. 30-20 B.C.E. H .58m, W .79. Rome, Via Appia, mile 6. Zadokes Josephus-Jitta 1932, 26, Budde 1940, 46ff., Zanker 1975 273, 285, Drerup 1980, 123, n. 195, Kockel 1993, 142-43, H8. Relief fragment with six figures, marble, c. 40-30 B.C.E. H .58m, W 2.30m, D .40m. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Museo Nuovo, inv. 2231. Zadoks Josephus-Jitta 1932, 56, Bieber 1959, 417, Brilliant 1963, 50, Gazda 1973, 867, n. 42, Zanker 1975, 294, 311, Kleiner 1977, 249, no. 91, Kockel 1993, 33-35, 119-20, F1.

niches which frame the three subjects in the relief of Lucius Septumius, a freeborn equestrian and *magister Capitolinus* (Fig. 11).[21] Other subsidiary representation might allude to the profession of the dedicatee, as in the relief of the Antestii, decorated with tools related to metalworking, or to religious affiliation, as in an early four-figure relief depicting a woman bearing the sistrum, proclaiming affiliation with the cult of Isis.[22] Despite the multitude of variations possible within the group reliefs, the maintenance of the basic compositional formula provided a stable visual anchor that unified the monuments within a broader semantic category.[23]

Formula and Repetition

Jennifer Trimble's recent study of the Large Herculaneum Woman statue type provides a useful model for approaching repetition as an aesthetic strategy within a single class of monuments.[24] The Large Herculaneum Woman represents the single most popular body type for female portrait statues in the Imperial period, with over two hundred surviving examples. Despite their wide geographic distribution and diverse contexts, including Imperial portraiture, architectural sculpture, pottery decoration and sarcophagi, the type maintains a high degree of formal consistency across many

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[21] See Chapter Two, 60, n. 39.
[22] Relief of the Antestii, marble, 13 B.C.E. – 14 C.E. H .47m, W 1.02m. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria, inv. 8491. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932, 57, W, Zanker 1975, 279, Kleiner 1977, 225, no. 51, Kockel 1993, L16, *CIL* V, 11896. Relief with four figures and sistrum, travertine, 58-44 B.C.E. H .69m, W 1.16m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Giardino di Cinquecento. Zanker 1975, 276, 303, Kleiner 1977, 238, no. 74, Eingartner 1991, 98-99, Kockel 1993, A13, Koortbojian 1996, 223.
[23] See Trimble's (2011, 177-78) discussion of the replication of the Large Herculaneum Woman body type with individualized portrait heads.
[24] Trimble 2011.

replications. In her study, Trimble uses the case of the Large Herculaneum woman to explore the interactions between visual replication and social relation.[25]

Trimble's evidence covers a far broader geographic scope than the group reliefs of the late Republic and early Empire. While examples of the Large Herculaneum Woman statue type have been discovered across the Empire, the group reliefs are a strictly metropolitan Roman phenomenon. Furthermore, although both types were intended for public display, the Large Herculaneum Woman statues were usually commissioned for honorific civic contexts rather than private funerary commemoration. However, both monument types have similar spans of popularity. The Large Herculaneum Woman type was produced most intensively in the second century C.E., while the group reliefs similarly were most popular for just under a century. The relatively limited range of production suggests that these types were most relevant to patrons at a particular historical moment. As with all repeated visual formulas, the objects themselves belonged to the broader corpus of Roman visual culture, but took on meaning only within these specific temporal and geographic contexts. For this reason, it is useful to consider how visual repetition within a monument type might reflect or construct social relationships at a specific historical moment.

Each iteration of the group relief was itself unique, shaped by the individual resources and desires of the patron. However, the repetition of the monument's basic visual formula in the monuments of non-elite patrons created an aesthetic of sameness within the genre. This effect was achieved visually within the compositions of individual reliefs as well as the broader context of the necropolis itself. Whether the figures are executed in full-, half-length, or bust-form portraits, the adult subjects of the group relief

[25] Ibid., 1.

usually occupy the entire height of the recessed relief ground.[26] There is little to no differentiation in the size of the subjects regardless of sex, as illustrated in the relief of the Furii.[27] When a height difference between subjects is represented, the artist often strives to maintain the isocephalic composition by closing the gap with hairstyle and drapery. This solution is visible in the middle figure of the relief of the Rabirii (Fig. 39). The woman's coiffeur rises unnaturally high on the top of the skull to compensate for the height difference between her and the male figure to her right.[28] The correction is apparent especially when compared with a female figure on a relief in the Palazzo Colonna, who wears a similar hairstyle without the helmet-like height over the dome of the skull.[29] In most cases, the figures occupy equal space within the composition both vertically and horizontally. Furthermore, the subjects usually are arranged in an emphatically frontal, paratactic composition, with minimal communication between the subjects even when they are linked visually through gesture or pose. The equal distribution of visual weight between the subjects minimizes the figures' individuality, instead emphasizing their unity as a collective whole.

Within the compositions, the draped upper torsos of the figures act as props, supporting the portrait heads which, along with the inscribed epitaphs, form the seat of

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[26] Children, when represented in half-length portraits, are usually scaled down to an age-appropriate size, as in the relief of the Vettii discussed in Chapter Four, 132-42.

[27] Relief of the Furii, marble, 40-30 B.C.E. H .62m, W 2.14. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 10464. Brilliant 1963, 49ff., Brilliant 1974, 96, Gazda 1974, 68-69, Zanker 1975, 294, Kleiner 1977, 247-48, no. 89, Bieber 1977, 132, Kleiner 1986, 122, Kockel 1993, 133-34, G10, Conlin 1997, 70, 72, 77, Osgood 2006, 333ff. *CIL* VI 18795.

[28] Relief of the Rabirii, marble, 30-13 B.C.E. with Hadrianic reworking. H .88m, W 1.83m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, inv. 196633. Zanker 1975, 268, Kleiner 1977, 231, no. 63, Eisner 1986, 47-48, Eingartner 1991, 100-01, Kockel, 138-39, H2.

[29] Relief with three figures, marble, 30-20 B.C.E. H .77m, W 1.60m. Rome, Palazzo Colonna, giardino. Kleiner 1977, 228-29, no. 58, Kockel 1993, 137-38, H1.

individual identity in the monuments.[30] The level of individualization of the subjects' physiognomies varies according to chronological period, material, and quality of carving. In some cases, such as the reliefs of the Licinii or the Visellii, the artist put considerable effort into creating distinct, individualized physiognomies for the subjects. Yet in most other examples, including reliefs of high quality, artists tend to subsume individual identity under a veneer of shared physiognomy.

Despite restoration of the noses of the subjects, all five figures depicted in the relief of the Furii (Fig. 73) share remarkably similar facial features. The three Furiae are not distinguished from one another by individualized physiognomy, but rather by pose, costume and, to a lesser extent, hairstyle. The two younger Furiae wear very similar coiffeurs, each characterized by a thick, loose nodus that rolls high off the forehead. The older Furia's head is draped with her palla, under which she wears a separate cloth around the head that conceals a similarly-shaped nodus. The long, oval faces of the women, with pronounced cheekbones, full mouths and clear brows, are virtually identical. Only the elder Furia is distinguished from the others by the signs of aging on her face, crinkles around the eyes, loosening of the skin along the cheeks and jaw, slightly pronounced naso-labial lines and the beginnings of a double chin. The animated poses of the two central Furiae, with the pronounced turn of their heads towards their partners, contrast with the more rigidly frontal, almost iconic poses of the three other figures. Perhaps these two women were still alive at the time of the monument's execution, the others already deceased.

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[30]Koortbojian 1996, 217.For head as seat of individuality, see for example Brilliant 1974, 166-8, Nodelman 1993, 15-16, D'Ambra 1993, Stewart 2003, 46-58, Hallett 2005, Trimble 2011, Chapter Two.

The male figures of the relief are likewise represented with physiognomies similar to the women and to each other. Sulpicius, the only subject not liberated by a member of the *gens* Furius, closely resembles the women in the oval shape of his face, the square jaw and the full, pursed mouth. He is mature, with some suggestion of aging in the furrows on his forehead, rings on the neck and the depth of the naso-labial lines. The portrait of Furius closely resembles that of Sulpicius, though having advanced markedly in age. His cheeks are sunken, having lost the fleshiness of youth, and the gauntness of his features accentuates the length of the face and the prominence of his cleft chin. The artist articulated the eyebrows with thick clumps of hair, another indication of age.

The inscription identifies four of the five subjects as *conliberti* manumitted from a household of the *gens* Furius. The three Furiae were freed by a woman, while Furius was manumitted by one Publius Furius. Only Sulpicius was freed from another household, by one Caius Sulpicius. However, the inscription provides no other details of the nature of the relationships between the figures. The pairing of the elder Furius and Furia, as well as that of a younger Furia and Sulpicius, with the female figures turning slightly towards their emphatically frontal male companions, suggests marriage. Benndorf and Schöne suggested that the relief commemorates an older married couple and their two daughters, one married and one unmarried, while Kockel noted that the relief could just as easily represent three sisters, two of whom married men from different families.[31]

The similarity of the figures' features, as well as the expression of generational sequence and the shared *nomen* of the Furii, have all conditioned scholars' assumption that at least some of the figures must be biologically related. Yet the relief could just as easily represent five figures bound not by blood, but by social relationships, such as

[31] Benndorf –Schöne 1867, 330, n. 467, Kockel 1993, 133-34, G10.

conlibertine status and marriage. It is clear already that the artist took some initiative to modify the portrait features of at least two individuals (one partner of each couple) who cannot be biologically related to the rest of the group. It is therefore not unreasonable to propose that this may extend to all of the figures in the composition. Rather than representing each figure with an individualized physiognomy, the artist has applied a veneer of similarity, minimizing almost all difference between the subjects except that which expresses the generational sequence.

The generalization of the portrait features is relational, detaching each subject from his or her individual identity and instead connecting to broader domains of reference.[32] In this case, the primary reference is the family group itself, with their shared set of physiognomic characteristics, but the associations extend beyond that. The clear, regular features of the subjects, along with their fashionable Augustan coiffeurs, embed the portraits in the artistic and cultural milieu of Augustan Rome. The subjects are therefore connected to a specific historical moment, as well as the prevailing value system of that moment. Finally, the portraits bear no indication of non-Italic ethnic identity. The subjects' generically Roman or Italic physiognomies suppress any identifiable signs of difference that might identify them as foreigners, and instead identify the subjects as fully assimilated Romans. The result is a monument that commemorates the Furii as a collective, a group anchored in their community from the familial to the national level. By assimilating the portrait features of the subjects, the artist created an aesthetic of sameness that unified the figures as a collective visually as well as conceptually.

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[32]See Trimble 2011, 169.

The group reliefs that survive today are largely removed from their original contexts, mounted high on the exterior walls of tombs lining the roads outside the city. Even those few that remain in situ are deprived of a substantial part of their original environmental and topographic setting. In the first century B.C.E., the ancient necropolises swelled with newly constructed tombs, creating a dense architectural environment. It is within this context that the group reliefs would have been experienced by viewers, both travelers on the roads outside the city, and the Romans who ventured into the necropolis to honor their dead.

The repetition of group reliefs throughout the necropolis would have extended the aesthetic of sameness from the individual compositions to the landscape at large. Several scholars have noted how the repetition of the group reliefs through the sepulchral landscape would have emphasized the iconic, highly formalized character of the figures.[33] When viewed together the subjects of the group reliefs begin to look less and less individual, and this visual effect must have been heightened when the reliefs were viewed from below and at some distance.[34] Details of coiffeur and costume which might distinguish individuals within a composition, as well as the inscriptions that would name them, would become less distinctive when viewed in this way. The repetition of the group relief's placement, content and form throughout the necropolis fostered a sense of unity and collectivity among those commemorated in this way, while the individualizing details of each monument become apparent only through closer inspection.[35]

A group relief erected on the exterior of a tomb allowed patrons to express membership in the rapidly growing community of affluent non-elite patrons in a

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[33] Koortbojian 1996, 216, Stewart 2003, 92.
[34] Ibid.
[35] See Yasin 2005, 434-5.

relatively public setting. Furthermore, in choosing to repeat this type of monument, patrons laid claim to its existing connotations and associations.[36] The iconography of the portraits of the group relief evoked traditional Roman values and ancestral traditions, legitimizing the place of manumitted slaves within society. Each repetition of the group relief not only appropriated those associations, but also affirmed them anew. The very act of repetition reconstituted the existing connotations of the monument by confirming its semantic value within the community. Gaining social consensus as an effective way to express shared aspirations and values in monumental form, the group relief acquired legitimacy as a commemorative type within the freedman community.

The formulaic quality of most of the group reliefs has often been attributed to lack of creativity, cultural sophistication or financial resources on the part of their patrons. In the early years especially, economic factors may have influenced some patrons' decisions to commission relief decoration rather than sculpture in the round for their tombs. However, this was not always the case. As the type developed increasingly fine examples appeared. A relief with four portraits in tondi (Fig. 76) from the Palazzo dei Conservatori is but one high quality example.[37] The tondi are encircled by narrow frames decorated with olive wreaths. Lotuses bloom in the interstices, while a flowering vine covers the negative space of the relief's face. The portraits are not rendered in true bust form, but seem to emerge undifferentiated from the plain background. The relief commemorates two couples, those on the left more plump and soft, those on the right angular and severe. There is discernible individualization of the subjects' facial features, yet the artist has linked each couple visually through physiognomy, as well as by

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[36] Trimble 2011, 61.

[37] Relief with four figures, marble, 30-10 B.C.E. H .60m., W 1.81 m. Rome, Centrale Montemartini, Sala Colonne, inv. 2306. Zanker 1975, 311, Kleiner 1977, 240, no. 78, Kockel 1993, 14-65, J16.

compositional organization. The faces express a cool austerity that borders on severity, perhaps a lingering remnant of the grimness characteristic of veristic portraiture in the otherwise classicizing Augustan portraits.

The patrons of this monument undoubtedly belonged to the upper stratum of non-elite society, and therefore had a wider range of options when commissioning a funerary monument than most others. Nonetheless, they chose to commission a monument that for several decades had been associated primarily with "middle class" freedman patrons. Therefore, the repetition of the group relief monument type should be understood as a choice made deliberately on the part of patrons and only guided, not prescribed, by external factors such as finances, aesthetic awareness, decorum, fashion and, above all, social status. The patrons of this monument distinguished themselves within the broader community of non-elite Romans by commissioning a very fine and distinctive relief for their tomb. Tondo portraits are not common among the group reliefs, with only a few surviving examples, and therefore would have stood out especially in the suburban landscape of the necropolis.[38] Moreover, the portraits are rendered as nude, undraped bust forms, unlike the draped bust- and half-length reliefs more popular in group reliefs. The lack of national costume deemphasizes the patrons' citizen status, and instead borrows from the elite visual tradition of portraits in heroic nudity. Here, the monument's

[38] There are only three other substantially intact examples: Relief of L. Antistius Sarculo and Antistia Plutia, marble, c. 20 B.C.E. H .64 m., L .97 m. London, British Museum, inv. 2275 Smith 1904, 289-90, Sandys 1969, 70-1, Zanker 1975, 296-8, fig. 34, Kleiner 1977, 106, 207, n. 20, Kockel 1993, 178-79, L4, Rüpke 2007, 225-6. Relief of the Bennii, marble, 5 – 14 C.E. H .92m, W 1.90m. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Museo Nuovo, inv. 2230. Zanker 1975, 310, Kleiner 1977, 223-24, no. 48, Kockel 1993, 191-92, L21. Relief fragment with two busts in tondi, marble, 13 B.C.E. – 14 C.E. H .60m, L 1.20m. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1972.918. Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 205-06, no. 325, Gazda 1977, 12, no. 2, Kockel 1993, K4. Kockel also catalogues several fragments that preserve only single figures in tondi (K5, M7, M9, O5, O39).

patrons align themselves all the more closely with elite visual culture in an attempt to distinguish themselves among their social peers.

In this case, it is the pronounced variation from, or elaboration on, the basic visual formula of the group relief that is significant. For it is important to remember that these reliefs would have been erected in close proximity to one another in the crowded necropolises surrounding the city, inviting comparison between and perhaps even competition among monuments. Perhaps the patrons of the relief hoped that their monument would be compared favorably to those around them, identifying them as particularly affluent or high-ranking members of their community. lthough the patrons engaged consciously with contemporary Augustan aesthetic trends, situating them within the broader spectrum of contemporary elite artistic culture, ultimately their expression of status would have been directed at their immediate social and economic peers more so than their elite counterparts.[39]

Replication is not a value neutral aesthetic strategy, but a dynamic process conditioned by a variety of external factors.[40] The process is cumulative and ever-changing. Each repetition not only appropriates existing connotations and meanings of a type, but also confirmed its legitimacy as a source through the act of reproduction itself. The reproduction of a recognizable formulaic code therefore allowed patrons to construct and maintain complex social relationships that transcended the physical and metaphysical boundaries of death.

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[39] See Mouritsen 2005, 57. It is tempting to see the funerary monuments of high-ranking non-elite patrons in dialogue, and perhaps even competition, with each other. None of the surviving group reliefs with tondi come from the same area. The relief discussed above was found on the Via Biberatica used as a threshold in a medieval house. The British Museum relief came from Trastevere, and the Palazzo dei Conservatori relief (inv. 2230) from the Via Flaminia. The MFA Boston relief and the fragment in the Palazzo Colonna are of unknown provenance. Although these surviving examples were most likely not erected in any proximity to one another, other examples, now lost, may have been set up nearby.

[40] Trimble 2011, 4.

Continuity through the Imperial Period

By the reign of Tiberius, the group relief began to decline in popularity as a sepulchral monument just as funerary altars with portraits and cinerary urns with figural decoration came into fashion. The decline of the group relief corresponds to a more general emphasis on individuality evident in funerary monuments of the Imperial period.[41] As non-elite patrons, especially freedmen from the Imperial house, achieved greater status in Roman society, their shared aspirations and values were downplayed in favor of individual memory. Nonetheless, some of artistic conventions formalized in the group reliefs were preserved in the monuments that replaced them.

Both funerary altars with portraits and cinerary urns continued to reflect the importance of marriage and family, though they are usually confined to nuclear rather than extended family groups.[42] The majority of the relationships recorded in epitaphs on funerary altars with portraits are familial, while a smaller percentage commemorate other relationships, such as that of *conliberti*. Most examples represent a single individual, but about a quarter represent multiple subjects, usually two but up to six.[43] An altar now in the Villa Albani depicts three subjects, two men and one woman, in half-length portraits within a recessed rectangular frame on the squat altar's face.[44] The altar is extremely weathered, the epitaph and one portrait obliterated. However, it is clear that the altar closely reproduces the basic visual formula which characterized the group reliefs, with half-length portraits occupying a recessed rectangular space surrounded by a narrow

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[41]Kleiner 1987, 73-75.
[42]Ibid, 45-59.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Altar with two men and a woman, marble, 35-40 C.E. H 1.40m, W .94m. Rome, Villa Albani, Boschetto, n. 12. Kleiner 1987, 99-100, n. 3.

frame. The altar is rather early, dated c. 35-40 C.E., and therefore may represent an interesting iconographic and conceptual bridge between the group relief and funerary altar.[45]

Whereas half-length portraits were preferred in group reliefs, bust-form or full-length portraits dominate the decoration of funerary altars. However, a few examples in addition to the above-mentioned altar preserve the half-length form. The altars of Minucia Suavis (Fig. 41), Julia Saturnina and Gaius Sulpicius Clytus, and of Gnaeus Pollius Fortunatus, for example, all represent their subjects in half-length portraits.[46] The half-length portraits on these altars must have stood out in comparison to the more popular bust forms, drawing attention by their difference. Because of the close association of half-length portraits with the group reliefs, the patrons of later Imperial altars hoped, perhaps, to evoke the connotations of the group reliefs still visible *in situ* in the city's necropolises.

In the Imperial period, some patrons chose to appropriate the group reliefs more literally. The well-known relief of the Rabirii (Fig. 39), mentioned previously, bears evidence of reworking long after its original manufacture in the Augustan period. The relief initially consisted of at least three and possibly four figures, a woman flanked by two *togati*.[47] The central woman and the man on the left, Rabiria and Rabirius, turn toward the third figure, which presumably originally represented Rabiria's husband.

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[45] See Kleiner 1987, no. 42 (157-58, Flavian) and no. 48 (168-70, Trajanic) for similar examples.
[46] Altar of Minucia Suavis, marble, 50-75 C.E. H .85m, W .685m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, chiostro, inv. 30. Kleiner 1987, 117-19, n. 14, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 147, A4, Mander 2013, 6-7, *CIL* VI 22560. Altar of Julia Saturnina and Gaius Sulpicius Clytus, marble, 100-110 C.E. H .90m, W .55m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 861. Kleiner 1987, 180-81, n. 56; Altar of Gnaeus Pollius Fortunatus, marble, 100-110 C.E. H .62m, W .415m. Rome, Antiquaro Communale. Kleiner 1987, 186-87, n. 60.
[47] Zanker 1975, 268, Kleiner 1977, 231, no. 63, Eisner 1986, 47-48, Eingartner 1991, 100-01, Kockel, 138-39, H2, Le Regina 1998, 40, Varner 2008, 194-95.

However, this figure was recut in the Flavian or early Trajanic period to represent a woman, Usia Prima, a priestess of Isis. The toga was reworked only slightly to represent a short-sleeved tunic and palla. The hand, emerging from the toga sling, is still somewhat visible. The head of the figure has been recut substantially to portray Usia Prima, leaving it disproportionately small for the body. The background surrounding the figure has been cut back, and a sistrum and patera were added to either side of the head. Below, the inscription under the figure was recut to name Usia Prima and identify her as a priestess of Isis. There is nothing about the relief to suggest that Usia Prima bore any pre-existing connection to the Rabirii.

The insertion of Usia Prima into the relief of the Rabirii collapses the temporal distance between the priestess and the other two figures. The figures turn inward toward one another, and one suspects that the relief of the Rabirii was selected for reworking specifically to facilitate this formal and conceptual relationship.[48] Usia Prima communicates with Rabiria and Rabirius, who by their Augustan coiffeurs are marked out as belonging to an older generation. The juxtaposition of portrait styles suggests continuity over multiple generations, providing Usia Prima with a material connection to the past, even if that connection was probably only material, not ancestral. The act of reconfiguring the portrait itself also may have had cultic and eschatological connotations associated with the transformation between life and death.[49] Ironically, Usia Prima obliterated at least one and possibly two individuals' memories in order to appropriate the figures of Rabirius and Rabiria as her own ancestors.

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[48] Varner 2008, 164-65.
[49] Ibid.

There is only sparse evidence for the reuse of group reliefs in the Imperial period, a situation no doubt aggravated by the poor documentation of many of their discoveries. Many of the Republican tombs along the ancient Via Caelimontana described by Lanciani and Colinis, including the tomb of the Servilii on the grounds of the Villa Wolkonsky, showed evidence of reuse in the first century C.E.[50] The relief of the Servilii was found mounted on the exterior of a tomb constructed in the second half of the first century C.E., having been recycled, presumably, from an older tomb located in the same location. It is not clear if the later owners of the tomb were in any way related to the Republican Servilii, or if they had laid claim (legally or otherwise) to a tomb which had been abandoned. Similarly, a group relief with three figures and a full-length representation of a child seems to have been reused in the Hadrianic period by one Aelius Verus.[51] However, in neither case have the existing portraits been recut to portray a new subject.[52] In that respect, the relief of the Rabirii appears unique.

As with replication, reusing an existing funerary monument was a conscious choice made by the patron in response to a number of economic, social, cultural and personal factors. The reuse of an existing relief offered the practical benefit of eliminating the expense of commissioning an entirely new monument. However, reuse is not a value-neutral aesthetic strategy in Roman culture, a point well demonstrated by recent studies on the reconfiguration of Roman portraits.[53] As a practice, reuse is similar to repetition in that the act appropriates, reconstitutes, adds on to or otherwise alters the semantic value of the original image. Without documentation of non-elite attitudes

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[50] Lanciani 1881, 137, Colini 1944, 392-93, Zanker 1975, 268-69, Kleiner 1977, 250, no. 92, Kleiner 1978, 772, Kockel 1993, 130-32, G7, Rawson 1997, 211, Fejfer 2008, 116. *CIL* VI 26375.
[51] Kleiner 1977, 241-42, no. 81, Kockel 1993, 132-33, G9.
[52] Kockel (1993, 132) suggests that the full-length figure of the child may have been a later addition.
[53] See, for example, Varner 2004, Varner 2008a, 194-95, Varner 2008b, Varner 2010.

toward their forebears, it is virtually impossible to say anything meaningful about how the group reliefs were understood by subsequent generations. Nonetheless, the reuse of these monuments suggests that for at least some patrons, the group reliefs bore positive social or historical connotations.

The reuse, preservation and display of a recognizably old-fashioned tomb monument could simultaneously evoke the values of the specific historical period in which it was made as well as a more generic sense of time passed. If the group reliefs were associated specifically with the end of the Republic and the Augustan period, they might elicit a sense of traditionalism and restoration. Just as the preservation of First Style wall decoration in houses such as the House of the Faun in Pompeii is thought to have suggested a history of habitation stretching back many generations, lending *dignitas* and ancestral authority to its occupants, so too might the display of "old-fashioned" group reliefs bring a similar dignity to a tomb and its most recent occupants.[54] Furthermore, the preservation of group reliefs may also have been seen as a pious act. Under Roman law the tomb was considered a sacred space.[55] The restoration of even a piece of an older tomb might be considered an act of reverence for Rome's ancestors, even if they were not familial relations. By preserving the memory of their forebears, new patrons displayed a piety that itself made them worthy of commemoration.

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[54] Leach 2004, 234-36.

[55] Cicero, *De legibus* 2. 22.57, records that a tomb was not legally recognized as such until a pig had been sacrificed there. See also De Visscher 1963, 43-63.

A Modest Revival

Despite largely falling out of favor with patrons in the Tiberian period, a few group reliefs were produced sporadically through the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods.[56] Then in the second century the group reliefs experienced a modest revival, perhaps reflecting a general retrospective interest in late Republican and Augustan culture at that time.[57] Overall the monuments emulate their predecessors in form, iconography and content. Marriage and family remain important themes. In some cases the basic visual formula is enriched with additional subsidiary decoration, including symbolic imagery and mythological allusions. In a full-length relief of Antonine date in the Villa Doria Pamphilji (Fig. 81), for example, the female figure's drapery slips off the shoulder in an allusion to the goddess Venus.[58] Bust-form and half-length portraits, however, remain more common than full-length figures. Substantially fewer inscriptions survive that identify the social status of the dedicatees, following a general epigraphic trend in the Imperial period.[59] What epigraphic evidence does survive confirms that patrons included freed and freeborn Romans of non-senatorial class alike. Therefore it is probably safe to assume that the late group reliefs also were commissioned by affluent non-elite patrons primarily.

The veneer of shared physiognomy typical of the early group reliefs is also evident in the second century examples. When the subjects are represented in half-length

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[56] Kockel 1993, 196-205, Group M.
[57] Kockel 1993, 206-213, Group N.
[58] Relief with three figures, marble, late Antonine. H 1.70m. Rome, Villa Doria Pamphilji. Zanker 1975, 271, Calza II, 29f., no. 32, Wrede 1981, 72, n. 40, Kockel 1993, 212, N17, Perry 2005, 145. Other second century reliefs show influence from altar and sarcophagi decoration, illustrating the close formal relationship between the genres of funerary art at this time.
[59] Meyer 1990.

portraits, the figures tend to be more mobile and expressive than the static, highly formalized figures of the late Republic and early Empire. A good example of this new formal freedom can be found in a Hadrianic relief of a man and a woman.[60] The portraits are carved almost entirely in the round, with heads and arms projecting out past the edge of the frame into space. Whereas the earlier half-length group reliefs gave them impression of figures standing motionless at the edge of a parapet, these figures almost seem to lean *out* from a parapet, defying the spatial constraints of the image. Projecting outward from the relief ground, the figures occupy a liminal zone between the conceptual space of the relief and the physical space of the viewer.

The form and content of the second century group reliefs remained largely the same, but the context in which they were displayed changed significantly. During the Imperial period, the orientation of tomb decoration turned from the exterior inward. Tomb exteriors were largely left plain except for inscriptions which identified the tomb's owners. Whereas the early group reliefs were intended for public, exterior display, those of the second century apparently were intended instead for viewing by survivors only.

One curious development in the second century group reliefs is the appearance of multi-figure reliefs using portrait busts rather than half-length figures. In the early tradition, bust-form portraits usually appeared in pairs, as single examples framed by discrete tondi or architectonic elements, or juxtaposed with half-length portraits, as in the Augustan relief of the Vibii (Fig. 2).[61] Reliefs depicting three or more figures, such as that of the Furii, Servilii, or even Rabirii, usually present the subjects in half-length

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[60] Relief of a man and woman, marble, 117-38 C.E. H .71m, W. 96m. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, inv. 23.20. Zanker 1975, 271, Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 62, no. 83, Kockel 1993, 207, N1.

[61] Relief of the Vibii, marble, late 1st century B.C.E. Rome, H .75,. W .945m. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 2109. Kleiner 1977, 234-35, no. 69, Kockel 1993, 180-81, L7, Koortbojian 1996, 214-21.

portrait only. However, two reliefs from the second century instead utilize bust portraits arranged side by side in an undivided rectangular frame. The first, from the Ince Blundell Hall collection, contains four bust portraits arranged side by side, as if on a shelf.[62] The two outer figures, a man whose features closely resemble those of Hadrian, and a woman wearing a hairstyle similar to that of Ulpia Marciana, flank an older couple at center. The old woman's face is gaunt and severe, the man aged and mostly bald. The portraits represent two generations, with iconographic details of physiognomy and coiffeur assigning them to specific historical time periods.

The second relief, dated to the late Flavian or early Trajanic period, bears five bust portraits.[63] The four adult portraits are arranged symmetrically in pairs around a scaled-down portrait of a young boy, who wears the *paludamentum* over a bare chest. The adults resemble each other closely. The man and woman to the right of the boy, identified in the fragmentary inscription as the freeborn citizens Caius Marullo and Severa, are distinguished by their advancing age, as indicated by the wrinkles and skin hanging loosely from their faces. The man on the left is depicted as more mature than his female partner. As in the relief discussed above, the monument apparently commemorates multiple generations of a single family.

Whereas the early half-length group reliefs suggested figures gazing out from a window, the placement of these bust portraits in an open rectangular frame gives the impression that the busts have been set up on a shelf. The considered placement of the figures heightens the sense of deliberate display. In the first relief, the younger generation

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[62] Relief with four figures, marble, Hadrianic. H .45m, L 1.25 m. Ince, Ince Blundell Hall, Pantheon, inv. 0227. Ashmole 1929, 88, no. 227, Zanker 1975, 271, Kockel 1993, 207-8, N3.

[63] Relief with five figures, marble, late Flavian or early Trajanic. H .51m, W 1.78. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MA 1329. Zanker 1975, 170, 310, Kockel 1993, 208-9, N7, *CIL* VI 1459.

flanks the older, while in the second, the adult busts are arranged symmetrically around the central portrait of the boy. In early group relief compositions, the arrangement of the figures typically drew visual links between individuals to elucidate social or familial relationships. This is still the case in the second century reliefs, but there is an additional aesthetic component to the compositions as well. Here the line between commemorative and aesthetic display is somewhat blurred.

The treatment of the bust portraits as aesthetic objects on display extends the metaphysical distance between the object and the viewer. The bust are not simply images of ancestors, but rather works of art which have been curated and exhibited within the tomb. The reliefs were probably juxtaposed with other sculptural decoration, which might include bust portraits in the round, perhaps even depicting the same subjects. The artifice of the portrait as a sign of its subject, rendered so ambiguous in the early half-length group reliefs, here is embraced. The effect is quite the opposite of that produced by the Hadrianic relief discussed above. Instead of minimizing the conceptual distance between the viewer and the portraits' subjects, the distance is magnified.

Another multi-figure relief (Fig. 42), dating to the Antonine period, provides some insight into the possible meaning of this intensified division between the viewer and commemorated subjects.[64] Now fragmentary, the entire relief is recorded in an engraving in the *Monumenti Matthaeiorum*. The composition consists of an unusual juxtaposition of bust-form and half-length portraits. Bust portraits of an aged man and woman sit on the left. He wears a short coiffeur and curled beard typical of the Hadrianic period, while the woman wears a high toupet coiffeur typically associated with the

[64] Relief fragment with five figures, marble, c. 140 C.E. H .55m, W 1.01m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleaziano, Chiostro di Michelangelo, inv. 80715.

Flavian period but also in use until the reign of Hadrian. In both cases, signs of age are indicated by sunken cheeks and eyes, as well as the suggestion of wrinkles at the corners of the eyes and on the brow. In neither portrait are the subjects' pupils drilled.

The other three figures are represented in half-length portraits. The couple on the right clasp hands in the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio*. Today only the woman survives, and she turns dramatically in toward her now-missing male partner. The engraving records that her left hand was place on the male's shoulder in an affectionate gesture. The engraving depicts few details of the portraits, but the man is mature, with some furrows on his brow, a beardless face and a curly hairstyle. The woman's braided turban coiffeur, with a row of ringlet curls added along the hairline, was popular under Trajan but remained in use under the reign of Hadrian. In comparison to the central woman, she bears slightly more signs of aging, cheeks slightly sunken, naso-labial lines more pronounced.

Finally, the central figure, a young woman, wears a hairstyle similar to Faustina the Elder. She is depicted in an unusual three-quarters pose, turning dramatically towards the couple to her left. Her left hand is just visible emerging from under the palla. With her right hand she reaches out toward the woman to her left as if to touch her shoulder. Notably, both women's pupils and irises have been drilled. The engraving records the subjects' poses and costumes with a fair degree of fidelity, but renders the figures in a robust, volumetric style that glosses over all signs of aging and individualizing physiognomic detail. The subjects bear generic, classicizing facial features that make them appear more similar to one another than in the relief itself. Finally, the relief seems to be broken to the left of the now-missing male figure, suggesting that it initially could

have included even more figures to his left. The pronounced asymmetry of the composition as it is recorded in the *Monumenta Matthaeiorum* diverges from the harmonious balance of figures arranged around a central axis preferred in other second-century group reliefs. It is possible, therefore, that the original composition included a secondary group of three figures on the right complementing those on the left.

In early group reliefs, the juxtaposition of bust-form and half-length portraits typically distinguished between generations. The combination of bust form portraits of children with half-length portraits of adults was a common device that continued to be used into the second century (see, for example, the full-length Antonine relief in Fig. 81). Although in some contexts bust-form portraits seem to have indicated that the subject was deceased at the time of the monument's manufacture, this was not always the case.[65] It could also be used as a convenient visual device to articulate generational distinctions between parents and children within the composition. In the relief of the Vibii mentioned above, the son of the adult subjects is represented in bust form hovering between his parents.

The juxtaposition of bust-form and half-length portraits also distinguishes between generations in the Antonine five-figure relief. However, in that relief it is the oldest generation, rather than the youngest, that is depicted in bust form. The man and woman have the earliest hairstyles chronologically, and furthermore, the artist has observed the technical convention of leaving their pupils uncarved. Even the shape of the bust forms themselves dates to the later Flavian period. The sequence of generations is, in fact, stressed throughout the composition. Period-specific hairstyles complement physiognomic signs of aging to clarify the generational sequence. The subjects

[65] Koortbojian 1996, 216-17.

represented in bust form represent the oldest generation, followed by the man and woman on the proper left. The central woman, the youngest of the group, belongs to the contemporary generation. Iconographic details of the relief therefore connect each generation of subjects to a sequence of specific historical moments.

The use of bust-form and half-length portraits also articulates a more abstract sense of the past. The central woman's energetic turn toward the couple on her left forges a visual link between the three figures. The use of half-length portraits for the triad underscores this connection and distinguishes them from the other two subjects. As discussed previously, half-length portraits and the "window effect" created in the group relief renders the status of figures ambiguous. It is not clear if they should be understood as alive and present, deceased and absent, or something in between. Here, the dynamic poses of the two women enhance the sense of animation, liveliness and presence. To the contrary, the subjects of the bust-form portraits are rigid and static. They do not communicate with the other figures, but sit apart from the rest, iconic in their stillness. The young woman's turned back visually reinforces the division between the two groups.

The isolation and objectification of the oldest generation as portrait busts renders them solemn and remote, especially in contrast to the lively half-length figures to their left. However, their formality does not alienate the figures so much as it imparts an aura of dignity and authority appropriate to venerable ancestors. Although their hairstyles and portrait features link the subjects to a specific historical moment, the hierarchal, iconic character of the busts suggest a more timeless quality. While the figures may represent individual family members, in the context of this relief they also recall the generations of ancestors who preceded them.

With this in mind, the use of bust portraits in second century multi-figure group reliefs takes on a distinctly retrospective dimension. The early group reliefs tend to represent one or sometimes two generations of a family group. If there is a pronounced generational perspective, it is often prospective, celebrating the freeborn offspring of manumitted slaves. The group reliefs of the second century continue to privilege offspring, but in many cases the reliefs are more retrospective in orientation. Patrons might commemorate one or even two previous generations of their family in place of or in addition to younger generations. So pronounced is the retrospective tendency of the second century reliefs that sometimes dating is difficult for chronologically specific details of coiffeur, costume, and bust form, are faithfully reproduced long after they had gone out of fashion, as in the five-figure Antonine relief discussed above. The use of bust-form portraits to express generational sequences in second century group reliefs follows a convention set in the early examples, although the later examples tend to depict the older generations in bust form. This may be influenced, in part, by the parallel convention in the early reliefs of representing deceased individuals in bust form, or perhaps the tradition of commemorating the dead with portrait busts in the round.[66] In any case, the objectification of the subject as a portrait bust magnified the conceptual distance between the subject and the viewer in order to convey a sense of remote timelessness and ancestral dignity. It furthermore commemorated the act of memorialization as well, a pious act that reflected well on the dedicators.

The decision to revive the group relief format almost a hundred years after it had gone out of fashion suggests a particular historical and art historical awareness on the part of second century patrons and artists. As mentioned previously, it is impossible to discern

[66] Koortbojian 1996, 217, n. 20.

how subsequent generations interpreted the early group reliefs and their subjects. Certainly the close association of the group relief with freedman patrons must have been as apparent to an Imperial audience as it is to scholars today, if not more so, given that there would have been substantially more inscriptional evidence to identify the subjects' status. The meanings later assigned to that association must have varied widely, but today they remain unknown. Nonetheless, the revival of the group relief resulted from a series of deliberate decisions which were guided by the socially and historically conditioned concerns of a group of patrons and artists.

On an aesthetic level, the group relief format was especially well-suited for representing sequential generations within a single composition. The basic visual formula was already geared toward representing social and familial relationships between two or more individuals in a readily legible, and easily personalized, way. However, convenience alone cannot explain the renewed, if somewhat limited, popularity of the group relief in the second century. Little about the second century examples suggests that the patrons shared the same concerns with social assimilation and legitimation within the community held by their late Republican and early Imperial counterparts. First, the late reliefs likely were erected in the interior of tomb complexes rather than on the exterior, and therefore were visible only to the relatively small group of survivors and descendants who had access to the tomb. The scarcity of inscriptions which identify the subjects and their social status, presumably information which visitors to the tomb interior would have knowledge or record of, seems to support this idea.

Within this relatively private context, proclamations of status within the community at large or of membership in a collective social group would become less

important as commemorative imperatives. Furthermore, the second century group reliefs lack the visual references to professional or religious associations sometimes found in the earlier examples, as well as in funerary altars with portraits. The public identity of the subjects is alluded to through costume and contemporary hairstyle only.[67] So while the form and content of the early group reliefs were replicated in the second century, the semantic value of the monument had changed.

Having been a part of the sepulchral landscape for more than a century, the group reliefs of the late Republic and early Empire may have acquired legitimacy as artistic sources by virtue of their very age. Roman art in general relied heavily on the combination and recombination of established genres, styles and iconography. Artistic decorum was achieved, at least in part, by the observation of custom and convention. Although in the first century B.C.E. the group relief was an innovative monument type which relied on established iconography for legibility and effectiveness, by the second century C.E. it may have accrued the authority of tradition in its own right. The sheer number of group reliefs present in the necropoleis outside of Rome may have established the type as canonical, at least among the non-elite classes, by virtue of their extensive replication.

Furthermore, in their antiquity, the group reliefs may have objectified the past in a way that appealed to second century patrons' retrospective interests. The commemoration of sequential generations in a single monument, with particular emphasis placed on the older generations, reflects a profound desire to materialize a connection to the past. The temporal specificity of the ancestor portraits in iconographic

[67] With "public identity" I refer to legal, professional, or religious roles outside of the domestic sphere. Certainly the familial roles of spouses, parents and children also had a public or social dimension, but in the case of the late group reliefs those aspects are not underscored.

and stylistic details in some ways recalls Polybius' description of the procession of *imagines* at a Republican aristocratic funeral in that they were reliant on a particular combination of head, body and context in order to produce an embodied experience of the past.[68]

The second century group reliefs require a similar set of features to forge a connection between the past and the present. Details of physiognomy, iconography and coiffeur provide precise information that anchors the portrait to a specific historical moment as much as, if not more so than, a specific historical individual. Bodies most frequently are reduced to bust or half-length forms, which bear distinct temporal, eschatological and metaphysical connotations. However, those connotations only assume their significance in the context of a group relief composition, particularly when the two forms are juxtaposed. The portraits of the group reliefs are therefore both relational and circumstantial, deriving their ultimate meaning only in respect to one another within a particular formal and conceptual framework.[69] The interaction of the portraits materializes the past, as embodied by the ancestors, in a way that privileges the enduring bonds between the living and the dead.

In a broader sense, the replication of the group relief format is relational, for the reproductions are inextricably linked to the source monuments. The appropriation and repetition of the group reliefs' distinctive visual formula demonstrates some historical awareness on the part of both patrons and artists. This is consistent with the impression given by the content of the monuments themselves. The retrospective tendencies of the later reliefs suggest that patrons already were interested in the relationship between the

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[68] Trimble (2011, 156-57) argues that these key features are shared by the *imagines*, second century honorific portrait statues in general and the Large Herculaeum Woman in particular.
[69] See Trimble 2011, 156.

past and the present in both specific and more general ways. Second century patrons necessarily initiated a dialogue with the past as monumentalized in the earlier examples when they reproduced the group reliefs. These monuments privilege the dialogue between past and present, source and reproduction, ancestor and descendant. The early group reliefs form an important part of the iconographic history of the second century examples, which in turn acquire a substantial part of their legitimacy and significance only in relation to their predecessors. By rehabilitating a recognizably old-fashioned monument type, non-elite patrons created a stable visual link between themselves and a long-established, highly visible community of ancestors. Like the forebears, second century freedmen may have desired a tangible connection to the past, one which their legal status denied them.That the continuity between the two traditions was artificial diminished neither its importance nor its effectiveness.

Conclusion

The close formal relationship between non-elite funerary monuments and elite portraiture traditions is a crucial component of the former's history and development. However, the formal and conceptual relationships within the corpus of the group reliefs themselves are just as important to understanding the motivations and interests of their patrons. The preceding analysis has shown that the group reliefs are largely self-referential as a genre. Furthermore, the influence of the group relief extended beyond its primary period of production and into the Imperial period.

The earliest non-elite funerary monuments display a fair amount of iconographic and stylistic diversity. Within a generation or two, however, a basic visual formula emerged which would form the template for more than three hundred surviving monuments of this type. The relative simplicity of that formula provided enough flexibility for patrons to commission monuments which fulfilled their individual requirements through iconographic, architectonic, symbolic or ornamental elaboration. Yet the variation present in the corpus did not undermine the stability of the visual formula. To the contrary, it was the consistent application of the formula which provided the visual anchor to unify the diversity.[70]

The result of this unification was a group of monuments constructed from an individualized assortment of generic stylistic, iconographic and epigraphic features following a common template. Freedman patrons sought to emulate one another, sometimes in ways that minimized difference and emphasized membership in a broader community, as in the relief of the Furii. Other examples, such as the Augustan relief with four tondo portraits, suggest a more competitive spirit. In either case, non-elite patrons seem more concerned with their relationships to one another than to their elite counterparts.

Even after the group relief format fell out of fashion in the Tiberian period, its basic visual formula continued to provide a stable visual anchor that connected non-elite sepulchral monuments over many generations. The reuse of early group reliefs in the second half of the first century C.E., especially the reconfiguration of the relief of the Rabirii, confirms that the type had either retained original or attained new (or both) positive semantic values in the intervening years. Although those values are difficult to

[70] See Trimble 2011, 177.

reconstruct today, the context suggests that the group reliefs had acquired some authority as ancestral images, at least for some patrons. Indeed, the reuse of group reliefs would have legitimized that authority by virtue of the reuse itself.

A rather sporadic production of group reliefs throughout the first century eventually led to a modest revival of the form among non-elite patrons in the second century. The late group reliefs closely follow the traditional visual formula, and it provided a visual stability that effectively collapsed the temporal and generational distance between the early and late examples. As before, the flexibility of the formula permitted the elaboration of the monument according to the patrons' individual needs. In general, second century patrons possessed a more retrospective outlook than their early counterparts. Through a combination of formal and conceptual juxtapositions, not the least of which was the juxtaposition of an old-fashioned monument in a contemporary setting, the late group reliefs evoked senses of both historicity and timelessness. The emulation of the group reliefs in the second century attests to the historical awareness of artists and patrons, and to the enduring legacy of the group relief monument.

Conclusion

The examination of aesthetic and commemorative strategies of non-elite tomb monuments presented here clearly reveals patrons as active agents in the construction of their posthumous memories. The objects testify to their patrons' sophisticated understanding of art, art history, and contemporary aesthetic and commemorative trends. The close formal relationship between elite and non-elite monuments arose as the result of active engagements with rather than passive consumption of contemporary artistic trends. These findings do not support the oppositional relationship usually posited between elite and non-elite commissions. Rather, this study demonstrates that the formal diversity present in Roman art results from the complex interplay of factors that include social or physical context, financial resources, desire for legibility, propriety or *decorum* and the intent of the patron. The commemorative efforts of non-elite patrons parallel those of their elite counterparts in similar and other arenas, indicating that Romans of all social strata engaged with contemporary aesthetic, social and historical forces to a greater or lesser extent.

Moreover, the aesthetic strategies utilized by non-elite patrons in their tomb monuments elucidate the commemorative imperatives that drove the commissions. Tomb monuments may have been the primary means of socially-visible display for non-elite patrons, but they also served the purpose of preserving the memory of the dead and providing solace to the survivors. The retrospective tendency of many tomb monuments, but especially the early group reliefs, places far greater emphasis on the lifetime achievements and social values of the deceased than on any metaphysical idea regarding

the afterlife. However, this in itself says much about the eschatological concerns of non-elite patrons. Like their elite counterparts, non-elite patrons, especially manumitted slaves, were concerned especially with staving off the social oblivion visited upon the individual identity by death. Anxiety about the loss of identity or obliteration of memory must have been acute for those individuals for whom social agency was a recent acquisition. Yet these concerns were by no means exclusive to non-elite patrons. Literary, archaeological and art historical evidence confirms that Romans in general were vitally concerned with preserving their memories for eternity.

Non-elite patrons used a variety of commemorative and artistic strategies in order to guarantee the survival of their memories after death. The emphasis on assimilation and legitimization evident in the retrospective tendency of the earliest non-elite tomb monuments suggests that patrons sought assimilation into mainstream society through conformity. The Romans looked to their ancestors as *exempla* of behavior, both positive and negative. Acts, deeds and reputation, either notorious or exemplary, guaranteed the survival of one's memory through the generations. Non-elite patrons commemorated themselves and their loved ones as upstanding and legitimate Roman citizens who conformed to the expectations of mainstream society, and in doing so constructed a memory that was worthy of perpetuation.

In the first century C.E., non-elite tomb monuments began to introduce images that were more anticipatory in nature, alluding to the fate of the individual after death, often using visual metaphor alongside more literal images. The shift away from strictly retrospective monuments suggests that subsequent generations of non-elite Romans felt more secure in their place in Roman society, and less compelled to proclaim their

assimilation publically. The shift in emphasis can be attributed to a number of factors, including the decreased authority of the elite under the Empire, the increased social standing of freedmen, especially those attached to the Imperial house, and a general shift in interest from collective identities to individual identity. Non-elite patrons no longer had to legitimize their place in Roman society by claiming the authority of the *mos maiorum*, and therefore experimented with more abstract concepts of transformation and restoration in their tomb monuments. Nonetheless, the interest in ancestors and ancestral authority experienced a modest revival in the second century C.E., when patrons appropriated earlier non-elite tomb monuments as material vestiges of the past.

Non-elite patrons utilized contemporary aesthetic strategies such as imitation, emulation and reproduction when designing their tomb monuments in ways that suggest an active engagement with elite visual culture. Recent studies of the relationship between Greek and Roman ideal sculpture provides a useful model for characterizing this relationship. Just as Roman artists adopted and adapted the visual *langue* of Greek art to be deployed in innovative and eclectic new combinations, so too did non-elite patrons appropriate the visual language of their elite counterparts in their tomb monuments. In both cases, imitation, emulation and reproduction are aesthetic strategies crucial to the construction of appropriate and legible images. Non-elite patrons drew on the most potent, effective and legible components of elite visual culture, such as veristic or Augustan portraiture styles, and elements of costume such as the toga, in order to create lasting monuments for themselves and their families. In some cases, non-elite patrons also reproduced famous statues or statue types in order to endow the dedicatee with the

fame and associations of the original model, and to demonstrate the erudition of the patron.

Non-elite patrons also used reproduction as a key strategy in establishing a sense of communal or collective identity. The repetition of certain monument types, such as the group relief or mythological portraits of matrons as Venuses, amongst Romans of a certain social standing created an aesthetic of sameness that identified dedicatees as members in a particular group. The repetition of a basic visual formula provided a stable visual anchor that united the subjects of these monuments under an umbrella of shared status, social values and art historical knowledge. Patrons who commissioned monument types associated especially with wealthy non-elite Romans participated actively in the social and artistic dialogue attached to these images. Each subsequent repetition of this kind of image further reinforced the legitimacy and authority of the type as a source. Non-elite tomb monuments therefore are in dialogue with one another as much as, if not more so than, elite or Imperial commissions.

The tomb monuments of non-elite patrons demonstrate high levels of art historical knowledge and visual literacy, confirming that patrons were actively engaged with contemporary aesthetic and social issues. Moreover, these aesthetic strategies supported commemorative imperatives that closely align with those of the elite, particularly the preservation of memory as a means to stave off the destructive effects of death on the individual personality. Restoring the agency of non-elite patrons illuminates the complex interplay of eschatological and artistic concerns that informed the construction of Roman tomb monuments. Furthermore, it highlights the artistic

innovations contributed by non-elite patrons, and thereby enhances our understanding of the spectrum of Roman visual culture.

Figure 1: Construction relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, marble, c. 80-90 C.E. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 9997.

Figure 2: Relief of the Vibii, marble, late 1st century B.C.E. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 2109

Figure 3: Grave relief of Agrippina, marble, c. 150 C.E. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 71.AA.456.

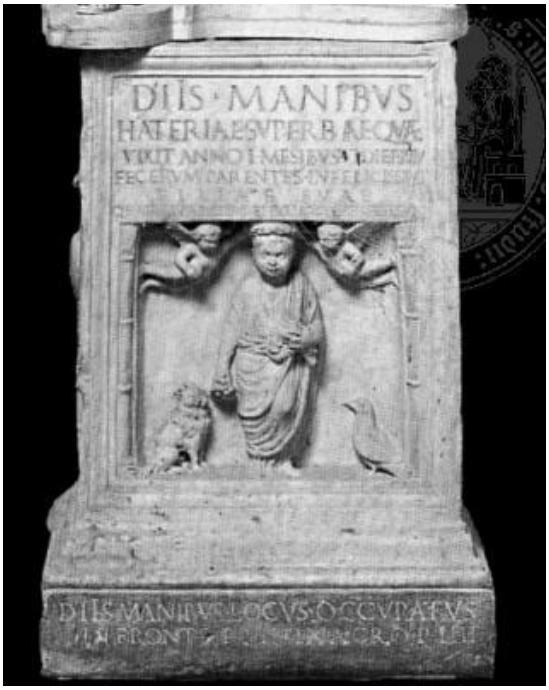

Figure 4: Altar of Hateria Superba, marble, c. 100-110 C.E. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 942.

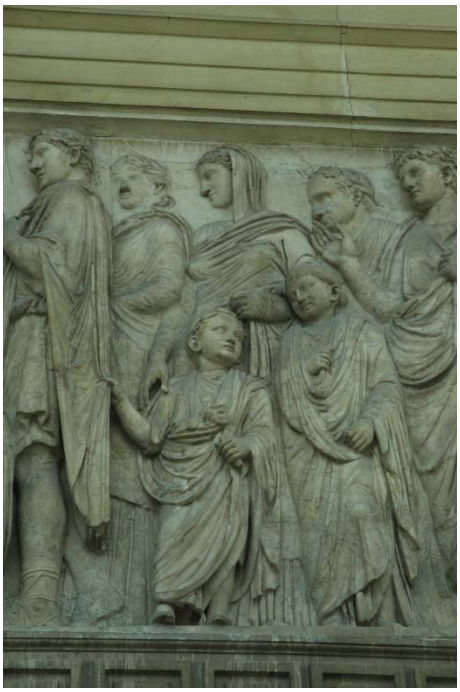

Figure 5: Detail from the south frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae, marble, 13-9 B.C.E. Rome.

Figure 6: Altar of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus, marble, c. 94-100. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1102.

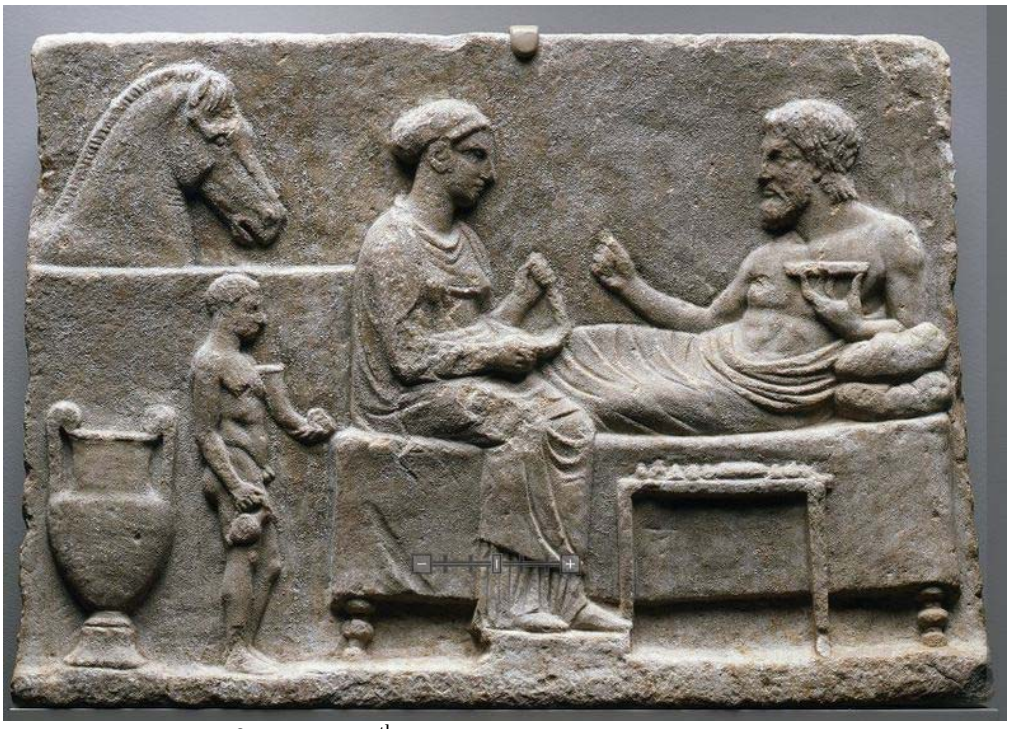

Figure 7: Banquet relief, marble, 4th century B.C.E. Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum, inv. 1999.011.003.

Figure 8: *Kline* monument of Flavius Agricola, marble, c. 160 C.E. Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, inv. IMA72.148.

Figure 9: Relief of Publius Curtilius Agatus, marble, 1-25 C.E. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 96.AA.40.

Figure 10: Tomb relief of Publius Licinius Philonicus and Publius Licinius Demetrius, marble, c. 30-10 B.C.E. London, British Museum, inv. 1954, 1214.1.

Figure 11: Relief of Lucius Septumius, travertine, 75-50 B.C.E. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, inv. 125655.

Figure 12: Relief of the Gessii, marble, c. 50 – 20 B.C.E. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 37.100.

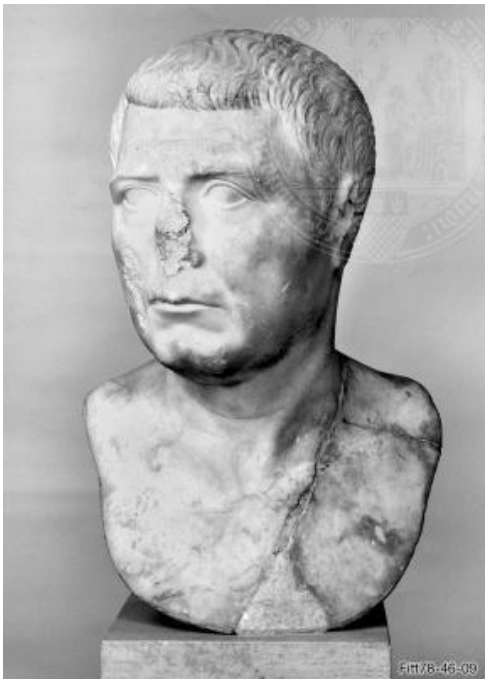

Figure 13: Portrait of a man, marble, c. 40-60 C.E. H .42m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 370932.

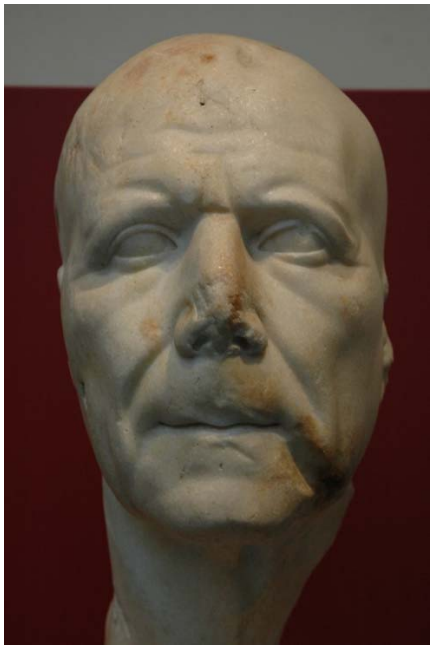

Figure 14: Portrait of a man, marble, c. 69-80 C.E. H .41m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 370933.

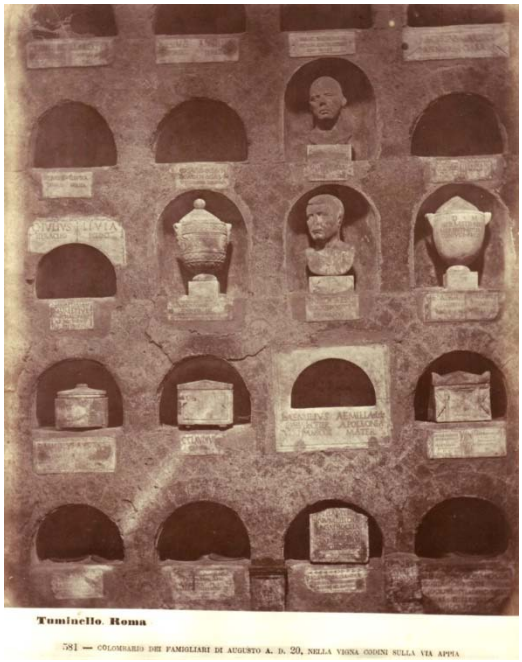

Figure 15: Interior view of Columbarium Vigna Codini II, with two portrait busts in situ. 1st century C.E. Rome, Italy.

Figure 16: Portrait of a woman, Luna marble, c. 25-20 B.C.E. H .36m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, inv. 125591.

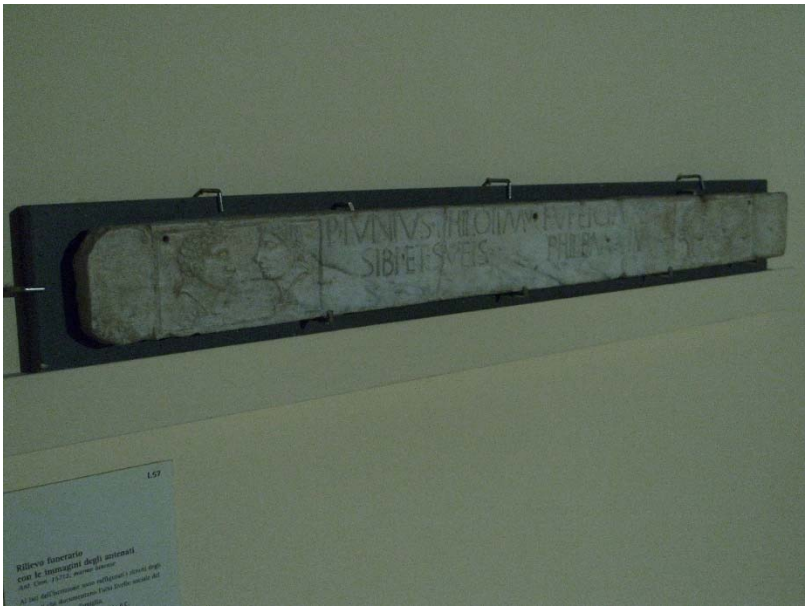

Figure 17: Funerary relief of P. Junius Philotimus and Fuficia Philematium, marble, 1st century B.C.E. or C.E. Rome, Museo Capitolini Centrale Montemartini, inv. 15712.

Figure 18: Barberini Togatus, marble, second half of the first century B.C.E. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. MC2392.

Figure 19: Portrait of Cicero, marble, Augustan (?) copy of original of 50-40 B.C.E. Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza dei Filosofi, inv. MC0589.

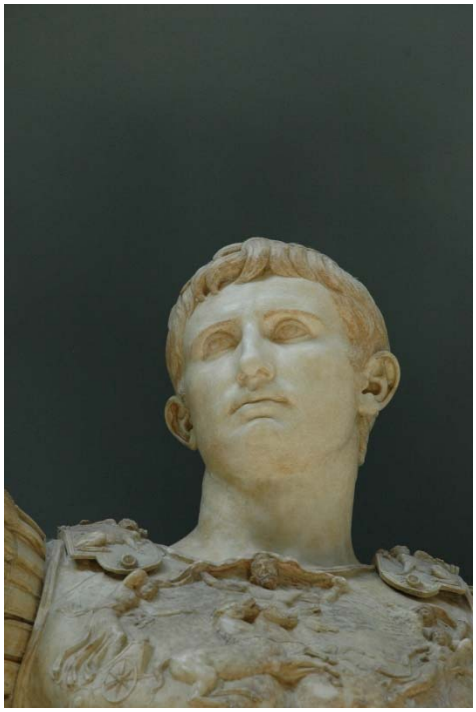

Figure 20: Detail of cuirassed statue of Augustus (Augustus of Prima Porta), marble, c. 14 C.E. copy after original c. 27 B.C.E. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, inv. 2290.

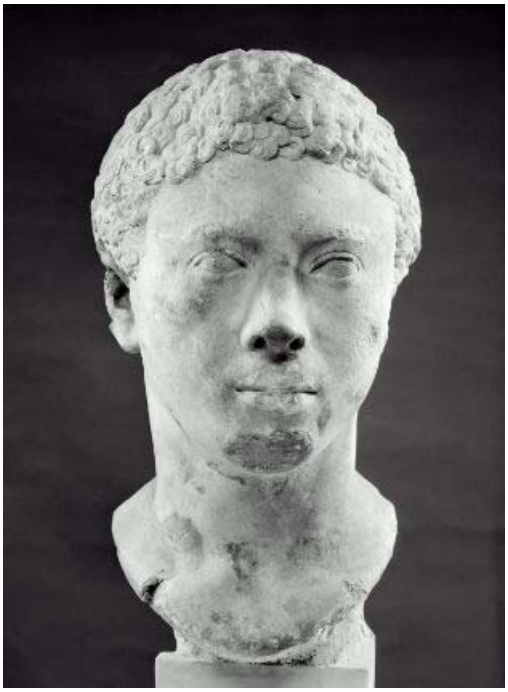

Figure 21: Portrait of a young man, Pentelic marble, c. 1-50 C.E. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 88.643.

Figure 22: Apollo Belvedere, marble, first half of the second century CE. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile Ottagono, cat. 1015.

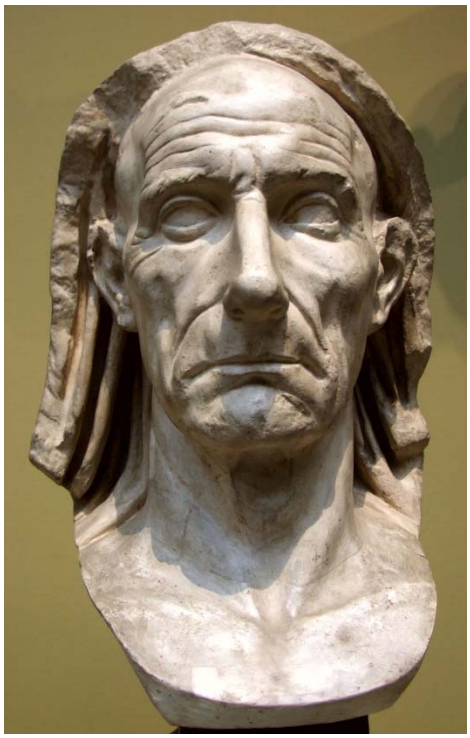

Figure 23: Portrait of a man, marble, c. 50 B.C.E. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti, inv. 1751.

Figure 24: Portrait of an older woman, marble, late 1st century B.C.E. Rome, Palazzo Massimo, inv. 124493.

Figure 25: Funerary relief of L. Antistius Sarculo and Antistia Plutia, marble, c. 20 B.C.E. London, British Museum, inv. 2275.

Figure 26: Venus Felix, marble, c. 170 C.E. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio-Clementino, Cortile Ottagono, inv. 93

Figure 27: Portrait of a woman as Venus, marble, Trajanic. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, inv. 245.

Figure 28: Altar of Tiberius Octavius Diadumenus, marble, c. 31 B.C.E. – 14 C.E. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile Ottagano, inv. 1142.

Figure 29: Testamentum relief, marble, early second century CE.H .85 m, L 1.45. Rome, Museo Capitolino, inv. S308.

Figure 30: 'Diana of Versailles,' marble, Hadrianic period. H 2.01 m. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MA 589.

Figure 31: Portrait of a woman as Venus, marble, 1st century C.E. H. 1.96m. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 6291.

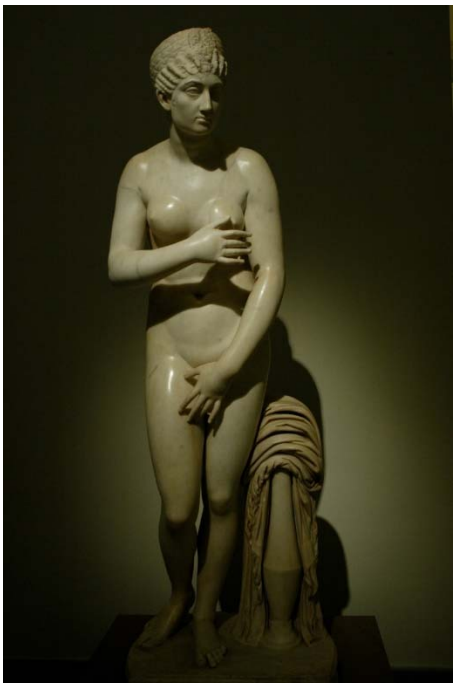

Figure 32: Portrait of a woman as Venus, marble, Hadrianic. H. 1.84 m. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 6299.

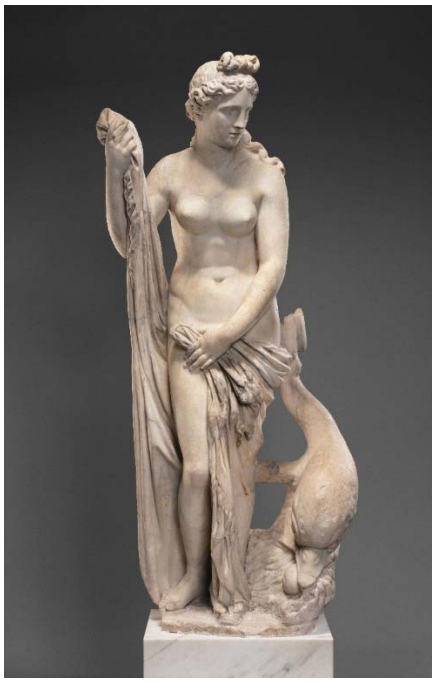

Figure 33: Statue of Venus (Mazarin Venus), marble, 100-200 C.E. Malibu, The Getty Villa, inv. 54.AA.11.

Figure 34: Portrait of a woman as Cybele, Thasian marble, c. 50 C.E. Malibu, The Getty Villa, inv. 57.AA.19.

Figure 35: Cameo of Livia and Divus Augustus, sardonyx, c. 15 CE or later. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. IXa95.

Figure 63: Relief of L. Aurelius Hermia and Aurelia Philematio, travertine, c. 80 B.C.E. London, British Museum, inv. 1867,0508.55.

Figure 37: Tomb relief from the Esquiline, limestone, c. 80 B.C.E. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Chiostro di Michelangelo, inv. 126.107.

Figure 38: Relief fragment with six figures, marble, c. 40-30 B.C.E. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 2231.

Figure 39: Relief of the Rabirii, marble, 30-13 B.C.E. with Flavian or early Trajanic reworking. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, inv. 196633.

Figure 40: Relief with four figures, marble, 30-10 B.C.E. Rome, Centrale Montemartini, Sala Colonne, inv. 2306

Figure 41: Altar of Minucia Suavis, marble, 50-75 C.E. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 30.

Figure 42: Relief fragment with five figures, marble, c. 140 C.E. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 80715

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