

COMMEMORATIVE SPACES IN EARLY IMPERIAL ROME

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ABSTRACT

KATHERINE E. RICE: Commemorative Spaces in Early Imperial Rome
(Under the direction of Dr. Mary C. Sturgeon)

This thesis examines the relationship between the political, social, and ideological identity of funerary monuments and their patrons in late republican and early imperial Rome. It introduces the complex political climate of the Augustan age, an era in which socio-political identity shifted among both aristocracy and lower classes alike. This investigation first surveys the archaeological record of earlier Etruscan and Hellenistic funerary monuments, drawing conclusions about their relationships to later Roman developments, and secondly analyzes Augustan-era tombs as examples of a wide range of artistic styles, architectural motifs, and social considerations of the owner. Concluding statements discuss the importance of ritual commemorative culture in Rome and their interplay with the visual record, highlighting specific instances where domestic and funerary ritual convene in an effort to interpret more synthetically the original social context of these permanent structures.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAR</i>	<i>American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>ActaArchHung</i>	<i>Acta archaeologica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>AnnInst</i>	<i>Annales Institutorum</i>
<i>ArtB</i>	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
<i>AvP</i>	<i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>BMQ</i>	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>The Classical Journal</i>
<i>DialArch</i>	<i>Dialoghi di archeologia</i>
<i>EpSt</i>	<i>Epigraphische Studien</i>
<i>GaR</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JKSW</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JWalt</i>	<i>Journal of the Walters Art Gallery</i>
<i>MarbWPr</i>	<i>Marburger Winckelmann-Programm</i>

<i>MemLinc</i>	<i>Memorie. Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche</i>
<i>MonAnt</i>	<i>Monumenti Antichi</i>
<i>LTUR</i>	Steinby, Eva Margareta, ed. <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis romae</i> . Rome: Quasar, 1993.
<i>Nash</i>	Ernest Nash, <i>Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome</i> . New York: Praeger, 1968.
<i>NCirc</i>	<i>Numismatic Circular</i>
<i>OpRom</i>	<i>Opuscula romana</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>Platner-Ashby</i>	Platner, Samuel Ball and Thomas Ashby. A <i>Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome</i> . London: Oxford University Press, 1929.
<i>RM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
<i>StEtr</i>	<i>Studi etruschi</i>
<i>StMisc</i>	<i>Studi miscellanei. Seminario di archeologia e storia dell'arte greca e romana dell'Università di Roma</i>

INTRODUCTION

A modestly-sized, yet highly significant work of marble furniture currently housed in the Palazzo Corsini in Rome occupies a unique position of importance among the gallery's collection. Discovered in 1732 as part of the remains of an early Roman imperial villa buried beneath the construction site of the Corsini Chapel in the Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, the "Corsini Throne" is generally agreed to be a first-century B.C.E. Roman copy of an Etruscan bronze ceremonial throne,¹ comparable to the traditional cylindrically-based, flared-back chairs installed in Etruscan tombs as early as the seventh century B.C.E. (Figure 1).²

¹ Pericle Ducati, "La Sedia Corsini," *MontAnt* 24 (1916): 401-58; Gisela Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London: Phaidon Press, 1966), 86, figs. 428-29; Gioia de Luca, *I Monumenti di Palazzo Corsini in Roma* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1976), 93-100; Larissa Bonfante, "The Corsini Throne," *JWalt* 36 (Essays in Honor of Dorothy Kent Hill) (1977): 110-22; Stephan Steingraber, *Etruskische Möbel* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1979), 198, no. 27; Massimo Pallottino, *Etruscologia* (Milan: Editore Ulrico Hoepli, 1984), 386; Larissa Bonfante, *Out of Etruria: Etruscan Influence North and South* (Oxford: BAR, 1987), 79-91; Mario Torelli, *Tota Italia: Essays in the Cultural Formation of Roman Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 150-64; Mario Torelli, ed., *The Etruscans* (New York: Rizzoli, 2001), 184-5, cat. 330.

² Two famous examples of this arrangement occur in the so-called "Tomb of the Shields and Seats" (Tomba degli Scudi e delle Sedie) and the "Tomb of the Five Chairs" (Tomba della Cinque Sedie) from the late seventh century in La Banditaccia Necropolis of Cerveteri (ancient Caere). See Bonfante, "The Corsini Throne," 113-14. The chairs are carved into the tufa, are sometimes smaller than life size, and in the case of the Tomb of the Five Chairs, small figurines that have been interpreted as ancestors occupy the five main chairs (which are not of the Corsini type), while two chairs of the Corsini type are situated on a raised podium. It has been argued that the emphasis on domestic architectural details in these tombs indicates the importance of the cult of the *gens* and the centrality of the household unit in Etruscan society. Vedia Izzet, *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 108, and G. Colonna, "Urbanistica e architettura," in *Rasenna: Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi*, ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1986), 420. For the cult of the *gens* in the Tomb of the Five Chairs, see Friedhelm Prayon, "Zum ursprünglichen Aussehen und zur Deutung des Kult-raums in der Tomba delle Cinque Sedie bei Cerveteri," *MarbWPr* (1974): 1-15.

The ceremonial function of the throne is reinforced in the choice of subject matter for its decoration. The figures stand out in shallow relief against the back and the base, despite significant weather distortion to the original color of the marble. On the upper back, a simple carved line separates the two scenes: the upper register contains a procession of hoplites and horsemen advancing to the viewer's left, carrying shields and spears, and the lower register showcases a hunting scene conceived in three sections, each containing a hunter, a hunting dog, and a boar as prey. On the front of the base, a sacrificial scene is the compositional focus, otherwise occupied by wrestling matches and other funerary games.³ A horseman and a man leading the sacrificial bull approach the altar from opposite sides, drawing attention to the centrally-placed tree and altar that emphasize the funerary aspect of the throne.

In his reconstruction of the excavation of the Corsini Throne from the villa, Mario Torelli affirms the chair's Roman identification made by Ducati after its first interpretation as an Etruscan throne, possibly with Mithraic connotations.⁴ Torelli's recent essay proposes that this emulation of an Etruscan ceremonial seat was initiated for the family of Urgulania, a friend of Augustus' wife Livia, and noblewoman of the Plautii Laterani, whose uncommon name sparked an investigation illuminating her prestigious

³ Bonfante, "The Corsini Throne," 111; Torelli, *Tota Italia*, 152; Torelli, *The Etruscans*, 638 (cat. 330).

⁴ Torelli, *Tota Italia*, 150-52. Torelli notes that the villa itself lay under at least three levels of building projects: an eighteenth-century basilica, a Constantinian church, and the Severan *castra equitum singularium*. Several other contemporary villas were also found in the area. The preliminary Etruscan and even Oscan attributions were given by A. M. Lupi, *Dissertatio et animadversiones ad nuper inventum Severae martyris epitaphium* (Palermo, 1734); A. F. Gori, *Musaeum Etruscum* (Florence, 1734-43), 379, pls. CLXXXI – CLXXXV; W. Helbig, *Annali dell' Instituto* (1879): 312, and *Monumenti dell' Instituto* 11, pl. 9; F. von Duhn, in Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom: mit Ausschluss der grösseren Sammlungen*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1881-1882), 126, n. 3075.

Etruscan heritage.⁵ The throne would have stood in the villa's *atrium* (the foremost public and politically-charged space in the house)⁶ alongside the impressive display of the family *imagines maiorum* (images of the ancestors) as a monument to the noble blood of the household, and moreover, as a somewhat unusual celebration of matrilineal prestige in a space normally reserved for the illustrious predecessors of the *paterfamilias*.⁷

The funerary elements of the Corsini Throne and its location in an aristocratic Roman *atrium* permit an exploration of the dialogue between both the funerary ritual depicted and the domestic ritual enacted during the ceremonial use of such an object. This analysis assumes an inherent correspondence between ritual or symbolic action and the physical object or setting of the action, a communication that surfaces in the interpretation of many other facets of Roman cultural practice, especially in the rituals associated with Roman commemorative culture and the physical monuments themselves. The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the meaningful exchanges between funerary and domestic ritual in the context of Roman tombs, providing a more synthetic interpretation of their original meaning. I shall analyze both architectural appropriation from Etruscan and Hellenistic precedents, and contemporary Roman cultural practice in an effort to arrive at a fuller understanding of the social construction of these monuments. While the

⁵ Torelli, *Tota Italia*, 159-60. Torelli notes that the first person to discover Urgulania's lineage was J. Heurgon, in *La vie quotidienne chez les Etrusques* (Paris: Hachette, 1961), 105.

⁶ John Clarke describes the public nature of the Roman patrician house, so "[u]nlike our modern house, conceived as a refuge for the nuclear family." Excavations at Pompeii corroborate the domestic space and function of individual rooms prescribed by Vitruvius, in which the *atrium* constitutes a central hall that organizes the interior space of the house. Its public function is most evident in the fact that it was the reception area for the daily ritual of *salutatio*. John R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C. – A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 1-2, 4. A more recent publication by Shelley Hales highlights the specifically socio-political significance accorded the architectural features of the Roman house; see Shelley Hales, *The Roman House and Social Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁷ Torelli, *Tota Italia*, 160-61.

Corsini Throne is not a tomb object *per se*, it illuminates several of the most important issues discussed in this thesis, and frames the discussion from the standpoint of a primary domestic context invested with funereal overtones.

The positioning of the Corsini Throne in the *atrium* of an elite house alludes to the Roman domestic ritual of *salutatio*, the daily interaction of patron and client that framed the complex social politics articulated throughout the architecture and decoration of the house. The presentation of a prestigious ceremonial chair in the traditional site of the wax *imagines* set in motion a familiar visual reinforcement of social interaction between client and patron, visitor and host.⁸ This ritual and its social politics were continually transmitted through these specific iconographic elements, which served in many ways to emphasize a patron's standing in the community. Configurations of elite house design suggest that contemporary Romans were adept at consciously translating visual insignia into social significance, and the associations between architecture and socio-political status symbols were heightened upon entrance into a domestic space.⁹ In addition, the notion that architecture could be "read" by visitors has been applied more broadly to the relationship of the urban topography and visual program of the city of Rome under Augustus.

Paul Zanker's *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988) was one of the first comprehensive studies of imperial appropriation of visual mnemonic and its effect on the city as whole, as a medium through which both personal and civic identity

⁸ Ibid. See also Jo-Ann Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 12-14.

⁹ Hales, *The Roman House and Social Identity*, 2-5.

associations were made.¹⁰ The conceptual associations inherent in points of contact between emperor, Roman subject, and visual reference have provided a basis for analyses attempting to reconstruct the cohesive urban identity negotiated by Augustus. Diane Favro's book, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, is noted particularly for its emphasis on the comprehensive "experience" a contemporary Roman might have had when encountering intentionally-designed and situated architecture in Augustan Rome.¹¹ Favro's translation of the urban landscape into a tangible network of varied political and social significance assumes an audience literate in the incorporation of symbolic meaning within the form of a monument, although this assumption has not precluded the development of studies regarding Augustus' construction of the "urban image" of Rome. More recently, Jennifer Rea has explored Augustus' reestablishment of the actual memories associated with public monuments in Rome.¹² She defines the manner in which the *princeps* systematically eliminated visual insignia associated with the civil wars and engineered specific monuments within the city to reflect changing political attitudes. At the heart of these attitudes lie both personal and collective alignments with national identity.

Funerary monuments in and around Rome comprised a significant part of the urban landscape, even though they usually did not constitute part of the city proper. Their conspicuous positioning outside the city walls often fostered a spirit of visual competition between them, as owners vied for prestigious, highly visible locations outside of the city

¹⁰ Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990).

¹¹ Diane Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹² Jennifer Rea, *Legendary Rome: Myth, Monuments and Memory on the Palatine and Capitoline* (London: Duckworth, 2007).

gates and along the roads entering the Roman city on which to build their tombs. The competitive nature of the monuments has prompted discussion of the dialogue between city, boundary, and funerary structure. In light of recent discussions, which highlight the processes of historical and memorial construction through the use of word and architectural image, an inquiry into the transmission of such construction through the funerary monument will shed light on the ways in which Roman identity was preserved. The first three chapters will discuss more concrete details such as material elements and styles, but it is my contention that the tomb, understood as an ambiguous space into which relationships and identities are woven, exists as a *locus* for the interaction of multiple layers of ritual. At this nexus of Roman funerary and domestic ritual, the creation of a tomb reveals much about the processes and ideas underlying Roman commemorative culture.

Ian Morris' 1992 publication *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* criticizes archaeological methods that travel unobstructed from material remains to sociological interpretation, suggesting that visual analyses should instead harness the potential of ritual interpretation and use it as the filter through which tangible (i.e., burial) artifacts are given meaning.¹³ Although the anthropological evidence for Classical studies is, if available, often scarce at best, an investigation of commemorative ritual is especially pertinent for a discussion of Augustan-era monuments. These were constructed during a politically and socially complex moment of embracing the memory of an idealized Republican past, and simultaneously developing a stabilized history for successive generations. Historical context is of profound significance here, and the

¹³ Ian Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-30.

continuity of social rituals throughout the Romans' transition into an empire contributes to enhancing contemporary understanding of the monuments that have survived. In the same way, a more detailed discussion of Roman patrician domestic ritual illuminates the complexity of an object such as the Corsini Throne.

Tombs are ambiguous spaces, demarcating fluid points of contact between the living and the dead, often emphasizing or enshrining particular elements of an individual's identity. This process of construction is multi-layered, stemming from past influences and yet designed to perpetuate individual or familial memory for the future descendants of both the *gens* and the community. The commemorative structure is also a *locus* for the interaction of funerary and domestic ritual, and their interaction is the focus of this thesis. Morris' hesitance to define concretely the substance of ritual acknowledges the degree of difficulty many scholars encounter with this task. Morris states that most concede that ritual involves action, although he pushes the definition further, arguing that not only does it involve action, it itself is an active, creative process, "[producing] its own kind of symbolic knowledge,"¹⁴ and is part of the subsequent interpretation of the material artifacts.

As sites of interaction for both funerary and domestic ritual, these monuments can be better understood by employing Arnold van Gennep's theory of liminality.¹⁵ The Roman funeral, seen as a rite of passage, reinforces van Gennep's notion that, where rites

¹⁴ Ian Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure*, 2, 8-9.

¹⁵ The Roman funeral as spectacle is discussed by John Bodel, "Death on Display: Looking at Roman Funerals," in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, ed. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 259-81. Although funerary ritual maintained a highly public and politically-charged aspect throughout the empire, Bodel argues that during the late republican and early imperial period there was "an apparent shift in the focus of public funerary ritual ... away from the central civic area of the Forum and toward the more private interior spaces of the house and the more personal suburban environment of the pyre and burial site" (259). He only briefly notes the integration of individual into family and family into state emphasized in Polybius' account of the *pompa funebris* (270).

of separation are most expected, the funeral process often gives precedence to rites of integration. These rites of integration ameliorate the burden of the loss of a member of a family; according to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's interpretation of Morris' model of the function of funerary rites, they are instrumental in reintegrating the damaged family group.¹⁶ In other words, the element of liminality in the ritual processes implies vulnerability in the memory of both the family and the deceased, with great potential for identities to be reflected, reconfigured, or reconstructed. The threads of continuity between the highly varied architectural styles of funerary commemoration in Augustan Rome wove a pattern of constant reintegration into the familial structure, effected first through the visual program of funerary ritual, and subsequently in the construction of actual grave monuments. Underscoring these ritual processes allows for a fuller elaboration on the meaning and creation of identity inherent in the monuments themselves.

This is perhaps one of the reasons why individuals exerted so much effort on their tombs; not only was the tomb an *aeterna domus* whose comforts are exaggerated to the point of satire in the designs of Petronius' Trimalchio, but it was also a place where the deceased could solidify his or her social position and, in many cases, family identity. A dissonant example of the importance of family ideology occurred when Augustus attempted to banish his daughter and granddaughter from the family structure on the basis of their substandard morality, excluding them from interment in the family mausoleum.

¹⁶ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Housing the Dead: The Tomb as House in Roman Italy," in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context: Studies of Roman, Jewish, and Christian Burials*, ed. Laurie Brink, O. P. and Deborah Green (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 47. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure*, 10.

The tombs constructed during the late republican and Augustan era engage many of the more general concerns affecting the closing decades of the Roman Republic, which came to a halt amid some of the most violent episodes that would perpetuate the memory of the new *caput mundi*. Following the decisive battle at Actium in 31 B.C.E., Augustus' characteristically peaceful rule celebrated in the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (13-9 B.C.E.) appropriated both verbal and visual means in an effort to refine the Romans' perception of their own city. The projects initiated under Augustus emphasized a cultural history that, for the Romans, was rooted in a narrative much older and more stable than the one they had recently experienced. The precise nature of the Augustan cultural milieu has been the subject of several publications in recent decades; specifically, Karl Galinsky's 1996 book *Augustan Culture* provides an analytical overview of the synthetic nature of early imperial cultural and intellectual life.¹⁷ Here, the complex relationship to Hellenism and the East is given special emphasis, and the immediate precedent for this relationship is discussed in Erich Gruen's 1992 publication.¹⁸ The history that contemporary Romans constructed was their growth as a people under the shadow of Aeneas and Romulus; some scholars have used the term "nostalgia" to describe the conscious allusions to the Trojan saga and subsequent narrative of Romulus that were partially responsible for the Romans' emphatic reverence for the *mores maiorum* (customs of the ancestors).¹⁹ Both contemporary (e.g., Vergil) and later (e.g., Tacitus) Roman literary figures acknowledged the importance of this cultural inheritance as fundamental to the imperial notion of

¹⁷ Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).

¹⁸ Erich S. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992).

¹⁹ Torelli, *Tota Italia*, 165-83.

Romanitas.²⁰ Monuments like the Corsini Throne reflected historical identities related to the *mores maiorum* and the Romans' pursuit of notable ancestral ties in their ideological implications, and even in the style of the friezes, which celebrated the family's Italic roots. Several scholars have noted the direct stylistic inheritance from northern "situla art" traditions, characterizing the figures and ornamentation as somewhat archaizing.²¹ During the late republican and early Augustan period, archaizing monuments (whether Greek or Etrusco-Italic) often possessed a dignity that approached the status of the sacred.²² Not only were individuals, especially the aristocratic elite – as evidenced through the funerals, and through objects such as the Corsini Throne – continually framing themselves in the context of their heritage, but in many ways this was happening on a national level in Augustan Rome.

The first two chapters provide a brief overview of mortuary architecture in Etruria and the Hellenistic world, respectively, as these two traditions form the immediate antecedent to Roman tombs. These chapters are not intended to be wholly comprehensive; rather, the scope of this study aims at briefer analyses of specific features of these tombs that find resonance in the Roman period. The third chapter offers an overview of the extant monuments in and near Rome from the late republican and early imperial period and converses with the previous chapters, highlighting the appearance of those features in Roman tombs inherited from Etruscan and Hellenistic predecessors. It lays the groundwork for the conclusions illustrated throughout the final chapter.

²⁰ Richard Alston, "History and Memory in the Construction of Identity in Early Second-Century Rome," in *Role Models in the Roman World: Identity and Assimilation*, ed. Sinclair Bell and Inge Lyse Hansen (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2008), 147-59.

²¹ Bonfante, "The Corsini Throne," 113, 116-17, 120; Pallottino, *Etruscologia*, 386.

²² Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 244.

The concluding chapter addresses the archaeological evidence of Roman tombs from a theoretical basis, drawing heavily on premises put forth by Ian Morris and Arnold van Gennep in order to articulate more subtle interpretations of the monuments' meanings not readily apparent from a purely formalist perspective. Based on Ian Morris' advocacy of understanding the ritual processes at work in the interpretation of burial objects, I shall take the documented evidence for Roman aristocratic funerals as a starting point for understanding the visual relationships integral to the communicative program of funerary monuments.

The spatial correspondence between the positioning of the Corsini Throne in the *atrium* and its proximity to the Plautii Laterani ancestral *imagines* provokes a visual acknowledgment of the overlap of domestic and funerary spheres. The use of familial *imagines* in aristocratic funeral processions is well-documented,²³ and the visual drama of the Roman funeral strengthens the communicative force and the relations between the use of *imagines* in commemorative ritual and the creation of commemorative monuments. The succeeding chapters will highlight how the monuments themselves reflect these integrative values, beginning with the Archaic and Hellenistic Etruscan precedent.

Tombs, cemeteries, and urban foundations of Etruria comprise what must have been an elaborate system of organization and delineation of boundaries between sacred and secular, living and dead.²⁴ These complex spatial relationships also illuminate highly important features of the Roman conception of immortality; i.e., the visual play at work inviting a viewer to partake of the deceased's memory. Reconstructions of Etruscan

²³ Harriet I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 91-127.

²⁴ Ingrid E.M. Edlund-Berry, "Ritual Space and Boundaries in Etruscan Religion," in *The Religion of the Etruscans*, ed. de Grummond and Simon, 116-31.

religious beliefs concerning life beyond the grave may be useful for contextualizing the funerary monuments of Rome. This line of inquiry invokes first a broader emphasis on general engagement of the realm of the dead with that of the living: how do the Etruscans physically define this space of interaction, and is a similar definition expressed among Roman funerary monuments? This investigation, however, intends to avoid a process of circular argumentation which would graft the later Roman meaning of a funerary rite back onto the Etruscan rite. A more productive line of reasoning, instead, seeks to extrapolate the (original) context of ritual in Etruscan society and question whether this significance resonates with Roman commemorative culture.

CHAPTER ONE: THE ETRUSCAN FOUNDATIONS OF ROMAN FUNERARY PRACTICE

The Corsini Throne displays the significance that Etruscan heritage held for late republican Romans. This identity was celebrated not only in the iconographic construction of the aristocratic *atrium*, but also in the form and decoration of funerary monuments in and around Rome. A look at the Etruscan architectural precedent for tomb construction sheds light on Roman practices and predilections.

Because of the prominence of Etruscan tombs in the landscape of central Italy, much of the scholarly interest and illegal plundering alike has focused on the Etruscan cemetery. These *necropoleis* contain a great quantity of archaeological evidence concerning Etruscan beliefs about death and the afterlife, despite the fragmentary literary record for Etruscan religion.²⁵ In central Italy, numerous tombs survive from a wide geographical and chronological range.²⁶ The material record should be considered in tandem with reliable historical and literary material when available, and carefully qualified where evidence is one-sided. To assess the significance of Etruscan

²⁵ Questions about Etruscan religion are far from being satisfactorily, much less comprehensively, answered, but a surge of interest in Etruscan religion is apparent in the recent publications of Larissa Bonfante, Jean-René Jannot, and Nancy Thomson de Grummond and Erika Simon. See Bonfante, ed., *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, 1986; Jean René Jannot, *Religion in Ancient Etruria* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2005); Nancy Thomson de Grummond and Erika Simon, eds. *The Religion of the Etruscans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).

²⁶ These various cemeteries are described in full in George Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Ancient Etruria*, ed. Pamela Hemphill (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984). Some of the oldest, such as the cemeteries of Caere and Orvieto, have tombs dating to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. Many of the cemeteries were still in use during the Hellenistic period.

commemoration for Roman practice, this essay will draw on characterizations of funerary architecture from various cities in Etruria, which existed as separate city-states, in some ways similar to the Greek *poleis*.²⁷ Regional variations existed even when a strong influence from a major city center is present. For example, the influence of Caere is apparent in the tomb architecture of its hinterland during the end of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E., yet some elements, such as multiple *klinai* and the absence of patterning or elaborate decoration, suggest the persistence of local forms.²⁸

Periodic encounters with commemorative structures were commonplace among the Etruscans, Hellenistic peoples, and Romans. The visual dialogue between tomb and viewer is here related according to three features: the setting of the tomb in the landscape, the exterior architectural motifs and spatial relationships employed in the construction of the tomb, and the interior, more intimate expression of decorative forms. This spatial structuring of experience will form the core of the framework for the subsequent discussions of the architectural features of these tombs.

Both Etruscan and late republican to early imperial Roman tombs engaged in a complex relationship between the city and the landscape. In Archaic cemeteries, many community-oriented *necropoleis* stand prominently on plateaus, highly visible yet clearly separated from daily life.²⁹ In Tarquinia, a topographical plan of the city reveals that the

²⁷ Emeline Hill Richardson, *The Etruscans: Their Art and Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 64.

²⁸ Alessandro Naso, "Etruscan Style of Dying: Funerary Architecture, Tomb Groups, and Social Range at Caere and Its Hinterland During the 7th – 6th c. B.C.," in *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, ed. Nicola Laneri (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 141-62.

²⁹ This specific feature is further discussed by Friedhelm Prayon, "Tomb Architecture," in *The Etruscans*, ed. Mario Torelli (New York, N.Y.: Rizzoli, 2001), 335.

plateau on which the Monterozzi cemetery was constructed, while slightly lower than the plateau of the city proper, was nevertheless a highly visible feature of the general urban layout.³⁰ Several prominent Roman tombs appropriate this feature; this symbolic architectural inheritance is seen most prominently in the Mausoleum of Augustus, which may have derived also from the seventh-century tumulus-*heroon* at Lavinium.³¹ The importance of continued interaction with these monuments as tangible reminders of a specific past is exemplified in the alleged tombs of the Horatii and Curiatii mentioned by Livy,³² monuments which, together with the sequence of tumuli in Roman commemorative development, signified a continued reverence for the archaic and early republican Italic tradition.

³⁰ The modern-day reconstructions of the above-ground tomb structures at Il Monterozzi may, however, be misleading. The small “houses” dotting the necropolis construct a view which seems to mimic the appearance of the city itself, yet there is evidence that earth mounds originally covered these graves. George Dennis’ description in the early days of excavation evokes a different perspective: “... the whole surface of [the necropolis] is rugged with tumuli, or what have been such, but are now shapeless mounds of earth, overgrown with lentiscus, myrtle, wild olive, broom, and rank grass, and giving to the hill, even when seen from afar, a strange, pimply appearance. Hence its appellation of ‘Mont[e]rozzì.’” Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 302.

³¹ Mark J. Johnson, “The Mausoleum of Augustus: Etruscan and Other Influences on Its Design,” *Etruscan Italy: Etruscan Influences on the Civilizations of Italy from Antiquity to the Modern Era*, ed. John F. Hall (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1996), 232-34. For the first excavation reports, cf. Paolo Sommella, “Heron di Enea a Lavinium: Recenti scavi a Pratica di Mare,” *RendPontAcc* 44 (1971-1972): 47-74. See also R. Ross Holloway, *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 135-38. Holloway reports that a pottery deposit accompanying the burial dates the tumulus to the early-mid-seventh century, and that the evidence suggests that it was subsequently restored in the fourth century.

³² According to Livy I 25.14, the alleged tombs of the Horatii and Curiatii could still be seen in the late republican and early imperial period: *Sepulcra exstant, quo quisque loco cecedit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est* (“The graves may still be seen where each soldier fell: two Roman graves in one spot, nearer Alba; those of the three Albans towards Rome, but separated, just as they had fought”). Livy: *Books I and II*, trans. B. O. Foster (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1919). Although these tombs were likely constructed later than the seventh-century combat narrated by Livy, their prominence and mention here emphasizes the importance Romans placed on being able to identify these monuments as still standing. See Michael Eisner, *Zur Typologie der Grabbauten im Suburbium Roms* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1986), 56-59; Johnson, “The Mausoleum of Augustus,” 222-25.

In Etruria, cemetery organization shifted from the presentation of large, isolated tumuli to an “egalitarian” system of clustered tombs systematically oriented towards a road. The most famous example of this phenomenon is at La Banditaccia in ancient Caere (Figure 2). Chronological reconstructions of the necropolis show significant changes in the late sixth century B.C.E.³³ and this also occurs contemporaneously in the two cemeteries at Orvieto, di Cannicella and di Crocefisso del Tufo.³⁴ The chamber tombs convey an extreme form of regularization, whose orthogonal plans may have been influenced by the greater regularization of *insulae* and street planning of Etruscan cities that developed in the sixth century. The relationship between urban planning and the perception of the *necropolis* as a kind of correlative city evokes the question of why streets were regularized according to this plan. To what extent were the roads running through the *necropoleis* used?³⁵ In the Roman period, it was desirable to crowd tombs along a major road leading into an important city of the living; this is demonstrated, for example, by the competing monuments on the Via Appia and outside the Porta Maggiore in Rome, and the Herculaneum Gate at Pompeii. What was the significance of visibility and access roads in the Etruscan context?

³³ Izzet, *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*, 94-96, 102, 117-19.

³⁴ The cemeteries themselves, however, were in use from the eighth to the third centuries. Publications on the cemeteries at Orvieto can be found in M. Bizzarri, “La necropolis di Crocefisso del Tufo in Orvieto,” *StEtr* 30 (1962): 1-154; B. Klakowicz, *La necropolis annulare di Orvieto*, vol. 1: *Crocefisso del Tufo - Le Conce* (Rome 1972); *La necropoli annulare di Orvieto*, vol II: *Cannicella e terreni limitrofi* (Rome 1974); M. Bonamici, S. Stopponi, and P. Tamburini, *Orvieto: La necropoli di Cannicella. Scavi della Fondazione per il Museo ‘C. Faina’ e dell’Università di Perugia* (1977) (Rome 1994).

³⁵ The more egalitarian organization of the cemeteries of Etruria correspond roughly to the regularization of city planning perhaps best exemplified by the grid plan of Marzabotto. This development warrants further investigation into the precise nature of the relationship between city and necropolis; i.e., to what extent were the cities of the dead seen as correlative to the living cities? This relationship would likely reflect on the manner in which tombs were designed or perceived as houses for the dead.

The use of roads in the Etruscan cemetery provides a significant point of comparison with the clustering of Roman monuments around major thoroughfares leading in and out of the city. Etruscans and Romans both commemorated their dead with regular visits to the family cemetery and site of burial, and the Romans even instituted a *lararium* in pious households, reserving a ritual space for the dead in the everyday lives of those who survived them.³⁶ Convenient accessibility to the grave site justifies its proximity to roads, but there is a different meaning behind this aspect from the simple desire to “live on” somehow in the memories of future generations.

In Etruscan *necropoleis*, accessibility to the space of the dead is accomplished by the road and planned organization of tombs oriented towards the road, in part so that regular commemorative ritual by the friends and family of the deceased can take place relatively easily. The topographical separation, for example, at Tarquinia indicates that there existed a perceived separation of the community of the living from the community of the dead. The dead are permanently conjoined to the realm of the deceased, participants in a communion with the ancestors.³⁷ The tomb acts as a liminal, mediative space, as will be shown by common characteristics of surface detail and interior decoration below.

The Roman notion of afterlife and immortality was largely based on memory and commemoration of the daily practices of the living, evidenced by the monuments’ attempts to garner the attention of passers-by. One of the most extreme examples of this

³⁶ The annual ceremonies performed for the dead are better-documented during the Roman period. The literary evidence for the importance of these ceremonies is discussed in Valerie M. Hope, *Death in Ancient Rome: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 231-36.

³⁷ This is corroborated by depictions of the family reunion on sarcophagi, which will be discussed below.

concept is present in the monument to Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces (better known as the “baker’s tomb”) in Rome, located outside the Porta Maggiore (ca. 50-20 B.C.E., figure 3). Lauren Hackworth Petersen has recently analyzed the visual program extensively, suggesting that not only does the unusual combination of the baking implements applied to the exterior architecture clamor for attention, but even the possibility of off-color humor suggests that Eurysaces wanted his tomb to be remembered at all costs.³⁸ On a smaller scale, epigraphic evidence also confirms the deceased’s desire for viewers to stop and engage with his or her memory. There is a different meaning behind these aspects from the simple desire somehow to “live on” in the memories of future generations.

For the Romans, continued viewer engagement, in a sense, becomes the conception of immortality. Competitive clustering of tombs around major roads highlights a very different importance for visibility, one that facilitates incorporation within the community of the living. The Romans’ preoccupation with using the physical monument to command a viewer’s attention seems to convey the idea that a large part of the deceased’s afterlife derived from his or her monument’s ability to capture an audience.

The comparison between Etruscan notions of the afterlife and a community of the deceased draws a pointed contrast to the Roman ideas of the function of the tomb, and the architectural dimensions of the Etruscan tomb, like the Roman monument, reflect this difference in conception. The notion of a tomb as a transitional space, or point of interaction between the living and the dead, is visually manifest through the structural components of Etruscan tombs: an external, physical marker (such as a tumulus mound, a

³⁸ Lauren Hackworth Petersen, “The Baker, His Tomb, His Wife, and Her Breadbasket: The Monument of Eurysaces in Rome,” *ArtB* 85, no. 2 (June 2003): 230-57.

rock-cut façade, dado or cube tombs, *aediculae* façades, etc.), a chamber housing some sort of receptacle for the deceased's remains (a sarcophagus or cinerary urn), and a *dromos* or corridor, or a door, separating the living and post-mortem spheres. An analysis of socio-religious belief must follow the conclusions about what each of these elements means in its own context, and the subsequent variations expressed by later descendents.

Vedia Izzet's recent analysis of tomb structure in *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society* (2007) takes as a point of departure the highly theoretical assumption that "any enquiry into Etruscan architecture ... must take into account not only the potential for architecture to materialise social meanings, but also the possibility that social meaning resides in all aspects of architectural form."³⁹ Most of Izzet's examples of changing tomb structure are taken from La Banditaccia during the Orientalizing to Archaic and Classical funerary styles, but she also includes other cities (for example, Chiusi, Vulci, and Norchia) in order to show that the significant socio-religious changes that took place in the way the Etruscans viewed the space between the living and the dead were widespread. These changes, importantly, are manifest in the archaeological record. Izzet remarks on the gradual increase in emphasis on the tomb exterior, for example, through the shortening of the "mediative distance" of the entrance corridor, and the increased emphasis on surface structure and decoration between the seventh and fifth centuries.⁴⁰ She concludes that the variations of these essential elements are indicative of sociological change; specifically, in attitudes concerning the definition of the boundary between the living and the dead. Izzet argues that "the outer surface of tombs and cemeteries became

³⁹ Izzet, *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*, 89.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 119.

crucial in articulating the desire to express the difference between the living and the dead in an ever more visually striking manner.”⁴¹

Although the Romans utilized many of the same architectural features in tomb construction, the point of contact between the Roman living and their dead was, spatially, more indistinct. The deceased desired their monuments to perpetuate the space of the living, as opposed to the living possessing a preoccupation with distinguishing between the spaces. Despite the strict city boundary that demarcated proper zones for burial, the clusters of tombs in areas of high traffic suggest that when planning for their funerary markers, people often chose sites that were, in a sense, extensions of the space of the living. The commemorative success of a tomb was contingent upon an audience, whose response to the monument could vary depending on their relation to the deceased, socio-economic status, or other factors.

John Peter Oleson also treated the issue of design choices in later tombs (fourth to second centuries) in *The Sources of Innovation in Later Etruscan Tomb Design* (1982).⁴² One of the crucial elements in both of these analyses is the gradual “exteriorization” of tomb structure and decoration, and the greater and more prominent emphasis given to the exterior design of the tomb itself. Oleson characterizes these later tombs as exemplifying a dichotomy between façade and chamber designs.⁴³ The “striking, inverse relationship ... between the edges of elaboration or complexity of a façade and that of the chamber

⁴¹ Ibid., 121.

⁴² John Peter Oleson, *The Sources of Innovation in Later Etruscan Tomb Design* (ca. 350-100 B.C) (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1982).

⁴³ Ibid., 19-20. For example, he states that the elaborate temple façade tombs of Norchia (fourth and third centuries) correspond to simple, roughly-hewn chambers of the “fishbone” plan, purely functional in character.

connected with it” is present in nearly all Etruscan tombs, but finds noteworthy expression in funerary monuments of the later, Hellenistic period.⁴⁴ Oleson interprets this relationship as ultimately deriving from a fashion for exterior display that may have been rooted in the satisfaction of an aristocratic need for “an exterior, public assertion of importance.”⁴⁵ According to Oleson, this could have worked to supplement the abandonment of family chambers whose configuration was strictly confined to the organization of status within the family. Given the exterior ornamentation emphasized both by imagined characters (Trimalchio) and real figures (Eurysaces, Gaius Cestius, Vestorius Priscus, etc.), Romans seem to have used exterior display as a canvas for designing their identity and status.

Mario Torelli argues that the tomb becomes a *locus medius*, or a median strip between the world of the living and the world of the dead.⁴⁶ His argument is centered on the evidence in the interior decoration of Etruscan tombs, part of a more intimate space available only to a limited audience, the family and close friends of the deceased. A particularly striking feature of many tomb interiors is the use of the architectural element of a false door, translated as a symbolic element, differentiating between separate “zones” for ceremonial events.⁴⁷ Although previous scholars have speculated about the possible

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 20-22.

⁴⁶ Mario Torelli, “Funera Tusca: Reality and Representation in Archaic Tarquinian Painting,” in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, ed. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 156-57. Furthermore, he concludes that the function of the tomb once again shifted in the fourth century, when it became a “simulacrum” of the underworld, or a definitive dwelling of the dead.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 150. This occurs, for example, in the Tomb of the Inscriptions from ca. 510 B.C.E.

categorization of spaces in front of, behind, or occupied by these doors,⁴⁸ Torelli has defined most clearly the ritual significance of this kind of demarcation, interpreting the specific ceremonies depicted on the walls (*ludi*, or games, and the symposium) as taking place in spaces separate from the liminal space of the door.⁴⁹ In the same way that windows function as framing devices within modern paintings, taking on the role of a transitional space permitting the viewer to see into another, seemingly real world, so the door may function in a similar manner. The door serves as a stand-in for the entry point into another, “real,” world. It indicates a point of passage to the Underworld and the community of the dead. Reintegration into the family structure takes the form of a reunion with previously deceased family members,⁵⁰ and when the living pass through this gate to affirm their own ties to those interred here, they also symbolically pass into the realm of the dead. This reunion with the ancestors is depicted on smaller forms of decoration, for example, sarcophagi and other objects placed within the tomb.

Examples of the preoccupation with this theme can be found on the third-century *Bruschi Sarcophagus* from Tarquinia and the second-century *Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei* from Chiusi (Figure 4). One of the long panels of the *Bruschi Sarcophagus* shows the deceased on horseback journeying to the city of the dead, symbolized by a half-open

⁴⁸ Brendel argues that the painted door in the sixth-century Tomb of the Augurs in Tarquinia represents the entrance to the tomb, on the basis of real-world activity taking place outside of it. Otto J. Brendel, *Etruscan Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 168-69. Staccioli, however, contends that many of these doors represent city gates. See R.A. Staccioli, “Le finte porte dipinte nelle tombe arcaiche etrusche,” *Quaderni dell’Istituto di Archeologia e Storia Antica, Libera Università Abbruzzese* (1980): 1-17. Francesco Roncalli argues that the doors allude to the inaccessibility of “the more intimate resting place of the deceased,” and that the “reticence” of these architectural elements is broken as the closed door in the Tomb of the Augurs at Tarquinia (c. 530 B.C.E.) is the first instance of commentary on the theme, suggested by the gestures of those present. See Francesco Roncalli, “Painting,” in *The Etruscans*, ed. Torelli, 351, 356.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 150-52.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 153-54.

gate in the far left.⁵¹ In the depictions of the transition, Charun and Vanth serve as traveling companions. Another female demoness, Culśu, emerges from a half-open door on the *Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei*.⁵² Vanth again is present as a guide, and the deceased is accompanied by members of the living family, to whom she is saying farewell.⁵³ There is also, however, an alternative reading that would render the scene one of reunion, i.e., Hasti Afunei joining her deceased ancestors in the afterlife. Roman funerary art does not suggest a similar interest in the afterlife, but rather a predilection for maintaining a physical tie to mortal life through the use of the monument itself.

The significance of joining with one's ancestors after death in both the Etruscan and Roman religion should not be overlooked. The relatively common belief of post-mortem reunion is indicative of the funerary cults that existed in archaic Etruria, and, as with the tomb decoration, it has been argued that they serve an aristocratic need.⁵⁴ The primary aim of the funerary cult, argues Jannot, was the betterment of the deceased, and perhaps the heroization factor of these *di animales*⁵⁵ infiltrated the specific cult of Roman ancestor worship.

The Corsini Throne emphasizes the subtle funereal undertones connected to the ritual performed in both Etruscan and Roman domestic spaces. In Perugia, a late-second-

⁵¹ Jannot, *Religion in Ancient Etruria*, 65. The sarcophagus is also discussed in the following publications: Reinhard Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1952). Sarcophagi from the Villa Bruschi-Falgari, 67-70, no. 148-160. Inscription: Giuliano Bonfante and Larissa Bonfante, *The Etruscan Language: An Introduction* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 85.

⁵² Krauskopf, "The Grave and Beyond in Etruscan Religion," in *The Religion of the Etruscans*, ed. De Grummond and Simon, 67. See also Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*, 41, no. 76.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Jannot, *Religion in Ancient Etruria*, 52-53.

⁵⁵ Spirit-deities who were related to the Roman *penates* (a form of household gods), and possibly connected to ancestor worship.

century⁵⁶ tomb of the Volumnus/Velimna family replicates the form of domestic ritual interaction within the context of the tomb. This relatively late Etrusco-Roman construction is situated in close relationship with the republican Roman aristocracy both in terms of political and social identity.⁵⁷ The so-called Tomb of the Volumnii reflects in terms of architectural design the grouping of individual rooms around a larger *atrium* or courtyard, in many ways imitating domestic architecture.⁵⁸ This resemblance to the Etrusco-Italic *atrium*-house type bespeaks the fluid interaction between funerary and domestic ritualistic space, as the architectural space of these rituals appears in both contexts.

⁵⁶ Oleson, *The Sources of Innovation in Later Etruscan Tomb Design*, 19. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill dates the tomb to the late third century in “Housing the Dead,” 54.

⁵⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, “Housing the Dead,” 54-55, fig. 2.4.

⁵⁸ Bonfante, *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, 185.

CHAPTER TWO: COMMEMORATION IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

The funerary landscape of ancient Etruria is displayed within a relatively confined geographical area. The elements of tomb construction incorporate subtle, sometimes striking, differences according to the preferences of each city, yet in some ways the transition from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period in Etruria is far easier to treat generally than the continuity of both Hellenizing influence and the divergent strands of local taste characteristic of the pre-Roman Mediterranean. It would take several books to cover the sheer volume of material evidence for funerary practices of the Hellenistic world, and it is difficult for one essay to acknowledge fully the major themes that appear at this time. What this chapter aims to do, then, is to treat some of these themes relevant to Roman mortuary art and raise questions revolving around the central elements explored in the previous chapter: contextualization of the monument within the landscape, exterior architectural and spatial elements, and more intimate forms of decoration.

Roman patrons of tombs often drew from many structural and decorative sources. This chapter serves to ground the Hellenistic architectural precedent so that Roman architectural forms can be seen in light of the major sources of inspiration for late republican monumental form generally. From this foundation, it is then possible to

deduce correlations not only between the formal qualities, but also the function and level of interaction that occurred in Hellenistic and Roman commemorative practice.

One of the major problems hindering the study of Hellenistic funerary art is the issue of typology. Janos Fedak's study of Hellenistic monumental tombs discusses several of the limitations associated with such classifications, but ultimately defends the usefulness of "separation of the main criteria for division," i.e., structural, formal, and stylistic elements.⁵⁹ Various methods have been proposed for classifying Hellenistic tombs since the nineteenth century,⁶⁰ and typological systems are often proposed for funerary architecture under the Roman Empire.⁶¹ A systematic listing of various tomb types of the Hellenistic period would be a futile approach for the scope and direction of this paper, not only because this has been treated extensively in previous scholarship, but also because the goal of the next chapters will focus on the relationships between function and meaning of Roman tombs.

As with Roman tombs, Hellenistic monuments also exhibit significant fluidity in their types of architectural motifs and decoration. Customary distinctions of form are less strict in the realm of funerary art and architecture, a form of visual expression much more open to individual desires. Therefore, this analysis will emphasize the function of the monuments, adhering to an analytical progression akin to the one employed for Etruscan tombs. The focus will center on the visual experience of the tomb, from the outside in, which directs this chapter's emphasis towards viewer interaction with the architecture.

⁵⁹ Janos Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age: A Study of Selected Tombs from the Pre-Classical to the Early Imperial Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 15-16.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶¹ William L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: An Urban Appraisal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982). MacDonald's two basic categories of tombs, from a visual standpoint, are "scenic [externalized and highly articulated] and unitary [geometric and comparatively unarticulated]," 145.

Inquiry into the interactive design of Hellenistic tombs will further contextualize the kinds of commemorative systems relevant to Roman practice.

Many of the Etruscan cemeteries (e.g., Tarquinia) invoke a relationship with the surrounding landscape which provides a constant visual communication between the city and cemetery. In the Archaic period the view was dominated by a few large tumuli, but in the so-called “egalitarianism” of the later Archaic period, these cemeteries came to look much more like *necropoleis*, cities of the dead with more numerous and economically-diverse populations. This tendency occurs at some places in Hellenistic society (e.g., Palazzolo Acrae in Sicily with its Hellenistic *fosse* tombs from the fourth and third centuries B.C.E.),⁶² but a distinctive feature of monumental Hellenistic tombs is the exploitation of landscape that enhances the view of the tomb and promotes a sense of isolation or separation from other monuments. The alleged “Tomb of Theron” in Agrigento, Sicily (dated variously between the third and first centuries B.C.E.), for example, stands alone as a “tower-tomb” in the landscape of this Greek city (Figure 5).⁶³ Other tower-tombs comparable to the Tomb of Theron exist both in earlier prototypes, for example, the Nereid monument at Xanthos in Lycia (Figure 6), and as late as the early first century B.C.E. in western Asia Minor.⁶⁴ The situation of a monument in an isolated setting, likely visible from afar yet not intimately accessible to the majority of viewers, garnered a certain type of attention that promoted a prestigious or heroic identity of the deceased. The isolated tomb, also a characteristic of structures such as the Mausoleum of

⁶² R. J. A. Wilson, “Archaeology in Sicily, 1977-1981,” *Archaeological Reports* 28 (1981-1982): 88.

⁶³ See Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 125-26.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 88. Fedak notes that closest formal and chronological parallels for these monuments outside of Asia Minor are found in North Africa, for example, at Ptolemais there is a tower tomb dating to the late third or early second century (128-29).

Augustus and the late first-century B.C.E. pyramid of Gaius Cestius outside of the Aurelian Wall, inherently sets up a boundary between viewer and architecture quite different from the invitation offered by the “streets of tombs” constructed near Rome. The invitation of the tower-tomb is one of veneration, rather than intimacy.

Relation to the landscape could also be less imposing and more practical, as seems to be the case with the *cista* graves at Pessinus in western Asia Minor, a site whose Hellenistic and Roman cemetery enjoyed continuous use into the Byzantine era.⁶⁵ These *cista* graves are much more modest than monuments commissioned by the aristocracy elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, and the excavators note that certain topographical features of the ancient landscape, for example, the promontory, location of city center, and the main road leading from Pessinus into the north undoubtedly participated in this cemetery’s spatial development.⁶⁶

The notion of distinguishing between “tower-tombs” and other types, e.g., “*aedicula*-tombs,” etc., calls into question the external structural components of tomb architecture. Fedak describes the Tomb of Theron’s affinity with Punic tombs in North Africa,⁶⁷ a hypothesis which may be supported by the presence of Phoenician sarcophagi on Sicily and Punico-Hellenistic painted sarcophagi in the Maltese Islands.⁶⁸ The remains of the Tomb of Theron include a high podium resting on a projecting socle, with an upper

⁶⁵ John Devreker, Hugo Thoen, and Frank Vermeulen, *Excavations in Pessinus: The So-Called Acropolis* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2003). See pp. 126-34 for chronological development of the cemetery.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 32, 339.

⁶⁷ Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 125.

⁶⁸ Mario Buhagiar, *Late Roman and Byzantine Catacombs and Related Burial Places in the Maltese Islands* (Oxford: BAR, 1986), 18.

story enhanced by engaged Ionic columns.⁶⁹ In the upper story, a large false door adorns each side, and the remains suggest that the entire monument was probably crowned by a pyramid.⁷⁰ Fedak suggests that the pyramid is of Punic inspiration, an element that is transferred to funerary architecture in Rome. Pyramids did not gain as much popularity in Rome as other structural elements, although a notable example is the aforementioned funerary pyramid of Gaius Cestius.⁷¹ At Pessinus, many Hellenistic grave *spolia* were physically incorporated into the Roman graves, attested by the reuse of *stelai* during the first through third century C.E. construction of later *cista* graves.⁷²

Hellenistic architectural forms found expression among many monuments at various places in the Mediterranean, and especially in the tombs of central Italy. In the period immediately preceding Augustan Romanization of Etruria, many of the funerary monuments adopted various and conspicuous elements of Hellenistic architectural design, which often resulted in striking combinations of non-funerary Greek elements incorporated into tombs. Specific features appropriated from the Hellenic tradition, such as the Greek temple façade, often took on heroic or other connotations appropriate to the commemoration of the deceased.⁷³ Elements of temple architecture from Greece and the

⁶⁹ Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 125.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁷¹ Clemens Krause, "Sepulcrum: C. Cestius" in *LTUR* IV, ed. Eva Margareta Steinby (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1999), 278-79. See also P.S. Bartoli, *Gli antichi sepolcri Romani* (1697), pls. 60-70; O. Falconieri, *Discorso intorno alia piramide di C. Cestio*, in Nardini-Nibby IV (1820), 1-43; Platner-Ashby 478, 607; M.P. Piernattei, *Capitolum* 6 (1930): 292-30 I; R. Herbig, "ΠΙΛΙΝΩΙΔΙΑ," *RM* 48 (1933): 313-16; Lugli, *Monumenti* III (1938): 612-15; Nash II: 321-23; Lawrence Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 353.

⁷² Devreker, et al., *Excavations in Pessinus*, 58-59, 133-34.

⁷³ Greek architectural forms were frequently combined with traditional Near Eastern architecture, often because the Hellenic forms exemplified a particular meaning. For example, Greek temple and columnar orders appealed to Near Eastern designs for *heroa* "by virtue of their simple monumentality." Janos Fedak,

Eastern Mediterranean are found in the so-called “temple” or “*aedicula*” tombs of Etruria, particularly in Norchia and Sovana. Two of the temple tombs in Norchia include elaborately-carved pedimental decoration (fourth and third centuries), possibly displaying Greek myths and apotropaic symbols inherited from Greece.⁷⁴ At Sovana, the Ildebranda tomb (third or second century) consists of a nearly complete temple projecting from the rock, with ornate Ionic volutes and rich vegetal adornment. Consideration of the Hellenistic incorporation of particular structural and decorative features in the tomb architecture, like those discussed in an Etruscan context, will help to shed light on the tomb’s position and function in relationship to funerary and commemorative processes.

The interior decoration of Hellenistic tombs could also serve as places for expression of certain characterizations and values of the deceased. Some of the most striking interior displays occur in the context of painted tombs, for example, the mid-fourth-century monumental tombs at Vergina (Figure 7).⁷⁵ The owners of these regal structures were probably high-ranking officials, although the specific attributions are debated.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the painted decoration of Tomb II portrays an Alexander-like

“Tombs and Commemorative Monuments,” in *Studies in Hellenistic Architecture*, by Frederick E. Winter, 71-218 (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 71. Fedak states that the application of columns, for example, on Near Eastern sarcophagi reflects the intention of the owner to “heroize” and “monumentalize” the tomb space, although he notes that designs were often overly-elaborate when transferred to a funerary context.

⁷⁴ See Izzet, *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*, 114-15; G. Rosi, “Sepulchral Architecture as Illustrated by the Rock Facades of Central Etruria,” *JRS* 15 (1925): 42-47; “Sepulchral Architecture as Illustrated by the Rock Facades of Central Etruria: II,” *JRS* 17 (1927): 64; Bianchi Bandinelli, *Sovana: Topografia ed arte* (Florence, 1929), 85, fig. 32; E. Colonna di Paolo and G. Colonna, *Norchia I, le necropoli rupestri dell’Etruria Meridionale*, vol. II (Rome, 1978), pls. XII and XIII.

⁷⁵ Manolis Andronikos has published extensively on these tombs. See *Βεργίνα: το Νεκροταφειον των Τυμβων* (Athens: Hē hen Athēnais Archaïologikē Hetaireia, 1969); in English, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon SA, 1987).

⁷⁶ The tombs’ chronology has been most recently argued by E. N. Borza and O. Palagia, “The Chronology of the Royal Macedonian Tombs at Vergina,” *JdI* 122 (2007): 81-126. Borza and Palagia conclude that the controversial Tomb II belongs to Philip III Arrhidaeus and his warrior-queen wife Adea Eurydike. The

figure engaged in a hunting scene. Whether or not the owner of the tomb had familial ties to Alexander, the theme is interpreted as heroicizing,⁷⁷ and it serves to associate the status of the deceased with the ranks of Alexander himself. Familial celebration and deliberate association with one's heroic ancestors is strongly emphasized in the Roman Tomb of the Scipiones, whose construction began during the Hellenistic period.⁷⁸

Heroic motifs occur frequently in the more intimate schemes of funerary art. Brunilde S. Ridgway discusses two major series of reliefs with narrative scenes: the funerary banquet type and the rider or horse leader type, which she states carry overtones of heroization, at times underlined by inscriptions reading "to the hero."⁷⁹ Funerary banquets exist on reliefs from Samos, Byzantion, and Kyzikos during the third century, and throughout the Roman period.⁸⁰ They also form a major component of Etruscan funerary art, as well as the Belevi Mausoleum near Ephesos,⁸¹ and the rider type of heroic relief appears on Hellenistic monuments from Pergamon and Smyrna, designating cult

attribution is based on the assignment of the "disfigured" leg greaves to Adea Eurydike, the lack of Attic red-figure pottery (production of which ceased after ca. 330), and the gold and ivory shield device portraying Achilles and Penthesilea that resembles a device carried by Alexander the Great (Philip III's immediate predecessor) on some coins at this time. The shield, if not inherited from Alexander himself, was likely inspired by his.

⁷⁷ Borza and Palagia argue that since there is no evidence of lion or bear hunts in Macedonia, the scene is therefore set in Persia, during Alexander's campaign there.

⁷⁸ See Claridge, *Oxford Archaeological Guides: Rome*, 328-32.

⁷⁹ Brunilde S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture II: The Styles of ca. 200-100 B.C.* (Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 192.

⁸⁰ Ibid. See also Johanna Fabricius, *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs. Grabrepräsentation und Wertvorstellungen in ostgriechischen Städten*, "Studien zur antiken Stadt" series vol 3, ed. Paul Zanker (Munich: Dr. Friedrich Pfeil, 1999).

⁸¹ See C. Praschniker, et al. *Das Mausoleum von Belevi*, Forschungen in Ephesos 6 (Vienna: Im Selbstverlag des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, 1979). See also Brunilde S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331-200 B.C.* (Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 187-96.

significance in this context.⁸² The spread of hero cults began in peripheral areas (e.g., the Nereid Monument at Xanthos in Lycia and the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos in Caria, figure 8), although during the course of the Hellenistic period this type of worship became much more widespread.⁸³ Walter Burkert argues that the hero cult was not a continuation of the Mycenaean cult of the dead; rather, it was derived from the influence of epic poetry and was comprised of certain Oriental motifs linking the practice to the Near East.⁸⁴ Archaeologically, *heroa*-type tombs are distinctive, occupying a special precinct, often with a monumental funerary marker, and enjoying the continuity of sacrifices and votive offerings.⁸⁵

Self-promotion comprised a large part of the motivation behind monument design in Rome, but to what extent does the specific concept of heroization in funerary reliefs manifest itself in the Roman period? What is the nature of this heroization: is the status conferred on individuals themselves, or do Romans become heroized because of their associations with their superiors or the emperor himself?⁸⁶ Many of the honorary statues

⁸² Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture II*, 192.

⁸³ Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 203. See also Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), and Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁸⁴ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 204, 209-10.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁸⁶ Cult-type structures from the later Hellenistic period have been unearthed at Pergamon. See Wolfgang Radt, *Guide to Pergamon* (Istanbul: Apa Ofset Basimevi, 1973), 63 for a description of the sacred precinct of the cult of the rulers (*heroon*), and Pamela A. Webb, *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture: Figural Motifs in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 68 for an analysis of the sculpture (mostly the *anta* capital) from the Exedra of Diodoros Paspalos, ca. 60 B.C.E. The exedra is also mentioned in Wilhelm Dörpfeld and Hugo Hepdig, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1904-1905," *AM* 32 (1907): 197-98, 257-64; Eugen von Mercklin, *Antike Figuralkapitelle* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1962), 275, figure 1265; Wolfgang Radt, *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten, Funde und Erforschung einer antiken Metropole* (Cologne 1988), 143-44; Paul Schazmann, "Das Gymnasion," *Der Tempelbezirk der Hera Basileia* (AvP IV: Berlin and Leipzig, 1923): 52-53, pls. 3-7, 10-11, 16.1-16.2.

in Pompeii were replaced during the Augustan era with statues of the Imperial family; does this denote a change in manifestations of self-promotion?⁸⁷

The use of funeral ornamentation to enhance one's status extended to vegetal as well as figural devices. Ridgway mentions the Tomb of Tertia Horaria on Rheneia (Delos) from the late second century B.C.E. as particularly noteworthy for its use of decorative vegetation.⁸⁸ Special garlands on tombs of members of the *Augustales* (a religious and social institution that provided wealthy freedmen with the opportunity for social prestige and public display)⁸⁹ permanently established the status of these men.⁹⁰ Even animal imagery is used so extensively in some cases that its significance should be emphasized, for example, in the paintings of animal processions in the late-third century Tombs I and II at Marisa in Palestine.⁹¹ The animal imagery in Tomb I of this *necropolis* (e.g. the roosters, Cerberus and eagles) has been associated with Dionysiac worship and belief in the afterlife.⁹² Vegetal ornamentation retains a certain significance in the Augustan period, for example, in monuments such as the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (13-9

⁸⁷ Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 265-98. Zanker affirms the new piety associated with Augustus' reign and elite use of Augustan paraphernalia, especially in funerary art, to acknowledge support for the emperor.

⁸⁸ Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture II*, 200. Ridgway concludes that the overall composition of the *naiskos* and the entablature above it presents not only a message of luxuriant foliage, but, further, implies connotations of rebirth and the afterlife.

⁸⁹ James Boykin Rives "Augustales," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 215.

⁹⁰ Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 277, fig. 219.

⁹¹ David M. Jacobson, *The Hellenistic Paintings of Marisa* (Leeds, UK: Maney, 2007), 21.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 48.

B.C.E.),⁹³ and becomes a standardized decorative element identified with the *Augustales* funerary altars of the early imperial period.⁹⁴

Much of this interior artistic embellishment, whether part of a monumental scheme or not, was meant to be seen by a more specific audience than the general passersby who would take notice of the large monuments largely from an architectural standpoint. Consideration of a more intimate audience likely informed the range of subjects and iconographical signifiers employed in the design of sepulchral monuments. Yet the tombs mentioned thus far all have lavish ornament, and it should be recognized that smaller-scale objects also required more intimate decorative motifs on the basis of size alone.

One of the best places to look for the variety of such objects is in the region of Attica, where Demetrios' decree against funerary ostentation in 317 B.C.E. forced a widespread moderation of monumental scale for mortuary structures. Some scholars have argued that the disappearance of significantly-scaled relief monuments until the second century B.C.E. is evidence of adherence to the decree, and, indeed, the Hellenistic period in Attica shows examples of new types of small funerary objects.⁹⁵ Developments in cinerary urn shapes are found in the Kerameikos district in Athens (cylindrical lidded pots with painted decoration), and vegetally-ornamented *columellae* commonly show

⁹³ David Castriota, *The Ara Pacis Augustae and the Imagery of Abundance in Later Greek and Early Roman Imperial Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995).

⁹⁴ Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 277.

⁹⁵ Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), 162-63. See also John M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 163-66, fig. 161 (display of both *trapezai [mensae]* and *columellae*).

loutrophoroi and figures with hands raised in a gesture of entreaty to the gods (Figure 9).⁹⁶

Many of these grave markers include inscriptions, perhaps one of the most intimate visual readings offered by the tomb. Inscriptions and inscribed epigrams required close examination of the monument itself; the viewer would have had to stop, pause, and read, engaging the inherent relationship between the image and the text.⁹⁷ A likely assumption, then, is that most of the “readers” of such markers would be relatives and friends, unless a monument was particularly conspicuous or drew in the viewer by some other sort of interesting feature.⁹⁸ These markers could also be “read” in terms of their spatial relationships to each other, as argued by Wendy Closterman.⁹⁹ Closterman posits that the practice of walking through family burial plots in the Kerameikos district in Classical Athens and deliberately-distinguished features of certain markers suggested a precise orientation promoting more general family ideologies, as opposed to the celebration of each individual member of the family.¹⁰⁰ The issue of viewership is of primary importance here, as these plots were specifically designed so that living visitors to the *necropolis* would interpret a clearly-defined family ideology at work.

Two more generally distinguishable functions in mortuary structures are cenotaphs and *heroa*. Both of these are distinctive because, unlike graves or grave

⁹⁶ Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, 163, 166-67.

⁹⁷ For example, some Hellenistic *kioniskoi* record the names of the deceased (fig. 27), or even that a husband and wife lay buried beneath a double column (166).

⁹⁸ This practice became a characteristic feature of many Roman tombs. See Petersen, “The Baker, His Tomb, His Wife, and Her Breadbasket,” 230-57.

⁹⁹ Wendy E. Closterman, “Family Ideology and Family History: The Function of Funerary Markers in Classical Attic Peribolos Tombs,” *AJA* 111, no. 4 (2007): 633-52.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

monuments for the normal populace, these commemorative forms are reserved for markedly heroic men, military personnel, or even semi-divine persons.¹⁰¹ By definition they must be comparatively elaborate and impressive. Although cenotaphs cannot always be verifiably differentiated from actual tombs, inquiry into the formal relationship between these two structures would illuminate some answers to questions of function and meaning regarding these buildings. A late fourth century cenotaph-*heroon* lies within the city walls at Paestum, and the contemporary cenotaph of King Nikokreon at Salamis on Cyprus consists of a tumulus raised upon a mud brick platform, containing statues of the deceased.¹⁰² The cenotaph-*heroon* complex in Paestum reveals the nature of these structures in the commemoration of heroes to the extent that these two architectural functions can sometimes be conflated.

The fluidity of formal elements in *heroa* is exemplified by the *heroon* of Kalydon, constructed around 100 B.C.E. (Figure 10). The building is relatively compact, with a courtyard enclosed by roofed structures.¹⁰³ Unusual elements of its design include the enclosed courtyard, which allows for complete privacy, and a plan that finds its closest counterparts in *gymnasia* and *basilicae*.¹⁰⁴ Fedak asserts that architecturally, the *heroon* structures are best described in terms of a complex with both a funerary edifice and

¹⁰¹ Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 24. V. Karageorghis, *Salamis in Cyprus* (London 1969), 151 and figures 85-100. John Griffiths Pedley, *Greek Art and Archaeology* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1993), 107. Pedley cites an early *heroon* at Lefkandi, dated to the tenth century B.C.E.

¹⁰² Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 24.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 24. See also E. Dyggve, et al., *Das Heroon von Kalydon* (Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1934); Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture II*, 53 n. 26.; Brunilde S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture III: The Styles of ca. 100-31 B.C.* (Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 46-49 and illustrations 18-19, 55.

¹⁰⁴ Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 24.

modified temple structure,¹⁰⁵ but the notion of complete privacy contradicts the high degree of visibility evident in other monumental tombs of this period. The relationship to the landscape here is not negotiated in terms of sight, but rather of function. The issue of visibility, so important to later Roman forms of commemoration, seems to have been subjected here to the importance of ritual and cultic function.

Many of the Hellenistic *heroa* survive in Lycia, southwest Asia Minor which, according to Sarah Cormack, suggests Persian as well as Greek contacts, attested by the combination of eastern development of *heroa* with the artistic influence of late classical Greece.¹⁰⁶ Several of these *heroa* are also couched in a *temenos* area, including the fourth-century Tomb House at Trysa (a sarcophagus placed within a *temenos* wall decorated with mythological reliefs).¹⁰⁷ The mythological reliefs found here would form an interesting comparison to those discovered as part of the base of the later cenotaph accorded Gaius Caesar c. 4 C.E. also in Limyra, as well as comparison between both the structural elaboration and function of other contemporary *heroa* such as the Nereid Monument at Xanthos (early fourth century),¹⁰⁸ the tomb of Perikles at Limyra (ca. 360 B.C.E.),¹⁰⁹ and the famous Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Sarah Cormack, "Funerary Monuments and Mortuary Practice in Roman Asia Minor," in *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, ed. Susan E. Alcock (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 139.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. See also Otto Benndorf, "Das Heroon von Gjölbashi-Trysa," *JKSW* 9 (1889): 1-134; Wolfgang Oberleitner, *Das Heroon von Trysa: ein lykisches Fürstengrab des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Mainz: Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie 18, 1994); Judith M. Barringer, *Art, Myth, and Ritual in Classical Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 171-202.

¹⁰⁸ See P. Coupel and H. Metzger, *Fouilles de Xanthos III: Le Monument des Néréides: L'architecture* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), and Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 66-68.

¹⁰⁹ See J. Borchhardt, *Die Bauskulptur des Heroons von Limyra (1stForsch 32)*, Berlin, 1976, and Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 68-71.

The funerary precinct at Trysa illustrates several important features of commemoration that reappear in a Roman architectural vocabulary in subsequent centuries. The general form of a walled precinct enclosing the *temenos* and a funeral cult structure¹¹¹ bears some resemblance to certain Roman tombs constructed within a grove or garden context (e.g. Lucullus' tomb monument and the tomb gardens at Pompeii, which are discussed below). Not only does the general format of this kind of heroic commemoration, but also the decorative relief forms applied to the structure itself construct an analogy to specific commemorative values emphasized in some of the major Roman monuments. The southeastern wall displays several reliefs of both mythological and non-mythological scenes, which "scholars associate with the Trysa ruler, as a kind of biographical summary of his life and deeds."¹¹² Later, in the Mausoleum of Augustus, the *Res Gestae* (summary of the emperor's life and deeds) forms a verbal correlation to the visual schema used by the Trysa ruler. Furthermore, the *heroon* at Trysa depicts scenes of the actual funerary festivals held in his honor, characterizing this commemorative structure as a specific point of interaction between the transient funerary ritual and the perpetual process of commemoration that engaged multiple viewers throughout a more sustained length of time.

Hellenistic funerary monuments do not represent a homogenous blend of Greek and Eastern Mediterranean elements. Instead, each draws on various traditional and innovative uses of formal elements to convey a unique message, a practice which

¹¹⁰ See K. Jeppesen and A. Luttrell, *The Mausoleum at Halikarnassos. Reports of the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Bodrum, 2: The Written Sources and Their Archaeological Background* (Copenhagen: In Commission at Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1986).

¹¹¹ Barringer, *Art, Myth and Ritual in Classical Greece*, 173.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 175.

continued under the Roman Empire. Romanization of the Mediterranean added to the diverse repertoire of symbols used in mortuary practice, and altered, to some extent, the ways in which elite patrons conveyed status or identity, especially in the provinces. Similarly, Roman monumental form was greatly influenced by the local tradition of its conquered peoples, a distinctive feature which will be analyzed in the succeeding chapters.

Architecture and ritual (both in the sense of formal, cultic ritual, and the daily ritual enacted by a viewer simply engaging with the monument and the memory of the deceased itself), seem to favor a kind of interaction that suggests particular ideologies and identities that speak to the ways in which late republican and early imperial Romans created their contemporary conception of memory and identity. This interaction will form the basis of the final two segments, focusing first on Roman engagement with the architectural forms. The ritual function of Roman commemorative architecture will be addressed in the last chapter, highlighting an interpretation of funerary structures that takes into account the systems of transient interactions that shaped the creation of tombs.

CHAPTER THREE: LATE REPUBLICAN AND EARLY IMPERIAL ROMAN FUNERARY MONUMENTS

Like the monumental tombs of the Hellenistic period, mortuary structures erected in and around Rome during the late republican and early Augustan era employed a series of visual schema that consisted of both familiar commemorative elements and innovative combinations of traditional form. Aspects of the relationships between landscape, municipal road, and other monuments as well as the physical components were appropriated from Hellenistic Greek and Etruscan culture and reinterpreted according to Roman priorities. In addition to a variety of architectural forms, commemorative identities in this period are discernable in funerary monuments from elite to former slave, and a range of diverse characters, for example, from baker to emperor.

A large circular tomb built during the republican era demonstrates one Roman's conscientious allusion to heroic commemorative practices. The tomb is located at Torrione di Micara near the villa of Lucullus along the Via Tuscolana, leading some scholars to believe that Lucullus was interred here (Figure 11).¹¹³ If Lucullus intended for this monument to be his burial site, the location of his nearby villa may have evoked

¹¹³ Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 413. See also F. Fontana, "Sepulcrum: L. Licinius Lucullus," in *LTUR* IV, 291-92; G. MacCracken, "The villa and tomb of Lucullus at Tusculum," *AJA* 48 (1942), 325-40; J. van Ooteghem, *Lucius Licinius Lucullus* (Namur, Secrétariat des publications, Facultés universitaires, 1959); H. Broise and V. Jolivet, "Recherches sur les jardins de Lucullus." In *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C. - IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.): actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'Ecole française de Rome (Rome, 8-12 mai 1985)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1987), 747-61; H. von Hesberg, *Monumenta. I sepolcri romani e la loro architettura* (Milan: Longanesi, 1994), 41, 117. M. Verzáar-Bass, "A proposito dei mausolei negli *horti* e nelle *villae*," in *Horti romani: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 4-6 maggio 1995*, ed. E. La Rocca (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1998), 401-24.

heroic connotations similar to the isolated tombs situated in a visually advantageous landscape setting constructed during the Hellenistic period. The commemoration of a wealthy Roman at the site of his villa would have permitted the implementation of vineyards, orchards, and other signifiers of economic or social status that would have been difficult to display in the limited space of an urban burial plot. In addition to providing a place that could be visited easily and enjoyably by the deceased's friends and relatives (as in the case of Cicero's search for a location in which to bury his daughter Tullia, who died in 45 B.C.E.),¹¹⁴ the tomb garden, particularly if it was located within an enclosed wall, carried connotations associated with heroic funerary precincts of the Classical Greek and Hellenistic period. Furthermore, it also evoked conceptions of paradisiacal realms such as the Elysian Fields or the Garden of the Hesperides.¹¹⁵ During the early Imperial period, there are several examples of garden and tomb complexes that appear outside the city gates at Pompeii from the first century C.E.¹¹⁶

This phenomenon was not unknown in the Classical Greek and Hellenistic world, as is attested by plots that surrounded grave markers in the Kerameikos district in Athens,

¹¹⁴ Cicero, *To Atticus*, 12.36-37.

¹¹⁵ Vegetal imagery also appears on the tomb of Vestorius Priscus, although it may be intended to evoke an association of wealth or "the good life," and was a common motif found among the houses of Pompeii. In the same tomb, the scene of animals hunting likely references ancient *paradeisoi*, or parks belonging to extremely wealthy Romans and Hellenistic rulers (Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 198-99). In regard to vegetation suggesting a "paradisiacal" afterlife, it is interesting to note that in Vergil's account of Aeneas' journey to the Elysian Fields, his illustrious descendants down to Augustus are paraded before his eyes in a poetic resemblance to the procession of funerary *imagines*. The particularly resonant lines read: *Dixerat Anchises, natumque unique Sibyllam/ conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem,/ et tumulum capit unde omnis longo ordine posset/ adversos legere et venientum discere vultus* ("Anchises paused, and drew his son and with him the Sibyl into the heart of the assembly and buzzing throng, then chose a mound whence he might scan face to face the whole of the long procession and note their faces as they came"). *Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 6.752-55.

¹¹⁶ Wilhelmina F. Jashemski, "Tomb Gardens at Pompeii," *CJ* 66, no. 2 (December 1970 – January 1971): 97-115.

such as the Dexileos Stele.¹¹⁷ Wendy Closterman has recently demonstrated that Classical Attic grave plots were primarily focused on emphasizing general family ideologies, rather than commemorating each individual separately.¹¹⁸ Political and social concerns threatened the stability of internal familial structures, and Closterman points to these external concerns as highly influential on the generalized family ideologies present in the gravesites.¹¹⁹ Entirely enclosed precincts were also constructed for funerary monuments, such as the *heroon* at Trysa.¹²⁰ The concept of a garden with traditional economic and heroic connotations, then, may have influenced the decision to carry out Lucullus' original plan for burial within his own suburban residential villa.

The remains of the large circular core suggest a shape similar to Etruscan and Hellenistic monumental tumuli, although the building materials indicate localized construction methods. The structural core is comprised of *opus caementicium* (concrete) with a peperino revetment in *opus quadratum*, and the funeral chambers are early extant

¹¹⁷ Maureen Carroll, *Earthly Paradises: Ancient Gardens in History and Archaeology* (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 75. For *peribolos* tombs see Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), 106-8. The Dexileos Stele is mentioned on pages 108-109, and appears in several shorter publications. Cf. Cornelius Vermeule and Penelope Von Kersberg, "Young Man on Horseback (500 B.C.)," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 64, no. 337 (1966): 130, 132. See also Ruth E. Leader, "In Death Not Divided: Gender, Family, and State on Classical Athenian Grave Stelae," *AJA* 101, no. 4 (October 1997): 683-99; Closterman, "Family Ideology and Family History," 633-52.

¹¹⁸ Closterman, "Family Ideology and Family History," 633-52. Closterman states that the number of stelae erected in a single grave plot was significantly fewer than the actual number of burials contained there. She points to the "five brothers" burial plot as a specific indicator of these dynamics: although the stelae and other burials indicate the presence of other family members, the inscription found on the site emphasizes the connection between these brothers, even if they appear inconsistently on various stelae and markers within the plot.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Benndorf, "Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa," 1-134; Oberlietner, *Das Heroon von Trysa*; Barringer, *Art, Myth, and Ritual in Classical Greece*, 171-202.

examples of *opus latericium*.¹²¹ Several nearby burial monuments also make use of a traditional circular tumulus shape, formatted according to Roman developments in construction technique.¹²²

The tomb of the Scipiones, located along a side road between the Via Appia and the Via Latina, is one of the best-documented monuments, consisting of the burials of six generations of the Cornelii Scipiones, and several distinct phases of construction (Figure 12).¹²³ The earliest burial is that of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (consul in 298 B.C.E.), and the funeral chambers were in use by the same family until the beginning of the first century B.C.E.¹²⁴ The tomb makes use of local materials; in addition to having the basic structure cut out of an outcropping of tufa, a row of engaged tufa columns was constructed in the façade, four internal piers support the bedrock above, and more than thirty tufa sarcophagi line the walls of the structure. The uncommon use of a tomb, rock-cut “in the Etruscan manner,” and a preference for inhumation at a time when cremation dominated Italian burial practice signifies a desire on the part of the Scipiones to be

¹²¹ Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 413.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 400, 415.

¹²³ F. Zevi, “Sepulcrum: Cn. et P. Comelii Scipiones (Tumulus),” *LTUR* IV, 281-85; F. Piranesi and E. Q. Visconti, *Monumento degli Scipioni* (1785) = E. Q. Visconti, *Opere varie* I (1827), 1-70; A. Nibby, *Roma antica* II (1834), 561-75; L. Canina, *La prima parte della Via Appia* (1853), pls. 2,3; Delbrueck, *Hellenistische Bauten* II (1912), 71 fig. 41; P. Nicorescu, “La tomba degli Scipioni,” *Ephemeris Dacoromana* I (1923), 1-56; A. M. Colini, “La sistemazione del sepolcro degli Scipioni,” *Capitolium* 3 (1927-1928), 27-32, 5 (1929), 182-95; G. Lugli, *Monumenti* I (1930), 432-38; G. De Angelis d’Ossat, *BullCom* 1936, 37-53; F. Zevi, “Considerazioni sull’elogio di Scipione Barbato,” *StMisc* 15 (1969-70), 63-73; P. Coretti Irdi - F. Coarelli, “Il sepolcro degli Scipioni,” *BStorArt* 3-4 (1969), 37-53; V. Saladino, *Der Sarkophag des Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus* (1970); F. Coarelli, “Il sepolcro degli Scipioni,” *DialArch* 6 (1972), 36-106 = *Revixit ars* (1997), 179-238; *Guida Archeologia di Roma* (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1980), 155-61; H. Lauter-Bufe, “Zur Fassade der Scipionengraves,” *RM* 59 (1982), 35-46; F. Coarelli, *Il sepolcro degli Scipioni* (1989); Lucy Shoe Meritt and Ingrid E.M. Edlund-Berry, *Etruscan and Roman Republican Mouldings* (Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, in cooperation with the AAR, 2000).

¹²⁴ Cicero, *De Senectute*, XI.

associated with their notable Etruscan predecessors.¹²⁵ As the manipulation of the architectural space of the *atrium* reflects certain social ideologies, the landscape here is inflected in order to express aspects of the patron's identity.

Remains of frescoes are visible on the lower base, several of which may date to the first phase of tomb construction, but the later scenes were part of the construction of the monumental façade in the middle of the second century B.C.E. The surviving fragments suggest historical and military themes, and a full reconstruction and comparison of the depictions with similar motifs of the Hellenistic period (for example, in the painted tombs at Vergina)¹²⁶ could further illuminate the specific connotations intended by these depictions.

Tomb construction during the end of the Roman republican period is similarly characterized by retention of monumental forms derived from Hellenistic and Etruscan precedents. The so-called "Street of Tombs" in Tusculum, descending south toward the Valle della Molarra and "Villa of Tiberius" contains another large circular monument, identified in the inscription as the tomb of Marcus Caelius Vinicianus, tribune of the plebs in 53 B.C.E.¹²⁷ The alleged "Tomb of Pompey," an imposing tower-shaped tomb near the villa of Domitian in Albano along the Via Appia, was constructed of four successive levels and likely crowned with a pyramidal structure.¹²⁸ The tower-tomb was a

¹²⁵ Claridge, *Oxford Archaeological Guides: Rome*, 328-32, fig. 162. Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, fig. 100. See also Ferdinando Castagnoli, *Appia Antica* (Milan: Editoriale Domus, 1956); F. Coarelli, *Dintorni di Roma* (Rome: G. Laterza, 1981); F. Coarelli, *Il Sepolcro degli Scipioni a Roma* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1988), figs. 11, 13.

¹²⁶ See Andronikos, *Vergina*, 106-19.

¹²⁷ Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 517.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 504.

prominent and widespread form of commemoration during the Hellenistic period, although the hypothesized pyramidal form for the top level of this structure is indicative of Italian appropriation of Egyptianizing forms (including obelisks) during the late republic and early empire. Mortuary pyramids made several appearances on tombs in Rome; moreover, obelisks were also in use in archaic Etruscan *necropoleis* and possibly held particular significance in the context of ancestor cults.¹²⁹ Several funerary altars from both the Republican and Imperial periods utilize decorative elements found earlier on Etruscan tombs, for example, the motif of the half-closed door.¹³⁰

Late-republican tombs were also used in order to perpetuate traditional Republican values by commemorating past heroes. Livy mentions two tombs which were identified as the resting places of the Horatii and Curiatii.¹³¹ The so-called Tomb of the Curiatii (which probably belonged to the owners of the nearby Villa of the Quintilii) also consists of a pyramid resting upon the base.¹³² These monuments were somewhat unusual in that the base was square in plan, with a truncated cone situated at each of the corners. Filippo Coarelli notes that the only structures comparable to these are monuments depicted on Hellenistic-era Etruscan urns, as well as Pliny's description of the Tomb of

¹²⁹ See Stephan Steingräber, "The Cima Tumulus at San Giuliano - An Aristocratic Tomb and Monument for the Cult of the Ancestors of the Late Orientalizing Period," in *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion: Studies in Honor of Jean Macintosh Turfa*, ed. Margarita Gleba and Hilary Becker (Boston: Brill, 2009), 123-33.

¹³⁰ See Britt Haarløv, *The Half-Open Door: A Common Symbolic Motif within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1977), 117-19; Glenys Davies, "The Door Motif in Roman Funerary Sculpture," *Papers in Italian Archaeology 1: The Lancaster Seminar*, ed. H. McK. Blake, T. W. Potter, and D. B. Whitehouse, 203-26 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978).

¹³¹ Livy I, 25.14. See note 32 above.

¹³² Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 396.

Porsenna.¹³³ For a Roman traveling along one of these streets, the monuments to republican heroes in conjunction with similarly heroicizing burial mounds of contemporaries would have evoked powerful associations with traditional Republican themes. Monuments of this type that continued to be in use at the beginning of Augustus' principate include the Tomb of Caecilia Metella (dated to the last quarter of the first century B.C.E.),¹³⁴ and the senatorial tombs of Minicius Fundanus on Monte Mario and of the Calpurnii on the Via Salaria.¹³⁵

In contrast to the commemoration of individuals or individual *gens*, several *columbaria* appeared during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Although the first tombs at S. Sebastiano must have occupied the underground quarry by the end of the republic, a double line of *columbaria* was constructed during the Julio-Claudian period, which remained in use until the beginning of the second century C.E.¹³⁶ Near the basilica east of Tor de'Schiavi are the remains of a first-century C.E. *columbarium* and catacombs; the basilica adjacent to the mausoleum and cemetery here seems to have been funerary in nature.¹³⁷ The *columbaria* of the Vigna Codini, just beyond the Tomb of the Scipios, were also constructed around this time (Figure 13). The earliest *columbarium*, constructed in the late Augustan period, contains *loculi* decorated with portraits, relief work, and paintings with various ornamental motifs; name plaques indicate that many of

¹³³ Ibid., 508. Pliny, *HN* 36.91-93.

¹³⁴ F. Coarelli, "Sepolcrom: (Comelionum) Scipionum," in *LTUR* IV, 282; J. R. Patterson, "Via Appia," in *LTUR* V, 131.

¹³⁵ J. R. Patterson, "Via Salaria," in *LTUR* V: 144-45.

¹³⁶ Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 383.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 417.

the burials were of slaves and freedmen belonging to the imperial court.¹³⁸ Construction of the other two *columbaria* dates to the Tiberian period, containing piers decorated with Dionysiac scenes and some *loculi* defined by *aediculae* and more expensive decorative marble.¹³⁹

The *columbarium* of Pomponius Hylas, dating to the first decades of the Roman empire, lies between the Via Appia and the Via Latina, at a site close to the Aurelian Wall.¹⁴⁰ The complex decoration includes an apse decorated in the manner of a *nymphaeum*, mosaics, at least three *aedicula* facades, friezes, and pediments.¹⁴¹ Amanda Claridge surmises that this particular *columbarium* seems to be one of the subscription-run “burial clubs” instituted by friends or professional colleagues.¹⁴² The elaborate decorative scheme reveals that burial sites created as pastiches of Hellenic architectural forms were not solely the interest of individuals looking for posthumous attention. Rather, the Greek-inspired forms could be part of a communal setting emphasizing the prestige of a particular social class or occupation.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 374-76.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 373-74. D. Manciola, “Sepulcrum: Cn. Pomponius Hylas,” in *LTUR* IV, 294; P. Campana, *Di due sepolcri romani del secolo di Augusto scoperti fra la via Latina e l’Appia presso la tomba degli Scipioni* (1840); Ashby-Newton, “The Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas,” *PBSR* 5 (1910), 463-71, pls. 37-46.; G. Lugli, *La Zona Archeologica di Roma* (Rome: Libreria di scienze e lettere, 1925), 299-305. Platner-Ashby, 482; Nash II, 346-348; M. Borda, “La decorazione pittorica del colombario di Pomponio Ila,” *MemLinc* I (1947), 357-83; D. Manacorda, in *Aparchai. Nuovi ricerche e studi in onore di P.E. Arias II* (Pisa: Giardini, 1982), 717-20. Richardson, *Dictionary*, 358.

¹⁴¹ Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 373-74.

¹⁴² Claridge, *Oxford Archaeological Guides: Rome*, 332.

The emergence of *columbaria* points to a new emphasis on communal burial practice, or participation in a *collegium* of a certain status or profession.¹⁴³ These burials in some ways emphasized uniformity as opposed to individual distinction, an element that is also characteristic of the freedmen tombs popularized during Augustus' reign (Figure 14). According to Diana Kleiner's study, only ten of the extant freedmen tombs can be dated to the late republic (75-50 B.C.E.), and three to the period around 40 B.C.E. Most of the monuments occur during the reign of Augustus (forty-seven from 30-13 B.C.E., and thirty-two from 13 B.C.E. to 5 C.E.).¹⁴⁴ These "straightforward representations of Roman men, women, and children in the everyday dress of Roman citizens ... are entirely free of mythological and allegorical overtones. The subtleties and pretensions of aristocratic iconography are notably absent."¹⁴⁵ The motivation behind such straightforward representation may lie in the desire of the *libertini* to establish their legitimacy as Roman families in these group portraits, rather than attempting to emulate the illustrious ancestries promoted by the aristocracy (which the *libertini* did not have).¹⁴⁶

It seems that some wealthy *libertini*, in an effort to compete with freeborn citizens for social prestige, became members in the *Augustales* in order to advance their social and political careers as a consequence of not being able to hold legally magisterial office. Several altar-shaped tombs, particularly in Pompeii, have been attributed to such *libertini*

¹⁴³ For *collegia* and *columbaria*, see Valerie M. Hope, "A Roof Over the Dead: Communal Tombs and Family Structure," in *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, ed. Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (Portsmouth, R.I.: JRA Supplementary Series 22, 1997), 69-88; *Roman Death: The Dying and the Dead in Ancient Rome* (London: Continuum Books, 2009), 157.

¹⁴⁴ Diana E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), 192-250.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 185.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 188.

and are often adorned with garlands and other signifiers of their *Augustales* status.¹⁴⁷

Both the freedmen reliefs and these more elaborate funerary monuments suggest that when illustrious ancestral ties and prestigious lineage claims were unavailable to *libertini*, they sought legal associations with their families and especially to the emperor himself, as part of a specific social community rather than an individually outstanding *gens*.

Examples of extravagant expression of individual architectural forms still existed in the years following Augustus' reign, however. Unforgettable monuments such as the pyramid of Gaius Cestius (late first century C.E.) and the Tomb of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces (ca. 20-50 C.E.)¹⁴⁸ were meant to be so, but the general tone of overt economic or aristocratic display seemed to quiet after the construction of Augustus' mausoleum, in the last third of the first century B.C.E.¹⁴⁹ Perhaps the incomparable scale of the emperor's tomb and his allegedly modest living¹⁵⁰ also fueled the popularity of communally-based burial practices. In any case, the standard of elite funerary commemoration experienced a lapse in sumptuous display as more monumental mortuary architecture was constructed farther outside of Rome itself.

¹⁴⁷ Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 265-98.

¹⁴⁸ P. Ciancio Rossetto, "Sepulcrum: M. Vergilius Eurysaces," in *LTUR* IV: 301-2; Platner-Ashby, 497; Nash II, 329-32; P. Ciancio Rossetto, *La tomba del fornaio Marco Virgilio Eurysace a Porta Maggiore* (1973); H. P. Mollenhauer, "Das Grabmal des Eurysaces," in *Brot und Geback* (1974), 3, 74-80; M. Petrassi, "Il sepolcro del fornaio a Porta Maggiore," *Capitolium* 49 (1974), 48-56. L. Castiglione, "Zur Deutung des Grabmal von M. Vergilius Eurysaces," *ActaArchHung* 27 (1975), 157-61; M. Eisner, *Typologie* (1986), 92-94; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 355; O. Brandt, "Recent Research on the Tomb of Eurysaces," *OpRom* 19 (1993), 13-17; Lauren Hackworth Petersen, "The Baker, His Tomb, His Wife, and Her Breadbasket," 230-57.

¹⁴⁹ Henner von Hesberg, "Mausoleum Augusti: Das Monument," in *LTUR* III, 234-37. Also M. Macciocca, "Mausoleum Augusti: Le Sepoltura," in *LTUR* III, 237-39.

¹⁵⁰ Some recent excavations suggest that the *Domus Augusti* on the Palatine Hill was actually larger than previously thought. For a recent discussion of the investigations of the Palatine under Augustus and the imperial house, see Claudia Cecamore, *Palatium: Topografia storica del Palatino tra III sec. A.C. e I sec. D.C.* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2002), 155-211, and especially 213-19.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY

The importance of tombs in constructing identity

All of the funerary monuments discussed thus far possess the invaluable ability to preserve in some form the history and identity of their original owners through the architecture and decorative programs that remain. Some of the monuments themselves even have lives and histories of their own, later reused as part of other civic projects, as in the case of the Mausoleum of Augustus. Yet the evidence is not complete, and the Mausoleum (Sema) of Alexander the Great stands out as an anomaly in the mortuary record; its physical commemorative program has long been missing.¹⁵¹ The most potent communicative force to survive is the written memory of the tomb, visited by both Julius Caesar and Octavian, and whose disappearance is recorded as early as the fourth century in a sermon by John of Chrysostom.¹⁵² Some scholars speculate that the Sema has some

¹⁵¹ The body of Alexander was notoriously hijacked en route from Babylon nearly two years after his death in 323 B.C.E. His final resting place, the “Sema,” is referenced by Strabo: μέρος δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Σῆμα, ὃ περίβολος ἦν, ἐν ᾧ αἱ τῶν βασιλέων ταφαὶ καὶ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου (“The Sema also, as it is called, is a part of the royal palaces. This was the enclosure which contained the burial-places of the kings and that of Alexander”) trans. Horace Leonard Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1917), 17.1.8. Jones notes that the MSS read “Soma,” i.e., “body,” as does the Greek version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, although Zenobius uses the term “Sema” (34-35 n. 4). The slippage between terminology is an interesting parallel to the importance placed on Alexander’s physical remains.

¹⁵² The location of the mausoleum became unknown to local inhabitants as early as the fourth century C.E., implied from the sermon of John of Chrysostom: “Where, tell me, is Alexander’s tomb? Show it to me, and tell me the day on which he died.” John Chrys. 26th Homily on II Corinthians (PG 61, p. 581). Qtd. in Andrew Erskine, “Life After Death: Alexandria and the Body of Alexander,” *GaR*, Second Series 49, no. 2 (October 2002): 179.

form of physical afterlife preserved in the design of other known monuments,¹⁵³ and what can be reconstructed from the literary sources indicates a powerful visual program, the most enduring symbol of a commemorative scheme that was, almost from the moment of Alexander's death, subsequently manipulated by various rulers in order to further their political programs.

The literary accounts detailing the unintended transfer of Alexander's body from Babylon to Memphis (his final resting place in Alexandria was not constructed until 215-214 B.C.E., during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator) give the impression that the political figures involved in the hijacking were concerned only with their own ambition, rather than carrying out the most likely wishes of Alexander for his own burial.¹⁵⁴ The Ptolemaic dynasty continued to exploit their possession of Alexander's body even after it was transported from Memphis to Alexandria nearly one hundred years later. At Alexandria, the Sema was incorporated into the palatial complex of the Ptolemies.¹⁵⁵ By conjoining the Sema with the royal palace and the royal tombs, the Ptolemies worked to assimilate Alexander into their dynastic fabric, underlining their proximity to the body itself as a statement of legitimacy for their dynasty.

¹⁵³ Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 51-60. Davies isolates the concrete core and ground plan of the Mausoleum of Augustus as structural elements that occur in contemporary Egyptian architecture, e.g., the Pharos of Alexandria. This correlation rests on the traditional assumption that Augustus sought to emulate Alexander's tomb in some way in the construction of his own Mausoleum. See note 204 below for the debate concerning the dating of the structure.

¹⁵⁴ For evidence of the treatment of Alexander's body and its transfer to Egyptian soil, see Andrew Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 369-75. A reconstruction of the actual hearse that transported his body, completed almost two years after his death, can be found in Stella G. Miller, "Alexander's Funeral Cart," *Ancient Macedonia IV* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1986), 401-11. The time elapsed between Alexander's death and the maneuvering of Ptolemy to remove the body to Egypt attests to the potency associated with the king's physical remains.

¹⁵⁵ Strabo 17.1.8. See also Erskine, "Life after Death," 164.

Because Alexander did not survive long enough to lay out a specific program for his own burial, the appropriation of his symbol in death provides an important example of the manner in which the responsibility of constructing and preserving this symbolic identity rested solely on the shoulders of the living. Even without knowledge of the formal architectural qualities of the monument, it is possible to discern enough of the spatial arrangement to gain an idea of how the Ptolemies manipulated this responsibility, invoking the broader question of how the living's use of physical commemoration continually renegotiates the boundaries between memory and history, and the transmission of the deceased's constructed identity.

Today, Alexander's tomb constitutes a kind of "missing link," whose relationship to Hellenistic ruler commemoration and successive constructions of funerary monuments under the Roman Empire remains uncertain. Although the intrigue shrouding this disappeared monument was not part of the Sema's allure at the time of Octavian's visit, the importance of entering the physical space of Alexander demonstrates the potency of such objects to convey specific identities both at the moment of their construction, and later when the original context is long gone.

Octavian's visit to the Sema affirmed his political connection with Alexander, yet it also demonstrates a more immediate dynastic linkage to his adoptive father, Julius Caesar.¹⁵⁶ Octavian's emulation of Caesar's encounter was an expression of piety that secured his position in the dynastic lineage of Hellenistic and Roman rulers. Retracing

¹⁵⁶ The dynastic framework forms a defining element of later biographers' discussions of the lives of these rulers. Diana Spencer suggests that Plutarch's comparison of Alexander and Julius Caesar highlights the void of succession and civil wars that followed each of their deaths, and that Octavian, the legal heir of Caesar, made strides post-Actium towards positioning himself as the heir of Alexander, e.g., in his founding of Nikopolis just after the visit to Alexander's tomb. He appropriated the successful qualities of Alexander (military prowess, divine favor, charisma), although the qualification of the adoption of Alexandrian imagery will be discussed below. Diana Spencer, *The Roman Alexander: Reading a Cultural Myth* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), 175-77, 195.

Caesar's steps in Alexandria reinforced Hellenistic dynastic ties according to the Roman *princeps*' interests, binding both his individual and state identity to the framework established by Alexander and Julius Caesar. In this way, physical engagement with the mausoleum iterates constructions of both personal and public identities, a theme that resonates among the wide range of tombs in the Roman cityscape. Although this thesis is focused on the identity constructions resulting from the monuments' original context and patron's desires, the analysis of later meanings attached to the Sema is a poignant example of the potency ascribed to physical space in legitimizing another's socio-political ambitions.

The general goal of this thesis has been to provide a more synthetic interpretation of late republican and early imperial Roman tombs, drawing together many different pieces of information from a variety of sources. It is not intended to be complete or comprehensive, but rather to shed light upon how certain identities drawn from the monuments are associated both with the process of death and the architectural structure itself. The first two chapters explore the physical, structural dialogue between Roman tombs and their Etruscan and Hellenistic predecessors, and the final two chapters define these relationships at work in a contemporary Roman setting. The following chapter identifies the various architectural types of funerary structures created during the late republican and early imperial era, and in this final section I intend to explore the processual element of Roman funerary commemoration. Understanding the processes at work in the funerary ritual are essential to ground a synthetic analysis within a framework structured according to the more transient or intangible elements of usage as much as the actual construction of the monument.

Ritual and space

Polybius' second-century B.C.E. account of an aristocratic funeral in Rome, as eyewitness documentation for the transmission of the deceased's memory and identity, bears significance in the mediation of textual source material and the physical remnants excavated from the tombs.¹⁵⁷ Polybius' description of the typical aristocratic funerals that take place in the Forum Romanum expresses the highly visual content of this prestigious ritual. Virtually every aspect of the procession from the place of death to the place of burial has a visual correspondent: from the family's *atrium*, the deceased is carried through the Forum to the Rostra, often "conspicuous in an upright posture" while the entire crowd gathers around the corpse, and the funeral oration is delivered.¹⁵⁸ The oral component delivered from the Rostra is intended to effect a transformation in the crowd: "In this way the common people are enabled to recall the man's career and to review it in their mind's eye ..." ¹⁵⁹ Polybius then addresses the communal significance this has for the spectators; even those who did not share in the life and experiences of the man or his family feel as if they share in the emotional loss of the mourners.¹⁶⁰ After the burial, the

¹⁵⁷ Polybius, *The Histories*, trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1922), 6.53-54.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 6.53: δι' ὧν συμβαίνει τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀναμνησκομένους καὶ λαμβάνοντας ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὰ γεγονότα, μὴ μόνον τοὺς κεκοινωνηκότας τῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκτός, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γίνεσθαι συμπαθεῖς ὥστε μὴ τῶν κηδεόντων ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τοῦ δήμου φαίνεσθαι τὸ σύμπτωμα.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. Following van Gennep's sociological interpretation of liminal, transitional states of being during certain rituals, Victor Turner developed the notion of *communitas*, or "community or comity of comrades and not a structure of hierarchically arrayed positions" that is promoted during the liminal phase in a ritual performance. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publication Co., 1969), 100. Mathieu Deflem, "Ritual, Anti-Structure, and Religion: A Discussion of Victor Turner's Processual Symbolic Analysis," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30, no. 1 (March 1991): 14-15. Although the Roman aristocratic funeral did not dissolve social hierarchies as ideally as Turner's model does, Polybius' description of the shared sentiment among the Roman public at the loss of an illustrious man, even if he was not related to them, prompts this "feeling of comradeship" as they witness his funeral. Deflem, "Ritual, Anti-Structure, and Religion," 14.

imagines maiorum are lifted from their usual context in the *atrium* of the house and are paraded with the actors wearing them through the Forum to receive their proper ceremonial oration as well.¹⁶¹ The newly-deceased joins the ranks of these illustrious people, taking his place at the end of the line. Reviewing the accomplishments of the esteemed men of the household moves the younger men to sacrifice their own comfort for the glory of the state: “For who would not be inspired by the sight of the images of men renowned for their excellence, all together and as if alive and breathing? What spectacle could be more glorious than this?”¹⁶²

The spatial arrangement of this spectacle underscores the visual politics at work in the aristocratic funeral. In each stage of the procession, the deceased is presented as a prominent link in the familial structure, whose integration into this structure is continually reaffirmed through the various media of spectacle and speech. The life and accomplishments of the deceased are highlighted at each of these points, but his permanent social identity is articulated in the last stages of the funeral, when his image assumes its proper position in the line of ancestors.¹⁶³ Each member of the family processes in chronological order; in other words, “the spatial organization of the funerary parade reflected visually the temporal progression and transitional nature of the rite it

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 262. See also Maurizio Bettini, “Death and Its Double: *Imagines*, *Ridiculum* and *Honos* in the Roman Aristocratic Funeral,” in *Hoping for Continuity: Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Katariina Mustakallio, et al. (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2005), 191-202. Bettini documents the increasing ceremonial importance of funerary “doubles” at the start of the imperial era.

¹⁶² Polybius 6.53: οὗ κάλλιον οὐκ εὐμαρὲς ἰδεῖν θέαμα νέφω φιλοδόξῳ καὶ φιλαγάθῳ: τὸ γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐπ’ ἀρετῇ δεδοξασμένων ἀνδρῶν εἰκόνας ἰδεῖν ὁμοῦ πάσας οἷον εἰ ζώσας καὶ πεπνυμένους τίν’ οὐκ ἂν παραστήσαι; τί δ’ ἂν κάλλιον θέαμα τούτου φανείη.

¹⁶³ Bodel, “Death on Display,” 264.

represented.”¹⁶⁴ Members of the audience were thus able to envision the integrative values inherent in Roman family politics. During the precise moments of the formal, ceremonial separation between living and dead, the visual rhetoric enacted in the space of the Forum allowed for the audience to imagine (and physically engage with) the dynamics of elite family structure, ideally to the benefit of the entire community.

The Romans, in the words of Harriet Flower, created a “society of memory,”¹⁶⁵ and the public nature of elite funerals ceremonially transmitted a “visual rhetoric of power” where politics and social identity conversed with traditional ancestral authority and domestic ritual action.¹⁶⁶ Transmission of the deceased’s memory and identity to posterity in addition to ensuring association with the *mores maiorum* were of paramount importance in the visual affirmation of Roman funerary ritual.

Because the funeral commemorated the transition from one state of being into the next, the liminal position of the deceased implied the possibility of vulnerability on varying levels. First, on a personal level, the individual preoccupation with survival (immortality) through the living’s continued engagement with the monument¹⁶⁷ may articulate a personal fear of dissolution into oblivion. Secondly, the aforementioned potency of the “politics of death” reaffirms the political stability of the social order, i.e.,

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Harriet I. Flower, “Were Women Ever ‘Ancestors’ in Republican Rome?,” in *Images of Ancestors*, ed. Jakob Munk Højte (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002), 159.

¹⁶⁶ Katariina Mustakallio, “Roman Funerals: Identity, Gender and Participation,” in *Hoping for Continuity: Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Katariina Mustakallio, et al., 179-90 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2005), 179-80. Cf. Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960) and Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Passé et Présent: Contributions à une psychologie historique* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1995).

¹⁶⁷ Michael Koortbojian, “*In commemorationem mortuorum*: Text and Image along the ‘Streets of Tombs,’ in *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, ed. Jaś Elsner (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 210-34.

“every social group acts accordingly to its regulations in order to recreate and affirm its status in the collective, and in order to keep control over its own inner structures and orientations.”¹⁶⁸ This process is at work in Roman elite funerals, as the family seeks to reaffirm its stability and kinship ties at the loss of one of its own, corroborating Wallace-Hadrill’s interpretations of Morris and van Gennep’s initial analysis.

The Latin phrase *aeterna domus* alludes to ancient Roman associations between the overlapping functions of familial and funerary spaces.¹⁶⁹ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill laments the cursory treatment by previous scholars of the implications behind the analogy between the *domus* of the living and the permanent commemorative structure or “true” *domus* of the deceased.¹⁷⁰ The house/tomb analogy is mentioned by others, but lacks a full investigation of the correlations inherent in these terms; Richard Saller alone, according to Wallace-Hadrill, has attempted to incorporate this as a significant part of his argument.¹⁷¹ In a recent article, Wallace-Hadrill treats this analogy singularly, although his investigation of the linguistic associations invoked seeks to define the dialogue between the tomb and domestic architecture. He takes as a basic assumption the

¹⁶⁸ Mustakallio, “Roman Funerals,” 180. Vernant, *Passé et Présent*, 206.

¹⁶⁹ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, “Housing the Dead: The Tomb as House in Roman Italy,” in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context*, ed. Laurie Brink and Deborah Green (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 42. Wallace-Hadrill cites Richard Lattimore’s notes on the frequency of the expression *aeterna domus* in *Themes in Greek and Roman Epitaphs* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 165.

¹⁷⁰ Wallace-Hadrill, “Housing the Dead,” 43-44. Wallace-Hadrill lists others who have discussed the house/tomb analogy, although not to the full extent that he does. See Keith Hopkins, *Death and Renewal: Sociological Studies in Roman History*, vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 201-56; Nicholas Purcell, “Tomb and Suburb,” in *Römische Gräberstraßen: Selbstdarstellung, Status, Standard: Kolloquium in München vom 28 bis 30. Oktober 1985*, ed. Henner von Hesberg and Paul Zanker (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 25-41; Richard P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 95-101; Hope, “A Roof Over the Dead,” 69-88.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 44. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*, 95-101.

communicative nature of domestic space in the Roman world, and argues that it speaks both internally and externally in the same way that tombs converse simultaneously with inner family structures and the outside world of the passerby.¹⁷² Wallace-Hadrill's point that strict formal comparisons do not yield the kind of insightful observations resulting from analyses of function is a valid one, but I argue that his model does not go far enough in teasing out strands of meaning from this relationship. My analysis will emphasize a slightly different element of engagement with the architecture, in that a richer context for monumental commemoration is gained not only by engaging a similar visual system such as the Roman house, but that the constant reinforcement of social ritual in these spaces underlies the contextualization of commemorative identity already elaborated upon in discussions of Roman tombs.

Interpretation of Roman ritual, defined by John Clarke as either a religiously- or ceremoniously-prescribed activity, or one that is less formal and more "habitual," should occur in the context of spaces where these rituals take place.¹⁷³ The physical place where Roman funerary ritual is initiated provides the first point of contact between mortuary and domestic rites. Vitruvius explains the importance and function of each room in the house, noting in particular the location of the *imagines* in relation to the *alae* of the *atrium* of an aristocratic residence.¹⁷⁴ The *atrium*, in addition to defining the main axis and line of sight into the rest of the house, was also the place of bathing, anointing, and

¹⁷² Ibid., 46-47.

¹⁷³ John R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C. – A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 1.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 2, 6, 12. Vit. *De Architectura* 6.3.6. Pliny also remarks on the incorporation of the shield portraits and the tondo format into the representation of the ancestors. See Pliny, *HN*, 35.4-8. Rolf Wilkes, "Pliny's Chapter on Roman Funeral Customs in Light of the 'Clypeatae Imagines,'" *AJA* 83, no. 4 (October 1979): 481-84.

laying out of the dead before the funeral, and the site of ritual purification after the burial.¹⁷⁵ The domestic space functions as a conduit through which those living in it nurture the relationships that found their social identity, familial ties which are maintained throughout the public ceremonial procession in the Forum. The *imagines* are physically lifted from their place in the *atrium* to reinforce publicly family ideals in the eyes of the community.

The *atrium*, as the site of the beginning and end of a funeral procession and the permanent home of the wax *imagines* that are the visual representation of integration within a family provides the inspiration behind the tomb of Vestorius Priscus at Pompeii near the Vesuvian Gate. The iconography of the tomb, erected by Priscus' mother at his premature death following that of his father, celebrates the young man's role as *paterfamilias* of the household.¹⁷⁶ In addition, the placement of the point of entry into the monument instructed the viewer on how he or she was to translate the experience based on his or her position within the family. Visitors unassociated with Vestorius Priscus would likely only view the exterior altar situated atop the entire structure, but close friends and family would enter a small door articulating the "*atrium*" design of the interior, further reinforcing his own identity within the family.¹⁷⁷ The notion of spaces being appropriate to specific rituals can be applied to the tomb, whose space, in many cases, was manipulated in order to strengthen the ritualistic values associated with death and commemoration.

¹⁷⁵ Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy*, 10.

¹⁷⁶ John Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C. – A.D. 315* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 190.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 187-91.

Imaging ancestors

An emphasis not only on familial status, but on the continuity of that family structure is evident in one of the earliest tombs discussed in the previous chapter that departs from the main road, the well-known Tomb of the Scipios, whose original construction dates to the third century B.C.E. The location, mentioned by Cicero,¹⁷⁸ is on a side road between the Via Appia and the Via Latina, with the façade oriented northwest.¹⁷⁹ The significance of the deliberate placement of this tomb in order to utilize an outcropping of tufa¹⁸⁰ was alluded to in the previous chapter, and the Tomb of the Scipiones serves as an early indicator that the process of selecting a site for a monument involved a variety of considerations in addition to the visibility aspect, some of which may have taken greater precedence for a particular patron's desires.

The inscriptions commemorating the tomb's occupants also provide an early contextualization of elite identity situated within both the funerary and the domestic spheres. The emphasis on familial continuity is evident in the monument's prolonged use, but the specific remembrance of the virtuous deeds of its male occupants is framed within the context of genealogical achievements. The inscription for Scipio Hispanus (late second century B.C.E.) glorifies the virtues that this man "heaped upon" his family alongside the fact that he simply "begot" more offspring.¹⁸¹ Moreover, the man's praise revolves around the fact that:

¹⁷⁸ *Tus. Dis.* 1.13 and 1.93, the Ennius effigy is mentioned in IX, *For Aulus Lucius Archias, the Poet*. The statues in the tomb are also mentioned in Livy 38.56.

¹⁷⁹ Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 369-73.

¹⁸⁰ Claridge, *Oxford Archaeological Guides: Rome*, 328-32.

¹⁸¹ Sarlota A. Takács, *The Construction of Authority in Ancient Rome and Byzantium: The Rhetoric of Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 18.

I sought to emulate the achievements of my father. I upheld the praise of my ancestors so that they rejoice that I am born of their line. The offices, which I have held, have ennobled my stock.¹⁸²

Although Hispanus merits recognition for his own individual deeds, his achievements are ennobled when situated within the framework of the larger familial structure. Civic significance for an elite, then, was tightly bound to ancestral customs.¹⁸³

For Romans who could not legitimize their heritage in terms of ancestral lineage, membership in a specific community often interpreted as modeled on the aristocratic one could garner a certain social respect for the individual. This is especially apparent in the case of the freedmen reliefs first cohesively assembled by Diana Kleiner in 1977.¹⁸⁴

While the freedmen reliefs tend to cluster in more competitive spaces, the primary concern of the patron is not extravagant individual display in order to attract attention; rather, the freedmen who commissioned these reliefs employed a system of uniformity or emphasis on membership in a certain type of community in order to promote status.

Kleiner identifies several criteria for categorizing the freedmen reliefs, organizing each monument on the basis of format and number of figures, materials, portraiture, hairstyles, costume, and statuary types. The personalities displayed in these reliefs “are entirely free of mythological and allegorical overtones ... The subtleties and pretensions

¹⁸² Ibid., 19.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture*. More recent treatment of non-elite monuments, specifically in the context of gender issues, occurs in Natalie Kampen, *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (Berlin: Mann, 1981); “Biographical Narration and Roman Funerary Art,” *AJA* 85, no. 1 (January 1981): 47-58; *Family Fictions in Roman Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

of aristocratic iconography are notably absent ... The freedmen are represented as simple people in a simple manner.”¹⁸⁵ The portrait styles are notably more objective; Hellenistic heroic and emotive characteristics do not feature prominently in these monuments. Early Augustan portrait and hairstyles predominate, as in the relief of two freedmen housed in the British Museum, dated to 30-13 B.C.E. (the hairstyle is particularly recognizable in the figure at left).¹⁸⁶ Both men appear relatively severe, exhibiting not the heroic, far-seeing facial features as Alexander-style portraiture from the previous centuries in the eastern Mediterranean, but rather display a hard, almost severe, straightforward gaze. Even the statue group traditionally associated with the tomb of Eurysaces mentioned above does not present an image of a man or woman preoccupied with exaggerated, and, according to some, distasteful cries for attention. Both figures appear to conform to traditional mid-Augustan styles of costume, drapery, and hairstyle, even if the tomb itself does not.¹⁸⁷

Further, Kleiner argues that the portraits are not based on actual physiognomies; because the majority of inscribed names of freedmen characterize them as Greek, and the features of the deceased depicted look more “Italian,” she draws the conclusion that the portraits were likely based on aristocratic models. John Pollini similarly argues that

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 185.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 196. See also C. C. Vermeule, “Some Notes on Ancient Dies and Coining Methods,” *NCirc* (1953): 450-51; (1954): 101-3; B. Ashmole, “A Relief of Two Greek Freedmen,” *BMQ* 21 (1957): 71-72; W. H. Manning, “A Relief of Two Greek Freedmen,” *BMQ* 29 (1964-65): 25-28.

¹⁸⁷ Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture*, 202-3. See also L. Grifi, *Brevi cenni di un monumento scoperto a Porta Maggiore* (Rome, 1838); G. Melchiorri, *Intorno al monumento sepolcrale di Marco Vergilio Eurisace* (Rome, 1838); L. Canina, *AnnInst* 12 (1838): 202-30; E. Caetani Lovatelli, “Il sepolcro di Eurisace fuori della Porta Maggiore a Roma,” *Passeggiate nella Roma antica* (Rome, 1909): 153-76; H. Kähler, *Rom und seine Welt: Bilder zur Geschichte und Kultur* (Munich: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, 1958-1960), 161-65; Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary* II, 329-32; Schmidt, *Frauenstatuen* 9-10; P. Ciancio Rossetto, *Il sepolcro del fornaio Marco Virgilio Eurisace a Porta Maggiore (I monumenti romani 5)* (Rome, 1973).

elements of the wax *imagines* used by aristocratic Romans trickled down to middle-class portraiture.¹⁸⁸ Yet the distinction is not made of exactly which features (if any) were deliberately appropriated by the mid- or lower ranks of society. Wax *imagines* tended to celebrate masculine dynastic ties, while the freedmen portraits strongly emphasize familial ties with wives, in an effort to validate their legal status as citizens participating in a legal marriage.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, if Kleiner is correct in her deduction that the reliefs contain none of the “frills” associated with aristocratic portraiture, how can scholars ascribe the specific aspects copied by the *libertini*, and why would they emulate those aspects of elite commemoration? In terms of the architecture itself, aristocratic monuments suggest a tendency towards the use of traditional heroic architectural forms (e.g., tumulus structures), while the freedmen reliefs are comparatively conservative in terms of monumental structure. Economic considerations would have played a key role in the conservative “taste” of *libertini*, but even the notorious monument to the wealthy freedman Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces does not revert to a tumulus, overtly altar- or tower-shape, or even a pyramid for distinction. An innovative architectural form was created to emphasize the patron’s profession, instead of mythological or allegorical symbolism. Although overlap in style and taste probably occurred to some degree between wealthy, middle, and lower classes, the distinction is difficult to pinpoint and the

¹⁸⁸ Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture*, 187. Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); See also Harriet Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*; John Pollini, “Ritualizing Death in Republican Rome,” in *Performing Death*, 237-85; Jonathan Edmundson and Alison Keith, eds. *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture* (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Charles Brian Rose, “Forging Identity in the Roman Republic: Trojan Ancestry and Veristic Portraiture,” in *Role Models in the Roman World*, ed. Sinclair Bell and Inge Lyse Hansen (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 97-131.

¹⁸⁹ Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture*, 180-91.

extant freedmen reliefs, at least, display a preoccupation with legal status, as opposed to mythological or heroic ancestry or elevated claims of status incorporated into the visual scheme. Participation in the community dictated these relatively unified forms of commemoration to a greater extent than many other considerations.

The point that the *libertini* reliefs emphasize certain conventions of aristocratic familial and genealogical commemoration has been interpreted as a middle-class need to “acquire an ancestor.”¹⁹⁰ Pliny the Elder expresses disdain for the sometimes overly-ambitious *nouveau riche* who purchased houses from nobility and yet retained the distinguished portraits from the previous owner’s family.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, the formatting devices employed for some of the frames emulate more elevated architectural types, for example, *aediculae* or scalloped medallions reminiscent of the ennobling shield portrait tradition popular in some Hellenistic and Roman imperial compositions.¹⁹²

Group portrait reliefs were not the only means for freedmen to commemorate their status as part of a community of citizens, however. The funerary altars erected to celebrate the men’s official attachment to the *collegium* of *Augustales* mentioned previously are prominent along the streets of Pompeii, noticeably on the street leading to and from the Herculaneum Gate. Paul Zanker notes that these constitute the best record of assimilation of official imagery, and that the adoption of “nonspecific motifs” such as bucrania, garlands, and other general images of *pietas* “lead us to suspect that the very

¹⁹⁰ Eve D’Ambra, “Acquiring an Ancestor: The Importance of Funerary Statuary among the Non-Elite Orders of Rome,” in *Images of Ancestors*, ed. Jacob Munk Højte (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002), 223-46.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 229. Plin. *HN* 35.2.4-5.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 226, fig 2.

form of these grave monuments is significant.”¹⁹³ Their monumental form may have been modeled on Augustan sacrificial altars, as with those of the *lares*.¹⁹⁴ In addition to the emphasis on individual, domestic *pietas*, the tombs employ specifically symbolic means to convey the message of belonging in a community to an exterior audience.

The funerary altars do not carry a singular religious significance. *Pietas* is conveyed both in relation to the emperor himself and more privately in the home. The stone altars in Pompeii, for example, reflected the sacrificial structures in Roman sanctuaries, publicly declaring the prestigious status of the individuals who commissioned them. Lower-class citizens gradually favored this form in an effort to emulate the upper echelons of society.¹⁹⁵ If the altars are in fact modeled on the same source as the *lares*, a private context for piety is also evoked from the form of the monument. A *lararium*, or small shrine dedicated to the household gods (in the form of the *lares*, protectors of the family, *penates*, gods of the ancestors, or the *genius*, guardian spirit of the *paterfamilias*), was “the traditional locus of domestic ritual and sacrifice that ensured a family’s well-being and continuity, [and] it was usually located near the family’s hearth, within the atrium.”¹⁹⁶

In Petronius’ *Satyricon*, the notorious banquet of Trimalchio reflects a trope of the overtly-extravagant, *nouveau riche* freedman who existed as much in contemporary

¹⁹³ Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 276.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Maureen Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 9, 94.

¹⁹⁶ Lauren Hackworth Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 43.

Rome as he is cited today by scholars in funerary and literary discourse.¹⁹⁷ The designs for his lavish funerary precinct in addition to the dinner banquet from which the narrator and his friends seek desperately to escape are often cited as perversions or distasteful expressions of elite social customs. One of the most prevalent characteristics of Trimalchio is his obsession with death; John Bodel argues that the beginning and end of the banquet resembles a funerary procession:¹⁹⁸

Then he was rolled up in a scarlet woollen coat and put in a litter. Four runners decked with medals went before him, and a hand-cart on which his favourite rode. This was a wrinkled blear-eyed boy uglier than his master Trimalchio. As he was being driven off, a musician with a tiny pair of pipes arrived, and played the whole way as though he were whispering secrets in his ear ... The thing was becoming perfectly sickening, when Trimalchio, now deep in the most vile drunkenness, had a new set of performers, some trumpeters, brought into the dining-room, propped himself on a heap of cushions, and stretched himself on his death-bed, saying, "Imagine that I am dead. Play something pretty." The trumpeters broke into a loud funeral march. One man especially, a slave of the undertaker who was the most decent man in the party, blew such a mighty blast that the whole neighbourhood was roused.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ John Bodel, "The *Cena Trimalchionis*," in *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context*, ed. Heinz Hofmann (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 44-47.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Petr. 28, 78. Petronius Arbiter, *Petronius*, trans. Michael Heseltine (London: William Heinemann, 1913): *Hinc involutus coccinea gausapa lecticae impositus est praecedentibus phaleratis cursoribus quattuor et chiramaxio, in quo deliciae eius vehebantur, puer vetulus, lippus, domino Trimalchione deformior. Cum ergo auferretur, ad caput eius cum minimis symphonicus tibiis accessit et tanquam in aurem aliquid secreto diceret, toto itinere cantavit ... Ibat res ad summam nauseam, cum Trimalchio ebrietate turpissima gravis novum acroama, cornicines, in triclinium iussit adduci, fultusque cervicalibus multis extendit se super torum extremum et "Fingite me" inquit "mortuum esse. Dicite aliquid belli." Consonuere cornicines funebri strepitu. Unus praecipue servus libitinarii illius, qui inter hos honestissimus erat, tam valde intonuit, ut totam concitaret viciniam.*

If the author's intention is indeed to frame this "unusually wealthy" and "unusually vulgar"²⁰⁰ *libertinus* in a funereal context, a more subtle perversion exists in the very placement of this ritualistic undertone. The beginning and end of Trimalchio's pseudo-funerary procession takes place not in the traditional *atrium*, but in the *triclinium* of his house.

If Trimalchio's plans for his tomb structure and grove depart in some ways from traditional appropriate expressions of post-mortem conduct, perhaps the most enduring and visible symbol of veneration for traditional custom was embodied by the Mausoleum of Augustus. Not only did his funeral present conventional powerful elite forms on an enhanced scale, but his mausoleum was fashioned as a permanent space in which the rhetoric of ritual could be visualized for posterity.

Monuments and ritual transmission

Octavian's assumption of the role of the Roman *princeps* occurred during an extremely delicate moment in the city's history, and, although the security of the nascent empire threatened by the premature deaths of each chosen successor was ultimately ensured by the relatively peaceful succession of Tiberius, the funeral ritual accompanying Augustus' body from Nola to Rome in 14 C.E. was in some ways designed to address the vulnerability of Roman political identity on both private and public levels. The replication of elements of his funeral procession displayed a similar kind of "enhanced familiarity" usually associated with the emperor's urban architectural developments.²⁰¹ virtually all components of the traditional aristocratic funeral (processional carriage of

²⁰⁰ John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), 186.

²⁰¹ This term is used specifically in Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, 192.

the body to the pyre, the oration, and the ancestral effigies) were employed, but on a multiplied scale. Senators, not just noblemen, carried Augustus' body to the Forum, knights transported it to the pyre, and two eulogies were delivered in the Forum.²⁰² As many as three effigies of the emperor were visible alongside the display of his ancestors, and the final viewing place before the funeral proper was in the vestibule of the emperor's home.²⁰³

Rituals, however, as much as they can tell us about social frameworks and the underpinnings of Roman society, are transient affairs. The funerary monument, therefore, must be contextualized in order to provide a fuller articulation of the processes at work which influenced and created the permanent structures housing the memory of select Romans. Although the monument often takes on a life and a history of its own after the initial burial, archaeological reconstructions of the original architectural relationship to the ritualistic goals of society are invaluable in producing interpretations of attitudes towards life and death. Augustus' mausoleum (c. 28 B.C.E., Figure 15)²⁰⁴ was among his first projects commissioned after he defeated Marc Antony at Actium in 31 B.C.E. The

²⁰² Mustakallio, "Roman Funerals," 187. Suet. *Aug.* 100.

²⁰³ Bettini, "Death and its Double," 192. Cass. Dio 56, 34.

²⁰⁴ The date of construction is debated, and I follow the opinion of most scholars that construction began no later than 28 B.C.E.; c.f. Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, 117-19, with notes; Penelope J. E. Davies does not argue against this convention as the date given by Suetonius, although she states that it was not used until 23 B.C.E. following the premature death of Marcellus, Augustus' nephew; see *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 13, 49-50, 193 n. 4. Konrad Kraft, however, interprets Suetonius' terminology as designating 28 B.C.E. as the date by which the mausoleum was completed, and surmises that construction probably began as early as 32 B.C.E. See Kraft, "Der Sinn des Mausoleums des Augustus," *Historia* 16 (1967): 189-206. Paul Rehak corroborates this hypothesis, using both the scale of the monument and the symbolism it would have provided in contrast to Marc Antony's will if begun before the Battle of Actium in 31 as support for this theory. *Imperium and Cosmos: Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 36-37. If construction began before Actium, this would dampen the theory of architectural influence from the Sema of Alexander.

ways in which it drew from funerary ritual shed light on the sort of identity he intended to pass on to the descendents of Rome.²⁰⁵

The primary inspiration for the formal arrangement of the mausoleum has been the subject of much discussion. Although R. Ross Holloway's early assumption that the mausoleum was modeled after Turkish mounds (now identified as buried villages) said to be the tombs of the princes of Troy now finds little acceptance among scholars,²⁰⁶ the dominant opinion remains that Augustus looked to a prestigious ancestral precedent whose meaning would have resonated with his contemporaries. Mark J. Johnson has demonstrated that all elements of the tomb's construction can be found in native Italic architecture from before or around the same time as the mausoleum's construction.²⁰⁷ Most scholars recognize the obvious correlation between the tumulus shape of the structure and the archaic tumuli mounds dotting the Etruscan landscape,²⁰⁸ although Penelope Davies has suggested possible structural similarities to Hellenistic precedents such as the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos and the Sema of Alexander the Great in

²⁰⁵ Ernst Kornemann, *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus* (Leipzig, Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1921); R. Ross Holloway, "The Tomb of Augustus and the Princes of Troy," *AJA* 70, no. 2 (April 1966): 171-73; Kraft, "Der Sinn des Mausoleums des Augustus," 189-206; Henner von Hesberg, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994); Mark J. Johnson, "The Mausoleum of Augustus: Etruscan and Other Influences on its Design," in *Etruscan Italy: Etruscan Influences on the Civilizations of Italy from Antiquity to the Modern Era*, ed. John F. Hall (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1996), 217-40; Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 13-19, 49-74; Paul Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 31-61; Mark J. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 17-22.

²⁰⁶ R. Ross Holloway, "The Tomb of Augustus and the Princes of Troy," *AJA* 70, no. 2 (April 1966): 171-73.

²⁰⁷ Johnson, "The Mausoleum of Augustus," 217-39 and *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum*, 17-22. This is partly based on adjusted dating of some of the tombs that Holloway considered to be later than the mausoleum.

²⁰⁸ Penelope J. E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 49-67; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 31-61; Johnson, "The Mausoleum of Augustus," 217-39, and *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum*, 17-22.

Alexandria.²⁰⁹ Johnson's analogy between the Mausoleum of Augustus and the so-called *tumulus-heroon* of Aeneas at Lavinium is intriguing,²¹⁰ but a specifically defined architectural scheme for the sources of inspiration has not been unanimously agreed upon.

The contemporary discussion of the mausoleum's significance in regard to its architectural predecessors is testament to the ideological complexity employed by Rome's first emperor in an effort to provide the Roman populace with visual confirmation of imperial stability and the divine identity of its leader. There may, however, be some validity in scholars' acknowledgment of the ambiguity of the monument's direct correlation to specific influences. Augustus may have deliberately conflated iconographical precedents in a visual scheme that would have called to mind precedents familiar to viewers from different parts of the empire. A dominant ideological program linking Augustus' burial site to an indigenous Italian tradition makes sense, especially given the scandal that erupted when Marc Antony's will was read posthumously before the senate,²¹¹ but an association with the burial place of Alexander the Great is also reasonable (given that we know Augustus visited Alexander's tomb in Alexandria after his defeat of Marc Antony in 31 B.C.E.).²¹²

Augustus, however, would have needed to qualify the association. Alexander's empire recalled an enduring fascination for those who sought imperial gain, but the

²⁰⁹ Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 51-60.

²¹⁰ Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum*, 22, and "The Mausoleum of Augustus," 217-39.

²¹¹ The will revealed that Antony wished to be buried with Cleopatra in Alexandria, which the Romans took as a sign of disloyalty to Italy and the Roman state.

²¹² Suet. *Aug.* 18; Cass. Dio 51.16.5

problem of transitory imperial power and impermanence marred his image and precluded its full-scale adoption by an emperor who reigned in a city where power and influence had a strong familial basis.²¹³ In other words, Augustus' association with Alexander terminated at the point where he adopted imagery celebrating familial ties, sustained through the depictions of children and symbolized by what David Castriota has termed "imagery of abundance."²¹⁴ Diana Spencer evaluates the amount of time Plutarch devotes in his *Life of Alexander* to discussing the "void that followed him" and the political mayhem surrounding the question of who would succeed him.²¹⁵ She cites this analysis in conjunction with Lucan's account of Julius Caesar's visit to the tomb of Alexander as indicative of a possible "lesson to be learned" for contemporary readers: Caesar's interest in the barren tomb separated from the living city of Alexandria prefigures his own political sterility, and the audience would be wise to avoid such politics "if dissolution of identity and death were all that awaited."²¹⁶ Furthermore, Spencer contends that Marc Antony's notorious desire for burial in Alexandria provided the "final, detrimental gloss of Alexander on Antony's public image," marking the initial negative connotations of Alexandrian qualities with a Roman official.²¹⁷

²¹³ Diana Spencer, *The Roman Alexander: Reading a Cultural Myth* (Exeter: The University of Exeter Press, 2002), 23, 210 n. 25, 251-52.

²¹⁴ Castriota, *The Ara Pacis Augustae and the Imagery of Abundance*. Furthermore, Castriota acknowledges the myriad of symbolic associations possible by linking the *Ara Pacis* with one of the altars at Pergamon. Castriota cites the altar of Demeter in particular as having cultic associations with Concord or *homonoia*; if the designers of the *Ara Pacis* did have this Pergamene precedent in mind, the prosperous and peaceful associations it elicited would have added another layer of symbolic statement to the *Ara Pacis*. 40-41.

²¹⁵ Spencer, *The Roman Alexander*, 176.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 169-70, 176.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

The dynastic program of familial piety and regeneration exemplified in the Mausoleum provided a backdrop for the personal success of Augustus celebrated in the *Res Gestae*. In this document he constructed a posthumous narrative of achievement through his successors, and his role as *pater patriae* found as clear expression in this funerary realm²¹⁸ as it did in the domestic allusions underlying the architectural program of the Forum Augustum. Diane Favro has noted that the design of the Forum was probably intended to convey a visual experience akin to encountering a large-scale aristocratic atrium.²¹⁹ The layout of the architectural elements evoked associations with a specific domestic ritual and the visualization of ritual actions may have found a precedent in the *Res Gestae*. It has been argued that the language of the *Res Gestae* resonates with the linguistic structure of *elogia* of illustrious men in the emperor's forum and possibly represents "an attempt of Augustus in effect to deliver his own funerary oration."²²⁰ The perpetual reenactment of this oral ritual, translated into a permanent visual medium, would have served to deliver continually the narrative of success to posterity, perhaps in a manner not entirely different from the solicitation of viewer response promoted in the competitive clusters of tombs lining major Roman roads.

Conclusion

Augustus' mausoleum, as an invitation to the viewer to engage in a ritual of commemoration of the emperor, embodies physical attributes shaped by this ritual. In

²¹⁸ Ibid., 30.

²¹⁹ Diane Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, 126-27.

²²⁰ Niall W. Slater, "Orality and Autobiography: The Case of the *Res Gestae*," in *Orality, Literacy, Memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman World*, ed. E. Anne Mackay (Boston, Mass.: Brill, 2008), 268-69. Slater cites similarities to the funerary *laudatio* given for pontifex L. Caecilius Metellus by his son in 222 B.C.E.; cf. Pliny, *HN*, 7.43.

doing so, it underscores the processual structure offered by this conclusion, detailing analyses of the need for images of ancestors and the importance of framing oneself within the context of the family (practiced in the first component of funerary ritual: procession of the *imagines*). The monument can also be termed an “image of things achieved,”²²¹ a visual correlative to the laudatory orations delivered from the Rostra in the Forum, and, lastly, in the spatial relationship of experiencing continued interaction with the monument itself in the form of family rituals.

In this thesis, I have attempted to reconstruct the process of creation of Roman tombs and the ritual inflections characterizing commemorative space in early imperial Rome. The architectural space was inspired by the formal inheritance of Hellenistic and Etruscan mortuary tradition. At the moment of their conception, however, these structures entered a ritual process that shaped and defined monumental expression of commemorative identity. The extant tombs comprise a nexus of relationships working together, and I have attempted to provide an approach that integrates some of these interactions not usually discussed in tandem with one another, in an effort to strengthen an understanding of commemorative structures built during a period of history in which Romans expressed a preoccupation with the narrative of their own heritage.

Commemorative spaces, therefore, can provide valuable contributions to investigations of this period, especially in terms of broader architectural developments. Manipulation of elements within the space reveals the processes by which larger social values are physically incorporated into monuments themselves. This thesis in particular has focused on the interaction of domestic values within a funerary architectural context, inflections of which can be seen both in exterior spaces, as in the Mausoleum of

²²¹ Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 49.

Augustus, and on a smaller scale, for example, in the Corsini Throne's relationship to the aristocratic *atrium*. Nuanced interpretations of such spatial relationships have much to offer to more general scholarship on architectural programs in the late republican and early Augustan Roman cityscape.

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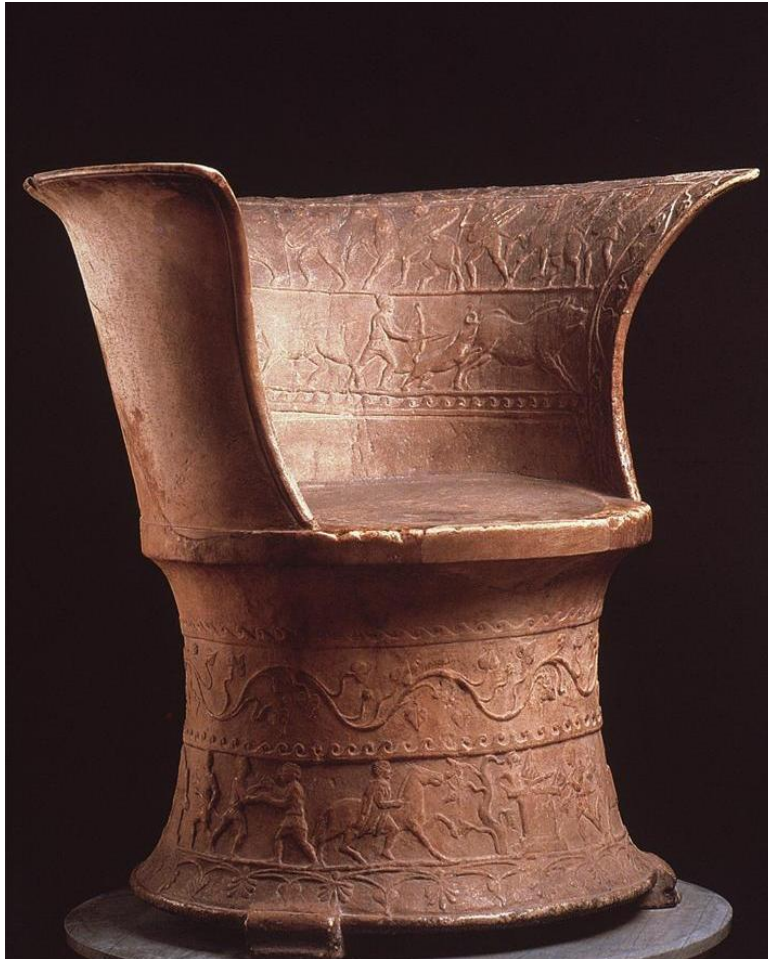
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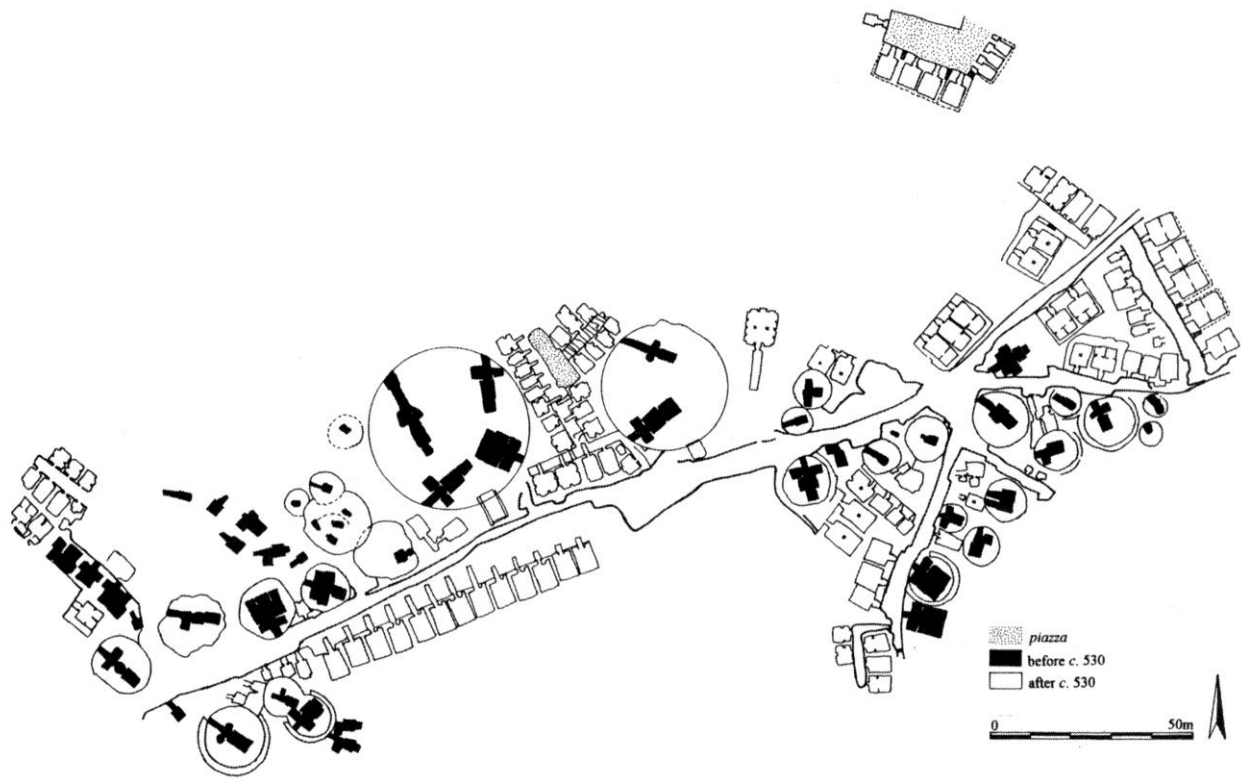
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FIGURES



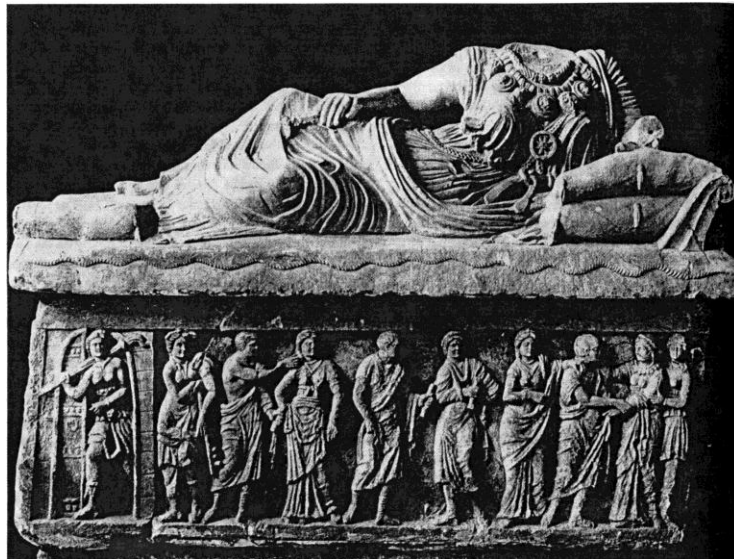
1. The Corsini Throne: Roman copy of an archaic Etruscan throne. 1st c. B.C.E. ARTstor (University of California, San Diego).



2. Cemetery organization at Cerveteri (ancient Caere), 7th – 6th c. B.C.E. Izzet 2007, fig. 3.10 (adapted from Prayon 1975, fig. 2).



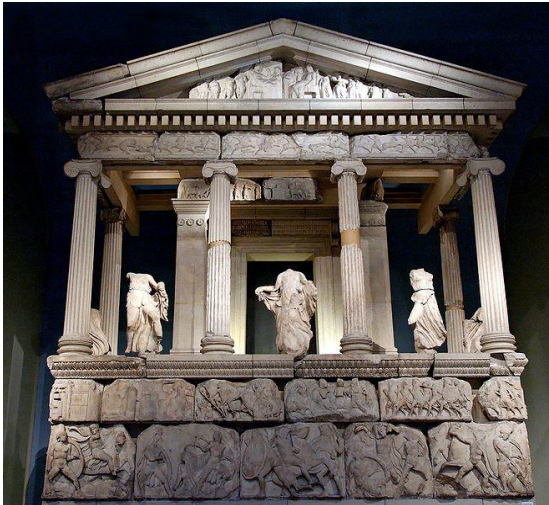
3. Monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, south façade, Porta Maggiore, Rome, ca. 50-20 B.C.E. ARTstor (SCALA, Florence/ ART RESOURCE, N.Y.)



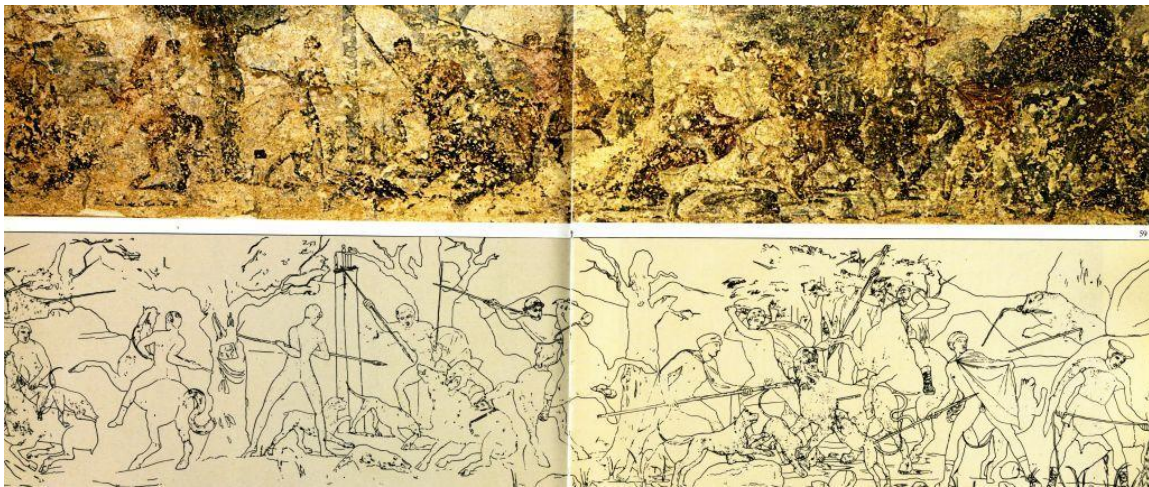
4. Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei, Chiusi, 2nd c. B.C.E. De Grummond and Simon 2006, fig V.1.



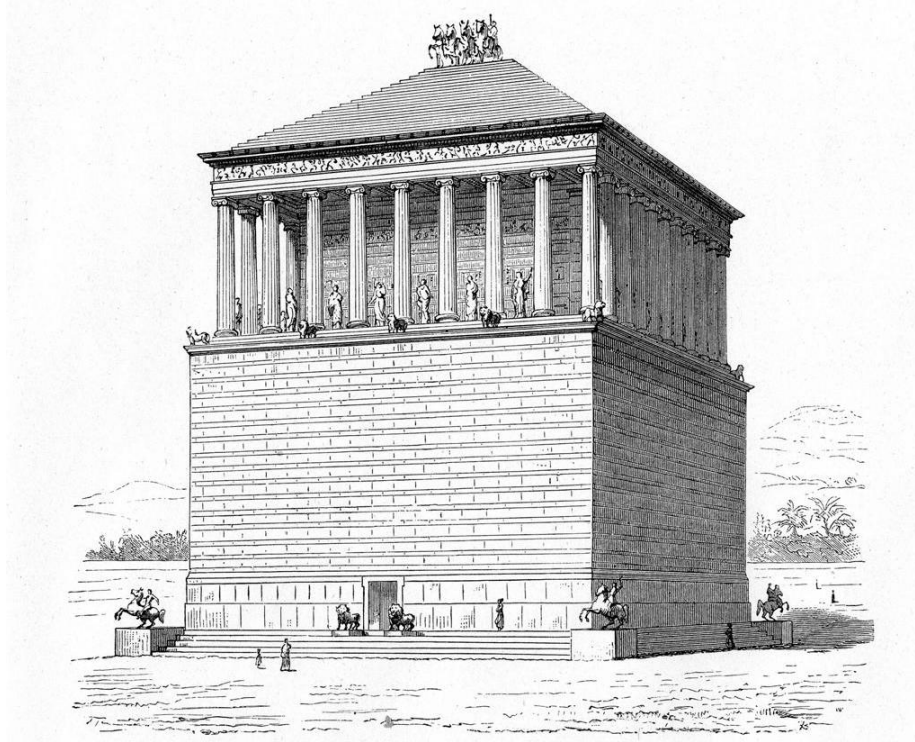
5. Tomb of Theron, Agrigento, Sicily, 3rd – 1st c. B.C.E. ARTstor (The Hartill Archive of Architecture and Allied Arts).



6. Nereid Monument, Xanthos, Lycia, ca. 380 B.C.E. British Museum. ARTstor (Reconstruction: Coupel 1969, plate C; Photo: public domain)).



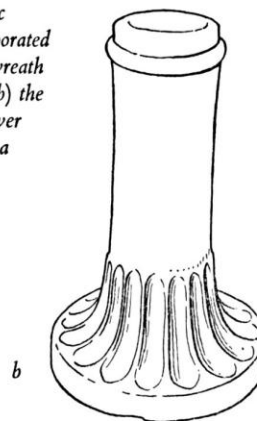
7. Royal Macedonian Tombs, Vergina, Later fourth century B.C.E. Andronicos 1984, figs. 57-58 (façade of the tomb and painted hunt scene, with possible representation of Alexander in the center).



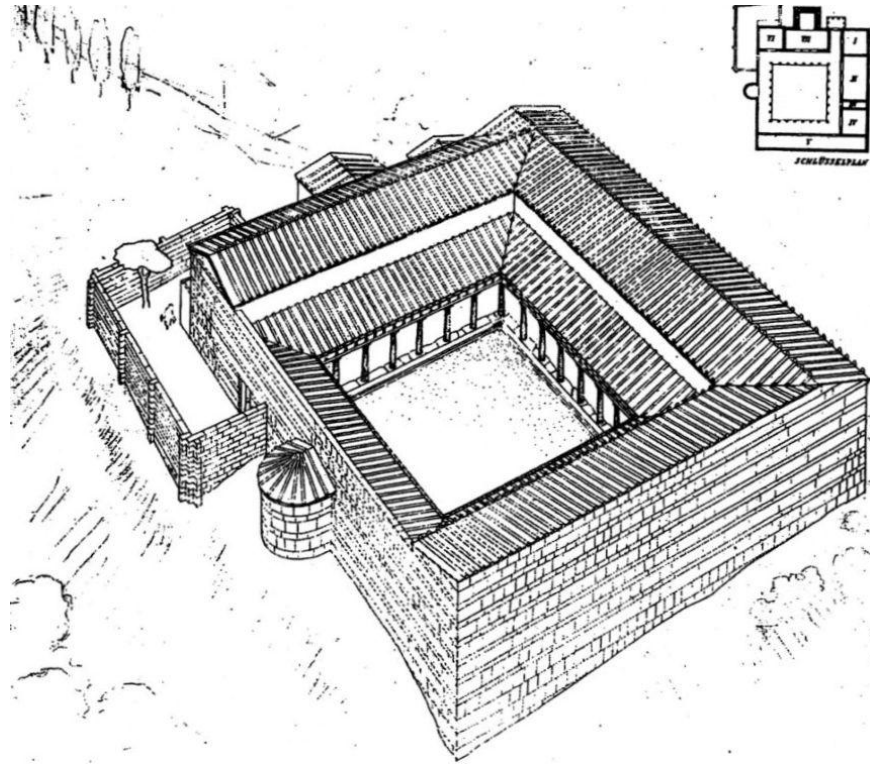
8. Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, Caria, c. 350 B.C.E. ARTstor. Cf. Koehler 1879, pl. 13, fig. 1



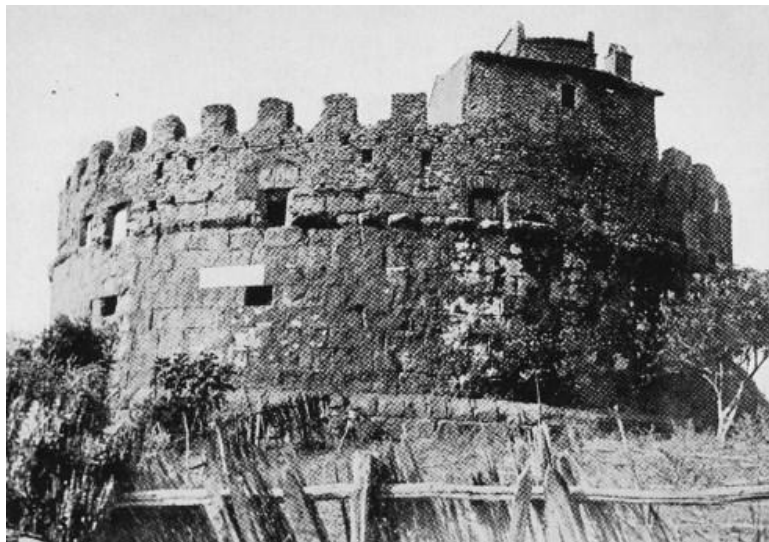
Fig. 27 Hellenistic markers: (a) an elaborated kioniskos with a wreath in low relief; and (b) the foot of a stander laver converted to use as a kioniskos



9. *Columella* from Kerameikos district in Athens, Hellenistic period, Kurtz and Boardman 1971, fig. 27

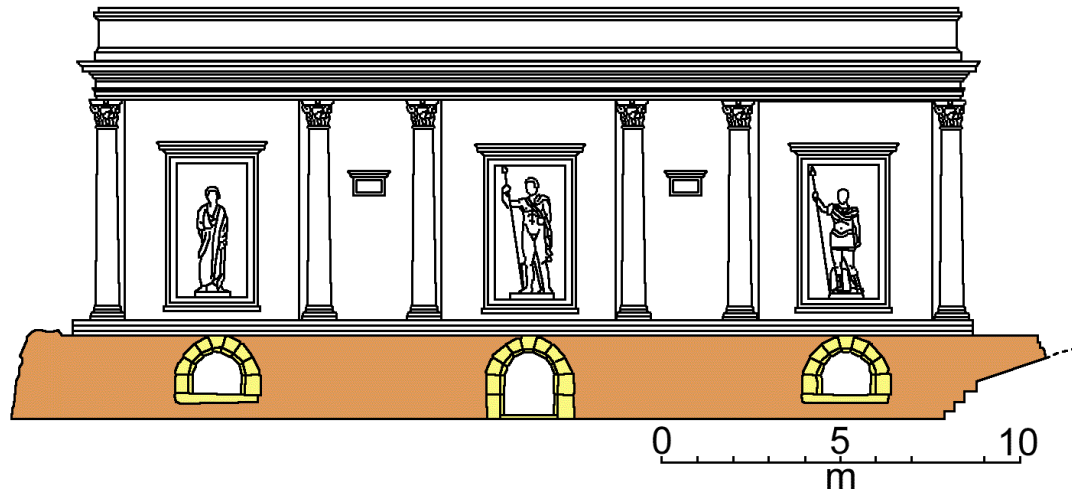


10. *Heroon* of Kalydon, ca. 100 B.C.E., reconstructed plan. Ridgway 2002, fig. 18 (cf. Dyggve, Poulsen, and Rhomaïos 1934, fig. 100).



11. Tomb of Lucullus, Tusculum, Torrione di Micara, on the Via Tuscolana. Republican, late 1st c. B.C.E. MacCracken, Fig. 1 (cf. Grossi-Gondi).

Reconstruction of the façade



Plan of the tomb



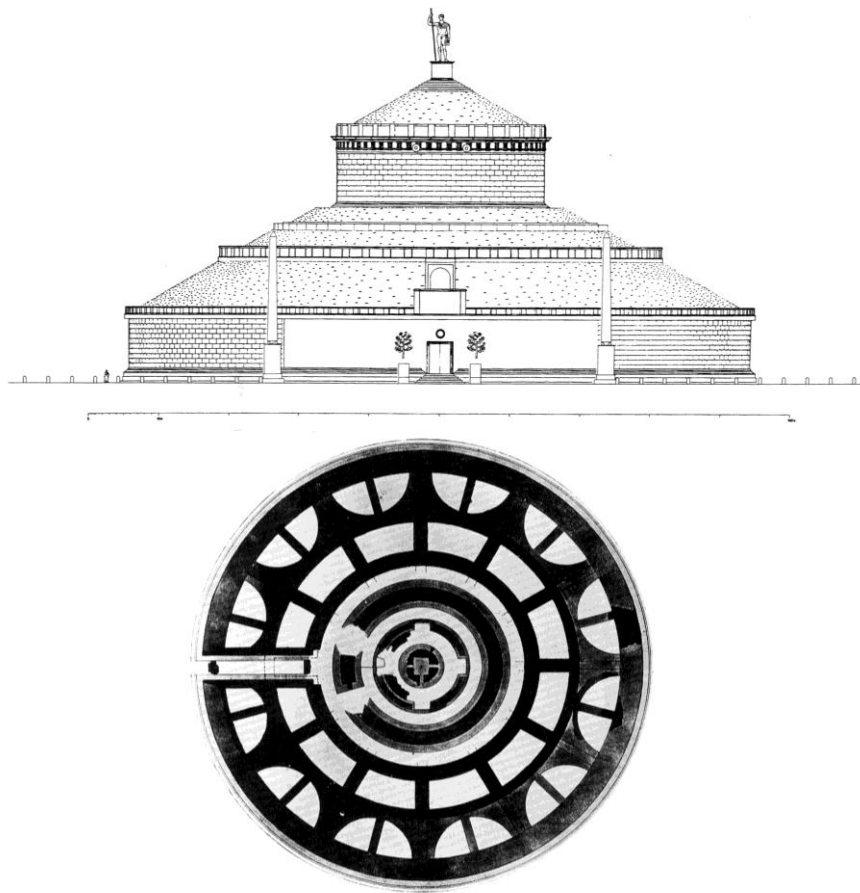
12. Tomb of the Scipiones, Rome, between Via Appia and Via Latina. 3rd c. B.C.E. – 1st c. B.C.E. Coarelli 1988, figs. 11, 13.



13. *Columbarium* III of the Vigna Codini, Rome, Late Augustan period, early 1st c. C.E.
ARTstor, The University of North Carolina.



14. Freedmen relief, 30-13 B.C.E. Rome, Palazzo Mattei. Kleiner 1977, fig. 4.



15. Mausoleum of Augustus, ca. 28 B.C.E., Rome, Campus Martius. Davies 2007, figs. 2-5.