The Sculptures and Urban Landscapes of Imperial Gabii: A City in Transition

by

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Dedication

To my number one fan

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Abstract

The ancient city of Gabii was first inhabited in the 8th century in the Prenestina region in Latium. Throughout the centuries, it grew from a collection of huts to a prosperous city with an active municipal government, thriving cult worship, and bustling commercial activity. Reaching its zenith in the 3rd-2nd centuries BCE, Gabii began to decline in population and size as its neighbor city, Rome, began to rise in influence and wealth. In the modern period, scholars have come to consider Gabii as essentially deserted after this period and thus the Imperial period of the city has been mostly overlooked. This dissertation, however, takes a fresh look at the evidence from the 1st-3rd century CE, such as a large number of sculptures, new construction, and inscriptions, all of which indicates that the city of Gabii was not deserted in the Imperial period, but experienced rather a modest renaissance, spurred on by a new elite adapting to the novel socio-political environment.

Chapter 1 reviews the history of Gabii known up to this point, especially through the ancient sources, which are often disparaging of the state of the city. I then present the primary goals of the study, which are to understand the excavations and discoveries at Gabii that pertain to the sculptures and the construction in order to develop a more accurate view of the city during the Imperial period.

The first step in this process to review the initial discovery of the sculptures and their original context. The Scottish antiquarian Gavin Hamilton was the first to break ground at Gabii in the late 18th century under the aegis of Prince Marcantonio Borghese. Although his digs were not systematic, he did record some of his discoveries during this time. This chapter, therefore,

reviews his activities and these records, in addition to those of his colleagues, Georg Zoëga, who inspected the site, Vincenzo Pacetti, the primary sculptor-restorer of the sculptures, and E.Q. Visconti, the curator of the sculptures and author of their catalog, *Monumenti Gabini della Villa Pinciana.*

With the discoveries of Hamilton reviewed, it is possible to construct a view of Gabii, both physically and socio-politically, in the Imperial period. In Chapter 3, I collate all available evidence to recreate the forum of imperial Gabii (aka "Hamilton's Forum") and accurately place it in its imperial environs. With this, I am able to bring into focus the social, political, and cultic activities that took place at Gabii during this period, using the sculptures and inscriptions as evidence.

In Chapter 4 and 5, I focus on one particular group active within the city during this period: elite women. From the former empress Domitia Longina to the wealthy priestess Agusia Priscilla, the women of Gabii demonstrate a remarkable impact on their environment, especially in the cultic realm. In this vein, I present an in-depth case study of an altar discovered by Hamilton that I argue was used primarily for female-centric cult worship in Chapter 5.

I conclude this study with a figurative walk through of imperial Gabii as a visitor in the 2nd century CE, the period in which the renaissance of the city was most evident. Although the study of imperial Gabii is still incomplete, this chapter and this dissertation as a whole, will hopefully serve as an effective beginning to a more comprehensive understanding of this imperial city.

Chapter 1 Introduction

...et stetit Alba potens, albae suis omine nata,
et, qui nunc nulli, maxima turba Gabi...

…and Alba stood mighty, born of the omen of a white sow,
and Gabii, which now is nothing, was then a great multitude…

- *Propertius, Elegies, IV.1.34*

The ancient city of Gabii, just 18 kilometers east of Rome, was once a thriving commercial center respected for its rich cultural history (fig. 1). According to legend, Gabii was where the founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus, were instructed in Greek learning and warfare.[1] In addition, religious customs such as the *cinctus Gabinus* and the *ager Gabinus* owe their origin and name to Gabii.[2] Yet, as Rome began to rise in prominence in the late Republican period, Gabii contracted in both size and population, leading various authors and poets to describe Gabii as "deserted" and lacking enough citizens to even take part in a public holiday.[3] In addition to this literary evidence, recent archaeological investigations have demonstrated through magnetometry and core sampling that the city contracted towards the major thoroughfare, the Via Prenestina,

[1] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I.84; Plut. *Vit. Rom*. VI.
[2] Livy 5.46; Varro, *Ling*. 5.33; The *cinctus Gabinus* was a particular manner of girding one's toga that allowed both arms free for officiating a religious ceremony. Livy VIII. 9.9; the *cinctus Gabinus* was a designation of land set for a specific type of augury. Varro *Ling.* V. 33.
[3] Cic. *Plo Planc.* 9.23, Hor. *Epist.* I.11.7 (respectively).

during the late Republic.[4] Such evidence has led scholars to conclude that Gabii was in a permanent state of decline after the Republican period.

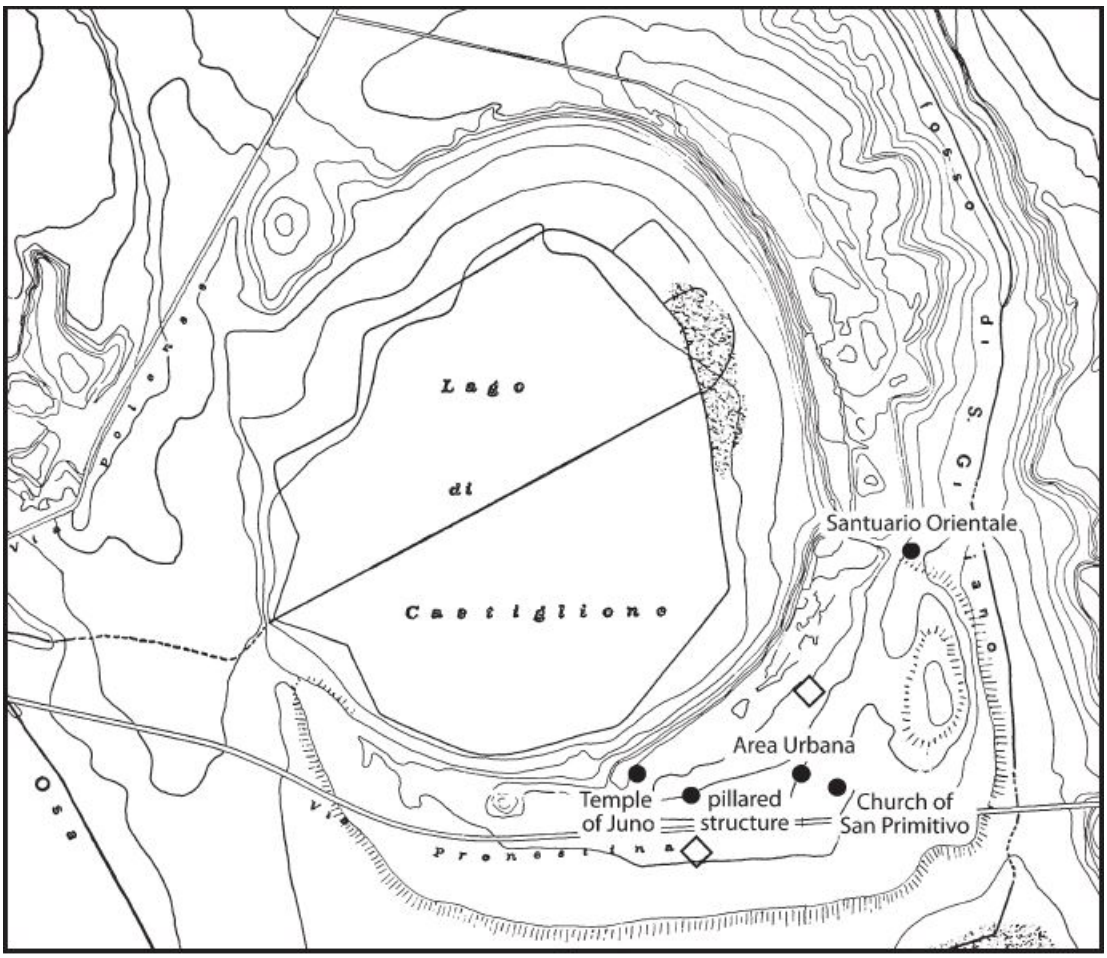


Figure 1
The city of Gabii, situated along the curve of *Lago Castiglione.*

Yet the 18th century discovery of more than 40 full-scale imperial sculptures and several inscriptions at Gabii by the Scottish antiquarian Gavin Hamilton in 1792-1794 complicates this straightforward narrative.[5] The presence of these statues brings into question just how "desolate" the city was during the imperial period - if it was on the brink of abandonment, then why would anyone invest considerable funds into commissioning such sculptures? Moreover, the collection

[4] Becker, Mogetta, & Terrenato, 2009.
[5] Hamilton and Cassidy 2011, n. 286. Henceforth, *HC*.

of statuary said to have been found at Gabii would indicate that wealthy citizens continued to dedicate sculpture there throughout the imperial period. The portraits discovered range from one of Marcus Agrippa in the late 1st century BCE to another depicting Gordian III in the middle of the 3rd century CE.[6] Meanwhile, the inscriptions indicate the presence of several active temples, a municipal government, and thriving emperor worship from the 1st-3rd century CE. Additionally, the inscriptions reveal the prominent role of certain women at Gabii, most notably the former empress and wife of the assassinated emperor Domitian, Domitia Longina, to whose family a temple was dedicated.[7] With this in mind, I address the following questions in the present study:

1. If the city shows evidence of decline, why were so many sculptures apparently commissioned and displayed at Gabii?
2. In view of the ambiguity present in antiquarian restoration and reporting processes, how reliable is this evidence and which of these sculptures can be most plausibly identified as originating from Gabii?
3. By re-contextualizing these sculptures and inscriptions at Gabii, what can be understood about the city's socio-political environment during the Imperial period?
4. More specifically, what do these statues and inscriptions reveal about the role of women at Gabii, especially in the development of different forms of emperor worship, independent from Rome?
5. How does this body of evidence revise our understanding of this ancient Roman city?

[6] For a complete catalog of the sculpture found at Gabii, see Appendix A.

[7] Varner 1995, 205; Giroire, Roger, and Amandry 2007. For more on the Temple of Domus Domitia, which has not been thoroughly studied up until this point, see Chapter 3.

To answer these questions, I track the lives of these sculptures as evidenced from the end of the eighteenth century to today, during which time they were discovered, restored, studied, and displayed, first in Rome on the Borghese estate and then in Paris in the Musée du Louvre, where they remain. Through archival and visual evidence, I analyze the context in which they were discovered and the manner in which they were restored so that we may theoretically reconstruct their original form in order to understand their role at Gabii and to shed light on their original ancient context. This analysis, in tandem with current research revealing the extent of the restorations, allows for an approximate reconstruction of the sculptures in their ancient form that can then be recontextualized in the ancient socio-political environment of Gabii.

1.1 Methodology

This study is distinctly an object biography of the sculptures of Gabii. In many respects, I am interpreting the story inherent in the stones themselves. My intention is to strive to uncover the knowledge present in the sculptures, which in turn informs the larger narratives and interpretations scholars have developed over time concerning the antiquarian (1700-1800s) and ancient periods of Italy.[8] Such a deductive approach cannot be without modern perspectives and biases, which I work to self-reflexively interrogate. Yet, as a product of its time, this dissertation can perhaps provide insight into our conceptions of memory and memory creation as well as the public response to living in a struggling city in a thriving empire.[9]

[8] The study of antiquarianism and its effects on modern conceptions of ancient art is an extensive field. This current study aims to add to the contributions of, but not limited to, Bazant 1995, Beard and Henderson 2001, Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, Ridley 2000, Smith 2002, Diaz-Andreu 2007, Olsen, Shanks, Webmoor, and Whitmore, 2012.

[9] According to all known ancient literary sources, Gabii has been understood as a desolate, failing city, a perception that is complicated and challenged by these sculptures as well as extensive archaeological evidence. This contradicts what is written above about the contraction of the city. The literary record is reviewed in greater detail below; in addition, such an example in ancient Rome provides a compelling parallel to certain American cities today such as Detroit, Michigan and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania which, having suffered an economic downtown, have endeavored to rejuvenate their city. Such comparisons, and how they may help our understanding of Gabii, are explored further in the concluding chapter of this work. For more on this topic, see Dewar and Thomas, 2012; Ryan 2012.

To do this, I engage in close visual analysis of this corpus of sculpture, also referring to the restoration reports of researchers at the Louvre. Especially instrumental in these efforts is the work of Drs. Francoise Gaultier, Daniel Roger, and Martin Szewczyk who have led the scientific analysis of the specific nature of the restorations of each marble from Gabii.[10]

In addition to visual analysis, review of the archival evidence concerning the actions and perspectives of the antiquarians who discovered and worked on the Gabii marbles are invaluable for understanding both the current and historical states of these works. Thankfully, Hamilton wrote hundreds of letters, mostly to his clients and colleagues.[11] He details in passing his discoveries of the ancient site and provides pivotal information as to the sculptures' original archaeological context.[12] Furthermore, his eighteenth-century colleagues, the Danish Egyptologist Georg Zoëga, who served as a site inspector, Vincenzo Pacetti the lead restorer of the marbles, and E.Q. Visconti, the curator of the *Museo Gabino* (the Gabii museum), all wrote prolifically and therefore serve as useful corroboration (and sometimes complication) of his, and each other's, claims.[13]

This brings us to one of the more challenging aspects of archival review of the 18th century evidence; that is, the multitude of art dealers, collectors, and restorers writing during this period with practices ranging from honesty, harmless embellishment, to out and out fallaciousness. As I explore further in Chapter 2, the interested parties of this period appear torn between a legitimate curiosity for, and interest in, ascertaining facts regarding the ancient past, and the desire to successfully sell sculptures to those who wished to increase their own prestige. Thus, the writings of these antiquarians must be approached with a critical eye; they obviously cannot be disregarded,

[10] Benaich and Szewczyk 2022 (fort*HC*oming); Giroire, Roger, and Amandry 2007.
[11] For the full publication of his letters, including commentary, see *HC* 2011.
[12] The most relevant letters can be found in *HC* 2011, n. 150, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 297, and 310.
[13] Pacetti: Pacetti and Cipriani 2011; Zoëga: Zoëga, Andreasen, and Ascani, 2013; Visconti: Visconti and Labus, 1835.

but it is necessary to keep their limitations well in view. This is achieved not just by comparing the reports of various writers of the period, but also through a thorough review of the Borghese Archives, currently located within the Vatican Apostolic Archives. These archival documents provide detailed lists of what items were recorded to have been discovered at Gabii. These lists are incomplete, but do contribute new information concerning what work was carried out on various statues and by which sculptor-restorers. Moreover, my research identified one document that states that several statues came from Gabii whose findspot was previously unknown. The fate of these sculptures are explored further in Chapter 2.

Through this research, I work to build a clear picture of which sculptures were indeed originally found at Gabii and in what form. Although the sculptures are now ruptured not only from their original geographical context of Gabii, but also from their presumed original display as a corpus of religious and public sculpture, as they are scattered throughout the gallery halls of the Louvre, this study brings them back together to be seen as one cohesive assemblage. From this, we can see that the sculptures identified with Gabii are composed of several distinct categorizations; primarily, the subject matter of the sculptures belong to three types: imperial, honorific, and mythological/cultic.

1.2 History of Gabii

Although its founding dates back to the 8th century BCE, Gabii reached its greatest extent geographically and its finest point architecturally in the Republican period. As mentioned above, it was known during the Regal period as a location for education and religious rites with a notable influence on Rome. For example, the *cinctus Gabinus,* which was a particular way to gird a toga allowing for free movement of the hands during divination, which originated at Gabii, became

popular in Roman rites and continued in use well into the Imperial period.[14] Moreover, Gabii was known more generally for its role in augury, a method of divination in which priests would identify omens through the interpretation of the flight patterns of birds.[15] Gabii's prominence in this ritual led to the recognition of the *ager Gabinus*, a designated space for reading certain *auspicia* at Gabii that held the same status as omens taken with the *ager Romanus.*[16] Historically, Gabii was an ally of Rome, adhering to the conditions of the archaic *foedus gabinum;*[17] nevertheless, by the Early Republican period, the similar pace in growth positioned the two cities as financial rivals.[18] Eventually, the tide turned in favor of Rome, and as the "destined" city began to expand, Gabii contracted.[19]

1.1.1 The Literary Record of Gabii

Naturally, as enthusiastic scholars of the classical world, the antiquarians in Hamilton's sphere were well aware of the city of Gabii as described in ancient literature. They knew that, according to Vergil, the city was founded sometime in the 8th century BCE by Alba Longa and was incorporated into the Latin League.[20] The legendary founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus, who come from the royal dynasty of Alba Longa, are said to have learned Greek letters, music, and weaponry at Gabii.[21] During this time, the city is depicted as a successful and well-populated center; this ended when the city was seized by the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, who

[14] Scheid 2003, 80.
[15] Varro, *Ling*. V.33.
[16] Varro, *Ling.* V.33; Woodard 2006, 236-38.
[17] This treaty, which allegedly dates to the end of the 6th century, declared *isopoliteia* with Rome. Although it was ratified under one of the legendary kings of Rome (Tarquinus Superbus), numismatic and literary evidence suggests it was still recognized in the Imperial period. It is one of the oldest known treaties of Rome and it is possible that this is why Gabii is considered a special area for divination (cf. Woodard 2006, 236-38).
[18] Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2009.
[19] Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2009; Mogetta and Becker 2014.
[20] *Aen.*6.774.
[21] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*.1.84.

ruled over the Gabines as a tyrant. At some point during this rule, however, Tarquinius ratified the *foedus gabinum*, which was a treaty that established *isopoliteia* with Rome.[22]

There are two pieces of evidence that indicate that this treaty was still recognized during the Imperial period. First, Dionysius mentions that the ox-hide covered wooden shield that represented the treaty could still be seen in the Temple of Jupiter Fidius during his time.[23] Second, the *foedus gabinus* is attested on two Augustan era coins which both depict a pig sacrifice.[24] In addition to the treaty, these coins also highlight Gabii's oft-mentioned role in the development of ceremonial activities, most especially, the *cinctus Gabinus*.[25]

Both the ancient and modern literature on Gabii have focused on the earlier periods between its founding and the mid-Republic, and only a few authors discuss Gabii during the Late Republic and Imperial periods. The city is also referenced in the *Liber Coloniarium,* which describes Gabii as a Sullan colony that had been fortified under Sullan's dictatorship. [26] This is the only known reference of such a status for Gabii, and since the *Liber Coloniarium* was assembled in the 4th century CE based on Imperial and Augustan documents, it may not be accurate. As for the other Late Republican and Imperial references, they are predominantly disparaging. For example, Dionysius begins his discussion of Gabii's history with Rome in the following way:

> "The name of this city was Gabii. Today not all parts of it are still inhabited, but only those that lie next to the highway and are given up to inns; but at that time it was as large and populous as any city. One may judge both of its extent and importance by observing the ruins of the buildings in many places and the circuit of the wall, most parts of which are still standing." (6.56.2)

[22] Liv. 1.53, 54; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.53-58; Val. Max. 7.4.2; Ov. *Fast*. 2.690-710.
[23] *Ant. Rom.* 4.58.
[24] RIC I (2nd ed.) Augustus 363 and 364.
[25] Aen. *Verg*. 5.46
[26] The text reads, "*Gabis oppidum lege Sullana munitum, ager eius militi ex ocupatione censitus est iter populo non debetur.*" Mommsen 1852, 143.

Cicero gives an equally bleak picture of Gabii: in his *Pro Plancia*, he describes Gabii as one of those local municipal towns where one "can hardly find a citizen to take part in the Latin holidays."[27] Juvenal refers to Gabii as "*simplicibus Gabiis*" in the early second century.[28] Horace adds to this picture by naming Gabii as an example of a town that is as desolate as Fidenae, but not as desolate as Lebedus, the town in which he wishes to live.[29] Perhaps Gabii's only positive attribution during this period was that it was a popular destination for its baths, as we see in Horace's Epistle 1.15.[30]

It is unclear how much Hamilton knew about Gabii from the ancient sources before he began his excavation, but he does mention in a letter to Charles Townley, a friend and frequent client, that he was drawn to the area by the baths of Gabii.[31] Despite this claim, he likely knew of the much more conspicuous Temple of Juno.[32] Hamilton's own history and clear devotion of the classical world undoubtedly played a major role in his decision to excavate at Gabii and how he presented what he found to his colleagues.

Excluding Hamilton's explorations in the 18th century, Gabii was first systematically excavated in the 1960s and 1970s by the Spanish School at Rome.[33] These investigations centered on the area around the Temple of Juno, a still-visible temple-theater complex built in the 3rd century BCE that was a place of worship throughout the Imperial period. Later, in the 1970s, a team from the University of Rome set out to map the eastern edges of the site and came across another

[27] 9.23.
[28] 1.3.
[29] *Epist.*1.11.
[30] Supporting evidence of this is the discovery of an Imperial bath complex which is located in the center of the city and was excavated by the Soprintendenza of Rome in the 2000s (D'Agostini and Musco 2016).
[31] *HC*, n. 150.
[32] (Caccioti 2013, 161.
[33] Balil & Basch 1982. For the location of this excavation and the others mentioned, see maps in Appendix C

sanctuary complex, now known as the Santuario Orientale.[34] Then in the 1990s, the Soprintendenza Speciale di Roma carried out excavations in the Area Urbana, which is theorized to be the same area explored by Hamilton two centuries earlier.[35] The Soprintendenza's investigations in this region, therefore, are particularly relevant for understanding the excavations of Hamilton and the archaeological context of the Gabine sculptures. During its study, the Soprintendenza team uncovered a long stretch of a basalt-paved roadway lined with private houses and shops, which is most likely a continuation of the Via Gabina, the major thoroughfare of Gabii.[36] In addition, they uncovered a "large pillared structure" that they concluded to be the public space uncovered by Hamilton.[37] In addition to these excavations in the Area Urbana, the Soprintendenza team also uncovered a monumental bath complex of the Imperial period located closer to the original center of the city and near the ongoing excavations of the University of Michigan's Gabii Project team.[38]

In 2014, the Louvre began its own inquiry into the temple-theater complex of Juno in the hopes of contextualizing the Gabine sculptures in their holdings. Previous survey analysis indicated the presence of buildings, including the backside of the theater's scaena, in between the Temple of Juno and the forum discovered by the Soprintendenza team; the Louvre team reasoned therefore that this area would be critical for understanding the original discoveries of Hamilton.[39]

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[34]Piccareta 1981.

[35] Angelelli, Boscarini, and Lugari 2012; D'Agostini and Musco 2015.

[36] Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2009; Becker and Mogetta 2011. Tracts of this road have been routinely unearthed by the Gabii Project since 2009. The projection of the road has also been securely hypothesized through extensive magnetometry surveying.

[37] Angelelli, Boscarini, and Lugari 2012, 187-88, figs. 1 and 2. The Area Urbana is the southern portion of the city along the Via Prenestina Antica aka Via Gabina. The Soprintendenza excavations uncovered several domestic and public buildings along this road.

[38] Presumably, this was a part of the bath complex for which Gabii was known at the end of the 1st century BCE. Hor. *Epist.* I.11.7.

[39] Roger, Sauvin, and Taiuti 2014; Glisoni, Hasselin-Rous, and Roger 2017; Glisoni, Hasselin-Rous, and Roger 2018.

Finally, although the Michigan team's primary research goals focus on the advent of urban planning on the Italian peninsula, they have nonetheless uncovered and recorded a considerable amount of data ranging from the Late Republican to the Imperial phases of Gabii, from which I develop a picture of what imperial Gabii must have been like for both citizens and visitors to the city, with the forum area as its new center. In my concluding chapter, I collate these data from all explorations to provide a preliminary phenomenological view of the city during this period.

1.2 Why were these sculptures at Gabii?

For scholars who have taken the ancient sources on imperial Gabii at face value, the presence of such a large number of sculptures at Gabii would seem paradoxical. If Gabii was in decline, why would anyone invest considerable funds in commissioning and displaying full scale sculptures there? Before answering this question, however, (which is one of the primary concerns of this dissertation), we must confirm that the sculptures were indeed displayed at imperial Gabii in the first place. Such an impressive array of full-scale sculptures at a "struggling" city naturally suggests the possibility of a misattribution of the original context. If the sculptures were not in fact at Gabii during this period, there can only be two explanations: first, it is possible that Hamilton and his colleagues were being less than honest concerning the find spot of these sculptures. Or, secondly, the sculptures and inscriptions were found at Gabii as described by Hamilton, but they made their way there after the city fell into disuse, sometime between the 3rd and 4th century CE, perhaps to be burned down and used for lime. In the following pages, I review and refute each of these possibilities and then provide a more detailed explanation of what I conclude brought these sculptures to Gabii.

The first claim can be refuted to a meaningful degree, although it is not possible to absolutely affirm that all the sculptures came from Gabii. Visconti, Pacetti, and their colleagues

definitively added to the Gabii collection with elements from their own storerooms, but the extent of this practice is unknown.[40] The evidence, however, as I will show, suggests that *most* of the sculptures said to come from Gabii were indeed displayed there. Instances in which this seems highly unlikely, or where there is proof that certain objects came from different excavations or collections, will be highlighted throughout this study.

When considering this question more broadly, one must question the motivation of an antiquarian of this period to be deceitful in their attestation of an object's find spot. Presumably, the location in which a sculpture was discovered might potentially give it greater value on the market. This does not seem to be a likely reason for deception in the case of the Gabii sculptures, however, since at the time of its first discovery, Gabii was thought to be a completely desolate city in the Imperial period according to the ancient sources which would have been known by Hamilton and others in his circle. [41] It was hardly an attractive find spot: there was no antiquarian sense of a "grand Gabii." Perhaps the only aspect of note was that this was the city where the legendary founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus, were educated in letters, music, and weaponry;[42] yet, this particular claim is never mentioned in the letters and documents of those writing about the discovery and restoration of the sculptures. Moreover, Hamilton claimed over 40 excavations throughout his career and gave no indication of such duplicitousness concerning the find spot of his other discoveries.[43] With so many excavations in so many diverse places, it seems implausible that Hamilton would have misled his patrons by claiming these sculptural works were from a city

[40] For more on these practices, see Peltz and Myrone 2018 and Friedland, Sobocinski, and Gazda 2015, especially Bartman, 13-27 and Podany, 27-44.
[41] Before the time of any excavation at Gabii, all that was known was the Temple of Juno, the ruins of which were still visible. The 18th century comprehension of Gabii before 1792 is reviewed further in Chapter 2.
[42] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.84.
[43] *HC*. Although the veracity of Hamilton has come into question recently, he has been viewed traditionally as one of the more honest art dealers on the market, both by contemporaries and historians.

that in and of itself had little cultural capital in the 18th century. Furthermore, to successfully achieve this deception, the accounts of his colleagues, namely Visconti, Carlo Fea, Georg Zoëga, and Pacetti (to name some of the major ones), would have also needed to be fabricated. This is particularly unlikely in the cases of Fea[44] and Zoëga, as they both claim to have witnessed in person the excavations of Hamilton. Fea, especially, took pride in being the one to announce the finds at Gabii.[45] Surely he would have been risking his own professional and social capital by fabricating the location of the dig, a fabrication that would not have brought any extra prestige.

Finally, it is beyond a doubt that this excavation took place under the auspices of Prince Marcantonio IV of the Borghese family.[46] By cross-referencing 18th century maps, we can see clearly that the area known as Pantano di Borghese is the approximate location of the Imperial center of Gabii.[47] If Hamilton was restricted to dig only on Borghese land, then it stands to reason that this is the plausible and probable location of his excavations.

The second claim that the sculptures came to Gabii much later in antiquity, does not stand in view of the epigraphical evidence available. Several inscriptions, including the ones discovered by Hamilton, explicitly name Gabii as the location of (at least) two temples aside from the Temple of Juno, both described as having been ornamented with sculptures. Inscription 1, in particular, dates the creation of the Temple of Domus Domitia at Gabii to 140 CE, during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Moreover, one must ask why someone would go through the trouble of bringing sculptures to Gabii, *after* it suffered a serious decline in the late third century CE, even for lime. Sculptures are of course incredibly heavy and difficult to move any considerable distance and not

[44] Ridley 2000. Fea, who visited Gabii on March 27, 1792, was granted the honor to announce the discovery of the site in the *Antologia Romana XVIII* 1792 ,313-17.
[45] Ridley 2000, 276.
[46] Moreno, Stefani, Coliva, and Herrmann-Fiore 2000, 30.
[47] AAV 8606.90 and 8606.89 illustrates Gabii and its surrounding areas in 1792. The map clearly illustrates the land was owned by the Borghese during this period.

without a notable expense. With this in mind, it is more logical and prudent to conclude that the sculptures existed at Gabii during the period of influence of the figures they depict and at the same time as the inscriptions, which indicate clearly that emperor worship was prominent and in concordance with a city revival.

The outline of the evidence I have provided here is expanded upon in the following chapters. Through this detailed analysis of the Gabii marbles and those who found them, the implausibility of these two claims grows even more. In the final chapter, I survey the evidence I have collated to underline the veracity of the sculptures' original location and context.

1.3 The Inscriptions of Gabii

Although we can conclude it is probable that the sculptures and inscriptions of the Hamilton collection were indeed displayed at Gabii in the first two centuries CE, the question as to *why* they were there still needs to be addressed. For this, the epigraphical evidence is crucial and is discussed in greater detail in Chapters 3 and 4. In brief, the Domitia inscription (insc. 1), outlines in great detail the construction of a temple "in honor of the memory of the house of Domitia" in 140 CE.[48] It describes the furnishing of the temple with sculptures, which provides a possible context for some of the sculptures discovered by Hamilton. Moreover, the Venus Vera inscription (insc. 3), also mentions the construction of a temple by the wealthy silk trader Aulus Plutius Epaphroditus in honor of his daughter Plutia Vera, dictating that the municipality of Gabii should hold a banquet every year on her birthday. Although the inscription details only the inclusion of four bronze sculptures installed in niches within the temple,[49] it is conceivable that this temple was also

[48] This formula is rare for temple dedications and seems to have only been used in funerary contexts. I discuss this further in Chapter 4 as a method for Domitia's freedmen to circumvent the religious complications involved in dedicating a temple to a non-deified woman (who was technically not even an empress at the time).

[49] lines 1-3: *templum cum signo aereo effigie veneris item signis aereis N III dispositis in zothecis et balbis aereis et aram aeream et omni cultu a solo sua pecunia fecit* " [Aulus Plutius Epaphroditus] had this temple built from the

adorned with marble sculptures such as the ones at the center of this study. Finally, the last inscription is a dedication to Priscilla Agusia, a priestess of the cult of the Hope and Safety of the Augusta, that was erected to honor the priestess' benefactions in repairing the portico at Gabii. Although no sculptures are mentioned, porticos are known places for the display of statues, especially if they are related in some manner to emperor (or in this case, empress) worship. This is clearly seen in the example of the Porticus of Herculaneum, which exhibited a multitude of honorific and imperial sculptures. It cannot be said definitively that the Hamilton sculptures were set up in the portico, but this at least provides a plausible context in which these sculptures might have been displayed as a public display of worship for the imperial cult.

Due to the nature of the discovery and subsequent restorations of the Gabine sculptures, it may never be possible to show with absolute certainty where they were displayed in the city. Yet the evidence available does permit a plausible recontextualization of the sculptures and inscriptions within the central area of imperial Gabii. With the context plausibly secure, the next task is to determine *which* of the sculptures were on display in the city and in what form. Through archival research and visual analysis performed by the Louvre and by myself, it is possible to conceptually strip the sculptures down to their original form and then assess which of them were most likely indeed at Gabii. The restoration methods of Pacetti and Visconti are reviewed in greater detail in Chapter 2, which, in turn, inform us which sculptures were most likely present in Imperial Gabii.

ground up at his own expense, including a bronze Venus, four bronze statues installed in niches, bronze doors, a bronze altar, and all cult accessories."

1.4 Chapter Outlines

I begin this study of Imperial Gabii and its sculptures by reviewing the activities of the antiquarians who discovered and restored them and the 18th century environment in which they did so. Chapter 2 begins by analyzing this period of antiquarian history, which experienced a significant expansion of new excavations, most of which (if not all) were conducted in the hopes of discovering more ancient art to sell on the market.[50] At the top of this art market hierarchy stood the Pope, who, during the second half of the 18th century, was looking to fill the Pio-Clementino Museum and thus took advantage of his first-refusal papal rights. It is in this context that I examine the actions of Hamilton and his working relationship with Prince Marcantonio Borghese, under whose aegis Hamilton excavated Gabii. Here I collate all the written documents concerning Gabii (including the letters of Hamilton, reports of his colleagues, and documents from the Borghese archives), to determine what Hamilton saw when he excavated, especially in terms of the sculptures and the rooms in which he discovered them.

In Chapter 3, I use this information to begin building a portrait of Gabii in the Imperial period. First, using legacy data in conjunction with current geospatial analysis, I reconstruct the public space Hamilton discovered which was later only partially uncovered by the Soprintendenza team. By doing so, I am able to recreate the physical landscape in which the sculptures resided and, perhaps more importantly, in which the citizens and visitors of Gabii operated. Next, I take a closer look at the citizens of Gabii and its visitors, including even the Roman emperors themselves, and consider how they interacted with the forum of imperial Gabii and its environs. Most notably, Emperor Hadrian definitely visited the city and bestowed benefactions upon it. His involvement and impact, especially in relation the Augusta Domitia Longina, is also explored in greater detail

[50] Bignamini and Hornsby 2010,

in Chapter 3 and 4. Although it is incomplete, a picture of a city that recreated its identity after partial collapse through individual euergetism and imperial beneficence begins to emerge.

Continuing this line of investigation, in Chapter 4 I take a closer look at the involvement in the city of one specific group: elite women. Epigraphical evidence from Gabii provides insight into the participation of several women that range from a *liberta* to a former empress, especially in the context of the imperial cult. I review the benefactions of Priscilla Agusia, a priestess for the cult of *spei et salutis* of the empress, who is unnamed but must have been Faustina the Elder based on the inscription. Additionally, I review the impact of the Augusta Domitia Longina, former wife of the assassinated emperor Domitian, for whose memory a temple was dedicated at Gabii by her former slaves, Polycarpus and Europe. I argue in this chapter that Domitia played a vital role in the revitalization of Gabii in the early 2nd century by bringing economic opportunity to the region, which in turn allowed other citizens to provide their own benefactions towards the city.

In the final chapter, I take a step back to look at Imperial Gabii in light of the available evidence. I attempt to recreate the experience of a visitor of the city in the second century CE and what they most likely saw and did during their time there, undoubtedly against the backdrop of Republican-era ruins. From this, I hope to demonstrate how Gabines were negotiating a new identity in a complex environment of Roman hegemony and past glory.

Chapter 2 Hamilton at Gabii

"You will have heard of Mr Hamilton's Good fortune at Gabia having found near twenty Statues & Several Busts, I Saw them Yesterday for the first time."
-Thomas Jenkins to Charles Townley, May 30, 1792[51]

2.1 Introduction

The second half of the 18th century was a period brimming with enthusiasm for the classical world, especially in the eternal city, Rome. At this time, the demand for antiquities significantly increased as European elites travelled throughout the continent, and especially in Italy, seeking out vestiges of the classical world on the Grand Tour. The desire of Pope Pius VI to fill his new Pio-Clementino Museum was another driving factor in the market for ancient sculpture in these years.[52] To address this pressing demand, art dealers turned to excavating ancient sites to acquire new artifacts to sell. One such art dealer was the Scottish painter and antiquarian, Gavin Hamilton, who, in 1776, first broke ground at Gabii. Although this first expedition did not bear much fruit, on his second attempt in 1792, he discovered one of the most impressive caches of Roman sculpture and inscriptions ever found on the peninsula.

Hamilton discovered the Gabine sculptures and inscriptions at a time when intellectual pursuits were actively negotiating with aesthetic and cultural desires. It is in this milieu that

[51] Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, TY 7/516. Spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are verbatim.
[52] Ridley 2000, Bignamini and Hornsby 2010.

Hamilton and his colleagues, most notably the primary restorer, Vincenzo Pacetti, and the curator of the Gabine collection, E.Q. Visconti, interpreted and modified the Gabine sculptures and inscriptions under the gaze of their patron, Prince Marcantonio Borghese on whose land the excavation took place. Thus, this collection presents a rare opportunity to further understand the tensions between the categorization of ancient art, collecting practices and priorities, and the burgeoning scientific systems of the period.

The story leading up to the discovery of the Gabii collection and its subsequent exhibition at the Borghese estate has as many threads as it does characters. In order to understand both the ancient and modern lives of these sculptures, the context of their discovery must be examined. In this chapter, I first outline Hamilton's own personal history and his working environment in the Roman art market during the second half of the 18th century, as well as the restraints placed by Papal authorities on excavation in certain regions of Italy. Next, I focus on his time at Gabii; I review Hamilton's own knowledge of the site and his decision to dig under the auspices of Prince Borghese. Finally, I look to the primary sources provided by Hamilton, such as his personal correspondence, and to those of his collaborators, Vincenzo Pacetti and Ennio Q. Visconti, to develop a more accurate picture of what he found at Gabii, both in terms of artifacts and architecture. Through this exposition, I intend to properly set the stage for understanding the context of the Gabine sculptures, both in the modern and the ancient past.

2.2 Gavin Hamilton as Artist, Art-Dealer, and Archaeologist

Before he became an accomplished acquirer of ancient art, Hamilton first trained and worked as a painter.[53] Hamilton, who was born into a prominent, wealthy family in Lanarkshire,

[53] *HC* 2011, 22-45.

Scotland in 1723, first moved to Italy at the age of 21 as an apprentice to Agostino Masucci where he demonstrated considerable talent as a painter. It was during this period that Hamilton also cultivated a deep appreciation for ancient aesthetics and often preferred them to modern ones for his own inspiration. Around 1753, Hamilton returned to London and earned income painting portraits of the aristocracy. He yearned for Italy, however, and returned permanently in the autumn of 1756. At this point, Hamilton continued painting, having adopted a neoclassical style and specializing in classical themes, as is evident in his rendition of *Priam Pleading with Achilles for the Body of Hector* (fig. 2).



Figure 2

Priam Pleading with Achilles for the Body of Hector. Gavin Hamilton. 1775. Tate Museum. Ref. n. T00864.

Although Hamilton positioned himself as an artist, he turned towards dealing in the art market for the lucrative opportunities it presented. He flourished in this role and was particularly adept at acquiring highly-desirable pieces of art, ranging from the Old Masters to ancient sculpture, and matching them with eager buyers. If we are to believe his own estimates, Hamilton took part in

over 40 excavations between 1768 and 1796.[54] Aside from Gabii, which was arguably his most fruitful excavation, he unearthed antiquities from Tivoli (c.1768-74), Monte Cagnolo near Gensano (1773-74), and Ostia (1774-79). For each excavation he needed to apply for a *permesso* from the Papal offices.

2.2.1 Licensing

In 18th century Rome and surrounding papal territories all ancient discoveries were considered under the auspices of Papal authority and all excavation requests went through the Papal offices. In 1750, the edict of *Proibizione della estrazione delle statue di marmo, o metallo, pitture, antichita' e simili* was passed, which was signed by the *Camerlengo* Cardinal Silvio Valenti, as well as the *Uditore* and the *Commissario Generate*. These policies stated that no excavation was allowed unless a license was granted directly by the Camerlengo.[55]

Hamilton received his first license to dig at Gabii in December 1776 with the permission from the Cardinale Camerlengo Carlo Rezzonico.[56] A license for his second excavation at Gabii, conducted in 1792-94, during which he unearthed the Gabine sculptures, has yet to be found.[57] Hence, it is unclear whether this document is currently lost or if Hamilton never received an official license. However, as Hamilton's project was well-known among the antiquarian circles in Rome and was publicly announced by the Pope's archaeologist, Carlo Fea, in the *Antologia Romana XVIII* in March 1792 the likelihood is that it was not an illicit excavation.[58] Moreover, the

[54] Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 195-206.
[55] Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 21-33.
[56] This is evinced by the report of the *Assesore delle Antichita' e Cave,* Alessandro Bracci, on 16 December 1776. The request was signed by Giovanni Battista Visconti, the *Commissario delle Antichita' e Cave,* on December 17. and the licensed signed by Alessandro Mattei, the *Uditore,* and Gioacchino Orsini, the *Notaio.* Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 74.
[57] Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 74.
[58] For more on Carlo Fea and his role in the development of archaeology throughout the 18th and 19th century, see Ridley 2000.

Borghese's creation of a new museum for recent acquisitions surely was not a secret throughout elite circles of Rome.

During his excavations, Hamilton would have been required to follow a thorough set of regulations set by the state. Bignamini and Hornsby, in *Digging and Dealing in 18th Century Rome,* summarize these rules in the following list:[59]

1. The applicant, once granted the license from the Reverenda Camera, had to apply for a written permit or private license from the owner of the land where he intended to dig.
2. The Commissario had to inspect the site.
3. The applicant might not excavate near Luoghi Sagri, Cemeteri, Mura di Citta, Condotti di Fontane, Strade Pubbliche, ed Antichita che servono di erudizione.
4. At certain sites, excavation was allowed only with the assistance of the Commissario, or another person appointed by the Camerlengo.
5. It was forbidden to tear down any remains, however deplorable their state, unless the Commissario had inspected them and a specific license to do so had been granted to him by the Camerlengo
6. Drawings had to be made of the remains to be demolished whether above or below ground
7. On finding antiquities and ancient fragments of any value (including stones and water pipes), he had to report them to the Commissario, a rule that applied to casual discoveries also. In special cases finds should be reported directly to the Camerlengo via the Notaio of the Reverenda Camera.
8. All the objects (statues, busts, inscriptions, slabs, water pipes, etc.) had to be listed in a note addressed to the Commissario.
9. The Commissario had to be allowed to view the newly discovered objects in situ, or wherever they were kept, and check the excavator's list of newly discovered objects.
10. The *periti* (experts) appointed by the Camerlengo had to measure the newly discovered objects on site
11. It was forbidden to remove objects from the excavation spot, or sell them, until they were viewed by the Commissario so that the share due to the Reverenda Camera could be agreed.
12. No inscriptions could be removed without a special license or permit.
13. Any find removed from site required a license from the Camerlengo. The same rule applied to case-makers and cart-drivers.

[59] Archaeologists today may or may not be surprised to see some striking similarities between the regulations of the 18th century and those of the present era.

14. On completion of the works, the land had to be restored to its original state, *in pristinum.* Any damage caused to private or public soil by him, by diggers or other workers employed by him had to be made good.
15. All previous edicts and other measures issued to date had to be respected.
16. Conformity with these regulations was expected on pain of punishment. This might take the form of fines, confiscation of finds, refusal of future license requests or even corporal punishment.

Despite these rules, the number of known excavations does not match up with the number of officially licensed papal digs, making it safe to say that numerous excavations were carried out that circumvented the various rules laid down by the Papal authority.

Even for the excavations that were properly licensed through the Carmelengo, the excavators may not have strictly adhered to every regulation listed above. Bribery and back-door dealings undoubtedly occurred; this is revealed in the letters exchanged between Hamilton and his client, Charles Townley. In a letter sent on 20 February 1778,[60] concerning his first exploration of Gabii, Hamilton wrote:

> …I have now very great hopes of my cava at the Lago di Castiglione. This ruin was antiently [sic] cold baths from which perhaps the inhabitants got the name of frigidi Gabii. We have begun with finding a few philosophers & parts of many statues, with a Diana size of the Venus of Medicis that I believe will doe for you, but how to smugle [sic] you this is the question. I must have all my wits about me. The head is the chastest thing you ever saw & like no other Diana. Pray keep this piece of news snug till I have secured her for you…

Although Hamilton intended to market some of the Gabine sculptures for his own profit, the majority of the finds were delivered to the Prince Borghese, who owned the land on which Hamilton excavated. Once the Prince saw that the collection of sculptures and inscriptions was considerable, he immediately ordered the creation of an exhibition space dedicated for display of the Gabii marbles, known as the *Museo Gabino.* Hamilton could not have easily retained any off the more complete sculptures for his own clients or personal interest.

[60] *HC*, 2010. n. 150.

2.3 Digging at Gabii

In the 17th century, the archaeologist Giovanni Ciampini was the first to identify the conspicuous ruins at Gabii near the Via Prenestina as the Temple of Juno described by Vergil in the *Aeneid* (7.682-3).[61] He also provided the first drawing of the temple's plan.[62] By the time Hamilton turned his attention to Gabii in 1776, therefore, the site was already known among his fellow antiquarians as the city described in the ancient sources.

Hamilton came to Gabii as an experienced excavator, and one ready to create pastiches in order to satisfy customers. His first excavation took place on the Tenuta Castiglione (1776-77) had yielded a head, which was at the time identified as Pericles (but has since been neutrally designated as a "strategist" aka a general); he had the restorer Pacetti add it to a headless body of Hermes that had been recently discovered at the bottom of the Quirinal (cat. n. 37).[63] This sculptural pastiche is to be identified as the statue that has since been dubbed (erroneously) "Focione" and currently resides in the Vatican Museums, Museo Pio-Clementino.[64] Additionally, Hamilton discovered a life-sized statue of Diana, a drawing of whose head is to be found in the British Museum, sketched by Charles Townley, the presumed buyer of the sculpture (fig. 3).[65] Beyond this illustration there is no other record of the fate of the statue.

[61] There is some debate concerning the identification of this temple as the Temple of Juno. While the author Silius Italicus also mentions a Temple of Juno (12.537), he is most likely using Vergil as his source. Livy mentions a Temple of Apollo at Gabii as well (41.16). For the sake of consistency, the Temple of Juno will be used as the nomenclature of the temple in this study. For more, see Basch and Balil 1982.
[62] Ciampini 1690, 4.
[63] Bignamini and Hornsby 2011, 75-6.
[64] Caccioti, 2013, 256.
[65] *HC* 2010, n. 150.

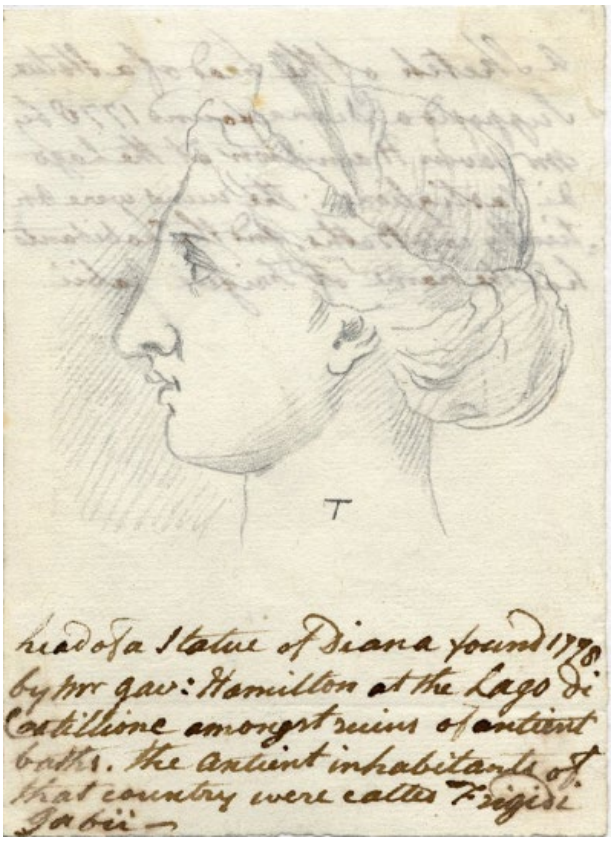


Figure 3

Drawing of the head of Diana discovered by Hamilton at Gabii. Drawn by Charles Townley, 1779. British Museum, London. Inv. n. 2010.5006.1857.

Hamilton's first expedition to Gabii was short, presumably because he found only a few sculptures. After 1777, Hamilton abandoned the site for other excavations nearby and did not return to Gabii until almost 20 years later, returning in 1792-94. At this later period, working under the auspices of the Borghese estate, Hamilton unearthed one of the most impressive collections of his whole career.

Hamilton was the first to dig at Gabii but was not the only one to do so in 1792. The mosaicist Andrea Volpini conducted excavations on behalf of Cardinal Romualdo Braschi (the nephew of Pope Pius VI) and was further funded by Pompeo Azzolini, who owned the land

adjacent to the Tenuta Castiglione.[66] During Volpini's excavation, which took place between 1792 and 1794, the famous Artemis Braschi was discovered, although little documentation concerning this discovery is available. According to his *Giornale,* Pacetti was the main restorer of this sculpture that eventually was sent to the Cardinal Braschi for his own collection in 1794 (cat. n. 38).[67]

2.3.1 The Gabii Excavation through the Letters of Hamilton

The following reviews what Hamilton, in his letters, claims to have found at Gabii and an effort is made to match his descriptions to surviving objects thought to have Gabii provenance and to on-site architectural remains. By doing so, it is possible to say more definitively whether individual sculptures and inscriptions did indeed come from the city. Questions of the cultural and historical significance of the different statues and inscriptions will be addressed in the subsequent three chapters.

The most common recipients of Hamilton's letters were his buyers, particularly back in England, and his contacts in Rome who helped to facilitate his sales. Although the subject matter of these correspondences focused primarily on purchases and financial concerns, Hamilton does mention in some detail his various discoveries at Gabii. Although his descriptions are partial, they provide a starting point for developing a more complete picture of what he found.

Hamilton described Gabii's location halfway from "Rome to Palestrina near the Gate of Castiglione in the tenuta di Pantano di Borghese," using the inscriptions he found in the "publick place" to make the positive identification of the city.[68] He only mentions his first expedition to

[66] Cacciotti 2013, 156.
[67] Pacetti, f. 130 v. 16 May 1793; Cima 2004, 141.
[68] *HC* 2010, n. 286.

Gabii in 1778 once in his letters, describing to Charles Townley that he found a "few philosophers," several fragments of other statues, and a Diana the size similar to the "Venus of the Medicis as we saw above." The "philosopher" type is a category of statue that typically suggests an older male, often with a beard, and barefoot or wearing sandals.[69] There are no currently known statues attributed to Gabii that match such a description. As for the Diana, it is most likely the one represented in a drawing currently in the British Museum from Charles Townley's collection, which features the head of a female portrait in profile, with the hand-written note on the back that reads, "A sketch of the head of a statue supposed a Diana found 1778 by Mr. Gavin Hamilton at the Lago di Castiglione."[70] In the same letter, Hamilton muses on how to "smugle" the Diana out of the country to Townley, as we have seen, an endeavor in which he seemingly succeeded. Until further evidence emerges, this "off the books" transportation could possibly explain other missing statues described by Hamilton, including the "philosopher types" he also discovered.

The rest of Hamilton's letters concerning Gabii were written during his second exploration at the city in 1792-1794. In these letters he describes in more detail what he found, starting with two busts of Septimius Severus and of Geta. The bust of Septimius Severus is likely cat. n. 31, which is often paired with a bust of Julia Domna cat. n. 32, which also has a Gabii provenance, although Hamilton never mentions it.[71] Identifying the Geta bust cat. n. 33, however, is much less straightforward. As we already have two Severan busts attributed to Gabii, a Geta bust would not be wholly out of place, despite the fact that his brother, Emperor Caracalla, declared a *damnatio memoriae* against him, thus making surviving portraits of him quite rare. Setting this complication aside, Hamilton goes on to mention another (?) bust of Geta; but this one was found with a bust of

[69] Kleiner 2010, 274-75.
[70] Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 76 n.1.
[71] CH n. 286.

Caracalla, not Septimius, and in a "[m]useum" located within a "publick place".[72] Thus, the question becomes whether this is the same bust of Geta Hamilton described to Townley in his previous letter, which was also sent to Townley but three months prior. In the first letter, he speaks of finding the Severan busts *before* entering the "publick place," whereas in the second letter, the room with the busts was clearly situated within the "publick space." Yet, only one bust of a Severan youth is known to have come from Gabii. To complicate matters further, Guattani reports that the Geta bust was discovered somewhere in the area of "Tor Sapienza" about two miles away from Gabii on the north side of the road.[73] It is unclear from where this report originated, but it cannot be from the primary excavators/restorers who worked on the sculptures directly. After their discovery, any report that mentions the Geta bust placed it in the forum area excavated by Hamilton.

Visconti tells us that the Geta bust, along with the bust of Septimius Severus, the head of "Corbulo" (either cat. n. 9 or 10), and other headless statues, were found in a small temple connected to the porticos of the forum.[74] Moreover, the Geta bust is mentioned in an announcement written by the antiquarian Carlo Fea as well as in a letter written by Thomas Jenkins to Charles Townley, both in 1792. Although it is unclear why Hamilton's account of the Geta and (possible) Caracalla busts has inconsistencies, the accounts from Visconti, Fea, and Jenkins all support the conclusion that at least one bust of a Severan youth was found within the porticoed space in the city of Gabii. Perhaps Guattani's account described a different bust that was later confused for the one from Gabii. Either way, the Guattani report comes almost 20 years after the initial discoveries, so it should not take precedence over contemporaneous accounts.

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[72] CH n. 286.

[73] Guattani 1817, 129; Ashby 1902, 176.

[74] *Monumenti* 14. This is the same "small temple" that Visconti identifies as the temple in honor of the the Augusta Domitia.

There are only three ways to understand Hamilton's claim that he discovered busts of both Caracalla and Geta. First, he may have found both but sold or otherwise transported the Caracalla bust to another location.

This conclusion seems unlikely as dynastic groups were valued more than individual sculptures and presumably Prince Borghese would have wanted to keep the Severan group together. For Hamilton to smuggle out just one of the pair would be too high a risk. A second possibility is that Hamilton confused another bust he discovered as one of Caracalla. Yet, none of the other busts in the collection surviving could even plausibly be misunderstood as Caracalla, especially by such a veteran antiquarian as Hamilton. The third possible explanation is that Hamilton is speaking more generally rather than explicitly when he references the busts. In the letter, he writes of how Geta and Caracalla were the temporal endpoint of the date range of the sculptures he found in the small temple; perhaps, therefore, there never was a second Severan youth bust. Although this is imprecise, it is the best possible explanation as to why Hamilton mentions both a Caracalla and Geta bust when only one is known to exist.

As for the Severan bust currently in the Louvre, its identification has been under speculation for several decades. Any depiction of Geta is rare due to the *damnatio memoriae* mentioned above, thus depriving scholars of a large corpora of possible comparanda. Coins bearing Geta's adult likeness have been found, but there are others that depict a much younger man, around the age of twelve alongside an almost identical Caracalla, who can only be differentiated by the laurel crown around his head. Although some have attempted to develop a typology that would separate the two brothers during their younger years, the distinctions are so slight and the individual characteristics are too few that it is essentially impossible to do so. Wiggers suggests it

should be identified as Caracalla and not his younger brother.[75] Wiggers, however, does not find any portrait above the younger teenage years that should be identified as Geta, let alone the Gabii bust. Fittschen and Zanker, on the other hand, contend that this could still be either brother and argue that there is not enough distinction between the portraits to be sure.[76] Kersauson argues that it should maintain its label as Geta, with which I agree, due to its softer demeanor that lacks the typical *pathos* seen in Caracalla portraits.[77] Moreover, the more dramatic sideways brush strokes of his hair on the back of his head appear to be a common characteristic of Geta's portraits, even as a youth. In the end, the bust is securely placed in the Severan corpora and its true identity may never be determined.

Hamilton next describes inscriptions attached to pedestals that held statues of Gabine magistrates, including the *decurioni,* municipal magistrates. Two magisterial dedications survive and were recorded by Visconti in *Monumenti.*[78] The first honors a man, Julius Zoticus, who served in the decurion order, and was a sevir Augustales, for which he held the position of quinquennalis; coincidentally he served in the same position for the *dondrophori,* a college of timber merchants that sometimes comprised a brotherhood that worshiped Attis, a god who once grew into a pine tree.[79] The second inscription features a dedication to Titus Flavius Aelianus for his service as a *patrono* and a curator for the city. Without any other inscriptions plausibly associated with Gabii, these two are most likely the ones mentioned by Hamilton in relation to the magistrates.[80]

As for the magisterial statues, there are several possible contenders of surviving statues that may have stood as honored citizens at Gabii. Several of the standing statues have features

[75] Wiggers and Wegner 1971.
[76] Fittschen 1999; Zanker 1974.
[77] Kersauson 1986.
[78] CIL 14.2809; CIL 14.2806; CIL 14.2809; CIL 14.2806.
[79] Salamito 1990, 164; the story of Attis turning into a pine tree is featured in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 10.104-105.
[80] The significance of these two men and the role of magistrates at Gabii is explored further in Chapter 3.

reserved for the depiction of imperial family members, such as the cuirasse or the heroic nude/semi-nude pose, depictions that necessarily omit the possibility of these representing Gabine citizens. The only statues could have possibly been of was from the magisterial class, therefore, are togate sculptures. The Louvre only has one statue of a standing togate man (its original head is lost) that is currently located in the Château des Tulieries (cat. n. 35).[81] Yet, according to *Monumenti*, four more togate statues were discovered at Gabii. Two of these statues never left the Borghese estate and are currently housed in the incongruous Museo Carlo Bilotti, a contemporary art museum located within the Borghese gardens. The two final statues are currently considered lost; there are no Louvre records of any other magisterial statue entering the museum along with the rest of the collection, so presumably Napoleon chose to purchase only one of this style.

The most notable inscription found is CIL 14.2795, a large dedication measuring 3.5 meters across and 78 cm high. Hamilton surmises that it was once part of an architrave for a "depositary or Museum," going so far as calling it an *Augustearia,* an antiquated term for an ancient building solely designed for the imperial cult, that is, the worship of the Augusti, living and dead. The inscription records that a married couple, Polycarpus Domitius and Europe Domitia, constructed and dedicated a *templum* in honor of the memory of the *domus* of the Augusta Domitia Longina, the former empress and wife of Emperor Domitian. Crucially, the dedication dates itself precisely on April 23, 140 CE; moreover, it names the city of Gabii and describes the building as both a *templum* and an *aedes*, which suggests that such a space was close to where Hamilton found this inscription.

[81]MA 2341. According to the Louvre dossier, this statue was put up for sale in 2003, but there are no records of whether it was in fact sold.

Next, Hamilton tells Townley that he found "fragments of at least two hundred statues."[82] This detail is particularly fascinating, especially since nothing even close to this number has been discovered at any other location at Gabii, including in the Spanish excavation of the Temple of Juno and the current project conducted by the Louvre on the temple's theater area, areas that were contemporaneous with the forum of imperial Gabii and within a several hundred meters radius. Several questions must be raised by Hamilton's comment: is this figure an exaggeration, and if so, why make such a claim? He is writing to his clients, after all, to whom he surely would want to appear successful in his excavation pursuits. Moreover, it is unclear from his letter whether Hamilton found approximately 200 pieces of sculpture that belong to fewer than 200 sculptures or did he actually find fragments of around 200 individual sculptures? Based on the final number of sculptures restored that are attributed to Gabii (approximately 40), the former seems more likely since if he had found 200 separate sculptures in a fragmentary state, presumably he would have been able to restore more statues. Hamilton most likely gave these pieces, however many there were, over to Pacetti to be used as supplements for further restorations.[83]

In addition to the fragments, he mentions some of the intact sculptures he discovered, but presumably only those of which he was particularly fond or which he wanted to sell. He explicitly mentions a "few": a woman with drapery, standing statues of Claudius and Germanicus, busts of Marcus Agrippa (n. 286), and Gordianus Pius (Gordian III) (n. 291), two large columns of *verd Antique* (n. 290),[84] several inscriptions (including a desperately fractured one of porphyry (n. 290)[85]), and a statue of Pan accompanied by a dog (ns. 291, 292).[86] He seems particularly keen on

[82] *HC* n.286.
[83] *HC* 55; Michaelis 1882, 83-84.
[84] The whereabouts of these columns are currently unknown.
[85] Whereabouts unknown.
[86] Has been lost since 1807.

a sculpture of a young girl, age 14-15, which he mentions on at least five separate occasions (ns. 150, 286, 291, 292, 297).

Some of these descriptions are easily paired with works from the Louvre. The bust of Marcus Agrippa, for example, can only be cat. n. 8 and the torso bust of Gordianus Pius is undoubtedly cat. n. 34. Likewise, the standing statues of Claudius and Germanicus are easily identified with cat. ns. 12 and 14 respectively. The three armored statues could be a number of surviving works, but due to the extensive restorations, identifications can only be approximated. The armored statues currently in the Louvre are cat. ns. 13, 16, 17, and 18; presumably, the statues Hamilton mentions number among these. All of these statues, except for cat. n. 18, which remained a torso and was never used in a restoration, are heavily composite works. Cat. ns. 13, 16, and 17 were restored as Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Caligula respectively, but Visconti forthrightly explains that the original cuirassed torsos were without the original heads and were therefore restored under his direction. Since all three statues include a cuirassed torso from Gabii, including cat. n. 18, they are all plausible candidates for the three torsos mentioned by Hamilton.

Hamilton's reference of a "drapery figure of a woman" could be either cat. n. 27 or cat. n. 24, both of which are statues of draped women that were missing their original heads. The identification of the young female portrait that Hamilton speaks of so frequently is more difficult to confirm. The Diana of Gabii (cat. n. 2) ostensibly fits his descriptions, yet he already mentioned finding a Diana in a previous letter, which suggests the "favourite girl" is a different statue. In letter 291, Hamilton mentions that the head is broken off the young girl statue and that it is missing part of the nose and its left hand. In the other letters, he describes her as in perfect condition, except in 297 which again mentions the left hand. If the statue is not Diana, which seems to be the case, there are no other statues in the Louvre collection that fit Hamilton's description. One indication

of the fate of this statue is in a letter from 1793 to Charles Townley in which Hamilton prices the statue at £100, indicating his intent to sell it. The statue, therefore, cannot be matched with any known Gabine statues because it was most likely sold by Hamilton and entered into a private collection, possibly of Charles Townley.

The statue of a young girl is not the only one "missing" from the known Gabine collection. According to Hamilton's letters, he also recovered two medallions, two large columns of Verd Antique marble (n. 297), a standing statue of Pan with a dog and holding a "siringa" (n. 291), a low-relief depiction of two fauns, another high-relief frieze with two heads, one of Silenus and a life-sized faun, a small bronze head of Hercules, a bust of Augustus, and a large frieze of the aqueduct made by "Trajan (310)."[87] According to his contract with the Prince Borghese, he was allowed to keep a certain percentage of the finds and so these items were most likely retained by Hamilton and/or sold to other collectors.

2.4 Pacetti and Zoëga at Gabii

In addition to the letters of Hamilton, the journal entries of the restorer-sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti provide insight into the discoveries at Gabii. Pacetti was an established expert in the restoration and copying of ancient sculpture and an influential agent on the Roman art-dealing market, selling works to a broad range of people.[88] We know that Pacetti had a professional relationship with Hamilton dating back to his first excavation at Gabii in 1776, which apparently continued and solidified during Hamilton's second expedition at Gabii. Indeed, a considerable

[87] Hamilton wrongly identified the aqueduct as a construction financed by Trajan, instead of by Hadrian, which the inscription CIL 14.2797 attests.
[88] Ramage 2017, 27.

number of specialists and workers were required on this excavation from the spring of 1792, due to the vast number of finds being unearthed. Pacetti has historically been credited with the restorations of many of these works; yet, investigation into his *Giornale* shows that there are only a few that can be positively attested to him, although he was overseeing the restorations of all the finds at Gabii in the 1790s.

Thanks to his records, we know of a few pieces on which he certainly worked. He did not work only with Hamilton and the Borghese dig, but also with Volpini, the mosaicist digging nearby for Cardinal Braschi, who commissioned him to restore the notable "Braschi Artemis" (cat. n. 38).[89] In fact, Pacetti continued to receive fragments from the Braschi excavation throughout 1792-93, including the fragmentary "Celestial Venus" figurine currently in the Louvre's holding (cat. n. 6).[90] In 1792, Pacetti was called to be a sort of representative of Prince Borghese for the Hamilton dig.[91]

Throughout his tenure of this role, Pacetti worked on multiple marble objects found by Hamilton. He certainly restored the standing statues of Germanicus and Claudius, which required relatively minimal intervention since they were discovered in nearly perfect condition.[92] For the "Seated Putto," which is now lost, Pacetti did not in fact restore the figurine, but rather only cleaned the tartar off its surface.[93] He does describe working more extensively on the female bust identified by Visconti as "Agusia Priscilla" and a large colossal head with a civic crown which can only be understood as the bust of Tiberius currently in the Louvre's holding (cat. n. 15).[94] Finally, Pacetti

[89] *Giornale* I*,* 135-146.
[90] *Giornale* I, 153-55. Cacciotti 2017, 157.
[91] *Giornale* I, 130.
[92] *Giornale* I, 126, 129, 130, 134, 137.
[93] *Giornale* I, 137; Andreasen and Ascani 2013, 243, 656.
[94] *Giornale* I, 130.

wrote in 1798 that he was once again called to work on a "consular" statue in the Gabine collection, but it is unclear to which of the six consular/magisterial sculptures he was referring since all such statues from Gabii are missing their original heads.[95]

After Hamilton discovered the open public space in 1792, he continued excavating in another area nearby. It is unclear where exactly, except for the description "cava vicino all'Osteria del Finocchio, detta di Gabij."[96] During this expedition, Hamilton records that he discovered many objects that have strangely up to this point not been connected with the Gabii assemblage. Included in this list is the bust of Gordianus Pius (Gordian III), which Pacetti restored by his own accounting before it was claimed by the Prince Borghese. As for the rest of the works, it appears that Hamilton was able to retain them for his own uses, primarily for selling; Although it is plausible Pacetti worked on more of Hamilton's share of sculptures, we only know definitely that he restored the head of a faun which he purchased for himself. Other features of the dig and the subsequent fate of several sculptures are only known to us thanks to Georg Zoëga, a Danish scholar more familiar for his work in the burgeoning field of Egyptology, who served as site inspector of the Gabii dig in 1792.[97] He described what he saw while he was on site, including several of the finds. According to Zoëga, the excavation of the site was without "*ordine o piano,*" describing the excavators as digging in any place that could conceivably have construction underneath, which they would promptly rebury as soon as it was fully relieved of any interesting artifacts.

Zoëga additionally commented on the restorations carried out on the so-called "Nemesis" by Pacetti (cat. n. 22). The head came from the Borghese collection through Giovanni Pierantoni; whereas the cornucopia is said to have come from Hamilton's excavation at Gabii. The

[95] *Giornale* I, 192, 201.
[96] ASV 5426, n. 1370.
[97] For more on the career and accomplishments of Zoega, see Ascani, Buzi, and Picchi, 2012.

identification as Nemesis was pushed by Visconti. Zoëga on the other hand ventured to give it a different designation, that of the Erato Muso, using a statue from the Villa Cassia which is now in the Museo Pio-Clementino as a comparandum.[98] Zoëga's own observations of the Gabii excavation are also particularly valuable as they sometimes corroborate as well as contradict the claims made by Hamilton and Pacetti.

A small Aphrodite altar described by Zoëga is perhaps the most notable addition to the Gabii collection that would have remained unknown if it were not for his recording. While on site one day, Zoëga witnessed the discovery of a square altar decorated with a Dionysiac relief of maenads and an "archaistic" Aphrodite as well as two *oscillae* on the adjacent sides, one featuring Dionysus approaching an altar and the other with masks. In October of 1795, Zoëga recognized the altar in the studios of Pacetti and again in December 1797 he identified the altar as one and the same as the "Afrodite arcaista e Menadi" altar, which was about to be installed in the Museo Chiaramonti (fig. 4). The current location of this altar, unfortunately, is unknown.

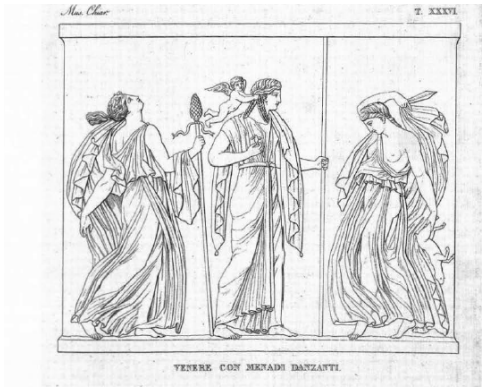


Figure 4
Venus Altar identified by Zoëga as originating from Gabii. Visconti and Guattani, *Il Museo Chiaramonti, Milan, 1820. Table XXXVI.*

98 Ascani, Buzi, and Picchi, 2015.

Milan, 1820. Table XXXVI.

2.5 Conclusion

What we know of Hamilton's time at Gabii is, as we can see, limited. The primary goal of digs such as Hamilton's were not to gain new historical information, but rather to acquire as much ancient art as possible; any recording that did occur, therefore, was coincidental with descriptions written to colleagues and/or potential buyers of the new discoveries. This is mostly true for Hamilton's actions at Gabii, save for the informative catalog developed by his colleague, Visconti. Although Visconti's motivations are complex, there runs a trace of scientific inquiry throughout his volume, which provides a view of the sculptures and the areas in which they were discovered that can serve as an entry point for analysis between the periods of activity at Gabii, from the imperial period, to the 18th century, and down to today.

Chapter 3 The Social and Physical Landscape of Gabii

> πόλις ἦν ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων γένους Ἀλβανῶν ἀπόκτισις ἀπέχουσα τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰς Πραίνεστον φερούσης ὁδοῦ κειμένη: Γαβίους αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν: νῦν μὲν οὐκέτι συνοικουμένη πᾶσα, πλὴν ὅσα μέρη πανδοκεύεται κατὰ τὴν δίοδον, τότε δὲ πολυάνθρωπος εἰ καί τις ἄλλη καὶ μεγάλη. τεκμήραιτο δ᾽ἄν τις αὐτῆς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐρείπια θεασάμενος οἰκιῶν πολλαχῇ καὶ τείχους κύκλον
>
> *There was a city of the Latins, which had been founded by the Albans, distant one hundred stades from Rome and standing upon the road that leads to Praeneste. The name of this city was Gabii. Today not all parts of it are still inhabited, but only those that lie next the highway and are given up to inns; but at that time it was as large and populous as any city.*
>
> - *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities IV, 53*

In order to recontextualize and therefore more fully understand the sculptures of Gabii, it is necessary to reconstruct both the physical and social urban landscape of the city in the Imperial period. Since the study of imperial Gabii with a modern archaeological methodology is still new, the present chapter attempts to recreate the environment of the city from partial data.[99] In so doing,

[99] To date, there have been five major investigations at Gabii in the modern period. In the 1970s, the Spanish School excavated and studied the Temple of Juno (Almagro-Gorbea, 1982); in the late 90s and early 2000s, the Soprintendenza di Archeologia di Roma "re-excavated" the forum of imperial Gabii (aka "Hamilton's Forum"), which is discussed in much further detail below, and the area known as the Area Urbana, the buildings that followed the Via Gabina throughout the city to the east (Angelelli, Boscarini, and Lugari, 2012); from 2007-2012, Tor Vergata University, under the direction of Marco Fabbri, uncovered the so-called Regia of Gabii on the arx of the site (Fabbri 2017); and at the time of this writing, the University of Michigan's Gabii Project has been conducting on-going research and excavation in the Republican-era city center since 2009 (Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato, 2009; Mogetta and Becker, 2014; Johnston and Mogetta, 2020), and the Musee du Louvre are currently exploring the theater complex south of the Temple of Juno since 2013 (Roger, Sauvin, and Taiuti 2014; Glisoni, Hasselin-Rous, and Roger 2017).

it will serve not as a complete depiction of the city, but rather the beginning of a set of inquiries that will hopefully lead to a new comprehension of Gabii in this period of dynamic change.

To begin, I outline the environment that surrounded the forum of imperial Gabii, the monumental complex first discovered by Gavin Hamilton in the late 18th century, the identity of which has been confirmed by the Soprintendenza di Roma in the 2000s.[100] Although the investigations of the area and buildings are incomplete, we have enough evidence to understand the urban context in which the forum was located.[101] Next, I endeavor to synthesize all previous studies relevant to the forum, which include Hamilton and Visconti's reports, the "re-excavation" carried out by the Soprintendenza di Roma (SAR), and the geophysical data gathered by the University of Michigan Gabii Project, in order to create as accurate a view as possible of its construction and decorative elements.[102] With the physical setting clarified, I then survey the main actors, including groups as well as individuals, who operated in the social landscape of Gabii in the Imperial period.

3.1 The Urban Landscape

The forum of imperial Gabii was a later construction in a city which was considered ancient even by the imperial Romans. This public space, continuously built from the 1st century BCE to the 3rd century CE, was incorporated into an urban framework that varied in character from newly constructed to dilapidated buildings.[103] The center of the city shifted over the centuries; in the early

[100] Angelelli, Boscarini, and Lugari, 2012.

[101] See footnote 99 above, especially Johnston and Mogetta, 2020.

[102] The SAR team does not detail the extent of their own excavation efforts, so it is possible that they uncovered "new" areas (i.e. not originally uncovered by Hamilton) during the project's duration.

[103] Opitz, R. S. 2016. For example, a Mid-Republican house discovered close to the intersection of the Via Gabina and Via Tiburina, demonstrates the progressive abandonment of the area as it is slowly turned into a space for dumping quarrying material and then finally as an area for burials in the 4th century CE. For more on this general trend at Gabii, see Mogetta and Becker, 2014; Farr 2015; and Killgrove and Tykot, 2018.

and middle Republican period the center was farther east, at the intersection of the Via Gabina and the Via Tiburina.[104] At some point during the Imperial period the domestic areas surrounding this center were abandoned to provide space for mining campaigns at the nearby quarry of the eponymous stone, *lapis gabinus*, which was used for construction throughout the empire.[105] The complete abandonment of this residential area is evident from the appearance of burials in the mid- to late Imperial period, a telltale sign that the city no longer considered this section as part of the city proper.[106]

In the Imperial period, the center of the city thus shifted (or contracted) towards the west along the Via Gabina, the major road that connected the Prenestina region, and Latium more broadly, with Rome.[107] In light of the present evidence, which is admittedly incomplete, we may hazard a guess that the commercial and social center of Gabii shifted in the Republican period from the northeast sector, where the Via Gabina intersects the Via Prenestina, to the location of "Hamilton's Forum" towards the west closer to the start of the Via Gabina in the Imperial period (fig. 5).[108] The open-air construction of this building complex (a major indicator of its use as a forum), its placement along a major thoroughfare, and its preponderance of imperial and local honorary statues and inscriptions strongly suggest that this space was designed to be an integral

[104] This intersection has served as the focal point of the Gabii Project's excavations and explorations into the earliest phases of the city. For more on the network of roads connected to the city of Gabii, see Johnston and Mogetta, 2020).

[105] Farr 2015. It is unclear which event precipitated which, whether the area was abandoned first or the quarrying caused the abandonment; it seems most likely that the decreased population of the city caused the inhabited area to shrink closer to the road around the same time *lapis gabinus* became a high-demand stone for new construction projects in Rome during the Julio-Claudian period.

[106] The Roman burial proscription of intramural burials is well-attested through archaeological, literary, and scholarly evidence. Cicero s this standard as originating from the funerary laws established in the Twelve Tables, which were implemented around 450 BCE (*De. leg.* 2.58-62). For more, see Toynbee 1996, 73-74; Colonna 1977, 158-165; Ampolo 1984; Naso 1990. For more on this practice at Gabii, see Evans 2018, esp. 37-40; Mogetta 2020; Mogetta and Cohen 2018; and Samuels et al., 2021.

[107] Mogetta, Johnson, Naglak, and D'Acri 2019.

[108] The complete archaeological evidence of the contraction of the city of Gabii and its shift towards the west is discussed in detail in Samuels et al. 2021.

nucleus of social interaction for a city reinventing itself. In addition, it was only 70 meters (approximately) from the Temple of Juno theater complex to the north, which had been in continual use since its construction in the Republican period.[109] Undoubtedly, those who traveled to Gabii to visit the temple would have seen or even entered the forum as well. The temple, therefore, had a powerful impact upon the forum and its physical environment by serving as a cultural magnet to the city, pulling in visitors from Rome and elsewhere.

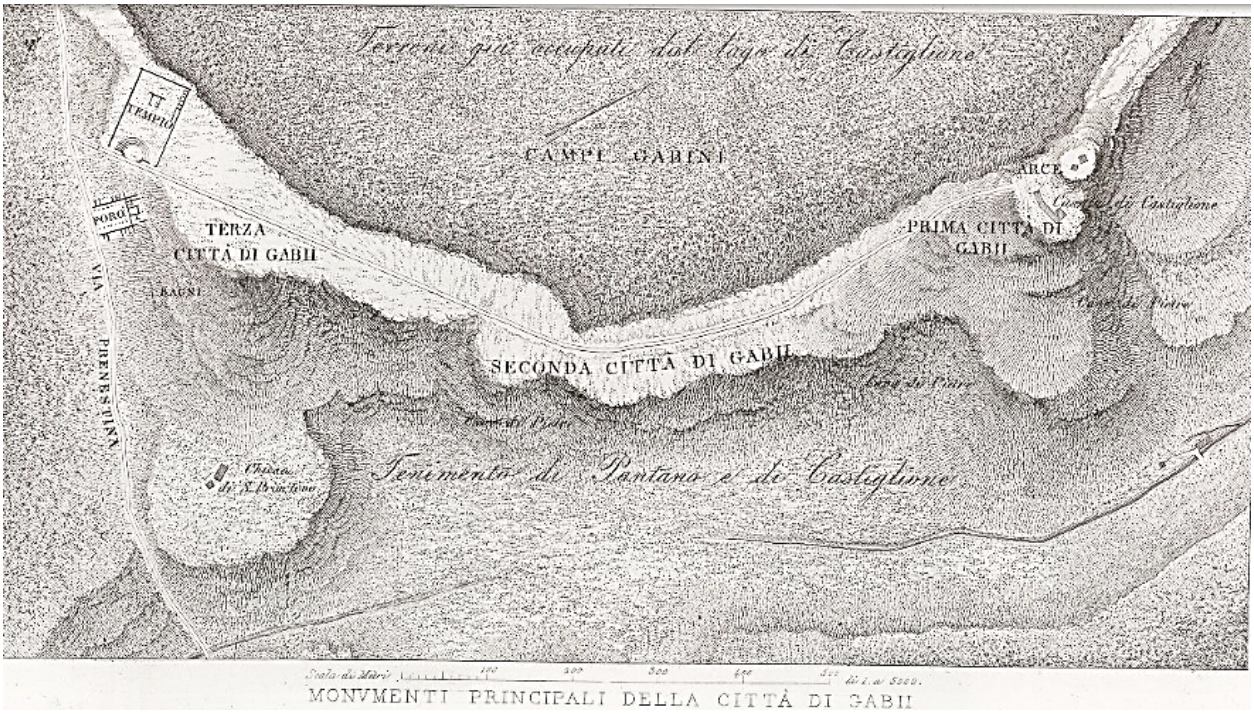


Figure 5

Engraving of map of Gabii progression towards the west along the shore of Lake Castiglione. Engraved by L. Canina, 1856. *Gli edifizi di Roma antica cogniti per alcune importanti reliquie.*

The sanctuary of Juno included three main elements: the temple, a surrounding colonnade with rooms, and a theater.[110] The temple stood on a tall podium in the center of the sanctuary,

[109] Almagro-Gorbea 1982.

[110] For the Spanish excavations, see Almagro Gorbea 1982.

flanked on each side by six columns (either Ionic or Corinthian), except for the back (i.e. *peripteros sine postico*). The sanctuary area is partially enclosed by a Π-shaped portico with attached rooms, which most likely functioned as tabernae or storage spaces for the temple and its corresponding activities. At its front, on the southern side, is a theater built into the natural slope of the landscape; the theater consists of a cavea, stage area, and a scaenae frons;[111] The temple was constructed completely in *opus quadratum* with the local stone, *lapis gabinus*. Although the final iteration of this temple dates to the 2nd century BCE, it most likely started as a sacred area, or even a grove, in the 5th century.[112] In the 4th century, a small shrine is thought to have been constructed that was successively built upon until it reached its current state.[113]

The urban space known as the Area Urbana extends from south of the temple towards the east, reaching, in some parts, to the intersection of the city's trunk road, the Via Gabina, with the Via Prenestina, which is thought to be the original city center area.[114] Not all parts of the Area Urbana have been excavated and its analysis is beyond the scope of the current study. The section most pertinent lies between the temple of Juno and the forum of imperial Gabii. In 2014, a team from the Louvre led by Dr. Daniel Roger and Steve Glisoni, began an excavation to explore this space, which lies to the north and northwest of the forum. The purpose of the project was to investigate the area between the temple-theater complex and the area thought to be "Hamilton's Forum," where the sculptures in the Louvre's holding were discovered, according to the letters of Hamilton.[115] Since that time, the team has uncovered the scaenae frons of the theater as well as several domestic spaces that correlate with the rest of the Area Urbana that extends to the east.

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[111] Recently discovered by the Louvre team.
[112] Opitz, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2016, 14.
[113] With minor restorations occurring in the Augustan age. Almagro-Gorbea, 1982.
[114] Mogetta, Johnston, Naglak, and D'Acri 2019, 2-3.
[115] For these letters and other evidence concerning where the sculptures were discovered in the 18th century, see Chapter 2.

Just southeast of the Temple of Juno and these domestic spaces lies the structure known as "Hamilton's Forum" (fig. 6). Until now, due to the lack of publication of the previous excavations in this area by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma (SAR), we have had to depend on the SAR's assertion that this structure was in fact the same as the one discovered by Hamilton and published by Visconti.

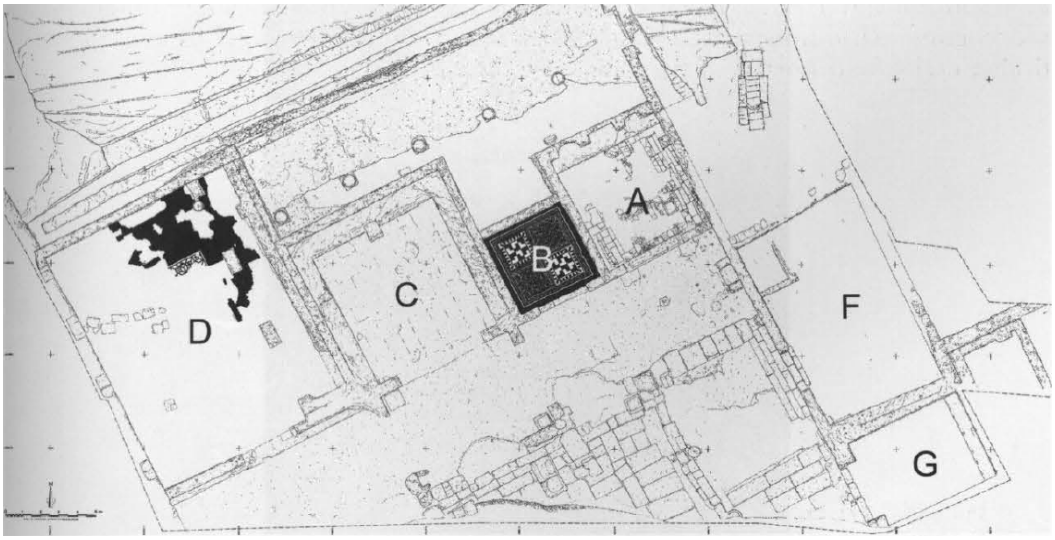


Figure 6

Plan of the southeastern corner of the forum of imperial Gabii. From Angelelli et al. 2012. Phasing of the rooms according the SAR analysis: C: 1st century, B and D: 1st-1st-century CE, A: 2nd century, F and G: late Antique.

It is important to look critically at the reconstruction and plan of the forum provided by Visconti, who was not one of the excavators (figs. 7 and 8). However, he did visit the site multiple times and was a close colleague of Hamilton's. Although they presumably discussed the floor plan of the building, there are some discrepancies between that may suggest that Visconti's representation of the forum is somewhat incorrect. For example, Hamilton mentions a circular room with at least one niche, yet all the rooms drawn by Visconti are rectilinear. Moreover,

Hamilton describes several statues in the courtyard area on pedestals, but Visconti represents only three.[116]

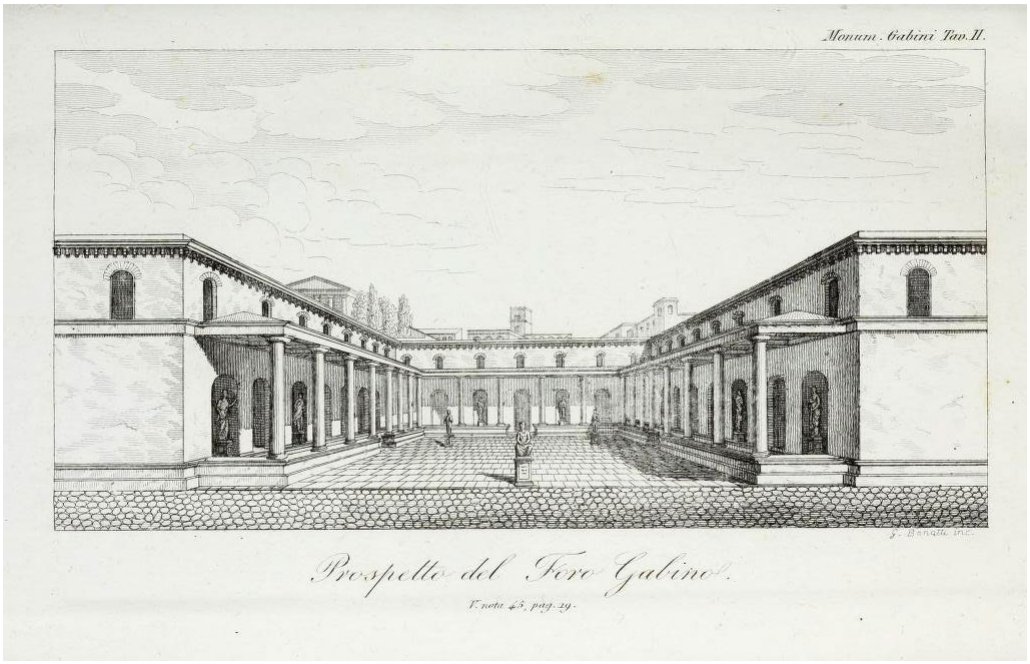


Figure 7
"Hamilton's Forum." E.Q. Visconti. Monumenti.

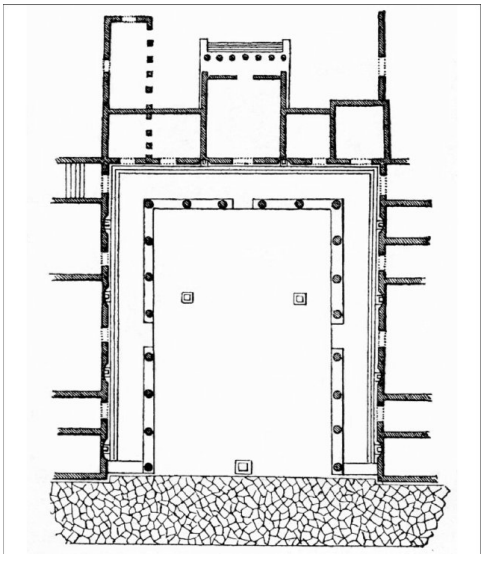


Figure 8
Plan of "Hamilton's Forum." E.Q. Visconti. *Monumenti.*

[116] This might of course have been a stylistic choice to not crowd out the image of the reconstructed building. *Monumenti*, Tav. I, Fig. C.

In order to reimagine the forum as fully as possible, it is beneficial to look at similar structures on the Italian peninsula that provide some idea of how the space at Gabii was used and adorned and for whom it was made. Two structures that are both well-preserved and similar in style, construction, and time period and therefore provide excellent comparanda are the Building of Eumachia in Pompeii and the Porticus in Herculaneum. At this point, the precise dating of the forum of imperial Gabii's construction phases is unclear: the most current evidence strongly suggests that its development began at the end of the 1st century BCE. This indicates that all three open-air pillared structures existed contemporaneously for at least several decades.

3.2 Public Spaces: Pompeii and Herculaneum

The Building of Eumachia honored the eponymous priestess of Venus Pompeiana, who inherited her husband's successful business in the wool production industry (fig. 9). The building is located along the eastern side of the forum of Pompeii, a very prestigious and expensive location, with a conspicuous façade composed of two apses and four rectangular niches. Fragmented inscriptions tell us that the legendary and historical ancestors of the Julio-Claudian family once stood in these spaces: Aeneas, Romulus, Julius Caesar, and Augustus.

The interior of the structure is dominated by a large courtyard surrounded by a two-story colonnade along each wall, except its western side, which leads out to the forum. A central apse on the eastern side which is flanked on both sides by two smaller apses, in which stood a large statue of the Concordia Augusta. Behind this apse, within the crypta, stood a statue of Eumachia with a veiled head, indicating her priestess status. According to the inscription associated with it, the statue of Eumachia was dedicated by the Fullers of Pompeii, that is, those who dyed, washed,

and dried garments for the city.[117] Although the use of this building is hotly contested, most scholars acknowledge an implicit (if not explicit) association with the imperial cult.

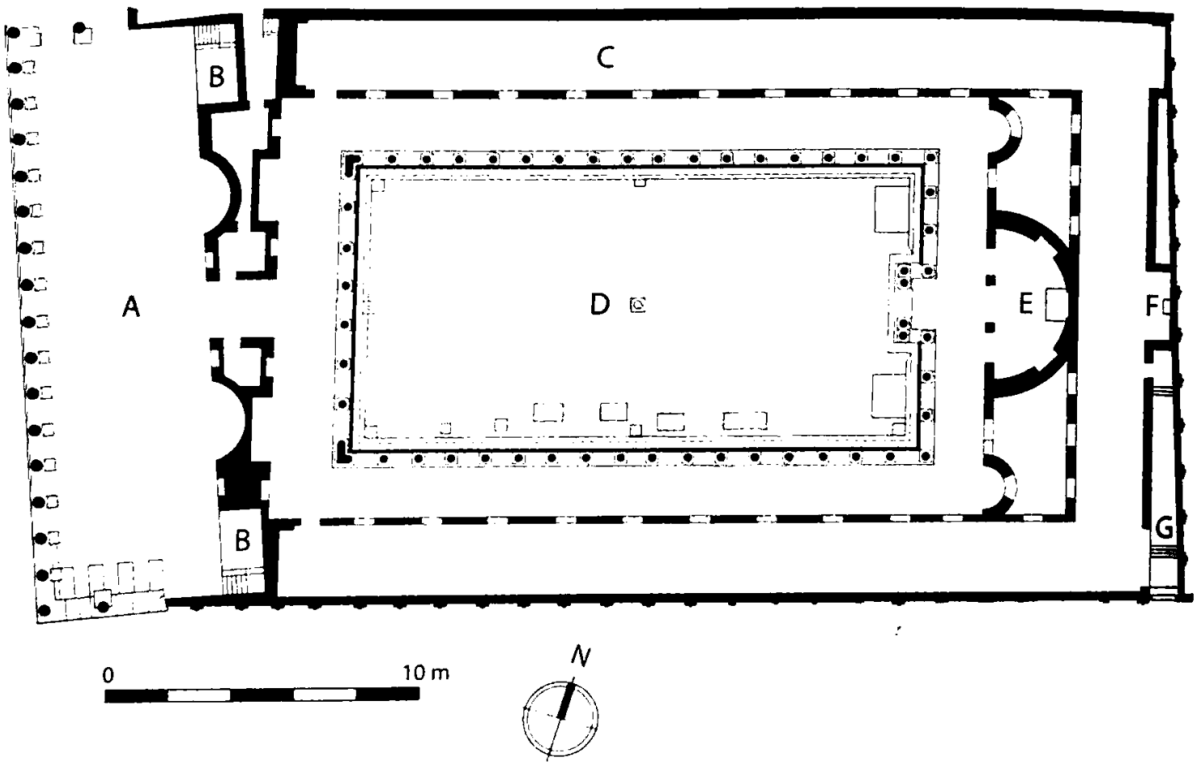


Figure 9
Plan of the Building of Eumachia. A. Chalcidicum B. Platform C. Crypta D. Porticus E. Statue of Concordia Augusta F. Statue of Eumachia G. Passage to Via Abbondanza.[118]

Despite its large, open size, the building of Eumachia has a surprisingly low number of statues. The most notable sculptures are those of Augustus and Caesar, with their legendary ancestors, Aeneas and Romulus that were erected in the front façade. The presence of these statues suggests that it served in some manner as a site for the imperial cult, but it is doubtful that this was

[117] For a good review of interpretations of the Building of Eumachia, see Hemelrijk 2015, 169, fn. 15; Proposals range from it serving as a basilica, a guildhall, to an imperial cult shrine. Cf. Torelli 1998, Jongmen 1988, 179-184, Castrén 1975, 101-102.
[118] Kellum 2021, fig. 4.2

its main role. It is plausible that the cult had a presence in this space, but, as Alison Cooley argues, it seems more likely that Eumachia and her supporters erected such portraits as a means of lending imperial legitimacy to Eumachia and her family's high societal position. [119]

From the available evidence, the Eumachia building was probably designed for multiple uses, rather than just one. Its open construction and location near the central forum invited citizens to come in and participate in the activities held within the space. If it were not meant for welcoming citizens, it would presumably have had a more closed entranceway, similar to that of the Agora of the Italians in Delos. [120] As Eumachia was a businesswoman, this building most likely served as a place for her to carry on such work, either through active commerce or as an area for coordination and administration with the fuller and wool workers in the city. Due to how the front of the building is constructed, it is conceivable that the entrances were closed off from the general public at times, but otherwise the space itself was relatively accessible.

The forum of imperial Gabii has several similarities to the Eumachia building, both in terms of its form and its social significance. The Via Gabina, the road that the forum was most likely facing, was the major thoroughfare for the citizens of Gabii as well as for those traveling east to cities such as Tibur and Tivoli. [121] Moreover, its proximity to the Temple of Juno and the new center of the compressed city, placed the forum essentially at the heart of imperial Gabii. Such a building structure would not be solely private no matter how it was used – just like the building of Eumachia associated with the forum of Pompeii. Both buildings must have had a welcoming

[119] Cooley 2013, 31.

[120] In addition to a central propylon entrance, the Agora of the Italians had two narrow side entrances that could have easily been restricted. This has led some researchers to conclude that the space was primarily meant for a specific group of people, the "Italians" of Delos or some sort of guild, and therefore public access was only periodically allowed. For more on this and the different theories concerning the use of the Agora of the Italians, see Coarelli 2005; Trumper 2006; 2008; 2011; Rauh 1992.

[121] Previously identified as the Via Prenestina by Hamilton/Visconti, but as discussed above, the exact location of the Via Antica Prenestina is unknown or it is the road now understood as the Via Gabina.

appearance for those who were walking by the structures. In this way, also, since the buildings were so central and impressive, they brought even more renown and prestige to those who funded either the structure and/or the sculptures therein.

For the forum of imperial Gabii, the number of statues is considerably more than in the Eumachia building; so much more that the quantity suggests that a central ambition of the space was to enhance the visibility of the sculptures to fellow citizens and visitors to the city. Perhaps the lack of statues of the Eumachia building comes from its "newness" -- the structure dates to the Tiberian period and was most likely in the process of renovation after the earthquake of 62 CE. This suggests that Eumachia herself was alive during a large portion of the lifespan of the building and perhaps she wanted to keep the focus of the building on herself, the ancestors of the emperors, and Concordia. Most likely, however, such a space would have developed into an opportunity for others to come in and erect statues for other purposes if the city had not met its disastrous end.

The Eumachia building also represents a socio-political parallel that further illuminates the role of women at Gabii. As a wealthy woman, Eumachia was able to create a space that showcased not only her affluence, but also her social capital through the display of imperial ancestral statuary next to her own.[122] Eumachia, therefore, is a model for us to better understand how elite women at Gabii also used public and semi-public spaces to foster and promote their own public personae. This concept is further explored in Chapter 4.

Another structure that provides comparanda for the forum of imperial Gabii is the Porticus at Herculaneum. [123] The large, open air Porticus was located across the street from the Collegio

[122] Kellum 2021, 71.
[123] The actual purpose of this building is still in dispute. When it was discovered in the 1700s under the Bourbons, it was identified as a "Basilica" but is now considered a more generalized space for communal gathering and perhaps for worshipping the imperial cult. For the sake of this study, the neutral term Porticus is used after the fashion of Laird 2015, 215-234.

degli Augustali on the southeast corner of cardo III and the decumanus maximus adjacent to the forum of Herculaneum. [124] The Porticus shares a striking resemblance to the Eumachia building. Bounded on three sides by a portico, it terminates on the northern end with a central rectangular room (a sacellum?) flanked by two apses. Along its eastern and western walls run a series of niches, alternating in size between floor length openings for full-scale statues and smaller ones for paintings, busts, or smaller statues.

The structure was first explored in the 1700s via tunnels, and although there have been periodic explorations of it since, it is still mostly unexcavated. During the first series of explorations, several bronze and marble sculptures were discovered alongside multiple inscription panels detailing the existence of even more statues. The largest group, at least seven imperial statues, were dedicated by the wealthy citizen L. Maximus Mammius. Mammius is one of the most well-attested citizens in Herculaneum who funded the construction of a macellum (meat market) and at least one other public building. A well-attested man throughout the city of Herculaneum, Maximus was most likely a freedman of considerable wealth. [125] Specifically, for the Porticus, he commissioned the erection of at least seven statues, as is evidenced by their remaining bases. All of the bases indicate that they once supported the statues of members of the Julio-Claudian family. These include, Augustus, deified Livia, Tiberius, Germanicus, Antonia Minor, Agrippina Minor, and Nero, all of which most likely were commissioned consecutively in the same period. Although the majority of the statues were commissioned by Mammius, there were several other benefactors who contributed to the space. In addition to these, two bronze statues of Claudius and Augustus

[124] There is some debate on the exact location of the decumanus maximus of Herculaneum, but this uncertainty does not affect the general observation of the Porticus made here. The road on which the structure is situated is clearly one of the major roads of the city based on its considerable width and length, thus indicating its purposefulness to the city. For more on the decumanus maximus of Herculaneum, see Pagano 1996, 229-62; 2000, 19-20.
[125] Laird 2015, 223.

(in the guise of Jupiter), which was commissioned by a soldier, stood in front of the apses at the end of the two portici. The list continues: a Flavian group dedicated by the decurions of the city, including Domitia, Julia, Titus, and potentially the wife or daughter of Vespasian, and six other imperial statues of Tiberius, two almost identical statues of Agrippina Minor, a marble togate male, an over-life-sized nude male, and a portrait of Claudius. [126]

Such an impressive collection of statues in one place suggests the possibility that a large number of statues could have also been erected within the forum of imperial Gabii. Moreover, the gradual addition of imperial figures from the Julio-Claudian dynasty up to the Flavian period (and presumably more would have been added if not for its destruction in 79 AD) mirrors the nature of the Gabii progression. Not only are there Julio-Claudian examples in the Hamilton collection, but also Trajanic, Hadrianic, Antonine, and Severan. Both the public spaces at Herculaneum and at Gabii demonstrate how the dedication of contemporary imperial figures was not only a sign of worship for a current ruler but also that it was an opportunity for an individual, a group, or even a city to display a sense of their own relevance and significance to whomever might cast their eyes upon the collection.

The Porticus was not the result of the munificence of one individual, but rather a joint effort of citizens and magistrates of the city. The gradual addition of sculpture and benefactions indicates a desire to create a monumental space for municipal expression and cohesion. Such an effort is highlighted by the construction of the chalcidicum, which essentially adapted the decumanus of Herculaneum into a major entryway into the Porticus with two flanking quadrifrons arches. With this extension, the Porticus made a physical connection with the Collegio degli Augustali across the street thus emphasizing its social connection.

[126] Najbjerg 1997.

Similar to the Porticus, the function of the Gabii forum is ambiguous. There is an obvious presence of imperial worship in both, which immediately suggests that the structures were designed for the imperial cult. Yet, as this study among others has demonstrated, the imperial cult was not a monolithic establishment with any one solitary purpose, but rather an opportunity for social promotion, communality, and creating an urban identity for all those who participated actively and passively in the imperial display.[127] In other words, the presence of imperial sculpture does not limit the use of the space. For the Porticus, scholars have argued numerous identifications, from a basilica to a palaestra to a shrine area for the imperial cult, but I contend that the answer to its purpose lies in this very ambiguity. Although theaters are considered structures solely for watching spectacles, we know that they also functioned as meeting places for large numbers and even as courtrooms. That is to say, a public space in a Roman city should not be overly simplified in attempts to understand its use. Rather, such spaces like those we find at Gabii, Herculaneum, and Pompeii could serve multiple purposes simultaneously.[128]

The Building of Eumachia and the Porticus of Herculaneum provide plausible models for how the forum of imperial Gabii was adorned and even how it was engaged as a public space. In both we see a convergence of purpose for the open-air structure that could easily suit the needs of a cult, guild, or general congregations of the local citizens, and perhaps also visitors. The numerous attempts at identifying the use of these two structures and the subsequent equivocations in search of this answer is perhaps the answer itself. Such open, public, and central buildings with access

[127] Such scholars include Mattingly (2013), who addresses the imperial cult in *Imperialism, Power, and Identity,* within the context of the conception of "Romanization" more broadly (38-39). He points out how there is very little literary or epigraphic evidence of orders coming from Rome to create these cults. Moreover, one only needs to look to the East at cities such as Perge, where influential citizens such as Plancia Magna clearly used the erection of imperial figures next to her own and her family's to generate the visual suggestion of excellence and influence.
[128] This is, of course, not a new contention. Favro has framed the Republican forum as a place of remembrance and as "a focus point of communal energy" (1988, 1). Yegul (2000) likewise has explored the use of the forum as a social communicator and binder.

points either to a major road or the city's forum would have been difficult to close off consistently to "non-members." So much of the Roman political structure was about being seen, showing off the statues you were able to afford to commission. Having a space that could be both open and closed to the public when necessary, satisfied important needs of the varying groups of municipal import, such as cult members, patrons, and magistrates. The evidence therefore suggests that both of these buildings may have been built by or for a specific group, but were open to being used by other members of the public. This, in turn, suggests that the forum of imperial Gabii was also a multipurpose public structure.

3.3 Revisualizing the Forum of Imperial Gabii

In 2007 and 2008, survey data revealed the presence of a major trunk road that curved axially around the volcanic crater of Lake Castiglione with projecting perpendicular access roads that formed individual city blocks.[129] Through further excavation, it became clear that this road, the Via Gabina, was in fact the main thoroughfare of the city and that both the Temple of Juno and the pillared structure were orientated towards this road.[130] In his reports, Hamilton describes finding the public space situated directly on the main road; although he identified this road as the Via Prenestina Antica, spatial analysis indicates that it must be what we now call the Via Gabina.[131] When the SAR excavated the forum, the team was unable to uncover its whole southern extent due

[129] Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2009.

[130] Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2009; Terrenato, Gallone, and Kay 2010; Kay 2013. For a summary of these publications and the current state of this analysis, see Mogetta, Johnston, Naglak, and D'Acri 2019.

[131] Livy II.11.7, III.6.7; Ashby 1902, 131. There is some confusion as to which road should be called the Via Gabina and which the Via Prenestina Antica. It appears that the Via Gabina existed first as a local road into the city and was later subsumed into the Via Prenestina Antica, which connected Gabii to Rome directly. For our purposes here, the major thoroughfare throughout the city is referenced as the Via Gabina whereas the road leading up to the city from Rome is referenced as the Via Prenestina Antica. This approach is in accordance with the current analysis of the Gabii Project; for more on the road system of Gabii, see Johnson, Mogetta, et al., 2019.

to property right conflicts and the road's proximity to the modern Via Prenestina.[132] Nevertheless, by extending the road along its expected trajectory, we can determine where the Via Gabina would have reached the pillared structure on its southeast side which in turn allows us to calculate its approximate dimensions.

First, we must determine where the Via Gabina reaches the pillared structure, since Visconti reports the road bordered its southeast end. By using the magnetometry survey data, it is possible to conceptually extend the road westward, following the 3° curve of Lake Castiglione's shore, which the road seems to mirror (fig. 10). Then, by using the measurement tool in Google Earth Pro, we can determine that the structure measures approximately 50 m. 39 m. with an area of 1,950 m^2 and the interior courtyard measures 23 m. x 39 m. with an area of 897 m^2. With this visualization, we can see that the space had a sizable footprint, comparable even to the perimeter area of the Temple of Juno, which lends credibility to the notion that most if not all of the sculptures discovered at Gabii could have stood somewhere in the forum.

[132] Angelelli, Boscarini, and Lugari 2011, 193, Figs. 1 and 2.



Figure 10

Proposed projection of the Via Gabina (blue) and the proposed perimeter of the forum of imperial Gabii (red).

It will never be possible to know the exact number and size of every statue that was once erected in the forum of imperial Gabii. As I noted in chapter 2, Hamilton claimed to have found "over 200" pieces of sculpture during his excavations, from which only the ≈40 sculptures in Visconti's catalog have been identified. Add that he also would of course not have found everything that was ever there. Nevertheless, by repopulating the areas of the forum that had available floor space with the footprint of the standing statues, we can see whether the space was large enough to accommodate them.[133] There are 18 known standing statues in the Gabii collection, but there are a few that were mentioned by Hamilton, the whereabouts of which are currently unknown.[134]

[133] In regard to the numerous busts, many, if not all, would have been placed on ledges and in niches, which would not occupy any of the open floor space described above.
[134] For more on these sculptures and Hamilton's reports on them, see Chapter 2.

These include a statue of a fawn, which Hamilton presumed to be Pan, with a goat pelt around his shoulders and a dog at his feet.[135] In addition, he mentions a statue of the young woman I mentioned in chapter 2 (around the age of 14), which is not easily identified with any of the known sculptures. [136] Finally, Visconti reports a quadrilateral altar featuring Venus and dancing maenads that Hamilton kept for himself that was eventually moved to the Vatican museums, but has since been lost. [137] Even with these missing pieces, the standing statues could theoretically fit along the portico of the building, and this if we do not place any of the standing statues within the rooms, since there is a high probability that some of them did indeed come from that space. Moreover, in Visconti's drawing, he places some sculptures on pedestals within the courtyard, so if we were to move some of the sculptures into the courtyard, then there would be even more space for the statues to be erected (fig. 11). The considerable number of sculptures that are attributed to Gabii, therefore, could have all stood in the imperial public space of the city all at the same time.

This analysis provides important insights into both the physical and social landscape of Imperial Gabii. The growth of the space, in terms of both construction and sculpture, would have been an organic development over time, as we see sculptures spanning from the time of Augustus in the early 1st century to the reign of Gordian III in the middle of the third century. In this way, the collection of sculpture in the forum can be seen as a natural response of the citizens of Gabii trying to gain prestige for their own citizens, and to impress those passing through from the city from Rome. One can imagine that even figures like the Emperor Septimius Severus and his family rode along the Via Gabina on their way out from Rome and cast their eyes upon the forum; the

[135] He goes on to describe the statue as a "rare & fine thing," and that he was glad that it was his "own property." **292**. This suggests that Hamilton claimed some of the statues for himself (either to own or sell later), which presumably is in violation of his agreement with Prince Marcantonio Borghese. Whether the Prince knew about Hamilton's personal acquisitions is unclear.

[136] Moreover, he includes this statue with the fawn as statues he is glad to call his own.

[137] Pl. 80 Visconti-Guattani *Museo Chiaramonti* 1820.

citizens of Gabii of course saw them too. The busts of the royal family became a physical manifestation of this interaction, prompted by one or both parties. It is this very type of interaction which characterizes the social landscape of Gabii that we turn to next.

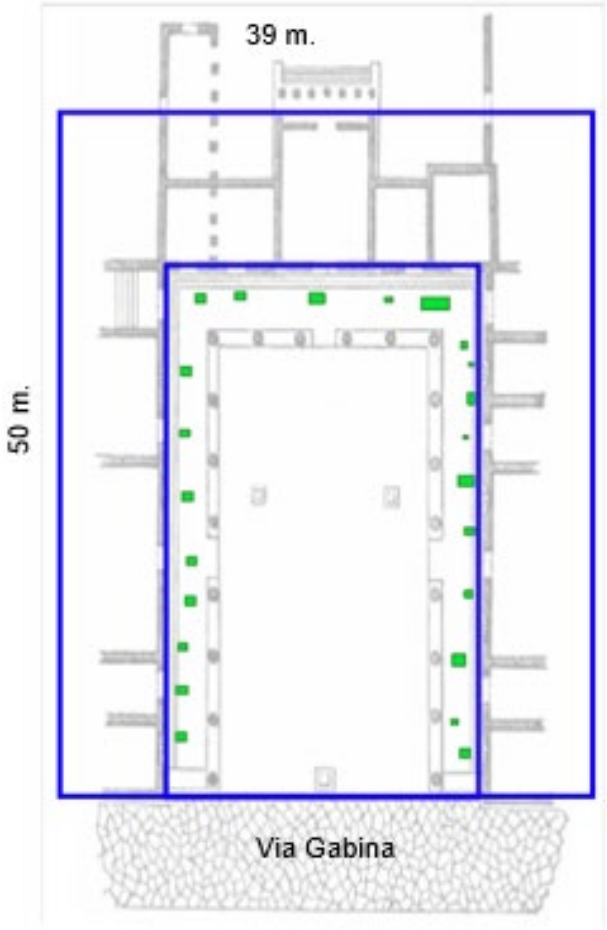


Figure 11

Proposed plan of the proportions of the forum of imperial Gabii based on Google Earth reconstruction, overlaid on Visconti's plan for reference. All standing sculptures of the Louvre collection distributed around the portico (in green) set to the same scale.

3.4 The Social Landscape of Gabii

Now that the physical landscape of the forum of imperial Gabii and its immediate environs and its function as an exhibition space for the Gabine sculptures are more defined, it must be asked what was the nature of the social environment that operated within these physical parameters. Even more, how did the social dynamics of the city influence the surrounding physical reality and vice versa? In the following section, we look at the different groups and individuals who made their presence known at Gabii, as understood through the evidence of the forum space.

The epigraphic evidence from Gabii, although not superabundant, is considerable enough to provide concrete contextual information for certain social and political actors in the city. As mentioned previously, Hamilton described the open courtyard as having several podiums that held the statuary of the city's magistrates, which were uncovered alongside multiple dedications to such men; In the collection of statues restored by the Borghese family, several could indeed have been representations of these magistrates.[138] The group of men honored by these inscriptions (and likely, therefore, by the sculptures) were either a part of the orders of decurions or of the augustales, two groups that greatly affected the socio-economic environment through leadership, beneficence, and/or contributions to the financial growth of the city.

3.4.1 Augustales at Rome

Despite their seemingly abundant presence in cities throughout the Italian peninsula, the Augustales are not well represented in ancient literature. Aside from Trimalchio in Petronius' *Satyrica*, there are no other explicit mentions of Augustales in Roman literature. The epigraphical and corresponding sculptural evidence, therefore, is what reveals the most about this group.

[138] For a more detailed review of which sculptures were likely representations of magistrates, see Chapter 2. The sculptures that comprise this list are

Although there are traces of the order throughout the Roman empire in the early first century CE, the group really began to flourish around the second half of the 2nd century and persisted until the early 3rd century.[139] Although several inscriptions have been uncovered at Gabii that reference the Augustales (which will be reviewed in greater detail below), the earliest confirmed date of their existence comes from the dedication of the *aedes* to the family of Domitia Longina in 146 CE. It is more than likely that the group existed well before this at Gabii, however, as it appears to have already been well-established and a recognized fixture in the municipality.

Whether the Augustales were "priests" dedicated strictly to the imperial cult has been a subject of debate in recent years. Archaeological evidence such as the Sacellum in Misenum and the *Porticus* in Herculaneum paint a picture of dedicated spaces, created by Augustales, for the seeming glorification of current and deified emperors. In her comprehensive work, *Civic Monuments and the Augustales in Italy,* Margaret Laird lays out a thorough, if not totally persuasive, review of the archaeological evidence that is meant to challenge the argument that the Augustales focused on worshiping the emperor. Such evidence includes the expansive dedications to the citizenry that presumably had little relation to the imperial cult. For my purposes here, it is not as relevant whether the Augustales were priests solely dedicated to the imperial cult. It is in any case most likely they were a group that at least began as priests/benefactors to the imperial cult,[140] that morphed into an opportunity for non-voting citizens to gain status and influence

[139] The corpus of research on the Augustales is extensive. Perhaps the most foundational and seminal is Duthoy's work in the 70's (Duthoy 1974, 1978), who established the term "Augustales" for this group. Other scholars with recent work on the Augustales and their roles especially on the Italian peninsula and the western empire more generally include: Ostrow 1990, Laird 2015, Bruun 2014, and for the Augustales in Misenum, D'Arms 2000.

[140] One of the earliest mentions of men chosen to be priests for the imperial cult comes from Tacitus' *Annals* (XIV.13), in which Tacitus describes men of the Trinovantes' tribe being forced to "squander" (*effundebant*) their money for the sake of the newly constructed Temple of Claudius in Camuldunum. For more on this period of imperial cult, see Bulst 1961, 500-503.

through other forms of euergetism. In such a picture, the Augustales operated in the imperial cult space to effectuate their own social and political goals.[141]

3.4.2 Comparanda

Whatever role the Augustales may have had at Gabii, other structures connected to the group in Campania provide worthwhile comparanda for understanding the marble assemblage from Gabii. The first under review is the Sacellum at Misenum. Located on the coast of the Campania region, Misenum grew in importance after the installation of a naval port in the beginning of the first century. This brought wealth to the town and it eventually became a destination for wealthy Romans and villa owners. The presence of the Augustales in this city naturally grew from this.

The Sacellum, discovered by accident during construction work, was excavated from 1968 to 1972 under the supervision of Alfonso De Franciscis. According to initial analysis by the excavation team, the first iterations of the building date to the early 1st century; the team subsequently identified two sequential phases, periods of Domitian (81-96 AD) and Nerva/Trajan (96-117 AD).[142]

The Sacellum saw the most growth during its second phase under the rule of Domitian. Initially the central room, Room 2, was flanked on its eastern side by an open space demarcated by a portico. Eventually, Room 3 was constructed in this space, presumably to create a larger area for dining.[143] During these renovations, Room 2 received impressive upgrades, including an o*pus*

[141] The motivation behind the Augustales and other *novi homines* at Gabii is explored further in the concluding chapter, in which I discuss the best theoretical approaches for understanding the resurgence of Gabii after a period of decline.

[142] Although the earliest mention of the Augustales is not until 95, thus leaving open the possibility that the building's original purpose was not tied to the Augustales.

[143] Laird argues that the creation of this room reflects the interest in displaying hierarchy by creating a "more private" space for the elite members of the group, whereas Room 2 was for all general members.

sectile socle that reached up a third of the wall towards the fourth-style wall paintings. A niche was created, presumably for a sculpture of which only the base remains, that was decorated with stucco in a seashell pattern. Such restorations, therefore, made it clear that this room was the focus of the building and, in line with that, several imperial sculptures were erected in the corridor leading up to this space. It was also at this time that two bronze equestrian statues of Domitian were erected, that once flanked the central staircase. Shortly after the rise of Nerva and after the *damnatio memoriae* of his predecessor, one of these sculptures (if not both[144]) was reworked and the Augustales changed the portraiture to reflect the new emperor. In this, we see the readiness of the Augustales to adapt quickly to the new power structure, clearly sending the message that they were loyal to the current emperor, not the previous one – no matter how quickly this might change.[145]

In addition, in one year of Nerva becoming emperor, two more statues were erected with bases dedicating them to the emperor by the Augustales as a whole, "*nomine Augustal(ium)*."[146] The Sacellum at Misenum thus had the most dedications to the Emperor Nerva ever excavated in any building.[147]

The next best example of the Augustales' visually demonstrating their connection to the worship of the imperial family is at the Porticus of Mammius Maximus at Herculaneum. The space is a courtyard surrounded on three sides by a portico. The finds of this area, once it was excavated

[144] It is unclear from the remains of the second statue. Laird 2015, 165-6.

[145] It is interesting to note that the influence and presence of the Augustales appears to drop off in frequency during the third century, a 'crisis' period which saw almost 35 emperors in the span of one century. Presumably, it became too difficult to continually modify their structures towards the current regime and/or ceased being worth it. This is most likely the reason why the latest emperor discovered at Gabii was Gordian III (225 CE).

[146] According to Laird, this formula is rare for the Augustales. Normally, dedications are made by individual men or women in the organization rather than as a collective unit. Perhaps this one more measure to announce simultaneously the full support of the new emperor and the complete rejection of the former.

[147] The three statues at Misenum comprise 9% of the total number of statue bases that existed during Nerva's reign. Laird 2015, 168; compiled by Højte, 2006.

in the 1700s by the Bourbons, created a considerable amount of excitement. Not only were several large wall paintings discovered, but also a number of marble and bronze statues of the imperial family of the Julio-Claudians and some local nobles. Although several different citizens contributed to the overall collection featured in the Porticus, Maximus's contribution was the most significant. A well-attested man throughout the city of Herculaneum, Maximus was most likely a freedman of considerable wealth.[148] Specifically for the Porticus, he commissioned the erection of at least seven statues, as evidenced by their remaining bases. All of the bases indicate that they once supported the statues of members of the Julio-Claudian family. These include Augustus, deified Livia, Tiberius, Germanicus, Antonia Minor, Agrippina Minor, and Nero, all of which were most likely commissioned consecutively in the same period. In addition to these, two bronze statues of Claudius and Augustus (in the guise of Jupiter), which were commissioned by a soldier, stood in front of the apses at the end of the two portici. The list continues: a Flavian group dedicated by the decurions of the city, including Domitia, Julia, Titus, and potentially the wife or daughter of Vespasian, and six other imperial statues of Tiberius, two almost identical statues of Agrippina Minor, a marble togate male, an over-life-sized nude male, and a portrait of Claudius.

Such an assemblage provides an excellent foil to the Gabii collection. Although we know that the Augustales had a presence at Gabii through several inscriptions, it is not clear the full extent. As we can see here, the Porticus demonstrates that the coherence to the imperial family is not necessarily to a group, but to a place. Maximus was a known member of the Augustales, but others who commissioned dedications, such as the soldier or members of the Decurioni, were not. This could have been the case for the Gabii Forum, which sees an accretion of sculptures over

[148] Laird, 2015 223.

several centuries, some of which almost certainly were dedicated by citizens not in the order of the Augustales.

3.4.3 Inscriptions

According to Visconti, seven inscriptions were discovered by Hamilton at Gabii during his excavations in and around the forum.[149] Additionally, there are approximately four dozen more inscriptions that are attributed to the Gabii/Castiglione region, but many with little additional context. In view of the sheer number of sculptures found, one would imagine that some of the inscriptions once accompanied the sculptures discovered by Hamilton, as it is more often the case that inscriptions for statue dedications are often found but not the statues themselves, like in Herculaneum. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to affirm which inscription accompanied which sculpture, if any did at all.

A compelling similarity across several of these inscriptions are the explicit references to liberti of the Augusti. In the largest and most well-known inscription (insc. 1), which was most likely a lintel stone, we see two liberti, husband and wife, Polycarpus and Europa making a dedication "in honor of the memory of the house of Domitia Augusta, daughter of Domitius Corbulon."[150] Clearly by their nomen and the subject matter of the inscription, these two were the former slaves of Domitia and were treated favorably. Moreover, Polycarpus and Europa must have had incredible wealth, for they provided the funds for the construction of a temple (*aedem* in line 2, *templum* in line 7) in their former mistress's honor as well as the means to furnish the space with statues and *reliquis rebus* ("other things"). In addition, just the sheer size of the inscription

[149] *Monumenti*, 81-156.

[150] A full analysis of this particular inscription, which provides insights into the physical context of the Gabii marbles as well as the influence the former Empress Domitia had on Gabii and/or its surrounding area in terms of her brick and tile manufacturing endeavors.

is a visual assertion of their wealth and influence at Gabii that would have been displayed in a visible position for all who visited the forum of imperial Gabii to see.

Following this inscription, there is another smaller one that is peculiarly dedicated to the daughter of the man the decurioni and the people of Gabii wished to honor. In inscription 5, we see the daughter of the libertus Titus Flavius Crescens, Variana, receiving accolades on behalf of her father's merits who was a former slave of the "Augusti."[151] It is unclear why the dedication therefore would go to Variana instead of her father; perhaps this was the explicit request of Titus Flavius who particularly favored his daughter, or Titus Flavius had already passed on and the people and decurioni of Gabii wanted to honor him through his surviving daughter. In inscription 6, we possibly see the son of the very same Titus Flavius, Aelianus, be honored for his role in the ordo of Gabii. Since the cognomen often became the manner in which a person was individualized, this magistrate potentially received his name from his work in the *Aelia Curia* of Gabii, which is referenced in inscription 1.[152]

From these inscriptions, we can gather that at least three of the liberti of the Flavian family relocated to Gabii after their manumission. In this period of the empire, liberti were not able to hold public office in any municipality, despite the tremendous influence they might have had due to their wealth.[153] A theory proposed by Patterson and others, argues that these wealthy liberti invested heavily in euergetism not only for their own prestige, but to also establish a future position for their children, who were able to hold public office.[154] A theory that is actualized in Titus Flavius

[151] His *nomen*, which slaves traditionally inherited from the master who freed them, suggests that he was once the slave of the members of the Flavian dynasty.
[152] It is unclear whether this Curia was built by Hadrian or was just named in honor of him. CIL IVX 2799 names Hadrian and his wife Sabina *locupletatoribus municipii* (the enrichers of the town), but it is unclear the exact influence Hadrian had on Gabii.
[153] Patterson 2006, 242-61.
[154] Patterson 2006, 247; D'Arms 1981, 127-28.

Aelianus, who was recognized as a patron and a *curator rei publicae*, a magisterial position in the municipal government that worked as an intermediary between the local government and imperial officials.[155] In addition, we see that he was a part of the Quirina tribe, which indicates his official status as a citizen with voting rights.

3.4.4 Epaphroditus

From the epigraphic evidence, one man at Gabii stands out in particular. Aulus Plutius Epaphroditus was a *negotiator sericarius,* a silk merchant, who must have been exceedingly wealthy and therefore a notable benefactor of Gabii. In the two inscriptions uncovered by Hamilton, the first details the construction of a temple he funded in honor of his deceased daughter, Plutia Vera, which was dedicated to *Venus Vera Felix of Gabii*. Erected on May 15, 168 CE, the inscription describes the temple as including a bronze Venus, four bronze statues, bronze doors, a bronze altar, and other cult accessories (lines 2-3). In addition, it details how Epaphroditus gave five *denarii* to each town magistrate, three *denarii* to each *seviri Augustales*, and one *denarius* to each merchant operating within the city walls;[156] additionally, he also gave ten thousand *sestertii* to the municipality of Gabii in order that they host a yearly banquet on the birthday of his daughter, September 28, using the interest it accrued over time. If they failed to do so, the epigraph warns that the money would be sent to the nearby town of Tusculanum.[157]

This inscription provides two crucial insights into the socio-cultural environment of Gabii in the 2nd century CE. First, it reveals how the Temple of Domus Domitia, which was constructed only 28 years prior, is one of multiple memorializing constructions in the near vicinity. With the

[155] This position became more common under the reign of Domitian. Liebenam 1897.
[156] In interesting addition which suggests that Epaphroditus had an invested interest in the marketplace of Gabii.
[157] A similar admonition appears on the dedication of the Temple of Domus Domitia.

presence of the temple of Juno conceivably not very far away, one can assume that these three temples stood quite near to each other; possibly, those visitors coming to Gabii to worship at the temple of Juno would frequent one or both of the other temples nearby.[158] If this is the case, a picture begins to develop of Gabii as a municipality that capitalized on a renewed interest in itself, either from the arrival and interest of Domitia, the proximity and success of Domitia's clay district, the *figlina Sulpicianae,* imperial involvement, or all of these circumstances together (which I suspect is the most likely case).

The second insight provided by this inscription is that merchants such as Epaphroditus were prevalent within the city. In addition to the town council members and the *seviri Augustales*, he gifted one *denarius* to each active merchant, which is a compelling occurrence if only for the sociological and economic implications. A merchant such as Epaphroditus must have been so successful, that providing further *money* to his ostensible competitors was not a conflict for him. Moreover, it demonstrates a vested interest in the continued success of the Gabine marketplace and its citizens. Such a beneficence in addition to the construction of the temple further evinces the modest renaissance the city of Gabii experienced in the 2nd century CE.

In addition to being a silk trader, Epaphroditus was an *accensus velatus*, a father, and a magnanimous patron. The position of *accensus velatus* is relatively unknown, although some have argued that it was a sort of municipal position similar to that of the Augustales.[159] It must have been important to him, as it was listed in both his dedication of the temple of Venus Vera Felix as well as the dedication made for him on behalf of his former slaves, as we see in inscription 4. His

[158] Except for the Temple of Juno, the location of the other two temples is unknown. Nevertheless, if one plausibly assumes that Hamilton found both inscriptions in roughly the same area *and* that this area was the section excavated by the Soprintendenza team in the 1990's, then one can reasonably conclude that these three temples were within a small distance of one another. Unfortunately, anything beyond this speculation is impossible until further investigations are carried out in the area previously excavated.

[159] Aymard 1934, 178-196.

name, Epaphroditus, suggests that he himself was once a slave and from Greece (and/or his former owner was Greek);[160] as such, he was barred from entering any public office at Gabii, so perhaps this position of *accensus velatus* was similar in function and prestige as that of the Augustales, another group of freedmen or men for some other reason were not able to hold magistracies.

Epaphroditus' role as father to Plutia Vera is well-known, but his role as father to his son, Telesphorianus, is completely unknown until now. An inscription that was first noticed at the palazzo Tebaldeschi (Rome) in the 18th century and therefore not associated with Gabii, features an Aulus Plutius Epaphroditus dedicating an epigraph to his son, Aulus Plutus Telesphorianus, on behalf of himself, his freedmen, and freedwomen.[161] This must be the very same Epaphroditus, based on proximity and his *tria nomina*.

Most likely, this was discovered along with the other Hamilton inscriptions, but similar to other finds, made its way into the hands of patrons other than Borghese. Nevertheless, this epitaph provides further detail into the life of a man who suffered and celebrated fate in equal measure, as a man of inordinate wealth who still had to bury not one, but two of his children.

The first inscription in honor of his daughter, Plutia Vera, is demonstrably more impressive as it is both an epitaph and a dedication for a temple. One would imagine that among the ornamentation for this temple, Epaphroditus also commissioned a portrait of his daughter. Visconti made this conclusion as well and therefore assigned the portrait bust of a young girl (cat. n. 27) as his deceased daughter. The bust depicts the visage of a young girl, perhaps in the early part of her teenage years. According to researchers at the Louvre, the style of this sculpture dates it to the Antonine period, especially the parting of the hair down the middle emphasized by a simple braid.

[160] There are several other well-known freedmen with the name of Epaphroditus, such as the unfortunate slaves of Nero and then Domitian who were executed on account of suspicion of conspiracy, but there is no evidence that there is a relation.
[161] CIL 6.244356.

With this date, it is possible for it to represent Plutia Vera, whose death must have been around the dedication of the temple in 168 CE. Moreover, it is very reminiscent of another female portrait head currently at the Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Jerez, but that also lacks accurate provenance and can only be dated to the 1st-2nd century. Unfortunately, without further context, such a claim cannot be claimed with certainty.

As for the son of Epaphroditus, another object from the Hamilton collection may be connected. His name, Telesphorianus, is derived from the name of the Greek god of convalescence, Telesphoros. Even before the discovery of this inscription, I theorized that one statuette from the Hamilton group may represent this god. The sculpture, cat. n. 37, is missing its head and does not seem to have been restored in any major way. It holds a wreath in its right hand and is possibly missing a scroll from its left.[162] The mantle that sits on his shoulders and wraps around his neck is reminiscent of Gallic fashion; careful examination of the back of this statuette reveals that the mantle includes a pointed hood.

The Greek god Telesphoros was not well known in the west, but was celebrated in the East alongside Asklepios, who, in certain versions of the myth, is his father. The idea being that after Asklepios healed someone, Telesphoros would guide them during their recovery when the body was still weak but no longer afflicted. In art, he often was portrayed as a dwarf or boy wearing a cloak, which was always short enough to see his bare feet and had a pointed hood. There is some speculation that Telesphoros was an adoption of a Gallic divinity, as the mantle with a pointed hood is strongly considered to be Gallic costume. We see a strikingly similar figure accompanying Asclepius at the British Museum, with whom he is often depicted. In this example, the statuette is also missing a head but has almost exactly the same style of dress as the statuette from Gabii.

[162] We know in other depictions of him he is carrying a scroll which is said to have spells for healing.

Similar to the possibility that the bust of the young girl represented Plutia Vera, so too can we not say for certain that this statuette was a funerary votive for her brother, Telesphorianus. In the least, if it was for Telesphoros, it is another indicator of some connection with the east. As we know, Hadrian often came to Gabii and there are even a few coins of Hadrian with Telesphoros depicted on the obverse. Moreover, the name Epaphroditus is Greek in origin which suggests that either he or his former owner was Greek. This gives a plausible reason as to why he would name his son Telesphorianus as well as potentially had this statuette made as a funerary votive.

3.5 The Emperors and Gabii

3.5.1 Hadrian

Mary Boatwright, in her comprehensive review of Emperor Hadrian's influence on the cities of the empire, reviews 3 inscriptions (CIL XIV 2799, XIV 2797, and *AE* 1982, 142) found at Gabii that indicate his personal involvement in the development and restoration of parts of the city. In the inscription CIL 14.2797, Hadrian contributed funds to the construction (or possibly reconstruction?) of an aqueduct servicing Gabii.[163] Additionally, CIL 14.2799 names Hadrian and his wife Sabina the *locupletatori* of Gabii, a term given to those who have "enriched" the city in some manner.[164] Although it is not clear from this inscription what Hadrian specifically "enriched," another inscription, *AE* 1982, demonstrates Hadrian's involvement in restoring some structure that had started to collapse due to time.[165] This last inscription was found during the

[163] … Traianus Hadrianus] / Aug(ustus) pontifex maximus trib(unicia) pot(estate) 3 imp(erator) 3 co(n)s(ul) 3 p(ater) p(atriae)] / aquae ductum Gabinis [3] / quam…

[164] Hadriano/ Augusto co(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriae) // Sabinae / Augustae // locupletatoribus municipii / ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) publice. It is unclear why Sabina is mentioned in this inscription but not in the other ones. Presumably she accompanied him to his villa in Tivoli, thus passing through Gabii along with the emperor. Perhaps she also wanted to contribute to improving the city she saw on a semi-regular basis.

[165] [/Gab]inis vetu[state // [Municipio Gabie]nsi / [restituer]unt.

excavation of the Temple of Juno which suggests to Boatwright that Hadrian most likely provided funds to restore the archaic temple.[166]

The lintel inscription dedicating a temple to the memory of the house of Domitia (CIL 14.2795/insc. 1), reveals that the senate house of Gabii was named in honor of the philhellene, the *Curia Aelia Augusta*.[167] This suggests that Hadrian was also involved in the construction and/or restoration of the senate building, but without more evidence this remains conjectural. Nevertheless, the title of the building does emphasize the important position Hadrian held for the people of Gabii. Not only was he involved in the physical rejuvenation of the city, but one must imagine that he was a frequent visitor of Gabii since one of the major routes from Rome to Tivoli, the location of his famous villa, cut directly through Gabii.[168] Since Hadrian was known for his fastidiousness and emphatic aesthetic preferences, therefore, it may not be surprising that he turned his attention to improving a Roman city that he often saw.[169] Moreover, Hadrian favored old cities, and Gabii, which was known for being where Romulus and Remus were educated and where several religious customs originated, was a perfect restoration project for the emperor. Two of the sculptures discovered by Hamilton are identified as Hadrian by Visconti.[170] The first, cat. n. 1186, is a bust of the emperor that was placed onto a modern base. Wegner classifies it as in the 2nd style of Hadrianic portraiture, which dates it to earlier in his reign.[171] This style of the portrait bears the

[166] Boatwright 2000, p. 129-30; Almagro-Gorbera and Jiménez 1982, 123, 614. The western portico of the temple was restored after 123 AD, a *terminus post quem* established by the recovery of brick stamps during excavation. Basas-Faure 1982, 226-27, #16; Arxé 1982, 219-20, 619, 623. See also Almeida 1969, 39-41.

[167] Line 5: …Gabi(i)s in municipio in curia Aelia Augusta scribendo atfuit universus ordo.

[168] Although there is no direct evidence that Hadrian took this road, the conclusion is safe to make in my estimation. The Via Gabina forks into two roads, one to Praeneste and the other towards Tibur (Tivoli). Pair this with the copious evidence of Hadrian's involvement with the restoration of Gabii, and one can easily see the emperor regularly passing through the struggling city on his way to his villa. Kay 2012, 212; Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2009, 636; Johnston and Mogetta, 2020, 93-94.

[169] Boatwright 2000, 13; 134-135.

[170] *Monumenti* 21-22, tab. 3, n. 1.; 66, tab. XII n. 29.

[171] Wegner 1979, p. 26.

physical characteristics of the emperor in his earlier years, particularly the burgeoning beard which was a notable departure from his clean-shaven predecessors.[172] The second statue features Hadrian in a standing nude pose, but according to Visconti's own admission, the head was attached later and is not original to Gabii.[173]

3.5.2 Imperial Portraiture at Gabii

Hadrian's presence at Gabii is the most well-documented, thanks to the epigraphic evidence of his beneficence towards various construction projections. Beyond Hadrian and Sabina, however, we do not have substantiation of direct involvement from other emperors or imperial family members; nevertheless, the numerous portraitures of imperial members of the Julio-Claudians, Trajanic/Antonine, and Severan dynasties (in addition to the third century emperor, Gordian III) indicate, at the very least, the importance of manifesting the imperial reality to the citizens of Gabii.

The Gabii Forum, which is the approximate location at which most of these sculptures were discovered, was most likely the center for the imperial cult at Gabii.[174] The investigations of the Soprintendenza of the forum area in the 2000's identified Room A in the northeastern corner of the forum as the Temple of the Domus Domitia, the same small temple in which Visconti reports the bust of Septimius Severus, Geta, the head of "Corbulo", and other headless statues were discovered.[175] This room was first constructed at the end of the 1st century CE to honor the

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[172] In her analysis of the portrait, Kersauson argues that it is an emulation of a bronze original since the hair is stylized simply and close to the scalp, rather than with more three-dimensional elements, such as curls, that were becoming more common during this period. Kersauson 1996, p. 456-7.

[173] *Monumenti,* 21-22.

[174] The bust of Gordian III, alternatively, was reported by Visconti to have been found in a building (some of which he surmised were Roman villas) that were scattered along the city border. *Monumenti*, 21.

[175] Of the headless statues, Visconti notes that they comprise female and male, imperial and cuirassed works. *Monumenti,* 14. Later in his work, Visconti identifies the bust of Plautilla (which has been reassigned as Julia Domna) as also being discovered in this same room. *Monument,* 61.

"memory of the house of the Augusta Domitia, but the presence of these sculptures indicate that it was converted into a space to worship the cult of the Severan dynasty.[176] Such a conversion is not atypical, as we saw above with the Sacellum at Misenum, which also added and removed statues in phase with the changing imperial structure.

The location of discovery of the Julio-Claudian and Antonine sculptures is less certain, although it is safe to say they were also found somewhere in or near the forum area.[177] For the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the extent of an imperial cult can only be ascertained by the sculptures themselves. This is similar in the case of the Antonines, although there is one inscription that honors the priestess of the cult *spei et salutis* of the Augusta, which in this case, must have been Faustina the Elder, wife of Antoninus Pius. Cults for the other Antonines attested at Gabii through their sculpture, such as Faustina the Younger and Marcus Aurelius, cannot be confirmed.

3.6 Conclusion

The forum of imperial Gabii is a crucial element for understanding the Gabine sculptures and the imperial city in which they were erected. Through geo-spatial analysis, the footprint of the forum has been determined to be more than large enough to accommodate all discovered sculptures simultaneously. The public area, situated just south-east of the Temple of Juno, would have been one of the first things 1st and 2nd century CE visitors would see as they approached the city traveling on the Via Gabina. As they entered the forum, they would have the opportunity to see a plentitude of sculptures, most likely honorary statues of Gabii's magistrates and elite men and women first, and then, when entering one of the temples, a room full of religious or imperial

[176] The temple, its construction, and its purpose during the Flavian period are investigated more deeply in Chapter 4.
[177] Hamilton mentions the discovery of these sculptures in the same letter as his discovery of the Temple of Domus Domitia, suggesting that they were all discovered in approximately the same area. *HC* 2011, n. 286.

sculpture. The combined area would have provided a place for local Gabines to display their own excellence to each other and to visitors, with whom they could meet and possibly do commerce.

This, of course, is only a partial image of the city during this period. Just down the road, an imperial bath complex was operating at the same time, which is presumably the bath that inspired Horace's line: *Gabiosque petunt et frigidia rura*. Additionally, the relationship between the Temple of Juno and the forum needs further exploration. The Louvre excavation (currently in progress at the time of this writing) will undoubtedly illuminate the nature of this connection. Lastly, we know that the Area Urbana, the domestic and commercial buildings along the Via Gabina, was most likely in various levels of repair; for example, the Area F building, which was a Republican-era monumental administrative building located at the crucial intersection of the Via Gabina and the Via Prenestina, mostly fell out of use by the Imperial period, except for the rooms facing the road that were converted into shops. Such an image of renewal with the backdrop of disuse (for the rest of the building was built up the hill and could easily be visible) is a juxtaposition of disparate realities that most likely typified cities like Gabii that went through a substantial decline before finding a resurgence. This convergence of failing and succeeding circumstances and how the city related to those around it, will be explored further in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 4 The Women of Gabii

> "…ex decreto Decurionum Gabini statuam publice ponendam
> curaverunt quod post impensas exemplo illustrium feminarum factas ob sacerdotium etiam opus porticus spei vetustate vexatum pecunia sua refecturam se promiserit populo cum pro salute principis antonini Augusti Pii…"
>
> *From the decree of the Decurioni, the Gabines dedicate this statue, having been erected in public because after the payment, by the example of remarkable women, she promised to the people that, on account of the work of the priesthood, the porticus would be rebuilt with her own money, having been damaged by time*
> *For the sake of the safety of the princeps Antoninus Augustus Pius.*
>
> \- CIL 14.2804

It has been established that Gabii entered a new stage of flourishing in the Imperial period. Clearly, it never reached the same level of wealth and influence as in the Republican period, but the development of the forum of imperial Gabii, among other elements,[178] are testament to a renewed municipality that was actively adapting to the politics of the present moment. There are perhaps many interrelated causes that spurred on this development, but the influence of women within the city during this period is clearly demonstrated. The following chapter aims to understand the degree of their impact and how this possibly steered the new development of the city.

[178] Further research is required for the other clear signs of growth in the city, such as the bath complex and the rest of the Area Urbana to the east. Both were excavated under the Soprintendenza di Roma, but the findings have not been published.

4.1 Women in Imperial Rome

Towards the end of the Republic and into the Imperial period, women amplified their presence on the public stage, as demonstrated through the increased presence of inscriptions, statuary, and dedications. Although this shift is partly due to the increasing "epigraphic habit" of the period, it is also a reflection of changing societal factors. Most notably, women were increasingly no longer marrying *in manu*, a legal practice that transferred all the wealth and property of the wife to the husband and his family. In instances of death of the spouse or divorce, therefore, women retained their wealth and thus became more independent than in previous centuries. Since women were barred from holding public office, they began offering benefactions and holding priesthoods as alternative avenues for gaining societal recognition and influence.[179] It is difficult to discern how much of this surge in female representation is due to such developments or to the overall epigraphic increase. Whatever the case, the presence of women patrons in the city is noticeable.

Similar to most ancient sites, the surviving evidence from Gabii only testifies to wealthy women. The women reviewed in this study, however, still represent a broad spectrum, from a freed slave to a former empress. The primary attestations of their public presence come from inscriptions in which women are either the honorand and/or the dedicant. Additionally, there are several female statues that plausibly represent one or more of these women.

By revealing the role of these women at Gabii, we begin to understand more about the opportunities certain women had in middle-range cities and the resulting effects of their actions. The imperial cult, especially, was an arena in which many of these women were able to capitalize on their wealth and insert themselves into the surrounding community. In past scholarship, the

[179] Cooley 2013, 26-28.

imperial cult was seen as a "center to periphery" phenomenon under the direction of Rome; a perspective that has since been convincingly refuted.[180] Rather than a product of governmental decrees, the imperial cult was a chance for cities (through their elite citizens) to create unique expressions of civic identity and self-promotion. The individual nature of the cult from town to town, city to city provides scholars insight into how elite citizens viewed themselves internally and externally. Scholars have been investigating this approach by analyzing the most visible men associated with the imperial cult: the Augustales, a group of men who were not eligible for office and were often associated with the imperial cult.[181] The role of women, on the other hand, in the cult and their manner of self/civic-expression has only recently been explored.

The most notable examination of women in the public sphere to date is Emily Hemelrijk's corpora of work, especially her book, *Hidden Lives, Public Personae.*[182] Her extensive review of inscriptions featuring public-facing women of the Roman west demonstrates how women had a greater propensity outside of the capital to showcase their civic involvement and benefactions. The most notable method was through the priestly positions, typically for a cult that worshiped a goddess or the female members of the imperial family. With this research, Hemelrijk provides a framework through which we can contextualize the actions and motives of the public women of Gabii.

The Women of Gabii

[180] Scholars such as Mattingly (2013), Millet (1990), and Woolf (2000) have developed alternative methods of understanding the role of Rome throughout the western provinces that eschew the traditional top-down approach of Romanization theory.
[181] The first serious look at Augustales as a group came from Taylor (1914). Since then, Ostrow (1985) reviews the role of the Augustales within the Bay of Naples and, most notably, Laird (2015) has most fully documented their presence in Italy.
[182] 2015.

While excavating at Gabii, Gavin Hamilton uncovered seven inscriptions;[183] four of these feature either a female dedicant, honorand, or both. These inscriptions introduce three women who left their mark on Gabii in the second century in a notable way. The first is Agusia Priscilla, a priestess of the cult of the Health and Safety of the Augusta, who received a dedication on behalf of her benefactions towards the city. The next two women are featured on the same 10-foot dedication, which we met in the last chapter. It details how the liberta, Domitia Europe and her husband, Polycaprus, funded the construction of a temple in honor of their patroness, the Augusta Domitia Longina, widow of the disgraced emperor, Domitian. By placing this inscription into its historical and cultural context, my analysis demonstrates how these women contributed towards the renaissance of the city after its period of decline.

4.2 Agusia Priscilla

Evidence of Agusia Priscilla and her role at Gabii comes from an inscribed statue base dedicated to her. The inscription tells the story of a priestess *spei et salutis Augustae* (of the hope and safety of the Augusta) who not only funded the reconstruction of a portico, but also paid for every citizen to receive a garment (*veste donata universis)* and reimbursed the cost of the statue to the people. Agusia, therefore, must have been a very wealthy citizen who was highly regarded. Indeed, she is said to be following the example of other illustrious women (*illustrium feminarum)*, a formula that imports the same praise upon her.

The inscription, which was discovered by Hamilton during his excavation at Gabii, is engraved on a quadrilateral base that measures 83x70 cm. Although Hamilton does not mention the inscription in his letters, it was publicly announced by Carlo Fea in the *Antologia Romana* and

[183] Visconti includes seven inscriptions in *Monumenti,* but does not include the various fragments of inscriptions Hamilton describes discovering in his letters. The whereabouts of these fragments are currently unknown. *HC* 2011, n. 290.

published by Visconti in the *Monumenti* catalog. Based on its shape and size, the base undoubtedly supported a statue of Priscilla Agusia in the second century. Although Hamilton discovered three larger than life-sized female statues, none has distinguishing characteristics that indicate they once represented Agusia. The three sculptures that could possibly be her – cat. ns. 22, 29, and 24 – were heavily modified by Pacetti in order to represent other women or deities. Moreover, for a priestess such as her, one would expect a veiled head but there are no indications on the marble that such an element existed on any of the statues.[184]

The name of the cult, *spei et salutis Augustae,* appears to be a unique combination of other known cults of the Augusta. There are several cults for the safety (*salutis*) of the Augusta and for the hope (*spei*) of the Augusta, but this is the only known cult that has both concerns as its mandate. Visconti also notes the rarity of this cult name; he argues, however, that it should still not be a surprise that such a cult existed since there are other well-known cults with the separate names.[185] This may seem like a small detail, but a unique cult name suggests a certain level of freedom and independence on which the city of Gabii capitalized.

For women like Priscilla Agusia, being a priestess of a cult was one of the few avenues of achieving societal influence and distinction. It was prohibited for women to worship men of the imperial household and male deities, so they became the priestesses for the cults of imperial women and female deities. Agusia was the priestess of the cult of the Augusta. This title was conferred as a special honor upon the wives of emperors or other women related to the emperor, such as Julia Titi, daughter of Titus, or Marciana, sister of Trajan. As Augustae, these women were able to issue their own coinage, wear certain imperial clothing and adornments, and oversee their

[184]Since MA 377 and MA 1037 are currently in storage, it is not possible to do a closer exanimation to confirm the lack of a veil. Current evidence, however, such as the dossier and available photos, suggest that neither once had veils.

[185] Both cults individually are listed in the *Acta Arvalia* during the reign of Nero. *Monumenti* 112.

own courts. The question then becomes, of which Augusta was Agusia priestess? Since the inscription dates to the reign of Antoninus Pius (138 CE – 161 CE), there are only two possibilities: Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, who had died only one year prior to Antoninus Pius ascending the throne and Faustina the Elder, the wife of Antoninus Pius, who was named Augusta two years before her death in 140 CE. Although deceased Augusta sometimes continued to be worshipped, it was only for a short period and only if the Augusta still held social influence.[186] Moreover, if the Augusta was deceased, inscriptions typically only referred to her as *diva Augusta* for short period after their death. Since Sabina was deified after her death, we would expect such a title. The Augusta of this specific cult, therefore, was most likely Faustina the Elder, the wife of Antoninus Pius, who was named Augusta two years before her death in 140 CE. In this case, the inscription and base must date between 138-140 CE.

Priscilla Agusia was apparently a very wealthy woman. According to the inscription, she funded the reconstruction of a portico; considering the general find spot, this could very well be the *porticus* of the "publick place ornamented with a portico" discovered by Hamilton.[187] The inscription also notes that the portico "had been damaged by time,"[188] which potentially indicates the simple fact that structures need maintenance over time or perhaps that this part of the city was struggling with its upkeep. Since this area would have been one of the first things seen by any visitor to the area, Priscilla's desire to improve this portico could be a reflection of her concern for how outsiders might perceive Gabii. As reviewed in the previous chapter, Gabii contracted considerably, both in size and in the imaginations of non-Gabines. The restoration of this portico

[186] Hemelrijk 2015, 79-80.
[187] CH n. 286.
[188] line 7 *"vetustate vexatum."*

as well as the erection of a statue of its benefactress was a clear symbol designed to counteract that very perception.

In addition to the portico, she also funded an "extraordinary spectacle of games,"[189] and gave garments to everyone in order to "satisfy her religious rite."[190] Moreover, she essentially funded her own statue by reimbursing the cost back to the town.[191] Priscilla Agusia was clearly a woman of influence and high societal standing, undoubtedly using the position of priestess of the Augusta as a way to increase that prestige.

This partial picture of the life and contributions of Agusia demonstrates the importance of the forum of imperial Gabii. If the structure was deemed valuable enough to be repaired in the second century, then it must have been a place of significance for the people of Gabii who also recognized Agusia Priscilla as the woman who preserved it. The preservation of the forum is an indication of the value of the city itself and moreover a signal that its activities and institutions were important.

4.3 Domitia Europe

Domitia Europe is another woman who significantly altered the urban landscape of Gabii. Along with her husband, Polycarpus Domitius, she funded the construction of a temple in honor of the *domus Domitiae Augustae* –in honor of Domitia Longina, their previous mistress. The inscription describing this dedication is approximately 3 meters long and most likely served as the lintel to the entrance of the temple. It details how the Domitii funded the building of the temple, the ornamentation of statues and "other things" (*reliquis rebus*), and for its future maintenance in perpetuity. In addition, they gave the order of the decurions and the seviri Augustales 10,000

[189] line 11 *ludorum spectaculo edito…*
[190] line 13 *satisfecerit…*
[191] line 15 *impensam populo remiserit.*

sesterces so that, using the interest from that sum, they might hold an annual banquet on the birthday of Domitia Longina. The rest of the inscription continues to outline further stipulations given by the couple, but not much more information on the character of the honorees.

Since we have no other evidence for Domitia Europe, drawing a parallel with a similar benefactress may be illuminating. Cassia Victoria of Misenum, was another woman who made known her benefactions alongside her husband. In her case, however, her euergetism was sparked by the death of her husband. The Augustales of Misenum, in honor of their deceased member, granted Cassia Victoria the role of priestess (*sacerdos*) in the order.[192] In return, she financed the construction of a tympanum in the pronaos of Room 2 in the Sacellum. Two portrait busts in high relief of Victoria Cassia and her deceased husband, L. Laecanius Primitivus, create the focal point of the pediment of the pronaos Cassia and Primitivus are further crowned with oak wreaths held aloft by two Victories. By representing herself in this way, she positioned herself as the sole heir of the family fortune on the same plane as her husband before his death.

With Cassia Victoria in mind, we can begin to better understand the relationship Domitia Europe had with her husband and the city of Gabii. The first two lines of the dedication of the Temple of Domus Domitia reads:

IN HONOREM MEMORIAE DOMVS DOMITIAE AUGUSTIAE CN*eii* DOMITI CORBVLONIS

FIL*ae* DOMITII POLYCARPVS ET EUROPE LOC*o* DAT*o* DECRETO ORDINIS DECVR*ionem* AEDEM[193]

The syntax of this inscription emphasizes two points. First, the names are listed in order of importance; first is Domitia, the Augusta being honored, then her father who was still favorably remembered in the second century, then the *Domitii* – Polycarpus and Europe. Their cognomen, of which they must have been proud as a sign of their manumission and the elevated household of

[192] The title of *sacerdos Augustalium* given to a woman was not necessarily unique, but quite rare.
[193] Inscription 1. "In honor of the memory of the *domus* of Domitia Augusta, daughter of Cnaeus Domitius Corbulo, Polycaprus and Europe Domitii [establish] in this place a shrine (*aedes*) by order of the order of the decurionii."

which they had been a part, is written in the plural, thus referring to both of them equally. Polycarpus as the husband is named first, as was the tradition, but the viewer most likely understood them together as one entity, as the *Domitii.* Just as Victoria Cassia was honored in an equal position as her husband, so too is Europe celebrated in a manner equal to Polycarpus.

The considerable funds and resources required for the temple dedicated by Polycarpus and Europe compel us to consider why it was constructed at Gabii specifically. Although the Augusta Domitia Longina is an often-overlooked member of the imperial family, evidence such as this dedication demonstrates that she might have been a pivotal figure in the life of the city of Gabii.

4.4 Domitia Longina

This temple dedication suggests that Domitia Longina must have been an important woman for some at Gabii: the temple foundation no doubt made her more so. Yet, the temple dedication brings up several conundra, most prominently why was a temple dedicated to the domus of a woman who was never deified? Moreover, even if she were a generous patron, why would the municipal council allow its construction? Domitia Longina was, after all, the wife of a disgraced emperor. How suitable a person was she to receive such a dedication? Who was she to the city of Gabii in particular?

In order to answer these questions properly, it is necessary to review the personal history of Domitia. In her article, "An Underestimated Augusta," Trudie Fraser looks to apply more of a psycho-analytic approach towards understanding the life of Domitia. By contextualizing her experience through the tumultuous reigns of Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and her husband, Domitian, Fraser paints a portrait of a strong and clever woman who most likely learned harsh lessons that taught her how to survive. From the beginning of her life, Domitia experienced both comfort and trauma. Her father, Cn. Domitius Corbulo, was a highly favored general in the east under Nero

until a family scandal ruined this reputation. Corbulo's son-in-law, L. Annius Vincianus, was discovered to have been plotting against the emperor. Due to this and Nero's heightened paranoia, Corbulo was ordered to commit suicide in 66 CE. Domitia was only a young teen (11-16 years old) when she lost her father. Her father's suicide was just the beginning of a devastating period of Domitia's life. In the final years of Nero's reign, 13 members of her close and extended family were either exiled, murdered, or forced to commit suicide. After Nero eventually committed suicide, an internal civil war erupted (now known as the "Year of the Four Emperors") creating an environment in Italy that was dangerous for anyone with a royal heritage such as Domitia. Domitia was able to avoid any negative attention, however, by supposedly hiding in her *suburbana villa* located at or near Gabii. Eventually, the general Vespasian overcame Vitellius and successfully claimed the throne for himself, ushering in a new era of calm in Rome.

Early in Vespasian's reign, the emperor went on campaign with his son Titus in Judea leaving his younger son, Domitian, behind. Dio reports that Domitian met Domitia during this time and became infatuated, despite her already being married.[194] Vespasian, upon his return, approved strongly of the union as it gave the Flavian family line a connection back to the Julio-Claudians (through her maternal grandmother, Junia Lebida) and thus further legitimacy for the throne. Domitian therefore convinced Domitia's husband to divorce her, which he did, and the pair were married before 73 CE. Domitian most likely also favored Domitia for her ability to have children as she had a son with her former husband. She did in fact bear Domitian one son, T. Flavius Caesar, but he died at a very young age.

In 81 CE, Domitian unexpectedly became emperor after the sudden death of Titus, who had only ascended to the throne two years prior after the death of their father. Immediately,

[194] 66.3.4.

Domitian bestowed the title of Augusta on his wife and ordered the deification of his deceased son. This act in effect made Domitia a *mater dei* (mother of a god), an appellation that had never been given to a living woman. Domitia embraced the title, however, and it appeared on several of her coins. However, during her time in the royal palace, Domitia was constantly the center of salacious rumors. Most notably, she was accused of having a love affair that pushed Domitian to exile her from Rome; she was eventually called back to the palace due to the demand of the people who loved her. Fraser argues that this whole affair was highly unlikely. Domitia experienced the death of many of her family members for reasons much less severe than a sex affair; presumably she would do all she could to avoid the ire of her increasingly erratic husband. Moreover, Domitian had only recently enacted a marriage law that would forbid him from taking her back (without killing her adulterous partner). Fraser casts heavy doubt that Domitia would have ever put herself in such a position.

Fraser points out several logical flaws with these rumors. Domitia's adolescent years were replete with family members being caught up, whether justly or unjustly, in conspiracies that led to their executions. She saw how easily a person could be killed at the whim of a jealous or suspicious emperor. Why would she risk her own fate by having dalliances with a man of such low standing, especially when it was clear that Domitian was becoming more and more erratic? As several scholars have observed, women of the imperial household were prime targets for authors to attack in order to slander the family as a whole. During the later years of Domitian's reign, he became increasingly unpopular with the Senate thus providing a reason as to why those in the senatorial class would spread such rumors.

There is much speculation that surrounds Domitia concerning the eventual assassination of her husband. Fraser emphasized that this must have been an incredibly perilous time for her, trying

to navigate between a paranoid emperor and the senators who wanted him gone. There is no evidence that Domitia played a direct part in the assassination, but clearly, she played her cards well. Even though Domitian received a *damnatio memoriae*, Domitia received no such demotion; her title of Augusta remained intact, in addition to retaining all of her land, demonstrating that not all of Domitian's orders were nullified.

4.5 Domitia after Domitian

By all appearances, Domitia was still considered a part of the Imperial establishment and had a degree of protection throughout the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian. As Nerva had neither wife nor daughters, Domitia remained the sole Augusta until Trajan's wife, Plotina, and sister, Marciana, accepted the title in 104-105 CE. Domitia, therefore, after the death of Julia Titi, lived as the sole Augusta for around 25 years. Although there are no surviving literary references of Domitia after the assassination of her husband, epigraphic and numismatic evidence strongly suggests that she was financially independent, popular in the provinces, and welcomed in imperial circles from this time until the end of her life.

As a living Augusta with a Julio-Claudian pedigree, Domitia must have received a level of respect from the imperial court, especially since she posed no real threat to anyone's reign. A statue from Ostia of an older Domitia that dates to the Trajanic period suggests such a situation (fig. 12). Modeled as the goddess Hera, Domitia holds a patera in her left hand and a long staff in her right. Fraser and Bieber identify the statue as Domitia through the styling of her hair and her facial characteristics.[195] She bears the wide-set eyes, strong square jaw and thin upper lip prevalent in her portraiture, but also features slightly full cheeks and noticeable naso-labial lines, all of which

[195] Fraser 2015, 246-50; Bieber 1977, 178.

denote an advanced age. The nose, which can be a helpful identification marker for Domitia, is unfortunately a restoration. Her hair, especially, harkens back to the Flavian coiffure, but has incorporated elements of the Trajanic style. The Flavian toupée, which is still present although diminished, is merged with the high vertical curls that were preferred by Trajan's sister, Marciana. Carlo Gasparri has suggested that the existence of this statue, along with other known portraits in the "Third Style" of Domitia, indicates that her image was disseminated during the reign of Trajan and could presumably have been erected in the Forum of Trajan, alongside other imperial women, such as Marcia, the mother of Trajan.[196] A colossal statue of Marcia was discovered in the east exedra of the forum, which has led other scholars to believe that the forum probably displayed several members of the royal family in the public space.[197] In addition, Fraser stresses that the blending of Flavian and Trajanic hairstyles indicates that Domitia not only coexisted with the current imperial family, but also lived amiably in a place of honor among them.[198]

By understanding the context in which Domitia lived, her role and influence on the city of Gabii becomes more understandable. Domitia was an independent, wealthy, and apparently cunning woman with Imperial and provincial support. What exactly tied Domitia to Gabii is unclear, but there are several plausible connections. First, it has been long thought by scholars that Domitia owned a *suburbana villa* at around Gabii. The origin of this claim is unclear, as it is not referenced in any of the literary evidence. It is first mentioned in McDermott and Orentzell study on Domitia and seems to have been expanded from there. Although it is possibly and perhaps even likely that Domitia did have such a villa, there is no physical or literary evidence of it.

[196] Gasparri 1979, 524-543.
[197] Varner 1995, 204. For more on the discovery, Bol 2010, Abb. 249 a-b.
[198] Fraser 2015, 247-50.

4.6 Domitia at Gabii

The presence of this inscription at Gabii is surprising for several reasons. Domitia Longina did not possess certain qualities that would warrant the construction of a temple in her honor. To begin with the most obvious, she was the wife of an assassinated emperor who received a *damnatio memoriae*. Two emperors before Domitian had received such treatment and the women associated with them did not fare well. Moreover, Domitia was granted the title of Augusta by Domitian and in other similar cases, the Senate would nullify such decrees, but apparently did not do so for Domitia. One might think that Domitia would have eschewed her relationship with Domitian in order to keep the favorable opinion of the succeeding emperors, but her bricks stamps, identifying her as the "wife of Domitian," clearly demonstrate that she was not concerned with the negative impacts of such a connection.

Lastly, although Domitia maintained her title, she was never deified upon her death. Although outside of Italy the restrictions around worshipping mortals were more lenient, on the peninsula this rule was observed more stringently. There are only a few cases in which non-deified women were worshipped in some capacity. First, Livia, the wife of Augustus, had priestesses worshipping her during her life time. As far as we know, however, there was only one temple dedicated to her, but it was built after she was deified, and she shared the honor with Tiberius. Antonia, the mother of Claudius, had at least one priestess dedicated to her cult in Ruscino, a small town in Gallia Narbonensis. Finally, Agrippina Minor also had a cult while she was still alive in Aeclanum in Italy, but most likely this did not last long after her execution by her son. With these women as the only comparison, the Temple of Domus Domitia stands unique. The dedication indicates that it is not just the declaration of a cult, but the construction of an entire temple.

Although it is a dedication to her domus, it is not shared with anyone named in the same manner as the temple to Tiberius and Livia (and Livia had, by contrast, been officially deified).

In light of these circumstances, it seems that Domitia must have held special significance in the city of Gabii for the magistrates to disregard the standard customs and allow the construction of a temple in honor of her domus. The most likely explanation lies in her impressive wealth and strong imperial connection that she must have brought to the city.

As mentioned above, Domitia was very wealthy in her later life as a rentier of her numerous properties. Perhaps her most profitable venture came from the *figlinae Sulpicianae.*[199] The exact location of this property is unknown, but is often considered to be close to Gabii in the Praenestina region.[200] Domitia, who appears as the *dominus* of this *figlinae* on brick stamps, clearly brought wealth to the area as we can see from the beneficence of her former slaves, Polycarpus and Europe. She must have also operated openly and proudly, for many of her brick stamps feature the title "Wife of Domitian,"[201] showing no hesitation to pair herself with her former husband, who was both assassinated and had his memory condemned.[202]

The history of the *figlinae Sulpicianae* before it was owned by Domitia is convoluted and difficult to discern. As far as I know, there are no literary references to the clay district, so all we have to understand its chronology, ownership, and location are the bricks and tiles bearing its name. There are dozen or so known examples of such objects, and they begin to appear in the first

[199] *Figlinae* were sections of land that were highly suited for the production of brick and tile. It would include both the location for harvesting the clay as well as the *officina*, the manufactory in which the actual modeling and firing took place. Champlin 1983, 258-9.
[200] McDermott and Orentzell 1976, 82.
[201] EX FIGLINIS DO[M] DOM.
[202] Bodel 1983. A title that may suggest that the marriage between Domitia and Domitian was not as fraught as the ancient accounts may have us believe; alternatively, she may have been actively trying to refute such a perception whether it was true or not.

half of the second century, during the reign of Trajan, into the years of Hadrian.[203] It is during this time, by the beginning of the second century, that stamps began to feature only the name of the *dominus*, leaving out the *officinator,* the person who actually managed and operated the manufactory.[204] Eventually, by the reign of Hadrian, the majority of these clay districts were owned by the imperial family and only featured their name(s). So, for the *figlinae Sulpicianae,* there are 17 different names recorded on clay products during the years of Trajan and Hadrian, but it is unclear which are actual *domini.* According to Steinby, who narrows down the list to ten names,[205] several appear to have been cultivating clay from the Sulpicinae district at contemporaneous periods. From this, she is able to determine that only the material constructed under five of them, including Domitia,[206] are seen to reach the year 123 CE, after which point, only Domitia's name is recorded. Inferring from this, it seems that Domitia came to own the entirety of the Sulpicianae property during the reign of Hadrian.

It is difficult to determine the location of this clay district. The material that was produced there has overwhelmingly been discovered along the Via Prenestina,[207] but the evidence does not give a more specific area than that.[208] Nevertheless, we know that such districts needed copious amounts of water to be successful and were most often located near a natural water source.[209] As

[203] For a full list of the bricks and tiles associated with *figlinae Sulpicinae,* including the *domini*, see Steinby 1975-6, 89-92.
[204] This person was not always a slave of the *dominus*, which might indicate that some *domini* were not very involved in the production but only received funds from it.
[205] Thus suggesting that the other names are *officinatores* and could be working for one of the other *domini*.
[206] The names of the other four are Claudius Livianus, M. P () C (), A. Villius Alexander, and M. Vincius Pantagathus. Of these, Claudius is the most well-known, as he was the praetorian prefect under Trajan. This could be an indication of the land slowly shifting into the hands of the Imperial elite and those adjacent to them.
[207] McDermott & Orentzell 1976, 82. They are also found in large numbers in Ostia and Rome.
[208] In addition to the stamped bricks and tiles, a *sigilla impressa* with the name of Claudius Livianus, who owned a Sulpicinian manufactory around the same time as Domitia, was discovered near Palestrina as well as a lead pipe discovered in Olevano Romano. CIL XIV 4091.3a, CIL XIV 3439 respectively.
[209] Champlin 1983, 258-9.

we know from some legal proceedings in the 18th century carried out by Carlo Fea, the lake was not drained until the 17th century, which indicates the strong likelihood that the lake was indeed a lake in the Imperial period. [210] Furthermore, Lago di Castiglione was the most sizable body of water in the Praenestina region, which positions it as the most likely water source for the *figlinae Sulpicianae.*

4.7 Representations of Domitia

Hamilton also unearthed three full scale female sculptures that could plausibly be imperial or civic dedications. Unfortunately, either because from the damage of time or from the subsequent restorations of the sculptures, none has identifying features that could potentially lead to an identification of such a woman as Domitia. The sculptures in question are cat. ns. 22 ("Nemesis"), 27 ("Plotina"), and 24 ("Sabina").

According to the restoration reports from the Louvre and Visconti's description in *Monumenti*, cat. n. 22 does not have its original arms, feet, or head. The cornucopia, which appears ancient, does not belong to this sculpture. The body, however, is mostly original with only a few additions of tassels and lead pellets. It represents a woman wearing a finely sculpted stola with heavy folds; her left leg bears all the weight, with the right leg lifted as if in the middle of a step forward. The sense of movement is heightened by the contour of the right leg seen through the drapery, giving the statue a modified *contrapposto* position. Due to its incomplete state, it is not possible to determine if this sculpture once portrayed one of the several women honored at Gabii.

Although no portrait of Domitia was discovered during Hamilton's excavation, it seems highly unlikely that none ever existed. The dedication erected by her freedmen, Polycarpus and Europe,

[210] Ridley 2000, 274.

indicates the construction of not a small shrine, but a full *templum* adorned with *statuis et reliquis* (line 7 and 2, respectively), that was substantial enough to also have a decree inscribed in bronze to be erected *in publico* (line 14) (insc. 1) Reasonably, therefore, the temple funded by her freedmen, should have included a statue of Domitia Longina. A compelling parallel that would support the presence of at least one statue of Domitia is the statue of Eumachia discovered within her building in Pompeii. As reviewed in Chapter 3, Eumachia was a very wealthy priestess who funded the construction of a large building within the forum of Pompeii. In addition to statues of imperial ancestors, local *summi viri,* and Concordia, was a statue of the patroness herself.[211] Although the statuses of Eumachia and Domitia are quite different, Eumachia appears to have been purposefully emulating the styles and actions of other imperial women, especially Livia.[212] A statue of Domitia, an Augusta, therefore, would have been appropriately included in the temple space.

Through comparative analysis of the body types, I contend that one statue, cat. n. 27, bears enough similarities with another confirmed statue of Domitia of the Trajanic era to reasonably conclude that it was bore the countenance of the former empress. This comparable full-length statue of Domitia (perhaps the only surviving example of such) was discovered within a Hadrianic building in Ostia and is currently located within the Museo Profano Lateranense in Rome (fig. 12) Modeled as the goddess Hera, she is holding a *patera* in her left hand and a long staff in her right. Fraser and Bieber identify the statue as Domitia through the styling of her hair and her facial characteristics.[213] She bears the wide-set eyes, strong square jaw and thin upper lip prevalent in her portraiture, but also features slightly fully cheeks and noticeable naso-labial lines, all of which

[211] Kellum 2021, 71.
[212] Longfellow 2021, 123.
[213] Fraser 2015, 246-50; Bieber 1977, 178.

denotes an advanced age.[214] Her hair, especially, harkens back to the Flavian coiffure, but has incorporated elements of the Trajanic style. The Flavian toupée, which is still present although diminished, is merged with the high vertical curls that were preferred by Trajan's sister, Marciana.



Figure 12

Left: statue of Domitia from Ostia. Bieber 1994, figs. 775-776. Right: "Sabina" cat. n. 29. Louvre. MA 1037.

Carlo Gasparri has suggested that the existence of this statue, along with three other known portraits in the "Third Style" of Domitia, indicates that her image was disseminated during the reign of Trajan and could presumably have been erected in the Forum of Trajan, alongside other

[214] The nose, which can be a helpful identification marker for Domitia, is unfortunately a restoration.

imperial women, such as Marcia, the mother of Trajan.[215] In addition, Fraser stresses that the blending of Flavian and Trajanic hairstyles indicates that Domitia not only coexisted with the current imperial family, but also lived amiably in a place of honor among them.[216]

If this is the case, what then is the possibility that this portrait type also existed at Gabii? Admittedly, the Temple of Domus Domitia finalized construction in 140 CE, whereas Fraser believes that the new style of portraiture was developed after Marciana and Plotina accepted the title of Augusta in 104/5 CE.[217] Nevertheless, a style of portraiture could persist for decades; since there are no known later examples of Domitia, and if there was a statue of her at Gabii, then there is a high likelihood that it was similar to the one found in Ostia.[218]

The Gabii statue and the Ostia statue have notable similarities in style and manufacture. Both are larger than life-sized and posed similarly: the left leg bears all the weight while the right leg, slightly bent at the knee, moves forward in mid-step. The right arms and left hands of both statues are not original, so it is impossible to know what either one was holding. The orientation of both arms is similar, except for the right shoulder of the Ostia statue, which seems to be oriented at an angle more parallel to the ground and lacks the extra fabric that is seen covering the upper arm of the Gabii statue. As for the left arm, the remaining portions are bent at the elbow similarly, both supporting a belt of fabric of their stola over the forearm – a common posture denoting high status and *dignitas*.[219] Perhaps the most conspicuous commonalities are present in the drapery of their

[215] Gasparri 1979, 524-543. A colossal statue of Marcia was discovered in the east exedra of the forum, which has led other scholars to believe that the forum probably displayed several members of the royal family in the public space. Varner 1995, 204. For more on the discovery, Bol 2010, Abb. 249 a-b.
[216] Fraser 2015, 247-50.
[217] Fraser 2015, 246.
[218] Whether the sculpture was made specifically for Gabii or not is difficult to determine. We know of other instances in which older sculptures were purchased on the market if it was particularly suitable for the needs of the buyer. For an example of this, see Bartman 1988.
[219] Sebesta and Bonfante 1994.

stolae. The garment falls in almost the exact same manner on each statue – the folds cascade from the shoulder down, bunching more heavily on the left side, meeting with the fabric of the belt that hangs from the left forearm. Even the undulations in the drapery as it reaches towards the bottom matches in style and arrangement.

It may be never possible to confirm whether cat. n. 27 statue once represented Domitia at Gabii, yet, as the evidence currently stands, it is surely the most likely of all the recovered sculptures to have done so.

4.8 Women in the City

The women presented in this chapter contributed to the revitalization of Gabii in the 1st and 2nd century CE, each in different degrees to different effects. The priestess, Agusia Priscilla, is known to us only through one inscription, but the inscription is telling. Not only does it reveal the presence of a cult of *spes et salus* and a corresponding shrine at Gabii, but also the extent of her considerable wealth. It is unclear how she came to her status – the inscription only notes that she is the daughter of "Titus." Presumably, if her money was an inheritance either from a father or husband, there would be more attention given to this relation in the dedication. Instead, she is noted to be in accordance with other *illustrae feminae.* Agusia Priscilla made a physical impression on the city, through the reconstruction of a portico, the funding of games, the donation of garments, and the reimbursement of her own statue, but she must have made a strong social impression as well. She was a demonstration of an independent woman who affected her social landscape through her wealth and prestige, and in doing so, enhanced Gabii's differentiation of identity from Rome.

Agusia Priscilla was clearly not alone in this distinction. Domitia Europe and her husband, Domitius Polycarpus, expended a considerable amount of money financing a new temple that was

furnished with statues and insured for future restorations and banquets. The physical and social presence created by this decree must have been substantial in the city. One can imagine the yearly banquets around the bronze inscription commemorating the temple, which honored not only Domitia Longina and her domus, but also the Domitii, Europe and Polycarpus. Perhaps even Europe was one of the illustrious women that Agusia Priscilla, who lived slightly after, emulated.

The woman who made the most impact on Gabii in the second century is the former empress, Augusta Domitia Longina. The majority of the evidence of Gabii's resurgence concentrates around the same time that Domitia survived the assassination of her husband and began developing her independence, at the end of the 1st century. There is no direct evidence of any interaction between Domitia and the emperors concerning Gabii, but perhaps her presence there and interest in the location worked as a magnet of imperial focus. The city was not just one of many that an emperor might pass, but rather a place favored by a member of the imperial court. Hadrian, who showed his interest in the city and even invested funds for its upkeep – was perhaps even influenced by the former Augusta. If so, the appreciation of Domitia by the Gabines is even more fitting.

Finally, it is equally important to acknowledge that these women were not acting in a vacuum. As we can see with the influence and wealth of the silk trader Epaphroditus or the explicit authorization of the magistrates, these women were still operating in a world dominated by men, and more broadly, the Roman state. In the concluding chapter, I explore the nature of the Gabine social and urban landscape as compared to that of Rome, especially how it strives to differentiate itself as a middle-range city while still maintaining a positive status in the Roman world of dominance.

Chapter 5 The Gabii Altar: A Case Study

"Siccome nell'osservare questo singolarissimo monumento sono stato in dubio…"

"In regards to my observations concerning this most singular monument, I have been in the dark…"

-E.Q. Visconti, Monumenti, 38.

The object known as the "Gabii Altar" (cat. n. 5) has presented a conundrum to scholars and visitors alike ever since it arrived at the Musée du Louvre two centuries ago. The object, discovered by Hamilton is a large, sculpted, circular disk in marble, persuasively dated to the Hadrianic period.[220] It is anomalous for several reasons. Though commonly called an "altar," it does not match any known Roman altar in its shape and decorative elements. Its most notable feature is the presence of twelve finely sculpted high-relief busts of Olympian divinities, radially arranged around a shallow circular recess, the function of which is likewise unclear. Finally, the vertical rim of the disc features a low-relief frieze of the zodiac accompanied by various symbols that correspond with the gods and goddesses represented by the busts on the horizontal plane. While the zodiac itself is well-known in Roman art, what makes the present depiction distinctive is that the order of the busts of the divinities does not correspond to the order of the zodiacal and divine symbols along the rim. [221]

[220] Musée du Louvre, Inv. Nr. MA 666. This date has been agreed upon by the conservators at the Louvre, and scholars Charlotte Long and Henri Stern; I discuss its dating below.

[221] Zodiacal symbols appear most notably on Mithraic monuments encircling images of Mithras and the bull, which date to the 3rd and 4th century CE, well after the Gabii object. In fact, it is likely that the Gabii object is one of the earliest visual representations of the zodiac in a circular form. For more see, Waerden 1952; Stern 1972; and Gury 1994.

Although this object has been presented in several publications, very few scholars have attempted an explanation of its purpose and function.[222] Because of the lack of relevant comparanda in Roman art, no hypothesis can be regarded as proven. Nevertheless, after reviewing previous ideas and drawing on more recent archaeological finds, I posit that it should be considered a part of a distinct class of altars that are meant only for non-blood offerings. This type of altar, which I have termed *ara supplicationis,* was used frequently in all types of cult activities, but especially for the celebration of rites associated with female-centric rituals, such as the cult of the empress as practiced in Gabii during the first and second century CE.

5.1 The Gabii Altar

The Gabii Altar was discovered in 1792 by Hamilton along with the majority of the Gabine sculptures already reviewed in this study. It was most likely discovered within the forum of imperial Gabii.

Visconti, the curator of the sculptures, prepared an entry on each of the objects discovered at Gabii in his *Monumenti* volume, offering a description, identification, and possible date along with some suggestions about function for each one. Some objects caught his interest and he investigated them in greater depth. He devoted an exceptional amount of space and intellectual energy to the task of interpreting the Gabii Altar, giving it over twenty pages whereas he wrote no more than two on any other object in the collection. His analysis provides invaluable information concerning the way the remarkable work was restored under the Borghese and how it was understood in the 18th century. His analysis and interpretation are discussed further below.

[222] These publications include (but are not limited to): Charbonneaux 1963; Kersauson 1986; and Long 1987; and Bignamini and Hornsby 2010.

5.1.1 Description

The object is a thick, circular disc sculpted from Pentelic marble.[223] In the center is a circular recess approximately 2 cm. in depth, which is surrounded by twelve busts of divinities. Various attributes, such as scepters and a trident, are carved in very low-relief beside the majority of the gods and goddesses.[224] The vertical edge is carved in low-relief with depictions of twelve signs of the zodiac that alternate with depictions of divine symbols, each one corresponding to one of the gods or goddesses on the upper horizontal plane. Its bottom surface is unfinished and rough, suggesting at the very least it was not intended to be seen.

The twelve busts on the top represent divinities normally included in the Olympian pantheon and associated with the months of the Roman calendar (fig. 13).[225] From left to right, the order is as follows (with the month for which they serve as a *tutela* in parenthesis): Juno (January), Neptune (February), Vulcan (September), Mercury (June), Ceres (August), Vesta (December), Diana (November), Mars (October), Venus (April), Jupiter (July), Minerva (March), and Apollo (May).[226] Of the goddesses, only Vesta and Ceres lack attributes, but they are identified by their hairstyles and by process of elimination. The attributes accompanying the remaining divinities consist of a scepter (Apollo), a diadem and scepter (Juno), a trident (Neptune), a *pilos,* and a scepter (Vulcan), a winged caduceus (Mercury), a quiver (Diana), a helmet decorated with a lion (Mars),

[223] Although the marble has not been confirmed as Pentelic by any scientific measures, it was identified as such first by Visconti and then by the conservators of the Louvre, led by Drs. Daniel Roger and Martin Szewczyk, who wrote the report. *Monumenti,* 38.
[224] Several of these attributes were carved in such low-relief they are difficult to discern without close examination. This suggests that they were likely painted for increased visibility. If this was the case, then it also makes feasible that other parts of the object were once painted as well (especially the eyes of the busts, which lack any physical markings that would indicate irises, pupils, etc.).
[225] There is some variation to this, especially in artistic representations. Yet, these are the divinities listed by the 1st century Roman astrologer and poet Manilius *Astronomica* 2.433-452 and listed on Roman rustic calendars (see fn. 19 for more).
[226] These identifications were proposed by Visconti himself and are dependent on the final result of restoration. The question of whether these busts were restored correctly is addressed below.

a cupid on the shoulders of both Venus and Mars, a lightning bolt (Jupiter), and a helmet and spear (Minerva).

On the vertical rim each of the twenty-four images in low relief relates to one of the gods/goddesses above (figs. 13 & 14). Beginning with the relief directly beneath the bust of Juno, the order of symbols (with the associated zodiac or divinity in parentheses) moving clockwise are: two fish (Pisces), dolphins (Neptune), a *putto* with a pitcher (Aquarius), peacock (Juno), a sea goat (Capricorn), a lamp (with the head of an animal, possibly a donkey) (Vesta), a *putto* as an archer (Sagittarius), a dog (Diana), a scorpion (Scorpio), a wolf (Mars), a *putto* with scales (Libra), a *pilos*[227] (Vulcan), a maiden (Virgo), a basket (Ceres), a lion (Leo), an eagle (Jupiter), a crab (Cancer), a winged turtle (Mercury), a tripod (Apollo), a bull (Taurus), a dove (Venus), a ram (Ares), and an owl (Minerva).

[227] The dossier of this object from the Louvre identifies this object as an *omphalos*, a boundary stone. Visconti, however, identifies it as Vulcan's *pilos* with a snake wrapped around it. He views this snake as representative of Erichthonius, the legendary founder of Athens, who was said to have been born from the earth; Visconti refers to him as "the son of the god of fire and earth." *Monumenti*, 51. Pausanias I.2.6.



Figure 13

Detail of each bust and its identification assigned by Visconti. Diagram: author.

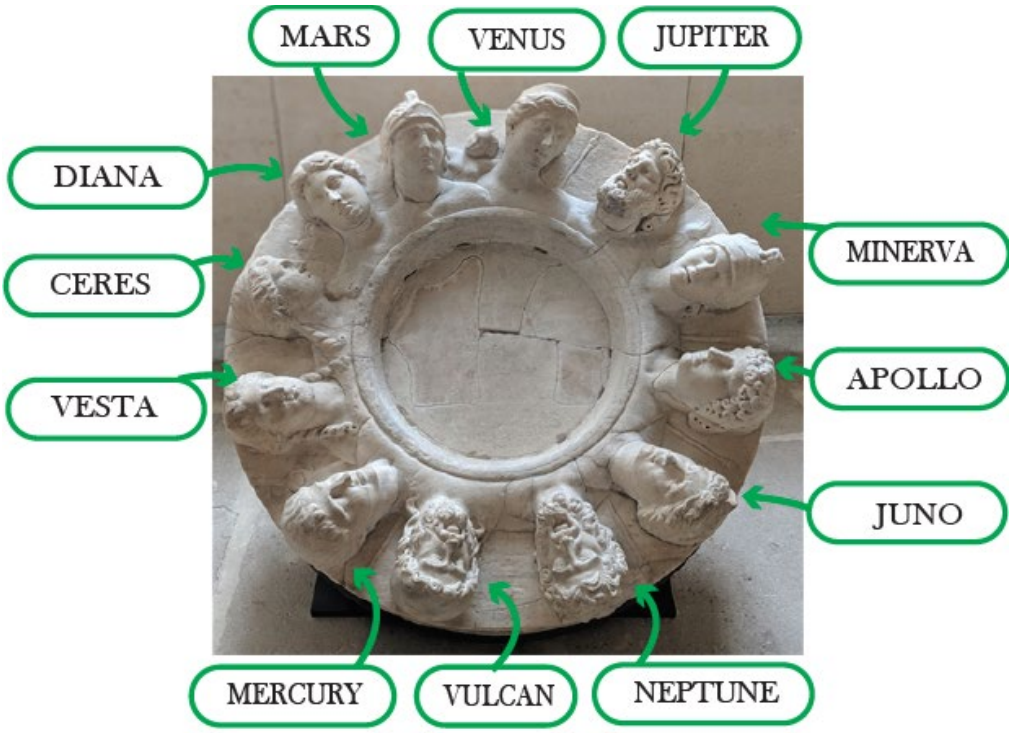


Figure 14

Location of each divinity on the Gabii Altar (*bottom*).

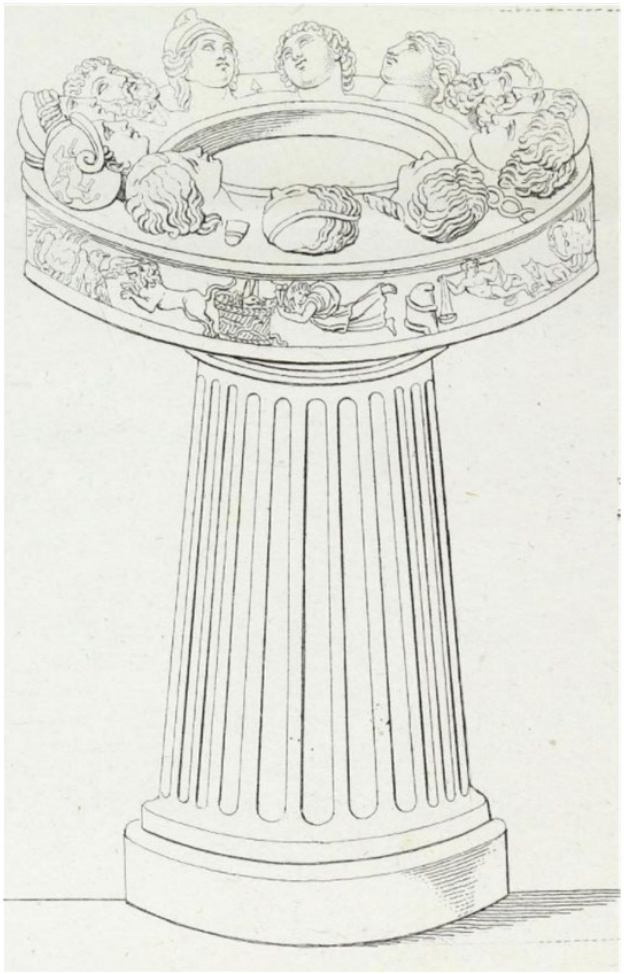


Figure 15

Visconti's illustration of the Gabii Altar on a circular pillar. He surmised that it most likely rested on such a pillar, either as a sundial or altar. *Monumenti.*

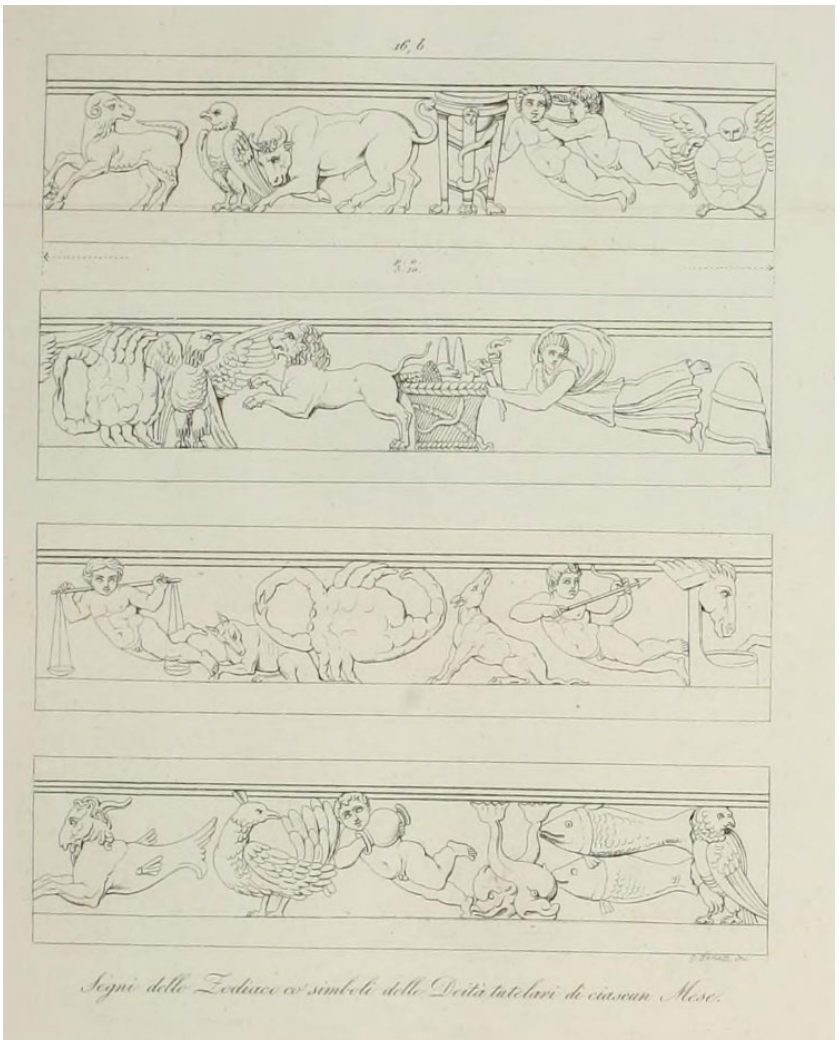


Figure 16

Another illustration detailing the zodiac and divine attributes along its side. *Monumenti.*

The object is dated to the Hadrianic period on the basis of stylistic considerations. Specifically, the fine sculpting of the hair of the bearded divinities, namely Neptune and Jupiter, shows carefully rendered drilling that adds dynamism but does not dominate the styling of the hair.[228] This selective drilling is particularly noticeable at the ends of the singular curls resting on the necks of Ceres and Vesta. Also, the original vestiges of Apollo's locks are distinguished by

[228] I do not add Vulcan to this list as his visage and hair was completely recut by the Borghese studio sculptors.

singular drill holes for each curl. The techniques used to sculpt the object are generally regarded by scholars as characteristic of the first half of the second century, when sculptors were experimenting more boldly with the drill but had not yet attained the level of expertise seen in the Antonine period.[229]

5.1.2 Restoration

The disc was once broken into three large fragments that have been rejoined. A major join crosses at the center, running from the nape of Ceres' neck to Apollo's shoulder; another runs from the middle of this central crack towards the center-left of Jupiter. To the naked eye, it appears that only two types of marble are present – the original Pentelic and the type used by the restorers.

Of the busts, the original designations of Visconti remain the standard ones (figs. 15 and 16). The portrait of Apollo is heavily restored - all of his head was replaced except for a small number of curls above his neck on the left side which appear to be original, and these curls led Visconti to identify the bust as the divinity. The complete bust of Minerva is modern; in fact, the entire triangular quadrant in which she is placed is a restoration, which indicates that Hamilton was unable to recover all of the object during excavation. In the case of Juno, another poorly preserved bust which was restored, Visconti explained that there was no immediate indication of which deity was once in that position. He finally settled on Juno on the merits of her prominence as an Olympian and the expectation that she would be represented with the rest of the Olympian deities.[230] In addition, the face of Vulcan was heavily deteriorated, but restored as a mature version

[229] Rockwell 1993.

[230] This brings up the question as to how Visconti distinguished between this bust of Juno and the two busts of Ceres and Vesta. Visconti explained how the sign of Aquarius present on the rim connects Juno to the object as that is the zodiac symbol assigned to the goddess by the astronomer Manilius. Furthermore, Visconti added that the hairstyles of the other two goddesses resemble certain depictions of them found on Roman coins, for which he only gave the citation "[n]elle monete delle Auguste" (on the coins of Augustus). *Monumenti* 44.

of the god with a beard (similar to Jupiter's), owing to the *pilos* that was still visible. Lastly, Neptune is a complete restoration, including his accompanying trident which is the only one of the attributes on the horizontal plane that was engraved into the marble instead of in three-dimensional relief, thus suggesting it was a later addition by the sculptor-restorers. The other seven busts preserve considerable portions of their original form. Aside from Neptune's trident, however, there is no indication that the other attributes carved in low relief to the left or right of the busts, such as Diana's quiver, have been restored. Though no traces of polychromy survive, the fact that the low-relief symbols are seen only with difficulty makes it likely that all or some portion of the object was once painted.

According to Visconti, the zodiac signs and divine attributes along the vertical edge had to be modestly restored.[231] Most notably, half of the lamp of Vesta was re-sculpted with the head of a donkey on its handle; Visconti reasoned that a donkey was more likely to have represented the goddess as the animal was known to have awakened her in one myth.[232] Moreover, Visconti added the owl of Minerva by virtue of its position, and he decided to recut the ram of Aries in the same manner as that found on the Farnese Atlas, assuming that this was the most common visual type.[233] The dove of Venus, likewise, was almost entirely recut except for its tail and the lower part of its wings. Aside from these notable restorations, the frieze retains its original form.

5.2 The Question of Function

As mentioned above, the original suggestions for the function of the Gabii object proffered by Visconti--that it is either a sundial or an altar--still remain the two most common interpretations.

[231] *Monumenti,* 46-47.
[232] *Monumenti,* 53.
[233] The Farnese Atlas is a well-known Roman sculpture emulating a Greek sculpted marble globe of the ancient heavens. For more, see Künzl 2005, 66.

After reviewing the merits of each, I offer my own proposal that it was a very particular kind of altar specially used for non-blood sacrifices, which were very common for female-centric cults.

5.2.1 Sundial

In his description of the object, Visconti described eight horizontal slits along the bottom edge of the recess, inside which he found trace amounts of indeterminate metal. To him, these metallic traces could have been from the installation of a *gnomon*, a circular disc with a perpendicular vertical element designed to cast a shadow. This suggestion is appealing for several reasons. First and foremost, the iconography clearly relates to the cycle of the year, i.e., the passage of time. Moreover, the circular form, while relatively uncommon for altars, was a common shape for sundials.[234] As a sundial, Visconti further surmised that it would have been placed on a cylindrical or quadrilateral column, which would have been inscribed with the calendar of a given year, similar to the one known as the Farnesian Rustic Calendar (fig. 17).[235] Such a column would provide the necessary information for determining holidays and the tutelary deities for each month. Eventually, Visconti rejected his earlier idea by making the observation that the shadow cast by any gnomon would fall too irregularly on the faces of busts.[236] Additionally, there are other considerations that make the object's use as a sundial unlikely.

[234] Examples such as the sundial in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Altino (Inv. Nr. AL10) or the sundial carved on the horizontal section of a column in the House of the Figured Capitals (Reg. VII, ins. 4) demonstrate the circular nature of certain sundials. The sundial in Altino, however, is circular two-dimensionally, but half-spherical three-dimensionally; the flat surface of the column sundial in Pompeii, to which the Gabii altar is closer in shape, seems to be rarer.
[235] See fn. 19.
[236] *Monumenti* pp. 40-42.



Figure 17

Roman rustic calendar, also known as the *Menologium Rusticum Colotianum,* with a frieze of the signs of the zodiac along its top edge. Visconti surmises that the Gabii Altar was probably held up by a column of this sort.

In my own survey of sundials, I found none that lacks inscribed lines marking the hours. Moreover, I found none that has such extensive ornamentation on the surface, which would have impeded a clear shadow. Moreover, Visconti's tentative reconstruction of fitting a gnomon in the

middle recess does not conform to any known type of sundial in Roman times.[237] In short, the object could not have served as a sundial on its own, but it could have potentially served as the base for one although this is still unlikely.

One example of such a configuration is the *Menologium Rusticum Vallense*; this monument, today known only through a sixteenth-century illustration, bears striking similarities to the surviving Farnesian calendar.[238]Each has four sides, stands vertically like a column, and depicts the zodiac along with the months, festivals, and agricultural activities inscribed in twelve vertical sections. The surviving illustration of the *Menologium Rusticum Vallense* shows that a three-sided sundial sat upon it.[239] Although the Farnesian Calendar does not have such a sundial, a cylindrical cavity in the center of its top surface strongly suggests that something such as a sundial was once installed upon it.

If we imagine the Gabii object as the base of a sundial, analogous to the two described above, then it must have been a central piece in a composite monument. Presumably, a sundial could be installed in the central recess, which would explain the eight slits and traces of metal. Yet, the final shape of the Gabii object would be quite different from the two calendars. Instead of serving as its own column, it would need another element to lift it off the ground. The *Menologium Rusticum Vallense* is the only known example of such a sundial, but is attested solely through an illustration. Thus, it is necessary to consider the evidence with a healthy dose of skepticism concerning the authenticity of its rendering. Nevertheless, this drawing does at least suggest that

[237]For more on ancient sundials, see Wright 2000, 177–187; Hannah 2011, 87–95; Catamo, Lanciano, Locher, Lombardero, and Valdés 2000, 203–221.
[238] Illustration is a part of the Carpio Collection, currently held by the Society of Antiquaries of London.
[239] The drawing is accredited to Andrea Coner, who described the artifact in a letter to Bernardo Rucellai, saying "I send you… the model of the ancient hierologic which is found in the House of certain Roman Gentilhomeni [sic] called della Valle which is certainly beautiful. It is made of white marble and has the Figures of twelve such signs in relief…" Ashby 1904, 32-3, Figs. 47-48.

such a composition is possible, and perhaps the discovery of further comparanda will support such a conclusion. Until such evidence is discovered, however, the assertion that it is a type of altar seems more likely.

5.3 Altar

The second and most common hypothesis concerning the Gabii object's function is that it served as an altar. Like sundials, imperial altars could have intricate ornamentation, but it is rare to find any such ornamentation on the upper surface. Visconti himself settled on this idea though he granted that the busts would have been obstructive for any sacrificial activity.[240] In support of his argument he noted that the busts gradually slope downward in projection, with Apollo being the most pronounced and Ceres, opposite Apollo, the least. Visconti interpreted this as the sculptor's attempt to accommodate the officiant, who would access the center recess by standing in front of the Ceres bust. This "solution," unfortunately, still does not answer the question of why an altar, presumably intended for the full range of sacrificial activities, would have such high-relief sculpture in the first place.

One element that does suggest that the Gabii object served as an altar as Visconti imagined, is the preservation of black marks that could be the residue of burning. Yet only one bust that is still original, Venus, exhibits such marks. Jupiter, whose face is wholly restored, has similar marks suggesting that the same element caused the damage to both busts simultaneously. If that is the case, then the marks presumably occurred *after* restoration, while in the care of the Borghese. Thus, there is no secure evidence for burn marks that existed before the altar's discovery. This does not necessarily exclude the possibility that further such traces once existed and were cleaned

[240] *Monumenti* 42.

away, but it also does not provide any positive evidence for its use in fire-related activities in antiquity.

The persistent challenge in identifying the Gabii object as an altar, however, is that it does not conform to known altar types. Altars have traditionally been divided into five different classes, with the Latin designations: *focus, foculus, mensa, ara,* and *altaria.*[241] It can be argued that all five of these terms were used interchangeably, but technically they had different meanings. According to Bowerman, the *focus* referred to what contained the sacrificial fire, or to a brazier that was placed on top of the altar. The *foculus,* the diminutive form of *focus*, was explicitly portable, such as a vessel or tripod. The *mensa*, seemed to be used for two different types of tables. First, it was the table where the necessary tools for the sacrifice was placed and/or the offerings that would be sacrificed during the ritual. Only once does Festus use the term to denote the altar itself.[242] The terms *ara* and *altaria* were often synonymous and were the primary terms for the main altar upon which a sacrifice was made.

The *ara* and *altaria* are further divided into those with a straight profile and those with a curving profile. It is to this latter category that, if an altar, the Gabii object belongs. In terms of decoration near the top, it is most typical to see "pointed appendages or 'horns' at the corners of the top… [and] altars with shallow depressions of various shapes and depths in the upper surface."[243] Bowerman explains that these depressions of the latter altar sub-type were most likely used only for libations and other non-blood offerings. In view of this, the Gabii object, though not a standard altar, perhaps functioned in a similar way and excluded blood sacrifices.

[241] Bowerman 1913, 5-6.
[242] *Gloss. Lat.* IV.
[243] Ibid., 8-9; Altmann 1905.

5.4 Ara Supplicationis

Rather than serving as a sundial or a traditional altar, therefore, I propose that the Gabii object served as an "offering" altar or an *ara supplicationis* for annual rituals that did not require animal sacrifices or intensive burning. Its shape, size, and decoration would have made it eminently suitable for such offerings, often referenced as *supplicationes,* which could entail libations, cakes (called *libum*[244]*),* incense burning, and "first fruits," [245] all of which are well-attested in literary, epigraphic, and visual sources. Although it was common for officiants to pour libations (either milk, wine, honey, or oil)[246] before or after an animal sacrifice, *supplicationes* very often served as the main form of offering for many rituals.[247]

The element that makes the Gabii Altar unique, that is, the 12 protruding busts encircling the top plane, also, I would argue, provide the most evidence for its function. As mentioned above, Visconti first hesitates to call the object an altar since the busts would have been obstructive to the officiant.[248] Clearly, for most altars, it was essential for the top to be flat and unobstructed. For blood sacrifices, which are not tidy affairs, the Gabii altar's surface is decidedly unsuitable. Such a sacrifice would have obscured the most remarkable features of the object, i.e. the busts, negating the expense required to create it. *Supplicationes*, on the other hand, would not be deterred by the Gabii Altar's shape nor would it detract from its presentation. [Do you know if there are any traces of paint on the busts? Could this possibly be an elaborate imago clipeatae frame?? Just trying to think of possible counter-arguments to your position so you can anticipate them.]

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[244] Cato *Agr.* 75; Varro *Ling* 5.106.
[245] Cic. *Leg.* 2.19. Rives 2013, 137-38. I chose the term *supplicationes* since it serves to mean "non-blood offering" on such lists as the *Feriale Duranum*, a cult calendar of the Roman army, and the *commentarii* of the Arval Brothers.
[246] Siebert 1999, 26-59.
[247] Ryberg 1955; Huet et *al.* 2004, 203-18; Rives 2013, 137; Cato *Agr.* 141.2, 134.1.
[248] *Monumenti,* 41.

An altar that was designed specifically for *supplicationes,* however, has not been explicitly identified up to this point, despite the higher frequency of such offerings compared to blood sacrifices in the Imperial period.[249] Rives demonstrated in his survey of different officiants that sacrificing a *victima* was a substantial and costly act reserved for the most important celebrations. According to the records of the Arval Brothers, a priestly brotherhood in Rome revived by Augustus in the Imperial period*,* almost all sacrifices in honor of imperial family members, except for the Augustus, were *supplicationes*.[250] Due to this high frequency, it is probable that certain altars were *only* used for such offerings.

As an *ara supplicationis*, the Gabii Altar most likely comprised multiple parts. First, Visconti's assumption that it once sat upon a pillar seems most plausible. The bottom of the object is rough, but not unprepared. It appears fashioned by the claw chisel, a tool that was used to prepare the marble to connect or attach to another element. Additionally, we do see similar compositions in certain altar depictions from the Bay of Naples. For example, a composite altar is seen in the *cubiculum nocturnum* (bedroom) of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale. On the left wall in an urban scene, we see a small altar with alternating colors of ocher and marble, which gives the strong impression of multiple sections that have been joined. Similarly, the Gabii Altar was most likely constructed in separate parts before being put together for sacrificial use.

[249] Rives 2013, 137-138.
[250] The Arval Brothers were a brotherhood that worshipped the "ancient and obscure Dea Dia" in the Republican period. It was reinstated under Augustus in the early Imperial period, during which time they continued the worshipping of Dea Dia as well as performing and/or recording the annual sacrifices in honor of the members of the imperial family and other notable festivals. Rives 2013, 135.



Figure 18

Boscoreale Patera. Bronze. Diameter: 27.9 cm Height: 40.64
London, U.K., British Museum, n. 1897,0726.

This brings us to the center recess of the altar. As mentioned above, Visconti discovered trace amounts of metal in the eight slits incised along its circumference; this strongly suggests that some metal fixture was once installed in the middle of the altar. I suggest the patera, an offering plate often used for *supplicationes*, was once installed into this recess.[251] These offering plates are well attested in Roman art, especially in portraits of emperors in the guise of priests; large paterae, such as the one necessary for the Gabii Altar, are not as common as smaller examples, but are present in the archaeological record in Italy, such as the one discovered in Boscoreale (fig. 18). An excellent illustration of the use of a large patera can be seen in in Room 5 of the Villa of

[251] Or possible a metal stand meant to hold a removable patera.

Mysteries;[252] in the first scene on the north wall, which is often interpreted as the reading of the rites by the boy, a young woman moves toward the right carrying a platter of cakes, presumably offerings to the god Bacchus who appears at the center of the east wall reclining on the lap of his female companion. Although we do not see where the large patera ultimately is placed, this scene demonstrates such large plates were used in the offering of *supplicationes.*

A recently discovered wall painting at Gabii also portrays a young woman holding an offering plate similar to the one depicted in the Villa of the Mysteries fresco (fig. 19). The partial depiction, which is situated on the western side of the northern wall in Room B of the forum of imperial Gabii, appears to be a part of a larger scene now lost due to damage to the plaster. The nymph is set against a 3rd style ochre background with a border of yellow and black. She lifts a large plate in her right arm above her head, which is crowned in leaves or flowers. Her neck and head are turned to her left, which, paired with her jutted right hip and outstretched left arm, gives the overall impression of lively movement, perhaps dancing. She is mostly painted in white, with the exception of a dark purple sash wrapped around her waist that bunches markedly on her left hip. The plate which she is holding appears to have something on top of it, although the painting is not detailed enough to discern exactly its nature. Although it is not possible to tie this specific image directly with the Gabii Altar, its presence in the same general area of the Altar's discovery supports the contention that this space was designed, at least in part, for providing offerings on paterae.

[252] For a thorough overview of the other interpretations of the imagery, see Gazda et al, 2000. Especially, Longfellow 2000, 26-37, who explores the gendered nature of the villa.



Figure 19

Wall painting in Room B of the forum of imperial Gabii. Photographed by the author.

Although such evidence demonstrates the frequent use of paterae for *supplicationes*, scholarship has not made the explicit connection of placing them on top of altars. A thorough survey of lararia altars depicted in Pompeian wall paintings, however, reveals that a plate-like slab are common features, most notably in conjunction with the snake-genius motif. The snake in the context of home lararia often represented the *agathodaemon*, or "noble spirit", that protected the domus. In numerous wall paintings, we see one or more snakes progressing towards an altar, which normally has a collection of vegetables, fruits, and eggs all placed on a flat vessel. One example, only recently uncovered, shows very clearly that this vessel can indeed be a plate like a large patera

(fig. 20).[253] With a large patera at its center, the Gabii offering table would have been well-suited for bloodless offerings, such as the cakes we see in the Villa of the Mysteries frescoes.



Figure 20

Pompeii fresco, lararium. 1st century CE
Photographed by: Ciro Fusco via ANSA

5.5 The Ara Supplicationis in Context

The number of circumstances in which bloodless offerings could occur in the realm of Roman religious practices is extensive. Yet, female-centric cults, especially ones dedicated to the empress, either as a *diva* or *augusta*, are thought to have predominantly used this form of sacrifice. Scholars previously assumed that women were barred from performing blood sacrifices, but recent scholarship has conclusively proven this is false.[254] Nevertheless, Hemelrijk and Rives have argued persuasively that both the literary and archaeological record indicate that, even though they

[253] Notably, there are numerous examples of altars in Roman art, even ones with a fire, that do not depict a brazier or any other apparatus that would have been necessary for facilitating proper airflow to sustain a fire. This frequent absence, therefore, suggests that it was customary to omit sacrificial equipment which may explain the paucity of large patera on top of altars. In art.
[254] Hemelrijk 2007, 326; 2015 90-102; Rives 2013, 129, 137-39. Schultz 2000, 291-297; DiLuzio 2017.

were permitted, women very rarely performed blood sacrifices.[255] There are no known depictions of municipal or provincial priestesses of the imperial cult performing a blood sacrifice with a living *victima*, while scenes of women pouring libations or holding cakes are relatively common. Hemelrijk recognized that this dearth was likely caused by a general reluctance to depict women performing such acts. On the other hand, the *Feriale Duranum*, a calendar that listed religious observances for the Roman military, has revealed the ubiquity of offering *supplicationes* for imperial birthdays (the birthday of Augustus was the only exception). Additionally, inscriptions from the Forum Clodii, Cumae, and Narbo reveal that animal sacrifices were reserved for particularly special occasions, whereas lesser anniversaries were recognized with *supplicationes*, according to Hemelrijk, partly due to the higher cost of animal sacrifices.[256]

Yet, female-centric cults were not the only group to offer *supplicationes,* even if they may have made them the most frequently. This fact alone cannot of course confirm that the Gabii Altar was especially used for the female cults of Gabii. The assertion of this particular use becomes more persuasive, however, in light of a thorough analysis of the altar's iconography and how it relates to the cultic activity of the city in the Imperial period.

5.6 An Offering for the Cult of the Empress

One of the most notable aspects of the famous frescoes of the Villa of the Mysteries is the predominance of women throughout each scene. Although the interpretation of these frescos has been debated since the paintings were discovered in 1909, the narrative is clearly female-centric, since all the human figures (with the exception of a young boy) are women, and it is they who are

[255] Hemelrijk 2007 326-327; Rives 2013, 137-39.
[256] Hemelrijk 2007, 327. Rives 2013, 139. Forum Clodii: CIL 11, 3510 = *ILS* 154, for more, see Gradel 2002, 240-245 and Linder and Scheid 2005, 238-245. For Cumae: CIL 10, 8375 = *ILS* 108 = Degrassi 1963, n. 44, for more see Fishwick 1987-1992, 2.1.490, 509-10 and Gradel 2002, 966-97. Narbo: CIL 12.4333 = *ILS* 112.

performing the mysterious rite. The large patera holding the *supplicationes,* highlighted above, demonstrates the preponderance of such offerings and gives an example of their central role in female-related rituals.

Although it could have been used for a variety of rituals involving bloodless offerings, the Gabii offering altar would have been especially visually and symbolically appropriate at annual celebrations like birthdays. The zodiac along its vertical side obviously represents the cycle of a calendrical year, and even the busts, although more ambiguous, most likely provided a tutelary element to a given ritual for the one being honored and/or remembered. Additionally, the shape of the altar itself would have evoked a conceptual association concerning the yearly cycle. Even though the origins of the words *annus* (year) and *ānus* (ring) are not etymologically connected, the Romans understood the terms as intricately linked.[257] In a way, the fact that the two words are not linguistically related but understood as such underscores how strongly the Romans associated a continuous ring with the year. This link is further highlighted in the Latin word for birthday, *anniversarum*, which literally means the "turning of a year," the same concept inherent to the movements of the zodiacal constellations as they constantly turn along the path of the sun around the earth.

So, if this altar is most suitable for celebrating anniversaries, especially with *supplicatione*s, who at Gabii would have been honored? Recent research into the epigraphical evidence from Gabii, which was reviewed in greater detail in the previous chapter, has revealed the presence of significant female cultic activity in the first and second century CE (of a kind

[257] Maltby, 1991. E.g. *Tempus a bruma ad brumam dum sol redit, vocatur annus, quod ut parvi circuli anuli sic magni dicebantur cir s ani, unde annus. "*The time from the bruma until the sun returns to the bruma, is called an 'annus' (year), because just as small circles are 'anuli' (rings), so too were big rings called 'ani', from which comes 'annus' (year)." Varro, *Ling.*6.8. See also Servius commentary on *Aen.* 1.269, 5.46; Isidore *Nat*. 6.2, *Orig.* 5.36.1, 19.32.1; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.14.5.

apparently absent during the late Republic) for which the Gabii *ara supplicationis* would have been very fitting.[258]

Returning to the temple dedicated to the *domus* of Domitia Longina, its dedicatory inscription stipulated that on the third day before the ides of February the interest on the donated funds should be used towards a public meal in honor of Domitia's birthday. This focus on her birthday would make the *ara supplicationis* eminently suitable. Such an offering was most likely made also by the priestess Agusia Priscilla, who, in her role as priestess of the empress cult, would have celebrated the birthday of Faustina the Elder annually. [259] Finally, the silk trader Epaphroditus explicitly dictated that his daughter's birthday, the fourth kalends before October, would be celebrated.[260] Although this dedication does not center around an *augusta*, it does demonstrate that other women (or their memory in the case of Plutia Vera) could be honored at Gabii with annual birthday celebrations, similar to the empresses Faustina or Domitia.

In the cases of Domitia and Plutia Vera, bloodless sacrifices using the Gabii offering altar would have been appropriate. As for Priscilla Agusia, the inscription venerating the portico she funded does not explicitly disclose if a sacrifice occurred, but as the priestess of the cult dedicated to the *spei et saluti* of the empress, she undoubtedly performed rituals involving the offering of *supplicationes.* Fundamentally, we can reliably visualize the use of the Gabii offering altar at the

[258] Of course, several factors may contribute to the absence of such evidence. First, the "epigraphic habit" of the 1st and 2nd century CE, that is, the marked increase in the custom of recording public events and honors in inscriptions, might account for the rise in such material evidence. This is undoubtedly a factor, but societal changes, too, played a role: there were developments in how women were able to manage their own property before, during, and after marriage that gave them more freedom with their own resources. It is also possible, therefore, that this newfound access to public beneficence and influence accounts for the expansion of female presence on the public stage of Roman cities. For more on the epigraphic habit and women, see Hemelrijk 2015; and for more on the shifts in marital custom in the late Republic and their effects on women, see Cooley 2013.

[259] In this case, the Augusta in question is most likely the wife of Antoninus Pius, Faustina the Elder. Hemelrijk, 2015.

[260] CIL XIV.02793.

center of all these celebrations. With this context in mind, therefore, we can begin to further consider how this would have affected the message behind its iconography.

5.7 Viewing the Gabii Altar

Beginning with the zodiac encircling the rim, Visconti recognized that the order of the signs follows its predictable pattern based on the sequence in which the constellations rise on the ecliptic throughout the year, and he observed that symbols of the twelve tutelary gods were placed in alternation with the signs. He noted that each zodiac sign is flanked on its left by the symbol of the god or goddess that was the assigned *tutela* of that zodiacal period, conforming to the system laid out by the first century astrologist and poet, Manilius.[261] Visconti further pointed out that if viewed another way, i.e. pairing the zodiac symbol with the divinity on its *left*, then the order is in accordance with the pairings found on Roman rustic calendars.[262]

Charlotte Long, one of the few scholars who has attempted to interpret this object, proposes in her book, *The Twelve Gods of Greek and Roman Art,* that the frieze focuses not on the signs of the zodiac but, rather, on the symbols representing the divinities.[263] According to the ancient assignment of the signs to specific dates throughout the year, each zodiacal period technically begins in one month and carries into the next month (e.g., Aquarius first rises in January but sets in February). With this in mind, therefore, Long argues that the order of symbols emphasizes the divinities as custodians of the *months* and not the zodiacal sign, since each divinity is flanked on

[261] Manilius, *Astronomica* 2.433-452. This can be understood from the perspective of the viewer, e.g. to the left of Gemini is the tripod of Apollo, who was the tutelary god of May, the month in which the constellation rises.
[262] Visconti s the Farnesian Rustic Calendar, which was in the Borghese's possession at the time. It is a quadrilateral sculpture with each month listed with its zodiac sign, tutelary god, and festivals. This calendar is also known as the *Menologium rusticum colotianum*. *Monumenti*, 45-52. The same scheme was supposedly followed in another rustic calendar known as the *Menologium rusticum vallense*, which was discovered in the sixteenth century but is now lost (although an illustration of the object still survives). For more on the *Menologia Rustica,* see DeGrassi, 1963; Salzman, 1990; Boughton, 1935.
[263] Long 1987, 33-4.

the right side by the constellation that begins their month and on the left side by the constellation that ends it.

Visconti's and Long's observations make it clear that the creator of the program had significant knowledge of astronomy and calendrical reckoning. Unusually, it seems, the designer successfully interwove two systems: the convention of assigning tutelary deities to the months and the relation of the months to the zodiac. Moreover, the carefully wrought images of the zodiac are a testament as well to the expertise of the sculptor. In an article entitled "Principes de composition de l'image zodiacale," Françoise Gury reviewed the various modes of depicting the zodiac in Roman reliefs. [264] She noted that ancient artists who wanted to represent the twelve constellations needed to find a balance between depicting each sign with enough discernable differentiation to be recognizable while maintaining a visual cohesion among all twelve that would express the universal "oneness" that was thought to be intrinsic to the zodiac.

Gury further suggested that this desire to express the universality of the zodiac constellations stemmed from the Stoic theory of *universal sympathy*, which asserted that there was an ever-present interconnectedness between each soul and element of the universe, a belief that lends itself naturally to astrological perspectives of the night sky.[265] To illustrate this notion, Gury discussed several examples of Roman reliefs that represent the zodiac. In reliefs such as one found in Lourdes (now in London), Gury called attention to the uniformities among similar figures (fig. 21). Here, the four-legged animals, namely the bull, lion, and goat, all adopt sprinting postures as if in a full-extension gallop (even the sea-goat, despite lacking hind legs).

[264] Gury 1994.

[265] This term derives from the Greek συμπάθεια (*sumpatheia*), which literally means "to feel together." According to Seneca, this concept comes from the theory of *sumpnoia*, which is the sharing of one, divine breath that makes all of mankind and all of existence a single organism that breaths together (*QNat.* 2.6.2-4*)*. For more on these Stoic concepts, see Schliesser 2015; Sambursky 1959.

Likewise, the two arthropods, the scorpion and crab, have almost identical thoraxes and claws, if the longer claws of the scorpion separate them. Similarly, the human depictions all face upward except for the twins and the archer, whose position along the ring does not allow for the same posture.



Figure 21

Mithraic Relief, London, U.K., Museum of London, n. A 16 933, J.M.C. Toynbee *Art in Roman Britain* 73, n. 12.

A similar effort to create visual coherence balanced with a sense of individuality can be seen in the depiction of the zodiac on the Gabii object. All human forms, which include the virgin, the archer, the twins, the water-bearer, and the scale-bearer, are depicted as if flying from right to left, and all but the archer and one of the twins face the viewer directly. The four-legged animals are similar but not completely uniform: only the right front legs of the bull and the ram are raised while both front legs of the lion (and the sea-goat for that matter) are in the air. Similarly, the thoraxes of the crab and the scorpion are lifted, although the scorpion's thorax is noticeably longer. The legs of each, however, are almost identical except for the fact that the crab has eight to the scorpion's six.

As the Gabii zodiac strikes a balance between uniformity and differentiation in its own composition, so does it also in the broader corpora of ancient zodiac depictions. The most notable deviation is the presence of the *putti.* More normally the humanoid constellations are depicted as full-grown adults, including the top half of the centaur for Sagittarius, which is not even depicted as a centaur but as a full *putto* in the Gabii frieze. There are other peculiarities. The female figure representing Virgo holds two torches rather than the more common sheaves of wheat. In this case, the torches most likely indicate that the figure is Astraea, the pious, virgin goddess who was slain during the Third Age according to Ovid.[266] The balance of diverging from the relatively standardized conceptual model of the zodiac, while maintaining a level of conformity, suggests a high level of intentionality that, in turn, suggests that same level of calculation most likely determined the sequence of the busts on the horizontal plane.

5.7.1 The Order of the Busts

Since the order of the zodiac and the divine symbols follows the standard sequence and the images conform to recognized types in the frieze of the vertical rim, there has been little dispute over their representation or order. The busts, on the other hand, have been the subject of much speculation. Perhaps the most straightforward, expected order would be that the divinities on the horizontal plane follow the same sequence as their respective symbols on the rim. As this is obviously not the arrangement, some scholars have searched for connections between the busts themselves, independent of the frieze, but with little success. The purposeful design present in the vertical frieze along the rim, however, indicates that the object is so imbued with intentionality that one cannot simply dismiss the question all together, and that an answer might still be discovered.

[266] *Met.*1.125-50

In his treatment of the iconography of the Gabii Altar, which has served as a baseline for all subsequent analyses, Visconti recognized that there were connections between the deities assigned to the calendrical year and the zodiacal frieze on the vertical rim, but also struggled to explain the placements of the busts.[267] Visconti first suggested that it must have been an error on the part of the sculptor and that it did not matter much since the viewer could not see both the top and vertical relief at the same time.[268] Yet, almost as if even he was unsatisfied with this solution, Visconti returned to the question of the order of the busts at the end of the entry.[269]

As an alternative to his "sculptor's mistake" hypothesis, he proposed certain cultic relationships between the busts and the months represented by the zodiac signs. For example, although February is under the tutelage of Neptune, the month begins with feasts to the Juno Lanuvina and so, the bust of the goddess aligning with the sign of Aquarius seems sensible. Although this may be a legitimate connection, Visconti was not able to similar correlating feasts for each pairing. Instead, he argued that the bust of Apollo, for example, corresponded with Pisces (i.e., March), since that was once considered the beginning of the year and was thus a suitable position for "…la principale divinità dell'ara."[270] This observation is valid, but the inconsistency of the type of connections he drew unfortunately weakens his argument. Nevertheless, Visconti demonstrated an intellectual honesty by having willingly brought his reader along as he entertained different possibilities, and he exhibited a level of academic humility as he changed his mind throughout his analysis.

[267] Although the order on the horizontal frieze of the Gabii object seems the most common, there are other ancient calendars (or even coins) that portray different gods as the tutelae of each month. Yet still, the order of the busts on the vertical plane does not correspond with any known set of tutela/month combinations.
[268] *Monumenti,* 45.
[269] *Monumenti* 42.
[270] "…the principal divinity of the altar." Ibid., 55.

Henri Stern, in his comprehensive catalog of the instances in which the gods are depicted with the months, admitted forthrightly that he could not find a single parallel for the pattern of deities on the Gabii object, that "L'orde de séquence de ces douze têtes n'étant conforme à aucune autre suite connue, je n'ai pas de commentaire à offrire."[271] Stern also mentioned the interpretation of the busts by Ch. Ravaisson-Mollien, who argued that "[the order] probably constituted a March calendar for 'Hyménée' (nuptials) or the reconciliation of lovers by the child, according to a rite more or less in accordance with that of the Cabire,"[272] an interpretation Stern found even more obscure than the order of the busts themselves.

Long is the only scholar to have offered a feasible explanation of the order of the busts. She interpreted the Gabii Altar as a physical reference to the ancient ritual of the *lectisternium.*[273] This festival was first attested in 217 BCE and entailed supplications to the Twelve Gods (aka *Dii Consentes,* the main deities of the Olympian pantheon), which Long identified as the same gods featured on the Gabii object.[274] In this rite, the gods were presented in the form of busts and placed in pairs (male and female) on six different couches; these couches would then be paraded through the city for everyone to see. The last known attestation of this festival was during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, shortly before he set out on his campaign against the Marcomanni.[275]

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[271] "As the order of the sequence of these twelve heads do not conform to any other known arrangement, I have no commentary to offer." 434.

[272] "…constituait probablement un calendrier de Mars pour Hyménée ou la réconciliation des amants par l'enfant, selon un rite rappelant plus ou moins celui des Cabires," Ravaisson-Mollien 1904, 105. The Cabeiri were a group of chthonic deities who were worshipped primarily in certain Cycladic islands. Little is known about this mystery cult, although it seems to have been connected to the worship of the god Hephaistos. Ferguson 1970, 122-23. How any of this might relate to the imagery on the Gabii object is unclear.

[273] According to Long, it was common to represent the twelve gods with only their portraits. Long 1987, 238.

[274] In 217 BCE, the *lectisternium* was most likely developed after the massive military loss at Lake Trasimene against Hannibal. The festival was developed to keep Rome safe from outside forces. Livy XXII.9-10; Long 1987, 33-4.

[275] Long 1987, 98; *Hist. Aug.Marc.* 13.

Acknowledging the obvious focus on the twelve gods serving as the tutelary deities for each month on the Gabii object, Long did not suggest that it was made specifically for the *lectisternium*, but rather that the cycle was inspired by the artistic tradition of representing the twelve gods as sculpted portraits busts. Long's idea has merit and is by far the most compelling to date, but in her attempt to bring the Gabii object into conformity with her theory, she had to reassign the identities of several of the busts that have been accepted since Visconti, so that the order proceeds in male and female pairs as they once did during the *lectisternium* festival. According to Long, the twelve gods are those identified by Visconti but the restorations he oversaw were incorrectly sequenced. First, she asserted that the identifications of the busts of Juno and Minerva should be switched, but does not provide evidence as to why. Admittedly, the bust of Minerva is a complete restoration and Visconti did disclose that he fashioned the Juno bust as such due to the process of elimination and the general expectation of her presence, so Long's interchange is possible. Yet, close inspection of several aspects of the object refutes this conclusion.

Both Minerva and Juno, two-thirds of the Capitoline trio, are arguably *sine quibus non* additions to any inclusive grouping of the Olympian deities and thus should be expected on this object. Moreover, both of their animal attributes, the peacock and owl, are present along the edge. The goddesses undoubtedly belong to this group, yet their positions are not as obvious and requires examination of all other possible locations, those of the other goddesses being the most likely.[276] The shoulder length braids of the Vesta and Ceres, which are original to the object, preclude Juno and Minerva from these positions since such a hairstyle would be highly uncommon for either.

[276] I eliminate the positions of the male divinities based on either the remaining vestiges of hairstyles (short, curly hair which would be out of place for female styles) or original attributes such as the cap of Vulcan or the caduceus of Mercury.

The bust identified as Diana is confirmed by the low-relief depiction of her quiver; likewise, the Venus bust is substantiated by the presence of cupid, her son, upon her right shoulder. Thus, we are left with the current positions of the Juno and Minerva busts, which are both heavily restored, *except* for one original element that provides crucial evidence: the scepter on the left side of Juno. The scepter must have belonged to Juno since Minerva would have indisputably been accompanied by her customary spear. In light of this, the goddesses must be in their correct positions.

Long's other reassignments are unfortunately even less credible. For example, she argued that the bust of Apollo should be understood as Ceres, but this would entail the goddess having short, tight curls instead of the long curls falling on her shoulders with which she is characteristically depicted.[277] Long further assigned Apollo to the position of the bust of Vulcan. Although the faces of both of these heads were described by Visconti as deteriorated, they preserve peripheral features, including distinctive renderings of hair and, above all, the cap of Vulcan, an accessory which would be wholly out of place on Apollo. Long's reassignments, therefore, seem implausible. In short: it would necessitate a Ceres with hair that differs drastically in form and length from that of Vesta, with whom she compares stylistically in all other respects, and it demands that the bust of Ceres is really that of Vulcan, giving the god of metalworking feminine curls and a clean-shaven visage, which, while possible, is rare.[278] These discrepancies, therefore, weaken Long's proposed connection of the Altar to the *lectisternium* ritual, which always paired the divinities male and female.

In my own reckoning, the busts most likely restored incorrectly are those of Jupiter and Neptune. For both, the only original elements are the short wavy locks at the nape of their necks,

[277] The Apollo bust is heavily restored, but judging by the difference in marble types one can discern original curls that are tight and short.
[278] Long s the Dodekathon Cylinder from Ostia (*Museo Ostiense* inv. n. 120) as her sole example of a beardless Vulcan. 28.

indicating shorter hairstyles, not uncommon for male depictions with beards during this period.[279] The lightning bolt attribute that identifies Jupiter was completely fabricated in the reconstruction and, as I have mentioned above, the trident of Neptune is clearly engraved and therefore artificial. Thus, both positions lack any feature that can either confirm or refute the identifications of the two Olympians. In my view, Jupiter is more appropriately placed next to Juno, his wife, just as Mars and Venus are coupled together.[280] Yet, he is not out of place in his restored position next to his most favored daughter, Minerva. *If* Jupiter is moved into the place of Neptune, this may bring to view a telling connection with the zodiac sign with which it aligns along the rim: Capricorn. This possible significance is discussed further below.

With the physical order of the busts established as much as possible, the question of the intent behind the order remains unsettled. If the divinities do not correspond with the zodiacal pattern directly, they most likely serve to signify something beyond the sole identities of gods and goddesses. One possibility I pursued was that of viewing the busts as representing certain celestial bodies on an astrological chart, a common practice among the Romans to determine the arrangement of the heavens on a given day of birth (or conception).[281] Recognizing that some of the divinities could represent the planet of their own namesake (Jupiter, Venus, etc.), and that every chart includes the moon and the sun – which could plausibly be assigned to Diana and Apollo (respectively)[282] – I then "placed" each planet in relation to the zodiacal period in the frieze on the

[279] Some of the numerous examples of such a hairstyle can be seen on the Alimenta panel on the Arco Portogallo, the Benevento on the Arch of Trajan, the portraiture of the Antonines, and many more.
[280] Despite Venus' marital status with Vulcan, it is undeniable that Mars, the father of her son Cupid, is the known partner of Venus.
[281] For example, Augustus famously identified himself with the sign of Capricorn, although he was not born during its zodiacal period. Current scholarship hypothesizes that the connection might relate more to the day of Augustus' presumed conception, 23 December 64: during which the Ascendant, the sun, the moon, and Mercury were all in Capricorn on the exact day of the winter solstice. For more, see Barton 1995.
[282] Although Selene/Luna is the best-known goddess who represents the moon, Diana the huntress also bore this connection in antiquity.

rim. So, for example, Venus was in Gemini, Mars in Scorpio, and so on. My thinking was that, if the Gabii object could be shown to be a horoscope and the order of the divinities were a representation of an astrological calendar, then it could possibly reveal a date that was important to those who commissioned it.

Yet, as tantalizing as this possibility is, the ancient understanding of the physics of our solar system makes it impossible. Mercury and Venus, being so close to the sun, cannot be farther than 28 degrees from the star in any given horoscope. If the Gabii object were an astrological chart, then Venus would be 80 degrees and Mercury 120 degrees away from the sun (Apollo), which would indicate a physically impossible skyscape. Moreover, there is no one spot in which Apollo's bust, if by chance it is not in its original position, could be placed to satisfy this requirement.[283] Due to these restrictions, therefore, it is very unlikely that the object represents a horoscope or astrological chart of some kind.

If the busts do not represent astrological bodies nor the deities themselves, the answer must lie in the object's social context. In the Imperial period of Rome, beginning with Augustus, dynastic individuals would wed their public image to certain deities and even zodiacal signs to communicate politically advantageous messages to the public. This is most evidently seen in the statuary and coinage of a given imperial reign. Perhaps, therefore, one or more of the divine busts is meant to be associated with historical personages, such as certain members of the imperial family, which are represented through by the zodiac figures underneath the busts.

This tradition begun most evidently with the reign of Augustus, who was the first Roman leader to explicitly couple his imagery with the divine. Not only was his portraiture rendered idealistically, a style up to that point reserved for the gods, Augustus is also dressed and adorned

[283] Moreover, of the twelve busts, those of Venus and Mercury are the most securely identified, as Venus has an unrestored Cupid on her shoulder and Mercury is accompanied by his easily recognizable caduceus.

divinely. For example, we see him often in the guise of Jupiter, such as the Cumae Augustus and the bronze Herculaneum Augustus. Moreover, the coinage of Augustus was also exploited to reinforce this connection with the king of the gods, as we see Jupiter on the obverse of many of his coins (often framed by the columns of a temple).[284] With this precedent, subsequent emperors beyond the Julio-Claudian dynasty emulated this divine twinning in their own visual propaganda, including the Flavian, Antonine, and Severan dynasties.[285] The purpose behind this convergence of imagery with the king of the Olympian gods is obvious for a would-be ruler of an empire. Rather rapidly, this tactic was employed to associate imperial female members with deities as well.

If we approach the busts of the Gabii object as representative of people, therefore, the question becomes which bust represents whom? The only other feature that can help us to answer such a question is the zodiac frieze along the vertical edge. Viewing the busts and the frieze together, one connection immediately stands out. Of all the gods and goddesses, only one is positioned over her "correct" zodiac sign: Juno. According to Manilius, Juno has tutelary duties over Aquarius, which rises in January and sets in February. On the left of the putto water-bearer is the peacock of Juno, as expected. Operating under the hypothesis that the busts represent actual people, who then would be more fitting to be represented by Juno, the goddess of fertility and motherhood and the wife of the highest god, than the empress of Rome herself?

The first empress to be connected to goddesses implicitly or explicitly was Livia, the wife of Augustus. According to Mikocki, Livia was assimilated with at least 17 goddesses throughout her iconography, before and after her death.[286] Imperial women following Livia were also associated visually with certain divinities, but it was Domitia Longina, wife of Domitian, who

[284] E.g. the silver denarius in the British Museum, inv. n. 1988,0917.2.
[285] The latest known example of a Roman emperor using Jupiter imagery is Cyzicus in the first quarter of the 4th century.
[286] Mikocki 1995, 125.

exploited this tactic to a similar extent to Livia. Unlike Livia, however, Domitia clearly favored one goddess, Juno, above the others. A considerable number of Domitia's coins feature Juno's peacock on the obverse (fig. 22); additionally, the two surviving statues of Domitia both represent her in the guise of Juno (fig. 23). Moreover, we know from Suetonius that Domitia's becoming a mother of a son, who died at quite a young age, was one of the most important aspects of her life and thus an association with the goddess of motherhood is fitting.[287]



Figure 22

Aureus from a Roman mint. 82-83 CE. Obverse: DOMITIA AVGVSTA IMP DOMIT. Bust of Domitia, draped, right; hair bundled in front and long plait in back. Reverse: CONCORDIA AVGVST: Peacock standing right.

[287] Suet. *Dom*. 3.1. Mart. *Ep.* 4.3.



Figure 23

Domitia Longina as Juno. 81-96 CE. Bronze. Groningen, Groningen Museum. Discovered during an excavation of a mound in Krangeweer, Netherlands in 1888.

This visual connection is perhaps not sufficient on its own to say that the altar was made explicitly for Domitia, but the presence of the Temple of Domus Domitia, the lintel for which was discovered in the same forum area as the altar, provides a plausible context for such a claim. Moreover, the inscription dedicating the temple explicitly commands the residents of Gabii to commemorate the birthday of the *Augusta* every year on February 10th, a date that falls under the sign of Aquarius itself.

After the death of Domitia, the temple continued as a space used to erect imperial statuary in the context of the imperial cult, throughout the Severan dynasty.[288] The room that was identified as the temple space within the forum, room A, was in use until the first half of the third century CE. Along with the

[288] Angelelli et al. 2011, 187. This concept was first applied to the space by Hamilton himself, although he uses the word "Augustearia". Cassidy and Hamilton 2010, n. 289. It was reiterated by Visconti in *Monumenti*, 81-109.

altar, Hamilton discovered an impressive number of imperial sculptures, including busts of a young Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Younger, and Julia Domna (just to name a few).[289] Just as the temple was reallocated for later members of the imperial cult, the Gabii *ara suppliciationis* most likely continued in use for other ceremonies that required non-blood offerings.

5.8 Conclusion

Straight-forward visual analysis of its shape, iconography, and arrangement identifies the Gabii Altar as the first clearly recognizable *ara supplicationis*, an altar used specifically for bloodless sacrifices. Moreover, I suggest that the presence of the zodiac and the emphasis on the calendrical year signals its suitability for the commemoration of anniversaries, such as birthdays, and of the birthday of the former Empress Domitia in particular. Female-centric cults, especially that of the empress, were the most likely to have used such an altar, especially within the city of Gabii which has a well-attested presence of empress worship. Most notably, the Temple of Domus Domitia would have been a suitable place for the altar, especially since its composition elevates the bust of Juno, Domitia's own preferred goddess.

[289] For a complete list of the sculpture discovered at Gabii, see Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 79-85.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum;
solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
respexit, cum iam celebres notique poetae
balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos
temptarent…

On Caesar alone hang all the hopes and prospects of the learned;
he alone in these days of ours has cast a favoring glance upon the
sorrowing Muses----at a time when poets of name and fame
thought of hiring baths at Gabii, or bakehouses in Rome…

-Juvenal, Satires, 7.1-5

This study has attempted to understand the ancient and antiquarian environment of an assemblage of sculptures and inscriptions that once stood in the city of Gabii. This picture, unavoidably incomplete, begins with their discovery in the late 18th century. Over the course of three years, hundreds of marble fragments were uncovered along with a large public space with several rooms.[290] Most of the sculptures were transported back to the Borghese estate to be restored or allocated for some other use. Not long after their arrival and installation in the *Museo Gabino*, they were purchased by Napoleon and were transported to Paris, France. It is within the Louvre Museum that they truly enter public consciousness.

Due to the restorations and manipulations of the Borghese sculptor-restorers, the collection that exists today is definitively not what once stood at Gabii, but the clues in the sculptures and inscriptions help us begin to understand what did. If we conceptually disassemble the fallacious

[290] *HC* 55; Michaelis 1882, 83-84.

additions and reconnect the lost elements as best as possible, we can place the sculptures and inscriptions back into their original context, which for most of them was the forum of the imperial city. With this, we can paint a portrait of a once struggling city that found new breath during the Imperial period, that was the home of popular baths, several temples, and vibrant imperial cults.

We know from the evidence that Gabii was an opportunity for a new elite to self-aggrandize, especially for wealthy women like Priscilla Agusia and Domitia Longina. Much of the new activity at Gabii takes place at the end of the 1st century into the second half of the 2nd. Hadrian, most likely on his way to his villa in Tivoli, bestowed the city with his benefaction and helped restore key infrastructure such as the aqueduct and public buildings. [291] Did this imperial attention draw wealthy patrons? Or were the wealthy patrons already invested citizens of Gabii when Hadrian came through? My own interpretation of the evidence favors the latter.

6.1 A Walk through Imperial Gabii

What would Hadrian or any other visitor to the city in the 2nd century see when they arrived by way of the Via Gabina? Most likely, the top of the Temple of Juno would be the first visible element as they passed over the crest of the nearest hill, traversing the curve along the shore of Lake Castiglione. Built in the Republican period and still in use, the temple would have been well-known by those who traveled around Rome, and might even be the reason for a visit to the city. The first public edifice they would have reached staying along the main road, however, would have been the forum of imperial Gabii.

Although excavation hurdles prevent any full understanding of the nature of the southern half of the forum, we know that its entrance was situated directly on the Via Gabina. As there are

[291] Boatwright 2000, p. 129-30; Almagro-Gorbera and Jiménez 1982, 123, 614. Cf. fns. 162-165.

no other known roads leading into Gabii, a visitor would come across the forum area first.[292] Once reaching the public space, a visitor might first notice the preponderance of sculptures. As this study has shown, it is probable that the majority of the sculptures attributed to Gabii were once displayed in the city and even more so in the forum area, as attested by Hamilton and Visconti. During the 2nd century, a visitor entering the open courtyard might first see numerous honorary statues dedicated to some of the more influential magistrates of Gabii. The five togate statues discovered by Hamilton, which have been restored with the portraits of various emperors, were most likely the citizens attested by certain inscriptions; these were statues of men such as Julius Zoticus (insc. 7), who was a member of the order of decurions and a sevir Augustalis, or Titus Flavius Aelianus, a man who was celebrated for his role as patron and curator (insc. 6). The presence of these men and their statues would indicate to the visitor the presence of active civic involvement and investment.

According to Hamilton and some preliminary archaeological evidence, the courtyard was surrounded by a portico and several rooms, some of which undoubtedly served as temples and cult shrines. Perhaps this portico displayed more statue dedications, similar, for example, to the Porticus in Herculaneum. The most suitable, of course, would have been the statue for the patron who funded the construction of the portico, Agusia Priscilla, of which only the base remains. Next to her statue might have been the likeness of Epaphroditus, a wealthy silk trader who was honored by his freedmen after his death with a statue and dedication (insc. 4). As was typical in Roman towns, visitors were presented with faces of Gabine citizens who had demonstrated munificence for the benefit of the city itself.

[292] This does not preclude the possible existence of an access road leading to the Temple of Juno before reaching the forum of imperial Gabii, but the Via Gabina would have been the only major thoroughfare.

Evidence of Epaphroditus' impression on the city would have been visible throughout the forum. Most notable is the shrine he dedicated to Venus Vera Felix of Gabii, to commemorate the life of his daughter Plutia Vera (insc. 3). If a visitor happened to have come to Gabii on September 28, they would have witnessed a banquet held in honor of her birthday, with participants lounging on Epaphroditus' dining sofas or maybe an offering ceremony with the Gabii Altar at its center (cat. n. 5). Entering the temple, (which could have been one of the rooms in the forum) they would have passed through bronze doors to see several bronze statues, including one of Venus herself. The cult items commissioned by Epaphroditus would have impressed upon anyone just how wealthy a man he was and what he was willing to give to his city. As the inscription for the temple attested, the silk merchant gifted five denarii to each town counselor, three to each of the seviri Augustales, and one to every merchant in the city. This was on top of the ten thousand denarii he already gave to the municipality for the upkeep of the temple and the annual celebration of his daughter's birthday.

A few rooms down, another cult space probably attracted many visitors. The Temple of Domus Domitia would have caught many eyes with its 10-foot-long lintel inscription, outlining the dedication of the temple by the *liberti* Polycarpus Domitius and Europe Domitia for their patroness Domitia Longina, former empress and wife of the assassinated Emperor Domitian (insc. 1). Inside the space, one would be immediately amazed by the marble-cladded walls and the *opus sectile* floors, which would have had a kaleidoscopic effect thanks to the dozen marble variations present (fig. 24). Embedded against the northern wall stood three statues nestled in niches, elevated on a bench for greater effect. The central niche, which was highlighted by the amaranthine marble slab situated right in front of it, must have held the statue with the most import at the time. At the

time of its construction, this most likely was Domitia herself, but as time went on, this imperial focus changed.



Figure 24

The remains of the Temple of Domus Domitia. Photographed by the author.

Later in the 2nd century, the cult of Domitia faded and made way for other imperial cult subjects. Busts of a young Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger (cat. ns. 21 and 20, respectively), in addition to the cult *spei et salutis* (mentioned above) which honored Antoninus Pius' wife, Faustina the Elder, all indicate a period of Antonine worship at Gabii. Perhaps these sculptures stood in the Temple of Domus Domitia at one time, but this is not as certain as the Severan cult that did. According to Hamilton, he found the busts of Septimius Severus and Geta (cat. ns. 31 and 33, respectively) in the same temple space he found the inscription for Domitia, indicating the space evolved over time to honor new imperial families as they came into power.[293]

After visiting the cult spaces, a person might also come across the Curia Aelia, the main administration building of imperial Gabii, the construction or restoration of which was most likely

[293] *HC,* n. 286.

funded by Emperor Hadrian.[294] Here one may see members of the decurion order or one of the many seviri Augustales, men who contributed to the city's administrative function but may not have had access to other official magistracies due to their status as freedmen or migrants. The various sculpture bases around the forum showcased how these two groups both honored other citizens and were honored through financial gifts.

Once a visitor left the forum of imperial Gabii, they might have continued down the Via Gabina into the Area Urbana, where houses, shops, and a bath were located. The imperial bath, which is a little under two football fields east of the forum, probably drew visitors from all over as well. Although Gabii had a poor reputation in the literature before and after the turn of the millennium, the one praise it maintained was its status as a place for baths.[295] Little is currently known about this bath, but it surely served as a gathering place for Gabine citizens and any passersby who needed a mid-day break.

Continuing down the road, one would come across several storefronts that were attached to a much larger building. The Area F building was situated at the major intersection of the city where the Via Gabina forked into two roads, one to Prenaeste and the other to Tibur.[296] With its position and size, it was certainly an important building for Gabii at the time of its construction in the Republican period. After several renovation phases, however, it slowly fell into disuse. All except for its lower terrace, which were converted into commercial spaces thanks to their advantageous position facing out to the Via Gabina. Perhaps this is what the early first century poets and writers saw in their mind's eye when they spoke about Gabii – down the road from the bath house, a row of shops and inns with the foreboding backdrop of a building essentially in ruins.

[294] Insc. 1. Cf. pp. 69-70.
[295] The Gabii bath has been fully excavated but its publication is still in process.
[296] Johnston 2018.

Just across the intersection on the northern side stood a "mixed-use residential and production complex."[297] This building demonstrates a continuity between past fashions of luxurious domestic living with agricultural and commercial production. Recently discovered by the Gabii Project, this building contained expensive domestic additions, such as water features, as well as a wine press, which is reminiscent of rural villas – but not domus in the middle of a city. Samuels et al. interpret this shift as the city's adaptation to its new commercial reality as a node in the suburbs of Rome.[298]

Just behind this mix-used domus to the north, a traveler might have been able to see quarrying activity.[299] Area A, which is situated near the old center of the city, was repurposed in the early Imperial period for quarrying the valuable stone *lapis gabinus,* which was a popular building material, especially in Rome.[300] Even once great houses, such as the Tincu House in Area B, were abandoned to make way for this new economic venture (fig. 25).[301] The juxtaposition of energetic commercial and social activity in front of abandoned buildings and quarrying detritus must have been jarring for visitors to the city. With such an image, it is not difficult to understand how there were contradictory yet contemporaneous perceptions of Gabii.

[297] Samuels et al. 2021, 117.
[298] Samuels et al. 2021, 117-119.
[299] Mogetta and Becker 2014, 174-175.
[300] Farr 2015.
[301] Opitz, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2016.



Figure 25

State plan of the Gabii Project site as of 2018 with excavation areas. Author: Matt Naglak.[302]

6.2 Conclusion

As we can see by this tour of a 2nd century visitor to Gabii, the city is an entity not easily defined. Clearly, by this time it is not the totally desolate city that authors such as Cicero once described, but it is also not the city it once was in the Republican period. Rather, we see a city that has adapted to the imperial realities of being a municipality in the *suburbia* of Rome. The gradual shifting over time towards the main road of Gabii, the Via Gabina, indicates the awareness of available commerce opportunities coming from without rather than from within. Due to the

[302] Mogetta, Johnston, Naglak, and D'Acri 2019.

proximity of Rome, the Via Gabina/Via Prenestina was a major thoroughfare between the capital and other key areas of Latium, such as Praeneste and Tivoli. Gabii's socio-political structure, therefore, evolved towards a more display-oriented system.

The new elite that emerged in Gabii in the late 1st and 2nd century CE capitalized on this new program of civic expression. Gabii decreased in size and population most likely due to the powerful magnetism of Rome and all its opportunities for climbing the political ladder, leading to a dramatic decrease of long-term Roman plebeian and patrician families that once operated with the city. Leaving those who were traditionally barred from most magistracies, freedmen and non-citizens, to fill this upper-class void in Gabii. The sculptures of Gabii and their accompanying inscriptions discovered by Hamilton provide key insights into and physical evidence of this evolving social landscape.

Gabines such as Epaphroditus, Polycarpus and his wife Europe, and Agusia Priscilla all invested heavily in Gabii through some form of financial contributions that centered around the imperial-era forum. These citizens created new cultic and public areas that provided new spaces for sculptural and epigraphical display for Gabines and any travelers stopping by the city. Moreover, they provided considerable funds to the various members of the municipality suggesting an overall concern for the health of the city and its populace.

Domitia Longina's involvement in Gabii may have been a considerable factor in this resurgence of Gabii, but this conclusion cannot be confirmed. We do know that she owned a nearby *filigna* and had some interest in Gabii, or, at the very least, a meaningful affiliation with some of its residents (i.e. Polycarpus and Domitia). The Temple of Domus Domitia on its own is a testament to her standing in the city; as the only known temple in Italy dedicated to the family of a non-deified woman, the magistrates of Gabii must have realized the temple's unprecedented

nature. Moreover, many of the more notable conspicuous additions to the city, such as the Antonine and Severan sculptural groups and the Temple of Vera Venus Felix of Gabii, were chronologically after Domitia's death and the construction of her temple. On the other hand, Hadrian's involvement occurred roughly the same time and surely also contributed to the city's mini-renaissance. This opens the possibility that Domitia, who was still in the imperial circle of relevance at this time, brought Hadrian's attention to the city, but this is also impossible to confirm. Gabii may have just been one of the dozens of cities that Hadrian sought to restore or rehabilitate.

The developments that occurred in the city of Gabii in the Imperial period, as I have demonstrated in this study, were pragmatic responses and reactions to a shifting political, social, and economic environment caused by the unprecedented power and influence of Roman hegemony. Although there is much more to discover and understand about the city during this period, it is clear that Gabii was one of many cities that experienced great fluctuations between the end of the Republic era and into the Principate.

Appendix A Sculptures

Concordance

Catalog Number	Louvre Accension Number	Table	Title
1	MA 27	1	Sitting Hercules
2	MA 529	1	Diana of Gabii
3	MA 364	1	Hercules with Crown
4	MA 548	1	Young Hercules
5	MA 666	1	Gabii Altar
6	MA 4719	1	“Capitoline” Venus
7	MA 2301	1	Nude Statuette
8	MA 1208	1	Marcus Agrippa
9	MA 923	1	Republican Bust 1
10	MA 925	2	Republican Bust 2
11	MA 1221	2	Drusus
12	MA 1231	2	Claudius
13	MA 1238	2	“Caligula”
14	MA 1235	2	Germanicus
15	MA 1239	2	Tiberius
16	MA 1150	2	Cuirassed Male
17	MA 1154	2	Cuirassed Male
18	MA 1152	2	Cuirassed Torso
19	MA 1192	3	Heroic Nude Male
20	MA 1176	3	Faustina the Younger
21	MA 1178	3	Youthful Marcus Aurelius
22	MA 377	3	“Nemesis”
23	MA 1186	3	Hadrian
24	MA 1190	3	“Sabina”
25	MA 362	3	Nude Torso
26	MA 1135	3	“Young Commodus”
27	MA 1266	3	“Plotina”
28	MA 1000	4	Female Bust
29	MA 1037	4	Heroic Nude Male
30	MA 1150	4	Togate Youth
31	MA 1118	4	Septimius Severus
32	MA 1109	4	Julia Domna
33	MA 1076	4	Geta
34	MA 1063	4	Gordian III
35	MA 2244	4	Togate Male
36	MA 2705	5	Statuette
37	---	5	Strategist
38	---	5	Artemis Braschi

39	MA 357	5	Tripod Basin
40	MA 672	5	Altar of the 12 Gods
41	MA 186	5	Sitting Dog
42	BR 2955	5	Bronze Jug in the form of a Head

1. Sitting Hercules

Material:	Carrara marble
Dimensions:	34.5 x 22 x 21.5 cm.
Condition/ State of Preservation:	Although Pacetti restored the arms, they have been removed by the conservators at the Louvre. Missing the head, part of the neck, right arm, left wrist, left hand, and the left leg from the knee down. Modern restorations include: the plinth, portions of the right thigh, right armpit, and chest.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 27
Description:	The nude Hercules sits on a smooth rock, leaning backwards to the left in a relaxed position. His left arm, lowered towards left, bends at the elbow. Although the right arm is missing, the orientation of the shoulder suggests that it was once raised and possibly holding a cup. His lion mantle can be seen in low-relief underneath his (missing) left leg resting on the rock.
Discussion:	This miniature sculpture is thought by scholars to be modeled after an original sculpture by Lysippus. According to Statius (Silvae 4.6), and Martial (Epigrammes 9, 43 and 44), Lysippus created a bronze "Hercules of the Table" (*epitrapezios*) for Alexander the Great, who reportedly brought it with him on campaigns in 335 BCE. The seated, resting Hercules is often used by scholars as an example of Lysippus' innovation and subversion of established archetypes. He was the first to portray Hercules at rest. This object suggests that certain objects of the Hamilton collection from Gabii possibly had a domestic context, such as a *suburbana* villa. Other examples include the Tripod Basin (cat. n. 39) and the miniature Venus (cat. n. 6). Moreover, some of the larger statues may have also come from domestic contexts and were later donated to the public space of Gabii, but it may never be possible to say for certain. (For more on the movement of sculpture, Bartman 1988).
Date:	1st century BCE
Select bibliography:	Visconti 1797, 86, n. 28; Robinson & Bieber 1955, 36, n. 25; Visscher 1962, 50 and 65, pl. 23, fig. 18; Bartman 1992,182-184, n. 17, fig. 88; Bignamini & Hornsby 2010, 82; Latini 1995, 64 and 66, fig. 9; Ridgway 1997, 294-304, pl. 69 and 70; Charbonneaux 1963, 49; Martinez, 2004, 93, n. 0139

2. Diana of Gabii

Material:	Parian marble
Dimensions:	174 x 52 x 48 cm.
Condition/ State of Preservation:	Mostly intact with an original head. Several repairs along the edge of the drapery. The statue has been mended several times, including the restoration of the nose, five fingers of the right hand, the end of the himation, the right wrist, small finger of the left hand, the sleeve under the right arm, front part of the right foot, the left leg below the knee.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 529
Description:	This statue is the best known in the entire Hamilton collection. Although there are small restorations along the whole body, none suggests a substantially different pose. This statue represents the desired Greek aesthetic for grace, proportionality, and idealism. It has been deemed an emulation of a Praxiteles original, as his sculpture possessed such qualities, as well as posturing his subjects in anticipatory moments. For example, the Diana of Gabii is in the process of unfastening her himation and we as viewers share that brief moment of expectation.
Discussion:	At Gabii, this statue must have figured prominently amongst the other Gabine statues. As the only (confirmed) full-scale mythological statue, this Diana was most likely a displayed n one of the several temples in the city. Moreover, the workmanship suggests it was one of the more expensive sculptures commissioned, presumably by a wealthy Gabine resident.
Date:	1st-3rd century CE, based on a 4th century BCE Praxiteles original.
Select bibliography:	Bieber 1977, 73, pl. 46, fig. 269-271; Todisco ,1993, 72, fig. 116; Ajootian 1996, 124-6, fig. 69; Ridgway 1997, 329, pl. 77; Rolley 1999, 262, fig. 265, 266; Todisco 1993, 72, fig. 116; Clarac 38, n.1208; pl. 3, n. 285; Charbonneaux 1963, 39, 41; Martinez 2004, 66, n. 0087.

3. Hercules with Crown

Material:	Greek marble
Dimensions:	142 x 55 x 62 cm.

Condition/ State of Preservation:	This sculpture has been heavily restored; only the torso and left leg are ancient.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 364
Description:	Hercules stands nude at partial rest holding a knobbed club. The face is youthful and clean-shaven. He wears a crown of leaves, possibly grape or poplar. His muscles, although highly defined, are still moderate giving an overall lean appearance.
Discussion:	The restoration was modeled after a 4th century BCE bronze original of Lyssipos, known as the *Lansdowne Hercules*. Since so little of the original statue remains, it is unlikely that this was its original form. Restorations such as these demonstrate an alternative fate for certain fragments, such as MA 361 (above).
Date:	1st-3rd century CE
Select bibliography:	Visconti 1835, n. 27, Martinez 2004, 207 n. 0051 & 0136.

4. Young Hercules

Material:	Marble
Dimensions:	100 x 45 x 29 cm.
Condition/ State of Preservation:	This statue has been heavily restored: the arms, legs, and club are all modern.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 548
Description:	This statue of a young boy is in the guise of Hercules at rest. He wears a lion pelt tied around his shoulders and leans on a knobbed club, both distinctive attributes of the hero. The boy has been restored into a contrapposto pose, which was probably suggested by the curve in the torso.
Discussion:	Originally, this statue was considered to be Eros in the guise of Hercules, but that interpretation has been dismissed. According to Szewczyk, researcher at the Louvre, the statue most likely represents a young Roman boy and served a funerary function. Since it is clearly evoking the style of Lysippus's Hercules at rest, it would be a fitting monument for a deceased young man. Thanks to the inscriptions left behind by Epaphroditus, we know that there were monuments erected to remember deceased children at Gabii. Although it is impossible to tell who this child represented, it may be one of several serving this purpose.
Date:	1st quarter of 2nd century CE
Select bibliography:	Clarac 1854, 150, n. 1478, plate iii, n. 282; Martinez 2004, 61, 62, n. 0078.

5. Gabii Altar

	Marble
Dimensions:	36 cm x 85 cm; recess: 2cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	The disc was once broken into three large fragments that have been rejoined. A major join crosses at the center, running from the nape of Ceres' neck to Apollo's shoulder; another runs from the middle of this central crack towards the center-left of Jupiter. To the naked eye, it appears that only two types of marble are present – the original Pentelic and the type used by the restorers. The triangular portion which contains the bust of Minerva is completely modern.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 666
Description:	The twelve busts on the top represent divinities normally included in the Olympian pantheon and associated with the months of the Roman calendar. From left to right, the order is as follows (with the month for which they serve as a *tutela* in parenthesis): Juno (January), Neptune (February), Vulcan (September), Mercury (June), Ceres (August), Vesta (December), Diana (November), Mars (October), Venus (April), Jupiter (July), Minerva (March), and Apollo (May). Of the goddesses, only Vesta and Ceres lack attributes, but they are identifiable by their hairstyles and by process of elimination. The attributes accompanying the remaining divinities consist of a scepter (Apollo), a diadem and scepter (Juno), a trident (Neptune), a *pilos,* and a scepter (Vulcan), a winged caduceus (Mercury), a quiver (Diana), a helmet decorated with a lion (Mars), a cupid on the shoulders of both Venus and Mars, a lightning bolt (Jupiter), and a helmet and spear (Minerva). On the vertical rim each of the twenty-four images in low relief relates to one of the gods/goddesses above. Beginning with the relief directly beneath the bust of Juno, the order of symbols (with the associated zodiac or divinity in parentheses) moving clockwise are: two fish (Pisces), dolphins (Neptune), a *putto* with a pitcher (Aquarius), peacock (Juno), a sea goat (Capricorn), a lamp (with the head of an animal, possibly a donkey) (Vesta), a *putto* as an archer (Sagittarius), a dog (Diana), a scorpion (Scorpio), a wolf

	(Mars), a *putto* with scales (Libra), a *pilos* (Vulcan), a maiden (Virgo), a basket (Ceres), a lion (Leo), an eagle (Jupiter), a crab (Cancer), a winged turtle (Mercury), a tripod (Apollo), a bull (Taurus), a dove (Venus), a ram (Ares), and an owl (Minerva).
Discussion:	Straight-forward visual analysis of its shape, iconography, and arrangement reveals that the Gabii Altar is the first altar to be identified as an *ara supplicationis*, an altar used specifically for bloodless sacrifices; moreover, the presence of the zodiac and the emphasis on the calendrical year signals its suitability for the commemoration of anniversaries, such as birthdays. In light of this, therefore, female-centric cults, especially that of the empress, were the most likely to have used such an altar, especially in the city of Gabii which has a well-attested presence of empress worship.
Date:	First half 2nd century
Select bibliography:	*Monumenti* 38-58; Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 195-206; Charbonneaux 1963; Ravaisson-Mollien 1904, 105; Stern 1972, 434; Long 1987, 98, 238.

6. "Capitoline" Venus

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	91 x 24.5 x 96 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	Head and body are ancient with ancient joints at the arms, neck, left wrist, and both ankles. The platform on which it stands is a modern addition that extends to the right toes and up to the left calf. Additionally, several fingers are restored along with the nose and breasts.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 4719
Description:	This nude statuette represents Venus standing in a *pudica* pose. Her right arm lightly covers her breasts and her left-hand hovers over her pelvic region. Standing in a contrapposto pose, she is supported by a modern plinth that Visconti writes was once a dolphin. Her hair is fashioned in a top knot traditional for Venus depictions. Remnants of singular locks of hair on each shoulder suggest a more complex hair configuration that has since been destroyed.
Discussion:	The provenance of this statuette is unclear. It is included in Visconti's catalogue, in which he mentions that the support was originally a dolphin, but it does not appear in any 19th century Louvre catalogs. According to Martinez, it was discovered in the storerooms in the 20th century.

Date:	Unknown
Select bibliography:	Clarac 1854, 109, n. 1383, Pl. iv, n. 622; Martinez 2004, 175-6 n. 0303

7. Nude Statuette

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	81 x 36 x 22 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	Helmet is in six fragments, left hand missing index finger and middle finger, missing sword sheath. Trace of a strut over left hip. Right leg has three plaster plugs. The left leg is composed of twelve fragments up to the middle of the tibia with various plaster plugs. The head has been reattached to the neck. Left shoulder has a repair band from the upper back to the pectoral. Right hand completely restored. Trophy support in four fragments. The right arm, a portion of the left arm, and the lower part of the legs are all modern.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 2301
Description:	This nude statuette stands in a *contrapposto* pose, with the left leg bearing the full weight of the body, which is reinforced by a trophy support. The body is muscular and lean with a clearly defined iliac crest. The arms have a sense of movement: the left is lifted with the elbow at a 90-degree angle, perhaps once holding a spear; the right is slightly swung out (supported by a strut connected to the right hip) and provides an overall balance to the composition. The head is dramatically turned to the right with the eyes tilted upwards. The hair is coifed in tight curls but it is mostly covered with a plumed helmet.
Discussion:	This statuette is a clear emulation of a lost Lyssipian original. Originally identified as Alexander the Great, the most famous client of Lyssipos, but has been proposed by Bignamini and Hornsby to be Mars instead. Since there is also miniature statues of Venus and Hercules, this would be more fitting.
Date:	2nd century CE
Select bibliography:	Bignamini and Hornsby 2011, 81; Suhr 1931, 108-9, fig. 18; L'Orange 1947, 2-7, fig. 11; Buschor 1950, 224, fig. 73, Clarac 1854, 82, n. 2100, Plate ii, n. 264; Martinez 2004, 24, n. 0005.

Imperial Subjects

8. Marcus Agrippa

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	44 x 25 x 31.5 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	Bust based on an early imperial original, likely in bronze. Modern marble piece added to lower neck/upper chest. Crack visible on the left side near shoulder. Another crack on the right side, on the temporal bone near the hair. Chipping on neck and face, more prevalent on the right side. Large iron oxide stain on the left side of chest.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1208
Description:	Portrait bust of middle-aged male. Distinctly heavy brows over inset eyes. Fleshy cheeks give an impression of age. Hair is cropped short with the frontal locks combed slightly to the right. Closed lips with a heavy bottom lip and the frontal chin is rounded. The jawline is sharp and rectilinear. The neck displays wrinkles, suggesting its earlier date.
Discussion:	Since the bust dates to the 1st half of the 1st century CE, it is most likely a posthumous portrait. Commented on by Visconti as the finest in extant and has been held ever since its discovery as the canonical portrait of Marcus Agrippa. Its presence at Gabii, along with several other members of the Julio-Claudian family, strongly suggests the desire to associate with the powerful family either for local influence or to impress upon visitors coming through the city.
Date:	1st half of 1st century
Select bibliography:	Bernoulli 1882, 285-6; Mussée 1999, 204, n. 209; Clarac 1854, 128, n. 3252; Plate vi, n. 1070; Charbonneaux 1963, 151; Kersauson 1986, 54-5, n. 22); Martinez 2004, 238, n. 0438.

9. Republican Bust (1)

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	40 x 27 x 26

Condition/ State of Preservation:	The head is ancient but the neck and bust are restorations carried out under the Borghese. The tip of the nose and the earlobes have also been restored with marble
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 923
Description:	This bust represents a middle-aged man looking to his left. His pronounced eyebrows are slightly furrowed towards the center, bringing focus to his long straight nose. The distinct naso-labial lines indicate his age beyond young adulthood.
Discussion:	Visconti identified this bust as Domitius Corbulo, the father of Domitia and revered general under Nero. Although portrait busts of Corbulo would be fitting at Gabii, this identification was refuted by Ed Schmidt in 1944. Rather than being Corbulo, Schmidt argued that it is a late Republican bronze original that was re-carved in the early Julio-Claudian period. He comes to this conclusion through comparing this bust with other known Republican-era busts.
Date:	mid-1st century
Select bibliography:	Hertel 2013, 180; (Comparison) Fittschen, Zanker, & Cain 2010, 27; Megow 2005, 131-8, pl. 68,69; Clarac 1854, 136, n. 3273, pl. vi, n. 1077; Kersauson 1986, 24-5, n. 07; Martinez 2004, 271, n. 0506. Bignamini & Hornsby 2010, 83.

10. Republican Bust (2)

Material:	**White marble**
Dimensions:	38 x 26 x 25
Condition/ State of Preservation:	Almost completely original, front locks and both ears have been restored.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 925
Description:	Almost identical to Republican Bust (1). Head looking towards the left with a stern visage. Hair is short and close the head.
Discussion:	Similar to Republican Bust (1), Visconti identified this bust as Domitius Corbulo as well. Most likely a copy of a bronze original from the Republican period. It is unclear why two almost identical busts would be displayed together.
Date:	2nd quarter of 1st century BCE
Select bibliography:	Hertel 2013, 180; Jucker 1976, 350-357, fig. 10, 11; Megow 2005, 131-38, pl. 70; Clarac 1854 136, n. 3273, pl. vi, n. 1077; Kersauson 1986, 26-7, n. 8; Martinez 2004, 271, n. 0507.

11. Drusus

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	200 x 82 x 75 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	Head was restored to the body, possibly the original (see below). For the head, the right ear, nose, and parts of the front of the neck are restorations. For the body, the arms, legs, and trunk support were restored all during the Borghese period. Modern restorations include dismantling poorly reassembled elements such as the neck, right hip, and the edge of the fold on the right arm.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1221
Description:	The head, which was found separate from the body, has close facial features, concentrated towards the center. The head is slightly smaller than the proportions of the body would suggest. The hair falls on the forehead in straight distinct sections, similar to the style made popular under Nero. The cheeks are characterized with bushy whiskers that reach down to the jaw. The body, mostly nude, is holding drapery with its left arm. The drapery falls in tight pleats and wraps around the waist down to the knees.
Discussion:	According to Visconti, Hamilton discovered the head during his excavation at Gabii. He is not as clear as to whether the body was also discovered there, but it seems to be most likely. This is one of three partially nude statues in a heroic pose. For the significance of this, see below. Who this statue represents has been the subject of an intense debate. Visconti himself identified the portrait as that of Nero. More recently, scholars such as Martin Szewczyk, have argued that it should be identified as Drusus, the son of Germanicus. Either way, there is no doubt that it represents a young member of the Julio-Claudian family.
Date:	2nd quarter 1st century
Select bibliography:	Hallett 2005, 161, n. 3, plate 315, n. 40; Clarac 1854, 221, n. 2395, Plates iii, n. 322; Charbonneaux 1963, 157-8; Kersauson 1986, 142-3, n. 65; Martinez 2004, 143, n. 0239.

12. Claudius

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	176 x 88 x 73 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	Underwent significant restorations during the Borghese period. The restorations include the plinth, right arm, fingers of the left hand and sword, several pieces of the drapery, and parts of the

	cranial cap, including the frontal locks. The right arm has since been "de-restored" by the Louvre.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1231
Description:	The top of the head, including the bangs, has been completely recut. The face has a strong nose, small mouth, and drooping almond shape eyes. The body is taking a step forward with its right leg and holds drapery with its left.
Discussion:	This standing statue in a heroic pose was first considered to be the emperor Tiberius; it has since been identified as the emperor Claudius. It is one of three standing, partial nude statues that date to the 1st century. The face, which is similar to the Erbach type, demonstrates Julio-Claudian characteristics. The presence of these three statues, so similar that they were likely commissioned at the same time for the same purpose, indicates a citizen of Gabii wanted to express their fealty, not just to Claudius, but the whole dynasty.
Date:	2nd quarter 1st century CE
Select bibliography:	Rose 1997, 89-90,n. 12; Boschung 2002, 45, n. 6, plate 28.1; Hallett 2005, 161, n. 3, pl. 179, n. 28, pl. 315, n. 38; Clarac 216, n. 2381, pl. iii, n. 280; vi, n. 1075; Charbonneaux 1963, 157; Kersauson 1986, 190-1, n. 89; Martinez 2004, 57, n. 0069.

13. "Caligula"

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	211x88x73
Condition/State of Preservation:	Head is a modern addition but was supposedly found in the same context as the body. Index finger on left hand is missing. Right arm is a restoration. Restoration report describes a modern bronze crown which is no longer present (drilled holes where it was installed are still visible).
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1235
Description:	Standing cuirassed statue. The cuirass features a gorgon head in the upper center, under which is a candelabra flanked by two griffins. On the top layer of flaps are alternating depictions of a double ram heads, a smiling theater mask, double elephant heads, and on the bottom layer of flaps are depictions of various types of spoils. Volute and palmette on the reverse, two heads of a ram on each side, two elephants on each side, a wild cat, smiling mask, and a helmet. The weight is shifted on the left foot, standing in a

	contrapposto position and the original right arm was most likely lifted. Head: Julian-Claudian style idealism. Short slightly curled bangs. Elongated neck and slightly forward ears. Tightly closed lips and close-set eyes.
Discussion:	According to Borghese archival documents(?) the statue was discovered without the head but the head was discovered nearby. Pacetti, or one of his team, added a bronze crown which has since been removed. The head has been identified as Agrippa Postumus, whereas the body is considered to be Julio-Claudian (Caligula?) or Flavian.
Date:	head: 1st quarter 1st century Body: 4th quarter 1st century
Select bibliography:	Stemmer 1978, 78-9, n. VII 7, pl. 52, 1, 2; Clarac 1854, 213, n. 2373 pl. VI, n. 277; Charbonneaux 1963, 151-2; Kersauson 1986, 148-9, n. 68; Martinez 2004, 52, n. 0057.

14. Germanicus

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	180x78x68
Condition/State of Preservation:	Modern right arm has been removed. Restorations include nose, ears, right forearm, left hand fingers, sword (now broken), both feet, bottom of cloak in the posterior, the support, and the plinth. Statue is joined in two large pieces.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1238
Description:	Half nude standing statue in heroic pose. Cloak wrapped around the lower waist and rests on the left shoulder and is supported by the left arm. Stands in contrapposto pose with weight on the left foot. The musculature is softly defined. The face has slight features with a Julio-Claudian hairstyle.
Discussion:	One of the finest examples of a Germanicus statue. Most likely designed to stand a pendant to the heroic half-nude statue of Claudius and Drusus. The features on his face are sharply etched, suggesting that it is based off of a bronze original. [part of a bigger story with the other nudes]
Date:	2nd quarter 1st century

Select bibliography:	Hertel 2013, 180; Rose 1997, 89-90, n. 12; Hallett 2005, 161, n. 3, pl. 315, n. 39; Clarac 209, n. 2362, pl. iii, n. 301; Charbonneaux 1963, 157; Kersauson 1986, 140-1, n. 64; Martinez 2004, 88, n. 0131.

15. Tiberius

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	37x34x75
Condition/State of Preservation:	The ancient head has been mounted on a modern bust. The tip of the nose and three sections of the crown. Ancient lacunae were filled in by the sculptor-restorer Pierantoni.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1239
Description:	Larger than life bust of Tiberius with a civic crown. Idealized visage with crab-claw style of frontal locks. Unexpressive eyes. The crown is thought to be "ob civis servatos" (an oak leaves crown). BH Antique Head mounted on a modern bust which shows the emperor with a civic crown . Post probably posthumous and therefore dates from after AD 37
Discussion:	Most likely a posthumous representation of Tiberius. The crown could be interpreted as civic but also possible funerary. Based on the Chiaromonti style, based on the statue found in Veio. Moreover he was never seen with such a crown during his lifetime, giving further credence to this hypothesis.
Date:	2nd quarter 1st century (c. 37)
Select bibliography:	Hertel 2013, 45, 52-3, 63-5, 68, 104, 107, 111, 124, 180-1, pl. 82, 88 BIBL: Clarac 1854, 129, n. 3257, pl. VI, n. 1103; Kersauson 1986, 162-3, n. 75; Martinez 2004, 341, n. 0659

16. Cuirassed Male

Material:	**Body: Marble** **Head: Parian Marble**
Dimensions:	220 x 104 x 95 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	A heavily composite piece. Head does not belong to the torso, although both are ancient. Several different marbles are discernable with the naked eye. Both arms and legs are heavily fragmented, with five or more joins each. The breastplate, which is the best

	preserved, has three long cracks, two emanate from the right pectoral and runs tangent to the third, which ends at the left pectoral.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1150
Description:	The cuirass, which is the only confirmed element from Gabii, features a low-relief scene of two victories flanking a central military trophy, topped with a breastplate. Two bounded prisoners are seen from behind, sitting at the bottom center. A Triton head adorns the top, right below the collar. The tassels at the bottom feature a symmetrical pattern of alternating gorgon head and bird.
Discussion:	According to Visconti, only the torso is original to Gabii, although the head is also ancient but of unknown provenance. The body dates to the Flavian period. Visconti notes the excellent workmanship of the nude parts, especially the feet, which is inconsistent with the current restoration, which is so heavily fragmented and disparate in marble. Perhaps the sculpture was extensively damaged during the journey to the Louvre from Paris and the current restorations were carried out by the Louvre in the beginning of the 19th century.
Date:	Head: 1st quarter 2nd century CE Body: 4th quarter 1st century CE
Select bibliography:	Mancini 1966, 82, n. 89; Stemmer 1978, 14-15, n. 19, pl. 6, 1, 2; Gergel 1988, 14-15, fig. 6; Charbonneaux 1963, 163; Kersauson 1996. 77-78, n. 28; Martinez 2004, 172, n. 0296.

17. Cuirassed Male

Material:	**Pentelic Marble**
Dimensions:	222 x 120 x 84 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	Head is modern and refashioned by Cartellier in 1808. The right arm, left hand, and the legs below the knee are all modern. The parts that are ancient are the torso (broken at the mantle on the right and the left elbow and shoulder), part of the left leg and the strut on which it leans. The extensive restorations carried out on this object makes it particularly difficult to discern ancient from modern.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1154, MR 359
Description:	This statue stands in a heroic pose, wearing a military cuirasse and holding up the mantle with his left arm. The breastplate on the torso, which is seemingly the only part that came from Gabii, features two captured barbarians around a

	trophy topped with a fur-lined helmet with two horns. At the top center is a bust relief of Selene (?) situated on a crescent moon
Discussion:	The identification of this sculpture has shifted multiple times since it was discovered by Hamilton. According to Visconti, a head of Marcus Aurelius was added to the cuirassed torso, which features two barbarian captives, since the subject matter was fitting for the victor of the Macromannic wars. It was later identified as Galba, when it was used to decorate on of the façades of the Villa Borghese. Since then, the head has been identified as Trajan, perhaps due to refashioning carried out by Cartellier.
Date:	75-124 CE
Select bibliography:	Martinez 2004, 202, n. 0355; Clarac 1854, 21-2, n. 33; Fiore 2008, 226-8, fig. 8.

18. Cuirassed Torso

Material:	Marble
Dimensions:	78 x 61 x 42 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	Unrestored cuirassed torso. Left forearm appears to have been broken off while the legs and right arm were most likely sawn off. The remaining portion of the left arm tapers towards the shoulder to accommodate the mantle, which was attached separately. The nature of the neck indicates that the head was made separately and inserted.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1152
Description:	Breastplate features a relief scene of two victories flanking a central candelabrum underneath a central gorgon head underneath the collar. The lower flaps of the cuirass are decorated with alternating lion heads, gorgons, candelabra, and palmettes. A chlamys adorns its left shoulder.
Discussion:	A cuirassed torso left unrestored by Visconti, similar to the Nude Torso (cat. n. 25). Possibly one of the three "very fine" cuirassed torsos mentioned by Hamilton in letter 286. It is uncommon for antiquarians and art collectors to preserve a non-restored statue in the 18th century.
Date:	100-124 CE
Select bibliography:	Stemmer 1978, 84, n. VII 17, pl. 58, 1-3; Martinez 2004, 203, n. 0356; Vermeule 1959, 42, n. 68.

19. Heroic Nude Male

Material:	**Head: marble** **Body: pentelic(?) marble**
Dimensions:	213 x 86 x 65 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	Head does not belong to the body. Right arm broken in three fragments: arm, forearm, wrist to hand. Left forearm and the mantle it is supporting has been restored. Penis also restored. Right leg in 9 fragments from thigh to ankle and left leg in three fragments from knee to ankle. The mantle is in three fragments with some tassels in the drapery on the left shoulder. Metal rod in the side strut of the mantle. Palm tree support in three fragments and has traces of metallic corrosion over the whole height.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1192
Description:	Nude male in heroic pose. Larger than life sized. Right leg bears the weight and is supported by a palm tree stump support. Right hip shifted up with the left slanting down, highlights the contrapposto positioning of the body. Muscular but lean. Mantle draped partly over left shoulder and again over right forearm. Head, which is a restoration, is looking to the proper left. Although this is a restoration, it looks likely by the configuration of the rest of the body that this is an accurate orientation.
Discussion:	Only the body comes from Gabii since the head was added by Pacetti from his storerooms. Much of the conversation concerning this statue is on the style of portraiture of the head. Although we cannot identify it as Hadrian since the head is unoriginal, it most likely did represent an imperial figure. Only members of the imperial family were depicted in the nude, except for deities but they are normally accompanied by some sort of attribute or attributes. In this view, this statue visually harmonizes with the Julio-Claudian collection of Drusus and Germanicus.
Date:	130-138 CE ??
Select bibliography:	Evers 1994, 147, 225, 229, 231, 304, 323 n. 4, 335, 84; Wegner 104; Hallett 2005, 330, n. 299; Maderna 1988, n. 13, 17, 26, pl. 21.2,22.1&2; Kersauson 1996,126-9, n. 52; Martinez 2004, 23, n. 0003.

20. Faustina the Younger

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	64x 35 x 33
Condition/State of Preservation:	Modern mount and drapery. Restored nose.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1176
Description:	Fine portrait bust of a young woman. The neck is long and graceful. The face, although youthful, has a low, bulging forehead. Below the large rounded eyebrows are almond shaped eyes with a distant glazy look. Slight indications of wrinkles on the edges of her lips and above her eyelids. The lips are plump and slightly open. Her wavy hair is parted down the middle and bundled into a bun at the back of the neck. The marble is polished with a crystal-like appearance.
Discussion:	This portrait was originally identified as Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and wife of Lucius Verus, by Visconti. The identification eventually shifted to Faustina, daughter of Antoninus Pius and wife of Marcus Aurelius, by Bernouilli and has sin been supported. Considered by the Louvre to be a posthumous portrait on account of its more baroque style, which correlates more to the reign of Commodus.
Date:	4th quarter 2nd century
Select bibliography:	Clarac 1854, 147,n. 3302, plates vi, n. 1090; Kersauson 1996,254-5, n. 113; Martinez 2004,304,n. 0581. Bernouilli 1891, II, 2, 1891, p.119, n ° 1.

21. Youthful Marcus Aurelius

Material:	**Parian marble**
Dimensions:	27.5 x 24 x 25
Condition/State of Preservation:	Just the tip of the nose has been restored. Was once attached to a bust, but that has since been removed. Unclear it if once belonged to a bust or body.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1178
Description:	Portrait of a youthful male, age approximately 14-16 years old, with a wide forehead and a pointed chin. Voluminous locks crown the head, definition created with a drill. Large almond shaped eyes looking straight ahead with a glazy look and slightly drilled pupils. Lips are full and closed.

Discussion:	In this portrait of a young Marcus Aurelius, we begin to see the "impressionism" style that becomes more prominent during his reign and lasts into the 3rd century. This includes a demure countenance and heavy eyes.
Date:	2nd quarter 2nd century
Select bibliography:	Fittschen 1999, 13,n. A8, pl. 6, A-D; Clarac 1854,145, n. 3299 pl. vi, n.1091; Charbonneaux 1963, 165; Kersauson 1996, 214-5, n. 93; Martinez 2004,311,n. 0596.

22. "Nemesis"

Material:	Marble
Dimensions:	176 x 70 x 60 cm.
Condition/ State of Preservation:	The body of this female statue is mostly original. The head, cornucopia, feet, and left arm are not original. The right arm is in five fragments, supported by a strut attached to the right breast. The five fingers of the right hand have been reattached, but appear to be the same marble as the arm.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 377
Description:	This female statue is over life sized and dressed in heavy drapery. The left arm, which is a total restoration, is holding a cornucopia. The cornucopia appears ancient (except for the modern restoration of the fruit) but is not likely a part of the original statue. Likewise, the head has discernable modern restorations (nose, chin, and upper lip), suggesting that it is also an ancient piece of another statue. Her right arm rests lightly on her chest, imbuing a sense of chastity. The right leg, which can be discerned through the drapery, is bent at the knee and moves forward as if in the process of stepping forward.
Discussion:	Visconti mentions in his catalog, *Monumenti*¸ that he believed the fragments of a cornucopia found at Gabii belonged to this statue and should thus be identified as Nemesis. Yet, these fragments, which must have been only a few out of the "hundreds," makes it difficult to confirm that they belong to this specific sculpture. Hamilton was possibly describing this statue as "drapery figure of a woman, uncommonly fine…" (n. 286, 18 June 1792). Yet, this is not the only draped female statue that he found.

Date:	2nd century CE
Select bibliography:	Clarac 1854, 329, n. 1052, plate iii, Hoog 1993, 287, n. 1322; Martinez 2004, 142, n. 0237.

23. Hadrian

Material:	**White marble**
Dimensions:	60 x 56 x 38
Condition/ State of Preservation:	Almost completely original except for the nose, nasolabial fold, and front curls, which are restorations. Base is a modern addition.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1186
Description:	The head is slightly turned to the left. The eyes are small and close together. The hair undulates towards the forehead ending in six raised curls, with one lower than the rest in the center. The facial expression is stern and focused.
Discussion:	Wegner (1956) classifies this bust in the second category for Hadrian's portrait, based off of an example from the Vatican Museums, known as type Chiaramonti 392. In this type, Hadrian's profile is similar to what is seen on his coins minted in 118 CE, thus dating the bust towards the beginning of his reign.
Date:	1st quarter 2nd century
Select bibliography:	Evers 1994, 111, 144, 225-26, 229, 327-29, 339, figs. 64, 68, and 81; Clarac 1841, 142, n.3292, table VI, n. 1070; Charbonneaux 1963, 163; Kersauson 1996, 118 - 119, n. 48; Martinez 2004, 237, n. 0436.

24. "Sabina"

Material:	**White marble**
Dimensions:	210x92x63
Condition/ State of Preservation:	The head is modern and gives the identification of "Sabina." The right arm is modern and once held a cup. The top portion of the left arm is original along with the upper portion of the cornucopia. The bottom tip of the horn and the hand that holds it are modern additions.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1190
Description:	Larger than life statue of a woman in a tunic with a heavy mantle draped over her shoulders and belly. She holds a cornucopia in

	her left arm. The drapery is detailed and fine, almost as if it were wet.
Discussion:	According to the restoration report, scholars at the Louvre date this sculpture to the 1st or 2nd quarter of the second century. This date is reasonable for the style of the head, especially if it is Sabina, but perhaps not for the body. Carandini asserts that the style of drapery as well as the relief along the upper edge of the cornucopia suggests the Claudian era. There is agreement, however, that this sculpture is most likely an emulation of a previous Greek sculpture type. According to Bieber, this style matches other sculptures that were produced for private citizens who desired the visual connection to Greek art and potentially the connotation of relation with the divine.
Date:	2nd quarter 2nd century
Select bibliography:	Bieber 1977, 23, pl. 4, fig. 18; Bernoulli 1891, 129, n. 8; Wegner 1956, 90, 128; Mikocki 1995, 57, 196, n. 319; Clarac 1841, 234, n. 2424, table iii, n. 332, v, n. 1100; Charbonneaux 1963, 164; Kersauson1996, 138-39, n. 56; Martinez 2004, 163, n. 0280.

25. Nude Torso

Material:	Marble
Dimensions:	66.5 x 46.5 x 33.5 cm.
Condition/ State of Preservation:	The torso, which once was a part of a complete statue, is mostly intact and original. Fixed to a modern plinth with plaster. The surface is pitted all over, with ten distinct holes spanning from the left shoulder down the back. Behind the left shoulder is a quadrilateral recess (c. 1 x 1 cm), most likely a mortise for the insertion (installation?) of another element. The shoulders also have similar notches, presumably for the addition of arms.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 361
Description:	The sculpture is almost completely nude save for partial drapery on the left shoulder; the multiple holes along its back strongly indicates it was once adorned with drapery. The exactitude of the notches in the shoulders signal that the original construction of this statue was originally designed to be assembled. The conservators at the Louvre do not believe that this is the case with the head, since the angle of the break is unlike typical head installations. Rather, they surmise that the neck was either an ancient modification to

	change the subject of the portrait or an attempt at a modern restoration that was abandoned; they favor the former possibility.
Discussion:	This nude torso is one of two sculptures that were left incomplete by Pacetti and his team. Visconti does not give a reason as to why they were left "unrestored," but it does suggest the possibility that there was a burgeoning interest among antiquarians of exhibiting objects representative of the Roman method of sculpting life-sized statues. That is to say, by not restoring this torso, Visconti and Pacetti were giving viewers the opportunity to see where the arms would have been joined or how it was modified in the ancient period. We do know that Visconti placed the torso (along with *the other one*) on display within the *Museo Gabini*, which supports this hypothesis.
Date:	1st quarter of the 2nd century CE
Select bibliography:	Visconti 1835, 88 pl. 41; Martinez 2004, 207 n. 0365.

26. "Young Commodus"

Material:	Marble
Dimensions:	112 x 66 x 60
Condition/State of Preservation:	Head of a young Commodus was added by Visconti and did not originate from Gabii. The body is intact with a restored right arm and left hand.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1135
Description:	This statue, life-sized but with a short stature, represents a young man. The toga, falling from the left shoulder, has deep folds giving an impression of heaviness. The figure is wearing a short-sleeved tunic underneath the toga. The young man stands on his right leg with the visible left knee slightly bent.
Discussion:	Based on the short stature and dress of this statue, it most likely represents a young man recently granted citizenship. Its also possible that it was once a young member of the imperial family, as there are two other examples from Gabii of young imperial family members (Young Aurelius and Faustina the Younger). Conversely, we have two other examples of young portraits that probably depicted the child of an elite citizen (young Hercules and Plutia Vera).
Date:	50-177 CE
Select bibliography:	Goette 1990, 127, N. Ba283; Fittschen 1999, 58, n. k 4, pl. 90, C, D; Wegner 1939, 261, Kersauson 1996, 318-9, n. 145; Martinez 2004, 58, n. 0071.

27. "Plotina"

Material:	Marble
Dimensions:	208.5 x 80 x 75.5 cm.
Condition/ State of Preservation:	This statue is mostly original, except for the head and the upper right arm. This sculpture was assembled in two parts, joined horizontally in the center where the folds cross the body. It seems likely the original head was carved separately. A large segment of original marble, broken in four sections, was used to repair the back right side; a metal dowel connecting the pieces is visible. Although the majority of the platform is modern, one can see traces of the original marble on the reverse left side, below the tunic. This suggests that the lower half of the statue was realized in tandem with the platform.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1037, MR 323
Description:	This statue of a woman lacks depth and is overly slim, suggesting it was not meant to be seen from all angles. She rests her weight on the left leg while her right knee is bent forward and relaxed. The mantle, which has deep folds that cling to the body as if wet, is gathered from the right hip and leg and rests on the left forearm. Since the right arm is not original, it is not possible to know whether the statue was holding anything, most likely a small object.
Discussion:	Visconti tells us that the sculptor Pierantoni modeled the head after a Plotina original found in the Rotunda room at the Vatican. A positive identification of whom this statue represents is not possible. Nevertheless, there is a moderate chance that it once bore the likeness of one of the elite women of Gabii. For more on this statue and the women of Gabii, see Chapter 4.
Date:	1st-3rd century (?)
Select bibliography:	*Monumenti*, 37, tav. VI, n. 15. Bieber 1977, 206, pl. 144, fig. 845-847; Schröder 2004, 404-6, n.190; Kersauson 1996, 92-3, n. 34; Martinez 2004, 157, n. 0269.

28. Female Bust

Material:	**Marble**

Dimensions:	52 x 28 x 28 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	In fine condition, no major restorations except for the nose and chest/foot of the bust.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1266
Description:	She has a broad nose and almond shaped eyes. Her full lips are accentuated by her ample cheeks. She has a strong jawline which is accentuated by a rectangular chin. Her most notable characteristic is the hairstyle; the hair appears parted down the middle with a singular braid dominating the center and all gathered in a bun in the back. There is a marked difference in style and texture between the top portion of the hair, which is flat, and the sides, which has tight waves. This suggests that this is meant to represent a wig, which was not uncommon in the Antonine period.
Discussion:	This bust represents an unknown female figure from Gabii. Visconti argues in *Monumenti,* that it is a portrait of Plutia Vera, the daughter of the silk merchant Epaphroditus who commissioned a temple to Venus Felix in her owner (see inscription). While this is possible and the age is appropriate, it is impossible to confirm such an identification.
Date:	1st quarter 2nd century
Select bibliography:	Kersauson 1986, 116-7, n. 52; Martinez 2004, 329-0, n. 0634.

29. Heroic Nude Male

Material:	Marble
Dimensions:	210 x 82 x 60 cm.
Condition/ State of Preservation:	Heavily restored. The head, *parazonium (*dagger), and parts of the arms and legs are restorations.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1000
Description:	The head of this life-sized heroic nude sculpture is not original and does not come from Gabii. The life-size body stands nude in contrapposto. A cloak rests on his left shoulder and wraps around his left forearm.
Discussion:	The head was added by the Borghese and the statue has been identified as Lucius Elius Caesar, the father of Lucius Verus, by Visconti, ever since. The body, which most likely did come from Gabii, is similar in size and appearance to the Julio-Claudian group, which consists of

	Germanicus, Drusus, and possibly Tiberius. It is conceivable, therefore, that this was once a part of that assemblage and represented another Julio-Claudian.
Date:	2nd half of 2nd century
Select bibliography:	Fittschen 1999, 96, n. 451, pl. 183, D, E; Amelung & Lippold 1936, 162 à 164, n. 565, pl. 55; Zanker 1974, 32, n. 29, pl. 34, 1; pl. 36,1,4-7. Martinez 2004, 186, 187, n. 0323.

30. Togate Youth

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	146 x 58 x 45 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	The body and most of the head are original. The right side of the head has been noticeably repaired, especially the hair, forehead with the brow bone, and the eyelid of the eye. On the left side, a faint "second ear" can be detected, perhaps a previous mistake by the original sculptor. The nose was restored in two different times. The neck was poorly reconstructed – the right side goes beyond the neckline of the toga while the left side is too dee. Several edges of the toga were also restored. The left foot has been cut, so now the toes are not distinguishable.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 2244
Description:	This statue represents a boy around 13-14 years of age. He stands wearing an intricately draped toga with defined ridges. The face portrays the age of the person, with plump cheeks and a small mouth. Around his neck he wears a pendant.
Discussion:	This statue most likely represents a boy who has recently reached adulthood. The toga, which almost seems too heavy for his body, indicates he is now a Roman citizen. This is also emphasized by the bulla around his neck.
Date:	1st century CE
Select bibliography:	Clarac 1854 180, n.2300, Plates iii, n. 348; Martinez 2004, 219, n. 0395

31. Septimius Severus

Material:	**Lunate Marble**
Dimensions:	99.5 x 64.6 x 35.7 cm

Condition/State of Preservation:	Intact. Reworking of the hair and beard suggests that it was modified to fit onto the bust. The nose and right brow are restorations. Some chips and 3 tassels visible in the folds of the garment.
Louvre Accession Number:	MR 647, MA 1118
Description:	Bust and portrait of a man looking towards the proper right. The thick curly hair is rendered with high detail, must likely with a drill. Three thick curls fall straight down on his forehead. The beard is slightly long and less curly and extends to the middle of his cheeks. His closed lips are slightly bowed down at the edges. His brow is not dominant, but rather recessed which brings focus to large circular eyes with heavy lids. The pupils have been drilled, all of which gives a him a look of tranquility and wistfulness.
Discussion:	This portrait of middle-aged man with heavily drilled curls is Septimius Severus, the husband of Julia Domna and the father of Caracalla and Geta. This is one of the few sculptures that was directly named by Hamilton in his letters (286), and was thought to have been found in the same room as his other family members, Julia Domna and Caracalla/Geta.
Date:	Early 3rd century c. 203
Select bibliography:	Goette 1990, p. 152, n. L71, pl. 56.3; Giroire & Roger, 2008, p. 74, n. 9; Kersauson 1996, p. 354-5, n. 162; Martinez 2004, p. 334, n. 0644; Montel 2016, p. 363.

32. Julia Domna

Material:	**Parian Marble**
Dimensions:	54 x 32 x 24 cm
Condition/State of Preservation:	The nose and the bust are not original to this portrait. The lips were restored by the Borghese artists. Scratch marks on the hair. Brown oily(?) substance on the surface of the hair.
Louvre Accession Number:	MR 637-N1372, MA 1109
Description:	Female head, slightly tilted to the right. Heavy brows hang over almond shaped eyes. Her face is framed by orderly hair parted down the middle with heavy horizontal rows with shallow

	undulation marks for detail. There is a lock of hair showing underneath the rows of hair on her right cheek, indication that it might be a wig. The hair is wrapped in an elongated bun at the back of her head.
Discussion:	This portrait was originally identified as Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla, but was reidentified as Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus. This portrait along with that of her husband and son, composes one of the most complete groups of one imperial dynasty at Gabii.
Date:	193-205 CE
Select bibliography:	Kersauson 1996, p. 364-5, n. 167; Martinez 2004, p. 327-8, n. 0629; Bernoulli 1886, 1894, p. 39, n. 1, pl. 16; Meischner 1964, p. 30 n. 2.

33. Geta

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	67 x57.5 x 33
Condition/State of Preservation:	Very well preserved. Although it has a polished appearance, traces of concretions are visible on the mantle. There are numerous tasselly, especially on the fabric of the right shoulder, the front of the left shoulder, and the collar of the tunic. Several chips and gaps on the collar, the right ear, and the left side of the mantle.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1076
Description:	This half-figured bust represents a young man most likely associated with the military. He appears on the verge of full manhood with a heavy bro and a stern expression. Yet, his cheeks are still soft, full, and clean shaving indicating his age. His hair is shorn short yet one ca still discern slight curls in his hair.
Discussion:	Some scholars have attempted to determine whether this statue is of Geta or this brother Caracalla. Having received a *damnatio memoriae* after being assassinated by his brother, all images of Geta were ordered to be destroyed across the empire. Due to this, very little of his imagery remains. Some have argued that this is in fact the likeness of the doomed brother by comparing it to a singular coin, but it is impossible to say definitively. Interestingly,

	the bust was found in the same room as busts of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, the parents of the brothers.
Date:	205-209 CE
Select bibliography:	Wegner 1971, p. 74, pl. 5C, pl. 8 A, b, pl 22; Kersauson 1996, p. 394-5, n. 181; Martinez 2004; p. 290-1, n. 0551

34. Gordian III

Material:	**Carrara(?) Marble**
Dimensions:	74.5 x 7 x 53 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	This statue is mostly original. The left hand, sword, and tip of the nose have been restored. The right arm had been restored in the 18th century, but has since been removed by the conservators of the Louvre.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 1063, MR 513
Description:	This larger than life bust became a common style in the second half of the third century. In this manner, one can distinguish certain attributes, like the scaled cuirass, belt, and mantle (*paludamentum*) all of which indicate his high general status. The close-cut hair has a slight geometric pattern and the soft V hairline gives a militaristic impression. The face is full and fleshy, with round cheeks and full lips, expressing the youth of the emperor.
Discussion:	This half-figured bust is the latest in date, providing a general temporal framework between the late 1st century BCE -3rd century CE for all statues found by Hamilton. It is surprising to find a statue such as this in the collection. Gordian III was one of the many unfortunate emperors during the time period known as the "third century crisis" which experienced near constant upheaval, civil war, and changing leadership. This may indicate that not only was Gabii still operating as a city, but that certain emperors still saw it relevant enough for their statuary to be erected there.
Date:	242-244 CE
Select bibliography:	Wegner 1979, p. 26, pl. 8; Wood 1986, p. 38, 39, P. 130, n. 4; Fejfer 2008, p. 185-6, 260; Kersauson 1996, p. 456-7, n. 213; Martinez 2004, p. 291-2, n. 0533.

Civic Subjects

36. Togate Male

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	198 x 58 x 95 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	Head is not original to body. According to the reports of the Louvre, only the torso is ancient.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 2341
Description:	Lager than life sized statue of a standing togate male with cord wrapped around the crown of the head. Standing on a *capsa* (cylindrical box). The figure, which is wearing *calcei*, stands with its weight on its left leg and the heel of the right foot is slightly lifted. The two arms, which are modern, are extended outwards at waist height.
Discussion:	Little is known about this statue. It has been stored in the baths of Plombieres-les-Bains since 1934. It is most likely the statue Visconti references as a *flaminus* (a type of Roman priest), who also admits that the head was a modern addition.
Date:	1st century CE
Select bibliography:	*Monumenti,* 63, n. 24.

Associated with Gabii

37. Statuette

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	42 x 21 x 12 cm.
Condition/State of Preservation:	Appears mostly intact, missing head.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 2705

Description:	Statuette of a male wearing a short cloak and holding a wreath in his right hand. The left arm, bent at the elbow, most likely held a scroll which is now lost. Weight is shifted on the left foot and is supported by a vertical boulder.
Discussion:	This statuette is often interpreted as wearing a Gallic style cloak. It has been considered as a priest of some kind, but there is new evidence to suggest that it is a representation of the god, Telephoros. Telephoros was the Greek divinity of convalescence and associated with the god of healing, Asclepios. Normally, Telesphoros was seen as a traveler who has its origins in Gaul and wears a short cape, shoeless, and a pointed hood. The back side of this statuette shows that the hood, which was not covering the head.
Date:	3rd century CE
Select bibliography:	Reinach 1898, 537; Martinez 2004, 52-3, n. 0058.

38. Strategist (head)

Material:	**White marble**
Current location:	Museo Chiaramonti VI.14 inv. 1269 or Sala della Biga n. 19 inv. 2347
Discussion:	Discovered during Hamilton's first dig at Gabii, the head is of a bearded man with a helmet situated in a similar fashion to the generals Pericles or Phocion. It is unclear to which statue the head was added, although it seems more likely to be the warrior statue in the Sala della Biga since this was restored by Pacetti, Hamilton's lifelong colleague.
Date:	Roman
Select bibliography:	Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 76. Museo Chiaramonti statue: Liverani 1989, 21; Sala della Biga statue: Spinola 2004, 65-66.

39. Artemis Braschi

Material:	**White marble**
Dimensions:	H: 1.55 m
Current location:	Munich Glyptothek

Discussion:	This statue was most likely discovered by the mosaicist, Andrea Volpini, who was digging on behalf of Cardinal Romualdo Braschi, in 1793. Little is known about the circumstances of its discovery. According to Pacetti, he was responsible for its restoration. It was purchased by Ludwig I of Bavaria for the Munich Museum.
Date:	Archaic
Select bibliography:	Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 84. Guattani 1806, 90, n. 56; Pietrangeli 1949, 182-83, n. 3; Fuchs 1992, 38-44, figs. 28-37; Papini 2000, 50-51, 80-89.

40. Tripod Basin

Material:	**Lunate marble**
Dimensions:	94x 54.5 x 54.5 cm.
Condition/ State of Preservation:	Legs and basin are heavily restored and standing on a modern plinth; hole visible between two of the supports of the basin. Sections of gluing (with rosin), polyester resin (?) used to connect one leg to its foot.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 357; inv. MR 998
Description:	This tripod is supported by three legs with lion's paw feet. A fourth support sits under the basin, connecting the three sections in the center. At the top of each leg is a feline head, perhaps that of a panther or chimera. The interior of the basin has shell-like undulations. The exterior has long darts punctuated by palmettes all around its circumference.
Discussion:	This washbasin most likely came from a domestic context; such objects were used to refresh diners before or after eating. Due to its heavy restoration, however, it is difficult to determine the exact form this basin took.
Date:	1-4th century CE
Select bibliography:	Martinez 2004, p. 577-8. n.1162, Bignamini & Hornsby 2010, pp. 83.

41. Base of the Twelve Gods

Material:	**Marble**
Dimensions:	Total height: 208, Altar height: 179, Pediment height 7, Height of legs 29, High altar depth 141, Altar depth lower part 96.

Condition/ State of Preservation:	
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 672; MR 958; N 1760
Description:	Known as the Ara Borghese, this altar (or as Long refers to it, candelabrum base), does not come from Gabii. Rather it was discovered in Rome in the first half of the 16th century. It was included in Visconti's catalog for the *Museo Gabino*, so it has been incorrectly assigned to the city from then to the modern era.
Date:	1st half of the 2nd century
Select bibliography:	Long plates LII, LIII figs. 96, 97, 98, p. 37-8

42. Sitting Dog

Material:	**White marble**
Dimensions:	56x 31 x 72 cm.
Condition/ State of Preservation:	Parts of the head, neck, back and front paws, the end of the tail, and the plinth are all restorations. In addition, the sculpture has been scrubbed thoroughly and is quite polished.
Louvre Accession Number:	MA 186, inv. MR 1012
Description:	The dog's head is sharply bowed, arcing its back along a smooth curve towards its seated haunches. The sleek head of the dog points the viewer's gaze to the ground before its paws. With its left paw slightly lifted, the dog seems both subservient and docile.
Discussion:	According to Visconti, this sculpture of a sitting female dog was found atop a square urn (*urna quadrilateral* p.75) that featured low reliefs on its vertical sides depicting nature scenes. Such an object is not mentioned in any other report and is not included within the Hamilton collection. Although this sculpture is included in Visconti's catalog, it is doubtful whether it actually came from Gabii for several reasons. First, the subject of this statue, a dog, appears to be unique in the Hamilton collection. Moreover, the statue was never reported by Hamilton or any of his other colleagues, including Carlo Fea who listed out many of the finds in the *Antologia.* These facts together are not enough to completely discount the statue from the Hamilton collection, but it becomes even more unlikely once compared to another excavation carried out by Hamilton at Monte Cagnolo, a site not far from Gabii. In this excavation, one

	finds a total of 10(!) sculptures of dogs or compositions including dogs. The style of sculpture of these dogs in addition bear a striking resemblance to the dog "found" at Gabii. Finally, we know that Visconti had direct access to these dogs, thanks to a letter from Hamilton to Townley explaining that "…when your group of dogs was restored Visconti insisted on having his chose (*sic*) according to agreement…" (March 21 1774). In view of these facts, its most likely that this statue came from Monte Cagnolo, was acquired by Visconti, who eventually added to the Gabii catalog as a counterpoint to the Diana of Gabii (a connection emphasized in *Monumenti*).
Date:	1st-2nd century CE
Select bibliography:	Visconti 1797, pp. 75-6, n. 43; Charbonneaux 1963, pp. 72; Martinez 2004, pp. 595, n. 1191; Bignamini & Hornsby 2010, pp. 83.

43 Bronze Jug in the form of a Head

Material:	**Bronze**
Dimensions:	30.20 x14.5x17.5
Louvre Accession Number:	Br 2955
Discussion:	Very little is known about the discovery of this jug. Possibly it was found by Hamilton, but he does not mention it in any of his letters. None of the reports on the jug mention its provenance or how it came to be associated with Gabii.
Date:	Last quarter of 5th century BCE
Select bibliography:	Cristofani 1985, 291-92, n. 115; Haynes 1995, 177-193.

Appendix B Tables

Table 1

1. Sitting Hercules



2. Diana of Gabii



3. Hercules with Crown



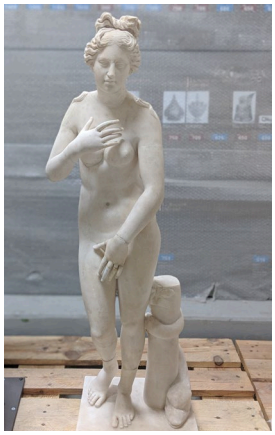
4. Young Hercules



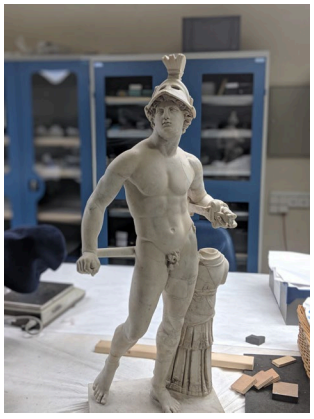
5. Gabii Altar



6. "Capitoline" Venus



7. Nude Statuette



8. Marcus Agrippa

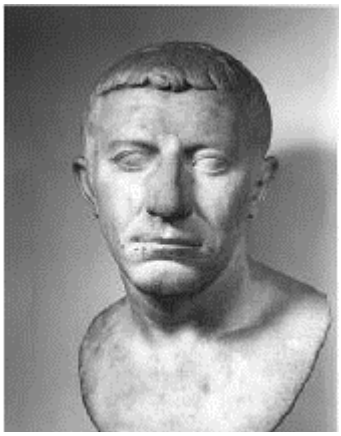


9. Republican Bust 1



Table 2

10. Republican Bust 2



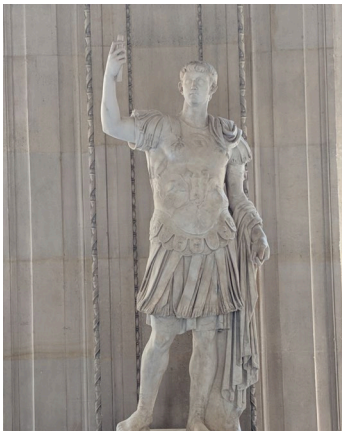
11. Drusus



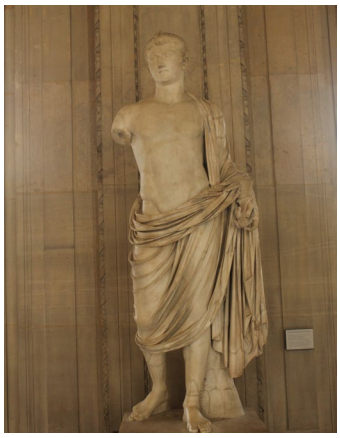
12. Claudius



13. "Caligula"



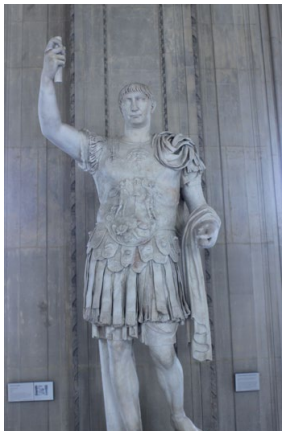
14. Germanicus



15. Tiberius



16. Cuirassed Male



17. Cuirassed Male



18. Cuirassed Torso



Table 3

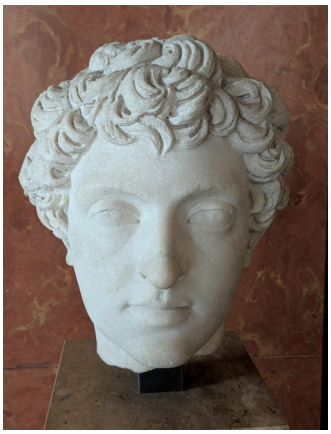
19. Heroic Nude Male



20. Faustina the Younger



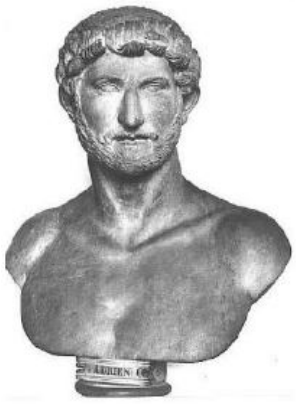
21. Youthful Marcus Aurelius



22. "Nemesis"



23. Hadrian



24. "Sabina"



25. Nude Torso



26. "Young Commodus"



27. "Plotina"



Table 4

28. Female Bust



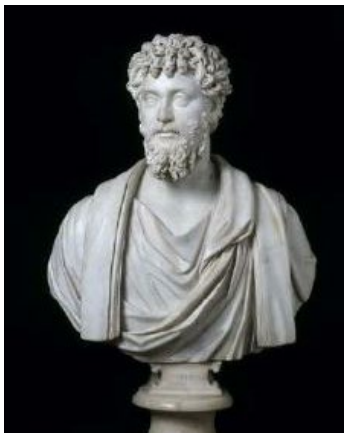
29. Heroic Nude Male



30. Togate Youth



31. Septimius Severus



32. Julia Domna



33. Geta



34. Gordian III



35. Togate Male



Table 5

36. Statuette



37. Strategist



38. Artemis Braschi



39. Tripod Basin



40. Altar of the 12 Gods



41. Sitting Dog



42. Bronze Jug in the form of a Head



Appendix C Select Inscriptions

Inscription 1
CIL 14.2794

In honorem memoriae domus Augustae Cn(aei) Do miti Corbulonis /	*In honor of the memory of the house of Domitia Augusta, daughter of Domitius Corbulon*
fil(iae) Domitii Polycarpus et Europe loc(o) dat(o) decreto ordinis decur(ionem) aedem /	*Cnaius Domitius Polycarpus et Domitia Europe, on the site given by decree of the order of decurions, had a temple*
fecerunt et exornaverunt statuis et reliquis rebus pecunia sua eiusdem/	*made and adorned with statues and other things at their expense and*
que tutelam in perpetuum rei publicae dederunt sub inscriptione infra scripta	*have given its protection in perpetuity to the city following the inscription engraved below*
Imp(eratore) Caes(are) T(ito) Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug(usto) Pio III M(arco) Aelio Aurelio Caes(are) co(n)s(ulibus) VIIII K(alendas) Maias Gabi(i)s in municipio in curia Aelia Augusta scribendo atfuit universus ordo /	*The emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius was consul for the 3rd time with Marcus Aelius Aurelius Cesar, the 9th day before the kalends of May, in the city of Gabii, in the Curia Aelia Augusta, the order of the decurions were present at the composition,*
decurionem referentibus L(ucio) Vipstano L(uci) f(ilio) Cl(audia) Publicola Messalla L(ucio) Strio L(uci) f(ilio) Pal(atina) Prisco IIIvir(is) q(uin)q(uennalibus) Cn(aeum) Domitium Polycarpum nomine suo et Domitiae Europes coniugis suae /	*Lucius Vitsanus Publicola Messalla, son of Lucius, of the tribe of Claudia and Lucius Strius Priscus, son of Lucius, of the tribe Palatina, quinquennial quattorvirates, were reporters. (It is written that) Cnaius Domitius Polycarpus in his name and that of his wife Domitia Europa*
offerre ordini decurionum ut sevirum Augustalium HS X m(ilia) n(ummum) qu(i) iam pridem extruxisset templum in honorem ac memoriam Domitiae Corbulonis fil(iae) et hoc pietatis suae adfectu /	*offered to the order of the decurions and of the seviri Augustales 10,000 sesterces, he who previously built a temple in honor and in memory of Domitia, daughter of Corbulon, and he who embellished it in testimony of his piety*
Exornet et meliorem faciat ordinem n(ostrum) singulis etiam universisque prodesse festinet at quos ex reditu eius pecuniae fructum semper desideret pervenire confugiendo at /	*and he improves the state of our order - hastening to serve every one - to which he wishes the income of the interest of this sum to return forever;*
aeternam rem publ(icam) n(ostram) petendo ut secundum exemplum codicillorum Cl(audi) Vitalis stipulatione interposita desiderio suo talis condicio decerneretur ut ex reditu eius pecuniae /	*and by means of our eternal republic, he asks that, by a provision inserted according to his desire in a copy of the tablets of Claudius Vitalis, the commitment be taken*
III Idus Febr(u)ar(ias) natale Domitiae praesentibus decurionib(us) et sevir(is)	

discumbentibus in publico aequis portionibus fieret diviso item hoc amplius in tutela et ornationibus templi HS V m(ilia) n(ummum) sub eadem condicione inferret Q(uid) d(e) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret)d(e) e(a) r(e) it(a) c(ensuerunt) /

that the third day before the ides of February, anniversary of Domitia, a share of the interest income of this sum shall be made in the amount of the present decurioni and seviri assembled for a public meal. Also on top of that he pays for the care and decoration of the temple 5000 sesterces at the same condition

placere universis secundum relationem s(upra) s(criptam) pecuniam accipi praestarique in per(pe)tuum ut celebraretur natalis dies ac memoria Domitiae Corbulonis fil(iae) et ex reditu HS X m(ilia) n(ummum) / …

Let them decide if the thing so proposed suits them. It is advisable for all to receive the money according to the conditions above and to put it in deposition in perpetuity so that the birthday and the memory of Domitia daughter of Corbulon are famous and that on the income of 10,000 sesterces, the reparations done we're doing a public banquet.

… / divionibus factis discumberetur in publ(ico) Et si ullo tempore intermissum esset quominus praestaretur quo ordo decrevisset aut si ordo rescidisset decretum /

and if at any given time there was a suspension preventing the execution of what the order had decreed, or if the order canceled its decree or modified its conditions, whereas the totality of the sum

suum mutassetve condiciuone municipibus Tusculanis confestim renumeraretur /

which had been accepted at present be paid on the spot to the citizens of Tusculum under the same conditions.

hoc decretum post tres relationes placuit in tabula aerea scribi et proponi in publico unde de plano recte legi possit.

It has been agreed, after three publications, to engrave this decree on a bronze table and to expose it to the public in order to be able to read it out.

Inscription 2
CIL 14.2804

Agusiae T(iti) F(iliae) Priscillae
Sacerdoti spei et salutis Aug(ustae)
Ex decreto decurionum Gabini statuam publice po-
Nendam curaverunt quod post
Impensas exemplo illustrium feminar(um)
Factas ob sacerdotium etiam opus portic(us)
Spei vetustate vexatum pecunia sua refectu-
Ram se promiserit populo cum pro
salute principis Antonini Aug(usti) Pii
patris patriae liberorumque eius
eximo ludorum spectaculo edito
religioni veste donata
universis satisfecerit
cuius statuae honore contenta
impensam populo remiserit
L(ocus) D(atus) D(ecreto) D(ecurionum)

To Priscilla Augusia, daughter of Titus
Priestess of the cult of the hope and safety of the Augusta
From the decree of the decurioni, the Gabines dedicate this statue, having been erected in public
Because after the payment,
by the example of remarkable women,
She promised to the people that, on account of the work of the priesthood, the porticus
Would be rebuilt with her own money, having been damaged by time
For the sake of the safety of the princeps Antoninus Augustus Pius
The father of the fatherland and of his freedmen
With extraordinary spectacle of games having being declared
Having given a garment to everyone
She satisfied her religious rite
Satisfied with the honor of this statue
Returns the expense to the people
The space has been given by the decree of the decurioni

Inscription 3
CIL 14.2793

Veneri verae felici Gabinae
A(ulus) Plutius Epaphroditus accens(us) velat(us) negotiator sericarius templum cum
signo aereo effigie veneris item signis aereis n(umero) III dispostis in zothecis et
Valvis aereis et ata aerea et omni cultu a solo sua pecunia fecit cuius ob
dedicationem divisit decurionibus sing(ulis) (denarius quinque) item (se)vir(is) aug(usta) (libus) sing(ulis) (denarius duo) item tabernariis intra murum negotantibus (denarium unum) et (sestertium) (decem) m(ilia) N(umium) reipobl(cae) (gabinor)um intulit ita ut ex
usuris eiusdem summae quotannis IIII k(alendas) octobr(is) die natali plutiae verae
filiae siae decur(iones) et (se)vir(i) aug(ustales) publice in tricliniis sius epulentur quod si
facere neglexerint tunc ad municipium tuscalanor(um) (sestertium decem) M(ilia) N(umum) pertineant
quae confestim exigantur loc(o) dato decreto decor(ionem)

To the Venus Vera Felix of Gabii.
Aulus Plutius Epaphroditus, accensus velatus,
silk merchant
had this temple built from the ground up by his own expense
with a bronze Venus, four bronze statues installed in niches, a bronze altar, and all cult accessories.
On the occasion of the dedication, he distributed five denarii to each member of the decurioni, three denarii to each sevir Augustales, and one denarius to each of the merchants operating within the walls of the city.
He donated ten thousand denarii to the municipality of Gabii, so that the town magistrates and the seviri Augustales might use the interest accrued to hold a public banquet on his dining sofas every year on September 28, the birthday of his daughter Plutia Vera.
If, however, they should neglect to do this, the ten thousand sestertii will immediately be forfeited and given to the city of Tusculanum. The land was made available by decree of the order of the decurioni.

dedicata idibus maiis L(ucio) Venuleio Aproniano (iterum) Sergio Paullo (iterum) C(on)S(ulibus).	*Dedicated on the ides of May when Lucius Venuleius Apronianus and Sergius Paullus were consuls both for a second time.*

Inscription 4
CIL 14.2812

A Plutio Epaphrodito	*To Plutius Epaphroditus*
Accenso velato	*Accensus velatus*
Negotiatori sericario	*Silk trader*
Liberti patrono	*From his freedmen, to their patron*
Ob merita	*On account of his merits*
eius	

Inscription 5
CIL 14.2807

Fl(aviae) T(iti) F(laviae) Variane	*To Variana, daughter of Titus Flavius*
ob merita	*On account of the merits*
crescentis	*Of her father Crescentis*
Augustor(um) Lib(erti) patris eius	*A freedman of the Augusti*
qui omnes honores	*Who managed all the honors of our municipality having*
municipi n(ostri) delatos sibi	*been given to him*
sincere fide gessit	*With sincere faith*
Dec(uriones) Populusq(ue)	*We the decurioni and the people give (this).*

Inscription 6
CIL 14.2806

T(ito) Flavio	*For Titus Flavius Aelianus*
Titi fil(io) quir(ina)	*Son of Titus, of the Quirinia tribe*
Aeliano	*The ordo and populous*
Ordo et populus	*of Gabii (dedicate this)*
Gabinus	*For he was a patron and curator of public*
patro(no) et curat(ori) rei	*matters most faithful*
pub(lica) fidelissimo	

Inscription 7

CIL CIL 14.2809

M(arco) Iulio Zotico	*For Marcus Julius Zoticus*
Decurioni	*A magistrate of the decurioni*
Patri decurionum	*Father of decurioni*
et seviro Augustalium	*And a sevir Augustales*
quinquennali eiusdem ordinis	*A quinquennali of the same order*
dendrophori quinquennali suo	*And a quinquennali of the dendrophori*
perpetuo et patrono	*For his continual and most dignified patronage*
dignissimo ob me-	*This place has been given by decree of the decurioni*
rita eius hocus D(atus) D(ecreto) D(ecurionum)	

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