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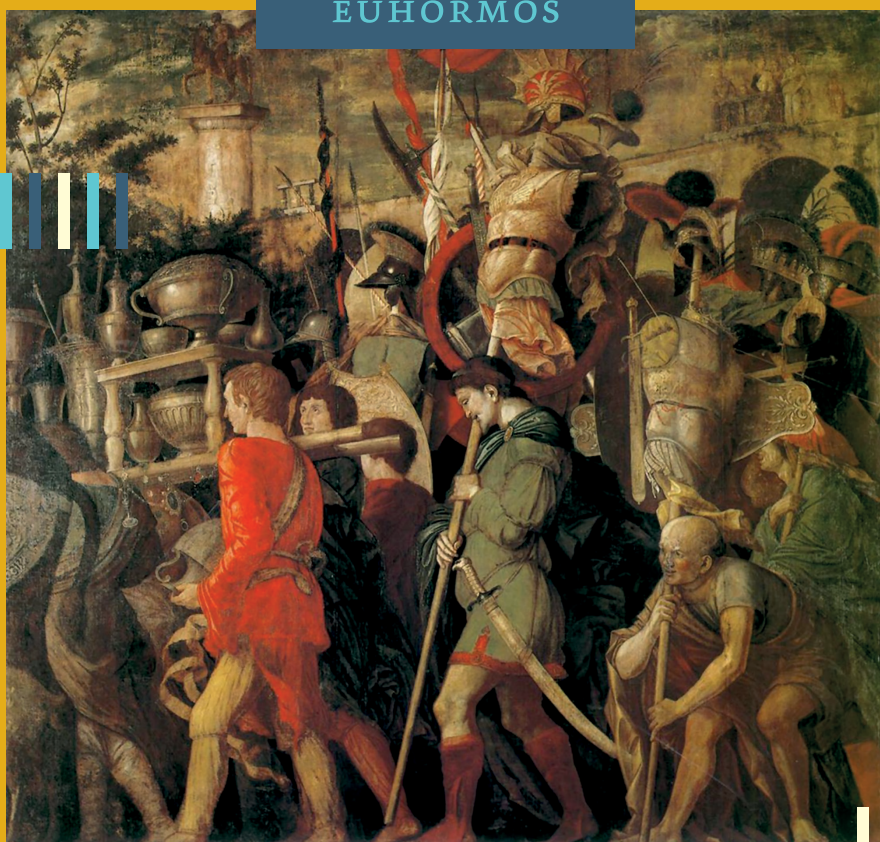
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READING GREEK AND HELLENISTIC- ROMAN SPOLIA

Objects, Appropriation and Cultural Change

EUHORMOS



Edited by

Irene J. F. de Jong and Miguel John Versluys

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Reading Greek and Hellenistic-Roman Spolia

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Reading Greek and Hellenistic-Roman Spolia

Objects, Appropriation and Cultural Change

Edited by

Irene J.F. de Jong
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Contents

Foreword	VII
Preface	VIII
List of Figures	X
Notes on Contributors	XII

PART 1

Introduction

- 1 Innovating Objects? Spolia and the Question of Appropriation 3
Irene J.F. de Jong and Miguel John Versluys
- 2 How to Deal with 'Things from Outside': an Anthropological Perspective 14
Pieter ter Keurs
- 3 *Triumphus* and the Taming of Objects: Spoliation and the Process of Appropriation in Late Republican Rome 27
Miguel John Versluys
- 4 Spolia as Exempla / Exempla as Spolia: Two Case Studies on Historical (Dis)Continuity and Morality 46
Christoph Pieper

PART 2

Case Studies

- 5 Herodotus' Framing of the Persian Spolia at Plataea 71
Irene J.F. de Jong
- 6 Herodotus and the Persian Spoils on the Acropolis of Athens 87
Janric Z. van Rookhuijzen
- 7 'A City Is Not Adorned by What Comes from Outside, but by the Virtue of Its Inhabitants': Polybius on the Pragmatics of Spoliation 108
Rutger J. Allan

- 8 Spoils of Sicily and Their Impact on Late Republican Rome: an Archaeological Perspective 123
Suzan van de Velde
- 9 *Luxuria peregrina* (Livy 39.6): Spolia and Rome's Gastronomic Revolution 147
Lidewij van Gils and Rebecca Henzel
- 10 Showing and Telling Spolia: the Triumphal Procession of Aemilius Paullus in Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus 170
Michel Buijs
- 11 'The Glory of Alexander and Philip Made Spoil by Roman Arms': the Triumph of Aemilius Paullus in 167 BCE 189
Rolf Strootman
- 12 Between Triumph and Tragedy: Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 7.121–157 215
Luuk Huitink
- 13 Judaea at the Tiber: Sacred Objects from Judaea and Their New Function in Imperial Rome 238
Eric M. Moormann

PART 3

Conclusion

- 14 'Spolia' as Category: Greek and Roman Perspectives 265
Caroline Vout

Index Locorum 285

General Index 291

Foreword

EUHORMOS is an international book series intended for monographs and collective volumes on Greco-Roman Antiquity. Specifically, we welcome for publication manuscripts related to the concept of ‘anchoring innovation’ by classical scholars of all disciplines from all over the world. Books in this series will be published as much as possible in Open Access. EUHORMOS is one of the results financed by the Dutch so-called Gravitation Grant (2017), awarded to a consortium of scholars from OIKOS, the National Research School in Classical Studies. See <https://anchoringinnovation.nl/>, where we also list earlier results from this research programme.

The ancient world saw many examples of change and innovations. The unique accessibility of materials from and about this period in the ancient Mediterranean frequently makes it possible to analyze successful and unsuccessful ‘anchoring’ of change: the various ways in which ‘the new’ could (or could not) be connected to and embedded in what was already deemed familiar. ‘New’ and ‘old’ are mostly not used as objective labels, but also a matter of the perception, framing, and valuation by relevant social groups and actors. ‘The new’ is not restricted to the technical or scientific domains, but can also include the ‘new information’ imparted by speakers through linguistic anchoring strategies; innovations in literature and the arts; political, social, cultural, legal, military, or economic innovation; and new developments in material culture.

The name ‘Euhormos’ itself is well-anchored. It is the Homeric term for a harbor ‘in which the anchoring is good’, although the careful reader will notice that danger is never far away. This dynamic nature of ‘anchoring’ and the risks involved in it are embraced by our research team as part of this title. For now though we will focus on its auspicious aspect, since we are looking forward to affording ‘good anchorage’ to studies contributing to a better understanding of ‘anchoring innovation’ in Greco-Roman Antiquity.

Ineke Sluiter

Academic Director, Leiden

On behalf of the Governing Board of the Anchoring Innovation
Programme

Preface

The Dutch research programme *Anchoring Innovation* investigates the ways in which people make sense of innovation by connecting the new to the old, the traditional, and the already known. Spolia, 'new' objects coming in from the outside to be incorporated in the 'old', own society, where they from then on start to function, are an excellent subject, therefore, to illustrate and explore practices and theories of anchoring. This is what this book sets out to do, focusing on the Greek and Hellenistic-Roman worlds.

In order to produce a coherent volume that adds to the theory-building around the concept of *Anchoring Innovation*, we decided to put central the notion of appropriation. Together with related concepts pertaining to the question what role spolia play, what they *do* in ancient societies, this concept will be extensively elaborated upon in the theoretical introductions that form Part 1 of this book. In Part 2 a number of significant spolia scenes from Greek and Latin literature are presented. Each text is discussed by a set of two specialists from different backgrounds (historians, archaeologists, literary critics and linguists) – in one case two specialists have even, between them, produced one single chapter. Part 3 consists of a critical conclusion that looks back on all earlier chapters and, this way, may inspire readers to do the same.

The double focus employed in this volume, texts being looked at from both a literary/linguistic and a material/historical perspective, has been applied before, for instance in a recent volume on the battles of Thermopylae and Cannae (L. van Gils, I.J.F. de Jong, C.H.M. Kroon (eds.), *Textual Strategies in Ancient War Narrative. Thermopylae, Cannae and Beyond*, Leiden 2019). This multidisciplinary approach is the happy result of specialists from the whole 'Altertumswissenschaftliche' spectrum working together, for more than two decades now, in the Dutch Research School in Classical Studies OIKOS. It is our sincere conviction that such a cooperation can be of great benefit to all involved. Literary specialists may see their textual analyses enriched when these are embedded in or confronted with the historical and material context. Historians and archaeologists may become more alert to the fact that the texts which they use as sources have a rhetoric and ideology of their own.

The planning of this book started in 2020 through informal discussions between the two editors, both senior board-members within the *Anchoring Innovation* programme. They decided to explore the topic in more depth by bringing together a group of specialists. The first meeting took place online on January 22, 2021. The second meeting, in which drafts of all the individual chapters were (briefly) presented and (extensively) discussed, took place on

October 1 of the same year in the *Vondelzaal* of the library of the University of Amsterdam. These meetings and the compilation of this volume were supported by the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (ocw) through the Dutch Research Council (NWO), as part of the Anchoring Innovation Gravitation Grant research agenda of οΙΚΟΣ, the National Research School in Classical Studies, the Netherlands (project number 024.003.012). We would like to thank the authors of the book for their commitment to this project and its rich debates. We thank Caroline van den Oever for her help at the final editorial stage.

Irene F. de Jong (Amsterdam) & Miguel John Vershuys (Leiden)
November 2022

Figures

- 2.1 *Bukung* mask of the Ngaju, South Kalimantan (National Museum of World Cultures, Leiden, RV 789–36, with permission). These masks are seen as bush spirits that invade the village to take the recently deceased to the realm of the ancestors 19
- 2.2 Headdress (*epaku*) for women, Enggano Island (National Museum of World Cultures, Leiden, RV 712–1, with permission). *Epaku* are worn during the ‘great feast’. The figure on the wooden cylinder is a slain enemy. The headdress is decorated with tin, imported from Sumatra 21
- 2.3 François Dubois, *Érection de l’obélisque de Louqsor sur la place de la Concorde* (1836) (Musée Carnavalet, Paris) 22
- 5.1 Attic terracotta lamb rhyton, attributed to the London painter, around 460 BCE 72
- 5.2 Persian rhyton from the Achaemenid period 77
- 5.3 Pausanias. Eighteenth century print 84
- 6.1 Peplos scene of the Great Temple frieze, with two diphrophoroi on the left. British Museum, London 97
- 6.2 The Karyatid Temple from the west, with the northwest part of the Dörpfeld foundation in front 102
- 8.1 a–d The Ludovisi Acrolith in Palazzo Altemps (Museo Nazionale Romano), Rome 131
- 9.1 Fresco in the tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus, Pompeii, first century CE 158
- 9.2 Relief Pizzoli, first century BCE 159
- 11.1 Macedonian helmets and shield with sun emblem. Wall painting in the Tomb of Lykon and Kallikrates, Lefkadia, mid-third-century BCE 194
- 11.2 Thracian warriors carrying *thureoi* on a fresco from the Kazanlak Tomb, fourth-third century BCE; the figure on the left is wearing the mushroom-shaped headdress worn by Thracian and Macedonian warriors during the Hellenistic period (after Zhivkova 1975, pl. 14) 196
- 11.3a A Macedonian cavalryman (foreground) and Argyraspid infantryman shown on the Pydna Monument from Delphi 198
- 11.3b A Macedonian Argyraspid shown on the Pydna Monument from Delphi 199
- 11.4 Silver Denarius of L. Aemilius Lepidus showing the captured king Perseus and his sons in front of a trophy adorned with Macedonian armor 200
- 11.5a Silver kylix from Tomb II at Vergina, Macedonia; late fourth century BCE (Archaeological Museum of Vergina; photograph M. Harrsch) 203

- 11.5b Silver and gold oinochoe from the Kazanlāk Tomb in Thrace (after Zhivkova 1975, pl. 9) 204
- 12.1 Nicolas Poussin, *The Conquest of Jerusalem by Emperor Titus* (1635) 220
- 12.2 Model of Herod's Temple on the Temple Mount; detail of the Holyland Model of Jerusalem (1966), displayed at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem 233
- 13.1 Rome, Arch of Titus in Summa Sacra Via, relief showing booty 239
- 13.2 Rome, Templum Pacis, latest excavations, looking towards the East, on the platform of the Shrine of Peace and the eastern portico 239

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PART 1

Introduction



Innovating Objects? Spolia and the Question of Appropriation

Irene J.F. de Jong and Miguel John Versluys

Plundering and taking home (precious) objects from a defeated enemy was an age-old and widespread phenomenon in ancient Greece, Rome and the Hellenistic world, as in most, if not all, other cultures worldwide. Indeed, one of the major incentives to wage war, apart from settling political issues, was to secure as much booty as possible. People, cattle and possessions were at stake when a city or area was attacked, and all parties knew this harsh reality. 'It is a custom (νόμος) established for all time among all men that when a city is taken in war, the persons and the property of the inhabitants belong to the captors', Xenophon makes the wise Persian king Cyrus say (*Cyropaedia* 7.5.72).

The 'ur'-form of spoliation consists in a victorious warrior taking off his dead opponent's armour and carrying it away to his own camp. This can be considered a lethal variant of the exchange of gifts which commonly took place between guest-friends (*xeinoi*). The close connection between these two forms of exchange was immortalised by Homer in the scene of the Lycian Glaucus and the Greek Diomedes (*Iliad* 6.119–236): when confronting each other on the battlefield before Troy, the two men find out that their fathers were guest-friends and instead of engaging in a duel which would end in victor stripping vanquished, they exchange armour peacefully. In both cases, guest-giving *and* spoliation, the object acquired often becomes a treasured heirloom of its new owner, who may even start using it himself: Achilles whiles away the time of his wrath by playing on the lyre which he has won from the spoils of a vanquished city (*Iliad* 9.186–189) and Odysseus deals the suitors a first blow with the bow which he received as a guest-gift (*Odyssey* 21.11–41).¹

The study of this form of spoliation has been largely the remit of ancient historians who discuss it in the context of ancient warfare. Here pride of place must go to W.K. Pritchett, who in 1971 noted that 'No full-scale study of booty has ever been published', and then offered two detailed treatments of the topic that go a long way towards filling that gap, at least for Greek society and

¹ For spoliation in Homer, see Ready 2007.

for booty as a military phenomenon.² Where the Roman world is concerned, there is a recent boom in literature on the triumph and the immense amounts of spolia that, as a result of Roman imperialism and this military institution, inundated Rome, especially in the final centuries BC.³ But there is room for other perspectives on spolia than the military and the imperialistic ones, as this volume will illustrate.

The first such broader perspective is a literary one. Spoliation is an important motif in ancient epic, primarily the customary stripping of armour already touched upon, but also the division of collective booty (e.g. *Iliad* 1.125–126). The importance of armour as a status symbol of heroes is reflected in the space devoted to arming scenes, a traditional element of all epics.⁴ In comparison, the stripping of armour is usually dealt with in one line only: ‘then Agamemnon son of Atreus killed and stripped him of his armour, and went carrying his fine armour through the mass of Greeks’ (*Iliad* 11.246–247). But, interestingly enough, this military routine is occasionally expanded into a gripping scene. When Hector, after killing Patroclus, dons his, that is Achilles’, armour, Zeus shakes his head and prophesies the Trojan’s death (*Iliad* 17.192–214). To strip armour was customary, to put it on oneself not. Homer here makes Hector perform this exceptional deed, in order to illustrate how the hero’s military success has gone to his head. Hector symbolically proclaims himself the equal of Achilles, son of a goddess and the best warrior on the Greek side, but, of course, will turn out *not* be his equal ... and die. His act of spoliation thus is morally charged, and in this respect Homer blazes the trail for many spolia scenes to follow in Greek and Latin literature.

Spoliation often implies that artifacts move from one culture to the other. This makes it a highly relevant topic within the burgeoning field of connectivity, network and globalisation studies, a second broader perspective.⁵ The infusion of Persian goods coming to Greece as booty of the Persian wars had profound effects on Athens and Athenian society in particular, in both the short and the long term.⁶ Here we witness, on a collective level, the same kind of relation

2 Pritchett 1971: 53. See Pritchett 1971: 53–100 and 1991: 68–541. For a shorter discussion, see Krentz 2007: 180–183.

3 Beard 2007; Östenberg 2009. When the editing of this book was in its final stage, we learned of the upcoming volume edited by M. Helm and S.T. Roselaar entitled *Spoils in the Roman Republic. Boon and Bane – a Re-evaluation* (Stuttgart). We encourage our readers to consult that book together with this volume.

4 See Reitz 2019.

5 See Versluis 2021 for an overview of this development and the relation between the (overlapping) concepts of connectivity, network and globalisation.

6 Miller 1997; cf. now Miller 2017, identifying these processes as *perserie* or Persianism.

between guest-giving (a positively charged form of appropriation of an object from outside the own cultural sphere) and spoliation (a negatively charged form of appropriation of an object from outside the own cultural sphere) already mentioned above.⁷ In both cases we do not so much end up with separate categories of Self and Other but rather with forms of entanglement. Spolia, so it seems, always establish a connection. This has become particularly clear for the Roman late Republic. From Marcellus' conquest of Syracuse in 211 BCE onwards, unparalleled amounts of booty met the eyes of the Romans when their generals brought back silver, gold, statues, paintings, furniture, precious objects as well as books, plants and animals – together with many enslaved enemies. All these spolia soon made their way into Roman Republican society and started changing it from the outside in, like the Corinthian furniture that became popular in Rome after it was introduced through the triumph of Lucius Mummius in 146 BCE.

It was as the result of the confrontation with the Other, through spolia, that much curiosity about the wider world and comparativism concerning the (Roman) Self arose. Already early on, the Romans started to interpret spoliation as a form of identity-formation relevant to the development of their own Empire. A clear example is provided by a speech, allegedly proclaimed by a certain Roman named Kaeso on the eve of the First Punic War: 'We', he stated, 'have thrived thus ...: we agree with our enemies to their terms, and we surpass in foreign customs those who have been practicing the same things for a long time. For the Etruscans had bronze shields and were in the phalanx when they fought us, and did not fight in maniples; and we, swapping our armour and taking up theirs, lined up in formation against them and striving in that fashion were victorious over men who had long been accustomed to fighting in the phalanx'.⁸ Roman identity, as Claudia Moatti has argued amongst others, is born from the contact with, curiosity about and appropriation of the Other.⁹ Spolia play an important role in that story of cultural innovation. How does this 'incorporation leading to innovation' take place, what mechanisms of appropriation (or repulsion) can be observed, and what is the active role or agency of the objects themselves in those processes?

7 For an anthropological view on gift versus theft, see Platenkamp 2022: 343.

8 The text is preserved in the Πλουτάρ <χου ἤ> Κεκιλίου Ἀποφθέγματα Ῥωμαϊκά ('Roman anecdotes of Plutarch or Caecilius'), which was discovered in a Vatican codex and published by H. von Armin in 1892. Its authorship and date are disputed (although probably late Republican-Augustan), see Loar, MacDonald and Padilla Peralta 2018: 1–2. Another version of it is preserved in Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* 23.2.

9 Moatti 1997.

In order to tackle questions like these, we have selected a number of significant spolia scenes from Greek and Latin literature, which report the act of taking away spolia or the display of spolia in a victory *pompe* or triumph. Each text is discussed by a set of two specialists from different backgrounds (historians, archaeologists, literary critics and linguists). As a result, the information provided by each text is evaluated both from a literary and from a material (cultural) perspective, and a central question that is running through the book is how these two perspectives relate to each other. What do we know about the practical reception, integration, appropriation of the objects brought home, on the one hand, and how do authors reflect on that influx of artifacts, on the other?

To give a sneak peek of what this volume will bring, we can reveal that the confrontation between text and material lays bare an interesting array of clashes, conflicts and paradoxes. One of these frictions was formulated long ago by Horace, whose pithy *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit* brings home how the military vanquished may be the cultural victor. Another paradox to be observed quite often is that the material record shows an eager and massive *appropriation* of objects, while the texts display an individual or collective *abhorrence* of the moral decadence thought to result from the sudden influx of (usually precious) objects. Such a strong anti-reaction, of course, in the end only testifies to the pull exerted by the objects. The moral charging of spolia, which we already saw in embryonic form in Homer's *Iliad*, became such a recurrent theme in literature that it was even forceful to a second degree, when stories about spoliation *from the past* were used as warning exempla for the present. In several respects, therefore, spolia turn out to play an important role within processes of anchoring cultural innovation, and thus to fit eminently the research programme of Anchoring Innovation under the aegis of which this volume was produced.¹⁰

Our volume, therefore, is part of a development within the *Spolienforschung* that tries to understand the practice and idea of spoliation in terms of translation and cultural formation in the first place.¹¹ Spolia, from Latin *spoliare* ('deprive', 'strip') originally refers to the arms stripped from a defeated enemy, hence more widely booty. In scholarly parlance, it has come to denote 'materials or artefacts in re-use' in much more general terms¹² Within the fields of Art

10 See the Preface. For the concept of anchoring see Sluiter 2017 with earlier bibliography.

11 For *Spolienforschung* see Altekamp, Marcks-Jacobs and Seiler 2013 (with an extensive earlier bibliography). For spoliation as translation see the recent volume Jevtic, Nilsson and Frantová 2021, prepared by publications like Ashley and Plesch 2002.

12 Kinney 2019 for definitions as well as an introduction to what the concept of spolia can mean and how it can be used. See also the important volume Brilliant and Kinney 2011.

History, Architecture and Archaeology, however, the term *spolia* is most often used in a more specific and applied manner to indicate the re-use of remains of earlier monuments for new buildings; notably the architectural re-use of elements from ancient buildings during late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.¹³ As will already have become clear from the discussion above, our book is not about these spolia and this particular form of spoliation. It is rather about the impact of re-use in much wider terms.¹⁴ Frequently this impact has been understood in terms of the past: as it concerns the use of older elements, spolia would be about the power of tradition. They are indeed.¹⁵ But, as a process of appropriation, they are inherently about cultural change and innovation as well, as this volume will illustrate at length.¹⁶

To explore in depth the theoretical point of departure only briefly outlined here, our volume opens with three more introductory chapters that, together with this opening chapter (1), form Part 1 of the volume.

The second chapter, written by Ter Keurs, presents some anthropological basics concerning the question how people deal with things from Outside. This confrontation with the Other is always a dangerous process that has to be carefully mediated. It is, at the same time, a necessary and indispensable process if societies want to renew and innovate. Moving from anthropological fieldwork in present-day Indonesia to early modern European history, Ter Keurs illustrates how processes of appropriation, including the ‘taming’ of spolia, play an important role in that era too. This is an important conclusion and the point of departure for our volume on Antiquity.

The chapter by Versluys (3) follows up on this anthropological given and applies it to Roman spoliation and the triumph, fuelled by Roman imperialism in the final centuries BC. Elaborating on the theoretical framework as introduced by Ter Keurs, the first part of his chapter presents the concept of appropriation on the basis of the work of the anthropologist Hans Peter Hahn, who distinguishes between four different phases of appropriation: 1. material appropriation, 2. objectification, 3. incorporation and 4. transformation.¹⁷ This

13 Cf. Kinney 2019 and Elsner 2000.

14 Note, however, that also this kind of *Spolienforschung* can ultimately be about cultural formation, as demonstrated by Elsner 2000, who talks about ‘genesis’ in this respect.

15 Bosman 2004 for theory and examples.

16 See already the important essay Ashley and Plesch 2002 (the introduction to a thematic volume on spolia and the cultural processes of appropriation) as well as Brilliant and Kinney 2011. For appropriation specifically see Plesch 2017 and Platenkamp 2022.

17 See Hahn 2011 for a brief summary of his ideas; and the chapter by Versluys for further references to his work. For the subject, note also the important essays Plesch 2017 and Platenkamp 2022.

(methodological) division serves as a guideline for the interpretation of the spolia scenes presented in Part 2 of the volume. The second part of the chapter by Versluys analyses the Roman triumph and the impact of its objects from this perspective, drawing in literary evidence and suggesting to understand it as a ritual meant to tame the agency of the spolia that innovate Roman society from the outside in.

With Pieper's chapter (4) the literary perspective is introduced and illustrated in its own right. He shows how two instances of spoliation function as a literary topos in Latin literature. The first concerns the famous Syracusan spolia brought to Rome by Marcellus, which are turned in an exemplum of collective or personal ethics by Livy to be followed or rejected by his readers. The objects would change Roman morals, the shape of the city and, arguably, the character of Marcellus. The second instance is found in Cicero's *De natura deorum* and discusses the figure of Dionysius I of Syracuse. This time we are dealing with both material spoliation, by Dionysius, and textual spoliation, by Cicero who reuses the exemplum of this Syracusan tyrant employed by other authors before him. While material spoliation usually triggers a negative moral evaluation, exempla seen as textual spolia can be put to a positive use, to instruct the readers.

The second part of the volume presents some important spolia scenes from Greek and Latin literature, each text being analysed both from a literary and a material (cultural) perspective and with keen attention for the question how these perspectives relate to each other.

In her chapter (5), De Jong argues that Herodotus' report on the spoliation after the battle of Plataea in *Histories* 9 reflects Greek amazement at Persian luxury but that this luxury and fascination is also negatively framed in a two-fold way. More than just being the standard outcome of a battle won, the spoliation is morally charged and made to symbolize the way in which the Persians are, deservedly, stripped of their fabulous riches. The figure of the Spartan general Pausanias, moreover, reveals the potential danger of Greek fascination for Persian luxury: although he uses a luxurious Persian meal to deride the folly of the Persians to attack a frugal country like Greece, his remarkable negative qualification of the Greek way of life hints where his true feelings lie. For the attentive reader this anticipates his later 'medising', which included the adoption of a Persian luxurious lifestyle. Herodotus' text thus illustrates three of Hahn's stages: material appropriation, transformation (part of the spolia are dedicated to the gods, but not before they have first been turned into Greek works of art), and in the figure of Pausanias questionable incorporation.

Van Rookhuizen (chapter 6) investigates Herodotus' text and his interest in the Persian spolia from a historical and archaeological perspective by asking

how Herodotus knew about these objects and how he was able to describe them in such great detail. His focus is not on questions of 'authenticity' but rather on the 'effect of reality' that Herodotus is clearly looking for. To this end he analyses the Athenian practice of 'treasure collection' on the Acropolis by focusing on how all these spolia were incorporated in its sacred landscape. His conclusion that (a lifelike description of) the objects testified to the 'rebirth' of Athens after the Persian invasions strongly resonates with the anthropological practices as described by Ter Keurs.

Rutger Allan in his chapter (7) on Polybius shows how the Greek historian passes a negative judgment on the spoliation of Syracuse by the Romans as led by Marcellus. The Romans, Polybius argues, made a grave mistake, both in moralistic and pragmatic terms. He turns the episode into a general lesson on human morality for his readers: if you are successful, show moderation in your behaviour, bearing in mind that fortune is capricious. Do not incur the envy of the vanquished, as it may turn against you in the end. It is interesting to note that throughout Polybius' text the spoliated objects are presented as having a great deal of impact in and by themselves. Polybius thus argues against every stage of the process of appropriation: Romans should have left the objects at their original place (against material appropriation); the objects should not have been reused to adorn Rome (against objectification and incorporation) and a full transformation of the imported objects will never be attained since there will always remain a tension between the Romans' exploitation of the objects as evidence of their military success and the non-Roman spectators' feelings of envy for the Roman victors and pity for the vanquished.

Questions of human-thing entanglement and the agency of spolia move centre stage in the contribution by Van de Velde (chapter 8), who studies the impact of the spolia from Sicily in and on Republican Rome. It is impossible, unfortunately, to find these objects themselves in the archaeological record but contextual evidence allows her to trace their impact all the same. She focuses on the so-called Ludovisi acrolith, a marble head once part of a large (composite) sculpture, dated to the period 480–460 BCE and probably from Sicily or another part of Magna Graecia. It was objects like this, amongst many others, that were brought to Rome by Marcellus, although we cannot prove that this particular sculpture indeed came to Rome at that specific moment. Be that as it may, by including the biography of the statue, Van de Velde is able to convincingly argue for the impact of the acrolith on Roman society in terms of (anchoring) innovation.

In their chapter (9) Van Gils and Henzel confront Livy's claim that *luxuria peregrina* started with the influx of luxury goods after Cn. Manlius' victory in 187 BCE with the archaeological picture, focusing on culinary practice. Livy's

condemnation flows forth from the historiographical practice of thinking in terms of exempla (cf. the chapter of Pieper) but also from the influence of his own times, when the *luxuria* was even greater but also even more problematic. The archaeological picture shows the changes which Livy attributes to one man to be part of a much larger socio-economic development. Moreover, the changes in culinary practices in reality seem to have taken place (much) later. Livy, therefore, exaggerates the impact of Manlius' spoliation. At the same time his text testifies to the fact that the Romans themselves considered spoliation a form of identity-formation relevant to the development of their own Empire and discussed it in these terms.

Buijs (chapter 10) analyses the accounts of the three-day triumphal procession of Aemilius Paullus in 167 BCE as told by Plutarch in his *Life of Aemilius Paullus* and by Diodorus Siculus. Although both accounts present, more or less, the same events, their style and hence effect on the reader are markedly different. Plutarch creates a kind of eye-witness report which strongly engages his readers. Diodorus' report more resembles a list and entirely lacks the internal perspective which Plutarch employs so effectively. The result is that Diodorus is 'telling' spolia in a distanced style, while Plutarch is 'showing' spolia in an engaged style.

In chapter 11, Strootman presents a historical and archaeological analysis of the same triumph that ended the Antigonid monarchy and the rule of king Perseus. The procession was a carefully orchestrated, ritual public event in which large amounts of Macedonian objects (arms and armour, gold and silver, votive gifts and other offerings, court objects, tableware and regalia) and Macedonian captives, amongst whom the Macedonian king himself, were paraded through the streets of Rome. Focusing on the significance of the booty, the role it played in Rome and the Roman imagination of Other and Self, Strootman sees clear signs of the process of objectification as defined by Hahn. He underlines the twofold nature of the triumph and its spolia: they show the subjugation of conquered Macedonia on the one hand while simultaneously testifying to the incorporation of the Macedonian Other in the (emerging) Roman Empire. Arguing that the main appropriation taking place was an ideological one, Strootman presents a clear example of how spolia always establish a connection.

Huitink's chapter (12) brings us to the imperial period and starts with an analysis of Josephus' elaborate narrative of Vespasian's and Titus' triumph over Judaea in the summer of 71 CE in his *Bellum Judaicum*. This fascinating spolia text displays tensions between the surface of the spectacle and what Josephus conveys about its underlying significance. In a second move Huitink shows how the implied emotional evocation of the temple spoils in the procession

is reinforced when readers recall two earlier descriptions of the temple treasures in the *Bellum*. When looked at by uncomprehending 'Roman eyes', the objects are stripped off their symbolical significance, but those who have read Josephus' work are in the know about their true meaning.

In chapter 13, Moormann discusses the *Resonanz* of these Judaica for Rome in both the short and the long term. He distinguishes between material appropriation and objectification on the one hand, when the spolia from the temple change in meaning from sacred objects (in Jerusalem) to symbols of a captured nation (in Rome); and incorporation and transformation on the other, when dealing with the 'musealization' of the spolia in imperial Rome and its consequences until the present-day. The different modes of appropriation distinguished by Hahn are clearly visible in his discussion of the spolia and allow us to better understand how appropriation functioned as a process in imperial Rome.

The third and final part of the volume presents a conclusion by Vout that departs from the literary sources and the mentalities they reflect (chapter 14). Written as a critical discussion, it mirrors the rich debates after the two expert meetings and the interpretative questions this volume hopes to instigate.

Reading Greek and Hellenistic-Roman spolia focuses on spolia in terms of appropriation and cultural change. Having come to the end of our introduction, we would like to stress that we are only too well aware of the fact that spoliation involves much more than cultural innovation alone. What is gain for the one society is loss for the other. Spoliation usually involves the mass deportation of peoples, looting of their heritage, destruction of their property and the annihilation of their historical memory. The last phenomenon has recently been aptly identified as epistemicide, the destruction of (or even war on) the knowledge about the Other.¹⁸ The ruthless and complete wrecking of Carthage by the Romans obliterated knowledge concerning this city and its culture(s) for later generations; in fact a problem scholars still struggle with today. '*Urbs antiqua fuit*' is Virgil's famous but incisive introduction of the city of Carthage in his story of 'the birth of Rome' (*Aeneid* 1.12). His use of the perfect tense, rather than the present or imperfect tense, signals that this proud city no longer exists at the moment his poem is read. By then it had been defeated and destroyed by the Romans, who thereby become the unmistakable masters of the Mediterranean but who also enslave no less than 50,000 Carthaginians, not to speak of their killing most of its male inhabitants. The discussion of spolia in terms of processes of appropriation and cultural change in this volume is not meant to add to the 'Empire-is-good-gospel', as Padilla Peralta calls the

18 Padilla Peralta 2020; cf. Loar, MacDonald and Padilla Peralta 2018.

colonialist Western view of the Roman Empire (and Antiquity more in general).¹⁹ On the contrary. By showing how Greece and Rome were strongly influenced by the objects they conquered we hope to put these cultures and their worldviews in a different perspective.

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¹⁹ Padilla Peralta 2020: 153. See also the contribution by Versluys, this volume.

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How to Deal with ‘Things from Outside’: an Anthropological Perspective

Pieter ter Keurs

There is abundant evidence that in the history of Humankind inter-societal communications and transfers of cultural resources have been rule rather than the exception. (Platenkamp 2022: 328)



When objects are transferred from one culture to another, it always involves a transformation of meaning, agency or sometimes even a change in the material.¹ The object is subject to symbolic or material change and this process of change is often ritualized. In principle, there are three possible reactions to the introduction of new things in the receiving culture. People can reject objects as being too strange and possibly dangerous to them, people can accept objects because they are clearly beneficial (e.g. trade goods with a good earning capacity) or people can adapt objects and integrate them in their own economic, political, cultural and religious framework to make them beneficial, to transform them into something that is useful. In this text I will concentrate on the third strategy of dealing with ‘objects from outside’. How can we transform strange, fascinating and potentially dangerous objects from far-away places into something useful, something fertile? What happens during this ritualized transfer of objects from one context to another?

I will start by giving a short description of the main ritual (*eakalea*) of the Etaka, the people of the Indonesian Island of Enggano, but this description can easily be extended with examples from other parts of the world, for instance the ancient Mediterranean or contemporary Europe. Everywhere in the world

¹ This chapter is an adapted version of Ter Keurs 2018 (originally a lecture given at the University of Bordeaux) and an unpublished lecture given at the University of Bolzano, 15 November 2019.

strange, potentially dangerous and also potentially fertile objects need to be dealt with.

After the Engganese example I will illustrate that similar processes and ritualized entries of 'strange' objects can be observed in Europe. The French King Louis Philippe was very conscious of the importance of neutralizing 'things from outside'. The entry of the Egyptian obelisk in Paris, in 1836, is a clear case of the fertilizing potential of 'strange things from outside'. So is the entry of Napoleon's remains a few years later.

In anthropology there has always been a great deal of attention for ritual practices. To Western researchers many rituals appeared extremely strange and they therefore attracted much attention. It goes beyond the scope of this article to discuss the anthropology of rituals in great detail.² However, I will shortly describe one of the models that can be of use to our purpose, inspired by Maurice Bloch's *Prey into Hunter* (1992). Earlier models, such as the ones by Arnold Van Gennep (1909), Willem Rassers (1928) or Victor Turner (1969)³ differ in detail but do not offer a fundamentally different view on large-scale rituals that are meant to re-vitalize societies. Bloch does not have much explicit attention for material objects. I believe, however, that incorporating objects in Bloch's model offers us an opportunity to comprehend the symbolic meaning and agency of objects in a changing, often ritually sanctioned context.

We can distinguish three phases in large-scale rituals that involve the whole society, including neighbouring villages, and require extensive material resources to be organized:

1. Before the ritual, a society is in a *vital* phase in which regular life continues on a more or less daily-life basis. However, periodically new energy has to be inserted into society to prevent a slow process of degeneration.
2. The insertion of new energy is effected by means of a ritual in which objects – heads of slain persons, valuables, rare objects – are ritually neutralized and transformed into something useful. To do this, society needs the help of the Gods and/or the ancestors and therefore needs to be brought into a *transcendental* state. The supernatural beings descend to the village and occupy it for the duration of the ritual. The village gets a special status to be able to receive the supernatural beings and to organize the rituals needed to please them. Gifts to the Gods and the ancestors are part and parcel of this. During funerary rituals this is the occasion to bring the deceased persons to the realm of the ancestors. In

2 See for instance Bell 2009, or, for the anthropology of ritual as used in archaeology, Insoll 2011.

3 Bloch 1992; Van Gennep 1960 [1909]; Rassers 1928; Turner 1969.

many societies the second burial is a clear illustration of these important practices.⁴

The transcendental phase is always concluded by a large-scale offering meal. Neighbouring villages are necessarily invited to this event to revitalize relations with other villages and therefore with potential marriage partners. After the communal meal the villages return to a regular life again. The ancestors return to their living space in the forest or on the mountains.

3. The new *vital* phase, after the period of ritual performances and practices, may seem to be a return to the preceding vital phase but is in fact a renewed vital phase. Society has, to its advantage, added new elements and has given a clear message to the Gods that it wishes to sustain its relationship with the supernatural world, which provides new life in exchange of rare and valuable goods (and large quantities of food).

1 Anthropology and 'Things from Outside'

Dealing with 'the outside' often coincides with an uncomfortable feeling. It confronts us with the unknown and it cannot be disregarded easily. We have to do something with the things from outside, also to prevent them from becoming dangerous. People everywhere in the world have to find a way of coping with 'strange' things from elsewhere, they have to give it a place in the formation of their own way of living. It often takes the form of a (ritual) struggle, as with the Engganese example, and to be effective it should be a struggle with a positive outcome, to strengthen the culture that receives the outside. Not being able to do that, has grave consequences for the receiving culture.

Incoming objects play a major role in the ritual revitalization of a society. It is therefore important to look at how objects function in an exchange network. This does not only concern economic relations, in commodity exchange, but has far-reaching implications in the field of symbolic meanings and agency. Since the 1920s anthropologists have been fascinated by the circulation of objects in exchange systems. Bronislaw Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) not only set the standard for modern anthropological fieldwork,

4 Rassers 1928 described burial practices among the Ngaju of South Kalimantan. During the first burial the body of the deceased is left to dry on an open platform. During the second burial the remains are brought to the world of the spirits and the ancestors, accompanied by spirit masks.

but also showed that the Trobriand (South-East New Guinea) trade in arm-lets and necklaces was much more than just an economic exchange system. Malinowski set the tone for a discussion that continues until the present day about the changing nature of objects in exchange systems and the person-thing entanglement. Marcel Mauss' brilliant analysis on the gift, *Essai sur le don* (1923/1924), spawned fruitful discussions among anthropologists as well as other social scientists. More recently the discussion on objects in exchange systems was revived by Arjun Appadurai (1986) and Igor Kopytoff (1986), followed by fruitful debates between Marilyn Strathern (1988), Annette Weiner (1976, 1992) and Maurice Godelier (1999), among others.⁵

In these discussions the term agency does not play a significant role. Other aspects of objects and cultural flexibility and change are highlighted, such as human-thing entanglement and the political aspects of exchange. Alfred Gell's theory of objects as social actors with agency, published in 1998, is however a major conceptual advance and in a book about the effect of spolia on receiving societies it cannot be disregarded.⁶ Gell starts by summarizing the two dominant approaches in the anthropology of art in the decades before the mid-1990s. On the one hand anthropologists have been looking at the symbolic or religious meanings of (art) objects, on the other hand there is a great deal of literature on the social, political and religious context of art and/or material objects. He continues to argue that by focusing on these two approaches, anthropologists have missed the main point of art objects.⁷ According to Gell, we cannot comprehend art and the use of art objects without acknowledging that they were made with a certain purpose in mind. These objects were made to have an effect and are often seen by the people who use them as active and powerful, in short as having agency.

As said, the incorporation of foreign objects is often shaped by performances or ritual acts which may be on a very large scale, involving the whole society. In East-Indonesia these types of large-scale rituals have been studied by generations of Dutch anthropologists, although the role of objects has not always received the attention it deserves. One of the first who addressed the re-vitalizing role of large-scale rituals in Indonesia, in which the whole society is involved, including neighbouring villages, was W.H. Rassers (1928), already

5 Malinowski 1922; Mauss 1923–1924; Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Strathern 1988; Weiner 1976 and 1992; Godelier 1999.

6 Gell 1998.

7 Gell uses the word 'art', although many anthropologists are reluctant to use this term. I do not enter into a discussion on the use of 'art' in anthropological literature here. That would be far beyond the scope of this chapter.

mentioned above. He focused on Central-Borneo (now Kalimantan) and compared several differently looking rituals (pertaining to harvest, marriage or funeral) from various groups and concluded that these feasts ultimately had the same functions: to 'renew' life and to re-establish social relations with surrounding groups. The masks that perform during the most important parts of the ritual represent bush spirits, aggressive elements that threaten society. People realize that the bush spirits can potentially be dangerous, but in a mock fight they slowly allow them to enter the village. During the fight, the masks slowly lose their aggressive nature and are finally able to bring the dead to the world beyond, to stimulate the growth of the crops and, in general, to exercise their ability to bring new life to the village. So in the end these dangerous elements from outside bring new energy and re-vitalize the group.

A more recent example is a study of the *po'ora* (*porka*) ritual of Marsela and Luang in the South-Eastern Moluccan Islands.⁸ Without going into too much detail, we can here include some important observations that are useful for our argument. During the *po'ora* feasts the men bring in goods from outside, while the women dance in a circle with one opening to receive the goods, or 'to cool them off'.

All goods which the bridegroom/warrior contributes come from outside: money, cigarettes, fishes, hunted heads, and the two bride-price goods gold and *bastas* [imported cloths from India, PtK]. As the uncultivated land in the island, on which the koli palms grow, is designated as outside, the *sopi*, a product of the koli palm, may also be classified as outside.⁹

Men's contribution to fertility is seen as hot, while women have to contribute an atmosphere of coolness. The ultimate aim of the 'great feast' is coolness; hotness is not an aim in itself, for without coolness it is useless. Coolness dominates hotness, and not the other way around.¹⁰ Coolness neutralizes the potential dangers from outside. Similar principles can be observed in other parts of Indonesia, such as Kalimantan and Sumatra.¹¹

8 Van Dijk and De Jonge 1990.

9 Van Dijk and De Jonge 1990: 19.

10 Ibid.

11 Rassers 1928; Schärer 1963.



FIGURE 2.1 *Bukung* mask of the Ngaju, South Kalimantan (National Museum of World Cultures, Leiden, RV 789–36, with permission). These masks are seen as bush spirits that invade the village to take the recently deceased to the realm of the ancestors.

2 Enggano and the Slain Enemy

On Enggano Island (west of Sumatra) the 'great feast', called *eakalea*, can be understood in similar terms as those employed for the Moluccan Islands.¹² Here again, we have to refrain from describing the ritual in detail,¹³ but the general outline and the basic structure are clear. On Enggano, as in many other cultures, people of neighbouring villages are invited to join the feast because they are potential marriage partners, and there is a central role for potentially dangerous things which are brought in from outside. These mainly consist of the hunters' prey, usually wild pigs living in the uncultivated forest, but also pieces of tin (imported from Sumatra) or pieces of sits (valuable trade items of cloths, also coming from outside Enggano).

The hunters' prey is brought in from outside the village, from the bush. Men enhanced their prestige by means of the hunting activities, but the main part of the prey, the head, was brought to the women. The village square was, for this occasion, called 'the place where the head is cut off'. The head of the slain enemy was ritually brought into the world of the women, and this event was also clearly depicted in material culture; some of the old Engganese beehive houses were indeed supported by the image of the slain enemy. Only by bringing together male prestige and female fertility, could life continue. [...] society emerged from the ritual with renewed strength. Human, plant and animal life could flourish again.¹⁴

While the women of the village are dancing, they are elaborately adorned with heavy hip belts made of imported beads. Their headdresses contain a carved image of the slain enemy, often covered with pieces of tin. At a certain moment in the ritual the women place young coconuts in front of the houses, representing new life.

The ritualized symbolism outlined above, with the examples from the Moluccan Islands and Enggano, can serve as a model for a better understanding of objects from outside which are brought in to renew society. The strong agency of at least some of the objects from outside (which often concerns life

12 For an overall view on this phenomenon in East Indonesia, see Barraud and Platenkamp 1989 and 1990.

13 See for more extensive descriptions and a reinterpretation of old sources Ter Keurs 2002, and 2006: 162–168.

14 Ter Keurs 2006: 160.



FIGURE 2.2

Headdress (*epaku*) for women, Enggano Island (National Museum of World Cultures, Leiden, RV 712-1, with permission). *Epaku* are worn during the 'great feast'. The figure on the wooden cylinder is a slain enemy. The headdress is decorated with tin, imported from Sumatra.

that is killed, such as hunted heads or wild animals from the forest, and therefore are potentially dangerous) has to be cooled off to become useful to society. Only after this process of 'cooling', the potential dangers of the objects can be neutralized. And as a result they become useful, in combination with what the receiving society has to offer. Apparently ritual practices are crucially important to provide objects coming from outside with a renewed, adapted agency and I suggest that this is also the case in other cultures around the world. It is with this perspective that we will now turn to examples from Europe.

3 Europe and 'Things from Outside'

Rituals as described above can also be observed in European cultures. Mid-nineteenth century France offers some good examples of the re-vitalizing force of bringing in potentially dangerous things from outside. When Louis Philippe (1773–1850) became King of the French in 1830 he was in an awkward position. He became King in 1830 in a country where the Revolution, and its violence, of 1789 was still fresh in people's minds. He knew that he had to strike a balance between the old idea of Kingship as absolute power and the more modern idea of ruling with the support of the people. He therefore chose to call himself 'King of the French', not 'King of France'. Louis Philippe must have been very conscious of the sensitivity of the position he occupied. Therefore, he also

needed to find symbolic ways of securing his position and strengthening his relationship with 'his people'.

One way in which he solved this problem was by accepting in 1836 an Egyptian obelisk to be erected on what is now called Place de la Concorde. The spectacular entry of a 'strange' object from a largely unknown, but fascinating culture would create an opportunity to organize a large feast (call it a ritual) to support the King's status and prestige. This way he also solved another problem related to the history of the square itself. The name of this square, located at the end of the former royal garden, Jardin des Tuileries, had always been contested. It had changed from 'Place Louis xv', referring to the royal past of the *ancient régime*, to 'Place de la Révolution', where the guillotine had been erected and many members of noble families (including the King and Queen) were decapitated. These contradictions in the square's functions and meanings must have been challenging for the new King Louis Philippe. The glorious entry and erection of the Egyptian obelisk in Paris in 1836 solved the square's complicated position in French society and enhanced the King's position.

The whole story of the transport of the obelisk shows how great the effort was to bring this piece of strange stone (with 'strange' signs on it: the hieroglyphs) into the center of Paris, to a place that was laden with dangerous symbolism. As with the large-scale rituals in Indonesia, the whole project was



FIGURE 2.3 François Dubois, *Érection de l'obélisque de Louqsor sur la place de la Concorde* (1836) (Musée Carnavalet, Paris)
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a conspicuous collecting and using of resources. It took five years before the obelisk (a gift from the Egyptian ruler Mohammed Ali to France) completed its voyage from its original place in Luxor to the center of Paris. A special boat had to be built to bring the gift from Luxor to the Mediterranean coast in the north. It was brought to France and then a team of engineers had to work out the problem of getting it from the coast to Paris. This was not just a small project, one of many, of transporting an object to its new owner. It was much more than that. France's prestige depended on it, as well as the prestige of Louis Philippe. The enormous amount of resources needed to bring this project to a good end is comparable to the resources needed to organize the large-scale Indonesian rituals described above. The arrival of the obelisk from Egypt was part of a ritual acceptance of a 'strange thing from far-away' and became a great opportunity to use that 'thing from outside' for 'public-relation' purposes.

It is estimated that around 200,000 people were present when the obelisk was erected at the Place de la Concorde. Louis Philippe was there as well, but did not show himself at first. Only when the erection of the obelisk was successful and the people started cheering, the King showed himself. France, and the King, had successfully tamed that large piece of stone with the 'unknown, magical signs' from far-away and from a distant past. In the process France's prestige, and the King's, was enhanced and revitalized.¹⁵

The Place de la Concorde also changed, not only in its material outlook, but also in its meaning. Nowadays visitors of the square are not aware of the violent history of the place. The complex history of the French Revolution's terror, with all its dangers for the stability of French society, has been neutralized.

A second example of the dangerous entry of 'hot' objects from outside into French society was the return of Napoleon's remains in 1840, four years after the erection of the Concorde obelisk. Emperor Napoleon had been exiled to the island St. Helena after he had been defeated at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. He died in exile in 1821 and seemed, at first sight, to be no longer a danger for the fragile monarchies of Charles x and Louis Philippe. However, reality was more complex. The support for Napoleon, particularly among frustrated old officers of the *Grande Armée*, could develop into a threat to the throne. Some people, also young people who were longing for the greatness of the empire of the past, even believed that Napoleon had never died and that he would sooner or later return to France to revitalize its former importance as

15 This section is based on the historical data provided by Homet 2002; Solé 2004; Demarcq and Niderlinder 2014. For a summary of the events around the entry of the obelisk in Paris, see Zamoyski 2014: 467–468. For the agency of Aegyptiaca, like the obelisk, in more general terms see Versluys 2020.

a leading European nation. Therefore, it was deemed necessary to incorporate Napoleon's potentially dangerous remains into French society, to accept them and neutralize them at the same time.¹⁶ Adolphe Thiers (Président du Conseil) and Louis Philippe to this end orchestrated a 'controlled' return of Napoleon's remains.

The ritual entry of Napoleon's remains in Paris in 1840 was carefully arranged. The boat containing the remains entered Paris by the Seine from the west. The ceremony was carried out by old officers from the Napoleonic army. Ordinary people felt that they didn't have enough occasion to honor their Emperor and that the whole ceremony was too much dominated by the political elite. This is a clear sign of the fear of the authorities for what Napoleon's remains could still evoke.¹⁷

A special grave was prepared at Les Invalides, the place where wounded veterans of the *Grande Armée* were nursed. The few surviving *Maréchals* of Napoleon's army, among them Soult and Grouchy, welcomed their former Emperor. The veterans were pleased that their hero had returned to them and that he was now buried with full military honors. King Louis Philippe had hoped that he could profit from Napoleon's historical shadow by incorporating his remains in contemporary French society and that the threat of a new revolt against the King and the elite would be neutralized in this way. The ritual entry of Napoleon's remains in Paris is a clear example of an attempt to incorporate a dangerous element in society, by neutralizing it, 'cooling it off' and making it fertile. However, the intended stabilizing effect of the whole enterprise was not successful. Parts of the population of Paris felt that the people had not had enough occasion to honor Napoleon. So, the threat for a new revolt did not diminish after the events of 1840. Instead, repression continued. Louis Philippe would remain King until 1848 when another revolution forced him to step down.

4 Concluding Remarks

In this article I have explored how people can deal with objects that come from outside. I hope to have shown that the processes we can observe are structurally similar everywhere in the world and that it is actually very universal to try, somehow, to cope with strange (and therefore seen as aggressive) things from an unknown origin. Even when the origin of the object is known

¹⁶ Boisson 1973; Martineau 2002.

¹⁷ Victor Hugo described the event in 'Retour de L'Empereur' (Hugo 1906 [1883]).

there are many aspects of the thing that are not known and that add to the strangeness of it. This strangeness has to be dealt with. It can be rejected and be thrown away, or it can be adapted (materially or our interpretation of it) and be made useful. The latter practice is often ritualized, since we can only accept something new if it is also accepted by the world of the ancestors, the spirits or the Gods.

When we deal with objects from outside we can distinguish several types of ritual surrounding them, communal and personal, large-scale and small-scale, at community or individual level, but in all cases the purpose of the ritualized acts is to revitalize and to re-balance. A new equilibrium makes it possible to continue living, in harmony with the natural, social, cultural and religious environment. It would be interesting to do more research on how these practices of adaption and renewal are incorporated in secularized European societies.¹⁸

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¹⁸ See Miller 1998 for a discussion of how religious virtues have been replaced by more worldly, not necessarily more logical, virtues in secularized societies.

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Triumphus and the Taming of Objects: Spoliation and the Process of Appropriation in Late Republican Rome

Miguel John Versluys

These are questions that ask less about the material effects of ideas and ideology than about the ideological and ideational effects of the material world and of transformations of it. They are questions that ask not whether things are but what work they perform – questions, in fact, not about things themselves but about the subject-object relation in particular temporal and spatial contexts. [...] These are questions that hardly abandon the subject, even when they do not begin there. (Brown 2001: 7)



1 Introduction

The habit of plundering and taking home (precious) objects which belonged to the defeated enemy is part of human history from its earliest beginnings, so it seems, and universal.¹ Spoliation, defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as ‘[t]he act of spoliation, despoiling, pillaging, or plundering; seizure of goods or property by violent means; depredation, robbery’ had its place in Antiquity as well. Traditionally this praxis has been exclusively studied in terms of war and booty. As an additional perspective, the emphasis of scholarly research has recently shifted from the battlefield towards the *impact* these new artefacts had on the societies that had seized them. That spolia do indeed play

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an important role in cultural interaction and communication is underlined by the remarkable symmetry between gift-giving as the *positively* charged incorporation of an object from outside the own (cultural) sphere and spoliation as the *negatively* charged variant of the same process. Either way, both gifts and spolia establish a connection between different (cultural) groups which often results in the erosion of differences between Self and Other.²

This essay explores how spoliation worked as a process of appropriation within the historical context of the late Roman Republic. Central to my analysis is the anthropological reality that the incorporation of the Other's objects is neither an easy nor an innocent process.³ Through their strangeness, conceptual distance or age, objects from outside the own (cultural) sphere often create unrest and discomfort in the societies they enter. All over the world people have therefore developed 'coping practices' to deal with the unfamiliar in order to give the Other a place within their own *habitus*.⁴ These practices often take the form of a (ritual) struggle.⁵ It is only after this 'ritual' has been performed and its outcome proven positive that the alien object is, so to speak, 'domesticated' or 'tamed' and can begin to function in its new context.⁶

The era of the late Roman Republic is characterized by conquests of large parts of the Hellenistic East, which also established a direct Roman involvement with the 'Silk Roads' and therefore resulted in an unprecedented influx of (highly remarkable) spolia.⁷ I will argue that the Roman triumphal procession should be interpreted as a ritual to enable the Romans to add them to their objectscape.⁸

2 See the foreword by De Jong and Versluys, this volume, with the example of the Lycian Glaucus and the Greek Diomedes (*Iliad* 6.119–236). For the semantic range of the notion of spolium/spolia see also the introduction to the chapter by Pieper, this volume.

3 I owe much insight into this subject to a research project undertaken with Caroline van Eck (Cambridge) and Pieter ter Keurs (Leiden) in the framework of the *Material Agency Forum* between 2017 and 2018. See Van Eck, Versluys and Ter Keurs 2015 as well as Versluys 2020a.

4 This book provides many telling examples of both the tensions evoked as well as the coping mechanisms put in place to deal with them.

5 As explained and illustrated in Ter Keurs' contribution to this volume; see also Van Eck, Versluys and Ter Keurs 2015.

6 Sahlins 1976 describes this process as a form of 'domestication'; Miller 1995 talks about 'taming'.

7 As well as objects obtained in an economic context.

8 For the notion of objectscape see now Pitts and Versluys 2021.

2 How Does Appropriation Work? Spoliation and Impact

First, however, it is imperative to understand how processes of appropriation work in general terms and how we should understand the impact of objects that were appropriated, for instance through spoliation. I will briefly discuss these issues on the basis of the work of the anthropologist Hans Peter Hahn.⁹ In his turn, Hahn draws on Daniel Miller's research on consumption, which highlighted the creative aspect of people's handling of (consumer) goods in different cultures.¹⁰ It is important to underline that the way in which the concept of appropriation is used in the present chapter (and throughout this volume) differs from its common usage, describing robbery or stealing; here the focus is on the impact of the act of plundering on the plunderers themselves. This is not to deny the violent nature of the act or to disregard the traumatic effects the process of pillaging must have had on those who were robbed.¹¹ When we study Rome as an empire which constructed its own culture and identity on the basis of the culture and identity of Others – as this chapter does – we should not forget that, indeed, Rome was an empire of plunder.¹² When investigating Roman cultural formation as a process of bricolage and selection – as this chapter does – we must be aware that, as a result, things are left out, neglected and forgotten.¹³ Appropriation serves well as a concept because it incorporates both the dark side of Roman imperialism as well as the transformative effect, from the outside in, which the conquered Other had on the Roman Self, as will be explained below.¹⁴

Let us start with Hahn's definition of appropriation:

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- 9 Mainly Hahn 2004 but see also Hahn 2008a/b and Hahn 2012. For a recent but different kind of introduction to appropriation, more theoretical, less methodological and heavily drawing on the important essay Nelson 2003, see the Introduction to Loar, MacDonald and Padilla Peralta 2018.
- 10 Miller 1998, with his now classic essay on 'Coca-Cola: A Black Sweet Drink from Trinidad'. The notion of appropriation was introduced to the social sciences by Michel de Certeau to underline agency on a local level and (socio-cultural) change thus generated; see Certeau 1980. This is exactly the perspective I aim to develop for the late Roman Republic and its objects.
- 11 See Miles 2008.
- 12 As Loar, MacDonald and Padilla Peralta 2018; see also the important remarks in Padilla Peralta 2020.
- 13 Cf. Woolf 2022. A focus on the first is, however, not necessarily a denial of the latter; see Versluys 2020b.
- 14 For a critical view on the use of the concept of appropriation in this context, however, see Vout, this volume.

Between the production, which results in a definite material form, and the contexts of the consumed object, a connection only takes place through the local ascription of contexts. In other words, what happens here is that global commodities experience a local definition. In this process, that I call appropriation, characteristics such as value, form of use and meaning are irrevocably ascribed.¹⁵

As a result of appropriation, therefore, objects are no longer what they once were. To give a hypothetical example for the ancient world: a statue of Aphrodite dedicated to that goddess in a temple in Attica in the fourth century BCE becomes 'something else' when Romans integrate it in a public *porticus* in Rome in the second century BCE. This is obvious.¹⁶ Nevertheless we should be aware that this process of appropriation is key to societal creativity and local cultural identity. To stick with our hypothetical example: the statue of Aphrodite as appropriated by the Romans plays a part in the development of the *porticus* as a sculpture gallery and in the phenomenon of Roman elites defining themselves in cultural terms as 'Greek'.¹⁷

Within this process of change Hahn distinguishes four different stages. First there is '*material appropriation*' when the object is taken from its original context, for instance through spoliation. Then follows '*objectification*': the alien object is classified in relation to familiar objects and given a (new) name and a (new) meaning. Objectification thus establishes a relationship between the spoliolum and local fields of meaning. Next follows '*incorporation*'. The object, which has moved from Other to Self, starts functioning in its new context. Through the use of the spoliolum, moreover, practices and mentalities in the new context change. Hahn rightly underlines that this often happens unconsciously:

Incorporation refers more clearly than the other stages of appropriation to the fact that the process is by no means a strictly intentionally directed one. [...] Without the user noticing it, in their ways of doing certain things change through the routine use of new objects, as do their own perceptions of their surroundings.¹⁸

15 Hahn 2004: 218.

16 For the story of Classical art from such a 'life history' perspective see now Vout 2018.

17 For the first aspect see Van de Velde's contribution to this volume (and further below); for elite Roman self-definition as 'Greek' see Feeney 2016.

18 Hahn 2004: 221–222. The process Hahn describes here can be identified as 'the Diderot effect', for which see the conclusion to this essay.

The fourth and final stage is one of '*transformation*'. The object has now been integrated into the new context and become part and parcel of its *habitus* and culture. In other words: the spolium is no longer a spolium. But is this indeed the case? Can an object genuinely leave its Otherness behind? Hahn's answer to this question is revealing:

Appropriation needs not, however, result in the negation of provenance. In many cases the society lives quite well with the paradox of knowing an object's provenance as a global good, yet simultaneously considering it something of its own.¹⁹

Appropriation, therefore, is a process that can only be partially controlled. Moreover, its effects cannot be known in advance. From that perspective it is understandable that appropriation is often considered a dangerous and ambiguous process. As a result, the repulse of new things often goes hand in hand with their appropriation. All case studies presented in this volume testify to that ambiguity and the anxiety appropriation generates. In this respect it is remarkable that the textual sources mainly testify to a negative reception and resistance while the archaeological reality shows the receiving society actively using and building on the spolia. It is important to realize that this is no dichotomy but that both reactions are part of the same process of appropriation and testify to the impact of the spolia. One could perhaps even say that they are related in the way communicating vessels are: the stronger the (real) 'positive influence' of the spolia, the more discourse on (supposed) 'negative influence' is needed to retain the balance.

3 The Massive Impact of Spoils in Late Republican Rome

Probably the most telling example of this ambiguity is the trope, in Latin literature, that objects from the eastern Mediterranean brought by the conquering Roman generals of the late Republic corrupted traditional Roman society.²⁰

19 Hahn 2004: 222. See Versluys 2021 for this paradox of what could be called 'included alterity' in relation to the impact and agency of objects more in depth.

20 Pape 1975 and Pollitt 1978 still represent a useful overview of the available sources; now with Cadario 2014. The (large) recent bibliography can be found in Cadario 2014 as well as the contributions to this volume by Pieper, Allan, Van de Velde, Van Gils and Henzel, Buijs, Strootman and Vout.

This, for instance, is what Livy (39.6.7–9) writes about the Asian victories of Cnaeus Manlius Vulvo in 187 BCE:²¹

For the origins of foreign luxury were brought into the city by the army from Asia. Those men, for the first time, carried into Rome bronze couches, expensive throws, curtains and other textiles, and what was then regarded as great furniture, one-legged tables and sideboards. [...] At this time, cooks, whom the ancients had considered the basest of slaves, both in terms of what they thought of them and how they treated them, gained in value, and what had been labour began to be considered art.

Foreign luxury, Livy maintains, would not change Rome for the better but bring about the corruption of traditional Roman society. This discourse on spolia from the East as ‘the beginning of the end’ can be found in many literary sources and apparently mattered greatly to the Romans: the more or less generally accepted starting point was the capture of Syracuse in 211 BCE and the subsequent pernicious effect of the spoils brought to Rome from Sicily by Marcellus.²² Reality was very different, and the authors who wrote about the issue were probably well aware of this. In fact, these spoils played a defining role in the development of Rome from regional power to global player and the emergence of ‘Roman culture’ as we commonly define it today (see below).

In order to get a better idea of the role of spolia within this process of cultural formation, let us briefly look at the impact of these alien elements on the development of what is called Roman art. In his interpretative overview, Paul Zanker describes Roman art as beginning ‘with the period of the great Roman victories over Syracuse (211 BCE) and Tarentum (209 BCE) [...] and culminating in the conquest and destruction of Corinth and Carthage (both 146 BCE).’²³ Zanker puts forward an explicit relationship between the influx of spolia and a major change within Roman society, stating in the first sentence of his book that ‘[...] we should begin a history of Roman art at the point where it began to develop its characteristic features’ which is at the moment that ‘Greek art became the basis of a new visual language.’²⁴ As scholars we have, of course, become accustomed to the idea that Roman art looks Greek. However, the notion that the art of culture X is supposed to have started with the influx

21 For this passage see extensively Van Gils and Henzel, this volume. Translation after Vout 2018: 47.

22 See Pietilä-Castrén 1982. For the spoils of Sicily and their impact, see Van de Velde and Allan, this volume. For ‘the beginning of the end’, see Vout 2018: 43 ff.

23 Zanker 2010: 1; characterizing it as ‘a process of hellenization’.

24 Zanker 2010: 1.

of spolia from culture Y is in fact highly remarkable.²⁵ Zanker is well aware of the significance of processes of appropriation and rightly concludes that the impact of these objects was not about their original function (see above). Rather, he argues, spolia were able to ‘trigger metonymic associations beyond the objects themselves and thus evoke in the viewer specific aspects of Greek culture’ thus ‘[...] directly or indirectly, promoting specific cultural values and associations’.²⁶ It is in this way, Zanker maintains, that, for instance, ‘[t]he development of the Roman villa is directly indebted to the innovative potential unleashed by Greek culture’.²⁷ Within that process of unbridling, spolia played a crucial role. The literary sources, therefore, do not so much present us with ‘what really happened’ from 211 BCE onwards as show how those phenomena were framed or remembered by later generations. They are mnemohistory, not history, to draw on the distinction elaborated by Jan Assmann.²⁸

The deluge of objects from the Hellenistic East inundating late Republican Rome is a huge and important subject which has already been much discussed, although mainly on the basis of the literary sources.²⁹ That debate could certainly profit from putting the concept of appropriation, as defined here, at the heart of its analyses and, for instance, try to distinguish between processes of material appropriation, objectification, incorporation and transformation in order to better understand how ‘making Greek culture Roman culture’ worked as a process.³⁰ As Denis Feeney has brilliantly demonstrated, for the domain of literature it is not so much about ‘becoming Greek’ as about the ways in which Romans consciously and distinctly selected elements which we would call ‘Greek’, but were at the time understood as something much more specific, for instance ‘Athenian tragedy’.³¹ Moreover, his analysis also makes

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- 25 The objects could be (and often were) related to peoples and ideas going by the same name (in this case: Greek); see Vout 2018: chapter 3 tellingly entitled ‘Making Greek Culture Roman Culture’. This, however, is not necessarily the case as the impact of objects depends on much more than what we, from our scholarly perspective, understand as their cultural affiliation, cf. Messina and Versluys 2021. For the conclusion that people, ideas and objects going by the same name (Greek, for instance, or Egyptian or Persian) often had, in fact, rather unrelated trajectories through space and time, see Versluys 2015.
- 26 Zanker 2010: 15. This would result in a ‘more abstract mode of reception on the part of viewers’, cf. Hölscher 1994.
- 27 Zanker 2010: 8.
- 28 Assmann 1992.
- 29 Cf. Edwards 2003 and Van de Velde 2022. See also the observations by Vout in the present volume.
- 30 *Contra* Vout, this volume.
- 31 Feeney 2016: 121 for his conclusion that ‘[w]e are not dealing with “Greek” drama, but with Athenian classical drama as enshrined not only in the international performance tradition but in the canons and curricula of Hellenistic scholarship’.

us aware of the fact that the ‘mimetic desire’ of things ‘Greek’ was only one of the many options for anchoring available to a Mediterranean society at that time – and a very specific one at that.³² Moreover, the motives behind what is often understood as a single process of Roman appropriation take different forms over time.³³ It would be worthwhile to try and understand the Roman ‘translation’ of material culture from the Greek and Hellenistic world in this differentiated way; as the local perception of a global phenomenon which Feeney characterizes as ‘the disruptive energy of Hellenism’.³⁴

To sum up. From c.211 BCE onwards, *spolia*, things from the outside, had a massive impact on Roman society and were, paradoxically, able to change it from the inside. That literary sources present this impact in a negative light only underlines how profound the effect really was in terms of innovation. Late Republican Rome was faced, therefore, with a veritable ‘labour of appropriation’. Since this process concerned things coming in from the outside it was usually regarded as dangerous. It was characterized, moreover, by ambiguity and anxiety as the Other now had to become part of the Self. Anthropological studies have demonstrated that many societies develop ‘coping strategies’, often in the form of rituals, to domesticate elements coming in from the outside and enable them to start functioning in their new context.³⁵ Given the colossal appropriation enterprise the Romans were forced to undertake in the late Republic, the development of an appropriate ritual seems natural. I would like to propose that the Roman triumph could be interpreted as the rite

32 Feeney 2016, chapter 2. See p. 13 for the term ‘mimetic desire’. For the concept of anchoring in relation to cultural innovation, see Sluiter 2017 and Versluys 2022.

33 The most important shift here, according to Feeney, is one from *koine* to Imperium and taking place around the middle of the third century BCE: from indirect and freeform appropriation it becomes a ‘[...] direct and canonically informed model of engagement, with a new kind of determination to ‘get it right’ in transposing from the model culture’ because of the successes of Roman imperialism and the new position Rome thus acquires as part of their network in and beyond Italy. For this important distinction see already Veyne 1979 (though with a different emphasis).

34 Feeney 2016: 68. For appropriation as a consequence of globalisation, see Hahn 2008a and b. I use the concept of ‘translation’ here in a wider sense, as most social scientists would do nowadays, as a methodology that resists the seeming purity of concepts such as culture, identity, tradition etc. and focuses on their non-holistic structure and complexity instead, underlining how they are always in the process of becoming, infused with the Other. See Bachmann-Medick 2014, also for the important argument that the concept of ‘translation’ works much better than the notion of ‘hybridity’. For spoliation as translation in this sense of the word, see Jevtic and Nilsson 2022.

35 For a summary of this body of anthropological theory, see Ter Keurs in this volume, as well as Van Eck, Versluys and Ter Keurs 2015, drawing on Sahlins 1976 (‘domestication’) and Miller 1995 (‘taming’) amongst many others (see above).

that sought to tame the spolia before they could safely be added to the Roman objectscape.

4 The Roman Triumph and Its Self-Other Dynamics

Triumphal processions displaying conquered objects and peoples were a common phenomenon in the ancient world.³⁶ Important examples from the Hellenistic East include the ‘grand procession’ held in honor of the Ptolemaic king Ptolemy II in Alexandria around 275 BCE, and the festival and procession organized by the Seleucid king Antiochos IV at Daphne in the 160s BCE.³⁷ However, (the idea of) the triumph seems to have reached its apogee in the context of the late Roman Republic.

The triumph was one of the central religious, civic, and political ceremonies of Roman society.³⁸ Having originated in the early Republican period (fifth century BCE), the Roman triumph developed and changed over time, but its defining elements remained more or less the same.³⁹ A triumph was the exclusive right of the commander in chief – at first Roman magistrates or generals, later the Roman emperor – to enter the city of Rome at the head of his victorious army in a parade. This triumphal procession, which ended at the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol, not only presented the victorious commander to the Roman people, but also the spoils and captives of his conquest, as well as representations of his successful campaign(s).⁴⁰ From around 200 BCE onwards, the triumph developed from a primarily religious and civic ceremony into a honorific celebration underlining the

36 See Spalinger and Armstrong 2013 for a general overview. Note that this chapter does not deal with the captives and their terrible fate. This does not imply that my interpretation of the triumph seeks to deny the intense violence and human suffering involved; see Loar, MacDonald and Padilla Peralta 2018, who call their book on the dynamics of cultural appropriation in the period ‘*Rome, Empire of Plunder*’ for good reasons. See also, in a more general vein, Padilla Peralta 2020 and the remarks on my use of the concept of ‘appropriation’ above. Captives could play an important role within cultural transmission as cultural brokers, see, in general, Cameron 2016.

37 See Erskine 2013 with earlier bibliography. For Daphne, see Strootman 2019. For the important theme of ‘the returning king’ in more general terms, see Strootman 2018.

38 The literature on the Roman triumph is immense. Itgenshorst 2005; Bastien 2007; Beard 2007 provide recent introductions with extensive bibliographies. Versnel 1970 remains a classic and rightly so. For the impact of all this on the Roman cityscape, see Favro 2014 and Hölscher 2017.

39 Cf. Lange and Vervaet 2014.

40 For an overview and interpretation of the spoils, captives and representations presented in the context of the Roman triumph Östenberg 2009 is fundamental.

individual glory and prestige of the commander in question.⁴¹ This development seems to have been directly connected to the proliferation of spoils and captives from foreign cultures.⁴² Although this process already started in the early third century BCE, Rome was first confronted with vast amounts of spolia when M. Claudius Marcellus (211 BCE) and Scipio Africanus (201 BCE) had their triumphs after their successful campaigns against Syracuse and Carthage respectively.⁴³ This was only the beginning. Such was the quantity of spoils that Flaminius took from Macedonia that his triumph in 194 BCE took three full days; it included a remarkable statue of Zeus that was consecrated on the Capitol.⁴⁴ Concerning Scipio Aemilianus' triumph after his conquest of Carthage in 146 BCE, it was said that its spoils were 'teeming with all the statues and *objets d'art* that the Carthaginians had brought to Africa from all over the world through the long period of their continuous victories' (Appian, *Pun.* 135).⁴⁵ The Roman triumph again changed significantly during the reign of the first Emperor Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE), when it became the exclusive privilege of members of the imperial family. The best-known imperial triumph is the one held in 71 CE by the Emperors Vespasian and Titus after the Jewish War, when the spoils of the temple of Jerusalem were paraded through the streets of Rome.⁴⁶

Let us now look at some specific examples, and zoom in on Self-Other dynamics as they were played out during the triumph as well as the spolia themselves and the way in which they were handled. Can we discern any signs of rituals having to do with domestication or taming (as defined above)?

On his return to Rome in 167 BCE, after decisive victories over Macedonia and Epirus, the Roman general Aemilius Paullus was awarded a splendid triumph.⁴⁷ The spectacle lasted for three whole days and involved all inhabitants of the city and its surroundings. On the first day, hundreds of wagons loaded with (colossal) statues and paintings are reported to have been paraded through the streets of Rome.⁴⁸ Comparable amounts of arms and riches were shown during the second day, while the third and final day was reserved for the foreign captives amongst whom king Perseus. For the spectators it must have

41 Cf. Lange 2016.

42 See the useful overview provided by Rich 2014.

43 Davies 2017: 110–130, see also above.

44 Beard 2007: 150; Davies 2017: 110.

45 Östenberg 2009: 93; Cf. Kendall 2009.

46 See Östenberg 2009: 111–119; the essays by Huitink and Moormann, this volume; and further below.

47 For the triumph of Aemilius Paullus see extensively the essays by Buijs and Strootman, this volume.

48 For all sources pertaining to this event as well as their interpretation, see Pittenger 2008: ch. 14 as well as Östenberg 2009; Index s.v. Aemilius Paullus, L.

been an experience for all the senses: during the triumph everyone was part of what has been characterized as a 'common psychological space'.⁴⁹ All kinds of internal (social, ethnic, and cultural) differences were therefore temporarily suspended, as is usual with such performative rituals. During the triumph everybody and everything *inside* was Roman: the people living in and around the city, for instance, could be identified by the wreaths of laurels or olives they were wearing, in this way distinguishing themselves from those from the *outside*. The Self-Other dichotomy was also played out literally: spoils and captives entered the city from outside the city walls and progressed slowly, via the Campus Martius and the Circus and across the Via Sacra, towards the Capitol, Rome's religious and political centre.⁵⁰ Occasions of this kind were spectacular but certainly not unique. Another example of a truly spectacular triumph is the huge procession of Pompey the Great of 61 BCE, which Cassius Dio (3.7.21) described as featuring 'a trophy of the whole world'.⁵¹ Literary sources make it abundantly clear that it was through triumphs such as these that Rome encountered new styles and types of objects, for instance the vessels of agate and the exclusive myrrhine ware displayed in 61 BCE.⁵² Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 37.6.12) comments that the victory of Pompey first made pearls and gemstones fashionable in Rome while 'the victories of L. Scipio and Cn. Manlius had done the same for chased silver, garments woven with gold, and dining couches inlaid with bronze; and that of L. Mummius for Corinthian bronzes and paintings'.⁵³ These sources suggest that it was principally through the triumph that Rome was inundated with novel objects and new forms and styles of material culture.⁵⁴ Certainly one of the most evocative accounts of this is from Flavius Josephus (*Bellum Judaicum* 7.134–136), who describes the Flavian triumph in 71 CE as follows:⁵⁵

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- 49 For this aspect, see Östenberg 2009: 265; as well as Favro 1994 and Popkin 2016. Cf. also the analysis of the texts by Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus as presented by Buijs, this volume.
- 50 See Luke 2014 for the importance of 'arriving from the outside'.
- 51 See Vervaet 2014.
- 52 Davies 2017: 224–236 with references to all relevant ancient literary sources.
- 53 See Östenberg 2009: 92 for the translation. For L. Mummius see Yarrow 2006.
- 54 For an overview of these changes to the Roman objectscape see Davies 2017, who also pays attention to the impact of all these intrusive objects. Rome always had been part of regional and supra-regional (Mediterranean) networks and it therefore certainly had been confronted with the influx of foreign objects before. It might even be true that some of the objects mentioned as novelties by the literary sources in reality had already ended up in Rome as a result of this network. The point is, however: not in these quantities and not with this impact.
- 55 For this text and subject see the essays by Huitink and Moormann, this volume. I borrow the translation from Östenberg 2009: 1.

Silver and gold and ivory in masses, made in all kinds of forms, might be seen, not as if carried in procession, but flowing so to speak, like a river; fabrics were born along, some made of the rarest purple, others embroidered by Babylonian technique with perfect representation; transparent gems, some set in golden crowns, some in other fashions, swept by in such profusion as to correct our erroneous supposition that any of them was rare.

5 The Roman Triumph as a Ritual of Domestication?

From an anthropological point of view, one would, in the first place, expect some kind of ‘purification ritual’ to have taken place as a cooling-off strategy to tame the agency of the many spolia entering Rome. Purification rituals from the Roman world are well known and have been described by ancient authors as *lustratio* or *katharsis*. *Lustratio* originally was a ‘magic’ procedure meant to distinguish between good (inside) and bad (outside).⁵⁶ Hence it also was a ritual through which the transference from bad to good (or vice versa) could be mediated. The Roman world knew two kinds of lustration rituals: those performed when the evil had been identified and the situation could be contained (‘*expiatoires*’), as well as preventive rites (‘*propitiatoires*’).⁵⁷ In case of intrusive spolia, one can imagine both types might be considered effective. However, amongst the many instances of *lustratio* known from the Roman world, there are no examples of the *lustratio* of objects. Objects do play an important role as *instruments* of *lustratio*, but there are, as far as I know, no examples of the *lustratio* of objects themselves. A recurring and essential element in *lustratio* rituals, however, is the *circumambulatio*. During this procession the religious expert leads the purifying instrument, usually sacrificial animals, around the object of purification, for instance a group of soldiers. There is a strong connection, therefore, between the *lustratio* and the procession. In this way, the *lustratio* developed into a sort of *rite de passage* whereby new members were added to the community.

If we look for *lustratio*-type rituals concerning objects, the famous Roman *evocatio deorum*, the ‘calling out of the gods’, comes to mind.⁵⁸ This was an

56 The term magic should be used with great care, also for the Roman world, see Frankfurter 2019.

57 To follow the definition and terminology by Daremberg and Saglio 1904: s.v. *Lustratio*, 1412.

58 There is a large bibliography on the subject. For general introductions see (still) Bassanoff 1947 as well as Gustafsson 2000.

ancient Roman ritual that involved the integration and assimilation of the gods of the enemy, promising them better worship as well as a new temple in Rome if they would side with the Romans. Objects were central to this remarkable transition ritual. The best-known description of an *evocatio*, that of the transfer of a statue of Juno from Etruscan Veii to Rome at the beginning of the fourth century BCE, illustrates this. Livy (5.20.1–5.21.3) mentions that the young men who had been selected to transport the statue were nervous about performing their task and touching the statue (that is: the goddess).⁵⁹ However, Livy tells us, when the men asked Juno if she really wanted to go to Rome, the statue nodded in agreement. The *evocatio deorum*, therefore, was a ritual through which the agency of divine images could be changed from dangerous (Other) to constitutive (Self). As with the *lustratio*, procession mattered greatly as a kind of *rite de passage* to articulate the transference from outside to inside.⁶⁰ The *evocatio*, however, was literally about the procession of objects.

The Roman triumph was a procession of spolia entering the city from the outside. These objects would subsequently be added to Rome's objectscape, function in the Roman context, and transform it. Roman society knew different kinds of *lustratio*-type rituals, which served to mediate the transference from outside (bad) to inside (good). Do we, then, find such *lustratio*-type rituals performed on objects as part of the Roman triumph?

Sources on the handling and perception of spolia during the triumph are rare and circumstantial. Remarkably, the testimonies we have never mention individual objects or individual works of art; they stress value and volume, not artistic or art-historical distinction.⁶¹ The taxonomy of the objects as presented in the sources is almost exclusively concerned with the material they were made of – which has much to do with their monetary value – and with their provenance. All objects from the outside were trophies, so it seems. It was customary to have all spoils officially registered at the treasury on the Capitol. After that, they were in principle redistributed throughout the Roman state. Reality, however, was often less accommodating, with the generals themselves

59 On objects, such as statues, as active agents in their relationship with people in the Roman world, treated as if alive and positioned as partners in social relationships, see Versluys 2021.

60 On the function of processions from this perspective, also more in general, see Latham 2016.

61 As concluded by Östenberg 2009: 88 and 120. The many statues and paintings paraded through the streets of Rome, therefore, were apparently not perceived as specific 'masterpieces'. See also the remarks by Vout, this volume.

playing a defining role.⁶² Pompey dedicated Mithridates' gem collection, a *dactyliotheca*, to the temple on the Capitol (Pliny, *Nat.* 37.5.11), and we hear of many more specific dedications, such as the statue of Zeus dedicated by Flamininus already mentioned, or the statue of Hercules taken from Corinth by L. Mummius, which became the cult statue of the temple of Hercules Victor he built to commemorate his conquests and triumph (*CIL* 1(2) 626).⁶³ Around the middle of the second century BCE so many of the objects paraded in triumphs had been assembled at the temple on the Capitol that the area had to be 'cleaned'.⁶⁴ Part of the plunder was given to the soldiers, other spoils were used to adorn the houses of triumphal generals in memory of their accomplishments. Broadly speaking, it seems that booty also found its way into the private space of the Roman house.⁶⁵ Some spoils were re-used in a practical way. Not long after the Gallic triumph, for instance, the weapons taken from the Gauls were distributed among Roman criminals in a desperate attempt to defend Rome against Hannibal. Booty was also melted down. All in all, this brief and impressionistic overview makes it clear that all foreign objects quickly became Roman after having gone through the triumph – in a wide variety of ways but apparently without much enduring anxiety or difficulty.⁶⁶

We must conclude, therefore, that there is no evidence of specific *lustratio*-type rituals focused on objects and comparable to the *evocatio deorum*. However, since from the perspective of historical anthropology it would be rational to expect the existence of such a ritual of domestication, especially for late Republican Rome, I would like to suggest that the Roman triumph *itself* – the procession of foreign objects from outside to inside and their dedication at the Capitol in a performative ceremony – was the ritual aimed at disarming or taming the agency of the spolia. Having gone through the ritual, they now were no longer dangerous. By means of the triumph, Ida Östenberg concluded,

62 As underlined and illustrated by Davies 2017: 226–229 in particular. See also the remarks on the handling of spolia after the triumph in Van de Velde, this volume. For the control Roman generals had over (their) booty, see Shatzman 1972.

63 Remarkably, L. Mummius also dedicated part of the spoils in other places in Italy, Greece and Spain, see Graverini 2001 with full documentation, as well as Yarrow 2006 and Kendall 2009. For how Hercules and his monuments came to embody the Republican triumphal tradition in later periods, see Loar 2017.

64 See Hölscher 2017.

65 As convincingly argued by Welch 2006.

66 Although most literature on the Roman triumph has something to say on what happened to the spolia after the event, as far as I know no systematic overview exists. In order to fully understand the Roman appropriation process such an overview is, however, much needed.

Rome defined herself by displaying others.⁶⁷ It is also through the triumph, as a ritual performance, that Rome ‘neutralized’ objects from far away and dangerous places. Only after the transformative experience of the triumph, Roman society could start to incorporate the new and use it in a constructive way. By shaping Rome’s objectscape, these artefacts would renew Roman culture.

6 Conclusion: The Diderot Effect

In the conclusion to an important recent book on cultural appropriation in the Roman world, Dan-el Padilla Peralta concluded that ‘[...] Rome was its spoils – the *Cloaca Maxima*.’⁶⁸ Understanding this in terms of plunder, as that book does, is one important take on the phenomenon; seeing it in terms of cultural innovation another.⁶⁹ This essay has focused on spoliation in the late Roman Republic as a process of appropriation and suggested that the Roman *triumphus* served as a ritual to ‘tame’ these objects before they could start functioning in their new, Roman context. The Romans seem to have been well aware, therefore, of what is nowadays called the Diderot effect, a social phenomenon related to the (unintended) consequences of acquiring new things whereby old objects take on a different meaning in the light of the new ones, which will, in due course, take over.⁷⁰ One day the French Enlightenment philosopher Denis Diderot (1713–1784) was given a dressing gown by a friend. Delighted with this gift Diderot immediately threw away his old gown, a ‘ragged, humble, comfortable old wrapper’. The introduction of this pristine object, as it turns out, makes Diderot subsequently replace more of his old and familiar stuff. He changes his old desk for an expensive new *bureau*; he discards his traditional cane chair and has it replaced with an armchair covered in Moroccan leather; he buys more fancy and expensive prints, and so on. After a while Diderot realizes that, by using the new garment, he has not only lost his old dressing gown but also the familiar and lovable balance between the objects in his study – and as a result, to his deep regret, the balance in life itself. All this, Diderot

67 Östenberg 2009: 263; cf. Favro 2014.

68 Padilla Peralta 2018: 270. Cf. also Edwards 2003 and Miles 2008 entitled ‘Art as plunder’.

69 Both perspectives are part of the same phenomenon and deserve our attention; note, however, the important remarks in Padilla Peralta 2020. By focusing on spoliation as cultural innovation, as this chapter does, it is, however, explicitly *not* my intention to add to the ‘Empire-is-good-gospel’ (Padilla Peralta 2020: 153); see Versluys 2020b.

70 After the formulation and interpretation of McCracken 1988. For these processes see also Appadurai 1986; Miller 1995 and Gell 1998 (who do not, as far as I see, refer to this concept however).

concludes, is the work of an 'imperious scarlet robe [which] forced everything else to conform with its own elegant tone'.⁷¹ The spolia that inundated Rome in the Late Republic had, I would argue, a quite similar effect.

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71 Diderot, *Regrets sur ma vieille Robe de Chambre* from 1772. Originally published in J. Assézat (ed.), *Oeuvres Complètes de Diderot. Volume 4: Philosophie IV. Belles-lettres 1: romans, contes, critique littéraire* (Paris 1875) 5–12, here quoted after the translation by J. Barzun and R.H. Bowen, *Rameau's Nephew and Other Works* (Indianapolis 2001).

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Spolia as Exempla / Exempla as Spolia: Two Case Studies on Historical (Dis)Continuity and Morality

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In the last decades, interest in spolia has grown considerably, and not only in the field of archaeology. This has to do with their fascinating position in between the fields of politics, religion and aesthetics: in the ancient world, spolia could be museal objects exposed for their beauty, luxuriousness or age, which rendered them conspicuous to all viewers and attributed a kind of cultural authority to them. At the same time, spolia won during or after military combat were often used to showcase the glory of the city's (or the state's, or the Empire's) military and political achievements, power and influence, or that of one particular general; as such, the objects also carried weighty political authority. The third, religious layer was added through the space where the most conspicuous objects from such war booty were usually kept: they were dedicated in a temple and displayed there. This meant that they were given to the realm of the gods and thereby also received a religious aura themselves: they symbolized the bond of protection between the gods and the city, state or Empire.¹ In all three cases, the receiving culture tended to evaluate such spolia in positive terms.

But this only holds for the strictest definition of spolia as war booty. If, however, we define spolia in the modern sense of the word as objects that have been removed from a previous context and have been reinstalled in a new one, they are ubiquitous. In modern languages the term 'spolia' often refers specifically to spolia architecture like the famous eleventh-century Casa dei Crescenzi in Rome, a building that has been constructed by using and displaying fragments of ancient buildings within the new structure.² Reused building materials are a common feature in (and beyond) the ancient world, often for merely practical reasons, but sometimes also for highly ideological/political ones. As Esch has

¹ It is important that spolia were disposed in temples, see Rutledge 2012: 35–38. The first *spolia opima* even defined the confines of the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, cf. Liv. 1.10.5: *simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis fines* ('by offering his votive gift he defined the boundaries of the temple of Jupiter').

² Cf. Esch 2011: 14–15. On the Casa dei Crescenzi, see Barbanera and Pergola 1997.

stated, 'reuse transforms the ancient piece from an antiquarian object into an historical one, which must therefore be understood historically'.³

This sense of architectural spolia is of course not the original meaning of the Latin word.⁴ In the first instance, *spolia* indeed refers to war booty, i.e. objects that were taken from the enemy either during a battle (armour or military signs like coats of arms) or after the victory during the plundering of the conquered city (*OLD* s.v. 2). Yet already in antiquity, the term was also applied to taking away luxurious goods and artworks from a dependent city and carrying them to Rome (*OLD* s.v. 3) and accordingly to robbing in a more general way.⁵ Gaius Verres is probably the best-known example of a Roman governor who spoliated the province for which he was responsible (Sicily) in order to fulfil his personal desire for luxury – at least this is the image we receive from the invective speeches that Cicero held (or wrote) for the trial against him in 70 BCE (more on which below).⁶ It is obvious that with this altered meaning the evaluation of spolia also changes: moral discourse in antiquity often condemned plundering for personal reasons. This means that the question of whether objects coming to Rome from other places in the world were evaluated positively or negatively, depended on the use of the objects, but also on the narrative or discursive frame in which they were discussed.⁷ In the following I will discuss two case studies from Latin literature in which the authors play with the ambivalent meaning of the term that can refer both to very positive (like the dedication of the prestigious *spolia opima*) and very negative things (like Verres' robberies in Sicily). I suggest that this ambiguity has made spolia an especially appealing literary topos that could be used to negotiate questions of collective or personal ethics.

The first part of my chapter is about spolia in historiographical narrative that are used as an exemplum. I will demonstrate this especially with regard

3 Esch 2011: 17.

4 In order to grasp the different layers of spolia, the recent edited volume by Loar, MacDonald and Padilla Peralta 2018 introduces the term 'cargo': moving objects, concepts, cultural traditions and even people like slaves, which all invite questions about (multiple) identities and cultural agency in the Roman Empire.

5 The *OLD* gives as first occurrence of this meaning a passage from Cicero's early speech *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* (par. 145), where Cicero speaks with the voice of his client and addresses the man who according to his version is the real instigator of the murder of his father Roscius: Sulla's freedman Chrysogonus. It is interesting that the context of the speech is the Sullan proscriptions that followed the Civil War of the 80s BCE, which makes the transition from military to non-military use of the word palpable.

6 On Verres' spolia within the context of 'art as plunder' see the impressive monograph by Miles 2008.

7 Cf. Rutledge 2012: 42–43.

to Livy's treatment of Marcellus' Syracusan spolia (on which see also Van de Velde in this volume). I will argue that in his narrative questions of agency and morality are closely intertwined. Through a debate in the senate between Sicilian ambassadors and Marcellus, the reader is invited to consider the tension arising from the double nature of spolia, which (still) participate in the context from which they have been taken and (already) have a new function in the context to which they have been brought. Livy's treatment of Marcellus is heavily indebted to exemplary discourse. This is obviously in line with the general shape of his work, which is constructed around important exemplary figures of the past that teach his readers the moral lesson the historian wants to convey.⁸ As Rebecca Langlands has shown in her recent monograph, exempla were meant to teach not a single virtue, but morality, or rather the capacity to think in moral parameters, which in turn has the aim of confirming the feeling of Roman-ness. One could say that becoming Roman meant to put on the mask of past exemplary figures regularly. This kind of diachronic masquerade, the mental reperforming or renegotiating of the deeds of the ancestors, served to incorporate their value system into one's own life.⁹

In the second part of the chapter I then move on to the aspect of exempla as literary spolia. I will thereby apply a meta-literary meaning to the word spolia. Starting from Esch's observation of spolia transforming an antiquarian object into a historical one, I will look at an instance of a literary-historical exemplum about spolia and read it as a textual spolium itself, in that it is taken from a certain narrative context into a new one. Ayelet Haimson Lushkov has made an interesting suggestion with regard to applying the word spolia to processes of textualization, in her case Livy's use of source quotations and intertextual links in his *Ab urbe condita*: '... spoliation offers a useful heuristic for thinking about a text that is overtly interested in the tension between the new and the old, indeed in the ways in which the old might be appropriated and made relevant to the here and now'.¹⁰ According to her, stories about spolia offer an especially interesting case, as in these the content and the making of the text

8 As is famously expressed in the preface to the work (Liv. *Praef.* 10): *hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu foedum exitu quod uites.* ('This is what is truly beneficial and fruitful in the understanding of the events from the past: to see documentation of all kinds of exempla integrated into a shining literary monument; from there you can take what you should imitate for the sake of yourself and your state, and what you should avoid as they are disastrous in their beginning and disastrous in their end.') Cf. on exemplarity in Livy Chaplin 2000.

9 Langlands 2018, and cf. Roller 2018; Jansen 2022, ch. 2 and 3.

10 Haimson Lushkov 2018: 31–36; quotation 36.

mirror each other in a meta-literary way. The function of such processes of re-used texts is thereby not unsimilar to the moral didactic which Langlands attributes to exemplary discourse. I apply Haimson Lushkov's suggestion to Cicero's treatment of Dionysius' spoliation of Greek temples, which he narrates as an exemplum in his philosophical treatise *De natura deorum*. Just as objects that are transported from an original context to a new one, are thereby integrated into this new context and will often change their meaning or even their agency – a process which has been called 'appropriation' –¹¹ exempla in texts also come from other contexts, from which they are decontextualized and reinserted ('incorporated' in the terminology used by Versluys in his chapter in this volume) into a new argumentative or narrative structure. In Cicero's case, the exempla about Dionysius' spolia are no longer part of a historical narrative, but have been cut out of it and are pasted into a new context to function as textual ornament,¹² as persuasive element, and as a moral vignette (the step of 'transformation'). I will argue that one could define exempla as textual representations of material spolia, which might even serve a similar moralizing aim as the literary discourse about spolia of war and other kinds of plundered artwork.

Thinking of exempla in analogy with material spolia is an interesting thought experiment for several reasons: it reminds us that both material and textual spolia are part of the same emulative Roman culture that appropriates cultural 'cargo' from its own past, but also from other cultural contexts and turns it into cornerstones of its own cultural fashioning. While certain elements of their meaning remain stable during this process, the spolia change their cultural meaning and dynamics according to the context in which they

11 See the chapter by Versluys in this volume. It is well known that Rome's fascination with Greek culture was triggered both through literary and material 'cargo' that came to the capital, and the same is true for Egypt and other countries. All these imports changed both the Roman landscape and the Roman way of thinking and writing. Literature on this aspect is vast; for the Greek anchors of early Roman literature, see now the authoritative study by Feeney 2016; similarly influential has been Wallace-Hadrill 2008 for the domain of material culture. Pitts and Versluys 2014 discuss aspects of cultural globalization in the Roman world. Loar, MacDonald and Padillo Peralta 2018 are a thought-provoking collection of studies on the theme (in which, for instance, Dufallo offers an intriguing study of Plautus from the angle of the appropriation of material and textual artworks).

12 Just as with the objects, exempla as literary spolia can thereby be ideologically loaded and at the same time be conceived of as ornament – suffice to think of the rhetorical handbooks where exempla are treated under the heading of *exornatio* (e.g. in *Rhet. Her.* 4.62). Rhetorical treatises regularly discuss the question of what kind of exempla are ideal (cf. Klein 1996): is it better to make them yourself, as the *Rhetor ad Herennium* suggests (4.1–10), or is it the task of the orator to sample them from existent literature, as Cicero in *De oratore* 1.19 and Quintilian in *Institutio oratoria* 12.4 argue?

are integrated. In particular, exempla viewed as textual spolia can therefore invite us to ask questions that are important for spolia in general: what is their 'original' meaning, or better, is there an 'original' meaning at all? In other words: where is their original (topographical or textual) setting? And how does the appropriation work in terms of cultural fashioning? I do not mean by this that I want to overemphasize the parallels. There are important differences between material and textual spolia. One of the most crucial seems to me that reusing a textual element as an exemplum does not remove it from its previous textual basis. It might, however, change the reader's reaction to that source and thereby attribute a new meaning to the previous context. For this reason textual exempla are moved around much more freely and regularly, and often without any moral debate concerning this procedure.

1 Livy, Marcellus, and (Augustan) Rome

I start with a famous moment in Roman history. In 212 BCE, Marcus Claudius Marcellus conquered Syracuse after a siege of two years and plundered it. The huge number of fine Greek artworks that he brought to Rome and partly exhibited in the temple of Honos and Virtus were conspicuous, as they were the first substantial spolia of Greek art in the city.¹³ It is noteworthy that already before the events at Syracuse Marcellus is closely associated with spolia: in 222 he had killed the Insubrian king Viridomarus in battle and taken his precious armour, which therefore qualified as *spolia opima*. Marcellus was only the third Roman in the historical record to be able to dedicate the *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius – an honourable deed with which he imitated the exemplary military virtue of Rome's first king Romulus and of Cossus, the victor of Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, and thereby inserted himself into this series of men with exemplary status.¹⁴ The fact that the armour was made of gold and silver, painted in

13 Cf. Livy 25.40.2: *ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera licentiaeque hinc sacra profanaque omnia uulgo spoliandi factum est* ('this was the first beginning of marvelling at Greek artworks and of habitually taking away all holy and profane objects'), on which see below. Cf. Miles 2008: 61–68, and Flower 2003: 41–45 for a concise overview of the ancient sources, and see Allan in this volume on Polybius' discussion of the events. On the debate as to whether they prelude the 'Hellenization' of Roman culture, see McDonnell 2006. On Marcellus in Livy, see also Carawan 1984–1985.

14 We do not have Livy's treatment of the event, only the reference to it in the summary (*periocha*) of book 20: *M. Claudius Marcellus cos. occiso Gallorum Insubrium duce, Vertomaro, opima spolia rettulit* ('The consul M. Claudius Marcellus brought home the *spolia opima* after having killed the leader of the Insubrian Gauls, Vertomarus'). On Marcellus and the *spolia opima*, cf. Rutledge 2012: 125–126. Flower 2000 suggests that Marcellus invented the

different colours and embroidered with luxurious textile (πανοπλία ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ βαφαῖς καὶ πᾶσι ποικίλμασιν, *Plu. Marc.* 7.1) had no effect on the Romans' evaluation of Marcellus' exemplary deed. The luxurious Syracusan spolia on the other hand will turn out to be less favourable for his renown: in Livy's view they mark the beginning of Rome's fascination for luxury. Even if in both cases we are dealing with military spolia, Marcellus' career shows the increasing need to negotiate the moral acceptability of such spolia, especially if they are very luxurious: on the one hand they increase Rome's renown (and that of the triumphant general), but on the other hand they trigger a much more ambiguous *desire* for more spolia in the sense of luxury goods.

Livy gives the Syracusan spolia huge emphasis. The reference to them is separated from the main story of the sack of the city through an intermediate narrative and is one of the last things mentioned in book 25, thus forming the closure of the first pentad dealing with the Second Punic Wars. In book 26, Livy returns to the topic. Two years after the sack, when Marcellus is consul and receives Sicily as his proconsular province, the Sicilians protest in Rome, as the memory of the sack is still too fresh for them. They manage to arouse his fellow senators' envy at Marcellus' capturing of the city and finally achieve that the senate debates about a possible redistribution of the provinces in order not to harm the feelings of the Sicilians. Livy's rendering of the debate is instructive as it shows the narrative and moral potential of spolia in literary texts. As often, he uses pairs of speeches to show the complexity of political and moral issues at hand and thereby invites the reader to participate actively in the evaluation.¹⁵ In our case he sharply contrasts different takes on how one should evaluate the spoliation of cities: are they a sign of egoistic greed and excessive brutality or are they sanctioned by the laws of war and actually constitute an altruistic service to one's own city?

The Sicilian ambassadors obviously advocate the first position. They accuse Marcellus of inappropriate harshness when capturing their city; they assert both their own and their previous tyrant Hiero's loyalty to Rome and blame a clique of a few tyrannical people in the city for actions directed against Roman interests. According to them, Marcellus, instead of collaborating with the pro-Roman majority, had not been interested in peace, but had been keen on

tradition of the *spolia opima*. For the positive commemoration of his victory and spoliation cf. Verg. *A.* 6.855–856 (*aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis | ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis*, 'see how Marcellus, distinguished by the *spolia opima*, moves forward and as winner stands out above all men').

15 Cf. Pausch 2011: 205: 'Einerseits verdeutlichen sie [pairs of speech in Livy, CP] dem Leser, dass die Interpretation vergangener Ereignisse nur standpunkts- oder personengebunden erfolgen kann und laden ihn ein, an dem Prozess der Meinungsbildung zu partizipieren.'

destroying and plundering the city. The effect of the Roman sack is depicted in pathos-laden terms: 'Apart from broken and plundered temples of the gods – the [statues of the] gods themselves and their ornaments were carried away – nothing was left in Syracuse. Personal belongings were similarly taken away from many people in such a way that they could not even nurture themselves and their families on the bare ground from the leftovers of their stolen property' (*praeter ... refracta ac spoliata deum delubra dis ipsis ornamentisque eorum ablatis nihil relictum Syracusis esse. bona quoque multis adempta ita ut ne nudo quidem solo reliquiis direptae fortunae alere sese ac suos possent*, 26.30.9–10).¹⁶ What interests me here is not the invoking of *misericordia*, but the swift transition from spolia taken from the temples of the gods to the plundering of the personal belongings of most inhabitants of the city. This swiftness invites the reader to interpret the even greater wickedness of Roman soldiers plundering private houses and showing no mercy towards their former allies as a logical consequence of Marcellus' decision to plunder the temples.

Marcellus' answer is prompt, yet he is fair enough to give it in the presence of the ambassadors.¹⁷ According to him, the Syracusans had defected from the Roman cause; no citizen was willing to cooperate with him, even though he made several attempts to come to a peaceful solution. Therefore he had to punish the disloyal city. The spoliation was part of this act of revenge. Marcellus relies on two arguments: the *ius belli* formally entitled him to sack the city, and his actions were an adequate retribution for the behaviour of its inhabitants.¹⁸ Also with regard to the spolia his arguments are completely opposed to those of the Sicilian ambassadors. Whereas they had argued from their Syracusan angle, Marcellus' answer takes on a Roman perspective: 'If I, conscript fathers, would have refused the spoliation of Syracuse, I could never embellish Rome with Syracuse's spolia' (*ego, patres conscripti, Syracusas spoliatas si negaturus essem, nunquam spoliis earum urbem Romam exornarem*, 26.31.9). For Marcellus, the objects were no longer Syracusan but had already become Roman, and Rome's splendour is in the interest of the state.¹⁹ Therefore, he did not act for egoistic reasons, but followed the interest of the state.

16 All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

17 Carawan 1984–1985: 138 ascribes fairness and constraint to Marcellus in the confrontation with the Sicilian ambassadors.

18 Cf. 26.31.2: *quidquid in hostibus feci ius belli defendit* ('Whatever I did to the enemies is defended by the law of war') ~ 26.31.9: *quae autem singulis uictor aut ademi aut dedi, cum belli iure tum ex cuiusque merito satis scio me fecisse* ('What I did as winner to every single man [of the enemy], I know well enough that I did it on the basis of the law of war and of everyone's merits.').

19 Cf. McDonnell 2006: 82 on the popularity of his exhibition of the objects in public space; on p. 83 he suggests that, ironically, Marcellus' model for his act was probably the art-loving Syracusan court of Hiero.

The majority of the senators, however, driven by *invidia Marcelli*, think that his conquest was too harsh; their spokesman is T. Manlius Torquatus, who voices the opinion that Marcellus should have spared the city because Rome will need it as an ally in the future (it is called the *horreum atque aerarium populi Romani*, 'storehouse and treasurehouse of the Roman people') and because it had been loyal in the past. When turning to the spolia he, like the ambassadors, recurs to pathos as well: Hiero, the former ally of Rome, would be shocked if he came back to life and saw his native city spoliated but Rome filled with Syracusan artworks: 'If Hiero, the most loyal ally of the Roman Empire, would arise from the dead, with what attitude could one show him either Syracuse or Rome? For as soon as he would have viewed his fatherland half-demolished and plundered, entering Rome he would see in the forecourt of the city, almost at the door, the spolia of his fatherland' (*si ab inferis existat rex Hiero fidissimus imperii Romani cultor, quo ore aut Syracusas aut Romam ei ostendi posse, cum, ubi semirutam ac spoliatam patriam respexerit, ingrediens Romam in uestibulo urbis, prope in porta, spolia patriae suae uisurus sit?* 26.32.4). Torquatus does not subscribe to Marcellus' view that through the events the spolia have become Roman, but labels them as Syracusan (*spolia patriae*) – this is where they came from, and this is where they belong, even if they are now located in Rome.

Contrary to what a modern reader might expect, however, Torquatus does not argue for the repatriation of the spolia back to Sicily. He silently seems to agree that since they are already there, they had better remain in Rome. The stress on their Syracusan origin does not serve a cultural-political aim, but is used in order to attack the morality of his colleague, the Roman commander Marcellus. This seems a general observation: as Rutledge has shown, rarely do we find references to actual repatriation of spolia in our ancient sources.²⁰ Scipio Aemilianus, who returns the Sicilian spolia from Carthage to Sicily instead of taking them to Rome, is an exception.²¹ In the case of Marcellus and the Sicilians, the spolia are narrative elements that test the morality of the people involved in the narrative. Livy shows this by highlighting their fascinating double characteristic as belonging both to the world of 'the other' and the world of oneself.

At the end of this fierce debate about Marcellus' behaviour, however, Livy surprisingly adds a scene of reconciliation. The senate passes Marcellus' *acta* without blaming him (obviously, the public debate was considered harmful enough for his reputation to serve as a reprimand), and the Sicilian ambassadors

20 Rutledge 2012: 52–53, who also discusses the example of Scipio Aemilianus.

21 Cf. Miles 2008: 95–99, according to whom Scipio's deed shows 'a thoughtful, far-reaching view of historical interconnections'. On spolia of a second degree, see below.

are assured of the support of the Roman senate for the restoration of their city. Marcellus' acquittal is staged in public when the Sicilian ambassadors kneel in front of him and ask him to forgive them their harsh words and to accept them under his patronage.²² One might read this end of the scene symbolically: by bowing in front of him, the Sicilians forgive Marcellus for spoliating Syracuse and thereby sanction the Romanization of their objects. As a compensation, the Romans will help them to adorn their own city with new objects. This adds an interesting glimpse at another aspect: spolia leave a visible lacuna in their original setting, which either has to be left empty as a memorial or has to be refilled with substitutes. For the moment things seem solved – but Livy's readers know that Marcellus' plundering of Syracuse has introduced *luxuria* in Rome. Romanizing the Syracusan spolia changes Roman-ness itself: the arrival of luxury goods from another cultural surrounding will shape Rome's cityscape and its collective morals in a considerable way.²³

2 Spolia as Exempla of (Im)Morality

The fact that Livy returns to the Syracusan objects in book 26 during his account of the events two years after the sack of the city shows its importance for his conception of Rome's history.²⁴ In his view, the Syracusan spolia are more than objects moved from one place to another – in fact, as Margaret Miles has observed, the actual objects seem of little relevance, for he does not specify what the booty consisted of.²⁵ Instead of treating them as individual objects, Livy uses them collectively as an exemplum from the past. Therefore he attributes a kind of collective agency to them, as he has already expressed in book 25: 'This was the first beginning of marvelling at Greek artworks and

22 For the scene cf. Jaeger 2003: 230. Plu. *Marc.* 23 also includes the moment in his *Life of Marcellus*, for which see the brief remarks by Rives 1993: 33.

23 Cf. the Introduction to this volume on Moatti 1997 and her idea about Roman identity as being shaped by cultural contacts with others. Cf. Carawan 1984–1985: 137 for the specific Livian perspective: 'For Polybius the plunder of Syracuse undermined Roman authority; for Livy it weakened Roman character'.

24 On the noteworthy position of Marcellus' spolia at the end of book 25 – the passage being separated from the capture of Syracuse by the narrative of Marcius' events in Spain of the same year – cf. Jaeger 1997: 124–131.

25 Miles 2008: 64; also other ancient authors did not care much 'about exactly what was taken'. Cf. Gros 1979: 87 and Palombi 1996: 31, who notes that we only know the identity of one object of the treasury, a *planetarium* allegedly constructed by Archimedes. McDonnell 2006: 71 stresses that ancient authors agree in highlighting the amount and fine quality of the objects.

of habitually taking away all holy and profane objects' (*inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera licentiaeque hinc sacra profanaque omnia uulgo spoliandi factum*, 25.40.2).²⁶ In other words, the objects that have been taken as regular and legitimate war booty (*spolia ... parta belli iure*, *ibid.*) incite the Romans to look for Greek artworks more broadly. The expression *uulgo spoliare* used by Livy no longer refers to booty alone, but invites associations with other ways of acquiring these objects: through trade, but also, as Livy's readers knew too well from Rome's recent history, through plundering the provinces during one's governorship or other illegal actions. Spolia therefore will no longer be confined to a distinctly military context, but will become a general feature in Rome (*uulgo*).

Livy's perspective on Marcellus and the consequences of him bringing Syracuse's spolia to Rome seems partially anachronistic. He connects the Syracusan spolia to a theme that was widely discussed in the first century BCE: when did the decline of political morals in Rome, which had brought the Republic into a deep crisis and finally caused its factual end, actually begin? One generation before Livy, Sallust had famously argued that the total destruction of Carthage after the Third Punic War was the seed of Rome's inclination to luxury and greed.²⁷ Livy's comment on Marcellus' spolia corrects this popular view and predates the beginning by about 75 years to the Second Punic War.²⁸ The general himself, virtuous in all his previous actions, gives the bad example and thereby testifies to the contagiousness of moral decline when it comes to spoliation: 'After the conquest of Syracuse, although Marcellus had settled the other affairs in Sicily with such faithfulness and integrity that he did not only increase his own renown but also the dignity of the Roman people, he shipped the ornaments of the city, the statues and paintings of which Syracuse was full, to Rome' (*Marcellus captis Syracusis, cum cetera in Sicilia*

26 For modern approaches towards the agency of objects and the construction of collective identity see the overview in Rutledge 2012: 16–18 and the chapter by Versluys in this volume. Esch 2011: 19 underlines the agency of spolia as such. For the Livian passage see also Jaeger 1997: 130, who, however, leaves the agency totally with Marcellus: 'In bringing the spoils of Syracuse to Rome, Marcellus actually brings the act of despoiling to Rome'. For another 'beginning' in the context of spolia, see Livy 39.6 and the chapter by Van Gils and Henzel in this volume.

27 Cf. *Sal. Cat.* 10.3. Sallust's idea remained attractive also in Imperial times, e.g. in the work of Velleius Paterculus. Gruen 1992: 98 has noted that Livy's evaluation is anachronistic, but see McDonnell 2006: 78 for nuances. Cf. also Miles 2008: 83–87 (on Polybius) and 90–91 (on Sallust); Flower 2003: 47–48.

28 Livy thereby sides with an earlier annalistic tradition and with Polybius, who noticed elements of moral decline already at the beginning of the second century BCE; cf. McGushin 1995: 61 *ad Sal. Cat.* 10.1.

tanta fide atque integritate composuisset ut non modo suam gloriam sed etiam maiestatem populi Romani augeret, ornamenta urbis, signa tabulasque quibus abundabant Syracusae, Romam deuexit, 25.40.1). The adversative *cum* effectively marks the turning point in Marcellus' moral excellence, caused by the objects themselves: the beautiful artworks induce him to behave with less *fides* and *integritas* than before.²⁹

This does not mean that Marcellus' ethos is completely turned upside down; he still remains a rather positive figure, as the reconciliation scene in 26.32 suggests (see above).³⁰ The fact that he dedicates the spolia to the gods and does not keep them for himself distinguishes him from first-century BCE spoliators, who according to Livy learned from him the spoliation of luxury goods. The temple he specifically vows for the objects not only pays due tribute to the gods, but also gives the city a new touristic highlight and embellishment. Yet the same spot also testifies to Rome's later moral decline, for the artworks in Marcellus' temple were robbed during Rome's Civil Wars from the very temple before Livy wrote his account:³¹ '[this license to take away] which then finally turned itself against the Roman gods, i.e. the very temple which was decorated so wonderfully by Marcellus. The temples dedicated by Marcellus at the Porta Capena used to be visited by foreigners because of the excellent embellishment of this kind, of which only a small part is still visible' (*licentia spoliandi quae postremo in Romanos deos, templum id ipsum primum quod a Marcello eximie ornatum est, uertit. uisebantur*³² *enim ab externis ad portam Capenam dedicata a M. Marcello templa propter excellentia eius generis ornamenta, quorum perexigua pars comparet, 25.40.2–3).*³³ The plundering of Marcellus' temple is not his fault, of course, yet Livy's text suggests his responsibility, as he was the instigator of the kind of license that later almost destroyed Rome itself.³⁴ It is almost ironical in this context that Marcellus' temple was dedicated to Honos and Virtus. In the third century BCE, *virtus* mostly referred to military excellence and therefore was a fitting deity to dedicate the spolia to.³⁵ In Livy's

29 Cf. Jaeger 1997: 128. Cf. also Mensching 1996: 260–261.

30 On the careful balance of praise and blame, see Carawan 1984–1985: 136.

31 Cf. Palombi 1996: 31 on this removal.

32 Regarding the use of the imperfect *uisebantur* Jaeger 1997: 131 rightly stresses that for Livy's readers, the objects were no longer visible; they could only be seen with the inner eye when reading Livy's text.

33 For this temple and the displayed spolia see also the contribution by Van de Velde to this volume.

34 Mensching 1996: 262 calls the passage 'ironisch oder auch hämisch' – the latter, however, is too strong in my view.

35 Cf. Palombi 1996: 31: 'personificazioni divine della virtù e dell'onore militare'. Gros 1979: 105 notes that Marcellus' 'exaltation ostentatoire des qualités non dynastiques et la

days, however, *virtus* had become a much broader ethical concept in philosophical treatises,³⁶ and it had been further upgraded by the *clupeus virtutis*, which Octavian received in 27 BCE together with his honorary title Augustus.³⁷ *Virtus* was thus connected to Augustus' programme of restoring the Republic. Reading Livy's narrative with this contemporary parallel in mind, contemporary readers could interpret Marcellus' dedication of the Syracusan spolia to *Virtus* as an attempt to neutralise both booty and his own person, that is as an act of safeguarding his own positive exemplarity for future generations. The decision about how successful this attempt was, however, remains with the individual reader.³⁸

To summarize the Livian version of Marcellus' spolia, we see that it is closely connected to exemplary discourse, which in its turn, as Roller has shown, is closely linked to imitation.³⁹ It is therefore no accident that both moments in Marcellus' career related to spolia are connected to imitation, as well: a good one in the case of the *spolia opima*, where he imitates Romulus and Cossus when dedicating the armour to Jupiter Feretrius,⁴⁰ and a bad one in the case of Syracuse, where he does not imitate anyone, but is represented as a kind of *πρῶτος εὐρετής* of taking away precious goods, a behaviour that others will imitate in the future. Livy applies a nuanced moral layer with several agents to this exemplum: (1) the objects themselves change Roman morals and change the shape of the city; (2) the general Marcellus changes his character traits when dealing with the objects: his moral excellence is questioned, even though he tries to whitewash himself through publicly dedicating the spolia to Honos and *Virtus*; (3) the historiographer Livy when narrating the events elaborates the moral ambiguities surrounding the spoliation of Syracuse; (4) the readers

revendication d'une sorte de primat de valeur personnelle' could not remain unnoticed by the other members of the Roman elite.

36 On *virtus* translating both Greek ἀνδρεία and ἀρετή cf. McDonnell 2003.

37 On the *clupeus virtutis* see Galinsky 1996: 80–90 (on the shifting of the meaning of *virtus* in the first century BCE *ibid.*: 84) and Welch 2019.

38 This nicely ties in with the ambiguity of the debate in book 26 (see above), where Marcellus is first blamed by the Sicilians and the senators and is then forgiven. For different ancient evaluations, cf. Miles 2008: 83–89.

39 Cf. Roller 2018: 8 and *passim*. Imitation of a potentially exemplary deed is the last and necessary seal on its exemplarity in Roller's model, that consists of four steps: action, evaluation, commemoration and norm setting (5–8).

40 The theme of imitation is also taken up by Valerius Maximus in his section on the *spolia opima*, which he treats under the heading of *fortitudo* (3.2.3–6): Cossus receives glory 'because he was able to imitate Romulus' (*quod imitari Romulum valuit*, 3.2.4); Manlius Torquatus' and Valerius Corvinus' equally brave deeds do not qualify as *spolia opima* because their imitation is not perfect (*sub aliis auspiciis rem gesserant*, 3.2.6).

are invited to engage actively with the different evaluations and to form their own judgment.

We see the narrative potential of the story: in the words of the Introduction to this volume, spolia narratives can be ‘warning exempla for the present’. I would add that they can do more than warning: by turning Syracuse’s spolia into an exemplum, Livy uses their ambiguity for the moral education of his readers. Rebecca Langlands has argued that this is what exempla ultimately do: they do not primarily teach a specific virtue. Instead, readers who are facing exemplary narratives more often are trained in questioning ethical standards as such and in reflecting on what it means to be virtuous and Roman.⁴¹ It is in this way that, in the words of Ayelet Haimson Lushkov, the spolia in Livy’s text ‘become absorbed in the Roman cityscape and, more crucially, in the Roman psyche’.⁴²

3 Cicero, Dionysius, and Verres

Towards the end of book 3 of Cicero’s *De natura deorum*, Cotta, who represents Academic scepticism in the dialogue, argues against the Stoic belief (defended by its representative Balbus in book 2) that the gods care for humans and bestow rewards or punishments on people depending on what they have done. At the end of his argument he adduces a series of exempla that must prove the erroneousness of Balbus’ arguments.⁴³ The series starts with a group of Romans, first some heroes of the First and Second Punic Wars, who all suffered a cruel fate despite their political and moral excellence (the Scipios, Fabius Maximus, Marcellus, Aemilius Paulus, and Regulus), and then historical figures connected to the Social and Civil War of the 80s and its aftermath (P. Rutilius, Drusus, Scaevola, and Catulus, *De natura deorum* 3.80). After this impressive catalogue, Cicero turns to exempla of bad men who did *not* suffer any strokes of fate as a punishment for their behaviour. He again mentions two exempla from the Civil War, Marius and Cinna, and additionally brings up Varius, who has been punished in a trial, but only after having slaughtered honourable

41 Cf. Langlands 2018: *passim*; on exempla and Roman identity formation esp. 166–186; on p. 334 she defines the crucial effect of education via exempla: they ‘evoke a network of ethical issues and ideas with which Romans themselves would have been familiar’.

42 Haimson Lushkov 2018: 45. Cf. V. Max. 2.5, who notes the lack of a triumph for Marcellus after his victory in Sicily; he calls Marcellus (together with Scipio) ‘a name which is equal to an eternal triumph’ (*ipsa nomina instar aeterni triumphi*).

43 Without further argument Kleywegt 1961: 214 supposes that Cicero might have assembled these exempla long ago.

Roman citizens, whereas it would have been better if the gods had killed him before he could even have committed these deeds (3.81).

As a kind of appendix, Cicero adds one final exemplum about Dionysius I of Syracuse. It is by far the most elaborate one – actually it is not a single one, but consists of several exempla. It deals with the tyrant robbing several treasures of Greek sanctuaries and bringing the objects to Sicily, while constantly mocking the gods for their lack of care, as they do not punish him. A second step of his shameful behaviour is that he profanes other sacred objects by selling them on fora (Cicero labels it quite explicitly as an act of profaning: *de fanis in forum proferre*, 3.84). Afterwards, he forces those who have bought the objects to bring them back to the temples and rededicate them, but without giving the buyers their money back. Cicero sees in this the summit of immoral behaviour and impiety ('he thus added injustice towards men to his impiety towards the gods', *ita ad impietatem in deos in homines adiunxit iniuriam*, 3.84) and wonders why Dionysius has not been hit by Jupiter's thunder bolts, but rather died peacefully, was buried and could pass on his reign to his son.

4 Appropriating Textual Spolia

It was not Cicero who created the negative exempla of Dionysius,⁴⁴ to which he recurred often in his works.⁴⁵ Already ps.-Aristotle's *Oeconomica* and *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* invoked him as an example for pretty much the same behaviour that we see in the Ciceronian passage.⁴⁶ The passage at hand, in which Dionysius utters several unethical, yet witty sayings could also have been part of a Hellenistic collection of *Apophthegmata regum*. If we want to describe Cicero's literary procedure with the terminology of spoliation (as suggested in my introduction), one could say that Cicero regularly uses textual spolia of a second degree: the 'original' historical narrative has already been reduced to juicy anecdotes before him, so that Cicero can simply incorporate them into his own treatise. This reuse, however, always involves appropriation, as is also the case in the Dionysian exemplum. Olof Gigon and Laila Straume-Zimmermann have pointed out the speaking omission in Cicero's version of a fact that is mentioned in other sources: Dionysius obviously stole

44 Gigon and Straume-Zimmermann 1996: 577 assume with certainty that the source was Timaeus of Tauromenium (ca. mid-fourth to mid-third c. BCE).

45 Cf. Verbaal 2006 on his presence in the *Tusculanae disputationes*; other texts in which he appears are the *Verrines* (as foil for Verres' behavior, e.g. 2.4.145–146), *Div.* 1.39 and *Rep.* 3.43.

46 Cf. Arist. *Oec.* 2.41 (1353b20–38); *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* 96 (838a15–26).

the objects and sold them because he urgently needed the money for his expensive warfare.⁴⁷ By not mentioning this, Cicero reduces the tyrant's political action to purely egoistic and unmotivated vice, since it is such an attitude that the specific context of *De natura deorum* requires.

Cicero's reuse of textual material previously shaped by other authors for similar exemplary purposes is mirrored in the content of one Dionysian exemplum. It contains a reference to the fact that objects could be spoliated more than once.⁴⁸ Cicero's Cotta stresses that the spolia which Dionysius takes away from Olympia have already been spolia before: 'When he had led his fleet to the Peloponnese and arrived at the shrine of the Olympian Jupiter, he took from the god the golden, heavy cloak with which the tyrant Gelon had ornamented Jupiter from his Carthaginian spoils' (*qui cum ad Peloponnesum classem appulisset et in fanum uenisset Iouis Olympii, aureum ei detraxit amiculum grandi pondere, quo Iovem ornatat e manibus Carthaginensium tyrannus Gelo*, 3.83). The text reminds the reader that Dionysius was not the first person to move the object. About one century before him the Syracusan tyrant Gelon, probably after the Battle of Himera in 480 BCE, had taken the golden cloak as booty from the Carthaginians and dedicated it to the Olympian god as a way of thanksgiving. When Dionysius steals it from the temple, he turns Carthaginian objects into spolia of a second degree: they were probably first somewhere in Sicily within a Carthaginian context; then they were moved to Greece by a Sicilian tyrant who had defeated the Carthaginians (*first spoliatio*); now they are brought back to Sicily by another Sicilian tyrant, who however does not win them in battle, but simply steals them out of greed (*second spoliatio*). A reader who realizes the difference between Gelon's and Dionysius' behaviour will see more sharply the latter's moral failure.

Cicero's remark shows his awareness that artefacts often do not only have a past, but also a plupast, which might complicate the alleged dichotomy of foreign and domestic, of original and after-spoliation setting. One can thus see that several time frames overlap and are intertwined in material spolia and, one can add, in textual spolia (i.e., exempla) as well. The prehistory of the objects can thereby enlarge the moral message of the exemplum. In this context it is important to note that within the mirroring exemplum the evaluation of the textual and the content level is diametrically opposed: Cicero's Cotta, as spokesman of the philosophical school which Cicero favoured and as revered host of the dialogue, has a huge moral and philosophical authority

47 Gigon and Straume-Zimmermann 1996: 577.

48 On re-spoliation cf. Biggs 2018, who, however, discusses re-spoliation within Rome, i.e. the ideological reuse of Republican spolia and trophies by Augustus.

(even if at the end of book 3 Cicero declares himself to be more convinced by Balbus' Stoic arguments), whereas Dionysius' deeds testify to his utmost impiety. He does not even respect a religious votive gift of one of his own predecessors, thereby showing a dangerous lack of respect towards the gods: as a punishment Jupiter could not only destroy Dionysius, but also turn his protection away from Syracuse. In Dionysius' behaviour, personal contempt for the divine becomes irresponsibility towards his citizens, and this has potential consequences for more people than himself alone. It is obvious that his robbery morally disqualifies him not only as a person, but also as ruler.

5 Appropriating Dionysius' Exempla

The exempla about Dionysius which function as textual spolia fit Cicero's philosophical project of the years 46 to 44 BCE more in general. His treatises are a huge project of adaptation of Greek philosophy to a Roman audience,⁴⁹ especially to a contemporary political reality in which Caesar had the position of a *dictator perpetuus*. I think that also in the case of Dionysius there are elements that invite the readers to consider Dionysius not as a figure of a distant Greek past, but as a highly relevant figure for Rome – in other words, to consider him no longer as part of the giving culture, but as shaping the receiving one. The exemplum has thereby reached the stage of 'transformation'.⁵⁰

Dionysius is introduced in the third book of *De natura deorum* as the tyrant of 'the richest and most happy city' (*tyrannus ... fuit opulentissimae et beatissimae ciuitatis*, 3.82). The superlatives with regard to Syracuse refer back to Cicero's first philosophical work, *De re publica*, in which he had mentioned Dionysius as the ruler of the *urbs omnium pulcherrima*, 'the most beautiful of all cities' (*Rep.* 3.43). The reason for doing so, however, is not to praise Syracuse's undeniable beauty, but to warn that tyranny destroys even the most splendid cities: 'Thus where a tyrant is, there is no defective state, as I said yesterday, but, as logic forces us to speak frankly: there is no state at all' (*ergo ubi tyrannus est, ibi non uitiosam, ut heri dicebam, sed, ut nunc ratio cogit,*

49 Often in his prefaces he explicitly reflects on this aspect by asking the question of why it is useful to write about philosophy in Latin; cf. Baraz 2012: 44–95. Cf. Woolf 2015: 64–66 on the relation between politics and philosophy more generally.

50 For a similar approach to Dionysius in the *Tusculanae disputationes* see Verbaal 2006: he interprets Dionysius' presence in the *Tusculanae disputationes* in the light of Cicero's own days in a rather concrete way: Dionysius (who is presented not only negatively, but ambiguously in the *Tusculanae disputationes*) represents the prototype Caesar, against whom Cicero positions himself as a Republican alternative.

dicendum est plane nullam esse rem publicam, *ibid.*). This is obviously directed at Cicero's fellow Romans: do not allow Caesar and Pompey to form a tyrannical regime, as it would annihilate our *pulcherrima urbs* Rome.⁵¹ *De natura deorum* was written in 45/44, after the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey. The dramatic date of the dialogue in Cotta's house, however, is not during this period, but in the mid-70s BCE and thus a few years after the end of the Civil War between Marius and Sulla. It is also situated after Sulla's abdication from his dictatorship, whereas the dictator Caesar obviously does not consider giving back his office of *dictator* and restoring the full freedom of the Republic. The reused exemplary figure of Dionysius enhances the urgency of Cicero's warning against a destruction of Rome's status as a splendid Republican state.

In order to achieve this, Cicero invites his readers to think in terms of temporal fluidity and chronological permeability. The exempla from the past help the reader to fully grasp the multilayered chronology, in that exempla usually negotiate 'past and present alike' and thus form 'continuity between two [or even more, CP] time frames'.⁵² Dionysius is an especially attractive choice for this. His are the longest and most detailed exempla of the whole passage.⁵³ The preceding first Roman group of exempla centres around heroes of the Punic Wars who suffer unequal fate from foreign enemies. The second group is much more closely related to the dramatic date of the dialogue; they all suffer death or exile due to the civic tensions of the late 90s and 80s,⁵⁴ which means that

51 On the theme of crisis and leadership in *De re publica*, see now Schofield 2021: 83–90 (esp. 85 on the 'gulf between current reality and the historical paradigm' of Scipio Aemilianus) and Woolf 2015: 95–99.

52 Kraus 2005: 186, quoting Chaplin 2000: 201. I add that the whole setting of *De natura deorum* is a play with chronology. Cotta, the host of the discussion and spokesman for Cicero's own Academic scepticism, is the same person who has allegedly told Cicero about the debate of his earlier *De oratore* – a dialogue in which Cotta represented one of the younger generation compared to the main speakers Crassus and Antonius. (I mention only in passing that the second group of *exempla domestica* in our passage is closely connected to the setting of *De oratore*, as well, which is situated in 91 BCE, shortly before the outbreak of the Social War.) In *De natura deorum*, it is Cicero himself who stands for this young generation – he says that he is present in the house of Cotta, but only as attentive listener. When he writes *De natura deorum* for Brutus, Cicero has grown into the role of teacher, while Brutus listens.

53 This structure reminds us of Valerius Maximus' organization of his exempla into two categories: *interna* and *externa*.

54 P. Rutilius Rufus (RE 33) was exiled in 92 BCE by a jury under the influence of Marius (thus Cass. Dio fr. 97.3; cf. W. Kierdorf in *DNP* s.v. Rutilius 1 3); tribune Livius Drusus (RE 18) was killed in his house, probably for his social engagement, in 91 BCE; Q. Mucius Scaevola Pontifex (RE 22) was killed in 82 BCE during the Civil War; Q. Lutatius Catulus (RE 7) killed himself in 87 BCE in order to avoid execution through Cinna.

no foreign enemy, but Marius, Cinna (and Sulla, whose name is not mentioned, but can easily be supplemented) are responsible for what they have suffered.⁵⁵ In other words: the exempla become more internal and more contemporary. I think that this focus will invite the readers of the following Dionysius-passage to connect it to recent Roman history as well. The missing *exempla recentiora* on the Greek side confer additional urgency to the readers to consider in which way the past example can be applied to their own time.

Dionysius' behaviour might bring up the memory of a specific Roman whose appetite for plundered art was famous: Verres. Like Dionysius, Verres is an archetype of a bad spoliator. He not only robs objects from sacred places, but is not even interested in exhibiting the spolia in order to adorn his own city (as Marcellus had done with the Syracusan spolia, thus turning them to public use). Instead, both Cicero's Verres and Cicero's Dionysius want to possess the objects purely because of their egoistical malicious greed.⁵⁶ Chronology helps the reader to make this connection: Cotta's fictional discourse is pronounced only a few years before Verres became the horrendous governor of Sicily and before Cicero would accuse him. Cicero in his *Verrines* had suggested the connection between Dionysius' and Verres' immorality, e.g. in the following passage: 'After a long period of time there was active a second – not Dionysius or Phalaris (for this island has endured many cruel tyrants), but a kind of new monster of that ancient brutality that is said to have existed in these regions' (*uersabatur in Sicilia longo interuallo alter non Dionysius ille nec Phalaris – tulit enim illa quondam insula multos et crudelis tyrannos – sed quoddam nouum monstrum ex uetere illa inmanitate quae in isdem locis uersata esse dicitur*, 2.5.145–146).⁵⁷ Verres is worse than the Sicilian tyrants and even worse than monsters like Scylla, Charybdis and the Cyclopes that inhabited the island in a mythical past.⁵⁸ If we consider this link and see Verres as a more horrendous Dionysius *redivivus*, then the urgency to appropriate the Dionysian exemplum in *De natura deorum* becomes even greater. Verres is an extreme example of a Roman politician who makes his personal avarice and ambition the guideline

55 Cf. Gigon and Straume-Zimmermann 1996: 575: already Scipio (Aemilianus) is suffering ill fate from his fellow-Romans; the exempla of the 90s/80s are 'Zeugnis der völligen Auflösung der politisch-magistralen Ordnung'.

56 Cf. Köster 2017: 157 on Verres; Wardle 1998: 128 on Cicero's 'deliberate misrepresentation' of Dionysius' goals (i.e., getting money for his warfare).

57 Cf. Frazel 2009: 163 on this passage and Cicero's 'unambiguously associating Verres with earlier Sicilian tyrants', especially Dionysius.

58 On Cicero's construction of Verres' highly negative psychology, cf. Citroni Marchetti 1986: 116–122; on Verres as typical tyrant (as one could find him in declamation) Frazel 2009: 166–173.

of his political action and whose moral depravity thereby threatens the functioning of the state. We have seen earlier that this moral decline, which according to many Roman historians of the late first century BCE would eventually lead to the Civil Wars and the end of the Roman Republic, was connected to Sicily and spolia. Dionysius' exempla are in a way a prelude to this Roman development and predate this typical moral narrative by yet another 150 years. Through its safe temporal distance it enables the readers to come to a moral evaluation not only of the past, but via the past of their own political situation and the dangers which threaten the Republic.

Cicero would not be Cicero if he would not come up with the hope for salvation; it is offered (as so often) by his own achievements. At the end of the Dionysian exempla Cotta adds a general reflection: does his own discourse lend authority to misbehaviour (*oratio uidetur enim auctoritatem afferre peccandi*, 3.85)? Cotta's argumentation has shown that the gods cannot protect humans from such immoral behaviour, or rather: they cannot do without humans taking their own moral responsibility. He therefore ends the exempla with the following sentence: 'There is absolutely no divine control of the world which reaches out towards men if in it there is no distinction between good and bad' (*mundi diuina in homines moderatio profecto nulla est, si in ea discrimen nulum est bonorum et malorum*, *ibid.*). The *discrimen bonorum et malorum* is a rather overt self-advertisement for Cicero's own treatise *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, written only half a year earlier than *De natura deorum*. In other words: humans themselves must defend morality, and in order to do so, they must be competent in dealing with ethical questions. Cicero as Rome's most prolific philosophical author of these years is the perfect guide for them. Again, as so often, we see him stressing how eminently timely and political his philosophical project is – it serves the interests of the state and wants to prevent the wonderful Republic of Rome from being annihilated.⁵⁹

That this conclusive remark is Cicero's very personal appropriation of the Dionysian exempla becomes even clearer if we look at the version of the anecdotes in Valerius Maximus. The Tiberian writer is the next author we know of to have reused the Dionysian material;⁶⁰ more specifically he has used the Ciceronian version of it (his text is a very close paraphrase of Cicero's passage), but with the exception of the evaluation.⁶¹ For differently from Cicero's tyrant, Valerius' Dionysius is punished for his deeds, albeit only after his death:

59 On Cicero's political interests when writing his philosophical treatises, cf. Nicgorski 2016; Zarecki 2014; *passim*; Baraz 2012; *passim*; Steel 2005: 70–82.

60 Still later versions include: Ael. *vh* 1.20; Polyæn. 5.2.19; Arnob. *Adv. nat.* 6.19.1 and 21.1–4.

61 Cf. Wardle 1998: 128–131.

‘Through the shameful behaviour of his son he as a dead person received the punishment which he had escaped during his life. Divine anger proceeds slowly to take its revenge and compensates for this slowness with the severity of the punishment’ (*dedecore enim filii mortuus poenas pependit, quas uiuus effugerat: lento enim gradu ad uindictam sui diuina procedit ira tarditatemque supplicii grauitate pensat*, 1.1.ext.3). Such a conclusion would not be fitting in the argumentative context of *De natura deorum* and would also not give Cicero the chance for self-promoting his philosophical project.

To briefly sum up, Dionysius’ exempla in *De natura deorum* function on different levels: they remind the readers that material and textual spolia are always fluctuating and have not only a present and a past, but often also a plupast. This chronological depth then invites them to read through the diachronic axes of the text and apply the past to their own presence. Finally, the evaluation of the exempla helps Cicero the author to construct his own moral and political authority.

6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed two passages in which spolia are closely connected to questions of political and personal morality. Both narratives are situated in Sicily, a place where the moral discourse about spolia in Latin literature seems to concentrate. Through his plundering of Syracuse, Marcellus first inspired the Romans to desire luxurious Greek-style artefacts and paved the way for later spoliators like Verres, the arch-example of a greedy and mischievous governor. But as the Dionysius-story shows, the connection between Sicily, spolia and morality does not start with the Roman presence on the island, but goes back to the time of the great Greek tyrants. Dionysius in Cicero is presented as a predecessor of Verres in the sense that he profanes temple treasuries for his own egoistic greed, thereby neglecting the originally divine aspect of spolia, directed at public welfare and protection.

However, the literary discourse about spolia is both more subtle and more open than this summary suggests. Livy’s version of Marcellus’ spolia and Cicero’s exempla about Dionysius pose intriguing questions about the actual nature of spolia: are they foreign or do they rightfully belong to one’s own culture? Under which conditions is it acceptable or even virtuous to spoliage? As Versluys in his chapter has argued, successful spoliation must not stop with taking away the objects, but has to integrate them into the new context. This incorporation and transformation gives them new meaning and often also new agency as they become representatives of, for instance, military success

and divine goodwill, thereby aggrandizing the renown and authority of the spoliating culture. While Dionysius shows no interest in this aspect, Marcellus does; his Syracusan spolia therefore are not bad per se; they bear, however, the seed of future moral degeneration in them, because future Romans will start to neglect the communal aspect of spoliation in their contest for personal glory and luxury. Still, even the bad examples of Dionysius' and Verres' shameless greed can be useful for Roman society: turned into literary exempla, which on a textual level function in a similar way as material spolia, they can invite the readers to think about the stories in terms of historical continuity and discontinuity. Every object and every text is a potential future spolium and can thereby change its meaning in new contexts. What guarantees stability are not the objects that constitute Rome's glory in the first century BCE, but a shared idea of morality that has to be negotiated afresh in every generation, also with the help of stories about spolia.⁶²

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PART 2
Case Studies



Herodotus' Framing of the Persian Spolia at Plataea

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If the Persian invasions of mainland Greece in the fifth century BC did not achieve their military goal and did not result in the capture of Greece, they did however have a decidedly cultural impact. The spolia of the Persian wars play, together with trade and diplomatic gifts, a major role in inspiring Athens' receptivity of Persian culture, as has been fully documented by Margaret Miller in her invaluable study from 1997.¹ The positive Athenian response to Persian culture or 'Perserie', as she calls it in an analogy with the 'Chinoiserie' which captivated Europe in the eighteenth century, includes the imitation of Persian metal vessels in Attic clay, the adoption of foreign items of dress and of luxury status symbols like parasols and peacocks, and the building of the Persian-looking Odeion.

One of Miller's central texts is Herodotus' report on the spoils of Plataea (*Histories* 9.80–84), which in its detail and tone evokes 'the vivid impact on the Greek collective memory' that this – for most mainland Greeks first – direct confrontation with oriental luxury on a massive scale must have had.² In my contribution I want to return to this passage and make a twofold argument: Herodotus' text indeed reflects Greek amazement at Persian luxury but both luxury and fascination are at the same time framed in a negative way. My purpose is not to question Miller's central thesis that the 'commonplace of modern scholarship that the Athenians hated and despised the Persians ... is disproved by the evidence of archaeology, epigraphy, iconography and literature' (1997: 1), but to show that one of her key texts is actually more complex.³

In what follows I will first briefly discuss other scenes from the *Histories* which tell what happens on a battlefield after battle, in order to bring out the special character of the Plataea episode. I will then take a closer look at the Plataea passage itself and the fascination with Persian luxury which it expresses. Next, looking at the other side of the coin, I will contextualise

1 And see her update in Miller 2017 and Morgan 2016, who also discusses the 'Perserie' in Sparta and Macedonia.

2 Miller 1997: 23.

3 For many details I draw on the *Narratological Commentary on Herodotus Histories* which I am currently writing.



FIGURE 5.1 Attic terracotta lamb rhyton, attributed to the London Painter, around 460 BCE
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK, 4116233, WITH
PERMISSION

the passage and show how oriental wealth, above all gold, is often negatively charged in the *Histories*. Returning once more to the Plataea episode I will argue in the final part of this contribution how the ambiguity of the Plataea spolia is personified in the figure of the Spartan general Pausanias.

1 After-Battle Battlefield Scenes in the *Histories*

All six major battles in the *Histories* (Marathon, Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale) are followed by a scene which recounts how victor and defeated return to the battlefield, primarily with an eye to collecting booty (victor) or securing the dead and, in the case of a sea battle, wrecks (both victor and defeated). Herodotus here blazes the trail for ancient historians to come, many of whom also feature at least one such scene and thereby

turn it into a historiographical topos.⁴ Not every Herodotean after-battle battlefield scene mentions the collection of spolia, but I include them all since even the ones not featuring spoliation may help us to understand what exactly Herodotus-narrator is aiming at in the case of Plataea. I discuss the scenes not in the order in which they appear in the text but in an ascending order of length and complexity.

The sea battle of *Artemisium* ends with both parties pulling back after having suffered heavy losses (8.18):

The Greeks, once they broke off from the battle and pulled back, got hold of their dead and wrecks, but having been badly mauled [...] they started considering to flee further south.

Since the battle has ended in a draw, no spoliation is mentioned. Spoliation does take place after the battle of *Mycale* (9.106.1):

After the Greeks had killed most of the barbarians, either in battle or in flight, they set fire to their ships [which they had beached: 97] and whole stronghold, but not before they had first taken out and brought ashore the booty (τὴν ληΐην) and found (εὑρον) some treasure-chests (θησαυρούς τινας χρημάτων).⁵

The narrator is brief on the spoliation because he is intent on turning to a topic which at this point is more relevant to him: the Greeks' discussion as to how to deal with the Ionians, who had participated in the Persian expedition.

An interesting variant of the after-battle battlefield scene is found in connection with *Marathon*. The Spartans, restrained by their religious rules, come too late to participate in the battle itself but they visit the battlefield because they desire to 'look at' the dead Persians (6.120):

And they came to Marathon and looked at (ἐθεήσαντο) them. After that they praised the Athenians and their achievement and went home again.

4 Cf. e.g. x. *Ages*. 2.14. Latin literature in particular abounds in after-battle battlefield scenes, which show battlefields strewn with corpses, weapons, and debris; cf. e.g. *Sal. Cat.* 61.7–9; *Liv.* 22.51.5–6, 9; *Tac. Ann.* 1.61–62; *Luc.* 7.787–796; *Sil.* 10.449–453; and *Stat. Theb.* 12.1–59. The Latin material is excellently discussed by Pagán 2000, who does not however seem to be aware of (at least does not mention) the Greek tradition of the topos.

5 All translations are my own. For the treasures which the Persians carried with them while on campaign, see e.g. 9.41.3, where talk is of 'much gold, both minted and un-minted, and much silver and drinking vessels', to cover expenses and to bribe Greek leaders.

The spolia of Marathon must have been considerable given the fact (that is to say, the Herodotean fact) that no less than 6,400 Persians were killed, many of whom wore costly arms and body gear, more on which will be said below.⁶ Herodotus, however, does not speak about the spoliation which undoubtedly took place but instead focuses on the Spartans who 'look at' the dead Persians. The verb chosen, ἐθεήσαντο, suggests that the dead Persians were an impressive spectacle (θέη) and thus, albeit fleetingly, hints at their costly and exotic outfits. But rather than expanding on this theme, as he will do at Plataea, Herodotus here uses the after-battle topos to make another point.⁷ He expects his narratees to note the contrast between the Spartans' *passive* spectatorship of dead Persians and the Athenians' earlier *active* viewing of these same Persians during battle: the Athenians 'were the first to endure the sight of Persian dress and men wearing it' (6.112.3).

A somewhat different viewing of a battlefield occurs after *Thermopylae*. The Persians have been victorious but at the cost of a great number of losses: 20,000 Persians, as against 4,000 Spartans, Thespians and helots. Xerxes invites the Persian sailors who fought at Artemisium to come to Thermopylae and 'look at' (the root θεη- occurs thrice) the corpses of Persians and Greeks which he has carefully rearranged: he has buried most of the Persians and left lying 1,000, but has collected on one spot the dead Greeks (8.24–25), thus erasing all signs of the protracted battle and suggesting instead that a minority of Persians overcame, in one go, a majority of Greeks.

Salamis comes closest to Plataea as regards the textual space devoted to spoliation (8.121–123.1), but here the focus lies on its religious aspect. The victorious Greeks dedicate, in three different temples, part of the spolia to the gods as ἀχροθίνια or first fruits; this is a clear instance of the stage of 'objectification'.⁸ They also turn part of the spolia into objects of art and dedicate these to the gods, an instance of 'transformation'. This religious focus fits the battle of Salamis well in which divine interventions and support play a major role.⁹ We

6 Plutarch in his *Life of Aristides* 5.5 mentions in connection with Marathon 'silver and gold lay[ing] about in heaps', 'all sorts of raiment and untold wealth besides in the tents and captured utensils'. Pausanias too in his description of Delphi refers to various dedications made by the Athenians from the booty of Marathon (10.10.1, 11.5, 19.4).

7 I agree with Miller 1997: 32 that Herodotus' silence on the booty from Marathon is rhetorical ('he is reluctant to detract from his climactic account of the treasures gained after the battle of Plataea'), but I suggest a reason for what he *does* tell instead.

8 For the four stages of appropriation which spoliation entails, see the chapter by Versluys in this volume. For other instances of spolia offered to the gods, see 8.27.5 and 9.81.1.

9 Cf. Immerwahr 1966: 285: 'the section on the awarding of gifts to the gods and of prizes to men has as one guiding idea the premise that Salamis was won with the help of the gods.' The divine interventions include miracles (8.41.2–3, 55), an earthquake (8.64), the

also hear about booty being divided between the men (διεδάσαντο τὴν ληΐην ... μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληΐης). This division is of course a crucial element in Miller's thesis of Athenian *Perserie*: only if private citizens too, next to cities and the gods, received booty, can we understand how Persian luxury goods made their way so extensively into Athenian society leading to their crucial impact.¹⁰

Another important detail in this passage is Herodotus' autopsy of some of the Salamis booty. (i) The Phoenician trireme dedicated at the Isthmus, which 'was still there in my time' (καὶ ἐς ἐμέ: 8.121.1); the formulation suggests that he saw it. (ii) The image, made of the spolia, of a man holding a ship's prow in his hand, which 'stands (in Delphi) in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian' (8.121.2); the exactness of the location and his use of the present suggest that Herodotus has seen the two objects himself. And (iii) the Aeginetan dedication of three golden stars on a bronze mast, which finds itself in Delphi 'in the corner, very near to Croesus' crater' (8.122); the exactness of the location again suggests autopsy, which in this case is confirmed by Herodotus' earlier reference to Croesus' crater in the course of his autoptic report on the Lydian king's dedications in Delphi ('the silver crater lies in the corner of the temple porch' of the Apollo temple: 1.51).¹¹ If 'Herodotus the tourist'¹² was able to see the Persian spoils in temples, other Greeks would have seen them too, and this also explains how they could have their impact on Greek culture.

All three elements, dedication to the gods, division among men and autopsy by Herodotus, will recur in the after-battle battlefield scene of Plataea, which, like each of the other instances, has its own focus. This time the full spotlight falls on the breathtaking opulence and luxury of the Persian spolia.

2 The Persian Spolia at Plataea (9.80–84)

Although it is not the last after-battle battlefield scene of the *Histories*, the aftermath of Plataea is clearly composed in order to be the climax of the topos: it takes up about two and a half OCT pages, as against the less than

presence of (statues of) the Aeacids (8.64, 83.2), oracles (8.77, 96.2), a portent (8.65), and mysterious (divine) appearances (8.84.2; 8.94.2–3).

10 Miller 1997: 43–45.

11 Cf. 'in the Corinthian treasury' (1.50.3), with note of Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2007: *ad loc.*: 'Herodotus' precise description points to autopsy'. For the present tense and the 'still in my time' motif as indications of autopsy, see Schepens 1980: 50–51.

12 See Redfield 1985 and Marincola 2013.

one page devoted to the aftermath of Salamis.¹³ The section is marked off by ring-composition: Παυσανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς λήϊς, συγκαορίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτας τὰ χρήματα (9.80.1) ≈ οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν λήϊν διείλοντο (9.85.1).

This time we hear in full detail what a spoliation involves: helots¹⁴ go over the entire Persian camp and ‘find’ (εὕρισκον: 9.80.1) all kinds of luxury goods and strip the Persian corpses of their armour and body gear. The verb εὕρισκω which is used here (twice) and in other spoliation scenes is significant.¹⁵ It can have the connotation of a windfall,¹⁶ and choosing this verb Herodotus conveys something of the excitement which the Greeks must have felt when executing the spoliation and hitting upon so much wealth, clearly much more than they were used to.

That same feeling of exhilaration and fascination emanates from the detailed listing of the spolia. The helots find tents adorned with gold and silver, couches overlaid with gold and silver, golden craters, *phialai* and other drinking vessels, carts laden with sacks which when opened were seen to contain gold and silver cauldrons, and strip from the Persian corpses their golden armlets, collars, and daggers (9.80.1–2). Three golden and bronze objects are fabricated out of the spolia and dedicated to the gods in Delphi, Olympia and the Isthmus; their detailed description again (see above on the dedications of Salamis) suggests Herodotus’ autopsy (9.81.1).¹⁷ The men divide among them women, horses,

13 Actually it is even longer since the spoliation is preceded by two other incidents which take place on the battlefield: Pausanias graciously sets free a Coan woman, who had been taken captive and now lives as a concubine in the Persian camp, and rejects the proposal of Lampon to mutilate Mardonius’ body (9.77–79).

14 The detail of the helots is intriguing (but not discussed by the commentators Flower and Marincola 2002): Pausanias forbids the Greeks from collecting the booty themselves and instead makes helots do it. The measure is ambiguous: it can be read as correct leadership (he wants the distribution of the loot to take place in an organised and fair manner) or as greed (after all, Pausanias will get the largest part of the booty and hence wants it to be as big as possible). Whatever his intentions, his plan misfires since the helots steal part of the loot (9.80.3).

15 Plataea: εὕρισκον (9.80.1, 2), εὕρον (83.1); Mycale: εὕρον (9.106.1); and cf. εὕρε in the context of the chance spoliator Aminocles (7.190), more on whom below.

16 See esp. 7.155.1 (the combination εὕρημα εὕρισκεν); 7.10.8.2; and 8.109.2.

17 Note also the use of the definite article ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος, ‘that well-known tripod of gold’, the exact location (‘nearest to the altar’) and the precise size indications (‘ten cubits high’, ‘seven cubits high’) (9.81.1). Earlier Herodotus had told how the Tegeans in the course of the battle plundered Mardonius’ tent and took besides much else ‘the manger of Mardonius’ horses, all of bronze and amazing’ (9.70.3). They later dedicate the manger in the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea, where Herodotus probably saw it, since in 1.66.4 he writes about another object in that temple as being there ‘still in my time’; see Flower and Marincola 2002: ad 9.70.3.



FIGURE 5.2

Persian rhyton from the Achaemenid period
BRITISH MUSEUM 124081, WITH PERMISSION

talents, camels, and yoke-animals (9.81.2). Local Plataeans later find chests filled with gold, silver and other precious goods (9.83.1).

Three observations can be made regarding the objects listed. (i) Herodotus describes the vessels in Greek terms (*κρητῆρας*, *φιάλας*, *λέβητες*) and does *not* indicate Persian characteristics like the animal heads of cups which actually caught the Athenians' fancy and led to their imitation in clay of the Persian metal ware.¹⁸

(ii) Herodotus' ethnographic instinct transpires from his surprise at the fact that none of the booty-collectors were interested in the 'many-coloured garments' (*ἐσθῆτος ... ποικίλης*: 9.80.2) of the Persians. His own catalogue of the Persian army had paid lavish attention to, and thus showed a fascination for, the often exotic garments of the many nationalities making up that army: tiaras, sleeved tunics of diverse colours (7.61), turbans (7.62), stiff and pointed *kurbasias* (7.64), garments of tree-wool (7.65), jerkins (7.67), dyed garments (7.67), etc.¹⁹

(iii) The arms and body gear have a decidedly Persian flavour. Armlets (*ψέλια*) and collars (*στρεπτοί*) are also among the guest-gifts given by the Persian King Cambyses to the Ethiopians (3.20.1, 22.2); Herodotus calls the Persians selected

18 See Miller 1997: 136–146.

19 Flower and Marincola 2002: *ad* 9.80.1 also detect surprise but interpret it differently: 'tastes would soon change', i.e. as Miller 1997: 153–187 shows, Greeks would adopt Persian clothing.

by Mardonius to stay in Europe (and hence the men who fight at Plataea) ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους (8.113.3); and outside the *Histories* this type of body gear is nearly always found in a Persian context (x. *An.* 1.2.27; *Cyr.* 1.3.2). The point is made explicit in the case of the daggers, which Herodotus refers to with the Persian word ἀκινάκη (9.80.2; cf. 7.54.2: Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι).²⁰ What is intriguing is his use of the definite article in connection with these daggers (ἐσκέλευον ψέλια τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας), which conveys the sense of ‘those well-known daggers’.²¹ Herodotus may simply mean that they are well-known from the *Histories* itself, which repeatedly speaks of them (cf. 3.118.2, 128.5; 7.54.2, 67.1; 8.120; 9.107.2). But it may also suggest his autopsy of them, reputedly including that of Mardonius himself (cf. Demosthenes 24.129), on the Acropolis.²²

What stands out in Herodotus’ list of the spolia at Plataea and what clearly is the most characteristic orientalising element is the abundance of gold.

3 Persian Gold in Plataea (and Elsewhere in the *Histories*)

Persian gold is mentioned no less than ten times in the Plataean spolia episode, with silver coming a good second (seven times). Herodotus’ text here mirrors the impact which this particular aspect of the Persian booty must have had on the Greeks then and there, and later when the spolia became family heirlooms or were on display in temples. As Miller 1997: 29 writes: ‘Though Attica had the silver mines of Laureion (Hdt. 7.144.1), Thasos her gold mines (Hdt. 6.46), and Siphnos her brief period of metal-wealth (Hdt. 3.57.2), the contrast between the Persian booty and the general Greek poverty in precious metals must have been considerable’.²³

The same fascination with Persian gold transpires from Herodotus’ explicit references to the gold of the weapons of the Persian contingent in his catalogues (7.41.2, 83.2), and of Masistes’ fish-scale corslet (9.22.2) and the bit of his

20 In general on Herodotus’ use of non-Greek words, see Armayor 1978 and Harrison 1998.

21 Cf. Stein 1894: *ad loc.* (‘der Artikel, weil es die an Persern schon bekannte Waffe war’). There are many more instances of this use of the definite article in Herodotus to refer to well-known things, e.g. the infamous path which would lead the Persians around the mountains of Thermopylae and allow them to defeat the Spartans (τὴν ... ἀτραπὸν: 7.175.2).

22 As argued above for the golden tripod in Delphi. For discussion of the archaeological record of the ἀκινάκη, see Miller 1997: 46–48 and Van Rookhuijzen in this volume.

23 Compare also the argument which Aristagoras uses with the Spartan king: ‘why would you fight with the Arcadians and Argives, *men who have neither gold nor silver*, when you could easily become master of Asia, which is rich in those metals’ (5.49).

horse (9.20). Earlier he had paid lavish attention to the Lydian Croesus' famous wealth: his sacrifice of couches covered with gold and silver and golden *phialai* (1.50) and his dedications in Delphi (117 ingots of white gold, a bowl of gold and a bowl of silver, four silver casks, two sprinkling-vessels one of gold and one of silver, basins of silver, a golden female figure: 1.50–51, and a golden shield: 1.92.1), Thebes (a golden tripod: 1.92.1) and Ephesus (oxen and pillars of gold: 1.92.1), which were there for Herodotus and other Greeks to see.²⁴

Some decades before Herodotus, Aeschylus likewise in his *Persians* (performed in 472), which deals with the battle of Salamis, had put great emphasis on Persian gold: the royal palace in Sardis is 'rich in gold' (3) and 'with golden ornaments' (159), the army 'gold-bedecked' (9), and Xerxes 'born of the golden race' (80).

Gold, thus, in the fifth century BC is 'emblematic of Asian luxury'.²⁵ The question is how to evaluate the Greeks' response to this gold. I am happy to concur with Miller when she writes 'the inflow of such wealth in such exotic form must have had a tremendous and formative impact on Athenian society' (1997: 29), but will argue that as regards Herodotus' *Histories* the picture is more nuanced.

For almost invariably he sheds a negative light on gold. The story of Croesus who, overconfident on account of his wealth, attacks the Persians and loses both throne and riches, is too well-known to need repeating. There are more examples,²⁶ but particularly relevant for our spolia theme is the story of the Greek Aminocles, who can be considered a chance spoliator. When a horrific

24 Cf. 'all these were still surviving until my own time' (1.92) and see note 11.

25 Garvie 2009: *ad* 93–94. The association of gold with Asia is a new development with regard to the Homeric epics, where Mycenae is called πολύχρυσος (*Il.* 7.180; 11.46) and where Greeks receive large quantities of gold (e.g. Odysseus from the Phaeacians in *Od.* 8.390–395). Since gold is associated primarily with the gods, all of whose equipment and tableware are of gold (cf. e.g. *Il.* 4.1–4 and 5.722–731), it is a status symbol of *all* princes in the epics, whether Trojan or Greek. Whether the Greek princes really disposed of so much gold is a question, which is answered negatively by Muhly 2011; he suggests that when Odysseus is said to receive thirteen talents of gold (= 364 kg) as a guest-gift, this is heroic exaggeration. All the gold found in the shaft-graves of Mycenae does not amount to more than 14 kg. This would confirm Miller's thesis that fifth-century Greeks must have been amazed when *actually seeing* the mass of gold of the Persian army.

26 Democedes protesting against Darius' gift of two golden fetters, which only reminds him of his captivity (3.130.4); the Lydian Pythius' offering to and receiving from Xerxes a large amount of gold and silver, which does not prevent Xerxes from executing one of Pythius' sons (7.27–29, 39). It is also relevant to realise that the Persians' tremendous wealth was not the result of natural causes (as was the case with the Lydian Croesus, who profited from the gold dust of Mt Tmolus: 1.93 and 5.101) but of the levying of tributes (3.89–96). In general on gold (esp. as political factor) in the *Histories*, see Lombardo 1989.

storm hits the Persian fleet moored near the Sepiad headland and destroys no less than 400 ships, this naval catastrophe 'became a great boon for Aminocles' (7.190):

Some time after he picked up many gold drinking-cups which were washed ashore, and many silver ones, and he found (εἶρε) Persian treasure-chests, and acquired innumerable precious objects. Thanks to this lucky find (εὐρήμασι) he became a rich man, although in other respects he was not fortunate (εὐτυχέων): for him, too (like all mortals), a dreadful misfortune which involved the slaying of a son brought grief.

This is quintessential Herodotean stuff: at the very moment of a mortal's good luck the – in his worldview – inevitable change of fate is adumbrated. 'Money can't buy happiness' would have been Herodotus' favourite motto; indeed, given that the gods resent a mortal's excessive good fortune, wealth is even dangerous and sure to bring its owner disaster.

When we now return to Herodotus' Plataea spolia scene with these other 'gold' scenes in mind, we may look at the abundance of spoliated Persian gold objects with different eyes. I contend that they convey a message of poetic justice, that is, the Persians getting their just deserts. To understand this point we must call to mind an earlier passage, which forms part of Herodotus' report of Xerxes' advance march through Greece. The Persians force medising Greek states to provide luxurious dinners to them, and the expenditure this entails nearly 'ruins' (ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπικαίτο: 7.118) the Greeks (7.119):

As soon as they heard that the Persian army was approaching, the citizens of a Greek town would grind meal for months. They would fatten the best cattle money could buy and would feed poultry in coops and water-fowl in ponds. And they fabricated *gold and silver cups and craters and all other kinds of tableware* (for the king and his retinue). As soon as the army arrived, a tent was built for Xerxes' lodging ... When the hour came for dinner, the Greek hosts had a hard time, while the Persians, when they had eaten their fill, spent the night there, and on the next day took down the tent, and marched away, *taking all things movable with them and leaving behind nothing*.

In a sense what the Persian 'guests' do – at least in Herodotus' presentation²⁷ – is to loot their Greek 'hosts' since they *take with them* the gold and silver

27 As so often, we are dealing with a Greek interpretation, indeed misconception, of a Persian custom. The Persian king was both a receiver and giver of gifts, which were often

tableware which the latter have fabricated for their entertainment. So when at Plataea Herodotus pays so much attention to the gold and silver couches and tableware of the Persians that are captured by the Greeks, he shows (rather than tells) how the tables are turned and how this time it is the Greeks who ruin the Persians.²⁸

This is one aspect of Herodotus' negative framing of the Persian spolia at Plataea: more than just being the standard outcome of a battle won, the spoliation is morally charged and made to symbolize the way in which the Persians are, deservedly, stripped of their fabulous riches.²⁹ But with this conclusion we have not yet fully unpacked the significance of the passage. For there is still the central figure of the spoliation scene, the Spartan general Pausanias, for us to take a closer look at.

4 Pausanias and the Persian Spoils

It is the victorious Spartan general Pausanias who orders the spoliation and division of spolia. But he also does something else (9.82):

When Pausanias *saw* (ὁρῶντα) Mardonius' tent adorned with gold and silver and multi-coloured tapestries, he ordered Mardonius' bakers and cooks to prepare the kind of meal they were used to prepare for Mardonius. They obeyed, and when Pausanias *saw* (ἰδόντα) the golden and silver couches beautifully (εἶς) draped, the tables of gold and silver, and all the magnificent (μεγαλοπρεπέα) tableware, he was *bowled over* by the good things (ἀγαθὰ) laid out before him and, by way of joke (ἐπὶ γελῳτι), ordered his own servants to prepare a Spartan meal. When the meal was ready and was far different, Pausanias started laughing (γελάσαντα) and sent for the other generals. When they were assembled, Pausanias *pointed*

exchanged during banquets. Gifts and banquets were means to effect social and political bonding. The gifts received by the king of course actually were a form of tribute. See Wright and Hollman 2021 and the chapter of Strootman in this volume. For the motif of the Near-Eastern and Greek banquet in Herodotus, invariably a site for the 'enacting or marking of events of especial importance, the making of crucial dispositions, the examination of moral qualities', see Bowie 2003.

28 Compare Aeschylus in his *Persians*, who makes the defeated king Xerxes enter the stage in rags (1017, 1030), so as to bring out visually and symbolically the complete ruin of the original splendour of the Persian 'gold-bedecked' army; for this motif of reversal, see e.g. Said 1988: 337–341.

29 A small-scale repetition of the motif is the defeated Xerxes' loss, on his way home, of the sacred chariot of Zeus (8.115.4), which had formed the glorious centre of his army while marching out from Sardis (7.40.4).

at each meal and said: 'Men of Greece, I have brought you here because of *these* things (τῶνδε), because I wanted to show you the folly (τὴν ἀφροσύνην) of *this* (τοῦδε) Persian leader, who having *such* (τοιήνδε) a style of living came against us who have *such* (οὕτω) a woeful (δίζυρήν) one.'

If we talk about the impact of objects, more specifically the impact of the Persian spolia at Plataea, then this episode is of crucial interest. Herodotus once again lists a number of the spolia but now has them looked at, or in narratological terms focalized, by one of the characters, Pausanias, who very much likes what he sees (note εἶ, μεγαλοπρεπέα, and ἀγαθά). This brings the spolia close to the narratees who, sharing Pausanias' focalization, 'see' the golden en silver objects for themselves. The couches, tables, tableware and dishes also become almost tangible in that the Spartan points at them, his gestures being evoked in the text by the deictic pronouns τῶνδε, τοῦδε,³⁰ τοιήνδε and οὕτω.

Pausanias uses Persian spolia, symbolically employed in a meal,³¹ to convey a message to his fellow Greeks: the Persians are mad to attack a country as poor as mainland Greece. This is a type of argument that is also voiced by other characters in the *Histories*,³² and that forms part of a much larger theme: the opposition between austere/hard people and luxurious/soft people.³³ Usually, this theme is invoked to stress the toughness of the plucky Greeks who despite smaller numbers and fewer material resources dare to resist the massive and well-equipped Persian forces.³⁴ But here something else is going on. Pausanias clearly wants to deride³⁵ his Persian opponent who has put everything at risk against a country that has nothing to offer.

There is however one detail in Pausanias' speech which, in combination with the emphasis on his gaping at the Persian luxury, also conveys a different emotion: it is quite remarkable that he refers to the Greek way of life as 'woeful'

30 With τοῦδε Pausanias obviously does not point at Mardonius himself (who is dead) but at his tent, which Xerxes had bequeathed to his general when he fled home from Greece (9.82.1). Xerxes'/Mardonius' tent clearly caught the fancy of the Greeks since two different stories are told about it: in 9.70 we heard about the Tegeans looting it, but here it is still intact enough to host Pausanias' lavish Persian meal.

31 Food often plays a role in spolia discourse, see the chapter of Van Gils and Henzel in this volume.

32 E.g. Sandanis who warns Croesus when he is preparing to march against the Persians that he has little to gain (at that stage the Persians are still a sober people) but much to lose (1.71).

33 See e.g. Flower and Marincola 2002: 38–39.

34 Cf. e.g. Demaratus warning Xerxes that 'poverty has always been indigenous to Greece, but she has won for herself courage, the result of wisdom and the force of custom' (7.102.1).

35 Hence the ascending series: ἐπὶ γελῶτι – γελάσαντα – τὴν ἀφροσύνην.

(ὁῖζυρήν),³⁶ rather than, say, 'simple but good'. This suggests that Pausanias is not entirely impervious to the attractions of the Persian way of life. And here it is relevant to recall what this same Spartan would later do: he married the daughter of the Persian general Megabates (5.32), wore Persian clothes and had Persian meals (!) prepared for himself (Th. Pel. 1.130.1), 'developed a desire to become ruler (τύραννος) of Greece' (Hist. 5.32), was accused of medism (Hist. 8.3.2) and died of starvation in Athena's temple in Sparta (Th. Pel. 1.134). Herodotus mentions these negative facts only in passing or not at all since he clearly does not want to detract from the glory of Pausanias' victory at Plataea. But in the spoliation scene of Plataea he does hint at things to come by indicating Pausanias' (i) obvious fascination with the Persian luxury goods, (ii) laughter, always an ominous sign in the *Histories*,³⁷ and (iii) low esteem of the Greek way of life.³⁸

This negative undertone of Pausanias' behaviour after Plataea can be further substantiated by comparing another banquet scene. Two Spartan heralds are sent to Susa and on their way make a stop-over with the Persian satrap Hydarnes (7.135):

He gave them a hospitable welcome and invited them to dinner, in the course of which he asked them: 'Why, men of Sparta, do you refuse to become friends with the king? You see (ὁρᾶτε) how the king knows how to honour brave men, when you *look at* (ἀποβλέποντες) me and my situation. So it could be with you, if you would submit to the king.'

36 Flower and Marincola 2002: ad 82.3 note that this (poetic) word occurs only here in the *Histories*.

37 See e.g. Lateiner 1977.

38 Cf. Flower and Marincola 2002: ad 9.82; Pelling 2006: 115–116 ('it is a delicious hint of the Pausanias of the future, the person who would indeed find it incomprehensible that anyone would attack Greece for the dubious pleasure of eating a Spartan supper') and Rutherford 2018: 18 ('The historian did not need to spell out the contrast between this admirable rejection of decadent dining and Pausanias' later corruption by foreign ways and foreign wealth ... Pausanias rightly exposes the Persians' misguided ambitions as absurd; but that does not mean that a Greek, even a Spartan, cannot be tempted to aspire to wealth of the kind associated with the invading power:'). The fact that Pausanias is given a larger share of the spolia than the others (9.81.2) also perhaps hints at a nascent tendency to see himself as 'more equal' (in the Orwellian sense) than the other Greeks. The irony of the passage has been completely missed by How and Wells 1928: ad loc., who write: 'this contrast between Persian luxury and Spartan hardness is *rather strangely* assigned to Pausanias, who himself within a year or two fell into the luxurious and despotic habits of an Eastern Sultan' (my italics, IdJ).



FIGURE 5.3 Pausanias. Eighteenth century print
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Once again, a lavish meal is used to symbolize, very concretely, the Persian way of life and is focalized by Greeks, who, this time, are openly invited to adopt that luxurious life-style. The Spartan heralds, however, indignantly refuse the idea of medising and instead glowingly praise freedom. Their steadfast refusal points up, by way of contrast, the ambiguity of Pausanias' much warmer response to Persian luxury.

Where does all of this leave us when talking about the impact of the Plataean spolia?

5 Conclusion: The Impact of the Plataean Spolia

Herodotus' report on the spoliation at Plataea displays three of the four stages of appropriation discussed by Versluys in his chapter. To start with, it reflects Greek fascination with Persian luxury and wealth, especially the abundance of gold. Herodotus counters this fascination, however, by framing the Greek spoliation of Persian tableware as a form of poetic justice for the Persian 'theft' of Greek tableware on their march through Greece. For the spolia to have this symbolic significance they must clearly remain Persian (hence the Persian word *akinakas*) and we are dealing with stage one ('material appropriation').

Part of the spolia is dedicated to the gods, but not before they have first been turned into Greek works of art, a clear instance of stage four ('transformation').

The most interesting stage is represented by the figure of Pausanias, who right away uses the Persian spolia for a festive meal. The meal is meant by him to point up Persian foolishness in attacking the poor Greeks but it betrays his being attracted to Persian luxury. Pausanias starts to look differently at the frugal Spartan meals he is used to and to contemplate the more luxurious Persian ones (such as we know he will later actually come to consume); this is exactly the process covered by stage three ('incorporation').

If we include an earlier remark by Herodotus, we even have an instance of the second phase ('objectification'): the Tegeans are the first to enter the Persian camp at Plataea and plunder Mardonius' tent. One of the objects they capture is the bronze manger of Mardonius' horses, which they dedicate in the temple of Athena Alea in their home-city (9.70.3).

Where does this leave Herodotus? Later spolia texts, starting with the Roman ones, will stress the corrupting effect of Eastern booty on morals and manliness. Herodotus, however, associates wealth and luxury not so much with decadence, as with the political system of autocracy. The rejection of a Persian meal by the Spartan heralds signals their love of freedom, whereas the trying out of such a meal by Pausanias signals his latent interest in tyranny. Herodotus' negative framing of the Persian spolia from Plataea therefore is, in the final analysis, not a sign of orientalism³⁹ but of his abhorrence of autocracy.⁴⁰

39 For Herodotus' nuanced view on Persians, see e.g. Pelling 1997.

40 See also the chapter on Herodotus in Gorman and Gorman 2014, in which they argue that the notion of 'pernicious luxury', as they call it, is not yet to be found in the *Histories*.

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Herodotus and the Persian Spoils on the Acropolis of Athens

Janric Z. van Rookhuijzen

With the Persian invasion of 480–479 BCE, many Persian objects entered the Greek world and some of them were incorporated in that world as spoils. This spoliation encompassed various interrelated practices, including the dedication of objects in sanctuaries (e.g., the manger of Mardonius' horse in the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea), the melting down of weapons to create monuments (e.g., the serpent column at Delphi), and the selling of spoils to finance buildings (e.g., the Athenian treasury at Delphi).¹ The point of departure in the present chapter is Herodotus' passage on the objects that the Greeks collected at the battlefield of Plataea in 479 BCE (9.80). Irene de Jong, in the present volume, analyzes this passage and argues that the attention paid to the spoils reflects Greek fascination with Persian luxury, but at the same time frames both luxury and fascination in a negative way. The objects become prototypes of autocracy. Here, it is my aim to comment on Herodotus' interest in the Persian spoils from a historical and archaeological perspective, asking the following question: how could Herodotus have known about these objects and described them in such detail?

The application of historical and archaeological perspectives to passages from the *Histories* is not without challenges and we need to be conscious that this work refracts the past through prisms of oral tradition, folklore, memory, and literary fabrication.² My approach in this chapter does not concern the question whether the stories about the Persian spoils recounted by Herodotus and other authors are historically true. Nor will I compare the spoils to archaeologically known objects from Persia and elsewhere, as others have already done so.³ Rather, by investigating what may have furnished the basis of Herodotus' description of the spoils and what they would have meant to him

1 Hdt. 9.70; Paus. 10.11.5; 10.13.9. See Gauer 1968 for a complete overview of Persian spoils as known from Greek dedications.

2 See, in general, Van Rookhuijzen 2018: 5–38; Proietti 2021.

3 Thompson 1956; Miller 1997: 41–43.

and other Greeks, I aim to shed light on the incorporation of supposed spoils in the Greek world and the resulting transformation of history.

As this chapter is concerned with the difficult subject of the 'real' world behind Herodotus' text, a disclaimer is in place: in this discussion, I do not consider the objects as necessarily authentic Persian items of the events of 490–479 BCE; after all, this authenticity is beyond our means of reconstruction. Rather, I would like to point at the possibility that tangible objects existed in Herodotus' time which were considered to be Persian spoils and could have helped to construe the discourse on the Persian spoils that we find in the *Histories*.

This exploration will not lead to definitive answers, but rather to a reasonable scenario based on literary, epigraphical, and archaeological data. The first part of the chapter focuses on the phenomenon of treasure collecting on the Acropolis of Athens, about which a wealth of textual evidence informs us. I argue that many Persian spoils, plausibly including some of those referred to in Herodotus, were in antiquity in the possession of Athena, the citadel's divine mistress. The second part of the chapter discusses the incorporation of the spoils in the sacred landscape of the Acropolis, where their presence emphasized the narrative of Athens' rebirth after the disaster of the Persian invasion.

1 The Athenian Treasure Inventories

Herodotus' passage on the Persian spoils reflected historical reality at least in part. In fact, from various sources from classical Athens it appears that at least some of these items had arrived in that city and acquired local fame. Demosthenes, in passing, refers to the spoils and associates them with the Athenian temples (22.13):

those who built the Propylaea and the Parthenon and decorated the other temples with the Persian spoils (ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων), in which we rightly pride ourselves.

We also possess a very informative passage by Thucydides, who indicates the state of Athens' public treasury on the eve of the Peloponnesian war (2.13.3–5):

[Pericles] ordered [the people] to take courage with the 600 talents coming in to the city every year from the allies as tribute, without the rest of the revenue. And on the Acropolis, there were then still 6,000 talents of

coined silver (the maximum was 9,700 talents, from which money was taken to pay for the Propylaea of the Acropolis and the other buildings and for Potidaea), not counting the uncoined gold and silver and the private and public votive offerings and so many holy objects for the processions and the games and the Persian spoils and similar items (ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περί τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκύλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον), worth no less than 500 talents. He added much money from the other sanctuaries that they could use. If they were absolutely forced to, also the gold laid on the goddess herself: he indicated that the statue had 40 talents of pure gold, all of it removable. And he said that they would need to repay everything that was used for their salvation.

The passage provides information on the function of the sanctuary of the Acropolis as a store of treasures which could be used to finance war in the Athenians' hour of need – even the golden dress of Athena's colossal statue in the Doric temple on the Acropolis that is usually known as the Parthenon (but which I will refer to as the Great Temple in this chapter to avoid confusion with a treasury that was called the Parthenon) could be melted down if necessary. Thucydides' testimony also indicates that the Persian spoils were stored on the Acropolis and that it, along with various other treasures, constituted a special class of valuables, not counted among the 6,000 talents of silver in coins.

Athenian epigraphy offers a source of validation of the information given by Thucydides. From 434/3 BCE (i.e., approximately around the time when Herodotus' work came into existence), until ca. 304 BCE, the treasurers (ταμίαι) of Athena and other gods produced annual inventory inscriptions which listed the valuable objects comprising Athens' treasure. Though the objects themselves are all long gone, many of these inscriptions survive.⁴ In their time, they were presumably meant to provide insight into the wealth of Athenian divinities, which grew over the years with the practice of dedication. These riches ultimately belonged to the city of Athens and could be used in times of need, as Thucydides says. In addition, the inventories enabled the treasurers to examine whether any precious objects were stolen (which actually happened, as we will see below). In many cases, the weights of items were recorded,

4 See, generally, Harris 1995 for a systematic analysis of these inventories. This work is used in the present article to refer to individual treasures in the inventories. Key to the Roman numerals: II: *Opisthodomos*; III: *Proneos*; IV: *Parthenon*; V: *Hekatompedos Neos*. Important updates in Hamilton 1996; Hamilton 2000; Kosmetatou 2002. An important consideration is that Harris places in the *Hekatompedos Neos* many treasures that do not have a clarifying topographical caption, which means that they may in fact have been kept elsewhere. For a brief introduction on the treasures, see Lapatin 2005.

presumably to verify whether any precious metal was chiseled off and to be able to calculate Athena's total wealth, as recorded by Thucydides. These documents provide fascinating insights into what was kept in the temples on the Acropolis. The arrival, relocation, and disappearance of treasures over the years can be observed by comparing inscriptions from different years. Items of lesser value, for example bronze ones, were presumably not always deemed worthy of recording in the inventory inscriptions.

Thucydides clearly mentions the Persian spoils as part of Athens' calculable wealth. This prompts the question whether actual Persian items can be recognized in the surviving inscriptions. Dorothy Thompson, who was one of the first to address this question, eagerly identified Persian spoils in these lists.⁵ However, the inscriptions do not offer much descriptive detail and they do not contain captions such as 'Persian spoils'. Diane Harris, the author of an authoritative study that catalogues the inventory inscriptions is more cautious than Thompson: though admitting that some items may perhaps be spoils (or bought with spoils), she argues that they are invisible to us because the inventories do not offer contextual information.⁶ Elizabeth Kosmetatou has compiled a catalogue of treasures from Athens and elsewhere that can probably be classified as of Persian origin, but notes that the identification of Persian items in these inventories presents a considerable challenge to scholars.⁷ Indeed, caution is needed because the brief entries in the inscriptions rarely offer absolute certainty. However, if we pay more attention to other evidence as well as to the *modus operandi* of the treasurers, we can perhaps try, as Dorothy Thompson did in her pioneering work, to identify Persian spoils in these inventories.

Of key relevance to the present investigation is the topography recorded in these inscriptions. The treasurers often grouped the treasures by their location. Initially, in the fifth century BCE, they recorded these groups on separate stones. Later, in the fourth century BCE, they published them on single stones. In many, but unfortunately not all cases, the name of the location was provided. The location names appearing over the years are 'Hundred-foot Temple' ('Εκατόμπεδος Νεώς), 'Fore-temple' (Πρόνεως), 'Backroom' ('Οπισθόδομος), 'Old Temple' (Αρχαῖος Νεώς), 'Bronze Store' (Χαλκοθήκη), and 'Virgin Room' (Παρθενών). The topography of the treasures is of interest to us because it seems to relate to a qualitative categorization of the treasures.⁸

5 Thompson 1956.

6 Harris 1995: 108, 110: 'The number of objects [Thompson] attributed to the Persians was generous; today it is difficult to ascribe any to the Persians, with the possible exception of those which have Persian names, such as the ἀκινάκαι.'

7 Kosmetatou 2004: 144–147.

8 For the standard identifications of these rooms with parts of buildings on the Acropolis and some discussion, see Harris 1995: 2–8. For a reanalysis with different identifications of the

The *Hekatompedos Neos* contained mostly gold or gilded treasures, in the shape of Nikai statues and wreaths. This was certainly the main room of the Great Temple, the building originally known as the Hundredfooter (Ἑκατόμπεδον) and later and today, after Pausanias (1.1.2, 1.24.5, 8.41.9), called the Parthenon. The main room of this building occupies two thirds of the interior and is approximately 100 Attic feet long. Not only does the size of this room fit the name; among the inventoried treasures was the 'gold wreath that the Nike on the hand of the golden statue has on her head' (στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὃν ἡ Νίκη ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ χρυσοῦ). This is the colossal golden statue of Athena that certainly stood in the main room of the Great Temple, which is known to have held a Nike statue in her hand, and which Thucydides refers to in the passage cited above.⁹

Unlike the *Hekatompedos Neos*, both the *Proneos* and the *Opisthodomos* contained mostly silver vessels, including many *phialai* (libation bowls). The *Proneos* is usually identified with the eastern porch of the Great Temple leading into the *Hekatompedos Neos*. The *Opisthodomos* would have been the analogous western porch, leading into the western chamber of the Great Temple. Alternatively, it was the western chamber itself or even located elsewhere on the Acropolis. The *Chalkotheke* was not part of any temple, but probably a storage building west of the Great Temple. It contained various types of arms, possibly of lesser value.¹⁰

The *Archaïos Neos* was probably a part of the Karyatid Temple (perhaps a humble ancient shrine standing inside of it), as the accoutrements (jewelry, figurines, and an *aegis*) of the small, old wooden statue of Athena that certainly stood in the Karyatid Temple are listed in the inventories.¹¹ These lists also include what appear to be small votive offerings (miniature weapons and vessels) affixed to the doorposts.

The most enigmatic of the treasuries was the one known to Classical Athenians as the *Parthenon*. The *Parthenon* has traditionally been sought inside the Great Temple, because the name *Parthenon* was later used for the entire building. Because the large temple room was called the *Hekatompedos Neos*, the *Parthenon* has usually been identified with the smaller western chamber, even if there is no conclusive evidence for this identification. Wherever it was, behind its doors a mass of extraordinary objects was stored. According to the first inventory of 434/3, the *Parthenon* contained the following items:

Proneos (synonymous with *Opisthodomos* for the west room of the Great Temple) and the *Parthenon* (west part of the Karyatid Temple), see Van Rookhuijzen 2020.

9 Harris 1995: v.94. Cf. v.89.

10 La Follette 1986.

11 It is known that the old statue stood here due to its mention in the building account of the Karyatid Temple: IG I³ 474 (409/8), line 1.

TABLE 1 Treasures in the *Parthenon* in 434/3 (IG I³ 343)

Greek designation (indications of numbers are omitted)	Translation	Reference in Harris 1995
στέφανος χρυσός	a gold wreath	IV.57
φιάλαι χρυσαί	gold phialai	IV.50
χρυσίον ἄσημον	unmarked gold	IV.17
καρχήσιον χρυσὸν τὸμ πυθμένα ὑπαργυρον ἔχον, ἱερὸν τὸ ἑρα- κλέος τὸ ἐν Ἐλαιεῖ	a gold goblet with silver base, holy property of Herakles in Elaious	IV.53
ἔλο δύο ὑπαργύρο καταχρῦσο	two gilded silver nails	IV.47
πρόσωπον ὑπαργυρον κατάχρυσον	a gilded silver mask	IV.24
φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ	silver phialai	IV.48
λείοιμ περίχρυσον, στάχυες ΔΙΙ	a gilded wheat field; 12 stalks	IV.23
κανὸ ὑποχσύλο καταχρῦσο	two gilded wooden baskets	IV.13
θυμιατήριον ὑπόχσYLON κατάχρυσον	a gilded wooden incense burner	IV.54
κόρε ἐπὶ στέλες κατάχρυσος	a gilded kore on a stele	IV.20
κοίτε ὑπόχσYLOS κατάχρυσος	a gilded wooden box	IV.14
γοργόνειον, κάμπε ἐπίχρυσα	a gorgoneion, gilded monsters	IV.21
ἵππος, γρύψ, γρυπὸς προτομέ, γρύψ [μέγας], λέοντος κεφαλῆ, ἰόρμος ἀνθέμον, δράκον ἐπίχρυσα ταῦτα	a horse, griffin, part of a grif- fin, lion's head, wreath/neck- lace of flowers, snake, these gilded	IV.22
λύρα κατάχρυσος	a gilded lyre	IV.42
λύραι ἑλεφάντιναι	ivory lyres (3)	IV.43
λύραι ξύλιναι	wooden lyres (4)	IV.44
τράπεζα ἑλεφαντομένη	a table inlaid with ivory	IV.30
ἀκινάκαι περίχρυσοι	gilded <i>akinakai</i> (6)	IV.1
κυνὲ ἐπίχρυσος	a gilded leather helmet	IV.3
ἄσπιδες ἐπίχρυσοι ὑπόχσYLOI	gilded wooden shields (13)	IV.9
χσιφομάχαιραι	sabers (9)	IV.45
χσίφε	swords (5)	IV.46
θώρακες	cuirasses (14)	IV.6
ἄσπιδες ἐπίσημοι	shields with blazon (6)	IV.8
ἄσπιδες ἐπίχαλκοι	brazen shields (31)	IV.7

TABLE 1 Treasures in the *Parthenon* in 434/3 (IG I³ 343) (cont.)

Greek designation (indications of numbers are ommitted)	Translation	Reference in Harris 1995
θρόνοι	thrones (6)	IV.31
δίφροι	seats (4)	IV.27
ὀκλαδίαι	folding chairs (9)	IV.29
κράνε χαλκᾶ	bronze helmets (3)	IV.4
κλῖναι Χιοργῆς	beds made in Chios (7)	IV.25
κλῖναι Μιλεσιοργῆς	beds made in Miletus (10)	IV.26
κλινὸν πόδες ἐπάργυροι	feet for beds, overlaid with silver (13)	IV.28

This diverse assortment of musical instruments, jewelry, tableware, furniture, figurines, weapons, and armor is tantalizing. Unlike the *Hekatompedos Neos*, *Proneos*, and *Opisthodomos*, which contained only metallic items, the *Parthenon* also contained objects made of ivory and wood. Most of these items in the *Parthenon* were not weighed, as if their value in precious metals was not a concern for the treasurers. Another difference is that items from the *Hekatompedos Neos*, *Proneos*, and *Opisthodomos* frequently disappear from the lists, as if they were borrowed (i.e., sold or minted) to finance state activities. By contrast, the *Parthenon* collection remained intact until the very last inventory inscription. In fact, the collection only grew over the years as more dedications reached the *Parthenon*.¹²

How was this extraordinary collection created? There must have been something special about the treasures in the *Parthenon* – something that the Athenian inventories, succinct as they are, do not attest to. It is a reasonable hypothesis that these treasures included part of what Thucydides referred to as the ‘holy objects for the processions and the games and the Persian spoils and similar items’ (ἱερὰ σκεύη περὶ τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκῦλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτότροπον). Such singular treasures as the gilded mask and wheat field with twelve stalks are difficult to explain. It is possible, but unprovable, that they were heirlooms or accidental discoveries from more ancient times.

12 Hamilton 2000: 251; Meyer 2017: 132–133.

For our purposes, one entry in the inscription immediately stands out: the six gilded Persian swords (ἀκινάκαι). The non-Greek, Persian term ἀκινάκης is familiar to readers of Herodotus.¹³ It would seem likely that this entry describes real, Persian dagger-like swords, rather than Greek swords called by a foreign term. Were these the ones picked up from the battlefield of Plataea and described by Herodotus in 9.80? The lists do not indicate the provenance of the swords and, alternatively, they could come from any other battlefield or have arrived in Athens from the Achaemenid Empire by trade.¹⁴ Still, the idea that they are spoils from Plataea is not implausible.¹⁵ Centuries later, in the second century CE, the periegete Pausanias still saw alleged Persian spoils on the Acropolis inside the building that he calls the Temple of [Athena] Polias (ναὸς τῆς Πολιάδος, 1.27.1):

As regards the votive offerings (ἀναθήματα) worth mentioning, among the ancient ones there are a folding chair (δίφρος ὀκλαδίας), a work of Daedalus, and Persian spoils (λάφυρα ἀπὸ Μήδων): a cuirass (θώραξ) of Masistios, who had the leadership of the cavalry at Plataea, and an *akinakes* said to be of Mardonius. I know that Masistios was killed by the Athenian cavalry. But as Mardonius fought against Lacedaemonians and was killed by a Spartan, the Athenians could not have taken the *akinakes* in the first place, nor would the Lacedaemonians probably have allowed the Athenians to take it.

Pausanias' recording of these treasures in the Temple of Athena Polias is significant, because the three types of items – folding chairs, cuirasses, and *akinakai* – are all attested in the classical inventory inscriptions of the *Parthenon*, and not in the other treasuries (with the exception of more *akinakai* in the *Chalkotheke*).¹⁶ It is not absolutely certain whether the objects mentioned by Pausanias featured among them. Each of these matches could certainly be coincidental. However, the items are rather specific: Persian

13 See the chapter on Herodotus by de Jong in this volume.

14 For the many roads by which Achaemenid material culture could arrive in Greece, see, generally, Miller 1997.

15 Miller 1997: 46–48.

16 *Akinakai*: Harris 1995: IV.1. IV.2 is another *akinakes* which reached the Parthenon treasury in 428/7 and was always listed separately. Cf. Harris 1995: 27, 109–110; Miller 1997: 46–48; Kosmetatou 2004: 147–148. Cuirasses: Harris 1995: IV.6a, IV.6b. Herodotus describes Masistios' cuirass at 9.22. Cf. Miller 1997: 48–49. Folding chairs: Harris 1995: IV.29a, IV.29b. For the topographical implications of the overlap of the passage in Pausanias with the inventories, see Van Rookhuijzen 2020: 30–31. Cf. Morris 1992: 265–268.

swords, cuirasses, and folding chairs are not regular votive offerings to Greek gods. Moreover, in this case, the force of the correspondence concerns *three* matches. This diminishes the possibility of mere coincidence. Thus, Pausanias, in his time, plausibly encountered some of the same items that were earlier recorded in the inscriptions. With this ‘intertext’, we can with reasonable certainty infer that the *Parthenon* did accommodate objects of special value: not only a folding chair said to have belonged to Daedalus, but also a number of Persian spoils. These items were not necessarily owned by famous Persians, nor can it be assumed that they were authentically Persian. In fact, Pausanias himself appears skeptical when he suggests that the *akinakes* perhaps did not actually belong to Mardonius.¹⁷ Yet, what is relevant for the present investigation is that these treasures could be *considered* to be Persian spoils and thus invested with historical meaning.¹⁸

Whether the *akinakes* was truly Mardonius’ or not, it was famous, to go by its mention in other sources. Dio Chrysostomus mentions the sword as a grand dedication to the gods (2.36) and Demosthenes, in the speech *In Timocratem* (129), dated to 353 BCE, relates the following story:

[Was it not Glauketes] who, though you deemed him worthy as an ambassador, robbed the goddess here of her tithe from the enemies? Was it not he, who, when in office as treasurer at the Acropolis, stole from the Acropolis those prizes of the city (τάριστεία τῆς πόλεως) taken from the Persians: the silver-footed seat and Mardonius’ *akinakes* (τόν τε δίφρον τὸν ἀργυρόποδα καὶ τὸν ἀκινάκην τὸν Μαρδονίου), which was worth 300 darics? This event is so notorious that everybody knows about it.

Demosthenes’ story is interesting not only because it testifies to the real danger of theft on the Acropolis, in this case by a treasurer, but also because it brings another Persian object on the Acropolis to our attention: a silver-footed δίφρος (‘stool’ or ‘seat’). The grammarian Harpocration, commenting on Demosthenes’ term ἀργυρόπους δίφρος, defines it as follows:

ἀργυρόπους δίφρος· ὁ Ξέρξου, ὃς αἰχμάλωτος ἐπεκαλείτο, ἐφ’ οὗ καθεζόμενος ἐθεώρει τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ἀνέκειτο δὲ εἰς τὸν παρθενῶνα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

17 I am ready to follow Pausanias’ skepticism in this case and would add more skepticism regarding the other two treasures: like the folding chair assigned to the mythical figure Daedalus, a special cuirass in this collection could easily have been assigned to Masistios apocryphally.

18 Cf. Thompson 1956: 285.

Silver-footed seat: that of Xerxes and nicknamed the 'looted one'. Xerxes was seated on it as he watched the sea battle [of Salamis]. It was dedicated in Athena's *Parthenon*.

Herodotus does not mention the seat in the relevant scene of the battle of Salamis (8.90), but Plutarch's account does include it (*Life of Themistocles* 13.1; here, the object is golden rather than silver). As with the items seen by Pausanias, Xerxes' 'throne' could be epigraphically attested as one of the several δῖφοι listed in the inventories of – again – the *Parthenon*. In some later lists, one of these seats is in fact called 'silver-footed' (ἀργυρόπους).¹⁹ The appearance of a silver-footed seat in the *Parthenon* collection matches Harpocration's indication that the item was dedicated in Athena's *Parthenon*. Absolute certainty is never possible, but it is plausible that this object was believed to have belonged to Xerxes as he watched the battle of Salamis. Of course, as with Mardonius' *akinakes*, the seat may not have been authentically Xerxes', or even of Persian fabrication in the first place, but what matters to the present investigation is that it was believed that Xerxes' furniture was stored on the Acropolis inside the *Parthenon* treasury.

It might perhaps not be the case that all seats in these lists are Persian spoils and they could also belong to the category of processional items.²⁰ However, these categories might not have been mutually exclusive: Dorothy Thompson suggested that the Persian spoils were actually paraded in the Panathenaic procession.²¹ While this suggestion cannot be proven, it would fit the importance bestowed upon these items as Athena's most prized possessions. In fact, many objects of the types recorded in the inventories (vessels, musical instruments, incense burners, and furniture) are also carried in the ceremonial parade depicted in the frieze of the Great Temple, such as the seats in the 'peplos scene' (fig. 6.1).²²

On the basis of these accumulating correspondences between the inventory inscriptions and literary passages, we can state with some plausibility that spoils understood to be of Persian provenance were kept on the Acropolis and that some of them are recognizable in the inventory lists of the *Parthenon*: the *akinakai*, cuirasses, and seats. This critical mass of reasonable correspondences makes it plausible that more 'Persian' spoils are recorded in the Acropolis inventories. For example, the helmets, shields, sabers, and swords

19 Harris 1995: IV.27. Cf. Thompson 1956: 285–289; Miller 1997: 54; Kosmetatou 2004: 148–149.

20 Seat carriers (διδροφόροι) are mentioned in Ar. *Av.* 1552; *Ec.* 734.

21 Thompson 1956: 290.

22 Lapatin 2005: 281.



FIGURE 6.1 Peplos scene of the Great Temple frieze, with two diphrophoroi on the left. British Museum, London

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in the *Parthenon* could easily represent war booty.²³ One wonders why a tantalizing group of τοξεύματα σαπρά ἄχρηστα ('broken useless arrowheads') was kept in the *Parthenon* unless it had some historical value.²⁴ The *Chalkotheke* with its weapons, including *akinakai* and armor, is another likely repository of Persian spoils.²⁵

There are more groups of items in the inventories that scholars have classified as Persian. Thompson considered as Persian the gem with a gold ring in a bronze cup (ὄνυξ χρυσὸν τὸν δακτύλιον ἔχων ἐν χαλκῇ κυλιχινίδι) which appears in some of the later *Parthenon* lists.²⁶ Elizabeth Kosmetatou adds several animal and monster figurines in the *Parthenon*.²⁷ A few other items are deliberately labeled 'Persian': a single Persian aulos-case (συβήνη Μηδική) in the *Parthenon*, silver Persian shekels (σίγλοι) in the *Hekatompedos Neos*, and several Persian

23 Harris 1995: IV.3, IV.4, IV.7, IV.8, IV.9, IV.10, IV.11, IV.12, IV.45, IV.46.

24 Harris 1995: V.3 (here probably misattributed to the *Hekatompedos Neos*); p. 110.

25 IG II² 1425 (368/7), line 377. IG II² 1425 (368/7), line 395. Cf. Harris 1995: 110.

26 Harris 1995: IV.32; Thompson 1956: 285.

27 Harris 1995: IV.22. Kosmetatou 2004: 149–150.

bridles (χαλινοὶ Μηδικοί) in the *Chalkotheke*.²⁸ Although these items were classified as Persian, this does, of course, not necessarily make them spoils; we do not possess any text in which such items are classified as such.²⁹

Returning to the passage in Herodotus on the spoils of the battle of Plataea (9.80), we can perhaps find some further correspondences with the inventory inscriptions. Herodotus makes mention of tents (σκηναί), gold and silver cauldrons (λάβητες), gold mixing bowls (κρητῆρες), libation bowls (φιάλαι), cups (ἐκπῶματα), gilded and silvered beds (κλίνας), bracelets (ψέλια), and collars (στρεπτοί). Mardonios' (or Xerxes') tent did not stand on the Acropolis or appear in the inventories, but was a famous object in Athens: Pericles' or Themistocles' Odeion (music hall) at the foot of the Acropolis was said to be a replica of it and roofed with wood from Persian ships.³⁰ The various types of vessels as well as collars and bracelets are attested in the inventory lists of several treasuries.³¹ However, it is impossible to identify them as spoils because such items were rather common dedications. A slightly more plausible correspondence with Herodotus' 'catalogue' are the beds in the *Parthenon* described as made in Miletus and Chios, which were part of the Persian empire during 480 and 479.³² The golden bit of Masistios' horse, referred to by Herodotus in another passage (9.20), could perhaps be the gilded bridle (χαλινὸς κεχρυσωμένος) in the *Hekatompedos Neos*.³³ We will never know for sure whether any of these entries correspond to the passage in Herodotus, but for every category, correlates can be found.

In sum, it seems that a plausible case can be made that real or alleged Persian spoils were stored on the Acropolis. Persian spoils can potentially be found in most of the treasuries, but it seems that the most special items were

28 Aulos-case: Harris 1995: v.190 (here probably misattributed to the *Hekatompedos Neos*). Shekels: Harris 1995: iv.60. Bridles: *IG* II² 1424a (369/8 BCE), line 135; *IG* II² 1425 (368/7), lines 389–390. Cf. Harris 1995: 110; Kosmetatou 2004: 150–151.

29 See, generally, Kosmetatou 2004.

30 Paus. 1.20.4; Plu. *Per.* 13.9; Vitruv. 5.9.1. Cf. Allen 1941; Broneer 1944; Miller 1997: 49–53; 2017: 58–66.

31 Drinking vessels: e.g., Harris 1995: III.1–3, III.33–40, IV.48b, IV.51, V.240, V.278–279, V.283–299. Lebetes in the *Chalkotheke*: *IG* II² 1424a (369/8 BCE), line 261; *IG* II² 1425 (368/7), lines 404, 410. Kraters: Harris 1995: II.15, V.236–239. Expensive vessels are also referred to in Hdt. 9.41. Cf. Miller 1997: 59–61. Collars or necklaces: e.g., Harris 1995: iv.39, iv.40, v.135, v.135 (called στρεπτός), v.140, v.141. Bracelets: e.g., Harris 1995: II.5, v.127. Cf. Miller 1997: 57–58; Kosmetatou 2004: 152–153.

32 Harris 1995: iv.25, iv.26. Cf. Hdt. 9.82; Thompson 1956: 288, identifying these beds as Persian thrones; Miller 1997: 53–55, saying that it cannot be known whether the beds are spoils.

33 Harris 1995: v.170. Cf. Miller 1997: 49.

kept in the *Parthenon*, which housed the most stable and eclectic collection of all the treasuries. In the continuation of this article, I suggest that the choice of the Athenians to store these spoils in the *Parthenon* is significant, as they were here incorporated in the symbolism of this part of the Acropolis.

2 The Incorporation of the Persian Spoils in the Symbolism of the Acropolis

We know from Pausanias that the spoils were, at least at the time of his visit, kept in a building called the ‘Temple of [Athena] Polias’ (ναὸς τῆς Πολιάδος). Today, most scholars would agree that this building must be identified with the Ionic temple with Karyatids (architectural sculptures of virgins) on the north side of the Acropolis, whose fuller title was ‘Ancient Temple of Athena Polias’ (Ἀρχαῖος Νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος).³⁴ Ever since the seventeenth century, this building has been known as the *Erechtheion*, the sanctuary of the mythical king Erechtheus and Poseidon, described by Pausanias (1.26.5). However, the *Erechtheion* was almost certainly located elsewhere on the Acropolis.³⁵

Although Pausanias saw the spoils in the Karyatid Temple, Harpocration and the inventory inscriptions place the spoils in the *Parthenon*. As discussed, according to the traditional opinion, the name *Parthenon* was originally restricted to the western chamber of the Great Temple. For sure, the spoils could have been moved from the Great Temple to the Karyatid Temple by the time of Pausanias’ visit. However, I have recently argued that the name *Parthenon* originally did not apply to the western chamber of the Great Temple; that space was rather called the *Opisthodomos*. Instead, I suggest that the name *Parthenon* may have originated with the western part of the Karyatid Temple.³⁶ The precise correspondence of the treasures mentioned by Pausanias and entries in the *Parthenon* inventories is an important argument for this proposal (even if this argument is not entirely conclusive because the treasures could have been moved at any point over the centuries). If this proposed identification of the *Parthenon* treasury is correct, the Persian spoils were always, i.e., not only in Pausanias’ time, but already in the Classical period of the inventory inscriptions, located inside the Karyatid Temple.

34 See Van Rookhuijzen 2020: 20–22 for the terminology of this building and references. For an alternative view, see e.g. Ferrari 2002, identifying the Old Temple of Athena exclusively with the Dörpfeld foundation.

35 On the problem of the identification of the *Erechtheion* with the Karyatid Temple, see, e.g., Jeppesen 1987; Van Rookhuijzen 2021 (identification with the Dörpfeld foundation).

36 Van Rookhuijzen 2020.

Why does the precise location of the spoils matter? Following the traditional opinion that the *Parthenon* was located in the western chamber of the Great Temple, the location of the spoils did not carry any particular meaning. It may be the case that many of the Great Temple's sculptures glorified Athens' triumph over mythical barbarian enemies – a symbolism which became especially pertinent after the Persian attack.³⁷ Yet, the west room of the Great Temple itself is not known to have had a cultic, historical, or symbolic function. By contrast, if the topographical location of the Persian spoils in the Karyatid Temple is accepted, we can arrive at a deeper understanding of the meaning invested in these objects. The Karyatid Temple was primarily the location of the *Archaïos Neos*, the shrine of the small, shapeless, but all-important ancient statue of Athena made of olive wood that would have fallen from heaven (Paus. 1.26.7). In fact, the temple was called in a construction account 'the temple on the Acropolis in which the ancient statue [stands]' (ὁ νεὸς ὁ ἐμὲ πόλει ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα).³⁸ Though small, and not made of precious metal, the statue was the holiest object in Athens. This Athena was the goddess that protected the city and the recipient of the *peplos*, the sacred garment woven on the occasion of the annual Panathenaia festival. She was the ideal guardian of the Persian spoils.³⁹

The western annex of the Karyatid Temple, the part that can reasonably be identified as the *Parthenon*, had associations with the mythical virgin princesses of Athens (Pandrosos, Herse, and Aglauros, the daughters of the mythical serpent king Kekrops), who had been appointed as guardians of Athena's foster son Erichthonios. The frieze of the building plausibly included depictions of this myth and the Karyatids themselves might represent these maidens, or alternatively the six daughters of the later king Erechtheus, known to have been sacrificed to save Athens from a foreign invasion.

Whoever they represent, the Karyatids seem to be leaving their virgin apartment to gaze over the remains of the enigmatic Dörpfeld foundation in the middle of the Acropolis (named after the archaeologist Wilhelm Dörpfeld who ordered its excavation in 1885). The Dörpfeld foundation is an ancient structure thought to have occupied the location of a palace-like structure in the late Bronze Age. It certainly supported one of the citadel's Archaic temples. This temple cannot have been fully extant anymore at the time of the construction of the Karyatid Temple in the second half of the fifth century, even though substantial remains of the foundation survive until this day *in situ*.⁴⁰

37 See, generally, Kousser 2009.

38 IG I³ 474 (409/8), line 1.

39 Already in the *Iliad* (10.460), Athena was given the epithet ληΐτις (from ληΐς 'booty').

40 Ferrari 2002; Van Rookhuijzen 2021.

From faithful copies of the Karyatids in Hadrian's palace in Tivoli, it is known that they originally held offering plates in their hands, perhaps indicating their reverence of the ancient remains below them.⁴¹

Following its excavation, the Dörpfeld foundation is again a prominent feature of the Acropolis. Its irregularly shaped limestone blocks contrast, now as in antiquity, with the classical marble buildings surrounding it (fig. 6.2). It may have reminded ancient visitors of the city's turbulent past; for, in all likelihood, the Archaic temple once carried by the foundation was among the buildings of the Acropolis violently destroyed by the Persian army in 480 BCE. Its ruins were not rebuilt, but preserved right in the middle of the citadel until the end of antiquity. They disappeared under the medieval and Ottoman town of the Acropolis, but are again visible today following their excavation in 1886.⁴²

In the corner formed by the west façade of the Karyatid Temple and the north wall of the Dörpfeld foundation stood another relic of the Persian wars: Athena's holy olive tree. It was allegedly planted by the goddess herself in her contest with Poseidon for the hegemony of the city. Herodotus recounts its fate during the invasion (8.55):⁴³

Now, this olive tree happened to be set on fire by the barbarians along with the rest of the sanctuary. But on the second day after the fire, when those Athenians who had been ordered to offer by the king went up to the temple, they saw a shoot from the stump, having gone up as much as a cubit. This they recounted to the king.

The survival of the olive tree was a sign of hope in these dark days. The tree was sacred not only because it testified to Athena's power as the city's patron divinity, but also because it connected the city's past with its present: it had witnessed the hardship of the epoch-making war and, moreover, survived it. This particular part of the Acropolis, the north and central area with its contrasting architecture, was thus filled with memories of both Athens' primeval history and the more recent Persian attack. The presence of the treasury with the Persian spoils (along with other ancient items, such as Daedalus' folding chair) blended into this landscape of memory: these relics invested with memories of Athens' greatest conflict to date were offered to the city's guardian goddess, behind her miraculous olive tree and marble city heroines, as tokens of Athens' martial prowess and self-preservation.

41 See, e.g., Scholl 1998; Ferrari 2002: 22.

42 Ferrari 2002.

43 The legend also attracted the attention of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 14.2.1–2) and Pausanias (1.27.2).



FIGURE 6.2 The Karyatid Temple from the west, with the northwest part of the Dörpfeld foundation in front

PHOTO BY WALTER HEGE, 1928–1929. © DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT, D-DAI-ATH-HEGE-1818; HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS/HELLENIC ORGANIZATION OF CULTURAL RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT (H.O.C.RE.D.) (L. 4858/2021)

3 The Acropolis as a Museum?

If the Athenians dedicated Persian spoils in the Karyatid Temple, it was, I contend, because they appreciated the commemorative or even historical value of these objects. The storage of objects of perceived historical significance was

not uncommon in ancient Greek sanctuaries. We possess a fascinating parallel from the city of Lindos on the island of Rhodes. As in Athens, an ancient temple of Athena stood on the Acropolis of Lindos. Here, two local historians recorded an inscription, the so-called 'Lindos Chronicle' dating to 99 BCE, which gives insight into the dynamics of treasure-storing in sanctuaries.⁴⁴ The document records the arrival of treasures to the sanctuary over the centuries. Unlike the Athenian inventories, the Lindos Chronicle also includes brief information on the purported origins of the objects. From this contextual information, it appears that the temple formerly possessed many ancient heirlooms, including a cuirass of the pharaoh Amasis, a krater of Daedalus, and an *akinakes* of the Persian general Datis. The antiquarian practice at Hellenistic Lindos does not necessarily need to apply to Classical Athens. However, in a more general sense, the Lindos chronicle can indicate that there is nothing inherently implausible about the investment of objects with 'historical' meaning in Greek sanctuaries. It also shows that the inclusion or omission of contextual information about the objects depended on the kind of document: the Lindos inscription was a unique project, whose purpose was to emphasize the glorious antiquity of this sanctuary belonging to a small polity. By contrast, in Athens with its renowned temples, such epigraphic bragging was not necessary, especially not in inscriptions that primarily had a rather bureaucratic purpose and were produced on an annual basis.

Any object can become a carrier of stories, but this seems even more likely when it is placed in a sacred context. The Lindos Chronicle illustrates this process for Greek temples. Even if we have no similar document from the Acropolis of Athens, the testimonies of Pausanias and other authors show that objects here were also invested with historical meaning. Demosthenes, in his 129th speech quoted above, aptly named them the ἀριστεῖα: the 'best things' or 'prizes' of the city, that led to great pride among the Athenian population as a whole. To Greek eyes, which were perhaps not always accustomed to seeing items in valuable metals,⁴⁵ these objects were small wonders testifying to the dazzling wealth of the eastern empire that continued to be a menacing superpower long after the battle of Plataea. Even though Persian spoils are likely to have reached other treasuries as well, the best ones were collected in the *Parthenon* which was, plausibly, part of the Karyatid Temple. They thus found a home, alongside many other items of historical value, at the ancient house of Athena Polias that was a showcase of the city's ancient roots and resurrections.

The practice of collecting ancient treasures is (at least superficially) not too dissimilar from the collection and exposition of spoils and similar historical

44 *Ilindos* 11 2. Cf. Higbie 2003; Shaya 2005.

45 Miller 1997: 29 and see the chapter by De Jong in this volume.

items in modern museums and church treasuries. Josephine Shaya, in her discussions of the Lindos Chronicle, has likened the Ancient Temple of Athena at Lindos to an ancient precursor of modern museums.⁴⁶ This comparison should perhaps not be pushed too far, as modern concepts cannot entirely capture the wide variety of ancient collecting practices.⁴⁷ Modern museums have various functions beyond the mere exhibition of objects, including storage, conservation, study, and education. These functions are not attested to the same degree for Greek temples, whose main purpose was serving the cult of the gods. Yet, the realization that both types of institution could share a practice of collecting ancient treasures is instructive, because it emphasizes the function of temples as repositories of real or constructed memories of historical events. This function can remain underappreciated if we regard temples primarily as places of cult.

We would be in a better position to assign a museal quality to Greek temples if it could be established that objects were actually on organized display and that information about them was provided to visitors. We do not possess outright confirmation of these ideas. However, the work of Pausanias indicates throughout that interested visitors could gain access to temple treasures. Much earlier, Herodotus is sometimes explicit about having personally seen objects in temples.⁴⁸ As regards the spoils in the Karyatid Temple, the precise circumstances of Pausanias' viewing of the items remain unclear. We do not know where, exactly, in the building the treasures were located or on which walls they were affixed, especially as the temple also had various cultic functions that competed for space. Nor do we know whether any visitor to the Acropolis had free access to the building, or whether Pausanias, as an interested researcher, received a special tour. Yet, even if the spoils were not normally visible but kept behind locked doors, information about them may have been transmitted to visitors by comments from the priest on duty, and of course, from the omnipresent inscriptions. Even if the spoils were not on display, the mere sense that they were there may have enthralled many ancient visitors to Greek sanctuaries.

Herodotus does not explicitly say that he actually saw the Persian spoils, but as Irene de Jong has indicated in her chapter, his use of the definite article and the present tense do suggest autopsy. Such uncertainty is typical in discussions

46 Shaya 2005; 2015. For several other instances of museum archetypes in the ancient world, see the essays in Gahtan and Pegazzano 2015.

47 See the various contributions in Adornato, Cirucci and Cupperi 2020; Pomian 2020 (arguing at p. 79 that temple treasuries are not the same as museum collections).

48 E.g., Hdt. 1.50–52 (Delphi), 1.92 (temple of Ismenian Apollo, Thebes), 1.66 (temple of Athena Alea, Tegea), 8.121 (Delphi), and see De Jong's chapter in this volume.

on Herodotus' methodology; he was mostly interested in transmitting stories to posterity, but did not always account for their origins, which could vary between autopsy (ὄψις), hearsay (ἀκοή), or reflection (γνώμη). However, we know that in many cases, Herodotus retrieved stories directly or indirectly from ancient tangible remains. On the Acropolis, for example, he does report traces of the Persian invasion: in addition to Athena's burnt olive tree at the *Erechtheion*, he says that he saw the fetters by which the Boeotians and Chalkidians had been captured 'hanging from the wall that the Persians scorched by fire, opposite the west-facing temple hall' (κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων <τῶν> περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου, 5.77). Elizabeth Kosmetatou observes that Herodotus, in the case of Croesus' dedications in Delphi and Thebes (1.50–52), gives the information in the style of an inventory inscription.⁴⁹ On the Athenian Acropolis, too, epigraphical information could perhaps have been a source for his passage on the spoils.

4 Conclusion

It is time to try to answer our original question: how could Herodotus have known about the Persian spoils and described them in such detail? In combination with the many 'intertexts' on these items, it is reasonable that Herodotus, like Pausanias long after him, had seen or otherwise possessed indirect information about alleged Persian spoils on the Acropolis. With their incorporation in the sanctuary, Hahn's stage three,⁵⁰ they were also incorporated into the great narrative of Athens' history. This scenario, tentative though it must remain, would not only be the best explanation for the colorful *effet de réel* in his account of the spoils of Plataea; it would also provide a wonderful illustration of how tangible remains, as agents in their own right, could themselves transform the history of Ancient Greece.

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49 Kosmetatou 2004: 139–142.

50 See the chapter of Versluys in this volume.

Literature (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>) on 8 January 2022. Quotations of inscriptions are taken from *Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress*, The Packard Humanities Institute (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org>). All translations are by the author. The research that led to this chapter is part of the Veni project *The Ashes in the Acropolis: reconstructing the Parthenon and its antagonistic histories* granted by the Dutch Research Council (NWO).

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‘A City Is Not Adorned by What Comes from Outside, but by the Virtue of Its Inhabitants’: Polybius on the Pragmatics of Spoliation

Rutger J. Allan

1 Moralism and Pragmatism

We are in the Second Punic War. In the beginning of book 9 of his *Histories*, Polybius describes the start of the Roman reconquest of Southern Italy from the Carthaginians. After a three-year siege, in 211 BCE the Romans, led by Marcus Claudius Marcellus, succeed in capturing Syracuse. Not only do the Romans treat the city’s inhabitants harshly, they also turn to a pillaging of the city on a grand scale, after which the immense booty is transported to Rome.¹

In chapter 9.10, which was probably written some fifty years after the event, Polybius passes a clear judgment on this act of looting: the Romans made a grave mistake, and he makes a convincing case as to why it should be seen as a mistake. Polybius’ condemnation of the sack of Syracuse is based on both a moralistic and a pragmatic standard.² This close and often inextricable association of ethical and utilitarian concerns is very typical of Polybius’ general attitude towards history. As Eckstein characterizes Polybius’ dual pragmatic-moralistic agenda:

Indeed, the purely intellectual-technical purposes of *The Histories* are closely entwined with the moralizing purpose right from the opening statement of the work. Polybius says that he is seeking to inculcate the

1 For this historical event (and its repercussions) see also the essays by Pieper and Van de Velde in this volume.

2 Polybius himself also seems to hint at the relevance both of ethics and of utilitarianism in his introduction of the issue in 9.10.3: ‘Whether they were right (*orthōs*) in doing so, and consulted their true interests (*sumpherontōs*) or the reverse, is a matter admitting of much discussion’ (transl. Shuckburgh). One might take *orthōs* ‘rightly’ as relating to the *ethical* aspect, while *sumpherontōs* ‘in an advantageous way’ refers to the *pragmatic* aspect of the debate. But it is also possible to interpret *sumpherontōs* as a clarification of the word *orthōs* ‘in a right and advantageous way’, ‘in a right, that is, in an advantageous way’. In that case, *καί* is to be taken as *epexegetic καί* (*καί explicativum*). See also Walbank’s commentary, *ad loc.*

paideia necessary for an active political life (1.1.2). By this he means not only the important intellectual knowledge to be gained from the study of past events, but also a sort of moral fortitude as well (ibid.), for: “History is the truest and indeed the only method of learning how to endure the vicissitudes of fortune bravely and nobly [γενναίως].”³

Equally characteristic of Polybius’ general outlook is the fact that, on balance, the pragmatic angle is dominant: even though the sack of Syracuse is far from being an example of moral excellence, it is the pragmatic argument that carries the most weight. Although I agree with Gruen who notes that Polybius’ ‘criticism has a fundamentally pragmatic basis’ and that ‘advantage and propriety are thus conjoined rather than contrasted’, I would not go so far as to say that ‘[m]orality is not the issue.’⁴ Morality *is* an issue in 9.10, even though Polybius does not play it out in his argumentation to the same extent as utility. The moral aspect functions as an undertone – sometimes surfacing, sometimes receding into the background, but still effectively contributing to the reader’s final negative judgment of the event.

Polybius makes it clear, from the start of his argument, that he disapproves of the deed as being inconsistent with ideal moral behavior, and, more importantly, inconsistent with the Romans’ own moral standards. The chapter opens with the gnomic statement: Οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἔξω κοσμεῖται πόλις, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς τῶν οἰκούντων ἀρετῆς (‘A city is not adorned by what is brought from without, but by the virtue of its own inhabitants’, 9.10.1), an unequivocal opening chord that is continued as a *basso continuo* sounding in the background throughout the whole chapter. The moralistic tone is resumed twice: once at 9.10.5, in the middle of his argument, where Polybius hints at the moral decay caused by the fact that the originally so austere Romans have adopted the aesthetic tendencies of the Greeks, and at the end of the chapter, in 9.10.12–13, where the idea that the

3 Eckstein 2015: 249. Cf. also Marincola 2001: 116. That Polybius identifies the good to a large extent with the useful, may be ascribed to Stoic influences (Walbank 1957: 657; Gruen 1992: 94–98). Cicero mentions that Polybius came into contact with the Stoic philosopher Panaetius (Cic. *Rep.* 1.34; cf. also Vell. 1.13.3). Polybius’ tendency to equate the good with the useful can be observed in passages such as 6.6.9: ἐξ οὗ πάλιν εὖλογον ὑπογίνεσθαι τινα θεωρίαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰσχροῦ καὶ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς τούτων πρὸς ἄλληλα διαφορᾶς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ζήλου καὶ μιμήσεως τυγχάνειν διὰ τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ δὲ φυγῆς (‘From this, once more, it is reasonable to suppose that there would arise in the minds of the multitude a theory of the disgraceful and the honourable, and of the difference between them; and that one should be sought and imitated for its advantages, the other shunned’, transl. Shuckburgh). The strength of Stoic influence on Polybius should perhaps not be exaggerated (Eckstein 1995: 17).

4 Gruen 1992: 97.

virtue of its inhabitants – not imported works of art – contribute to the reputation of a country is restated.

εἰ δ' ἀπλουστάτοις χρώμενοι βίοις καὶ πορρωτάτῳ τῆς ἐν τούτοις περιττότητος καὶ πολυτελείας ἀφεστώτες ὁμῶς ἐπεκράτουν τούτων αἰεὶ παρ' οἷς ὑπῆρχε πλείστα καὶ κάλλιστα τὰ τοιαῦτα, πῶς οὐ νομιστέον εἶναι τὸ γινόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀμάρτημα; τὸ γὰρ ἀπολιπόντας τὰ τῶν νικῶντων ἔθνη τὸν τῶν ἡττωμένων ζῆλον ἀναλαμβάνειν, προσεπιδραττομένους ἅμα καὶ τὸν ἐξακολουθοῦντα τοῖς τοιοῦτοις φθόνον, ὃ πάντων ἐστὶ φοβερώτατον ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς, ὁμολογούμενον ἂν εἴποι τις εἶναι τῶν πραττόντων παράπτωμα.⁵ (Plb. 9.10.5–6)

But the fact was that, while leading lives of the greatest simplicity themselves, as far as possible removed from the luxury and extravagance which these things imply, they yet conquered the men who had always possessed them in the greatest abundance and of the finest quality. Could there have been a greater mistake (*hamartēma*) than theirs? Surely it would be an incontestable error (*paraptōma*) for a people to abandon the habits of the conquerors and adopt those of the conquered; and at the same time involve itself in that jealousy which is the most dangerous concomitant of excessive prosperity.⁶

Note that Polybius refers to the pillaging as a *hamartēma* (translated by Shuckburg as 'mistake') and as a *paraptōma* ('error'). As I will argue below, the use of these particular terms is significant: both terms do not necessarily refer to a morally or legally condemnable act but to an imprudent or impulsive mistake that may ultimately be detrimental to its agent.

The Romans' moral decay, from hardworking and virtuous to corrupt and decadent is of course a well-known topos, especially in later Latin literature. Polybius seems to observe the first signs of this later moral decay in the pillaging of Syracuse, ironically under the influence of Greek culture.⁷ Polybius'

5 The Greeks text here and elsewhere is that of Büttner-Wobst's Teubner edition.

6 The translation of Polybius is Shuckburgh's.

7 See also Walbank's commentary *ad loc*; Beard 2007: 178–181; Champion 2004: 146; Eckstein 1995: 229–230, 245–246; Gruen 1992: 94–98; Östenberg 2009: 27; McGing 2010: 41, 159–160; Loehr 2017: 63. According to Polybius, a more definitive breakdown of Roman moral standards under the influence of 'Greek laxity' occurred after the war with Perseus, which came to an end with the Battle of Pydna in 168 BCE (Plb. 31.25.2–7). The motive of Roman moral decay is also present in Livy's reference to the events at Syracuse (25.40.1–3) and in 34.4.3–4, where he refers to Cato the Elder linking Rome's taste for luxury with the spoils from Syracuse. A similar view is present in Plutarch's description (*Marc.* 21) of Marcellus' triumphal procession in which the booty taken at Syracuse was shown to the Roman people. Whether

condemnation of the Romans' desire for luxury probably reflects contemporary discussions in mid-2nd century BCE.⁸ However, Polybius does not condemn the act simply as being incongruous with Roman ethics. His yardstick ultimately remains pragmatic in nature. Adopting the values of the conquered, according to Polybius, may turn out to be harmful to the expansion of the Roman empire since the new values differ diametrically from the austerity on which the Roman empire was founded: 'if you change a winning formula, you cannot expect a continuation of the success it brought to you', as McGing puts it.⁹

At the end of the chapter, the moral theme introduced by the opening chord is resumed, repeating the view that the reputation of a country is not enhanced by works of art coming from outside, but by the virtues (σεμνότητι καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ, 'dignity and greatness of soul') of its inhabitants.¹⁰

τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχοντα τῆς προειρημένης δυνάμεως ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τόποις ἅμα τῷ φθόνῳ καταλιπόντας ἐνδοξοτέραν ποιεῖν τὴν σφετέραν πατρίδα, μὴ γραφαῖς καὶ τύποις, ἀλλὰ σεμνότητι καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ κοσμοῦντας αὐτήν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν τῶν μεταλαμβάνόντων ἀεὶ τὰς δυναστείας, ἵνα μὴ σκυλεύοντες τὰς πόλεις κόσμον ὑπολαμβάνωσιν εἶναι ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πατρίσι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας συμφοράς. (Plb. 9.10.12–13)

But they [i.e. the Romans] might have left in their original sites things that had nothing to do with such power; and thus at the same time have avoided exciting jealousy, and raised the reputation of their country: adorning it, not with pictures and statues, but with dignity of character and greatness of soul. I have spoken thus much as a warning to those who take upon themselves to rule over others, that they may not imagine that, when they pillage cities, the misfortunes of others are an honour to their own country. (Transl. Shuckburg, adapted)

the display of Syracusan loot really constituted a significant break with the past is matter of dispute. Gruen 1992: 98 has pointed out that already in the fourth century Greek art was imported to Rome. See also Germany 2016: 98–100.

8 Gruen 1992: 98; Champion 2004: 60–62, 178–184 and elsewhere.

9 McGing 2010: 161.

10 That a government, just like a person in everyday life, should behave with *megalopsuchia* 'nobility of spirit' both in misfortune and success is stressed by Polybius in 6.2.6. *Megalopsuchia* is a central notion in Polybius' aristocratic moral outlook. For Polybius' use of the term, see Eckstein (1995: 65, 67, 118, 150 and elsewhere).

Polybius here also makes explicit that his advice is not only directed toward the Romans but, more generally, to all imperialists ('for the sake of those who take upon themselves to rule over others').¹¹

As we have seen, even though Polybius' condemnation of the action in moral terms is unmistakable, in the end his argument does not revolve around its moral aspect but around its pragmatic implications. Apparently, Polybius did not trust the reader to be persuaded by moral arguments alone, and built the main body of his argument on a firm pragmatic foundation: the pillaging of Syracuse is ultimately against the Romans' own interests.

2 *Hamartēma*

The core of his criticism of the sack of Syracuse is that robbing the art of the vanquished sets in motion a destructive chain of emotions that ultimately backfires on the victors. However, his pragmatic perspective on the matter also manifests itself in a subtle way in his choice of the word ἀμάρτημα (*hamartēma*) to refer to what the Romans did in Syracuse.

Polybius uses the word *hamartēma* in 9.10.5 (cited above). As we have seen earlier, Polybius argues here that the act of pillaging is pointless, since the Romans were also able to subdue the luxurious Greeks while leading simple lives themselves. On these grounds, Polybius regards the pillaging as a *hamartēma*. The word *hamartēma* is obviously related to the word *hamartia*. Yet there is a significant difference in meaning between the two words.¹² Both words occur in Aristotle's *Poetics*, which makes this work an interesting starting point for our discussion, the more so because it has been suggested that Polybius was influenced by the *Poetics*.¹³ Aristotle's famous use of the word *hamartia* in particular has led to an enormous amount of scholarly literature, which I cannot even begin to do justice here. Scholars agree that *hamartia* in the *Poetics* refers to a tragic error, committed by a person who is neither good nor bad; *hamartia* is a flaw that is committed not consciously, but out of

11 Shuckburgh translates 'as a warning to', but the Greek is more neutral: 'for the sake of' (χάριν). On the issue of Polybius' intended readership, see Walbank 1972: 2–3; Luce 1997: 126–127; Marincola 2001: 116; Davidson 2009: 125.

12 Dover 1974: 152–154 wrongly treats *hamartia* and *hamartēma* as synonyms ('error'), setting them off as a pair against *adikia/adikēma* 'crime, wrongdoing' and *asebeia/asebēma* 'sin, impiety'.

13 The extent of the influence exerted by Aristotle's *Poetics* on Polybius is a matter of debate. Williams 2007 sees strong links between the two works; Marincola 2013 is more cautious.

ignorance. For the tragic character, this flaw then leads to a change from happiness to misfortune, which is a crucial element of a tragic plot.¹⁴

ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ μήτε ἀρετῇ διαφέρων καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ μήτε διὰ κακίαν καὶ μοχθηρίαν μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν δυστυχίαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν τινά, τῶν ἐν μεγάλῃ δόξῃ ὄντων καὶ εὐτυχία. (Arist. *Po.* 1453a8–10)

Such a person is someone not preeminent in virtue and justice, and one who falls into adversity not through evil and depravity, but **through some kind of error (*hamartia*)**; and one belonging to the class of those who enjoy great renown and prosperity.¹⁵

By contrast, the word *hamartēma* features in Aristotle's definition of *comedy*:

τὸ γὰρ γελοῖον ἐστὶν ἁμάρτημά τι καὶ αἰσχος ἀνώδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν, οἷον εὐθὺς τὸ γελοῖον πρόσωπον αἰσχροὺν τι καὶ διεστραμμένον ἄνευ ὀδύνης. (Arist. *Po.* 1449a34)

For the laughable comprises **any fault (*hamartēma*)** or mark of shame which involves no pain or destruction.

The comic *hamartēma* is a blunder, a stupid mistake, which works laughably and does not cause suffering or misery to those who make the mistake.¹⁶

From Aristotle's strongly contrasting uses of the two terms it should be clear that they cannot be treated as synonyms. A crucial difference implicit to Aristotle's use of the two terms appears to be a difference in gravity of the consequences of the two types of error. Beyond that, however, Aristotle does not seem to help us any further. To arrive at a better understanding of how Polybius uses the two words, it is obviously more fruitful to turn to Polybius' own work.

Polybius uses the word *hamartēma* twenty-two times and *hamartia* twenty-five times. The crucial difference between *hamartia* and *hamartēma* can be gathered from the following examples.

14 For the discussion on *hamartia* in the *Poetics*, a helpful starting point is Halliwell 1998: 215–230, with literature. Still fundamental are Bremer 1969 and Saïd 1978.

15 The translations from the *Poetics* are Halliwell's 1995 Loeb edition.

16 For *hamartēma* in comedy, see also Janko 1984: 208–210.

τὸ δ' ἀκρίτως καὶ προφανῶς περιβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι τῶν πασχόντων ἀμάρτημα. διὸ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τύχης πταίουσιν ἔλεος ἔπεται μετὰ συγγνώμης καὶ ἐπικουρία, τοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀβουλίαν ὄνειδος καὶ ἐπιτίμησις συνεχυακολουθεῖ παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν. (Plb. 2.7.2–3)

[B]ut that they [i.e. humans in general] should from mere levity (*akritōs*), and with their eyes open, thrust themselves upon the most serious disasters is without dispute **the fault** (*hamartēma*) of the victims themselves. [...] reproach and rebuke from all men of sense [follows] those who have only their own folly (*aboulia*) to thank for it.

A *hamartēma* is described here as a mistake made *akritōs* ‘without judgment’, and due to *aboulia* ‘lack of due consideration’. *Hamartēma* is, in other words, an error of judgment.

[Army commanders often make mistakes in choosing the right time for action.]

καὶ μὴν διότι παρὰ τὰς τῶν ἡγουμένων ἀγνοίας ἢ ῥαθυμίας ἐπιτελεῖται τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, οὐδεὶς ἂν τοῦτ' ἀπορήσειε. (Plb. 9.12.4)

Nor can there be any doubt that the greater part of **such failures** (*hamartēmātōn*) are due to the folly (*agnoia*) or carelessness (*rhāitumia*) of the leaders.

Polybius discusses the art of leading an army, and he observes that commanders tend to make most mistakes in choosing the right moment to act. In this example, too, the *hamartēma* is caused by cognitive deficiencies: ignorance (*agnoia*) and negligence (*rhāitumia*). *Hamartēma*, again, is a mistake stemming from ignorance and poor judgment. (It is significant, in this connection, that scribal errors are also referred to as *hamartēmata*.¹⁷) This is markedly different from *hamartia*, which more prominently shows a moral dimension. Polybius uses the term *hamartia* to designate a deliberate act that goes against moral rules or laws. An example is the following:

[Polybius criticizes the historian Phylargus for exaggerating the good deeds of the Mantinaeans, while he ignores the bad deeds (τὰς παρὰ νόμους τῶν πράξεων) of the Megalopolitans] [...] ὥσπερ τὸ τὰς ἀμαρτίας

17 Cf. Plb. 12.4a.6, 12.21.9, 34.3.11.

ἐξαριθμείσθαι τῶν πραξάντων οἰκειότερον ὑπάρχον τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τῶν ἔργων ἐπισημαίνεισθαι. (Plb. 2.61.3)

[...] as though it were the province of history to deal with **crimes** (*tas hamartias*) rather than with instances of just and noble conduct.

Polybius criticizes the historian Phylargus, one of his polemic targets, for paying more attention to good deeds than to bad ones. Shuckburgh rightly translates *hamartia* with ‘crime’. Polybius treats *hamartia* in this passage as a synonym of τὰς παρανόμους τῶν πράξεων ‘unlawful acts’, and as the opposite of τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τῶν ἔργων ‘instances of good and noble conduct’.

In one passage, both terms co-occur referring to different levels of flawed behavior.

Λοιπὸν δὲ τὸ πραγματικὸν αὐτῷ μέρος τῆς ἱστορίας ἐκ πάντων σύγκειται τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα διεληλύθαμεν· τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν τῆς ἁμαρτίας νῦν ἐροῦμεν. (Plb. 12.27a.12)

Moreover, when he [*i.e. Timaeus*] comes to deal with facts in his history, we find a combination of **all the faults** I have mentioned. The reason [*i.e. of this flaw*] we will now proceed to state.

The plural *hamartēmata* here refers to the various professional deficiencies of the historian Timaeus enumerated by Polybius in the preceding chapters: his partiality leading to inaccurate statements and unbalanced accounts of events and persons, his unfair arrogance towards other historians, and his lack of education. Then, in 12.27a.12, Polybius shifts into a higher gear, embarking upon an exposition of what is really wrong with Timaeus and his work: his treatment of historical facts (‘the pragmatic part of his history’), in which all his previously enumerated flaws come together. That Timaeus in his treatment of historical facts *combines* the earlier mentioned *hamartēmata* is regarded by Polybius as a *hamartia*, thus implying that *hamartia* is a higher order of erroneous behavior than *hamartēmata*.

In this connection, it is significant that *hamartia* is used only once in the plural (of a total of twenty-five instances in Polybius), while *hamartēma* occurs in the plural twelve times (of a total of twenty-two instances).¹⁸ A *hamartia* is a crucial moral error of such gravity that a person is not likely to commit a

18 The single exceptional instance of the plural *hamartiai* in Polybius is unremarkable. In 1.14.5, Polybius stresses that a historian should not shrink from condemning ‘the moral

series of *hamartiai*. On the other hand, a person will readily make multiple *hamartēmata*, as they imply less significant types of mistakes or blunders.¹⁹

3 An Explosive Emotional Chain Reaction

By referring to the looting of Syracuse as a *hamartēma*, Polybius makes it clear that he regards it as an error of judgment, an impulsive mistake, rather than as a violation of moral or legal rules. But why is the looting of Syracuse regarded as an irrational mistake? What are the negative effects of this error? In the course of his argument, Polybius switches from the specific case of Syracuse to the looting of objects by conquerors in general, thereby stressing the relevance of his warning to current and future commanders and politicians, or ‘to those who take upon themselves to rule over others’, as he himself writes in 9.10.13.

According to Polybius, the harmful effect of exhibiting looted objects lies in a complex chain reaction of emotions that is set in motion by the desire to acquire precious objects. The chain of emotions that is triggered both in the minds of the conquerors and of the conquered ultimately poses a threat to the conquerors themselves.

Surely it would be an incontestable error for a people to abandon the habits of the conquerors and adopt the **propensity** (*zēlon*) of the conquered; and at the same time involve itself in that **jealousy** (*phthonos*) which is the most **terrifying** (*phoberōtaton*) concomitant of excessive prosperity. For the **looker-on** never **congratulates** (*makarizei*) those who take what belongs to others, without a feeling of **jealousy** (*phthonein*) mingling with his **pity** (*eleos*) for the losers. But suppose such prosperity to go on increasing, and a people to accumulate into its own hands all the possessions of the rest of the world, and moreover to invite in a way the plundered to share in the **spectacle** they present, in that case surely

faults of his own people’. Also in this case, *hamartia* refers to one moral fault per person, not to a series of errors committed by one person.

- 19 It should be noted that the semantic distinction between the two terms is not always as clear-cut: in 16.20.6 and 28.10.2, *hamartia*’s sense seems to come very close to that of *hamartēma*, referring to a geographical inaccuracy in the work of Zeno and a military discomfiture of Hippias, a friend of king Perseus. The use of the *hamartia* where one would have expected *hamartēma*, may be due to the existence of a fixed idiomatic phrase αἱ τῶν πέλους ἀμαρτίαι ‘the faults of the neighbors’, used in contexts conveying the morale that ‘one should not condemn the faults of your neighbors’. That it may be a fixed phrase with a proverbial ring is suggested by the fact that it is also used by Aristotle (*Rh.* 1348b10) in a similar context.

the mischief is doubled. For it is no longer a case of the spectators pitying (*eleein*) their neighbours, but *themselves*, as they recall the ruin of their own country. Such a sight produces an outburst, not of jealousy (*phthonos*) merely, but of rage (*orgē*) against the victors. For the reminder of their own disasters (*peripeteiōn*) serves to enhance their hatred (*misos*) of the authors of it. (Plb. 9.10.6–10, transl. Shuckburg, adapted)

Polybius' chain reaction is ignited at the very moment the victors conceive the desire to appropriate the artifacts of the vanquished. This leads to envy of the victors, and to a feeling of pity for the vanquished. The envy of the victors then leads to fear among the victors. When the victors succeed in conquering the whole world, the mix becomes even more explosive: the vanquished who see the spoils will feel pity for *themselves*, which then leads to envy, anger and hatred directed at the victors.²⁰ The chain reaction starts with a desire to appropriate the art of those who are conquered, and it inevitably issues in highly destructive emotions such as rage and hate. The final outcome of this complex social-psychological process is an explosive state of affairs in which subjected people are ready to revolt against the Romans.²¹

An elucidating parallel of this process can be found in Polybius' famous account of the *anakyklosis*, where he describes, in general terms, the psychological mechanism through which the ruler's moral degeneration and increased lust for luxury give rise to the subjects' envy, hate and anger, ultimately resulting in radical political change. In 6.7.6–8, Polybius describes how kings become tyrants, once their power becomes hereditary: they give rein to their appetites for luxury and sexual pleasure, which then give rise to their subjects' jealousy

20 Although Polybius formulates it in a general way ('a people to accumulate into its own hands all the possessions of the rest of the world'), he makes it clear on several occasions (e.g. 1.1.5, 29.21) that the Romans could be regarded as the masters of the world after their defeat of the Macedonians in 168 BCE.

21 On several occasions in his *Histories*, Polybius describes such complex clusters of (sometimes seemingly contradictory) emotions, but chapter 9.10 certainly takes the cake. For emotions in Polybius, see Loehr 2017, who also discusses chapter 9.10 (pp. 63–64 and elsewhere), and Giannopoulou 2021a, 2021b. From 9.10 and other passages, it is clear that Polybius was not averse to elaborate descriptions of emotions and *peripeteiai*, as is sometimes assumed on the basis of his attack on Phylargus' 'tragic history' (Marincola 2001: 127–128; 2003; 2013; Loehr 2017: 7–9 and elsewhere; Biggs 2018, Giannopoulou 2021b). On the emotions of the Ancient Greeks, see e.g. Konstan 2006, and the three *Unveiling Emotions* volumes (co-)edited by Chaniotis (2012, 2014, 2021). Aristotle's treatment of the emotions in *Rhetoric* 2 is, of course, also a crucial source of our knowledge of the Greeks' conceptions of the emotions.

(*phthonos*), hate (*misos*), and anger (*orgē*) – emotions that consequently lead to conspiracies against the ruler and the dissolution of government.

What is particularly interesting is the pivotal role of envy, *phthonos*, in this process. As we know, in Greek popular morality *phthonos* is not so much the problem of the subject (as it is in Christian ethics), but rather of the object of the emotion, that is, of the one to whom the envy is directed. The central idea is that provoking envy in others will eventually lead to a reversal of fortune.²² Polybius as a rationalist does not explain this causal chain – from good fortune sparking *phthonos*, to downfall – in magico-religious terms but in more down-to-earth psychological terms: envy arouses anger and hatred in the conquered people, which will eventually backfire on the Romans.²³ For Polybius, showing moderation in good fortune is key in dealing with the mutability of fortune. This moral attitude is formulated most clearly by Aemilius Paullus in chapter 29.20.1–4, serving here as a mouthpiece for Polybius' moral agenda. After his victory over Perseus in 168, Aemilius Paullus addresses his council:

Then Aemilius Paulus speaking once more in Latin bade the members of his council, 'With such a sight before their eyes,' – pointing to Perseus, – 'not to be too boastful in the hour of success, nor to take any extreme or inhuman measures against any one, nor in fact ever to feel confidence in the permanence of their present good fortune. Rather it was precisely at the time of greatest success, either private or public, that a man should be most alive to the possibility of a reverse. Even so it was difficult for a man to exhibit moderation in good fortune. But the distinction between fools and wise was that the former only learnt by their own misfortunes, the latter by those of others.' (Plb. 29.20.1–4)

22 The importance of warding off the spectator's envy in the context of a triumphal procession is also known from the Roman ritual of the Vestal Virgins appending a phallic charm (*fascinus*) under the victorious general's chariot as a remedy for envy (*medicus invidiae*, Plin. *Nat.* 28.4.7). See also Ogden 2002: 224–225.

23 The central role of envy in human reversal of fortune is explicitly addressed in Polybius' concluding chapter 39.8: θεωροῦντες τὴν τύχην ὡς ἔστιν ἀγαθὴ φθονήσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἰσχύει καθ' ὃ τις ἂν δοκῇ μάλιστα μακαρίζεσθαι καὶ κατορθοῦν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ('for I see only too well that Fortune is envious of mortals, and is most apt to show her power in those points in which a man fancies that he is most blest and most successful in life'. *Phthonos* and plotting are explicitly linked by Polybius in 18.41.4. For *phthonos* in Polybius, see Eckstein 1995: 245–246; Loehr 2017: 62–65. The destructive character of envy is discussed by Sanders 2014: 16–23 and elsewhere. For the magical aspect ('the evil eye') of *phthonos*/envy, see e.g. Ogden 2002: 25–26, 55, 211, 222–226, 278, 299; Sanders 2014: 30. For the theme of danger accompanying good fortune in Polybius, see also Luce 1997: 127 and Marincola 2001: 144.

That the Romans, in Polybius' view, did not show this degree of self-control after their success at Syracuse is obvious.

The negative consequences of looting are particularly manifest when the looted objects are exhibited in public. Polybius very generally speaks about 'the spectator' (*ho theōmenos*) of the objects. The exact context is not explicitly described but we may think of the display of pillaged objects during a triumphal procession,²⁴ but also of the exhibition of the objects at a permanent location, as for example in the shrines dedicated by Marcellus near the Porta Capena, which must still have been in use in the first century BCE, since they are mentioned by Livy (25.40.1–3):

While these things were being done in Spain, it is true that Marcellus, after the capture of Syracuse, had settled matters in general in Sicily with such conscientiousness and honesty that he added not only to his own fame, but also to the dignity of the Roman people. But as regards the adornments of the city, the statues and paintings which Syracuse possessed in abundance, he carried them away to Rome. They were spoils of the enemy, to be sure, and acquired by right of war. Yet from that came the very beginning of enthusiasm for Greek works of art and consequently of this general licence to despoil all kinds of buildings, sacred and profane, a licence which finally turned against Roman gods, and first of all against the very temple which was magnificently adorned by Marcellus. For temples dedicated by Marcus Marcellus near the Porta Capena used to be visited by foreigners on account of their remarkable adornments of that kind; but of these a very small part is still to be seen. (Transl. Moore, Loeb series)

Livy's assessment of the sack of Syracuse resembles Polybius' in some respects. Livy, too, observes that, even though the spoils from Syracuse were acquired by the Romans 'by right of war', they had a corrupting effect on Roman morality. Like Polybius, he identifies the sack of Syracuse as the origin of the Romans' admiration of Greek art, which led to the Romans' 'licence to despoil all kinds of buildings', which even turned against the Roman gods and their temples:

24 Marcellus' triumphal procession – an *ovatio*, not a full triumph – is described by Livy 26.21.7–9 (who gives an inventory of the booty: a representation of the city of Syracuse, catapults and ballistae, other war equipment, silver and bronze ware, furnishing, fabrics, statues, and elephants) and Plutarch (*Marc.* 21). See Beard 2007: 147–150, 179 (who argues that also two globes of Archimedes, who was killed by a Roman soldier during the siege, were probably displayed in the procession), Östenberg 2009: 42–44, 80–82, 208–211, and the chapters by Pieper, Van de Velde, and Van Gils and Henzel in this volume.

by Livy's time, many of the spolia in the shrines dedicated by Marcellus after 211 had apparently been robbed for a second time – this time from their *Roman shrines*.²⁵

Returning to Polybius: what is also significant is Polybius' use of the word *peripeteia*, which by the time of Polybius may have lost its Aristotelian flavour.²⁶ The word is used by Polybius in the general sense of a *sudden change of circumstances* or a *sudden change of fate*.²⁷ This sudden change may have a positive outcome (a fortunate turn of events, a stroke of luck), but more often it is an unfortunate turn of events ('tragic' in the sense of 'disastrous') for those who experience it. In the latter case, an additional notion is often present – that the *peripeteia* leads to knowledge. At several key moments in the *Histories*, Polybius stresses the importance of learning from one's own or from another's *peripeteia*. In fact, Polybius introduces this *Leitmotiv* in the very first chapter of his work: 'the most instructive, or rather the only, method of learning to bear with dignity the vicissitudes of fortune is to recall the catastrophes of others (τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν περιπετειῶν ὑπόμνησιν)' (1.2).²⁸

The appearance of the word *peripeteia* is a good example of the way in which chapter 9.10 resonates with a number of general themes that are important to Polybius. The primary aim of history is to educate the reader, both morally and practically. If you are successful, show moderation in your behavior, bearing in mind that fortune is capricious. Do not incur the envy of the vanquished, as it may turn against you in the end. Learn from your own and other's reversals of fortune. Polybius places the Syracusan episode in the grand scheme of things in order to inculcate the reader with a general lesson on human morality.

By way of conclusion, it is interesting to consider Polybius' argument in terms of the four-stage model of appropriation as presented in Versluys' chapter in this volume. Polybius argues against every stage of the process of appropriation: Romans should have left the objects at their original place (against *material appropriation*), the objects – whatever their original location and use in Syracuse – should not have been reused to serve as mere objects of art for

25 Livy's description of the spoils of Syracuse is discussed by Lushkov 2018. See also the chapters by Pieper and Van de Velde in this volume.

26 Cf. Marincola 2007; Biggs 2018.

27 Cf. Mauersberger's lexicon *ad loc.*: '(plötzlicher) Umschlag / (plötzliche) Veränderung der Umstände bzw. des Geschicks'.

28 Other examples are 1.35.7 (*peripeteiai* may lead to the improvement of mankind), 3.4.4–6 (terrible *peripeteiai*, if born with a noble spirit, may lead to advantages) and 6.10.14 (Romans have developed their constitution by learning from their *peripeteiai*). The educating function of reversals of fortune is also associated with the term *sumptōma*, which appears to be used as a synonym (by way of *variatio*?) of *peripeteia*. Note that *sumptōma* also features in our passage (9.10.9).

the adornment of the city of Rome (against *objectification* and *incorporation*). Polybius makes it very clear that a stage of full *transformation* of the imported objects will never be attained: there will always be an explosive tension between the Romans' exploitation of the foreign objects as physical evidence of their military success and the non-Roman spectators' feelings of envy for the Roman victors and pity for the vanquished.

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Spoils of Sicily and Their Impact on Late Republican Rome: an Archaeological Perspective

Suzan van de Velde

At the end of the third century BCE a vast amount of spoils came from Sicily to Rome.¹ The most notorious example is the war booty from the conquered city of Syracuse, which included a large number of Greek statues that were transported to Rome.² These objects had an impact on their new contexts and on the city of Rome as the literary sources suggest.³ Would it be possible to trace this impact from an archaeological perspective through a particular object?

In this chapter I analyze the Ludovisi Acrolith as an example of an object coming from Sicily which had an impact on Rome and its inhabitants. In order to do so I will firstly (I) introduce Marcellus' spoils from Syracuse and determine whether we can trace these in the archaeological record. As this will prove to be challenging, the second part of the chapter (II) will offer an exploration of the Ludovisi Acrolith as an example of the transfer of objects and cults from Sicily to Rome, looking at the role of acroliths in the Greek world and investigating how these came to be used in a Roman context. Finally (III), this chapter aims to shed light on the process of the transference of cult and cult-statues to Rome itself, and the role of objects in the changes in Rome that followed the introduction of the spoils of Sicily.

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- 1 This investigation is part of my PhD research entitled 'Moving statues. The agency and impact of Greek statuary in the city of Rome' executed at Leiden University and supervised by Prof. M.J. Versluys and Prof. E.M. Moormann, in the context of the programme 'Anchoring Innovation'. Anchoring Innovation is the Gravitation Grant research agenda of the Dutch National Research School in Classical Studies, OIKOS. It is financially supported by the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (NWO project number 024.003.012). For more information about the research programme and its results, see the website www.anchoringinnovation.nl.
 - 2 Plb. 9–10; Liv. 25.40.1–3, 26.21; Plu. *Marc.* 21.1–2; Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.120–121. See also the chapters of Pieper and Van Gils and Henzel in this volume.
 - 3 Among others Liv. 25.40.2, 34.4.4; Plin. *Nat.* 35.150; Plu. *Marc.* 21.1–2; see also Pollitt 1978 for an overview.

1 Introduction: The Spoils of Syracuse

The Roman conquest of the island of Sicily climaxed with the sack of Syracuse in 212 BCE, after which the city – as well as other parts of the island – was thoroughly plundered by the Romans. Literary accounts provide some information on the Syracusan spoils and their introduction in Rome. Livy notes the ‘greatness’ of the spoils and states that ‘there were heaps of silver and bronze artifacts as well as furniture, precious clothing, and many famous statues [*nobilia signa*], with which Syracuse had been one of the most richly endowed among Greek cities.’⁴ Polybius suggests that the introduction of the spoils was one of the first occasions when Rome was confronted with ‘that kind of artwork’, and that the Romans had not previously relied on ‘such things’ for the advancement of their country. His account is a rather negative response to both the looting practices and the adorning of Rome with these spoils, and one of the few relatively contemporary testimonials. He writes that the Romans could have left everything that would not have contributed to their strength and should have chosen *not* to adorn the city of Rome with paintings and sculpture from Sicily.⁵ By appropriating the spoils from Sicily the Romans had abandoned their own ‘habits of the victors’ and started to imitate the habits of the conquered Greek world, which points at a noticeable change in the city of Rome and the mentality of the Romans after the introduction of spoils. The difference between what was known before and what was newly introduced by the spoils was also emphasized in Plutarch’s biography of Marcus Claudius Marcellus. It notes that he took the majority of the most beautiful dedications from Syracuse to grace his triumphal procession and adorn Rome.⁶ This subtle and graceful art had not previously been known – and therefore was not yet loved; till then Rome had been filled with ‘barbaric arms and bloody spoils’. Plutarch states that Marcellus won the favor of the people because he ‘adorned the city with objects that had Hellenic grace and charm and fidelity’.⁷

The ancient sources thus suggest a change in the Roman objectscape at the turn of the third and second century BCE.⁸ It is these changes that I aim to

4 Liv. 26.21. Translation of J.C. Yardley in the Loeb series.

5 Plb. 9.10.12–13; see also the discussion on this text in the chapter of Allan in this volume. In the light of Roman expansion it was, according to Polybius, acceptable to take gold and silver to strengthen their state, fitting a soon-to-be empire, but not artworks.

6 Plu. *Marc.* 21.1–2: apparently not all of the loot ended up in Rome as there were statues and paintings from Syracuse at Samothrace in the temple of the Cabeiri and in the temple of Athena at Lindus, see 30.4.

7 Plu. *Marc.* 21.3: the passage also describes that he was less popular with the ‘elder citizens’ who condemned his adornment of the city and the looting of statues of gods.

8 Pitts and Versluys 2021 for the introduction of the concept of ‘objectscales’ in archaeological studies. See also the contribution by Versluys in this volume.

investigate from an archaeological perspective in this chapter. To understand the possible innovations that followed the introduction of the spoils of Sicily, we should first look at what the objectscape of Rome looked like before the end of the third century BCE.

The traditional material of the early Republic was terracotta for adornments and sculpture, e.g. architectural elements as well as statues and reliefs, while temple roofs were decorated with terracotta or gilded bronzes in Etruscan styles. Wood was a common medium for sculpture as well, especially for cult-statues. Although there is only limited archaeological evidence from early Republican Rome, there are a few illustrative examples of its material culture, like the terracotta Hercules and Athena from the Sant'Omobono area and the terracotta 'warrior' from the Esquiline hill.⁹ These rare archaeological remains are quite early – end of sixth/beginning of fifth century BCE – but we may assume that the use of these artworks continued, as some works were still visible to Pliny the Elder in the first century CE. Pliny even proclaims that these clay pediments should be valued and respected because they were more 'innocent' than golden statues.¹⁰

While the Romans had certainly encountered artworks like those from Sicily in Rome before the end of the third century BCE,¹¹ these would be particular instances concerning individual statues of which we have no direct archaeological evidence. It was through the spoils of Marcellus in 211 BCE that Rome was suddenly confronted with an unprecedented mass of Greek art such as marble statues.¹²

1.1 *After the Triumph: The Looted Statues of M. Claudius Marcellus*

The spoils of Sicily, including the vast number of statues, made their entrance into the city by means of a triumphal procession – in the case of Marcellus

9 Capitoline Museum, inv. AntCom14914; inv. AntCom03363. Lulof 2000; Hallett 2019. See also Papini 2019: 95–113 for an overview of 'Republican' art in Rome from the eighth to the first c. BCE.

10 Plin. *Nat.* 35.46: 'Statues of this kind [terracotta] are still to be found at various places. In fact even at Rome and in the Municipal Towns there are many pediments of temples, remarkable for their carving and artistic merit and intrinsic durability, more deserving of respect than gold, and *certainly less baneful*.' My emphasis, transl. Loeb Classical Library. See also Hallett 2019 for the use of terracotta in Augustan Rome connected to archaism.

11 Gruen 1992: 86–94 for examples. For the argument see also Cirucci 2013: 136. See Feeney 2016: 124 for the role of Marcellus and Syracuse in the changes in literature in the third century BCE.

12 The presence of statues in triumphal processions is only noted twice before Marcellus: in 380 BCE the statue of Jupiter Imperator from Praeneste was paraded in triumph, and in 275 BCE statues were brought in from Beneventum, see Miles 2008.

in the lesser form of an *ovatio*¹³ – according to a traditional Roman ritual.¹⁴ Roman triumphs were presentations of ‘us’ versus ‘them’, two clearly defined and recognizable groups of victors and conquered that performed a contrast of ‘Roman’ and ‘Other’.¹⁵ It was important for the Roman citizens to see the Other, that what was unknown and perhaps feared was chained and controlled in this staged spectacle which strengthened Roman identity. The triumph was a constructive performance, a means of bringing what was outside into Rome through a controlled ritual.¹⁶ The spoils and looted statues were presented to the city in the procession. In the triumphal procession the statues were paraded through the city on wagons, placed before the captive peoples who usually came last.¹⁷

For some of the triumphs there is even information on the number of statues in the processions: M. Fulvius Nobilior is said to have paraded 285 bronze statues and 230 marble sculptures in 187 BCE. In 168, Aemilius Paullus’ triumph would have consisted of 250 wagons of statues and artworks.¹⁸ Interestingly, the written sources only note the material of the artworks, whilst the aesthetic/artistic value or subject is almost never mentioned in the context of triumph.

Many studies view the triumphal procession and the objects in it as a representation of the non-Roman, the Other, and of military and Roman power, much like previous studies have tried to understand the display of Greek art in the Republic. The triumph was a transformative moment in the life of the object but also for the spectator, a ritual that provided the Romans with the possibility of introducing the spoils in a controlled manner and for the looted objects to become Roman.¹⁹ The triumphal processions ended in the

13 A triumph must be granted to a victorious general by the senate; this was not the case for Marcellus who was only allowed an *ovatio*, see Östenberg 2009: 48–50 on the difference between *ovatio* and triumph.

14 The *Fasti Triumphales* list already at least 130 triumphs before 200 BCE (starting with the mythological triumph by Romulus in 752 BCE). The triumph can be considered a well-known event in Roman cultural memory.

15 Östenberg 2009: 184–183, the conquered people would even be dressed up in shabby or national clothes to be more recognizable and enhance the contrast. The Roman victors would all be wreathed.

16 See Östenberg 2009: 6–12 on the triumph as a performance.

17 See Östenberg 2009: 84.

18 Liv. 39.5.13–16; Plu. *Aem.* 32.3; for Plutarch see the chapters by Buijs and Strootman in this volume.

19 See Versluys in this volume for a theory on the triumph as an anthropological ‘cooling-off’ ritual necessary for the appropriation of alien objects. For the sensorial aspect of a triumph, see also the chapters of Buijs, Huitink and Moormann in this volume.

ceremonious dedication of the spoils to Jupiter on the Capitol, after which they could be put on display in various public contexts and become part of the objectscape of Rome. The manner in which the spoils were appropriated through triumph already testifies to their impact. But what happened to these objects after the necessary ritual of the triumphal procession? How were they displayed in their new Roman contexts?

In 222 BCE Marcellus had already vowed a temple to Honos and Virtus, and it was this building that became the backdrop to his spoils from Syracuse after 211 BCE. Cicero tells us that Marcellus transported objects to Rome that could be an ornament to the city and that ‘the things which were transported to Rome we see before the temples of Honour and of Virtue, and also in other places.’²⁰ Livy mentions the spoils as well, in the temples dedicated by Marcellus close to the Porta Capena that ‘... used to be visited by foreigners for their outstanding artworks of this kind’.²¹

The site on which Marcellus commissioned his complex enclosed an earlier temple to Honos that was renovated and to which a second temple – to Virtus – was added.²² But in what manner, in this newly renovated complex, could the vast amount of statues and other spoils from Syracuse have been displayed? Although no archaeological evidence remains of the building complex, scholars have speculated on the layout and the placement of the artworks.²³ Cicero writes that the statues were displayed ‘... *ad aedem Honoris et Virtutis*’ and based on this, Amy Russell suggests that the statues should have been placed in the ‘forecourt’ of the temples:²⁴

We must imagine a *forest of statues* in the area surrounding the two temples – a new Area Capitolina, but marked by stylistic coherence and all under the aegis of a single patron. They would have marked the space

20 Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.120–121; see Pieper’s chapter in this volume.

21 Liv. 25.40.2–3. He adds, interestingly, that in his time (last half of the first c. BCE, beginning first century CE) only a small part of these works were still visible.

22 The earlier temple was dedicated in 234 BCE by Q. Fabius Maximus. There is discussion on the existence of a second temple or the dedication of Virtus in a separate *cela*, as the references to this temple in the ancient texts are not clear. Russell 2015: 133 suggests that an architectural complex of two separated but linked temples would have fitted the tradition of earlier and contemporary Republican temples where complexes of two identical temples on one platform facing in the same direction are well known.

23 See among many others Russell 2015: 133–134 for the history of the complex and a comprehensive overview of the literary sources; also Palombi 1993: 31–33; Bravi 2014: 23–26; McDonnell 2006.

24 Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.121. The possibility of the existence of a portico or a monumental wall surrounding the temple complex is also suggested by Russell 2015: 134; see also Welch 2006.

as different from other open spaces and created an overwhelming viewing experience.²⁵

The renovated temple complex of Marcellus still referred to familiar Republican practices. Russell notes that the double temples have various parallels in early Republican architecture, and as the message of Marcellus' victory and piety was very standard, so was his choice to construct a votive temple and use art to adorn his monumental complex.²⁶ The temple complex, according to Russell, thus followed and improved on Republican standards while the display of a large number of 'Greek' statues and artworks surrounding the complex 'created a new type of viewing experience'.²⁷ If this is true it says a lot about the impact of the spoils from Sicily.

But the temple of Honos and Virtus was not the first temple where booty had been on display in Rome. After the sack of Volsinii in 264 BCE, 2,000 statues were said to have been looted and dedicated by the victor M. Fulvius Flaccus as votive gifts to the goddesses Mater Matuta and Fortuna.²⁸ In front of the temples of these goddesses on the Forum Boarium in Rome, two rectangular bases and one circular base are found that have sometimes been connected to the spoils from Volsinii. The bases show 'footprints' – attachment points – of bronze statues, and would have displayed almost 30 small statues. Whether or not these bases are connected to Flaccus' dedications, they do give an insight into the display of a multitude of dedicated statues in the forecourt of these temples already in the third century BCE.²⁹

However, Alessandra Bravi argues that if we compare the spoils of Volsinii and their display to the spoils of Syracuse, it appears that there is a very different system of value for the latter. According to Bravi, the 'Greek' statues from Syracuse are *ornamenta urbis*, while the statues from Volsinii are *signa*.³⁰ She argues that the statues from Volsinii only stood out because of their large number while nothing is said about their meaning or appearance. The statues from Syracuse on the other hand

25 Russell 2015: 134 (my emphasis), the focus of Russell is mainly on the creation of space.

26 Russell 2015: 134–138.

27 Russell 2015: 133.

28 Plin. *Nat.* 34.7.16. The number of statues is questionable.

29 Papini 2019: 104; see Diffendale 2016 on the archaeology of these bases. Diffendale argues against the relation between the bases and Flaccus' dedication.

30 Bravi 2014: 24–25; she bases herself on Liv. 25.40.1 where he refers to the Sicilian statues as *ornamenta urbis*.

bezogen die römischen Betrachter mit ein und führten sie zu einer bis dahin unbekannten Sehweise. Plutarch schätzt später den Eindruck, den die Vorführung dieser Kunstwerke machte, als äußerst einschneidend ein. Sie habe grundsätzliche Veränderungen an Mentalität und Habitus der Römer bewirkt, die zum ersten Mal griechische Kunstwerke vor die Augen bekamen.³¹

Bravi explains this difference as being due to the fact that *ornamenta* indicates an aesthetic quality of objects in relation to the space they adorn. All statues and paintings in a temple that had no direct function in ritual belonged to the category of *ornamenta*, a category that had a different function and value than the category of votive *instrumenta*.³² It is in their role as *ornamenta*, becoming more than usable *instrumenta*, that the statues from Syracuse surpass earlier displays of spoils like those from Volsinii.

The statues of Syracuse thus did something different. They were different in material and style from earlier Italic spoils, and there were so many of them that they overshadowed all previous experiences with Greek artworks in Rome. The display of these novel, Greek objects, anchored in a temple complex that in many ways followed the 'Republican' standards, provided the Roman viewer with a familiar context that enabled them to engage in a whole new mode of viewing statues and artworks.

2 The Ludovisi Acrolith and the Transfer of Objects and Cults

In the archaeological record, no statues or other artworks found in Rome can be directly related to the sack of Syracuse, which is challenging for our understanding of how the objects themselves played a role in the dynamics which the introduction of the spoils in the second century BCE brought about.³³ There is, however, one single object that might be related to the spoils from Sicily: the Ludovisi Acrolith, now in the Palazzo Altemps in Rome. Although this sculpture is commonly considered a Greek original from Sicily or Magna

31 Bravi 2014: 24. She places this within Tonio Hölscher's theory of decorum, see Hölscher 2018 for a more in-depth discussion.

32 Bravi does not explain these categories in much detail, although she builds much of her argument on them. See Bravi 2014: 24n.52.

33 The ancient sources point out this triumph and the display of the spoils of Syracuse as the first introduction of Greek art in Rome and the cause of the upsurge of *luxuria* in Roman society: Liv. 25.40.2, 34.4.4; Plin. *Nat.* 35.150; Pollitt 1978; see also the chapter of Van Gils and Henzel.

Graecia, there are no hard data on how and when the object came to Rome. In order to attempt to document the impact of an object that (possibly) came to Rome from Sicily in the Republican period and thus formed a comparandum with the objects brought by Marcellus, I will explore the following questions: (1) What was the acrolith's original function in the Greek world? (2) How was the object re-used in a Roman context? (3) What processes and rituals can be recognized that enabled the successful transfer of the acrolith to Rome? And finally (4) how was this sculpture anchored within the objectscape of Rome?

The Ludovisi Acrolith is a marble head of 83 cm in height that was once part of a large acrolithic statue of which the body was executed in a different material, most likely wood (fig. 8.1 a–d).³⁴ The face has an oval shape with a wide forehead and almond-shaped eyes with ridged eyelids. The nose is pronounced, with little distance between the nostrils and well-formed lips pressed together in a distinct 'archaic' smile, set in a heavy, round chin. The face is framed with a thick roll of hair composed of small curls. A hairband is sculpted around the head and the remainder of the hair flows down the neck, abstractly sculpted as an independent entity with carved waves. The ears are visible and the lobes have been pierced for the attachment of (metal) jewellery. There are several other holes in the sculpture: along the line of the neck and the hair, on top of the head on the line of the sculpted headband, and along the forehead. The latter holes likely held bronze or gilded curls; two longer individual locks of hair were attached to the holes at the side of the face, under the ears. The holes on top of the head suggest the attachment of a veil or head-dress.³⁵ The sculpture is generally dated to 480–460 BCE, and interpreted as a depiction of the goddess Aphrodite or Venus.³⁶ Based on stylistic analysis the acrolith is thought to have originated on Sicily or in Magna Graecia.³⁷ A recent archaeometrical study has shown that the marble originates from the open quarries of Lakkoi on the island of Paros. This type of marble is well known and frequently used on Sicily which, according to the authors, supports the

34 Inv. 8598, now in Palazzo Altemps – Museo Nazionale Romano.

35 Early fifth-century BCE terracotta statue(tte)s from Sicily show similarities to the features of the Ludovisi Acrolith. These statues wear certain headdresses that could give us a general impression of what kind of headdress may have been worn by the Ludovisi Acrolith, see Uhlenbrock 1988 and the terracotta protomai from Gela, fig. 3–26 for the headdresses. Uhlenbrock mentions the general form of the Ludovisi Acrolith as anticipated by the 'Roll Hair type' protome dated to 490–480 BCE: 46–47.

36 Davies 2017: 112n.242 puts forward that there are also great similarities with images of Persephone/Proserpina.

37 Helbig 1963: 3, 265; Fuchs 1983: 130; Guarducci 1985: 14–17; Coarelli 1999: 114; De Angelis d'Ossat 2011: 200.



FIGURES 8.1 A–D The Ludovisi Acrolith in Palazzo Altemps (Museo Nazionale Romano), Rome
PHOTOS BY AUTHOR

hypothesis of a 'West-Greek' origin of the acrolith.³⁸ Although not much is known about the original context of the acrolith, in order to discuss how a statue like this was appropriated by Rome and how its meaning and function may have changed, it is essential to explore first its hypothetical context before its transfer to Rome.

2.1 *The Ludovisi Acrolith in the Greek World*

The term acrolith or acrolithic sculpture derives from the Greek *akrolithos* 'with extremities (limbs) in stone' and refers to statues that are constructed out of multiple materials, generally a combination of stone head, hands, and feet attached to a wooden body. The related category of pseudo-acroliths comprises statues that combine different stones, usually with the limbs in white marble and a body executed in limestone.³⁹ The earliest known acroliths in the Mediterranean are the Demeter and Kore from Morgantina, Sicily, dated to 520–530 BCE. The heads, hands, and feet of these statues are made out of marble from the isle of Thasos. Although no other parts of the statue bodies remain, they have been reconstructed in a sitting pose and some evidence suggests the existence of elaborately decorated terracotta thrones that complemented these figures.⁴⁰ The majority of acroliths from the late sixth till the early fourth century BCE are from Magna Graecia, with only a few examples from the Greek east.⁴¹ For pseudo-acrolithic sculpture almost all known examples are from Sicily.⁴²

It has been suggested that acrolithic sculpture developed from the chryselephantine technique already known from the Greek east by the mid-sixth century BCE. However, the production of larger-than-life chryselephantine statues became most valued in the classical period. Pheidias, who had already produced acrolithic statues, adopted these techniques in the third quarter of the fifth century BCE to create his celebrated Athena Parthenos in ivory and gold. Lapatin convincingly argues that acrolithic sculpture was a more economical alternative for chryselephantine statues that required rare materials,

38 Lazzarini and Cirucci 2015: 43–44.

39 Mustilli 1958: 48–50; Marconi 2007: 4 notes that because both the production technique and the appearance of pseudo-acrolithic sculpture is different, it is a useful distinction.

40 Maniscalco 2018.

41 Marconi 2007: 4–5, who refers to Häger-Weigel 1997.

42 Marconi 2007: 6–7. Marconi explains the use of the pseudo-acrolithic technique as useful in regions that lack white marble like South Italy, this is why it is less common in Greece. Marconi also includes metopes as acroliths, when the extremities of the figures are set in marble in the limestone relief.

while still enabling monumental scale and effect.⁴³ It is generally thought that all acrolithic statues functioned as cult-images, an idea based mainly on the descriptions in the ancient literary sources.⁴⁴ However, some descriptions can be interpreted as 'in the context' of a temple rather than 'in' the temple, and in the archaeological record there are a few examples of acroliths being found outside of a sanctuary as well.⁴⁵ Aware of the exceptions, it seems probable that the Ludovisi Acrolith functioned in the context of a temple, likely as a cult-statue.

So, what would the statue have looked like in this period? As touched upon in the description given earlier, the head itself would already have been an assemblage of different elements and materials: gilded curls would frame the face, jewellery hangs from the earlobes, and the head would be covered with an actual veil as is suggested by the holes along the hairband and the less detailed finishing of the back of the statue.⁴⁶ As to the different colours of the materials, polychromy should be taken into account, so that the head was an object full of colour contrasts. The wider part of the neck would be attached inside the bodily structure of the acrolithic statue. This construction would have been made of a wooden core covered with sculpted plates of bronze that depicted robes or draped with actual robes that were specially made for the statue.⁴⁷ One of the inventory lists of the sanctuary of Delos illustrates this with its description of acrolithic statues that are decorated with 'gilded wood diadems, gilded wood earrings, dressed in purple clothes cloaked in linen'.⁴⁸ These acroliths were seated on thrones, a common feature in acrolithic sculpture that could also have been the case for the Ludovisi Acrolith. The famous Ludovisi throne has long been connected to the acrolith based on its iconography related to the cult of Aphrodite and its possible find spot in the Villa Ludovisi. For the major part of the twentieth century it was considered to be

43 Lapatin 2001: 58–60 (and cat. 33) for first chryselephantine statues in Greece, 61–90 on Pheidias and the Athena Parthenos, 134 on the acroliths as an economical substitute to chryselephantine.

44 Häger-Weigel 1997: 4 argues that all acrolithic sculptures are cult-statues. Marconi 2007: 5 rejects this but bases himself on a single example of a fifth-century BCE acrolith in a sixth-century temple, that according to him would rather be a complement to an older cult-statue.

45 Despinis 2004: 249, his examples are an acrolith of Tyche, seen by Pausanias in the Stoa of the sanctuary of Elis, and two acroliths likely found in the necropolis of Cyrene.

46 De Angelis d'Ossat 2011: 200.

47 Despinis 2004: 247.

48 Hamilton 2000: 240, transcription of the inventory of the Delos Thesmophorion Treasure. It is difficult to say anything on the dating of these statues, as this specific inventory only dates to the second century BCE. The statues may of course be much older.

the acrolith's throne. However, more recent studies argue that the Ludovisi throne was more likely part of an altar than an actual throne.⁴⁹ Although there is no archaeological evidence, it is plausible that our acrolithic statue was indeed installed on some sort of throne, which would according to the ratio create a seated figure of approximately three metres high.⁵⁰

Understood as an imported, fifth-century BCE 'original', establishing a plausible 'Greek' provenance became one of the most important aims for scholars studying the Ludovisi Acrolith. The most influential theories suggest the sanctuary of Locri in Marasà, South Italy, and the sanctuary of Eryx on Sicily as places of provenance. In the case of the latter, the hypothesis is closely connected to the later Roman context that scholars consider for the Ludovisi Acrolith, as will be discussed below.

In 1985, Guarducci argued against the consensus of that time that regarded Eryx as the most plausible origin of the acrolith and argued in favour of Locri as an alternative. The sanctuary of Locri Epizephyrii was established in the seventh century BCE and hosted prominent and ancient cults of Aphrodite and Persephone. In the first half of the fifth century BCE it underwent its most radical refurbishment when the archaic temple was replaced by a new, larger, limestone temple in the ionic order. Inside the cella was a *bothros*; it is thought that this pit may have been decorated with the Ludovisi Throne.⁵¹ Regarding the acrolith, Guarducci notes that there are clear similarities between the iconography of the head and depictions of deities on pinakes found in Locri. A pinax of a seated (statue of a) Persephone in particular shows a remarkable resemblance.⁵² The acrolith predates the Ionic temple and may have been

49 Guarducci 1985; the Ludovisi throne would also be too small to function as a seat for a cult-statue the size of the Ludovisi Acrolith.

50 Guarducci 1985: 15n.107.

51 I am aware that the Ludovisi Throne is a highly disputed object, therefore this paper primarily focuses on the Ludovisi Acrolith notwithstanding the apparent close connection between the two objects. At present, although many scholars still believe the Throne to be a fifth-century West-Greek original transported to Rome, there is considerable debate on the originality of this object which various scholars believe to be a nineteenth-century forgery. This is much related to the controversy surrounding its sister object, the Boston Throne, of which the consensus already is that it is not a Greek original but rather a Roman sculpture to complement the Ludovisi Throne or a nineteenth-century creation. This is strengthened by the unclear provenance of the Boston Throne; the history of its rediscovery in pre-modern Rome is even more challenging than that of the Ludovisi Throne.

52 Guarducci 1985: 16 fig. 20. Both Persephone and Aphrodite were omnipresent at Locri, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1978: 101–121.

commissioned for the earlier archaic temple, but it is very plausible that its use continued after the renovation of the temple.⁵³ An epigram by Nossis of Locri about a statue of Aphrodite dressed in robes embellished with gold, suggests that a similar cult-statue was still present in the temple at the third century BCE.⁵⁴ Locri played a small part in the Punic Wars based on its strategic location and shifted between Roman and Carthaginian control. After seizing the city in 205 BCE, Scipio Africanus handed over control to Quintus Pleminius, whose men inflicted great abuse on the citizens of the city. They plundered various temples and even the 'treasures of Proserpina/Persephone'.⁵⁵ It would not be hard to imagine that under these conditions, part of the spoils made their way to Rome and our Ludovisi Acrolith may have been among them.

Various scholars did not accept Guarducci's hypothesis, but adhered to the theory of the Temple of Venus in Eryx, Sicily as the possible origin of the acrolith. During the Punic Wars Eryx fell into the hands of the Carthaginians until the siege of Pyrrhus when Sicily became a primarily Roman stronghold. According to myth, the temple of Venus at Mount Eryx was founded by Aeneas when he landed on Sicily, but the goddess likely came from the east and had connections with the Phoenician cult of Astarte. In the iconography of the Venus of Eryx, eastern 'Phoenician' elements can still be recognized, as well as 'Greek' elements of Aphrodite.⁵⁶ It seems that the sanctuary had a rather autonomous position between the 'Greek' and 'Phoenician' colonies in the area, and there is evidence of a flourishing cult from the fifth century onwards.⁵⁷ Polybius mentions the temple in his history of the Roman occupation of Sicily: 'On its summit, which is flat, stands the temple of Venus Erycina, which is indisputably the first in wealth and general magnificence of all the Sicilian holy places'.⁵⁸ There is very little evidence of a Roman plunder of the temple or any occasion on which objects could have been taken from the sanctuary.⁵⁹ However, Ovid writes that when C. Marcellus in 212 conquered Syracuse he also conquered

53 Guarducci 1985: 15; Häger-Weigel 1997 also states that most acrolithic statues were 'archaistic' in style. This would mean that the archaic acrolith would not be unsuited for a later temple.

54 *Anth. Palat.* 9.332; Guarducci 1985: 16–17n.112 argues based on the substantive βρέτας that it concerns a wooden, acrolithic statue.

55 Liv. 29.8.8–10. Livy notes that these treasures had never before been violated except by Pyrrhus who had to repatriate his spoils.

56 Lietz 2012: 207–213; Hartswick 2004: 75.

57 See the comprehensive book of Lietz 2012 for quite complete research on the cult and goddess of Eryx. See 60–74 for the origins and early evidence of the cult.

58 Plb. 1.55.8–9, Loeb Classical Library 128 transl. W.R. Paton, revised 2010.

59 See Lietz 2012: 328–331 for an overview of the scarce archaeological evidence in the area.

Eryx.⁶⁰ This suggests that spoils from Eryx could have made their way to Rome in 211 BCE. Nevertheless, it seems that the cult on Sicily continued and the sanctuary was still a well-known and wealthy place of worship in the second and first century BCE, as the quote from Polybius suggests. At the same time the cult of Venus Erycina branched out and flourished outside of Sicily as well, and not least of all in Rome where two temples were dedicated to the cult of Venus Erycina.⁶¹

2.2 *A Roman Context: Venus Erycina in Rome*

The exact find spot of the Ludovisi Acrolith in Rome is unknown. The sculpture is first recorded in the inventory of the Buoncompagni-Ludovisi collection in 1733, but with no further information on how it was acquired. It is generally accepted that it was rediscovered on the grounds of the Villa Ludovisi in Rome that covered most of the ancient Horti Sallustiani, located on the slopes of the Pincio and the Quirinal. Theories regarding the Roman context of the acrolith are very much connected to this location. A study from 1892 first connects the Ludovisi throne with the acrolith, and suggested the temple of Venus Erycina near the Porta Collina as their Roman context.⁶² This temple of Venus Erycina was vowed in 184 and dedicated by L. Porcius Licinius in 181 BCE, and was one of two temples in Rome dedicated to the Venus of Eryx – the other temple was that of Venus Erycina on the Capitoline hill.⁶³ Both Strabo and Livy mention a temple of Venus Erycina in Rome near the Porta Collina (*ad portam Collinam*), close to the boundaries of the Horti Sallustiani, of which no archaeological/architectural remains are preserved.⁶⁴ Strabo states that the temple was remarkable for its shrine and surrounding colonnade, but more importantly that there is a ‘reproduction’ of the goddess from Eryx in Rome, anchoring the Roman cult of Venus Erycina to the famous Sicilian cult that, according to Virgil, was founded by Aeneas, which increased the status of the

60 Ov. *Fast.* 4.873–876.

61 Lietz 2012: 103–104.

62 Petersen 1892.

63 See also Coarelli 1999: 115. The temple was vowed in 217 BCE and dedicated in 215 BCE by Fabius Maximus Verrucosus; Liv. 22.9; 23.30–31 notes the dedication by Fabius Maximus of a temple of Venus Erycina on the Capitol that was only separated from the temple of Mens by a drain.

64 Liv. 30.38.10. There are some inscriptions that mention ‘Venus in the Horti Sallustiani’ and a sixteenth-century drawing of a plan of a circular temple with a colonnade that mentions *T[emplum] veneris salustianae*. It was archaeologist Lanciani 1888: 3–11 who connected this evidence with the Temple of Venus Erycina. The connection between these two structures remains debatable, for a comprehensive overview and discussion of this evidence see Hartswick 2004: 68–82.

cult even more for a Roman audience.⁶⁵ It seems clear that this cult in Rome was indeed related to Eryx.⁶⁶ But where the Venus Capitolina became very 'Roman' and was stripped of its 'Sicilian' ceremonies,⁶⁷ the Venus temple *ad portam Collinam* apparently correlated much more with its Sicilian predecessor in its practices, for example with the continuation of sacred prostitution, also enabled by its location outside the *pomerium*.⁶⁸ Most interestingly, the literary sources point to the possible transfer of a (cult-)statue from Sicily to this temple in Rome: did the temple of Venus Erycina perhaps preserve Sicilian practices more *because* of its Sicilian cult-statue?

2.3 *Transferring Statues, Transferring Cults*

In order to explore this proposition further it is essential to look at the evidence for such a transfer, the general practice of transferring cult-images to Rome, and its impact. Two passages from ancient literary sources point to the transfer of a 'goddess' from Eryx to a temple near the Porta Collina in Rome:

Now is the time to throng her temple next the Colline gate; the temple takes its name from the Sicilian hill. When Claudius carried Arethusian Syracuse by force of arms, and captured thee, too, Eryx, in war, Venus was transferred to Rome in obedience to an oracle of the long-lived Sibyl, and chose to be worshipped in the city of her own offspring.⁶⁹

Ovid here writes of a capture of Eryx by Marcellus at the same time as his famous conquest of Syracuse and distinctly mentions the location near the Porta Collina. The Venus which Ovid refers to here is commonly understood as a cult-statue of Venus. Ancient authors would frequently use only the name of a deity to refer to a cult-image of that particular deity.⁷⁰ Strabo writes of the temple of Venus Erycina near the Porta Collina as a 'reproduction' of the Temple in Eryx on Sicily, suggesting a similarity between the two sanctuaries:

65 Str. 6.2.6.; Verg. *A.* 5.759. For a discussion of Eryx in Virgil see Fratantuono and Alden Smith 2015: 133–134.

66 A 57 BCE silver coin, minted in Rome, now in the British Museum shows a portrait of a female cult-statue, with curls, a diadem, and earrings on one side and a depiction of a walled mountain with the text 'eryx' on the other side. British Museum inv. 1841,0726.1215.

67 Orlin 2000: 83n.53.

68 Hartswick 2004: 75; Orlin 2000: 70–90; Coarelli 1999: 115.

69 Ov. *Fast.* 4.873–876. I quote the translation of J.G. Frazer in the Loeb series.

70 Kiernan 2020: 5, the cult-statue transcends representation, the object *becomes* the deity. Already in Hom. *Il.* 6.3 it is unclear whether Athena refers to the goddess or to a (acting) cult-statue, see also Steiner 2001: 79–104; Bremmer 2013.

In Rome, also, there is a *reproduction* (ἀφίδρυμα) of this goddess, I mean the temple before the Colline Gate which is called that of Venus Erycina and is remarkable for its shrine and surrounding colonnade.⁷¹

Anna Anguissola points out Strabo's use of the word ἀφίδρυμα in this text and argues that in his *Geography* it 'describes the setting of an old cult in a new context, sometimes explicitly referring to the transfer of a sacred item from the main temple that made this possible, in other cases simply implying it'.⁷² The use and meaning of ἀφίδρυμα is a complex, linguistic issue, well summarized by Malkin.⁷³ In the quotation from Strabo, ἀφίδρυμα is translated as 'reproduction', but according to Malkin this word is not a copy or reproduction of an image or a temple model but a 'sacred object that is used to begin and found a new cult, perceived as a branch of an older cult', while sometimes referring more generally to a cult-transfer.⁷⁴ What is reproduced is the 'worship itself'. Where Anguissola's conclusion on ἀφίδρυμα moves towards the more abstract definition of the transfer and continuation of old practices/cult in a new context, Malkin argues that ἀφίδρυμα in the majority of texts actually signifies an object: a *hieron*, *xoanon*, or a cult-image/statue. This could even be a very different kind of object. When the oracle told the Romans to bring the cult of Asclepius to Rome, they set out to get a statue from Epidaurus as an ἀφίδρυμα to transfer the cult. However, they returned with a sacred snake instead of a statue, that was also able to function as an ἀφίδρυμα.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, in many of the examples the word does signify a statue, a cult-image.⁷⁶ So we might consider that a statue has the affordances to fulfill the role of ἀφίδρυμα par excellence. As Malkin emphasizes, it is the ἀφίδρυμα's potentialities that makes the transfer of cult and the creation of a new sanctuary possible.⁷⁷ From an object perspective, it is crucial to realize that in the ancient literary sources, it is a sacred item, an *object*, from the original context that enables the transference of an old cult to a new context and enables the creation of a new branch

71 Str. 6.2.6; I quote the translation of H.L. Jones in the Loeb series (my emphasis); in this translation, ἀφίδρυμα is translated as reproduction.

72 Anguissola 2006: 644.

73 Malkin 1991: 77–96.

74 Malkin 1991: 78–80, 95, quote on 78.

75 Livy, summary of book XI; Strabo uses the term ἀφίδρυμα for this case in 12.5.3–567. See Malkin 1991: 81 for discussion of the example.

76 Malkin 1991: 87–96.

77 Malkin 1991: 81, 83, 86.

of the cult.⁷⁸ In other words, it implies the need for a tangible piece of the ‘old’ to make the ‘new’ successful.

The sanctuary of Venus Erycina in Rome illustrates how a Mediterranean cult on Sicily, made up of various elements that are sometimes defined as ‘eastern’ or ‘Phoenician’, moved through the Roman world. This movement of a cult is inseparable from the movement of objects. There is no hard evidence for the transfer of a cult-statue from Eryx to Rome but the ancient sources do suggest the possibility. The connection of the Ludovisi Acrolith to this sanctuary cannot be proven, but recent research has convincingly argued that it was a cult-statue that was indeed at some point transferred from the Hellenistic West to Rome.⁷⁹ If this cult-statue was transported to Rome during the conquest of Sicily – Ovid mentions the capture and transfer of a Venus from Eryx by Marcellus – it might have followed a different trajectory than looted statues that were introduced through triumphs, as discussed in the first part of this chapter. The debate on how to view and handle the capture of enemy gods – in the form of their statues – had already arisen during the early Roman conquests. To take a cult-statue, one had to avert the possible anger of the gods acted out by their statues. A cult-statue could only be respectfully transferred, if an invitation was proposed to the (in)animate statue, inviting the god to leave its temple and come to Rome: the *evocatio deorum*. Interestingly, gods brought to Rome by *evocatio* during conquest were seemingly never part of the triumphal procession.⁸⁰ For this would show the statue/god as a captive while in fact they had come voluntarily. As Östenberg puts it, ‘to be paraded in triumph was by definition a sign of subordination’.⁸¹ After transference, the statue and god would be assimilated into a new context where they would willingly receive a new temple and cult. Although *evocatio deorum* is generally seen as a religious and military ritual that plays a role in the mythification of certain historical events,⁸² it is foremost a ritual that concerns objects. Kiernan, in his book on Roman cult-images, states:

78 Anguissola 2006: 646 in the conclusion of her concise essay moves away from this idea and states that in this case ἀφιδρυμα underlines the continuation of practices of the old cult more so than a replica of its cult-statue.

79 Especially the archaeometric study of Lazzarini and Cirucci 2015 strengthens the hypothesis on the origin that was previously based on stylistic analysis.

80 Gustafsson 2000; Östenberg 2009: 90.

81 See Östenberg 2009: 90 for *evocatio* in relation to triumph.

82 See Gustafsson 2000 for an extensive study of *evocatio*, mainly focused on the ritual as a tool for conquest and vows to the gods, more so than bringing gods to Rome.

This sort of origin story distracted from the perception of idols as man-made objects by connecting them to early historical events. In its former home, the foreign idol's agency was already accepted, so no further justification was needed to generate agency in Rome. The story of its decision to move to Rome further reinforced the idea of the idol as an active participant in human affairs.⁸³

The ritual of *evocatio* thus legitimized the 'agency' of a cult-statue – what Kiernan calls an idol – in a new context. At the same time it shows that to the Roman citizen the cult-statue was indeed an entity that was not at all times under – human – control and could affect humans and events. This is emphasized by the fact that some cult-statues in the Greek world are known to have been chained in the temple to prevent deities from leaving in the case of *evocatio*.⁸⁴ So, in order to transfer cult-statues, a ritual that defuses the inherently perilous object was imperative.⁸⁵

2.4 *Acroliths in the Roman World*

In order to understand the possible function and impact of the Ludovisi Acrolith, it is crucial to explore how the sculpture as an (cultic) acrolith would have suited the context of Late Republican Rome. Would the Ludovisi Acrolith have stood out much in style or material, or for its acrolithic technique? Would the sculpture have been perceived as distinctively 'different' in Rome, in the middle of a vast body of both imported and reused sculpture from the Greek world and newly produced sculpture based on classical models? To explore these questions, a brief overview of acrolithic sculpture in Rome is required.

As mentioned above, no marble cult-statues were present in Rome before the end of the third century BCE; until then cult-statues were made mainly in terracotta and bronze, much in line with what is known from Etruria and surroundings.⁸⁶ Interestingly, from 200 BCE onwards, various examples of marble acrolithic sculpture are known from Rome and the wider area of central Italy. At the temple of Fides, in the Sant'Omobono area in Rome, two marble acroliths have been found. A fragmented head of at least 55 cm high, is considered to have been the cult-statue of Fides. The head is executed in a

83 Kiernan 2020: 34.

84 Kiernan 2020: 193; he adds that cult-statues were sometimes also chained to keep control of dangerous gods.

85 This strengthens the hypothesis by Versluys, this volume, that the triumph would also function as a ritual to tame the agency of such objects.

86 The Venus of Orvieto being the marble exception to the statement together with an over-life-size head from Volterra, Martin 1987: 45–50.

classicizing style. The sculpted hair was parted in the middle, the strands are clearly defined and move towards a narrow hairband. The head is dated to the end of the second century BCE.⁸⁷ The second acrolith was found in a layer of sediment that may have fallen from the adjacent slope of the Capitoline hill. This head is part of a classicizing statue from the early first century BCE. In this case, the surface treatment of the flattened back of the head suggests that a metal 'wig' would have been attached, likely without a diadem or helmet.⁸⁸ Both of these statues, however, show no holes for the attachment of individual hairlocks, diadems, or veils.

An overview of Roman cult-statues reveals that the acrolithic technique was quite common in the last two centuries BCE, especially for female cult-statues.⁸⁹ According to Martin, this can be explained by the fact that a robe could hide the transition between the head and the material of the body. Male deities were commonly depicted nude which made the acrolithic technique less preferable.⁹⁰ We cannot take for granted that all acroliths functioned as cult-statues in Rome, just in virtue of the technique. However, chryselephantine sculpture – closely related to acrolithic sculpture, as discussed above – in the Roman world is mentioned in the literary sources only as temple sculpture.⁹¹ Acrolithic sculptures, likewise, are indeed absent in other Roman contexts like villas.⁹² From the beginning of the imperial period, the acrolithic technique also came into use for colossal imperial statues.⁹³

87 Reusser 1993: 91–111, Kat 1a–e.

88 Reusser 1993: 166–173, Kat 6.

89 Martin 1987. A famous example is the head, arm, and foot of the Fortuna Huiusce Diei by Skopas from the eponymous temple in Largo Argentina (now in Centrale Montemartini, Rome).

90 Martin 1987: 195, in some cases male acroliths were manufactured with a head and torso as one piece (for example the Jupiter in Capitolium from Cumae, now in the National Archaeological Museum, Naples). Catalogue on 207–248 for an overview of Roman cult-statues. Remarkably, the Ludovisi Acrolith is not included in this catalogue. Research on the surface treatment of a second/first-century BCE acrolithic head of Zeus/Jupiter, a rare example of a male acrolith likely from Central Italy (now in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen), shows the use of elaborate pigments, which seems very coherent with the polychrome pallet of the different materials used for the non-marble parts of the acrolithic sculpture, see Rosing and Østergaard 2009.

91 Lapatin 2001: 121–128.

92 Pearson 2021: 186.

93 Fejfer 2008: 158n.48. The marble statue of Constantine in Rome is an example. Roman portrait sculpture was often made of parts in various types of marble/stone put together in the Republic and Imperial period, Fejfer calls this 'piecing' and states that it is an indication of the value of marble.

An acrolith from the Vatican museums is dated to 490–480 BCE and deemed a Greek original, like the Ludovisi Acrolith.⁹⁴ This acrolithic head is identified as Athena, and has eyes laid in gray stone with the iris and pupils missing. The lash line is set in with bronze and some individual lashes are still visible. The ear lobes are pierced for the attachment of jewelry. The head is completely bald and shows three round attachment holes, two above the eyes and one in the left temple, that served to attach a (metal?) helmet or headdress on the head. Despite the difference in the application of hair or a headdress, stylistic similarities with the Ludovisi Acrolith can be seen in the abstract eyebrows, ridged eyelids, strong round chin, full lips, and overall archaic expression. This Athena is sometimes compared to a mid-first-century BCE acrolith of Juno Sospita found near the sanctuary of Lanuvium. Based on this comparison, Hafner argued that the Athena originated in Latium in the fifth century BCE and was a predecessor of the later Juno Sospita acrolith. However, if we take into account the development of acroliths in the Mediterranean world it is much more likely that the Athena originated in Magna Graecia/Sicily and was transferred to Rome, which is the consensus at present.⁹⁵ The Athena does not provide a parallel in function or use to the Ludovisi Acrolith, as no information on the find spot or context in Rome is preserved.

So, would the Ludovisi Acrolith have stood out as a peculiar object in Republican Rome? Yes and no – probably not as an acrolith *an sich*, nor was it the only original fifth-century BCE acrolith that was brought to Rome from Sicily or Magna Graecia. But on the other hand, we may consider that it was perceived as different or Other in regard to its archaizing style. Only a small – 31 cm in height – head of Diana from Nemi shows some similarities to the Ludovisi Acrolith in its archaizing style, the individual curls on the forehead, a narrow, sculpted head band, and the undetailed, long hair down the neck.⁹⁶ Apart from this exception, the early fifth-century BCE style is rarely seen in Roman acroliths, that are generally classicizing in style. This is well illustrated by their hairstyles: the majority of the female heads have sculpted hair parted in the middle in a classical fashion. Only a few are sculpted without hair and were likely adorned with metal helmets or wigs. The classicizing Roman acroliths do not show multiple attachment holes like the Ludovisi Acrolith,

94 Inv. 905, Vatican Museums, 44.5 cm in height. Lippold 1956: 514–515. The head was previously interpreted as a depiction of Hygeia, see Helbig 1963: no. 870.

95 See Hafner 1966, who suggests Latium as the origin of the Athena. See also the discussion in Hermans 2017: 122–126, on the (acrolithic) cult images of Juno Sospita in Lanuvium; and Martin 1987, 114–115.

96 Martin 1987: 184–186. He suggests a first-century CE date of the head as a restitution of a former cult-statue with the archaizing style assisting the continuation of the cult.

although some do have pierced earlobes, and are therefore less likely to have been decorated with separate diadems and veils.

Although seemingly different, an 'archaic', original Greek acrolith might have been the most appropriate choice for a temple that was closely connected to its Sicilian predecessor, like the temple of Venus Erycina. A statue like the Ludovisi Acrolith would both fit the setting for the Sicilian rituals as well as perhaps incite the traditions from the old cult in Rome, where the newer, classicizing cult-statues were more appropriate to fulfill the function of cult-statue in more formal, Roman cults.

3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter explored the impact of the introduction of spoils from Sicily on the city of Rome from an archaeological perspective. We know from literary sources that the statues that were brought to Rome as spoils by Marcellus in 211 BCE greatly affected the city and its citizens but no archaeological evidence remains of either statues or their architectural surroundings. To remedy this absence, I used the Ludovisi Acrolith as a comparable case of an object that was (most likely) transferred to Rome from Sicily in Republican times. Exploring the biography of this sculpture sheds light on the process of the transference of cults and cult-statues to Rome, and the evident connection between the two.

This essay has focused on the Roman appropriation of the acrolith and the four different stages of appropriation as presented in the Introduction of this volume, can be well distinguished.⁹⁷ First is *material appropriation*; the sculpture is physically taken from its original context on Sicily through spoliation. This is followed by *objectification*. Statues transferred to Rome underwent various rituals, like the triumph or *evocatio*, that could introduce the object to a new context in a controlled manner and made it possible for the object to become 'Roman'. Our acrolith became part of the objectscape of Rome where it was given new meaning as a Roman cult-statue. Next is the phase of *incorporation*; now part of the Self, the sculpture is 'unleashed' in the new context. It could be suggested that the transfer of an 'alien' cult to Rome was not possible without an object from the old sanctuary, like a cult-statue. An original, reused cult-statue like the Ludovisi Acrolith would be able to anchor the cult to its origins and by that means enable, legitimize, and affect the new cult in Rome. It was perhaps by the existence of an original 'Sicilian' cult-statue in

97 I use the four stages of appropriation as defined by Versluys in this volume who, in turn, bases himself on Hahn 2004.

the temple that the cult of Venus Erycina in Rome retained so many of its old, Sicilian practices. This is closely related to the final stage of *transformation* as the acrolith is now completely integrated in Rome, while still maintaining a connection with its provenance.

If we take the idea of objects as innovators seriously, we should no longer exclusively approach spoils from Sicily like the Ludovisi Acrolith as an illustration of the Roman conquest of Sicily but focus instead on their process of appropriation and consequently, the active and crucial role they fulfilled in the transfer and instigation of 'new' practices in Rome.

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Luxuria peregrina (Livy 39.6): Spolia and Rome's Gastronomic Revolution

Lidewij van Gils and Rebecca Henzel

1 Introduction

As mentioned in the Introduction to this volume, 'spolia started changing the Roman Republican society from the outside in' and this process of cultural influence typically followed the phases of *material appropriation* > *objectification* > *incorporation* > *transformation*. One of the questions posed in the Introduction is 'what mechanisms of appropriation (or repulsion) can be observed, and what is the active role or agency of the objects themselves in these processes?'¹ In this chapter we will focus on the case of the spolia brought to Rome in 187 BCE by Cn. Manlius Vulso after his victory over the Galatians and Livy's famous claim that these spolia were the beginning of *luxuria peregrina* ('luxury from abroad') including gastronomic refinement in Rome.² The aim of our contribution is to provide a context for this bold remark, by analyzing on the one hand Livy's rhetoric and placing it in its contemporary frame, and by looking, on the other hand, at material evidence for gastronomic developments starting in the early second century BCE up until the time of Augustus and Livy.³ By combining the rhetorical and archaeological analyses we are able to give an idea of the gastronomic situation in Livy's Rome, in which elements from eastern origin are in the last phase of cultural influence, i.e. *transformation*.⁴ We will discuss Livy's ambivalent attitude towards these luxurious elements of foreign

1 See the Introduction to this volume, pp. 1–68.

2 See Gruen 2011: esp. 343–351, for a discussion and examples of the idea that Romans were often open to foreign influences. A remarkable exception can be found in the Roman reaction to the Bacchic cult in 186 BCE as described in Livy book 39. For Roman stereotypes of non-Romans, see Woolf 2011, although his study is mostly concerned with the Roman approach to non-Romans in the West-Roman Empire.

3 Recently, such an interdisciplinary approach to the third and second century BCE of Roman history has also been advocated by Padilla Peralta and Bernard 2022.

4 We will speak about Greek cultural influence and not distinguish between Asian and Greek in this chapter, as it is usually through Greek culture that also Asian elements are adopted by Romans. See Padilla Peralta and Bernard 2022 for the broad presence of philhellenism already in the third century BCE.

origin, which he credits with agency through their excessive desirability, and his historiographical decision to mark 187 BCE as the starting point of foreign luxury in Rome.

In order to provide a context for Livy's statements about luxurious dining, we first sketch the gastronomic situation of Livy's own time (section 2) and then discuss a number of literary testimonia and archaeological data on gastronomic developments which started in the second century BCE (section 3). These sections are followed by a rhetorical analysis of Livy's famous passage *Ab urbe condita* 39.6 (section 4), after which we combine the lines of argument presented in the sections 2, 3 and 4 with regard to a possible revolution in the culinary arts starting in 187 BCE by the spolia of the Galatians in a conclusion (section 5). In the concluding section, we also discuss how our results are a showcase for the historiographical practice of indicating a specific starting point, origin or person in the distant past for a complex process of cultural transformation. We could label this practice 'rhetorical anchoring', since the historiographer marks a specific event or person as the anchor of an innovation.⁵

2 Livy and the Luxury of His Time

Livy and his contemporaries were accustomed to a Roman gastronomic culture which contained luxurious elements of Hellenistic origin, as their Greek names often made clear: furniture like *triclinia* (eating-couches), *abaci* (sideboards) and *monopodia* (pedestal tables), tableware such as the *krater* (mixing-vessel) and *amphora* (vessel) and, of course, ingredients, such as for instance *pyrum* (pear), *cerasus* (cherry) and *rhombus* (flatfish). Moreover, there was a (sub)culture among the elite of extravagant dinner parties in which *psaltria* (female dancers) and music could be part of the program.⁶ Both archaeological findings and literature from the early Roman empire confirm that wealthy Roman citizens reveled in festive meals with a great variety of dishes, appreciated a luxurious ambiance with costly furniture and tableware and also enjoyed performances of song, dance and literature. The host of a dinner party could show his wealth and good taste to his friends and reinforce his network and hence increase his social capital.

⁵ For the concept of Anchoring Innovation, see Sluiter 2017.

⁶ References to luxurious meals in Roman literature can be found in, for instance, Cic. *Ver.* 2.3.68 and 2.5.33; Sen. *Ep.* 16.9 and 144.10; Plin. *Ep.* 1.15 and 9.36, but see also the satires of Juvenal (*Sat.* 5) and Petronius' *Satyricon*. In general, see Gowers 1993.

An example of such a luxurious lifestyle, which peaked at the end of the republic and the early empire, are the fish farms which formed part of the lavishly decorated *villae*,⁷ about which we know both from literary sources and from archaeological evidence. The fish farms are not only interesting because they show an upper-class phenomenon, but also because the huge tanks were the result of a technical innovation, viz. the use of waterproof concrete.⁸ The tanks were often built into the sea as part of *villae maritimae* which required huge investment by the owner. Since the fish were probably not always meant for consumption, he would not make much profit. This shows the preoccupation of members of the elite with luxurious and exotic food through which they were able to show off and distinguish themselves from others.

A famous literary example of an over-abundant dinner party is Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*, written probably halfway in the first century CE. The following passage shows how the extravagant freedman Trimalchio treats his astonished guests (31–33):

Dishes for the first course included an ass of Corinthian bronze with two panniers, white olives on one side and black on the other. Over the ass were two pieces of plate, with Trimalchio's name and the weight of the silver inscribed on the rims. There were some small iron frames shaped like bridges supporting dormice sprinkled with honey and poppy seed. There were steaming hot sausages too, on a silver gridiron with damsons and pomegranate seeds underneath. We were in the middle of these elegant dishes when Trimalchio himself was carried in to the sound of music and set down on a pile of tightly stuffed cushions. (...) After picking his teeth with a silver toothpick, he began: 'My friends, I wasn't keen to come into the dining-room yet. But if I stayed away anymore, I would have kept you back, so I've deprived myself of all my little pleasures for you. However, you'll allow me to finish my game'. A boy was at his heels with a board of terebinth wood with glass squares, and I noticed the very last word in luxury – instead of white and black pieces he had gold and silver coins. While he was swearing away like a trooper over his game and we were still on the hors d'oeuvres, a tray was brought in with a basket on it. There sat a wooden hen, its wings spread round it the way hens are when they are broody. Two slaves hurried up and as the orchestra played a tune they began searching through the straw and dug out peahens' eggs, which they distributed to the guests. (Transl. by Schmeling 2020)

7 E.g. Grüner 2006, 2009; Stein-Hölkeskamp 2019: 95.

8 Kron 2015: 166.

Petronius was obviously a satirical author, but he certainly is not our only literary source on luxurious objects used in banquets given by exclusive circles in the first century CE. Pliny the Elder, for example, provides us with prices and accounts of objects which wealthy members of the elite possessed.⁹ Archaeological evidence of silver tableware can also be dated mostly to the first century BCE or the first century CE.¹⁰ The greater amount of archaeological material preserved from this era could be related to the increase of silver tableware: from the first century BCE onwards such tableware was made in Rome, probably as a result of the wider availability of silver from Spain after its incorporation into the Empire.¹¹

A political reaction to the social competition via extravagant dinner parties can be gleaned from the so-called 'sumptuary laws', which aimed at keeping luxurious dining and the use of foreign food below a strictly defined level.¹² In 18 BCE, for instance, the *Lex Iulia sumptuaria* limited extravagant expenditure for dinner parties in an attempt by Augustus to keep gastronomic *luxuria* within acceptable boundaries. Our source for the Augustan law on luxury is Aulus Gellius (2nd century CE), who writes (2.24.14):

Postrema lex Iulia ad populum pervenit Caesare Augusto imperante, qua profestis quidem diebus ducenti finiuntur, Kalendis, Idibus, Nonis et aliis quibusdam festis trecenti, nuptiis autem et repotiis sestertii mille.

Lastly, the Julian law came before the people during the principate of Caesar Augustus, by which on working days two hundred sesterces is the limit, on the Kalends, Ides and Nones and some other holidays, three hundred, but at weddings and the banquets following them, a thousand. (Transl. by Rolfe 1927)

Sumptuary laws were undoubtedly difficult to enforce, but they show a tension between social competition in abundant dining on the one hand and a more restrained lifestyle prescribed by legislation on the other.

In philosophical literature we find the same tension, usually centered on the moral question of whether luxury was a vice or an acceptable part of life.

9 Plin. *Nat.* 33.143; Weis 2003: 377–381; Stein-Hölkeskamp 2005: 146–154.

10 E.g., silver treasure from Boscoreale or from the Casa del Menandro, Pompeii; Mielsch and von Prittwitz und Gaffron 1997; Guzzo 2006.

11 Weis 2003.

12 For a discussion of *leges sumptuariae* and their social function, see De Ligt 2002 and McGinn 2008.

The Stoic philosopher Seneca, living at roughly the same time as Petronius and Pliny, gives the following advice to his pupil Lucilius (*Ep.* 97):

Erras, mi Lucili, si existimas nostri saeculi esse vitium luxuriam et negligentiam boni moris et alia, quae obiecit suis quisque temporibus; hominum sunt ista, non temporum. Nulla aetas vacavit a culpa.

You are mistaken, my dear Lucilius, if you think that luxury, neglect of good manners, and other vices of which each man accuses the age in which he lives, are especially characteristic of our own epoch; no, they are the vices of mankind and not of the times. No era in history has ever been free from blame. (Transl. by Gummere 1917)

Seneca, who came to Rome as a youth to study rhetoric at a time when he might still have encountered the older Livy, accuses even those who collect more books than they can read of 'learned luxury' (*studiosa luxuria*). In fact, in another text Seneca amusingly rebukes the famous, bibliophile historiographer (*De tranquillitate animi* 9):

Quadraginta milia librorum Alexandriae arserunt; pulcherrimum regiae opulentiae monimentum alius laudaverit, sicut T. Livius, qui elegantiae regum curaeque egregium id opus ait fuisse. Non fuit elegantia illud aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria, immo ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium sed in spectaculum comparaverant, sicut plerisque ignaris etiam puerilium litterarum libri non studiorum instrumenta sed cenationum ornamenta sunt.

Forty thousand books were burned at Alexandria; let someone else praise this library as the most noble monument to the wealth of kings, as did Titus Livius, who says that it was the most distinguished achievement of the good taste and solicitude of kings. There was no 'good taste' or 'solicitude' about it, but only learned luxury – nay, not even 'learned', since they had collected the books, not for the sake of learning, but to make a show, just as many who lack even a child's knowledge of letters use books, not as the tools of learning, but as decorations for the dining-room. (Transl. by Basore 1964)

Livy was undoubtedly a very learned man, whose *studium* was not a matter of *studiosa luxuria*, but of looking for sources while writing his 142 books of Roman history *Ab urbe condita*. He was not himself part of the political Roman

elite, but his talent and his literary project brought him in contact with the imperial court. With his history of Rome, he explicitly aims to instruct new generations of Romans with good and bad examples from the past.¹³ His method is annalistic, but at the same time he structures his books around major events of Roman history. In books 21–30, for instance, he covers the Second Punic War (219–201 BCE). He also treats important moralistic themes in connection with specific sets of events. Thus, book 39 starts with the year 187 BCE and right from the start an important theme is Roman *disciplina militaris*. He emphasizes how certain fierce enemies and rough landscapes, like Liguria, are capable of strengthening the military discipline of the Roman army, while other countries, especially Asia, are so soft and luxurious that they can only ruin it (39.1):¹⁴

Dum haec, si modo hoc anno acta sunt, Romae aguntur, consules ambo in Liguribus gerebant bellum. is hostis velut natus ad continendam inter magnorum intervalla bellorum Romanis militarem disciplinam erat; nec alia provincia militem magis ad virtutem acuebat. nam Asia et amoenitate urbium et copia terrestrium maritimarumque rerum et mollitia hostium regiisque opibus ditiores quam fortiores exercitus faciebat. praecipue sub imperio Cn. Manli solute ac neglegenter habiti sunt.

While these events were taking place at Rome – if, in fact, this was the year in which they did take place – the two consuls were at war among the Ligurians. This was an enemy almost made for sustaining Roman military discipline in the breaks between major wars, and no other province did more to hone the soldiers' valor. Asia with its captivating towns, ample commodities from land and sea, a spineless enemy, and the wealth of its kings, enriched armies rather than tempered them. Discipline was particularly lax and slipshod under Gnaeus Manlius' command. (Transl. by Sage 1936)

13 About Livy's moralistic view on historiography many studies have appeared, among which Chaplin 2000 (about the relevance of *exempla* in Livy's history for his own time); Feldherr 1998 (about the impact and recognition of visual elements on his contemporary audience); Van Gils and Kroon 2018 (about linguistic evidence for moral highlights in his historiography); De Haan 2012 (about Livy's history being more about his own time than about the past he writes about); Levene 2010 (about overarching moralistic themes in the books about Hannibal); Pausch 2019 (about the moral framing of the Punic wars as fraudulent); Walsh 1961 (about Livy's aims and sources in general).

14 The idea that certain landscapes bring forth certain types of people is very old and can already be found in Herodotus: 'a soft country breeds soft men', says Cyrus (9.122); and cf. 1.155 and 7.102.1.

The laxity of *disciplina militaris* is explicitly attributed to Cn. Manlius Vulso, who in what follows will be portrayed as a negative exemplum. Thus in 39.6 Livy claims that Manlius' triumph was the start of *luxuria peregrina* in Rome. In order to bring home the extent of that *luxuria*, he gives a detailed list of the spolia (39.7):

In triumpho tulit Cn. Manlius coronas aureas ducentas duodecim, argenti pondo ducenta viginti milia, auri pondo duo milia centum tria, tetrahmum Atticum centum viginti septem milia, cistophori ducenta quinquaginta, Philipporum aureorum nummorum sedecim milia trecentos viginti; et arma spoliaque multa Gallica carpentis travecta, duces hostium duo et quinquaginta ducti ante currum.

In the triumphal procession Gnaeus Manlius had the following spoils carried along: 212 golden crowns; 220,000 pounds of silver; 2,103 pounds of gold; 127,000 Attic four-drachma coins; 250,000 cistophori coins; and 16,320 gold Philippic coins. There were also large quantities of Gallic arms and spoils carried on wagons and fifty-two enemy officers were led before the chariot.¹⁵

Before taking a closer look at Livy's claim that Manlius' triumph was the start of luxury in Rome, let us sketch what we actually know about luxury, especially gastronomic luxury in Rome around the time of Manlius' triumph, on the basis of literary and archaeological sources.¹⁶

3 The Start of Gastronomic Luxury: Roman Comedy, Laws and Archaeology as Testimonia

Livy had more sources at his disposal than we do about the year 187 BCE, but at the same time he mostly consulted political documents (*Acta senatus*) and other historiographers (e.g. Polybius), while modern scholars also extract historical information from literary texts, legal inscriptions and from material sources such as tableware, furniture and animal bones.¹⁷ In this section we

15 Translations of Livy 39 in this and following examples are all by Sage 1936.

16 The moral theme of *luxuria* (and *avaritia*) in Livy is apparent also in other parts of his history, for instance in 7.25.8–9. See also Evans 2011 and Levick 1982.

17 See Luce 1977, Oakley 2019 and Roth 2006 for Livy's use of his sources.

want to give an idea of Roman gastronomic culture around 187 BCE without necessarily claiming that Livy had the same information at his disposal.

In the beginning of the second century BCE, Plautus wrote a comedy in which a certain Ballio finds a cook on the cook market (*forum coquinum*, a hapax legomenon) who explains why he is the only cook available. According to the clever cook, he is the last one left, not because of his bad quality, but, on the contrary, because of his superior skills which avaricious Romans are not prepared to pay for.¹⁸ This humorous dialogue shows a clever cook bragging about his qualities, but also plays with the prejudice about avaricious Romans (*Pseudolus* 800–807):¹⁹

- bal: sed quor sedebas in foro, si eras coquos, tu solus praeter alios?
 co: ego dicam tibi: hominum ego auaritia factus sum improbior
 coquos, non meopte ingenio.
 bal: qua istuc ratione?
 co: eloquar. quia enim, quom extemplo ueniunt conductum coquom,
 nemo illum quaerit qui optumus et carissumust: illum conducunt
 potius qui uilissumust. hoc ego fui hodie solus opsessor fori.

Bal: But why were you sitting in the market, if you were a cook, you alone beyond the others? Co: I'll tell you: through people's greed I've become a less desirable cook, not through my own nature. Bal: How so? Co: I'll tell you. Because the moment people come to hire a cook, nobody looks for the one who is best and most expensive; they prefer to hire the cheapest one. That's why I was the only occupant of the market today. (Transl. by De Melo 2012)

Another prejudice which lies at the base of some Plautine jokes is that Greeks are excessively focused on eating, drinking and luxury; in fact, the words *per-graecari* and *congraecari* ('behaving like a Greek', 'playing the Greek') in his comedies indicate just that.²⁰

In the first half of the second century BCE we also find laws which restrict the number of guests for dinner parties (*Lex Orchia* of 182 BCE) and later also the amount of money which could be spent on a dinner party (*Lex Fannia* of

18 Christenson 2020: *ad loc.* remarks that we have no evidence that there was something like a 'cook market' apart from this remark in Plautus.

19 McDonnell 2006: 70 suggests that Roman avarice was probably a contemporary topic, since Plautus makes jokes about it and Polybius (31.26.9) mentions the generosity of Greeks in contrast to the Romans.

20 See McDonnell 2006: 68.

162 BCE). If laws were necessary already at this stage (cf. the later Augustan ones, which were mentioned above), the senate must have felt that large and luxurious dinner parties were somehow destabilizing society. As various scholars have argued, aristocrat families may also have considered the networking potential of such parties in the houses of the nouveaux riches to be a threat to their own political capital.²¹

The rise of a new class of rich families is probable if we consider the general increase in wealth of the Roman population from the second century BCE onwards, visible in archaeological findings and explainable through the import of products, money and people as booty and trade from the new provinces.²² The victory over Carthage, for instance, was not only the start of Rome's expansion beyond Italy itself, but it also sped up processes of adopting Greek art and culture.²³ Rome took over Carthaginian trade networks, making Romans the most important traders in the Mediterranean.²⁴ With the successful campaigns in other regions that followed, the influx of objects, enslaved people and technical knowledge only increased. Especially the trading monopoly led to a huge amount of money reaching not only the senatorial elite in Rome, but the wider Italian elite as well.²⁵

What the material evidence also shows is an increasing importance of culinary practices from the second century BCE onwards: we see changes in meat consumption, innovation in food production, and an increase of tableware, furniture and other objects related to banquets and food consumption.²⁶ Three of these changes will be discussed below in order to show the development of gastronomy from different perspectives: animal bones, tableware and furniture. These examples lead to a twofold conclusion: the *luxuria peregrina* as described by Livy is part of a broader socio-economic development and in fact started later than Livy wants us to believe.

Animal bones tell us specifically about the consumption of meat and changes of consumption practices.²⁷ Unfortunately the data for the city of Rome are scarce, because of the difficult excavation context for organic material. Other

21 See e.g. De Ligt 2002.

22 On economic growth in the last two centuries BCE see, e.g., Scheidel 2007. On the archaeological data, e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

23 E.g. Zanker 1976; Versluys 2013.

24 E.g. Roselaar 2019.

25 In combination with an intensification in agriculture, the introduction of silver coins and other economic developments, summarized by Maschek 2018: 221–226. See also Gabba 1988.

26 Summarized by Maschek 2018: 220. Banducci 2013: 348–351.

27 See King 1999; MacKinnon 2004.

cities in Italy offer a fuller picture: Musarna in Etruria, for instance, shows an interesting development of meat consumption.²⁸ From the mid-second century BCE onwards the consumption of young animals sharply increased, which points to the consumption of better quality meat. The consumption of pig and chicken increased as compared to the mix of sheep, goat and cow which was customary before. The consumption of young animals points to the availability of a high number of animals, because they were not needed for breeding or in the case of cows not needed for farm work. However, the 'uselessness' of pigs and chickens for ends other than consumption (work, wool, milk) could explain their high percentage of consumption at a young age. Other animals could be used for other reasons than the consumption of their meat so that they were eaten at an older age.²⁹ Although this is only evidence from one site, and changes and developments are in many cases regionally or locally dependent, the general picture provided by zooarchaeological data points to increasing meat consumption in the Later Roman Republic.³⁰

In contrast to animal bones which tell us what people consumed, tableware may inform us about the practice of consumption. Again in the city of Musarna a new type of common tableware becomes increasingly used from the mid-second century BCE: plates. Banducci interprets their appearance in terms of a change in food presentation and food consumption.³¹ The most common utensil for food consumption was the bowl from which one was able to consume liquid as well as solid food. Plates, however, were only able to hold solid food. The size of the plates is also relevant here. The larger ones were probably used only for the presentation of the food and not as actual plates to eat from. According to Banducci, the increasing use of bigger plates points to a higher interest in large groups eating together, where food was presented on plates from which all members of the group were able to enjoy shared dining.

In the context of food presentation and tableware, also *monopodia* are relevant.³² From reliefs and wall paintings it is known that these small pedestal tables were used for presenting food and drinking cups, plates and other

28 Summarized by Maschek 2018: 220. Banducci 2013: 348–351.

29 See MacKinnon 2018: 152.

30 Kron 2015, Kron 2017; MacKinnon 2018: 157.

31 Banducci 2013: 250, 269, 350.

32 On furniture in Roman houses, summarized by Dickmann 1999: 281–287. Monographic studies: Richter 1966 (furniture by the Greeks, Romans, Etruscans); Mols 1999 (wooden furniture of Herculaneum); Faust 1989 (fulcra); Klatt 1995 (bronze and silver tables); Feuser 2013 (monopodia).

tableware (fig. 9.1).³³ This means that the entire group of guests could see them throughout the entire dinner. Evidence exists mostly from the beginning of the Imperial period, whereas earlier depictions of banquets from the Italian peninsula only rarely show *monopodia* or other smaller tables (fig. 9.2). This relief is one of the rare examples for the depiction of *monopodia* from before the Imperial period. The archaeological remains of wooden or metal *monopodia* can be dated to the first century BCE or the Imperial period,³⁴ in other words, up to the time of Livy.

The evidence from tableware and *monopodia* points to changes in the gastronomic practice in Italy. Food as well as tableware were presented to the guests of the banquets by the hosts in order to display their wealth. Not only the materials of the tableware or of the *monopodia* were expressions of their status, but also the exotic and elaborately presented food. Another presentation of food exists in floor mosaics of dining rooms, the so-called ‘unswept floor’, which means that food debris from meals is depicted on the floor, such as bones, shells and other leftovers. According to Pliny, the first one to design these mosaics was Sosos in Pergamum.³⁵ Archaeological evidence of unswept floor mosaics is only known from the first century BCE, and was popular from that time onwards.³⁶ These mosaics show to dinner guests which food to expect, but also advertise once again the wealth and cultural taste of the owner.

Although it may seem that only the elite experienced these changes in gastronomic practice, the occupation with food was part of a broader development. This is supported both by data on meat consumption and common tableware and by architectural evidence, which shows that the culinary practice of ordinary people changed as well. Most inhabitants of Italy would not consume their food on couches, but ate seated or even standing. Flohr has shown that from the mid-second century BCE the number of *tabernae* in Pompeii increased, which means that food was available everywhere, not only at home.³⁷

In sum, the literary and archaeological evidence indeed points to developments in culinary practice and an increasing preoccupation with sumptuous

33 E.g. relief of Amiternum (Maschek 2018: 215–221); various wall paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum (Dunbabin 2003: 52–71, pl. I–III); fresco in the tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus, Pompeii (Mols and Moorman 1993–1994). On depictions of food in general, O’Connell 2018.

34 Mols 1999; Klatt 1995; most of the *monopodia* in Italy were produced from the first century CE onwards, Feuser 2013: 171–172.

35 Plin., *Nat.* 36.184.

36 Moormann 2000.

37 Flohr 2018: 145.



FIGURE 9.1 Fresco in the tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus, Pompeii, first century CE
PHOTO E.M. MOORMANN, WITH PERMISSION



FIGURE 9.2 Relief Pizzoli, first century BCE

G. FITTSCHEN, D-DAI-ROM 84VW935A

dinner parties by elite circles from the second century onwards. Literary sources from later times, however, point to *specific victories* as the start of this development, blaming the massive import of Asian, African and Greek products. Often the year 146 is mentioned when both Corinth and Carthage were sacked, but Pliny the Elder mentions the year 189 BCE.³⁸ It was possibly a topos in the early Empire to attribute the introduction of *luxuria* to a specific victory over wealthy enemies.³⁹ Livy's claim that general Cn. Manlius Vulso brought foreign luxury to Rome in 187 BCE is a precursor of the topos, but his choice of name and date seems to be his own. Making this claim fits the moral agenda of his historiography, with its good and bad examples from the past. High time to take a closer look at the passage.

4 The Start of Culinary Luxury in Livy 39.6

In book 39 Livy makes Manlius' triumph into a historical turning point for Rome; it was precisely then that luxury made its irreversible entry into Rome,

38 *Asia primum devicta luxuriam misit in Italiam*, 'it was the conquest of Asia that first brought luxury into Rome' (Plin. *Nat.* 33.148–149).

39 Plutarch describes how the sack of Carthage brought *luxuria* into Rome (Plut. *Marc.*); see Pollitt 1978 on this passage and Carey 2006: 78–79 for a discussion of the topos, especially in Pliny the Elder.

and the form this influx of luxury took were *spolia*. The objects taken from the East by Manlius' soldiers had a profound and lasting effect on Roman society, if we are to believe Livy, who literally says (39.6):

luxuriae enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in urbem est.

For foreign luxury was originally [lit. the origin of luxury] brought to the city by the Asian army.

In this section, we will look at Livy's passage through a narratological and linguistic lens in order to find out more about his take on the introduction of foreign luxury in Rome, and especially the role of *spolia* in that process. We will focus on three elements in this passage: narrative structure, forensic elements and agency.

The passage begins, as many stories do, with a brief announcement of the episode to follow, typically with a perfect tense marking a narrator's distant temporal stance and a hint of the 'tellability' of the story. The hint in this case is subtle, but unmistakable for an attentive reader (39.6):

Extremo anni, magistratibus iam creatis, ante diem tertium nonas Martias Cn. Manlius Vulso de Gallis qui Asiam incolunt triumphavit.

At the end of the year, when the magistrates were already elected, on March 5th Gnaeus Manlius Vulso celebrated his triumph over the Gauls living in Asia.

The word order (*extremo anni* in first position) and the use of the scalar particle *iam* ('already') point at the unusual timing of the triumph. After this announcement the story is told in full. What had already been marked as a tellable element, the late date of the triumph, is taken up as the starting point of an elaboration:

serius ei triumphandi causa fuit ne Q. Terentio Culleone praetore causam lege Petillia diceret, et incendio alieni iudicii, quo L. Scipio damnatus erat, conflagraret, eo infensoribus in se quam in illum iudiciis, quod disciplinam militarem severe ab eo conservatam successorem ipsum omni genere licentiae corrupisse fama attulerat.

The reason for his belated triumph was to avoid having to defend himself under the Petillian law before the praetor Quintus Terentius Culleo

and being consumed in the flames of litigation directed against someone else, which had resulted in Lucius Scipio's condemnation and because of that the jury would be all the more hostile to him than to Scipio because rumor had it that he had, in succeeding him, undermined by all manner of laxity the military discipline strictly maintained by Scipio.

The reasons for postponing the triumph (*ne ... diceret et conflagraret*) must be those of Manlius, although this is not explicitly said and *causa* ('the reason') suggests an objective fact. The objective, reporting style makes the reader focus on the causal relations: Manlius' laxity of discipline made him vulnerable in a law case and the realization of his vulnerability led him to postpone his triumph. Note how a historical event (the time of the triumph) is used to paint a negative picture of the protagonist by linking his motives to it, motives which can of course be no more than the historian's reconstruction. The *disciplina militaris* is a recurrent theme in Livy's history and here we hear about a complete undermining of military discipline by Manlius himself (*ipsum*), as rumor (*fama*) in Rome had it. The narrator adds that the lack of military discipline of Manlius' army could also be seen in Rome every day:

neque ea sola infamiae erant quae in provincia procul ab oculis facta narrabantur, sed ea etiam magis quae in militibus eius cotidie conspiciabantur.

Nor was his reputation damaged only by what was said to have gone on in the province, far from people's eyes; there was also, and more important, what could every day be seen among his soldiers.

In telling how the Roman people looked at (*focalised*) Manlius and his soldiers, Livy prepares for his next argument, the corrupting influence of the spolia, not only on the soldiers but on all Romans.⁴⁰ At this point in the story the narrator openly starts endorsing, like a prosecutor, the rumor (*fama*) that Manlius is guilty of the laxity of discipline. And, going one step further, he broadens this idea in the sentence already quoted (*luxuriae enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in urbem est*), which claims that the origin (*origo*) of foreign luxury lay with Manlius' soldiers. This is the narrator's evaluation, but he effectively pretends that his readers will agree by using the consensus-particle *enim*.⁴¹ His strategy here resembles that of forensic orators like Cicero, who

40 See De Jong 2014 for an introduction on focalisation and other narratological concepts.

41 See Kroon 1995: 171–209 for a semantic and pragmatic analysis of *enim*.

often uses *enim* in passages where he tries to *create* common ground, i.e. the idea that speaker and addressees share the same ideas and values.⁴² The remainder of this passage has forensic elements in it, too, as we will see.

Manlius' soldiers brought a number of Eastern objects to Rome and they are accused of having been the first to do so. Livy implicitly suggests that if they had not done so, Rome might have been saved from the corrupting impact of luxury:

ii primum lectos aeratos, vestem stragulam pretiosam, plagulas et alia textilia, et quae tum magnificae suppellectilis habebantur, monopodia et abacos Romam aduexerunt.

These men were the first to bring to Rome bronze couches, expensive bed covers, tapestries and other woven materials, and (things then regarded as luxurious furniture) pedestal tables and sideboards.

This is a statement from the perspective of Livy's own time, as the adverbs *primum* and *tum* indicate: they were the *first* (with hindsight) to introduce these things which were *then* considered luxurious but which (the implication is) *now* have become normal. This is a scathing remark about his own time, the time of luxury to come (*futuræ luxuriæ*), as he will say a few sentences later. The first thing to note is that he uses Greek words for the pedestal tables and sideboards (*monopodia* and *abaci*) and thereby also stylistically marks their Greekness. In Livy's time the Greek provenance of luxurious, private objects had become problematic for certain politicians and philosophers, who wanted to discourage wealth competition and promote the idea of a Roman identity (see section 2). This explains why he is so keen to point out the origin of this bad habit, and attach to one identifiable person and one specific moment what actually was a long process.

Livy's accusation of starting *peregrina luxuria* is clear, but the defense of his argument remains rather vague: we are simply told that 'military discipline' became lax and slipshod under Manlius, and the infamous actions about which people in Rome spoke (*fama*) and which could be seen (*conspiciebantur*) are not further specified. The soldiers' behavior is in no way filled in with details and we are not told why they brought all these luxurious things to Rome (to use? to sell? to show?). However, the arrival of these objects had an enormous impact on Roman culture:

42 See Allan and Van Gils 2015 and Kroon 2021 for common ground analyses in ancient Greek and Roman texts.

tunc psaltriae sambucistriaeque et convivalia alia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis; epulae quoque ipsae et cura et sumptu maiore apparari coeptae. tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium et aestimatione et usu, in pretio esse, et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta.

This was when girls playing harps and lutes made their appearance at dinner parties together with other entertainments to amuse the guests; and the dinners themselves began to be put on with greater care and expense. This was when the cook, for the ancients the lowest slave in terms of worth and utility, began to be prized, and what had been menial labor to be regarded as an art.

The repeated reference to a specific moment (*tunc, tum*) reinforces the idea of an *origo* when luxurious elements were added (*addita*) to the Roman dinner, more care and money was spent on dinner parties and cooks increased in value. Through the use of the passive voice, Livy suggests that no one could resist the attraction of harps and flutes and refined food: they were irresistible and ‘forced’ the Romans to change their habits. Note also the repeated use of *coepta* (‘began to’) which not only emphasizes, once again, the idea of an origin, but also indicates that these *spolia* did not lead to a temporary change in fashion, but to a long-lasting change in Roman gastronomic culture. The relevance of this story for Livy’s own time is also apparent in the next sentence where he compares the innovations (*illa*) of 187 BCE (*tum*) with future luxury (*futuræ luxuriæ*), portraying the innovations as seeds (*semina*) that would inevitably grow:

vix tamen illa quae tum conspiciebantur semina erant futuræ luxuriæ.

And yet the things that began to appear in those days were merely the seeds of the luxury yet to come.

The *conspiciebantur* here and earlier in the text stresses the visual attraction of the objects and this is an aspect found in many of the *spolia* passages in this volume. People who see the luxurious objects which were imported as *spolia* want to possess and use them themselves; in this sense the objects have agency.

5 Conclusion

When we combine Livy with other literary and archaeological sources, we see that his strong claim about the *origo* of gastronomic *luxuria* actually is a

projection from his own times, since he lists objects and practices which he and his upper-class contemporaries were accustomed to. Although the second century BCE indeed appears to have witnessed changes in culinary practices, it is a gradual development which only peaked in Livy's own time. All objects mentioned by Livy probably only became part of the Roman culture in the first century BCE since we do not have earlier evidence of most of them in the archaeological records. On the other hand, some of the changes which Livy says started with the events of 187 BCE, are not entirely new, but rather additions to or more expensive versions of existent practices. Examples are the bronze couches (*lectos aeratos*) or the entertainment at banquets (*psaltria sambucistraeque et convivalia alia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis*). Although archaeological evidence of couches is scarce, wall paintings and reliefs on tombs in various sites of Italy show their existence before 187 BCE,⁴³ the decoration with bronze or with the entire production in bronze being an addition to the existing type of object.⁴⁴ According to Faust, wooden couches with bronze decoration first start to appear at the transition from the third to the second century BCE.⁴⁵ The same is true for the entertainment during banquets: banquets had been held in Rome long before 187 BCE.

According to Livy, objects from Asia imported in 187 BCE led to an increasing desire to own luxurious objects, which in turn changed gastronomic practice. But especially the example of meat consumption points to a more complex development of food consumption which took place on various levels. Also, foreign luxury objects did not just enter Rome as booty, but also through trade as we know from various literary sources.⁴⁶ From the first century BCE onwards workshops even opened in Rome which specialized in imitations of specific types of popular objects.⁴⁷ All these developments should be set in a bigger picture of social and economic changes in the Late Republican period. In general, it is true that Romans of the second century BCE recognized foreign objects and practices as useful new elements (the phase of objectification) and incorporated them in their daily culinary practices (phase of incorporation). But the idea that Manlius' army was the first to bring luxurious items to Rome is rhetoric, not history, and Livy's framing betrays his moralistic agenda. Book 39 conveys the lesson that a luxurious lifestyle makes a man and, even worse, a society, militarily weak. Livy's scapegoat is Manlius from beginning to

43 E.g. Nielsen 1998: 105.

44 For couches, see Richter 1966: 105–109; Faust 1989, 1994.

45 Faust 1994: 573.

46 E.g. Lazzeretti 2014: 97–100.

47 See e.g. Hölscher 1994; Maschek 2018: 218.

end. His triumph must explain the – problematic – presence of Greek objects and habits in Livy's own day when *luxuria* had become contested in Roman culture, even though their use had already reached the last phase of cultural influence, namely transformation.

The foreign objects themselves are presented as irresistibly attractive and as such they seem to possess agency, which in a way exonerates those who cannot resist their temptation. An 'original' Roman identity is constructed in contrast to barbarians in the North-West and luxury-loving peoples in the East. The spolia proudly taken from the enemy turn out to be poisonous objects for Roman society. Whereas, in terms of cultural appropriation, the archaeological picture shows adoption, Livy tells his readers a different story, as in most cases discussed in this volume: one of rejection and one loaded with moral meaning.

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Showing and Telling Spolia: the Triumphal Procession of Aemilius Paullus in Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus

Michel Buijs

1 Introduction

In 167 BCE, Aemilius Paullus received a triumphal procession (θρίαμβος/πομπή) to commemorate his victory in Macedonia. Reports of this procession have come down to us through Plutarch (*Aemilius Paullus* 32–34), Diodorus Siculus (31.8.9–12), Livy (45.40, covering the last part of the procession only), and Florus (*Epitoma de Tito Livio* 1.28.12–14). In this chapter, I will discuss the two more extensive reports, those of Plutarch and Diodorus, for both of whom a report in Polybius, now lost to us, probably was their source.¹

Both Plutarch and Diodorus report that Macedonian spoils were on display during this procession, which took three days. In both authors, the defeated Macedonian king Perseus and the victor, Aemilius, pass by on the third day, but the two reports disagree as to what exactly was to be seen on the first two days: Plutarch reports that captured works of art were carried along on the first day, and weapons on the second, while Diodorus reports that weapons and wagons carrying arms were on display on the first day, while statues of gods and men were on view on the second.²

More importantly, Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus differ conspicuously in narrative technique. Whereas the narrator in Diodorus presents his narratee with a – rather dull – *summary* of events, the Plutarchian narrator in comparison dedicates much more text to this procession, and rather offers his narratee a detailed *scene*, full of language of perception and emotion, which creates the feeling that we are dealing with an eyewitness report.³ This way of trying to

1 Liedmeier 1935: 43 and 253.

2 The fact that the trumpeters (σαλπικταί) are placed at the beginning of the procession, i.e. in front of the arms on day one, in Diodorus, whereas Plutarch places them in front of the sacrificial animals on day three, would make Diodorus' account historically more plausible; see Liedmeier 1935: 43, 253–254 for discussion.

3 Compare Liedmeier 1935, 261, *ad* Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* 34: “Treffend is weer de aanschouwelijkheid van voorstelling in dit en het volgend gedeelte: het is alsof Plutarchus een tafereel

make the narratee see and feel what is recounted can be seen as tied up with Plutarch's praise for authors like Thucydides and Xenophon who extensively show this ability in their works.⁴

I will first discuss the artistry and the linguistic means with which the account of Aemilius' triumphal procession is presented in the *Life of Aemilius Paullus*, and then contrast Plutarch's account to that found in Diodorus Siculus. The following analysis should be read as a narratological-linguistic introduction to the chapter by Strootman in this volume, who presents a historical discussion of the impact of the spoils on Roman society, in terms of appropriation, objectification, incorporation and transformation.

2 Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* 32–34

Aemilius Paullus 32.1–2

οὕτω φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀνακοπῆναι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τὸ στρατιωτικόν, ὥστε πάσαις ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐπικυρωθῆναι τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ τὸν θρίαμβον. πεμφθῆναι δ' αὐτόν οὕτω λέγουσιν.

This speech, they tell us, so rebuffed the soldiery and changed their minds that the triumph was voted to Aemilius by all the tribes. And it was conducted, they say, after the following fashion.⁵

beschrijft, dat hij zelf voor ogen had' (The visibility of the depiction in this and the following part is, again, striking: it looks as if Plutarch is describing a scene which he had himself before his mind's eye).

- 4 See Webb 2016: 211: 'For Plutarch (...) Thucydides' battle narratives were understood to show him as a master of this type of effect, inducing in his readers an impression that they were there alongside the people of the past and, most importantly, inducing them to feel similar emotions (*Moralia* 347a)'. For Plutarch's praise of Xenophon, see Huitink and Rood 2019: 38: 'Plutarch praised the account of the battle of Cunaxa (1.8) for the way "Xenophon brings it all but before our eyes and through his vividness (*enargeia*) all the time places the reader, much affected and sharing in the dangers, near to the action, as if it had not been concluded, but is going on" (*Artax.* 8.1: Ξενοφώντος ... μονονουχὶ δεικνύοντος ὅψει καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς οὐ γεγενημένοις, ἀλλὰ γινομένοις ἐφιστάντος αἰεὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐμπαθῆ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντα διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν)'; cf. however Huitink 2019: 213: 'For all that he [Plutarch, MB] praises Xenophon, his comment is double-edged (...) And so, Plutarch implies, Xenophon's striving for ἐνάργεια comes at the expense of a complete and accurate report of events – that is of the historiographical virtue of ἀκρίβεια'.
- 5 I have used translations (with slight adaptations) found in the public domain: Plutarch, translated by Bernadotte Perrin, published at www.perseus.tufts.edu and Diodorus Siculus,

By his speech, Marcus Servilius, a man of consular rank, effects that a triumph (θρίαμβος) is granted to Aemilius. The actual start of the narration of this procession is marked by a summarizing sentence (πεμφθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγουσιν) providing – in terms of Labov's theory of narrative structure⁶ – an Abstract.⁷ Although the narrator explicitly points to an (oral) source for his account (λέγουσιν),⁸ this does not necessarily mean that he will not shape his narrative the way he wishes – on the contrary, it rhetorically gives him ample opportunity to do so.

Aemilius Paullus 32.2

ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἔν τε τοῖς ἱππικοῖς θεάτροις, ἃ κίρκους καλοῦσι, περί τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἱκρία πηξάμενοι, καὶ τὰλλα τῆς πόλεως μέρη καταλαβόντες, ὥς ἕκαστα παρεῖχε τῆς πομπῆς ἔποψιν, ἐθεώντο, καθαραῖς ἐσθήσι κεκοσμημένοι.

The people erected scaffoldings in the theatres for equestrian contests, which they call circuses, and round the forum, occupied the other parts of the city which afforded a view of the procession, and were watching, arrayed in white garments.

The Plutarchian narrator opens his account of the three-day procession with, in cinematographic terms, a panoramic view presenting an Orientation. In one sequence, the camera hovers over the city of Rome;⁹ this may be labeled a full shot. The narratee is invited to 'see' these events in his/her mind's eye by the use of the language of perception (sight: ἔποψιν, θεάομαι). By using the imperfect for the focalization marker ἐθεώντο, the narrator presents his narratee with an *unbounded activity*, thereby keeping the perspective open and raising questions as regards what will happen next, and especially since no

translated by Francis R. Walton, published at https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Diodorus_Siculus/home.html (q.v. for details on copyright).

6 The global structure of narratives typically consists of a. Abstract; b. Orientation; c. Complication; d. Peak; e. Evaluation; f. Resolution; g. Coda; especially Complications, Peaks and Resolutions may be recursive. See Labov 1972: 362–370; Fleischman 1990: 135–154; for an application to Greek texts, see Allan 2007; Allan 2009.

7 The triumphal procession (πομπή) as the subject matter of the upcoming passage is referred to in the Abstract by πεμφθῆναι; cf. 32.4 τῆς δὲ πομπῆς εἰς ἡμέρας τρεῖς νενεμημένης and 32.5 ἐπέμπετο.

8 According to Liedmeier, 1935: 42–43, λέγουσιν ('they say', 'it is said that') is the regular formula with which Plutarch refers to his main source.

9 The narrator seems to be aware that (part of) his audience is not familiar with the situation in Rome or the Latin language, as he calls the Roman *circi* the theatres for equestrian contests, before giving the Latin term (ἃ κίρκους καλοῦσι).

object of ἐθεώντο is expressed, these questions boil down to: What were they watching? What were they going to see? And, as a consequence, what is the narratee going to 'see'?¹⁰ From the beginning of the account of the procession onwards, the narratee shares the perspective of the people watching.

Aemilius Paullus 32.3

πᾶς δὲ ναὸς ἀνέωκτο καὶ στεφάνων καὶ θυμιαμάτων ἦν πλήρης, ὑπηρέται τε πολλοὶ καὶ ῥαβδονόμοι τοὺς ἀτάκτως συρρέοντας εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ διαθέοντας ἐξείργοντες, ἀναπεπταμέναι τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ καθαράς παρείχον.

Every temple was open and filled with garlands and incense, while numerous servitors and lictors restrained the thronging and scurrying crowds and kept the streets open and clear.

Here, the camera is at a closer angle on things specific in the city. In cinematographic terms, this may be labeled a long shot, as the camera focuses, so to speak, on *every* temple, and on *many* servants. As far as the language of perception is concerned, this time olfaction is activated, as the temples are full of garlands (στεφάνος) and incense (θυμίαμα) – incense being something one can smell, and the same probably goes for the garlands. Again, the finite verb of this sentence is an imperfect (παρείχον), the tense-aspect to be expected in an Orientation.

Aemilius Paullus 32.4

τῆς δὲ πομπῆς εἰς ἡμέρας τρεῖς νενεμημένης, ἡ μὲν πρώτη μόλις ἐξαρκέσασα τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνδριάσι καὶ γραφαῖς καὶ κολοσσοῖς, ἐπὶ ζευγῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίῳ κομιζόμενοις, τούτων ἔσχε θέαν.

Three days were assigned for the triumphal procession. The first was nearly too short for, yet saw the exhibition of, the captured statues, paintings, and colossal figures, which were carried on two hundred and fifty chariots.

The Complication starts with a genitive absolute τῆς δὲ πομπῆς εἰς ἡμέρας τρεῖς νενεμημένης creating a boundary between the Orientation and the Complication; by providing the information that the triumphal procession

¹⁰ It may be worth noting that within the semantic field of sight, we do not find, e.g., ὁράω, 'see' (an object), but θεάομαι, 'view as spectators, esp. in the theatre' (LSJ θεάομαι A3).

lasted for three days, it paves the way for a presentation of the objects on display on the first day (ἡ μὲν πρώτη). The camera is at an even closer angle firmly focused on captured statues, paintings and colossal figures – a medium shot. The final words of the account of the first day of the procession again contain a word belonging to the semantic field of sight (θέα), and an aorist finite verb (ἔσχε) rounds off this passage.

Aemilius Paullus 32.5–7

τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πολυτελέστατα τῶν Μακεδονικῶν ὄπλων ἐπέμπετο πολλαῖς ἀμάξαις, αὐτὰ τε μαρμαίροντα χαλκῷ νεοσμήκτῳ καὶ σιδήρῳ, τὴν τε θέσιν ἐκ τέχνης καὶ συναρμογῆς, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα συμπεφορημένοις χύδην καὶ αὐτομάτως εἰκοί, πεποιημένα, κράνη πρὸς ἀσπίσι, καὶ θώρακες ἐπὶ κνημίσι, καὶ Κρητικαὶ πέλται καὶ Θράκια γέρρα καὶ φαρέτραι μεθ' ἵππικῶν ἀναμειγμέναι χαλινῶν, καὶ ξίφη γυμνά διὰ τούτων παρανίσχοντα καὶ σάρισσαι παραπεπηγυῖαι, σύμμετρον ἔχόντων χάλασμα τῶν ὄπλων, ὥστε τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κρούσιν ἐν τῷ διαφέρεισθαι τραχὺ καὶ φοβερόν ὑπηχεῖν, καὶ μηδὲ νενικημένων ἀφοβόν εἶναι τὴν ὄψιν.

On the second, the finest and richest of the Macedonian arms were borne along in many wagons. The arms themselves glittered with freshly polished bronze and steel, and were carefully and artfully arranged to look exactly as though they had been piled together in heaps and at random, helmets lying upon shields and breast-plates upon greaves, while Cretan targets and Thracian wicker shields and quivers were mixed up with horses' bridles, and through them projected naked swords and long Macedonian spears planted among them, all the arms being so loosely packed that they smote against each other as they were borne along and gave out a harsh and dreadful sound, and the sight of them, even though they were spoils of a conquered enemy, was not without its terrors.

A relatively larger amount of text is devoted to a description of what was to be seen on the second day of the procession, introduced by the dative of time τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, with the imperfect ἐπέμπετο again presenting the state of affairs as unbounded, to the effect that the narratee shares the perspective of those present at the procession¹¹ (and probably indicating that more information is to follow). The Plutarchian narrator indeed presents his narratee with an

11 For the relation between imperfect tense and character perspective, see Fleischman 1991, Rijksbaron 2012 and Bentein 2016.

extensive and even closer shot on the arrangement of the Macedonian arms carried along. Without going into the actual nature of these arms,¹² one might say that the richly detailed way in which the Plutarchian narrator presents them in this passage invites the narratee to *see* and *hear* them – to engage the imagination as if physically part of the scene. The language of perception combines sight (μαρμαίρω, ὄψις; cf. εἰκοί ἄν) and, this time, hearing (κροῦσις, ὑπηχέω); moreover, their sound is presented as harsh and dreadful (τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κροῦσιν ... τραχὺ καὶ φοβερόν ὑπηχεῖν), and the sight of them likewise was not without terror (μηδέ ... ἄφοβον εἶναι τὴν ὄψιν).¹³

Aemilius Paullus 32.8–9

μετὰ δὲ τὰς ὀπλοφόρους ἀμάξας ἄνδρες [ἐπ]έπορεύοντο τρισχίλιοι, νόμισμα φέροντες ἀργυροῦν ἐν ἀγγείοις ἑπτακοσίοις πεντήκοντα τριταλάντοις, ὧν ἕκαστον ἀνὰ τέσσαρες ἐκόμιζον· ἄλλοι δὲ κρατήρας ἀργυροῦς καὶ κέρατα καὶ φιάλας καὶ κύλικας, εὖ διακεκοσμημένα πρὸς θέαν ἕκαστα καὶ περιττὰ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ παχύτητι τῆς τορείας.

After the wagons laden with armour there followed three thousand men carrying coined silver in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which contained three talents and was borne by four men, while still other men carried mixing-bowls of silver, drinking horns, bowls, and cups, all well arranged for show and excelling in size and in the depth of their carved ornaments.

In his presentation of the last spoils that were seen on the second day of the procession, the finite verbs in this passage are, again, imperfects ([ἐπ]έπορεύοντο, ἐκόμιζον), presenting the state of affairs as unbounded, thereby evoking the perspective of the onlookers at the procession. The Plutarchian narrator once more refers to sight, as mixing-bowls of silver, drinking horns, bowls, and cups were all well arranged for show (θέα).

12 At any rate, the arms are not on display as they were brought in from the battlefield; in sanitized form, they shine and glitter (μαρμαίροντα χαλκῷ νεοσμήκτω καὶ σιδήρῳ). From the *Iliad* onwards, the verb μαρμαίρω is associated with (bronze) arms (e.g. ἔντε(α) ... χάλκεα μαρμαίροντα *Il.* 16.663–664, τεύχεα μαρμαίροντα *Il.* 18.617). For a discussion of the arms, see the chapter by Strootman.

13 This is the first time words belonging to the semantic field of emotion appear; the language of emotion will return abundantly later on (chapters 33–34).

Aemilius Paullus 33.1–4

τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἡμέρας ἔωθεν μὲν εὐθύς ἐπορεύοντο σαλπικταί, μέλος οὐ προσ-
 ὀδιον καὶ πομπικόν, ἀλλ' οἷω μαχομένους ἐποτρύνουσιν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι, προσ-
 εγκελευόμενοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἤγοντο χρυσόκερῳ τροφαίαι βοῦς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι,
 μίτρας ἡσκημένοι καὶ στέμμασιν· οἱ δ' ἄγοντες αὐτοὺς νεανίσκοι περιζώμασιν
 εὐπαρύφοις ἐσταλμένοι πρὸς ἱερουργίαν ἐχώρουν, καὶ παῖδες ἀργυρᾷ λοιβεία
 καὶ χρυσᾷ κομίζοντες. εἶτα μετὰ τούτους οἱ τὸ χρυσοῦν νόμισμα φέροντες, εἰς
 ἄγγεῖα τριταλαντιαῖα μεμερισμένον ὁμοίως τῷ ἀργυρῷ· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν
 ἄγγείων ὀγδοήκοντα τριῶν δέοντα. τούτοις ἐπέβαλλον οἱ τε τὴν ἱεράν φιάλην
 ἀνέχοντες, ἦν ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐκ χρυσοῦ δέκα ταλάντων διάλιθον κατεσκευάσεν, οἱ
 τε τὰς Ἀντιγονίδας καὶ Σελευκίδας καὶ Θηρικλείους καὶ ὅσα περὶ δεῖπνον χρυ-
 σώματα τοῦ Περσέως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι.

On the third day, as soon as it was morning, trumpeters led the way, sounding out no marching or processional strain, but such a one as the Romans use to rouse themselves to battle. After these there were led along a hundred and twenty stall-fed oxen with gilded horns, bedecked with fillets and garlands. Those who led these victims to the sacrifice were young men wearing aprons with handsome borders, and boys attended them carrying gold and silver vessels of libation. Next, after these, came the carriers of the coined gold, which, like the silver, was portioned out into vessels containing three talents; and the number of these vessels was eighty lacking three. After these followed the bearers of the consecrated bowl, which Aemilius had caused to be made of ten talents of gold and adorned with precious stones, and then those who displayed the bowls known as Antigonids and Seleucids and Theracleian, together with all the gold plate of Perseus' table.

Throughout *Aemilius Paullus* 33–34, the remainder of the account of Aemilius Paullus' procession, the language of perception is ubiquitous. At the start of the account of day three, marked by, this time, a genitive of time (τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας),¹⁴ hearing is evoked by trumpeters (σαλπικτῆς) playing a rousing tune

14 The difference between a dative of time (τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ in 32.5) and a genitive of time (τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας) is subtle; see Van Emde Boas *et al.* 2019: 378: 'the dative of time expresses the time when the action takes place (it refers to a specific moment or period)' and 373: 'the genitive of time expresses the time within which something takes place'; here, the use of ἔωθεν triggers the genitive.

(μέλος ... προσεγελευόμενοι). Again, the finite verbs of main clauses are imperfects (έπορεύοντο, ήγοντο, έχώρουν, ήν, επέβαλλον) throughout.¹⁵

Aemilius Paullus 33.5–9

τούτοις ο επέβαλλε τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ Περσέως καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπικείμενον. εἶτα μικροῦ διαλείμματος ὄντος ἤδη τὰ τέκνα τοῦ βασιλέως ἤγετο δοῦλα, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τροφέων καὶ διδασκάλων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν δεδακρυμένων ὄχλος, αὐτῶν τε τὰς χεῖρας ὀρεγόντων εἰς τοὺς θεατάς, καὶ τὰ παιδία δεῖσθαι καὶ λιτανεύειν διδασκόντων. ἦν δ' ἄρρενα μὲν δύο, θήλυ δ' ἓν, οὐ πάνυ συμφρονούντα τῶν κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν· ἢ καὶ μάλλον ἐλεινὰ πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς ἀναισθησίας ἦν, ὥστε μικροῦ τὸν Περσέα βαδίζειν παρορώμενον· οὕτως ὑπ' οἴκτου τοῖς νηπίοις προσεῖχον τὰς ὄψεις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ δάκρυα πολλοῖς ἐκβάλλειν συνέβη, πᾶσι δὲ μεμειγμένην ἀλγῆδόνη καὶ χάριτι τὴν θέαν εἶναι, μέχρι οὗ τὰ παιδία παρήλθεν.

These were followed by the chariot of Perseus, which bore his arms, and his diadem lying upon his arms. Then, at a little interval, came the children of the king, led along as slaves, and with them a throng of foster-parents, teachers, and tutors, all in tears, stretching out their own hands to the spectators and teaching the children to beg and supplicate. There were two boys, and one girl, and they were not very conscious of the magnitude of their evils because of their tender age; wherefore they evoked even more pity in view of the time when their unconsciousness would cease, so that Perseus walked along almost unheeded; so much were the Romans moved by compassion that they kept their eyes upon the children, and it came to pass that many of them shed tears, and that for all of them the pleasure of the spectacle was mingled with pain, until the children had passed by.

Once the gold plate of Perseus' table has been mentioned, the path is paved for the introduction of the defeated Macedonian king. This happens immediately (note the asyndeton), albeit in successive steps creating suspense for the narratee: first, we encounter Perseus' chariot, second, his children and their

15 In the relative clause ἦν ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐκ χρυσοῦ δέκα ταλάντων διάλιθον κατεσκεύασεν, the aorist indicative κατεσκεύασεν expresses a comment from the perspective of the narrator – something that, of course, could not be seen during the procession.

throng. This is a scene full of emotion¹⁶ that might be regarded as the Peak of the narrative. Much attention goes to Perseus' children, who despite their tender age (ήλικία, νήπιος) are led along as slaves (ήγετο δοῦλα). The attendants, foster-parents, teachers, and tutors, all in tears (δεδακρυμένοι), stretch out their hands to the spectators and instruct the children to beg and supplicate (αὐτῶν τε τὰς χεῖρας ὀρεγόντων εἰς τοὺς θεατάς, καὶ τὰ παιδία δεῖσθαι καὶ λιτανεύειν διδασκόντων). The children inspire pity (ἐλεεινός) as they are unaware of the magnitude of their evils (τῶν κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος) because of their youth. The Roman spectators of the procession are presented as moved by compassion (οἶκτος) when keeping their eyes (ὄψις) upon the youths, and after a series of imperfect main verbs (ἐπέβαλλε, ήγετο, ήν (twice), προσεῖχον), and a present infinitive in a ὥστε-clause (βαδίζειν), the narrator switches to his own perspective with the aorist indicative συνέβη ('it came to pass') in order to round off this passage, adding that many of them shed tears (δάκρυον), and that for all of them the pleasure (χάρις) of the spectacle (θέα) was mingled with pain (ἀλγηδών). With one final aorist indicative in a μέχρι οὖ-clause (παρήλθεν), the children are finally brought out of sight for the narrator and narratee in their communicative situation, as they are for the spectators *in situ*.

Aemilius Paullus 34.1–2

αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τέκνων ὁ Περσεὺς καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὰ θεραπείας κατόπιν ἐπορεύετο, φαιὸν μὲν ἱμάτιον ἀμπεχόμενος καὶ κρηπίδας ἔχων ἐπιχωρίους, ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους τῶν κακῶν πάντα θαμβοῦντι καὶ παραπεπληγμένῳ μάλιστα τὸν λογισμὸν ὁμοίως. καὶ τούτῳ δ' εἶπετο χορὸς φίλων καὶ συνήθων, βεβαρημένων τὰ πρόσωπα πένθει, καὶ τῷ πρὸς Περσέα βλέπειν αἰεὶ καὶ δακρύνειν ἔννοιαν παριστάντων τοῖς θεωμένοις, ὅτι τὴν ἐκείνου τύχην ὀλοφύρονται, τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐλάχιστα φροντίζοντες.

Behind the children and their train of attendants walked Perseus himself, clad in a dark robe and wearing the high boots of his country, but the magnitude of his evils made him resemble one who is utterly dumbfounded and bewildered. He, too, was followed by a company of friends and intimates, whose faces were heavy with grief, and whose tearful gaze continually fixed upon Perseus gave the spectators to understand that it

16 Compare and contrast the flat account of the same episode in Diodorus Siculus: ... ἐφ' οἷς Περσεὺς ὁ δυστυχὴς βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων ἅμα δυσὶν υἱοῖς καὶ θυγατρὶ μιᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διακοσίοις πενήκοντα ... ('... followed by Perseus, the hapless king of the Macedonians, with his two sons, a daughter, and two hundred and fifty of his officers ...').

was his misfortune which they bewailed, and that their own fate least of all concerned them.

Finally, the defeated Macedonian king Perseus enters the stage. The perspective of the spectators of the procession (οἱ θεώμενοι) is maintained by imperfects (ἐπορεύετο, εἶπετο), and so is the presentation of events in the language of perception and emotion: sight is conjured up in the case of Perseus himself, who resembled (ἐοικώς) someone utterly dumbfounded and bewildered, while the language of perception is employed side by side with the language of emotion in the case of the friends and intimates of Perseus, who continually held their eyes on him (βλέπω) and did so in tears (δακρύω), their faces heavy with grief (πένθος), to the extent that the spectators thought that it was Perseus' misfortune which they bewailed (ὀλοφύρομαι), not their own.

Aemilius Paullus 34.3–4

καίτοι προσέπεμψε τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ, δεόμενος μὴ πομπευθῆναι καὶ παραιτούμενος τὸν θρίαμβον. ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀνανδρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλοψυχίας ὡς ἔοικε καταγελῶν, ἄλλὰ τοῦτό γ' εἶπε 'καὶ πρότερον ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἂν βούληται,' δηλῶν τὸν πρὸ αἰσχύνης θάνατον, ὃν οὐχ ὑπομείνας ὁ δεῖλαιος, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδων τινῶν ἀπομαλακισθεὶς, ἐγεγόνει μέρος τῶν αὐτοῦ λαφύρων.

And yet Perseus had sent to Aemilius begging not to be led in the procession and asking to be left out of the triumph. But Aemilius, in mockery, as it would seem, of the king's cowardice and love of life, had said: 'But this at least was in his power before, and is so now, if he should wish it,' signifying death in preference to disgrace; for this, however, the coward had not the heart, but was made weak by no one knows what hopes, and became a part of his own spoils.

Here, the narratee no longer follows the procession as it went by, but is informed about something that took place before: Perseus had begged not to be part of the procession, to which Aemilius had mockingly responded. The Plutarchian external primary narrator recapitulates what was told in *Aemilius Paullus* 26.7–12. The anecdote seems to be a Plutarchian invention, and the repeated reference to Aemilius' indignation over Perseus' cowardice (ἀνανδρία) and love of life (φιλοψυχία) seems in line with ideas on choosing death over disgrace found in Plutarch's extant works¹⁷ (cf. ὡς ἔοικε καταγελῶν, indicating

¹⁷ See Liedmeier 1935: 217–219.

that the narrator interprets Aemilius' words and shares the latter's indignation). At any rate, this passage is unequivocally presented from the perspective of the narrator, the events by aorists (προσέπεμψε, εἶπε), the resulting state that Perseus had become a part of his own spoils by a pluperfect (ἔγεγονει) – a sure sign that we are off the narrative main line. Moreover, Aemilius' words are explained for the narratee (δηλών τὸν πρὸ αἰσχύνης θάνατον), and it is clearly the Plutarchian narrator who, by using the evaluative term ὁ δειλίας, frames Perseus as a coward. The reason that the narrator intrudes so conspicuously in the otherwise continuous account of the procession is probably to be found in the fact that it is the *Life of Aemilius Paullus* that this passage is taken from: throughout the *Life*, the Plutarchian narrator takes a positive stance towards his subject, stressing above all his qualities as a true statesman.¹⁸

Aemilius Paullus 34.5–8

ἐφεξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐκομίζοντο χρυσοὶ στέφανοι τετρακόσιοι τὸ πλῆθος, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἀριστεία τῆς νίκης τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ μετὰ πρεσβειῶν ἔπεμψαν· εἴτ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέβαλλεν, ἄρματι κεκοσμημένῳ διαπρεπῶς ἐπιβεβηκώς, ἀνὴρ καὶ δίχα τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας ἀξιοθέατος, ἀλουργίδα χρυσόπαστον ἀμπεχόμενος καὶ δάφνης κλῶνα τῇ δεξιᾷ προτείνων. ἐδαφνηφόρει δὲ καὶ σύμπας ὁ στρατός, τῷ μὲν ἄρματι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατὰ λόχους καὶ τάξεις ἐπόμενος, ἄδων δὲ τὰ μὲν ὥδ' αὖτις πατρίους ἀναμεμειγμένας γέλωτι, τὰ δὲ παιᾶνας ἐπινικίους καὶ τῶν διαπεπραγμένων ἐπαίνους εἰς τὸν Αἰμίλιον, περιβλεπτον ὄντα καὶ ζηλωτὸν ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐδενὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπίφθονον, πλὴν εἴ τι δαιμόνιον ἄρα τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ὑπερόγκων εἴληχεν εὐτυχίων ἀπαρύτειν καὶ μειγνύναι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, ὅπως μηδενὶ κακῶν ἄκρατος εἴη καὶ καθαρός, ἀλλὰ καθ' Ὁμηρον ἄριστα δοκῶσι πράττειν, οἷς αἱ τύχαι ῥοπήν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχουσιν.

Next in order to these were carried wreaths of gold, four hundred in number, which the cities had sent with their embassies to Aemilius as prizes for his victory. He himself came next, mounted on a chariot of magnificent adornment, a man worthy to be looked upon even without such marks of power, wearing a purple robe interwoven with gold, and holding forth in his right hand a spray of laurel. The whole army also carried sprays of laurel, following the chariot of their general by companies and

18 See Liedmeier 1935: Preface; cf. Plu. *Comp. Tim. Aem.* 2.1: καθαρῶν οὖν καὶ δικαίων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότων ('in their administration of affairs both were just and incorruptible') – even in this *Comparison*, Aemilius Paullus is set above Timoleon in 2.5: φαίνεται τελειότερος ὁ Αἰμίλιος ('Aemilius turns out to be more perfect').

divisions, and singing, some of them songs of yore intermingled with jesting, and others paeans of victory and hymns in praise of the achievements of Aemilius, who was gazed upon and admired by all, and envied by no one that was good. But after all there is, as it seems, a divinity whose province it is to diminish whatever prosperity is inordinately great, and to mingle the affairs of human life, that no one may be without a taste of evil and wholly free from it, but that, as Homer says, those may be thought to fare best whose fortunes incline now one way and now another.

From ἐφεξῆς δὲ τούτοις onwards, the perspective changes back to that of the spectators *in situ*, as the imperfects ἐκομίζοντο, ἐπέβαλλον, and ἔδαφνηφόρει show.¹⁹ After the wreaths of gold, Aemilius himself follows, and some attention is paid to what actually was to be *seen*: he stood on a chariot of magnificent adornment (κεκοσμημένῳ διαπρεπῶς), he himself worthy to be looked upon (ἄξιοθέατος),²⁰ wearing a purple²¹ robe interwoven with gold, and holding forth in his right hand a spray of laurel. This spray of laurel gives rise to the observation that the entire army was carrying sprays of laurel, as the soldiers followed their general – something the Roman public will have expected from their knowledge of triumphal processions in general. What is notable here is that the soldiers were singing (ᾄδω) songs (ᾠδή) and paeans (παῖαν) of victory and hymns in praise (ᾔπαινος) of the achievements of Aemilius.²²

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- 19 Again, in a relative clause (οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἀριστεία τῆς νίκης τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ μετὰ πρεσβειῶν ἔπεμψαν), an aorist indicative expresses a comment from the perspective of the narrator – cf. note 15.
- 20 Whether this qualification reflects the perspective of the narrator, the spectators *in situ*, or both, cannot be decided, but it is at least made clear later on that Aemilius was actually looked at from all sides and admired by all observers (περίβλεπτος).
- 21 The color purple is, of course, also something that can be seen. I have not marked nor discussed the use of color-terms individually, though they do belong to the language of perception; cf. Levinson *et al.* 2007: 11: ‘Perceptual terms are likely to be coded in verbs, nouns and, if the language has them, adjectives. Of course it is of some interest where a semantic domain, such as colour, is covered by a mix of e.g. nouns and verbs, or nouns and adjectives. This is not an uncommon pattern’.
- 22 This audible detail is conspicuously absent from Livy’s account. Livy’s report implies that the soldiers were in completely different spirits, because they were allegedly not very pleased with the amount of money they received; see Liv. 45.40.5: *pediti in singulos dati centeni denarii, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. alterum tantum pediti daturum fuisse credunt et pro rata aliis, si aut in suffragio honori eius favissent, aut benigne hac ipsa summa pronuntiata acclamassent* (‘Each infantryman received one hundred denarii, each centurion, twice the amount, and each cavalryman, three times as much. It is thought that double the amount would have been given to the infantry, and proportionately to the rest, if they had supported Paullus’ triumph in the voting, or had cheerfully applauded the

There is a smooth transition from the narrative passage to a narratorial comment (πλὴν εἴ τι δαιμόνιον ἄρα τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ὑπερόγκων εἴληχεν ...; note the attitudinal-interactional particle ἄρα),²³ where the narrator refers to Homer (καθ' Ὅμηρον)²⁴ for the well-known²⁵ theme of the instability of the human condition, in order to bridge the account of Aemilius' prosperity as was shown in his victory over the Macedonians and triumphal procession, and the passage to follow²⁶ on his sons, especially on the loss of two of them, one of whom died five days before the triumphal procession, the other three days after it. This discursive passage may be regarded as the Coda to the narrative account of the triumphal procession.

3 Diodorus Siculus 31.8.9–12

Let us now turn to the account of the same triumphal procession as offered by Diodorus Siculus.

31.8.9–10

ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἀγῶνας καὶ πότους μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τῷ πλήθει συντάξας τὰ εὐρεθέντα χρήματα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν· καταλαβὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς θρίαμβον καταγαγεῖν ἅμα τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοῖς κελεύεται παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν Ἀνίκιος καὶ Ὀκτάουιος ὁ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἡγησάμενος ἀνὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐκάτερος ἐθρίαμβευσεν, ὁ δὲ σοφώτατος Αἰμίλιος ἐπὶ τρεῖς.

Subsequently Aemilius, after arranging splendid games and revelries for the assembled multitude, sent off to Rome whatever treasure had been discovered, and when he himself arrived, along with his fellow generals,

announcement of the gift as actually given'; translation Alfred C. Schlesinger; emphasis mine).

23 Compare Thijs 2021: 72: 'In Ancient Greek (...) there are specific particles that appear to primarily convey attitudinal-interactional meaning aspects. Clear examples are ἄρα ('apparently, as it turns out') ...'.

24 The passage *Il.* 24.525–533 comes closest to this reference.

25 Compare for instance Hdt. 1.5.4: τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὧν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῷ τῷ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως ('Knowing therefore that human prosperity never continues in the same place, I shall mention both alike'; translation A.D. Godley); cf. Hdt. 1.8.2, 1.32.9, 1.86.6 and 7.203.2.

26 35.1: ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τέσσαρες υἱοί ... ('for Aemilius had four sons ...'), the connective particle γὰρ marking the upcoming passage as an exemplification of the narratorial comment.

he was ordered by the senate to enter the city in triumph. Anicius first, and Octavius, the commander of the fleet, celebrated each his triumph for a single day, but the very wise Aemilius celebrated his for three days.

The passage starts with the simple statement, expressed by the aorist ἀπέστειλεν, that Aemilius sent to Rome ‘the discovered things’. Next, the present for preterite κελεύεται marks the onset of the episode on Aemilius’ triumphal procession:²⁷ he was ordered by the senate to enter the city in triumph (θρίαμβος), together with his fellow generals. In the μέν-member of a μέν ... δέ-construction, it is stated by the complexive aorist²⁸ ἐθριάμβευσεν that these fellow generals each celebrated the triumph for a single day, and in the δέ-member Aemilius, referred to as ‘most wise’ (σοφώτατος), enters the focus of attention: he celebrated the triumph for three days. The remainder of the passage, introduced by καί, is structured by sentence-initially placed datives of time: τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ... τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ ... τῇ τρίτῃ. Although Diodorus uses both aorist indicatives and imperfects, the alternation of tenses is rather straightforward, and especially the discourse potential of the imperfect is put to limited use.

31.8.10

καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἄμαξαι χίλιαι διακόσiai προήλθον φέρουσαι λευκάς καὶ τραχείας ἀσπίδας, καὶ ἄλλαι χίλιαι διακόσiai ἄμαξαι πλήρεις ἀσπίδων χαλκῶν, καὶ ἔτεροι τριακόσiai λόγχας καὶ σαρίσας καὶ τόξα καὶ ἀκόντια γέμουσαι· προηγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ σαλπιγκταί. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ ποικίλα εἶδη φέρουσαι ὄπλων, κάμακες ὀκτακόσiai καθωπισμέναι.

On the first day the procession opened with twelve hundred wagons filled with embossed white shields, then another twelve hundred filled with bronze shields, and three hundred more laden with lances, pikes,

27 Cf. Nijk 2019: 153: ‘the present for preterite signals to the addressees that they are to update their mental model of the discourse in the light of salient developments. Such developments concern either the segmentation of the discourse in terms of narrative structure, or the status of referents’.

28 For the complexive aorist, see Van Emde Boas *et al.* 2019: ‘The aorist of such verbs [atelic verbs, like θρίαμβεύω, ΜΒ] can (...) be used as an expression of an entire period (viewed as a complete whole from beginning to end, without any interest in its component parts). This is the so-called complexive (or ‘concentrating’) use of the aorist. Typically, an expression of the duration of the action is included’. The expression of the duration of the action here is ἀνὰ μίαν ἡμέραν in the case of Anicius and of Octavius, and ἐπὶ τρεῖς in the case of Aemilius.

bows, and javelins; as in war, trumpeters led the way. There were many other wagons as well, carrying arms of various sorts, and eight hundred panoplies mounted on poles.

The aorist προῆλθον just presents the information that the procession opened with wagons filled with shields, and others laden with lances, pikes, bows, and javelins. This general statement is followed by two sentences, both attached to what precedes by δέ, on trumpeters²⁹ and many other wagons, the main verb of which is a sentence-initially placed imperfect (προηγούντο and ἦσαν), marking these sentences as background material rather than evoking the perspective of the people watching, as in Plutarch.

31.8.11

τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ προεκομίσθη νομισμάτων τάλαντα χίλια, ἀργύρου τάλαντα δισχίλια διακόσια, ἐκπωμάτων πλῆθος, ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ἀνδριάντων ποικίλων ἅμαξαι πεντακόσιαι, ἀσπίδες τε χρυσαὶ καὶ πίνακες ἀναθηματικοὶ πάμπολλοι.

On the second day there were carried in procession a thousand talents of coined money, twenty-two hundred talents of silver, a great number of drinking-cups, five hundred wagons loaded with diverse statues of gods and men, and a large number of golden shields and dedicatory plaques.

In the account of the procession on the second day, we again find a single aorist stating what was borne in procession (προεκομίσθη), which is followed by an enumeration of objects:³⁰ talents of money and silver, drinking-cups, wagons loaded with statues of gods and men, and shields and dedicatory plaques.

31.8.12

τῇ τρίτῃ προηγούντο λευκαὶ βόες εὐπρεπεῖς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, χρυσοῦ τάλαντα ἐν φορήμασι διακοσίοις εἴκοσι, φιάλη δέκα ταλάντων χρυσοῦ διάλιθος, χρυσωμάτων παντοῖαι κατασκευαὶ ταλάντων δέκα, ἐλεφάντων ὀδόντες δισχίλιοι τριπλήχεις, ἄρμα ἐλεφάντινον ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων, ἵππος φαλάροις διαλίθοις καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ κατασκευῇ διαχρύσῳ πολεμικῶς κεκοσμημένος, κλίνη χρυσῇ στρωμαῖς πολυανθέσι κατεστρωμένη, φορεῖον χρυσοῦν περιπεπετασμένον πορφύραν, ἐφ’

²⁹ For the trumpeters, see note 2.

³⁰ For an interpretation of (some of) these as objects associated with Hellenistic court culture entering Rome, see the chapter by Strootman.

οἷς Περσεὺς ὁ δυστυχὴς βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων ἅμα δυσὶν υἱοῖς καὶ θυγατρὶ μιᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διακοσίοις πεντήκοντα, στέφανοι τετρακόσιοι δοθέντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Αἰμίλιος ἐφ' ἄρματος ἐλεφαντίνου καταπληχτικοῦ.

On the third day, the procession was made up of one hundred and twenty choice white oxen, talents of gold conveyed in two hundred and twenty carriers, a ten-talent bowl of gold set with jewels, gold-work of all sorts to the value of ten talents, two thousand elephant tusks three cubits in length, an ivory chariot enriched with gold and precious stones, a horse in battle array with cheek-pieces set with jewels and the rest of its gear adorned with gold, a golden couch spread with flowered coverlets, and a golden palanquin with crimson curtains, followed by Perseus, the hapless king of the Macedonians, with his two sons, a daughter, and two hundred and fifty of his officers, four hundred garlands presented by the various cities and monarchs, and last of all, in a dazzling chariot of ivory, Aemilius himself.

The account of the procession on the third day consists of one sentence, too – this time a very long sentence,³¹ the main verb of which is an imperfect: *προηγούντο*, placed at the beginning of the sentence, immediately after *τῇ τρίτῃ*. Other than the series of imperfects in Plutarch, this single imperfect does not seem to evoke the perspective of the people watching, and it does not create tension either – at least as far as we know, for our source for this episode breaks off here.³² To all appearances, the imperfect is chosen because it continues the same line of thought as was presented by *προεκομίσθη* in the account of day two.³³

Apart from the mentioning of the trumpeters – probably just because they were present during the procession – the language of perception is conspicuously absent from this account, and so is any reference to the spectators. This account may in narratological terms be called a *summary*: the real-time duration of the events – after all, three full days – is dealt with quickly in story time: three sentences are devoted to the procession on day one, and the continuation of it on day two and on day three is presented in just one sentence each. Diodorus' account lacks rhythm altogether, apart from the structuring device

31 At the end of the enumeration of spoils, the Macedonian king Perseus and Aemilius himself are mentioned in passing.

32 The passage that follows in our text editions is from a different source.

33 Note also the asyndeton at the onset of the account of day three.

τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ... τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ ... τῇ τρίτῃ, which makes this passage look like a list³⁴ merely enumerating the appropriated spoils.

4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented a narratological-linguistic analysis of the accounts of the three-day triumphal procession of Aemilius Paullus in Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 32–34 and Diodorus Siculus 31.8.9–12. Focusing on narrative technique, on linguistic aspects, notably the usage of the Greek tense-aspect system, and on the use of the language of perception and emotion, I have shown that in both texts the exact same Real-World situation is shaped in remarkably different narrative form.

The feeling that we are presented with an eyewitness report in Plutarch is brought about by various means. The narrative is structured and shaped so that the reader sees the procession by and large through the perspective of a spectator *in situ*. After an Abstract, Plutarch opens with an Orientation presenting a panoramic view on the city of Rome, which in cinematographic terms may be labeled a full shot. The imperfect ἐθεῶντο creates tension as to what the people in the story world were watching. From this first imperfect onwards, the imperfect remains the dominant tense, the aorist being predominantly used for narratorial comments. The cinematographic style is continued in the second sentence of the Orientation, where the camera is at closer angle, so that we may speak of a long shot. Then the camera is at an even closer angle in the Complication when the works of art on display on day one of the procession are presented, and moves to a close shot, focusing on the Macedonian arms borne along on day two. Throughout these various stages of the narrative, which read like a screenplay, words belonging to the semantic field of perception are found. By suggesting that there was actually something to *see*, *smell* and *hear* during this procession, the narrator enables what might be called an embodied mental simulation of these sights, smells and sounds. In the account of day three, when the defeated Macedonian King Perseus and Aemilius himself enter the stage, the language of perception is maintained, but here the language of emotion is also omnipresent, the most emotional scene and therewith the Peak of the narrative being the relatively long passage in which

34 Cf. Von Contzen 2021: 36: 'First and foremost, the list is a formal feature, characterised by several (usually three or more) distinct elements employed in direct succession and in loose, if at all, syntactic and conceptual coherence to both the other elements and the surrounding narrative material'.

Perseus' children are watched by the spectators. Thus, the narratee's emotional evaluation of (the actions of) the main protagonists is steered.

None of this is found in Diodorus Siculus. The narrative is very basically structured, and the choice of tenses does not seem to aim at any internal perspective. While Diodorus is 'telling' spolia in a distanced style, Plutarch is 'showing' spolia by using what might be called immersive techniques. As a result, the immense impact these spolia once had on their Roman viewers is clearly felt by the recipient of the text as well.

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‘The Glory of Alexander and Philip Made Spoil by Roman Arms’: the Triumph of Aemilius Paullus in 167 BCE

Rolf Strootman

This contribution focuses on the triumphal procession of the Roman general Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus after the Third Macedonian War (171–168 BCE). In his *Life of Aemilius Paullus*, Plutarch states that the main purpose of this triumph was to show to the Roman people ‘the Macedonian king taken alive, and the glory of Alexander and Philip made spoil by Roman arms’.¹ The various spoils presented to the Roman public are indeed all connected to the monarchy of Perseus, the last king of the Antigonid Dynasty, rather than the country of Macedonia as such. They comprise arms and armor, court objects, votive offerings, and human captives. The triumph offers a clear case of objects entering Rome in a conspicuous, meaningful way by means of an orchestrated public event. This contribution seeks to clarify what these objects signified in their original, dynastic context; and what they came to signify in the new, Roman context into which they were introduced through Paullus’ triumph. It examines the objects through the four stages of appropriation as described by the anthropologist Hans Peter Hahn, and discussed by Versluys in this volume: material appropriation > objectification > incorporation > transformation.²

The Third Macedonian War was fought between on the one hand the Romans and their Greek allies, and on the other hand the Antigonid king, Perseus, and his Thracian, Epeirote, Illyrian, and Greek allies.³ The war broke out in 171 BCE. In 168 the consul Aemilius Paullus assumed command of the Roman forces in Greece and on June 22 defeated the Antigonid army in the Battle of Pydna, which brought an end to the war – and to the Macedonian kingdom.⁴ King Perseus and his family were taken captive and brought to Rome, together with

1 Plu. *Aem.* 31.3: ‘Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου δόξαν ἐπιδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὅπλοις ἀγομένην αἰχμάλωτον.

2 See e.g. Hahn 2004, and Versluys, this volume.

3 Rome’s war was with Perseus, not with Macedonia (the country of Macedonia was not a political entity).

4 For the location of the battlefield, see now Morelli 2021. On the war, see Derow 2003: 67–69; Burton 2017. The Kingdom of the Macedonians was eventually replaced by four republics

numerous Macedonian aristocrats. Before returning to Italy, Paullus organized a festival at Amphipolis in Chalkidike, assuming the role of a Hellenistic king in his attempt to attract envoys from the Aegean poleis.⁵

Paullus' triumphal entry into Rome probably took place in September 167 and lasted for three days. It was not his first triumph,⁶ but it was his most magnificent, which is reflected by the attention it received from ancient writers. Accounts of the procession are given by Diodoros (31.8.9–12) and Plutarch (*Aemilius Paullus* 32–33),⁷ with some additional information provided by Livy (45.40). Diodoros' account is the most extensive and differs in some places significantly from Plutarch's, which is more dramatic and immersive.⁸ Livy's narrative is marred by a substantial lacuna, but it nonetheless contains some useful information, especially on the gold and silver bullion captured by the Romans, and the humiliation of King Perseus (see below). Unfortunately, the account in book 30 of Polybios' *Histories* has been entirely lost,⁹ which is a real pity because Polybios is our best source for Roman history in this period. An additional, pictorial source for the spoils taken by Paullus' Romans are the marble reliefs on the Pydna Monument, now in the Delphi Archaeological Museum, which depicts Antigonid soldiers being killed or captured by the Romans and their Italian *socii*, showing their equipment.¹⁰

but the Romans at this stage did not attempt to control Macedonia directly (Gruen 1982); on Macedonia after the fall of the kingdom, see Daubner 2018.

5 See below.

6 See Östenberg 2009: 284n.109: the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini* list an earlier triumph over the Ligurians (in 181 BCE), while a memorial inscription declares that Paullus triumphed three times (*ILLRP* 13:3, no. 71b, 50–1). The third triumph may relate to his victory over the Lusitanians as praetor or propraetor in 190–189, cf. Vell. 1.9.3; see however Beard 2007: 79–80, doubting the historicity of a third triumph (a view earlier expressed by Ridley 1983: 375).

7 For a literary-linguistic analysis of these texts, see the contribution by Michel Buijs to this volume.

8 More on the disparities in style and literary quality in the chapter of Buijs.

9 The fragmentarily preserved book 30 is dedicated to the 153rd Olympiad (168/167–165/164 BCE). As Paullus is the principal protagonist of books 29–30, and book 30 contained detailed descriptions of the victory celebrations organized by L. Anicius (30.22.1–12) as well as the festival of Antiochos IV in Daphne, held in competition with Paullus' Amphipolis festival (30.25.1–26) – both passages are preserved incompletely in Athenaios' *Deipnosophistai* – Polybian accounts of Paullus' Amphipolis festival and his *triumphus* in Rome likely existed (see the useful outline of the *Histories* in McGing 2010: 223–239, esp. 237–238). On the Amphipolis festival, briefly described by Livy, see below.

10 See Taylor 2016.

The ritual of *triumphus* in the Roman Republic has attracted much scholarship.¹¹ My aim here is not to analyze the *triumphus* as a public ritual but merely to understand the significance of the booty brought from Macedonia, and its impact in Rome. I will first discuss the spoils carried in the triumph from the perspective of Hellenistic monarchy and court culture. Second, I will offer my thoughts on the meaning and agency of these objects in the Roman context.

Before turning to the triumphal procession, it is imperative to first look at two associated events that preceded it: the festival that Aemilius Paullus organized at Amphipolis, mentioned by Livy; and his return to Rome on an Antigonid ‘royal ship’ as recorded by Plutarch. It is with these events – especially the Amphipolis festival – that the ‘objectification’ of the Antigonid spoils begins.

1 Paullus’ Victory Celebrations at Amphipolis and His Return to Rome

The festival at Amphipolis probably took place in the spring of 167. Religious festivals had previously been a powerful instrument of imperialism for Hellenistic kings, who often participated in, or even set up, Pan-Hellenic events that would attract representatives of lesser kingdoms and local communities to their courts.¹² The best-known example is the Ptolemaia festival, celebrated (at an uncertain date) by Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II at Alexandria.¹³ The processions during such royal festivals were not only cultic occurrences but also spectacles that presented an image of world empire and universal peace by putting the entire *oikoumene* on a stage.¹⁴ In this respect they resembled, or even provided a model for, the Late Republican *triumphus*, as shown especially by the adoption of Hellenistic (Ptolemaic) Dionysiac imagery in the triumphs of Pompey and Caesar.¹⁵ Earlier, Philip II had used the Isthmian

11 For the ritualistic origins and religious meanings of the triumph, Versnel 1970 remains the essential study; see also the contribution by Versluys to this volume. Östenberg 2009 illuminates the political messages conveyed by triumphs in the light of developing imperial ideology in the later Republic. Beard 2007 is critical of the veracity of the sources that modern interpretations of the triumph are based upon. Itgenshorst 2005, too, focuses on the historiographical context of triumph narratives.

12 Strootman 2013 and 2018.

13 Kallixeinos of Rhodes, *FHG* III 58 *apud* Athenaios 5, 197c–203b; Dunand 1981: 21–26; Rice 1983; Moevs 1993; Hazzard 2000; Thompson 2000.

14 Strootman 2014a: 247–263.

15 Hölbl 2001: 289–293.

Games at Corinth to establish the Hellenic League, and also later Macedonian kings attended this festival where representatives of the Greek poleis would assemble.¹⁶ It was at the Isthmian Games that Flamininus after the Second Macedonian War had assumed the role of a Hellenistic king by proclaiming the freedom of the Greeks. The Amphipolis festival likewise aimed at bringing together sacred embassies to participate in the sacrificial rites and negotiate with the victorious Roman general.¹⁷ Drawing on Polybios, Livy writes that at this ‘gathering of Europe and Asia’

[t]he spectacle that the crowd had come for was no more the drama or contests among men or chariot races than it was the spoils of Macedonia. Everything was put on display: sculptures and paintings and tapestries and vases, which were made in the palace with great care, from gold, silver, bronze, and ivory. [...] The items were loaded on the fleet and entrusted to Gnaeus Octavius to take them back to Rome.¹⁸

Livy furthermore reports that before the festival bronze shields taken from the Macedonians had already been shipped to Rome, and non-metal arms and armor had been burned as offerings to Mars, Minerva, and other gods.¹⁹

When Paullus returned to Rome with his victorious legions, he himself approached the city on board of what probably was the most spectacular piece of plunder that was brought to Rome after the Third Macedonian War – an object too big to be carried along in his triumph. This was the Antigonid ‘royal galley’ (βασιλικῆς ἐκκαίδεκῆρους):

[he] sailed up the river Tiber on the royal galley, which had sixteen banks of oars and was richly adorned with captured arms and cloths of scarlet and blue purple, so that the Romans actually came in throngs from out the city, as it were to some spectacle of triumphant progress whose

¹⁶ Strootman 2018.

¹⁷ Liv. 45.33.5. Amphipolis – a well-connected port city and a major Aegean contact zone – had strong bonds with the kingdom of the Macedonians (as is confirmed by the recent excavation of a rich Macedonian tomb in its vicinity), and harbored a temple of Artemis that was one of the sanctuaries singled out in Alexander’s posthumous *hypothenemata* for major investments, next to such sites as Delphi and Delos (D.S. 18.4.4–5); on Amphipolis’ association with the Macedonian kings, see Mari 2018.

¹⁸ Liv. 45.33.3–7; transl. Chaplin. The ‘Roman’ games at Amphipolis provoked the celebration of a rival festival by Antiochus IV at Daphne in Syria, where Seleukid claims to world empire were emphasized (Plb. 30.25.1/31.3.1; on the ideological significance of the Daphne festival, see Strootman 2019).

¹⁹ Liv. 33.1.

pleasures they were enjoying in advance, and followed along the banks as the splashing oars sent the ship slowly up the stream.²⁰

Giant warships were no longer used by Hellenistic navies in the second century BCE; Thomas Rose therefore recently suggested that the ship captured by Paullus was the famous ‘sixteen’ commissioned more than a century before by Perseus’ illustrious ancestor, Demetrios I Poliorketes.²¹ Demetrios was the first Antigonid to become King of the Macedonians, the captured king Perseus the last. This ship – the largest single-hulled galley constructed in antiquity, as far as we can tell – had survived, Rose argues, as a votive offering in a dockyard (*neōrion*) in or near a sanctuary, perhaps in Demetrias where Demetrios I was buried. Together with other royal ships taken from the Antigonids – all ‘of a scale never seen before’ in Rome – the ‘sixteen’ was hauled out of the water and put on display on the Campus Martius.²² Plutarch’s account of Paullus’ return on the royal galley emphasizes the theatricality of his sailing up the Tiber, comparable to the ritual entries of Hellenistic royals.

Diodoros, writing in the second half of the first century BCE, is our earliest source for Paullus’ *triumphus*. He also offers the most detailed inventory of what was shown in the triumph. Based on his account (with a little help from Plutarch), six categories can be distinguished:

1. arms and armor
2. gold and silver
3. votive gifts and other offerings
4. court objects, tableware
5. regalia
6. human captives

I will here concentrate on these objects’ significance as symbols of Antigonid monarchy and empire, and their place within the context of the Antigonid royal court and army. I prefer to write ‘Antigonid’ rather than ‘Macedonian’ as the polity that the Romans fought was centered on the dynasty and its network of alliances.²³ Being the religious and military leaders of the Macedonian

²⁰ Plu. *Aem.* 30.1; transl. Perrin, with adjustments.

²¹ Rose 2020. Demetrios I’s sixteen, built between 306 and 301, is described as an innovation by Plu. *Demetr.* 43.4–5. On the military use of big battleships in the Diadoch period, see Murray 2012: 142–170. It is possible however that this *very* big ship with its purple sails was built for ceremonial purposes, viz., for the ritual entries of the king into Aegean harbors (as is suggested by Plu. *Demetr.* 53.1–3; cf. *Ant.* 26.1–3).

²² Liv. 45.42.12; cf. Plb. 36.5.8, mentioning a ‘dockyard of the sixteen’ (τῆς ἑκαταδεκῆρους νεώριον) in Rome some twenty years later – perhaps the ship dedicated by Paullus in 167 (Rose 2020: 105–106).

²³ That the Romans were at war with Perseus rather than with ‘Macedonia’ is stressed by Livy particularly in books 41 and 42, in which the causes of the Third Macedonian War are

ethnos rather than the country of Macedonia, the Antigonids had for generations aimed at establishing hegemonial rule over Greece, the Balkans, and the Aegean.²⁴ The objects brought into Rome were primarily associated with the Antigonid court and military, and it is from this perspective that I will discuss them. Tomb painting gives a good impression of the splendor of Antigonid elite armament, for instance a fresco in the Macedonian Tomb of Lykon and Kallikrates at Lefkadia (mid-third century BCE) shows brightly painted helmets and a richly adorned shield showing the so-called Star of Vergina – in fact an image of the sun and a symbol of monarchical rule throughout the Hellenistic world (fig. 11.1). However, since the Antigonid dynasty participated in a larger, East Mediterranean *koine* of interconnected dynasties, including



FIGURE 11.1 Macedonian helmets and shield with sun emblem. Wall painting in the Tomb of Lykon and Kallikrates, Lefkadia, mid-third-century BCE
WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

related (see e.g., 41.23.10 and 42.45.2, cf. 45.8.1). As already noted by Bickerman 1945, the preceding Second Macedonian War likewise was called ‘Macedonian’ only in retrospect: the contemporary Roman name was the War with Philip (v), *Bellum Philippicum* (e.g., *Fasti Capit.*, *CIL*. I, p. 25; cf. Plb. 3.32.7) or *Bellum cum rege Philippo* (e.g., Ennius, *Annal.* 327 v; cf. Liv. 31.5.1).

- 24 Discussing the exploits of Perseus’ predecessor, Philip v, Polybios never calls him the king of Macedonia but repeatedly speaks of ‘[King] Philip and the Macedonians’ (e.g., Plb. 4.16.5 and 4.34.10) or ‘the Macedonians [...] and their king’ (4.22.10). This is reminiscent of the title ‘King of the Macedonians’ (βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων) used by the Argeads – who neither self-identified as kings of Macedonia and whose position as (war) leaders of the *Makedones* was only one of their claims to power; on the latter title see now Mari 2020. Like the Argeads, the Antigonids had dealings with ‘foreign’ powers, declared war or established alliances on a personal title.

the Seleukids and Ptolemies, which mutually influenced each other,²⁵ I also sometimes use the adjective ‘Hellenistic’ to denote this wider world of imperial and royal courts.²⁶

2 Hellenistic Military Objects Entering Rome

Triumphs are spectacles. Like other processions, they were sensory and emotional experiences, that may be described as ‘all-encompassing works of art’.²⁷ The messages we tend to read into them, probably were put there deliberately. It is most of all Plutarch who emphasizes the theatrical nature of Paullus’ three-day triumph, an event that was meticulously orchestrated for maximum effect on the audience. He describes how ‘the people erected scaffoldings in the theatres for equestrian contests, which they call circuses, and round the forum, [and] lined the other parts of the city which afforded a view of the procession’.²⁸ Indeed, the Plutarchian account reads like an eyewitness report itself.²⁹

Diodoros describes how on the first day captured arms and armor were displayed to the Roman public. The procession opened with no less than 1,200 carts with white shields and a further 1,200 carts with bronze shields.³⁰ Because of the equal number of carts, it is usually assumed that the Macedonian phalanx under the later Antigonids consisted of two divisions of heavy pikemen equipped with bronze shields, known respectively as the White Shields, or Leukaspides, and the Bronze Shields, or Chalkaspides. Recently, Nicholas Sekunda argued that the white shields, which Diodoros describes as ‘white and rough’ (λευκάς καὶ τραχείας) more likely belonged to troops equipped with the *thureos*, an oval, wooden shield covered with hide or felt, which was normally white on the outside.³¹ These shields may have been captured from the c.5,500 Thracians, Paionians and Agrianians that fought for Perseus at Pydna;³² images of such *thureoi* appear on the fresco’s from the Kazanlâk Tomb in Bulgaria (fig. 11.2). In other words, a separate regiment of heavily armed phalangites

25 On the exchanges between imperial courts in the Hellenistic world, see Strootman 2014a.

26 Like the Antigonids, the Seleukids and Ptolemies, too, usually self-identified as Macedonians – not as ‘Egyptians’ or ‘Syrians’.

27 Stavrianopoulou 2014: 350; cf. Versluis in this volume.

28 Plu. *Aem.* 32.1.

29 See Buijs, this volume.

30 Beard 2007: 102, rightly believes the figure of 2,400 carts to be ‘wildly exaggerated’.

31 Sekunda 2013: 108–127.

32 Liv. 42.51.3–11.



FIGURE 11.2 Thracian warriors carrying *thureoi* on a fresco from the Kazanlak Tomb, fourth-third century BCE; the figure on the left is wearing the mushroom-shaped headdress worn by Thracian and Macedonian warriors during the Hellenistic period (after Zhivkova 1975, pl. 14)

known as Leukaspides may never have existed and half of the shields displayed in the triumph may not have been Macedonian.

With the carts carrying bronze shields we are on firmer ground. There can be little doubt that these belonged to the Chalkaspides, the main fighting force of the Antigonid infantry, known to have numbered 10,000 at the Battle of Sellasia in 222.³³ Their precise number at Pydna is unknown. Livy says that at the beginning of the battle the entire phalanx of Perseus consisted of c.20,000 men.³⁴ The Chalkaspides had a strong bond with the king.³⁵ Regiments known as *chalkaspides* have also been attested for Seleukid and Pontic armies,³⁶

33 Plb. 2.65.2–4.

34 Liv. 42.51.3; cf. 42.6.9, where it is said that 8,000 Macedonians were slaughtered in the aftermath of the battle and 2,800 captured alive (the remainder presumably escaped). Sekunda 2013: 96 assumes that the 20,000+ phalangites were all Chalkaspides.

35 Plb. 4.67.6 (on Philip V's army).

36 J. AJ 12.9.4 (372); Plu. Sull. 16.327 and 19.2.

and such units must have been seen by Romans as extravagant ‘eastern’ elite infantry.³⁷

Most significant for the present discussion is the fact that these standard shields were issued by the monarchy, perhaps at each new accession or at the beginning of a major campaign.³⁸ In other words, this equipment was directly connected to the Antigonid monarchy, which was most of all a military institution. Being symbols of the Antigonid monarchy, Macedonian shields were often depicted on reliefs, frescoes and especially on coins.³⁹ We may actually have images of the bronze shields carried in Paullus’ triumph: the marble reliefs of the monument erected for Aemilius Paullus at Delphi to celebrate his victory in the Battle of Pydna shows Macedonian infantrymen carrying large shields decorated with an image of the sun surrounded by stars (fig. 11.3a and 11.3b).⁴⁰ The connection with the spoils shown in Paullus’ triumphal procession and then dedicated to Jupiter on the Capitol, follows from the fact that the Delphic monument accompanied the dedication to Apollo of spoils taken from Perseus’ army – as an inscription on its base acknowledges: *L. Aemilius L. f. imperator de rege Perse Macedonibusque cepet* (‘L. Aemilius, son of Lucius, commander, took [this booty] from King Perseus and the Macedonians’).⁴¹ Robin Waterfield notes that Plutarch, ‘long a priest at Delphi, would have known the monument well’.⁴² In addition to the Chalkaspides, the battle scenes on the Pydna Monument depict other infantrymen as well as mounted nobles, the so-called Companions of the Kings; the friezes thus show the ethnic and military diversity of the defeated.⁴³

37 In the Seleukid army, the principal elite phalanx consisted of an even more prestigious royal infantry guard, the Argyraspides (Silver Shields), a legacy from the army of Alexander; see Bar-Kochva 1976: 58–66. The Antigonid army did not comprise any Argyraspides. On Antigonid heavy infantry, see Juhel 2017: 94–160.

38 Archaeological evidence shows that the shields used by Antigonid phalangites had a wooden core covered with a thin plate of bronze, with a diameter of c.74 cm. These shields were smaller and lighter than the shields used by Greek hoplites; see Pandermalis 2000; Sekunda 2013: 82–83 with n.7.

39 Liampi 1998. The decorations on the shields tended to change with each new issue, stressing the close association between the army and the reigning king; Sekunda 2013: 85–87 traces the development of decorative designs on the phalanx shields issued by the dynasty; some infantry shields were decorated with portraits of the king or the initials of the king’s name.

40 Kähler 1965: pl. 7 and 22.

41 *CIL* I² 622 = *ILLRP* 323 = *ILS* 884. Note that the inscription is in Latin: an interesting (and innovative) act of implanting Roman imperial presence on the Greek landscape.

42 Waterfield 2008: 447.

43 For the identification of the units on these reliefs, see Taylor 2016, citing earlier interpretations in n.11 on p. 561.



FIGURE 11.3A A Macedonian cavalryman (foreground) and Argyraspid infantryman shown on the Pydna Monument from Delphi
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF DELPHI; PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

In 63/62 BCE, a silver denarius commemorating Paullus' victory over Perseus was minted by L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, a Roman moneyer who claimed to descend from Lucius Aemilius Paullus. The coin showed on its obverse the veiled head of Concordia, and on its reverse an image of Paullus with the



FIGURE 11.3B A Macedonian Argyraspid shown on the Pydna Monument from Delphi
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF DELPHI; PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

captured king Perseus and his two sons. The king is wearing a *kausia*, the traditional beret-like headdress of the Macedonian nobility.⁴⁴ In the center of the image stands a trophy bearing a Macedonian shield decorated with astral images (fig. 11.4). These coins show how the Chalkaspidēs' 'Macedonian shield' was still considered a symbol of the Macedonian monarchy a century after its abolishment.⁴⁵

After the carts with shields came 300 carts with spears, pikes, bows, and javelins – representing the main components of the Antigonid army: cavalry, phalanx, ('Cretan') archers, and light troops – and 'many more' carts carrying arms of various sorts; 'as in war', Diodoros writes, 'trumpeters led the way'.⁴⁶ The last thing Diodoros mentions for day one, are 800 panoplies mounted on poles.⁴⁷ Plutarch associates the arms and armor with the second day of Paullus'

44 Strootman 2014a: 203–209.

45 Crawford RRC no. 415; I owe this information to Yuri Kuzmin. On (purple) *kausiai* as aristocratic and royal headdresses, see Strootman 2014a: 203–209.

46 D.S. 31.8.10; the organization of the Antigonid army at Pydna is given in Liv. 41.51.1–11.

47 D.S. 31.8.10.



FIGURE 11.4 Silver Denarius of L. Aemilius Lepidus showing the captured king Perseus and his sons in front of a trophy adorned with Macedonian armor
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triumph. The weaponry that he mentions includes a lot that is not Macedonian but rather 'barbaric', including the *peltai* of Cretan archers, Thracian wicker shields, and quivers.⁴⁸ Many of these weapons, including the pikes of Perseus' crack soldiers, the phalangites, were 'artfully and aesthetically positioned' upon carts – perhaps to suggest that they had been randomly left by the fleeing enemy troops, a sign of their utter defeat, and cowardice.⁴⁹

48 Plu. *Aem.* 32.3. Archery could be seen as barbaric and unmanly, and was sometimes associated by Greeks and Romans with an alleged 'eastern' way of war.

49 Plu. *Aem.* 32.3; transl. Waterfield.

Diodoros’ account in particular may read like a dull enumeration of arms and armor at first sight. But on closer scrutiny, it appears that several interesting choices were made in the presentation of the weaponry. The procession highlighted two types of enemies that the Romans had overcome in the Battle of Pydna: (1) Perseus’ ‘barbaric’ allies (Thracians, Paeonians, Agrianians), and (2) Perseus’ elite infantry force, the Bronze Shields. The whole set-up is reminiscent of two famous literary texts denouncing the fighting abilities of respectively wild barbarians and fancy Hellenistic guard regiments as compared to the Romans: the speech that Livy puts into the mouth of the consul Manlius Vulso before his defeat of the Galatian Celts in 189 – “of all the peoples who inhabit Asia [Minor] the Galatians stand first in reputation for war [but] if you bear up under their first onset, into which they rush with glowing enthusiasm and blind passion, [...] you need not use arms against them” (Liv. 38.17) – and the speech that Plutarch has Flamininus utter before the Battle of Thermopylai in 191, demeaning the army of the ‘degenerate’ Seleukids – “all these pikemen, cataphracts and *pezhetairoi* are but Syrians differing from one another only in their paraphernalia” (*Mor.* 197c–d; cf. *Flam.* 17).⁵⁰

3 Objects Associated with Hellenistic Court Culture Entering Rome

Diodoros assigns to the second day the display of riches. He begins with 1,000 talents of coined silver and 2,200 talents of silver bullion.⁵¹ Probably using a different source, the quantity of the coins is confirmed by Plutarch, who mentions 2,250 talents of coined silver (but not the silver bullion);⁵² he does say however that on Day 3 coined gold was carried around in 77 vessels, containing three talents each.⁵³ Livy claims that there was more than 120,000 sesterces worth of gold and silver.⁵⁴

As with the enumeration of endless heaps of weapons, there is more than meets the eye here, too. The gold and silver on display is more than just rich booty. Hellenistic kings, like the Persian kings before them, in anticipation of campaigns hoarded coins and bullion in strategically located citadels, and the

50 Compare Plutarch’s remark about the false impression of fearfulness disseminated by the arms on display in Paullus’ triumph: ‘they smote against each other as they were borne along and gave out a harsh and dreadful sound, and the sight of them, even though they were spoils of a conquered enemy, was not without its terrors’ (*Aem.* 32.4; transl. Perrin).

51 D.S. 31.8.11.

52 Plu. *Aem.* 32.5.

53 Plu. *Aem.* 33.2.

54 Liv. 45.40, citing Valerius Antias.

gold and silver carried in the procession must have been Perseus' war treasures confiscated from Macedonian strongholds such as Pydna and Pella.⁵⁵ The gold and silver thus represented the Antigonids' ability to wage war (and their inability to do so again in the future).

In addition to the gold and silver, there were many other riches, including 'a great number' of drinking-cups. Plutarch, too, mentions men carrying silver mixing-bowls, drinking horns, bowls, and cups.⁵⁶ This tableware can be classified as court objects. Hellenistic courts are known to have produced many of them, meant not only for use during the ritualized feasting that was central to court life, but also to be distributed among the guests at the king's table. Such gifts were what the Greeks called *symbola*: material tokens of *philia* or *xenia* relations between individuals.⁵⁷ These were tangible symbols of royal favor and thus of high status; an impression of the lavishness of such gifts is given by the tableware found in Tomb II at Vergina, and other grave gifts from aristocratic tombs dating to the Hellenistic period (fig. 11.5a and 11.5b). It was partly through the distribution of gifts in ritualized settings that status was awarded, and power relations were organized.⁵⁸ As gifts, these status objects were intended to be objects in motion. To be sure, given the long-standing relations between members of the Roman aristocracy and the Macedonian imperial houses – the Antigonids, Seleukids, and Ptolemies – as well as minor non-Macedonian dynastic houses such as the Attalids, Hellenistic court objects certainly had already reached Rome as gifts in substantial quantities at various earlier occasions.

Status gifts represented the Antigonids' ability to create alliances and bind military leaders to themselves. In Diodoros' and Plutarch's accounts of the third day of the triumph, objects associated with the Antigonid court and its feasting practices interestingly are associated with the captured bodies of Perseus and his courtiers, as well as with Perseus' regalia:

55 Cf. Liv. 45.40.2: 'All this money had been accumulated during the thirty years from the close of the war with Philip [v] (in 197 BCE) either as profits from the mines or from other sources of revenue, so that while Philip was very short of money, Perseus was able to commence his war with Rome with an overflowing treasury.'

56 Plu. *Aem.* 32.5. The remainder of this paragraph is based on Strootman 2014a: 152–159.

57 See e.g. Lys. 19.25; *IG* 2² 141 = Tod 139.

58 The Achaemenid kings had used the distribution of tableware to a similar effect, which accounts for the wide distribution of luxury drinking cups and horns throughout central and western Eurasia (Bivar 1999; Ebbinghaus 2010; Kistler 2010). For a reflection of this use in Herodotus, see De Jong's chapter in this volume.



FIGURE 11.5A Silver kylix from Tomb II at Vergina, Macedonia; late fourth century BCE (Archaeological Museum of Vergina; photograph M. Harrsch)
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FIGURE 11.5B Silver and gold oinochoe from the Kazanlak Tomb in Thrace (after Zhivkova 1975, pl. 9)

a ten-talent bowl of gold set with jewels, gold-work of all sorts to the value of ten talents, two thousand elephant tusks three cubits in length, an ivory chariot enriched with gold and precious stones, a horse in battle array with cheek-pieces set with jewels and the rest of its gear adorned with gold, a golden couch spread with flowered coverlets, and a golden

palanquin with crimson [i.e., purple-dyed] curtains. Then came Perseus, the hapless king of the Macedonians, with his two sons, a daughter, and two hundred and fifty of his commanders (*hegemones*), four hundred garlands presented by the various cities and monarchs, and last of all, in a dazzling chariot of ivory, Aemilius himself.⁵⁹

Plutarch gives much the same impression as Diodoros. The procession again starts with a herd of sacrificial oxen, followed by objects associated with court feasting and the practice of gift distribution, the royal regalia, and finally the royal family

There followed [...] those who displayed the bowls known as Antigonids and Seleukids and Therakleian together with all the gold plate of Perseus' table. These were followed by the chariot of Perseus, which bore his arms, and his diadem lying upon his arms. Then, at a little interval, came the children of the king, led along as slaves, and with them a throng of foster-parents, teachers, and tutors, all in tears, stretching out their own hands to the spectators and teaching the children to beg and supplicate.⁶⁰

Then came Perseus himself, walking on foot: stripped of his weapons and regalia. He wore a dark robe and soldiers' boots (*krepides*) in Plutarch's account, and is led in chains in Livy's.⁶¹ As in Diodoros' account, cited above, the king was followed by his *philoï* (courtiers) and 'intimates' (συνήθεις) in Plutarch's account.⁶² Livy emphasizes that the abolishment of the Antigonid monarchy was accomplished partly by the large-scale removal of the Macedonian nobility and 'all who had been in any royal office'.⁶³ As Kuzmin has shown, these deportations are reflected in the archaeological record by the sudden disappearance from the Macedonian landscape of monumental aristocratic tombs;

59 D.S. 31.8.12; transl. Walton.

60 Plu. *Aem.* 33.1–3. The 'foster-parents, teachers, and tutors' (τροφέων καὶ διδασκάλων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν) are the court officials entrusted with the care for the *basilikoi paides* (royal pages), including the king's children; see Strootman 2014a: 136–144. The Therakleian cup was a luxury goblet named after the famous Corinthian potter, Therikles (Ath. 11, 470e–472e; on this goblet and its possible form, see Malfitana 2004).

61 Plu. *Aem.* 34.1; Liv. 45.40.6.

62 Plu. *Aem.* 34.1; in Liv. 45.40.6, the king more dramatically walks immediately in front of Paullus' chariot.

63 Liv. 45.32.3–6. Daubner 2018: 122 estimates that a total of around 2,000 people were deported from Macedonia. The Achaian League was an ally of Perseus during the war, and around a thousand high-ranking Achaians, including Polybios, were also brought to Italy (Plb. 32.5.7; Liv. 45.34.9, 45.35.2).

Macedonian figurative (funerary) art after 167 moreover shows a sharp decline in the number of depictions of arms and armed people.⁶⁴

There followed 400 gold crowns (στέφανοι) that had been offered by the poleis the Romans had 'liberated'; and finally (Plutarch associates him directly with these cities) the liberator Aemilius Paullus himself, wearing the purple and gold robe of the triumphator that transformed him temporarily into a king.⁶⁵ Livy, too, highlights the fact that Paullus was clad like a Hellenistic *basileus* 'in gleaming gold and purple'.⁶⁶ The procession was concluded by the returning army in festive attire.⁶⁷

In Paullus' triumph, valuable furniture and tableware from the Hellenistic royal courts entered Rome as war booty for the first but certainly not the last time. Roman authors sometimes retrospectively framed these objects as expressions of 'eastern' luxury. But for Hellenistic kings and their entourages these objects had a very practical function: they had a role to play in the ritualized feasting and associated gift distribution that was central to the court's function as a place where political power was constructed, negotiated, and distributed.

In addition, the ostentatious display of luxury and wealth in Hellenistic royal processions had the purpose of showing the infinite wealth of kings,⁶⁸ and thereby assure onlookers of their ability to protect and take care of their subjects. Hellenistic royal pageantry never concealed the violent foundations of imperialism but rather sublimated these to ceremonial displays of the king's victoriousness, and the wealth gained through conquest (to paraphrase Brilliant's assessment of the Roman triumph).⁶⁹ From this perspective, it was not just weapons and wealth that the Romans took: they appropriated the very instruments of Hellenistic imperialism.

4 Historical Analysis

When the objects associated with the Antigonid court and monarchy were brought into Rome, Rome was already fully entangled in a wider, 'globalizing' Hellenistic world. Hellenistic objects like the ones described by Diodoros and

64 Kuzmin 2011 and 2017; see also Kuzmin 2021: 609–610, on the discontinuity of burials in the so-called Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles in Lefkadia.

65 Plu. *Aem.* 34.3; see Versnel 1970: 384–396.

66 Liv. 45.40.6.

67 Plu. *Aem.* 34.4.

68 Stavrianopoulou 2014: 356.

69 Brilliant 1999: 222.

Plutarch had been part of Rome's objectscape from the early third century.⁷⁰ They had entered as gifts or as booty from earlier campaigns in Greece and the Aegean,⁷¹ or had been purchased through trade. If Macedonian court objects were on display in elite circles, they probably were not thought of as 'Macedonian' and foreign in the first place, but associated with the individuals or families that they originated from, symbolizing (in the case of gifts) the personal ties between them and Roman families.⁷² Indeed, Philip v and Perseus themselves are known to have maintained *xenia* bonds with Roman patrician families, bonds that required the exchange of material gifts.⁷³ Perseus had repeatedly sent envoys to Rome, which would have involved the distribution of gifts, too; it is also highly unlikely that Roman envoys who visited the courts of Philip v and Perseus returned empty-handed. To be sure, Roman elite members also maintained bonds with members of the Seleukid and Ptolemaic dynasties and their courts. Objects that had previously entered Rome as booty moreover were selectively on display in temples and other public places such as the Forum Romanum.⁷⁴ And as Roman armies had on earlier occasions defeated Hellenistic kings' armies and taken booty from them, the military objects shown in Paullus' triumph were not new, either. To appreciate the special significance of Paullus' triumph, it should however be remembered that this was the first time that a person of royal status had been brought into Rome as a captive: Perseus, the last heir of the *basileia* of Philip II and Alexander.

Plutarch, as we have seen, emphasized the exchange of roles between Perseus and Paullus. Though the topos of Perseus' role reversal from king to nobody is implicit in Diodoros and Livy as well, the opposition between on the one hand the haughty and overconfident Macedonian king, and the modest, restrained Roman consul on the other, is a key component in Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paullus*.⁷⁵ Paullus enters Rome in regal style on board the Antigonid royal galley and in his triumph is dressed in the purple and gold normally associated with Hellenistic kingship. The use of this topos as a literary device by Plutarch and others, of course was permitted by the triumphator's traditional

70 See generally Gruen 1992; for an alternative view, see McDonnell 2006.

71 In particular the Second Macedonian War against Philip v (200–197) and the Roman–Seleukid War of 191–188.

72 See Plu. *Aem.* 28.7, where Paullus gifts his son-in-law Aelius Tubero 'a (silver) phiale of five pounds weight' taken from the royal treasury.

73 Liv. 42.38.8.

74 Östenberg 2009: 19–20, with the references in notes 6–10.

75 Waterfield 2008: 38–39, pointing out the relevant passages.

role as king-for-a-day, a ritual revival of the traditional Roman *rex*.⁷⁶ But the role reversal is perhaps best illustrated by Plutarch's account of Paullus' visit to the sanctuary of Delphi, where he saw a monument in front of the temple of Apollo bearing a statue of Perseus, and decided to transform it into a monument for himself, celebrating his victory over Perseus in the Battle of Pydna, 'for it was appropriate for the conquered to make way for the conquerors'.⁷⁷

While many of the Macedonian court objects in Paullus' triumphal procession originally symbolized royalty and empire, they now became symbols of defeat and submission, corresponding to the phase of 'transformation' in Hahn's four-phase model. The captured objects and bodies indicated also a wider form of appropriation: the appropriation of Hellenistic royal pageantry and imperial ideology. A century earlier, the Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos had put the world on a stage and thereby marked Alexandria as the symbolic center of a world empire.⁷⁸ Claiming world rule may not yet have been the main message of Paullus' procession, but soon enough the ritual of *triumphus* would acquire precisely that function.⁷⁹ What had already been achieved by Paullus' time, however, was the Roman adoption of the Hellenistic kings' role as benefactors and protectors of cities, bestowing upon them *eleutheria* and *autonomia* – a role played with verve by Flamininus at the Isthmian Games of 196 and by Paullus at Amphipolis in 167. The *triumphus* of Aemilius Paullus could therefore be reconstructed by later generations as a key moment in the transition of world empire from the Macedonians to the Romans.

The idea that history is a succession of empires, each one characterized by a similar development of rise, apex, and decline, until the establishment of a final golden age of eternal empire was a key concept in the ideology of the Hellenistic empires.⁸⁰ Having influenced the development of Roman imperial ideology in the later Republic, Hellenistic concepts of empire return as, e.g., *imperium sine fine* and *pax Romana* in the Augustan Age.⁸¹ The notion of *translatio imperii* serves as an ordering historiographical principle in Diodoros' world history,⁸² as well as other Augustan-era world historians such as Trogus and Velleius Paterculus.⁸³ Though the concept is not very present in Livy,

76 See Versnel 1970: 393–396; the consuls' significance as the 'leading actors' in key events of the Roman year is discussed by Hölkeskamp 2011.

77 Plu. *Aem.* 28.2. On Paullus' travels through Greece, see Russell 2012.

78 On Alexandria as an imperial cosmopolis, see Strootman 2011.

79 Östenberg 2009: 262–292.

80 Strootman 2014b; Kosmin 2018.

81 Verg. *A.* 1.279; cf. 6.791–797; *Ecl.* 4.5–9; *Res Gestae* 13, 25 and 26. On imperial ideology in Virgil, see e.g., Hardie 1986; the ideology of abundance is also expressed on the Ara Pacis (see Castriota 1995).

82 Stronk 2016: 535.

83 Van Wickevoort Crommelin 1993: 223–227; Gotter 2019; *pace* Hofmann 2018: 165–222.

that Roman author interestingly traces the rise of Rome to world dominance through a succession of increasingly magnificent triumphal entries of Rome's returning generals and armies.⁸⁴

This is more than literary construction from hindsight. As Edmondson has argued, it was most of all in the period of the Roman-Macedonian wars that in the eastern Mediterranean military conflict intensified cultural competition among empires.⁸⁵ Paullus' triumph of 167 BCE may thus be seen as a key moment in the development of Rome's assumption of an imperial mantle, for it was not long afterwards that Polybios famously declared that Rome had become the supreme power that had united the entire world.⁸⁶ It is very unfortunate indeed that Polybios' account of the triumph has been lost.

Paullus' triumph, as we have seen, emphasized the ethnic diversity of the defeated enemy. In the next century, the triumphs celebrated by, successively, Pompey, Caesar, and Octavian, all heralded the conquest of the world by displaying objects associated with specific vanquished peoples, or with the three continents Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the *oikoumene* in general.⁸⁷ This clearly was a borrowing from the Hellenistic empires that the Romans had conquered.⁸⁸ But the spoils thus presented, and then permanently displayed on the inside or outside of temples, not only signaled the subjugation of foreign peoples, but also their incorporation into the Roman Empire. At Paullus' funeral, representatives of the peoples he had conquered came to Rome voluntarily to pay their respect, and reportedly even carried his bier, calling him their benefactor.⁸⁹

84 Miles 2014: 181.

85 Edmondson 1999: 86–88.

86 Plb. 1.1.5; cf. Miles 2014, emphasizing how with Paullus' *triumphus*, triumphs became occasions for the development of new visual display documenting the Republic's ventures abroad.

87 Östenberg 2009: 285–287, pointing out that Pompey and Octavian each celebrated three triumphs that were associated with the three continents; Caesar during his career as a warmaker celebrated a total of five triumphs.

88 On the Late Republican triumph as an announcement of world conquest, see Östenberg 2009: 283–292, who sees no such universalistic messages in Paullus' triumph, and assumes that these were introduced a century later by Pompey. Gisborne 2005, however, argues that Hellenistic royal imagery was first adopted in the Roman triumph by Sulla; Itgenshorst 2005: 219–226, on the other hand, argues that it was only with Augustus that the Roman triumph was transformed into a grand celebration of monarchy and empire. See also Versnel 1970: 384–396, arguing that the earliest triumphs in Archaic Rome had already been influenced by the Hellenistic kings' emulation of Dionysos as 'bringer of good fortune'.

89 Plu. *Comp. Tim. Aem.* 39.8–9; V. Max. 11.10.3.

5 Conclusion

This contribution has discussed the Antigonid spoils that were publicly brought into Rome during Paullus' triumph in 167 BCE. These objects could be subdivided into six categories – arms and armor; gold and silver; votive gifts and sacrificial animals; court objects; regalia; and captives – but for convenience were discussed in two parts: weaponry and objects associated with the court.

Diodoros' account of arms and armor carried in the procession at first sight seems a dull enumeration. But on closer inspection, it can be shown that the presentation of the military spoils was deliberately arranged to convey specific messages. The emphasis that is placed in the triumph on Perseus' barbarian allies and his outwardly magnificent guard troops present him as an excessively extravagant barbaric king. We may now connect this to this volume's overall objective, and raise the question whether H.P. Hahn's four phases of appropriation – material appropriation, objectification, incorporation, transformation – are applicable to the material discussed in this paper.⁹⁰

There is no direct trajectory of transfer from Macedonia and Greece to Rome, as the Roman appropriation and objectification of Antigonid weaponry and court objects started in Greece itself with Paullus' festival in Amphipolis and his dedication of part of the spoils in Olympia and Delphi. Here Paullus appropriated most of all a role: the role of a Hellenistic military leader showing his victoriousness and thus his ability to protect the Greek cities. In Rome itself the objects associated with Hellenistic monarchy and empire underwent a change of meaning in that they were transformed from symbols of power into symbols of powerlessness, as they now were used deliberately to evoke the downfall of the Antigonids (what Hahn calls 'objectification'). As such they were incorporated into the Roman context as booty. But the principal appropriation was of an ideological nature: the translation of empire by right of victory from the Macedonians to the Romans – a translation that centuries later Plutarch from hindsight would describe as 'the glory of Alexander and Philip made spoil by Roman arms'.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Summarized, with bibliography, by Versluys, this volume.

⁹¹ See above, note 1. In due time, Roman imperial ideology would downplay the influence that Hellenistic kingship had on Roman imperial ideology and claim direct succession from Alexander III, whom the Romans called 'the Great'; see Bichler 2016.

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Between Triumph and Tragedy: Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 7.121–157

Luuk Huitink

For Jan Willem van Henten



1 Historical Preamble

The fledgling Flavian dynasty, which came to power through a bloody and traumatic civil war in 69 CE, could use a military victory over barbarian outsiders to divert attention from that unsavoury fact and to bolster its claim to the imperial purple. They were in luck.¹ Vespasian, soon followed by his son Titus, had in 66 CE been sent by Nero to suppress a large uprising in the unruly province of Judaea, which had been dependent on Rome since Pompey had invaded Jerusalem in 63 BCE, and had been formally annexed by Augustus in 6 CE. Vespasian and Titus decided to pass off their actions in Judaea as if it were a war of foreign conquest and a glorious victory for Roman arms. Their realization that the Judaeian campaign could serve this propagandistic purpose probably contributed substantially to the escalation of the war, which had come to a pause on Nero's death and the ensuing struggle for power, into a full-scale siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE, which ended with the destruction of the city and the burning down of its famous Jewish Temple.² Although pockets of resistance

1 On the historical and ideological background, see, e.g., Goodman 1987: 235–239; 1994: 42–45; 2007: 452–454; Noreña 2003; Ash 2014: 144–146.

2 For a provocative account of the Jewish War, which actively seeks to read against the grain of what it regards as Flavian propaganda, see Mason 2016. Telling is Josephus' statement that, when Vespasian hears in Alexandria that his final rival claimant to the throne, Vitellius, has been killed, he at once sends Titus to Judaea 'in order to see to the destruction of Jerusalem' (ἐξαίρησόντα τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, BJ 4.658). The destruction of the Temple itself is a more complex matter; see Section 2 below.

persisted (most famously Masada, of course), the Flavians felt that they had done enough to cash in on their success.³

They did so, in the first instance, by celebrating a triumph over Judaea in the summer of 71 CE.⁴ Although it was the first ever triumph celebrated over a pacified province rather than a conquered foreign enemy, it 'deployed techniques of staging which were historically associated with precisely that sort of victory'.⁵ That meant, above all, that the vanquished Jewish enemy were presented as the 'other', according to a general principle underlying the ritual of the triumph:

The triumphal procession staged spoils, captives, and representations in marked polarization to the celebrating Romans. By this repeated ritual performance, with vibrant emotion, Rome time and time again emphatically expressed and created views of what she was and should be. In the triumph, Rome defined herself by displaying others. (Östenberg 2009: 262)

Portraying Jews as barbarian outsiders was not necessarily straightforward or easy, given their status of provincial subjects and the presence of an old and flourishing Jewish community in the city of Rome itself.⁶ Our main sources for the triumph make clear that ritual objects taken from the Jerusalem Temple played a major role in establishing the Jews' fundamental otherness. First, Josephus' elaborate narrative of the triumphal procession (7.121–152) states that among the spoils on display those 'captured in the Jerusalem Temple stood out above all' (7.148: διέπρεπε δὲ πάντων τὰ ἐγκαταληφθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ): a golden table, a golden lampstand, and a copy of 'the Jewish law' (7.151: ὁ τε νόμος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων), usually interpreted as a Torah scroll.⁷ Secondly, the southern relief in the passageway of the Arch of Titus at the top of the Via Sacra above the Forum likewise gives pride of place to the table and the lampstand, among further depictions of vessels and trumpets which can probably

3 Although the Jewish War has been called 'the routine suppression of a provincial insurrection' (Barnes 2005: 129), it must be kept in mind that the siege of Jerusalem, which lasted five months, 'had been a major event in Roman military history, demanding a massive concentration of forces' (Millar 2005: 101).

4 For the impressive ensuing building programme, which kept the memory of the triumph alive (we know that even the Colosseum was built *ex manubiis*, 'from the spoils of the war'), I refer to the chapter of Moormann in this volume.

5 Ash 2014: 145.

6 Ash 2014: 145, with n. 6. For the Jewish community in Rome, see Williams 1998.

7 All references are to Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*, unless stated otherwise.

also be associated with the Temple.⁸ Clearly, the Flavians felt that these objects, impressive in themselves, were also exotic and distinctive enough symbolically to convey ‘the defeat of the Jews in all aspects – military, political, cultural, and religious’.⁹

The political needs of the Flavians had fateful consequences for the Jews. They dealt a fatal blow to Temple Judaism, setting the religion on its slow course to Rabbinic Judaism. The Flavians also set the tone for a marked increase of hostility in ‘the relations of Rome to the Jews for the rest of antiquity’.¹⁰

2 Flavius Josephus

The complex and ambivalent history of Vespasian’s and Titus’ Judaeen campaign and its entanglement with the Roman civil war was chronicled by a complex and ambivalent historian. Born Joseph Ben-Matityahu into the ruling priestly elite of Jerusalem, Flavius Josephus (37/38–c.100 CE) at first became a prominent figure in the resistance against Rome, but was taken captive at Jotapata. After predicting that Vespasian would become emperor, he was released and took up residence in Rome as a friend or client of Titus (travelling with him to Rome on the same ship not long before the triumph).¹¹ The preface of the *Bellum Judaicum* (*Jewish War*, completed between 78 and 81 CE, possibly with later revisions) at once shows that Josephus is well acquainted with all the ins and outs of Graeco-Roman historiography. But while he emphasises his autopsy and promises to record ‘the actions of both parties with accuracy’ (1.9: τὰ μὲν ἔργα μετ’ ἀκριβείας ἀμφοτέρων), he also warns that, inevitably, ‘my comments on the events will owe something to my own situation and I shall allow personal sympathies the expression of sorrow at the fate that befell my

8 Östenberg 2009: 114 speculates that the man carrying a placard (*titulus*) on the far left of the relief may have announced the next item in the procession as the Torah scroll (which was itself not depicted, however, because it may not have been large and precious enough). For differences in emphasis between Josephus and the Arch of Titus, see Eberhardt 2005 and Rocca 2021.

9 Östenberg 2009: 116.

10 Goodman 2007: 452, also pp. 578–585 on the origins of antisemitism in Roman imperial policy. For the transformation of Judaism, see Stroumsa 2005. Cf. the stark words of Mason 2017: 125: ‘The Flavian triumph, *fons et origo* of Judaeen humiliation, was a sham’.

11 Bilde 1988 and Rajak 2002 offer succinct introductions to Josephus’ political and literary career. The details of Josephus’ relationship with Titus and the ruling classes of Rome are a matter of debate; see Den Hollander 2014. For the joint voyage, see 7.117–120 and *Vita* 422–423, with Mason 2017: 151–152.

country' (τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι λόγους ἀνατίθημι τῇ διαθέσει καὶ τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ πάθεσι διδοὺς ἐπολοφύρεσθαι ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος συμφοραῖς).¹²

The *Bellum Judaicum* certainly offers a narrative full of drama and *pathos*, which seeks to elicit compassion from his Roman and Greek readership.¹³ However, Josephus reserves most of his bile, not for the Roman troops and their commanders – although there are plenty of descriptions of Roman cruelty – but for various competing Jewish factions; as he makes clear in the prologue, a running theme throughout the *Bellum Judaicum* will be that 'civil strife brought ruin to [the country] and the Jewish tyrants drew upon the Temple the unwilling hands of the Romans and the fire' (1.10: αὐτὴν στάσις οἰκεῖα καθεῖλεν, καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων χεῖρας ἀκούσας καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν εἴλκυσαν οἱ Ἰουδαίων τύραννοι).¹⁴ Even just before Titus' final siege of Jerusalem starts, various Jewish leaders and their parties are still busy trying to gain control of the Temple precinct in a ferocious civil war, 'and every part of the sanctuary was defiled with killing' (5.10: καὶ φόνοις ἐμιαίνετο πανταχοῦ τὸ ἱερόν) and the victims of the carnage 'sprinkled the sacrificial altar with their own blood' (5.17: βωμὸν κατέσπεισαν ἰδίῳ φόνῳ): the Temple was desecrated and removed from God's protection even before the Romans took its treasures to Rome. Moved by such folly and blasphemy, Josephus memorably addresses Jerusalem directly in one of those expressions of sorrow which he admits sit uncomfortably in an objective work of historiography (5.19–20):¹⁵

τί τηλικούτον, ὦ τλημονεστάτη πόλις, πέπονθας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἳ σου τὰ ἐμφύλια μύση πυρὶ καθαροῦντες εἰσήλθον· θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε ἥς ἔτι χῶρος οὔτε μένειν ἐδύνασο, τάφος οἰκεῖων γενομένη σωμάτων καὶ πολέμου τὸν ναὸν ἐμφυλίου ποιήσασα πολυάνδριον δύναιο δ' ἂν γενέσθαι πάλιν ἀμείνων, εἴγε ποτὲ τὸν πορθήσαντα θεὸν ἐξιλίσσῃ. ἀλλὰ καθεκτέον γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάθη τῷ νόμῳ τῆς γραφῆς, ὥς οὐκ ὀλοφυρμῶν οἰκεῖων ὁ καιρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀφηγήσεως πραγμάτων. δίειμι δὲ τὰ ἐξῆς ἔργα τῆς στάσεως.

12 Translations from longer passages are taken from Hammond and Goodman 2017, with modifications. On Josephus' self-presentation in the preface of the *Bellum Judaicum*, see Van Henten 2018: 124–126. On Josephus' display of emotions and its relation to Graeco-Roman historiographical conventions, see Glas 2020.

13 See Swoboda 2014: 238; 417–426. For Josephus' varied readership, see Huitink and Van Henten 2009.

14 See for a list of passages in which the theme is reactivated, Mason 2005: 256; see also Mason 2016: 101–130.

15 On the defiling of the Temple Mount and this apostrophe, see Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 207–208.

Oh, my poor city, what did you ever suffer from the Romans compared to this? They invaded to purge with fire the pollution among your own people. You were no longer God's place. You could not survive once you had become a cemetery filled with your own dead, and your internecine warfare had turned the sanctuary into a mass grave. Yet even now you could recover, if only you would make atonement to the God who brought you to ruin! But the convention is that historians should suppress their own emotions, and this is not the place for personal expressions of grief. So back to the plain narrative of events, and I continue with an account of the subsequent course of this internal war.

This passage brings out some of the complexities of interpretation with which Josephus and his position as a one-time Jewish leader and dependent of Titus confront readers. There is his highly accomplished and typically Graeco-Roman rhetoric, as exemplified by the use of an *apostrophe*, and there is the fact that he uses it to stir up strong emotions for the demise of one of Rome's enemies and especially for the irrevocable loss of his ancestral religious practices, which were bound up with the Temple. There is his claim to objectivity and his projection of an authoritative, omniscient narratorial voice, and there is the fact that he employs that voice to settle partisan scores. Perhaps most difficult to assess is his attitude towards the Roman conquerors and their commanders. While it is often thought that his focus on Jewish factitiousness serves to absolve his Flavian patrons from blame, that conclusion is probably too easy. In a provocative paper on 'figured speech' (*oratio figurata*) and irony in the *Bellum Judaicum*, Mason has argued that, by attributing the outcome of the war to internal Jewish conflicts and God's wrath, Josephus in fact subtly undermines the official Flavian version of events.¹⁶ After all, as the very decision to stage a triumph over Judaea makes clear, Vespasian and Titus had no interest at all in *disclaiming* responsibility for what had happened. In the light of the prominent role which the Temple treasures played in the triumphal parade, even the fact that Josephus consistently presents the burning down of the Temple as going against Titus' wishes can be seen as part of that larger ironic scheme: rather than being one of history's agents, Titus is a helpless bystander at the unfolding of God's plan.¹⁷

16 Mason 2005.

17 See Mason 2005: 254–258. As the survey of Barnes 2005 shows, other sources do claim that Titus decided to burn down the Temple, usually after careful deliberation – which may indicate that the destruction of foreign sanctuaries was controversial; cf. Goodman 2007: 452–453, arguing that it contravened normal Roman practice. Rives 2005 suggests that Josephus' presentation of Titus reveals a misunderstanding of Roman religious policy



FIGURE 12.1 Nicolas Poussin, *The Conquest of Jerusalem by Emperor Titus* (1635)
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3 Josephus' Account of the Triumph

Possibly inspired by Pliny the Elder's lost history of his times, which may have ended with a climactic description of the Flavian triumph, Josephus devotes a substantial part of the final book of the *Bellum Judaicum* to the parade (7.121–152) and its immediate aftermath (7.153–157).¹⁸ He reports how at dawn the crowds gathered in such large numbers 'that they barely left enough space

vis-à-vis the Jews. In any case, even if the burning down of the Temple was more or less accidental (and that is a big 'if'), Titus must soon have realized that it could be turned to good propagandistic use.

- 18 See Barnes 2005: 142, who claims that Pliny was Josephus' main source (and, incidentally, notes that Pliny refrained from publishing his history at first, afraid of being suspected of currying imperial favour). See Ash 2014: 147 for the Flavian triumph as having a 'pivotal role in terms of periodisation and organising a meaningful historical narrative' for this period. If so, it is interesting to note that Josephus does *not* end the *Bellum Judaicum* with the triumph: importantly, the episode detailing heroic Jewish resistance at Masada is still to follow (7.252–406), undermining the sense of closure which the description of the triumph brings.

for the passage of those they had come to see' (7.122: ὅσον τοῖς ὀφθησομένοις μόνον εἰς πάροδον ἀναγκαίαν καταλιπόντες). Continuing the emphasis on vision and spectacle, he mentions that the triumphant generals 'began the parade by leading it through the theatres [of the Campus Martius], to give the crowds an easier view' (7.131: ἔπεμπον τὸν θρίαμβον διὰ τῶν θεάτρων διεξελαύνοντες, ὅπως εἶη τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡ θέα ῥάων). He then fully shifts into the register of *ekphrasis*, starting with the sort of self-conscious (and usually disingenuous) disclaimer that belongs to that register in order to whet the reader's appetite (7.132):¹⁹

ἀμήχανον δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν τῶν θεαμάτων ἐκείνων τὸ πλήθος καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐν ἅπασιν οἷς ἂν τις ἐπινοήσῃεν

It is impossible to give an adequate description of the wealth of spectacle on view in this procession, or of its magnificence in every conceivable display

What follows is, of course, an elaborate description indeed (though whether it is also an adequate one is a different matter, as we shall see). It starts out with a general account of the rich booty passing by 'like a flowing river' (7.134: ὡς ... ῥέοντα ποταμόν), and of the animals and prisoners on display (7.136–138). Josephus then singles out two specific displays to describe at greater length: the moving floats with representations of scenes from the war (7.139: θαῦμα δ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα παρείχεν ἡ τῶν φερομένων πηγμάτων κατασκευή, 'the structure of the moving floats caused the greatest amazement of all'), and the Temple spoils (7.148: λάφυρα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χύδην ἐφέρετο, διέπρεπε δὲ πάντων τὰ ἐγκαταληφθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ, 'while most of the spoils were carried along in a miscellaneous mass, those captured in the Jerusalem Temple stood out above all'). He concludes by saying that 'after these' (7.151: ἐπὶ τούτοις) came images of Victory and then finally Vespasian himself, followed by Titus and Domitian (7.152). The procession culminates at the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, where sacrifices are made after the execution of a prominent Jewish leader, Simon son of Gioras, is announced, and a feast is held (7.153–157).²⁰

The spatial and temporal structure of the passage is not very transparent. In particular, it is unclear whether the floats and Temple spoils follow the

19 On *ekphrasis* and attendant topoi, see Webb 2009. For spectacle in Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*, see Chapman 2005; Lovatt 2016.

20 The final part of the triumph narrative (7.158–162), which describes the subsequent placement of the spoils in the Temple of Peace and the imperial palace, is cited and analysed in the contribution of Moormann to this volume.

booty, animals and prisoners in the procession, or whether they are two items from among those groups which Josephus singles out for more elaborate treatment (in that case ἐπὶ τούτοις at 7.151 refers back to 7.138 rather than to the immediately preceding sentence); on balance, the latter appears more likely.²¹ However it may be, Josephus clearly accords most prominence to the floats and Temple spoils and interpretations of the passage have rightly followed suit. Here is first the passage about the floats, which continues the language of *ekphrasis* (7.141–147; I have italicized the relevant phrases):

καὶ γὰρ ὑφάσματα πολλοῖς διάχρυσα περιβέβλητο, καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἐλέφας οὐκ ἀποίητος πᾶσι περιεπεπήγει. διὰ πολλῶν δὲ μιμημάτων ὁ πόλεμος ἄλλος εἰς ἄλλα μεμερισμένος ἐναργεστάτην ὄψιν αὐτοῦ παρεῖχεν· ἦν γὰρ ὁρᾶν χώραν μὲν εὐδαίμονα δηουμένην, ὅλας δὲ φάλαγγας κτεινομένας πολεμίων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας τοὺς δ' εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀγομένους, τείχη δ' ὑπερβάλλοντα μεγέθει μηχαναῖς ἐρειπόμενα καὶ φρουρίων ἀλίσκομένας ὀχυρότητας καὶ πόλεων πολυανθρώπους περιβόλους κατ' ἄκρας ἐχομένους, καὶ στρατιὰν ἔνδον τειχῶν εἰσχεομένην, καὶ πάντα φόνου πλήθοντα τόπον, καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων χεῖρας ἀνταίρειν ἱκεσίας, πῦρ τε ἐνιέμενον ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκαφὰς οἰκῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς δεσπότης, καὶ μετὰ πολλὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ κατήφειαν ποταμούς ρέοντας οὐκ ἐπὶ γῆν γεωργουμένην, οὐδὲ ποτὸν ἀνθρώποις ἢ βοσκήμασιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐπιπανταχόθεν φλεγομένης· ταῦτα γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι πεισομένους αὐτοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ παρέδωσαν. ἡ τέχνη δὲ καὶ τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἢ μεγαλουργία τοῖς οὐκ ἰδοῦσι γινόμενα τότε ἐδείκνυσεν ὡς παροῦσι. τέτακτο δ' ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν πηγμάτων ὁ τῆς ἀλίσκομένης πόλεως στρατηγὸς ὃν τρόπον ἐλήφθη. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ νῆες εἵποντο.

Many of them were hung with gold-laced curtains, and all had gold and polished ivory facings to their framework. Numerous tableaux presented in series *the most vivid picture* of the war in its various stages. *You could see* a prosperous countryside being devastated; whole battalions of the enemy being cut down; people running for their lives, and others led off to captivity; huge walls demolished by siege engines; fortress strongholds captured, cities with masses of defenders on their walls totally conquered; an army streaming inside the walls, slaughter surging everywhere,

21 So Östenberg 2009: 111–113, after careful consideration of the passage and external evidence about the order of triumphal processions. The moving floats (πήγματα) should be thought of as three-dimensional scaffolds bringing together various media (Östenberg 2009: 189–261), and may also have featured booty, animals and above all prominent prisoners associated with the events represented (cf. 7.147, cited below). Mason 2017: 126 airs the unpleasant idea that Josephus could have been forced to play a role ‘as either Judaeen *Gefolgsman* or as the captured general of Iotapata, high atop a scenic float’.

defenceless people raising their arms in supplication, temples set on fire, houses flattened on the heads of their owners; and then, after scenes of total destruction and humiliation, another picture of rivers, not this time irrigating farmed land, not watering men or beasts, but flowing through a landscape which was all on fire. Such were the terrible experiences which the Jews let themselves in for when they committed to the war: and now the consummate artistry of these reproductions *portrayed the events to those who did not witness them as vividly as if they had been there in person*. On each of the floats was figured the commander of a captured town, shown at the moment of his own capture. Behind the floats there came a parade of several ships.

Josephus then makes the transition to the Temple treasures in a passage which contains brief comments on their appearance (7.148–149):

λάφυρα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χύδην ἐφέρετο, διέπρεπε δὲ πάντων τὰ ἐγκαταληφθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ, χρυσὴ τε τράπεζα τὴν ὅλην πολυτάλαντος καὶ λυχνία χρυσὴ μὲν ὁμοίως πεποιημένη, τὸ δ' ἔργον ἐξήλλακτο τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν χρῆσιν συνηθείας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μέσος ἦν κίων ἐκ τῆς βάσεως πεπηγώς, λεπτοὶ δ' ἅπ' αὐτοῦ μεμήκυντο καυλίσκοι τριαίνης σχήματι παραπλησίαν τὴν θέσιν ἔχοντες, λύχνον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἄκρον κεχαλκευμένος· ἐπτά δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐβδομάδος τὴν τιμὴν ἐμφανίζοντες. ὁ τε νόμος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφέρετο τῶν λαφύρων τελευταῖος.

Most of the spoils were carried along in a miscellaneous mass, but special prominence was given to those captured in the Temple at Jerusalem. These were a gold table, many talents in weight, and a lampstand also made of solid gold, but shaped differently from those we use in ordinary life. Fixed to these was a central column, from which slender branches extended rather like the prongs of a trident, with a lampholder welded at the tip of each branch: there were seven of these lamps, reflecting the particular importance of that number to the Jews. After these, and carried last in the parade of spoils, was the Jewish Law.

All in all, Josephus has furnished us with the longest verbal account of any Roman triumph which we still possess, and it is an implied eyewitness account to boot. As such, it has received much attention from historians.²² Closer

22 It takes pride of place in the accounts the Roman triumph of, e.g., Künzl 1988, Itgenshorst 2005, Beard 2007 and Östenberg 2009.

scrutiny of the passage throws up some uncomfortable conundrums, however. For one thing, scholars have doubted that Josephus was actually present, because his exact vantage point remains unclear, and because his tone is for the most part so very conventional: he chiefly offers a series of rhetorical commonplaces, vaguely writing about the floats representing 'cities being conquered' and 'fortresses being taken' and even 'temples [plural!] burning', without mentioning Jerusalem or any of the other actual theatres of war. His description at this point reads more as a template for what to include when writing an *ekphrasis* of a triumph than as a verbal representation of this particular triumph. The only specific details provided concern the inclusion of the Temple spoils in the procession and the execution of Simon – but information about both events he could easily have gathered afterwards (by visiting the Temple of Peace, for instance, where the objects ended up).²³

Furthermore, scholars who have considered the passage in terms of the wider context of the *Bellum Judaicum* have been struck – shocked even – by what they see as the generally positive tone of the account: where are those outbursts of emotion and laments for the fate of the fatherland now? Commenting on the 'disconcertingly deadpan fashion' in which Josephus describes the parade, Beard goes so far as to call him a 'Jewish turncoat':²⁴ 'With Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* we are probably getting as close as we ever can to the "official version" (or one of the "official versions") of the Flavian accession'.²⁵ Rajak, too, detects a marked change of emphasis in this part of the *Bellum Judaicum*, claiming that 'Josephus can for the first time be said to glorify his patrons at the expense of his people in the passages about the triumph of Vespasian and Titus'.²⁶ Spilsbury suggests that Josephus may have been wary of offending his Flavian patrons, but is none the less puzzled that Josephus could include an account of the Temple spoils being carried in the triumph and 'not indulge the kind of emotions we might have expected of a priest at the sight of the sacred objects being subjected to such indignities'.²⁷

Other scholars, however, have suggested that on a careful reading more is going on than meets the eye, and that there are tensions between the surface

23 Cf. e.g. Künzl 1988: 14–15; Itgenshorst 2005: 27–28. Josephus' description is in some ways quite close to the *template* offered by Quintilian for how to write a vivid *ekphrasis* of a city being captured (*Inst.* 8.3.67–69). For the Temple of Peace and other traces of the triumph in the city of Rome, see the contribution of Moormann to this volume. See also Section 5 below.

24 Beard 2007: 152; see also Beard 2003: 556: a 'Flavian apparatchik', 558: a 'lackey'.

25 Beard 2007: 156.

26 Rajak 2002: 219.

27 Spilsbury 2002: 322.

of the spectacle and what Josephus conveys about its underlying significance. A first hint of tension can be detected quite early on, in the description of the captives being taken along in the parade (7.138):

ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐδὲ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἦν ἰδεῖν ὄχλον ἀκόσμητον, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν ἐσθήτων ποικιλία καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακώσεως τῶν σωμάτων ἀηδίαν ἔκλεπτε τῆς ὀψεως.

Furthermore, not even the crowd of prisoners was to be seen unadorned, and the variety of their fine clothing concealed the unpleasantness of their disfigured bodies from view.

In a passage that promises to focus on the visual spectacle which the parade offered the Roman onlookers, Josephus here draws attention to something which they could *not* see, but was highly significant none the less. Frilingos and Mason have – surely correctly – detected a note of compassion as well as a hint of sarcasm in Josephus' comment on the invisible 'unpleasantness' of the prisoners' mangled bodies.²⁸ Readers who have worked their way through the *Bellum Judaicum*, moreover, share Josephus' privileged perspective, as they cannot help but be reminded of earlier scenes of Roman cruelty, especially those detailing how Roman soldiers entered Jerusalem and 'murdered indiscriminately' (6.404: ἐφόνευσον ἀνέδην) and 'set the whole city awash with blood' (6.406: αἵματι δὲ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν κατέκλυσαν), stopping only when 'they were finally tired of slaughter' (6.414: ἔκαμνον ἤδη φονεύοντες), and took the poor remaining citizens prisoner: it is *those* people who are now forced to walk through the streets of Rome.

In this light, Josephus' opening statement, that it is impossible to give an adequate description, is perhaps not simply a hackneyed topos contributing to a triumphant, pro-Roman tone, but becomes suggestive of how the language of *ekphrasis* and its relentless focus on the glittering surface of the parade does indeed not tell the whole story.²⁹ Continuing his work on *oratio figurata*

28 Frilingos 2017: 62; Josephus 'sees better and knows more than other observers'. Mason 2017: 162: 'The parade is all about cosmetics'.

29 So, Ash 2014: 152, worth quoting in full: the *aporia* topos 'is unusually expressive when considered in context. For this statement functions in multiple ways, as a general literary motif on the one hand and as a reflection of the narrator's specific lived experience on the other. For from Josephus' perspective, the hackneyed topos has fresh resonances: he himself lacks adequate language to describe the triumphal procession because of his perspective as a former inhabitant of the city whose destruction is being depicted and celebrated. Not only that, but his readership includes the very men who engineered that defeat. In

and irony in the *Bellum Judaicum*, Mason has in a recent contribution tried to demonstrate how virtually *every* element in Josephus' account of the triumph on closer consideration reflects badly on the new Flavian regime.³⁰ Even if one does not wish to go that far, it is certainly possible, as various other scholars have done, to point to ways in which Josephus' narrative invites a nuanced range of emotional responses, including opportunities for lament.³¹ Important in bringing this out is an analysis of how Josephus implicates various internal and external perspectives – of the Roman and possibly other onlookers, including Jews, as well as his narratorial persona and the readers – in his description and of how he sets up a dense network of correspondences between the triumph narrative and his account of the war in earlier books. Building on existing interpretations, I will in the remainder consider some possible responses to the floats and Temple spoils, especially to the extent that they relate to the themes of 'appropriation' and 'otherness' that are central to the concerns of the present volume.

4 The Floats

In narratological terms, it can be said that from the moment the spectators of the triumph take up their positions 'in the theatres', the focalization is generally theirs – though not without possibilities for a different interpretation.³² The description of the floats (7.141–147, quoted above) is a case in point. The opening phrase ἦν γὰρ ὁράν ('there were to be seen ...') establishes a vague onlooker's perspective, and the initial statement that one of the floats depicted battalions of 'enemies' (πολεμίων) being slaughtered suggests that the perspective is specifically Roman. This appears to be confirmed by the final verdict (introduced by γὰρ, which is often a marker of embedded focalization) that 'such were the terrible experiences which the Jews let themselves in for when they committed to the war' (ταῦτα γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι πεισομένους αὐτοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ παρέδωσαν); the word Ἰουδαῖοι again suggests a Roman perspective.

However, the language of *ekphrasis* – the floats are said at the beginning to offer 'a most vivid vision' (ἐναργεστάτην ὄψιν) of the events of the war and at the end to 'display those events to those who hadn't actually seen them as if they

this sense, words really cannot describe the triumph adequately for much darker and more personal reasons. Josephus' expression of *aporia* can be seen to reflect his emotional turmoil within, however safe and familiar the protestation appears on the surface.'

30 Mason 2017.

31 Huitink and Van Henten 2012; Ash 2014; Lovatt 2016; Frilingos 2017.

32 Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 214.

were present (τοῖς οὐκ ἰδοῦσι γινόμενα τότ' ἐδείκνυνεν ὡς παροῦσι) – once more complicates things. For the formulation seems designed to make readers think back to the war, not as mediated through the floats, but as mediated through Josephus' own earlier narrative, which also often used a style calculated to instil a feeling of 'having been there'.³³ Readers who do think back to that narrative will not necessarily conclude that the feeling of 'having been there' inspires undiluted patriotic pride. In fact, the description of the floats becomes increasingly darker and loaded with evaluative terms, which do not merely underline 'the greatness of the enemies destroyed by the triumphant generals and Roman people, but also the scale and inhumanity of the devastation'.³⁴

Specific reminiscences of the earlier narrative creep in. Already near the start, the tableau representing a 'fertile (εὐδαίμονα)³⁵ countryside on every side in flames' is like a visual summary of Josephus' account of the devastation wreaked on the fertile region of Galilee, which – once Vespasian sets to work – becomes 'a welter of fire and blood, put to every conceivable form of suffering and tragedy' (3.63: πυρὶ δὲ ἡ Γαλιλαία καὶ αἵματι πεπλήρωτο πᾶσα πάθους τε οὐδενὸς ἢ συμφορᾶς ἀπείρατος ἦν). The later tableau on which is depicted 'an area all deluged with blood' (πάντα φόνου πλήθοντα τόπον) may remind readers of Josephus' harrowing description of Temple Mount after it was taken, when there even was a stream of blood flowing down the Temple steps (6.259: κατὰ δὲ τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ βάθρων αἱμά τ' ἔρρει πολύ).³⁶ Towards the end, the emotional centre lies more with the vanquished Jews than with the vanquishing Romans, and in another interesting reversal of the language of *ekphrasis* and its emphasis on outward appearances, the negative formulations in the description of the final image, of 'rivers *not* irrigating farmed land, *not* watering men or beasts, but flowing through a landscape which was all on fire', once again focus on what could *not* be seen, but only wistfully remembered: 'This is as much a lament as a celebration'.³⁷

The vagueness of Josephus' description of what is to be seen on the floats serves to drive a wedge between the focalizing Roman spectators on the one hand and Josephus and his readers on the other hand. To the spectators, the scenes do remain opaque – they may not even know the name of many of

33 Cf. Ash 2014: 154.

34 Lovatt 2016: 370; on the increasingly dark description, see Ash 2014: 155–156.

35 The application of this adjective to countries is conventional in historiography (often in combination with μέγας); see Huitink and Rood 2019: 118, 148–149. Ps.-Aristid. *Rhet.* 2.69 discusses its rhetorical effect (beautifying discourse).

36 On these parallels, see Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 215–216.

37 Lovatt 2016: 370; Ash 2014: 157–158, also seeing pointed parallels with the *ekphrasis* of the peaceful and wartime cities depicted on the shield of Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 18.490–540).

the places depicted and they may not know the difference in importance between general temple-like structures being set on fire and *the* Temple itself. Furthermore, vivid as the depictions may be, the spectators of the triumph were *not* there at the events themselves, and do not share Josephus' and his readers' knowledge of what really happened and of the suffering which the war brought. Josephus may be suggesting that the visual representations of the war in the triumph are no substitute for his verbal representation in the *Bellum Judaicum* for those who truly wish to understand the events: the written work is both a more permanent and a more accurate account of the war.

Furthermore, I should like to suggest that the vagueness of Josephus' description may also serve another, and equally subversive, purpose. After all, many of the Roman spectators probably also could not help but filter the jubilant celebration of the triumph through past horrors. Not a few of them may have picked a different side in the newly concluded Roman civil wars and were now present at the foundational act of the new Flavian regime they had not wanted. Not all of them will have been fooled by Vespasian's and Titus' efforts to divert attention from the civil war by celebrating a triumph over Judaea, and not all of them will have found it easy to be exposed to scenes of war and suppress associations with their own recent experiences. The Roman civil war is not the main focus of the previous narrative, but Josephus does devote attention to it, in suggestive ways.³⁸ One of the vignettes which he includes, concerning Galba's death and Otho's succession, is introduced with the transitional phrase that 'not only in Judaea was there dissension and civil war, but also in Italy' (4.545: οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν στάσις ἦν καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῆς Ἰταλίας), establishing a parallel between the two conflicts. After that episode, Josephus reinforces the parallel by first narrating Simon's assault on the Temple Mount to gain control of Jerusalem (4.577–584) and then, immediately after, further clashes in Rome, the centrepiece of which is Vitellius' assault on Capitol Hill, to where Vespasian's brother Sabinus and Domitian have withdrawn (5.585–658). That siege ends with a miraculous escape of Domitian and the execution of Sabinus, but there is damage to the Temple of Jupiter, too: 'the soldiers looted the offerings dedicated in the temple and then set it on fire' (4.649: διαρπάσαντες τε οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ἀναθήματα τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησαν).

38 Apart from picking up a few discrete episodes, Josephus very briefly sums up the main events of the Roman civil war at 4.491–496, a passage explicitly marked as a *praeteritio*. One is tempted to suggest that the floats and the Roman audience's interpretation of them at 7.141–147 function as a sort of completing *analepsis*. For that concept in Josephus, see Van Henten and Huitink 2007. Glas (2022) independently arrives at similar conclusions as I do about the suggestive parallelism between the two wars.

It is suggestive for some of the darker associations which at least part of the Roman spectators may have had that the triumphal parade ends at the Capitol – so recently the scene of a bloody battle and empty of treasure – and with the execution of Simon, who had besieged the Temple in Jerusalem as Vitellius was besieging the Capitol. In that light, the Roman spectators who see how on one tableau ‘fire is being set to temples’ (πῦρ τε ἐνιέμενον ἱεροῖς) may have had *two* specific temples in mind.³⁹ One implication may be that on a human level, there is a less sharp divide between Roman victors and Jewish losers than one might initially think.

5 The Temple Spoils

The passage dealing with the Temple treasures in the triumphal procession has often been compared with the depiction of some of the same treasures on the Arch of Titus (see above), but rather less often with earlier passages in the *Bellum Judaicum* which mention them.⁴⁰ Yet, such a comparison yields interesting insights. The first time we get a glimpse of the objects is in the long preamble to the work, which contains an ‘archaeology’ that focuses from time to time on earlier violations of the Temple. Special attention is devoted to Pompey’s entry into the Temple after he conquered Jerusalem in 63 BCE (1.152–153):

οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καθήψατο τοῦ ἔθνους ὥς τὸ τέως ἀόρατον ἄγιον ἐκκαλυφθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων· παρελθὼν γοῦν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἔνθα μόνῳ θεμιτὸν ἦν παριέναι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, τὰ ἔνδον ἐθεάσατο, λυχνίαν τε καὶ λύχνους καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ θυμιατήρια, ὀλόχρυσά πάντα, πλήθος τε ἀρωμάτων σεσωρευμένον καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς τάλαντα δισχίλια. οὐτε δὲ τούτων οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων ἦψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἀλώσεως ἡμέραν καθάραι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς νεωκόροις προσέταξεν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἔθνους ἐπιτελεῖν θυσίας.

39 I suspect that the strangely convoluted phrase which introduces the floats, διὰ πολλῶν δὲ μιμημάτων ὁ πόλεμος ἄλλος εἰς ἄλλα μεμερισμένος ἐναργεστάτην ὄψιν αὐτοῦ παρῆχεν (7.142), may contain a *double entendre*: the surface meaning of the ἄλλος/ἄλλος-idiom is that each representation showed a different aspect of the war, but the phrase may also imply ‘the other [i.e. Roman civil] war being assigned to other representations [i.e. of the Jewish War]’.

40 The main exceptions are Chapman 2005: 296–303 (more generally on the Temple as spectacle throughout the *Bellum Judaicum*); Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 216–217; Mason 2017: 167–169.

In all the national disasters of this time nothing touched such a sensitive nerve as the exposure by aliens of the Holy of Holies, never yet open to view. Pompey and his staff had made their way into the sanctuary, to which only the high priest was allowed access, and examined its contents – a lampstand and lamps, a table, libation vessels and censers, all of solid gold, a wealth of spices heaped high, and some 2,000 talents of sacred funds stored there. Pompey did not touch the money or any of the holy treasures, but just one day after its capture he instructed the sacristans to cleanse the temple and resume the usual rites.

There is, right from the start, an emphasis on vision: that which has never before been seen (ἀόρατον) – and should not be seen – is now exposed to Pompey's gaze (ἐθεάσατο).⁴¹ From the verb ἐθεάσατο onwards, the information is focalized by Pompey, and what he sees is simply *a* lampstand (λυχνίαν), apparently conspicuous among other lamps (λύχνους), and *a* table as well as *some* libation vessels and censers – the absence of articles bears emphasizing, if only because translations usually add them, imputing a familiarity to the Roman general with the menorah, the table of showbread and the libation vessels which he did not possess.⁴² It matters that, to Pompey, they are not more than precious objects, evaluated in terms of the precious material out of which they are made (δολόχρυσα πάντα), rather than in terms of their religious significance; his keen eye also estimates, of course, the amount of money lying about.

Apart from an emphasis on vision, there is a further emphasis on touching – or, rather, on *not* touching (οὔτε ... ἥψατο), reinforced by *paronomasia*, the repetition of the same verb in two slightly different senses: disaster may have 'touched' (καθήψατο) the Jewish people, Pompey did not 'touch' (ἥψατο) their holy objects. Josephus states that instead of pillaging the Temple's contents, Pompey orders the Temple cleansed, its rites restored and its former high priest, Hyrcanus, reinstated (1.153). Pompey's reticence is all the more remarkable because on his return to Rome he staged an elaborate triumph over the East – some readers may have known that, even though Josephus does not mention it in the *Bellum Judaicum*.⁴³ Pompey's entire response stands in marked contrast

41 Chapman 2005: 298 notes the play on words and argues that the inner sanctum of the Temple serves as a kind of anti-spectacle in a world (and work) full of spectacles.

42 Cf. e.g. Hammond and Goodman 2017 ('the lampstand and the lamps, the table, the libation vessels and censers'); Whiston 1987 ('the candlestick with its lamps [*sic*], and the table, and the pouring vessels, and the censers'); Thackeray 1928 ('the candelabrum and lamps, the table, the vessels for libation and censers'); Meijer and Wes 2010 ('de kandelaar en de lampen, de tafel, de schalen voor de plengoffers en de wierookvaten').

43 See Mason 2017: 139, with further bibliography.

to that of Vespasian and Titus. One implication may be that Pompey simply did not think the objects precious enough to ship to Rome and not impressive enough to be of much value in a triumph.⁴⁴ According to Mason, we should conclude that Vespasian and Titus strained to present sacred objects as booty in the absence of real material rewards from the war.⁴⁵ Pompey's religious tolerance serves as a model for how the Flavians might or should have behaved.

The second time the ritual objects are mentioned in the *Bellum Judaicum* is in the long description of Jerusalem which takes up a large part of book 5. It moves from the city's geographical setting to the circuit of its walls, its towers, Herod's palace and then finally the Temple (5.136–247), which is presented as the geographical and spiritual centre of the world.⁴⁶ The narrator guides an anonymous witness from the outer courts to the inner courtyards and finally into the temple itself, ending with the Holy of Holies (5.215–218):

παριόντας δ' εἴσω τὸ ἐπίπεδον τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος ἐξεδέχετο. τούτου τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἐξήκοντα πηχῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἴσον, εἴκοσι δὲ πηχῶν τὸ πλάτος ἦν. τὸ δ' ἐξηκοντάπηχῳ πάλιν διήρητο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μέρος ἀποτετμημένον ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις εἶχεν ἐν αὐτῷ τρία θαυμασιώτατα καὶ περιβόητα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔργα, λυχνίαν τράπεζαν θυμιατήριον. ἐνέφαινον δ' οἱ μὲν ἑπτὰ λύχνοι τοὺς πλανήτας· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς διήρηντο τῆς λυχνίας· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἄρτοι δώδεκα τὸν ζωδιακὸν κύκλον καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν. τὸ θυμιατήριον δὲ διὰ τῶν τρισκαίδεκα θυμιαμάτων, οἷς ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνεπίμπλατο καὶ τῆς τε ἀοικῆτος καὶ οἰκουμένης, ἐσήμαινεν ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα καὶ τῷ θεῷ.

Passing through here one entered the ground floor of the sanctuary. This was 90 feet high, 90 feet long, and 30 feet wide. But this 90-foot length was further divided. The first section, partitioned off at 60 feet,

44 There is a historical issue here, pertaining to the question just how sacred the objects were considered to be, and just how much they were perceived as symbolic of Judaism. It seems that Jews felt that the objects could simply be replaced in the case of loss (cf. Brighton 2016: 249–250) and there were certainly several lampstands in use in the Temple in various times; see Yarden 1991 on the question which lampstand and table we actually see on the Arch of Titus. Furthermore, although the last Hasmonean king, Mattathias Antigonus, issued a coin with the lampstand and the table of showbread depicted on either side to proclaim his claim on Jerusalem in 39 BCE, there is little evidence of the symbolical use of these objects outside of Jerusalem prior to the first century CE (Fine 2016: 21–22). There is some reason to assume, then, that the very attempt on the part of the Flavians to appropriate the Temple objects and present them in a triumph did much to promote their symbolical value.

45 Mason 2017: 167.

46 For a narratological analysis, see Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 208–212.

contained three quite remarkable objects which were famous throughout the world – a lampstand, a table, an incense altar. The seven lamps branching from the lampstand symbolized the planets; the twelve loaves on the table symbolized the zodiac circle and the months of the year; and the incense altar, with its constantly replenished supply of thirteen spices culled from sea and land, both desert and inhabited, signified that all things are from God and for God.

The three main objects are introduced in *asyndeton*, in the manner of an inventory list. They are also introduced afresh, without the article, as if they are presented to a first-time observer. Both this and the fact that they were normally hidden from view (and not to mention the fact that Pompey, no doubt reflecting common Roman attitudes, did not think much of them) sit somewhat uncomfortably with the claim that the objects were famous (περιβόητα) among all people. The narrator may here be adopting the perspective of someone thinking back to the Temple after the war, and after the triumph. They are also called ‘quite amazing’ (θαυμασιώτατα) in their original setting, which ties in with one of the main functions of the entire description of Jerusalem, namely to rouse *pathos* for all the beauty that was lost. But Josephus may also again be talking from the perspective of someone who can now go and look at the objects in their new setting of the Temple of Peace in Rome.

Apart from foreshadowing the future loss of the Temple and the repurposing of its ritual objects, the passage also brings a new perspective on their significance. Here we hear the voice of the authoritative narrator, whom we may identify with Josephus himself, who did after all emphasize his priestly credentials in the preface (1.3). He explains, for example, that the seven individual lamps branching out from the lampstand symbolize the seven planets, and the other objects receive similarly learned religious explanations. The cosmological interpretation which Josephus gives to the menorah, the table of showbread and the incense altar has parallels in other early Jewish writings, but it was not the only possible interpretation in Jewish thought.⁴⁷ One reason why Josephus adopts it is because it suits his treatment of Jerusalem as the spiritual *and* geographical centre of the world and even entire cosmos.⁴⁸ Given that Rome was often seen as the centre of the world as well,⁴⁹ Josephus also

47 See Pena 2020.

48 Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 211–212.

49 See Winther 2014.



FIGURE 12.2 Model of Herod's Temple on the Temple Mount; detail of the Holyland Model of Jerusalem (1966), displayed at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem
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suggests – not for the last time, as we have seen – that both cities are in a sense mirror images of one another.

This is the background which readers of Josephus bring to their perusal of Josephus' very different account of the Temple treasures as they are being carried in the triumph (7.148–149, quoted above). The differences with the second mention of the objects in book 5 is particularly remarkable and finds its cause, I claim, in the fact that the description given here in book 7 is focalized by the Roman spectators. In the actual parade, the most important spoils were likely preceded by a man carrying a placard (*titulus*) which identified the display, and that may well have been necessary, because, as we have seen, a Roman like Pompey did not understand much about the objects even when he observed them *in situ*.⁵⁰ Still, those placards cannot have given much explanation and the Roman spectators turn out not to be very knowledgeable. Once again, each object is introduced by means of an indefinite noun phrase, reflecting how the Roman onlookers now set eyes on them for the first time.⁵¹ Like Pompey, they notice the expensive material of the lampstand and the table (both are said to be made of gold, and the lampstand is said to weigh many talents). They also remark on the shape of the former, which is said to be unusual 'given our own practice' (τὴν ἡμετέραν χρῆσιν) – a clear sign that, for the moment, Josephus

⁵⁰ See Östenberg 2009: 114–116; they are depicted on the Arch of Titus.

⁵¹ Oddly, Rocca 2021: 52 states that 'Josephus adds that the Menorah exhibited in the triumphal procession was different from that used in the Temple' – if he bases this claim on the absence of the article, an alternative explanation is available and in my view preferable.

has adopted the perspective of the Roman onlookers.⁵² The opinion which they form about the shape of the menorah – a clear and explicit instance of ‘objectification’ in the terminology adopted in this volume – is revealing, too. They compare it to a trident (τρίαινα), an object familiar to all Romans as the three-pronged spear of Neptune or as a weapon used in gladiatorial combat.⁵³ About the significance of the fact that it is not a three- but seven-pronged ‘trident’, they think little more than that the seven branches ‘indicate the particular importance of the number seven to the Jews’ (παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐβδομάδος τὴν τιμὴν ἐμφανίζοντες). That sounds more like an anti-Jewish barb, stressing their alien and strange habits, than like a reflection of genuine understanding.

Readers who remember the description in book 5 realize that the Roman spectators have a limited understanding of the sacred objects of the Jerusalem Temple, certainly much more limited than that of the authoritative Josephan narrator and, thanks to his earlier remarks, of themselves. Transferred to a Roman context, the Temple spoils are, as it were, stripped off their Jewish symbolical significance. Having been removed from the centre of the cosmos, they do no longer symbolize the temporal and spatial dimensions of that cosmos, as governed by the Jewish God. The menorah and table have been ‘objectified’ in a Roman triumph and then ‘transformed’ by their dedication as votive offerings to the goddess of Peace in Vespasian’s new temple precinct.⁵⁴ Josephus’ narrative forcefully reminds us that the essence of a material object is determined by who looks at it and who gives it meaning. There is *pathos* in all of this, but also, I think, a note of defiance: Josephus and readers of the *Bellum Judaicum* know something about the Temple treasures which no visitor of the triumph or Vespasian’s Temple of Peace knows. In that sense, Josephus intimates, the Romans as staged in Josephus’ narrative fail truly to ‘incorporate’ the Jewish sacred objects.

52 Pace Mason 2017: 169, who claims that τὴν ἡμετέραν χρῆσιν equals *all* common usage (‘This lampstand was not, in other words, like the familiar chamber-and-wick, pottery volute lamps found across the Mediterranean basin.’). But the emphatic ‘our’ (ἡμετέραν is more emphatic in Greek than in English) implies that there is a group of people (in the Mediterranean basin) who do *not* belong to ‘us’. Mason’s interpretation would be easier, if Josephus had used a more neutral term like εἰσιτμήνην *vel sim*.

53 See Fine 2016: 21 (though not in terms of focalization): ‘Josephus’s language was intended to quickly make the unfamiliar familiar, within the context of what was, after all, a military parade. The truth is, every time I see a trident I can’t help but recall that Josephus must have seen the form of the menorah held by a fighter in the games while the menorah itself was accessioned to the Temple of Peace.’

54 For this terminology, see the chapter of Versluys in his volume.

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Judaea at the Tiber: Sacred Objects from Judaea and Their New Function in Imperial Rome

Eric M. Moormann

In Harry Mulisch's epic novel *The Discovery of Heaven* (*De ontdekking van de hemel*) from 1992, a friendship between two strong characters forms the central theme of a long and complicated story in which the lawgiver Moses plays a structuring role. The son of one of these protagonists, Quinten, succeeds in stealing the two Tables of Moses, blue sapphire plaques, from the Sancta Sanctorum next to St. John Lateran.¹ They are supposed to be the objects brought to Rome in 70 after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Whether or not this is true, their story has intrigued many people and continues to do so.

In this contribution I want to look at these objects from the Jewish Great Temple in Jerusalem, brought to Rome and exposed in the Templum Pacis (fig. 13.2), in terms of appropriation. Taking a Roman perspective, we can discern various forms and stages of appropriation: a first confrontation with them, in Judaea, where they are framed as essential to the Jewish faith; their presentation during the triumphal procession of 71 (fig. 13.1); their musealization within the Templum Pacis in 75; and new appreciations until their disappearance after the sixth century. I discuss the first three stages in this chapter, starting with the original setting of the objects in Jerusalem. Then follows the Roman appropriation by means of the 71 triumph and, subsequently, the objects' representation and their instalment in the Templum Pacis. The different modes of appropriation as distinguished in the Introduction to this volume (that is, material appropriation, objectification, incorporation, and ultimately transformation) can be neatly followed throughout my discussion of sacred objects from Judaea and their new function in imperial Rome.

1 Mulisch 1992. The book was translated, among others, into English in 1996 as *The Discovery of Heaven* and developed for the screen (film director Jeroen Krabbé; 2001). Moses and the Ten Commandments feature in chapters 43, 47, 52, 54, 55, 57, 60.



FIGURE 13.1 Rome, Arch of Titus in Summa Sacra Via, relief showing booty
PHOTO BY NATHALIE DE HAAN



FIGURE 13.2 Rome, Templum Pacis, latest excavations, looking towards the East, on the platform of the Shrine of Peace and the eastern portico
PHOTO BY LIDY PETERS

1 Material Appropriation and Objectification: Sacred Objects as Symbols of a Captured Nation

When Titus' troops destroyed the Great Temple in Jerusalem, the Jews lost their centre of worship.² As Alain Schnapp has made clear in his monumental *Une histoire universelle des ruines*, destructions of holy places by enemies could be understood as tokens of God's wrath and anger, leading to a 'théologie des ruines', with rabbinic debates on how to cope with such disasters.³ Even if their religion mainly entailed a personal bond with their God by means of prayer and thorough study of the Torah, the worshippers fostered material connections as well, including a deep veneration of this particular monument. Synagogues now became houses of prayer and, within and beyond the Holy City, commodities for congregation and study, first of the pharisaic ritual and oral interpretation of the holy texts,⁴ later of further studies of the Holy Scriptures. Specific characteristics of Jewish religious practice might have been heavily impacted by this drastic change in their religious objectscape.⁵ As to material aspects concerning the Temple's treasures, the main source is Flavius Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*. Josephus recalls these as arcane old objects, probably not precious at all in the eyes of non-Jews despite the use of gold and silver, and according to the believers replaceable in case of loss, without affecting the veneration of God.⁶ The Roman sack of the Temple entailed a confiscation of its treasures, as was the usual procedure. The plunderers may have wondered at the absence of a cult statue, as the concept that a god being entirely invisible must have been strange to them.

Each spoliation of a conquered town or country provided Romans with the possibility to expand their realm, not only in the sense of power, but also by adopting the gods of such a locus (*adoptio*), an old method to warrant the acceptance of a new regime by a foreign god. *In concreto*, the transportation of objects was also a method of appropriation. The import of sacred objects of the conquered region's god might entail his *euocatio* as well, implying that the god was invited to share the Roman pantheon. In the case of the capture of Judaea, however, the invisible God of Israel vanished from the Temple (*BJ* 6.127) and

2 For Titus' share in the Jewish War, see Mason 2016: 402–462. He compares this act with the destruction of Monte Cassino's Benedictine Convent in 1944 (Mason 2016: 502–508). On the destruction, see Chapot 2020.

3 Schnapp 2020: 94–101, quotation at p. 100.

4 As also related by Flavius Josephus (*AJ* 18.15). I thank Serge Bardet for this precise information.

5 Stroumsa 2005. Cf. Versluys and Woolf 2021: 213 on dematerialization of cult practices.

6 Cf. Brighton 2016: 249–250 on the limited importance of the Temple for the Jews, especially those in the diaspora, at the time of its destruction.

was subjugated to Jupiter Capitolinus, rather than being given his own place within the community of Roman gods. For the Romans he no longer existed and, consequently, did not get a shrine in Rome.⁷

In the end, objects could become important assets exposed in a museum-like environment such as the *porticus* in the Campus Martius. The first presentation, however, preceding permanent instalment, was the demonstration of the spoils in the procession of a *triumphus*. In this case both Vespasian and Titus got the right to hold a triumphal procession,⁸ and could present themselves as successful military and civil leaders, as well as bringers of peace and wealth. Judaea enhanced that suggestion of wealth, for the Jewish booty provided finances for the erection of the Colosseum (see below) and captives to build it.

A triumphal parade put to the test the otherness of the peoples subjected and the objects conquered: to show things familiar to the Roman citizens would impress much less or even give reason for suspicion that the booty resulted from a civil war. This should be avoided in the 71 triumph in particular, since the actions in Judaea took place within a zone added to the Empire long before.⁹ So, even if many objects were not as strange as might be desired, and included the usual suspects such as piles of weaponry and captives in chains, the accentuation of the alien was looked for and must have dominated the show.

Although Judaism was not a belief favouring ostentation, the Second Temple, in its fairly new state after the renovation under Herod the Great around 20 BCE (*AJ* 15:391–402), presented a dazzling luxury, with the use of precious materials like cedar wood and sheets of gold covering architectural elements. Many elements evidently recalled those fabricated for Moses' tabernacle and the First Temple.¹⁰ Since the architectural ornaments and golden embellishments could not be stripped integrally and transported without damage, the victors must have limited themselves to the moveable treasures. They were lucky to have laid hands on a couple of very special sacred objects which no man in Rome, even the Jews, had ever seen, for they had been stored

7 For tensions between Jews and Romans, as seen through Roman eyes: Östenberg 2009: 116–117. Magness 2008: 204–212 stresses the vanishment as a dominating factor.

8 See Versluys, this volume. On imperial triumphs and the relevant research, see Goldbeck and Wienand 2017: 1–26. On the 71 triumph see especially Beard 2003; Millar 2005; Chapman 2009; Schipporeit 2010; Ash 2014 (analysis of Josephus' narrative); Lovatt 2016: 363–367 (comparing the triumph's spectacle to that in the arena).

9 See Huitink, this volume. For Mason 2017: 131 this aspect diminishes the importance of the Flavian victory.

10 Cf. Exodus 25–28 and *AJ* 3:108–194. For an extensive comment and elucidation, see Van Henten 2014: 296–305.

in the Holy of Holies, only accessible to the high priest and his assistants. This is why Josephus' description is so important.¹¹

Even if Jerusalem had featured many times previously in the *Bellum Judaicum*, a first image comes to the fore in book 5 (136–247): ramparts, parts of the city, the Antonia bulwark, and the royal palace founded by Herod in the Augustan era all receive a succinct description.¹² The luxury of Herod's residence is highlighted, as is that of the Great Temple presented in *BJ* 5.184–237.¹³ The Temple's unique beauty is so great that the reader understands how awful its destruction will be, bringing an 'incurable disaster', ἀνήκεστον πάθος.¹⁴ The shrine consists of a series of courtyards and gathering places, in which one observes a progressive restriction of access to certain groups. An important limit was that between the areas of prayer and the holy centre itself. The engagement and admiration with which Josephus describes all these aspects, make it – as Honora Chapman has recently suggested – an 'obituary' in which 'the city is the fundamental city for the Jews'.¹⁵

The golden doors of the antechamber of the Holy of Holies (itself empty and not accessible to anyone: *BJ* 5.219)¹⁶ were hidden behind a Babylonian linen cloth, embroidered with a representation of the universe. Josephus mentions the main colours, pomegranate-red, hyacinth-blue, and purple as indications of the four elements.¹⁷ This curtain as well as the Law would later find a place in Vespasian's private quarters (*BJ* 7.162; see below). The epithet 'Babylonian' returns in the description of fabrics with embroidery shown during the triumph itself and is an indication of extremely refined work (*BJ* 7.134).¹⁸ It is worth noting that zodiac signs would become a current feature in synagogue floor mosaics of late antiquity.¹⁹ Josephus then describes 'wonderful works'

11 See for an evaluation the contribution of Huitink in this volume. See also Bardet 2020.

12 For the relevance of these descriptions as part of the narrative, see Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 199–202; they occur at moments when Romans get involved, and Josephus sees himself as a guide (*BJ* 1.3).

13 For an analysis of this description in terms of a 'spectacle', see Chapman 2005: 297–299.

14 Chapman 2005: 301 points to the dramatic tenor of the word: the Temple can never be rebuilt. Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 210; Josephus blames the revolting Jews who caused the destruction. Huitink reiterates this observation in his chapter in this volume.

15 Chapman 2020: 185 (italics of Chapman). Chapman 2020: 188–191 analyses the description of the objects which represent the universe by means of their symbolic meaning.

16 But once entered by Pompey, who did not touch the present treasures, among which were the menorah and the Showbread Table (*BJ* 1.152–153).

17 *BJ* 5.212–214. See on this passage Pena 2020: 160–163. A predecessor of this curtain, hung in front of Moses' Tabernacle by Moses himself, features in Exodus 26:36–37 and Josephus' *Antiquitates* (*AJ* 3.113).

18 Pena 2020: 161 gives further references to Babylonian luxurious fabrics.

19 Magness 2005. For further references, see G. Hasan-Rokem in Fine 2021: 59, 61n.6.

(θαυμασιώτατα; *BJ* 5.216–218). He does not explain the objects' function; the 'table' he mentions becomes the Showbread Table only in the additional phrase.²⁰ The paucity of information – no materials, shape, or dimensions are indicated – contrasts with the detailed explanation of their symbolic meaning, just as Josephus had previously done for the curtain.²¹ All three items represent aspects of the universe and the connection with Yahweh who has created it and to whom we are beholden (cf. Genesis 1:1). The description of the same objects carried in the triumphal procession will be similarly laconic and focus on specific details rather than explaining their function.

In *BJ* 6.4, Titus' troops set fire to the temple, although they have received no order from Titus, and cause the destruction of the monument, apparently on the same day the First Temple was burned down by Nebuchadnezzar in 587/586 BCE (see *AJ* 10.144–147). Many treasures from the treasure room now become accessible, the γαζοφυλάκια (*BJ* 6.282).²² Two captives, Jesus and Phineas, deliver precious objects to Titus in order to obtain mercy (*BJ* 6.387–391).

In 71, Titus returns to Rome and can present his victory. According to Josephus (*BJ* 6.417; 7.118), he ships some 700 Jewish captives, singled out for their size and beauty, to Rome, who – we may assume – join the prisoners walking in the triumphal procession, probably those clad in fine garments (*BJ* 7.138). Many more are condemned *ad bestias* or undergo torture in Judaea.²³ The triumph was Titus' first appearance next to his father and brother in the new quality of son of the Emperor, and the Emperor also appeared for the first time in a military triumph.

Josephus describes the triumph itself at length²⁴ and seems to do so as an eyewitness, although there are doubts as to his presence in Rome at this

20 They occur in *AJ* 3.144, 182, 193, 199; 8.90, 104; 10.145; 12.250. Preceding descriptions in Exodus 25:31–40, 30:1–10 and *AJ* 3.139–146.

21 In a personal comment, Jan Willem van Henten has suggested comparing this description of the Temple to that in the *Mishna* treatise *Middot*. See https://www.sefaria.org/Mishnah_Middot.3?lang=bi.

22 Apparently the gold element of the booty was so large that a devaluation of the gold price was the consequence (*BJ* 6.317).

23 Cf. Chapman 2005: 307–308; Beard 2007: 108–109. At Caesarea, Titus 'celebrated' Domitian's nineteenth birthday with games which slaughtered 2,500 men (*BJ* 7.38; cf. Beard 2003: 553). Chapman 2020: 194 recalls the 1.1 million dead in Judaea and 97,000 captives brought to Italy according to *BJ* 6.426–647.

24 See for an analysis of Josephus' description of the procession, Beard 2003; Eberhardt 2005: 268–277; Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 214–217; Ash 2014; Lovatt 2016: 363–367; Mason 2017: 156–171; Frilingos 2017.

moment (*BJ* 7.122–157).²⁵ It is important to realize that Josephus, previously a Jewish leader, might have been among the captives driven like cattle through the streets of Rome if things had turned out differently.²⁶ The triumph began in the Campus Martius where the two honorands had slept in or near the Iseum Campense.²⁷ Josephus relates that a large crowd (*BJ* 7.122: ἀμέτρου πληθύος) gathered along the route, so that the procession could barely pass. What did the spectators really see? Could they actually get a look at the long procession from the sides of the streets or the windows of their houses? Sensorial impressions were very important as well. People heard the shouting of orders and saw the pain and anguish of the victims, struck by the lashes of the troops if they broke their ranks or fell down exhausted. There was music of trumpets and drums. People smelled the sweat of men and animals and the odour of faeces of the passing horses and other cattle. They may have tried to touch the passing objects explained by *tituli* or instructive placards. Their gaze, moreover, wandered over the train of people, cattle, and charts, and was drawn to banners with *historiae pictae* evoking remote battles and the environment where they had taken place.²⁸ All impressions should contribute to an unforgettable all-senses experience of the wonders of the exotic world conquered by the triumphators and made part of the urban realm of these spectators. To the reader, they should convey an ἐναργεστάτην ὄψιν thanks to the ἐνάργεια with which Josephus had written his text.²⁹

The expeditions in Judaea were displayed on painted or embroidered canvases, ὑφάσματα, hung on huge movable πύγματα. These *historiae pictae*, obviously, stressed the Roman version of sieges and battles.³⁰ The triumph displayed all sorts of natural and cultural products, although Josephus does not describe these wonders at length (*BJ* 7.132–133); some items refer to the eastern part of the empire, but none is specifically Judaeian.³¹ There follow unspecified (oriental or sacrificial) animals and people in non-Roman costumes (perhaps

25 On these doubts, see Mason 2017: 127–130, 150 (he remains rather sceptical concerning Josephus' absence) as well as Huitink in this volume.

26 Beard 2003: 551 hints at such a possibility of 're-enacting his own capture'.

27 *BJ* 7.123. There is no need for scepticism about this night shelter (so Beard 2007: 95–96), as has been shown most recently by Scheid 2009: 182 and Mason 2017: 352–156, with references to the Flavian connections with Egypt and Isis. See Versluys, Bülow-Clausen and Capriotti Vittozzi 2018 on the Iseum Campense and these connections.

28 Eberhardt 2005: 271 gives the number of 144 scenes, but this number is not mentioned in Josephus' description (*BJ* 7.139–147).

29 Chapman 2005: 310. On the spectacle aspect, see Chapman 2005: 309–312.

30 *BJ* 7.141–147, discussed by Huitink in this volume. See on this passage Östenberg 2009: 249–251, 253–255.

31 Mason 2017: 157–160.

the 700 Jewish captives mentioned earlier), and gods, who cannot have been Yahweh (see above), but must have been deities venerated by other inhabitants of Judaea, now also subjugated to Roman power. The treasures might include the objects delivered to Titus, mentioned above. Josephus describes the *sacra* as the last items of the spoils (λάφυρα) displayed,³² and does so in greater detail. They occupy a bitter sort of 'place of honour', as after all they symbolize 'the God of Israel, captive and paraded through the streets of Rome'.³³

The treasures turn out to be the same objects as those described in the temple inventory.³⁴ Now the Showbread Table gets no explanation at all. In contrast, the lampstand is singled out for its peculiar form and the fact that there was no 'icon' of the Jewish god.³⁵ For the Roman onlooker it would not have been important to know whether it was the genuine menorah or another lampstand mentioned in the sources, but among scholars this has been a bone of contention.³⁶ Josephus seems to involve the readers by referring to 'us' with ἡμετέραν: who are these 'we' – he and/or the Jewish people?³⁷ The shape of the Law remains vague: is it a book scroll in the shape of the Torah scrolls in the Synagogue, or a set of wooden tablets, or even an imitation of the proverbial stone slabs with the Ten Commandments Moses had received in the desert from the hands of God?³⁸ If it was a scroll, its display would not provide a remarkable sight, but the shape of the letters – if visible – easily conveyed a touch of exoticism to this paramount document.³⁹ Pliny mentions one more item paraded in the triumph: a balsam tree imported from Judaea, and we know of other importations of rare plant species from conquered regions.⁴⁰

32 For Östenberg 2009: 112–113 this does not imply that they came as the last items in the procession, but rather as the last of the spoils. This suggestion would render them less conspicuous in the eyes of the victors than we might think, but I fail to follow this point.

33 *BJ* 7.148–149. Cf. Magness 2008: 201, 209; Chapman 2009: 109; Beard 2003: 94. On the lack of detail in Josephus' description, see Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 211–212 who argue that Josephus takes the standpoint of an ignorant Roman. See also Huitink in this volume.

34 Analysis in Östenberg 2009: 111–119; Tucci 2017: 227–231. See also Yarden 1991.

35 On this peculiar feature, foreign to the Romans, see Magness 2008: 203–204 (with a fine reference to Tac. *Hist.* 5.9.1 on Roman familiarity with this fact since the time of Pompey).

36 See Yarden 1991: 28–32. He reacts, among others, to an old discussion by A. Reland (1716: 9–32; partly translated in Yarden 1991: 21–27). On this scholar from Utrecht, see Fine 2021: 21, fig. 21; 90–91, figs. 6.11–6.12.

37 Frilingos 2017: 59 introduces the 'Jewish "insider"'.

38 This option is true for Quinten in Mulisch's *Discovery* (Mulisch 1992: chapter 57), who recognizes the slabs as being carried by the man farthest on the left on the Arch's relief.

39 Östenberg 2009: 114: probably a scroll with the text of the Torah.

40 Östenberg 2009: 184–188. Plin. *Nat.* 12.54.111–112: *ostendere arborum hanc urbi imperatores Vespasiani, clarumque dictu, a Pompeio Magno in triumpho arbores quoque duximus. Seruit nunc haec ac tributa pendit cum sua gente* ('The Vespasian emperors showed this kind of

Here we observe a proper incorporation of the conquered country within Rome: the tree would find a place in the *Templum Pacis* gardens.

Separated from these objects only by a statue of Victoria carried by a number of men, the glorious victors Vespasian and Titus followed, accompanied by Domitian, as the final components of the procession. The macabre finale of the triumphal parade was the execution of Simon bar Giora from Gerasa, a far less illustrious victim than the kings, queens, and knights shown in other humiliating processions in Rome.⁴¹

Josephus' description has been called a Rome-centred concoction of objects and persons carried around to evoke a great victory of what actually had been little more than a minor expedition of punishment.⁴² At the same time, his passage would represent an outsider's view, that of a Jew on a quintessentially Roman event.⁴³ Yet, even if the triumphal procession itself was a rather modest affair, restricted to a one-day event, it was a well-chosen opportunity to present the relatively unknown new Emperor and his two sons as the new leaders of the Roman Empire. All in all, moreover, there was a considerable number of precious, rare, and exotic items, worthy of being paraded through the streets of Rome. As discussed in the chapter by Luuk Huitink, Josephus might indeed have had a hidden agenda in presenting the triumph in the way he does. However, more practical reasons may also have played a role. First, Josephus may not have possessed common knowledge of extensive triumph practices, since he simply attended the 71 events as a newcomer. Second, for him the essential thing would be the booty from the Temple as material expressions of his people, with the more mundane objects of no relevance as a marker of identity. That is why I think that we are not dealing with a downplaying of the 71 triumph, but with a fair evocation of the essentials pertaining to the destiny of the Jews.⁴⁴ There is much to favour the suggestion that Josephus' description is trustworthy as a reliable description.

tree to the city; it is a remarkable fact to tell that we have, beginning with Pompey the Great, also led trees in the triumph. It now serves and pays tax together with its nation').

- 41 See Mason 2016: 453–459. He would feature on a golden coin showing Vespasian's victory from Lyon (*ibid.* fig. 30). Mason 2017: 169–170 downplays the importance of this person and, hence, that of Titus' endeavour. On captives see more extensively Beard 2007: 107–142; Östenberg 2009: 128–167.
- 42 Most recently Mason 2017: 170–173. See the debunking tenor in Beard 2003 and 2007. See also notes 10 and 45.
- 43 Popkin 2016: 35. See also Ash 2014. For Josephus and the Flavian emperors, see Den Hollander 2014, esp. the chapter on Titus, pp. 139–199, and works quoted in note 15.
- 44 Mason 2017 tends to downplay the Jewish War and its impact and success and, hence, the booty (*cf.* note 10). Millar 2005: 101–102, however, provides convincing data to argue the opposite. See Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 205 for a similar view. Hölischer 2017: 305

In recent years, triumphal processions have been well studied as a form of material appropriation and objectification, even if not explicitly in these terms. The conquerors transport spoils to Rome, not only to show the richness and opulence of their booty and to bring the conquered enemy under the yoke of Rome, but also to include them in their realm. With Trevor Murphy we may see them as expressions of 'Triumphal Geography' – for which, in the time of the Flavians, Pliny offers a written parallel in his *Historia Naturalis* dedicated to Titus in 77 – or as a form of Donald Rutledge's 'Displaying Domination'.⁴⁵ The act of showing the material in public space, that is the triumph as described by Josephus, is a good proof of this dynamic, and their materiality formed part of the esteem they received.⁴⁶ It is important to realize, therefore, that only a (very) selective part of the totality of triumphally paraded objects are depicted on the Arch of Titus (fig. 13.1).⁴⁷ Ida Östenberg has made clear how the triumph was a process of *mise-en-scène* of a world foreign to Rome. Indeed therefore, as Luuk Huitink and Jan Willem van Henten have put it, 'Judaea enters Rome' at this occasion.⁴⁸ Roman citizens experienced the conquered city, region, country, its people(s), and nature, as well as its richness or poverty, in a meticulously arranged parade.⁴⁹ The Judaeans were presented as aliens, far from the Roman *ciuitas*, and therefore were to be seen as great enemies. Titus' war effort was enlarged by 'crushing' the Jewish cult.⁵⁰ Whereas normally the spoils were shown in mixed order before the parading triumphators, the 71 triumph was innovative by showing the *sacra* as a specific category after all other booty. This order might imply a specific appropriation, that of Judaea's essential identity expressed in the sacred objects, as well as entailing a good knowledge of the land or specific advice given by local experts. If we take into account the various encounters of Titus with people associated with the Temple as well as an advisory role of Josephus, as suggested by himself in his autobiography, this assumption has a firm basis.⁵¹ The 'taming' of Judaea would be eternized

assumes that the triumph was provided 'mit sensationellen Schaustellungen der Siege und den Aufsehen erregenden Beutestücken aus dem Tempel von Jerusalem'.

45 Rutledge 2012: 123. Cf. Murphy 2004: 128–164, esp. 154–156. Cf. Östenberg 2009 on the many components of conquest and power on view during the *triumphi*.

46 The materiality of the other objects made them precious spoils. Cf. Östenberg 2009: 115.

47 Yarden 1991; Millar 2005; Miles 2008; Rutledge 2012: 123–157, figs 4.8–9 (Arch of Titus); 275–180. On the coins, see Cody 2003: 107–111.

48 Huitink and Van Henten 2012: 214.

49 Östenberg 2009: 262–292, brings her findings together in a chapter with the same title as the book.

50 I follow Östenberg 2009: 279 in the use of the verb 'crush'. Serge Bardet pointed my attention to Gil Gambash's remarks on this matter (Gambash 2019).

51 Perhaps his lover Berenice might also have provided some information (suggestion made by J.W. van Henten).

in figural representations and the instalment of the booty in the Templum Pacis (fig. 13.2).

2 Incorporation and Transformation: The Musealization of the Sacred Objects from Jerusalem in Imperial Rome and Its Consequences

The urban context was of paramount importance to convey the messages emperors wanted to bring to the fore with ceremonies and commemorative monuments. Two arches dedicated to Titus are relevant in this respect. One arch, inaugurated in 80/81, stood at the curved end of the Circus Maximus and near Titus' birthplace *prope Septizonium sordidis aedibus* ('in a sordid house near the Septizonium').⁵² Fragments of sculpted reliefs include elements of 'barbaric' dress, sometimes interpreted as remains of depictions of Judean captives, and Roman soldiers and *togati*. A fragment of a temple pediment depiction, with a reclining water god as an acroterion, might represent the Temple of Neptune in the Circus Flaminius, so that the suggestion of a depiction of the triumph of 71 is likely.⁵³ The arch bore an inscription known from a medieval manuscript. Its existence could be proved during new research carried out *in situ* over the last decade.⁵⁴

*Senatus populusq(ue) Romanus | Imp(eratori) Tito Caesari diui Vespasiani
f(ilio) Vespasian[o] Augusto | pontif(ici) max(im)o trib(unicia) pot(estate)
x imp(eratori) XVII [c]o(n)s(uli) VIII p(atri) p(atriciae) principi suo | quod
praeceptis patriae consiliisq(ue) et auspiciis gentem | Iudaeorum domuit et
urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante | se ducibus regibus gentibus aut frus-
tra petitam aut | omnino intemptatam deleuit.*

The Senate and the People of Rome to Imperator Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, son of the divine Vespasian, pontifex maximus, with tribunician power for the tenth time, emperor for the seventeenth time, in his eighth consulship, father of the fatherland, to their Emperor, because, by the orders and advice of his father and the auspices he subdued the

52 Suet. *Tit.* 1. Cf. Arco 2017: 171; Moormann 2018.

53 Arco 2017: 201–227, spec. 213–223, fig. 22–31. For the function of the Arch as a monument celebrating the Jewish War, see Millar 2005: 119–122.

54 *CIL* VI 944. For new data from the 2016 excavation, see Arco 2017: 229–235; Parisi Presicce 2021; Eck 2022: 34–35. For the inscription without context, see Pfanner 1983: 98; Östenberg 2009: 117–118; Den Hollander 2014: 196–197; Tucci 2017: 7–8.

Jewish people and destroyed the city of Jerusalem, a thing attempted in vain by all generals, kings, and peoples before him or untried entirely.

Although the erection of the arch dates to 80/81, ten years after the fall of Jerusalem, the Senate still augmented the importance of Titus' deeds in the concluding lines: no one before Titus had ever succeeded in capturing Jerusalem. Had the senators forgotten Pompey on purpose? Or – what is most likely – did they simply flatter Titus?⁵⁵ The laudatory tenor of the arch's text matches the information given in the inscription found in the Colosseum and referring to its erection with spoils from the Jewish War.⁵⁶

More famous is the posthumous Arch on the Summa Sacra Via, on the Velia, not far from the Colosseum, dedicated to *diuus* Titus by his brother Domitian. It has a 'non-descript' dedication on the east side (that would originally have appeared on the west side as well):⁵⁷

Senatus / populusque Romanus / diuo Tito diui Vespasiani f(ilio) / Vespasiano Augusto.

The Senate and the people of Rome to divine Titus Vespasian Augustus, son of divine Vespasian.

In contrast, the reliefs of this arch are rather telling. *Victoriae* embellish the external archivolts and the attic has a long smallish frieze showing the entire train of the triumphal procession.⁵⁸ Most relevant is the visualization of the spoils: the reliefs occupying the north and south interior walls of the arch.⁵⁹

55 Mason 2017: 139 sees this as customary for this type of honorific inscription.

56 *Imp. Caes. Vespasianus Aug. / amphitheatrum novum/ ex manubiis fieri iussit* ('The Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus ordered a new amphitheatre to be built with the booty'). *CIL* VI 40454a. Alföldi 1995; Millar 2005: 117–119. Mason 2017: 160 thinks that the emperors lied about the opulence from Judaea and gave the impression of a major victory rather than a small corrective intervention.

57 *CIL* VI 945; Pfanner 1983: 15–16; Eck 2022: 35. As to the Arch's dating at the beginning of Domitian's reign, see Pfanner 1983: 91–92. I cannot follow Tuck 2016: 113–115 in his (not explained) suggestion that the Arch was already planned by or even under construction under Titus. For new research, see Fine 2021.

58 Pfanner 1983: 79–81 (*Victoriae*); 82–87 (frieze).

59 They are depicted in numerous publications and it is not possible to refer to all of them. Fundamental is Pfanner 1983: 44–90. See Yarden 1991; Eberhardt 2005: 262–268; Millar 2005: 122–125; Östenberg 2009: 113–115, fig. 10; Tucci 2017: 4–6, fig. 2; 226–227; Fine 2021. Among the first post-antique illustrations is that of Amico Aspertini (Bober and Rubinstein 1986: 203–204 no. 173, 211–213 no. 178). For more illustrations, see Fine 2021.

The two slabs of ca. 2.03m high and 3.91m broad, with figures rising up to 1.30–1.50m, constitute two images of a brief cartoon-like sequel, with both groups of figures moving in the same direction, viz. from East to West towards the Capitol. In the southern relief, aptly called ‘*Beuterelief*’,⁶⁰ troops carry the spoils on two biers or *fercula* towards an arch, seen as the temporary triumphal arch or *porta triumphalis*. On its outer side are a Victoria (as on the outer side of the arch itself) and dates of a date palm, symbol of Judaea. On top are, on the right, the four horses of a *quadriga* in a frontal position next to four more horses, clearly representing the chariots of Titus and Vespasian, accompanied by Domitian on horseback and a female deity, perhaps Minerva.⁶¹ The first (right) *ferculum* supported by eight men contains the Showbread Table.⁶² On top of the Table one observes the two golden containers of frankincense, Josephus’ *φιάλαι δύο* or *bezikei ha-levonah*.⁶³ Crossed between the table’s legs, to keep them erect and visible, are two silver trumpets or *tubae*, generally interpreted as *hazozerot* (plur. of *hazozerah*, called *βυκάνεις* by Josephus).⁶⁴ Since they are conspicuously taller than the real *hazozerot*, they could also be other wind instruments brought from Jerusalem to Rome and still considered to be sacred objects.⁶⁵

The second (left) *ferculum*, carried by two groups of four men at the front and three (visible of four) at the rear, consists of a hexagon- or octagon-shaped double base adorned with cassettes bearing sea creatures in relief, who might refer to the all-generating kosmos.⁶⁶ It is a matter of dispute whether these elements form a unity with the lampstand itself or were added to the relief

60 Thus, Pfanner 1983: 50; Eberhardt 2005: 264. See Pfanner 1983: 50–55, pls. 54–67; Yarden 1991; Eberhardt 2005: 264–267; Millar 2005; Östenberg 2009.

61 Pfanner 1983: 72. The ‘identity’ of the Arch remains unclear (Pfanner 1983: 71–72; Eberhardt 2005: 267). Katarzyna Balbuza (in Goldbeck and Wienand 2017: 270–271, fig. 8.6) suggests that the triumphators are represented on top of the Arch through which the triumphal procession enters the city on the southern relief of the Arch of Titus (fig. 13.1).

62 See the drawing reconstruction in Pfanner 1983: 51, fig. 35 (confirmed in Fine 2021: 27). The object measures 67.5 × 45 × 90 cm, i.e. 1.5 × 1 × 2 ‘Ellen’. Most extensively on this object, see Yarden 1991: 71–86.

63 On these receptacles, see Yarden 1991: 93–100; Fine 2021: 27, with reference to the Misnah Menahot 11:5.

64 Josephus, *AJ* 3.291–294.

65 See most extensively Yarden 1991: 101–106.

66 See Pfanner 1983: 54, with fig. 39. Kosmos: Yarden 1991: 48–49, with references to older suggestions.

to enhance the object's visibility.⁶⁷ The large menorah, almost two thirds the length of the men who carry it, towers above all participants.⁶⁸

The lamps themselves, *καρτηπίδια* (*AJ* 3.145–146), look rather amorphous. Pfanner and Östenberg stress the heavy weight of the *fercula*, supported by cushions and carried by eight rather than four men. I think it is more likely, however, that the size of the menorah is exaggerated⁶⁹ so as to indicate the importance of the object as a symbol of the subjugated Judean people,⁷⁰ and of the defeated religion of the Jews. The small panels carried on poles rising above the men's heads are the *tituli*, the placards bearing explanations. This implies the presence of one more object at the far left, perhaps the Law mentioned by Josephus.⁷¹

The northern slab⁷² shows Titus in his triumphal chariot, who – if we connect the two images – indeed comes directly after the booty, just as narrated by Josephus. He is crowned by a Victoria who stands behind him and is surrounded by thirteen lictors⁷³ and three senators or assistants of Titus. A half-nude man probably represents *Honos*, and a woman might be *Virtus*, both exemplifying the virtues of the Emperor which helped him in his military campaign.⁷⁴ Finally, the divine Titus himself is carried towards heaven on the

67 Pfanner 1983: 72–73 excludes that these elements belong to the lampstand and observes the wrong reconstruction in the coat of arms of modern Israel (p. 74). Yet, for this interpretation, these two elements form part of the lampstand's base (cf. Yarden 1991: 47–48 [arguments in favour of the Roman base]; 60–63 [pro lampstand]). This connection is upheld by many scholars, up to Fine 2016: 32–36; 2021: 91. Curiously, Reland 1716: 56 had already observed that 'Jews used to abhor images of animals' (quoted in Fine 2016: 32; Fine 2021: 91), which could have led to a more cautious view. Although not a menorah expert, I tend to follow the Roman view of a separately made base.

68 On the menorah, see most extensively Yarden 1991: 38–65 and Fine 2016: 1–94. On menorah depictions, see Hachlili 1998: 312–344; Hachlili 2013: 286–324; Hachlili 2016: 196–206; Fine 2016.

69 Pfanner 1983: 72; Östenberg 2009: 115. In reality, the weight of the menorah, given as one Greek talent of ca. 25.8 kg, was not so great (see for details Pfanner 1983: 74 and the references given in note 99).

70 Eberhardt 2005: 267 rejects the theological implication of the lampstand and sees it as a symbol of the country only.

71 In his colour reconstruction, Fine gives suggestions for the texts (Fine 2021: 25–26, figs. 1.16–1.17). Tucci 2017: 226 asks whether they might bear names of 'the cities and peoples defeated in the Jewish war', which seems unlikely, since Judaea was seen as a unity and the placards feature in the context of the spoils. It might, however, be true if we assume that other peoples, not named by Josephus who focused on his fellow Jews, were included, as might be evidenced by the presence of images of gods.

72 Pfanner 1983: 44–50, pls. 45–53; Eberhardt 2005: 263–264.

73 Pfanner 1983: 45–48; at p. 66 he discusses the usual number of twelve lictors.

74 Pfanner 1983: 67–70 for the various possibilities.

back of an eagle in the relief in the centre of the archivolt. The image stresses the 'structural connection between the ceremony of triumph and the divine status of the general'.⁷⁵ The fact that it 'literally rises above the cultic vessels from the Jerusalem temple' has been taken as an argument to consider the arch, despite its date, as a triumphal monument to honour the Flavians,⁷⁶ but the inscription, arrangement of the depictions, and absence of Vespasian and Domitian do not support such a suggestion.

Pfanner observes many inconsistencies and mistakes as well as unfinished parts in the reliefs, which would point at (1) the rather modest design, (2) the not very talented executors of the design, and (3) the unfinished state of, especially, the *'Beuterelief'*.⁷⁷ The reliefs are no photographic representation of the triumphal procession but (re)present the quintessence of this event, the subjugation of a revolting area and the elevation of the triumphator Titus. In this way, the objects are eternalized as Roman possessions definitively brought to the Urbs and exposed to the Roman people in their new localization. In contrast with other triumphal representations, neither captives nor booty are shown (they are lacking on the small frieze as well). This abbreviation makes clear how important the sacred objects were for the Roman victors as representations of the subjugated Jews and their Holy of Holies. For centuries, the spectators would understand the symbolism of these objects, regardless of whether they were familiar or exotic to them. Their function was more or less clear at first sight, whereas the specific connection with the Great Temple of Jerusalem could only be understood by those who had a greater knowledge of the past, since the Arch's inscription was unspecific. Viewers might recall a connection with the objects exposed nearby in the Templum Pacis (fig. 13.2).⁷⁸ The images prevented the danger of forgetting, since the triumphal procession was an ephemeral event and the cultural memory or the historical sensation could become lost.

A study guided by Steven Fine on the reliefs' polychromy shows how the importance of the sacred items was underlined, in that they were highlighted in golden (menorah, Showbread Table) and silver (*hazazerot*) splendour. Particles of yellow were found on the menorah, but regarding the relief's polychromy as a whole, more work should be done.⁷⁹

75 Beard 2007: 238, fig. 32. See Pfanner 1983: 76–79, pls. 68–69.

76 Magness 2008: 202.

77 Pfanner 1983: 56–58. In later studies, this topic is no longer being addressed.

78 Tuck 2016: 115 points at the nearby location in the area of Nero's Golden House.

79 Fine 2021: 8–31, esp. 23–24. Fine and his team admit the limited dimension of their work. The concentration on the menorah came from Fine's personal involvement (Fine 2016: 1–13; Fine 2021: 165–167). For similar work on the Ara Pacis Augustae, see Foresta 2012.

Since the reliefs represented a decade-old event at the time of the Arch's erection, their importance may be less to evoke a specific victory, than to evoke the foundation of Titus' reign, the summa of his *res gestae*. He was not yet an emperor when he achieved this victory, but would never achieve any greater actions in the decade until his death on 13 September 81 CE. The reliefs show the beginning and the vault image the end of his splendid biography as *princeps* of the Roman Empire. If we interpret the decorations as a synoptic biography, the triumphal scenes might be seen as tropes of bringing in the spoils from a conquered nation by the triumphant Emperor to lay the fundament for the Flavian dynasty. Consequently, Domitian did not erect a monument honouring the victory over Judaea, but immortalized his deceased brother in a proper way to show his *pietas* towards and strong connection with his father and brother, and to place himself on the podium of power erected by his brother.⁸⁰ Östenberg has thus suggested that the set of images combines three messages: Titus' 71 triumph, Titus' apotheosis, and Titus' *pompa funebris*.⁸¹ She points out how, at a funeral, the greatest deeds of the deceased could be enacted in a procession and exposition on the Forum Romanum. The spoils from Jerusalem could even be shown, either in their original shapes or in copies or mock representations.⁸²

The fact that in later times the association of the Jewish spoils with Titus transformed the Arch's meaning into an homage to the capture of Judaea demonstrates the strength of the images and their specific details.⁸³ The tragic end of the Temple of Jerusalem, intended or not by the young prince, provided him and his aftermath with an accomplishment he could be proud of within Roman society.

Ironically, Domitian would pass by these Arches honouring his brother during triumphal processions in 83, 86, and 89 that demonstrated his own military prowess.⁸⁴ These features form part of what Tonio Hölscher calls 'triumphale Topographie', which we might rephrase as triumphal cityscape.⁸⁵ The imperial

80 Thus already Pfanner 1983: 100–101.

81 In Fine 2021: 32–41.

82 The presence of allegorical figures amidst his retinue on the triumph panel would be a sound argument, but since these kinds of personifications feature on contemporary and other commemorative monuments like the Cancelleria reliefs as well, this point seems somewhat overestimated.

83 Schnapp 2020: 459 notes the changing views of medieval beholders on Roman figural scenes in Roman arches like that of Titus.

84 See on Domitian's triumphs G. Seelentag in Goldbeck and Wienand 2017: 183–186; Hölscher 2017: 309–210.

85 Hölscher 2017: 287–288. Significantly, Goldbeck and Wienand 2017 did not include a map with the route in their fine edited volume, whereas Hölscher has one (2017: 291, fig. 9.2).

fora can be seen as part of this. They clearly formed massive interventions, changing urban structure in a radical way. The Templum Pacis ‘substituted’ the Neronian presence by exposing works of art from his Golden House and incorporated the spoils of various revolts, especially that in Judaea. Like the images in the Arch, the instalment of the objects warranted a long-term remembering, since memory no longer depended on the triumph itself.⁸⁶ Josephus provides the following information about the instalment of the objects in the Templum Pacis after its inauguration in 75 (*BJ* 7.158–162):

After the triumphs and the strong foundation of Roman power, Vespasian decided to construct a Temple of Peace: it was completed very quickly and surpassed all human imagination. Since he had at his disposal extraordinary resources of wealth, he embellished it with ancient masterpieces of painting and sculpture (γραφῆς τε καὶ πλαστικῆς ἔργοις). For everything was collected (συνήχθη) in that temple and exposed (κατετέθη) there, for the sight of which people previously had travelled around the world in order to be able to see them while they were here or there. Here he also dedicated the golden vessels (χρυσὰ κατασκευάσματα) from the temple of the Jews, on which he prided himself. But he ordered that their law (τὸν νόμον) and the purple curtains of the temple (τὰ πορφυρὰ τοῦ σηκοῦ καταπετάσματα) should be deposited and kept (ἀποθεμένους φυλάττειν) in the palace.

The Templum Pacis (fig. 13.2) was a huge forum-like *porticus-cum-temple* at the north of the Forum Romanum and next to the Forum Augustum.⁸⁷

With this outlay, it was a successor of the traditional republican and early-imperial *porticus* in the Campus Martius, often constructed with the money of the *manubiae* of conquests. The display of objects in one single place is a form of subjugating and locating the world, as it were, in an appropriate spot. Pliny called the Templum Pacis the ideal locus to show the *orbem uictum*.⁸⁸ That Vespasian ‘dedicated’ (ἀνέθηκε) the Jewish sacred objects, might suggest a special commitment to these treasures. As votive offerings, they become a possession of the goddess of Peace and again become sacred

See on this route Beard 2007: 92–105; Popkin 2016: 24–45; I. Östenberg in Fine 2021: 33–34. On the triumph as part of Flavian image building, see Tuck 2016.

86 See on these notions in the study of the triumph, Popkin 2016: 13–18.

87 See i.a. Magness 2008: 212–215; Meneghini 2009: 92; Tucci 2017: 225–231; Moormann 2022.

88 Plin. *Nat.* 36.101. Detail stressed by Chapman 2009: 111.

in a new, non-Jewish way in what represents a stage of transformation.⁸⁹ Therefore, they maintain their sacred character, but no longer serve as holy objects within Jewish religious practices. It has been argued that the choice of this environment entails the 'death' of the God of Israel in Roman eyes, since otherwise the objects would have found accommodation in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁹⁰ The complex offered in a nutshell a view of the world dominated by the Flavians. The Jewish golden vessels (χρυσὰ κατασκευάσματα) become a fixed anchor in Roman topography. The Templum, in a certain way, is an extension of the triumphal presentation of Vespasian and Titus' victory over Judaea and represents a fine example of the 'triumphal architecture' studied by Maggie Popkin.⁹¹

As we have seen, two objects were omitted from this public musealization and were instead brought to Vespasian's dwellings:⁹² the curtains of the holy door of the Temple, called *parokhot*, and the Law or *Torah*. Both had a strong symbolical value. Here a private appropriation of the Jewish religious domain by the Emperor is at play: the Holy Scriptures of the Jews are posited under the guidance of Vespasian, who becomes the new lawgiver of Judaea and substitutes the old law with a new, Roman one. Presumably, the Emperor could not read the text, so that it was a still more arcane object. Steve Mason has suggested that it would be a sort of 'talisman'.⁹³ In contrast, Barbara Eberhardt sees this action as an act of honouring the Jewish God, and stresses the importance of the custody (φυλάττειν) in a biblical sense.⁹⁴ Yet, it would be a doubtful act of honouring, since no one else could experience whatever sort of

89 See for this stage, Versluys in this volume. Magness 2008: 212–215 has argued that the choice of Pax might be connected with an interpretation of *-saalem* as part of the name of Jerusalem as equivalent of peace, forming an extra argument to see this monument as a Flavian appropriation of the now lost religious centre of the Jews. Even if she quotes some learned references, this seems rather far-fetched to me, at least in Roman eyes, for Romans would see Pax as the bringer of real peace after the conflict in Judaea (and elsewhere) and as 'assistant' of the emperors.

90 Magness 2008: 208.

91 Popkin 2016: 95. She glosses over this monument.

92 Millar 2005: 109 suggests the imperial (Neronian?) palace on the Palatine as the new accommodation of these objects, but as far as we know, Vespasian avoided this area as being too much connected with Nero. S. Rocca in Fine 2021: 51 locates them in the Palace of Titus on the Palatine. Yet, there is a rather bizarre, but apparently widely told Jewish story that Titus died atrociously because of, among other things, damaging the curtain and making love with prostitutes on top of the Torah scroll (see G. Hasan-Rokem in Fine 2021: 54–61, with an analysis of a version in Leviticus Rabbah 22:3, translated at pp. 57–58).

93 Mason 2017: 169.

94 Eberhardt 2005: 274. For doubts, see Mason 2017: 129.

reverence the Emperor would practice, and equally doubtful as to whether he really respected the Jewish Law. Rather, in virtue of the depiction of the kosmos, the curtain of the Holy of Holies, as well as the holy scripture were now in the possession of the Emperor – in other words, these symbols of the Judaean nation were subjugated to Vespasian's power.

Chapman has suggested that Jewish people went to the Templum Pacis in order to see and worship the old treasures from the Temple, since the orientation of the monument would correspond with that of a Synagogue, the shrine of Peace being in the position of a Torah shrine.⁹⁵ However, as a rule, Jews did not venerate material objects: God is worshipped as a metaphysical entity only. Thus, a visit would stir memories rather than evoke religious emotions.

A few Jewish references to the objects testify to later views of the objects. Around 170, Rabbi Eleazar ben (son of Rabbi) Yose would have seen the curtain and a golden diadem in the Palace, which might correspond to Vespasian's private treasure.⁹⁶ A slightly later text, referring to Rabbi Nathan, mentions the same objects as well as the menorah and the Showbread Table.⁹⁷ What really happened with the sacred objects remains for the greater part unknown. It has a touch of irony when we read in Procopius' *De bello Vandalico* 4.9.4 how these objects function for a second time in a triumphal procession, that of Belisarius in Constantinople in 533, which the author compares to those of Titus and Trajan:⁹⁸

When Belisarius arrived at Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals and was honoured, he got praise for what had been assigned in old times of the Romans to generals who had achieved the greatest victories, worthy of great praise. Some six hundred years had passed since anyone had ever achieved these honours, apart from Titus and Trajan, and all the other emperors who had won battles against some barbaric people. Showing the spoils (τὰ ... λάφυρα) and the slave-made people from the war he paraded in the centre of the town in what the Romans call a triumph (θρίαμβον). [...] Among the booty were the treasures of the Jews (τὰ Ἰουδαίων κειμήλια) which Vespasian's son Titus had brought to Rome after the conquest of Jerusalem with other spoils (because Geiseric had plundered the

95 Chapman 2009: 15–117.

96 Yarden 1991: 64.

97 Yarden 1991: 64. See briefly on these texts, Fine 2021: 98, 100.

98 See on this passage Yarden 1991: 64. Krautheimer 1983: 45 suggests a removal during the Sack of Rome in 410. Yarden 1991: 84–86 and Tucci 2017: 230 relate how Alaric took away the Showbread Table to the South of France and give Procopius' *Bellum Gothicum* 1.21.41 as a pertinent source. From there it would have vanished into Arabic Spain.

Palace in Rome, as I have related in the previous accounts). When one of the Jews saw them, he approached one of the followers of the King [i.e. Justinian] and said to him: 'I think that it is improper to bring these treasures (τὰ χρήματα) to the Palace in Byzantium. For they belong to no other place than where Solomon, the King of the Jews, had placed them earlier. For through them Geiseric conquered the palace of the Romans as now the royal army conquers the palace of the Vandals.' When the King got notice of these words, he was frightened and sent all of them as soon as possible to the shrines of the Christians in Jerusalem.

In 455, the Vandals' king Geiseric took the treasures 'from the Palace of the Romans' to Carthage,⁹⁹ and from here Justinian's general Belisarius transported them to Constantinople in 533, where he presented the objects as part of his triumphal spoils. Procopius provides some further fascinating elements. First, the unspecified Jewish objects apparently stood in the palace, that is on the Palatine rather than in the Templum Pacis. Second, the objects still had a thrilling force. As a Jewish witness of the triumph tells the Emperor, they have given strength to both Geiseric, in 455, and now some eighty years later, Belisarius, military men who could only win their battles thanks to the spoils.¹⁰⁰ The Emperor immediately wants to get rid of the objects and sends them to Jerusalem, albeit to the Christian community, probably not because there was no longer a Jewish temple (or alternatively, other centre, or community), but because he wanted them to be subjugated to the Christians, who dominated Judaea at that time.¹⁰¹ This story apparently did not influence other voices, who claimed that the sacred objects had remained in Rome. Mulisch might have thought that as well.¹⁰²

99 Procop. *Bell. Vand.* 1.5, 2.9. cf. Tucci 2017: 229.

100 Yarden 1991: 64 translates διὰ ταῦτα as 'because of them', i.e. he sees the objects as the rationale of both conquests.

101 If they remained in Constantinople, they probably were lost in the sack of 614 (Osborne 2008: 178). Osborne 2008: 177–178 gives some medieval Roman sources claiming that (some of) these objects were still in Rome. He suggests that the seven candlesticks on the apse mosaic of ss. Cosmas and Damian might refer to the menorah from the temple treasure (Osborne 2008: 180–181), which idea unfortunately cannot be substantiated. Procopius' story has formed the basis of Stefan Zweig's *Der begrabene Leuchter* from 1937. Here the Jew warning Justinian is the 87-year-old Benjamin Marnefesck who saw the menorah in 455, as a child, when it was brought to the Vandals' ships. I thank Maarten van Deventer for the reference to Osborne's article and Luuk Huitink for suggesting Zweig.

102 See M.-Th. Champagne in Fine 2021: 67–70.

3 Conclusion: Material Appropriation and Its Legacy

As we have seen, the objects from the Great Temple had a huge impact in Rome. First, the showing of the menorah, Showbread Table, and the like during the *triumphus* is a moving and temporary presentation, experienced only by those who saw the objects and recognized them as Judaeen booty with a specific value (fig. 13.1). It is a single-moment event with a volatile character. Its impact, therefore, is relatively limited. The message must have been clear to those present: the essentials of *Judaea capta* are being transferred to Rome.

Second, the exposition of the Judaeen objects in the Templum Pacis constituted a necessary act to stabilize this appropriation of the Judaeen world in Rome (fig. 13.2). Here the objects would remain on view for a long time to come, with people even having the opportunity to view them more than once. These spectators could be local citizens who strolled through the garden complex as a pastime, but also foreigners visiting Rome as politicians, military men, merchants, or tourists. It is clear that by this act Vespasian and Titus eternized the submission of the Jews and the translation of booty to Roman imperial power. As a consequence, the exposition in the Templum Pacis surely had a much greater impact, even long after the event of the triumph. The same is true for the reliefs in the Arch of Titus in the Sacra Via, as eternally demonstrating the essentials of the booty brought to Rome (fig. 13.1).

A *longue durée* agency of the Arch's reliefs, especially those showing the booty, implies responses both from Christians and Jews in Rome as well as those from foreigners. A rare depiction of the destruction of Jerusalem on the Franks or Auzon casket, now in the British Museum, made by an unknown ivory carver in the seventh or eighth century, hails this event as the punishment of the Jews for having crucified Christ.¹⁰³ The Arch became a *lieu de mémoire* in Jewish history.¹⁰⁴ Fine has sketched the implications which the booty relief had for various groups within Jewry, from orthodox to liberal and from Sephardim to Ashkenazy and other denominations. Whereas Christians sometimes tended to see Titus' deeds as a justification of their view on Jews as the murderers of Christ, Jews might suffer when they observed the holy objects in this context or rather conclude: 'Titus, you're gone, but we're still here, Am Yisrael Chai, "the people of Israel live"'.¹⁰⁵ Fine concludes that the menorah in

103 Schnapp 2020: 282–284, fig. 71. He analyses the iconographical programme, a mix of pagan and Christian themes, and situates it within a mixed Anglo-Scandinavian audience in Northumbria.

104 Fine 2021: 5.

105 Fine 2021: 173. In similar words at p. 165 and 167.

particular became, and still is, a crucial symbol of the survival of the Jews, even in the era of COVID.¹⁰⁶

It is interesting to note, lastly, that the objects from the Temple in Jerusalem play rather different roles in the various 'objectsapes' they populate.¹⁰⁷ First, they change from Jewish religious objects in the realm of the Great Temple in Jerusalem into booty in Titus' triumph in Rome and symbols of conquest. Second, these particular objects become either curiosities in the *Templum Pacis* (fig. 13.2), testifying to the Roman conquest of Judaea and memorabilia for the Jews in the diaspora, or personal 'trinkets' which Vespasian fosters in his residence. Third, after Antiquity, when the objects themselves have definitely been lost, the images of the Arch of Titus (fig. 13.1) gain momentum for Christians and Jews alike. This process is still ongoing. Even now, after 1950 years, the objects are reproduced all over the globe and are thereby a lively record of the Jewish religion.

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¹⁰⁶ Responses to the Arch and its reliefs: Fine 2021: 140–169. For responses in the time of COVID, see Fine 2021: 170–175. Fine's own research originated from his personal commitment (Fine 2021: 165–167).

¹⁰⁷ Versluys in this volume; Versluys and Woolf 2021. On 'objectsapes' see Pitts and Versluys 2021.

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PART 3

Conclusion



‘Spolia’ as Category: Greek and Roman Perspectives

Caroline Vout

I see this conclusion less as reconciliation than as provocation. This is not to play devil’s advocate but to play historian, asking questions designed to bring this volume’s individual confrontations between literary and material culture together to speak to their specific contexts. Do this, and we find that reading spolia in Greece is very different from reading spolia in Rome, that the circumstances of acquisition make this difference inevitable. As a political power, Rome was a relative latecomer to the world stage. For all that cities everywhere benefitted from the booty they grabbed in war, Rome’s expansionist march into foreign terrain from the third century BCE, and its longstanding feelings of inferiority in the face of Greek culture in particular, meant that acquisition and the economic standing that came with it was not enough. It had to *own it* – give the definitive performance of what turning enemy territory into home turf looked like. And in some senses, it succeeded: for centuries, our understanding of Greek art depended on Roman ‘copies’.¹

Ownership this urgent makes the ethical issues that accompany any kind of ‘appropriation’ of enemy objects louder, and Roman writers paranoid about when it was exactly that cultural contact became an *encounter*, and a life-changing one at that. There is arguably nothing this angst-ridden in the Classical Greek literary record. Back then, Greekness was not in doubt, at least not in the ways that Romanness would be in doubt – not in ways that threatened what culture is; that *conferred* culture no less. But then Athens was not an empire in the way that Rome was an empire with a ‘strong sense of foreignness between rulers and ruled’, but a cooperative league that became a centralised state, exploitative certainly, but smaller in area than many a Roman province, and with a comparatively homogenous population ethnically and culturally.² And this sense of a comparatively rangey Rome imposing control over the Other is crucial. For all that there is ‘room for other perspectives on spolia than

1 For a long time, Rome’s gobbling up of Greek art was seen as stale imitation and slavishness. More recently, however, approaches have moved away from *Kopienkritik* to recognise the Roman agency involved in selecting and shaping Greek art. What was evidence of slavishness is now evidence of Rome’s power to own, imbibe, (re)write the script.

2 Morris 2005: 20 and *passim*.

the military and the imperialistic ones';³ there is also need to recognise that the nature of Roman imperium vis-à-vis Greek *archê* changes *both* how plundered objects are rehomed as well as how this rehoming is retrospectively, nervously turned into 'anchoring'.⁴

This chapter cuts across the papers in this volume to explore how this works in practice, and over time. It begins by asking how innovating these imported objects really were in fifth-century Athens, on the ground and in the rhetoric, before taking us, in section two, into the Hellenistic period, when Demetrius of Phaleron was governing Athens as the puppet of Cassander of Macedon, when the Ptolemies were working on expanding their empire well beyond Egypt to include parts of Syria, Cyprus and coastal Libya, and when Rome's power was in ascendance. Who owned Greek culture was up for grabs and a question of victory and dynasty. Section three looks at the complex processes of avowal and disavowal that come with Rome's winning of the competition; how – less in the *rite de passage* that was the triumphal procession,⁵ than in the copying and connoisseurship that follow it – Greek artists working for wealthy Roman patrons turn the random fragments of another culture into the clauses of its own elite sentence structure. In doing this, it will also question whether Greek and Egyptian objects are similarly integrated and whether in this sense and others, 'spolia' is even a useful category for the processes this book is keen to understand. The concluding section, section four, pushes this scepticism to the limit by questioning whether any integration or 'anchoring' that results is best served by the term 'appropriation'.

1 Not Counting Culture, but Making Culture Count⁶

I start, as the 'Case Studies' start, in the fifth century BCE with Herodotus' account of the spoils at Plataea (479 BCE). Glittering this stuff (or *chrēmata*) may be,⁷ but it is less spectacle than detritus: strewn across the camp and the battlefield, where it is gathered by the scavenging helots. If there is moralising here, it is less about the negative effects of owning these objects, than it is about how to behave in the moment, about being a good soldier and a good general, and about paying what is owed to the gods. The emphasis is on material – as

3 De Jong and Versluys, this volume (p. 4).

4 Important here is Loar, MacDonald and Padilla Peralta 2018: 6: 'The motor of Roman appropriation was the imperial project'.

5 See Versluys and Ter Keurs in this volume.

6 Vout 2018: 24.

7 Hdt. 9.80.1.

much because the metal can be melted down for economic gain as because Persian gold was the stuff of legend.⁸ And melted down some of it is in the passage already – to make statues of Zeus and Poseidon as well as the Delphic Tripod, which we are told is piously placed 'closest to the altar'.⁹ It is arguably an 'innovating object', only once it is snaffled by Constantine to stand as the Serpent Column in Constantinople's hippodrome; proof that Constantinople was now the 'omphalos' of civilisation. Before that, its object biography speaks exclusively of the ethics of dedication.¹⁰

None of this is surprising. Dedicating a tenth of the spoils to the gods and then dividing the rest between participating states was what one did in Archaic and Classical Greece – and the only enemy objects routinely dedicated in a 'raw' state were armour, weapons and rams and beaks of captured ships, often as part of trophy monuments.¹¹ A bronze helmet found at Olympia and inscribed 'The Athenians took (this) from the Medes (and dedicated it) to Zeus' is a case in point, its lettering asserting an appropriation that makes it a scalp, not an agent for change.¹² Spoils not dedicated were regularly not bagged by the victors, but sold on the spot to swell state coffers.¹³

In Athens, where there is evidence of Persian daggers, folding chairs and corslets being collected in the Acropolis temples, the emphasis is again (at least in Thucydides) on the massing of expendable capital;¹⁴ however these objects were displayed, the Acropolis inventories ask visitors to see them not as a distinct or distinctly foreign group but as part of a bigger collateral, most of it unprovenanced. If any of the folding chairs, corslets or helmets listed are Persian spoils, no attempt is made to distinguish them, not even Masistius' golden corslet or Mardonius' dagger that are flagged in our literary sources.¹⁵

8 De Jong, this volume.

9 Hdt. 9.81.1.

10 In addition to our passage of Herodotus, Th. 1.132.2, Pseudo-Dem. 59.97–98, D.S. 11.33.2 and Paus. 10.13.9, and, for the Tripod's afterlife, Madden 1992 and Stephenson 2016.

11 Pritchett 1971: 93–100 and 1979: 277–295 and now Jim 2014. Note, however (Snodgrass 1967: 89), the decline in such dedications in the fifth century BCE and the rise in 'converted objects' (i.e. dedications made expressly for the purpose, often from the proceeds of the spoils of war).

12 Olympia, B 5100 inscribed ΔΙΙ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙ ΜΕΔΟΝ ΛΑΒΟΝΤΕΕ. See Miller 1997: 42. I realise that 'scalp' and 'agent for change' are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but here I do think 'scalp' the appropriate term.

13 Pritchett 1971: 77.

14 Th. 2.13.4.

15 For the inventories, see Harris 1995 and, for famed individual items, Dem. 24.129 and Paus. 1.27.1. The *akinakai* are an obvious exception, though none of them are identified in the inventories as Mardonius' former property. In other words, they only remain Persian up to a point.

Were these displayed in the 'Karyatid Temple' because of their perceived historical, museological even, value, as van Rookhuijzen suggests? A comparison he offers is the Lindian Chronicle, where the dedications listed are rich in story, each with mini memoirs to show what it was that made them, like the epiphanies of Athena that it also records, worthy of wonder. But then this latter chronicle (dated to 99 BCE) is not an inventory of what is in the temple, but an archaeology of contents lost long ago, some of them in a fire in 392/1 BCE; it tells us nothing about how they were stored or seen in the fifth century; if it is a museum, it is a virtual one, explicitly mined from local histories, priests' letters, and from Herodotus, to meet *Hellenistic* sensibilities.¹⁶ By this point in the Hellenistic period, Rome was on the rise, and Rhodes keener than ever to marshal its past to navigate the politics of the present. The Chronicle was designed to make all of history, the Trojan and Persian Wars included, not to mention Athena, theirs, and was arguably only possible in a world in which dynasties like the Attalids competed for power by competing to own Greek culture, collecting texts, statues and paintings in ways that created canons, experts, trained palates, new ways of seeing no less, that discerned art in accumulation and heritage in treasure. Back at Plataea, none of this discernment was in evidence, just bling – and (not to make this only about artefacts), Persian women, bakers, cooks, and beasts of burden.¹⁷ Even then, if it is spectacle we are after, it is the bones of the dead Persians, stripped of their flesh, that 'shine forth' (ἐφάνη) in all of their glorious detail (a strange cranium, a fused jawbone, and a body the height of a Homeric hero).¹⁸

Ask how transformative the objects are that come into van Rookhuijzen's Athens by way of war, and one answer would be 'not very'. On the one hand, 'Perserie' had infiltrated the upper echelons of Athenian society before Plataea: in the late sixth century already, Athenian elites owned Achaemenid metal vessels that influenced the forms of Attic black-gloss ware.¹⁹ On the other hand, when Cimon is on campaign to get the Persians out of Byzantium in 475 BCE, dividing the booty into prisoners of war in one lot and fine jewels and clothes in the other and letting the allies choose which they would prefer, it is the allies who get the worse deal by opting for the latter – or so the story goes.²⁰ Far from having to settle for second best, it turns out that the Athenians are paid handsomely for the return of the captives, giving Cimon wages and food

16 See Higbie 2003, Shaya 2005 and 2014 and Platt 2010.

17 Hdt. 9.81.2–9.82.1.

18 Hdt. 9.83.

19 Miller 2017: 52–55.

20 Plu. *Cim.* 9.2–4, citing Ion of Chios as his source.

for his fleet with lots left over. Again, economics are more important than cultural capital; Athens had enough of that of its own, and considered itself the centre of civilization long before the collecting cultures of the Attalids and Romans cemented it as so. And Plataea was something of an anomaly in the spoils that it yielded at that stage: it was a land battle at the end of a second campaign season that had seen Xerxes' army camped out in Greece for months (with the wealth of supplies that that demands), his royal tent supposedly retained for his deputy Mardonius even after Xerxes' departure for Sardis.²¹ For all that Marathon, eleven years earlier, is also defined in the later literature by the silver and gold said to have been lying around in heaps and by 'an indescribable number of other objects in the tents',²² it is perhaps unsurprising that, back in the fifth century, Herodotus is comparatively silent about any captured booty:²³ that Persian army had landed with what they could carry in their ships, and – crucially – without their king.

Another answer, however, would be to insist that the public 'appropriation' of Persian culture that came with the decisiveness of the Greek victory at Plataea and, immediately after, of Mycale, made all the difference to how transformative Achaemenid objects were. Pericles' Odeion, supposedly modelled on an Achaemenid royal tent and using as its beams the masts and spars of Persian ships, is the most vocal expression of this, but so too, or so Margaret Miller has proposed, again in debt to Persian practice as attested in the Persepolis procession reliefs and the building inscriptions of Susa, the way in which Athens' great festivals now required its 'allies' and colonists to participate.²⁴ If she is right, then Persian imperial models were suddenly in service to an Athenian empire that crystalised with the move of the Delian league to Athens in 454 BCE. Yet for anyone attracted by Greek imperialism as a factor in these objects' force for change, 'spolia' strains as a separable category: if it is military success and societal impact we are measuring, then the paraphernalia brought back from the battlefield ask to be brought into dialogue with the tribute of the cities of the empire that was said to be divided into talents and ceremonially displayed in the orchestra of the Dionysus-theatre during the Great Dionysia.²⁵

21 Miller 1997: 34–37.

22 Plu. *Arist.* 5.5. Under Rome, Persia's reputation for gold and pearls accrued: see Dalby 2000: 188–191.

23 See De Jong, this volume, for this passage and spectatorship.

24 Miller 2017: 55–62.

25 Isoc. *De pace* 82. See Goldhill 1987.

2 The Importance of Empire

'Spolia' do not innovate in Classical Greece as they will in Republican or Imperial Rome. The bottom line is that the Romans sack cities, and, by and large, the Athenians don't. Greek cities are invaded.²⁶ But if the conveyor-belt of culture that is the Roman triumphal procession is as critical in 'taming' foreign objects as the contributors to this book believe, and the journey from beyond the pomerium to the Capitoline Hill the start of a process of the reinvention of these objects from alien to asset,²⁷ then one might think that the series of processions that made up Ptolemy II's grand *pompe* that took place in Alexandria most probably in the 270s BCE as part of the festival of the Ptolemaieia were also relevant.²⁸ Celebrating several gods, this grand procession paraded before the city's populace cart-loads of statues, some of them all the more marvellous for being mechanical, Delphic tripods, Panathenaic amphorae, gold Spartan mixing bowls, and finely dressed women representing cities of Ionia, and the Greek cities of Asia and the islands which had been subdued by the Persians,²⁹ not to mention dogs, sheep, cattle, birds, infantrymen and cavalry, a giraffe and Ethiopian rhinoceros.

This menagerie looked forward to the Roman triumph with its parade not just of manmade objects, but of captives and biological specimens, and back to the Great Dionysia in Athens where Demetrius of Phaleron is reputed already in 309/8 BCE to have wowed with a giant, slime-producing mechanical snail.³⁰ All of this foregrounds the ongoing importance of religion (something that this volume perhaps underestimates) and also the fundamental difference from what was happening in fifth-century Greece. Post Alexander, there is a marshalling of resources that brings us into Pliny the Elder's territory,³¹ a cataloguing not only of culture, but of the world's raw materials as empires vye with each other to 'tame' not only the things brought into them through war or trade (daggers, corslets, tripods, amphorae) but nature herself.

It is no accident that, Herodotus aside, the other literary sources discussed in this book date to the period of Rome's expansion over other peoples. For it is then that 'spolia' becomes the category outlined in the book's introduction. Unsurprisingly with conquest comes sustained and wide-spread debate

26 Fachard and Harris 2021.

27 On the difficulty today of establishing the route of the triumph, Beard 2007: 92–105.

28 See Strootman in this volume. Helpful also is Erskine 2013.

29 Athen. 5, 201e, citing Callixeinus of Rhodes.

30 Plb. 12.13.9–12.

31 Excellent here is Carey 2003.

about the moral principles of ownership.³² First up here, as Pieper carefully discusses, and in a category of its own, is Cicero's account of Dionysius I of Syracuse (d. 367 BCE), tyrant extraordinaire, and his plundering of the gold cloak of Olympian Zeus, the gold beard of Asclepius at Epidaurus, as well as silver tables marked 'property of the gods', and the gold cups, crowns and victory figures from the outstretched hands of other cult images.³³ Although in the first of these instances, he is taking back something that had been given to the statue by his predecessor, Gelon (something that crucially for us had resulted from the booty seized from the Carthaginians), he is here and elsewhere manically undoing all of the good work of giving to the gods, reducing their images from *agalmata* to an agglomeration of attributes and thereby robbing them of their agency.³⁴ As with Herodotus' helots, it's precious metal he is after, which he then sells as soon as he is able.³⁵ What is different are the expectations of the intended readership, a Republican readership for whom Rome's own defeat of Carthage (146 BCE) and indeed Syracuse (211 BCE), weighed heavy. Also different is the violence of the vocabulary, all smash and grab and '*sine dubitatione*', without hesitation, or respect³⁶ – and that's before we remember not only the former governor of Sicily, Verres, but also the quadruple triumph of Caesar the year before Cicero was writing, a performance that (if the later sources are to be believed) displeased the crowd for its excess and what that excess said about his political ambition.³⁷

A year later, Caesar was dead, and on route to being deified, transformations that would underwrite Augustus' right to rule and the establishment of the Principate. The jest that Dionysius makes as he denudes the statue of its cloak will resound in the echo-chamber of later rhetoric when Pheidias' statue gets its own back and is said to laugh out loud at Caligula's attempts to remove it to Rome.³⁸ But this is not just about tyranny; with the benefit of hindsight,

32 De Jong argues that there is a moral dimension in Herodotus already, but even then, it pertains, more narrowly, to the Spartan general's 'latent interest in tyranny'.

33 Cic. *N.D.* 3.34.

34 On the agency of Greek statues, Bremmer 2019 [2013], and, still important for initiating debate, Gordon 1979.

35 Cic. *N.D.* 3.34: to add insult to injury, he then demands that the buyers of these metal objects return them to their shrines.

36 Cicero's '*deträhere*' in this passage means to pull down and detract from, and is accompanied by jeering or mocking on Dionysius' part. For all that the helots strip the bodies in Herodotus, it is more of a salvage operation: the general Pausanias' command is to have them 'gather up' the spoils (συγκομίζω) as in crops or spilled wine ready for dividing them among the Greeks as carefully as they bury the war-dead.

37 D.C. 43.42.1–2. Also Plu. *Caes.* 56.4.

38 Suet. *Cal.* 57.1.

Romans everywhere understood the profound impact that booty had had on their surroundings: before this time, according to the Greek writer Plutarch, Rome ‘neither had nor knew about such elegant or exquisite productions’; ‘bloody spoils’ (λαφύρων ἐναίμων), he puns, have become ‘polished’ (γλαφυρόν).³⁹ Romans were also acutely aware that this booty corrupted as much as it enriched, and that, as the property of Rome, it was still evidence of ‘the glory that was Greece’.⁴⁰

3 The Ethics of Ownership

‘When did it become a bad thing to have stuff’?⁴¹ When did the effeminizing potential of what is perceived as luxury goods become something that one didn’t just stick on the tyrants of this world, especially foreign tyrants such as Xerxes, but worried about back home; when is one defeated not *despite* one’s wealth, but because of it? And I am thinking here of Robert and Vanessa Gorman’s work on *Corrupting Luxury in Ancient Greek Literature*, which belies its title in including Latin and imperial Greek literature to situate the origins of the idea of ruinous luxury in the Roman tradition of moralistic historiography. More problematic still, how – archaeologically – do we know ‘luxury goods’ when we see them as opposed to goods that were viewed more unequivocally as objects of value?

The Polybius passage on the sack of Syracuse, written in around 150 BCE and unpacked in this volume by Allan, already highlights how far we have travelled since Herodotus. It is not only that here a decision is said to have been made to leave absolutely nothing behind, that this is a total evacuation or takeover.⁴² It is that *beauty* now explicitly enters the narrative (with objects that are κάλλιστα as well as πλείστα),⁴³ together with spectatorship: this is a passage about what it means not only to see (ὁρᾶω) but to look (θεάομαι),⁴⁴ and about the negative impact of looking – about spoils as contagion. Whereas Herodotus’ Spartan regent and general Pausanias had mocked the very idea of the Persians coveting Greek lifestyle, amused by their lavish provisions in the tent in front

39 Plu. *Marc.* 21.1–2 (trans. B. Perrin).

40 I owe the quote to Edgar Allan Poe’s *Helen* of 1845. Helpful here is Spawforth 2011.

41 Gorman and Gorman 2014: 1.

42 Plb. 9.10.2–3.

43 Plb. 9.10.5.

44 Plb. 9.10.7. The Herodotus passage (9.82) stops at ‘seeing’ (ὁρῶντα, ἰδόντα) and being struck or astonished (ἐκπλαγέντα) by objects that are ‘good’ or ‘useful’ (ἀγαθὰ) and stand out as great (μεγαλοπρεπέα).

of him, the Romans are infected by what they conquer, abandoning their habits for those they have subsumed. The only question is how Syracuse, which is what Plutarch sees as the *terminus post quem* for this contagion, ranked next to other inpourings of foreign goods from Roman victories in Asia, Macedonia and Corinth. How innovative and innovating was Syracuse and the objects it brought back? Livy too, as Pieper also discusses, had seen Syracuse as the beginning of the end ('this was the very start of marvelling at Greek artworks and of this general license of despoiling everything sacred and profane'),⁴⁵ but elsewhere points the finger at Cnaeus Manlius Vulso, calling his Asian victories, with their stash of couches, curtains and cooks, nigh on a quarter of a century later the 'source of foreign luxury'.⁴⁶ Florus, meanwhile, who is roughly contemporary with Plutarch, prefers the triumph awarded to Manius Curius Dentatus after the surrender of the Greek colony of Tarentum in the 270s BCE already: 'Before this day, you would have seen nothing [in such processions] but the cattle of the Volsci, the sheep of the Sabines, the waggons of the Gauls, the broken weapons of the Samnites'.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the Roman general Lucius Mummius is said to have been so uncultivated still in 146 BCE, after his capture of Corinth, that when arranging for the city's masterpieces to be transported to Italy, he gave instructions that should they lose any, the carriers would have to 'replace them with new ones'!⁴⁸

If only the Romans had remained this 'rudis', continues Velleius Paterculus philosophically. In reality, of course, as finds from Etruria and Magna Graecia remind us, Italy had long been in dialogue with Greek culture; and at least from Cato the Elder (and no doubt earlier had we the evidence), political actors in the Hellenistic superpower that was Rome positioned themselves in relation to the Greek world as much as to Italy.⁴⁹ By the Augustan period when Velleius was writing, Romans were so keen to see this shared language evolve that they allowed it to shape their greatest works of art and literature (whether the Prima Porta statue or the *Aeneid*); they turned this language, arguably, into a universal language.⁵⁰ But 'keen' is not the same as 'compliant'. With the enfranchisement of the allies at the end of the Social War and the eventual inauguration of the Principate, Romans were perhaps more anxious than ever about their Romanness, were made more so by an emperor whose moral legislation

45 Liv. 25.40.2. Putting this 'ethics of ownership' section into context is Vout 2018: chapter 3.

46 Liv. 39.6.7, discussed by Versluys, this volume and van Gils and Henzel, this volume.

47 Flor. *Epit.* 1.13 [1.18.27].

48 Vell. 1.13.4–5.

49 Crucial here is Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

50 This at least is what Zanker 1987 famously argues. Important here too is Hölscher's book of the same year.

and dress codes asserted control over their bodies.⁵¹ The transformative potential of the luxury that they were exposed to demanded that they were anxious about their Romanness. For all that Marcus Claudius Marcellus had supposedly taken only one globe from all of the spoils of Syracuse back to his house, dedicating the rest publicly as was only expected in porticos and temples,⁵² Greek statuary had seeped into the private sphere, building on Hellenistic cultures of collecting that had already put works by Polyclitus, Myron and Apelles at the top of the tree. Rome's elites were enthusiasts, and the market saturated with fakes as well as adaptations and copies.

All of this makes the absence of detail in the descriptions of the Roman triumph seem, initially, so peculiar. Elusive are the artworks of Polyclitus, Myron and Apelles, which – like the daggers and corslets in the Acropolis inventories – are anonymously absorbed into the lists of χρήματα,⁵³ 2,400 waggons of shields alone in Aemilius Paullus' three-day triumph of 167 BCE, not to mention 22,000 talents of silver, a plethora of drinking cups, 500 waggons of intricate *agalmata* and statues of men and so on and so on, until we reach the hapless Macedonian king, Perseus, the *pièce de résistance*.⁵⁴ In Plutarch's version, as Buijs shows in his chapter, this excess has turned to sensory overload, an exhibition not of individual artefacts but of cumulative conspicuous consumption. By far the most detail is given to the defeated dynast, 'clad in a dark robe and wearing the high boots of his country'.⁵⁵ The emphasis is ethnographic not archaeological or art-historical.

In Josephus' account of Judaeans objects entering Rome more than a century later, people clamour to get a closer look, as the λάφυρα are brought in 'χύδην' (in floods) and paraded through the theatres so as to be more easily seen by the masses.⁵⁶ The start of the process of these objects' reinvention this may be, but it is also the main event. Show time. And it's not just difficult to see, but to describe, them: 'It is impossible adequately to describe the multitude of those spectacles and their magnificence under every conceivable aspect'.⁵⁷ Size matters, and this is epic,⁵⁸ uncontainable, unimaginable almost – except

51 Vout 2022: 255–256. For the sumptuary aspects of Julian legislation, van Gils and Henzel, this volume.

52 Cic. *Rep.* 1.21–22. Also Pieper, this volume.

53 D.S. 31.8.9.

54 Although rivalling him is Aemilius himself who is described (Plu. *Aem.* 34.3) as 'ἀνὴρ καὶ δίχρα τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας ἀξιοθέατος'.

55 Plu. *Aem.* 34.1 (trans. B. Perrin).

56 J. *BJ* 7.148.

57 J. *BJ* 7.132 (trans. H.St.J. Thackeray). Also 7.122 and 7.131.

58 On the epic nature of the description of multitude, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.488–492, *Od.* 11.328–331, and the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 201–203. I thank Matthew Ward for these references.

by an empire as expansive as Rome, as displaying domination is made to speak as much of the objects' subjugation of the Romans (who are 'tamed' by them, as these objects are by the procession) as it does of imperium.

The tempo changes with the mention of the Law, golden table and lampstand from the Temple in Jerusalem, the last of these with seven branches like the seven hills of Rome, arranged 'trident-fashion', so as to conjure an aniconic aura akin to Neptune's imagery.⁵⁹ There *has* to be a change in tempo, if the steady stream of this material isn't to become self-defeating: despite the massive military resources utilised in Judaea and the brutality of the conflict, no new territories had been acquired as they had been in the Republic. This material is put in Vespasian's new Templum Pacis, not by itself, but with a statue of the Nile, and older Greek artworks by greats like Myron, Pheidias, Leochares, Polyclitus, Apelles, Timanthus, Praxiteles (or Pasiteles), Cephisodotus, and Parthenocles, much of this painting and sculpture commandeered from the private rooms of the Domus Aurea, where it had been 'violently' assembled by Nero.⁶⁰ Together, it added up to a three-dimensional version of Pliny's *Natural History*, a display of objects that one would otherwise 'have once wandered over the whole world, eager to see';⁶¹ Rome as universal museum (and realisation of the kind of curation that was only virtual at Rhodes). It is a different order of display from the Sicilian spoils at the Porta Capena⁶² – a redistribution of state resources or righting of wrongs after war with a Roman province. What doesn't make the cut goes into the building of the Colosseum.

The presence of gods and personifications in the two sculptural reliefs of the triumph in the Arch of Titus' central bay – jostling for attention not only with the emperor and his entourage but with the horses, the giant menorah and the other spolia – attests to the religiosity and transformativity of the occasion. Seizing cultic objects was as high risk as it always was: we think of the passage of Livy mentioned by Versluys,⁶³ and its description of the youths selected from the army, who wash and dress in white before handling Vei's statue of Juno. Some claimed that the statue had even nodded – an assent that stands in stark, and perhaps calculated, contrast to the *Iliad's* statue of Athena, which is said to have given a negative response, again with a nod (ἀνένευε), when Hecuba prayed to it.⁶⁴ And there is indeed a sense in which the pomp

59 J. BJ 7.149. For Neptune on the reverse of Flavian coinage, see e.g. https://www.forumancientcoins.com/moonmoth/coins/titus_003.html (last accessed 28 April 2022).

60 Plin. *Nat.* 34.84. This is arguably rendered more violent in the telling than much of the requisition and translocation of enemy spolia. See Varner 2017.

61 J. BJ 7.160 (trans. H.St.J. Thackeray): see Moormann's chapter.

62 See van de Velde, this volume.

63 Versluys, this volume.

64 Hom. *Il.* 6.311.

of the procession was as neutralising as the young men's ablutions and robing. But to argue that the objects paraded were processed in such a way as to be smoothly added to the Roman repertoire⁶⁵ is to overstate the case. They were always capable of eliciting unease; it was the potential for uneasiness that meant that in an ideal world, they should remain in public, where every one could see them, and, importantly, each other's reaction to them. According to Plutarch, the senators had preferred Fabius Maximus to Marcellus, as he had left the statues of the gods where they were; Marcellus' actions, on the other hand, had made Rome a city 'prone to jealousy'.⁶⁶ Not much 'incorporation' here, or only so much as to ensure that the objects remained not run of the mill but desirable.

No, what is critical (at least as far as understanding the incorporation (or not) of these objects and their potential shift in status from foreign/outside to domestic/inside is concerned) is what happens next, *after* the triumph. Unquantifiable often is just how long any example of spolia was perceived as alien in Rome; and, once accepted, 'anchored' even, in its new cultural context, whether it was still seen as a fragment of the culture it came from. What we can say is that the answer is different depending on the object. Even if the Ludovisi 'Aphrodite' (?) were not installed in Rome's sanctuary of Venus Erycina, as van de Velde wants to believe, chances are that its acrolithic form, scale and archaising style made it as unmissable and exotic as the menorah – and this in stark contrast, say, to the pedimental sculpture from the temple of Apollo Sosianus on the Campus Martius, which was lifted from Greece, perhaps from Eretria, and which dates to later, in the fifth century BCE.⁶⁷ Would anyone have thought that the latter's classical style was anything other than Augustan? What is more, whatever its viewers thought of the origins of the acrolith, they were used to gods' bodies being out of the ordinary (the classic case being Ephesian Artemis). If one is looking for a 'translatio imperii' to rival the impact of the Pergamum altar's reinstallation in Berlin, or indeed the temporary transfer of Italian statues to Paris under Napoleon, each of them (the Apollo Belvedere, Laocoon, Medici Venus and so on) in a labelled crate, then we are on safer ground with Rome's relocation of Egyptian obelisks.

The truth is that Greece's statuary had outgrown the cities in which it had been made and displayed long before Gaius Sosius built his temple. It did not need Rome to hone it, and turn 'the best of it' from cultural production to art-historical canon; Myron, Praxiteles, Pheidias and Polyclitus are four of

65 Versluys, this volume.

66 Plu. *Marc.* 21.3–4.

67 Now displayed in the Centrale Montemartini, Rome. See La Rocca 1985 and 1988.

the five sculptors to make it onto the list of greats in the anonymous *Laterculi Alexandrini* on a Ptolemaic papyrus already;⁶⁸ statues by them, or in imitation of them, were celebrated in Attalid Pergamum; their fame did not depend on being brought into Rome in triumph, but on a Mediterranean-wide discourse that relied as much on study in schoolrooms and libraries as it did on seeing sculpture in a public garden or temple-portico. There was more than one way to own it, and Rome obviously made a massive contribution to what we now consider 'classical art'. But Greek sculpture arguably came with a baggage, and biography of owning and making that imported Egyptian artefacts, in contrast, would never manage.

How to own Greek culture without being owned by it? How to make it property of the Romans rather than property of their gods, without opening Romans up to the charge of being as grasping as Verres or Nero? This question would not readily go away – which is why, perhaps, when we do find genuine Classical Greek sculpture not in porticoes, palaces and grand horti, but in private Roman houses and gardens, it is often of a funerary variety, as though hoovering up grave stelai that had long ceased to have any immediate resonance in their local community was safer, not to mention cheaper. They were decommissioned goods almost. It might also explain why even the grandest of these private houses, Herculaneum's Villa of the Papyri and Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, are filled not with Greek originals, but copies.

Collecting copies or 'versions', as we now prefer to call them, was not only a more realistic option; it was also more creative, and in being more creative, was better at domesticating and anchoring Greek culture, turning the sculptures in question from spectacles to source-texts and the viewers from worshippers to connoisseurs. As Walter Benjamin argued, the act of reproduction devalues the *aura* of an object and diminishes its cult value.⁶⁹ We think about the stories that proliferate in the Roman period about a statue like the Knidian Aphrodite, stories that emphasise the promiscuity that comes of removing her from her shrine and commodifying her. As I have written elsewhere, "copying" meant "bottling";⁷⁰ enabling patrons to exert an agency and influence over the object rather than being simply in its thrall – so Hadrian's copies of two of the Erechtheum maidens, cleverly positioned so as to stare at themselves in the water of his scenic canal, copies that may have already shored up Agrippa's Pantheon in the heart of the city.⁷¹ Or the Villa of the Papyri's Doryphorus,

68 Fraser 1972: 456.

69 Benjamin 2008 [1935].

70 Vout 2018: 60.

71 Vout 2019.

deprived of the corporeal symmetry for which it was famed (even in the neighbouring town of Pompeii, where a full-figure version was on show in the Samnite palaestra, and in Rome, where it was adopted as an official Roman body beneath the breastplate of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta) to become a Roman portrait-herm.⁷² Experimentation with paint, materials and scale were a further part of a palette that had Greek works play to a new tune and their patrons perform their power as knowledge.

4 'Appropriation' and Object Agency

But is this incorporation best served by the term 'appropriation' as Versluys maintains? Step outside Hahn's theoretical framework for a moment, and 'appropriation' is a word that means to take something for one's own use, typically without permission, and has, as Loar, MacDonald and Padilla Peralta maintain, to be better than a passive term like 'borrowing', which grants little agency to either the new owners or to the objects. 'Influence' too is jettisoned by these authors as an imprecise and insufficiently 'agentive term',⁷³ though our analysis of Rome in particular benefits, as we have seen, from acknowledging a bit of Harold Bloom's anxiety.⁷⁴ This anxiety notwithstanding, how 'outside', 'strange' or 'potentially dangerous', to use Ter Keur's vocabulary, were the spolia that were paraded in the Roman triumph? Less so perhaps than the Persian spoils that entered Athens – objects made in an empire which from the sixth century to its conquest by Alexander 'was far more powerful than any Greek state or combination of states',⁷⁵ a precursor to Roman imperium and its princeps. Already known and loved, Polyclitus' Doryphorus, Praxiteles' Knidia and the like did not have to have their identities re-rehearsed in (largely retrospective) descriptions of the triumph. At the moment of entry, they were neither strange nor frightening. Any sense of 'estrangement' or 'anxiety' accrued over time, once connoisseurship and copying turned to a coveting (posturing even) that threatened Roman *gravitas*.⁷⁶

Even in Classical Greece, permission to plunder did not come into it, any more than peace was the opposite of war. Take the famous passage that

72 National Archaeological Museum, Naples, inv. no. 4885.

73 Loar, MacDonald and Padilla Peralta 2018: 3.

74 Bloom 1973.

75 Eckstein 2005: 807.

76 See the Chapters by Pieper and Allan, this volume. A good ancient example of this posturing is Mart. 9.59.12.

Xenophon attributes to King Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty, already quoted in this volume's introduction:

And let not one of you think that in having these things he has what does not belong to him; for it is a law established for all time among all men that when a city is taken in war, the persons and the property of the inhabitants thereof belong to the captors. It will, therefore, be no injustice for you to keep what you have, but if you let them keep anything, it will be only out of generosity that you do not take it away.⁷⁷

Seen like this, the Romans are not plundering and 'appropriating' 'new' or 'alien' objects, so much as participating in a world in which objects and people were already deemed portable, just as art, especially foreign art, was seen as in service to luxury. I am not saying that there is no 'transformation of meaning' of the Knidia when she is moved, by virtue of copying, from her shrine in Asia Minor to an Italian villa, but that she had long been conceived of as world art (*ante omnia est non solum Praxitelis, verum in toto orbe terrarum*), a statue that Nicomedes, King of Bithynia had, back in the third or second century BCE, offered to buy in exchange for remitting Knidos of its debt.⁷⁸ To do as this volume does and treat the transfer that comes of 'spolia' as a discrete category raises as many questions as it solves: 'spolia' must be seen as a prime example of a broader phenomenon. The power of the statue was always that everyone wanted to lay hands on her.

More than this, for all that moving statues of the gods was recognised by the Romans as riskier than moving other kinds of objects, and thus as an act in need of greater care or expiation, even these statues were but part of the picture as far as their innovating potential was concerned. The Greek culture which they exemplified was but one of the cultures that any individual Roman was juggling, none of these cultures in and of itself a discrete 'system'. Acknowledging this makes sense of why Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's 2008 book focuses not on the active role of objects, but on people as political actors; not on Greece and Rome and the potential 'fusion' that results, but on 'triangulation', as a poet like Ennius already early in the second century BCE embraced the Greek 'without fear', wearing it as well as he did a Roman and a local Messapian identity.⁷⁹ What is 'innovating' here is not Greek culture *per se*, but the 'code-switching' that comes of its incorporation as the Romans are not

77 X. Cyr. 7.5.73 (trans. W. Miller).

78 Plin. Nat. 36.20–21.

79 Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 41, and Osborne and Vout 2010.

transformed by conquest, but *use* conquest to transform their society, economy and culture.⁸⁰

Wallace-Hadrill's perspective is a historian's perspective, just as it is a historian's perspective that has us ask whether any of the processes described, or the descriptions of processes, in his or this volume change over time. How does Polybius' or Cicero's standpoint differ from Livy's, whose vision is shaped by the particularly eloquent order that Augustus brings, or from Plutarch's, who is writing in a period so differently hellenising from even Neronian Rome, never mind Augustan Classicism? And how do the texts of Cicero and Livy, neither of whom – importantly, when it is identity and focalisation we are thinking about – is from Rome itself, differ from those written in Greek? These are questions beyond the scope of this volume. But 'triangulation' alone highlights how the 'anchoring' of any incoming object is not just about incorporating it into old Rome, but about having it (continue to) participate in a conversation with objects from other cultures, and not just spolia, but foreign gods like Asclepius and, more materially, Cybele, in the form of a black meteoric stone, which were introduced to the city by means other than war, never mind objects that were bought or gifted. Were they similarly 'appropriated'? Can statues of the gods ever be 'tamed'?

Another thing that Wallace-Hadrill highlights is that Greek identity and Roman identity were not 'strictly parallel as types of cultural identity', not least because only the first was defined by its language and culture, and the second by its political structures. He continues '[e]verything under Roman control may be taken as "Roman", whereas within that control, the Greek may remain culturally distinctive'.⁸¹ And one might think that this alone made the processes that governed the influx of Greek, Macedonian or Sicilian objects into Rome different from, for example, Persian objects into Athens. The Judaeian objects were different again – not objects like the 'ancient masterpieces of both painting and sculpture' that had been restored to the public from the privacy of Nero's palace where they had become 'part of the furniture', but forever *sacra* or cultic objects that Josephus insists Vespasian 'dedicated' (ἀνέθηκε being the word used of gifts to the gods in Greek sanctuaries).⁸² Josephus is biased,⁸³ but the fact that in the sixth century CE, the 'always rational' and free-thinking⁸⁴

80 Osborne and Vout 2010: 240. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 356 himself puts this rather more passively.

81 Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 27.

82 J. BJ 7.161 (as opposed to κατεκόσμησεν which is what he did with the works of painting and sculpture). See Chapman 2009 and Moormann, this volume.

83 J. BJ 1.9 as discussed by Huitink, this volume.

84 Cameron 1966: 466.

Procopius is referring to them (some, by then, still in the imperial palace) as 'the treasures of Solomon, the king of the Hebrews',⁸⁵ and builder of the First Temple in Jerusalem, suggests an ongoing distancing, suspicion or respect that is different from that afforded to Greek art – that preserves these objects not just as 'sacred', but as Jewish. Judaeian and Egyptian objects are never integrated as Greek objects are integrated, and for reasons that pre-date their movement. 'To the victors belong the spoils', but some belong more strongly than others. Not all objects or victors are equal.

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85 Proc. *Goth.* 12.42. See Noy 2005: 383–384. Note that in the conflicting section of the *Vand.* (9.5), cited by Moormann, this volume, they are Ἰουδαίων κειμήλια. Κειμήλιον is used in both passages and is a word rare in prose that again confers an heirloom-quality.

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Index Locorum

Aeschylus

Pers.

3	79
9	79
80	79
159	79

Anth. Palat.

9.332	135 ⁿ 54
-------	---------------------

Appian

Pun.

135	36
-----	----

Aristotle

Po.

1449a34	113
1453a8–10	113

Athenaeus

5.201e	270 ⁿ 29
--------	---------------------

Aulus Gellius

2.24.14	150
---------	-----

Cassius Dio

3.7.21	37
--------	----

Cicero

De Orat.

1.19	49 ⁿ 12
------	--------------------

N. D.

3.34	271 ⁿ 33, 271 ⁿ 35
3.80	58
3.81	59
3.82	61
3.83	60
3.84	59
3.85	64

Rep.

1.21–22	274 ⁿ 52
3.43	61–62

S. Rosc.

145	47 ⁿ 5
-----	-------------------

Ver.

2.4.120–121	123 ⁿ 2, 127 ⁿ 20
-------------	-----------------------------------------

2.4.121

127ⁿ24

2.5.145–146

63

Demosthenes

22.13	88
24.129	78, 95, 103, 267 ⁿ 15

Dio Chrysostomus

2.36	95
------	----

Diodorus Siculus

18.4.4–5	192 ⁿ 17
31.8.9	274 ⁿ 53
31.8.9–10	182
31.8.9–12	170, 182, 186, 190
31.8.10	183, 199 ⁿ 46, 199 ⁿ 47
31.8.11	184, 201 ⁿ 51
31.8.12	184, 205 ⁿ 59

Florus

Epit.

1.13 [1.18.27]	273 ⁿ 47
1.28.12–14	170

Herodotus

1.50–51	79
1.50–52	104 ⁿ 48, 105
1.51	75
1.66	104 ⁿ 48
1.92	104 ⁿ 48
1.92.1	79
3.20.1	77
3.22.2	77
3.118.2	78
3.128.5	78
5.32	83
5.77	105
6.120	73
7.41.2	78
7.54.2	78
7.61	77
7.62	77
7.64	77
7.65	77
7.67	77

Herodotus (*cont.*)

7.67.1	78
7.83.2	78
7.118	80
7.119	80
7.135	83
7.190	80
8.3.2	83
8.18	73
8.55	101
8.90	96
8.113.3	78
8.120	78
8.121	104 <i>n</i> 48
8.121–123.1	74–75
9.20	79, 98
9.22	94 <i>m</i> 6
9.22.2	78
9.41	98 <i>n</i> 31
9.70	87 <i>m</i> 1
9.70.3	76 <i>m</i> 17, 85
9.80	87, 94, 98
9.80–9.84	71, 75
9.80.1	266 <i>n</i> 7
9.80.1–2	76
9.80.2	77–78
9.81.1	76, 267 <i>n</i> 9
9.81.2	77, 83 <i>n</i> 38
9.81.2–9.82.1	268 <i>m</i> 17
9.82	81
9.83	268 <i>m</i> 18
9.83.1	77
9.85.1	76
9.106.1	73
9.107.2	78
9.122	152 <i>m</i> 14

Homer

Il.

1.125–126	4
6.3	137 <i>n</i> 70
6.119–236	3
6.311	275 <i>n</i> 64
9.186–189	3
10.460	100 <i>n</i> 39
11.246–247	4
17.192–214	4

Od.

21.11–41	3
----------	---

Inscriptions

CIL

I ² 622	197 <i>n</i> 41
I ² 626	40
VI 944	248 <i>n</i> 54
VI 945	249 <i>n</i> 57
VI 40454a	249 <i>n</i> 56

IG

I ³ 474	92 <i>n</i> 11, 100 <i>n</i> 38
II ² 141	202 <i>n</i> 57
II ² 1424a	98 <i>n</i> 28, 98 <i>n</i> 31
II ² 1425	97 <i>n</i> 25, 97 <i>n</i> 31, 98 <i>n</i> 28

Ilindos

II 2	103 <i>n</i> 44
------	-----------------

ILLRP

13:3, no. 71b	190 <i>n</i> 6
Olympia, B 5100	267 <i>m</i> 12

Isocrates

De pace

82	269 <i>n</i> 25
----	-----------------

Josephus

AJ

3.145–146	251
3.291–294	250 <i>n</i> 64
10.144–147	243
12.9.4	196 <i>n</i> 36
15.391–402	241
18.15	240 <i>n</i> 4

BJ

1.3	232, 242 <i>n</i> 12
1.9	217, 280 <i>n</i> 83
1.10	218
1.152–153	229, 242
1.153	230
3.63	227
4.491–496	228 <i>n</i> 38
4.545	228
4.577–584	228
4.585–658	228
4.649	228
4.658	215 <i>n</i> 2
5.17	218

Josephus *BJ* (*cont.*)

5.19–20	218
5.136–247	231, 242
5.184–237	242
5.212–214	242 <i>n</i> 17
5.215–218	231
5.216–218	243
5.219	242
6.4	243
6.127	240
6.259	227
6.282	243
6.317	243 <i>n</i> 22
6.387–391	243
6.404	225
6.406	225
6.414	225
6.417	243
6.426–647	243 <i>n</i> 24
7.38	243 <i>n</i> 23
7.117–120	217 <i>m</i> 11
7.118	243
7.121–152	216, 220
7.122	221, 244, 274 <i>n</i> 57
7.122–157	244
7.123	244 <i>n</i> 27
7.131	221, 274 <i>n</i> 57
7.132	221, 274 <i>n</i> 57
7.132–133	244
7.134	221, 242
7.134–136	37
7.136–138	221
7.138	222, 225, 243
7.139	221
7.141–147	222, 226, 228 <i>n</i> 38, 244 <i>n</i> 30
7.142	229 <i>n</i> 39
7.147	222 <i>n</i> 21
7.148	216, 221, 274 <i>n</i> 56
7.148–149	223, 233, 245 <i>n</i> 33
7.149	275 <i>n</i> 59
7.151	216, 221–222
7.152	221
7.153–157	220–221
7.158–162	254
7.160	275 <i>n</i> 61
7.161	280 <i>n</i> 82

7.162	242
7.252–406	220 <i>m</i> 18
<i>Vit.</i>	
422–423	217 <i>m</i> 11

Livy

<i>Praef.</i> 10	48 <i>n</i> 8
1.10.5	46 <i>m</i> 1
5.20.1–21.3	39
7.25.8–9	153 <i>m</i> 16
22.9	136 <i>n</i> 63
23.30–31	136 <i>n</i> 63
25.40.1	56, 128 <i>n</i> 30
25.40.1–3	110 <i>n</i> 7, 119, 123 <i>n</i> 2
25.40.2	50 <i>n</i> 13, 55, 123 <i>n</i> 3, 129 <i>n</i> 33, 273 <i>n</i> 45
25.40.2–3	56, 127 <i>n</i> 21
26.21	123 <i>n</i> 2, 124 <i>n</i> 4
26.21.7–9	119 <i>n</i> 24
26.30.9–10	52
26.31.2	52 <i>m</i> 18
26.31.9	52, 52 <i>m</i> 18
26.32	56
26.32.4	53
29.8.8–10	135 <i>n</i> 55
30.38.10	136 <i>n</i> 64
33.1	192 <i>m</i> 19
34.4.3–4	110 <i>n</i> 7
34.4.4	123 <i>n</i> 3, 129 <i>n</i> 33
39.1	152
39.5.13–16	126 <i>m</i> 18
39.6	153, 159–163
39.6.7	273 <i>n</i> 46
39.6.7–9	32
39.7	153
41.23.10	194 <i>n</i> 23
41.51.1–11	199 <i>n</i> 46
42.38.8	207 <i>n</i> 73
42.45.2	194 <i>n</i> 23
42.51.3	196 <i>n</i> 34
42.51.3–11	195 <i>n</i> 32
45.32.3–6	205 <i>n</i> 63
45.33.3–7	192 <i>m</i> 18
45.33.5	192 <i>m</i> 17
45.34.9	205 <i>n</i> 63
45.35.2	205 <i>n</i> 63
45.40	170, 190, 201 <i>n</i> 54

Livy (*cont.*)

45.40.2	202 <i>n</i> 55
45.40.5	181 <i>n</i> 22
45.40.6	205 <i>n</i> 61, 205 <i>n</i> 62, 206 <i>n</i> 66
45.42.12	193 <i>n</i> 22

Periochae

11	138 <i>n</i> 75
20	50 <i>n</i> 14

Lysias

19.25	202 <i>n</i> 57
-------	-----------------

Ovid

Fast.

4.873–876	136 <i>n</i> 60, 137 <i>n</i> 69
-----------	----------------------------------

Pausanias

1.1.2	91
1.20.4	98 <i>n</i> 30
1.24.5	91
1.26.5	99
1.26.7	100
1.27.1	94, 99, 267 <i>n</i> 15
8.41.9	91
10.11.5	87 <i>n</i> 1
10.13.9	87 <i>n</i> 1

Petronius

31–33	149
-------	-----

Plautus

Ps.

800–807	154
---------	-----

Pliny

Nat.

12.54.111–112	245 <i>n</i> 40
28.4.7	118 <i>n</i> 22
33.143	150 <i>n</i> 9
33.148–149	159 <i>n</i> 38
34.7.16	128 <i>n</i> 28
34.84	275 <i>n</i> 60
35.46	125 <i>n</i> 10
35.150	123 <i>n</i> 3, 129 <i>n</i> 33
36.20–21	279 <i>n</i> 78
36.101	254 <i>n</i> 88

36.184

37.5.11

37.6.12

Plutarch

Aem.

26.7–12	179
28.2	208 <i>n</i> 77
28.7	207 <i>n</i> 72
30.1	193 <i>n</i> 20
31.3	189 <i>n</i> 1
32–33	190
32–34	170–171, 186
32.1	195 <i>n</i> 28
32.1–2	171
32.2	172
32.3	126 <i>n</i> 18, 173, 200 <i>n</i> 48, 200 <i>n</i> 49
32.4	173, 201 <i>n</i> 50
32.5	201 <i>n</i> 52, 202 <i>n</i> 56
32.5–7	174
32.8–9	175
33–34	176
33.1–3	205 <i>n</i> 60
33.1–4	176
33.2	201 <i>n</i> 53
33.5–9	177
34.1	205 <i>n</i> 61, 205 <i>n</i> 62, 274 <i>n</i> 55
34.1–2	178
34.3	206 <i>n</i> 65, 274 <i>n</i> 54
34.3–4	179
34.4	206 <i>n</i> 67
34.5–8	180
35.1	182 <i>n</i> 26

Arist.

5.5	74 <i>n</i> 6, 269 <i>n</i> 22
-----	--------------------------------

Caes.

56.4	271 <i>n</i> 37
------	-----------------

Cim.

9.2–4	268 <i>n</i> 20
-------	-----------------

Comp. Tim. Aem.

39.8–9	209 <i>n</i> 89
--------	-----------------

Demetr.

43.4–5	193 <i>n</i> 21
--------	-----------------

53.1–3	193 <i>n</i> 21
--------	-----------------

Flam.

17	201
----	-----

Marc.

7.1	51
21	110 <i>n</i> 7, 119 <i>n</i> 24
21.1–2	123 <i>n</i> 2, 123 <i>n</i> 3, 124 <i>n</i> 6, 272 <i>n</i> 39
21.3	124 <i>n</i> 7
21.3–4	276 <i>n</i> 66
23	54 <i>n</i> 22

Mor.

197c–d	201
--------	-----

Per.

13.9	98 <i>n</i> 30
------	----------------

Sull.

16.327	196 <i>n</i> 36
19.2	196 <i>n</i> 36

Them.

13.1	96
------	----

Polybius

1.1.5	209 <i>n</i> 86
1.14.5	115 <i>n</i> 18
1.55.8–9	135 <i>n</i> 58
2.7.2–3	114
2.61.3	115
2.65.2–4	196 <i>n</i> 33
4.16.5	194 <i>n</i> 24
4.22.10	194 <i>n</i> 24
4.34.10	194 <i>n</i> 24
4.67.6	196 <i>n</i> 35
6.2.6	111 <i>n</i> 10
6.7.6–8	117
9–10	123 <i>n</i> 2
9.10	108–109, 117 <i>n</i> 21, 120
9.10.1	109
9.10.2–3	272 <i>n</i> 42
9.10.3	108 <i>n</i> 2
9.10.5	109, 112, 272 <i>n</i> 43
9.10.5–6	110
9.10.6–10	117
9.10.7	272 <i>n</i> 44
9.10.12–13	109, 111, 124 <i>n</i> 5
9.10.13	116
9.12.4	114
12.13.9–12	270 <i>n</i> 30
12.27a.12	115
18.41.4	118 <i>n</i> 23
29.20.1–4	118

30.22.1–12	190 <i>n</i> 9
30.25.1	192 <i>n</i> 18
30.25.1–26	190 <i>n</i> 9
31.3.1	192 <i>n</i> 18
31.25.2–7	110 <i>n</i> 7
31.26.9	154 <i>n</i> 19
32.5.7	205 <i>n</i> 63
36.5.8	193 <i>n</i> 22
39.8	118 <i>n</i> 23

Procopius*Goth.*

12.42	281 <i>n</i> 85
-------	-----------------

Vand.

1.5	257 <i>n</i> 99
2.9	257 <i>n</i> 99
4.9.4	256

Quintilian*Inst.*

8.3.67–69	224 <i>n</i> 23
12.4	49 <i>n</i> 12

Rhetor ad Herennium

4.1–10	49 <i>n</i> 12
4.62	49 <i>n</i> 12

Sallust*Cat.*

10.3	55 <i>n</i> 27
------	----------------

Seneca*De tranquillitate animi*

9	151
---	-----

Ep.

97	151
----	-----

Strabo

6.2.6	137 <i>n</i> 65, 138 <i>n</i> 71
-------	----------------------------------

Suetonius*Cal.*

57.1	271 <i>n</i> 38
------	-----------------

Tit.

1	248 <i>n</i> 52
---	-----------------

Thucydides

1.130.1	83
---------	----

Thucydides (*cont.*)

1.134	83
2.13.3–5	88
2.13.4	93, 267 ⁿ¹⁴

Valerius Maximus

1.1. <i>ext.</i> 3	65
2.5	58 ⁿ⁴²
3.2.3–6	57 ⁿ⁴⁰
11.10.3	209 ⁿ⁸⁹

Velleius Paterculus

1.13.4–5	273 ⁿ⁴⁸
----------	--------------------

Virgil

<i>A.</i>	
1.12	11
1.279	208 ⁿ⁸¹
5.759	137 ⁿ⁶⁵
6.855–856	51 ⁿ¹⁴

Vitruvius

5.9.1	98 ⁿ³⁰
-------	-------------------

Xenophon

<i>An.</i>	
1.2.27	78
<i>Cyr.</i>	
1.3.2	78
7.5.72	3
7.5.73	279 ⁿ⁷⁷

General Index

- After-battle battlefield scenes 72–75
- Agency of objects 5, 8–9, 14–17, 20–21, 23*m*6, 3*m*19, 38–40, 49, 54, 55*n*26, 65, 140, 147–148, 163, 191, 258, 271, 278
- Akinakes* 78, 85, 90*n*6, 92, 94–97, 103, 267, 267*m*15
- Arch of Titus 216, 217*n*8, 229, 231*n*44, 233*n*50, 239, 247, 248*n*53, 249–253, 258–259, 275
- Carthage 11, 32, 36, 53, 55, 155, 159, 257, 271, 155, 159, 271
- Colosseum, financing of 241, 249, 275
- Coping strategies 16, 28, 34
- Cult, transference of 123, 138, 143
- Dionysius I of Syracuse 8, 49, 58–66, 271
- Ekphrasis 221–222, 224–226
- Envy, repercussions of 9, 110–111, 116–118, 120–121
- Erechtheion. *See* Temple, Karyatid
- Evocatio deorum* 38–40, 139–140, 143, 240, 275
- Feast 8, 18, 20–22, 81–85, 148–150, 155, 157, 159, 163–164, 202, 205–206, 221
- Flavian propaganda 215, 220*n*17, 228, 246, 253, 255
- Floats, triumphal 221–224, 226–229
- Gastronomic *luxuria* 147–148, 150, 153–159, 163–164
- Herodotus
autopsy 75–76, 78, 104
on Plataea 8, 71, 75–81, 85, 87, 94, 98, 105, 266, 268–269
take on gold 78–81, 85, 267
use of Persian words 78, 85
- Homer 3–4, 6
- Incorporation 7–9, 11, 17, 24, 30, 33, 49, 65, 85, 105, 121, 143, 147, 164, 171, 189, 210, 234, 238, 248, 276, 279
- Indonesian ritual. *See* ritual, Indonesian
- Inventories, Athenian treasury 88–89, 91–93, 96–98, 103, 267, 274
- Ius belli* 52, 55, 119
- Jerusalem, sack of 215, 218–219, 225, 227, 229, 238, 240, 242*n*14, 243, 249, 258
- Josephus
as historical figure 217–219, 222*n*21, 224, 225*n*29, 232, 234*n*53, 244, 247
subversion by 219, 224–229, 234, 246
- Lindos Chronicle 103–104, 268
- Livy
and exemplarity 8, 10, 48, 53–58, 152–153, 159, 164–165
on lack of military discipline 152–153, 161–162
- Ludovisi Acrolith 9, 123, 129–136, 139–140, 141*n*90, 142–144, 276
- Material appropriation 7–9, 11, 30, 33, 49–50, 85, 120, 143, 147, 171, 189, 210, 238, 240, 247, 258
- Objectification 7, 9, 11, 30, 33, 74, 85, 121, 143, 147, 164, 171, 189, 191, 210, 234, 238, 240, 247
- Objectscape, Roman 28, 35, 37*n*54, 39, 41, 124–125, 127, 130, 143, 207, 259
- Parthenon. *See* Temple, Great
- Parthenon* (treasury) 89, 91–97, 99–100, 103
- Perserie* 4*n*6, 71, 75, 268
- Perseus, King of Macedon 10, 36, 110*n*7, 116*n*19, 118, 170, 176–180, 185–187, 189–190, 193, 195–202, 205, 207–208, 210, 274
- Pydna Monument 190, 197–199
- Ritual
of gift-giving 3, 80*n*27, 202, 205–207
Indonesian 14, 17–18, 20
See also triumph as ritual
- Roman imperialism. *See* spolia and Roman imperialism
- Roman-ness 48, 54, 265, 273–274

- Scipio Africanus 36, 58*n*42, 135
- Self-Other dynamics 5, 10, 34–37, 265
- Spolia
 and anxiety 31, 34, 40, 265, 274, 276, 278
 corrupting effect of 8, 31–32, 47, 51, 55, 65, 82–85, 110–111, 116–117, 119, 148, 153, 155, 159–164, 272, 278
 and cultural innovation 5–7, 11, 41
 dedicated to the gods 8, 40, 46–47, 50, 56–57, 59–60, 74–76, 79, 85, 87, 95–96, 102, 119–120, 127–128, 197, 210, 234, 254, 267, 274, 280
 Jewish in Rome 216, 217*n*8, 218–219, 221, 224, 226, 229–234, 238, 240–256, 258–259, 274–276, 280
 Macedonian in Rome 170–171, 173–177, 180–187, 189, 191–197, 199–202, 204–208, 210, 280
 moral evaluation of 6, 8, 34, 47, 55–56, 64–66, 79–81, 108–111, 117, 119, 124, 147, 225–226, 271–273
 musealization and 11, 46, 103–104, 238, 248, 255, 258, 268, 275
 opima 46*n*1, 47, 50, 51*n*14, 57
 as ornament 49, 55, 127–129
 Persian in Athens 4, 78–79, 87–88, 90, 93–105, 267, 278, 280
 and Roman imperialism 4, 7, 29, 34*n*33, 191*n*11, 208–209
 Syracusan in Rome 8–9, 32, 50–55, 57, 63, 66, 108, 110*n*7, 119–120, 123–125, 127–128, 129*n*33, 143, 274, 280
 textual 8, 48–50, 59–61, 65
- Spoliation
 definition of 27
 pragmatic argument against 9, 108–109, 111–112
- Sumptuary laws (Roman) 150, 154, 274*n*51
- Syracuse, sack of 5, 9, 32, 50, 52, 54–55, 57, 65, 108–110, 112, 116, 119, 123, 129, 137, 271–272
- Taming of objects 7–8, 15, 18, 21, 23–24, 28, 34–36, 38, 40–41, 57, 140, 270, 275, 277, 280
- Temple
 Great (also known as the Parthenon) 89, 91, 96–97, 99–100
 of Honos and Virtus 50, 56, 127–128
 of Jerusalem 36, 215–219, 221, 223, 227–232, 238, 240–243, 253, 256, 258–259, 275, 281
 of Jupiter Optimus Maximus 35, 40, 197, 221, 228, 255
 Karyatid 91, 92*n*11, 99–104, 268
 of Peace 221*n*20, 224, 232, 234, 238–239, 246, 248, 252, 254–259, 275
 of Venus Erycina (Rome) 136–139, 143–144, 276
- Transformation 7–9, 11, 31, 33, 49, 61, 65, 74, 85, 121, 144, 147, 165, 171, 189, 208, 210, 234, 238, 248, 255, 268–269, 274, 279–280
- Translatio imperii* 208, 276
- Triumph
 of Aemilius Paullus 10, 36, 126, 170–186, 189–190, 192–193, 195–197, 199–202, 205–210, 274
 of Manlius Vulso 153, 160–161
 of Marcellus 36, 58*n*42, 110*n*7, 119*n*24, 124–126, 129*n*33
 as ritual 8, 28, 34–41, 126–127, 143, 191, 208, 216
 of Titus 10, 36–38, 216, 219–229, 233, 238, 241, 243–246, 248–252, 258–259, 275–276
- Xerxes 74, 79–80, 81*n*28, 81*n*29, 82*n*30, 82*n*34, 96, 98, 269, 272

Plundering and taking home precious objects from a defeated enemy was a widespread activity in the Greek and Hellenistic-Roman world. In this volume literary critics, historians and archaeologists join forces in investigating this phenomenon in terms of appropriation and cultural change. In-depth interpretations of famous ancient spoliations, like that of the Greeks after Plataea or the Romans after the capture of Jerusalem, reveal a fascinating paradox: while the material record shows an eager incorporation of new objects, the texts display abhorrence of the negative effects they were thought to bring along. As this volume demonstrates, both reactions testify to the crucial innovative impact objects from abroad may have.

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