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The Sanctuary of the Matronae Aufaniae in Bonn and the Tradition of Votive Arches in the Roman World

In 1928–1930 excavations beneath the Münster in Bonn uncovered a large number of votive monuments dedicated to the Matronae Aufaniae of the Ubii. The finds were promptly published in exemplary fashion by Hans Lehner in the 1930 volume of this journal¹ and have subsequently been discussed from a variety of viewpoints, chiefly regarding the rich evidence furnished by the excavated material for local religious beliefs and practices². One of the finds – the altar dedicated by L. Vecconius Quartio (figs. 1–4)³ – is, however, also of the highest value for our knowledge of an important class of monuments in the Roman world, those arches set up not to glorify emperors or other mortals but to honor divine beings. These 'votive arches', as they may be called, have never been collected and analyzed as a group and the arch on the Bonn altar (fig. 4) is not to be found in either of the comprehensive lists of all known Roman commemorative arches compiled by Heinz Kähler in 1939 and Massimo Pallottino in 1958⁴, nor, so far as I can tell, has it been discussed in any of the innumerable studies of Roman arches published during the last sixty years⁵.

¹ H. LEHNER, *Röm. Steindenkmäler von der Bonner Münsterkirche*. *Bonner Jahrb.* 135, 1930, 1–48. – The research for this article was completed during a 1989–1990 sabbatical leave granted by the Trustees of Boston University, whose support I take pleasure in acknowledging.

² See, most recently, the collection of essays in: *Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten*. *Bonner Jahrb. Beih.* 44 (1987), esp. H. G. HORN, *Bilddenkmäler des Matronenkultes im Ubiergebiet* 31–54. For studies in press or in preparation by HORN and C. B. RÜGER, see *ibid.* 241 note 2. – Earlier literature: H. SIEBOURG, *Der Matronenkult beim Bonner Münster*. *Bonner Jahrb.* 138, 1933, 103–123. – L. HAHL, *Zur Matronenverehrung in Niedergermanien*. *Germania* 21, 1937, 253–264. – E. A. PHILIPPSON, *Der germanische Mütter- und Matronenkult am Niederrhein*. *The Germanic Review* 19, 1944, 81–142.

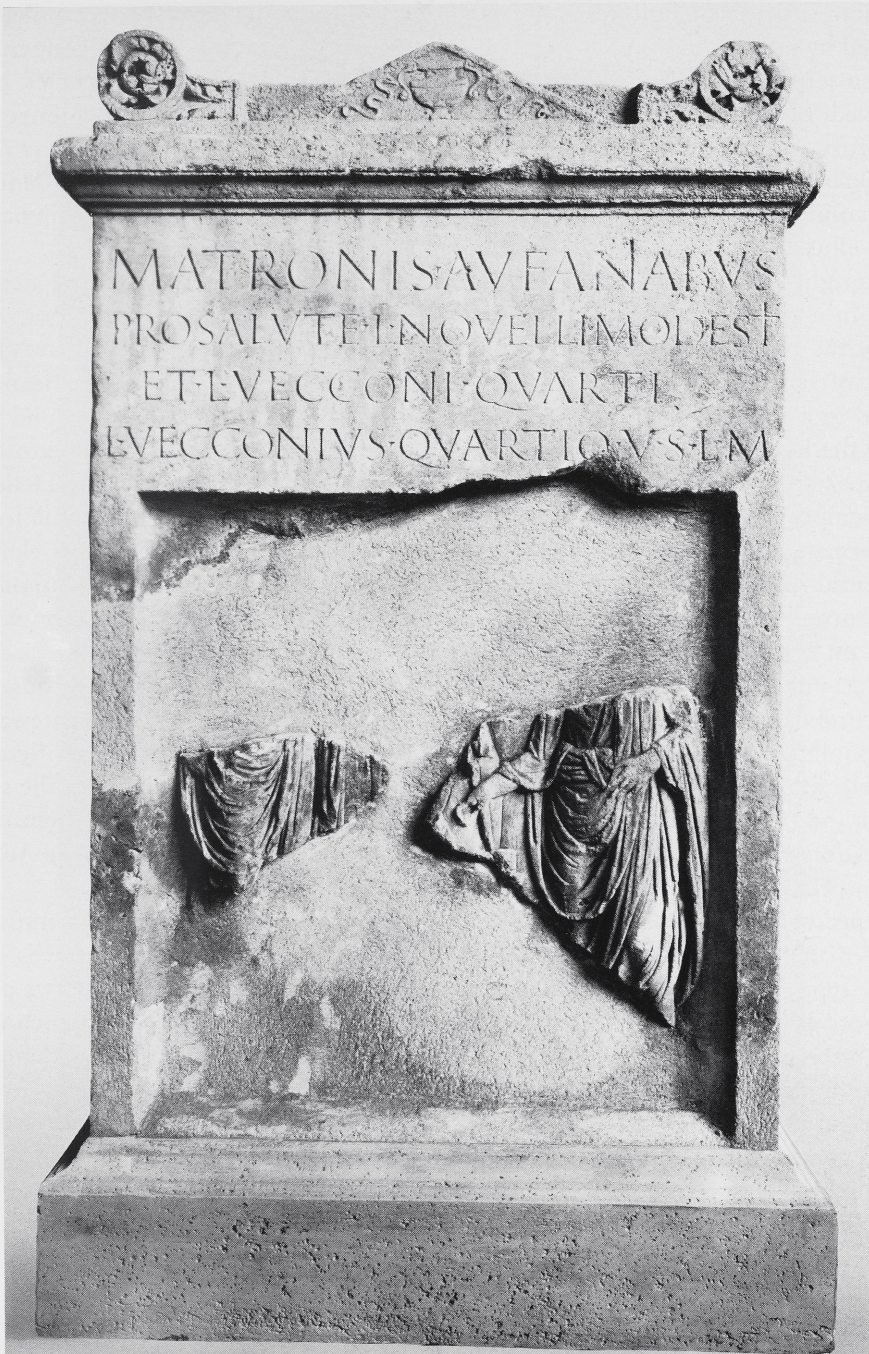
³ *Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn*, Inv. D. 244. – LEHNER (*supra* note 1) 15 no. 30; 40 pl. 17, 1–3. – F. OELMANN, *Der Ursprung des Triumphbogens*. *Forsch. u. Fortschritte* 6, 1930, 233 f. – SIEBOURG (*supra* note 2) 120. – H. NESSELHAUF, *Ber. RGK* 27, 1937, 101 f. no 179. – HAHL (*supra* note 2) 259 pl. 52, 2–3. – ESPÉRANDIEU XI (1938) 88 no. 7770. – PHILIPPSON (*supra* note 2) 112. – L. WEISGERBER, *Die Namen der Ubier* (1968) 51 no. 1026; 201 nos. 153–154. – HORN (*supra* note 2) 50 pl. 13, 1–2.

⁴ KÄHLER, *Triumphbogen*. – PALLOTTINO, *Arco*.

⁵ The altar was, however, treated from this point of view immediately after its discovery in a brief note by



1-2 Altar of L. Veconius Quartio, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, left and right sides.



3 Altar of L. Veconius Quartio, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, front.

The altar is made of limestone and is about 1.60 m high. It is of the familiar type crowned by pulvini, between which is a small pediment with a relief depicting a krater between serpents. On the front of the main body of the altar (fig. 3) is a relief, poorly preserved, of three figures (at least two wear togas) offering a sacrifice. Above is the dedicatory inscription: *Matronis Aufaniabus / pro salute L. Novelli Modesti / et L. Vecconi Quarti / L. Vecconius Quartio v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. The dedicator, L. Vecconius Quartio, was probably the son of Quartus, but the relationship between L. Novellus Modestus and the Vecconii is uncertain.

On the right side of the altar (fig. 2) a figure dressed in a tunic and holding a canister stands in a rustic sanctuary in front of a round shrine with a cuspidal roof. At the apex of the roof is a seated statue of a matron with the kind of large coiffure characteristic of such figures. On the left side (fig. 1) is depicted a second sacrificant, also dressed in a tunic. He stands in front of an arch (fig. 4) through and around which spread the large branches of a tree, comparable to those around the tempietto on the opposite side of the stone. Both representations have their stylistic roots in Hellenistic relief sculpture, but the trees are also references to the preanthropomorphic form of the Germanic cult of the Matronae, in which sacred trees were a central element⁶. The portal is austere in form, with a single arcuated passageway, Corinthian pilasters at the corners, and a low attic. It is crowned by a standing statue, of a second matron, placed on a small base directly over the center of the bay.

The Vecconius altar is datable on stylistic grounds to the third or fourth quarter of the second century after Christ. The arch depicted on the left side is the gateway to a rustic sanctuary of the Matronae Aufaniae. The portal – assuming a specific gate is depicted rather than a generic motif – also must have been constructed in the second half of the second century. The earliest of the dedications excavated beneath the Bonn Münster is Antonine in date and the temple and cult of the Matronae Aufaniae at Bonn were founded in A. D. 160/61⁷.

The representation of the entrance to the Matronae sanctuary on the Vecconius altar, however abbreviated it may be, is of inestimable value, even if the portal is only a generic type and not an actual monument. It is one of the very rare images we possess of a 'votive arch', although the evidence I have assembled suggests that such monuments were not uncommon in the Roman world. In fact, it appears that the earliest Roman 'honorary' or 'triumphal' arches were actually votive in nature.

The origin of the honorary arch has been much debated, with scholars variously tracing the genesis of this distinctly Roman kind of monument to earlier 'sacred portals', to Etruscan city gates, to Hellenistic propylaea and bicolumnar monuments, or to the rite of the *triumphus* itself in Rome⁸. For Franz Oelmann in 1930 the arch on the Altar

F. OELMANN (supra note 3), and mentioned in passing by M. P. NILSSON, *The Origin of the Triumphal Arch*, in: *Corolla archaeologica . . . Gustavo Adolpho dedicata* (1932) 132 note 2.

⁶ HAHN (supra note 2) 259–262. – PHILIPPSON (supra note 2) 106–114. – HORN (supra note 2) 49–53. – H. V. PETRIKOVITS in: *Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten* (supra note 2) 242–246.

⁷ LEHNER (supra note 1) 5 no. 1; 29. – C. B. RÜGER, *Beobachtungen zu den epigraphischen Belegen der Muttergottheiten in den lateinischen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum*, in: *Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten* (supra note 2) 12; 22–24. – HORN (supra note 2) 41 f.

⁸ P. GRAEF in: A. BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler des klass. Altertums* 3 (1888) 1871 f. s. v. *Triumph- und Ehrenbögen*. – RE II (1896) 603–606, s. v. *Arcus* (O. PUCHSTEIN). – E. LÖWY, *Zur Herkunft des Triumphbo-*



4 Altar of L. Vecconius Quartio, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, left side, detail.

of L. Vecconius Quartio was a strong argument in favor of the first of these theories⁹. Recently, however, it has been acknowledged that there is no simple monolithic explanation for the 'origin' of the Roman honorary arch and that its genesis is a complex phenomenon, a synthesis of diverse sources that resulted, in the words of the elder Pliny, in a *novicium inventum*¹⁰.

Although the first Roman arches were undoubtedly set up during the third century B. C., the earliest recorded examples are the three constructed by Lucius Stertinius in 196 B. C. in front of the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium and in the Circus Maximus in Rome¹¹ and described by Livy: *L. Stertinius ex ulteriore Hispania, ne temptata quidem triumphi spe, quinquaginta milia pondo argenti in aedarium intulit et de manubiis duos fornices in foro boario ante Fortunae aedem et matris Matutae, unum in maximo circo fecit et his fornicibus signa aurata imposuit*¹². It is likely that the siting of these arches was determined in part by the route of the triumphal processions and they were funded by the booty the proconsul had brought back with him from Spain, but Livy is explicit in reporting that Stertinius did not seek and was not awarded a triumph. These first Roman arches are thus not 'triumphal' arches, although Livy's phraseology suggests that it was customary to erect arches in connec-

gens, in: Festschr. O. Hirschfeld (1903) 417–422. – C. HÜLSEN, Zu den röm. Ehrenbögen, in: Festschr. O. Hirschfeld (1903) 423–430. – A. L. FROTHINGHAM JR., De la véritable signification des monuments romains qu'on appelle 'Arcs de Triomphe'. *Revue Arch.* 1905, II, 216–230. – L. MORPURGO, La porta trionfale e la via dei trionfi. *Bull. Comunale* 36, 1908, 109–150. – A. V. DOMASZEWSKI, Die Triumphstraße auf dem Marsfelde. *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12, 1909, 70–73. – G. SPANO, L'origine degli archi onorari e trionfali romani. *Neapolis* 1, 1913, 144–164; 329–352. – P. SARASIN, Über die Entwicklung des Triumphbogens aus dem Janustempel (1921). – M. P. NILSSON, Les bases votives à double colonne et l'arc de triomphe. *Bull. Corr. Hellénique* 49, 1925, 143–157. – F. NOACK, Triumph und Triumphbogen. *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1925–1926*, 147–161. – G. PATRONI, L'origine degli archi trionfali. *Historia* 1, 3, 1927, 3–30. – ENC. ITAL. IV (1929) 109–112 s. v. Archi trionfali e onorari (C. CULTRERA). – F. OELMANN, Über den Ursprung des Triumphbogens. *Bonner Jahrb.* 135, 1930, 157–159. – IDEM (supra note 3). – S. PONIATOWSKI, Über den Ursprung des Triumphbogens. *Mitt. Anthropol. Ges. Wien* 61, 1931, 351–369. – NILSSON (supra note 5) 132–139. – H. V. PETRIKOVITS, Die Porta Triumphalis. *Österr. Jahresh.* 28, 1933, 187–196. – KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 488–493. – G. A. MANSUELLI, Arcus. *Aevum* 22, 1948, 75–84. – IDEM, 'Fornices' etruschi. *Studi Etruschi* 23, 1954, 435–440. – G. TIBILETTI, Il trionfo, la porta e l'arco prima di Augusto. *Riv. Storia Ant.* 6–7, 1976–1977, 11–19. – KLEINER, Nero 11–13. – S. DE MARIA, In margine a una pittura di paesaggio dalla villa romana della Farnesina. *Latomus* 44, 1985, 521–545. – DE MARIA, Archi onorari 31–45. – F. S. KLEINER, The Study of Roman Triumphal and Honorary Arches 50 Years after Kähler. *Journal Rom. Arch.* 2, 1989, 196.

⁹ OELMANN (supra note 3).

¹⁰ PLIN. *hist. nat.* 34, 27: *Columnarum ratio erat attolli super ceteros mortales, quod et arcus significant novicio invento.*

¹¹ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 377 nos. I 1–3; 474. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 593 f. nos. 25–26; 44. – HÜLSEN (supra note 8) 426. – CURTIS, Arches 27. – S. B. PLATNER and TH. ASHBY, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929) 212. – NOACK (supra note 8) 161–163. – NILSSON (supra note 5) 134. – G. SÄFLUND, Le mura di Roma repubblicana (1932) 179; 182 f. – MANSUELLI, Arco honorifico 93 f. – F. COARELLI, La Porta Trionfale e la Via dei Trionfi. *Dialoghi di Arch.* 2, 1968, 88–93. – W. v. SYDOW, *Arch. Anz.* 1973, 585 f. – H. LYNGBY, Ricerche sulla Porta Flumentana. *Opuscula Rom.* 8, 1974, 43–47. – GUALANDI, Archi 102; 138. – I. CALABI LIMENTANI, I fornices di Stertino e di Scipione nel racconto di Livio. *Contributi Ist. Storia Antica* (Milano) 8, 1982, 123–135. – KLEINER, Nero 14 f. – J. H. HUMPHREY, Roman Circuses. *Arenas for Chariot Racing* (1986) 69; 100. – F. S. KLEINER, *Historia* 37, 1988, 350. – DE MARIA, Archi onorari 47–51; 262 f. nos. 49–51. – E. KÜNZL, Der röm. Triumph. *Siegesfeiern im antiken Rom* (1988) 50 f. – F. COARELLI, Il Foro Boario dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica (1988) 371 f. – F. S. KLEINER, *Journal Rom. Arch.* 2, 1989, 202.

¹² LIV. 33, 27.

tion with the celebration of a triumph; Stertinius's arches were exceptional in this respect.

All three of Stertinius's arches were surmounted by *signa aurata*, gilded bronze statues. Livy does not tell us how many there were or whom or what they depicted, but it is only much later that we read of portraits on arches. Livy reserves the terms *statuae* and *imagines* for portraits and there are, e. g., no fewer than three ancient sources that attest to the fact that the first gilded portrait statue dedicated in Italy was that erected by M. Acilius Glabrio in honor of his father in 181 B. C.¹³, i. e., some 15 years after Stertinius's dedications. All modern commentators are, therefore, in agreement that the earliest Roman arches must have supported images of deities rather than of mortals.

The location of two of Stertinius's arches in front of the two temples in the Forum Boarium, today the 'area sacra di S. Omobono', suggests that they may have served as propylons to the respective sacred areas and were probably crowned with statues of the two divinities. In fact, the *fornix ante aedem matris Matutae* may have looked very much like the arch leading into the sanctuary of the Matronae Aufaniae on the Bonn altar with its single standing statue on the attic depicting one of the mother figures (fig. 4).

Much more elaborate was the *fornix* set up in 190 B. C. by Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus on the Capitoline Hill in Rome¹⁴. Scipio's arch is also described by Livy: *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus priusquam proficisceretur fornix in Capitolio adversus viam qua in Capitolium escenditur cum signis septem auratis et equis duobus et marmorea duo labra ante fornix posuit*¹⁵. Once again, although the arch was located on the route of the *triumphator* (in this case *adversus* – i. e., facing, not spanning, as some have argued – the *clivus Capitolinus*), it is clear from Livy's account that the motivation for the monument was not the awarding of a triumph, because the arch was constructed before Scipio left Rome for Syria.

The *fornix* of 190, like those of Stertinius set up six years before, was crowned with *signa aurata*, in this case with nine gilded bronze statues, including two of horses. Spano suggested that the seven remaining figures were the seven planets and that the *fornix*, with its marble basins that must have been part of a fountain system within the arch, was a *septizonium*. More convincing is Kähler's hypothesis that the two horses indicate that two of the figures were Castor and Pollux standing beside their steeds. The central figure was very likely Jupiter himself and the arch was probably associated with that god's great sanctuary on the Capitoline Hill. These three figures and

¹³ LIV. 40, 34, 5. – VAL. MAX. 2, 5, 1. – AMM. 14, 6, 8. – G. LAHUSEN, Goldene und vergoldete röm. Ehrenstatuen und Bildnisse. Röm. Mitt. 85, 1978, 385–395. – IDEM, Schriftquellen zum röm. Bildnis 1 (1984) 27 f. – DE MARIA, Archi onorari 48.

¹⁴ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 377 f. no I 4; 474. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 593 no. 12. – HÜLSEN (supra note 8) 426. – CURTIS, Arches 28. – PLATNER-ASHBY (supra note 11) 212. – NOACK (supra note 8) 161 f.; 168. – NILSSON (supra note 5) 134 f. – G. SPANO, L'arco trionfale di P. Cornelio Scipione Africano. Mem. Accad. Lincei 8, 3, 1950, 173–205. – MANSUELLI, Arco honorifico 93 f. – B. BILINSKI, Fornix Calpurnius e la morte di Tiberio Gracco. Helikon 1, 1961, 274. – H. H. SCULLARD, Scipio Africanus: Soldier and Politician (1970) 203. – GUALANDI, Archi 102 f.; 138. – CALABI LIMENTANI (supra note 11). – KLEINER, Nero 15 f. – IDEM, Historia 37, 1988, 350 f. – DE MARIA, Archi onorari 47–51; 263 no. 52. – KÜNZL (supra note 11) 50 f. – G. HAFNER, Zu den vermeintlich sullanischen Waffenreliefs von S. Omobono. Rivista Arch. 13, 1989, 46–54.

¹⁵ LIV. 37, 3.

the two horses may have looked like the relief figures of Jupiter and the Dioscuri and their horses on the Porta Marzia in Perugia, datable to the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B. C.¹⁶

Portraits would not have been among the seven *signa* on Scipio's arch, but we may assume that the builder received credit in the dedicatory inscription for his *pietas* in erecting such a votive monument. Piety was not, however, Scipio's sole motivation for erecting an arch at or near the entrance to the Capitoline sanctuary of Jupiter. Legend stated that Scipio was Jupiter's son and that the god had visited his previously barren mother in the form of a serpent when he was conceived. It was also said that when Africanus went late at night to the Capitol the temple dogs never barked at him, and that he never took any important action without first meditating in Jupiter's shrine. Moreover, sometime after his death Scipio received the extraordinary honor of having his *imago* placed in the Capitoline temple, instead of in the atrium of his house, from which it was taken for use in the funerary rites of important members of the *gens Cornelia*¹⁷.

Although the earliest recorded Roman 'honorary' arches were votive in character, they later gave way to arches that served only to glorify their mortal builders. The first securely documented instance of an arch crowned by a portrait statue of its builder rather than by images of divinities is the *formix* set up between 73 and 71 B. C. in the forum of Syracuse by C. Verres. It bore portraits of Verres on horseback and of his son, nude, standing beside him¹⁸. The votive tradition of the earlier Republic never dies out, however, and we know of quite a few 'votive arches' during the Empire and there must, of course, have been many more.

One of the most intriguing, and perhaps the first, of these is the arch that Pliny tells us the emperor Augustus set up on the Palatine Hill in Rome in honor of his father C. Octavius¹⁹: *ex honore apparet in magna auctoritate habitum Lysiae opus quod in Palatio super arcum divus Augustus honori Octavi patris sui dicavit in aedicula columnis adornata, id est quadriga currusque et Apollo ac Diana ex uno lapide*²⁰.

In this case the arch was not erected in honor of a deity, but the monument was none-

¹⁶ P. J. RIIS, The Etruscan City Gates in Perugia. *Acta Arch.* 5, 1934, 75-77; 93-98. - V. CAMPELLI, La cinta muraria di Perugia. *Rivista Ist. Arch.* 5, 1935, 18-24; 29 f. - G. BRANDS, Republikanische Stadttore in Italien. *BAR Internat. Ser.* 458 (1988) 167-170, with bibliography. - F. S. KLEINER, *Am. Journal Arch.* 94, 1990, 167.

¹⁷ F. W. WALBANK, The Scipionic Legend. *Proc. Cambridge Philol. Soc.* 193, 1967, 54-69. - SCULLARD (supra note 14) 20-23.

¹⁸ *Cic. Verr.* 2, 2, 154. - KÄHLER, *Triumphbogen* 412 no. II 24. - PALLOTTINO, *Arco* 595 no. 90. - HÜLSEN (supra note 8) 429 f. - O. VESSBERG, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der röm. Republik* (1941) 75 f. no. 295. - MANSUELLI, *Arco honorifico* 94. - GUALANDI, *Archi* 104; 139. - KLEINER, *Nero* 17 f. - DE MARIA, *Archi onorari* 50-52; 326 f. no. 107.

¹⁹ KÄHLER, *Triumphbogen* 381 f. no I 11. - PALLOTTINO, *Arco* 594 no. 42. - R. LANCIANI, *Il tempio di Apolline palatino*. *Bull. Comunale* 11, 1883, 190. - R. LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (1888) 110; 116. - PLATNER-ASHBY (supra note 11) 42. - G. A. MANSUELLI, *Aedicula columnis adornata*. *Rivista Studi Liguri* 36, 1970, 103-109. - M. PAPE, *Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom* (1975) 149. - C. C. VERMEULE III, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste* (1977) 49 f. - GUALANDI, *Archi* 122-126; 138. - KLEINER, *Nero* 22 f. - F. S. KLEINER, *The Arch in Honor of C. Octavius and the Fathers of Augustus*. *Historia* 37, 1988, 347-357. - DE MARIA, *Archi onorari* 80 f.; 103-105; 268 f. no. 57.

²⁰ PLIN. *hist. nat.* 36, 35.

theless surmounted by a statuary group of Apollo and Diana in a four-horse chariot, the work of Lysias, probably the sculptor who was the son of Pyrrhandos and active at Lindos in the second century B. C. The arch probably formed part of the great Palatine complex dedicated by Octavian to Apollo in 28 B. C. following his great victory (with the aid of Apollo) at Actium three years before. It is uncertain whether the arch served as a propylon to the Palatine sanctuary or stood on the *clivus Palatinus* marking the path up to the *area Apollinis*, but some connection with the god's sacred area may be assumed. The monument forms in many ways a striking parallel to the arch set up on the *clivus Capitolinus* by Scipio Africanus, for it was said that Augustus was Apollo's son and that his mother Atia had been impregnated by the god in the form of a serpent while she slept in one of Apollo's temples²¹. Although the Palatine arch was nominally erected to honor Octavian's natural father, C. Octavius, its siting and sculptural program make it clear that the monument was also intended to honor Octavian's other father, Apollo.

It is not difficult to visualize the crowning statuary group with Apollo and his sister Diana standing side by side in a chariot pulled by four horses, although one must reject Pliny's assertion that the group the emperor had brought to Rome from the East was carved by Lysias from a single block of stone (*ex uno lapide*). The Greek statues were placed by Octavian *in aedicula columnis adornata*, but there has been no agreement as to what this signifies. Some have thought of the *aedicula* as a niche, others as a small temple *in antis* or as a *monopteros*, but there are no satisfactory parallels on other arches and the question must remain open. Whatever the solution to the problem, Octavian seems to have provided a votive shrine of some sort for the statues that were displayed *super arcum*, because Lysias's group was regarded as a treasure in its own right and not merely as a sign on the road leading to the great Augustan temple consecrated to Apollo in 28 B. C.

There are no other literary or epigraphical references to imperial 'votive arches' in Rome, but there is numismatic evidence for two other such monuments in Flavian and Trajanic times. The earlier of the two is represented on the reverses of a rare series of Vespasianic *sestertii* struck in A. D. 71, all from the same reverse die (fig. 5)²². The arch, a quadrifrons, is shown in the background, with the emperor offering a sacrifice in the foreground while being crowned by Victory. The legend, VICTORIA AVG S C, like the motif, is an unmistakable reference to the Flavian victory in Judaea, but the statuary above the arch does not refer to any military campaign. Instead of triumphal imagery, two *genii* are portrayed: at the left, the long-haired, bearded togate figure of the Genius Senatus, probably holding a patera in his right hand; at the right and facing the Senate, the semi-nude youthful Genius Populi Romani, carrying a cornucopia in his left hand and a patera in his right. Because the canonical iconography of the Genius Senatus and the Genius Populi Romani was established only in Flavian times, when the two *genii* begin to be represented regularly as a pair, the arch must be a Vespasianic monument erected after the Judean triumph rather than an older Roman landmark.

²¹ SUET. Aug. 94, 4. – DIO CASS. 45, 2–3. – SIDON. *carm.* 2, 121–126.

²² F. S. KLEINER, A Vespasianic Monument to the Senate and Roman People. *Schweiz. Num. Rundschau* 68, 1989, 85–91. – IDEM, The Arches of Vespasian in Rome. *Röm. Mitt.* 97, 1990, 134–136.



5 Reverse of sestertertius of Vespasian, Staatliches Münzkabinett, Berlin.

The Vespasianic arch in honor of the Senate and Roman People forms a striking contrast to the other known arches erected in the capital by the Flavian dynasty, all of which are crowned by self-aggrandizing portrait statuary, usually consisting of imperial chariot groups, trophies, and captives²³. It conforms rather to the votive tradition of the Republic and should be viewed as a deliberate revival of the earlier, more modest, *fornix* type on the part of Vespasian, whose attempts to restore good relations between the Senate and the princes are well documented.

What was probably the most elaborate 'votive arch' ever constructed is also known only from reproductions on the Roman coinage. A problematic monument inscribed

²³ The 'arcus ad Isis' reproduced on a relief from the Tomb of the Haterii on the Via Labicana is so labeled because of its proximity to a sanctuary of Isis in Rome, not because it formed the propylon to that sanctuary. The attic statuary commemorates the military success of Vespasian and Titus in Judaea, not the Oriental goddess, and the monument does not belong to the group of votive arches collected here. – KÄHLER, *Triumphbogen* 401 no. I 45. – PALLOTTINO, *Arco* 594 no. 34. – F. CASTAGNOLI, *Gli edifici rappresentati in un rilievo del sepolcro degli Haterii*. *Bull. Comunale* 69, 1941, 65 f. – W. M. JENSEN, *The Sculptures of the Tomb of the Haterii* (1978) 89–92; 130–132; 150; 357 note 257. – J. MAIER, *Architektur im röm. Relief* (1985) 35–37; 93–95. – KÜNZL (*supra* note 11) 45. – DE MARIA, *Archi onorari* 121; 292–294 no. 77. – F. S. KLEINER, *Röm. Mitt.* 97, 1990, 131–134.



6 Reverse of sestertius of Trajan, Medagliere, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

IOM (Iovi Optimo Maximo) appears on the reverses of Trajanic *sestertii* struck early in the second century (fig. 6)²⁴. The structure is usually described as an 'Arch of Trajan' and compared to the Trajanic arch at Benevento (Beneventum), the facades of which are similarly revetted with panel reliefs. The monument's passageway is not, however, arcuated and there is a growing consensus that the *sestertii* depict a gateway rather than an arch proper – probably, given the IOM inscription on the upper attic beneath the crowning statuary group, a new Trajanic entrance to the *area Capitolina*, although no ancient source mentions such a Trajanic project.

Almost every description of the sculptural program of the monument differs in detail, depending on which specimen the numismatist or archaeologist has chosen to illus-

²⁴ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 387 f. no. I 26. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 594 no. 52. – T. L. DONALDSON, *Architectura Numismatica* (1859) 228–231 no. 58. – P. L. STRACK, *Untersuchungen zur röm. Reichsprägung des 2. Jahrh. 1. Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Traian* (1931) 114–116. – P. V. HILL, *Some Architectural Types of Trajan*. *Num. Chronicle* 1965, 156 f. – M. PENSA, *L'architettura traiana attraverso le emissioni monetali coeve*. *Atti Centro Studi e Docum. sull'Italia Romana* 2, 1969–1970, 252–256. – K. FITTSCHEN, *Arch. Anz.* 1972, 777 f. – H. KÜTHMANN and B. OVERBECK, *Bauten Roms auf Münzen und Medaillen* (1973) 56 no. 108. – DE MARIA, *Archî onorari* 124 f.; 146 f.; 295 f. no. 80. – P. V. HILL, *The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types* (1989) 101 f.

trate. I hope to shed more light on this question when I publish the die study I have assembled of all known examples of the series²⁵. My preliminary results have nevertheless clarified, at least to my satisfaction, the nature of the attic statuary and, consequently, the nature of the monument itself. Although most commentators have assumed that the six-horse chariot is driven by Trajan and that the trophies and prisoners to the left and right on a lower level celebrate his military victories, careful examination of the surviving coins leaves no doubt that the chariot is Jupiter's, not the emperor's. Flanking the captives are not eagles, as most scholars have stated, but equestrian statues. It was common practice for a *triumphator* to be accompanied in the grand triumphal procession by his sons mounted on horseback²⁶, but Trajan had no sons. These twin horsemen must be the Dioscuri and the father in the 'triumphal' chariot is Jupiter himself. This is confirmed by the 'captives' on the attic: they have serpentine legs and are, in fact, giants. Giants are also depicted below on the relief panels and the reference is to the defeat of the giants by Jupiter and the other gods, not to any Roman victory. This gate then is no 'Arch of Trajan' but rather another in the line of Republican and Imperial 'votive arches' described above – almost certainly, as others have postulated, a new Trajanic gateway to the Sanctuary of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill in Rome.

If so, this gate would form a striking parallel to the Republican fornix erected on the *clivus Capitolinus* by Scipio Africanus²⁷ with its crowning statuary group featuring two horses – probably, as here, the horses of Castor and Pollux. The parallels between the two monuments are, however, more than purely formal and topographical, for Trajan, like Scipio, had a special relationship to the chief Roman deity. Trajan was said to have been adopted by Nerva at the behest of Jupiter and the adoption took place not in the emperor's bedroom but in the Capitoline temple of Jupiter; Trajan was said to have been divinely chosen as emperor by Jupiter himself and he received the same epithet – *optimus* – as the great god; once he was even mistaken on the Capitoline for Jupiter himself²⁸. Trajan's portal to Jupiter's sanctuary on the Capitoline Hill should also be seen as a parallel monument to Octavian's arch on the Palatine Hill, perhaps at the entrance to the *area Apollinis*, crowned by Apollo's chariot²⁹. There too there was a very special relationship between the dedicator and the deity honored.

No other 'votive arches' are known in the capital. Outside Rome, however, quite a few are documented. In Italy an arch set up in honor of Juno is attested at Grumentum (Grumento Nova, formerly Saponara, in Lucania)³⁰ by an inscription recording the private votive offering of an arch and candelabrum to Juno by one Secundus: *Pietas Sec[un] / di contuber(nalis) mag(istra) / arcum et cande / labrum Iunoni / d(e) s(uo)*

²⁵ F. S. KLEINER, The Trajanic Gateway to the Capitoline Sanctuary of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, forthcoming.

²⁶ See, e. g., Josephus's description of the Flavian triumph after the victory in Judaea: Bell. Iud. 7, 152.

²⁷ See supra note 14.

²⁸ PLIN. paneg. 1, 5; 5, 2–4; 8, 1; 88, 4–9. – J. R. FEARS, The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology, in: ANRW II 17, 1 (1981) 80–85, with bibliography. – KLEINER (supra note 25).

²⁹ See supra note 19.

³⁰ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 412 no. II 20. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 595 no. 89. – DE MARIA, Archi onorari 336 no. II.



7 Arch in the harbor of Ancona (?), detail of Scene 79, Column of Trajan, Rome.

*d(onum) d(at)*³¹. Although De Maria has doubted that the *arcus* in question is 'un vero e proprio monumento dedicato alla divinità', there are several other such private dedications of arches to deities recorded in the Roman provinces (see *infra*) and I see no reason to question the existence of a 'votive arch' at Grumentum. Although one must envision only a modest portal to the goddess's shrine and not a major public monument, the arch paid for by Secundus may have been crowned by a simple standing statue of the deity, like that of the matron above the portal on the Bonn altar (fig. 4).

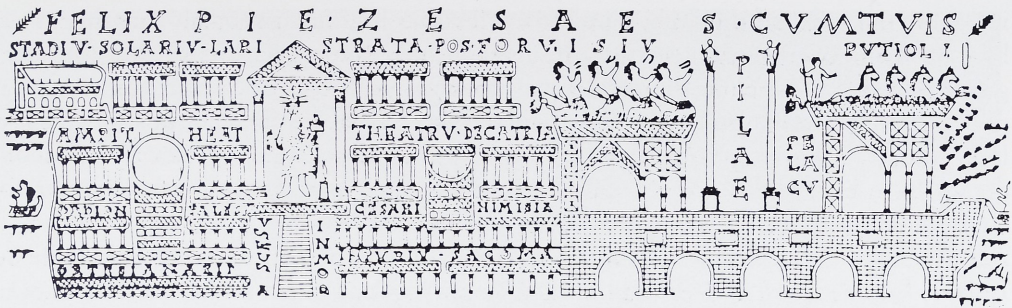
³¹ CIL X 202.

The Column of Trajan in Rome also provides evidence for an Italian arch with statues of deities on the attic (fig. 7)³². In Scene 79 the Roman army is shown leaving a port city in 105 to embark upon Trajan's second great Dacian campaign. On the mole in the harbor stands a schematically rendered single-bay arch with three heroically nude statues on the top. The city is usually identified as Ancona, although Antium (Anzio), Brundisium (Brindisi), and other sites have also been put forward as candidates. A Trajanic arch erected a year after the dedication of the Forum of Trajan still stands in Ancona's harbor and is not the same monument. If Scene 79 is, in fact, set in Ancona in 105, the arch depicted on the Column must be either an earlier monument, perhaps removed to make way for the arch of A. D. 114 or a project that was cancelled in favor of the preserved arch – or the sculptor has given us a typical view of a Roman harbor in Italy rather than a 'portrait' of the port of Ancona.

Whatever the solution to this topographical problem, the character of the monument itself is clear. Despite the artist's relative lack of interest in the architectonic details of the arch proper (something that is generally characteristic of Roman representations of arches on both monumental reliefs and coins), the sculptor has (equally characteristically) rendered the attic statuary with great care and at an enlarged scale³³ – and the statues are definitely not portraits, imperial or private. All three figures have one arm raised and once held metal attributes. Scholars still disagree on the precise identification of the three divinities, but most are in accord that they are connected with the sea and sailing. The central figure, whose posture (leaning on a trident[?], left

³² KÄHLER, *Triumphbogen* 403 f. no II 1b. – PALLOTTINO, *Arco* 595 no. 102. – W. FROEHNER, *La Colonne Trajane* (1865) 123 f. – C. CICHORIUS, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule* 3 (1900) 12; 18–22. – E. PETERSEN, *Trajans dakische Kriege* 2 (1903) 20–24. – S. REINACH, *Quatre statues figurées sur la Colonne Trajane*. *Revue Arch.* 1905, 401–403. – A. VON DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Dakerkriege Traians auf den Reliefs der Säule*. *Philologus* 65, 1906, 337. – H. STUART JONES, *The Historical Interpretation of the Reliefs of Trajan's Column*. *Papers Brit. School Rome* 5, 1910, 444. – K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*. *Klio, Beih.* 14 (1923) 228–230. – R. PARIBENI, *Optimus princeps* 1 (1926) 282; 284; 2 (1927) 118. – A. DEGRASSI, *La via seguita da Traiano nel 105 per recarsi nella Dacia*. *Rendiconti Pontificia Accad.* 22, 1946–1947, 167–183. – C. PICARD, *Brundisium*. *Notes de topographie et d'histoire*. *Revue Etudes Latines* 35, 1957, 299–303. – S. STUCCHI, *Il coronamento dell'arco romano nel porto di Ancona*. *Rendiconti Accad. Napoli N. S.* 32, 1957, 149–164. – M. TURCAN-DELÉANI, *Les monuments représentés sur la Colonne Trajane. Schématisation et réalisme*. *Mélanges École Franç. Rome* 70, 1958, 155–161; 176. – S. STUCCHI, *Contributo alla conoscenza della topografia dell'arte e della storia nella Colonna Traiana. Il viaggio marittimo di Traiano all'inizio della seconda guerra dacica*. *Atti Accad. Scienze e Lett. Arti Udine VII* 1, 1957–1960, 73–93; 155–164. – A. DEGRASSI, *Aquileia e Trieste nelle scene della Colonna Traiana*. *Rendiconti Accad. Napoli N. S.* 36, 1961, 139 f.; 147–150. – S. STUCCHI, *Intorno al viaggio di Traiano nel 105 d. C.* *Röm. Mitt.* 72, 1965, 142–148. – L. ROSSI, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars* (1971) 174. – W. GAUER, *Untersuchungen zur Trajanssäule* 1 (1977) 10; 14; 16; 44; 92. – S. MAZZARINO, *Note sulle guerre daciche di Traiano: reditus del 102 e itus del 105*. *Rhein. Mus.* 122, 1979, 176–182. – P. M. MONTI, *La Colonna Traiana* (1980) 38; 76. – G. BECATTI, *La Colonna Traiana, espressione somma del rilievo storico romano*, in: *ANRW II* 12, 1 (1982) 560–562. – S. MASSARINO, *Introduzione alla seconda dacica di Traiano*, in: *Colloquio italo-romeno: L'esame storico-artistico della Colonna Traiana*. *Atti Convegno Lincei* 50 (1982) 45–48. – L. BACCHIELLI, *Domus Veneris quam dorica sustinet Ancon*. *Arch. Class.* 37, 1985, 132–134. – DE MARIA, *Archi onorari* 228 f. no. 2. – E. LA ROCCA, *Bull. Comunale* 92, 1987–1988, 276; 291 note 94. – F. LEPPER and S. FRERE, *Trajan's Column* (1988) 129–132. – S. SETTIS ET AL., *La Colonna Traiana* (1988) 129–132.

³³ G. T. HOECH, *Die Hauptformen der röm. Triumphbogen und der Stil der röm. Münzen*. *Berliner Philol. Wochenschr.* 37, 1917, 379–384; 409–416; 442–448. – G. FUCHS, *Architekturdarstellungen auf röm. Münzen der Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit*. *Antike Münzen u. geschnittene Steine* 1 (1969) 40 f. – M. PENSA, *Genesi e sviluppo dell'arco onorario nella documentazione numismatica*, in: *Studi sull'arco onorario romano* (1979) 19–27. – KLEINER, *Nero* 24; 26; 28; 31; 58; 73 f.



8 Harbor of Pozzuoli, drawing after glass flask, National Museum, Prague.

foot raised and placed on a prow, and left arm resting on the left thigh with an oar or rudder in the left hand) echoes a fourth-century B. C. Greek statue of Poseidon best known from a marble replica in the Museo Gregoriano Profano of the Vatican. This god is therefore most likely Neptune, appropriately shown surveying his realm, the sea, from the top of the arch. He may be flanked by the Dioscuri, patrons of sailors. Portunus-Palaemon has also been suggested for the central figure, as well as for one of the flanking figures. The latter have also variously been identified as Mercury, Mars, Apollo, and still others.

We also possess several representations of the Roman port at Puteoli (Pozzuoli), where a pair of arches seems to have occupied a prominent position on the mole (fig. 8)³⁴. Most of the depictions of the Puteoli harbor appear on Late Antique souvenir glass flasks found at a number of sites and now dispersed in European and American collections. A lost mural painting excavated in 1668 on the Esquiline Hill in Rome is also thought by most scholars to portray the same Campanian harbor. There is no doubt that the flasks depict Puteoli – the one in Prague reproduced in figure 8 is labeled PVTIOLI – but they vary in detail. The most complete panoramas show two distinct arches (the number of bays is not constant, but is usually two), one at each end of the mole, and two arches are also depicted in the Esquiline painting. In all

³⁴ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 410 f. no. II 18b. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 595 no. 83. – G. B. DE ROSSI, Topografia delle spiagge di Baja graffita sopra due vasi di vetro. *Bull. Arch. Napolitano* 1, 1853, 133–136. – IDEM, Nuove osservazioni intorno alla topografia puteolana graffita in un vasetto di Populonia. *Bull. Arch. Napolitano* 2, 1854, 153–157. – H. JORDAN, Die Küste von Puteoli auf einem röm. Glasgefäß. *Arch. Zeitung* 26, 1868, 91–97. – J. BELOCH, Campanien² (1890) 125–127; 132 f. – C. HÜLSEN, Di una pittura antica ritrovata sull'Esquilino nel 1668. *Röm. Mitt.* 11, 1896, 213–226. – C. DUBOIS, Pouzzoles antique. *Bibl. École Franç. Rome* 98 (1907) 190–221. – LEHMANN–HARTLEBEN (supra note 32) 224–228. – G. SPANO, La 'ripa puteolana', in: *Atti Reale Accad. Arch. Lett. Belle Arti Napoli* N. S. 11, 1929–1930, 338–351. – A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, El vaso puteolano de Ampurias. *Archivo Español Arqu.* 27, 1954, 212–226. – C. PICARD, Pouzzoles et le paysage portuaire. *Latomus* 18, 1959, 23–51. – A. BALIL, Sobre la topografía de Puteoli. *Archivo Español Arqu.* 37, 1964, 170. – A. G. MCKAY, Naples and Coastal Campania (1972) 180; 183–186. – V. TRAN TAM TINH, Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie. *EPRO* 27 (1972) 7 f. – K. S. PAINTER, Roman Flasks with Scenes of Baiae and Puteoli. *Journal Glass Stud.* 17, 1975, 54–67. – S. E. OSTROW, The Topography of Puteoli and Baiae on the Eight Glass Flasks, in: *Puteoli. Studi di storia antica* 3 (1979) 115–121. – S. DE CARO and A. GRECO, Campania. *Guide archeologiche Laterza* 10 (1981) 48. – DE MARIA, *Archi onorari* 135 f.; 154; 257–259 nos. 42–43.

instances the attics of the arches are crowned either by four tritons blowing horns or by a quadriga of hippocamps with, presumably, Neptune as charioteer. The Neptune group is above the arch at the end of the mole facing the sea and the triton group at the land end. Once again, as on the Column of Trajan, the Roman god of the sea looks out at his domain from a lofty position above a portal to the ocean. The Puteoli arches have been dated to A. D. 139 on the basis of two inscriptions that refer to Antoninus Pius's rebuilding of the Campanian harbor³⁵.

A monument analagous to the Neptune arch at Puteoli may have stood on a mole at Portus, Rome's harbor³⁶. On a mid third-century sarcophagus in the Musei Vaticani generally thought to carry a representation of the great port on its front is a depiction of two arches on the mole of a harbor (fig. 9). One is crowned by a statue of an emperor in a chariot pulled by four elephants; the same monument is reproduced on a relief in the Museo Torlonia found at Portus. The attic group of the other arch, a quadrifrons, consists of a quadriga of hippocamps or tritons driven by a charioteer of uncertain identity. Neptune is, however, the leading candidate.

The combined evidence of the scene on Trajan's Column, the Puteoli flasks, and the Vatican sarcophagus suggests that arches in honor of the god of the sea may have been familiar sites in Roman harbors. If the Vatican sarcophagus does not depict a specific city but rather a generic scene with typical monuments, as some think, the relief would be an even stronger testimony for the frequency of such arches in Roman ports.

It is noteworthy in this connection that two other Roman sarcophagi, datable to the third quarter of the third century, one in the Museo Nazionale Romano (fig. 10) and one, now lost, formerly in the Palazzo Vaccari in Rome³⁷, depict harbor scenes with seafaring erotes and in both cases the ports feature monumental arches crowned by triton groups. On the Palazzo Vaccari sarcophagus a pair of tritons stands above a three-bay arch, while on the Terme sarcophagus the arch has only one bay but there is a quadriga pulled by tritons on its attic. The harbors have been variously identified but have been thought by some to depict Alexandria (because of, i. a., the presence of crocodiles on the Terme sarcophagus and a pharos on the Vaccari example). It is, however, unlikely that Alexandria or any other port is accurately reproduced. Rather

³⁵ CIL X 1640–1641. Some have speculated that CIL X 1641 is the dedicatory inscription affixed to one of these arches, but there is no evidence for the attribution and it is unlikely: an arch in honor of the emperor would almost certainly have been crowned by his portrait, alone or with other members of the imperial house, not by Neptune in his chariot.

³⁶ W. AMELUNG, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* 2 (1908) 49–62 no. 20. – C. ROBERT, *Ostia und Portus*. *Hermes* 46, 1911, 249–253. – LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN (supra note 32) 232–236. – G. STUHLFAUTH, *Der Leuchtturm von Ostia*. *Röm. Mitt.* 53, 1938, 144 f. – M. FASCIATO, *Ad quadrigam fori vinarii*. *Autour du port au vin d'Ostie*. *Mélanges École Franç. Rome* 59, 1947, 65–81. – R. MEIGGS, *Roman Ostia*² (1973) 158 f. – B. ANDREAÈ in: *Helbig*⁴ I (1963) 176–178 no. 232. – IDEM, *Studien zur röm. Grabkunst*. *Röm. Mitt. Ergh.* 9 (1963) 153 ff. – R. TURCAN, *Trois 'rebus' de l'iconographie romaine ou les pièges de l'analogie*, in: *Actes du Colloque sur les problèmes de l'image dans le monde méditerranéen*, Rome 1982 (1985) 69–75. – DE MARIA, *Archi onorari* 84 f.; 247 f. no. 29.

³⁷ C. L. VISCONTI, *Fronte di sarcofago con tritoni, nereidi e navi*. *Bull. Comunale* 1873, 263–267 pl. IV 1. – STUHLFAUTH (supra note 36) 147 f. – FASCIATO (supra note 36) 78 f. pl. III. – LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN (supra note 32) 236 f. – M. LAWRENCE, *Ships, Monsters and Jonah*. *Am. Journal Arch.* 66, 1962, 290 f. – ANDREAÈ, *Studien* (supra note 36) 135 f. – L. MUSSO in: *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture* I 8 (1985) 39–43.

Aus urheberrechtlichen Gründen ist diese Abbildung nicht verfügbar.

9 Harbor of Portus (?), front of sarcophagus, Musei Vaticani.

the sarcophagus designers have put together various pattern-book motifs as backdrops for scenes alluding to the last voyage of the deceased to a happy afterlife. The inescapable conclusion is that arches such as the ones depicted on these sarcophagi must have been typical features of Roman ports during the later Empire.



10 Harbor scene, front of sarcophagus, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

In the provinces what seems to be the earliest instance of an arch set up to honor one or more members of the Roman pantheon of gods is that constructed by the *vicani* of Vindonissa (Windisch, Switzerland) during the seventh consulship of Titus, i. e., in A. D. 79, and dedicated to Mars, Apollo, and Minerva³⁸. The dedicatory inscription is preserved in large part: *Imp(eratore) T(ito) Vespasiano / Caesar(e) Aug(usto) VII co(n)s(ule) / Marti Apollini Minervae / arcum / vicani Vindonissenses cur(antibus) T(ito) Urbanio Mattoni T(ito) / Valer(io) Albano L(ucio) Veturio Melo C(aio) Cottio / Ru[f]o [Q(uinto)] Sextio . . .*³⁹. The monument itself does not survive, but it was probably a simple structure like that in the harbor of Ancona(?) reproduced on the Column of Trajan (fig. 7), with statues of the three divinities displayed on the attic: Apollo at the center, Mars on his right, and Minerva on his left.

Elsewhere in Switzerland, at Genava (Geneva), an arch (of uncertain date) dedicated to Jupiter⁴⁰ is attested by an inscription found in 1722 at the Cathedral of St. Pierre in Geneva. It bears an identical dedication on its two faces: *I(ovi) [O(ptimo)] M(aximo) / arcum cu[m] suis ornamentis / T(itus) Vipius Celsi lib(ertus) Verecundus*⁴¹. The arch may have stood near the findspot of the inscription and have been associated with a

³⁸ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 423 no. III 25. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 597 no. 277. – S. HEUBERGER, Aus der Baugeschichte Vindonissas und vom Verlaufe ihrer Erforschung. *Argovia* 33, 1909, 268–270. – F. STÄHELIN, Die Schweiz in röm. Zeit² (1931) 227; 436 f. – R. LAUR-BELART, Vindonissa. Lager und Vicus. *Röm.-Germ. Forsch.* 10 (1935) 7. – R. FREI-STOLBA, Vicani Vindonissenses. *Jahresber. Ges. Pro Vindonissa* 1976, 7–22. – G. WALSER, Röm. Inschriften in der Schweiz 2 (1980) 82–84 no. 149. – M. HARTMANN, Das röm. Legionslager von Vindonissa (1983) 11. – M. HARTMANN and H. WEBER, Die Römer im Aargau (1985) fig. 38.

³⁹ CIL XIII 5195.

⁴⁰ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 417 f. no. III 12b. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 596 no. 257. – W. DEONNA, Les collections lapidaires au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire. *Genava* 4, 1926, 230 no. 6; 268. – STÄHELIN (supra note 38) 437. – E. HOWALD and E. MEYER, Die röm. Schweiz (1941) 111. – G. WALSER, Röm. Inschriften in der Schweiz 1 (1979) 20 f. no. 6 – DE MARIA, *Archi onorari* 124 note 179.

⁴¹ CIL XII 2590.

temple dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the hill. The *arcus cum suis ornamentis* was paid for by one Titus Vapius Verecundus, freedman of Titus Vapius Celsus, and the main feature of the 'ornament' was probably a statue of Jupiter on the attic. The arch may be compared to the grandiose Trajanic gateway to Jupiter's sanctuary on the Capitoline Hill (fig. 6). Verecundus's arch would have been a far more modest structure, comparable to the arch of Juno at Grumentum or the portal to the sanctuary of the Matronae Aufaniae on the Bonn altar (fig. 4), but the Roman monument may have provided the inspiration for the provincial dedication.

A second provincial arch honoring the chief Roman deity was erected at Mogontiacum (Mainz, Germany) and enough fragments (over 100) are preserved to permit an accurate reconstruction of the monument⁴². The remains are exhibited in the Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum and a reconstruction incorporating casts of the ancient fragments has been set up on Ernst-Ludwig-Platz in Mainz. The arch, datable to the early third century on stylistic and epigraphical grounds, stood approximately 6.50 m high and has only one bay, but was adorned with a rich series of relief sculptures, with the enthroned figures of Jupiter and Juno featured on the keystone. Around them are signs of the Zodiac, personifications of the Seasons, and scenes of sacrifice. On the attic, eroti frame the prominent dedicatory inscription, which reads: *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Conservatori arcum et porticus / quos Dativius Victor dec(urio) civit(at)is Taun(ensium) sacerdotalis Mogontiacensibus [p]romisit Victorii Ursus frum(entarius) et Lupus / fili et heredes consummaverunt*⁴³. Jupiter, shown with a thunderbolt in his right hand and his right foot resting on the globe, is the focus of an elaborate cosmological program and, if any statue stood above the gate (it is only 0.7 m deep), it would have represented Jupiter, to whom Dativius Victor dedicated his arch. Like the *arcus cum suis ornamentis* at Genava, this monument underscores the importance of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the northwestern provinces of the Empire and suggests that it was not unusual for wealthy members of the local community to set up arches honoring Rome's major god, probably at the entrance to his precinct.

'Votive arches' are also documented in North Africa during the second century after Christ and one site – Gigthis in Tunisia – has yielded evidence for two such arches. The earlier of the two seems to be the arch mentioned in the dedicatory inscription above the entrance to the Sanctuary of Concordia Panthea on the north side of the forum⁴⁴: *Concor[di]ae Pantheae Aug. s[acr]um / M. Umm[i]d[ius] Quir. Sedatus a[e]dem quam / pro [dec]urionatu C. Ummidi Qu[ir. Sed]ati fili / su[i] ex hs.] VI m. n. promiserat*

⁴² KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 418 no. III 15. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 596 no. 262. – H. WALLAU, Der Ehrenbogen des Dativius Victor. Mainzer Zeitschr. 1, 1906, 51–53. – K. KÖRBER, Mainzer Zeitschr. 7, 1912, 12 f. no. 23. – G. BEHRENS, Verschwundene Mainzer Römerbauten. Mainzer Zeitschr. 48–49, 1953–1954, 84 f. – F. J. HASSEL in: Führer zu vor- und frühgesch. Denkmälern 11. Mainz (1969) 124–126. – K.-V. DECKER and W. SELZER, Mogontiacum: Mainz von der Zeit des Augustus bis zum Ende der röm. Herrschaft, in: ANRW II 5,1 (1976) 507–509. – J. R. FEARS, The Arch of Dativius Victor in Mainz as an Aspect of the Propagation of Official Imperial Ideology in Roman Germany, in: Greece and Italy in the Classical World. Acta XI. Internat. Congr. Class. Arch. London (1978) 280. – H. G. FRENZ, Der Ehrenbogen des Dativius Victor zu Mainz und seine neue Rekonstruktion. Ber. RGK 62, 1981, 220–260. – DE MARIA, Archi onorari 124 note 179.

⁴³ CIL XIII 11810.

⁴⁴ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 433 no. V 21a. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 595 no. 134. – P. GAUCKLER, Rapport sur

inlatis [reip]ub[lic]ae legitimis [. . .]m decurionatu a[diectis ean]/dem a solo [cu]m simulac[r]o C[o]ncord [ia]e et [p]r[o]na/um et arcum ex hs. XXI m. [n. fec]it idemq. dedicavit⁴⁵.

The dedicator of the sanctuary, Marcus Ummidius Sedatus, was a member of a prominent local family. He seems to have lived during the time of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius and his building activity can probably be dated to ca. A. D. 150–180. The arch mentioned in the inscription is probably the north gate to the forum at Gigthis, immediately to the west of the sanctuary. If so, this modest portal may not have been surmounted by a statue. The image of Concordia Panthea cited in the dedication is the marble statue of the goddess that stood in a niche within her sanctuary. The statue is preserved and its style is consistent with an Antonine date for both the arch and the sanctuary.

A second inscription from Gigthis, found near the arcuated portal to the small street leading to the Temple of Liber Pater and the forum, is almost certainly the dedicatory inscription of the gate itself⁴⁶: [*Libe*]ro Patri A[ug.] / M. Iuliu[s] C. F. quir. Mandus flamen [perp. decreto or]/dinis [ex] hs. [?] m. n. flamoni pe[r]petui sui are/am m[agnam marmor]eam et arcum cu[m. . .]stravit et [signa?] dua de suo impen[dio pos. et dedic.]⁴⁷.

The donor, Marcus Iulius Mandus, is known from other inscriptions from the site and was honored by Gigthis for his munificence. He lived during the principate of Marcus Aurelius and the arch dedicated to Liber Pater was probably set up ca. A. D. 160–180. The modest single-bay portal that the inscription adorned is only about a half meter deep. If there was an image of Liber Pater on the attic (*arcus cum . . .*), it would have been a simple standing statue of the god. The iconography of Liber Pater is similar to that of Bacchus.

Another North African monument is especially interesting: the single-bay arch erected in A. D. 160/61 at Cuicul (Djemila, Algeria)⁴⁸. The monument stood on the street leading from the *forum novum* to the theater of the Roman city. The unusually informative eight-line dedicatory inscription that once was displayed on the attic of one side of the arch is preserved in 15 fragments with only a few *lacunae*. As restored by Leschi, it reads: *Fort[un]ae Aug(ustae) Imp(eratori) Antonino Aug(usto) Pio p(atri) p(atriae) Marti Genio col(oniae) Aug(usto) / arcum q[ue]m C. Iulius Crescens flamen Aug(usti) provinciae Africae qu[i] p[ri]mus / ex col(onia) sua Cuiculita[na] hu[n]c honorem*

des inscriptions latines découvertes en Tunisie de 1900 à 1905. *Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques* 15, 1908, 290 f. no. 2. – L.-A. CONSTANS, Gigthis. Étude d'histoire et d'archéologie sur un emporium de la petite Syrte. *Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques* N. S. 14, 1916, 48–53. – *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (1976) 354, s. v. Gigthis (A. ENNABLI).

⁴⁵ CIL VIII 22693.

⁴⁶ KÄHLER, *Triumphbogen* 433 no. V 21b. – PALLOTTINO, *Arco* 595 no. 135. – GAUCKLER (supra note 44) 291 f. no. 3. – CONSTANS (supra note 44) 40–44. – A. BRUHL, *Liber pater. Origine et expansion du culte dionysiaque à Rome et dans le monde romain* (1953) 225. – *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (1976) 354, s. v. Gigthis (A. Ennabli).

⁴⁷ CIL VIII 22694.

⁴⁸ KÄHLER, *Triumphbogen* 430 no. V 14a. – PALLOTTINO, *Arco* 595 no. 129. – E. ALBERTINI, *Bull. Arch. Comité Travaux Hist. et Scient.* 1924, CLIX–CLXIII. – L. LESCHI, *L'inscription de l'arc dit de Crescens à Djemila. Bull. Arch. Comité Travaux Hist. et Scient.* 1946–1949, 338–341. – P.-A. FÉVRIER, *Notes sur le développement urbain en Afrique du Nord. Les exemples comparés de Djemila et de Sétif. Cahiers Arch.* 14, 1964, 10.

gessit testamento suo e[x] bs. XV (milibus) / et ins[uper s]tatuas du[as Fort]unae et Martis fieri iussi[t] / C. [Iu]lius Crescens Didius Cresc[ent]ianus [nepos eius . . .] fl(amen) p(er) p(etuus) I[III] colo / niarum Cirtensium item Cuiculitanae a[ddita st]atua Imp(eratoris) [An]toni / ni Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriciae) duplicata pec(unia) fecit. / Dedicante [D. Fo]nteio Frontiniano leg(ato) [Aug(usti) pr(o) p]r(aetore) c(larissimo) v(iro) pa[tr]o no col(oniae)⁴⁹.

The arch was dedicated by the propraetor D. Fonteius Frontinianus in 160 or 161 to Fortuna, to the emperor Antoninus Pius, and to Mars as *genius coloniae*⁵⁰. Fifteen thousand sesterii had been provided in the will of C. Iulius Crescens, the first native of Cuicul to serve as *flamen Augusti* of the province of Africa. Crescens had specified that the arch was to be set up in honor only of Fortuna and Mars and that statues of them were to be placed on the attic (*insuper statuas duas Fortunae et Martis*). The will was executed by C. Iulius Crescens Didius Crescentianus⁵¹, who doubled the sum and added a dedication to Antoninus Pius (who had made him an *eques*) as well as a portrait of the emperor to the attic group. Thus, an arch that had originally been conceived as a dedication to two divinities was transformed into a monument glorifying the emperor as well, whose portrait probably formed the centerpiece of the triad of statues above the arch, as is also implied by the word order of the dedication.

Also intriguing is the mention in an inscription found at Thamugadi (Timgad, Algeria) of the dedication during the principate of Marcus Aurelius of a statue of Mars *ad arcum pantheum* by M. Pompeius Pudentianus⁵². We know nothing more about this arch or its *ornamenta*, but it is reasonable to assume that it should also be classified among the 'votive arches' of Roman Africa.

Parallels for the dedication of the arch at Cuicul to Mars as *genius coloniae* may be found in a small group of African arches erected in honor of a city or colony or its *genius*, rather than to a patron deity from the canonical pantheon of Roman gods and goddesses. These monuments are not strictly 'votive arches', but they constitute a closely related phenomenon distinct from the usual dedications of provincial arches to the current emperor and members of his family.

Indeed, a reversal of the normal pattern is attested at Lambaesis (Lambèse, Algeria), where, on the street leading east from the forum to Verecunda, are the remains of a single-bay arch set up by an emperor (Commodus) on behalf of the Legio III Augusta in honor of the *municipium* itself⁵³. The fragmentary dedicatory inscription, as restored, reads: *Imp. [C]aes. M. Aurelius [Commodus Antoninus Pius Fel. Aug.] / Germanic. Sar[mat. Brit. pont. max. trib. pot. . . . cos. . . . p. p.] / ar[c]um muni [cipio Lambaesitano a solo fecit] / per leg. [III Augustam dedicante] / M. Valerio Ma[ximiano leg. Aug. pr. pr. c. u.*

⁴⁹ CIL VIII 8313; 8335; 10898; 10900; 20136; 20141 f.

⁵⁰ For Mars as the *genius* of Cuicul, see R. CAGNAT, Djemila, colonie militaire de Nerva. Comptes Rendus Paris 1916, 593–599.

⁵¹ R. CAGNAT, C. Iulius Crescens Didius Crescentianus, fondateur de la basilique Julia à Djemila (Algérie). Revue Études Anciennes 22, 1920, 97–103.

⁵² CIL VIII 2372. – KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 443 no. V 49g. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 596 no. 204.

⁵³ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 435 no. V 29a. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 595 no. 141. – CURTIS, Arches 63 no. 51. – S. GSELL, Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie 1 (1901) 159 f. pl. 32. – M. JANON, Recherches à Lambèse. Ant. Africaines 7, 1973, 220. – The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites (1976) 478, s. v. Lambaesis (J. MARCILLET-JAUBERT).

cos. des.]⁵⁴. A bust of the city goddess with a turreted crown appropriately adorns at least one of the keystones of the arch; the bust on the keystone of the other facade is defaced.

Another example of this group is the fairly well-preserved arch at Uzappa (Ksar Abd el Melek, Tunisia), whose single bay is framed by Corinthian half-columns and a pediment⁵⁵. The frieze bears a dedicatory inscription to the *genius* of the city: [*Geni*]o *civitatis Uzappae* / [A]ug. sac. d. d. p. p.⁵⁶.

A third African arch of this type is the impressive single-bay arch still standing in large part at Cillium (Kasserine, Tunisia), erected in the third century and rededicated in the early fourth⁵⁷. The two successive dedications refer to the *insignia coloniae* displayed on the arch, most likely the Roman she-wolf, and the original dedicatory inscription leaves no doubt that the monument was erected (by one Q. Manlius Felix) in honor of the *colonia Cillitanae* itself and not an emperor: *Coloniae Cillitanae* / Q. Manlius Felix C. filius Papiria receptis post alia arcum quoque cum insignibus colo[niae] / solita in patriam liberalitate erexit ob cuius dedicationem decurionibus sportulas curiis epu[las ded.] (on the frieze); *Clementia temporis et virtute* / divina dd. nn. Constantini et Licini invoc. / semp. Aug. ornamenta liberta restituta et vetera civitatis insignia curante Ceionio Aproniano c. v. / patro civitatis (below the first dedication)⁵⁸. A statue of the Roman she-wolf with Romulus and Remus also stood on top of the Tiberian east gate of Syrian Antioch⁵⁹.

The erection of arches in honor of *municipia* and *coloniae* or their *genii* doubtless reflects the frequent role of the Roman honorary arch as welcoming portal to a city, just as it is not surprising to find statues of deities greeting visitors to sanctuaries from their perches on top of 'votive arches' serving as gateways to the sacred areas. This notion of the gate as emblematic of the city itself is underscored pictorially by the imperial coinage of Nicaea in Bithynia (Iznik, Turkey), where the obverse type is sometimes a profile bust of Tyche with, on her head, a triple-bay city gate shown frontally and complete with its attic statuary⁶⁰.

The most spectacular provincial arch supporting statues of divinities appears to have been erected not in the West or in Africa, but in Greece, at Corinth⁶¹. Pausanias

⁵⁴ CIL VIII 2698; 18247.

⁵⁵ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 439 no. 37b. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 596 no. 213. – CURTIS, Arches 54 no. 36 fig. 5. – FROTHINGHAM (supra note 8) 217; 222.

⁵⁶ CIL VIII 11924.

⁵⁷ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 433 no. V 20. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 595 no. 122. – CURTIS, Arches 83 no. 79 fig. 18. – FROTHINGHAM (supra note 8) 217; 221. – P. ROMANELLI, Topografia e archeologia dell'Africa romana (1970) 132. – The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites (1976) 224, s. v. Cillium (A. ENNABLI).

⁵⁸ CIL VIII 210; 11299.

⁵⁹ MALALAS 235, 3. – FROTHINGHAM (supra note 8) 222. – A. SCHENK v. STAUFFENBERG, Die röm. Kaiser-geschichte bei Malalas (1931) 448; 450; 466.

⁶⁰ M. J. PRICE and B. L. TRELLE, Coins and Their Cities. Architecture on the Ancient Coins of Greece, Rome, and Palestine (1977) 223 fig. 496; 257 no. 295.

⁶¹ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 446 no. VI 3e. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 597 no. 282. – F. IMHOOF-BLUMER and P. GARDNER, Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias 1. Journal Hellenic Stud. 6, 1885, 71 no. 22. – J. M. SEARS JR., The Lechaem Road and the Propylaea at Corinth. Am. Journal Arch. 6, 1902, 439–454. – CURTIS, Arches 45 no. 23. – R. STILLWELL, Corinth I (1932) 159; 184–186; 190–192. – G. ROUX, Pausanias en Corinthie (1958) 40 f.; 116. – PRICE and TRELLE (supra note 60) 85 f.; 252 nos. 182 f. –

describes the propylaea leading into the forum from the Lechaion Road, as he saw it during his visit in the third quarter of the second century after Christ: Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξιόντων τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου προπύλαιά ἐστι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἄρματα ἐπίχρυσσα, τὸ μὲν Φαέθοντα Ἡλίου παῖδα, τὸ δὲ Ἡλίον αὐτὸν φέρον⁶².

The foundations of the propylaea have been uncovered by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, but the superstructure is not preserved. The complicated building history of the monument is difficult to reconstruct. It is clear, however, that the arch was remodeled more than once. The excavators believe that the gateway had a single bay at certain times and three passageways at others. Their interpretation of the archaeological evidence is in accord with the fact that arches with both one and three bays appear on the bronze coins of Corinth issued from the time of Domitian to that of the Antonines. It is unlikely, however, that these coins all reproduce the same monument and Kähler has argued that none of the numismatic reverses represents the Lechaion Road arch.

The coins always show only a single quadriga and Pausanias explicitly states that there were two gilded chariots above the propylaea, one driven by Phaethon, the other by his father Helios. Helios was especially revered on Acrocorinth and two sources state that Corinth was also known as Heliopolis⁶³. Sears has suggested that the omission of the second chariot 'is undoubtedly due to the necessarily limited perspective of coins'⁶⁴, but elaborate attic statuary groups are commonly reproduced on the Roman coinage and some of the Corinthian reverses show trophies flanking the quadriga. Trophies are unlikely attributes of Phaethon and Helios but frequently appear on Roman arches to either side of imperial chariot groups⁶⁵. Whether or not the coins carry abbreviated versions of the Lechaion Road arch, which I doubt, Pausanias's testimony remains: at the time of the Antonines, if not earlier, the arch welcoming visitors to Corinth's forum was crowned with the gilded bronze chariots of Phaethon and Helios. Although in this case the arch formed the portal to a civic area rather than a sanctuary, the Corinthian monument honored immortal rather than mortal charioteers and, among Roman 'votive arches', it appears to have been equalled in the extent of its attic statuary only by the Trajanic gateway to the Capitoline sanctuary of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (fig. 6).

Pausanias also describes a gate leading from the agora of Patrae (Patras)⁶⁶ to the sanctuary of Apollo that was surmounted by gilded bronze statues of the three eponymous heroes of the city (Patreus, Preuges, and Atherion) represented as boys, pre-

T. E. GREGORY and H. MILLS, *The Roman Arch at Isthmia*. *Hesperia* 53, 1984, 421; 423; 425. – C. M. EDWARDS, *Programmatic Sculpture in Roman Corinth: The Lechaion Road Arch*. *Am. Journal Arch.* 91, 1987, 485 f.

⁶² PAUS. 2, 3, 2.

⁶³ STEPH. BYZ. s. v. Korinthos. – EUSTATH. II. 2, 570. – ROUX (supra note 61) 90 f.

⁶⁴ SEARS (supra note 61) 452 f.

⁶⁵ It should be noted, however, that EDWARDS (supra note 61) 486, attributes 94 fragments of relief sculptures to the Lechaion Road arch depicting arms and armor, trophies with bound barbarians seated at the base, and an immolatio boum. He dates the reliefs 'soon after 117 when Trajan defeated the Parthians'. EDWARDS is preparing a definitive article on this monument for *Hesperia*; I am grateful to him for giving me a copy of a draft of his article before submitting it for publication.

⁶⁶ KÄHLER, *Triumphbogen* 448 no. VI 13. – PALLOTTINO, *Arco* 598 no. 293. – J. HERBILLON, *Les cultes de Patras* (1929) 8; 103.

sumably shown nude: ἐν Πάτραις δὲ ἰόντι ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἧ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πύλη κατὰ τὴν ἔξοδόν ἐστι ταύτην, καὶ ἐπιθήματα ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρσοι, Πατρεύς τε καὶ Πρευγένης καὶ Ἀθερίων, οἱ Πατρώως ἡλικίαν παιδὸς ἔχοντος καὶ αὐτοὶ παῖδες εἰσι⁶⁷.

Within the agora itself lay the tomb of Patreus⁶⁸ and the monument described by Pausanias therefore also served as the portal to the tomb of the hero who founded the Peloponnesian city. The date of the gate at Patras is unknown and we cannot be sure that the πύλη was an arch proper and not a traditional Greek propylon without an arcuated bay. If Pausanias was describing a Roman arch, one of the monuments of the colony established by Augustus (Colonia Augusta Arae Patrensis), then it must have looked very much like the arch reproduced in Scene 79 of the Column of Trajan that is crowned by three heroically nude gods (fig. 7). In any case, the Achaian monument is typologically to be associated both with those Roman 'votive arches' displaying statues of gods and goddesses on their attics and the provincial Roman gates erected in honor of cities and adorned with Tyche busts, *insignia coloniae*, etc.

A special case is the Arch of Caracalla at Thasos⁶⁹. The grand monument with its three arcuated bays stood immediately to the north of the Herakleion and was erected, according to its dedicatory inscription⁷⁰, to the emperor, his mother Julia Domna, and his deified father Septimius Severus, by the city of Thasos, probably on the occasion of Caracalla's visit to Thrace. The Thasian arch would not be discussed here if it were not for the fact that fragments of the attic marble statuary have been uncovered and they may be reconstructed to form a group of Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion. The head of Herakles has not been found, but it almost certainly would have borne the features of the emperor. Such a representation would not be exceptional for Caracalla, but the choice of this motif in this context – rather than, e. g., a cuirassed portrait or a chariot group – was no doubt dictated by the presence near by of the sanctuary dedicated to Herakles. The arch erected in honor of Caracalla and his family thus also served as a 'votive arch', a portal leading to the Herakleion surmounted by a statue of the Greek hero/god.

Other arches could no doubt be added to this list, as could a number of city gates, which are both conceptually and architecturally closely related to freestanding honorary arches⁷¹. The city gate of Bizye (Vize) in Thrace (Turkey), for example, has also been thought by some (Kähler among them) to have been crowned by a statue of a deity, in this case Zeus in a quadriga⁷². The evidence comes solely from the Roman

⁶⁷ PAUS. 7, 20, 7.

⁶⁸ PAUS. 7, 20, 5. – HERBILLON (supra note 66) 8; 91; 99; 116.

⁶⁹ KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 450 f. no. VI 18. – PALLOTTINO, Arco 598 no. 295. – J. T. BENT, Inscriptions from Thasos. *Journal Hellenic Stud.* 8, 1887, 437 f. – C. PICARD, Fouilles de Thasos. *Comptes Rendus Paris* 1912, 215–221. – IDEM, *Comptes Rendus Paris* 1913, 363. – M. LAUNÉY, Une dédicace thasienne à Héraklès. *Bull. Corr. Hellénique* 58, 1934, 182 f. – IDEM, Le sanctuaire d'Héraclès à Thasos. *Études thasiennes* 1 (1944) 142; 154 f.; 227. – R. GINOUVES, Thasos – Arc de Caracalla. *Bull. Corr. Hellénique* 78, 1954, 205. – *Guide de Thasos* 2 (1968) 74 no. 25. – B. BERGQUIST, Herakles on Thasos (1973) 56–58; 84.

⁷⁰ IG XII 8 no. 382.

⁷¹ Cf. the east gate of Antioch, supra note 59.

⁷² KÄHLER, Triumphbogen 446 no. VI 2. – DONALDSON (supra note 24) 314–317 nos. 83–84. – A. LÖB-
BECKE, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 21, 1898, 254–257 pl. 8, 5–7. – N. A. MUSHMOV, *Antichnitiye moneti na Balkan-*

coins issued by the city and the representations are inconsistent; in several cases, for example, it seems clear that the charioteer is an emperor. Without collecting all the numismatic material and analyzing each die, no firm conclusions can be drawn. The Bizye gate cannot, therefore, be included with confidence in the group of monuments collected here, even if it is classified as an arch, as Kähler did, rather than as a city gate⁷³.

Even excluding doubtful cases like the Bizye gate, the list of Roman 'votive arches' is an impressive one and a number of important conclusions may be drawn from the securely documented examples. First, the evidence is very compelling that the earliest Roman 'triumphal' arches were of the 'votive' type described here and exclusively displayed gilded statues of divinities on their attics. The stereotypical Roman arch with a triumphal chariot group at its apex is a relatively late development; no Republican examples are known. In fact, the evolution of the Roman honorary arch during the Republic very closely parallels what one sees on the Republican coinage of Rome: first only divinities are portrayed, then ancestor portraits appear, and only later is a living person depicted on the coinage.

Second, although 'votive arches' were the rule in the beginning, under the Empire they are very much the exception. In Rome itself, they are exceedingly rare, with only three examples known. In two cases – Octavian's arch on the Palatine Hill and Trajan's portal to the Capitoline sanctuary of Jupiter – there is a close personal connection between the dedicator and the deity honored. Vespasian's arch crowned by statues of the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* is truly the exception, but is consistent with that emperor's policies.

It is rather outside the capital that the votive tradition of the earliest Roman arches flourishes, although here too arches of this type are far less numerous than those honoring the imperial family and surmounted by portrait statues. In fact, the provincial 'votive arches' tend to be private commissions and only rarely is the emperor associated with such monuments. In one case – the arch at Cuicul crowned by statues of *Fortuna*, *Mars*, and *Antoninus Pius* – the dedication to the emperor was an afterthought, the addition of a second patron, and in another – the arch of *Caracalla/Herakles* near the *Herakleion* of *Thasos* – the emperor and the Greek god/hero are presented as one and the same. The patrons of these arches are generally local bodies or magistrates, like the *vicani* of *Vindonissa*, *Dativius Victor* of *Mogontiacum*, *M. Ummidius Sedatus* and *M. Iulius Mandus* of *Gigthis*, *D. Fonteius Frontinianus* und *C. Iulius Crescens Didius Crescentianus* of *Cuicul*, or freedmen, like *Secundus* of *Grumentum* and *T. Vipius Verecundus* of *Genava*.

The divinities honored by these 'votive arches' are a diverse group, ranging from the chief figures of the classic Roman pantheon like *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, and including *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Mars*, *Neptune*, etc. to such figures as the *Matronae Aufaniae* at *Bonn*, *Concordia Panthea* and *Liber Pater* at *Gigthis*, *Fortuna* at *Cuicul*, *He-*

skiiia poluostrov (1912) 193 no. 3450 pl. 18, 8. – J. LIEGLE, *Architekturbilder auf antiken Münzen*. Die Antike 12, 1936, 217 f.; 227 figs. 18; 34. – The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites (1976) 155, s. v. Bizye (T. S. MACKAY). – PRICE and TREL (supra note 60) 24; 247 nos. 81–83 figs. 24; 497.

⁷³ The Bizye gate is properly omitted from the list in PALLOTTINO, *Arco*.

lios and Phaethon at Corinth, the eponymous heroes of Patras, and even the *genii* of the Senate and Roman People.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the documented 'votive arches' of the Empire range in date from the first to the third century and cover a very wide geographical area from Germany and Switzerland in the Northwest to Greece and North Africa in the East and South and including Italy and Rome itself. The evidence, although obviously very incomplete, makes clear that 'votive arches' are by no means an anomaly under the Empire but rather an important undercurrent, especially in the provinces, and that as long as the Romans erected arches, the original form and function of their *novicium inventum*⁷⁴ was never forgotten.

Abbreviations

CURTIS, Arches	C. D. CURTIS, Roman Monumental Arches. Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome 2 (1908) 26–83.
DE MARIA, Archi onorari	S. DE MARIA, Gli archi onorari di Roma e dell' Italia romana (1988).
GUALANDI, Archi	G. GUALANDI, L'apparato figurativo negli archi augustei, in: Studi sull'arco onorario romano (1979) 93–141.
KÄHLER, Triumphbogen	H. KÄHLER, RE VII A 1 (1939) 373–493, s. v. Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen).
KLEINER, Nero	F. S. KLEINER, The Arch of Nero in Rome. A Study of the Roman Honorary Arch before and under Nero (1985).
MANSUELLI, Arco honorifico	G. A. MANSUELLI, El arco honorifico en el desarrollo de la arquitectura romana. Archivo Español Arqu. 27, 1954, 93–178.
PALLOTTINO, Arco	M. PALLOTTINO, EAA I (1958) 588–599, s. v. Arco onorario e trionfale.

Picture credits

- 1–4 Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, neg. 1517; 1515; 1516; 1600.
 5 F. S. Kleiner.
 6 after Atti Centro Studi e Docum. sull'Italia Romana 2, 1969–1970, 255 fig. 1.
 7; 10 DAI Rome, neg. 41. 1490; 48. 2.
 8 after Puteoli 2, 1978, 86 fig. 174.
 9 Musei Vaticani, neg. XXXI–75–10.

⁷⁴ Supra note 10.