

The Roman Captive:  
An Iconographical and Cultural Study

by


Ann-Marie Sharon Forgét  
B.A., Wilfrid Laurier University, 1994

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTERS OF ARTS

in the Department of Classics

We accept this thesis as conforming  
to the required standard




Prof. K.R. Bradley, Supervisor (Department of Greek and Roman  
Studies)



Prof. J.P. Oleson, Departmental Member (Department of Greek and  
Roman Studies)



Prof. J. Osborne, Outside Member (Department of History in Art)



---

Prof. E. Rossi, External Member (Department of Hispanic and Italian  
Studies)

© Ann-Marie Sharon Forgét, 1996  
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by  
photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

Supervisor: Professor K.R. Bradley

### **Abstract**

The object of this thesis is to collect and analyze representations of barbarian captives used as decorations on Roman monuments from the mid second century B.C. to the mid fourth century A.D., in order to assess their significance in Roman society and mentality. This investigation of archaeological evidence is set within the historical and socio-cultural context of modern scholarly analysis of Roman slavery and classical concepts of the "other." The evidence itself is presented in the form of a catalogue, appended to the thesis.

Commencing with a description of six types of capture and submission scenes found within the material at large, Chapter One outlines the chronological and geographical limits of the study. A survey of the main lines of academic inquiry into ancient slavery follows in order to serve as a foundation on which the archaeological evidence may be placed. Similarly, a brief discussion of previous work in the field of the cultural representation of the outsider is undertaken. This chapter concludes with a number of questions to be answered in the body of the thesis.

Chapter Two contains an investigation of the origins of the image of defeated and humiliated enemies in Roman art, and surveys other ancient Mediterranean cultures which may have influenced Roman patrons and artists. Following this is a detailed discussion of the material evidence upon

which the Catalogue is comprised. Each medium on which the captive barbarian images appear is examined separately so that their widespread use may be established throughout time and space. Finally, a discussion of the significance of the images to Romans of different historical periods completes this chapter.


The relationship between ancient slavery and representations of submission is the topic of Chapter Three. The purpose of this chapter is to determine if any contribution to the field of slavery may be made through the study of images which have never before been looked at from an historical perspective. The image as a symbol of power, and of the ethnic and gender identities of the captives is examined.

Finally, Chapter Four, deals with the images within the context of Roman identity formation and the cultural representations of the "other." It raises the issue of how Romans saw themselves and how their perception of others was shaped by this view. The characteristics that form Roman identity are discussed first in order to establish a foundation upon which the "other" may be based, such as the importance placed on warfare and ideals such as *virtus*. Then the Roman concept of the "other" is discussed which includes an examination of the issue of pity felt for outsiders in reality and in art.


The main findings of the thesis are as follows. The image of the defeated and humiliated barbarian was important to Roman identity and mentality because it showed Romans who they were and who they were not,

by continually reinforcing the importance of militarism and conquest in their social ideology. The image of the barbarian was used as a mirror by which the Romans could be sure of their empire-building identity. Moreover the image of a humiliated and defeated barbarian served particularly in times of internal crisis or weakness to reassure Romans of their strength and invincibility.

Examiners:




Prof. K.R. Bradley, Supervisor (Department of Greek and Roman Studies)



Prof. J.P. Oleson, Departmental Member (Department of Greek and Roman Studies)



Prof. J. Osborne, Outside Member (Department of History in Art)



Prof. E. Rossi, External Member (Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies)

## Table of Contents

<b>Title Page</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Dedication</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>Chapter One - Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Chronological and Geographical Distribution of the Archaeological Evidence	3
The Six Types of Representations	7
The Study of Captives within its Socio-Cultural and Historical Context	13
Roman Slavery	13
Studies of the "Other"	29
Summary	32
<b>Chapter Two - The Evidence</b>	<b>34</b>
The History of the Motif	34
Numismatic Evidence	44
Monumental Trophies	48
Triumphal Arches	51
Triumphal Columns	53
Altars	55
Public Buildings and Spaces	56
Distance Markers	58
Cuirassed Statues	59
Funerary Monuments and Sarcophagi	61
Luxury and Decorative Items	63
Summary	65

<b>Chapter Three - Reality and Symbol</b>	<b>69</b>
The Realities of War and Slavery	69
The Captive Slave as a Symbol of Roman Power	78
The Ethnic Identity of the Captives	82
Gender Patterns and Stereotypes	89
Summary/Conclusion	93
<b>Chapter Four - The "Other"</b>	<b>95</b>
On Being Roman	95
The "Other"	106
A Roman Peace?	109
Pity? The Games	113
Pity In Art?	116
The Noble Savage	120
Conclusion	121
<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>Appendix - Catalogue of Representations</b>	<b>138</b>

### **Acknowledgements**

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor K.R. Bradley for introducing me to this topic and for his encouragement and guidance during my two years at the University of Victoria. I would also like to thank Professor J.P. Oleson for suggesting alternative ways of looking at my research material and Professor J. Osborne for his kind criticism.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my fellow graduate students, especially Pauline Ripat, Barbara Reeves and Leslie Shumka, who never failed to help me find my way when I was sure that I was lost. I must also thank my family who have always supported me in my academic endeavours and am happy to prove to my sister Ronda Edwards that anything is possible if you work hard enough. Finally, I am forever indebted to Scott Crabb for his unflagging support and encouragement, not to mention his sense of humour, which kept me grounded and sane throughout the writing of this thesis.

For my grandfather  
Robert L. Scott  
without whom none of this would have been possible

## **Chapter One - Introduction**

Rising one hundred Roman feet above the Forum of Trajan in Rome stands Trajan's Column, a monument erected in honour of the emperor Trajan's victories won in 102 and 106 A.D. against the Dacians. This work of art is adorned with a narrative relief which winds its way up the column. Here episodes from the two wars fought between the Romans and their Dacian enemies are depicted. These scenes are important not the least because they portray the treatment of the people conquered by the Romans. Scene LXXV of the column shows the surrender of the Dacians at the end of the first war in 102 A.D. On the left side of the relief Trajan sits on a high podium among Roman soldiers and standard bearers. Three Dacian warriors kneel in submission at his feet; their arms are outstretched as they plead for mercy from the emperor. Their weapons lie on the ground around them as a sign of their surrender. Behind these men, a group of prisoners is portrayed. The captives stand with their hands pinioned behind their backs; their eyes are downcast in an attitude of hopelessness. To the right of these prisoners, and filling in the remainder of the scene, another group of surrendering Dacians is depicted. Like the first group of warriors, they kneel in an attitude of passivity and supplication.

This submission scene from the Column of Trajan contains two common images in Roman art: the submissive vanquished barbarian and the grieving bound captive. The object of this thesis is to investigate such representations in an attempt to understand aspects of the mentality of the

society in which they were produced. From the basis of a catalogue containing capture and submission scenes, this aim will be accomplished through examining and relating the material to two areas of historical study, namely slavery in the ancient Roman world and cultural representations of the “other”.<sup>1</sup> The essential starting point is why images of bound or humiliated barbarians were so important in Roman thought and ideology.

The catalogue of representations on which the present study is based consists of two hundred and ninety-eight representations of submissive or bound barbarians found on Roman monuments.<sup>2</sup> Such a comprehensive collection of materials has not been assembled before, thus the catalogue makes something of a contribution to knowledge in its own right. The contents of the catalogue derive from archaeological, rather than literary, sources which raises certain problems,<sup>3</sup> the chief of which is the fact that investigation has to be biased towards periods from which extensive material remains have survived, which in turn relates to the problem of preservation. We have fewer buildings and monuments from the Republican period than from the early Imperial period due to the extensive building programs of the

---

<sup>1</sup> The term “other” refers to anyone who is not Roman, and therefore is considered a barbarian. For further discussion see below.

<sup>2</sup> The term monument refers to any medium which portrays a captive barbarian on it. Therefore all media, from massive sculpture to coins, are referred to by this term.

<sup>3</sup> Monuments known from literary sources, such as the statues of subjugated provinces located outside Pompey’s Theatre, have not been included in the catalogue as they have not survived. Kleiner 1992: 11 remarks that Mediaeval accounts state that the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius included a barbarian under the horse’s right hoof. As the barbarian has not been preserved, this monument has been excluded as well.

early emperors and a higher rate of survival.<sup>4</sup>

### **The Chronological and Geographical Distribution of the Archaeological Evidence**

The chronological boundaries of the study are loosely those from the Gracchi to Constantine (c.133 B.C. - 337 A.D.). The purpose of examining the captive motif over five centuries is to establish whether any changes in Roman attitudes to defeated enemies occurred over time. As no society remains entirely static throughout its existence, it will be crucial to note the differences, if any, in Roman views between the Republican and Imperial periods. The ideologies of the ruling elite may also be revealed through investigating how people in power used the motif. By the mid second century B.C., Rome had established itself as a dominant Mediterranean power. This was a critical period in Rome's development and in the consequent establishment of a Roman identity, since with each successive conquest in the middle Republican period, Roman imperialistic ideology was further enhanced and cemented.<sup>5</sup> The time of Constantine constitutes the termination point for the study. By the mid fourth century A.D. the character of the Roman empire had been completely transformed.<sup>6</sup> Constantinople became the new imperial capital in 330 A.D., as the city of Rome was no longer able to provide for the maintenance of the crucial Rhine-Danube and

---

<sup>4</sup> Hannestad 1988: 10 notes that there is a large discrepancy between the Republic and the Empire, both with regard to the works which were produced and the works which have survived.

<sup>5</sup> Harris 1979: 107-117.

<sup>6</sup> Many scholars view this as a shift in historical periods: no longer the Roman period but the Byzantine period.

Euphrates frontiers. The age of conquest was long since over and the struggle to maintain the borders of the empire already under way. As well, the religious complexion of the world had changed due to the rise of Christianity. The conversion of the empire from paganism to Christianity was accelerated as a result of Constantine's own conversion, the open toleration of the religion and his measures which made it advantageous to be Christian.

The geographical scope of the study includes any region under Roman influence from the mid second century B.C. to the mid fourth century A.D. The provinces of Sicily, Corsica, Hispania Ulterior and Hispania Citerior (present day Spain), Africa (consisting of the area around Carthage), Macedonia and the former Pergamene kingdom (now called Asia) constituted the Roman empire circa 133 B.C. At its pinnacle, under Trajan, the empire had grown to encompass Britain, the lands to the west and south of the Rhine and Danube rivers, the lands bounded on the west by the Aegean Sea on the north by the Black Sea and the south by the Mediterranean Sea and Euphrates river and extending east to the Caspian Sea and Tigris river; the southern limits of the empire included Egypt and the northern coast of Africa. Trajan added the provinces of Dacia, north of the Danube, Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia in the east and the province of Arabia which embraced the Sinai peninsula and modern day Jordan. At the time of Constantine's death, though still large, the empire had shrunk somewhat with the loss of Dacia, Assyria and a large portion of Armenia. The whole of the Roman world was selected for the study in order to ensure that a meaningful body of data could be collected for examination and any differences between the city of Rome

and the Roman provinces in the nature and number of captive representations could be explored. Variations between the two regions should answer the questions of whether these images were intended primarily for Roman audiences and whether the images conveyed different messages to people of the various regions.

The image of the defeated barbarian can be found on monuments throughout the five centuries under investigation. The earliest example of a defeated foe in the catalogue occurs on a coin dating from the late second century B.C. A quinarius minted at Rome by C. Fundanius in 101 B.C. has as the design on its reverse a Victory crowning a trophy to her right, before which a captive kneels with his hands bound behind his back (A001). Marius' victories over the Cimbri and the Teutones are celebrated on this coin as the Gallic *carnyx* located beside the trophy illustrates.<sup>7</sup> Eleven other coins illustrating subdued peoples exist from the Republican period.<sup>8</sup> The use of the captive motif continued into the Imperial period and became a standard iconographic subject. Emperors from Augustus to Constantine made use of barbarian representations on their monuments.<sup>9</sup> During the Principates of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius the theme of vanquished enemies appears to have been a subject particularly favoured by Roman artists. Possible reasons for the predominance of captive images during the rule of these two

---

<sup>7</sup> Crawford 1974: 328.

<sup>8</sup> The only other surviving monument from the Republican period that carries a depiction of defeated barbarians is the Arch at Glanum, located in modern Saint-Rémy-de-Provence.

<sup>9</sup> The use of the conquered barbarian motif continues beyond the reign of Constantine. A coin of Theodosius (c.395 A.D.) depicts the emperor striding on the back of a prostrate barbarian. Also, a kneeling bound captive is displayed in the lower register on the base of Arcadius' Column at Istanbul which dates to 402-403 A.D.

emperors will be discussed below.

During the five centuries under examination, representations of the pacified barbarian enjoy a broad geographical distribution and are found in many different regions throughout the Roman world. They appear most frequently on various types of media within the city of Rome, but they are also displayed in the theatres of war from which the captives had been taken. Representations have been discovered as far north as the Antonine Wall in Roman Britain and as far south as Roman Egypt, as far west as Gaul and as far east as Roman Asia. This raises the question of why the Romans thought it important to exhibit images of vanquished enemies not only in the city of Rome, but also in the cities and towns located throughout their empire.

The submissive and captive barbarian types are present on a wide variety of media. The earliest surviving Roman representations come from numismatic evidence. As stated earlier, the practice of striking coins with the image of a defeated enemy began in the last century of the Republic.<sup>10</sup> This tradition continued in the coinage of the Roman Imperial period and personifications of the pacified provinces were represented as enslaved barbarians. Depictions of captives were displayed on monuments erected to celebrate Roman victories over defeated enemies. Monumental trophies, triumphal arches and narrative columns all displayed the subjugated foe to enhance further the achievement of the conquerors. Cuirassed statues of various emperors employed the motif in a similar manner. Thus the captive

---

<sup>10</sup> The most common form of the vanquished enemy types appears on a denarius of Julius Caesar (A009) of 48-47 B.C. This type is characterized by a shackled barbarian sitting at the foot of a trophy.

motif was a common form in public art. Yet, the image also appeared on luxury and decorative objects within the realm of private art. These objects include statuettes, sarcophagi, and imperial cameos. Thus even on personal objects meant for private use the subjugation and degradation of human beings was felt to be an appropriate artistic motif. In this connection we may note the observation that “often private taste is...closely related to state art.”<sup>11</sup>

### **The Six Types of Representations**

The catalogue comprises six broad types of barbarian images.<sup>12</sup> The first, that of the submissive barbarian, normally depicts the barbarian, either alone or before a Roman figure, kneeling on one knee with his or her arms spread in a gesture normally interpreted as supplication. The subject’s countenance typically expresses grief and humiliation as a result of his or her predicament. An example of a finely rendered surrender scene can be found in the *Clementia* relief from the late second century Arch of Marcus Aurelius (F013), which is now lost. The emperor sitting astride his steed and granting mercy to two defeated barbarian men who kneel before him constitutes the focal point of the scene, while onlooking Roman soldiers and battlefield trees fill the space remaining. Marcus Aurelius’ position on horseback enhances his nobility because the horse itself was symbol of power and prestige and it served to isolate the emperor and elevate him above the other figures in the field.<sup>13</sup> In the submissive barbarian type, the clement Roman, such as a

---

<sup>11</sup> Hannestad 1988: 131.

<sup>12</sup> Representations of bound or submissive Roman provinces have been included in the catalogue.

<sup>13</sup> Brilliant 1963: 17.

Republican general or an emperor, is regularly depicted on a higher plane than the supplicating barbarian or barbarians. He either sits upon a throne-like structure, as Sulla on the coin depicting the surrender of Jugurtha (A005),<sup>14</sup> or he stands upon a podium as seen on a Trajanic coin (A093) and an Aurelian relief (F012a).<sup>15</sup> Thus the status relationship between the two parties is immediately recognizable. In the *Clementia* relief, the mercy of the emperor is manifested through his extended right hand, a gesture used to denote the high status of its owner.<sup>16</sup> This pattern is followed in each of the representations which include a Roman figure, with the exception of the aforementioned coin of Sulla.

There is no exclusive gender identity found in the representations of barbarians on the monuments; both male and female captives are depicted. However, there does seem to be a pattern in the use of the figures within the six types of representations. In the first, the submissive barbarian type, it is usually a man who is depicted in the act of surrendering to a Roman leader. The man is meant to represent the leader of the people whom the Romans have just conquered. There is one example of a woman in the act of submission as well, but she personifies the newly gained province of Mesopotamia on Trajan's arch at Benevento (C004).

---

<sup>14</sup> The seated authority figure may also be found on a silver Republican goblet (K008), in a scene from a Boscoreale cup (K009), on a coin of Trajan (A082), on Trajan's column (D001), on an Aurelian relief (F012b), on the Roman general sarcophagus (J006), the lid of the Portonaccio sarcophagus (J007), as well as on a fragment from a sarcophagus (J011).

<sup>15</sup> Two coins of Domitian (A056 and A063) depict the emperor standing on the same plane as the supplicant, however his figure towers over the kneeling barbarian at his feet.

<sup>16</sup> Brilliant 1963: 29-31. This gesture is believed to be associated with the statuary of Etruscan nobility as examples of bronze votive statues with the right hand extended exist from the archaic period and fifth century B.C.

The second type shows a bound prisoner, or prisoners, either sitting or standing at the base of a Roman trophy, a victory monument erected on the site of the battle composed of the defeated enemy's weapons and shields. Often the captive's hands are shackled behind his back and on two of the monuments, the arch at Carpentras (C003a and C003b) and a relief fragment (F004), these manacles are attached to a chain that binds the subject to the trophy itself. For instance item number C009, the left column pedestal from the Arch of Diocletian (Arcus Novus), illustrates this type as a bare-chested barbarian kneels at the base of a trophy. His hands, shackled behind his back with a chain tying him to the trophy, and his face turned away from the victory monument at his rear, can clearly be seen. Generally the low status of the captive is demonstrated by his or her diminutive size in contrast with the tall Roman trophy.

These examples which show a prisoner, or prisoners, at the foot of a trophy employ both male and female captives who may be either sitting or standing. There are also variations within this type with regard to the use or inferred use of shackles. Male captives, either alone or in pairs, are almost always illustrated with their hands bound.<sup>17</sup> Lone female figures in association with a trophy, such as that of Domitian (B003), and on a sestertius (A029) and denarius of Vespasian (A047), may also be shown with manacles.<sup>18</sup> Yet, when a man and woman are shown together (perhaps

---

<sup>17</sup> The exceptions occur only within the medium of coinage. An unrestrained male is portrayed on a sestertius of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (A100) and a pair of grieving men is represented on two denarii of Caracalla, A148 and A149.

<sup>18</sup> On A047 a palm tree is substituted for a trophy.

representing a husband and wife), the man is bound, while the woman remains unrestrained and assumes a posture of grief.<sup>19</sup> On five monuments, the mosaic floor from Tipasa (F009), the Column of Marcus Aurelius (D002), the Portonaccio sarcophagus (J007), a column base from the Stoa of the Colossal Figures in Corinth (F010), and the Severan arch at Leptis Magna (C007), a barbarian family is represented.<sup>20</sup> Here too, the father is shackled while the mother and child remain unrestrained. Children also occur in association with a lone adult figure, on the Great Cameo of France (K007) and the relief panel of Marcus Aurelius (F012b) for example. The presence of barbarian children seem to enhance the poignancy of the scene.

The third type of image depicts a captive in an attitude of defeat. The subject is normally shown without restraints of any kind, wearing an expression of anguish and despair. This figure, which occurs most often on coins, may or may not be accompanied by a figure symbolizing Roman authority. Representative of this type is a gold aureus minted during the principate of Domitian which carries the image of a semi-supine woman resting her head in her left hand on its reverse (A053). The superiority of the emperor can be seen by the fact that he is portrayed as being larger than life. He is depicted at a height equal to the palm tree which he stands beside, while the captive is portrayed on a smaller scale.<sup>21</sup> Also, Domitian stands erect and

---

<sup>19</sup> The only exception to occur in the catalogue appears on an aureus of Marcus Aurelius (A114).

<sup>20</sup> Scholars have also reconstructed the lower right corner of the Gemma Augustea to include a crying child. See Kleiner 1992: 71. When a child's gender may be ascertained, a male child is always depicted.

<sup>21</sup> Another example of an oversized emperor, in this instance Caracalla, comes from a relief now residing in the Narodowe Museum in Warsaw (F014).

proud in contrast to the slumped posture and defeated attitude of the barbarian woman. The dejected captive is normally a personification of a subjugated province or area. As women were primarily chosen to symbolize provinces, in representations of this type, male barbarians are rare.

The fourth category consists of bound male barbarian prisoners accompanied by Roman soldiers, as seen for example on the Arch of the Argentarii, dating from the early third century A.D. (C008).<sup>22</sup> Here, two Parthian captives with manacled hands walk before their two Roman captors. The soldiers are regularly portrayed as taller men than their prisoners, a height difference at times created by a rise in ground level upon which the Roman stands, as in the example from a metope from the Adamklissi Trophy (B004c). The dominance of the victor over the vanquished is exhibited through the use of shackles and in the hunched figures of the barbarians. Artists portrayed similar scenes, but with the inclusion of female captives, on the Gemma Augustea (K006) Column of Marcus Aurelius (D002) and the Great Antonine Altar (E002). It does not appear that any of the captives in these examples have been shackled, but the rough handling that they receive (each representation includes a soldier grasping a captive by the hair) makes it quite evident that they are at the mercy of these representatives of the Roman army.

The next type of image consists of a Roman emperor either stepping on

---

<sup>22</sup> Captives in the presence of Roman soldiers decorate a metope of the Adamklissi Trophy (B004c), a column pedestal from each of the Severan arch in Rome (C006), the Arch of Diocletian (C009) and the arch of Constantine, the Great Trajanic Frieze (F005b), an Aurelian panel (F012a), the Neoptolemos sarcophagus (J004) and the sarcophagus of Helena (J013).

a prostrate barbarian, or dragging him along by his hair. The cuirassed statue of Hadrian from Istanbul (H007) showing the emperor standing with his left foot on the back of a prone enemy is an excellent example of this type.<sup>23</sup> The asymmetrical balance of power is unmistakable here and the emperor seems oblivious to the abuse he is inflicting upon his captive. On the coinage, the emperor or Roman personification takes the central position, while the minuscule barbarians are relegated to the outer portions of the coin. When the gender of the abused barbarian can be discerned, it is always a male figure. Female enemies may appear along with males on the coins of this type, but they are never the victims of physical violence.

Depictions of a horseman riding over or towards a fallen barbarian constitute the sixth and final type. The tombstone of Gaius Romanus Capito, from the first century A.D., is a fine representative of this category (I007). Here, the cavalryman on his mount brandishes his lance in order to transfix the barbarian lying under the front hooves of his horse. Scenes such as this assert the soldier's prowess and skill in military activities which was an important virtue in the eyes of the elite members of Roman society. The rider and horse dominate the scene and the barbarian is pushed to the outer limits of the area. The relationship between the victor and the vanquished is at once recognizable due to the action taking place in the scene, with the cavalryman aggressively charging towards his enemy. However the superiority of the Roman and the inferiority of the barbarian are distinguished by the contrast in the body language and spatial positioning of

---

<sup>23</sup> The other representatives of this type (A172, A178-A179, A197, A199-A200 and A206) are all derived from numismatic evidence.

the two figures. This was a popular image with legionaries and they used the design on Republican rings, which functioned as seals,<sup>24</sup> and on tombstones of the Imperial period. Only one (F002) of the thirty-four representations in this category employs a female barbarian in the scene.

### **The Study of Captives within its Socio-cultural and Historical Context**

All the representations of defeated barbarians, with their grief stricken faces, present to the modern viewer images of people to be pitied. Important questions that arise are, firstly, what did artists, or their patrons, wish to accomplish with these scenes, and secondly, how did viewers respond to them.<sup>25</sup> In order to answer these questions and place the the archaeological material in context, a socio-cultural and historical foundation must be laid. The enslavement of defeated enemies was a conventional practice in antiquity; therefore representations of captives may contribute to our knowledge of this institution. Similarly, the representations portrayed people who were non-Romans. Therefore, a study of Roman identity and Roman attitudes to and conception of foreigners is undertaken in an attempt to understand why images of someone outside society was so important.

### **Roman Slavery**

In order to understand the significance of the data collected in this study, the material must be examined within its historical and socio-cultural

---

<sup>24</sup> Richter 1971: 17.

<sup>25</sup> In recent years the area of audience response has grown. For a discussion of audience response to sculptural reliefs see Elsner 1995.

context. As indicated above, one of the fields that the iconography of captive barbarians naturally relates to is the study of ancient slavery. In the ancient world there was an accepted convention which allowed victors in war complete control over the fate of the defeated - men, women and children alike.<sup>26</sup> As Polybius stated, “that is the treatment that the laws of war inflict even on those who are not guilty of any crime”.<sup>27</sup> Thus, newly subjugated people could be pardoned, massacred or enslaved by triumphant generals, but often captives were committed to a life of slavery. Justinian’s *Digest of Roman Law*, compiled from earlier legal texts and published in 533 A.D., includes a section “On the Status of Persons” which explains the origin of the terms associated with slavery and illustrates the role warfare played in the procurement of slaves: “Slaves (*servi*) are so called because commanders generally sell the people they capture and thereby save (*servare*) them instead of killing them. The word for property in slaves (*mancipia*) is derived from the fact that they are captured from the enemy by force of arms (*manu capiantur*).”<sup>28</sup> The etymology is open to dispute but it is the mental association in this text between warfare and slavery that is so important. Captive slaves constituted a visible portion of the general’s success.

Slaves comprised a fundamental element of Rome’s hierarchical

---

<sup>26</sup> Aris. *Pol.* 1.255a5-7. ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὁμολογία τίς ἐστιν ἐν ᾗ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον κρατούμενα τῶν κρατούντων εἶναι φασιν. “There is a kind of slave and slavery which exists by law, by a kind of convention according to which what is vanquished during a war is said to belong to the victor.” (Trans. Garlan 1987: 8).

<sup>27</sup> Polyb. 2.58.9-10. ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε καὶ τοῖς μηθὲν ἀσεβῆς ἐπιτελεσσαμένοις κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ πολέμου νόμους ὑπόκειται παθεῖν. (Trans. Garlan 1987: 8).

<sup>28</sup> Justinian *Dig.* 1.5.4.2-4.3. *Servi ex eo appellati sunt, quod imperatores captivos vendere ac per hoc servare nec occidere solent: mancipia vero dicta, quod ab hostibus manu capiantur.* (Trans. Wiedemann 1981: 15).

society, in which control over the many was concentrated in the hands of a few. It has been estimated that by the end of the first century B.C. there were two to three million slaves in Italy,<sup>29</sup> while the total population of Italy at approximately the same time is estimated at some five to eight million people.<sup>30</sup> Because slavery was such an integral part of Roman society, the slavery system of ancient Rome has become a subject of intense scrutiny on the part of many modern scholars. The modern interest in the lives of slaves appears to have evolved from the “history from below” school of thought, which believes that to ignore or discount people of low status because they did not leave behind much evidence is to deny the opportunity of understanding how Roman society operated as a whole. In the past twenty years the main lines of intellectual discussion and thought regarding the ancient institution of slavery have been concerned with the definition of the Greek and Roman societies as slave societies, the rise and fall of ancient slave societies, the mechanisms by which the slave supply was maintained and, more recently, the analysis of the lives of slaves and what it meant to be a slave in antiquity.

The institution of slavery has existed from the earliest periods of human history to modern times in many societies. However, although they may be termed slave holding communities, only a select number can be correctly identified as genuine slave societies. A number of varying definitions of a slave society have been proposed by modern scholars, based

---

<sup>29</sup> Hopkins 1978: 9.

<sup>30</sup> Parkin 1992: 5.

on specific aspects of the institution of slavery.<sup>31</sup> The first, advanced by Hopkins in his work entitled *Conquerors and Slaves*, concentrates on slavery as an economic institution and focuses on the role played by slaves in production. In order to constitute a slave society “slaves must play an important part in production and form a high proportion (say over 20 per cent) of the population.”<sup>32</sup> Using this method, only five true slave societies can be said to have existed throughout the course of history, that of the West Indies, Brazil and the southern United States in modern times and classical Athens and Roman Italy from antiquity.<sup>33</sup> The rest of the Roman world is not considered due to the relative unimportance of its role in production.

For Hopkins, the institution of slavery in Roman Italy resulted from conquest and he puts forth seven processes which affected the growth of slavery: i) continuous war; ii) influx of booty; iii) investment in land; iv) the formation of large estates; v) impoverishment of the Italian peasantry; vi) emigration of peasants to towns and provinces, and vii) the growth of urban markets.<sup>34</sup> Thus, Rome became a slave society in the second century B.C. owing to the large increase in the number of slaves imported to Italy to work the land once worked by free men as a result of Roman imperial expansion.<sup>35</sup> Hopkins’ work is firmly focused on the economic aspects of slavery, almost to

---

<sup>31</sup> For an overview of the issues see Bradley 1994: 10-30.

<sup>32</sup> Hopkins 1978: 99.

<sup>33</sup> Hopkins 1978: 99 n.1 claims that although the twenty percent cut-off point is an arbitrary one, even if it was lowered to ten or fifteen percent, no more communities would be considered slave societies.

<sup>34</sup> Hopkins 1978: 11ff.

<sup>35</sup> Hopkins 1978: 102.

the point of ignoring the more human aspects.<sup>36</sup>

An alternative definition of a slave society was advanced by Finley in *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*. He disagreed with the use of what he has called the “numbers game,” as population estimates for antiquity can be nothing more than estimates because they cannot be truly quantified. Instead, he concentrated on the “location” of slaves within their society in relation to their masters and the part they played in production.<sup>37</sup> Slaves must be responsible for providing the labour which created the bulk of income for the members of the upper classes.<sup>38</sup> Based on these criteria, Finley agreed that only the five cultures termed slave societies by Hopkins were true slave societies.<sup>39</sup> However, in opposition to Hopkins’ view, he believed that warfare did not instigate the institution of slavery, but instead merely fuelled it. As “demand precedes the supply,” the prominent role of warfare in procuring slaves helps to “explain the character of the Roman slave society,” not its emergence.<sup>40</sup> Three conditions must be met before slavery can be established. There must be: i) private land ownership requiring a work force larger than one’s family; ii) the development of commodity markets, and iii) an unavailability of an internal labour force.<sup>41</sup> Rome met these requirements

---

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Bradley & Patterson below.

<sup>37</sup> Finley 1980: 79-80 (quotations, 79 & 80).

<sup>38</sup> Finley 1980: 82.

<sup>39</sup> Finley 1980: 80.

<sup>40</sup> Finley 1980: 85-86 (quotation, 86). With the exceptions of the importance placed on warfare, and the time when the society could be called a slave society, Finley’s model is similar to that of Hopkins’. Cf. Harris 1979: 82-84.

<sup>41</sup> Finley 1980: 86.

and emerged as a slave society by the third century B.C., although this cannot be said of the whole Roman world. By Finley's definition, only the areas of Italy and Sicily may be viewed as true slave communities.<sup>42</sup> There is a chronological limit to his definition as well as a geographical one, because although a large number of slaves still existed in "late antiquity," slaves were no longer the dominant work force in the country or city and thus no longer were responsible for providing the greatest portion of their owner's income.<sup>43</sup>

In *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, Ste Croix examines the Greek world from 700 B.C. to 650 A.D. through the application of Marxist analysis in order to explain the historical and social changes which occurred during these centuries. He too defines both Greek and Roman societies as slave economies. However, his definition differs from both Hopkins' and Finley's as it does not stress the percentage of chattel slaves within the population, but rather is based on the exploitation of what he has termed "unfree labour."<sup>44</sup> This is the most inexact definition, as unfree labour included not only chattel slavery, but debt-bondage and serfdom as well. Based on his criteria, both the ancient Greek and Roman worlds were slave societies as the upper classes depended on these unfree workers to produce their wealth. However, due to the ambiguity of his definition, no

---

<sup>42</sup> Finley 1980: 79.

<sup>43</sup> Finley 1980: 149 (quotation, 149). Bradley 1994: 14 interprets 'late antiquity' as the period from Diocletian on.

<sup>44</sup> Ste Croix 1981: 52-53 (quotation, 53). Finley does share the idea that the upper classes derived their wealth predominantly from slaves.

chronological or geographical limits can be given.<sup>45</sup>

The three descriptions of a slave society discussed above all deal with slavery from a primarily economic stance, as does the 1926 League of Nations' definition of slavery as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised," a definition which focuses on the master's ownership of the slave and hence implicitly stresses that the slave was an object of property.<sup>46</sup> Although it is crucial to recognize the economic factors, to focus on these factors alone overlooks other principal components of the institution, such as the fact that domestic slaves were not involved in the production of wealth and served to enhance the status of their owners.<sup>47</sup> Scholars such as Bradley and Patterson have attempted to rectify the problem and shift the focus to the more social factors of slavery.

Bradley expresses the opinion that numbers of slaves and owners are not less important than the conceptual structures underlying the practice of slave-holding. The key element in defining Roman society as a slave society is the fact that slave-owning is an expression of power.<sup>48</sup> The whole of Roman culture was based on the unequal balance of power, and the

---

<sup>45</sup> Ste Croix 1981: 209 himself concedes that "during a large part of Greek and Roman history peasants and other independent producers may not only have formed the actual majority of the total population but may also have had a larger share (usually a much larger share) in production than slaves and other unfree workers."

<sup>46</sup> League of Nations' definition: Patterson 1982: 21; Bradley 1994: 16.

<sup>47</sup> Bradley 1994: 15. Bradley points out that domestic slaves consumed, rather than produced, wealth. Cf. Hopkins 1978: 112.

<sup>48</sup> Bradley 1994: 16 & Patterson 1982: 13.

supremacy of one person or group over another was characteristic of all relationships within Roman society. This was also true of familial relations, as the *paterfamilias* had absolute control over the members of his household, including slaves.<sup>49</sup> Thus “servile loyalty and obedience ... belonged to a wider nexus of social obligations imposed downwards from the upper levels of society.”<sup>50</sup>

Bradley’s stance in viewing slavery as a social institution is supported by the sociologist Patterson who believes that “to define slavery *only* as the treatment of human beings as property fails as a definition, since it does not really specify any distinct category of persons.”<sup>51</sup> He argues that slavery is “the permanent, violent domination of natively alienated and generally dishonored persons.”<sup>52</sup> Inherent within the relationship between master and slave is the total and complete power of one individual over the other, established through the power of the master to degrade, humiliate and dishonour the slave in conjunction with the alienation and social death of the slave.<sup>53</sup>

The issue of how the Romans maintained the slave supply has also

---

<sup>49</sup> Bradley 1994: 5. The concept of power is important with regard to the discussion of how the Romans viewed themselves and others which follows in Chapter Four.

<sup>50</sup> Bradley 1987: 37.

<sup>51</sup> Quotation: Patterson 1982: 21 (his italics). Thus Patterson makes no attempt to explain the institution of slavery in economic terms.

<sup>52</sup> Patterson 1982: 13 (quotation, 13). Using this definition Patterson (vii), unlike Finley and Hopkins, states that “many European societies” may also be considered slave societies. Cf. Bradley’s definition of a slave society noted above.

<sup>53</sup> Patterson 1982: 2ff.

received much scholarly attention. There were essentially four methods by which slaves could be procured in the Roman world, through capture as a result of some act of violence (such as war or kidnapping), the regular trade in slaves, exposure of infants and the natural reproduction by slaves already in existence. Warfare was one of the chief means of acquiring slaves in antiquity due to the fact that a large number of people could be enslaved at a time. Nevertheless, mass enslavement was not always practiced as it depended on such conditions as the circumstance of victory, the whim of the general and the social rank of those defeated.<sup>54</sup> Warfare was not a reliable method to depend on as the only means of supply because the outcome of a battle could never be sure.<sup>55</sup>

Finley's classic article, *Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labour?*, included an examination of the means of maintaining an adequate supply of slaves. He believed that the two main sources of slaves were captives (from war and piracy) and people supplied by slave traders (many of whom he proposes were prisoners of war obtained through inter-barbarian warfare), while penal servitude and exposure had a "negligible" effect on the supply.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Garlan stresses the importance of war and piracy in maintaining a steady supply of slaves to ancient Greece. As well, he notes that the

---

<sup>54</sup> Jones 1960: 9; Ste Croix 1981: 228; Hopkins 1978: 102; Finley 1960: 60; Garlan 1988: 47-48. Ducrey 1968: 54-55, in his investigation of the treatment of prisoners of war in the ancient Greek world, found that in 120 episodes of capture by warfare there were 28 cases of mass enslavement contrasted by 68 cases of release.

<sup>55</sup> Finley 1962: 53 calls the enslavement by capture in war or by pirates "accidents." See further Bradley 1994: 41-42.

<sup>56</sup> Finley 1960: 60 (quotation, 60). Exposure: contra Harris 1980: 123 who believes that it is "possible that a major part of the slave demand was met from this source."

development of the slave trade was also an indispensable instrument for the procurement of slaves.<sup>57</sup> As for the Roman slave supply, the dominant view sees warfare as the primary means of maintaining an adequate number of slaves during the Republic. Jones, in a popular stance, viewed warfare primarily and piracy as the most important methods of obtaining slaves in the early and late Republic. During the Principate of Augustus captives were still being imported to Italy, but when the expansionist campaigns ended after his death, and both law and order and the *pax Romana* were established, he contended that these methods were supplanted by the natural reproduction of existing slaves as the sources of slaves “dried up.”<sup>58</sup>

The activity of slave traders is often cited in conjunction with war as a means of supplementing the slave supply because it is known that these opportunistic “businessmen” followed the Roman army while it was on campaign or conveniently arrived to take the captives off the hands of the general and procured slaves from beyond the frontier.<sup>59</sup> The Black Sea and Danubian regions were of importance in supplying slaves from the seventh century B.C. and slaves were also obtained from Asia Minor and Syria.<sup>60</sup> As the Roman world expanded, the Romans inherited these trade routes in both the east and the west. Slaves obtained from inland regions were transported to the coastal cities and from there were distributed throughout the

---

<sup>57</sup> Garland 1987: 19.

<sup>58</sup> Jones 1960: 9. Cf. Ste Croix 1981: 228; Hopkins 1978: 102; Finley 1980: 82; Harris 1980: 121-122.

<sup>59</sup> Garland 1960: 8; Harris 1980: 125.

<sup>60</sup> Finley 1962: 52; Finley 1981: 173; Patterson 1982: 152. Cf. Harris 1980: 126-128. Asia Minor and Syria: Gordon 1960: 171.

Mediterranean world.<sup>61</sup> The island of Delos contained one such slave market which was reported to have handled tens of thousands of slaves on a daily basis in the second century B.C.<sup>62</sup>

There is very little evidence about individual slave traders themselves, possibly because they dealt in other commodities besides humans or because they had a reputation as dishonest and generally “low” people, at least among the elite if not the general populace, and therefore did not want to admit to their profession.<sup>63</sup> A notable exception to the general lack of evidence of slavetraders is found in the form of a tombstone discovered in Thrace.<sup>64</sup> The self-described slavetrader (σωματέμπορος) Aulus Timotheus Kapreilius of Amphipolis had an elaborate funerary monument erected after his death, sometime in the first century A.D. This monument is important in that it gives us a sense of the hardships suffered by those people who were considered a commodity. The lowest register of the stele contains an engraved scene depicting the dealer leading along eight captives who are chained together at the neck.

Piracy also played a role in ensuring an adequate number of slaves

---

<sup>61</sup> Gordon 1960: 171-190 investigated the question of the nationality of slaves in the early Roman Empire through the trade routes, representations and servile nomenclature of slaves. She concluded that this evidence was unreliable.

<sup>62</sup> Bradley 1994: 37; Gordon 1960: 172. Harris 1980: 126-127 notes that Delos' importance declined after the sack of 69 B.C., thus allowing other centres such as Mitylene to take over the trade.

<sup>63</sup> Low opinion: Harris 1980: 129. Cf. *Sen. Ep.* 80.9; *Plin. NH* 7.56, 21.170. Harris 1980: 130-131 using papyri and contemporary inscriptions as evidence, lists twenty-three individuals whom he believes to have been ancient slavedealers.

<sup>64</sup> Finley 1960: 57; Finley 1968: 154-166. See especially Duchêne 1986: 513-520.

were available for consumption. Once captured, the pirate's victims could be ransomed or, if that was not a lucrative prospect, they could be turned over to professional dealers, such as Aulus Timotheus Kapreilius.<sup>65</sup> However, like warfare, piracy alone was not a reliable means of sustaining a sufficient supply.

The two final methods by which the Romans obtained their slaves were through the exposure of freeborn infants and the natural reproduction of existing slaves. There has been some debate concerning the importance of exposure on the slave population. Jones argued that this practice contributed a fair number of slaves, while Finley contended that it had little effect on the overall population.<sup>66</sup> The role of home-born slaves or *vernae*, can be seen in the increased interest in laws affecting the offspring of servile women. Yet Harris argues that as the slave population was more heavily weighted with men than women, slaves could not have sustained the supply by natural reproduction alone.<sup>67</sup> The methods of exposure and breeding must be viewed as ways of supplementing the supply, rather than maintaining it.

In the paper "On Roman Slave Supply and Slave Breeding," Bradley demonstrates that although the view of warfare maintaining the supply in the Republican period in contrast to the breeding of slaves after the Principate of Augustus (with trade and piracy as constants with undulations), is a viable

---

<sup>65</sup> Finley 1962: 58; Bradley 1994: 38.

<sup>66</sup> Jones 1960: 9. Cf. Harris 1980: 123; Finley 1960: 60.

<sup>67</sup> Laws: Bradley 1994: 34. Harris 1980: 119-121. Harris believes that this is especially true given the difficulties with which the free elite had in sustaining their numbers.

model, it must be modified somewhat. He convincingly argues that the slave supply to Rome was maintained, not by commonly exclusive methods, but by the commonly supportive means of conquest (as warfare continued although without the previous large scale conquests), trade and natural reproduction.<sup>68</sup>

Various works have been written in an attempt to better understand the lives of ancient slaves. There have been two different approaches regarding the treatment of those in servile positions; on the one hand, there are the "apologists," most notably Vogt, who view slavery as an institution necessary for the progression of the society which in turn rewards the slave for his or her contribution, on the other, there are those scholars such as Finley and Bradley who stress the inhumanity of the institution.

Vogt and his followers assert that the lives of slaves were not particularly difficult because intimate and humane bonds could be forged between themselves and their masters.<sup>69</sup> Citing literary evidence for the recognition of a slave's good deeds and the acknowledgment of "faithful" slaves, Vogt argues that "humanitarian principles" operated within the slave society at Rome.<sup>70</sup> As nurses, tutors and physicians were involved with their masters at "crucial" and "vulnerable" times in the master's life (i.e. when the master was very young or ill), they were able to rise above, and be reconciled

---

<sup>68</sup> Bradley 1987: 64 & Bradley 1994: 31-56.

<sup>69</sup> See especially Vogt 1975: 104ff.

<sup>70</sup> Faithful slave: see Vogt 1975: 129-145. Quotations: Vogt 1975: 141. Contra Finley 1980: 104 who points out that this type of relationship also existed in Nazi concentration camps. These bonds are formed because "brutally deracinated human beings seeking new ties, new psychological attachments, not infrequently turn to those in whose power they find themselves."

with, their servile condition.<sup>71</sup> In *Slavery and the Elements of Freedom in Ancient Greece*, Westermann proposed that although a slave society existed during the classical period, people could move easily between slavery and freedom and vice versa, which accounts for the nonexistence of revolts by chattel slaves in Greece. This conclusion was reached primarily from the absence of slave complaints within literature, which Westermann interpreted as a sign that slaves in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were also content with their situation.<sup>72</sup> However, he failed to take into account the fact that ancient Greek literature was written by the elite and for the elite; thus a discontented servile population would have nowhere to voice their grievances.

In direct opposition to the humanist stance is Finley's emphasis on the "inhumanity of slavery as an institution."<sup>73</sup> While he conceded that there were instances of generosity towards slaves by some owners, he stressed that these were individual cases and that occasional acts of kindness do not negate the fact that slavery as an institution was brutal. Like Vogt, he employed literary evidence to demonstrate how slaves could be, and often were, subjected to corporal punishment, torture and sexual abuse.<sup>74</sup> The most recent works on slavery have dealt with this question of inhumane treatment.<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> Quotations: Vogt 1975: 105.

<sup>72</sup> Westermann 1960: 31.

<sup>73</sup> Finley 1980: 92.

<sup>74</sup> Finley 1980: 95-96.

<sup>75</sup> See especially Patterson 1982 & Bradley 1984.

Using the comparative method, Patterson examined over sixty cultures which may be defined as slave holding societies, including ancient Greece and Rome, in order to establish universal principles which enable an understanding of slavery on a cross-cultural level. Thus he has concluded that the key element of the institution is the domination and power of the master over his "property."<sup>76</sup> The life of a slave was one of humiliation, degradation and hardship as slaves suffered in a state of "social death" because they had no recognized position within the community beyond that of their master.<sup>77</sup> In order to create this condition, the captive's former identity and humanity had to be eradicated, a process Patterson has referred to as "natal alienation."<sup>78</sup> The slave was to have no past, no present and no future beyond what his or her master allowed.

Bradley also examines the lives of slaves in *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control*. In this work Bradley explores the slave owner's attitude towards his or her slaves. "Since slaves constituted the lowest stratum of society there was a strong tendency to equate low with base: low in a social sense became low in a moral sense."<sup>79</sup> There was a strong negative idea of the slave as a criminal human being and often the slave was treated as such. There has been evidence found of this -- numerous examples

---

<sup>76</sup> This work explores slavery from a sociological, psychological point of view and makes no attempt to explain the institution in economic terms.

<sup>77</sup> Patterson 1982: 5 (quotation, 5); contra Joshel 1992: 55-56.

<sup>78</sup> Patterson 1982: 38-39.

<sup>79</sup> Bradley 1987: 35.

of slave collars and shackles have been recovered from the archaeological record.<sup>80</sup> The slave owner used fear, abuse and violence as a means to maintain a position of dominance.<sup>81</sup> Thus Tacitus advised a kind of campaign of terror as he felt that the only way to control one's slaves was through fear.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, the constant fear of punishment and the absolute power wielded by the master meant that the life of a slave was one of constant hardship and pain.<sup>83</sup>

Joshel in *Work, Identity and Legal Status at Rome*, collected 1470 individuals' inscriptions at Rome dating from the first century B.C. to the first two centuries A.D. in order to investigate how slaves, freedmen and freeborn people represented themselves and how work was involved in framing their identity. More than sixty percent of those who included an occupational title on their tombstone were slaves or freed slaves, which Joshel interprets as a means to establish an identity within the community.<sup>84</sup> A freedman who may lay claim to a specific form of work "no longer appears at the edges of Roman society."<sup>85</sup> For slaves who lacked all of the components of identity, and who had no legal means with which to procure one, their occupation became their identity. This was the one thing that could not be taken away

---

<sup>80</sup> For a recent discussion of slave shackles recovered from England, see Thompson 1993.

<sup>81</sup> Bradley 1987: 33.

<sup>82</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 14.44.

<sup>83</sup> Attitude: Bradley 1987: 35. Use of fear: Bradley 1987: 113-137.

<sup>84</sup> Joshel 1992: 46ff. Cf. The ostentatious display of the freedman slavetrader Aulus Timotheus Kapreilius in Duchêne 1986 & Finley 1968. Although his profession was not well regarded by his contemporaries, it was important for him to advertise it, because his occupation was his identity.

<sup>85</sup> Joshel 1992: 55-61 (quotation, 60).

from them; they defined themselves through their work.

It is the aim of this thesis to set the representations of captive barbarians found in Roman art within the context of the study of slavery first in order to determine what these images mean, and secondly to make a contribution to the field of ancient slavery from iconographical material. The use of artistic evidence in this field is novel and potentially of great interest, since most conventional historians pursue their investigations chiefly through the examination of literary sources alone.

### **Studies of the "Other"**

Slavery functioned as a defining mechanism in Roman society; it served to establish who the Romans were and how they perceived themselves and others.<sup>86</sup> It was a fact of life in Roman society that there were people who were meant to be free, and others who were meant to be slaves. As the Roman world expanded and more regions came under Roman influence, the pool from which to draw slaves was greatly increased. Slavery became ubiquitous in the Roman world and slaves formed the lowest stratum of society.

In Roman society, there tended to be little upward social mobility, and boundaries between the strata were carefully demarcated. Group distinctions were encountered by the Roman child at an early age and firmly established

---

<sup>86</sup> Thompson 1989: 5.

through the child's socialization.<sup>87</sup> This sensitivity to the gradations in society led Romans to develop a mental concept of "us" as opposed to "them." Suetonius remarked that Augustus thought it very important that the Roman people should be kept pure and uncorrupted by any taint of foreign or slave blood.<sup>88</sup> Attitudes such as this widened the gap between the free and servile population and reinforced the idea that barbarians were meant to be slaves and that Romans were meant to be masters.<sup>89</sup> A slave, due to his foreign origin and servile condition, was always viewed by his Roman owner as "a deracinated outsider."<sup>90</sup>

In recent years the study of the "other" and questions of racial prejudice in ancient, as well as modern, societies have come into vogue. This area of inquiry may have blossomed as a direct result of the awareness of cultural variations and racial tensions within the modern global society.<sup>91</sup> The division of the world by the Greeks into Greek and non-Greek has long been recognized, but until recently the reasons why this dichotomy arose and the way in which it was maintained were left unquestioned. Through the examination of ancient Greek literature, scholars such as Hartog, Hall and Cartledge have made important contributions to the study of Greek cultural

---

<sup>87</sup> Bradley 1994: 26 calls attention to the fact that at school children were taught to speak authoritatively to slaves during their language lessons. For an example see Dionisotti 1982.

<sup>88</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 40.3. *Magni praeterea existimans sincerum atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum seroare populum...*

<sup>89</sup> This echoes the Greek sentiment. Wiedemann 1981: 224 disagrees, stating that slavery for the Romans operated as a means by which to assimilate outsiders into their society. Contra, rightly, Finley 1980: 75.

<sup>90</sup> Quotation: Finley 1980: 75, drawing on the fundamental study by H. Lévy-Bruhl 1960.

<sup>91</sup> Haarhoff's 1948 study of exclusiveness in Greek and Rome culture "with reference to modern times" was all the more poignant after the attempted extermination of Jews by the Nazis.

self-definition. Hartog's ground breaking study, *The Mirror of Herodotus*, concentrates on Herodotus' description of the Scyths in the fourth book of the *Histories*, which he interprets as an attempt by the ancient historian to create a readily identifiable "other."<sup>92</sup> Beyond this, Hartog argues that the account of the Scyths acts as a "mirror" which reflected the Greeks' perception of the Scyths as well as the Greeks' perception of themselves through their construction of the "other."<sup>93</sup> The Greeks created a sense of themselves and who they were through the understanding of who they were not.

The concept of negative identity, or of self-definition through contrast, is also found in Hall's compelling publication, *Inventing the Barbarian*, in which she argues that although a sense of "Hellenic self-consciousness" had developed by at least the beginning of the seventh century B.C, the concept of the "barbarian" did not develop until the Persian crisis in the fifth century B.C.<sup>94</sup> The tragic plays produced at this time, as exemplified by the *Persae* of Aeschylus, were central to the "invention" and maintenance of the barbarian stereotype.<sup>95</sup> Cartledge agrees, although he sees the concept of the other as "but one instance of the ideological habit of polarization that was a hallmark of [the Greeks'] mentality and culture."<sup>96</sup> Employing the various writings of ancient historians, playwrights and philosophers, Cartledge demonstrates that

---

<sup>92</sup> Hartog 1988: 209-210.

<sup>93</sup> Hartog 1988: xxiii.

<sup>94</sup> Tragedy: Hall 1989: 8-10, 161-162. *Pers.*:117-121. For a study the use of the barbarian in the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides see Bacon 1961. See Long 1986 for barbarians in Greek comedy.

<sup>95</sup> Hall 1989: 103-113 (quotation, 107). Cartledge 1993: 39. Haarhoff 1948: 37.

<sup>96</sup> Cartledge 1993: 11.

the Greeks divided the world into the dichotomies of Greek-barbarian, men-women, citizen-alien, free-slave and gods-mortals, in order to comprehend their place in the world.

### **Summary**

An early investigation that preceded the present-day concern with the “other” concluded that the Roman idea of “barbarian” was inherited from the Greeks, although there was, to a certain extent, a willingness to integrate others into Roman society.<sup>97</sup> However, study of the “other” has focused mainly on the Greeks and not the Romans. This thesis aims to correct the balance to some extent by answering the following questions. What role did the captive barbarian motif play in the formation and/or maintenance of a Roman identity? What role did the image play in the development of Roman attitudes towards foreigners? What were Roman artists trying to accomplish by showing Roman audiences, in a graphic way, someone who was non-Roman? Is it valid to raise the question of racial prejudice with regard to these representations of barbarians? In ancient societies slavery was not racially grounded; enslavement was not based on the colour of a person’s skin. Were the images of defeated enemies meant, instead, to convey to the Romans the idea of the noble savage? Was this a criticism or a celebration of power? Why were Roman leaders so interested in having vanquished foes presented to the public? How were the images manipulated by various leaders to suit their own purposes? Are these representations based on the horror and realities of slavery or are they merely part of a standardized genre? The following chapters will be devoted to discussion and analysis of these

---

<sup>97</sup> Haarhoff 1948: 126-127, 134.

questions. However, as a prelude to such analysis, the iconographic evidence itself has to be examined in detail.

## **Chapter Two - The Evidence**

The purpose of this chapter is to trace in detail the origins of representations of submissive or defeated enemies and then to examine the media depicting scenes of submission and conquest more fully than was possible in Chapter One. The image of the submissive or vanquished barbarian was used extensively in Roman art, but the portrayal of enemies in humiliating poses was not a Roman invention. The motif is present in the art of various ancient Mediterranean cultures. Those peoples who were militaristic in nature, such as the Egyptians and Assyrians, exploited the motif extensively and representations of bound captives were often included in the historical reliefs of both cultures.<sup>98</sup>

### **The History of the Motif**

Egyptian rulers from the first to at least the twenty-fifth dynasty, a span of almost three thousand years, decorated monuments and the walls of public buildings with images of conquered foes.<sup>99</sup> The defeated were portrayed in various media to symbolize the monarch's power and to laud the military successes of the pharaoh. Already in Dynasty I, the representation of the pharaoh standing over and preparing to strike a conquered and helpless enemy had become a standard type.<sup>100</sup> Thus, the representations of helpless

---

<sup>98</sup> Assyrians: Roux 1992: 346. Like the Roman army of the early Republic, the Assyrian forces campaigned almost every year from the tenth to the seventh centuries B.C.

<sup>99</sup> Old Kingdom: Faraone 1991: 175; cf. Vercoutter 1976: 33. Faraone 1991: 173 in a discussion of bound statues in Egypt, found that in daily rituals performed to ensure the safety and defence of Egypt, wax figurines in the form of kneeling and bound figures, which were identical to the representations of bound captives which decorated reliefs, were destroyed.

<sup>100</sup> Aldred 1980: 36.

captives were “at once an advertisement of past good fortune and an assurance for continued good fortune [in warfare].”<sup>101</sup> Vercoutter, while studying the image of the black in Egyptian art, discovered that due to the high number of campaigns waged along the Upper Nile, blacks not surprisingly appeared most often on monuments as prisoners of war.<sup>102</sup> The artistic representations of captives and defeated enemies produced in Dynastic Egypt were placed on large, formal monuments which served to celebrate the power and success of the pharaoh.

The Assyrians, who took great pride in their military achievements, also made use of the vanquished foe in their art, and images of bound prisoners of war can commonly be seen on Assyrian reliefs. Introduced under the ruler Ashur-nasir-pal II in the ninth century B.C. and continued by his successors to the end of the Assyrian empire in the seventh century B.C., such representations were meant to assure the Assyrian people that Assyria would always be successful in war. A fine example of captives in Assyrian art comes from the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal’s son Shalmaneser III.<sup>103</sup> The bronze gates from a temple in Balawat include the depiction of a file of naked male prisoners with their hands bound behind them and their necks yoked. Stelae were also erected in conquered areas to commemorate Assyrian victory and success.<sup>104</sup> The motif is viewed chiefly as a work of political propaganda. These images were used to show the power of the Assyrians and to inspire

---

<sup>101</sup> Quotation: Faraone 1991: 175; Vercoutter 1976: 68. Faraone 1991: 179 remarks that both the Egyptians and Assyrians employed effigies of captives in public and private rituals.

<sup>102</sup> Vercoutter 1976: 56.

<sup>103</sup> Saggs 1984: 236, pl. 13A. The gates currently reside in the British Museum.

<sup>104</sup> Roux 1992: 351.

respect and fear in the ambassadors of prospective foes who visited the Assyrian ruler in his palace.<sup>105</sup> In this way the Assyrian monarch expressed his power and success.

There do not appear to be any direct analogues to the Egyptian and Assyrian methods of depicting defeated peoples in Greek art.<sup>106</sup> This may be due to the difference in governments between the Eastern and Greek societies. Because the Greeks were not governed by a sole ruler, but instead by a democracy, the creation of large public monuments devoted to the aggrandizement of one man was avoided. Victory monuments, when erected, employed allegorical figures in order to remove the action from human experience. However, small private monuments, such as grave markers, were of a more personal nature and successes could be celebrated here. The depictions of barbarians which are most similar to those made by Roman artists come from two grave stelae of the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. respectively. The first relief, now in the Villa Albani in Rome, shows a young horseman downing his adversary. The second example, in the Kerameikos Museum at Athens, comes from a grave marker belonging to a young Greek named Dexileos, and dates from approximately 394 B.C. The horseman is portrayed on his mount galloping over a fallen and cowering

---

<sup>105</sup> Roux 1992: 352.

<sup>106</sup> Representations of bound figures have been found in ancient Greek contexts which may have been employed in magical rituals designed to protect the performer of the act. See Faraone 1991.

enemy.<sup>107</sup>

In the Hellenistic period there were, once again, large monuments designed to celebrate the ruling sovereignty. Hellenistic monarchs raised victory monuments, but they often chose to allegorize their victories in a mythological parallel such as a gigantomachy or an amazonomachy. The Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum, constructed in 180 B.C. as a memorial to the success of Attalus I over the Gauls, is an outstanding example of a gigantomachy, the battle waged between the gods and the giants.<sup>108</sup> The ancient citizens viewing this sculpture would have understood that the Giants seen on the altar's panels were an allegory for the monstrous Gauls against whom they had successfully struggled.

One can see the antecedents to the interest in human emotion in art and the seemingly pitiful depiction of barbarians by Roman artists in the Great Altar, which has become famous for the emotion portrayed on the faces of the battle's participants. The sorrowful expressions of the defeated Giants strikes a chord in the modern viewer. The attention to emotion can be found on another monument at Pergamum which consisted of the Attalid group of defeated Gauls. This group of statues was erected in 220 B.C. to celebrate the Attalid victory over the Gauls in the third century B.C., and included two now famous statues, the Ludovisi Group and the Dying Gaul. The Ludovisi

---

<sup>107</sup> This type of scene is found on many first century A.D. Roman military grave markers. Anderson 1984: 16, believes that although the Dexileos stele has a composition similar to the later Roman stelae, these examples are too early in date to have had an influence on the Roman grave monuments.

<sup>108</sup> Boardman 1993: 166.

sculpture depicts a Gallic chieftain as he commits suicide after having killed his wife. He has chosen a noble death over capture and possible slavery. Similarly, the Dying Gaul represents a barbarian bravely facing his inevitable death. The heroic death of these defeated enemies probably served to enhance the prestige of the Greeks: only a people more courageous and powerful could have conquered such fine adversaries.<sup>109</sup>

Also, two bronze statuettes of African captives have survived from the Hellenistic period.<sup>110</sup> The first, produced in the Fayum region of Egypt and now residing in the Louvre, is a standing figure of a young nude male with his hands bound behind his back. The second, also from Egypt and now in the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, is another standing representation of a young man, dressed in trousers, whose arms have been pinioned behind his back.<sup>111</sup>

The Romans had, and still have, a reputation for being a very militaristic society.<sup>112</sup> As the conquest of the Mediterranean world advanced, Roman artists came to know and to be influenced by the Egyptian, Assyrian and Hellenistic tradition of portraying defeated enemies in art. As early as the third century B.C. there existed a specialized art form, the so-called “triumphal painting,” in which the influences from the East could take root,

---

<sup>109</sup> Keen 1986: 67.

<sup>110</sup> Snowden 1976: 204.

<sup>111</sup> Snowden 1976: 204 fig.261 & 264.

<sup>112</sup> For a further examination of this topic, see below Chapter Four.

and Roman artists adapted the conquered enemy representations.<sup>113</sup> The practice of depicting humiliated, defeated or submissive barbarians on monuments can be traced to the Roman paintings which were carried in triumphal processions. The Roman triumph, which has a history extending back to pre-Republican times, was a very important ritual honouring a general victorious in battle.<sup>114</sup> The *pompa triumphalis* was celebrated by a formal procession which wound its way from the Campus Martius, through Rome, across the Forum and up to the Capitoline Hill. The parade included Roman magistrates and senators as well as members of the army and formerly enslaved Romans freed by the victory. Spoils of war, paintings of landscape and battle scenes and foreign prisoners (the most prominent of whom were customarily killed in a dungeon, the *Tullianum*, on the Capitoline before a sacrifice of oxen) were exhibited in front of the triumphator's chariot.<sup>115</sup> The triumph was Roman society's most spectacular and status-enhancing event.<sup>116</sup> Plutarch recorded the triumph celebrated in 167 B.C. by Aemilius Paullus after his victory over King Perseus. This passage, quoted in detail below, shows the elaborate nature of the ceremony, how carefully organized it was, and the glory which was reflected onto the *triumphator*:

Three days were assigned for the triumphal procession. The first barely sufficed for the exhibition of the captured statues, paintings, and colossal figures, which were carried on two

---

<sup>113</sup> Bianchi Bandinelli 1970: 114.

<sup>114</sup> See especially Warren 1970: 57-64. For the Roman triumph in general see Versnel 1970 and Kunzl 1988.

<sup>115</sup> Versnel 1970: 95-96.

<sup>116</sup> Versnel 1970: 304. Livy 30.15.12 *neque magnificentius quicquam triumpho apud Romanos*. Prestige of the *triumphator*: Warren 1970: 64-65; Versnel 1970: 67-93.

hundred and fifty chariots. 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. 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.

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 Theracleceian, together with all the gold plate

of Perseus's 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....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....And yet Perseus had sent to Aemilius begging not to be lead in the procession and asking to be left out of the triumph....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. Next, mounted on a chariot of magnificent adornment, came Aemilius himself, 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 divisions, and singing, some of them divers songs intermingled with jesting, as the ancient custom was, 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.<sup>117</sup>

Triumphal paintings, which began as mere landscape illustrations, came to depict the various episodes of the war being commemorated,

<sup>117</sup> Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 33-34.4. τῆς δὲ πομπῆς εἰς ἡμέρας τρεῖς νενεμημένης, ἣ μὲν πρώτη μόλις ἐξαρκέσασα τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνδριάσι καὶ γραφαῖς καὶ κολοσσοῖς ἐπὶ ζευγῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων κομιζομένοις τούτων ἔσχε θεάν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πολυτελέστατα τῶν Μακεδονικῶν ὄπλων ἐπέμπετο πολλαῖς ἀμάξαις, αὐτὰ τε μαρμαίροντα χαλκῷ νεοσμῆκτῳ καὶ σιδήρῳ, τὴν τε θέσιν ἐκ τέχνης καὶ συναρμογῆς ὡς ἂν μάλιστα συμπεφορημένοις χύδην καὶ αὐτομάτως εἰκοὶ πεποιημένα, κράνη πρὸς ἀσπίσι καὶ θώρακες ἐπὶ κνημῖσι, καὶ Κρητικαὶ πέλται καὶ Θράκια γέρρα καὶ φαρέτραι μετὰ ἵπικῶν ἀναμεμιγμένοι χαλινῶν, καὶ ξίφη γυμνὰ διὰ τούτων παρανίσχοντα καὶ σάρισαι παραπετηγυῖαι, σύμμετρον ἔχοντων χάλασμα τῶν ὄπλων, ὥστε τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κρούσιν ἐν τῷ διαφέρεσθαι τραχὺ καὶ φοβερὸν ὑπῆχέιν, καὶ μηδὲ νενικημένων ἄφοβον εἶναι τὴν ὄψιν. μετὰ δὲ τὰς ὄπλοφόρους ἀμάξας ἄνδρες ἐπεπορεύοντο τρισχίλιοι νόμισμα φέροντες ἀργυροῦν ἐν ἀγγείοις ἑπτακοσίοις πεντήκοντα τριταλάντοις, ὧν ἕκαστον ἀνὰ τέσσαρες ἐκόμιζον. ἄλλοι δὲ κρατῆρας ἀργυροῦς καὶ κέρατα καὶ φιάλας καὶ κύλικας, εὐ διακεκοσμημένα πρὸς θεάν ἕκαστα καὶ περιττὰ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ παχύτητι τῆς τορείας. Τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἡμέρας ἔωθεν μὲν εὐθύς ἐπορεύοντο σαλπικταὶ μέλος οὐ προσόδιον καὶ πομπικόν, ἀλλ' οἷω μαχομένους ἐποτρύνουσι αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι, προσεγκελευόμενοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἦγοντο χρυσόκερω τροφίαι βοῦς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, μίτραις ἠσκημένοι 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 ἀγγεῖα τριταλαντιαῖα μεμερισμένον ὁμοίως τῷ ἀργυρίῳ. τὸ δὲ πλήθος ἦν τῶν ἀγγείων ὀγδοήκοντα τριῶν δέοντα. τούτοις ἐπέβαλλον οἱ τε τὴν ἱεράν φιάλην ἀνέχοντες, ἦν ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐκ χρυσοῦ δέκα ταλάντων διὰ λίθων κατεσκεύασεν, οἱ τε τὰς Ἀντιγονίδας καὶ Σελευκίδας καὶ Θηρικλείους καὶ ὅσα περὶ δέλπνον χρυσώματα τοῦ Περσέως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. τούτοις ἐπέβαλλε τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ Περσέως καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐπικείμενον. εἶτα μικροῦ διαλείμματος ὄντος ἤδη τὰ τέκνα τοῦ βασιλέως ἦγετο δούλα, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τροφῆν καὶ διδασκάλων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν δεδακρυμένων ὄχλος, αὐτῶν τε τὰς χεῖρας ὀρεγόντων εἰς τοὺς θεατὰς καὶ τὰ παιδία δεῖσθαι καὶ λιτανεύειν διδασκόντων.... 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 εἰκόσ....καίτοι προσέπεμψε τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ δεόμενος μὴ πομπευθῆναι καὶ παραιτούμενος τὸν θρίαμβον...Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐκόμιζοντο χρυσοὶ στέφανοι τετρακόσιοι τὸ πλήθος, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἀριστεία τῆς νίκης τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ μετὰ πρεσβειῶν ἔπεμψαν. εἴτ' αὐτὸς ἐπέβαλλεν ἄρματι κεκοσμημένῳ διαπρεπῶς ἐπιβεβηκῶς, ἀνὴρ καὶ δίχρα τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας ἀξιοθέατος, ἀλουργίδα χρυσόπαστον ἀμπεχόμενος καὶ δάφνης κλῶνα τῇ δεξιᾷ προτείνων. ἔδαφνηφόροι δὲ καὶ σύμπας ὁ στρατός, τῷ μὲν ἄρματι τοῦ στρατηγού κατὰ λόχους καὶ τάξεις ἐπόμενος, ἄδων δὲ τὰ μὲν ὠδὰς τινὰς πατρίους ἀναμεμιγμένας γέλῳ, τὰ δὲ παιᾶνας ἐπινικίους καὶ τῶν διαπεπραγμένων ἐπαίνους εἰς τὸν Αἰμίλιον περίβλεπτον ὄντα καὶ ζηλωτὸν ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐδενὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπίφθονον. Trans. Perrin 1918: 443-447.

including the capture of prisoners.<sup>118</sup> During the procession, a prisoner of war was exhibited underneath each placard illustrating the details of his capture, in order to show the victory in concrete, human terms. A passage of Josephus' describes the artistic representations displayed in the triumph of Titus and Vespasian after successfully quelling the Jewish Revolt of 66-70 A.D.

The war was shown by numerous representations, in separate sections, affording a very vivid picture of its episodes. Here was to be seen a very prosperous country devastated, there whole battalions of the enemy slaughtered; here a party in flight, there others led into captivity; walls of surpassing compass demolished by engines, strong fortresses overpowered, cities with well-manned defences completely mastered and an army pouring within the ramparts, an area all deluged with blood, the hands of those incapable of resistance raised in supplication....the art and magnificent workmanship of these structures now portrayed the incidents to those who had not witnessed them, as though they were happening before their eyes. On each of the stages was stationed the general of one of the captured cities in the attitude in which he was taken.<sup>119</sup>

The first triumphal painting permanently displayed depicted Valerius Maximus Messala's victory in Sicily in the mid third century B.C.<sup>120</sup> Subsequent generals followed his lead, and representations of captives came

<sup>118</sup> Zonar. *Epitome* 7.21. Hannestad 1988: 124; Torelli 1982: 121. Evans 1992: 8, notes that paintings similar to those carried in triumphal processions were used as a "form of campaign news" to apprise the population of events during wars fought far from Rome.

<sup>119</sup> Joseph. *BJ* 7.5.5. διὰ πολλῶν δὲ μιμημάτων ὁ πόλεμος ἄλλος εἰς ἄλλα μεμερισμένος ἐναργεστάτην ὄψιν αὐτοῦ παρεῖχεν. ἦν γὰρ ὄραν χώραν μὲν εὐδαίμονα δημομένην, ὄλας δὲ φάλαγγας κτεινομένας πολεμίων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας τοὺς δ' εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀγομένους, τεῖχη δ' ὑπερβάλλοντα μεγέθει μηχαναῖς ἐρειπόμενα καὶ φρουρίων ἀλικομένους ὀχυρότητας καὶ πόλεων πολυανθρώπους περιβόλους κατ' ἄκρας ἐχομένους, καὶ στρατιᾶν ἔνδον τειχῶν εἰσχεομένην, καὶ πάντα φόνου πλήθοντα τόπον, καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων χεῖρας ἀνταίρειν ἰκεσίας....ἡ τέχνη δὲ καὶ τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἡ μεγαλοουργία τοῖς οὐκ ἰδοῦσι γινόμενα τότε ἐδείκνυεν ὡς παροῦσι. τέτακτο δ' ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν πηγμάτων ὁ τῆς ἀλικομένης πόλεως στρατηγὸς ὃν τρόπον ἐλήφθη.... Trans. Thackeray 1926: 547-549.

<sup>120</sup> Pliny *HN* 35.7.22-23.

to be included on permanent monuments in order to remind the viewer of the Roman leader's triumph and past accomplishments.

The subjugation of foreign lands and peoples was very important to the Romans, as seen from the importance placed on the ceremonial triumph, for it reinforced the idea of the superiority of the Romans in general and the Roman leader in particular. "Roman society used visual imagery as a central feature of its political mechanism. Public art proclaimed through widely understood imagery the integrity and universality of the Roman State."<sup>121</sup> Scenes of defeated barbarians came to be employed on a wide variety of media over five centuries. These scenes became more common as ambitious men attempted to promote themselves in order to gain political power in the late Republic. As the Republic gave way to the Principate, the representation of captives in turn became a key element in the ideological programs of the emperors.

### **Numismatic evidence**

Rome first adopted coinage as a system of exchange in the early third century B.C. and the responsibility for minting money eventually fell to three men, the *tresviri auro argento aere flando feriundo*.<sup>122</sup> The first coins were struck with images of an allegorical nature, such as the personification of

---

<sup>121</sup> Casey 1986: 37.

<sup>122</sup> Crawford 1985: 30. *Tresviri*: Crawford 1985: 244; Crawford 1974: 599 Caesar increased the number of men responsible for coinage from three to four but this was reduced again during the Principate. The earliest Romano-Campania coins, issued in the name of the Republic, can be dated to the early fourth century. However, these coins were of isolated and sporadic issues. The regular minting of coinage in Rome did not occur until the time of the Pyrrhic war when the Greek cities of Campania debased their coinage or ceased production all together. See Cornell 1995: 394 ff. for a summary.

Roma and other gods. During the second and first centuries B.C., moneyers took advantage of the fact that they controlled the images struck on coinage and began to mint coins with images which had some significance to their families in order to enhance their prestige.<sup>123</sup> In the final decades of the Republic, coinage was used as a means to raise the status of the issuer by presenting representations of his achievements to the users of his coinage.<sup>124</sup> As we have seen, one of the best ways for individuals to gain distinction was through the conquest of foreign peoples and the annexation of new territory. For this reason the depiction of vanquished enemies was a favourite motif of both the Republican leaders of the last century B.C. and the emperors throughout the Imperial period.

The theme of the conquered enemy was first employed in 101 B.C. by C. Fundanius with reference to the victories of Marius in 102 and 101 B.C. (A001).<sup>125</sup> The scene illustrated shows a Victory striding in from the left to crown a trophy which has a kneeling, bound barbarian at its base. The presence of a Gallic standard beside the trophy aids in the identification of this reverse type minted in celebration of the defeat of the Teutones and the Cimbri.<sup>126</sup> The reverse of a quinarius minted by T. Cloulius in 98 B.C. (A002) is the exact duplicate of Fundanius' coin.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> Burnett 1987: 71; Crawford 1974: 712, 726f.

<sup>124</sup> Brilliant 1963: 37.

<sup>125</sup> Crawford 1974: 730 notes the remarkable effect the career of Marius had on the coinage produced at that time. The first two coins in the catalogue (A001 and A002) refer to his military achievements.

<sup>126</sup> Crawford 1974: 328.

<sup>127</sup> For the purpose of the issue see Crawford 1974: 729.

While the above coins employ a generic figure to symbolize victory, Republican coins were also stamped with representations of specific defeated enemies. In 62 B.C. L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus issued a denarius to commemorate the victory of L. Aemilius Paullus, his ancestor, over the Macedonian king Perseus in 168 B.C. (A003). Here the triumphant general stands to one side of a trophy and a bound King Perseus stands with his two sons on the other side. The fact that the king is bound would serve to remind the viewers that these were the same enemies displayed in Paullus' triumph. The iconography of a specific conquered enemy was employed again on an issue of Faustus Cornelius Sulla in 56 B.C. (A005). A kneeling and manacled Jugurtha is presented to Sulla, the issuer's father, by the submissive King Bocchus.

Julius Caesar used the defeated barbarian image on coins more than once in the course of his political career. A denarius minted in 48-47 B.C. portrays a "typical" bearded Gallic male sitting at the foot of a Roman trophy (A009).<sup>128</sup> The man's hands are tied behind his back, symbolizing his defeat. A similar image was struck on two denarii in 46-45 B.C. (A011).<sup>129</sup> A trophy adorned with Gallic weapons is depicted in the center of the coin. At the base of the monument a bound male kneels; his face is turned upwards, staring at the trophy. On the opposite side of the monument sits a grieving woman, her head supported by her hand.

---

<sup>128</sup> "Typical": Crawford 1974: 467.

<sup>129</sup> Crawford sees the Gallic woman, like her male counterpart, as "typical."

The practice of placing the image of defeated enemies on coins continued in the Roman Imperial period and the motif was utilized by emperors from Augustus to Constantine.<sup>130</sup> Personifications of the provinces began to be represented as enslaved barbarians during the Principate of Augustus and were fully utilized during the dynasty of the Flavians.<sup>131</sup> A coin of Vespasian depicts a kneeling and seemingly broken spirited woman who represents the pacified province of Judaea (A033). A palm tree separates her from her captor, Vespasian himself.<sup>132</sup> This type of motif continues for at least another hundred years as a variation of the image was employed on a denarius issued by Septimius Severus. Here, a lone captive sits in an attitude of utter despair, her hand supporting the weight of her head. This is an unmistakable gesture of hopelessness.

A sestertius minted during the reign of Trajan takes this type still further. Seated at the foot of the victorious emperor are three captives personifying the regions of the Near East which he had subdued (A092). Trajan's left foot is firmly planted on the central figure, thus symbolizing his control over the areas depicted. This image continued to be employed with little change, and the continuity of the motif can be seen on a similar coin from the age of Diocletian (A171). Here, the emperor is represented with his right foot placed squarely in the center of a bound prisoner's back. A Victory stands to his left, accentuating the defeat of the barbarian. Even the Christian emperor Constantine was not averse to representing himself in the guise of a

---

<sup>130</sup> For a detailed study of the representation of barbarians on Imperial coins see Levi 1952.

<sup>131</sup> Mattingly 1930: xxi.

<sup>132</sup> The palm tree replaces the typical trophy in representations with Jewish captives.

triumphant subduer of barbarians. On various coins he is depicted cruelly dragging a captive by the hair, while treading on another captive seated at his feet (A199).

### **Monumental Trophies**

Although the trophy was not a Roman invention, it was perfectly suited to Roman ideals which stressed the importance of victory and the necessity of advertising military success.<sup>133</sup> The trophy was created in ancient Greece when statues were dressed in armour in order to evoke the spirits of fallen men and to draw on their power.<sup>134</sup> By a natural transition, the trophy came to symbolize victory and a statue was no longer required; the weapons of the enemy were instead hung on a cross-like structure. The Roman army of the Republic adopted the use of the trophy from Hellenistic monarchs and after a victory Roman soldiers developed the habit of ritually raising one of these monuments on the battlefield.<sup>135</sup> The trophy erected at Delphi by L. Aemilius Paullus was a significant development in the evolution of battle trophies as it was the first permanent monumental trophy.<sup>136</sup> Although trophies commemorating victories were constructed from this point through to the end of the Republic, the only surviving examples which include depictions of defeated barbarians date from the first and second centuries A.D. During the Principate, monumental trophies were raised to perpetuate the

---

<sup>133</sup> See Picard 1957 for an extensive study of the Roman trophy.

<sup>134</sup> Picard 1957: 14. Like the Egyptian depictions, the Greek trophy was first employed to serve magical purposes.

<sup>135</sup> LeBohec 1994: 240.

<sup>136</sup> Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 28.2. This is the same victory the coin seen in A003 was celebrating. However, it does not appear that the monument at Delphi included captives.

memory of an emperor's success and to emphasize the loss of freedom of the recently pacified regions. With the exception of Domitian's Trophy on the Capitoline (B003), the surviving victory structures were erected in the provinces, in the very lands subdued by the Romans. Perhaps such a monument was constructed as "a threatening memento to the still rebellious subjects."<sup>137</sup>

Roman artists portrayed vanquished foes at the bases of their permanent trophies from the first century through to the mid second century A.D. At Avenches, in France, a fragment of a trophy erected during the early first century A.D has been recovered; it is the head of a barbarian woman (B002). This is an extraordinary example of the intensity of emotion that came to be expressed on the faces of the captives. A strong feeling of sympathy for the plight of this woman is evoked in modern viewers because of her bowed head with her down-turned mouth, drooping eyes, and general air of utter hopelessness. A similar expression may be seen on the face of the lone female captive bound to the base of the Trophy of Domitian on the Capitoline Hill (B003).

In approximately 109 A.D. Trajan constructed an enormous monument dedicated to Mars Ultor (Mars the Avenger) near the modern settlement of Adamklissi in Rumania (B004a). It consisted of a circular base, rising to form a cone, topped by a tower like structure which supported the trophy itself. The base was decorated with battlements depicting chained

---

<sup>137</sup> Hannestad 1988: 75.

barbarians and a series of metopes showing various scenes of battle.<sup>138</sup> One relief depicts a Roman soldier accompanying two male captives. The men both have their hands tied behind their backs and a chain binds them together (B004c). The monument was crowned by an imposing trophy, in fragments today, with a male captive standing chained to it while two female prisoners sit in despair at his feet. Lepper and Frere have suggested that the imposing trophy was not meant as a reminder to the Dacians of their defeat at the hands of the Romans, but rather that the message was meant instead as a warning for those on the fringes of the new frontier who contemplated offensive action against the Roman army.<sup>139</sup> Finally, from the mid second century comes a fragment of yet another monumental trophy, this one found in Alexandria (B005). Here, a bearded barbarian kneels with his hands tied behind his back. His agonised face looks up and back, perhaps towards the now missing trophy, or perhaps heavenward for some divine aid to escape from this humiliating experience.

The trophy itself was a symbol of victory and the inclusion of a barbarian either on his knees at its base, or standing beside it, reinforced this significance. The form that the trophy takes makes a visually effective statement, as the captive is held in place at the foot of the monument by the projecting arms of the trophy. In many examples, such as Domitian's trophy, they extend over the head of the captive and create a kind of "cage" to hold

---

<sup>138</sup> Lepper & Frere 1988: 296.

<sup>139</sup> Lepper & Frere 1988: 304. These authors propose that the official propaganda would serve to emphasize the advantages of being a part of the Roman empire rather than to stress the humiliation of defeat. However, the barbarians depicted on the trophy may be called "noble savages" in that they are portrayed in a more flattering light than vanquished enemies on other monuments.

the prisoner or prisoners. The symbol of Roman success towers over and seems to oppress the barbarian included underneath. In a depiction of a triumphal procession (F011) the shields borne by the trophy hang down so far that they threaten to crush the male barbarians seated at its base.

### **Triumphal Arches**

The triumphal arch is another medium upon which representations of enslaved prisoners occurred. Arches were erected, as the name implies, for conquering generals who had been granted a triumph after a military victory. These specialized monuments began to appear only after the transition from the Republic to the Principate and may be considered a creation of the Augustan period.<sup>140</sup> Throughout the Imperial period emperors wished their heroic deeds of conquest to be commemorated in stone, presumably in order to perpetuate the memory of their triumph in the mind of the Roman public long after the ceremony was over. As these monuments were symbols of victory, it is not surprising to find representations of enslaved barbarians on at least eleven arches dating from the early Principate to the reign of Constantine. The last arch known to have been erected in Rome was a monument to celebrate Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius because they had rid the earth of the Goths.<sup>141</sup>

One of the earliest surviving Imperial arches to employ the image of conquered barbarians, that at Orange, dates to the reign of Tiberius (C002). The eastern side of the arch has three panels decorated with a trophy which

---

<sup>140</sup> Kahler 1963: 59.

<sup>141</sup> Levi 1952: 3.

has captives standing below it. The relief has not been well preserved, but there appear to be a woman and a bound man on either side of each of the three trophies represented. The *submissio* scene encountered earlier on the Republican coin of Sulla reappears on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento (C004). Here, the personification of a province, perhaps Mesopotamia, kneels in submission to her master, the emperor Trajan. The Arch of Marcus Aurelius in Tripoli, the ancient city of Oea, has a representation of a trophy and captives flanking the archway (C005). A male prisoner stands to one side of the trophy with his hands shackled in front of him. To his right a woman sits in despair, with her head supported by one hand. A small child appears to be depicted standing beside her. This is an important monument as the representation of barbarian children as captives is rare.

The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum includes scenes of capture (C006). The four column pedestals facing the Capitoline Hill are decorated with Parthian prisoners accompanied by their Roman captors. One example shows a soldier escorting a captive. The man's hands have been shackled and the soldier holds the associated chain firmly in his grasp. The depiction of soldiers with their prisoners can also be found on the socles of the Arcus Novus, or Arch of Diocletian (C009), and the Arch of Constantine (C011b). The now familiar representation of a kneeling bound prisoner is also incorporated into the decoration of Constantine's arch (C011a). Once again we may note that the emperor's conversion to Christianity in no way affected the tradition of triumphal iconography: he employed the same humiliating representations of barbarians as his pagan predecessors.

Representations of Roman soldiers accompanying their barbarian prisoners are primarily depicted on the ground level column pedestals of arches [the arch of Septimius Severus in Rome (C006), the arch of Diocletian (C009) and the arch of Constantine (C011b)] and serve to include the audience in the scene taking place, as the group appears to walk by the viewer. The scenes serve to remind the observer of the time when actual prisoners would walk beneath the triumphal arches. We see the same “caging” of barbarians on arches as on the monumental trophies alone. On the arch at Glanum (C001) the barbarian captives are confined on all sides by the trophy arms above and the two projecting columns on either side which decorate the arch. At Orange (C002), this is taken further as one side has three compartments divided by columns which held the barbarian figures. The arch of Marcus Aurelius (C005) and the arch of the Argentarii (C008) use a decorative border pattern to imprison the captives on the monument. There was no escape for the barbarians from their stone prison.

### **Triumphal Columns**

The first column to be adorned with a historical narrative was the Column of Trajan (D001). Columns such as Trajan’s have long been considered by modern scholars as the “only true” historical narrative form in Roman art due to the spiral design of the monument’s decoration which allows scenes from campaigns in which the emperor emerges victorious to be viewed in a continuous fashion.<sup>142</sup> The events of the wars unfold before the viewer, with geographic details which help to “locate” events, and in fact the

---

<sup>142</sup> Torelli 1982: 119 (quotation, 119).

scroll-like nature of the frieze closely resembles the form of ancient maps.<sup>143</sup> The similarities between the spiral columns and maps suggests a connection with the Roman tradition of triumphal paintings.<sup>144</sup> Images of submissive barbarians were used as a means to indicate the successful end to various battles and the First Dacian war.<sup>145</sup> In a scene which recalls the Hellenistic Ludovisi group, the Dacian chieftain Decebalus is portrayed committing suicide in order to avoid being paraded as a captive in a triumph and the possibility of living a life of slavery. This scenes illustrates perfectly the statement of Publilius Syrus, "it is beautiful to die instead of being degraded as a slave."<sup>146</sup>

Depictions on the Column of Marcus Aurelius may also be noted for the strong feelings of pity and sympathy the observer feels towards the barbarians (D002). The most compelling panel involves the separation of a mother and child by Roman soldiers. The soldier roughly seizes the woman by the arm as her child clings to her. Once they are captured they may never see each other again.<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> Torelli 1982: 120. Cf. the Peutinger Table, a long, narrow "map" of the ancient Mediterranean world, copied from a third or fourth century A.D. copy of a map which dated from the time of Agrippa.

<sup>144</sup> Torelli 1982: 120; Lepper & Frere 1988: 208.

<sup>145</sup> See above p.1 for a description of the submission scene LXXV from Trajan's column.

<sup>146</sup> Pub. *Sent.* O. 6-7. *Occidi est pulchrum, ignominiose ubi servias* (Trans. Wiedemann 1981: 76). Hor. *Carm.* 1:37 also shows that the Romans believed that suicide was preferable to capture and showed a nobility of spirit.

<sup>147</sup> A discussion of how representations of defeated enemies on monuments relates to the life of a slave will be given in Chapter Three.

Although the later columns never matched the pathos of the Trajanic and Aurelian columns, later in the fourth century A.D. the iconography of the enslaved captive was still employed, as the presence of bound barbarians may be observed on the lone surviving base of the Tetrarchic Decennalia monument in Rome (D003). As part of the monument dedicated in 303 A.D. to celebrate the Tetrarchy's *decennalia*, this base supported a column surmounted by a statue of one of the two Caesars, Constantius Chlorus or Galerius. The relief on the front face of the pedestal consists of two Victories on either side of a shield inscribed with the words *CAESARVM DECENNALIA FELICITER*. Under this, two bearded barbarians kneel, their hands shackled behind their backs, and look back at the shield which looms over them. The tradition continued into very late antiquity, as the base of Arcadius' Column, erected in Constantinople in the early fifth century A.D., also includes images of defeated and submissive barbarians.<sup>148</sup>

### Altars

Another medium upon which representations of humiliated barbarians can be found is the altar. Unfortunately only two examples have been preserved and these date to the first two centuries of the common era. As we have seen, the practice of decorating altars with scenes of battle had already developed by the Hellenistic period. Erected in the mid-second century A.D., the Great Antonine Altar was modelled after the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum in both style and structure (E002).<sup>149</sup> Yet the altars differed

---

<sup>148</sup> The column of Arcadius has not been included in the catalogue as it falls outside the chronological limits of this study.

<sup>149</sup> Vermeule 1968: 100.

in one important aspect. The Greek example portrayed a mythological, rather than an actual, battle. The scenes of war carved on the walls of the Antonine altar depicted the war waged between the Romans and Parthians from 162 to 166 A.D. Slab E shows the capture of a bearded Parthian by a Roman legionary. The Roman reaches out over the head of his horse to grasp the enemy by the hair. The expression on the Parthian's face shows that he has accepted his fate and ceased to struggle. The earlier Altar of Atripalda in Avellino (E001), which dates from the first century A.D., may differ from the Antonine monument in grandeur but the theme of the defeated foe is the same. A trophy crowned by two Victories decorates a portion of the altar. In front of the trophy sits a lone barbarian, with his hands pinioned behind his back, on a pile of arms.

### **Public Buildings and Spaces**<sup>150</sup>

The image of the vanquished enemy was carved into the walls of a variety of buildings and at times the motif was even incorporated into the architectural features of the structure itself. The examples in this category of media, including reliefs, architectural columns, and mosaic floors, range in date from the late first century B.C. to the mid third century A.D. and were located in a number of Roman provinces.<sup>151</sup> The relief of an Augustan triumph was included in the decoration of the Temple of Apollo at Rome (F001). Two barbarians sit, as war booty, under a trophy placed on a platform (*ferculum*) which was carried in the triumphal procession. Both men have

---

<sup>150</sup> Reliefs which were displayed in public areas have been included in this category.

<sup>151</sup> Due to the large number of representations compiled, only notable and/or characteristic examples will be discussed.

their hands shackled and are in turn chained to the foot of the trophy. This would have been a thoroughly humiliating and degrading experience for the captives who, until a short time ago, had been free. The procession of prisoners of war was similarly rendered on a monument of Lucius Verus a hundred and fifty years later (F011).<sup>152</sup> Another relief from the Antonine period depicts the surrender of a foreign chieftain to the emperor Marcus Aurelius (F012b).<sup>153</sup> The wearied barbarian leans heavily on the shoulder of his son. This detail of this *submissio* is quite striking. Pure agony and despair are visible on every inch of the young man's face.

At Corinth, the Stoa of the Colossal Figures has structural supports carved in the shape of male barbarians. The pedestal of one column depicts a captive barbarian family (F010). On the left, a woman sits in the normal posture of grief resting her head in her hand. A small child stands beside her. To the right of these two figures sits a man with his arms bound behind him. This scene is echoed in one of the most beautiful examples of the captive barbarian motif, a mosaic floor from the basilica at Tipasa in North Africa (F009). In the central panel of the floor a bound man and a dejected woman sit and a child, perhaps their son, stands behind them.

---

<sup>152</sup> Another relief (F007) which dates from the first or second century A.D. was decorated with an analogous scene. Here, two male barbarians wearing neck collars ride in a cart, accompanied by two men holding chains attached to the collars.

<sup>153</sup> The face of the emperor was re-cut in antiquity when the relief was moved from its original provenance to the Arch of Constantine.

## Distance Markers

Hadrian's wall, stretching eighty miles across Britain, was constructed between 122 and 138 A.D. as a defensive mechanism to watch and control the movements of enemy peoples on both sides of the frontier the wall marked.<sup>154</sup> Scarcely completed when Antoninus Pius came to power, Hadrian's wall was abandoned as the new emperor extended the northern frontier one hundred miles in 142 A.D. by erecting a new wall transecting the south of Scotland. Commemorative plaques, or distance markers, were placed at intervals along this new thirty-seven mile fortification as each length of the wall was completed.<sup>155</sup> To date, eighteen of these slabs have been recovered, including three examples decorated with representations of conquered enemies, "evocative reminders of the success of the Roman army."<sup>156</sup>

The Hutcheson Hill slab, recovered in 1969, is divided into three panels with two pictorial representations on either side of a central inscription (G001). The outer panels each depict a single male prisoner, who is shown on his knees with his arms pinioned behind him as he turns to face the inscription. Another distance marker, from Bridgeness, depicts a Roman cavalryman, with a drawn lance, riding over four male barbarians (G002). A

---

<sup>154</sup> Construction dates: Dobson & Breeze 1976: 77-78. Defence: Dobson & Breeze 1976: 37.

<sup>155</sup> Hanson & Maxwell 1983: 113.

<sup>156</sup> Dobson & Breeze 1976: 88. Although not yet available, N.B. Kampen has an article in the forthcoming ANRW 12.4 entitled "The Reliefs of the Antonine Wall in Scotland and Military Programs in Roman Provincial Art" which may prove pertinent to the study of captives on Roman monuments.

lone captive cowers in the bottom corner, his head in his hands. This type of representation can also be found on the funerary stele of Roman legionaries and appears to be a design favoured by soldiers.<sup>157</sup> Finally, the portrayals on the previous markers can both be seen on the third marker discovered near the Roman fort at Balmuildy (G003).<sup>158</sup> The panel to the right of the inscription depicts a Roman horseman galloping over two bound male captives. On the left, a semi-prone barbarian sits with his hands bound behind him, underneath a Capricorn which appears to have been seized by the imperial eagle. As these monuments were employed in areas that were still hostile to Rome, perhaps they served as both a warning to rebels who were contemplating revolt and a reminder of the Roman army's past successes.

### **Cuirassed Statues**

There are no examples of captives decorating this medium of evidence from the Republican period. The tradition of displaying symbolic barbarians on cuirassed statues began with the Augustus of Prima Porta statue. "Through the iconography of its breastplate composition and lappet motifs, the cuirassed statue not only provides a rich visual medium for celebrating the military victories of the Roman emperor but also documents the course of Roman territorial expansion throughout the Mediterranean world."<sup>159</sup> The best known example of the cuirassed statue is in fact the Augustus of

---

<sup>157</sup> Richmond 1969: 56.

<sup>158</sup> Collingwood & Wright 1965: 678, note that this marker had been wrongly assigned to Castlehill.

<sup>159</sup> Gergel 1994: 191; cf. Zanker 1988: 189, who notes that the iconographical program on the cuirass marks a new concept of victory.

Prima Porta (H001). The decoration on Augustus' breastplate includes examples of forlorn, dejected personifications of the pacified provinces Hispania and Gaul on either side of the central scene in which a Parthian is seen returning standards to a Roman authority figure.

Although this medium was utilized by subsequent rulers, it was not widely exploited until the Flavian Dynasty.<sup>160</sup> Of the seven examples contained in this study, five belong to the period of the Flavians (H002-H006). On the breastplate of an early Flavian statue a Victory stands to the left of a palm tree (H002). One bound male prisoner stands opposite her, while another captive sits below this central scene. This second figure reaches out his right arm in a gesture of supplication as his hands are not bound. The most common type of defeated barbarian scene on the Flavian statues is similar to this one and includes one or more bound captives sitting at the base of a trophy.<sup>161</sup>

The cuirassed statue of Hadrian, the final example included in this study, is unusual in style for a statue in that it illustrates a scene well-known from numismatic evidence (H007). The triumphant emperor is portrayed with a vanquished captive held beneath his foot. As the expansion of the Empire was less important during the reign of Hadrian, this form of monument lost its role in promoting the military victories of the emperors. After Hadrian the form relied on standardized types which no longer

---

<sup>160</sup> Note that many of the Flavian cuirassed statues have been mistakenly restored with the head of Trajan.

<sup>161</sup> Compare the scenes depicted on figures H003-H006.

included representations of defeated barbarians.<sup>162</sup>

### **Funerary Monuments and Sarcophagi**

During the Republican and continuing into the early Imperial period, from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D., cremation was the normal Roman funerary practice and graves containing burials of this kind were marked by free-standing tombstones. The type of stele which is important to the study of captive iconography is that of the distinct military tombstones termed "rider reliefs" (I001-I009). These stones, which have no known Roman or Italic funerary prototypes, mark the graves of cremated soldiers primarily in Britain and the Rhineland and date from the first century A.D.<sup>163</sup> The surface of the stele is engraved with a representation of a mounted cavalryman in action, galloping over and about to spear a fallen enemy. As stated above, these monuments served as an advertisement of the heroism and might of the cavalryman. He is shown astride a charging horse, a symbol of power, while threatening an enemy, often with a lance held in a raised right hand. His superiority is enhanced by the fact that the victim has either fallen on one knee or lies helpless on the ground as the horse prepares to trample him. The simplicity of the design is at once striking and effective as the cavalryman and his mount dominate the space, while the barbarian cowers in the lower corner.

---

<sup>162</sup> Gergel 1994: 206.

<sup>163</sup> Anderson 1984: 17-18 (quotation, 17). Brilliant 1963: 54. Contra Brilliant, Anderson discounts the fourth century B.C. stele of Dexileos in Athens as a prototype due to its early date and argues that the most plausible prototype comes from Thrace in the first century B.C. and displays a cavalryman and servant without a prostrate enemy.

For reasons that are not completely understood, the Romans began to bury their dead in stone sarcophagi in the late first and early second century A.D., and this practice gradually superseded that of cremation until, by the third century, it had become the norm. In the late second century A.D., a new theme began to be carved on sarcophagi as Romans began to take an interest in portraying historical battles and scenes depicting the literal reality of war. This may have occurred due to the increased military activity at this time as the Roman army was constantly involved with wars against the Parthians and Marcomanni and Sarmatians. The battle sarcophagi came to form a type characterized by a disarray of fighting men, both historical and mythological. Inherent in this type is the submissive barbarian pleading for clemency and the restrained captive either on display under a trophy or being led away into slavery. A barbarian surrender is the topic of a sarcophagus fragment in the Palazzo Rondanini in Rome (J011). Two men kneel before a seated Roman general and one reaches out to touch his knee in a gesture of mercy. A wonderful example of the battle sarcophagus is the Portonaccio sarcophagus dating from the end of the second century A.D. (J007). A male and female prisoner stand under a trophy on opposite sides of a fierce conflict. The man under the left trophy stands with his hands bound in front of him. He gazes despairingly into the eyes of the woman standing to his right. The couple standing at the foot of the right trophy are not restrained. The man looks towards the woman who stares past him, avoiding his gaze. The use of these figures appears to be formulaic as two other sarcophagi, the Roman and Barbarian Battle Sarcophagus (J008) and the Palermo Sarcophagus (J010), duplicate the layout of the Portonaccio example. Finally, the representation

of captives being led away into slavery appears on a sarcophagus dating to the fourth century A.D., said to have belonged to Helena, Constantine's Christian mother (J013). The theme of capture dominates the sarcophagus. On a side panel, two male prisoners are bound and hang their head in defeat as they are herded along by Roman calvarymen. Thus, portrayal of humiliated human beings was apparently still considered an acceptable image by Christians; their religious conversion caused no immediate change or refusal of the defeated enemy motif.

### **Luxury and Decorative Items**

The examples of monuments which comprise this category include any item commissioned by private patrons and meant for personal use rather than works produced for unrestricted public access such as triumphal arches. Therefore items such as gems, drinking vessels, statuettes, and wall frescoes painted in private homes comprise this group of luxury and decorative items. Once again, due to spatial constraints, no more than a sampling of monuments are discussed.

Engraved gems with representations of barbarians exist from the Republican period (K001-K005). The majority of them are similar to the military tombstones depicting a cavalryman galloping down a fallen barbarian. A notable exception is that of a bound nude barbarian seated on a shield - as seen in coinage. Perhaps these gems were engraved with scenes in order to advertise an individual's success, such as Sulla's seal which contained a representation of a submissive Jugurtha.<sup>164</sup> Two of the most

---

<sup>164</sup> Richter 1971: 4. Sulla's seal: Pliny *HN* 37.4.

outstanding works of propagandistic and symbolic value are the Gemma Augustea (K006) and the Great Cameo of France (K007), both of which date to the early first century A.D. Given the nature of these cameos, it is likely they were not intended to be viewed by the greater public. The lower register of the Gemma Augustea shows Roman soldiers erecting a battlefield trophy over two barbarians. The female barbarian sits with her head resting in her hand, while the male sits restrained beside her. In a related scene on the right of the register, a woman prisoner is being pulled by the hair towards the trophy. The man accompanying her falls to his knees and grasps the leg of a soldier. The Great Cameo also employs captive subjects in the lower register, a position which reflects their lower status. Here both men and women sit, huddled together, in despair. The focal point of the defeated barbarians are the figures of a mother and closely held child seated in the center of the register. Brilliant believes that the artists established a visual link between the Imperial figure and Roman victory on both gems as the lower register provides the "trophaic foundation for the ceremonial possibilities of the upper and major zone."<sup>165</sup>

Silver drinking cups were also decorated with submission scenes. Like the cameos, these cups were probably intended for the members of the upper strata of Roman society and do not appear before the Imperial period. During the reign of Augustus or Tiberius, a pair of silver cups was produced to celebrate a military success of the emperor. A scene of barbarian surrender adorns one of the cups (K009). A kneeling man presents his child in outstretched arms to Augustus, while another man and child wait their turn

---

<sup>165</sup> Brilliant 1963: 72 (quotation, 72).

behind. The focal point of the scene, the clement emperor, is shown in full figure and isolation as no figures overlap his. The barbarians show their deference to the emperor as they appear progressively lower to ground the closer they come to him.<sup>166</sup>

Bronze statuettes were also accessible to a wider audience. From the late Republic onwards figurines in the form of bound prisoners were common, from the crudely executed examples from Britain (K016 and K017)<sup>167</sup> to the more beautifully rendered pair of bronzes which now reside in the Staatliche Museum (K013). These statuettes were more affordable than jewels and silver cups and therefore reached a much wider audience. Thus even on personal and decorative objects commissioned by private patrons, the subjugation and degradation of human beings was felt to be an appropriate art motif.

### **Summary**

The vanquished barbarian, demoralized and humiliated at the feet of the Romans (represented by a trophy, victory or an emperor) was a very common image in Roman art. The motif enjoyed an enormous geographical distribution, being found in many different regions of the Roman world, as well as an enormously long chronological life, from the early first century B.C. to the reign of Constantine and beyond. The meaning of this motif did

---

<sup>166</sup> Kuttner 1995: 99-100 believes that this submission scene is different than others of its kind because the barbarians shown here without children stand at ease in the presence of the Roman authority. For a detailed examination of the Boscoreale cups see Kuttner 1995.

<sup>167</sup> Collingwood 1972: 54, states that the two figurines from Britain are the work of native artists.

undergo a change over the centuries. During the Republic and early Empire, the presence of barbarians symbolized victory at a particular battle and over a specific group of people. Over time the representation evolved into a symbol for victory and the superior nature of the Roman people. It is easy to see how the enslaved barbarians came to be used as a symbol for Rome's power. From the time of their defeat they came under the absolute control of Roman owners.

The great durability of the image, its continual use from generation to generation intensifies the essential question of what it meant in terms of Roman cultural history. Obviously, the motif relates to militarism but other factors may also have been at work. For instance in the late Republic Rome was frequently involved in civil war as well as wars of conquest and expansion and under the Principate, expansionist warfare was on a lesser scale than in the great age of Republican annexation. Now we must look at the sub-periods of Roman history to determine what the image meant to Romans at different points in time.

The last century of the Republic was a time of change. With Marius' army reforms, the elite members of society who had based their political power on wealth and numerous client-patron relationships, were in a position to raise armies that felt more allegiance to the general than to Rome. Monuments, especially coins, which included representations of Roman captives were used primarily to declare the status and glory of these men.<sup>168</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup> Brilliant 1963: 41.

The civil war in Rome, which erupted in the last century B.C., pitted Roman against Roman causing a great deal of tension and splitting the fabric of Roman society. With the establishment of the Principate, Augustus attempted to return society to its old Republican values and *virtus* and *clementia* were both stressed. Monuments celebrating the *virtus* of the new leader employed the image of the vanquished barbarian and avoided allusions to the recently fought civil war. The war itself was in fact touted as a war against Cleopatra and Egypt rather than against Antony. The defeated barbarian image was used to focus Roman attention on external rather than internal enemies and thereby reunited the divided society. Through the reign of the Julio-Claudians the captive motif was employed regularly to emphasize and advertise the emperor's military achievements.

After the death of Nero, Rome was once again pitched into civil war. When Vespasian finally emerged as the sole ruler he was careful to present the public with images advertising the qualities which the populace thought were essential in a leader. As with Augustus, Vespasian made use of external martial victories and celebrated peace. The coinage of the Flavian dynasty is filled with examples commemorating the end of the Jewish revolt. This victory gave the Romans something to take pride in and a way to forget about the brutal battles citizens waged against citizens.

Trajan used the defeated barbarian motif on monuments which celebrated his martial exploits and expansion. Trajan's reign was a time of great pride for Rome, as the expansion of the empire was reminiscent of the

annexations of the middle Republic. However, by the reign of Marcus Aurelius barbarians were putting pressure on Rome's borders and a time of increased anxiety ensued. The difference between this defensive age and that of Trajan's is especially evident when Trajan's Column and the Column of Marcus Aurelius are contrasted. On the first column the Roman soldiers complete their duties with honour, whereas the second column expresses the fear of the age by the fact that the Roman soldiers brutally slaughter their enemies, as in Scene XCVIIB which depicts a soldier in the act of slaying a female barbarian. An increased interest in sarcophagi with battle scenes becomes evident at this time and the "expressive representations of grossly entangled bodies [in the sarcophagi's decoration] reflect anxiety and the impending disintegration of society."<sup>169</sup>

---

<sup>169</sup> Hannestad 1988: 239.

### **Chapter Three - Reality and Symbol**

As we have seen, the image of a captive barbarian enjoyed a high visibility on Roman monuments in both the Republic and the Principate and in fact was present even after the Roman imperial period gave way to the Byzantine empire. What was the purpose of this motif? One important question in reference to the study of this motif is the degree of reality portrayed in the reliefs. Were the images based on the actualities of slavery (and warfare) or were they merely a standardized genre? It would seem that for the most part, the barbarian prisoners displayed in Roman art represent the symbolic victory and martial power of Roman conquerors, although some aspects of slavery are embedded in the motif. In the following pages these realities of servitude will be examined, as well as the ways in which the motif became a symbol for victory, submission and subjugation, and how Roman political leaders manipulated them.

#### **The Realities of War and Slavery**

What was it like to lose one's freedom in an instant, and to be a captive of the Roman army? In ancient warfare there was no established code, such as the current century's Geneva Convention, which ensured the humane treatment of soldiers taken prisoner for the duration of the conflict and their safe return home once peace had been established. Moreover, for both the Greeks and Romans, the enemy comprised not only men under arms but the older men, women and children who constituted their families, and indeed all of society. When cities were sacked, whole populations of defeated people

were customarily seized by the victorious Roman army.<sup>170</sup> As previously stated, the triumphant general had complete control over the vanquished and newly subjugated people could be pardoned, massacred, or enslaved.<sup>171</sup> However, military activities played an important role in maintaining the Roman slave supply throughout Rome's central period and often prisoners were taken.<sup>172</sup> For those people who were enslaved, their life was one of humiliation and hardship from the initial moment of capture. Their freedom was lost after viewing the slaughter of their defending soldiers as well as the indiscriminate murder of innocents once the Romans had entered the city, which continued until the signal was given for the massacre to stop and the plunder to start.<sup>173</sup> The city's inhabitants also suffered some form of sexual violence during the sack, as the rape of women prisoners was normal practice.<sup>174</sup>

The slaves of the Roman Republic and Principate had no voice by which to relate how they felt about their lives or their predicament, or at least

---

<sup>170</sup> Mass enslavements: Diod. 23.9.1, 23.18.5; Polyb. 1.29.7, 1.61.8; Livy 5.22.1, 21.51.2, 23.37.12, 24.42.4, 24.47.14, 27.15.4, 27.16.7, 29.29.3, 33.10.7, 41.11.8, 42.63.11, 45.34.5, 45.34.5, Oros. 4.23.3; Strab. 4.6.7; Cass. Dio 53.25.4; Mass enslavements: in general see Volkmann 1961. Ziolkowski 1993: 69-91 explores the meaning of *urbs direpta* in ancient literature and the methods by which Romans sacked cities.

<sup>171</sup> Westington 1938: 24-27 cites various cases where Roman generals exchanged prisoners of war, ransomed their prisoners or showed great clemency by freeing their captives.

<sup>172</sup> Bradley 1994: 32.

<sup>173</sup> Livy 5.21.13, 31.23.7-8; Polyb. 10.15.4; Westington 1938: 68-69; contra Ziolkowski 1993: 86 who states that soldiers had the freedom to slaughter, rape and pillage regardless of a signal from their commander.

<sup>174</sup> Harris 1979: 53 n.1; Ziolkowski 1993: 73, agrees stating that while some accounts of a city's sack such as Livy's description of the Locri sack in 204 B.C. (29.17.15) are "grossly exaggerated," there is no doubt that the attackers sought out attractive women and young boys to assault sexually.

there is little direct evidence surviving from antiquity to suggest so. It is difficult therefore to understand what it meant to be a slave in Roman society as the slaves themselves left virtually no accounts of their lives. Contemporary Greek and Latin literature concerning slaves was written by slaveowners and therefore represents their views, ideas and interests. However, that being said, a clue to the horror of enslavement was the fact that some captives preferred to take their own lives rather than lead a life of servility.<sup>175</sup> Trajan's Column provides a moving and compelling scene (CXX) of a mass suicide within a besieged Dacian fortress. The leader of the defenders stands to the right, doling out portions of what has been interpreted as poison. Some men have already swallowed the poison and lie dead or dying, others are frozen in a moment of agonized indecision. Another scene from the column depicts the suicide of the chieftain Decebalus at the end of the second Dacian war in order to avoid capture and the humiliation of being displayed in Trajan's triumphal procession.<sup>176</sup>

As previously discussed, modern scholars have attempted to comprehend the lives of ancient slaves through the use of ancient literature and the comparative study of more recent slave societies. In what follows, the depictions of captives on Roman monuments will be studied in order to relate the material to the conventional evidence regarding slavery. One difficulty with using the portrayal of prisoners on these monuments to say something about the lives of the people depicted is the fact that the

---

<sup>175</sup> A sentiment expressed by Publilius Syrus, as quoted above. Mass suicide: Dio 54.5.2-3. Bradley 1994: 44. Trajan's Column: Lepper & Frere 1988: 168-169.

<sup>176</sup> Similarly, the Egyptian queen Cleopatra chose to end her life on her terms rather than undergo the degradation of Augustus' triumph and certain death in the Tullianum.

representations illustrate one specific moment during the initial stage of captivity. It is difficult to suggest anything more about their lives after this point. Also, one must assume that they represent reality as well as the symbolic. Nonetheless, depictions from certain monuments, such as the Column of Marcus Aurelius and representations from triumphal arches do portray the aspects of humiliation, violence, and the separation of family members that are such well-documented features of the slave's experience.

The psychological trauma and degradation of those recently enslaved was tremendous.<sup>177</sup> The gravity of the situation was indicated by the manacles, fetters and collars which were used to restrain the prisoners.<sup>178</sup> Examples of these instruments have been recovered from the archaeological record and one example in particular makes it poignantly clear that captives and slaves suffered harsh physical and psychological treatment. This is a bronze collar from Italy which, when discovered, was said to have been still attached to the neck of a skeleton.<sup>179</sup> Not even in death could this slave escape such instruments. In ancient Greece collars and tags were used to identify and constrain runaway slaves. The use of the collar as a restraining device was adopted at Rome by the second century B.C. and many examples recovered date from the time of Constantine and beyond, thus attesting to a long history of usage.<sup>180</sup> However, the depiction of a slave collar is present

---

<sup>177</sup> Bradley 1994: 27-28; Patterson 1982: 38ff; Finley 1980: 96; Vogt 1975: 8.

<sup>178</sup> The use of manacles can be seen or inferred in seventy-six of the two hundred and ninety-eight representations in the catalogue.

<sup>179</sup> Thurmond 1994: 467 example 10. In the past, scholars have mislabelled slave collars and tags as items meant for dogs rather than human beings.

<sup>180</sup> Greece: Thurmond 1984: 461. Rome: Thurmond 1994: 462, 487.

on only four items from the catalogue, the arch at Glanum (C001), the two bronze statuettes from Britain (K016 and K017) and the statuette of a nude male now located in Paris (K14). On the arch, the collar has been attached to a chain which secures the male barbarian to the shaft of the trophy he stands beside. The two statuettes had collars with chains that connected manacled hands and fettered feet to restrict movement, and the other statuette just had its neck and hands restrained. Slave shackles, including neck shackles, manacles and fetters, have also emerged from archaeological investigations, especially in Britain.<sup>181</sup> Neck shackles were normally used to bind together two or more prisoners and consisted of collars with loops for the attachment of chains. These restraints are depicted on monuments contained in the catalogue such as the column base from the legionary fortress at Mainz (F006), with two bound, nude male captives chained together at the neck, the relief in the British Museum of two male barbarians riding in a triumphal cart (F007), and on the tombstone from Nickenrich where two prisoners are seen bound together by shackles around their necks (I001). The stele of Aulus Timotheus Kapreilius also depicts a group of eight slaves walking in single file, restrained with the use of neck shackles.

Manacles and fetters, which are somewhat difficult to distinguish from each other, have been discovered in Roman Gaul, Britain and along the Rhine-Danube frontier. Thompson has interpreted this as evidence for the large number of prisoners captured by the Roman army after successful campaigns in these areas.<sup>182</sup> The use or inferred use of manacles may be

---

<sup>181</sup> For a detailed study of these restraints see Thompson 1993.

<sup>182</sup> Thompson 1993: 97.

observed on the majority of items found in the catalogue. However, fetters are included on only one example, the statuette of a crouching African boy (K015).

The humiliation of defeat can be easily read on the faces and in the posture of those conquered. In the first century A.D. head of a barbarian woman from Avenches (B002), her emotions are made manifest by the droop of her head, her downcast eyes and down-turned mouth. Later, in the Antonine period, an interest in portraying human emotions is equally visible. One of the most dramatic pieces of evidence depicts a barbarian chieftain and a boy, thought to be his son, in the act of submitting to the emperor Marcus Aurelius (F012b).<sup>183</sup> The emperor, accompanied by a rather severe looking general, sits to the left of the panel on a high podium, his hand extended in a gesture denoting the granting of clemency. Below them, to the right, stands the barbarian pair surrounded by a closely packed crowd of Roman soldiers. The father leans heavily on his son, who crumples under the weight, as if the circumstances of life bear down on him excessively.<sup>184</sup> His son's face shows the horror of the fate about to befall them; there is a deep crease above his nose, as well as fine wrinkles below his eyes and on his cheeks, and his eyes appear swollen, perhaps as a result of crying.

Even the Romans themselves recognized the physical and

---

<sup>183</sup> The surviving head of the emperor in this relief, and in the remaining attic panels, results from a false restoration dating from 1732. Hamberg 1945: 78.

<sup>184</sup> Hamberg 1945: 85, 89 believes that the older man's exhausted state suggests that he has been wounded in battle. There is no evidence to support his position and, judging from the Roman use of a curved posture to denote inferiority and degraded status, it seems reasonable to assume that he was not injured.

psychological trauma suffered by those who had experienced the harsh reversal of fortunes which led to their enslavement. Seneca noted that masters should feel sympathy for their recently captured slaves and understand if they do not perform their duties with enthusiasm as they are as yet unaccustomed to their new servile status. He also advised his audience not to strike out at their slaves in times of anger, as was the norm.<sup>185</sup> In an epigram, Martial noted one man's dissatisfaction with his dinner and his delight with the flogging of the slave responsible.<sup>186</sup> Ovid too remarked on the physical abuse of slaves, stating that while the heroine was in love her hairdresser was never bruised or scratched.<sup>187</sup> Thus it may be inferred that it was commonplace to strike out at one's servant. One passage from the medical author Galen, in which the abuse of slaves is mentioned, is particularly arresting. Galen cautioned his readers against lashing out at their slaves in a fit of rage, but not for the reason which one might expect. He is concerned that during the assault the master may inflict harm upon himself, such as bruising his hand, and instead advises that once calm, the owner should employ a rod or a whip in the slave's punishment.<sup>188</sup> There is no doubt that violent treatment was characteristic of the life of a slave.<sup>189</sup>

This abusive treatment may be hinted at in the monuments of power and victory erected throughout the Roman world. The harsh treatment of

---

<sup>185</sup> Sen., *De Ira* 3, 29 and 3, 32.

<sup>186</sup> Mart. 3.94.

<sup>187</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.14.1-18.

<sup>188</sup> Gal. *Nat. Fac.* 4.

<sup>189</sup> Physical abuse: see for further detail Bradley 1987: 113-137; Patterson 1982: 10; Finley 1980: 93ff.

prisoners of war is explicitly shown on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Here, a number of poignant scenes which depict the storming of barbarian towns during both the first and second campaigns against the Germans and Sarmatians are included in the decoration. Roman soldiers roughly seize the arms and bodies of the foreign women as they try to flee their captors (D002). As one woman tries to escape, dragging her son along behind her, a soldier cruelly grasps her by the hair. With her mouth partially open in surprise, she turns to face her captor. A number of monuments [The Great Trajanic Frieze (F005b), The Great Altar of Ephesus (E002) and the arches of Diocletian (C009) and Constantine (C011b)] contain representations of Roman legionaries leading off their defeated enemies in much the same manner. The manacled barbarians were pushed along and dragged by the hair as if they were inanimate objects.

Another reality of enslavement was the separation of families; mothers, fathers, sons and daughters were often sold to different masters and never saw each other again, if indeed all survived the war with the Romans.<sup>190</sup> It was conventional for men to be killed in the course of battle and for the women and children to be enslaved. Once again the Column of Marcus Aurelius makes this point arrestingly clear in the scene noted above (D002).<sup>191</sup> As the women are being accosted by the captors, their frightened children cling to their mothers. The separation of families is also attested to by the fact that slave sales documents primarily record the sale of a single

---

<sup>190</sup> For examples of Roman leaders massacring the male population and enslaving the remaining women and children, see Tac. *Ann.* 13.39.6-7; Joseph., *BJ* 3.540.

<sup>191</sup> A scene of Roman soldiers capturing a Dacian boy is included in the decoration of Trajan's Column (Scene CXLVI).

slave and they never record the sale of a complete family group.<sup>192</sup> The chaos and the struggle during the capture of a city is echoed in a passage of Quintilian in which he explains the finer points of oratory and demonstrates how to emotionally move an audience.

But if we expand all that the one word “stormed” includes, we shall see the flames pouring from house and temple, and hear the crash of falling roofs and one confused clamour blent of many cries: we shall behold some in doubt whither to fly, others clinging to their nearest and dearest in one last embrace, while the wailing of women and children and the laments of old men that the cruelty of fate should have spared them to see that day will strike upon our ears. Then will come the pillage of treasure sacred and profane, the hurrying to and fro of the plunderers as they carry off their booty or return to seek for more, the prisoners driven each before his own inhuman captor, the mother struggling to keep her child, and the victors fighting over the richest of the spoil.<sup>193</sup>

Similar images of women clutching their offspring can be seen on monuments from the early to the late Imperial period [the Grand Cameo of France (K007), the Column of Marcus Aurelius (D002), the Portonaccio sarcophagus (J007) and the Severan arch at Lepcis Magna (C007)].<sup>194</sup>

Representations such as these signalled the complete defeat of the woman’s society as even the youngest members lost their birthright of freedom.<sup>195</sup>

Depictions of whole barbarian families which were enslaved may be found on

---

<sup>192</sup> Bradley 1984: 53.

<sup>193</sup> Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.68-69. *At si aperias haec, quae verbo uno inclusa erant, apparebunt effusae per domus ac templa flammae et ruentium tectorum fragor et ex diuersis clamoribus unus quidam sonus, aliorum fuga incerta, alii extremo complexu suorum cohaerentes et infantium feminarumque ploratus et male usque in illum diem seruati fato senes: tum illa profanorum sacrorumque direptio, efferentium praedas repentiumque discursus, et acti ante suum quique praedonem catenati, et conata retinere infantem suum mater et, sicubi maius lucrum est, pugna inter victores.* Trans. Butler 1966: 249. See also Livy 29.17.15.

<sup>194</sup> Kleiner 1992: 71, states that a child has also been suggested to have occupied a place on the Gemma Augustea in the right bottom corner of the gem.

<sup>195</sup> Kampen 1991: 235.

monuments such as the mosaic floor from Tipasa (F009), a column base from the Stoa of the Colossal Figures in Corinth (F010) and the Ammendola sarcophagus from the second century A.D. (J005).

Despite the heralded age of peace in the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, the essential connection between warfare and servitude was never lost in the Roman mentality. Campaigns were still waged along the frontiers of the empire and the enslavement of vanquished enemies remained a source of supply for slaves.<sup>196</sup>

### **The Captive-Slave as a Symbol of Roman Power**

Although there are some aspects of slavery well-documented in conventional sources noticeable within the images of barbarian prisoners, the study of political ideologies, gestures, and ethnic and gender identity related to these depictions reveals that they were employed principally as symbolic figures. From the time of their initial capture, defeated enemies served as visible proof of the conqueror's power. The Romans first employed this motif during the late Republic after the military reforms of Marius which resulted in the creation of what is often referred to as a professional army. The client system of relations also operated within the military sphere and allowed wealthy men to raise their own personal armies.<sup>197</sup> Thus the soldiers felt a greater loyalty towards their general than to the Roman Senate. Republican generals in the first century B.C. recognized that the path to power and recognition lay in successful war campaigns and an image was needed

---

<sup>196</sup> Bradley 1987: 64 & Bradley 1994: 31-56.

<sup>197</sup> Gabba 1976: 26-27.

which would serve to remind the Roman audience of these achievements.

Gesture plays an important role in the symbolic nature of the captive representations in Roman art from the Republic through the Empire. It was taken over from the Classical Greek and Hellenistic traditions in which an interest in human expression equally played an important role. Roman artists borrowed this convention and transformed it into an iconography of victory to suit the important ideologies of the Roman rulers in the Republic who were attempting to gain lone political control, and in the Empire when rulers needed to maintain the position of sole leader. As we have seen, the images of defeated barbarians on triumphal monuments can be divided into six broad “types”. The first depicts a suppliant barbarian in various positions begging for clemency, with or without a Roman authority figure present, the second, a captive, who may or may not be kneeling or bound, in association with a trophaic structure. The third form shows a lone figure seated in an attitude of mourning, the fourth has Roman soldiers accompanying bound prisoners, the fifth depicts an oversized emperor dragging a captive by the hair or stepping upon a barbarian, while the last consists of a vanquished foe lying recumbent under the front hooves of a charging horse ridden by a Roman leader. All six types make use of gestures of inferiority and submission. The socially inferior were depicted as curved, bent individuals, in stark contrast to the upright and proud stance of the superior Roman authority figures. The loss of human dignity could be measured in the inclination of the figure’s portrayal.<sup>198</sup> This is well illustrated on the coin of C. Fundanius from 101 B.C. which celebrates the victory of Marius over the

---

<sup>198</sup> Brilliant 1963: 12.

Teutones (A001). Here, the hunched figure of a defeated male German kneels at the base of the Roman trophy. He is also shown much smaller in size than the Victory depicted to his left. The diminutive size of barbarians on victory monuments was meant to emphasize the defeat and humiliation of the vanquished opponent<sup>199</sup> and this complements the distinctly Roman practice of portraying victors and protagonists on a larger scale than any other figures in the field.<sup>200</sup> Gestures denoting the superiority of the Romans, and the corresponding inferiority of the barbarians, were used on monuments from the last hundred years of the Republic to the end of the Empire. By the popular and lasting nature of the gestures and defeated foreigner motif, we can see that the idea of perpetual victory was crucial for leaders during the Republic.<sup>201</sup> During the Principate, in an age of minimal war, the triumph became monopolized by the emperor, so depictions of captives served as a reinforcement of the military image of the princeps, to the detriment of other members of the elite.<sup>202</sup>

We can detect in the art of the early imperial age a growing taste for “naturalistic” and “realistic” effects and for precision and accuracy in the representation of historical events. Hence we find artists of the early Principate personifying a country in the guise of an actual inhabitant, man or woman, and portraying this person accurately. The craftsmen of Rome would have been familiar with the sight of defeated barbarians by seeing

---

<sup>199</sup> Brilliant 1963: 42; Levi 1952: 4, 25ff.

<sup>200</sup> Bianchi Bandinelli 1970: 115; Brilliant 1963: 43.

<sup>201</sup> Kolendo 1981: 172. The popularity of the subjugated barbarian can be seen in the fact that these images can be seen in the minor arts as well as in public monumental art.

<sup>202</sup> Campbell 1984: 138f.

them walking in chains, or transported in carts during a triumphal procession<sup>203</sup> and the resulting depictions must have been similar to the description of Aeneas' shield with its images of defeated barbarians, "conquered peoples walked in a long line, who had a variety of speech, dress and weapons."<sup>204</sup>

The individual portrayals have a realism and naturalism in the rendering of the characteristics and facial expressions. The Early Empire was characterized by monuments which showed the abject expressions of the defeated prisoner.<sup>205</sup> The use of an individual inhabitant of an area to personify the whole nation can first be found on Augustan coin types, such as the *Armenia Capta* coin which shows an Armenian with a long robe and tiara in an act of submission (A015).<sup>206</sup> These realistic representations occur on monuments which were erected to honour a specific military victory.<sup>207</sup>

---

<sup>203</sup> Campbell 1984: 136. Between 31 B.C. and 235 A.D. only thirteen triumphs were celebrated by emperors. Augustus held three, Claudius one for his victory in Britain, Vespasian and Titus for their Jewish victory, Domitian held two, one for the defeat of the Chatti and the second for the defeat of Dacians and Chatti. Trajan triumphed after the Dacian war and the Parthian war (posthumously). Marcus Aurelius also celebrated two triumphs, one with Lucius Verus for the defeat of Parthia and the other with Commodus in 176. Commodus himself received a triumph at the conclusion of the northern wars and Severus Alexander celebrated a triumph for his success against the Persians.

<sup>204</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8.722-723. *Incedunt victae longo ordine gentes, Quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis.*

<sup>205</sup> This is especially true of monuments in Italy and the city of Rome as will be discussed below.

<sup>206</sup> The tiara as a defining feature of Armenia may also be found in the coinage of Trajan, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

<sup>207</sup> Toynbee 1934: 22, 89, refers to these figures as representing the "Roman" principle of personification due to the realism incorporated in the work and notes that Roman personifications normally take the guise of prisoners: 117.

### The Ethnic Identity of the Captives

The ethnic identity of the captives portrayed in the various media is not entirely based on the actual appearance and dress of foreign peoples, although in representations of the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. individual ethnic identities may still appear.<sup>208</sup> A standard iconography of types arose which was characterized by features and costume which would have been readily identifiable to the Roman viewer.<sup>209</sup> Pacified nations are characterized by the physical characteristics of lowered heads, wretched expressions and a pervasive air of dejection. There may also be attributes present in the image which give clues to the nationality of the barbarian.

However, there could be exceptions to the general rule. During the Augustan age, it appears that careful attention was paid to the ethnographic details of the accessories and dress of the captives rendered on monuments in order to fix the event and victory geographically for the viewer. On the Gemma Augustea there is the careful inclusion of details such as the torque worn round the neck of a Germanic tribesman (K006). Other examples, such as the female personifications on the Prima Porta Augustus (H001), have no characteristics which correspond to another monument, yet the figures are still identifiable. The figure on the left has been distinguished as Hispania due to the fact that she holds a *gladius Hispaniensis*. As she still retains this native weapon, it has been suggested that the area she represents has yet to be pacified, though already conquered. Similarly, the figure on the right has

---

<sup>208</sup> See Wild 1985: 362-422, for an important supplement to the study of the clothing of Britannia, Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior.

<sup>209</sup> Toynbee 1934: 90; Gergel 1994: 191.

been recognized as Gaul because a Celtic military standard lies at her feet and she retains an empty scabbard; here, pacification has been complete and she no longer has use for arms.<sup>210</sup>

This attention to detail continued through the reigns of the Julio-Claudians but, over the next hundred years, the symbolism of the figures increased until they were no longer factual representations but were instead stereotypical. The beginning of this trend can be seen during the Flavian era. An example of the stereotypical use of costume can be found on a cuirassed statue from Sabratha which dates from the early Flavian period and celebrates the conquest of Judaea (H002). The breastplate of the statue shows two male Jewish prisoners. The first captive stands to the right of a palm tree with his hands bound behind him. He has no clothes except a *sagum*, the military cloak of a common soldier. Below, the second Jew sits on a pile of shields. He too wears a *sagum* and, rather surprisingly, he is also dressed in *bracae*, the trousers which were regarded by the Romans as the garment of barbarian peoples.<sup>211</sup> This article of clothing does not correspond to the authentic Jewish dress as Jewish men did not customarily wear leggings. Thus artistic license has been taken in order to depict the Jewish victory as one over a barbarian nation of the East.<sup>212</sup> This was accomplished through the use of the typical and readily identifiable clothing of the alien by which to identify these

---

<sup>210</sup> Gergel 1994: 196; Zanker 1988: 189; Picard 1957: 279; Hannestad 1988: 55. Contra Elsner 1994: 162 who contends that this is a personification of Dalmatia.

<sup>211</sup> Wild 1985: 378; Gergel 1994: 197.

<sup>212</sup> The Jewish identity of the two men has been verified through the use of numismatic evidence. The standing male corresponds to the figure stamped on the coins of Vespasian and Titus (A023, A051 and A052).

men as defeated barbarians. However, allowance must be made for individual variations within the general trend. On a coin which also celebrates the Flavian victory over Judaea, a female Jew is depicted in an attitude of grief (A020). Unlike her male counterpart, her costume and veiled head do reflect the actual dress of Jewish women. The image of a hooded woman remained as an iconographic form in subsequent representations of Jewish women and Judaea on Roman monuments.<sup>213</sup>

With regard to the Germanic tribes, one of the most recognizable features of the male captives is their long, shaggy hair and beards. The unkempt hair was the hallmark of the uncivilized and was the opposite of the Republican and early Imperial Roman who, until the time of Hadrian and beyond, kept his hair short and was clean shaven.<sup>214</sup> Germanic men were also represented wearing *bracae*, torques, and oftentimes their chests were covered with just a *sagum*, or were left bare. The Germanic barbarians are known to have fought without clothes and the naked torsos of the illustrated men served to remind the Romans of this fact and enhance their savage aspect, in both appearance and manner.<sup>215</sup>

---

<sup>213</sup> Gergel 1994: 199.

<sup>214</sup> Zanker 1995 has undertaken a study of the portrayal of intellectuals in the Greek and Roman worlds. During the second century A.D., a "cult of learning" arose and men who wished to portray themselves as intellectual chose the classical Greek model of a long beard and hair.

<sup>215</sup> For Gallic nudity during battle see Polyb. 2.30.3 and 3.114.4; Livy 38.21.9. Polyb. 2.29.8: πάντες δ' οἱ τὰς πρώτας κατέχοντες σπείρας χρυσοῖς μανιάκαις καὶ περιχείροις ἦσαν κατακεκοσμημένοι. πρὸς ἃ βλέποντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μὲν ἐξεπλήττοντο ... "Not less terrifying was the appearance and rapid movement of the naked warriors in the van, which indicated men in the prime of their strength and beauty; while all the warriors in the front ranks were richly adorned with gold necklaces and bracelets. These sights certainly dismayed the Romans..." Trans. Warren 1989: 562.

Domitian's Germania coin types show an "ideal" figure rather than a native prisoner because these types were not marking the defeat of the German tribes as much as another step in the Romanization of the area (A053). Therefore, an allegorical figure was needed to represent the whole land of Germania under Roman rule. Although the figures may be modelled on actual individuals, the context and gestures of these representations set them apart as pure personifications.<sup>216</sup>

A change in the depiction of alien peoples occurred during the reign of Trajan. Now, the specific depictions of barbarians on cuirassed statues, coinage and other "historical" works could be seen alongside symbolic or allegorical images. The Roman prisoners portrayed on Trajanic monuments no longer referred only to specific successes, but instead came to symbolize the general military prowess of the Roman Emperor.

Trajan's Column has been widely, and correctly, hailed as the greatest monument in terms of the display of realism and historical narrative (D001). There is a mingling of realism and symbolism here<sup>217</sup> which may also be seen on a variety of media. The provincial personifications on coins of this reign take on the ideal style, while the *capta* coin types feature male inhabitants in various poses of defeat and capture.<sup>218</sup> In the Trajanic personifications of Dacia, the province is represented by a female figure wearing the traditional

---

<sup>216</sup> Toynbee 1934: 91; Brilliant 1963: 97.

<sup>217</sup> Rossi 1971: 123-125 notes that the weapons of the Dacians displayed on the column are stereotypical and not authentic representations due to the mixing of arms from various barbaric peoples portrayed in association with the Dacians.

<sup>218</sup> Toynbee 1934: 22-23.

Dacian male costume with *bracae* and a *pileus* (A074).<sup>219</sup> There are instances in which the woman holds, or is surrounded by, weapons native to the area she personifies and therefore identifies her nationality. This fact marks her as a symbol owing to the Roman idea that barbarian women abnormally participated in war, whereas Roman women did not take part in martial activities. The inclusion of arms in a captive representation illustrates the symbolic nature of the personifications. Artists first properly employed the large hexagonal shield in association with Germanic peoples and events during the reign of Claudius.<sup>220</sup> This tradition continued through the first century as the same shields may be witnessed, suspended from the trophies depicted on the monuments of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians. But, by the time of Trajan the hexagonal shield was also employed in the depiction of Dacian victories on the coinage.<sup>221</sup> This trend of mixing foreign arms continued until, by the Antonine period, the distinctive nature of the various barbarian weapons became blurred.

The principate of Hadrian was exceptional in that Hadrian was concerned to consolidate the existing empire rather than to expand it. During the years 134-136 A.D., a series of coins was minted which carried

---

<sup>219</sup> High born Dacians wore the *pileus* as a symbol of their noble status. Toynbee 1934: 92. The depiction of a female personification in traditional male garb can be seen on Domitian's Germanic coin types as well.

<sup>220</sup> These coins feature the head of Nero Drusus on the obverse and a pair of crossed hexagonal shields in front of a pair of trumpets, spears and an upright *vexillum*. BMC I 104-108.

<sup>221</sup> Toynbee 1934: 89-90, notes that representations of Dacian arms on the Column of Trajan did not include the Germanic shield and offers the suggestion that the coin makers were unaware of the difference between the Germanic and Dacian shields. This may also mark the beginning point in which the attributes were used merely to distinguish a stereotypical barbarian and the ethnographic details no longer mattered.

personifications of twenty-five different provinces within the Roman Empire, the so called "Province" series.<sup>222</sup> These coins demonstrate once again that representations of foreign peoples in Roman art were not always ethnographically correct. The personified provinces were presented as "ideal," allegorical, female figures accompanied by relevant attributes.<sup>223</sup> Strack has made the important observation that the personifications of Roman provinces within the Hadrianic coin series do not correspond to actual administrative areas but instead coincide with racial or ethnic units. A common personification has been found to represent the provinces of Hispania, Gallia, Mauretania, Dacia and Moesia, while at the same time personifications of areas such as Libya and Phrygia were struck which were not related to any existing provinces named as such.<sup>224</sup> Thus, certainly, the goal of the Roman artists who produced these representations was to create a human figure which would personify the stereotypical native of that area already conceived in the minds of the Roman viewers.<sup>225</sup>

Coins dating from the end of the second century A.D., from the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus onwards, carry images of the defeated barbarian in which the subjugated figure becomes increasingly

---

<sup>222</sup> Mattingly 1936: clxxv; Strack argues unsuccessfully for the late date of 137 A.D. issue in conjunction with the celebration of Hadrian's *vicennalia*, as Mattingly cites subsequent evidence which corroborates his earlier dates.

<sup>223</sup> Mattingly notes that the occasional instance of a male figure on these coins instead of a female one may be unimportant and that these male images should be viewed as representations of the *Genius* of the provinces.

<sup>224</sup> Strack 1933: 139-166; cf. Mattingly 1936: clxxv-clxxvi. Strack has divided these provincial personifications into five categories based on the dress of that figure and has convincingly argued that the different styles of dress represents the degree of Romanization attained in that area. The representations in native costume are believed to be non-Romanized conquered lands.

<sup>225</sup> Toynbee 1934: 8.

smaller in size as the “person” appears as merely an accessory or attribute of the emperor. This idea is reinforced by the fact that often the Roman figure seems to be oblivious to the small, crouched barbarian at his feet or under his foot.<sup>226</sup> This diminutive physical size is a striking contrast to the large and commanding figure of authority. As noted earlier, this tendency was apparent already on coins dating from the first century A.D.<sup>227</sup> yet was not fully utilised until the principate of Trajan. After the era of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, the use of a barbarian as an attribute occurred with increasing frequency until the end of the period under consideration. The symbolic nature of the small barbarian can be observed by the comparison of figures on the Arcus Novus of Diocletian (C009) and the Arch of Constantine (C011b) pedestals. The reliefs depicting a bent and kneeling barbarian in association with a tall, erect Roman soldier are so similar that it has been suggested that they originated from a common prototype.<sup>228</sup> A connection with an actual victory was no longer necessary. “If the potency of the Emperor rested on victory, its aftermath, submission of the defeated, could be employed as an evocative reference.”<sup>229</sup>

The use of the foreign prisoner of war image on Roman monuments changes over time as realism and narrative give way to more stereotypical renderings. The relegation of the barbarian to a symbol of Roman authority can be seen through the conventional poses of a submissive person, the

---

<sup>226</sup> Levi 1952: 18, 26. Interestingly, the image representing the emperor dragging a captive by his hair does not appear until the reign of the Christian emperor Constantine.

<sup>227</sup> A019, A042 and A043.

<sup>228</sup> Kleiner 1992: 454.

<sup>229</sup> Brilliant 1963: 42.

diminished physical size of that person and the merging and stereotyping of attributes of various alien nations.

### **Gender Patterns and Stereotypes**

As we have seen, both male and female barbarians were depicted on Roman monuments throughout the history of the captive motif. Yet a definite pattern of gendering may be observed in the iconography and is most clearly identifiable within the medium of coinage.<sup>230</sup> Different types of vanquished and submissive opponents were represented on coins and monuments: those which related to a general victory and those which referred to the defeat of a specific enemy.<sup>231</sup> When the depictions of particular adversaries first appeared, in the mid first century B.C., for example, with the representations of King Aretas and Jugurtha, only men were employed in the iconography. Women were employed as symbols of a general victory.

A series of denarii jointly minted at Rome in 58 B.C. by M. Scaurus and P. Hypsaeus shows the manner in which specific military achievements were depicted.<sup>232</sup> The reverse of one particular coin in the series shows a camel behind the kneeling figure of King Aretas of Nabataea who holds an olive branch in his outstretched hand (A004). The identity of the submissive barbarian is clearly indicated by the inscription in the exergue (REX ARETAS).

---

<sup>230</sup> This is true as examples may be found continuously from the mid first century B.C. to the mid fifth century A.D. and therefore reveal diachronic changes.

<sup>231</sup> Wyke 1992: 121.

<sup>232</sup> This series of coins is unusual because each coin has two "reverse" sides, one for each of the men who struck the coins.

Two years later, Sulla's son had a series of denarii struck with the image of a kneeling King Bocchus of Mauretania surrendering the kneeling and bound figure of Jugurtha to Sulla (A005). No woman was ever depicted as a specific vanquished enemy. At first, it would seem that the Roman moneyers portrayed men in these types because in the countries which they defeated, the governing power was in the hands of men only. Yet, although this was quite exceptional, the Romans did engage in wars with territories which had women leaders such as the Egyptian Cleopatra.<sup>233</sup>

The war fought between the joint forces of Antony and Cleopatra on one side and Octavian (Augustus) on the other was represented by the victorious side as not a civil war, but a struggle between *tota Italia* and a foreign enemy; Rome versus Egypt, the civilized West against the barbarian East. Cleopatra was considered to be Rome's most dread enemy since Hannibal and her suicide in 30 B.C. was cause for great rejoicing. Therefore, it is surprising to note the absence of the barbarian queen on the monuments commemorating her defeat; a crocodile normally stood for the defeated Egypt in her place.<sup>234</sup> Similarly, Boudicca, the British rebellion leader, was not displayed as a vanquished enemy type after her defeat by Roman forces in 60 A.D. As there were few female enemy leaders, women were not employed in Roman art as named opponents.

In the iconography of captives, women were first employed, in the last

---

<sup>233</sup> The fighting woman was considered a feature of barbarians by the Romans. See Plut. *Mar.* 19.9, *Florus* 4.12.5.

<sup>234</sup> Wyke 1992: 119.

years of the Republic, to portray “typical” prisoners; yet even in this role, women functioned as abstract images more often than male figures. One example of the vanquished foe type conceived in the Republic and used extensively in the Principate until the reign of Constantine, employed the images of both a male and female barbarian. An early example of this kind was minted by Julius Caesar in 46-45 B.C. to celebrate his victories in Gaul (A011). A trophy stands in the center of the denarius with a seated bound man to the left and a woman to the right who sits in an attitude of grief, with her head in her right hand. The female figure is believed to represent both a “typical” prisoner and the province of *Gallia* due to the fact that the male alone is shackled.<sup>235</sup> Wyke recognized that male and female barbarians served different iconographical functions on coinage, a point which can be observed on a pair of silver denarii issued around 48 B.C.<sup>236</sup> One coin which depicts a male barbarian on the obverse, has a militaristic scene of a charioteer and warrior on the reverse. The second coin which has a foreign woman on the obverse contains a representation of Artemis, goddess of Massilia (a subjugated town), on the reverse. Therefore, the male barbarian is associated with the military activities of the wars while the female is identified with a submissive city in Gaul.<sup>237</sup>

In the instances where a victory is celebrated over a people and the conquered land has been personified, it is almost always a female who is

---

<sup>235</sup> Hannestad 1988: 22-23; Toynbee 1934: 117-118. This tradition continues well into the Imperial period as it can also be found on a sestertius type of Vespasian and Titus celebrating the capture of Judaea (A023 and A051).

<sup>236</sup> RRC 448/2e & 448/3.

<sup>237</sup> Wyke 1992: 122.

depicted.<sup>238</sup> The woman represents the whole country and not just the inhabitants of the subjugated land.<sup>239</sup> Therefore, in the captive motif, the lone female figures are employed as personifications or representative persons and never as a specific opponent. When a female figure is found on a monument oftentimes “her attributes characterize a nation not an individual.”<sup>240</sup> This is true of every medium and is not peculiar to coinage. The women represented on the Prima Porta statue serve as personifications for areas under Roman control. The attributes of the women, as we shall see below, do not signify them as particular enemies, but instead help place them within a geographical setting.<sup>241</sup> This is the exact opposite of the central scene in which the Roman general receives the standards from a Parthian which signifies an actual and specific historical achievement.

The differences in the meaning of the male and female captive figures probably stem from the notion of feminine inferiority and masculine superiority. Roman women were not politically active in any formal sense, nor did they participate in the military sphere. This idea of the inferior is closely related to the concept of the “other,” where inversions of the natural order of nature, such as women taking an active leadership role in a “man’s” world, was common.<sup>242</sup> Oriental men were considered to be effeminate and the women were considered to act as pseudo-men. Also as Wyke points out,

---

<sup>238</sup> Mattingly: see above n.223.

<sup>239</sup> Toynbee 1934: 7-23.

<sup>240</sup> Quotation: Wyke 1992: 123; Toynbee 1934: 9-10.

<sup>241</sup> Zanker 1988: 189; Gergel 1994: 195-196; Hannestad 1988: 55.

<sup>242</sup> The ideology of the “other” and how the representations of captives related to it will be discussed in Chapter Four.

“the entire possibility of differentiating between a symbolic order of female personifications such as ... the Nation Vanquished, and the actual ... defeated depends largely on the absence of women from the military sphere.”<sup>243</sup> Barbarian women appear on monuments as symbols of their society’s future (because of their reproductive capabilities) and its present state of enslavement. There would be no threat from future generations as the Roman victory was complete.<sup>244</sup>

### **Summary/Conclusion**

It appears that the motif of the captive barbarian is more firmly grounded in symbolism than in any actual reality although there are monuments which express various aspects of a slave’s life. However, that being said, a symbol can only be effective if it draws on what its audience takes to be an accurate reflection of the real. The portrayal of captives in art derive from features of enslavement known from conventional historical sources and for this reason the two give mutual support to each other and allow for a greater appreciation of the horrors of enslavement in a real sense. Therefore, these artistic representations provide an important visual dimension to the conventional evidence and serve a valuable confirming function. For example, one of the central standard views of slavery history is that there were significant improvements in servile conditions under the Principate. However, there is no sign of any amelioration of slavery in the artistic portrayals of enslaved captives. Slavery always remains fundamental to

---

<sup>243</sup> Wyke 1992: 126.

<sup>244</sup> Kampen 1991: 221.

Roman culture, even in late antiquity. Even in the Republican and early Imperial periods, when realism in Roman art was important, the vanquished barbarian signified Roman strength through the employment of traditional gestures. As the Empire continued into the second century A.D., the forms of the defeated opponents became more and more stereotypical. There was, from the beginning of the motif, a gender difference which grew less important as the images transformed into iconic symbols. The ways in which these symbols of victory affected the Roman viewer and formed his or her attitude towards foreigners is the subject of the following chapter.

## Chapter Four - The "Other"

The motif of the defeated barbarian has survived on Roman monuments dating from the last century of the Republic through the Imperial period to the rise of the Byzantine empire. It also enjoyed a wide geographical spread, being employed in such areas as present day Britain, France, Germany, Greece, Rumania, Turkey, Syria, Egypt and North Africa (the Roman provinces of Britannia, Narbonensis, Germania Superior, Macedonia, Thrace, Moesia, Asia, Syria, Egypt, and Africa), as well as Italy and the city of Rome itself. In this chapter I will answer the question of why images of warfare and enslavement were so important to the Romans, even during periods in which peace was heralded as a characteristic of the age. The use of such images raises the issue of how the Romans saw themselves, which in turn reveals how they viewed others. In the following pages the meaning, formation and maintenance of Roman identity will be examined. How outsiders were viewed will aid in our understanding of why the barbarian motif was employed during the period of Roman peace (*pax Romana*), and why graphic and seemingly pitiful images were presented to the Roman public. It is my belief that the representations of barbarian captives on Roman monuments symbolized the "other" and were a crucial factor in the maintenance of Roman identity.

### On Being Roman

Warfare, and the military glory conferred as a result of successful engagements, was a crucial aspect of Roman identity; it was through warfare

that the Romans found justification for themselves as a people, so that there was almost a “biological necessity about the event.”<sup>245</sup> Indeed, modern scholars have rightly described Rome as a warrior society, given the emphasis Romans placed on martial achievements.<sup>246</sup> Warfare was embedded in the fabric of Roman society at an early date, at least as early as the fifth century B.C., by which time the Romans fought campaigns every spring (except in rare instances) against some enemy or other.<sup>247</sup> Harris has shown that Rome’s regular conflicts and expansion were undertaken for the personal glory that accrued to its leaders and for the economic benefits from which both leaders and led benefited, rather than for defensive reasons.<sup>248</sup>

Warfare was a normal feature of Roman life and a militaristic ethos permeated the religious and political institutions of the Republic which in turn was reflected in the society’s moral values.<sup>249</sup> The significance of bellicose activities is clearly indicated in both the deities that were worshipped and the religious rites observed by the Romans, such as those of the Equus

---

<sup>245</sup> Harris 1979: 9 (quotation, 9).

<sup>246</sup> Hopkins 1978: 25-37; Harris 1979: 9-53.

<sup>247</sup> Oakley 1993: 14-16 has demonstrated that the pattern of annual warfare was present by 440 B.C. Cf. Cornell 1995: 309 who reports that during the fifth century B.C. there was little difference between warfare and brigandage. Harris 1979: 9-10 has shown that after 327 B.C. a year without warfare was rare. There are only thirteen years between 415 and 265 B.C. in which campaigns were not waged.

<sup>248</sup> Harris 1979: 173-175; cf. Rich 1993: 64-65, who believes that Harris’s view is too monocausal and proposes that a combination of fear, greed and quest for glory were the stimuli for Rome’s annual warfare. Defensive imperialism see: Mommsen 1877-80; Badian 1968; Frank 1914: 356 goes so far as to call the Romans “peaceful, home-staying men.”

<sup>249</sup> Harris 1979: 2; Cornell 1993: 156.

October, performed at the conclusion of the war season.<sup>250</sup> The Romans believed that the empire was ordained by the gods<sup>251</sup> and so, not surprisingly, the earliest rites were conceived of as a means to ensure continued success. One method devised to gain the support of the gods was the Roman declaration of war, which, in the eyes of the Romans was based on the concept of the “just war” and justified the conflict.<sup>252</sup> The historian Polybius noted that the Romans were always careful to offer a pretext for going to war because they did not want to appear as the aggressors. Both Augustus and Suetonius made a point of stating that Augustus had never fought an unjust war.<sup>253</sup> The triumph of Rome’s forces was proof in itself that the war had been just. The abstract concept of victory took on a new form in the third century B.C. as the Romans began to worship Victoria as a deity. The cult of Victoria remained prominent throughout both the Republican and Imperial periods as military victory was viewed as a manifestation of the divinity.<sup>254</sup>

The Republican aristocracy found its value-system in military glory, as success resulted from the existence of such virtues as *virtus* and *gloria*. As Cicero stated, “What shall I say of the art of war? In this sphere our

---

<sup>250</sup> Versnel 1970: 373; Fears 1981: 742; Harris 1979: 9. There were also the rites of Equirria, Quinquatrus and Tubilustrum and the Armilustrum.

<sup>251</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 1.278-279; Livy 1.16.7. The Romans were not the only society in history to believe that they possessed divine favour. See Colley 1992 for an examination of the British rise to power.

<sup>252</sup> Harris 1979: 169. Just war: see Harris 1979: 165-175.

<sup>253</sup> Polyb. 15.20.3; Augustus *Res Gestae* 26.3; Suet. *Aug.* 21. The pretext of non-aggression had led scholars to believe that Rome’s wars were fought for defensive reasons, but as Harris 1979: 178 shows, one cause to doubt this was the fact that most campaigns were waged outside the territory of Rome and her allies.

<sup>254</sup> Fears 1981: 743; Oakley 1993: 30; Harris 1979: 123-125.

countrymen have proved their superiority by valour as well as in an even greater degree by discipline. When we come to natural gifts apart from book-learning they are above comparison with the Greeks or any other people.”<sup>255</sup> Thus for Cicero, the principal distinction between Romans and Greeks was the Roman proficiency at war, which was the one element in which Rome was superior. Roman success was seen as a result of Roman virtue.<sup>256</sup> The possession of *virtus* was demonstrated through the performance of some service, usually military in nature, to the Republic.<sup>257</sup> Polybius notes that in an attempt to restore the virtue and aggressive nature of Rome’s young men who had gone soft after twelve years peace, the Senate declared war on the Dalmatians in the mid second century B.C.<sup>258</sup> A soldier who died fighting for Rome most certainly won *gloria* for both himself and his descendants. *Virtus* imposed a manner of conduct upon young Republican men as they were expected not only to live up to, and do nothing to tarnish, their ancestor’s fame but also to increase the family’s glory through heroic deeds of their own.<sup>259</sup> However, with the rise of political individualism the concept of *virtus* changed so that during the last century of the Republic it was more a matter of personal glory and less importance was placed on family accomplishments.

---

<sup>255</sup> Cic. *Tusc.* 1.1.2. *Quid loquar de re militari? in qua cum virtute nostri multum valuerunt tum plus etiam disciplina. Iam illa, quae natura, non litteris adsecuti sunt, neque cum Graecia neque ulla cum gente sunt conferenda.* Trans. King 1945. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.847ff.

<sup>256</sup> See: Dion. Hal. 1.5.3, 2.17.3; Joseph. *BJ* 2.373, 3.70.

<sup>257</sup> Earl 1967: 35 & passim; Wiedemann 1992: 6.

<sup>258</sup> Polyb. 32.13.6.

<sup>259</sup> Earl 1967: 26.

Another virtue which became extremely important in the last years of the Republic and through the Imperial period was *clementia*. Sallust recorded an speech, attacking the rule of Sulla, made to the Roman people by the consul M. Aemilius Lepidus in which he appealed, first and foremost, to the mercy of the Romans. "Your *clementia* and honesty, Citizens, ... make you supreme and renowned throughout foreign nations..."<sup>260</sup> Caesar was the first man to advertise this virtue and claim it as a personal virtue, but he was soon followed by Augustus.<sup>261</sup> A special shield, the famous *clipeus virtutis*, was dedicated to the first Roman emperor by the Senate on account of his virtues, *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia* and *pietas*, as inscribed on the shield itself. Representations of Roman leaders receiving submissive barbarians and bestowing *clementia* upon them can be found throughout the five centuries of the empire under consideration in this study.<sup>262</sup>

The importance of warfare was reflected in the political institutions of early Rome as well. In the Republic, the position of legionary officer was the first minor public office to which men could be elected. Thus the young men of Rome gained valuable experience in battle and a chance to enhance their status through success in war. The experience of combat gained here would prove crucial for those seeking higher office, as each senior official was

---

<sup>260</sup> Sall. *Oratio Lepidi* 1. *Clementia et probitas vostra, Quirites, ... per ceteras gentis maximi et clari estis...*

<sup>261</sup> Earl 1967: 60; Zanker 1988: 96. See especially Weinstock 1971: 233ff.

<sup>262</sup> Representations may be seen on a silver goblet (K008), on the Boscoreale cup (K009), on Trajan's column (D001), on two panels from the reign of Marcus Aurelius (F012b and F013) as well as on the Bellicus Tebanius sarcophagus (J001), the sarcophagus of a Roman general (J006), the lid of the Portonaccio sarcophagus (J007) and on a sarcophagus fragment (J011).

expected to be a competent military commander.<sup>263</sup>

In the earliest Republic to the second century B.C., Roman males were exposed to warfare at a young age. At the age of seventeen those adolescents belonging to the elite received formal education in battle and military command.<sup>264</sup> The essential need of training the young citizens is echoed in Livy: "let them [the Romans] cultivate the arts of war, and let them know and teach their descendants [i.e. their children] that no human strength is able to resist Roman arms."<sup>265</sup> Even the games played by young children contained an element of power.<sup>266</sup> The *Lusus Troiae*, or Troy Game, was said to have been an ancient Roman ritual revived in the Principate of Augustus. Here, two teams of boys, one group consisting of boys aged seven to eleven, the other aged eleven to fourteen, engaged in a mock battle on horseback.<sup>267</sup> The competition was so intense that it was not uncommon for injury to result and the games were quickly abolished. Thus the younger generations of Romans were imbued with the competitive spirit which they were expected to possess as adults. After watching a group of children at play, Cicero wrote, "How they fight it out with enthusiasm! How great are their contests! So that they feel joy when they win and are ashamed when they are beaten."<sup>268</sup>

---

<sup>263</sup> Harris 1979: 15; Hopkins 1983: 27. Until the first century B.C. military service was a requirement of Rome's young elite.

<sup>264</sup> Harris 1979: 14.

<sup>265</sup> Livy 1.16.7. ... *rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.*

<sup>266</sup> Shumka 1991: 172.

<sup>267</sup> Wiedemann 1989: 121 & 182; Weinstock 1971: 88-89. Suet. *Ner.* 7.1; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 11; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5.54-55.

<sup>268</sup> Cic., *Fin.* 5.61. *Quanta studia decertantium sunt! quanta ipsa certamina! ut illi efferentur laetitia cum vicerunt! ut pudet victos!*

The combination of games played and military education at such a tender age must have had a great impact on the formation of each boy's individual, and communal, identity.<sup>269</sup>

History was a fundamental tool in the formation and maintenance of Roman identity. As Cartledge has remarked of the Greeks, so at Rome: it was "through their conception of the past that people gain[ed] a sense of who they [were], through knowing where they [had] been."<sup>270</sup> Thus the early history of Rome was comprised of accounts of warfare and bravery, a fact noted by the later historian Tacitus.<sup>271</sup> Many heroes in Roman history shared a common trait; they were courageous soldiers who had won dramatic military victories. How could this race of men not be great soldiers? The legendary father of Rome's founder was none other than Mars, the god of war. One of the most famous stories of Roman courage is the account of Mucius Scaevola.<sup>272</sup> A prisoner of the Etruscan king Porsenna, he was sentenced to torture unless he told of the plot against the Etruscans. At once he thrust his right hand into a fire kindled for a sacrifice and held it there until his hand was burned away. Physical injury was preferable to the loss of dignity one suffered as a coward. Another act of bravery in the face of adversity was the lone stand of Horatius Cocles against the Etruscans.<sup>273</sup> He ordered his fellow Romans to cut away the bridge across the Tiber while he withheld the attacking forces on the

---

<sup>269</sup> Harris 1979: 12 n.8.

<sup>270</sup> Cartledge 1993: 36.

<sup>271</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 4.32. Harris 1979: 21; Hopkins 1983: 27.

<sup>272</sup> Livy 2.12.9-13.

<sup>273</sup> Livy 2.10.

opposite bank. But perhaps the best example of belief in Roman military strength was the sacrifice of Marcus Curtius.<sup>274</sup> In 362 B.C. an earthquake struck Rome, resulting in a large chasm in the Forum which could not be filled. The Romans then turned to the gods for aid, whereupon they were told that they must sacrifice the chief strength of the Roman people at once if the Republic was to endure. When people began to ask what this could be, Marcus Curtius, a young man of military prowess, replied that surely there were no blessings more Roman than arms and courage. Upon saying this he mounted a horse and rode into the chasm, plunging to his death. Thus one man's *virtus* and self-sacrifice saved the Roman people.

As we have seen in the accounts of heroic Romans, one characteristic which was especially important to them was courage, or *virtus*, and the best place to demonstrate this quality was on the battlefield.<sup>275</sup> Both valour and discipline in the heat of battle were stressed, as illustrated by the fact that harsh punishment was handed down to those found guilty of disobedience or cowardly behaviour.<sup>276</sup> The misconduct of an entire army unit was disciplined by the method of decimation, whereby one of every ten soldiers, selected by lot, suffered the fate of execution by beating.<sup>277</sup> All men from the defeated army had to draw lots, the cowardly and the brave alike. The army was only as strong as its weakest link and this form of punishment was

---

<sup>274</sup> Livy 7.6.1-6 *an ullum magis Romanum bonum quam arma virtusque esset...*; cf. Varro 1.15.148.

<sup>275</sup> Polyb. 31.29.1.

<sup>276</sup> Cf. Livy 8.7.8-22 who gives the account of Manlius Torquatus' execution of his courageous son for disobedience. See Watson 1969: 117-126 for various forms of military punishment.

<sup>277</sup> Polyb. 6.38.

designed to ensure that each man conducted himself in the appropriate manner when on campaign. The common good far outweighed the suffering of the individual.<sup>278</sup> One might imagine that this was a story told to scare new recruits into obedience; however, incidents of decimation did occur and are mentioned in the writings of various ancient authors as a matter of course, although Tacitus remarks that it was an uncommon occurrence in his day.<sup>279</sup> Hopkins rightly contends that if the Romans could kill members of their own society in this way, their harsh treatment and execution of captured enemies should not be surprising.<sup>280</sup>

Roman society was heavily stratified and control over the many was concentrated in the hands of a few. Power was a fundamental component of the culture, as the supremacy of one person or group over another was characteristic of all social relationships, even familial ones. Within each household the father held *patria potestas* (paternal power) over his sons and unmarried daughters as well as his slaves.<sup>281</sup> The head of the household maintained the right of life and death over each member of his family, at least in theory. Thus superiority and the use, or threatened use, of violence can be seen as integral features of Roman relationships.<sup>282</sup>

---

<sup>278</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 14.44. Cf. the sacrifice of Marcus Curtius above.

<sup>279</sup> Decimation: Polyb. and Tac. as above; Dio 41.35.5, 48.42.2, 49.27.1 & 49.38.4; Dion. Hal. 9.50.7; Livy 2.59.11; Suet. *Aug.* 24.2, *Calig.* 48.1 & *Galba* 12.2. Uncommon practice: Tac. *Ann.* 3.21.

<sup>280</sup> Hopkins 1983: 2. Cf. Wiedemann 1992: 139, who notes that although the taking of life must have caused anxiety in some members of the community, "that was not the same as having any reservation about the need to destroy hostile animals, prisoners of war or convicted criminals."

<sup>281</sup> Hopkins 1983: 243; Dixon 1992: 40.

<sup>282</sup> See Bradley 1987 for a discussion of violence as a means to control the slave population.

Polybius remarked that the Romans relied on βία, violent force, for every purpose<sup>283</sup> and this violence functioned as a form of social control. Slaves were sometimes brutally abused and criminals and prisoners of war were publicly executed as examples of what happened to those who did not conform. The extermination of captives also showed the Romans what happened to combatants who were defeated in battle. This, and the practice of decimation, was designed to instil in Roman soldiers an ardent desire to be the most courageous soldier they could be.

One could not escape the concept of warfare in ancient Rome. Everywhere one looked, one saw signs of it. From the fifth century B.C. on the centre of the city of Rome was filled with trophies of war, triumphal arches, statues of victorious generals and temples built with the spoils of victory<sup>284</sup> – all intended to celebrate past achievements and to inspire future generations. Even the columns of temples were covered with shields and military standards.<sup>285</sup> There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that the greatest glory came from military success and that the Roman elite was infused with pride in its military achievements. So Pliny reports:

Outside and around the entrance [of homes] there were pictures of great ancestors and here were affixed spoils taken from conquered enemies, which not even a purchaser of the house was allowed to remove. Thus the houses celebrated a perpetual triumph, even though the owners changed. It was a forceful reminder that the very walls of the house daily reproved a less

---

<sup>283</sup> Polyb. 1.37.7.

<sup>284</sup> Cornell 1995: 294. Aul. Gell. *NA* 13.25 states that in Trajan's Forum the words "from war" (*ex manubiis*) were displayed under gilded statues.

<sup>285</sup> Livy 40.50.3; 40.52.5.

martial owner telling him that he was intruding on someone else's triumph.<sup>286</sup>

Both Hopkins and Harris suggest it was this "ethos of aristocratic competition" which compelled the Romans to engage in annual warfare.<sup>287</sup> Notwithstanding the physical evidence of honorific statues and monuments, the historical accounts of Rome stress the deeds of great soldiers. Men such as Scipio Africanus added an extra cognomen to their standard nomenclature, taking the name of the site where they achieved military victory in order to perpetuate the memory of their success and demonstrate the fact that they were military heroes. The practice of adopting names from conquered areas (thus Germanicus, Britannicus and Dacicus) began with M. Valerius Maximus who added the "surname" Messala in the mid third century B.C. and continued until the late empire.<sup>288</sup> And, of course, there was the all important, status-enhancing triumph which was the "most impressive manifestation of the individual's glory."<sup>289</sup> The triumph also proclaimed the power of Rome through the exhibition of those captives recently subjugated by the Roman army. Representations of barbarians seated on platform carried in triumph are found on a relief from the Temple of Apollo Sosianus (F001), a relief of Lucius Verus (F011) and on a krater in the Villa Albani (K010). It is

---

<sup>286</sup> Pliny HN 35.7. *Aliae foris et circa limina animorum ingentium imagines erant adfixis hostium spoliis, quae nec emptori refigere liceret, triumphabatque etiam dominis mutatis aeternae domus. Erat haec stimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus tectis cotidie inbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum.* Trans. Isager 1991: 116. Cf. Cato fr. 58.97, who condemns men who decorate their houses with purchased, rather than captured, spoils.

<sup>287</sup> Harris 1979: 23 (quotation, 23); Hopkins 1978: 27; cf. Rich 1993: 55 & 65, who suggests that this same competitive spirit which compelled the Romans to seek military success may also have resulted in attempts by some men to stop their rivals from achieving fame.

<sup>288</sup> Messala: Evans 1992: 8. Late empire: LeBohec 1994: 201.

<sup>289</sup> Quotation: Harris 1979: 26. See above Chapter Two for a description of the ceremony.

obvious that a society which placed so much emphasis on military might and victory needed enemies. The Romans could not help but invent the "other."<sup>290</sup>

### The "Other"

Enemies always have been, and always will be, created within the minds of men and women. We fear what we do not know and we assume that that which is strange or different will cause us harm.<sup>291</sup> It is this fear of outsiders that contributes towards creating a sense of identity and solidarity within a society.<sup>292</sup> The world is divided between "us" and "them." The image of the enemy provides the "mirror" in which the community may see itself most clearly; the "other" takes on all the characteristics that the society considers taboo, profane and inhumane; in sum, the "denied aspects of the self."<sup>293</sup> The function of the other is to validate the self; without the other there can be no self.

Hostility against outsiders plays a crucial role in the formation and maintenance of self-identification, as conflict with other groups produces an

---

<sup>290</sup> Sampson 1993: 4 defines the concept of the other as a means to "rob the other of any genuine standing in the world, thereby permitting the dominant groups to operate more freely to achieve validation for themselves and ensure the maintenance of their privilege."

<sup>291</sup> Rich 1993: 63. Fearing an external threat, the Romans performed human sacrifices in 228, 216 and 114/113 B.C. in order to protect themselves.

<sup>292</sup> Keen 1986: 17. This book provides an excellent and thought provoking discussion concerning the formation of enemies.

<sup>293</sup> Mirror: cf. Hartog 1988. Keen 1986:11; Cartledge 1993: 11. This denial may be seen at work in the Roman world with regard to human sacrifice. The Romans believed the Druids to be quite barbaric due to the fact that they practiced rites of human sacrifice. Yet, as Hopkins 1989: 5 correctly points out, the Romans came close to sacrifice in the gladiatorial contests and beast shows.

increased exclusiveness within a society. In times of crisis, actual or perceived, the common bonds forged between group members are intensified<sup>294</sup> and it has been demonstrated that more cohesive groups express greater amounts of hostility than other groups.<sup>295</sup> Both Haarhoff and Hall demonstrate that the formation of a Greek identity did not take root until the Persian threat arose in the early fifth century B.C.<sup>296</sup> It was this polarization between the Greeks and the Persians which influenced the Romans in their construction of the concept of the “barbarian,” after the Gallic invasions of the fourth century B.C.<sup>297</sup>

Primary elements in the formation of the “other” are the manufacture of propaganda and stereotypes in order to justify hostility;<sup>298</sup> these are the first weapons employed in any war.<sup>299</sup> The outsider is painted as a threat to the structure and stability of a given society.<sup>300</sup> The concept of a western savage “other” grew out of the fear and humiliation suffered by the Romans at the hands of the Gauls. This unprecedented and violent attack provoked strong and irrational fears and shaped the relations with Westerners for centuries. Cornell states that extreme panic ensued at the mere threat of a *tumultus*

---

<sup>294</sup> Haarhoff 1948: 126; Dennen 1987: 26.

<sup>295</sup> Dennen 1987: 35. Sociobiologists have conducted experimental studies of groups under threat or stress.

<sup>296</sup> Haarhoff 1948: 20; Hall 1989: 2 & 9.

<sup>297</sup> Dauge 1981: 53f; Hannestad 1988: 54.

<sup>298</sup> Sociobiologists in the past decade have dealt with the rejection of strangers from a biological, innate source. See especially Stein 1993: 251-267. Flohr 1993: 190-207, agrees but believes that this reaction can be culturally manipulated.

<sup>299</sup> Wyke 1992: 106.

<sup>300</sup> Rich 1993: 63.

*Gallicus* long after the sack of 309 B.C.<sup>301</sup> The image of the uncultured and savage western barbarian was reinforced through the defeats suffered at the hands of the Germans. For example, the German slaughter of Varus and his army in 9 A.D. was a resounding disaster and strengthened the Roman fear of the north and western barbarians.

The influence of the East on the West was viewed as a corrupting one which threatened the very fabric of Roman society. Elite Romans prided themselves on their courage and aggressive nature, their *virtus*, while the Eastern barbarians were seen as submissive (owing to their willingness to be ruled by a monarch) and "soft" people due to their love of decadence and overindulgence in all things immoral. For the Romans, the danger to their culture was real, as the corrupting power of the Orient could be seen in the degeneration of the Macedonians after they had assumed authority in the East.<sup>302</sup> Both Hall and Cartledge have concluded that the concept of "orientalism," whereby eastern peoples were considered "defeated, luxurious, emotional, cruel and always dangerous," first arose in Greece in the fifth century B.C. and continued through the Roman period as a justification for the West's desire to assert control over the East.<sup>303</sup>

The Roman identity centered on victory and military achievements; thus in the world of the diametrically opposed other, in order for the Romans to see themselves as victors they had to be presented with images of others

---

<sup>301</sup> Cornell 1995: 325.

<sup>302</sup> Balsdon 1979: 63.

<sup>303</sup> Hall 1989: 103 (quotation, 99); Cartledge 1993: 38.

who had been defeated. The identity of the courageous and triumphant Roman was reinforced every time he saw a vanquished opponent as the image proved that the Romans rightly held their position of dominance in the world. Works of art helped to construct a collective sense of identity within the culture, as well as a personal sense of self within each individual member of the community.<sup>304</sup> Few monuments with captive representations appear before the imperial period, and none appears earlier than the first century B.C. If these images were important to the maintenance of identity, why did they occur at such a late date? The answer may lie in the political situation of the period. The last hundred years of the Republic was a tumultuous period in which a number of men sought to gain sole power through the establishment of personal, professional armies. Success in war ensured that these soldiers would be paid for their services, so the concept of victory was very important. In the periods of civil war and reputed imperial peace there were threats to the traditional dominance of military *virtus* and *gloria* in Roman society. It was during these three hundred years when a common Roman identity was crucial. Warfare was a defining feature of the civilization; therefore, the essence of it had to be maintained in order for the Romans to continue to justify their existence. It was against this background of threat and anxiety that a need might be perceived for artistic images which advertised the traditional, or what were considered to have been, ancestral norms.

### **A Roman Peace?**

We can see why images of prisoners of war would be so important to

---

<sup>304</sup> Elsner 1995: 125.

the Romans. Representations of vanquished opponents can be found on monuments throughout the so-called period of Roman peace (*pax Romana*) of the first two centuries A.D., when expansionist military campaigns were a rarity. But, while it is true that the number of wars waged in the early empire stood in sharp contrast to the number of the middle and late Republic when warfare was almost a constant, were these centuries actually a time of peace?<sup>305</sup> Modern scholars have proposed that the *pax Romana* was the inevitable result of the changing face of warfare in the last centuries B.C.<sup>306</sup> Harris has suggested that in the final one hundred years of the Republic, warfare became the “specialized policy” of individuals, as both the elite and common citizens were less preoccupied with war.<sup>307</sup> The changes in recruitment practices may have served to create the reduced interest as military service was no longer an obligation, and the peasant army was gradually replaced by long serving professional soldiers due to the duration and distance of foreign wars.<sup>308</sup> It is essential to recognize that warfare did continue under the Principate. However, campaigns were waged in distant theatres by a separate section of society, the professional soldiers. The Roman citizens living in the capital and the inner provinces of the empire had no experience of war, as these areas were gradually demilitarized.<sup>309</sup> These were the people who enjoyed the time of “peace” at the expense of soldiers

---

<sup>305</sup> Woolf 1993: 171, notes that a Roman peace “raises problems for the notions that war was a structural component of ancient society...”

<sup>306</sup> Cornell 1993: 158-160; Hopkins 1978: 29; Harris 1979: 5 & 252f.

<sup>307</sup> Harris 1979: 252.

<sup>308</sup> Hopkins 1978: 29-30. Rich 1993: 6. By the Principate of Augustus, the full change to a professional army had been completed.

<sup>309</sup> Hopkins 1983: 2; Cornell 1993: 165-166.

stationed in the remote provinces and the Roman provincials.<sup>310</sup>

In order to understand why the first two centuries A.D. were considered an age of peace, one must first understand the Roman conception of it, which may be ascertained from surviving Latin literature. In a famous quotation from the *Agricola*, the British chieftain Calgacus states, "To steal, to slaughter, to plunder they mistakenly name empire, and moreover where they make a desert, they call it peace."<sup>311</sup> It seems therefore that for the Romans, successful warfare was the prerequisite for peace; one could not exist without the other.<sup>312</sup> Anchises told his son Aeneas "to impose the law of peace, to spare the submissive and to vanquish the proud."<sup>313</sup> In the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, the emperor stated that three times he had closed the temples doors of Janus "when peace had been secured through victories by land and sea."<sup>314</sup> We can see from these accounts that peace and victory were intimately related. This was an association repeatedly stressed in the "propaganda" of Augustus.<sup>315</sup>

While it is true that major foreign wars of conquest were rare in the first and second centuries A.D., external wars did continue to be fought on the frontiers of the empire during the reign of Augustus, as well as throughout

---

<sup>310</sup> Woolf 1993: 185.

<sup>311</sup> Tac. Agr. 30.5. *Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

<sup>312</sup> Harris 1979: 35; Fears 1981: 807.

<sup>313</sup> Verg. Aen. 6.852-853. *...pacique imponere morem/ parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*

<sup>314</sup> Augustus *Res Gestae* 13. *...cum...terra marique esset parta victoriis pax...*

<sup>315</sup> Zanker 1988: 175f & 187-192; Fears 1981: 807.

the Imperial period. Thus, the reputed *pax Augusta* and *pax Romana* were not really ages of peace at all except for those citizens who lived within the pacified territories of the empire.<sup>316</sup> The peace that was celebrated was the internal calm after decades of civil war. The idea of *pax* was necessary to the Roman people in the early years of the empire who were weary of the bitter fighting which tore the community apart; the age of peace served to unite this formerly divided society.<sup>317</sup> What had initially been celebrated as peace was the end of Rome's civil war and the restoration of stability to Rome and the inner provinces.<sup>318</sup> Although there were few great wars of conquest in the first two hundred years of the empire, minor campaigns were still launched along the borders of the empire and the armies of Rome were kept busy with at least fourteen uprisings and revolts in the provinces.<sup>319</sup> As Tacitus stated, "there certainly had been peace, but it was a bloody one."<sup>320</sup> The peace was an interior peace, not an external one.

Another way to heal the wounds caused by the civil war was the re-establishment of a common Roman identity. In fact, the final battle fought between Augustus and Antony at Actium was propagandized as a war between Rome and the East; Roman infighting was taken out of the equation. Rome and its empire had to come together in order to defeat the

---

<sup>316</sup> Woolf 1993: 182; Cornell 1993: 150.

<sup>317</sup> Woolf 1993: 178.

<sup>318</sup> Cornell 1993: 150; Woolf 1993: 186.

<sup>319</sup> Cornell 1993: 153; Woolf 1993: 188. It seems that at this time, campaigns were under-reported in the literary sources, perhaps due to the fact that the emperor himself did not participate in these campaigns, perhaps because there was little glory reflected on the generals who fought the battles. On revolt patterns see Dyson 1975.

<sup>320</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.9.5; 10.4. *pacem sine dubio...verum cruentam.*

foreign threat. Rome's enemies lay beyond its borders in the form of uncivilized barbarians who craved war. The frontier was converted into a type of moral barrier, with the savage barbarians on one side and the "peaceful" Romans on the other.<sup>321</sup> With the defeat of Cleopatra and Egypt, Augustus declared that the Republic had been restored. He then set about reviving many traditions of the Republic, such as the *Lusus Troiae*, in an attempt to reconstruct Rome's military ethos. Although peace was the watchword of the day, the Romans still took pride in their military achievements. Augustus was sure to note in his *Res Gestae* that he had led nine kings or children of kings in his triumphs.<sup>322</sup> Military glory was just as important as ever, and in fact the early empire's victories over foreign enemies proved that the gods had not abandoned the Romans. They still possessed the right to rule others, and their success also demonstrated the ruler's right to rule.<sup>323</sup> Military victory was linked with internal order, and Hopkins believes that the splendid gladiatorial games given by the emperors were a way of maintaining social order as well as preserving the militaristic spirit in cities that had little direct experience of war.<sup>324</sup> War was transformed into a game.

### **Pity? The Games**

At Rome, in the central period of its history, many citizens were content to watch the suffering and humiliation of other human beings, as

---

<sup>321</sup> Zanker 1988: 185; Cornell 1993: 161; Woolf 1993: 178.

<sup>322</sup> Augustus *Res Gestae* 4.3. *In triumphis meis ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regem liberi novem..*

<sup>323</sup> Zanker 1988: 183-186.

<sup>324</sup> Hopkins 1983: 29. Cf. Wiedemann 1992: 40-43.

long as these people did not belong to their community. Thus the popular gladiatorial games and executions of criminals and prisoners of war were eagerly attended by the whole Roman community - even children.<sup>325</sup> Even Seneca's famous criticism of the games, in which he states that he has returned from the spectacle feeling less human because of the blood lust shown by his fellow spectators, illustrates how many people actually enjoyed the games. The popularity may also be witnessed by the enormous size of the amphitheatres; the Flavian Amphitheatre in Rome could seat forty-five to fifty-five thousand spectators.<sup>326</sup>

Today, as in antiquity, violence in and between societies is committed as a collective activity or in the name of the community. It acts as an exercise in self-justification as law and order are re-established through the punishment of criminals.<sup>327</sup> The victims of this kind of institutionalized violence were clearly specified as non-Romans.<sup>328</sup> They were the prisoners of war, criminals and social outcasts who did not fit into the fabric of Roman society. Differences between the victims and the spectators were stressed and similarities downplayed. Those who were executed for public entertainment were considered worthless<sup>329</sup> and therefore they did not warrant any sympathy from the spectators. Those watching the spectacle could then identify more readily with the aggressors than with the victims.<sup>330</sup> The

---

<sup>325</sup> For the possibility of children as executioners see Wiedemann 1989: 179.

<sup>326</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 7. Sear 1982: 136.

<sup>327</sup> Dennen 1987: 39. Cf. Wiedemann 1992: 72.

<sup>328</sup> Brown 1992: 196; Wiedemann 1992: 91.

<sup>329</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.76; MacMullen 1990: 206.

<sup>330</sup> Hopkins 1983: 27; Brown 1992: 185.

dehumanization and depersonalization of victims was, and still is, a very important aspect of community violence, as those killed are viewed as legitimate victims of hatred and death. The anonymity of the victim serves to enhance the aggression against them.<sup>331</sup>

Rome's power-based society contributed to the Roman ability to attend events which contained what many people today would consider acts of unspeakable cruelty.<sup>332</sup> Power was one reason for this violence, the power of life and death over someone else. Fathers had this power over their children, masters over their slaves, commanders over soldiers. Brown sees this power dynamic in the games as well, as the purpose of many games was for a stronger opponent to overcome a weaker one.<sup>333</sup> Wiedemann also stresses that the slaughter of exotic beasts and foreign peoples constituted a "visual symbol of Roman control" over the territories the army had subjugated.<sup>334</sup> During the period of "peace", it was the gladiators who were to teach the audience to value courage and every fighter, even those without any hope of surviving, was expected to display bravery.<sup>335</sup> It was the courage displayed by the individual fighter which won him pardon, rather than any pity for his

---

<sup>331</sup> Dennen 1987: 30. Keen 1986: 61, notes that during the second world war the Nazis executed a program of systematic extermination of the Jews. Identity was stripped from these people; they were established as outsiders and a threat to the Aryan "race." This was done in order to make it possible for the Nazi soldiers to carry out the orders of execution.

<sup>332</sup> Both Hopkins 1983: 27-30 & Barton 1989 attempt to explain the reasons for this violence.

<sup>333</sup> Brown 1992: 184.

<sup>334</sup> Wiedemann 1992: 3.

<sup>335</sup> Wiedemann 1992: 40 explains that the games were critical during this period because there was a crisis of values resulting from the society which emerged from the civil war, as the members of the community had few shared experiences.

situation.<sup>336</sup> The Romans chose to decorate their homes with images of these legitimate victims of institutionalized violence, just as monuments were covered with representations of captives. Images such as these can help the modern viewer understand the Roman attitude towards both the games and outsiders in general.<sup>337</sup>

### **Pity in Art?**

Just as the Romans were able to tolerate and attend games and executions, they were also interested in seeing suffering and humiliated creatures in their art. Representations of defeated people can therefore contribute to our understanding of the ways in which the Romans viewed the less powerful beings who could legitimately be killed.<sup>338</sup> How did the image of suffering affect the Roman viewer? Was he or she so moved by the plight of the individual on the monument that he or she would refrain from attending a gladiatorial spectacle or from abusing a slave? This seems unlikely; images of defeated peoples probably reinforced the idea that these people were inferior and deserved to be mistreated as their very existence threatened Roman society. Also, within a large community individuals sympathize personally with relatively few other members and little pity, if any, is shown for the plight of people outside their community.<sup>339</sup> Appian tells us that during Caesar's triumph people applauded and laughed as they

---

<sup>336</sup> Pliny *Pan.* 33; Sen. *Ep.* 7.5; Brown 1992: 202; Wiedemann 1992: 35, 95-96. Seneca's criticism of the games was not that these people did not deserve to die, but that there was no contest in battle between an armed and unarmed man.

<sup>337</sup> Brown 1992: 207.

<sup>338</sup> Brown 1992: 183.

<sup>339</sup> Ike 1987: 232.

saw the painted representations of the death of Achilles and Pothinus, and the flight of Pharnaces'.<sup>340</sup> These paintings appealed to the pride that the Romans felt in their military success and certainly viewing the chained prisoners of war in person would only further instil the feeling of superiority. Brown, in her study of gladiatorial mosaics, has demonstrated that the Romans saw something "cute" or humorous in the destruction of men and animals based on the evidence of mosaics which depict children in the role of gladiators.<sup>341</sup>

What did the artists wish to achieve by showing, in a graphic way, someone who was a non-Roman? One image which seems to evoke strong feelings of compassion in modern viewers is the dramatic scene of capture on the column of Marcus Aurelius. Women and children are roughly seized as they attempt to flee from their Roman conquerors. Children cling to their mothers tightly as soldiers try to separate them. The sorrow on the faces of the defeated villagers is unmistakable. Bianchi Bandinelli argues that images such as this have a strong tradition in Greek and Roman art. The Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum was the antecedent for the expression of moral, rather than physical, distress. The precedent was also set by the plebeian art of Northern Italy and Romano-Gaul for the tendency to express this "agony of the spirit."<sup>342</sup> Levi has stated that the reason for depicting captives and barbarians as pitiful creatures was to reinforce their inferiority in the eyes of the Romans. The scenes found on the column of Marcus Aurelius display a

---

<sup>340</sup> App. *BCiv.* 2.101.

<sup>341</sup> Brown 1992: 200.

<sup>342</sup> Bianchi Bandinelli 1971: 8 & 1970: 306.

stronger negative sentiment towards the enemies of empire than ever before. The images which seem sorrowful to us represented the final annihilation of the enemy for the Romans.<sup>343</sup> However, another line of argument sees the entire monument as an anomaly. The carved images represent the emperor's own moral and intellectual struggles regarding the war reluctantly fought against the Germans and Sarmatians.<sup>344</sup> Here, the Roman army seems unsure of itself, for even the conquerors have sorrowful expressions; the self-confidence seen in the Column of Trajan is gone. The overall message of the monument appears to be that war causes pain and suffering for everyone involved. Nevertheless, these are the opinions imposed on ancient art by modern scholars. One must remember that the scenes portrayed on the column represented actual, traditional military events and were similar to the scenes depicted in triumphal paintings. If the Romans were able to find the flight and death of an enemy amusing, why should a scene of a common military act evoke any feeling of sympathy?

Brown also examined the question of pity for the subjects of the gladiatorial mosaics and found that the artist did not wish to elicit pity from his audience, any more than the host of a gladiatorial spectacle wished the crowd to feel compassion for the victims as they watched the extermination of humans and beasts alike. The viewer was instead to feel gratitude for the

---

<sup>343</sup> Levi 1952: 3; cf. Becatti 1967: 353.

<sup>344</sup> Kleiner 1992: 297; Ramage & Ramage 1991: 210-212. Contra Becatti 1967: 355 who states that this theory is anachronistic because Marcus Aurelius "a deeply humane man inspired by Stoic principles, would if anything have followed the Classicism of his times, whereas this style matured after his death, in the first years of the reign of Commodus" (quotation, 355).

man who had produced such a spectacle.<sup>345</sup> Modern viewers of Roman art must remember that the images which we find disturbing, because we feel empathy for the unfortunate, were not seen by the ancients in the same way.<sup>346</sup> Brown notes that “the co-operation or approval of viewers of the art who were themselves potential victims of the arena, such as slaves or non-Roman visitors, is assumed in the mosaics and in the homes that display them.”<sup>347</sup> The violence and cruelty found in images of gladiators and defeated barbarians were accepted because this brutality was directed at legitimate victims -- people who were outside Roman society and therefore symbolized the power of the Romans.<sup>348</sup>

With the age of Marius and beyond, Rome is again in a kind of crisis, as in the late Republic, as the traditional fabric of society, and its security, are threatened by “barbarian” invaders. So again at a time of corporate, even “national” distress, one can perhaps see that a reinforcement of traditional values through artistic media might have had a therapeutic effect in society as a whole. There will always be a need for a definition of corporate identity when society is in crisis or under threat (whether from within or without).

---

<sup>345</sup> Brown 1992: 202; Wiedemann 1992: 15-16.

<sup>346</sup> Hopkins 1983: 5.

<sup>347</sup> Brown 1992: 208.

<sup>348</sup> The passage from Quintilian quoted earlier implies that an orator’s audience will feel pity for the victims when a city is destroyed and its population enslaved. Nevertheless this feeling was brought about as the audience empathized with the situation rather than with the plight of the participants. The monuments dedicated to victory, I believe, would first and foremost elicit emotions of pride.

### The Noble Savage?

The idea of the noble savage needs to be reconciled with the argument that the Romans viewed barbarians as inferiors. One of the more striking depictions of the noble savage occurs in the *Agricola* of Tacitus, written at the end of the first century A.D. In the speech of the Caledonian chieftain Calgacus, Tacitus appears to extol the virtues of the barbarians and criticize the imperial nature of the Romans.<sup>349</sup> While it may be true that Tacitus admired the northern barbarians for their aggressive nature, perhaps because this was a trait shared by the Romans, the speech was most certainly a topos. In the late Republic and early Imperial periods there was a tendency to present varying conceptions and criticisms of empire as rhetorical exercises.<sup>350</sup> Tacitus was a distinguished orator who composed the speech of Calgacus using the principles of rhetoric and similar speeches may be found in the works of Sallust and Caesar.<sup>351</sup> The suggestion has also been made that Tacitus yearned for the past, when Romans were uncorrupted by luxurious urban living and he therefore invented the noble savage as a mirror in which his contemporaries could see the pitfalls of this lifestyle.<sup>352</sup>

Two monuments, the arch at Carpentras, dating from the first century A.D. (C002), and the monumental trophy at Adamklissi c.109 A.D. (B004c) contain images which appear to be the artistic counterpart of Tacitus' noble

---

<sup>349</sup> Tac. *Agr.* 30-32.

<sup>350</sup> Ogilvie & Richmond 1967: 253; Benario 1975: 27 demonstrates that the criticism of Roman power in this speech is balanced by the approbation of imperialism in the speech of a Roman general in the *Histories* 4.73-74.

<sup>351</sup> Ogilvie & Richmond 1967: 254. Sall. *Iug.* 10 & 14; Caes. *B Gall.* 7.77.

<sup>352</sup> Sinclair 1977: 12.

savage. The captives portrayed on the arch stand tall and proud although subjugated by their Roman victors and chained to a trophy. At Adamklissi representations of the natives portray them as courageous people and it is significant that there is no diminution in the size of the Dacians when compared to the conquering soldiers. How can the dignity displayed by the barbarians here be explained? The designers of the victory markers may have presented the defeated in this way in order to embellish the achievement of the Romans who must have superior powers in order to defeat such noble people.<sup>353</sup> Or perhaps the best explanation may be the fact that as these representations were situated in the theatres of war where the victories took place, the artists, most likely provincials themselves, wished to portray the natives in the best possible light.<sup>354</sup> However, the existence of the noble savages on the monuments does not present serious problems as they are found on only three of the two hundred and ninety-eight monuments contained in the catalogue.

### **Conclusion**

Roman society was built upon a series of asymmetrical power relationships and the use of physical force. This can be seen in the religious and political institutions which are permeated by a militaristic ethos, and in the institution of slavery. Supremacy of the few was maintained over the many through violence or implied violence. The history of Rome was filled with wars, and acts of bravery. The greatest fame

---

<sup>353</sup> Keen 1986: 67; Kleiner 1992: 230.

<sup>354</sup> Balsdon 1979: 75, notes that Roman provincials would have been more accepting and tolerate of "barbarians" because they were more familiar with them than the citizens of Rome and the inner provinces.

resulted from military achievements and children were taught at a young age the value of courage and military might. Warfare was Rome's validation for existence.

Art, like history, is a mirror of society. The images placed on Roman monuments represented the way in which the Romans viewed themselves as a people. Just as Romans' perception of themselves and others influenced the images that were chosen as appropriate, art shaped the Roman view of their relationship with others.<sup>355</sup> Images in art provide an affirmation of the past and link the present with it. Monuments "are the most visually potent assertion of a culture's relationship with its past and hence are a paramount cultural mechanism for evoking the historicity of identity."<sup>356</sup> Thus even in periods of decreased interest in military activities, the violent tradition of bloodshed and slaughter was continued. At all times, the victims of Rome's hostility and violence were viewed as inferiors who deserved to be mistreated and killed. The people executed during triumphs or in the spectacles had no value in Roman society and therefore were not pitied. Portrayals of these outsiders were meant to reflect the glory of the victorious generals and emperors or the men who put on the games. These representations were not meant as criticisms of power, rather they were celebrations of it. The images of defeated barbarians on Roman monuments served to remind the Romans of who they were and to validate their identity as victors through the viewing of the vanquished.

---

<sup>355</sup> Zanker 1988: 187; Balsdon 1979: 5.

<sup>356</sup> Elsner 1995: 125.

## Conclusions

The image of the defeated and humiliated barbarian which decorated Roman monuments for at least five centuries is a striking symbol of victory and power. Modern viewers are moved by the pitiable condition of the captives displayed and wonder what the significance of the motif was to Roman audiences of both the Republic and Imperial periods, and why Romans should wish to adorn their monuments with scenes of miserable creatures. Certainly the importance of the motif to Roman society and mentality is attested by the durability and broad geographical scope of the images collected and examined in this study. The aim of this study has been to investigate what representations of defeated enemies might signify about Roman society. The questions raised at the end of Chapter One can now be addressed.

The first questions posed dealt with the identity of both the Romans and those whom they considered to be barbarians. What role did the captive barbarian image play in the formation and/or maintenance of a Roman identity? As we have seen Roman society, especially with regard to its elite members, was infused with a highly developed moral code, which included specific virtues such as *virtus* and *clementia*, as well as a strong militaristic ethos. The vivid representation of humiliated and defeated barbarians created a mirror which provided, negatively, the reflection of a strong and victorious people who were able to conquer their enemies due to their supreme virtues and martial skills. Within the images we can see the

importance that the Romans of both periods placed on military achievements as well as the connection between warfare and the enslavement of captives.

What were Roman artists trying to accomplish by showing Roman audiences, in a graphic way, someone who was not Roman. Roman society was hierarchical in nature and one's position within society was instilled at a young age. In their early years Roman children learned to show respect and deference to their superiors and, similarly, to expect and exact obedience from those who were inferior to them.<sup>357</sup> Images of defeated foreign peoples, with their dejected looks and in their wretched condition, emphasized their inferior position in contrast to the superiority of the Roman populace. Moreover, this attitude served to strengthen the idea of the base nature and low status of slaves, many of whom had been thrust into a life of servitude as a result of capture in warfare.

Is it valid to raise the question of racial prejudice with regard to these representations of barbarians? As stated previously, ancient slavery was not based on skin colour as was slavery in New World slave societies. Although the images do contain elements of stereotyping, there appear to be no representations which reflect a bias against a particular race. For ancient societies, including Rome, enslavement was a condition that could befall almost anyone; for example Julius Caesar was captured by pirates although he was fortunate in that he could provide them with a ransom and thereby escaped a life of servitude. The uncertain outcome of war meant that soldiers faced the prospect of capture with every battle fought. One was enslaved

---

<sup>357</sup> Crone 1989: 99. In this Rome had much in common with other traditional societies.

through the accident of capture or the accident of birth, not because of racial factors.

Were the images of defeated enemies meant to convey to the Romans the idea of the noble savage? The noble savage was an idea conceived by Roman elite authors who felt inclined to believe that in society around them most individuals, especially elite individuals, had lost touch with the code of morality because of a luxurious and decadent lifestyle. These writers longed for a return to the glorious past when a simple life predisposed men to be virtuous.<sup>358</sup> As the barbarians living beyond the frontier were untouched by the luxuries of empire, they could be said to have retained the values once held by the Romans. That being said, the examples of “noble” savages found on the representations in the catalogue all come from the provinces where many citizens were the once defeated peoples. Perhaps it was for this reason that the artists, who may have been provincials themselves, wished to portray the Roman captives in a positive manner.

Are these representations based on the horror and realities of slavery or are they merely part of a standardized genre? Although the motif did become a standardized genre, the images of captives were rooted in reality, and there are aspects of the institution of slavery which may be seen reflected in the images. Warfare played a significant role in the maintenance of slavery as an institution and there is a close connection between the hardships endured by people who have been captured and then enslaved. Something of a captive's and/or a slave's life may be gleaned from the

---

<sup>358</sup> Walker 1952: 205.

examination of representations of Roman captives. Shackles and chains that are depicted about the necks, wrists and the ankles of barbarians on the monuments have been attested in the archaeological record. The general suffering of the human condition, which may be indirectly inferred from literary evidence, is also manifest within these representations. The fear, misery and degradation felt and suffered by Roman captives is unmistakable.

Did these images represent a criticism or a celebration of power? The monuments do not represent a criticism of power, even when the barbarians are depicted in a positive light. The image of the defeated barbarian was a celebration of the mighty Roman war machine and a testament to the skill and moral values of the Roman leader. It was for this reason that the Roman generals of the Republic and later the emperors were so interested in having images of vanquished foes presented to the general populace. These monuments provided the political leaders of Rome with an opportunity to advertise their victories and the possession of such values as *virtus*, *gloria* and *clementia*.

The images were manipulated by various leaders to further their position within Roman society by demonstrating to the public that each man had the skills and virtues necessary to lead them. The first examples contained in the catalogue date to the early first century B.C., a time when elite citizens held control of personal armies and used them to act on behalf of themselves rather than on behalf of Rome. The monuments played an important propagandistic role in the careers of Roman generals such as

Marius and Sulla.

During the Principate, Augustus employed the submissive captive motif at the end of the civil war, in the new age of Roman peace, in order to focus the Romans' attention on the enemies living outside the frontier rather than inside it. Augustus needed to unite the formerly divided citizen body and the defeated barbarian representations served to remind the Romans of their shared history and common identity. Therefore, despite the heralded peace, the essential connection between warfare and servitude was never lost in the Roman mentality. Similarly, Vespasian used these images to stress Roman victories over external enemies and to downplay his rise to power in the aftermath of the chaos and in-fighting of 69 A.D. Titus and Domitian continued to decorate monuments with vanquished foes to demonstrate their right to rule over the Romans with the creation of the Flavian Dynasty. Images of enemies enslaved in warfare also enhanced the emperor's militarism as he was the only Roman permitted to celebrate a triumph.

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, there was increasing pressure on the empire from barbarians on the frontiers. It was during this period of crisis that capture and submission scenes, as well as scenes of *clementia* with the emperor granting mercy to his barbarian captives, became common. They showed the emperor in possession of this important virtue, along with the virtue of *virtus*, by which he came to defeat his enemies. Constantine, some two hundred years later was also faced with the threat of barbarian invasions and had to move his capitol to Constantinople in order to control better the

situation. During his reign we see the motif employed with a ferocity not previously seen.

It should be noted here once again that the Romans did not feel the same emotions that modern audiences do when viewing the representations of these pitiable people. The captives were the legitimate victims of abhorration and abuse; simply put, they were the enemy. Even today, we must admit that on either side of a war there is little sympathy or remorse for the condition of war victims. The captive images served a reassuring purpose at times of crisis by reminding the Romans of the militarism that was the essence of their society, the most extreme manifestation of which was the act of enslavement of those defeated in warfare.

### Bibliography

- Aldred, C. (1980) *Egyptian Art*. London.
- Anderson, A.S. (1984) *Roman Military Tombstones*. Bucks, Great Britain.
- Andreae, B. (1973) *The Art of Rome*. Paris.
- Bacon, H.H. (1961) *Barbarians in Greek Tragedy*. New Haven.
- Balsdon, J.P.V.D. (1979) *Romans and Aliens*. London.
- Barton, C.A. (1993) *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster*. Princeton, New Jersey.
- Becatti, G. (1967) *The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome: From the Rise of Greece to the Fall of Rome*. New York.
- Benario, H.W. (1975) *An Introduction to Tacitus*. Athens, Georgia.
- Bianchi Bandinelli, R. (1971) *Rome - The Late Empire*. London.
- (1970) *Rome - The Centre of Power*. London.
- Boardman, J., ed. (1993) *The Oxford History of Classical Art*. Oxford.
- (1964) *Greek Art*. London.
- Bonfante Warren, L. (1989) "Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art," *AJA* 93: 543-570.
- (1970) "Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings: The Changing Face of the Triumph," *JRS* 60: 49-66.
- Bradley, K.R. (1994) *Slavery and Society at Rome*. Cambridge.
- (1987a) *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire*. New York.
- (1987b) "On the Roman Slave Supply and Slavebreeding," in M.I. Finley, ed., *Classical Slavery*. London.
- Brailsford, J.W. (1964) *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*. London.
- Breeze, D.J. & B. Dobson (1976) *Hadrian's Wall*. London.

- Brilliant, R. (1984) *Visual Narratives*. Ithaca.
- (1963) *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*. Copenhagen.
- Brown, S. (1992) "Death as Decoration: Scenes from the Arena on Roman Domestic Mosaics," in A. Richlin ed., *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*. Oxford.
- Bruun, P.M. (1966) *The Roman Imperial Coinage: v.VII*, C.H.V. Sutherland & R.A.G. Carson, eds. London.
- Campbell, J.B. (1984) *The Emperor and the Roman Army*. Oxford.
- Carson, R.A.G. (1962) *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum v.VI*. London.
- Cartledge, P. (1993) *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*. Oxford.
- Casey, P.J. (1986) *Understanding Ancient Coins*. London.
- Colley, L. (1992) *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven.
- Collingwood, R.G. & R.P. Wright (1965) *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I: Inscriptions on Stone*. Oxford.
- Cornell, T.J. (1995) *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic wars (c.1000-264 B.C.)*. London.
- (1993) "The End of Roman Imperial Expansion," in J. Rich & G. Shipley, eds., *War and Society in the Roman World*. London.
- Crawford, M.H. (1985) *Coinage and Money Under the Roman Republic*. London.
- (1974) *Roman Republican Coinage vI &II*. London.
- Crone, P. (1989) *Pre-Industrial Societies*. Oxford.
- Dauge, Y.A. (1981) *Le barbare: recherches sur la conception romaine de la barbarie et de la civilisation*. Brussels.

- Dennen, J.M.G. (1987) "Ethnocentrism and In-group/Out-group Differentiation: A Review and Interpretation of the Literature," in V. Reynolds, V. Falger & I. Vine, eds., *The Sociobiology of Ethnocentrism*. Kent.
- Dionisotti, A.C. (1982) "From Ausonius' Schooldays? A Schoolbook and its Relatives," *JRS* 72: 83-125.
- Dixon, S. (1992) *The Roman Family*. Baltimore.
- Duchêne, H. (1986) "Sur la stèle d'Aulus Caprius Timotheus, *sômatemporos*," *BCH* 110: 513-530.
- Ducrey, P. (1968) *Le Traitement des Prisonniers de Guerre dans la Grece Antique*. Paris.
- Dunbabin, K. (1978) *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage*. Oxford.
- Dyson, S.L. (1975) "Native Revolt Patterns in the Roman Empire," *ANRW II* 3: 138-175.
- Earl, D. (1967) *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome*. London.
- Elsner, J. (1995) *Art and the Roman Viewer*. Cambridge, Mass.
- Evans, J. (1992) *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus*. Ann Arbor.
- Faraone, C. (1991) "Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive Use of 'Voodoo Dolls' in Ancient Greece," *Classical Antiquity*, 10: 166-199.
- Fears, J.R. (1981) "The Theology of Victory at Rome," *ANRW II* 17.2: 736-826.
- Felletti-Maj, B.M. (1977) *La Tradizione Italica Nell'Arte Romana*. Rome.
- Finley, M.I. (1968) *Aspects of Antiquity*. New York.
- (1962) "The Black Sea and the Danubian Regions and the Slave Trade in Antiquity," *Klio* 40: 51-59.
- (1960) "Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labour?" in M.I. Finley, ed., *Slavery in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge.

- Flohr, H. (1987) "Biological Bases of Social Prejudices," in V. Reynolds, V. Falger & I. Vine, eds., *The Sociobiology of Ethnocentrism*. Kent.
- Gabba, E. (1976) *Republican Rome, the Army and the Allies*. Oxford.
- Garlan, Y. (1988) *Slavery in Ancient Greece*. Ithaca.
- (1987) "War, Piracy and Slavery in the Greek World," in M.I. Finley, ed., *Classical Slavery*. London.
- Garland, R. (1995) *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*. London.
- Gergell, R. (1994) "Costume as Geographic Indicator: Barbarians and Prisoners on Cuirassed Statue Breastplates," in J.L. Sebesta & L. Bonfante, eds., *The World of Roman Costume*. Madison, Wisconsin.
- Gordon, M.L. (1960) "The Nationality of Slaves under the Early Roman Empire," in M.I. Finley, ed., *Slavery in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge.
- Haarhoff, T.L. (1948) *The Stranger at the Gate*. Oxford.
- Hall, E. (1989) *Inventing the Barbarian*. Oxford.
- Hamberg, P.G. (1968) *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*. Rome.
- Hannestad, N. (1988) *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*. Aarhus.
- Hanson, W.S. & G.S. Maxwell (1983) *Rome's Northwest Frontier: The Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh.
- Harris, W.V. (1980) "Towards a Study of the Roman Slave Trade," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 36: 117-140.
- (1979) *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327-70 B.C.* Oxford.
- Hartog, F. (1988) *The Mirror of Herodotus*. Berkeley.
- Hassall, M.W.C. (1977) "Wingless Victories," in J. Munby & M. Henig, eds., *Roman Life and Art in Britain Part ii*. Oxford.
- Henig, M., ed. (1983) *A Handbook of Roman Art*. Ithaca.
- Hopkins, K. (1983) *Death and Renewal*. Cambridge.

- (1978) *Conquerors and Slaves*. Cambridge.
- Ike, B.W. (1987) "Man's Limited Sympathy as a Consequence of his Evolution in Small Kin Groups," in V. Reynolds, V. Falger & I. Vine, eds., *The Sociobiology of Ethnocentrism*. Kent.
- Isager, J. (1991) *Pliny on Art and Society*. London.
- Jones, A.H.M. (1960) "Slavery in the Ancient World," in M.I. Finley, ed., *Slavery in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge.
- Joshel, S. (1992) *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: A Study of Occupation and Inscription*. Norman.
- Kahler, H. (1963) *Rome and Her Empire*. London.
- Kampen, N.B. (1991) "Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art," in S.B. Pomeroy, ed., *Women's History and Ancient History*. Chapel Hill.
- Keen, S. (1986) *Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Image*. New York.
- Kleiner, D.E. (1992) *Roman Sculpture*. New Haven.
- Koch, G. (1982) *Römische Sarkophage*. Munich.
- Kolendo, J. (1979) "Elements pour une enquête sur l'iconographie des esclaves dans l'art hellénistique et romain," in *Schiavitu, Manomissione e Classi Dipendenti nel Mondo Antico*. Rome.
- Kraus, T. (1967) *Das römische Weltreich*. Berlin.
- Kunzl, E. (1988) *Der römische Triumph*. Munich.
- Kuttner, A.L. (1995) *Dynasty and Empire: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups*. Berkeley.
- LeBohec, Y. (1994) *The Imperial Roman Army*. London.
- Lepper, F. & S. Frere (1988) *Trajan's Column*. Gloucester.

- Levi, A.C. (1952) "Barbarians on Roman Imperial Coins and Sculpture," *American Numismatic Society - Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 123.
- Lévy-Bruhl, H. (1960) "Théorie de l'esclavage," in M.I. Finley, ed., *Slavery in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge.
- Long, T. (1986) *Barbarians in Greek Comedy*. Carbondale/Edwardsville.
- MacMullen, R. (1990) *Changes in the Roman Empire*. Princeton, New Jersey.
- Mattingly, H. (1950) *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum v.V*. London (2nd edn. 1975).
- (1940) *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum v.IV*. London (repr. 1968).
- (1936) *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum v.III*. London (repr. 1966).
- (1930) *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum v.II*. London (repr. 1966).
- (1923) *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum v.I*. London (repr. 1965).
- Ogilvie, R.M. & I. Richmond (1967) *Cornelii Taciti De Vita Agricolae*. Oxford.
- Parkin, T. (1992) *Demography and Roman Society*. Baltimore.
- Pasquier, A. (1991) *The Louvre: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities*. London.
- Patterson, O. (1982) *Slavery and Social Death*. Cambridge, MA.
- Picard, G.C. (1957) *Les Trophées Romains*. Paris.
- Pobé, M. (1961) *The Art of Roman Gaul*. Toronto.
- Ramage, N.H. & A. Ramage (1991) *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

- Rich, J. (1993) "Fear, greed, and glory: the causes of Roman war-making in the middle Republic," in J. Rich & G. Shipley, eds., *War and Society in the Roman World*. London.
- Richter, G.M.A. (1982) "The Relation of Early Imperial Rome to Greek Art," *ANRW II* 12.1: 3-23.
- (1971) *Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans: Part II Engraved Gems of the Romans*. London.
- (1959) *A Handbook of Greek Art*. London.
- Roland, H. (1977) *L'Arc de Glanum*. Paris.
- Roux, G. (1992) *Ancient Iraq*, 3rd ed. London.
- Ryberg, I.S. (1967) *Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius*. New York.
- Sadurska, A. (1972) *Les Portraits romains dans les collectiones polonaises*. Warsaw.
- Saggs, H.W.F. (1984) *The Might that was Assyria*. London.
- Sampson, E. (1993) *Celebrating the Other*. Boulder, Colorado.
- Sear, F. (1982) *Roman Architecture*. Ithaca.
- Shumka, L. (1993) *Children and Toys in the Roman World: A Contribution to the History of the Roman Family*. Victoria, B.C.
- Sinclair, A. (1977) *The Savage*. London.
- Snowden, F.M. (1983) *Before Colour Prejudice*. Cambridge, Mass.
- (1976) "Iconographical Evidence on the Black Populations in Greco-Roman Antiquity," in L. Bugner, ed., *The Image of the Black in Western Art I: From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman Empire*. New York.
- (1970) *Blacks in Antiquity*. Cambridge, Mass.
- Stein, G.J. (1987) "The Biological Bases of Ethnocentrism, Racism and Nationalism in National Socialism," in V. Reynolds, V. Falger & I. Vine, eds., *The Sociobiology of Ethnocentrism*. Kent.

- Strong, D.E. (1976) *Roman Art*. Middlesex, England.
- Sutherland, C.H.V. (1967) *The Roman Imperial Coinage v. VI*, C.H.V. Sutherland & R.A.G. Carson, eds. London.
- Thompson, H. (1993) "Iron Age and Roman Slave-Shackles," *AJ* 150: 57-168.
- Thompson, L.A. (1989) *Romans and Blacks*. London.
- Thurmond, D.L. (1994) "Some Roman Slave Collars in CIL," *Athenaeum* 82: 459-493.
- Torelli, M. (1982) *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*. Ann Arbor.
- Toynbee, J.M.C. (1971) *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. London.
- (1967) *The Hadrianic School: A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*. Rome.
- (1964) *Art in Britain Under the Romans*. Oxford.
- Vercoutter, J. (1976) "The Iconography of the Black in Ancient Egypt: From the Beginnings to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty," in L. Bugner ed., *The Image of the Black in Western Art I: From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman Empire*. New York.
- Vermeule, C.C. (1968) *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*. Cambridge, Mass.
- Versnell, H.S. (1970) *Triumphus: An Enquiry into the Origin, Development & Meaning of the Roman Triumph*. Leiden.
- Vogt, J. (1975) *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man*. Oxford.
- Volkman, H. (1961) *Die Massenversklavungen der Einwohner eroberter Städte in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit*. Wiesbaden.
- Walker, B. (1952) *The Annals of Tacitus: A Study in the Writing of History*. Manchester.
- Watson, G.R. (1969) *The Roman Soldier*. London.

- Webb, P.H. (1927) *The Roman Imperial Coinage v.V ptI&II*, H. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, eds. London (repr. 1968).
- Weinstock, S. (1971) *Divus Julius*. Oxford.
- Westermann, W.L. (1960) "Slavery and the Elements of Freedom in Ancient Greece," in M.I. Finley, ed., *Slavery in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge.
- Westington, M. (1938) *Atrocities in Roman Warfare to 133 B.C.* Chicago.
- Wiedemann, T. (1992) *Emperors and Gladiators*. London.
- (1989) *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire*. London.
- (1988) *Greek and Roman Slavery*. London.
- Woolf, G. (1993) "Roman peace," in J. Rich & G. Shipley, eds., *War and Society in the Roman World*. London.
- Wyke, M. (1992) "Augustan Cleopatras: Female Power and Poetic Authority," in A. Powell, ed., *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*. London.
- Zanker, P. (1995) *The Mask of Socrates*. Berkeley.
- (1990) *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Ann Arbor.
- Ziolkowski, A. (1993) "Urbs direpta, or how the Romans sacked cities," in J. Rich & G. Shipley, eds., *War and Society in the Roman World*. London.

**Appendix**  
**Catalogue of Representations**

**A. Numismatics**

[All descriptions are of the reverse type]

- A001 **Object:** Quinarius - C. Fundanius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 326/2, pl.XLII.  
**Description:** Victory stepping left to place a wreath on a trophy with a kneeling and bound barbarian male at its base.  
**Date:** 101 B.C.
- A002 **Object:** Quinarius - T. Cloulius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 332/1b, pl.XLII  
**Description:** Same as A001 above.  
**Date:** 98 B.C.
- A003 **Object:** Denarius - L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus  
**Location:** ASH  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 415/1, pl.LI.  
**Description:** On the right side of the coin stands the victorious L.A. Paullus. On the left stands Perseus, bound, with his two sons. A trophy stands between the Roman and his prisoners.  
**Date:** 62 B.C.

- A004 **Object:** Denarius - M. Scaurus and P. Hysaeus  
**Location:** Glasgow  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 422/1a-b, pl.LI.  
**Description:** King Aretas III kneels, with a palm branch in his outstretched hand, in submission to his Roman conquerors.  
**Date:** 58 B.C.
- A005 **Object:** Denarius - F. Cornelius Sulla  
**Location:** ASH  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 426/1, pl.LI.  
**Description:** Sulla sits on a throne-like chair while a kneeling King Bocchus presents the kneeling and bound Jugurtha to him.  
**Date:** 56 B.C.
- A006 **Object:** Denarius - C. Memmius  
**Location:** ASH  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 427/1, pl.LI.  
**Description:** A trophy stands in the centre of the coin with a kneeling and bound male captive at its base.  
**Date:** 56 B.C.
- A007 **Object:** Denarius - A. Plautius  
**Location:** ASH  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 431/1, pl.LII.  
**Description:** The surrender of an Eastern ruler is depicted, as a kneeling man with an olive branch in his extended right hand is shown in front of a camel.  
**Date:** 55 B.C.

- A008 **Object:** Denarius - Ser. Sulpicius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 438/1, pl.LII.  
**Description:** A naval trophy is depicted with a naked bound male to its right and a standing clothed figure (a woman?) on the left.  
**Date:** 51 B.C.
- A009 **Object:** Denarius - Caesar  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Moving with Caesar  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 452/4-5, pl.LIII.  
**Description:** A bound male captive sits at the foot of a Roman trophy.  
**Date:** 48-47 B.C.
- A010 **Object:** Denarius - A. Licinius Nerva  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 454/1-2, pl.LIII.  
**Description:** A mounted horseman drags a naked and kneeling captive with his right hand.  
**Date:** 47 B.C.
- A011 **Object:** Denarius - Caesar  
**Location:** ASH  
**Mint:** Spain  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 468/1-2, pl. LV.  
**Description:** A trophy stands in the centre of the coin. On the left sits a bound male, staring up towards the trophy. A woman sits on the right in a semi-prone position with her downcast face in her hand.  
**Date:** 46-45 B.C.

- A012 **Object:** Denarius - Brutus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Moving with Brutus  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Crawford 1974, 503/1, pl.LXI.  
**Description:** A trophy with both a male and female captive at its base resting their heads in their hands.  
**Date:** 43-42 B.C.
- A013 **Object:** Denarius - Augustus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Spain  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1965, BMC I 287, pl.5.8.  
**Description:** A central trophy has a naked kneeling barbarian at its foot; the captive's hands are shackled behind him.  
**Date:** 25-23 B.C.
- A014 **Object:** Denarius - Augustus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1965, BMC I 10-17, 40-42, 56-59; pl.1.7-9, pl. 2.2, pl.2.11-12.  
**Description:** A male Parthian kneels with his arms outstretched. In his right hand he holds a standard.  
**Date:** 18 B.C.
- A015 **Object:** Denarius - Augustus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1965, BMC I 18-21, 43; pl.1.10-12, pl.2.3.  
**Description:** An Armenian male wearing a tiara and long robe kneels, extending both his arms in submission.  
**Date:** 18 B.C.

- A016 **Object:** Denarius - Augustus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1965, BMC I 127-130, pl.4.16.  
**Description:** A bearded male with long hair kneels on his right knee with a standard in his extended right hand.  
**Date:** 12 B.C.
- A017 **Object:** Aureus - Claudius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1965, BMC I 95-96, pl.33.11.  
**Description:** A triumphal arch is depicted which has a trophy situated at either end of the attic. A bound captive sits at the base of either trophy.  
**Date:** 41-45 A.D.
- A018 **Object:** Denarius - Claudius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1965, BMC I 97, pl.33.12.  
**Description:** Same as A017.  
**Date:** 41-45 A.D.
- A019 **Object:** Dupondius - Vitellius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1965, BMC I 76-77, pl.64.8-9.  
**Description:** A Victory moving in from the left places a shield on a trophy which has a barbarian seated on a globe at its base.  
**Date:** 69 A.D.

- A020 **Object:** Aureus - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome and Tarraco, Spain  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 31-34 357-359; pl.1.10-11, pl.11.9-11.  
**Description:** To the left of a trophy sits a lone female personification of Judaea. She wears a veil and sits in an attitude of mourning, with her head in her left hand.  
**Date:** 69-70 A.D.
- A021 **Object:** Denarius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome and Tarraco, Spain  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 35-42, 335-337, 348; pl.1.12, pl.10.8, pl.10.16.  
**Description:** Same as A020.  
**Date:** 69-70 A.D.
- A022 **Object:** Denarius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome and Lugdunum  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 43-44, 387; pl.1.13, pl.13.7.  
**Description:** A lone veiled female personification of Judaea sits with down-turned head to the right of a palm tree.  
**Date:** 69-70 A.D.
- A023 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 532-541; pl 20.4-7, pl.20.9.  
**Description:** On the left stands a Jewish male captive with his hands shackled behind his back. On the far right a female figure sits on a cuirass in an attitude of mourning. A palm tree stands between the two figures.  
**Date:** 71 A.D.

- A024 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome, Tarraco, Spain, Lugdunum and Gaul (Narbo?)  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 543-547, 765, 796, 800; pl.20.8, pl.20.10, pl.33.4, pl.37.1, pl.37.7.  
**Description:** Same as A023.  
**Date:** 71 A.D.
- A025 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Tarraco, Spain  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 755\*, pl.32.5.  
**Description:** Same as A023.  
**Date:** 71 A.D.
- A026 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Tarraco, Spain  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 761-764, pl.33.1-3.  
**Description:** Same as A023.  
**Date:** 71 A.D.
- A027 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Tarraco, Spain  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 785, pl.36.1.  
**Description:** Victory, inscribing a shield, stands to the left of a trophy which has a female figure seated at its base.  
**Date:** 71 A.D.

- A028 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Tarraco, Spain  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 788-790, pl.36.4-5, 7.  
**Description:** Same as A022.  
**Date:** 71 A.D.
- A029 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Tarraco, Spain  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 791, pl.36.6.  
**Description:** A lone female sits to the right of a trophy with her hands bound behind her back.  
**Date:** 71 A.D.
- A030 **Object:** Dupondius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 604-609, pl.23.10-11.  
**Description:** Same as A022. Note: BMC II 605-608 the female figure sits on a cuirass.  
**Date:** 71 A.D.
- A031 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 631-632, pl.25.1.  
**Description:** Same as A023.  
**Date:** 72 A.D.

- A032 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Lugdunum  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 812, pl.39.1.  
**Description:** Same as A023.  
**Date:** 72 A.D.
- A033 **Object:** Aureus - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 78, pl.2.10.  
**Description:** A Roman authority figure dressed in military uniform stands to the left of a palm tree. At the foot of the tree, a lone woman sits in an attitude of mourning.  
**Date:** 72-73 A.D.
- A034 **Object:** Denarius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome and Antioch  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 83-85, 510-511, 518-519; pl.2.14, pl.18.20, pl.19.7.  
**Description:** Same as A023.  
**Date:** 72-73 A.D.
- A035 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 652, pl.26.2.  
**Description:** Titus in military dress extends his right hand towards a kneeling Jewish man on his left. A female figure with outstretched arms may be seen behind the kneeling man.  
**Date:** 72-73 A.D.

- A036 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 653-654, pl.26.3.  
**Description:** Titus, mounted and brandishing a javelin in his right hand, is shown about to transfix a supine male enemy.  
**Date:** 73 A.D.
- A037 **Object:** As - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Lugdunum  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 845, pl.40.11.  
**Description:** A lone woman sits with her head in her hands at the base of a palm tree. A shield is present to the left of the tree.  
**Date:** 74-75 A.D.
- A038 **Object:** Aureus - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 231-233, pl.7.6.  
**Description:** A lone bearded male barbarian kneels on his right knee and extends a standard in his right hand.  
**Date:** 77-78 A.D.
- A039 **Object:** Sestertius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Lugdunum  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 826, pl.40.1.  
**Description:** Same as A023.  
**Date:** 77-78 A.D.

- A040 **Object:** Dupondius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Lugdunum  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 862, pl.42.1.  
**Description:** Same as A046.  
**Date:** 77-78 A.D.
- A041 **Object:** Dupondius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 736, no plate.  
**Description:** Same as A034.  
**Date:** 77-78 A.D.
- A042 **Object:** Aureus - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 245, pl.7.13.  
**Description:** A Victory stepping in from the right, places a shield on a trophy with a lone female captive at its base. She sits in an attitude of grief, with her head resting in her hand.  
**Date:** 79 A.D.
- A043 **Object:** Denarius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 246-248, pl.7.14-15.  
**Description:** Same as A026.  
**Date:** 79 A.D.

- A044 **Object:** Denarius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 258-259, pl.8.2.  
**Description:** A lone male captive, whose arms are restrained behind him, kneels at the foot of a trophy.  
**Date:** 79 A.D.
- A045 **Object:** Denarius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Hybrid  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 343, pl.10.12.  
**Description:** A trophy stands in the center of the coin with a seated female captive on its left and a seated, bound male captive to its right.  
**Date:** Hybrid
- A046 **Object:** Aureus - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Lugdunum  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 387, pl.13.7.  
**Description:** A veiled female sits to the right of a palm tree; she rests her head in her left hand.  
**Date:** Undated
- A047 **Object:** Denarius - Vespasian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Lugdunum  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 388-391, pl.13.8-9.  
**Description:** A female personification of Judaea stands facing a palm tree to her right. Her head is bowed and her hands have been tied together in front of her.  
**Date:** Undated

- A048 **Object:** Aureus - Titus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 14, 30; pl.44.18-19.  
**Description:** A lone male captive kneels at the foot of a trophy. The man's hands have been restrained behind him.  
**Date:** 79 A.D.
- A049 **Object:** Denarius - Titus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 1-3, 5, 31-32; pl.44.1, pl.44.3, pl.44.15, pl.44.20.  
**Description:** Same as A048.  
**Date:** 79 A.D.
- A050 **Object:** Denarius - Titus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 112-116, pl.47.1.  
**Description:** Victory moves in from the right to place a shield on a trophy. A single figure sits in an attitude of grief at its base with his/her back to the Victory.  
**Date:** 80-81 A.D.
- A051 **Object:** Sestertius - Titus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 161-163, 308; pl.48.8, pl.57.4.  
**Description:** A bound man stands to the left of a central palm tree; a seated and mourning female is depicted on its right.  
**Date:** 80-81 A.D.

- A052 **Object:** Sestertius - Titus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 164-170, pl.48.9-10.  
**Description:** Same as A051 but the position of the figures is reversed.  
**Date:** 80-81 A.D.
- A053 **Object:** Aureus - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 81, 91, 94; pl.62.1, pl.62.9, pl.62.11.  
**Description:** A lone German woman sits on a shield, her head resting in her left hand. She is naked to the waist and wears breeches.  
**Date:** 85 A.D.
- A054 **Object:** Five Denarius Piece (?) - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 85, pl.62.6.  
**Description:** Same as A053.  
**Date:** 85 A.D.
- A055 **Object:** Sestertius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 294, 325, 361; pl.70.8, pl.72.8, pl.74.2.  
**Description:** A woman sits to the left of a trophy, her head propped up in her hand. On the other side of the trophy a male prisoner stands with his hands shackled behind him.  
**Date:** 85 A.D.

- A056 **Object:** Sestertius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 299, 337-338; pl.71.3.  
**Description:** Domitian stands on the right in military dress while a German woman kneels and stretches out her arm to him. She is wearing trousers and holding a shield.  
**Date:** 85 A.D.
- A057 **Object:** Sestertius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 330, pl.72.7.  
**Description:** A Victory stands to the left of a trophy inscribing a shield. At the base of the trophy sits a mourning woman.  
**Date:** 85 A.D.
- A058 **Object:** Sestertius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 339, pl.73.2.  
**Description:** Domitian, mounted on a horse, moves right to spear a fallen male enemy.  
**Date:** 85 A.D.
- A059 **Object:** Dupondius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 310, pl.71.8.  
**Description:** A bound German male sits to the left of a trophy and a mourning woman sits to its right.  
**Date:** 85 A.D.

- A060 **Object:** Aureus - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 99, pl.62.16.  
**Description:** Same as A053.  
**Date:** 86 A.D.
- A061 **Object:** Sestertius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 374-375, pl.75.3.  
**Description:** Same as A057.  
**Date:** 86 A.D.
- A062 **Object:** Sestertius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 372, pl.75.4.  
**Description:** Same as A055.  
**Date:** 86 A.D.
- A063 **Object:** Sestertius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 379, pl.75.6.  
**Description:** Same as A056.  
**Date:** 86 A.D.
- A064 **Object:** Sestertius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 380, pl.75.7.  
**Description:** Same as A058.  
**Date:** 86 A.D.

- A065 **Object:** Sestertius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 395, no plate.  
**Description:** Same as A055.  
**Date:** 87 A.D.
- A066 **Object:** Aureus - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 125, 143; pl.63.13, pl.64.18.  
**Description:** Same as A053.  
**Date:** 88-89 A.D.
- A067 **Object:** Sestertius - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 409, pl.77.6.  
**Description:** Same as A058.  
**Date:** 88-89 A.D.
- A068 **Object:** Aureus - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 174, pl.65.6.  
**Description:** Same as A053.  
**Date:** 90-91 A.D.
- A069 **Object:** Aureus - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 211, pl.66.5.  
**Description:** Same as A053.  
**Date:** 92-94 A.D.

- A070 **Object:** Aureus - Domitian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC II 228, pl.66.15.  
**Description:** Same as A053.  
**Date:** 95-96 A.D.
- A071 **Object:** Aureus - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 135-136, pl.11.11.  
**Description:** A Roman figure (Virtus Augusti?) raises a trophy as a reclining Dacian raises his arm in appeal.  
**Date:** 101-102 A.D.
- A072 **Object:** Denarius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 137, pl.11.12.  
**Description:** Trajan, on horseback, rides towards a naked and kneeling Dacian male.  
**Date:** 101-102 A.D.
- A073 **Object:** Sestertius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 756+, pl.27.7.  
**Description:** A Dacian male kneels on his right knee with his arms stretched towards the Senate.  
**Date:** 102 A.D.

- A074 **Object:** Aureus - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 145, no plate.  
**Description:** A Dacian woman wearing breeches and a peaked cap, sits on a shield, with her head resting in her left hand.  
**Date:** 103-111 A.D.
- A075 **Object:** Aureus - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 244, pl.13.14.  
**Description:** Trajan, moving in from the left side of the coin, presents a kneeling Dacian (with peaked cap and trousers) to a Senator.  
**Date:** 103-111 A.D.
- A076 **Object:** Aureus - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 245-246, pl.13.15.  
**Description:** Same as A072.  
**Date:** 103-111 A.D.
- A077 **Object:** Denarius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 146-149, 175-184; pl.11.19-20, pl.12.15.  
**Description:** Same as A074.  
**Date:** 103-111 A.D.

- A078 **Object:** Denarius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 150-151, 185-190; pl.12.1, pl.12.16-17.  
**Description:** At the base of a trophy a Dacian (woman?) sits in an attitude of mourning, with her head in her hand.  
**Date:** 103-111 A.D.
- A079 **Object:** Sestertius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 772-774, pl.28.1.  
**Description:** Roma, in military dress, stands on the right holding a Victory in her extended right hand. A small male Dacian kneels before her, with his arms extended.  
**Date:** 104-111 A.D.
- A080 **Object:** Sestertius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 785-792, pl.28.6-7.  
**Description:** A Dacian sits on a shield and arms facing a trophy to the figure's left. The subject's head rests in his/her hand.  
**Date:** 104-111 A.D.
- A081 **Object:** Sestertius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 800-803, pl.29.3-4.  
**Description:** Pax stands facing left; her right foot rests on a Dacian, of which only the head and shoulders are visible.  
**Date:** 104-111 A.D.

- A082 **Object:** Sestertius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 804-805, pl.29.5.  
**Description:** Pax sits on a throne with a kneeling Dacian, whose arms are extended, before her.  
**Date:** 104-111 A.D.
- A083 **Object:** Sestertius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 822-824, pl.30.3.  
**Description:** Trajan, in military dress, stands with his right foot on a Dacian. Only the head and shoulders of the captive are visible.  
**Date:** 104-111 A.D.
- A084 **Object:** Sestertius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 833-839, pl.31.2-5.  
**Description:** A mounted Trajan moves in from the left pursuing a Dacian male who has fallen on one knee. He looks back over his shoulder at the emperor.  
**Date:** 104-111 A.D.
- A085 **Object:** Dupondius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 887, pl.34.1.  
**Description:** Same as A080.  
**Date:** 104-111 A.D.

- A086 **Object:** Dupondius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 900-903, pl.34.8-9.  
**Description:** Same as A084.  
**Date:** 104-111 A.D.
- A087 **Object:** As - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 925-926, pl.36.2.  
**Description:** Same as A079.  
**Date:** 104-111 A.D.
- A088 **Object:** As - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 942-943, pl.36.11.  
**Description:** Same as A084.  
**Date:** 104-111 A.D.
- A089 **Object:** Denarius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 381-384, pl.15.13.  
**Description:** A lone Dacian male stands facing right with his hands bound in front of him.  
**Date:** 106 A.D.

- A090 **Object:** Denarius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 385-394, pl.15.14-15.  
**Description:** A Dacian male with a peaked cap and breeches sits on a pile of shields and weapons; his hands have been bound behind his back. Note: BMC III 390-394 the man is not restrained but instead rests his head in his hand.  
**Date:** 106 A.D.
- A091 **Object:** Aureus - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 603-606, pl.20.6-7.  
**Description:** A trophy stands in the centre of the coin with two captives seated at its base. Neither are restrained as they rest their head in their hands.  
**Date:** 112-113 A.D.
- A092 **Object:** Sestertius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 1033-1040, pl.42.6-8.  
**Description:** Trajan in military dress stands over the reclining river gods Tigris and Euphrates; between the two gods sits an Armenian captive.  
**Date:** 116-117 A.D.
- A093 **Object:** Sestertius - Trajan  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1966, BMC III 1045-1049, pl.43.1.  
**Description:** Trajan sits on the right atop a podium while a Parthian kneels before him.  
**Date:** 116-117 A.D.

- A094 **Object:** Dupondius - Antoninus Pius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1965, pl.48.14.  
**Description:** Britannia, wearing trousers, sits on a rock with her head propped up by her left hand.  
**Date:** 154-155 A.D.
- A095 **Object:** As - Antoninus Pius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1971-1977, pl.48.18.  
**Description:** Same as A094.  
**Date:** 154-155 A.D.
- A096 **Object:** Aureus - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 233, 236-238, 278; pl.57.11, pl.57.13, pl.58.4.  
**Description:** An Armenian sits in an attitude of grief at the base of a trophy.  
**Date:** 162-163 A.D.
- A097 **Object:** Denarius - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 234-235, 239-241, 271-276; pl.57.12, pl.57.14, pl.58.3.  
**Description:** Same as A096 but without a trophy.  
**Date:** 162-163 A.D.

- A098 **Object:** Aureus - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 297, pl.58.10.  
**Description:** Same as A096.  
**Date:** 163-164 A.D.
- A099 **Object:** Denarius - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 298-299, no plate.  
**Description:** Same as A097.  
**Date:** 163-164 A.D.
- A100 **Object:** Sestertius - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1120-1122, pl.75.12.  
**Description:** Victory stands on the left side of the coin holding a trophy in both her hands. A male captive, with his head in his hands, sits on the ground in front of her.  
**Date:** 163-164 A.D.
- A101 **Object:** As - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1131-1134, pl.76.7.  
**Description:** Lucius Verus astride a horse and brandishing a javelin gallops towards a prostrate barbarian.  
**Date:** 163-164 A.D.

- A102 **Object:** Aureus - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 390-391, pl.60.5.  
**Description:** Same as A101.  
**Date:** 164-165 A.D.
- A103 **Object:** Denarius - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 365-367, pl.59.16.  
**Description:** Same as A097.  
**Date:** 164-165 A.D.
- A104 **Object:** Denarius - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 384-388, pl.60.3.  
**Description:** A male Parthian sits on the ground with his hands manacled behind his back.  
**Date:** 164-165 A.D.
- A105 **Object:** Sestertius - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1271-1274, pl.79.3.  
**Description:** A Parthian, with shackled hands, sits at the foot of a trophy.  
**Date:** 164-165 A.D.

- A106 **Object:** Dupondius - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1275-1276, pl.79.9-10.  
**Description:** Same as A105.  
**Date:** 164-165 A.D.
- A107 **Object:** Aureus - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 415, pl.60.17.  
**Description:** Same as A101.  
**Date:** 165-166 A.D.
- A108 **Object:** Sestertius - Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1298-1301, pl.80.1.  
**Description:** Same as A105.  
**Date:** 165-166 A.D.
- A109 **Object:** Denarius - Marcus Aurelius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 577-582, pl.64.12-13.  
**Description:** Trophy with a lone German male captive at its base. He appears to be bound.  
**Date:** 172-173 A.D.

- A110 **Object:** Sestertius - Marcus Aurelius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1432, pl.83.3.  
**Description:** Germania sits at the base of a trophy; her hands are placed on her left knee.  
**Date:** 172-173 A.D.
- A111 **Object:** Sestertius - Marcus Aurelius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1433-1436, pl.83.4.  
**Description:** A German woman sits to the left of a trophy with her head in her hand. To the right, a German male prisoner stands with his hands restrained behind him.  
**Date:** 172-173 A.D.
- A112 **Object:** As - Marcus Aurelius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1465, 1476-1477; pl.83.13-14.  
**Description:** Same as A110.  
**Date:** 172-173 A.D.
- A113 **Object:** Denarius - Marcus Aurelius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 595-600, pl.64.18-19.  
**Description:** Same as A109.  
**Date:** 173-174 A.D.

- A114 **Object:** Aureus - Marcus Aurelius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 683-684, pl.67.5-6.  
**Description:** A trophy stands in the center of the coin between a female captive on the left and a male prisoner on the right. Both figures appear to be bound.  
**Date:** 175-176 A.D.
- A115 **Object:** Dupondius - Marcus Aurelius & Commodus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1614, pl.87.12.  
**Description:** A Samartian male and female are depicted seated at the base of a trophy. The woman, on the left, sits with her head resting in her hand, while the man's hands have been shackled behind him.  
**Date:** 176-177 A.D.
- A116 **Object:** Sestertius - Marcus Aurelius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1648, 1653-1654, 1659-1663; pl.88.9, pl.88.11.  
**Description:** A German woman sits to the right of a trophy with her head in her hand. On the other side of the trophy, her male counterpart sits with his hands bound.  
**Date:** 177 A.D.
- A117 **Object:** Dupondius - Marcus Aurelius  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 1667-1668, pl.89.5.  
**Description:** Same as A116.  
**Date:** 177 A.D.

- A118 **Object:** Denarius - Commodus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1968, BMC IV 9-10, pl.91.5.  
**Description:** A male and female barbarian sit at the base of a trophy. The man rests his hands on his knees, while the woman rests her head in her hands.  
**Date:** 180 A.D.
- A119 **Object:** Aureus - Septimius Severus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 86, pl.7.18.  
**Description:** A trophy stands in the center of the coin with two seated and bound captives seated at its base.  
**Date:** 194-195 A.D.
- A120 **Object:** Denarius - Septimius Severus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome and Eastern  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 120-121, 410; pl.8.15, pl. 17.16.  
**Description:** Same as A119.  
**Date:** 195 A.D.
- A121 **Object:** Denarius - Septimius Severus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 118-119, pl.8.14.  
**Description:** Two male captives sit back to back with their hands bound.  
**Date:** 195 A.D.

- A122 **Object:** Denarius - Septimius Severus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Eastern  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 405-407, pl.17.13.  
**Description:** A lone male captive wearing a peaked cap and long robe sits with his hands shackled behind him.  
**Date:** 195 A.D.
- A123 **Object:** Denarius - Septimius Severus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Eastern  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 408-409, 411; pl.17.15, pl.17.17.  
**Description:** A lone female barbarian wearing a long robe and pileus sits with her head resting in her hand.  
**Date:** 195 A.D.
- A124 **Object:** As - Septimius Severus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 555-557, pl.23.11.  
**Description:** Same as A119.  
**Date:** 195 A.D.
- A125 **Object:** Aureus - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 152, pl.30.15.  
**Description:** Caracalla, in military dress and holding a Victory on a globe in his right hand and spear in his left, stands over a seated male figure. The captive, who rests his head in his hand, wears a long robe and peaked cap.  
**Date:** 199 A.D.

- A126 **Object:** Denarius - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, 153-155, pl.30.16.  
**Description:** Same as A125.  
**Date:** 199 A.D.
- A127 **Object:** Denarius - Septimius Severus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome and Eastern  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 256-259, 262-264, 730; pl.33.7, pl.33.10, pl.46.2.  
**Description:** A lone captive sits at the base of a trophy with his/her head in hand.  
**Date:** 201 A.D.
- A128 **Object:** Sestertius - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 803, pl.48.6.  
**Description:** Caracalla in military dress reaches out to touch a trophy standing to his left. At the base of the monument, two male barbarians sit with their hands bound.  
**Date:** 201 A.D.
- A129 **Object:** Denarius - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 383-387, 391-394; pl.37.8-9, pl.37.13-14.  
**Description:** Same as A127.  
**Date:** 202 A.D.

- A130 **Object:** Sestertius - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 819-820, pl.49.9.  
**Description:** Victory stands to the left of a trophy and reaches out to touch it. A bound male captive sits at the base of the monument and a Roman figure stands to the right.  
**Date:** 202-211 A.D.
- A131 **Object:** Sestertius - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 821, pl.49.8.  
**Description:** Two Victories stand on either side of a palm tree which has two bound male captives at its foot.  
**Date:** 202-211 A.D.
- A132 **Object:** Aureus - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 520-521, 555-556; pl.41.6, pl.41.20.  
**Description:** Caracalla in military dress stands over a river god and two male captives wearing long robes and peaked caps. Both men appear to be bound.  
**Date:** 206-210 A.D.
- A133 **Object:** Denarius - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 541, pl.41.14.  
**Description:** A trophy stands in the center of the coin with a seated and bound male captive on the left and a standing and bound male captive on the right.  
**Date:** 206-210 A.D.

- A134 **Object:** Denarius - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 14, pl.53.7.  
**Description:** Caracalla, carrying a javelin and mounted on a horse, gallops towards a fallen enemy lying prostrate on the ground.  
**Date:** 209 A.D.
- A135 **Object:** Denarius - Septimius Severus/Geta  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 17, pl.53.9.  
**Description:** Same as A134, but with Geta instead of Caracalla.  
**Date:** 209 A.D.
- A136 **Object:** As - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 175, pl.56.15.  
**Description:** Same as A134.  
**Date:** 209 A.D.
- A137 **Object:** Sestertius - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 204, pl.58.6.  
**Description:** A Victory stands placing her right hand on a trophy beside her. Two bound male captives sit at its base and a female figure stands to the right of them.  
**Date:** 210 A.D.

- A138 **Object:** Sestertius - Septimius Severus/Geta  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 217-218, pl.59.3.  
**Description:** Geta and Caracalla, in military dress and accompanied by two Roman soldiers, stand over a seated bound male barbarian.  
**Date:** 210 A.D.
- A139 **Object:** Dupondius - Septimius Severus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 196, pl.58.2.  
**Description:** A Victory stands with a bound male captive seated on either side of her.  
**Date:** 210 A.D.
- A140 **Object:** Dupondius - Septimius Severus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 209, pl.58.8.  
**Description:** Virtus in military dress stands to the right of a trophy which has a bound male barbarian seated in front of it.  
**Date:** 210 A.D.
- A141 **Object:** As - Septimius Severus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 200, pl.58.4.  
**Description:** Same as A139.  
**Date:** 210 A.D.

- A142 **Object:** As - Septimius Severus/Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 210-212, pl.58.9.  
**Description:** Same as A140.  
**Date:** 210 A.D.
- A143 **Object:** Aureus - Septimius Severus/Geta  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 18, pl.65.11.  
**Description:** Geta, in military dress, stands with his right foot on Britannia who reclines on the ground in front of him.  
**Date:** 211 A.D.
- A144 **Object:** Sestertius - Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 36, pl.66.3.  
**Description:** Same as A137.  
**Date:** 211 A.D.
- A145 **Object:** Sestertius - Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 235, 242-245, 261; pl.75.1, pl.75.13.  
**Description:** Mars stands to the right of a seated and bound male captive.  
**Date:** 212 A.D.

- A146 **Object:** As - Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 238, pl.74.17.  
**Description:** Same as A145.  
**Date:** 212 A.D.
- A147 **Object:** Double Denarius - Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 90, pl.69.17.  
**Description:** Caracalla in military dress stands holding a Victory. A naked captive kneels at his feet, while another figure sits behind him with her (?) head in her hand.  
**Date:** 213-217 A.D.
- A148 **Object:** Double Denarius - Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 86, pl.69.14.  
**Description:** Venus stands in the center of the coin with an unbound captive on either side of her. Each barbarian rests his head in his hand.  
**Date:** 213-217 A.D.
- A149 **Object:** Denarius - Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 87-88, pl.69.15.  
**Description:** Same as A148.  
**Date:** 213-217 A.D.

- A150 **Object:** Dupondius - Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 266-268, pl.76.1-2.  
**Description:** Same as A145.  
**Date:** 214 A.D.
- A151 **Object:** As - Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 269-270, pl.76.3.  
**Description:** A Victory moves in from the right carrying a trophy in both hands. At her feet, a small male barbarian kneels in submission.  
**Date:** 214 A.D.
- A152 **Object:** Aureus - Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 197-198, pl.73.4-5.  
**Description:** A Victory, seated on a cuirass, inscribes a shield. Beside her, to the right, stands a trophy with two bound male captives at its base.  
**Date:** 216 A.D.
- A153 **Object:** Aureus - Caracalla  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1975, BMC V 200, pl.73.6.  
**Description:** Caracalla, in military dress, is crowned by a Victory standing behind him. On the ground in front of the emperor sits a bound male barbarian.  
**Date:** 216 A.D.

- A154 **Object:** Denarius - Maximinus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1962, BMC VI 186-189, pl.39.186.  
**Description:** A Victory stands over a small bound male captive seated at her feet. She holds a wreath in her outstretched right hand.  
**Date:** 236-237 A.D.
- A155 **Object:** Quinarius - Maximinus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1962, BMC VI 190, pl.39.190.  
**Description:** Same as A154.  
**Date:** 236-237 A.D.
- A156 **Object:** Sestertius - Maximinus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1962, BMC VI 183, pl.39.183.  
**Description:** Maximinus and Maximus, in military dress holding a figure of a Victory between them, stand over two barbarians. The captive on the left is a woman who rests her head in her hand. The figure on the right is a male prisoner with his hands bound behind him. A Roman soldier stands behind each Roman figure.  
**Date:** 236-237 A.D.
- A157 **Object:** Sestertius - Maximinus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1962, BMC VI 191-195, pl.39.191.  
**Description:** Same as A154.  
**Date:** 236-237 A.D.

- A158 **Object:** Sestertius - Maximinus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1962, BMC VI 198-200, pl.40.198-199.  
**Description:** A Victory, standing behind Maximinus in military dress, crowns him with a wreath. At the foot of the emperor a bound male captive sits.  
**Date:** 236-237 A.D.
- A159 **Object:** Dupondius - Maximinus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1962, BMC VI 196, pl.39.196.  
**Description:** Same as A154.  
**Date:** 236-237 A.D.
- A160 **Object:** As - Maximinus  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Mattingly 1962, BMC VI 197, pl.39.197.  
**Description:** Same as A154.  
**Date:** 236-237 A.D.
- A161 **Object:** Antoninianus - Gallienus  
**Location:** Unstated  
**Mint:** Lugdunum  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1927, RIC V 17-19, pl.I.14.  
**Description:** Two bound captives sit at the base of a trophy.  
**Date:** 258-259 A.D.

- A162 **Object:** Medallion - Gallienus  
**Location:** Unstated  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1927, pl.XI.167.  
**Description:** A Victory stands on the far right side of the medallion crowning Gallienus on the left. The emperor reaches out to touch a trophy which has two bound prisoners at its base.  
**Date:** 258-259 A.D.
- A163 **Object:** Antoninianus - Aurelian  
**Location:** Unstated  
**Mint:** Mediolanum  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1927, RIC V 150-151, 254; pl.VIII.123, pl.VIII.129.  
**Description:** Sol, holding a globe in his left hand, walks behind two bound male (?) captives.  
**Date:** 273-275 A.D.
- A164 **Object:** Antoninianus - Aurelian  
**Location:** Unstated  
**Mint:** Siscia  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1927, RIC V 246-248, pl.VIII.126.  
**Description:** Sol, holding a globe, walks left towards a lone bound male captive seated on the ground.  
**Date:** 273-275 A.D.
- A165 **Object:** Aureus - Probus  
**Location:** Unstated  
**Mint:** Lugdunum  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1933, RIC V 2, pl.I.2.  
**Description:** Probus, mounted on a horse, rides towards a bound captive seated on the ground.  
**Date:** 276-282 A.D.

- A166 **Object:** Aureus - Probus  
**Location:** Unstated  
**Mint:** Lugdunum  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1933, RIC V 12, pl.I.5.  
**Description:** Probus stands to the left of, and crowns, a trophy with two bound captives at its base.  
**Date:** 276-282 A.D.
- A167 **Object:** Antoninianus - Probus  
**Location:** ASH  
**Mint:** Rome, Siscia and Serdica  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1933, RIC V 154-167, 631-632, 887; pl.II.4-5, pl.III.13, pl.IV.9, pl.V.4.  
**Description:** Same as A165.  
**Date:** 276-282 A.D.
- A168 **Object:** Antoninianus - Probus  
**Location:** Unstated  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1933, RIC V 220-223, pl.II.10.  
**Description:** A trophy stands in the center of the coin with two bound male captives at its base.  
**Date:** 276-282 A.D.
- A169 **Object:** Antoninianus - Probus  
**Location:** Unstated  
**Mint:** Serdica  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1933, RIC V 877-885, pl.V.2-3.  
**Description:** Probus, mounted on a horse, rides down a fallen male enemy.  
**Date:** 276-282 A.D.

- A170 **Object:** Denarius - Probus  
**Location:** V  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1933, RIC V 255, pl.X.10.  
**Description:** A Victory, holding a wreath and trophy (?), walks behind two bound captives.  
**Date:** 276-282 A.D.
- A171 **Object:** Coin - Diocletian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Unstated  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Levi 1952, pl. XIII, fig.3.  
**Description:** Victory stands to the left of the emperor who holds a bound male barbarian under his foot.  
**Date:** 286-296 A.D.
- A172 **Object:** Medallion - Diocletian  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Webb 1933, RIC V 127, pl.XI.8.  
**Description:** A Victory, walking towards the figure of Jupiter, steps on a prostrate enemy.  
**Date:** 295 A.D.
- A173 **Object:** Aureus - Tetrarchs  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Treveri  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Sutherland 1967, RIC VI 634a-b, pl.2.634a.  
**Description:** An emperor stands in the center of the coin holding a spear and a globe. Two bound male captives sit at his feet.  
**Date:** 305-307 A.D.

- A174 **Object:** Coin - Tetrarchs  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Aquileia  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Sutherland 1967, RIC VI 72-73, pl.5.72a.  
**Description:** A Prince stands holding a spear and globe with a bound prisoner seated at his feet.  
**Date:** 305-307 A.D.
- A175 **Object:** Coin - Tetrarchs  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Ticinum  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Sutherland 1967, RIC VI 81, pl.4.81.  
**Description:** A Prince, mounted on a horse, gallops towards and spears a kneeling barbarian, while a second enemy lies prostrate on the ground.  
**Date:** 306-307 A.D.
- A176 **Object:** Coin - Tetrarchs  
**Location:** ASH  
**Mint:** Lugdunum  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Sutherland 1967, RIC VI 302, pl.3.302.  
**Description:** Mars, in military dress and holding a spear and globe, stands over the figure of a bound male captive.  
**Date:** 309-310 A.D.
- A177 **Object:** Coin - Tetrarchs  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Ostia  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Sutherland 1967, RIC VI 60-64, pl.7.64.  
**Description:** A Victory stands inscribing a shield over the figure of a seated and bound captive.  
**Date:** 308-312 A.D.

- A178 **Object:** Coin - Tetrarchs  
**Location:** ASH  
**Mint:** Nicomedia  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Sutherland 1967, RIC VI 78a-c, pl.13.78b.  
**Description:** Virtus, in military dress, moves forward dragging a captive by the hair behind him.  
**Date:** 311-312 A.D.
- A179 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 12-13, no plate.  
**Description:** Mars advances right, dragging a captive behind him by the hair.  
**Date:** 313 A.D.
- A180 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Trier  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 27-31, pl.3.30.  
**Description:** The emperor, in military dress and holding a spear, stands over two barbarians who kneel and extend their arms in submission towards him. A third captive sits, bound, behind Constantine.  
**Date:** 313-315 A.D.
- A181 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Trier  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 34-37, pl.3.35.  
**Description:** A mounted emperor charges a fallen enemy.  
**Date:** 313-315 A.D.

- A182 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Lyons  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 29, pl.2.29.  
**Description:** Constantine, in military dress and holding a spear in his left hand and Victory on a globe in his right, stands over a seated and bound male barbarian.  
**Date:** 314 A.D.
- A183 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Ticinum  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 28, pl.9.28.  
**Description:** A trophy stands between two captives. The woman on the right sits with her head in her hand while the man, seated on the left, has been restrained.  
**Date:** 315 A.D.
- A184 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Trier and Ticinum  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 86-88, 50, 58; pl.3.86, pl.10.50, pl.10.58.  
**Description:** A Victory sits inscribing a shield. To her right stands a trophy with two unbound (?) captives at its base.  
**Date:** 316 A.D.
- A185 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Ticinum  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 60, pl.10.60.  
**Description:** Mars stands between two bound captives at his feet.  
**Date:** 316 A.D.

- A186 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Rome and Siscia  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 51-58, 24; pl.7.52, pl.12.24.  
**Description:** Sol, holding a globe in his right hand, stands over the figure of a barbarian seated in an attitude of grief.  
**Date:** 316-317 A.D.
- A187 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Trier and Thessalonica  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 190-191, 13; pl.4.190, pl.15.13.  
**Description:** A Victory moves right, holding a wreath in her right hand. A bound captive sits on either side at her feet.  
**Date:** 317 A.D.
- A188 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Trier, Arles, Siscia and Thessalonica  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 192-194, 117, 29, 15; pl.4.192, pl.6.117, pl.12.29, pl.15.15.  
**Description:** Mars, nude and carrying a trophy and spear, stands between two bound prisoners at his feet.  
**Date:** 317 A.D.
- A189 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Arles  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 114, pl.6.114.  
**Description:** Constantine in military dress receives a Victory on a globe from Sol; a bound captive sits at their feet.  
**Date:** 317 A.D.

- A190 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Siscia  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 23, pl.12.23.  
**Description:** A female captive sits at the base of a trophy with her head resting in her hand.  
**Date:** 317 A.D.
- A191 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Lyons  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 63-90, pl.2.70, pl.2.75-76, pl.2.79.  
**Description:** Two Victories stand facing each other on opposite sides of an altar with an inscribed shield placed on it. Two bound male captives sit beneath the altar.  
**Date:** 319-320 A.D.
- A192 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Trier  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 237-241, 243, pl.4.243.  
**Description:** Same as A188.  
**Date:** 319-320 A.D.
- A193 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Aquileia  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 36, pl.11.36.  
**Description:** Prince, in military dress, stands over two captives seated with their heads in their hands.  
**Date:** 320 A.D.

- A194 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Londinium and Trier  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 183-184, 258-265; pl.1.184, pl.4.264.  
**Description:** Two captives sit beneath a central trophy. The captive on the left rests her (?) head in her hand and the right figure appears to be bound.  
**Date:** 320-321 A.D.
- A195 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Londinium, Lyons, Trier, Aquileia, Siscia and Thessalonica  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 185-198, 113-124, 266-278, 120, 39, 119, 138, 82; pl.1.194, pl.2.113, pl.4.272, pl.10.120, pl.11.39, pl.13.119, pl.13.138, pl.16.82.  
**Description:** Two captives sit beneath an inscribed standard; the figure on the left sits in an attitude of mourning, that on the right is bound.  
**Date:** 320-321 A.D.
- A196 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** P  
**Mint:** Trier  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 362-366, pl.4.362, pl.4.364.  
**Description:** Same as A188.  
**Date:** 322-323 A.D.
- A197 **Object:** Medallion - Constantine  
**Location:** V  
**Mint:** Sirmium  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 28, pl.14.28.  
**Description:** Mars moves right carrying a spear and trophy and kicks (?) a mourning enemy at his feet.  
**Date:** 322-323 A.D.

- A198 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** ASH  
**Mint:** Thessalonica  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 135, pl.16.135.  
**Description:** Same as A179.  
**Date:** 324 A.D.
- A199 **Object:** Medallion - Constantine  
**Location:** Belgrade - National Museum  
**Mint:** Siscia  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 206, pl.13.206.  
**Description:** The emperor, in military dress, drags a captive by the hair behind him and kicks another captive seated in front of him.  
**Date:** 326-327 A.D.
- A200 **Object:** Medallion - Constantine  
**Location:** Dumbarton Oaks  
**Mint:** Siscia  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 208, pl.13.208.  
**Description:** The emperor, in military dress and carrying both a spear and a trophy, kicks a barbarian seated at his feet in an attitude of grief.  
**Date:** 326-327 A.D.
- A201 **Object:** Medallion - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Thessalonica and Nicomedia  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 163, 132; pl.16.32, pl.21.132.  
**Description:** The emperor, in military dress, advances right carrying a spear and trophy. Two captives in attitudes of defeat look up at him.  
**Date:** 327 A.D.

- A202 **Object:** Medallion - Constantine  
**Location:** P  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 296, pl.8.296.  
**Description:** The emperor sits on a cuirass between two captives, both of whom sit with their head in their hand.  
**Date:** 327-333 A.D.
- A203 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** BM  
**Mint:** Nicomedia  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 151, pl.21.151.  
**Description:** The emperor in military dress stands between two bound captives at his feet. He rests his right foot on the back of the prisoner to his left.  
**Date:** 328-329 A.D.
- A204 **Object:** Medallion - Constantine  
**Location:** V  
**Mint:** Rome  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 360, pl.9.360.  
**Description:** Prince, on horseback, rides over two barbarians, one of whom sits in an attitude of mourning, the other has fallen on his knee and turns back to look at the Roman figure.  
**Date:** 333-335 A.D.
- A205 **Object:** Coin - Constantine  
**Location:** P  
**Mint:** Siscia  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 244, pl.14.244.  
**Description:** A Victory moves in from the left carrying an inscribed shield. A bound male barbarian seated at her feet looks over his shoulder at her.  
**Date:** 335 A.D.

- A206 **Object:** Medallion - Constantine  
**Location:** Dumbarton Oaks  
**Mint:** Constantinople  
**Material:** Gold  
**Bibliography:** Bruun 1966, RIC VII 102, pl.19.102.  
**Description:** The emperor, in military dress, stands between two seated and mourning captives at his feet. He rests his left foot on the back of the right figure.  
**Date:** 336-337 A.D.

## B. Monumental Trophies

- B001 **Object:** Trophy of St. Bertrand de Comminges  
**Location:** St. Bertrand de Comminges  
**Provenance:** St. Bertrand de Comminges  
**Material:** Unknown  
**Bibliography:** Picard 1957, p.272a.  
**Description:** The trophy consists of three separate trophy groups. The group on the left consists of a central trophy with a standing woman to its left and a kneeling man, with shackled hands, to its right. The group on the right seems to mirror the group on the left.  
**Date:** Augustan
- B002 **Object:** Head of a Barbarian woman  
**Location:** Avenches - Musée romain  
**Provenance:** Avenches  
**Material:** Gilded bronze  
**Bibliography:** Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p.173, fig.163.  
**Description:** Head of woman with very sorrowful expression - utter defeat.  
**Date:** Augustan
- B003 **Object:** Domitian's Trophy  
**Location:** Rome - Capitol steps  
**Provenance:**  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, p.220, fig.247.  
**Description:** Large trophy with representation of a female captive standing at its base.  
**Date:** 84-90 A.D.

- B004a Object:** Adamklissi Trophy - The Great Trophy and reconstruction  
**Location:** Adamklissi - Adamklissi Museum  
**Provenance:** Adamklissi  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Bibliography:** Trophy: Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p.316, fig.296.  
Reconstruction: Hannestad 1988, p.171, fig.109.  
**Description:** Large trophy with three figures at the foot of it. One bound figure stands between two seated figures who may also be bound with their hands behind their backs.  
**Date:** c.109 A.D.
- B004b Object:** Adamklissi Trophy - Metope  
**Location:** Adamklissi - Adamklissi Museum  
**Provenance:** Adamklissi  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Bibliography:** Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p.312, fig.292.  
**Description:** Depiction of a male prisoner with his hands bound behind his back standing in front of a tree-like object.  
**Date:** c.109 A.D.
- B004c Object:** Adamklissi Trophy - Metope  
**Location:** Adamklissi - Adamklissi Museum  
**Provenance:** Adamklissi  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Bibliography:** Kraus 1967, fig.203.  
**Description:** A Roman soldier stands between two male captives who are chained together with their hands manacled behind them.  
**Date:** c.109 A.D.
- B005 Object:** Fragment of a kneeling barbarian  
**Location:** BM  
**Provenance:** Ramleh - Palace of Trajan  
**Material:** Parian marble  
**Bibliography:** Vermeule 1968, p.89, fig.31.  
**Description:** Fragment of a statue of a kneeling bound male barbarian. It is believed to be part of an ensemble consisting of a Roman trophy and one or more captives.  
**Date:** c.140 A.D.

B006 **Object:** Ornament from a trophy  
**Location:** Brescia - Museo Romano  
**Provenance:** Brescia  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p.125, fig.113.  
**Description:** Standing male prisoner with his hands tied behind his back.  
**Date:** 2nd century A.D.

### C. Triumphal Arches

C001 **Object:** Arch at Glanum  
**Location:** St. Rémy-de-Provence  
**Provenance:** In situ  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Rolland 1977, pl.30 & 34; Pobe 1961, fig. 75.  
**Description:** Located on the west and east facades, on either side of the arch, between the pillars are representations of a pair of captive Gauls (one male and one female).  
**Date:** c.40 B.C.

C002 **Object:** Commemorative Arch  
**Location:** Orange  
**Provenance:** In situ  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Bibliography:** Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p.144, fig.134.  
**Description:** The east side of the arch has three panels with the decoration consisting of a trophy with captives standing below it. The relief is damaged but it seems that there is an unbound woman to the right and a bound man to the left of each trophy.  
**Date:** 30 B.C.-26 A.D.

C003a **Object:** Carpentras Arch  
**Location:** Carpentras - Palais de Justice  
**Provenance:** Carpentras  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Bibliography:** Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p.9, fig.9.  
**Description:** Two male barbarians stand on either side of a large trophy. Their hands are restrained behind them.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.

- C003b **Object:** Carpentras Arch  
**Location:** Carpentras - Palais de Justice  
**Provenance:** Carpentras  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Bibliography:** Pobe 1961, fig.103.  
**Description:** Two manacled male prisoners stand on either side of a trophy. They are also chained to the trophy itself.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.
- C004 **Object:** Trajan's Arch  
**Location:** Benevento  
**Provenance:** In situ  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Strong 1988, p.157, fig.92.  
**Description:** Relief portraying the submission of a kneeling woman (perhaps a personification of Mesopotamia) to Trajan. Her arms are extended in a gesture of pity.  
**Date:** c.117 A.D.
- C005 **Object:** Arch of Marcus Aurelius  
**Location:** Tripoli  
**Provenance:** In situ (?)  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Picard 1957, pl.XXIV.  
**Description:** On either side of the archway there is a trophy with captives situated underneath. The trophy on the left of the archway shows a male prisoner standing with his hands tied in front of him. To his right, a female sits in grief, with her head resting in her hand. There may be a child standing to the right of the woman. The trophy on the right of the archway is severely damaged. Two figures are depicted beneath the trophy.  
**Date:** 161-180 A.D.

- C006 **Object:** Arch of Septimius Severus  
**Location:** Rome - Roman Forum  
**Provenance:** In situ  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** General view: Kleiner 1992, p.330, fig.294.  
Detail: Kraus 1967, fig.237.  
**Description:** The four column pedestals on the Capitoline side of the arch contain relief scenes depicting Roman soldiers with their Parthian prisoners. In one example, a Roman soldier is shown escorting away a prisoner. The captive's hands are restrained behind with a chain which the soldier holds firmly in his hand.  
**Date:** 203 A.D.
- C007 **Object:** Severan Arch - Reconstruction & Detail  
**Location:** Lepcis Magna  
**Provenance:** Severan Forum at Lepcis Magna  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Reconstruction: Hannestad 1988, p.271, fig.166.  
Detail: Strong 1988, p.228, fig.163.  
**Description:** Single standing male and female barbarians with hands bound behind their backs flanked the arch's passageway. In the reconstruction, these lone figures stand, bound, at the foot of a trophy.  
**Date:** 203-204 A.D.
- C008 **Object:** Arch of the Argentarii  
**Location:** Rome - Forum Boarium  
**Provenance:** In situ  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** General view: Hannestad 1988, p.278, fig.169.  
Detail: Kleiner 1992, p.336, fig.301.  
**Description:** Panel D depicts two barbarian captives accompanied by two Roman soldiers. Both male prisoners appear to be bound.  
**Date:** 204 A.D.

- C009 **Object:** Arch of Diocletian (Arcus Novus) - Left Column Pedestal  
**Location:** Florence - Boboli Gardens  
**Provenance:** Rome  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Kleiner 1992, p.411, fig.381; Kraus 1967, fig.248.  
**Description:** The outer face of the pedestal depicts a bound male barbarian escorted by a Roman soldier. The prisoner's head is down-turned. Another face of the pedestal shows a Victory standing to the left of a trophy. At the base of the trophy kneels a single male barbarian. He is also manacled. Note that the right column pedestal contains scenes of a similar theme.  
**Date:** 293-294 A.D.
- C010 **Object:** Arch of Galerius  
**Location:** Salonika  
**Provenance:** In situ  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Vermeule 1968, p.340, fig.174A.  
**Description:** The northeast face of the southwest pillar portrays seated prisoners (a woman and a man) on the far left side of the second band. Neither figure appears to be restrained, but both are depicted in attitudes of submission.  
**Date:** c.297-310 A.D.
- C011a **Object:** Arch of Constantine  
**Location:** Rome  
**Provenance:** In situ  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Detail of column bases: Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p.82, fig.74; Kleiner 1992, p.453, fig.414.  
General view: Hannestad 1988, p.321, fig.195.  
**Description:** There are four column bases on either side of the arch which depict a Victory standing, in various poses, over a kneeling (and shackled?) male captive.  
**Date:** 312-315 A.D.

C011b **Object:** Arch of Constantine

**Location:** Rome

**Provenance:** In situ

**Material:** Marble

**Bibliography:** Kleiner 1992, p.454, fig.415.

**Description:** On the side of at least one of the column bases depicting a Victory with a captive, there is a representation of Roman soldiers escorting male captives. The captives' hands have been restrained behind them.

**Date:** 312-315 A.D.

#### D. Triumphal Columns

D001 **Object:** Trajan's Column - Detail

**Location:** Rome

**Provenance:** In situ

**Material:** Marble

**Bibliography:** Lepper & Frere 1988, p. 116-120, pl. LIV; Hannestad 1988, p.158-159, fig.98.

**Description:** Scene LXXV portrays the Dacian surrender to Trajan. The first group of Dacians consists of three men who kneel in submission at Trajan's feet. The second group consists of five men who stand with their hands shackled. The final group consists of approximately twenty-five kneeling men. These Dacians are depicted with outstretched arms, begging for mercy.

**Date:** 110-113 A.D.

D002 **Object:** Column of Marcus Aurelius - Details

**Location:** Rome

**Provenance:** In situ

**Material:** Marble

**Bibliography:** Scene XX: Becatti 1989, p.353, fig.339.

Scene CIV: Hannestad 1988, p.241, fig.150.

**Description:** Both scenes depict the capture of barbarian women and children by Roman soldiers. In scene XX, a Roman soldier seizes a woman by the hair as she attempts to flee with her child. Similarly, in scene CIV, a Roman soldier grasps a woman by the arm as her child clings to her.

**Date:** 180-192 A.D.

- D003 **Object:** Base of Decennalia monument  
**Location:** Rome - Roman Forum  
**Provenance:** In situ  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p.90, fig.81.  
**Description:** Two bound male prisoners sit beneath an inscribed shield upheld on either side by a winged Victory.  
**Date:** 305 A.D.

### E. Altars

- E001 **Object:** Altar of Atripalda  
**Location:** Avellino - Museo Provinciale  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Felletti-Maj 1977, pl.LXXV, fig.181.d.  
**Description:** Decoration includes a scene with a Roman trophy and bound male captive seated beneath it.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.
- E002 **Object:** The Great Antonine Altar at Ephesus - Slab E  
**Location:** V  
**Provenance:** Ephesus  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Vermeule 1968, p.105, fig.37.  
**Description:** On the right side of this relief a Roman soldier grabs the hair of a defeated barbarian.  
**Date:** c.166-170 A.D.

### F. Public Buildings and Spaces - Architectural Features and Decoration

- F001 **Object:** Temple frieze  
**Location:** Rome - Museo dei Conservatori  
**Provenance:** Rome - Temple of Apollo Sosianus  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Kleiner 1992, p.85, fig.64.  
**Description:** On the relief there is a scene depicting a triumphal procession. Two male captives are sitting, bound, underneath a trophy. The trophy is located on a platform to be carried in the procession.  
**Date:** c.20 B.C.

- F002 **Object:** Relief - Fragment  
**Location:** Trieste  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Stone  
**Bibliography:** Brilliant 1963, p.37, fig.2.21.  
**Description:** This relief shows a horse and rider charging in from the left. On the right a female personification of Germania stands, with her hands bound, waiting to be transfixed by the rider's lance.  
**Date:** Julio-Claudian
- F003 **Object:** The Sebasteion at Aphrodisias  
**Location:**  
**Provenance:** Aphrodisias  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Kleiner 1992, p.160, fig.134.  
**Description:** The Emperor Claudius is depicted standing over a prone personification of Britannia. He is pulling her up by the hair as she pleadingly extends her arm.  
**Date:** Late Julio-Claudian
- F004 **Object:** Relief - Fragment  
**Location:** Unknown  
**Provenance:** Fiesole  
**Material:** Unknown  
**Bibliography:** Picard 1957, p.334, fig.8.  
**Description:** This fragment shows a male barbarian standing to the left of a trophy's base. His hands are restrained and he is chained to the trophy itself. Another chain extends to the right of the trophy and it is safe to assume that another male barbarian once stood there.  
**Date:** Claudian
- F005a **Object:** The Great Trajanic Frieze - Slab VI  
**Location:** Arch of Constantine  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Touati 1987, pl.3.  
**Description:** A surrendering Dacian kneels with his arms extended towards a figure of Trajan on horseback.  
**Date:** Trajanic

- F005b **Object:** The Great Trajanic Frieze - Slab VII  
**Location:** Arch of Constantine  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Touati 1987, pl.14.  
**Description:** On the left side of this slab a male barbarian is escorted by a group of Roman soldiers. The captive's hands appear to be bound behind him.  
**Date:** Trajanic
- F006 **Object:** Column base  
**Location:** ML  
**Provenance:** Principia of the Legionary fortress at Mainz  
**Material:** Stone  
**Bibliography:** Thompson 1993, p.78-79, illus.23; Ducrey, 1968, pl.IX.  
**Description:** Two nude male captives stand chained together at the neck, their hands bound behind them.  
**Date:** Early empire
- F007 **Object:** Relief  
**Location:** BM  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Terracotta  
**Bibliography:** Rich & Shipley 1993 cover.  
**Description:** Two male bearded prisoners are shown riding in a cart drawn by two horses. Each barbarian wears a neck collar to which a chain has been attached. Two men, one walking on either side of the cart, restrain the prisoners by holding this chain.  
**Date:** 1-2 century A.D.
- F008 **Object:** Relief - Fragment  
**Location:** New York - Metropolitan Museum  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Stucco  
**Bibliography:** Brilliant 1963, p.152, fig.3.118.  
**Description:** The emperor Antoninus Pius is portrayed standing on the right of the relief. A barbarian kneels before him with outstretched arms.  
**Date:** 138-161 A.D.

- F009 **Object:** Mosaic floor  
**Location:** Tipasa - Tipasa Museum  
**Provenance:** Tipasa basilica  
**Material:** Tesserae  
**Bibliography:** Dunbabin 1978, p.24, pl.III fig.7; Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p.238, fig.219.  
**Description:** The central scene of the mosaic depicts a captive barbarian family. On the left sits a man with his hands restrained behind him. On the right sits a woman, her head resting on her hands. Behind the two stands a boy.  
**Date:** Mid 2nd century A.D.
- F010 **Object:** Colossal figures - architectural  
**Location:** Corinth(?)  
**Provenance:** Corinth - Stoa of the Colossal Figures  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Vermeule 1968, p.84, fig.27 & 29.  
**Description:** Here the structural supports of the stoa are carved in the shape of male barbarian figures. The base of one column depicts a captive barbarian family. On the left a woman sits with her head resting in her hand. Beside her stands the figure of a child. On the right, a man with his hands tied behind him stands beside a pile of arms.  
**Date:** 150-200 A.D.
- F011 **Object:** Relief of a triumph (Lucius Verus)  
**Location:** RMN  
**Provenance:** Rome  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Kunzl 1988, p.77, fig.44.  
**Description:** In this fragment of the relief, two male captives are depicted sitting on either side of a trophy. This trophy rests on a platform carried in a triumphal procession. The captive on the left, who unfortunately lacks a head, kneels with his arms restrained behind him. The barbarian on the right kneels beside the trophy and looks back towards it. He holds his head in one hand, as he is not restrained.  
**Date:** 166 A.D.

- F012a **Object:** Aurelian relief - Prisoners  
**Location:** Arch of Constantine  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Ryberg 1967, pl.XXXIX, fig.40; Hamberg 1968, pl.15.  
**Description:** On the right side of this relief, a Roman soldier ushers a manacled prisoner towards a platform where the emperor stands. The barbarian's eyes are downcast, avoiding the gaze of the emperor. The head of a second barbarian, whose hair is grasped by a soldier, may be seen in the background.  
**Date:** 180-190 A.D.
- F012b **Object:** Aurelian relief - Barbarian surrender  
**Location:** Arch of Constantine  
**Provenance:** Arch of Marcus Aurelius  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Ryberg 1967, pl.XLIII, fig.44; Hamberg 1968, pl.14.  
**Description:** This panel shows a dejected barbarian and his son standing before the Emperor. The father leans heavily on his son's shoulder, and the boy buckles under the weight.  
**Date:** 180-190 A.D.
- F013 **Object:** Aurelian relief - Clementia  
**Location:** Rome - Museo dei Conservatori  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Ryberg 1967, pl.II, fig.2a.  
**Description:** On the right side of the relief two male barbarians kneel, with their arms outstretched, before the emperor mounted on horseback. On-looking soldiers fill the remaining scene.  
**Date:** 180-190 A.D.
- F014 **Object:** Relief  
**Location:** Warsaw - Narodowe Museum  
**Provenance:** Unknown, probably Syria  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Sadurska 1972, pl.45, fig.57; Hassall 1977, p.337, fig.13.4c.  
**Description:** The Emperor Caracalla is shown being crowned by a Julia Domna in the guise of a Victory. To his left stands a trophy, at the base of which crouch two bound male prisoners, much smaller in scale.  
**Date:** 215-216 A.D.

- F015 **Object:** Relief  
**Location:** Bologna  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Picard 1957, pl.XXIX.  
**Description:** A Victory stands on the extreme left of the relief. The central figure is a barbarian man who stands with his hands chained behind his back. The remaining space is filled with representations of weapons.  
**Date:** Unstated
- F016 **Object:** Frieze  
**Location:** Berlin  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:**  
**Bibliography:** Picard 1957, pl.XIV.  
**Description:** In the extreme right corner of the frieze there is a trophy with a bound male prisoner standing (?) beneath it. Unfortunately the figure itself has been damaged.  
**Date:** Unstated
- F017 **Object:** Relief  
**Location:** Spalato  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Unknown  
**Bibliography:** Picard, 1957, pl.XII.  
**Description:** In the right corner of the relief there is a Roman trophy. At its base sit a male and female captive. The relief is damaged and it is difficult to determine if either figure is bound.  
**Date:** Unstated
- F018 **Object:** Relief - Fragment  
**Location:** Museum of the Saalburg  
**Provenance:** Germany  
**Material:** Unknown  
**Bibliography:** Levi, 1952, pl.XIV, fig.2.  
**Description:** This fragment depicts the lower portion of a male figure (believed to be Mars) standing to the left of a male captive. The prisoner is seated with his hands restrained behind him.  
**Date:** Unknown

- F019 **Object:** Statuary group  
**Location:** Limoges - Museum of Limoges  
**Provenance:** Jioux  
**Material:** Unknown  
**Bibliography:** Levi 1952, pl.XIV, fig.1.  
**Description:** A representation of Jupiter stands to the left of, and places his hand on, a male barbarian kneeling at his feet.  
**Date:** Unknown

### G. Distance Markers

- G001 **Object:** The Hutcheson Hill Distance Slab  
**Location:** Glasgow - University of Glasgow, Hunterian Museum  
**Provenance:** Hutcheson Hill  
**Material:** Sandstone  
**Bibliography:** Hanson & Maxwell 1983, pl.6.3; Hassall 1977, p.329, fig.13.1a.  
**Description:** This relief is divided into three panels. The left panel has a kneeling and bound captive. He looks toward the central panel. The right panel mirrors the left.  
**Date:** c.142-145 A.D.
- G002 **Object:** Inscription and relief from the Antonine Wall  
**Location:** Edinburgh - National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland  
**Provenance:** Bridgeness  
**Material:** Sandstone  
**Bibliography:** Hanson & Maxwell 1983, pl.6.2; Collingwood & Wright 1965, p.657, pl.XVIII, n.2139.  
**Description:** The relief to the left of the inscription shows a Roman horseman, with a lance, riding over a group of four male barbarians. The barbarian in the bottom right corner rests his head in his hands.  
**Date:** c.142-145 A.D.

- G003 **Object:** Inscription and relief from the Antonine Wall  
**Location:** Glasgow - University of Glasgow, Hunterian Museum  
**Provenance:** Near Balmuildy fort  
**Material:** Sandstone  
**Bibliography:** Collingwood & Wright 1965, p.678 pl.XIX, n.2193;  
 Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p.206, fig.195.  
**Description:** The relief to the left of the inscription shows a Roman horseman, with a lance, riding over two male captives. They are seated with their hands bound behind them. The panel on the right shows a semi-prone barbarian, with restraints, under an Imperial eagle which is resting on a crab (Capricorn).  
**Date:** c.142-145 A.D.

## H. Cuirassed Statues

- H001 **Object:** Augustus of Prima Porta  
**Location:** VAT  
**Provenance:** Rome - Prima Porta  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** General view: Hannestad 1988, p.52, fig.3.  
 Details: Gergel 1994, p.193, fig.12.4-12.5.  
**Description:** Augustus' breastplate has the personifications of two subjugated areas located on either side of the central figures. On the left, Hispania sits with her head in her hand. Gaul sits on the right with her head hung low.  
**Date:** Augustan
- H002 **Object:** Early Flavian cuirassed statue  
**Location:** Sabratha - Museum of Antiquities  
**Provenance:** Sabratha  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Gergel 1994, p.198, fig.12.7.  
**Description:** In the center of the breastplate a Victory stands to the left of a palm tree. To the right of the tree stands a male prisoner with his hands pinned behind his back. Another captive sits, unbound, below. He stretches out his right arm in a gesture of supplication.  
**Date:** Early Flavian

- H003 **Object:** Late Flavian cuirassed statue  
**Location:** LOU  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Gergel 1994, p.200, fig.12.10.  
**Description:** At the bottom of the breastplate are two male captives sitting under a trophy. Both the prisoners have their hands shackled.  
**Date:** Late Flavian
- H004 **Object:** Late Flavian cuirassed statue  
**Location:** LOU  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Gergel 1994, p.201, fig.12.12.  
**Description:** In the center of the breastplate two male prisoners kneel on either side of a trophy. They are both bound.  
**Date:** Late Flavian
- H005 **Object:** Late Flavian cuirassed statue  
**Location:** VAT  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Gergel 1994, p.203, fig.12.13 & 12.16-12.17.  
**Description:** On either side of the central figures is a captured barbarian. On the left side, a German prisoner kneels under a trophy with his hands restrained behind him. On the right, a Dacian captive sits under a trophy. His hands appear to be bound under his right leg.  
**Date:** Late Flavian
- H006 **Object:** Late Flavian cuirassed statue  
**Location:** BM  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Gergel 1994, p.205, fig.12.18.  
**Description:** Same as H005 above (fig.12.13).  
**Date:** Late Flavian

H007 **Object:** Cuirassed statue of Hadrian  
**Location:** Istanbul - Archaeological Museum  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Kleiner 1992, p.242, fig.205.  
**Description:** This is a standing statue of Hadrian with his left foot pinning down a prostrate male barbarian.  
**Date:** 135 A.D.

## I. Funerary Monuments

- I001 **Object:** Tombstone  
**Location:** Bonn - Rheinisches Landesmuseum  
**Provenance:** Nickenrich  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Thompson 1993, p.80-81, illus.24-25.  
**Description:** Two male, fully clothed, figures are shown chained together at the neck. They are accompanied by their captor who carries a large club in his right hand.  
**Date:** Neronian
- I002 **Object:** Tombstone of Longius  
**Location:** Colchester and Essex Museum  
**Provenance:** Colchester  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Anderson 1984, pl.15.  
**Description:** A mounted cavalryman trots over the body of a barbarian male curled up in the fetal position.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.
- I003 **Object:** Tombstone of Sextus Valerius Genialis  
**Location:** Cirencester - Corinium Museum  
**Provenance:** Cirencester  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Anderson 1984, pl.16.  
**Description:** A mounted cavalryman gallops over and spears a prostrate barbarian.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.

- I004 **Object:** Tombstone of Flavinus  
**Location:** Hexham Abbey  
**Provenance:** Hexham Abbey  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Anderson 1984, pl.17.  
**Description:** Same as I002 above.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.
- I005 **Object:** Tombstone of Dannicus  
**Location:** Cirencester - Corinium Museum  
**Provenance:** Cirencester  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Anderson 1984, pl.18.  
**Description:** Same as I002 above but here the barbarian is lying outstretched.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.
- I006 **Object:** Tombstone of Lucius Vitellius Tancinus  
**Location:** Bath - Roman Baths Museum  
**Provenance:** Bath  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Anderson 1984, pl.19.  
**Description:** Same as I005 above.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.
- I007 **Object:** Tombstone of Gaius Romanus Capito  
**Location:** ML  
**Provenance:** Mainz  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Anderson 1984, pl.20.  
**Description:** A mounted cavalryman rides over a prostrate male barbarian. The cavalryman's servant stands behind the horse.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.

- I008 **Object:** Tombstone of Titus Flavius Bassus  
**Location:** Cologne  
**Provenance:** Cologne  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Anderson 1984, pl.21.  
**Description:** Same as I007 above.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.
- I009 **Object:** Tombstone of C. Septimus  
**Location:** Budapest - National Museum  
**Provenance:** Hungary  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Bibliography:** Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, p.340, fig.381.  
**Description:** A Roman soldier with a drawn sword stands the left of a male barbarian. The barbarian kneels and raises his left hand in pity.  
**Date:** 180-200 A.D.
- I010 **Object:** Grave relief  
**Location:** Trier - Landesmuseum  
**Provenance:** Neumagen  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Thompson 1993, p.104, illus.57.  
**Description:** A lone male captive sits, bound, in the corner of the relief and a heap of weapons fill the remaining space.  
**Date:** Unstated

## J. Sarcophagi

- J001 **Object:** Bellicus Tebanius sarcophagus  
**Location:** Pisa - Camposanto  
**Provenance:** Rome  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** General view: Toynbee 1967, pl.LVI, fig.2.  
 Panel details: Brilliant 1963, p.157, fig.3.132-3.133.  
**Description:** On right side of the sarcophagus two bound prisoners are depicted sitting at the foot of a trophy. Another captive stands to their right. All three men have their hands restrained behind their backs. Both end panels show the submission of a male barbarian to a Roman leader.  
**Date:** 90-100 A.D.

- J002 **Object:** Orestes Sarcophagus  
**Location:** VAT  
**Provenance:** Rome  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Kleiner 1992, p.258, fig.226.  
**Description:** The central panel on the lid shows three male captives. All three have their hands tied behind them.  
**Date:** Late Hadrianic
- J003 **Object:** Battle between the Greeks & Amazons Sarcophagus  
**Location:** Rome - Museo Capitolino  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Kleiner 1992, p.258, fig.227.  
**Description:** The lid of the sarcophagus depicts seven seated Amazonian prisoners. The woman on the extreme left rests her head on her hand and knee. The next two women sit back to back with their hands bound behind them. The next two women also sit back to back but they are not restrained. They have their heads resting on their hands. The woman second from the right is manacled while the woman in the right corner assumes the same position as the unbound women.  
**Date:** 140-150 A.D.
- J004 **Object:** Neoptolemos Sarcophagus  
**Location:** RMN  
**Provenance:** Rome  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Koch 1982, fig.95.  
**Description:** On the extreme right of the sarcophagus a bound barbarian man sits beneath a trophy. To his left a general (identified as the Greek Neoptolemos) sits on a chair. In front of him a Roman soldier holds a kneeling man by the hair. The prisoner's hands are pinioned behind his back. To the left of the Roman soldier a trophy has been erected. A bound man stands to the right of it and a bound man sits to the left. In the left corner of the sarcophagus two Roman soldiers bring in a chained man. The lid also has representations of prisoners. A pair of restrained male captives sit on either side of the central decoration.  
**Date:** 162-165 A.D.

- J005 **Object:** Ammendola sarcophagus  
**Location:** Rome - Museo Capitolino  
**Provenance:** Rome - Via Appia  
**Material:** Carrara marble  
**Bibliography:** Koch 1982, fig.74.  
**Description:** A bound male barbarian seated under a trophy can be seen at either corner of the sarcophagus itself. There are further representations of captives along the side of the lid. From left to right there is a bound man, a mourning woman, another bound man, a child who grasps the back of his grief-stricken mother, a manacled man and a mother and child holding each other. All of the adult figures are seated while the children stand.  
**Date:** 165-170 A.D.
- J006 **Object:** Sarcophagus of a Roman general  
**Location:** VAT  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Brilliant 1963, p.160, fig.3.140.  
**Description:** At either end of the sarcophagus there is a seated male prisoner under a trophy. Both are bound and look back and up at the trophy itself. The rest of the sarcophagus' decoration portrays the submission of two male barbarians to the Roman general.  
**Date:** c.180 A.D.

- J007 **Object:** Portonaccio sarcophagus  
**Location:** RMN  
**Provenance:** Portonaccio  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** General view: Koch 1982, fig.76.  
 Details: Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, p.306, fig.346-347; Brilliant 1963, p.156, fig.3.130.  
**Description:** A man and woman prisoner stand under a trophy at either end of the sarcophagus, while a battle is fought in the space between. On the left, a man stands with his hands bound in front of him. He gazes despairingly at a woman standing to his right. She returns his gaze. On the far right of the sarcophagus a man stands in the same position as the woman from the left side; he is not bound. A woman stands directly to the left of this man, with her hands crossed in front of her. On the same side of the sarcophagus, in the right corner of the lid, a woman and child huddle together at the foot of a trophy. On the right end panel, two male barbarians submit, with outstretched arms, to a group of Roman soldiers.  
**Date:** c.190 A.D.
- J008 **Object:** Roman & Barbarian Battle Sarcophagus  
**Location:** Rome - Galleria Borghese  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Hamberg 1968, pl.41.  
**Description:** At either corner of the sarcophagus a man and woman stand under a trophy. Closely resembles the barbarian couples on the Portonaccio sarcophagus.  
**Date:** Antonine
- J009 **Object:** Battle Sarcophagus  
**Location:** Rome - Palazzo Giustiniani  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Brilliant 1963, p.185, fig.4.62.  
**Description:** In the left corner of the sarcophagus a Victory steps on the (now missing) head of a barbarian. The barbarian kneels with his hands shackled behind him. This image is mirrored in the right corner.  
**Date:** Antonine

- J010 **Object:** Palermo Sarcophagus  
**Location:** Palermo - Museo Nazionale  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Hamberg 1968, pl.39.  
**Description:** This sarcophagus copies the layout of the figures in the Portonaccio sarcophagus. There is a barbarian couple standing under a trophy at either end of the sarcophagus.  
**Date:** Early Severan
- J011 **Object:** Sarcophagus fragment  
**Location:** Rome - Palazzo Rondanini  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Marble  
**Bibliography:** Snowden 1976, p.217, fig. 281.  
**Description:** This sarcophagus depicts a scene of *clementia*. Two male barbarians kneel before a seated Roman general. The outermost barbarian extends his right hand to touch the knee of the general. A group of Roman soldiers are present in the background.  
**Date:** 200-250 A.D.
- J012 **Object:** Ludovisi sarcophagus - Lid  
**Location:** ML  
**Provenance:** Rome  
**Material:** Carrara marble  
**Bibliography:** Hannestad 1988, p.291, fig.177.  
**Description:** In the center of the lid a trophy is depicted. There are two figures sitting at its base with their head in their hands. On either side of the seated figures stands a male barbarian, resting his head on his hand.  
**Date:** 251 A.D.

- J013 **Object:** Sarcophagus of Helena  
**Location:** VAT  
**Provenance:** Rome  
**Material:** Pink porphyry  
**Bibliography:** Henig 1983, p.238, fig.205.  
**Description:** On a side panel of the sarcophagus male prisoners are herded along by Roman soldiers on horses. The upper register has two soldiers on horseback moving from left to right. A lone figure walks in front of the horse; his hands are bound behind him. In the lower register there are two pairs of captives. The pair on the left both have their hands bound behind them and they are chained together. The pair on the right are chained together with the first man's hands behind his back and the second man's hands in front. The theme of capture dominates the decoration of the sarcophagus.  
**Date:** c.336-350 A.D.

#### K. Luxury and Decorative Items

- K001 **Object:** Intaglio  
**Location:** New York - Metropolitan Museum  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Carnelian  
**Bibliography:** Richter 1971, #45.  
**Description:** Two horsemen rout two barbarians, one of which lies prostrate on the ground.  
**Date:** Republican
- K002 **Object:** Intaglio  
**Location:** Berlin - Staatliche Museen  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Carnelian.  
**Bibliography:** Richter 1971, #46.  
**Description:** Mounted cavalryman prepares to spear a supplicating barbarian.  
**Date:** Republican

- K003 **Object:** Intaglio  
**Location:** V  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Sardonyx  
**Bibliography:** Richter 1971, #47.  
**Description:** A mounted horseman prepares to spear a standing barbarian.  
**Date:** Republican
- K004 **Object:** Fragmentary Intaglio  
**Location:** Unknown.  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Unknown  
**Bibliography:** Richter 1971, #48.  
**Description:** Only the legs of the horseman remain. Below his horse there is a collapsed and a crouching barbarian.  
**Date:** Republican
- K005 **Object:** Intaglio  
**Location:** ASH  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Sardonyx  
**Bibliography:** Richter 1971, #50.  
**Description:** A bound male barbarian sits on his shield.  
**Date:** Republican
- K006 **Object:** Gemma Augustea  
**Location:** V  
**Provenance:** Preserved in Saint-Sernin, Toulouse 1246-1533  
**Material:** Sardonyx  
**Bibliography:** Richter 1971, #501; Kleiner 1992, p.70, fig.47.  
**Description:** Lower register shows Roman soldiers erecting a trophy over two defeated barbarians on left side. The female barbarian sits with her head in her hands and the male barbarian sits restrained beside her. On the right a woman prisoner is pulled by the hair towards the center of the scene. A man to her left kneels, grasping the leg of a soldier in a gesture of mercy.  
**Date:** c.15 A.D.

- K007 **Object:** The Great Cameo of France  
**Location:** P  
**Provenance:** Preserved in Sainte-Chapelle, Paris until 1791  
**Material:** Sardonyx  
**Bibliography:** Richter 1971, #502; Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, p.196, fig.210.  
**Description:** The lower register contains depictions of seated barbarian captives. There are four men, all of whom appear to be bound. Four unbound women are also represented. The central figure, a woman, holds a small child in her arms.  
**Date:** 1st century A.D.
- K008 **Object:** Goblet  
**Location:** Munich - Staatliche Antikensammlungen  
**Provenance:** Manching, Bavaria  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Andrae 1973, p.380, fig.297.  
**Description:** Neoptolemos sits on the right while a Roman soldier pushes a captive towards him from the left. The male prisoner kneels with his hands tied behind his back.  
**Date:** Before 15 B.C.
- K009 **Object:** Cup  
**Location:** LOU  
**Provenance:** Boscoreale  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Kleiner 1992, p.153, fig.128.  
**Description:** This cup has a scene depicting the submission of a barbarian to Augustus. Augustus sits on a chair, on the right, with a barbarian kneeling in front of him. The barbarian holds his child in his outstretched arms.  
**Date:** Early 1st century A.D.

- K010 **Object:** Krater  
**Location:** Rome - Villa Albani  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Silver  
**Bibliography:** Picard 1957, p.63, fig.1.  
**Description:** Four captives sit on a platform carried in a triumphal procession. At least one figure is bound and two of the figures rest their head in their hands.  
**Date:** Unstated
- K011 **Object:** Gladiator's Helmet  
**Location:** Naples - The National Archaeological Museum  
**Provenance:** Pompeii  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Drawing: Brilliant 1963, p.71, fig.2.57.  
Details: Picard 1957, pl.XII.  
**Description:** On the left side of the helmet a Victory stands to the left of a trophy. A male captive stands with his hands behind him, on the trophy's right. On the right side of the helmet a bound female stands to the left of a trophy, while the Victory stands to its right.  
**Date:** Before 79 A.D.
- K012 **Object:** Wall painting - detail  
**Location:** Pompeii  
**Provenance:** Pompeii  
**Material:** Fresco  
**Bibliography:** Picard 1957, pl.VII.  
**Description:** A lone male captive sits at the base of a trophy. His hands are restrained behind him.  
**Date:** Before 79 A.D.
- K013 **Object:** Statuettes of a pair of captives  
**Location:** Berlin - Staatliche Museen  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Snowden 1983, fig.179a.  
**Description:** Two African male prisoners sit with their hands bound behind their backs. As now mounted, they both look up and back in opposite directions.  
**Date:** Late 1st century B.C.

- K014 **Object:** Statuette  
**Location:** Paris - Collection A. Dutuit, Petit Palais  
**Provenance:** Unstated  
**Material:** Unstated  
**Bibliography:** Ducrey 1968, pl.XII.  
**Description:** A nude male stands with his hands and neck in a restraint.  
**Date:** Unstated
- K015 **Object:** Statuette of a captive  
**Location:** Unknown  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Material:** Steatite  
**Bibliography:** Snowden 1970, p.72, fig.42.  
**Description:** This is a statuette of a crouching black African boy with fetters around his ankles. His hands may also be shackled.  
**Date:** Augustan
- K016 **Object:** Statuette of a bound captive  
**Location:** BM  
**Provenance:** Brougham, Westmorland  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Toynbee 1964, pl.XXXII, fig.c.  
**Description:** This is a seated male captive with a rope binding his neck and his hands. The rope is broken now but it probably bound his feet as well.  
**Date:** Unstated
- K017 **Object:** Statuette of a bound captive  
**Location:** BM  
**Provenance:** London  
**Material:** Bronze  
**Bibliography:** Toynbee 1964, pl.XXXII, fig.d.  
**Description:** This is a seated male captive with a rope binding his neck, hands and feet.  
**Date:** Unstated

K018 **Object:** Statuette of a Suppliant Barbarian

**Location:** P

**Provenance:** Unstated

**Material:** Bronze

**Bibliography:** Brilliant 1963, p.75, fig.2.62.

**Description:** This is a representation of a suppliant male barbarian. He kneels on one knee and raises his hands upwards.

**Date:** Unstated

### Museum Index

Museums which have been cited more than twice in the catalogue have an abbreviated form. This has been placed in parentheses at the end of each entry below.

1. Adamklissi Museum, Adamklissi
2. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul
3. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (ASH)
4. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (P)
5. British Museum, London (BM)
6. Camposanto, Pisa
7. Colchester and Essex Museums, Colchester
8. Corinium Museum, Cirencester
9. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington
10. Galleria Borghese, Rome
11. Hexham Abbey, Hexham
12. Hunterian Museum, Glasgow
13. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (V)
14. Landesmuseum, Trier
15. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
16. Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz (ML)
17. Musée du Louvre, Paris (LOU)
18. Musée romain, Avenches
19. Museo Capitolino, Rome
20. Museo dei Conservatori, Rome
21. Museo Nazionale, Palermo

22. Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome (RMN)
23. Museo Provinciale, Avellino
24. Museo Romano, Brescia
25. Museum of Antiquities, Sabratha
26. Museum of Limoges, Limoges
27. Museum of the Saalburg, Saalburg
28. Nardowe Museum, Warsaw
29. National Archaeological Museum, Naples
30. National Museum, Belgrade
31. National Museum, Budapest
32. National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh
33. Palazzo Giustiniani, Rome
34. Palazzo Rondanini, Rome
35. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn
36. Roman Baths Museum, Bath
37. Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich
38. Staatliche Museen, Berlin
39. Tipasa Museum, Tipasa
40. The Vatican Museums, Rome (VAT)
41. Villa Albani, Rome

## Vita

Surname: Forgét                      Given names: Ann-Marie Sharon

Place of Birth: Espanola, Ontario, Canada

### Educational Institutions Attended:

University of Victoria	1994 - 1996
Wilfrid Laurier University	1990 - 1994

### Degrees Awarded:

B.A. (Honours)	Wilfrid Laurier University	1994
----------------	----------------------------	------

### Honours and Awards:

Incentive Scholarship	1993 - 1994
Alvin J. Pauli Scholarship in Archaeology	1993 - 1994
Gold Medal in Archaeology	1994
Classical Association of Canada Essay Contest - Second Place	1994
University of Victoria Dean's Scholarship	1994 - 1996
University of Victoria Graduate Teaching Fellowship	1994 - 1996

### Publications:

---

---

---

---

## Partial Copyright License

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis:

The Roman Captive: An Iconographical and Cultural Study

Author



Ann-Marie Forgét  
September 30, 1996