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*MONUMENTA ET ARAE HONORIS VIRTUTISQUE CAUSA:*  
**EVIDENCE OF MEMORIALS FOR ROMAN CIVIC HEROES**

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Estratto dal Volume LXXXVIII (1982-83)  
del *Bull. della Comm. Arch. di Roma*

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« L'ERMA » di BRETSCHNEIDER - ROMA

1984

# *Monumenta et Arae Honoris Virtutisque Causa:* Evidence of Memorials for Roman Civic Heroes

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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to discuss a number of Roman monuments, dating from the archaic age to the middle empire and located in the city of Rome and in other parts of the Roman world, that have some hitherto unrecognized common features of design, location, and the function of commemorating individuals who displayed extraordinary civic virtue. Sometimes identified as tombs, cenotaphs, or *ustrinae*, these monuments are better thought of as what, in modern times, would be called «memorials» or what, in antiquity, must have appeared to be adaptations to Roman taste of the Greek heroon<sup>1</sup>.

The examples of this monumental type are attested in the literary, archaeological, and epigraphical record with varying degrees of certainty. The most securely identifiable members of the group are the altar-column complex dedicated to Julius Caesar in the Roman Forum shortly after his death on the spot where his body was cremated (see below, section IX); the Pisan altar dedicated to Lucius and Gaius Caesar (cf. section X); and the Herculanean altar dedicated to M. Nonius Balbus sometime in the first century A.D. on the site where his ashes were collected after a public funeral (cf. section X). None of these three monuments may be properly called the tomb or cenotaph of their dedicatees since all were buried elsewhere; nor can any of the altars be

<sup>1</sup> The type is not, for example, discussed in G. MANSUELLI'S article, «Il monumento commemorativo romano», *BCStStorArchit*, 12 (1958) 3-23. One possible forerunner of my discussion of this monumental type is H. Daniel-Lacombe's analysis of two types of Roman cenotaphs. See *Le droit funéraire à Rome*, (Paris 1886) 26 (par. 24). Daniel-Lacombe is, however, wrong to call his first type (the one closest to my «commemorative» type a cenotaph, and he cites no examples of it. Against calling Daniel-Lacombe's first type a cenotaph, cf. the following remark of L. SCHUMACHER in «Das Ehrendekret für M. Nonius Balbus aus Herculaneum», *Chiron*, 6 (1976) 165-184, on p. 181: «ein Kenotaph wäre

hier [viz., in the case of the altar of Balbus; cf. below, p. 75] nicht sinnvoll, da sich das Grab [scil., of Balbus] ja in Herculaneum befand». Daniel-Lacombe's confusion is often encountered in discussions of cenotaphs; cf., e.g., the following comment of L. VOGEL, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1973) 30: «Antoninus Pius was buried in the Mausoleum of Hadrian. The column and ustrinum thus formed an honorary monument with a funerary meaning, that is, a cenotaph». On the problem of monuments and memorials in twentieth-century architecture, see the discussion in T. H. CREIGHTON, *The Architecture of Monuments. The Franklin Delano Roosevelt Competition*, (New York 1962) 6-13.

considered an *ustrina* since, according to Festus (*s. v. bustum*, p. 32 Lindsay) an *ustrina* is the place where bodies are cremated and these structures were all built after the cremations (which in the case of the altar for Lucius and Gaius, did not even take place in Pisa). Inscriptions on the altars explain their motivation and, in two of the three cases, their function. They were publicly erected because their dedicatees were *parentes*, or *patroni*, of the state (cf. SVETONIUS, *Caesar* 85; *CIL*, XI 1420; *Chiron*, 6 [1976] 169); and they were to serve as the focus of annual lamentations on the day the dedicatees died (as is securely known from the inscriptions for Lucius Caesar, Gaius Caesar, and M. Nonius Balbus).

In the remainder of this article — which should be considered an heuristic, not exhaustive, study — I will discuss the history of the memorial on the basis of these and other possible examples of the monumental type. Special attention will be paid to describing the architectural designs, topographies, and functions of the examples as well as to analyzing their political and symbolic value and their connections to each other and to Greek models. In the Conclusion, I will make explicit the underlying logic of my argument and I will point out some directions that future research might take to test my hypotheses.

## I

A puzzling monument stands in suburban Pompeii on the south side of the Via delle Tombe, about 150 m. west of the Porta Ercolana (pl. LX, 1). In design, the structure has the form of an altar raised up on a base<sup>2</sup>. An inscription on the front side tells us that the monument was dedicated to C. Calventius Quietus Augustalis, HVIC OB MUNIFICENT(IAM) DECURIONUM / DECRETO ET POPULI CONSE(N)SU BISELLII / HONOR DATUS EST<sup>3</sup>.

From its design and location in Pompeii's most impressive cemetery, one would expect that the monument is a tomb; yet, a number of unusual features have led some scholars to speculate that the altar is a cenotaph<sup>4</sup>. These features include the lack of an entranceway through the precinct wall surrounding the monument<sup>5</sup>; the lack of a libation tube within the precinct<sup>6</sup>; and, most significant of all, the lack of a door into a

<sup>2</sup> See V. KOCKEL, *Die Grabbauten vor dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeji*, (Mainz 1983) 90, where the dimensions are given as: base—3.83 m. broad × 3.53 m. deep × 1.49 m. high; altar—1.73 m. broad × 1.41 m. deep × 2.25 m. high.

<sup>3</sup> *CIL*, X 1026.

<sup>4</sup> In the nineteenth century, the interpretation of the monument as a cenotaph was held by G. FIORELLI, *Descrizione di Pompei*, (Naples 1875) 407, and J. OVERBECK, *Pompeii in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken*, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1866) 32-35, and was disputed by A. Mau in his revised edition of Overbeck (*Pompeii in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken*

[Leipzig 1884<sup>4</sup>]), who considered the structure to be a tomb. From publications of the last few years, one can see that the question has still not been settled; cf. E. LA ROCCA, M. and A. DEVOS, *Guida archeologica di Pompei*, (Rome 1976) 334, arguing for a cenotaph; and V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 97, who agrees with Mau.

<sup>5</sup> Not necessarily a sign of a cenotaph; cf. the similarly inaccessible tombs in Ostia discussed by M. F. SQUARCIAPINO, in *Scavi di Ostia III*, part 1 (Rome 1958) 110.

<sup>6</sup> This absence is certainly significant, since such tubes have been found near most burials before the Porta Ercolana; see V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 40-41.

chamber within the monument itself<sup>7</sup>. The last feature is not only suspicious in itself, but it is also strange because, as Kockel has shown, such chambers had been the rule for Pompeian altar-tombs for many decades prior to the erection of Calventius' monument sometime between 70-79 A.D.<sup>8</sup>. Finally, we may note that the only other example of this altar-type used in connection with an *augustalis* is, by universal agreement, not a tomb. The neighboring monument (fig. 1 - pl. LX, 2) erected by Naevoleia Tyche for C. Munatius Faustus, an *augustalis*, can hardly be the site of his grave since we have his name twice on inscriptions from his family tomb near the Porta di Nocera, where he must have been buried<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, although ten urns and funerary stelae (some with inscriptions) have been found within the chamber of the altar, none of these seems to have been used for the remains of C. Munatius Faustus<sup>10</sup>.

These facts are not the only ones making us wonder whether the monument of Calventius is the normal altar-tomb that it appears to be. Unlike most other tombs sharing the altar-form, the inscription on Calventius' monument does not mention the name of the dedicator. And, unlike all but one of the other altar-tombs at the Herculanean Gate<sup>11</sup>, the altar of C. Calventius Quietus is dedicated, not to a member of the town's political elite, but to a freedman who probably was not even eligible to run for office<sup>12</sup>.

## II

Before clarifying the mysteries of Calventius' altar it will be useful to consider a monument in Ostia that presents analogous, though as yet undetected, problems. The so-called «tomb» of C. Cartilius Poplicola (pl. LXI, 1) stood about 70 m. outside the Porta Marina, very close to the ancient seacoast. A long, fairly well-preserved inscription makes identification of the dedicatee certain and informs us that the structure is a *monumentum* given to Ostia's *preimarius vir pro eius meritis*<sup>13</sup>. The building faces the extension of the Decumanus Maximus outside the Porta Marina. Like the altar of Calventius, the monument of Cartilius stood on a base. Both the base and the upper part are square in plan<sup>14</sup>. The structure may have served as the support for the statue of a

<sup>7</sup> It is this fact that motivated Fiorelli and La Rocca, et al. to speculate that the monument is a cenotaph. Mau and Kockel speculate that the urn may be located beneath the structure, but cf. below, section XII.

<sup>8</sup> On the architectural history of the tomb-type see V. KOCKEL, *ibid.*, pp. 22-26; on the date of Calventius Quietus' altar, see KOCKEL, pp. 96-97.

<sup>9</sup> See V. KOCKEL, *ibid.*, pp. 100-109.

<sup>10</sup> See V. KOCKEL, *ibid.*, pp. 100-102.

<sup>11</sup> The other exception is that of C. Munatius Faustus, on which see below section XII.

<sup>12</sup> On the association of this tomb-type with high Pompeian magistrates, see V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2) 24; on the inability of freedmen to hold office and their social status see J. H. D'ARMS, *Commerce and Social Standing in*

*Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, Mass. 1981) 134-140.

<sup>13</sup> The inscription was published by H. BLOCH, in *Scavi di Ostia* III, part I (Rome 1958) 214-219. Useful comments about it appear in R. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, (Oxford 1973<sup>2</sup>) 475-478. A crucial piece of evidence for supplementing the text was discovered and published by S. PANCIERA, «Il sepolcro Ostiense di C. Cartilius Poplicola ed una scheda epigrafica di Gaetano Marini», *ArchCl*, 18 (1966) 54-63. For more on the text see below, section XI. For the topography of the tomb, see G. BECATTI, in *Scavi di Ostia* I (Rome 1953) 113 with fig. 30 and plan 11; I. GISMONDI, in *Scavi di Ostia* III, part I (Rome 1958) 169-172, with fig. 69.

<sup>14</sup> The dimensions are: base—6.21 × 6.21 m.; upper section—4.70 × 4.70 m.; total height—5.14 m. See I. GISMONDI, *ibid.*, pp. 172-173.

warship, fragments of which were found nearby<sup>15</sup>. It has been convincingly dated to the last quarter of the first century B.C.<sup>16</sup>.

Though not designed to resemble an altar, the monument of Cartilius Poplicola is similar to that of Calventius Quietus in its scale and location outside a major gate of town. More importantly, Poplicola's «tomb», like Calventius' altar, shows no sign of having ever been used for an actual burial. Indeed, the signs indicating that the monument was never used as a tomb are even stronger in the case of the Ostian *monumentum* than they were at Pompeii.

First of all, careful modern archaeological investigation of a fairly well-preserved site has revealed no burials in or around the *monumentum*<sup>17</sup>, and, indeed, the area outside the Porta Marina has been shown not to be a necropolis: «da questi saggi risultò che sotto il piano di risega di fondazione dei due sepolcri (viz., that of Cartilius Poplicola and the so-called Mausoleum) la sabbia era archeologicamente sterile»<sup>18</sup>. Like Calventius Quietus' altar, the monument to Cartilius Poplicola had no door providing access to a chamber serving as a *columbarium*<sup>19</sup>. Nothing in the long inscription nor in the iconography of the structure indicates that Cartilius is necessarily deceased. Moreover, we know of two possible family tombs of the Cartilii, in one of which Poplicola may well be buried. The first is called the *monumentum Cartilianum* in an inscription of the second century A.D. found outside the Porta Romana<sup>20</sup>. It seems to have been the tomb of *liberti* of the family. The second tomb is known from a large inscription, perhaps from the facade, naming the owner as C. Cartilius Poplicola, who is most likely the same Ostian notable to whom the structure outside the Porta Marina was dedicated. This tomb was one of several impressive graves located near modern Acilia on the Via Ostiensis between Rome and Ostia<sup>21</sup>. In view of the high status of those buried in this area and the fact that we know of no other Ostian notable with the name of C. Cartilius Poplicola, it is likely that this is where the man honored at the Porta Marina was buried.

There is one difference between Cartilius' and Calventius' monuments: no one has ever suggested that Cartilius' is a cenotaph. This may be surprising in view of the archaeological record, but I do not propose to make good this failure in the scholarship. Instead, I intend to show that the dedications to the two men may properly be called neither a tomb nor a cenotaph. Along with the structures known from the archaeological, literary, and epigraphical sources that were discussed in the Introduction, they probably

<sup>15</sup> See I. GISMONDI, *ibid.*, pp. 179-181.

<sup>16</sup> See M. SQUARCIAPINO, *op. cit. (supra n. 5)* 191-207; H. BLOCH, *op. cit. (supra n. 13)* 218-219.

<sup>17</sup> See I. GISMONDI, *op. cit. (supra n. 13)* 170.

<sup>18</sup> See I. GISMONDI, *loc. cit. (supra n. 17)*.

One would also like to be able to discuss the nearby «mausoleum» (where no evidence of a burial was found) in connection with the problems treated in this paper, but too little is known about it. For some recent speculation about the mausoleum cf. the ideas of R. Meiggs and F. Zevi as reported by the latter in «Monumenti e aspetti culturali di Ostia repubblicana», in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, ed. by P. Zanker (Göttingen 1976) vol. 1, p. 59, n. 32.

<sup>19</sup> To be sure, since Cartilius' tomb is

Augustan in date, the absence of a chamber (optional in this period) is not as significant a fact as it was in the case of Calventius Quietus.

<sup>20</sup> See H. BLOCH, *op. cit. (supra n. 13)* 216-217.

<sup>21</sup> See H. BLOCH, *ibid.*, p. 214 (nr. 7). Bloch thinks that the two Cartilii Poplicolae are the same person. R. MEIGGS, *op. cit. (supra n. 13)* 477, falls victim to circular reasoning when he writes: «we should expect this inscription... from its form and site, to come from a tomb. But it cannot come from the tomb of our Poplicola, for his ashes were placed in his public monument outside Porta Marina». Since no ashes were in fact found at Porta Marina, there is no reason to accept Meiggs' conclusion.

represent a kind of public monument the existence of which has not yet been recognized by Roman archaeologists.

### III

If the probabilities indicate that no one was ever buried in the «tombs» of Cartilius and Calventius, then they militate just as strongly against interpreting the structures as cenotaphs. A cenotaph is only necessary when the body of the deceased is not available for burial in a spot that is for some reason appropriate, either because it has been lost (e.g., at sea) or because it had to be buried elsewhere<sup>22</sup>. In such cases, a cenotaph is erected and a symbolic *humatio* (not, strictly speaking, required by Roman religion) is given to the absent body<sup>23</sup>.

Now, as far as we know, neither Cartilius Poplicola nor Calventius Quietus needed a symbolic burial. In those rare cases when such an *humatio* was required, the funerary inscriptions were explicit about the absence of remains (cf. the cenotaphic inscriptions cited above in n. 22). The absence of remains of the two men from their monuments in Pompeii and Ostia thus probably means that, like Munatius Faustus, they were buried elsewhere in the suburban cemeteries where their family tombs were located<sup>24</sup>.

We have seen that for Cartilius, two such possible tombs are epigraphically attested. Calventius' ashes were perhaps placed in an urn within the tomb of the Sittii, for his only known son was adopted from this illustrious Pompeian family<sup>25</sup>. This speculation is all the more likely once it is recalled that Calventius' only child was apparently also the only child of his natural parents<sup>26</sup>. So, a tomb, or plot, for Calventius' remains was ready to hand, and there were probably no Sittii alive to object to its use. Alternatively, Calventius may have been buried in a tomb or plot purchased by him before his death or by his heirs after his death. In either case, he is unlikely to have been buried under the altar outside the Porta Ercolana since Calventius probably died in the 60s, whereas his altar outside the Porta Ercolana dates to the 70s<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> For examples of Roman cenotaphs cf., e.g., *CIL*, VI 16913 (death occurred far away); *CIL*, III 1899; 3107 (deaths at sea).

<sup>23</sup> On the symbolic *humatio* see DAEMBERG-SAGLIO, II.2 s.v. *funus* (Paris 1896) 1396.

<sup>24</sup> Thus, the common designation of Munatius Faustus' monument as a cenotaph (see above, n. 9) is just as incorrect as the interpretation of Calventius Quietus' as a tomb.

<sup>25</sup> See P. CASTRÉN, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus. Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii* (*ActaInstRomFin*, 8 [1975]) 148.

<sup>26</sup> V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 97, rejects the idea that Calventius Quietus could be buried somewhere else besides his «tomb» outside the Herculanean Gate as «eine äusserst unwahrscheinliche Annahme». However, Kockel seems to forget the fact he reports (on p. 96) that Calventius adopted a son from the family of the Sittii, who

certainly had a burial place somewhere near the town.

<sup>27</sup> On the date of the altar, see V. KOCKEL, *ibid.*, pp. 96-97. The date of Calventius' death may be inferred not so much from the absence of any evidence attesting his existence after the Neronian period (for the evidence, see tables 51 and 87 in *CIL*, IV, Suppl. 1.3340, on which cf. J. ANDREAU, *Les affaires de Monsieur Jucundus*, *MEFRA* 19 [1974] 172) as from the fact that the evidence—his appearance twice as a witness in the banking records of L. Caecilius Jucundus—indicates that he had achieved high status and prestige before 62 A.D. (cf. J. ANDREAU, *ibid.*, pp. 86-88, on the social status of witnesses). Thus, it is fair to assume that Quietus was well advanced in years by 62 A.D., the latest possible date for the two undatable appearances of his name in the archive of Jucundus. He may well have lived a few years longer, since Overbeck's speculation (*op. cit.* [*supra*

## IV

If the altar of Calventius Quietus and the monument of Cartilius Poplicola are neither tombs nor cenotaphs, then what are they? They are a *tertium quid* — something that in English would be called a «memorial» or a «monument» (as in Washington's Monument or the Jefferson Memorial). The meaning of such structures is not to mark the site of burial (or putative burial), as is implied by the terms *sêma*, *sepulcrum*, *tumulus*, etc.<sup>28</sup>. Rather, it is just the opposite: to keep alive the glory of a man who has (presumably) recently died for the sake of future generations of his family and fellow citizens. This monumental type has undoubtedly been overlooked by scholars because it was so rare; but its importance is inversely proportional to its rareness. The heroic honor it expressed was so great as hardly ever to be bestowed by the Roman people.

What words did the Romans use to describe such an honorary structure? We have seen that the Pompeian example has the shape of an altar; we have also noted that the inscription on the memorial of Cartilius Poplicola calls it a *monumentum*. Other cases have the design of altars or *monumenta* (in the sense defined by the Ostian memorial), and inscriptions and literary sources likewise speak of either *monumenta* or, as we have seen in the Introduction, of *arae*<sup>29</sup>. We may conclude from this that the Roman memorial had at least two possible designs to which the terms *ara* and *monumentum* correspond. Later, we shall see that other terms and designs (e.g., the *schola*) were also used from time to time. Of course, because Roman tombs often performed the function of commemorating the life as well as marking the site of burial of the deceased<sup>30</sup>, both terms can also be synonymous with *sepulcrum*; and this is perhaps another reason why the Roman memorial has escaped scholar's attention. However, although all tombs may be called *monumenta* or *arae*, not everything termed a *monumentum* or *ara* is necessarily a tomb<sup>31</sup>.

## V

Everything we know about Rome in the archaic period suggests that of the two terms and forms of commemoration, the *ara* was first to develop. This is natural for two

n. 4] 33) is very attractive that he received the honor of the *bisellium* on account of his munificence to Pompeii in helping to rebuild the city after the earthquake of 5 February 62.

<sup>28</sup> On the meaning of *sêma*, cf. the following remarks of E. VERMEULE, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1979) 45: «the classical *sêma* can be both the external sign of the invisible dead in the grave, and the substitute person, especially kept alive in memory when written upon».

<sup>29</sup> *Ara*: CIC., *Ad Brut*, 1.15.8; (= 23.8 Shackleton Bailey); *Ad Fam.*, 11.2.2; *Phil.*, 14.33-34; *CIL*, XI 1420; *CIL*, IX 3837; *CIL*, IX 3079. *Monumentum*: C. Cartilius Poplicola (see below, section XI); *CIL*, VI 1319 = I 635 (see below, section VIII); DIO, 79.24 (cf. below, p. 71).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. VARRO, *LL* 6.49: «ab eo cetera quae scripta ac facta memoriae causa monumenta dicta».

<sup>31</sup> For a non-funerary use of the term *monumentum* cf. *ThLL*, vol. 8, s.v. *monumentum* I.B.2.a (col. 1462); for the principle, cf. H. DANIEL-LACOMBE, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 25 (par. 22). This point escaped L. SCHUMACHER, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 181, where he writes, «zwar lässt sich der Terminus *ara* in Zusammenhang mit dem Totenkult schon in republikanischer Zeit nachweisen, bezeichnet aber immer den Grabaltar, d.h. das eigentliche Grabmal, oder, wie im Falle des L. Caesar, das Kenotaph». On the error of calling the *ara* of L. Caesar a cenotaph, as Schumacher does, see below, n. 88.

reasons. First of all, the Romans recognized a theoretical distinction between the terms *ara* and *altaria*, even if, in practice, the terms were often confused<sup>32</sup>. The *ara* was used for worship of the dead and the infernal deities; the *altaria* for the heavenly gods. Since our literary sources for this distinction do not predate Varro, it is good to know that modern etymologists agree that the two words derive from different roots, so that the distinction is undoubtedly very ancient<sup>33</sup>.

If its connection with the dead made *ara* linguistically fitting for a commemorative monument, then the fact that the funeral pyre was erected to resemble an *ara* made it architecturally appropriate once the Romans started to erect tombs outside the *pomerium* and, on very rare occasions, commemorative monuments inside the city. Servius glossed Vergil *Aen.* 6.177 *aram... sepulchri congerere arboribus... certant* with the explanation «*aramque sepulchri*» *pyram dicit, quae in modum arae construi lignis solebat... et aram, quae ante sepulchrum fieri consuevit, intellegere non possumus, ut* (III 63) «*stant manibus arae*», *cum nondum facta sit funeratio, quae praecedat sepulchrum*».

As Kockel has observed, a complete history of the monumental Roman grave altar has not yet been written<sup>34</sup>. Such a history cannot be attempted here; however, to Kockel's fine sketch of the development of the grave altar from the time of Servius Sulpicius Galba (pl. LXI, 2) to the second century A.D. can be added an outline of the earlier periods, which can be studied primarily from literary sources<sup>35</sup>.

In a recent article, Colonna has pointed out that we have very few Roman burials datable to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. and no archaeological remains of any funerary structure above ground<sup>36</sup>. In support of this archaeological observation, we may note that the XII Tables, in dealing with funerary law, mention two terms — *forum* and *bustum* — pertaining to the land surface over a burial, but say nothing about a structure built above ground. The interesting cultural and political reasons for this lack of archaic tombs will be discussed below (see section VII). Here Colonna's observation can serve to explain both why evidence of altar-graves in this period is so rare and why most of our evidence pertains, not to funerary, but to commemorative monuments.

The only possible funerary altar dating to this period is the altar, inscribed with the word *honoris*, located in an early Republican cemetery outside the Porta Collina (Cic., *De leg.* 2.58, where the word is interpreted as a name). We cannot be certain of the altar's

<sup>32</sup> For the distinction between *ara* and *altaria* cf. SERVIUS, *ad Aen.* 2.515 («*superorum et arae sunt et altaria, inferorum tantum arae*»), *ad Aen.* 3.305 («*mortuorum arae, deorum altaria dicuntur*»); ISIDORUS, *Lib. Diff.*, 440 («*inter altaria et aras hoc interest, quod altaria deo ponuntur, arae etiam defunctis*»). On the confusion of the terms, cf. H. C. BOWERMAN, *Roman Sacrificial Altars*, (Diss. Bryn Mawr 1913) 7, and cf. SERVIUS, *ad Aen.* 3.305 («*mortuorum arae, deorum altaria dicuntur... quamvis hoc frequenter poeta ipse confundat*»).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *svv.* in A. WALDE and J. B. HOFMANN, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I (Heidelberg 1938<sup>3</sup>) 32,61; A. ERNOUT and A. MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (Paris 1932) 36, 62. Cf. also the Greek

distinction between *εοχάρα* (= *ara*) and *βωμῶς* (= *altaria*), on which see L. ZIEHEN, *RAC*, I s.v. *Altar* (Stuttgart 1950) cols. 317-318, who accepts a distinction in design, but not in usage; and C. HABICHT, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, *Zetemata* 14 (1956<sup>1</sup>) 203.

<sup>34</sup> V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 24. W. ALTMANN, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, (Berlin 1905), treats mainly the imperial period, as the title suggests.

<sup>35</sup> On the late-republican to Antonine period see V. KOCKEL, *ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>36</sup> G. COLONNA, «Un aspetto oscuro del Lazio antico. Le tombe del VI-V secolo a.C.», *PP*, 32 (1977) 131-165; *L'ideologia funeraria e il conflitto delle culture*, *Archeologia laziale*, 4 (1981) 229-232.

exact date since our literary source permits us only to establish the *ante quem* of the founding of the Temple of Honos, the date of which is itself not known<sup>37</sup>.

The first possible commemorative altar is, luckily, securely datable; however, the design of the monument is nowhere described, so that we cannot be certain that it had the shape of an altar. Several sources (PLUT., *Poplicola* 109 D, *Quaest. Rom.* 282 F-283 A; LIVY 2.16; AMM. MAR. 14.6.11; DION. HAL. 5.48.3; VAL. MAX. 4.4.1) report that when Rome's early consul, Publius Valerius Poplicola, died, his family was too poor to afford a burial. As a result, the Roman people donated money for the funeral (the first *funus collaticium* on record) and land for the burial within the city in the Velia. Since Poplicola died in 503 B.C., his monument in the Velia must date to about that year.

That Poplicola is not buried on the site given to his family by the people is clear from two passages in Plutarch (*Poplic.* 109 D; *Quaest. Rom.* 282 F-283 A). In his life of Poplicola (109 D), Plutarch writes:

By vote of the people, he was also given land for burial within the city, near the Velia, and all his family were to have the right of burial there, too. However<sup>38</sup>, no one from the family is buried there; but when someone dies, his body is carried to that spot and set down. Someone takes a burning torch and holds it beneath the bier for a moment, and then takes it away, showing by this that the deceased has the right of burial there, but forgoes the honor. After this, the body is taken away.

Why did Poplicola and his descendants forgo this honor? First of all, cremation and burial within the *pomerium* were contrary to religious law. It is unlikely that exceptions could be made through legislation, since the matter was pontifical. In Greece, where burials of *ktisteis* and other important civic benefactors and heroes frequently occurred, permission for such graves had to be gotten from an oracle. This possibility for dispensation the archaic Romans probably did not have. In any case, that burial within the city of Rome, as in Greek cities, required the directive of an oracle is attested by one case: Festus (*s.v. Statua*, p. 370 Lindsay) tells us that after the statue of a certain M. Ludius (?) in the Circus Maximus was struck by lightning, an oracle ordered the Romans to move his remains from the Janiculum to the Volcanal in the Forum. The date of this episode is, however, unclear, and the story itself may be reported in a garbled fashion<sup>39</sup>. It is of interest to us for showing that in Verrius Flaccus' day, burial within the *pomerium* was seen as something initiated by an oracle.

Even if, as sometimes happened, the land for the monument was located outside the *pomerium*, there were reasons why the structure erected would generally not be used as a tomb. Burial of one member of a family in a special spot, far from the ancestral plot, would have caused inconvenience to the deceased's survivors and descendants on those public and private holidays on which rites were performed at the grave to honor the dead. Along these lines it is important to note that at *funera publica* — and we may

<sup>37</sup> S. B. PLATNER and T. ASHBY, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1929) 258 (*s.v. Honos, aedes*), speculate that the temple dates to the third century B.C.

<sup>38</sup> The phrase  $\nu\upsilon\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  is adversative, not temporal (as the Loeb translator—whose version is adapted above—thought); cf. *LS.J*<sup>2</sup>, *s.v. νῦν* I.4.

<sup>39</sup> For discussion see W. HAFTMANN, *Das italienische Säulenmonument* (Berlin and Leipzig 1939) 33. The involvement of the Volcanal is appropriate because of Volcan's connection with lightning-prodigies; see G. RADKE, *Der Kleine Pauly*, vol. 5 (Munich 1975) col. 1319.

assume that the memorial was normally an additional honor given to persons receiving a public funeral — the Romans cremated puppets, not the actual corpse<sup>40</sup>. This custom doubtless had many reasons; one must have been to enable the family to perform on the actual remains the funereal rites required by its own private religion — rites that may not have always been reconcilable with the public ceremony of a *funus publicum*. In any case, since the puppet, not the corpse, was the object of the public rites, it is not surprising that the «cremation» of this symbol very often resulted in a symbolic, not actual, *humatio*. Moreover, for a family to have accepted the privilege of burial on public land outside or inside the city (assuming that special permission for burial inside the *pomerium* could somehow be obtained) would have aroused envy and caused offence; far better to be *contentus decreti honore*<sup>41</sup>.

We know of two other such monuments from the early Republic. Aulus Postumius Tubertus and C. Fabricius were also honored by a memorial within the city. It is not clear where Tubertus' was located; Plutarch says that Fabricius' was, like Poplicola's, near the Roman Forum (*Quaest. Rom.* 282 F-283 A; cf. Cic., *De leg.* 2.58). In the same passage, Plutarch gives us the useful information that, like the Valerian monument, that of Fabricius (and, presumably, Tubertus) had no actual burials<sup>42</sup>.

Colonna has speculated that the modesty of Roman burials in the sixth and fifth centuries resulted from the influence of Athenian sumptuary legislation of the sixth century on archaic Rome<sup>43</sup>. If we look for a Greek parallel for the monuments we have been discussing, it is interesting to note that the closest case also has an Athenian connection. When the exiled Themistocles died in Magnesia<sup>44</sup>, he and his descendants were honored with the erection of a memorial (*mnêmeion*) in the agora of the city. Themistocles' remains were apparently buried elsewhere, though probably not at the altar-column memorial, recently identified as Themistocles', located on the western end of the Akte peninsula near the entrance to the Piraeus. This monument, like the

<sup>40</sup> See H. DRERUP, «Totenmaske und Ahnenbild bei den Römern», *RM*, 87 (1980) 81-129, especially pp. 113-115; APPIAN, *BC*, 2.147; HERODIAN, 4.1. Note that the ceremony of *consecratio* at the climax of the *funus imperatorum* usually occurred after the burial of the emperor's remains in an imperial mausoleum; see J.-C. RICHARD, «Tombeaux des empereurs et temples des "divi": note sur la signification religieuse des sépultures impériales à Rome», *RHistRel*, 170 (1966) 127-142, especially pp. 135-136.

<sup>41</sup> For the law in the XII Tables prohibiting burial within the city see CIC., *De Leg.*, 2.58, and cf. *The Opinions of Paulus*, Book I, title xxi.2-3 in S. P. SCOTT, *The Civil Law*, (Cincinnati 1932) vol. I, p. 267. M. BESNIER in DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, IV s.v. *pomerium*, p. 545, cites the case of Poplicola as one of the few exceptions to the ban on burial in the city. For a list of Greek burials inside cities see R. MARTIN, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque*, *BEFAR* 174 (1951) 200, n. 5; and for oracles granting permission for such burials see MARTIN, *ibid.*, p. 197. For the danger of receiving

great honors and advice about how to accept them see PLUT., *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae*, 820E-F. On the concept of *contentus decreti honore*, see W. LIEBENAM, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, (Leipzig 1900) 128, n. 1.

<sup>42</sup> The notice of Servius *ad Verg. Aen.* 11.206, that *imperatores* and *Vestales* were buried within the city is not credible (*pace* F. PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, *RVV* 5.1 [1909] 449). The Vestals are perhaps mentioned because of the variant of the Tarpeia myth that made her a Vestal and held that she was buried on the Capitoline; see G. RADKE, *Der Kleine Pauly*, vol. 5 (Munich 1975) col. 522 and H. H. SCULLARD, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (Ithaca, New York 1981) 75. Emperors are perhaps mentioned because of the apparently exceptional case of Trajan's burial within the *pomerium*.

<sup>43</sup> G. COLONNA, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 36) 160-161.

<sup>44</sup> Probably Magnesia on the Maiandros; cf. Gomme *ad Thuc.*, 1.138.5.

Magnesia altar, is probably not a tomb but a memorial because its date is fourth century or later<sup>45</sup>.

We have no information about the design of the Magnesian or Roman monuments. The monument of Themistocles presumably had to be rebuilt on the new site of Leukophrys to which Thibron moved Magnesia in the early fourth century. This version of the monument is known. Like the fifth-century B.C. heroon of Theogenes in the agora of Thasos and like the superstructure of the Themistocles memorial near the Piraeus, it consisted of an altar and a statue of the hero, as a Magnesian coin from the reign of Antoninus Pius clearly shows (see pl. LXII, 1)<sup>46</sup>. A case can also be made that the Roman examples are likely to have been altars<sup>47</sup>. For one thing, the earliest possibly attested *monumentum*, that of C. Publicius Bibulus (see below, section VIII), dates only from the first half of the first century B.C.<sup>48</sup>; for another, two monuments that may pre-date Poplicola's and whose later interpretation is in any event extremely important for the

<sup>45</sup> THUC., 1.138.6 states that the real burial was secretly arranged in Attica, and cf. CORN. NEP., *Themist.* 10: «huius an nostram memoriam monumenta manserunt duo, sepulchrum prope oppidum [i.e., Athens?], in quo est sepultus, statuæ in foro [i.e., of Magnesia]». U. KAHRSTEDT, *RE VA s.v. Themistokles* (Stuttgart 1934) col. 1696; F. PFISTER, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 42) 233-235; and R. MARTIN, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 41) 200, all reject these reports and claim that PLUTARCH (*Them.*, 32.3-6) is correct in calling the Magnesian monument the true tomb of Themistocles; A. J. PODLECKI, *The Life of Themistocles*, (Montreal and London 1975) 177, and R. J. LENARDON, *The Saga of Themistocles*, (London 1978) 201-203, say that we cannot decide the issue. Whether or not we accept the story of a secret burial in Attica, there seems little reason to prefer Plutarch's description of the Magnesian monument to that of Thucydides and Nepos. On the identification of the altar-column complex near the Piraeus as Themistocles' monument see P. W. WALLACE, «The Tomb of Themistokles in the Peiræus», *Hesperia*, 41 (1972) 451-462, especially pp. 460-461. This identification has been accepted by R. J. LENARDON, *ibid.*, 205-206, and F. J. FROST, *Plutarch's Themistocles. A Historical Commentary*, (Princeton 1980) 234-235. A. J. PODLECKI, *ibid.*, 178, does not commit himself on the identification of the structure. On the structure's Hellenistic date see Wallace *apud* Podlecki, p. 178.

Also potentially relevant for the early republican monuments is the tradition of memorials for heroes like Tiresias at Thebes and Lycurgus and Aratus at Sparta; see D. C. KURTZ and J. BOARDMAN, *Greek Burial Customs*, (London 1977) 257-258, 298. As R. MARTIN, *ibid.*, p. 197, points out, the case of Lycurgus is interesting because it shows that «l'institution d'un culte héroïque ne semble pas nécessairement liée à la

sépulture».

<sup>46</sup> For the coin see G. M. A. RICHTER, *Portraits of the Greeks*, vol. 1 (London 1965) 98 (c, under «Suggested Identifications») and fig. 410c. See also R. WEIL, «Themistokles als Herr von Magnesia», in *Corolla Numismatica*, (London, New York, Toronto 1906) 301-309, especially p. 308. Against P. Gardner's attempted identification (in *ibid.*, pp. 109-114) of a statue in Munich as a copy of the Magnesian Themistocles, see J. DÖRIG, «Kalamis-Studien», in *JdI*, 80 (1965) 210-220; B. VIERNEISEL-SCHLÖRB, *Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen*, Bd. II (Munich 1979) 117-135. For the altar-shaped superstructure of Themistocles' Piræus monument see Diodorus *apud* Plutarch, *Vita Them.* 32.4-6.

On the history of Magnesia, see BÜRCHNER, in *RE XIV s.v. Magnesia* (2) (Stuttgart 1928) cols. 471-472; for the excavations see K. Humann, *Magnesia am Maeander, Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1891-93*, (Berlin 1904). On the heroon of Theogenes at Thasos see F. CHAMOIX, «Le monument "de Théogénès": autel ou statue?», *BCH*, Suppl. 5 (1979) 143-153.

<sup>47</sup> In particular, having the shape of an archaic altar like those at Lavinium. Whether or not statues were present, we cannot say. Honorary statues in Rome are attested as early as the fifth century B.C.; see H. KÄHLER, *RE VIIA s.v. Triumphbogen* (Stuttgart 1939) col. 488, for the evidence.

<sup>48</sup> For the date, see R. DELBRUECK, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*, vol. 2 (Strassburg 1912) 37, followed by A. DEGRASSI, *Auctarium* (Berlin 1965), nr. 156; A. GOLFETTO, «Das Grabmal des C. Publicius Bibulus in Rom», *Antike Welt*, 10,4 (1979) 56-57, dates the monument to the mid-second century B.C.

history of the commemorative monument in Rome both unquestionably had the form of an altar.

## VI

The two monuments in question are the altar of Acca Larentia and the altar with column under the Lapis Niger. The former is known only from literary sources. Though sometimes referred to as the *sepulcrum Accae* (as in VARRO, *LL* 6.24), its altar-form is securely attested by a passage in a letter of Cicero to M. Brutus (1.15.8), where it is called an *ara*. In the same passage, Cicero locates the monument in the Velabrum, and we know from Varro that it was *extra urbem antiquam... non longe a Porta Romanula* (VARRO, *LL* 6.24)<sup>49</sup>.

How can we be sure that the *ara* of Acca Larentia was commemorative and not sepulchral? First, there is the obvious fact that Acca never existed<sup>50</sup>; a mythological figure can clearly not have a real grave. Second, from the point of view of the Romans who believed in Acca's existence, there is the fact that Roman tradition was divided on the question of whether her *ara* marked a spot of burial or of cultic commemoration. Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.10.11-17) reports some stories about Acca's death and burial in the Velabrum; Plutarch (*Romulus* 5), however, reports an alternative version of the story in which Acca, the beloved of a god, did not die but disappeared from earth. So, Romans believing in this *aphanismos* must clearly have thought of Acca's altar as a memorial, not a tomb.

A third reason to view the altar as commemorative is connected to the second. Whatever the original purpose of the altar and column complex in the Roman Forum under the Lapis Niger (pl. LXII, 2), it became associated with Romulus sometime during the Republic, certainly no later than the third century B.C., which is perhaps the latest century in which the complex is to be dated<sup>51</sup>. Varro, we know, identified it as Romulus' tomb (*apud* Porph. *ad* Hor. *epod.* 16.13) in the course of a scholarly controversy, the context of which cannot be known for certain. Our source makes it clear that Varro was either trying to associate the *ara* with Romulus (as opposed to some other person), or he was attempting to establish that the monument, already associated with Romulus, represented his place of burial, not commemoration.

If the former be accepted, then we will not be able to date the connection of Romulus with the altar before the first century B.C. Showing that the context is likely to have been the latter will not necessarily prove that Romulus was associated with the altar many centuries before Varro, but it will at least open up that possibility.

<sup>49</sup> On the location of the Porta Romanula see H. B. EVANS, «The "Romulean" Gates of the Palatine», *AJA*, 84 (1980) 94-95.

<sup>50</sup> Pace P. MINGAZZINI, «L'origine del nome di Roma ed alcune questioni topografiche attinenti ad essa: la Roma Quadrata, il sacello di Volupia, il sepolcro di Acca Larentia», in *BullCom*, 78 (1961-62) 3-18, especially pp. 16-18.

<sup>51</sup> That the monument is an altar was convincingly argued by F. CASTAGNOLI, «Sulla tipologia degli altari di Lavinio», in *BullCom*, 77

(1959-60) 145-174, especially p. 152; and L. SHOE, «Etruscan and Republican Roman Mouldings», *MAAR*, 28 (1965) 97, 104. On the earliest evidence for the Romulus-myth at Rome see C. J. CLASSEN, «Romulus in der römischen Republik», *Philologus*, 106 (1962) 174-204, especially p. 174. Shoe would date the altar of the Lapis Niger complex to the third century B.C. For columns as honorary monuments see W. HAFTMANN, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 39) 16-19, 21-27.

The context in which the Varronian testimonium appears makes it likely that the second possibility is to be preferred. The scholiast to Horace *epod.* 16.13 writes: «hoc sic dicitur, quasi Romulus sepultus sit, non ad caelum raptus aut discerptus. Nam Varro post Rostra fuisse sepultum Romulum dicit». Thus, the reference to Varro appears just after mention of a controversy about Romulus' death or *aphanismos*. That the scholiast's reason for mentioning the monument is likely to have been Varro's, too, is clear once it is recalled that Varro's demonstrable interest in Euhemerus may have inspired him to treat «mortes et sepulturae deorum», as Euhemerus did.<sup>52</sup> So, Varro most probably did not invent the association of Romulus with the Lapis Niger monument; rather, he reinterpreted the altar there — which had been already connected with Romulus for perhaps as long as two or three centuries — as Romulus' tomb.

This suggests that before Varro, the altar under the Lapis Niger was understood by many Romans to be commemorative, not funerary. This is, of course, perfectly logical in view of the tradition, dating no later than Ennius, that Romulus did not die, but disappeared from earth (cf. ENNIUS, *Ann.* 65f., 114f. V.; LIVY I.16; PLUT., *Rom.* 27). So, the altar of Romulus, like that of Acca Larentia, must have been considered by some Romans to be a memorial similar to Poplicola's.

What is of interest for the case of Acca is that the evidence in favor of the purely commemorative function of Romulus' altar is not only logical — the fact that a mythical figure cannot really be buried since he never existed — but also archaeological. Gantz has recently noted the striking fact that thorough excavation of the area under the Lapis Niger has revealed no sign of a burial<sup>53</sup>. Despite recognition of this fact, Gantz still imagines that the original intent of the monument<sup>54</sup> was sepulchral: the Etruscan kings of Rome supposedly erected it in the mistaken belief that the first king of Rome was buried on the spot. Here, again, as in the cases discussed earlier, the choices are not between a cenotaph and a tomb. A third possibility, that of the commemorative monument, needs to be considered and will better account for the facts of the matter: a location within the city where burial was prohibited; no sign of an actual burial, nor of an architectural provision for a burial; and a myth that the person associated with the monument did not die, but disappeared from earth<sup>55</sup>.

It is very possible, then, that the stories about the death of Romulus and Acca Larentia, as well as those about their burial, are late-republican rationalizations, inspired, ultimately, by Euhemerus<sup>56</sup>. We have some Greek evidence that can be brought to bear to show the currency in the sixth and fifth centuries (the likely date of the Acca's altar, if not of Romulus') of the notion of a commemorative monument erected to honor

<sup>52</sup> Cf. CIC., *ND* 1.119, with Pease's note *ad loc.* (vol. I, p. 519). An alternative, but compatible, reconstruction of the development of the Romulus-myth in Rome is given by R. M. OGILVIE, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5*, (Oxford 1965) 84-85.

<sup>53</sup> T. N. GANTZ, «Lapis Niger: The Tomb of Romulus», *PP*, 29 (1974) 350-361, especially p. 355.

<sup>54</sup> Gantz erroneously denies that the monument was an altar, *ibid.*, p. 356, n. 24; but cf. above, n. 51.

<sup>55</sup> For Gantz's interpretation, see *ibid.*, p. 360. An interpretation complementary to mine is proposed by F. COARELLI, *Roma*, (Rome 1980), 50-52. Possibly another piece of evidence in favor of interpreting the monument as a memorial is its resemblance to the Themistocles memorial near the Piraeus, which also had a column and an altar; P. W. WALLACE, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 45).

<sup>56</sup> C. J. CLASSEN, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 51) 184, also thinks the story of Romulus' death dates to the first century B.C.

a man who disappeared after performing great services for his native city. The mythical<sup>57</sup> Spartan legislator Lycurgus was honored in his city with an altar and a temple, which, interestingly enough, some ancients thought marked the place of his burial<sup>58</sup>. In other versions of the story of Lycurgus' life, however, he is said to have died in Crete; his remains were either buried on the island or else scattered in the sea<sup>59</sup>. According to adherents of these versions of the myth, the precinct of Lycurgus in Sparta, like those of Romulus and Acca Larentia in Rome, can only have been understood to be a memorial, not a place of burial.

## VII

Besides suggesting through their altar-form the probable design of Poplicola's memorial, the monuments of Acca Larentia and Romulus are important for three other reasons. One was located, like the altar-column dedicated to Julius Caesar, in the Forum; the other, near an important gate. Both were dedicated to heroes involved in the founding of the city; Julius Caesar's was inscribed *parenti patriae* and the altars of Lucius Caesar and M. Nonius Balbus call their dedicatees the *patroni* of their cities. Finally, Acca's altar was the site of an annual *parentatio* on 23 December; this recalls the annual laments for Lucius Caesar, Gaius Caesar, and M. Nonius Balbus that we noted in the Introduction. Thus, it is no accident that Poplicola's monument is located in the Velia, near the Roman Forum, and that it is dedicated to one of Rome's first consuls, a founder of the Republic. We do not know if Poplicola was honored by an annual lament at his memorial; we do, however, know from the passage cited above from Plutarch's life (109 D) that the memorial was the scene of a symbolic cremation whenever Valerian notables died. Given the impossibility of a certain dating of the altars of Romulus and Acca Larentia and of their interpretation as such, it would be rash to try to determine whether they influenced Poplicola's monument, or *vice versa*. More important, perhaps, than the question of chronological priority is the fact that the same architectural form, topographical situations, and motivation seen in these three cases are encountered again and again in the later examples of the Roman memorial.

What was the motivation behind these dedications? Two possibilities are political or religious reasons. We need not, of course, view the problem as an either/or choice, especially in the case of a society like Rome's in which the political and religious were not highly differentiated. There is, in fact, some evidence for both sorts of motivation. Acca's altar was the place at which her festival, the Larentalia, was celebrated every December 23<sup>60</sup>. Similarly, festivals were held in Herculaneum in Balbus' honor and in Pisa for the Caesares; what annual rites, if any were connected with the Lapis Niger complex and the Valerian memorial we do not know. We are informed that Romulus

<sup>57</sup> Lycurgus is now generally held to be a mythical, not historical, figure; see K. KINZL, *Der Kleine Pauly*, vol. 3, s.v. Lykurgos, (Munich 1969), cols. 823-824.

<sup>58</sup> HERODOTUS, 1.66; STRABO, 8.5.5; PAUSANIAS, 3.16.6. The tomb of Lycurgus in Sparta is mentioned in the passage in Pausanias

and in Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 31.

<sup>59</sup> See PLUTARCH, *Lycurgus* 31.

<sup>60</sup> For the evidence concerning the Larentalia see THULIN, *RE* XII, 1 s.v. Larentalia, (Stuttgart 1924), cols. 805-806; H. H. SCULLARD, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 42) 210-212.

was worshipped at the site of his shrine on the Palatine<sup>61</sup>. The commonplace that the Romans did not have hero cults is thus open to question since annual laments at the heroon are a major feature of the Greek cults<sup>62</sup>. Of course, one major difference remains in that the Greek heroa generally contained burials whereas, for the reasons mentioned above in Section V, the Roman shrines did not.

On the other hand, the political aspect is also quite prominent. The monuments are earned by political service to the community, and they are granted by an act of state. Although the altar-form was clearly intended to be evocative of what the Greeks would call «godlike honors», the siting of the monuments either by the Roman Forum or near a major gate into the city (and not on a spot somehow connected with the life or death of the person to be honored) clearly was meant to perpetuate the political glory of the recipient by keeping his memory conspicuously present to later generations.

That the political was a decisive factor behind these memorials suggests that their political function needs to be investigated if we are fully to understand them and their influence at Rome.

For present purposes, this investigation may be kept brief by reference to several recent detailed studies of the politics of Roman funerary customs. Colonna has shown how the absence of monumental tombs in the archaic period was caused by a political agreement made by or imposed upon the elite to limit propagandistic display of family pretensions. Inspiring this policy may have been the Solonic-Cleisthenic sumptuary legislation of Athens or similar legislation in other Greek cities in this period<sup>63</sup>. Coarelli has discussed how the monumental family tombs of the Via Appia functioned to provide Rome's political elite with just the kind of publicity banned in the archaic age once monumental tombs came into use in Rome in the late fourth to second centuries B.C.<sup>64</sup>. Kockel has established the extent to which the architectural differentiation of tomb-type, at least in Pompeii, corresponds to the socio-political differentiation of the town's inhabitants<sup>65</sup>. Finally, Drerup has emphasized the role of funerals and especially the theatricality of the *ius imaginum* in expressing the political authority of the noble families<sup>66</sup>. In connection with funerals we may also note the political uses of games, the importance of which can be clearly gauged by the fact that though private in origin, they soon became institutionalized within the political system because of the popularity they brought to their *editor*<sup>67</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> On the annual rites for Balbus and the Caesares see the inscriptions in *CIL*, XI 1420-1421 and *Chiron*, 6 (1976) 169. There was, of course, a shrine and cult of Romulus of the site of his hut on the Palatine; see F. BROWN, «Of Huts and Houses», in *In Memoriam Otto Brendel. Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities*, (Mainz 1976) 5-12, especially pp. 8-9.

<sup>62</sup> That the Romans did not have hero cults was argued by, e.g., C. J. CLASSEN, «Gottmenschen in der römischen Republik», *Gymnasium*, 70 (1963) 312-338; C. GATTI, «Dione Cassio XLIV, 7: Una proposta di interpretazione», *CSDIR*, 8 (1976-77) 71-82, especially p. 76. On annual lamentations in Greek hero cults, see A. D. NOCK, «The Cult of Heroes», in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, vol. 2, edited by Z. Stewart (Oxford 1972) 577.

<sup>63</sup> G. COLONNA, *op. cit.*, in *PP*, 1977 (*supra* n. 36) 159-162; cf. also S. C. HUMPHREYS, «Family Tombs and Tomb Cult in Ancient Athens: Tradition or Traditionalism?» *JHS*, 100 (1980) 96-126, especially pp. 99-102. Colonna sees the restriction as anti-aristocratic; it is equally possible that it was imposed by the aristocracy (which could use other means—e.g., temple dedications—to advertise its status) in order to reduce competition from arrivistes.

<sup>64</sup> F. COARELLI, «Il sepolcro degli Scipioni», *DArch*, 6 (1972) 36-106.

<sup>65</sup> V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2), especially 18-36.

<sup>66</sup> H. DRERUP, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 40) 104.

<sup>67</sup> For the games, see C. PASCAL, «Ludi funebri romani», *RendLincei*, 3, fasc. 5 (1894) 291-302; for a political analysis, see, e.g., K.

In the works just cited, the political analysis of funerary customs has stressed the retrospective nature of the various forms of private commemoration. While no one would wish to doubt the validity of the focus on the recently deceased and their glorious ancestors, we should not overlook the way in which funerary benefits were also prospective. They not only reflect achieved status; they can also help to perpetuate that status for future generations of the family, or to establish the putative status claims of families on the rise. Thus, they helped, in a small but palpable way, to convert achieved status into the ascribed status that was so important in Rome's aristocratic society<sup>68</sup>.

This prospective use of funerary customs helps us to understand various features of the public memorial. First of all, it accounts for the rareness of the honor in republican Rome (especially in comparison with Hellenistic Greece): the honor must be legislatively approved by the senatorial class — the very group with the most to lose from conferring special and physically conspicuous commemoration on a family. It also makes plain why the right to maintain such monuments was jealously guarded by the few families privileged to have ancestors honored in this way. Moreover, right from the beginning, the Roman memorials were dedicated not only to a virtuous man, but also to his children and descendants. We have seen that this was true of the Valerian and Fabrician monuments, which were used during funeral processions of later family members, according to Plutarch (*Poplicola* 109 D, *Quaest. Rom.* 282 F-283 A). The inscription on Poplicola's monument probably made explicit its dedication to him and his children and descendants (cf. below, section XI). Descendants could also be honored in inscriptions erected on or near the memorial. The late sixth-century monument to Valerius Poplicola, for example, was still in use and was augmented by new inscriptions celebrating famous Valerii in the late Republic, as is attested by a travertine stele from the Velia mentioning M. Valerius Messala Corvinus and M. Valerius Messala Niger (*CIL*, VI 31, 618). The background of this rather surprising custom of adding praises of descendants to a monument originally designed to honor a great man goes back to Greek sources. We hear about Themistocles' memorial in Magnesia that his descendants continued to make use of it many centuries later (cf. PLUTARCH, *Themistocles* 32.5). Of course, the practice of honoring a great man's children — regardless of their moral worth or civic achievements — is attested in the Roman world in other contexts as well: cf. the recently published decree honoring Fadia, the daughter of Marcus Fadius Crispus, a notable in Interamna Lirenas (*L'Année Epigraphique* 1978, nr. 100) or the decree from Roman Cyzicus honoring Apollonis «for the virtue of her parents and husband and on account of her own moderation»<sup>69</sup>. We may interpret this custom as a deal struck by one generation with future generations in order to ensure the continuity and permanence of special honors. Dedicating memorials *liberis posterisque* guaranteed the periodic maintenance, and even remodelling (cf. below, section VIII), of the structures.

The political function of the public monument also helps us to understand a final

SCHNEIDER, *RE*, Suppl. III s.v. *Gladiatores* (Stuttgart 1918) cols. 760-784, especially cols. 761-768.

<sup>68</sup> On the distinction between achieved and ascribed status see the classic discussion of R. LINTON, *The Study of Man*, (New York 1936) 113-131 (= T. Parsons, et al. [eds.], *Theories of Society*, [New York 1965] 202-208).

<sup>69</sup> See also DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, II.2 s.v.

*funus*, p. 1408. For publications on the Apollonis inscription see E. SCHWERTHEIM, «Ein posthumer Ehrenbeschluss für Apollonis in Kyzikos», *ZPE*, 29 (1978) 213-228; M. SEVE, «Un décret de consolations à Cyzique», *BCH*, 103 (1979) 327-359. For earlier examples of this kind of decree see K. BURESCH, «Die griechischen Trostbeschlüsse», *RhM*, 49 (1894) 424-460.

point of interest: the relationship of the public memorial to certain impressive private tombs of the Roman elite.

The first such tomb about which we are able to speak is that of the Cornelia Scipiones, our earliest preserved example. Like the public memorial, it is located near an important gate to the city, was remodelled at least once to make it still more impressive, and most significantly of all, its sarcophagi took the form of altars — a fact that has never been explained.<sup>70</sup> Since the tomb dates from the late fourth to mid-second century B.C., the best explanation of these parallels to the public commemorative monument is that the tomb represents the attempt of the Corneliai to compensate, to the best of their ability, for the disadvantage of not having a public memorial of the kind owned by some of their leading political competitors — the Valerii, Fabricii, and Postumii. This propagandistic aim of the tomb perhaps explains why the family permitted visitors to view the interior, where the sarcophagi with their *elogia* and where statues were displayed<sup>71</sup>.

A second example is the tomb of Servius Sulpicius Galba (cos. 108), dating from the last quarter of the second century B.C. (fig. 5)<sup>72</sup>. The tomb has the form of an altar, which has a brief inscription (*CIL*, VI 31, 617) and ten (?) fasces in relief on its front side. It was originally located across from the Porticus Aemilia on property belonging to the *Praedia Sulpicia*. If Galba's family at first exploited a site made prominent by a nearby public building and an architectural form whose meaning had been defined by illustrious public monuments, then it took pains as time went on to highlight the tomb by building behind it the famous, and increasingly larger, *Horrea Galbana*. The altar-tomb's importance to the Sulpicii can be seen in the fact that it was kept in the place of pride before the *horrea* on the main axis of the building; that its location here made it noteworthy is clear from the fact that it is recorded on the Severan Marble Plan.

The mid-republican evidence of private altar-tombs of prominent families suggests not only how potent a political symbol the altar-form had become owing to its use in public memorials, but it also compels us to infer the priority of the public over the private use of the altar for purposes of commemoration. When the history of the Roman grave-altar is finally written, it will be worthwhile to reconsider the evidence presented here that the public altars of Acca Larentia, Romulus, Poplicola, etc. inspired the private grave-altars of such noble families as the Corneliai Scipiones, the Sulpicii Galbae, the Licinii Crassi, the Calpurnii Pisones, and the Volusi<sup>73</sup>.

## VIII

The appearance of large family tombs of the political elite in the third and second

<sup>70</sup> On the tomb, cf. F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 64).

<sup>71</sup> The following ancient sources imply visits to the interior of the tomb: CIC., *Pro Archia*, 22; LIVY, 38.56.4; Hieron., *Chron.*, for 586 a.u.c. F. COARELLI (*op. cit.* [*supra* n. 64]) thinks that the first two passages attest eyewitness accounts of only the exterior, not the interior, of the tomb. Note, however, that both Cicero and Livy speak of things they have seen «in sepulcro/monumento Scipionum» and that H. LAUTER-BUFE, «Zur Fassade des Scipionengrabes», *RM*; 89 (1982)

35-46 (especially Abb. 1 on p. 36) shows no statues adorning the facade, as Coarelli's reconstruction requires.

<sup>72</sup> See, most recently, E. RODRÍGUEZ ALMEIDA, *Forma Urbis Marmorea. Aggiornamento generale*, vol. 1 (Rome 1980) 102-105; for earlier literature and a photograph see E. NASH, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2 (New York 1968<sup>2</sup>) 370.

<sup>73</sup> For the grave-altars of the last three of these families see W. ALTMANN, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 34) 36-58.

centuries B.C. not only indicates a breakdown of the archaic custom of leaving the place of burial modestly marked, it also signals a breakdown of the kind of ruling-class consensus in which public commemoration was possible. Thus, none of Rome's greatest heroes of the third and second centuries received public honors upon their decease; if anything, there was a tendency for extraordinary careers to end in disgrace: one need only cite the example of Africanus, whose last years and death were treated by Livy as exemplifying the theme of *patria ingrata* (cf. 38.53.9). When in the first century B.C. honors were given once again, they consisted only of a public funeral and burial outside the *pomerium* in the Campus Martius, as happened in the cases of Sulla, A. Hirtius, and C. Pansa<sup>74</sup>. The last example before the Augustan age of a public memorial of the kind we have been discussing is perhaps that of C. Publicius Bibulus.

We must be cautious about claiming that Bibulus' monument was the last both because new evidence may someday come to light and change the picture, and because Bibulus' monument may be, not our last case of a commemorative structure, but our first of a public tomb<sup>75</sup>. By now, some of the reasons for considering it purely commemorative, not sepulchral, should be clear.

Bibulus' monument was erected just outside the important gate leading from the Capitoline to the Campus Martius down the Via Flaminia<sup>76</sup>; the zone was certainly not a necropolis at any time in antiquity<sup>77</sup>. The building had no central chamber, and the high socle on which the upper level stood was not punctuated by a doorway (see pl. LXIII, 1)<sup>78</sup>. No burials were found in or under the monument. As in the cases of Poplicola and Fabricius, it therefore seems as though (despite the words *ipse posterique eius inferrentur* in the dedicatory inscription) Bibulus' family continued using its old family plot,

<sup>74</sup> See PLATNER-ASHBY, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 37) s.vv. *Sepulchrum Hirtii* (p. 480), *Pansae* (p. 482), *Sullae* (p. 486).

<sup>75</sup> For literature on Bibulus' monument see E. NASH, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 72) vol. 2, pp. 319-320 and add A. GOLFETTO, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 48).

<sup>76</sup> On the problem of the identification of the gate see PLATNER-ASHBY, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 37) 408; G. SÄFLUND, *Le mura di Roma repubblicana*, *ActaInstRomSuec*, 1 (1932) 207, 227; E. WELIN, «Ara Martis in Campo. Zur Frage der Bedeutung und des Umfangs des Campus Martius», *OpRom*, 1 (1954) 166-190.

<sup>77</sup> F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 55) 239, asserts that there were probably tombs in the area of Bibulus' monument, but offers no evidence. L. DU JARDIN, «Le grotte del Campidoglio», *Capitolium*, 2 (1926) 271, mentions that funerary inscriptions came to light during the building of the Victor Emmanuel Monument, but he, too, cites no evidence. I am aware of only one such inscription, that of P. Aelius published in *NSc*, 1893, p. 30. The facts that the inscription came up out of context, that its exact find spot was not given in *NSc* (there is, in fact, nothing in the report linking the inscription to the area of Bibulus' monument), and that it is apparently the only such inscription to be recorded from the well-watched work on the

Victor Emmanuel Monument would seem sufficient to urge caution in extrapolating from it to a whole necropolis in this area.

Another monument found while excavating the foundations for the Victor Emmanuel Monument is the so-called «Tomb of the Claudii», found a bit farther down the Via Flaminia from the monument of Bibulus. When first discovered, topographers thought this was the family plot of the Claudii mentioned by Suetonius (*Tiberius* 1); cf. *NSc*, 1889, p. 225. Soon, it was seen that this identification was arbitrary; cf. PLATNER-ASHBY, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 37) 478. However, the interpretation of the little-studied structure as a tomb has stuck; cf., e.g. M. E. BLAKE, *Ancient Roman Construction*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C. 1947) 32, 145. This interpretation, it should be stressed, is only a surmise, and other guesses are possible. For example, the building may be related to a cult of Sabaz(i)us, who is mentioned in a votive inscription found near it; see *NSc*, 1889, p. 225 and *BullCom*, 1889, pp. 437-439.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. A. GOLFETTO, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 48) 57: «die wichtige Form des römischen Grabbaues ist vom Typus des kleinasiatisch-griechischen Heroons beeinflusst... Bauten wie diese waren letztlich nicht zugänglich und besaßen keinen künstlerisch betonten Innenraum».

forgoing the right of burial in the monument, which was given *honoris virtutisque causa* (cf. *CIL*, VI 1319 = I 635).

Bibulus' memorial, in the form we have it, dates from the first half of the first century B.C.<sup>79</sup> The man it honors seems to have been the C. Publicius Bibulus who was tribune of the plebs in 209 (cf. *LIVY* 27.20.11; *BROUGHTON*, *MRR* I, p. 286). So, the structure we have must be a later remodelling of the original memorial, which, judging from its date, may well have had the form of an altar<sup>80</sup>. Its cubic shape is the first example we possess of the second kind of Roman memorial, the type of structure we are calling the *monumentum* (as, indeed, the dedicatory inscription calls it), as opposed to the *ara*. That Bibulus' descendants would have bothered to spend time and money to rebuild his monument some 100-150 years after his death indicates just how valuable to a family such memorials must have been. That the rather obscure Bibulus — of all the politicians and generals of his great generation — should have received this rare honor shows us how aware the Roman elite had become of the political benefits a memorial bestowed on the family of its recipient<sup>81</sup>. The nobility apparently did not wish to compound the glory conferred by holding high office and celebrating triumphs with that of a *monumentum honoris virtutisque causa*, except in the most harmless cases. Bibulus' memorial shows us not only how hard the ancient tradition was to maintain; it also reveals how the tradition was undermined by being reduced to the absurd.

## IX

Adequate documentation for public memorials is lacking until the late Republic, the very time when individual, familial, and group rivalries were becoming so intense that normal politics degenerated into violence and eventually civil war. Our thesis that such lack of cooperation, consensus, and civility should have made public memorials impossible can be confirmed not, as it must be for earlier periods, *ex silentio*, but from the sources themselves.

Dio tells us that one of the honors exciting envy and disgust that led to the assassination of Julius Caesar was that conferring on him right of burial within the city (cf. *DIO* 44.7). From the behavior of his family after his death, we can see that Caesar, like the first-century B.C. descendants of Poplicola, must have accepted the right, but forgone the honor, since he was not, in fact, buried within the *pomerium* (hence, *CICERO*, in *Phil.* 1.5, called Caesar's funeral in the Forum «*illam insepultam sepulturam*»). Instead, an altar and column were set up in the Roman Forum on the spot where his body was cremated by the mob (*DIO* 44.51; *APP.*, *B.C.* 1.4, 2.148, 3.2-3; *CIC.*, *Ad. Att.* 14.15, *Phil.* 1.5). The impulse to honor Caesar in this way must be seen as a reflection of the tradition of commemorative altars that we have been studying. Thus, it is no surprise to find inscribed on the column the words *Parenti Patriae* (*SUET.*, *Caes.* 85)<sup>82</sup>. Caesar

<sup>79</sup> For the date see the works cited in n. 48 and also M. E. BLAKE, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 77) 32, 147.

<sup>80</sup> The thesis that the monument is a later version of the original dedication is accepted by all scholars who have written about it except Golfetto (cf. *supra* n. 48).

<sup>81</sup> F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 55) 261, exaggerates only slightly when he calls Bibulus

«un personaggio a noi del tutto ignoto».

<sup>82</sup> Julius Caesar was probably buried in the *tumulus Juliae* in the Campus Martius; see PLATNER-ASHBY, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 37) 542. On the importance of this honor see H. GESCHE, *Die Vergottung Caesars, Frankfurter Althistorische Studien*, 1 (1968) 50-53. Gesche incorrectly equates the honor with divinization by failing to note the

receives a title and monument linking him to Acca Larentia, Romulus, and Poplicola, Rome's *parentes*. That the altar and column were torn down almost immediately shows that Dio was probably correct in attributing resentment of Caesar to his receipt of a *locus sepulturae* (even one that by tradition was merely honorary) within the *pomerium*; it also supports the thesis that the nobility had become too begrudging in spirit to permit the survival of the tradition of commemorative altars.

The mood of the times is shown even better by the failure of the Senate to honor with a *monumentum* even its own heroic supporters — the soldiers who fell fighting under Pansa at the first battle of Mutina on 14 April 43 B.C. In the *Fourteenth Philippic* (33-34, 38), Cicero proposed the construction of an *amplissimum monumentum*, presumably in Rome and not on the battlefield, that was to be *ad memoriam aeternitatis ara virtutis* (34). Thus, it seems that Cicero had in mind an altar given *virtutis causa*. The motion failed, and the survivors of the fallen soldiers had to content themselves with a *funus publicum* (cf. DIO 46.38. 1-2)<sup>83</sup>. It is accordingly not surprising that the Senate also failed to bestow on the fallen leaders of its armies anything more impressive than public burial in the Campus Martius and, in the case of Pontius Aquila, a statue<sup>84</sup>.

## X

If ingratitude undermined the tradition of commemoration during the Republic, then flattery and fakery debased it during the Empire. With the establishment of the principate by Augustus, conditions in which memorials could be publicly sponsored obtained once again, and it is no surprise that starting with Augustus, such monuments (including arches, trophies, columns, and statues in addition to the *arae* and *monumenta* we have been discussing) became quite numerous. It is also no surprise that commemorative *arae* and *monumenta* should have become connected with the imperial cult since both derive in part from the Greek cults of heroes<sup>85</sup>. Indeed, once the commemorative monument became the site of an actual burial, as it was to become in the mid-empire, then it was no longer distinguishable from a Greek heroon.

The earliest Augustan examples we have are the *arae* at Thasos dedicated to Lucius Caesar and at Pisa dedicated to Lucius and Gaius Caesar. The Thasian example dates to

Roman precedents for a grant of burial within the *pomerium*; she also does not explain why Caesar's family did not make use of the honor. The same failure may be observed in C. GATTI, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 62) 76-77. On the concept of *pater patriae* see W. SESTON, «Germanicus héros fondateur», *PP*, 5 (1950) 171-184; A. ALFÖLDI, *Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken*, (Darmstadt 1971). For the related Greek title of *ktistês* see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, 4 (1948) 116 and L. and J. ROBERT, *BullEpigr*, 1956, 173-74 (nr. 317). On the problem of Caesar's tomb see F. CASTAGNOLI, «Il Campo Marzio nell'antichità», *MemLincei*, ser. 8.1 (1948) 188-190.

<sup>83</sup> H. FRISCH, *Cicero's Fight for the Republic*, (Copenhagen 1946) 286-287, says that the motion passed, referring to Dio 46.38.1-2 for evidence.

Dio, however, says that the Senate voted *ταφή τε δημοσία* for the dead, and this probably does not mean a funerary monument, as Frisch seems to think, but only a *funus publicum*; see *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, s.v. *ταφή* for the distinction between the singular (= funeral) and the plural (sometimes = place of burial).

<sup>84</sup> For the statue of Aquila, see DIO, 46.40.2; CIC., *Ad Brut.*, 1.15.8. For the tombs of Hirtius and Pansa see CIC., *ibid.*; LIVY, *Per.*, 119; VELL. PAT., 2.62.4; and for the archaeological remains see E. NASH, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 37) vol. 2, pp. 341-343.

<sup>85</sup> On the origins of the imperial cult see C. HABICHT, «Die augusteische Zeit und das erste Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt», *FondHardt Entretiens*, 19 (1973) 39-99.

about 3 A.D.; it was an altar with a statue, both standing on a platform in the agora, very near the heroon of Theogenes<sup>86</sup>. The altar at Pisa is known only from two inscriptions honoring Lucius and Gaius (*CIL*, XI 1420-1421)<sup>87</sup>. Probably located in the forum, the altar was intended to be the site of annual sacrifices to the *dis manibus* of Augustus' ill-fated heirs. The altar at Pisa has often been called a cenotaph; it is, of course, not a cenotaph, but the kind of commemorative monument we are studying<sup>88</sup>. Genuine cenotaphs are, to be sure, attested in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius: one need only think of the *sepulcrum* of Germanicus at Antioch<sup>89</sup>. Unlike that structure, which perhaps was built when it was not yet certain whether Germanicus' ashes would be brought from Antioch to Rome<sup>90</sup>, the *ara* at Pisa did not purport to be a place of burial but the center of a cult. It was erected, not because the Caesars died in Pisa (of course, they did not), but because Lucius was *patronus* of the city (cf. *CIL*, XI 1420, line 8). This is also why the city of Nemausus built a lovely temple, the so-called Maison Carrée, in its forum as a dedication to Lucius and Gaius, the latter of whom was the patron of the city (cf. *CIL*, XII 3155, recording the donation of a portico to the city by *C. Caesar Augusti F.... Patronus Col. Nemaus.*)<sup>91</sup>.

It is indicative of the flattery rampant in the Empire that four, or possibly five, towns honored the Caesars in this way even though a patron-client relationship was lacking. Neither Gaius nor Lucius was *patronus* of Thasos<sup>92</sup>, nor did either have any special connection with Acerrae in Campania, where, it seems, another temple was dedicated to

<sup>86</sup> On the «heroon» of Lucius Caesar see C. PICARD, «Les «hérôa» de l'Agora thasienne», *RA*, 17 (1941) 100-101; C. DUNANT and J. POUILLOUX, *Thasos V* (Paris 1958) 61-62 (especially p. 61, n. 4 for the probable design of the monument). On the date, see F. CHAMOUX, «Un portrait de Thasos: Lucius Caesar», *Mon Piot*, 44 (1950) 83-95, especially p. 85.

<sup>87</sup> On the inscription cf. A. NEPPI-MODONA, *Forma Italiae*, Regio VII, Etruria, vol. 1, Pisae (Rome 1953) col. VIII, illustrated in fig. 2, tav. 2; *id.*, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, vol. VII, reg. VII, fasc. 1, Pisae (Rome 1953) 4-7 (nr. 6-7); R. K. SHERK, *The Municipal Decrees of the Roman West*, *Arethusa* Suppl. 2 (1970) 43-45 (nr. 47-48) 74-79; A. R. MAROTTA D'AGATA, *Decreta Pisana* (*CIL*, XI. 1420-21), (Pisa 1980). On the altar, see Marotta d'Agata's comments *ad CIL*, XI 1420. 15-17: «L'ara ed il sacrificio istituiti espressamente per la celebrazione del giorno anniversario della morte di Lucio ed indi di Caio Cesare pur inserendosi nel quadro della tradizione nazionale romana costituiscono un'innovazione e testimoniano, nell'adattamento di tradizioni italiche alle eroizzanti greche, la realtà e le tendenze della politica augustea» (p. 35).

<sup>88</sup> MAROTTA D'AGATA, *ibid.*, p. 11, traces this error to E. NORIS, *Cenotaphia Pisana Caii et Lucii Caesarum Dissertationibus Illustrata*, 2 vols. (Venice 1681).

<sup>89</sup> Or, of the cenotaph of Gaius at Limyra,

where he died; cf. J. BORCHHARDT, «Ein Kenotaph für Gaius Caesar», *JdI*, 89 (1974) 217-241; J. GANZERT, *Das Kenotaph von Limyra*, (Diss. Karlsruhe 1981). On Germanicus' cenotaph see *TAC.*, *Ann.*, 2.73, 83; in the latter passage, Tacitus reports that the *sepulcrum* was an honor bestowed on the deceased Germanicus; he does not say whether the structure was actually built. G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, (Princeton 1961) 187, assumes without argumentation or evidence that it was constructed, but there is always the chance that it was not, especially once the decision was made to take Germanicus' remains to Rome for burial in the Mausoleum of Augustus. The tradition of erecting cenotaphs on or near the site where an emperor died continued into the late empire; cf., e.g., the cenotaph of Alexander Severus in Gaul (?) mentioned in *SHA*, Severus Alexander 63.3.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *TAC.*, *Ann.*, 3.1-4.

<sup>91</sup> On the date and dedication of the Maison Carrée to Gaius and Lucius see R. AMY, «L'inscription de la Maison Carrée de Nîmes», *CRAI*, 1970, pp. 670-686; P. GROS in R. Amy and P. Gros, *La Maison Carrée de Nîmes*, *Gallia* Suppl. 38 (1979) vol. 1, pp. 188-194.

<sup>92</sup> A fact already noted by F. CHAMOUX, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 86) 86, and cf. the following remark on the same page: «la consécration fut faite au nom de la cité tout entière. Ce fut un acte officiel de flatterie à l'égard d'Auguste... ».

them<sup>93</sup>. The augustales of Trebula Suffenas honored the youths with *imagines* and a *schola*<sup>94</sup>. The city of Reims honored Lucius and Gaius with a monument, the exact nature of which is not known. Vassileiou has recently speculated that it had the form of an altar similar to the one erected in Pisa<sup>95</sup>. A fifth possible example is the Augustan monument of two low altars flanking a column just inside the fortified gate of Glanum (pl. LXIII, 2)<sup>96</sup>. The design and number of the Glanum altars, their Augustan date, and their location just inside the major gate of town close to the temple of Valetudo built by Agrippa all suggest that this little-studied dedication may have been erected as a memorial honoring Gaius and Lucius, neither of whom had an attestable relationship to Glanum.

Finally, there is the case of Rome. We know that Lucius was buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus (*CIL*, VI 895 = 31, 195); and Gaius probably was, too (*CIL*, VI 884, 894). Dio, however, reports that when Julia Domna died in 217, her body was first put «in the monument of Gaius and Lucius» in Rome before being permanently laid to rest in the Mausoleum of Hadrian (cf. Dio 79.24). What was this «monument of Gaius and Lucius?». Topographers have been unable to reconcile the passage in Dio with the inscriptions from the Mausoleum of Augustus because they have hastily assumed (uncritically following Dio) that the «monument» must be a tomb<sup>97</sup>. With the parallels

<sup>93</sup> Cf. *CIL*, X 3757, with Mommsen's reconstruction and comments.

<sup>94</sup> See L. BERNI BRIZIO, «Una dedicatio delle *imagines* di Gaio e Lucio Cesari da parte degli augustales di Trebula Suffenas», *CSDIR*, 4 (1972-73) 149-160.

<sup>95</sup> See A. VASSILEIOU, «La dédicace d'un monument de Reims élevé en honneur de Caius et Lucius Caesar», *ZPE*, 47 (1982) 119-129, especially p. 128.

<sup>96</sup> Very little has been published about the monument; cf. H. ROLLAND, *Fouilles de Glanum 1947-1956*, *Gallia* Suppl. 11 (1958) 8, 63, 74. Rolland implicitly dates it to the late first century B.C. (cf. p. 71), and, presumably, he would not have objected to the date of c. 4/5 A.D., which is necessary if we may connect the dedication to Lucius and Gaius. W. SESTON, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 82) 177, says that Lucius and Gaius were honored as heroes at Glanum but, unfortunately, cites no evidence. No confirmation is to be found in H. Rolland's publication of the inscriptions from Glanum in *Gallia* 3 (1944) 167-223, nor is such an inscription mentioned by H. ROLLAND, *Fouilles de Glanum 1947-1956*, pp. 46-48, where he argues that the twin temples of Glanum were dedicated to Lucius and Gaius (an identification no longer held; see F. SALVIAT, *Glanum. St. Rémy-de-Provence*, [Paris 1977] 24).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. the literature cited in PLATNER-ASHBY, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 37) 477. Dio, too, thought that Julia was actually buried in the monument of Gaius and Lucius; thus, he uses the verb *κατατίθημι* which often means «put into a tomb» in this writings (cf. 44.51.1; 56.42.4; 58.22.5; 59.3.5; 69.2.3). Dio is probably wrong about this,

motivated by this belief that Macrinus after becoming emperor very quickly displayed hostility toward Caracalla and his mother (cf. 79.23.4-6). Other ancient sources, however, contradict this view. Dio says that Caracalla's body was secretly brought to Rome, where it was buried (apparently) without a *funus imperatorium* (cf. Dio, 79.9.1). *SHA* Macrinus 5.2-3, *SHA* Caracalla 11.5, and Eutropius 8.20 all state that Caracalla received a *funus imperatorium*. Dio himself must admit that Caracalla later, but still during the reign of Macrinus, was apotheosized, a procedure that came at the climax of a *funus imperatorium* (Dio, 79.9.2). The question is how much later—several days, or (as Dio seems to want to suggest) several months? The crucial point is that, by admitting that Caracalla did become divine, Dio tacitly agrees with the other sources that he received a *funus imperatorium*.

Dio implies the same treatment of the remains of Julia Domna as for her son; however, she was certainly eligible for a *funus publicum* (cf. DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, II.2 s.v. *funus* [1896] 1407) and must have received one if, as is very likely, Caracalla did when he died, especially since Julia's death occurred so close in time to her son's that the climate of opinion towards her house cannot have been very different.

We know that a *funus publicum* usually began in the Roman Forum (cf. DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *loc. cit.*) so that it would be logical for Julia's remains to have lain in state in the Forum for a short time before the funeral. Thus, Dio is very possibly correct in placing Julia's remains in the monument of Lucius and Gaius in the Forum before they were deposited in the Mausoleum of

from around the empire in mind, we can now see that the monument in Rome may have been a memorial, not a tomb. If so, it must have had an accessible inner chamber, since it could temporarily house the remains of Julia Domna. Where can it have been?

Our studies thus far suggest that we should look either outside a major gate of the city or else near the Roman Forum. We in fact know of an excellent candidate for the monument in the Forum. Between the east side of the Basilica Aemilia and the Temple of Romulus, a number of inscriptions dedicated to Lucius and Gaius Caesar, as well as to Augustus, have been found<sup>98</sup>. Van Deman convincingly argued that these inscriptions adorned the three sides of the section of the east portico of the Basilica Aemilia that projects southward toward the Temple of Julius Caesar (pl. LXIV, 1, 2)<sup>99</sup>. This identification of the provenance of the inscriptions has been generally accepted by scholars<sup>100</sup>.

Van Deman called this part of the porticus a *sacellum*, but she did not attempt a more exact identification, nor did she connect the *sacellum* with the passage in Dio. If we accept her characterization of the space as a *sacellum*, then, on the evidence of the inscriptions, we may also identify it more precisely as the chapel of Lucius and Gaius. Perhaps this chapel corresponds to the «monument of Lucius and Gaius» mentioned by Dio as the place where Julia Domna's remains were kept before being put into the Mausoleum of Hadrian<sup>101</sup>. In any case, whether or not the *sacellum* adjacent to the Basilica Aemilia is the same as the structure mentioned by Dio, the epigraphical and architectural remains of the *sacellum* are sufficient to permit us to say that Rome, too, had a memorial to Lucius and Gaius, and this chapel was located in a highly appropriate

Hadrian; however, he has distorted these facts with a view to reinforcing his incorrect opinion that, after their deaths, Caracalla and Julia were quickly out of favor with Macrinus and the citizens of Rome.

Behind Dio's biased accounts of the funerals of Julia Domna and Caracalla is his well-known tendentiousness in treating the reign of Caracalla, on which see H. HEINEN, «Zur Tendenz der Caracalla-Viten in der Historia Augusta», *Chiron*, 1 (1971) 421-435.

<sup>98</sup> See C. HUELSEN, *RM*, 14 (1899) 260-261; *RM*, 20 (1905) 59.

<sup>99</sup> E.B. VAN DEMAN, «The Porticus of Lucius and Gaius», *AJA*, 17 (1913) 14-28, especially pp. 27-28.

<sup>100</sup> See, e.g., G. LUGLI, *Monumenti minori del Foro Romano*, (Rome 1947) plan at end (nr. 6); B. ANDREAE, *AA*, 1957, cols. 168-176, especially cols. 172-175; P. ZANKER, *Forum Romanum. Die Neugestaltung durch Augustus*, *MAA* 5 (Tübingen 1972) 16-17; F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 55), p. 76 (plan). For present purposes, it is not necessary to enter into the problem of whether the *sacellum* was linked to the Temple of Julius Caesar by an arch, as Zanker thinks. For Tiberian inscriptions honoring Lucius and Gaius from inside the Basilica Aemilia see S. PANCIERA, «Miscellanea epigrafica IV», *Epigraphica*, 31 (1969) 104-120, especially pp. 104-112. Since Augustus rebuilt the Basilica Julia under the names of

Lucius and Gaius (*Res Gestae* 20), there is a slight chance that it could be considered to be the referent of Dio's «monument of Gaius and Lucius».

<sup>101</sup> The main difficulty with identifying the *sacellum* as the *monumentum Luci et Gai* is the date of 2 B.C. that is usually assigned to the *sacellum*, which would clearly be at least six years too early for the *monumentum* (Gaius died in 4 A.D.). Note, however, that 2 B.C. is a *post quem* date (cf. C. HUELSEN, *RM*, 20 [1905] 59-61) based on the clause CVM ESSET ANN NAT XIII in the Lucius inscription. This clause, of course, is concessive, not temporal, and is dependent on the words COS DESIG, not on the implicit verb D.D. Lucius receives the same titulature as *consul designatus* and *princeps iuventutis* on other monuments dedicated to him *after* his death; cf., e.g., the Maison Carrée and the *arcus Ticinensis* and see the discussion of P. GROS in R. Amy and P. Gros, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 91) 188-194. Thus, the *cum*-clause has little bearing on the precise date of the dedication. P. ZANKER, *ibid.*, pp. 16-17, thus errs when he writes, «aus der Altersangabe des Lucius ergibt sich die Datierung des Bogens ins Jahre 3 v. Chr.». P. ROMANELLI, *Il Foro Romano*, (n.p. 1959) 88, wrote suggestively that the inscriptions honoring Gaius and Lucius «debbono aver appartenuto ad un monumento da Augusto stesso intitolato al loro nome», without, however, attempting to locate such a monument in the Forum.

spot — near the Roman Forum and the sanctuary of the boys' divine ancestor, Julius Caesar.

The *sacellum* of Lucius and Gaius was a rather modest structure, albeit one located in a highly prestigious part of the city. In the second century A.D., when space was no longer available in the Roman Forum, we may detect a noticeable compensation by means of monumentalization. Such is the case with the column of Trajan, which is 100 Roman feet high and which rests on a high base built to resemble an altar (pl. LXV, 1)<sup>102</sup>. Here the architect — probably Apollodorus of Damascus<sup>103</sup> — has creatively superimposed the hitherto traditional and contiguous elements of a column and altar associated with the commemorative monuments of, e.g., Romulus and Julius Caesar; and, in an analogous gesture of traditionalism and innovation, he has located the monument near Trajan's forum, not the Roman Forum.

Trajan's remains seem to have been placed inside the socle of the column and just within the *pomerium*<sup>104</sup>. This is unprecedented at Rome and represents a (perhaps unconscious) rediscovery of the roots of the Roman tradition in the Greek hero cult. In keeping with this change is the proximity of the memorial to the temple of the divine Trajan, where rites in honor of the emperor were celebrated after his death.

Monumentalization and innovation are also encountered in the so-called *ustrinae* of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (?) in the Campus Martius<sup>105</sup>. Both monuments have the same design — a large altar (pl. LXV, 2) surrounded by two precinct walls (the farther of which outlined an area 30 meters square) — and both are very near columns celebrating the apotheosis of the two emperors<sup>106</sup>. The height of the columns was 14.74 m. and 29.77 m. respectively. Clearly, then, both monumental complexes represent huge versions of the kind of altar-column ensembles dedicated to the *parens patriae* that we have been studying. The common designation of them as *ustrinae* is misleading.

Delbrueck long ago protested against this interpretation of them, but briefly and without offering an alternative view in any detail<sup>107</sup>. He traced these complexes to

<sup>102</sup> On the base see the perceptive remarks of G. BECATTI, *Colonna coclide istoriata* (Rome 1960) 30-31, cited with approval by P. ZANKER, «Das Trajansforum in Rom», *AA*, 85 (1970) 499-544, especially pp. 532-533.

<sup>103</sup> See P. ZANKER, *ibid.*, p. 533.

<sup>104</sup> So DIO, 69.2.3, EUTROPIUS, 8.5.2; for later sources see G. LUGLI, «La tomba di Traiano», in *Studi minori di topografia antica*, (Rome 1965) 293, n. 1.

<sup>105</sup> And, perhaps that of Hadrian, if the new interpretation of the structure traditionally identified as the Tarentum (see, e.g., E. NASH, *op. cit.* [*supra* n. 72] vol. I, pp. 57-59) as the «ustrina» of Hadrian is correct; see, very briefly, F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 55) 303. I wish to thank Eugenio La Rocca, who is preparing a publication on this topic, for sharing his ideas with me. On the «ustrina» of Antoninus, see C. HUELSEN, «Antichità di Monte Citorio», *RM*, 4 (1889) 48-64, especially pp. 63-64 for the interpretation of the structure as an *ustrina* (an idea originating with Bianchini in the eighteenth century). On the

«ustrina» of Marcus Aurelius, see G. MANCINI, «Le recenti scoperte di antichità a Monte Citorio», *StRom*, 1 (1913) 3-15, and R. DELBRUECK's important, though neglected, comments in *AA*, 1913, cols. 140-143. The interpretation of both monuments as *ustrinae* has become commonplace; cf. L. CREMA, *L'architettura romana, Enc. Class.*, sez. II, vol. XII (Turin 1959) 505; E. NASH, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 72) vol. II, p. 487; M. E. BLAKE and D. T. BISHOP, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva to the Antonines*, (Philadelphia 1973) 65-67, 71-72; and F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 55) 303.

<sup>106</sup> The altar in the middle of the monument of Pius can be seen in Bianchini's drawing; see C. HUELSEN, *ibid.*, p. 57 and E. NASH, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 488, fig. 1304. Remains of the altar of Marcus's monument are in the Museo Nazionale Romano; see E. NASH, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 489, fig. 1307 (= my fig. 13). As R. DELBRUECK pointed out (*ibid.*, col. 140), Mancini was unaware of the discovery of the altar, the existence of which runs counter to his interpretation of the monument as an *ustrina*.

<sup>107</sup> R. DELBRUECK, *ibid.*

Hellenistic models, but cited no examples<sup>108</sup>. His unargued assertion that the monuments do not resemble *ustrinae* is well taken. We know from Strabo's description of the *ustrina* of Augustus near his mausoleum in the Campus Martius that it was *circular*, not square, in plan (cfr. STRABO 5.3.8: ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ ὁ τῆς καύστρας αὐτοῦ περιβολος, καὶ οὗτος λίθου λευκοῦ, κύκλῳ μὲν περικείμενον ἔχων σιδηροῦν περίφραγμα....). So, the architectural form of the only securely known imperial *ustrina* (N.B. that the monuments called the «*ustrinae* of Antoninus and Marcus» are not mentioned in any ancient sources, nor were any identifying inscriptions discovered near them) was significantly different from that of the monuments near the columns of the two Antonine emperors.

In this connection it is relevant to mention that the one depiction of an *ustrina* in Roman art of the period shows the structure to have had an oval, not square, peripheral wall<sup>109</sup>. Moreover, as Götze pointed out, the fact that the so-called *ustrinae* of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius are built out of travertine and marble — that is, non-fireproof materials — militates strongly against their use as *ustrinae*<sup>110</sup>. Finally, Herodian gives us a very precise description of the superstructure of the *ustrina* erected at a *funus imperatorium*, the kind of *ustrina* that these two structures supposedly exemplify<sup>111</sup>.

According to Herodian, an imperial *ustrina* is made «entirely of wood» and has the shape of a lighthouse (HERODIAN 4.2). Here, then, are two more reasons not to interpret the precincts as *ustrinae*: they are made of stone, not wood, and have the shape, not of lighthouses, but of altars surrounded by two precinct walls.

We may therefore conclude that the monuments of Antoninus and Marcus (?) are not *ustrinae*, nor even commemorative *ustrinae* (that is, permanent structures in stone having the same design as a temporary building once on the same site), but exactly what their form indicates they should be: commemorative altar-column complexes dedicated to a *parens patriae*. In this regard we may note that although the connection of the altar with Antoninus Pius is certain, the association with Marcus Aurelius is speculative and may well be wrong, especially since the altar is so far from Marcus' column and because Marcus was honored with a temple in the same precinct in which his column was built. So, the altar conventionally called the «*ustrina* of Marcus Aurelius» has perhaps been misidentified and belonged to some other member of the imperial family.

Now, if we ask why these complexes are located where they are in the Campus Martius (and not in the Roman Forum or outside a major gate), then we can see that two reasons must have stood behind the selection of the sites. First, as we have already seen in the case of Trajan's altar-column, the Roman Forum had been long since filled up so that some other prestigious piece of public land had to be sought. The Campus Martius,

<sup>108</sup> Perhaps he was thinking of something like the column to Attalus III erected next to the altar of Zeus Soter in the agora of Elaia; see M. FRÄNKEL, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, vol. 1, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VIII.1 (Berlin 1890) nr. 246, lines 9-10.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. the «Apotheosis of Sabina» relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, the *ustrina* of which is correctly called «oval» in plan by L. VOGEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 52. The wall of the *ustrina* is, to be sure, a modern supplement (see E. SIMON, in Helbig, *Führer* [Tübingen 1966<sup>4</sup>] 569); thus, one

should not build too much on it, and the literary description of Augustus' *ustrina* in Strabo is sufficient in any case to prove the point.

<sup>110</sup> B. GÖTZE, *Ein römisches Rundgrab in Falerii*, (Stuttgart 1939) 38.

<sup>111</sup> Pace G. MANCINI, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 105) 12, n. 5, who states that Herodian is describing *ustrinae* of common people, not emperors. This is, however, wishful thinking on Mancini's part, intended to salvage his interpretation of the monuments as *ustrinae*.

especially the zone just west of the Via Flaminia between the Augustan monuments to the north and the Hadrianeum to the south, offered an excellent location, one that was apparently free of earlier building. Second, the facts that the sites were on unbuilt parts of the Campus Martius and that the iconography of the base of Antoninus' column deals with apotheosis both suggest that they were chosen because they were the places where the emperors' remains (or, possibly, their puppets) were cremated at the climactic *consecratio* part of the *funus imperatorium*. If this speculation is correct, then we may say that the altar-column complexes stand on the site of the vanished, temporary *ustrinae* of the two emperors, but they are not *ustrinae* in any sense of the word.

This *Begriffsbestimmung* is more than a quibble. By their form, location, and iconography, the two monuments evoke, not the idea of death and cremation, but the two notions of honoring a deceased *parens patriae* and memorializing the place where he received his rightful reward of apotheosis for his benefactions to the Roman people.

It is just as revealing of the times that *patroni* who were not members of the imperial family could receive similar memorials from their cities. Such is the case with the monumental altar given, along with other honors, to M. Nonius Balbus, the patron of Herculaneum (pl. LXVI). Schumacher's recent study of the altar has stressed its Greek background<sup>112</sup>. By now, it should be clear that the altar-form, the burial of Balbus' actual remains in his family's tomb<sup>113</sup>, the location of the monument just outside a major gate of town and before the impressive Suburban Baths, and its explicit designation as an *ara*, not heroon, all have a hoary Roman background. This is not, of course, to dispute the correctness of Schumacher's discovery of Greek parallels for some of Balbus' other honors; these, however, should not be overemphasized at the expense of the great Roman traditions informing Balbus' *ara*<sup>114</sup>. Indeed, we must be aware of those traditions in order to appreciate what is perhaps really foreign about the dedication: not that it is a commemorative altar, but that it has been given to such a relatively unimportant figure.

The devaluation of honors of all kinds during the empire is a well-documented phenomenon: one need only recall Pliny's two letters (7.29, 8.6) of righteous indignation about the honors given to Claudius' freedman Pallas and advertised on Pallas' tomb on the Via Tiburtina<sup>115</sup>. The memorial was not exempt from this general tendency. The city of Marsi Antinum dedicated an altar and statue in the forum to its patron, Q. Novius Felix (*CIL*, IX 3837), at some unspecifiable time in the later Empire<sup>116</sup>. As was the case with Poplicola's monument, Felix's descendants added new inscriptions and statues to his memorial<sup>117</sup>. By the Severan period, even a politician of the second rank, with no demonstrable connection to a town, could receive the honor of a memorial altar. Such

<sup>112</sup> L. SCHUMACHER, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 165-184.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. L. SCHUMACHER, *ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>114</sup> Most in need of revision in this connection are Schumacher's words about the *ara* on p. 181: «zwar lässt sich der Terminus *ara* im Zusammenhang mit dem Totenkult schon in republikanischer Zeit nachweisen, bezeichnet aber immer den Grabaltar... Im Falle des Balbus kann es sich jedoch nicht um einen derartigen Grabaltar handeln... Die *Ara* muss demnach eine andere Bedeutung, dem griechischen βωμός vergleichbar, gehabt haben. Wie diese Form der *Ara* ist auch die

jährliche *Pompa* im römischen Totenkult ungewöhnlich» (my emphasis).

<sup>115</sup> For the general pattern of inflated honors in the Empire cf. the comments of R. SYME, *Some Arval Brethren*, (Oxford 1980) 115-116.

<sup>116</sup> The inscription (*CIL*, IX 3837) preserving Felix's honors was found in *la Cauta*, which was the forum of Antinum (cf. the head note to *CIL*, IX 3838). As might be expected, the tomb of the Novii was located near the fifth milestone away from town (cf. *CIL*, IX 3839, 3841), where Felix was probably buried.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. *CIL*, IX 3836, 3838, 3840.

seems, at any rate, to have been the case with the *ara* given to C. Luceius Camars in Sulmo by his friend, the consul C. Pontius Paulinus (*CIL*, IX 3079)<sup>118</sup>.

## XI

We may return now to the case of C. Cartilius Poplicola's monument in Ostia, the nature of which should no longer be so mysterious. Cartilius was Ostia's Poplicola. Bloch has convincingly shown that he received this rare honorific cognomen at about the time he was elected duovir for the third time<sup>119</sup>. Thus, it is not surprising that he should have received the very Poplicolan honor of an impressive *monumentum* outside Ostia's Porta Marina. Politically, the dedication is quite comprehensible, too: though not the *patronus* of Ostia, Cartilius Poplicola was Ostia's — and the Roman world's — most successful municipal leader, holding the duovirate eight times and having censorial power three times. And, though not a member of the imperial family, it is obvious that a man as powerful as Poplicola, in a city as close and important to Rome as Ostia, must have enjoyed Augustus' confidence and support. Thus it conforms to our expectations that Poplicola should have received this kind of honor and that his *monumentum* is decorated with the very Augustan imagery of warships, because warships — symbolic not so much of a specific naval victory (like the one at Actium) as of Roman sea power generally and good government, and perhaps even evocative of Themistocles' monument at the entrance to the Piraeus<sup>120</sup> — appear on many Augustan monuments from Miletus to Orange<sup>121</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> On the date of Camars and Paulinus, see WOLF, in *RE* XXII, 1 s.v. *Pontius* (42) and MILTNER, in *RE* XIII, 2 s.v. *Luceius* (13).

<sup>119</sup> H. BLOCH, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 209. R. Meiggs' reasons for opposing Bloch's thesis, in *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 476-477, are unconvincing; they rest either on the question-begging rareness of the conferral of the cognomen Poplicola or on *ex silentio* arguments. Moreover, his alternative explanation of a hypothetical familial relationship between the Cartilii of Ostia and the Valerii of Rome is far-fetched. On the etymology of the name Poplicola see C. DE SIMONE, «L'aspetto linguistico», in *Lapis Satricanus, ArchStud-NederlandsInstRome, Scripta Minora* 5 (1980) 81 and the literature cited on p. 91, n. 97.

<sup>120</sup> On the symbolism of warships in Augustan monumental art see P.-M. DUVAL in R. Amy, P.-M. Duval, et al., *L'arc d'Orange, Gallia Suppl.* 15 (1962) 94-106. Evidence for a warship atop the Themistocles monument near Piraeus may be contained in *Anth. Pal.* 7.73, by Tullius Geminus (suff. cos. A.D. 46), who writes of ships decorating the structure. This epigram is generally assumed to refer to the memorial in Magnesia (as *A.P.* 7.74, 235, 236 certainly do) but may just as well allude to the monument near the Piraeus. F. Zevi's hypothesis that the warships on Poplicola's

monument refer to naval games sponsored in Ostia by Poplicola was brilliant but uncontrollable; see «Brevi note ostiensi», *Epigraphica*, 30 (1968) 88-89. He himself abandoned the theory in «Monumenti e aspetti culturali di Ostia repubblicana», in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, ed. P. Zanker (Göttingen 1976) vol. I, p. 58, n. 25. Zevi would now interpret the ship as a warship under the command of Cartilius Poplicola, who is shown standing on it. He would link the scene to Sex. Pompeius' attack on Ostia before 39 B.C. Herein lies the difficulty with this interpretation—the event supposedly represented occurred too early for Poplicola to have played the leadership role that Zevi's thesis requires. On the dating of Poplicola's career see H. BLOCH, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 218. On the other hand, Zevi's identification of the figure commanding the boat as Poplicola is logical and attractive. Perhaps it can be retained in an amended version of Zevi's reading in which Poplicola commands, not an actual warship, but the ship of state. The metaphor of the ship of state is, of course, attested for this period of Roman thought in CICERO, *Ad Fam.*, 12.25.5 and HORACE, *Odes*, 1.14, the date of which approximates that of Poplicola's monument.

<sup>121</sup> For the Milesian monument, see A. VON GERKAN, *Der Nordmarkt und der Hafen an der*

With the correct Roman tradition in mind, it is possible to make some progress in the supplementation of the inscription on Cartilius Poplicola's memorial. After the work of H. Bloch and S. Panciera<sup>122</sup>, the following reading of the text is certain:

1 P[UBLI]C[E]  
 2 [C.CARTI]LI[O.C.F.POP]LICOLAE.DVO.VIRO.VIII  
 3 [.....ET] LIBEREIS.POSTERISQVE.EIVS  
 4 [DECVRIONVM.DECRETO.CO]LONORVMQVE.CONSENSV  
 5 PREI[M]ARIO.VIRO.PRO.EIVS.MERITEIS  
 6 HOC.[MONV]MENTVM.CONSTITVTVM.EST  
 7 EIQVE.MERENTI.GRATIA.RELLATA.EST  
 8 ISQVE.OCTIENS.DVOMVIR.TERCENS.COLONORVM.IVDICIO  
 9 APSENS.PRAESENSQVE.FACTVS.EST  
 10 OB.EIVS.AMOREM.IN.VNIVERSOS.AB  
 11 VNIVERSIEIS./////////  
 12 HVMANIAE.M.F.

The contents of the missing letters which were erased in line 11 can probably never be known. Bloch's conjecture COGNOMEN.DATVM.EST was accepted by Panciera and is quite attractive, notwithstanding Meiggs' strictures<sup>123</sup>. The mention of Poplicola's cognomen would have helped the intelligent Roman visitor to understand both how C. Cartilius happened to have this rare name and why this form of monumental commemoration was appropriate for him.

Supplementing the 20-23 letters lacking from line 3 is more difficult. Bloch and Meiggs thought that some mention of a military office should go here in view of the warships decorating the frieze and top of the monument. We have seen that the naval imagery may be an allusion, not to Poplicola's military exploits, but to his (Themistoclean?) good handling of the ship of state and to his political alliance with Augustus.

Panciera has also disputed this supplement, and would instead begin line 3 with the words CENSORI.III.VXORI. This reading is certainly possible, but another conjecture is worth considering before it is accepted *faute de mieux*.

Panciera suggests the supplement VXORI for line 3 because he notes that Humania, Poplicola's wife, is mentioned in line 12 and because he apparently feels it appropriate for the wife to be mentioned along with the *liberi posterique* in line 3. Though this speculation is attractive, especially to modern sensibilities, it is questionable whether it is probable. Panciera cites no parallels in support of his supplement. If, as we suggested above (cf. section VIII), the monument of C. Poplicius Bibulus is a memorial, and not a tomb, then it is of interest in the present context for offering us a parallel invalidating the reading of VXORI, for Bibulus' inscription reads: C. POPLICIO.L.F.BIBVLO.AED.PL.HONORIS.VIRTUTISQVE.CAVSSA.SENATVS.CONSVLTO.POPVLIQUE.IVSSV.LOCVS.MONVMENTO.QVO.IPSE.POSTEREIQVE.EIVS.INFER-

Löwenbucht, *Milet* I, Heft 6 (Berlin and Leipzig 1922) 55-73. For other Augustan examples see P.-M. DUVAL, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 120). For Augustus' relations with Ostia after Actium see R.

MEIGGS, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 41-43.

<sup>122</sup> H. BLOCH and S. PANCIERA, *opp. citt.* (*supra* n. 13).

<sup>123</sup> R. MEIGGS, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 13).

RENTVR.PVBLICE DATVS.EST. (*CIL*, I 635). A second parallel that may be cited comes from a related class of monuments: a proposed public tomb mentioned in *Cicero Phil.* 9.17. Cicero's motion in favor of the tomb reads: *...quod sepulchrum ipsius liberorum posterorumque eius esset, uti quod optimo iure publice sepulchrum datum esset.*

These texts also show what we do need at the beginning of the third line of Cartilius Poplicola's inscription — the important information that the land on which the monument stands has been given to Poplicola by an act of state (and cf. also *CIL*, X 994/95, 998, 1019). Thus, we should probably read: HIC.LOCVVS.DATVS.EST. When added to the word ET that previous editors have agreed must be restored before LIBEREIS, this new reading takes up 22 spaces. Although my supplement would make impossible mention of Poplicola's censorial power, this loss is more than made up by the *variatio* that now arises between line 2/3 and 8, so that tedious repetition of Poplicola's *honores* is kept to the bare minimum.

There is another stylistic advantage to my restoration. Previous editors have assumed that lines 1-6 form a single clause. This would be monstrous Latin. Cartilius' name in line 2 would be repeated in line 5 by the expression *preimario viro*; *publice* in line 1 would be repeated by the wordy phrase *decurionum decreto colonorumque consensu*. It is far better to read lines 1-3 as a clause separate from lines 4-6; the restoration *hic locus datus est* makes such a reading possible. If this is done, wordy repetitiveness becomes artistic parallelism: *hic locus~ hoc monumentum; publice~ decurionum decreto colonorumque consensu; datus est~ constitutum est*<sup>124</sup>. Even more importantly, the inscription now contains explicit reference to the crucial donation of public land to the Cartilii; it is almost impossible to imagine that mention of this could have been omitted<sup>125</sup>.

Awareness of the tradition into which Cartilius Poplicola's monument fits also helps us to understand the addition of Humania's name to the inscription at a later date and to evaluate the speculation that C. Cartilius C.f.Pal. Sabinus, whose *floruit* was apparently in the early second century A.D., was a descendant of Poplicola<sup>126</sup>. We have seen how the Valerii added commemorative stelae to Poplicola's monument in Rome. The addition of Humania's name to the Ostian Poplicola's monument is accordingly not unusual<sup>127</sup>. On the other hand, the lack of any *stelae* or other additions to Poplicola's monument makes it unlikely that he had any illustrious descendants, although certainty on this score can most definitely not be claimed in view of the large percentage of the monument's superstructure that is missing<sup>128</sup>.

## XII

Thus far, we have seen many cases of flattery, but none of fakery. This brings us back to the matter of C. Calventius Quietus in Pompeii (cf. section I).

<sup>124</sup> A concern for such parallelism is clearly seen in the clauses in line 7 (*eique...*) and 8-9 (*isque...*).

<sup>125</sup> For other examples of the phrase *locus publice datus est* cf. *CIL*, II 1189, 4611, and see MOMMSEN, *Staatsrecht*, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 625, 3.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. F. ZÉVI, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 120) and R. MEIGGS, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 584-585.

<sup>127</sup> In this connection is relevant the tradition of honoring the deceased wives and children of municipal notables with *funera publica*, statues, etc. See DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, II.2 s.v. *funus* (Paris 1896) 1408 and cf. above n. 69.

<sup>128</sup> Of course, it is always possible that additional inscriptions were incised on one or more of the other (lost) sides of the monument.

To understand the purpose behind the altar of Quietus, we need to pay attention to the neighboring altars of M. Alleius Luccius Libella, which is directly across the street, and of C. Munatius Faustus, which is next door to the west<sup>129</sup>. The three altars are similar to one another in design, but they differ significantly in their inscriptions. Libella's inscription (*CIL*, X 1036) is as follows:

M.ALLEIO.LVCCIO.LIBELLAE.PATRI.  
AEDILI.II.VIR.PRAEFECTO.QUINQ.ET  
M.ALLEIO.LIBELLAE.F.DECVRIONI.VIXIT.  
ANNIS.XVII.LOCVS.MONVMENTI.  
PVBLICE.DATVS.EST.ALLEIA.M.F.  
DECIMILLA.SACERDOS.PVBLICA.  
CERERIS.FACIVNDVM.CVRAVIT.VIRO.  
ET.FILIO

From this text we may infer that M. Alleius Luccius Libella was an extremely successful Pompeian notable, who, like Publicius Bibulus in Rome, received public land for a monument, which was paid for by his wife, the priestess Alleia Decimilla<sup>130</sup>. The monument of Libella is thus quite similar to that of Publicius Bibulus: both were outside a major gate, both were built on public land given by an act of state, both were erected by the deceased's family (or, so we may assume to be the case with Bibulus), and both monuments were dedicated not only to a highly successful politician but also to his children. The question thus naturally arises as to the nature of Libella's monument. Is it a tomb, as has been assumed<sup>131</sup>, or is it a memorial given *honoris virtutisque causa*? No definite answer is possible, but it is more likely that the monument is a memorial than a tomb. For one thing, no remains were found on the site; there is no burial chamber within the altar; and no libation tubes were discovered nearby. Then, too, the family of the Alleii was one of the most powerful and noble in Pompeii; that the family would not have had a burial plot elsewhere before the deaths of Libella and his son is improbable.

In fact, looking at the larger context of *loci publice dati* outside of the Herculanean Gate at Pompeii, we see that most often, the evidence favors the interpretation of a memorial, not a tomb. No signs of actual burial have been found near the Herculanean Gate on the site of the public monuments of: M. Cerrinius Restitutus Augustalis, just outside the gate (cf. *CIL*, X 994; 995); A. Veius IIVir (*CIL*, X 996); M. Porcius (*CIL*, X 997); and (further down the road from the gate) A. Umbricius Scaurus (?) (*CIL*, X 1024)<sup>132</sup>. It is interesting that the monuments of Porcius and Scaurus have the form of an

<sup>129</sup> The monuments are nrs. 20, 37, and 22 respectively on V. Kockel's map at the end of his book, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2).

<sup>130</sup> For prosopographical and career information of husband and wife see P. CASTRÉN, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 25) 133 (Alleii nrs. 8, 12, 13).

<sup>131</sup> So, most recently, by V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 166-168.

<sup>132</sup> On these monuments, see V. KOCKEL, *ibid.*, pp. 47-51 (M. Cerrinius Restitutus; cf. p. 49—«eine Bestattung wird in den Fundberichten nicht erwähnt»), 51-53 (A. Veius; cf.

p. 52—«von den Ausgräbern wurde keine Urne gefunden. Deshalb ist zuweilen bezweifelt worden, dass es sich überhaupt um ein Grab handelt»), 53-57 (M. Porcius; cf. p. 56, for the implicit information that no burial was found), pp. 57-59 (Mammia; cf. p. 58—«eine Urne fand man nicht»), 70-75 (A. Umbricius Scaurus? cf. p. 74—«keine Urnen wurden in der Kammer gefunden»). Scaurus' (?) tomb may lack urns because it was never finished; see KOCKEL, pp. 70, 75.

altar, and there was an altar before the niche-shaped memorial of Restitutus. The *schola* of Mamia recalls the commemorative *schola* of Lucius and Gaius Caesar at Trebula Suffenas (cf. above, section X). It is also interesting to note that, with the exception of Umbricius', the Pompeian monuments are all within the *pomerium*<sup>133</sup>. The only publicly donated monument that is definitely known to have been used for burials is that of T. Terentius Felix (*CIL*, X 1019)<sup>134</sup>. To be sure, new archaeological excavation of all these sites is needed in order for us to be certain that no burials are waiting to be found. Yet, we must insist that the presently available evidence strongly suggests that at Pompeii, as at Rome and elsewhere in the Roman world, the families of deceased notables honored with the donation of public land seem to have used that gift in most cases to erect a memorial, not a tomb. We must also insist that the burden of proof — and the archaeologically weaker case — lies with those who, following Mau, respond to the archaeological record by speculating on the presence of still undiscovered urns<sup>135</sup>. In this case, as always, the task is to explain the absence of a certain kind of evidence, not to explain it away or invent it.

Mau and Kockel puzzled over the fact that the inscriptions for some of these monuments explicitly state that they are *loci sepulturae*, whereas no urns have been found on the sites. The answer to this dilemma is not to postulate undiscovered urns<sup>136</sup> or to speculate that some of the examples may be cenotaphs<sup>137</sup>. Rather, we should see that at Pompeii, the honor of burial on public land was frequently accepted but not used. Moreover, it is not surprising that the formula *locus sepulturae* should appear in the dedications of these memorials since *sepultura* in this period can mean cremation, not burial<sup>138</sup>. Thus, the Pompeian monuments may well be parallel to the altar of Julius Caesar on the spot where he was cremated in the Roman Forum and to that of Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum, the inscription on which states that the memorial was erected *eo loco, quo cineres eius collecti sunt*.

We have not yet mentioned the altar of C. Munatius Faustus. We have earlier seen that Faustus was not buried inside the chamber of the altar, but in his family tomb at the Porta di Nocera (cf. section I). The structure outside the Porta Ercolana can accordingly only be a memorial, not a tomb<sup>139</sup>. Yet, one crucial fact about it must be stressed: it is a

<sup>133</sup> See V. KOCKEL, *ibid.*, pp. 11-14.

<sup>134</sup> See V. KOCKEL, *ibid.*, pp. 115-117. Now from newly published excavations at the Porta di Nola we have definite remains of the duovir M. Obellius Firmus from a publicly donated *locus sepulturae*; see S. DE CARO, «Scavi nell'area fuori Porta Nola a Pompei», *CronPomp*, 5 (1979) 61-79.

<sup>135</sup> OVERBECK-MAU, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 4) 400-401; A. MAU, *RM*, 5 (1890) 280-282. H. NISSEN, *Pompeianische Studien zur Städtekunde des Altertums*, (Leipzig 1877) 480, assumed that there were burials in the *loci publice dati* and that the restriction on burial within the *pomerium* was relaxed as time went on. M. DELLA CORTE, «Il pomerium di Pompei», *RendLinc.*, ser. V, vol. 22 (1913) 261-308, especially pp. 288-289, assumes the presence of burials in all of the *loci publice dati* outside Pompeii's gates and speculates that such tombs were permitted by an act of priestly *exauguratio*. Of course, the inscriptions are

completely silent about such deconsecrations of sacred land and speak instead only of a *political* act of granting a *locus sepulturae*.

<sup>136</sup> See MAU and OVERBECK-MAU, *ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> So V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 22, and for a list of the *locus sepulturae* inscriptions see KOCKEL, *ibid.*, p. 19, n. 156.

<sup>138</sup> On *sepultura* as cremation see Furneaux and Koestermann *ad Tac.*, *Ann.* 2.73.5 and *Lex. Tac.*, p. 1473 s.v. *sepultura* (2) and LEWIS and SHORT, *A New Latin Dictionary*, (Oxford 1879) s.v. *sepultura* (II); on *sepulcrum* as funerary pyre see *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, (Oxford 1980) s.v. *sepulcrum* (b).

<sup>139</sup> This is formulated from Faustus' point of view; of course, once in existence, the chamber of the altar was used for some burials of freedmen of the family; cf. V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 100-108.

private, not public, commemorative monument. This is clear from the inscriptions (*CIL*, X 1030):

NAEVOLEIA.L.LIB.TYCHE.SIBI.ET  
 C.MVNATIO.FAVSTO.AVG.ET.PAGANO  
 CUI.DECVRIONES.CONSENSVS.POPVLI  
 BISELLIVM.OB.MERITA.EIVS.DECREVERVNT  
 HOC.MONVMENTVM.NAEVOLEIA.TYCHE.LIBERTIS.SVIS  
 LIBERTABVSQ.ET.C.MVNATI.FAVSTI.VIVA.FECIT

In this text, Faustus' wife, Naevoleia Tyche, twice proudly takes credit for having built the monument for Faustus, their freedmen, and herself. Faustus' distinctions are mentioned, but are not especially highlighted. If anything, as the graphic design of the inscription indicates (fig. 1), the emphasis is on Naevoleia herself, to such a degree that Mau called the structure the «Grab der Naevoleia Tyche»<sup>140</sup>.

The Trimalchian boastfulness of the freedwoman Naevoleia Tyche recalls that of Pallas (cf. above, p. 75) and contrasts strikingly both with the dry, legalistic formula LOC.D.D.D. of the public monuments and with the complete absence of a dedicator from the inscription on Quietus' altar. His inscription, we remember, reads:

C.CALVENTIO.QVIETO  
 AVGVSTALI  
 HVIC.OB.MVNIFICENT.DECVRIONVM  
 DECRETO.ET.POPVLI.CONSENSV.BISELLII  
 HONOR.DATVS.EST



fig. 1 - Inscription on Altar of C. Munatius Faustus, Pompeii (drawing: Overbeck-Mau).

<sup>140</sup> OVERBECK-MAU, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 4) 413-414.

Strictly speaking, the altar of Quietus claims only to commemorate his receipt of the honor of the *bisellium*. We may doubt, however, that the anonymous dedicator of the monument wished it to be understood in this way.

The suppression of the name of the dedicator must have a point, and the point must be to make the altar's status as a private or public dedication unclear. To a modern scholar who bothers to consider the matter it seems likely that the altar is the private gift of Quietus' son by adoption, C. Calventius Sittius Magnus<sup>141</sup>. This is probable because it was apparently erected some time after Quietus' death and because, as we saw in the case of Cartilius Poplicola's monument, mention of the important public gift of land could hardly be lacking so that some future officious T. Suedius Clemens, *tribunus causis cognitis et mensuris factis*, would not be tempted to restore encroached-upon public land to the city (cfr. *CIL*, X 1018)<sup>142</sup>.

More important is the fact that few, if any, ancients would have tarried long enough to ponder this question. To the normal passerby, as, today, to even some expert Pompeianists, the monument must have given the impression of being a *locus publice datus*, for if a private donation, why would the donor have suppressed his or her name?

Why, indeed? For one thing, the donor could feel confident in his ability to gull the public; after all, of all the altar-memorials of this type outside the Herculanean Gate, only that of Munatius Faustus was a private dedication. The average passerby must have assumed without giving it much thought that such a monument was public (hence Naevoleia's unseemly insistence on mentioning her name on Faustus' altar: she *wanted* the passerby to give her, not the community, credit for building the structure).

The likelihood of success provided only a necessary, not sufficient, reason. The ultimate motivation must be sought in the political status that such monuments reflect and help to transmit from one generation to the next. Thanks to Franklin's new study of the electoral programmata of Pompeii, we now know a good deal about the political career and tactics of Quietus' son by adoption, C. Calventius Sittius Magnus<sup>143</sup>.

Franklin has shown that Magnus was a candidate for the duovirate in 78. Some 47 programmata favoring his candidacy survive, and, since he ran unopposed, he surely must have won his race. In some of the programmata, he used an abbreviated form of his name — Sittius Magnus, *Ilvir* (e.g., *CIL*, IV 7421); in others, he used his full, legal name — C. Calventius Sittius Magnus (e.g., *CIL*, IV 7487). Why did he use two forms of his name, and why did he bother to advertise at all, since, as an unopposed candidate, his victory was all but inevitable?

C. Calventius Quietus, was, as we have noted, an *augustalis*. That he was a freedman is not totally certain from this fact alone but is made so by the absence of his father's name from the inscription on his altar. As a freedman, he was almost certainly ineligible to run for office<sup>144</sup>, and so, despite his wealth and munificence, he did not achieve the highest political status in Pompeii. The S—tiii, on the other hand, were an old and distinguished Pompeian family<sup>145</sup>. Magnus' abbreviated electoral notices obviously

<sup>141</sup> On the son see J. L. FRANKLIN, *Pompeii. The Electoral Programmata, Campaigns, and Politics A.D. 71-79*, *PMAAR* 28 (1980) 63-65.

<sup>142</sup> On this and two similar inscriptions see V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 12-13.

<sup>143</sup> J. L. FRANKLIN, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 141) 63-65. On the good political prospects of sons of

freedmen see J. H. D'ARMS, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 12) 139-140.

<sup>144</sup> See R. DUTHOY, «La fonction sociale de l'*augustalité*», *Epigraphica*, 36 (1974) 134-154.

<sup>145</sup> See P. CASTRÉN, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 25) 222-223.

helped him to play up his Sittian heritage — and to play down his new connection to the arriviste Quietus. Why, then, were there any programmata with Magnus' full name?

The answer to this question also entails the answer to the question about why such candidates as Magnus bothered to advertise in the first place. According to Franklin's analysis of this problem, «the programmata can only be seen as attempts at increasing gentilicial *gloria* by coupling a man's name with high office in the public mind, so that his descendants might be the more readily elected. As the programmata were left on the walls long after the actual elections were held, they helped perform this function»<sup>146</sup>. So, Magnus was not so much promoting himself as his *liberi posterique*. Since Magnus' sons would not inherit his Sittian *nomen* (they would only be Calventii), it behooved their father to use his full name in some programmata in order to effect the transference of *gloria* from himself to his heirs.

Independently of Franklin, Kockel has shown that the altar of Quietus dates to the 70s, possibly to the late years of that decade<sup>147</sup>. We have seen that the inscription on the altar is designed to give the impression that the monument was publicly donated. Now that we understand more about Magnus' problem of handing down his Sittian status to his Calventian children and about how he solved it, we can also understand his erection of the altar some years after Quietus' death as a case of misleading advertising intended to bolster the glory of the Calventian name<sup>148</sup>.

The destruction of Pompeii in 79 makes it impossible for us to know if Magnus' attempt to rewrite history would have succeeded. Clearly, Magnus was taking a chance on being exposed. On the other hand, a recent study of Winston Churchill's biography of his father, published just a few years after his father's death at a time when many of his father's contemporaries were still alive, has shown that the tradition of creating a glorious past where one did not exist is by no means limited to Roman antiquity and that it can sometimes pay off quite handsomely<sup>149</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> J. L. FRANKLIN, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 141) 120.

<sup>147</sup> V. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 96-97.

<sup>148</sup> Magnus may have been taking no chances. Franklin has convincingly suggested that programma 7604, supporting the duoviral candidacy of Calventius Quietus, was posted in 78 or 79 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 64); he also suggests that this Quietus may have been the man honored with the memorial altar outside the Herculanean Gate. Since this Quietus was probably dead in 78, Franklin suggests that the programma on his behalf was posted at the instance of his adoptive son Magnus «to recall the glory of the generous *augustalis* when his descendant stood for office» (*ibid.*, p. 65). Of course, my interpretation of Quietus' altar and Franklin's hypothesis about programma 7604 are not at all dependent on each other for validation; however, taken together, each gains in plausibility as a pattern behind Magnus' behavior begins to emerge. In support of both hypotheses is the fact that Roman political families did, from time to time, indulge in just such creation of a glorious past: cf. LIVY, 8.40.4-5: «nec facile est aut rem rei aut auctorem auctori,

praeferre. Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis, dum falimiae ad se quaeque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallenti mendacio trahunt; inde certe et singulorum gesta et publica monumenta rerum confusa. Nec quisquam aequalis temporibus illis scriptor exstat, quo satis certo auctore stetur»; CICERO, *Brutus* 62: «et hercules eae quidem exstant: ipsae enim familiae sua quasi ornamenta ac monumenta servabant et ad usum, si quis eiusdem generis occidisset, et ad memoriam laudum domesticarum et ad illustrandam nobilitate suam. Quamquam his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior. Multa enim scripta sunt in eis quae facta non sunt: falsi triumphi, plures consulatus, genera etiam falsa et ad plebem transitiones, cum homines humiliores in alienum eiusdem nominis infunderentur genus».

<sup>149</sup> See T. MORGAN, *Churchill: Young Man in a Hurry. 1874-1915*, (New York 1982), and cf. the review of A. J. P. TAYLOR, in *The New York Review of Books* 29, nr. 12 (15 July 1982) 33-34, especially p. 33: «he [*scil.* Winston Churchill]

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has been to establish a new category of Roman building — the «memorial» or «monument». It was argued that the purpose of this building type is not to mark a place of burial (or putative burial), as is the case with the related building types, the tomb and the cenotaph, with which memorials have sometimes been confused; rather, the purpose of the memorial is to celebrate and commemorate a life devoted to civic virtue. Thus, the conceptual issue involved in the distinction between the tomb/cenotaph/*ustrina* and the memorial is the fundamental difference between death and life.

Once the category has been established, it is possible to trace its historical development, to study its architectural elaborations, topographical situations, and socio-political and religious implications. It was shown that the memorial is attested as early as c. 503 B.C., the year P. Valerius Poplicola died; other early examples probably included the altar of Acca Larentia and the altar-column complex under the Lapis Niger associated with Romulus. Thus, the memorial, from early times, was linked in Rome to the *parens patriae*. We can only speculate about the sources of inspiration for the Roman memorial; the most likely source was the Greek hero cult, adapted to Roman sensibilities by omission of actual burial in most cases, but often retaining the Greek feature of an annual lamentation for the hero. It is indeed tempting to imagine that all these memorials were visited by public processions during the Parentalia each February; however, such ceremonies are only documented with certainty for M. Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum and for Lucius Caesar at Pisa.

The early examples also establish the locations appropriate for the monument: it is erected on public land most often either just outside a major gate of the city (Acca Larentia) or near the main forum of town (Romulus). The examples of the memorial known down to the first century B.C. all seem to have had the architectural form of an altar; sometimes, a column stood next to the altar. Starting from the mid-first century B.C., other forms are attested — especially the cubic structure we called the *monumentum* and the *schola* — but the altar-form reappears in all periods, always adapted to reigning architectural styles. Inscriptions are generally present, naming the recipient of the honor, recording the donation of public land to him and his descendants for the erection of a monument or as a *locus sepulturae*, and justifying the dedication because of the recipient's civic *virtus*, *merita*, or *munificentia*. The cases of Valerius Poplicola, Julius Caesar, and M. Nonius Balbus demonstrate that *sepultura* usually meant «cremation», not «burial».

Very few memorials are known from the Republic — in addition to Poplicola's, the examples include those of Fabricius, Tubertus, and, possibly, Bibulus. This scarcity was taken to imply the high status of the honor among all extraordinary honors given at Rome; the propagandistic value of the honor in furthering the political ambitions of a recipient's descendants by helping to convert achieved into ascribed status; and the sudden breakdown in the late third century B.C. of the aristocratic tradition of consensus, civility, and cooperation needed to sustain the honor. This breakdown was particularly evident in the last decades of the Republic.

executed an unusual revenge by writing a biography of Randolph Churchill in which he depicted his father, by then dead of syphilis, as a political genius of the first water. This idea was so

forcibly expressed that even Randolph's friends came to believe it. The legend about Winston's father helped Winston himself to rise high and quickly».

Starting with Augustus, the honor of a memorial was revived in Rome and began to spread throughout the empire. While undergoing monumentalization in its imperial versions (the column with altar of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius [?]), it experienced trivialization as *patroni* of municipalities (M. Nonius Balbus, at Herculaneum; Q. Novius Felix, at Marsi Antinum) or successful politicians (C. Cartilius Poplicola, at Ostia) and others with even lesser claims (C. Luceius Camars, at Sulmo) began receiving it (or, in one case — that of C. Calventius Quietus, at Pompeii — arrogating it) and as imperial heirs apparent, especially Lucius and Gaius Caesar, were given it to flatter the emperor. In keeping with imperial flattery, and with the growth of the imperial cult, was a sudden fusion of the Roman commemorative tradition with its Greek origin in the hero cult when Trajan was actually buried in his altar, which was most likely located within the *pomerium*.

Because many of the monuments discussed in this paper have been interpreted by others as cenotaphs, tombs or *ustrinae*, their identification here as memorials may well be controversial. It will therefore be useful to conclude with a word about the state of the evidence and the logic of my argumentation.

To begin with the evidence, we should once again highlight here the unequivocal cases mentioned in the Introduction because in the body of this article the problematic examples had to be emphasized. The *ara* of Julius Caesar in the Roman Forum, of M. Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum, and of Gaius and Lucius Caesar at Pisa were all unquestionably commemorative monuments since: (1) these men were all buried elsewhere; (2) there is no cause to consider the structures cenotaphs, nor are they so identified in the ancient sources; (3) they were erected after the cremation of the deceased (which, in the case of the Caesares, did not even occur in Pisa) and so cannot be considered *ustrinae*; and (4) in two of the three cases inscriptions make clear the intention behind the dedications. In this group belongs also the proposed (but never erected) *monimentum... ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam* for the dead at the first battle of Mutina (Cic., *Phil.*, 14.33-34, 38; assuming always that Cicero intended a memorial in Rome and not a mass grave on the battlefield) as well as the altar-column complexes in the Campus Martius dedicated to Hadrian (? cf. n. 105), Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius (?). Finally, the *schola* and the *monumentum* designs are exemplified, respectively, by the dedications to Lucius and Gaius Caesar at Trebula Suffenas and to C. Cartilius Poplicola at Porta Marina in Ostia.

Only the last example can be considered at all speculative. I include it in the list of strongly attested cases because: (1) no remains or other indications of burial (e.g., libation tubes) were found in or around the monument; (2) the zone in which the structure is located was not a cemetery; and (3) we almost certainly have Cartilius' actual tomb on the Via Ostiensis near modern Acilia. This form of argumentation was used several times in the article to suggest that another group of monuments falls into the category of the memorial. Since we are not as well informed about all the facts pertaining to the members of this group, their status must, at present, be considered debatable.

Most of these monuments are located just outside the Herculanean Gate at Pompeii. Although they are within the *pomerium*, have no libation tubes, burial chambers, nor remains, the excavations of this site are inadequately reported and, indeed, incomplete: in most cases, the foundations and subsoil were not investigated. Moreover, one monument (that of T. Terentius Felix) did have a burial. Thus, although we may suspect that the other Pompeian examples (M. Cerrinius Restitutus, A. Veius, M. Porcius, A. Umbricius Scaurus, and Mamia) do belong to the category of memorial, we cannot be

certain that they do before further archaeological investigation — and we may here urge the necessity of such an investigation at the earliest opportunity.

In the meantime, the hermeneutically sounder position is to argue that these monuments are probably memorials, not tombs. That is, we must explain — not explain away — the absence in the archaeological record of burial, and we should not, as has too often been done for the last century, invent as yet undiscovered facts to make something strange into something familiar. «If one does not expect the unexpected, one will not find it out... »<sup>150</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> This paper was written with the aid of grants from the Academic Senate of UCLA and the American Council of Learned Societies, both of which I wish to thank. I am also grateful to Prof. Steven Ostrow, for discussing problems of freedmen and *augustales* with me; Prof. Silvio Panciera, for criticizing an earlier draft of this article and for giving me a number of important bibliographical leads for some of the inscriptions I discuss; Prof. James L. Franklin, for alerting me to his analysis of the *duoviral* campaign of C. Calventius Sittius Magnus; to Profs. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida and Eugenio La Rocca for informing me about the contents of their forthcoming articles on the topography of monuments in the *Campus Martius*; to Dr. Valentin Kockel, for permitting

me to photocopy the proofs of this forthcoming book on the cemetery at the Herculanean Gate in Pompeii; to my students Ann Woods and Rand Johnson for their helpful comments; and to Profs. Ernst Badian, Mary T. Boatwright, Joe Park Poe, and Jane Crawford for providing some useful advice and information. The canonical proviso dissociating these colleagues from responsibility for the views I have expressed is, I fear, more necessary than it usually is. Finally, it is a pleasure to thank the American Academy in Rome once again for permitting me to use its splendid facilities during research of this topic.

I wish to dedicate this paper to Prof. Frank Brown, my teacher of Roman topography, *honoris virtutisque causa*.



1 - Altar of C. Calventius Quietus, Pompeii (photo: B. Bergman).



2 - Altar of C. Munatius Faustus, Pompeii (photo: Fototeca Unione).

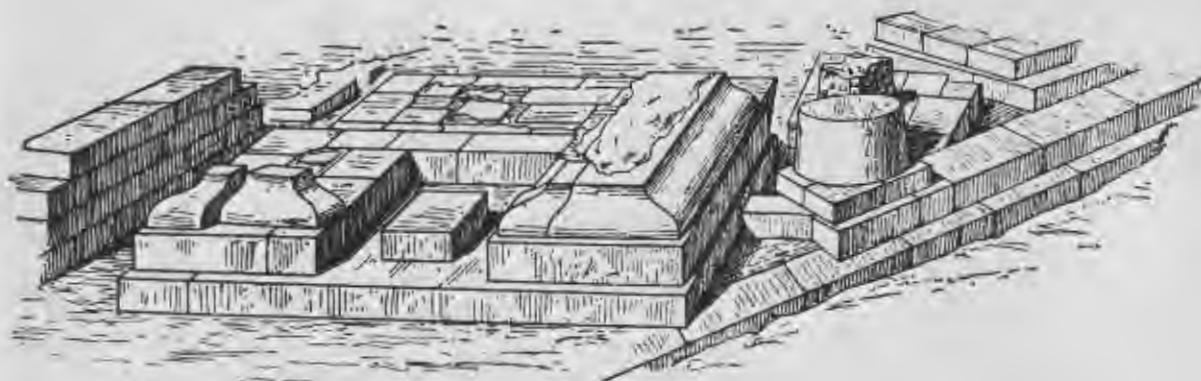


1 - Monument of C. Cartilius Poplicola, Ostia (photo: Fototeca Unione).

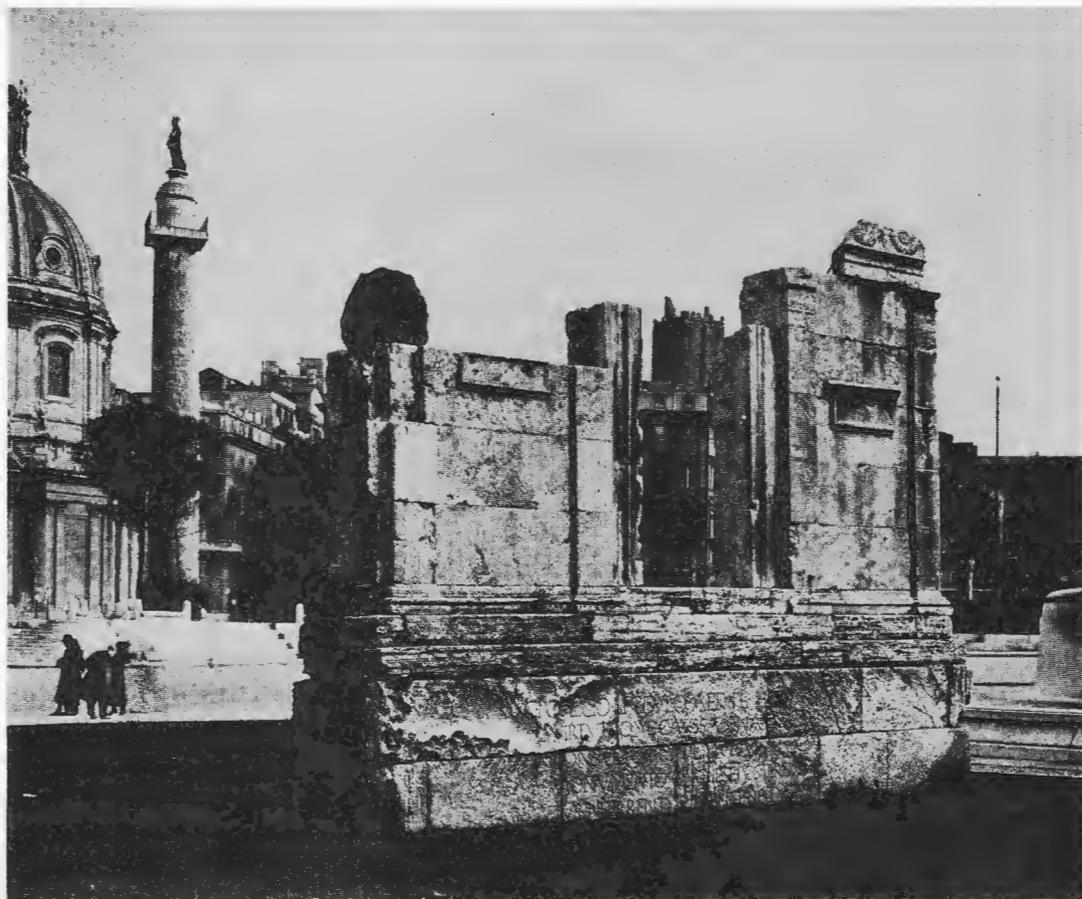




1 - Monument of Themistocles on Antonine coin from Magnesia (source: P. Gardner).



2 - Drawing of the Altar-Column complex under Janis Niger (source: C. Huelsen).



1 - Monument of C. Publicius Bibulus, Rome (photo: Fototeca Unione).



2 - Augustan Altar-Column complex at Glanum (photo: Frischer).



1 - *Sacellum* at the s.e. corner of the Basilica Aemilia, Rome (photo: Fototeca Unione).



2 - Inscription from the *sacellum* of the Basilica Aemilia (photo: Fototeca Unione).



1 - Column of Trajan (photo: Fototeca Unione).





1 - Altar of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum (photo: Fototeca Unione).