Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-40604-8 — Rome, Empire of Plunder Edited by Matthew P. Loar, Carolyn MacDonald, Dan-el Padilla Peralta Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

#### ROME, EMPIRE OF PLUNDER

Bringing together philologists, historians, and archaeologists, *Rome, Empire of Plunder* bridges disciplinary divides in pursuit of an interdisciplinary understanding of Roman cultural appropriation – approached not as a set of distinct practices but as a hydra-headed phenomenon through which Rome made and remade itself, as a Republic and as an Empire, on Italian soil and abroad. The studies gathered in this volume range from the literary thefts of the first Latin comic poets to the grand-scale spoliation of Egyptian obelisks by a succession of emperors, and from Hispania to Pergamon to Qasr Ibrim. Applying a range of theoretical perspectives on cultural appropriation, contributors probe the violent interactions and chance contingencies that sent cargo of all sorts into circulation around the Roman Mediterranean, causing recurrent distortions in their individual and aggregate meanings. The result is an innovative and nuanced investigation of Roman cultural appropriation and imperial power.

MATTHEW P. LOAR is Assistant Professor in the Department of Classics and Religious Studies at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. He is currently writing a book on the Cacus myth in Augustan Rome.

CAROLYN MACDONALD is Assistant Professor in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of New Brunswick. She is currently writing a book on literary and visual responses to Rome's appropriation of Greek art.

DAN-EL PADILLA PERALTA is Assistant Professor in the Department of Classics at Princeton University. He is currently writing a monograph on the religious world of the Middle Republic. Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-40604-8 — Rome, Empire of Plunder Edited by Matthew P. Loar , Carolyn MacDonald , Dan-el Padilla Peralta Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

# ROME, EMPIRE OF PLUNDER

The Dynamics of Cultural Appropriation

edited by MATTHEW P. LOAR

University of Nebraska–Lincoln

#### CAROLYN MACDONALD

University of New Brunswick

DAN-EL PADILLA PERALTA

Princeton University



www.cambridge.org

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-40604-8 — Rome, Empire of Plunder Edited by Matthew P. Loar, Carolyn MacDonald, Dan-el Padilla Peralta Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

#### **CAMBRIDGE** UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, vic 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108406048 DOI: 10.1017/9781108290012

© Cambridge University Press 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

> First published 2018 First paperback edition 2021

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

NAMES: Loar, Matthew, 1984- editor, author. | MacDonald, Carolyn, 1985- editor, author. | Padilla Peralta, Dan-el, editor, author.

TITLE: Rome, empire of plunder : the dynamics of cultural appropriation /

edited by Matthew Loar, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Carolyn MacDonald,

University of New Brunswick, Dan-el Padilla Peralta, Princeton University, New Jersey. DESCRIPTION: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2017017700 | ISBN 9781108418423 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781108406048 (pbk. : alk. paper)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Civilization-Roman influences. | Rome-Civilization. |

Art thefts–Rome. | Cultural property–Rome.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC DG77 .R6729 2017 DDC 937-dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017017700

ISBN 978-1-108-41842-3 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-40604-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-40604-8 — Rome, Empire of Plunder Edited by Matthew P. Loar , Carolyn MacDonald , Dan-el Padilla Peralta Frontmatter More Information

## Contents

		<i>page</i> vii ix	
	List of Contributors		
	Acknowledgments		
LIS	st of Abbreviations	xii	
Int	troduction	I	
PA	RT I INTERACTION	13	
I	The Comedy of Plunder: Art and Appropriation in Plautus' <i>Menaechmi</i> <i>Basil Dufallo</i>	15	
2	Citation, Spoliation, and Literary Appropriation in Livy's AUC Ayelet Haimson Lushkov	C 30	
3	A Second First Punic War: Re-Spoliation of Republican Naval Monuments in the Urban and Poetic Landscapes of Augustan Rome <i>Thomas Biggs</i>	47	
4	Buried Treasures, Hidden Verses: (Re)Appropriating the Gauls of Pergamon in Flavian Rome <i>Stefano Rebeggiani</i>	s 69	
5	Interactions: Microhistory as Cultural History Matthew P. Loar	82	
PA	RT II DISTORTION	91	
6	Plunder, Knowledge, and Authorship in Vitruvius' <i>De Architectus</i> Marden Fitzpatrick Nichols	ra 93	

v

vi	Table of Contents	
7	Appropriating Egypt for the Ara Pacis Augustae <i>Jennifer Trimble</i>	109
8	Monolithic Appropriation? The Lateran Obelisk Compared <i>Grant Parker</i>	137
9	Distortion on Parade: Rethinking Successful Appropriation in Rome <i>Carolyn MacDonald</i>	160
PA	RT III CIRCULATION	167
10	The Traffic in Shtick <i>Amy Richlin</i>	169
II	Agents of Appropriation: Shipwrecks, Cargoes, and Entangled Networks in the Late Republic <i>Carrie Fulton</i>	194
12	Import/Export: Empire and Appropriation in the Gallus Papyrus from Qasr Ibrim <i>Micah Y. Myers</i>	214
13	Annexing a Shared Past: Roman Appropriations of Hercules-Melqart in the Conquest of Hispania <i>Megan Daniels</i>	237
14	Circulation's Thousand Connectivities Dan-el Padilla Peralta	261
Bil	bliography	271
Index		320

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-40604-8 — Rome, Empire of Plunder Edited by Matthew P. Loar , Carolyn MacDonald , Dan-el Padilla Peralta Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Figures

7 <b>.</b> 1	The Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome. Constructed 13–9 BCE, reconstructed in 1938 (G. Singer, Neg.	
	D-DAI-Rom 72.647) page	110
72	Reconstruction drawing of the Altar of the Twelve Gods	110
/ • =	in the Athenian Agora, 522/521 BCE (Borbein 1975: 247, fig. 2.	
	©Adolf Borbein, by permission.)	112
7.3	Reconstruction drawing of the Altar Court at Samothrace,	
, ,	later fourth century BCE (Lehmann and Spittle 1964,	
	frontispiece. ©Princeton University Press, by permission.)	113
7.4	Map showing the relationship between the obelisk and	-
<i>,</i> .	meridian line at left and the Ara Pacis at right in the northern	
	Campus Martius (Haselberger 2014: 44, fig. 1. ©Michael	
	Schütz, by permission.)	118
7.5	Drawing of the excavated portion of the meridian line that	
	extended northward from the base of the Egyptian obelisk	
	in the northern Campus Martius (Haselberger 2014: 22, fig. 7.	
	©Lothar Haselberger, by permission.)	120
7.6	Plan of the Ara Pacis Augustae (After Simon 1986: 32, fig. 28.	
	©Martin Boß, by permission.)	122
7.7	Elevation drawing and plan of the chapel of Amenhotep III at	
	Elephantine (Borchardt 1938: detail from pl. 21.)	123
7.8	Plan of the jubilee chapel of Thutmose III west of the holy	
	lake in Karnak. The dark fill marks the first phase of	
	the structure (Borchardt 1938: fig. 27.)	124
7.9	The "White Chapel" at Karnak, built for the jubilee	
	celebrations of Senwosret I, buried in the foundations of	
	the pylon of Amenhotep III, reconstructed in 1938 (Cropped,	
	black and white version of a color photograph by Olaf Tausch:	
	https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karnak_Weiße_	
	Kapelle_01.JPG. Reproduced under the terms of the GNU	

vii

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-40604-8 – Rome, Empire of Plunder
Edited by Matthew P. Loar, Carolyn MacDonald, Dan-el Padilla Peralta
Frontmatter
More Information

viii	List of Figures	
	Free Documentation License: https://commons.wikimedia .org/wiki/Commons:GNU_Free_Documentation_	
	License,_version_1.2.)	125
7.10	Plan and elevation drawing of the Augustan kiosk at Qertassi	
	(Borchardt 1938: detail from pl. 9.)	127
12.1	Egypt and Lower Nubia (Cambridge Ancient History VII.1 <sup>2</sup> :	
	120–21, modified.)	216
13.1	Minting towns in Hispania Ulterior (Jiménez 2014: 236,	
	Fig. 12.1.)	244
13.2	Coins from Gades featuring Hercules, first century BCE	
	(Vives 1924–6: Pl. LXXIV.)	247
13.3	Coins from Gades featuring Hercules on obverse with	
	symbols of pontifical college on reverse (nos. 1–3); a tetrastyle	
	temple on obverse and rayed symbol on reverse (no. 4); Augustus's head on obverse and a tetrastyle temple encircled	
	with a laurel wreath on reverse (no. 5); and coins referencing	
	both Augustus and Gaius and Lucius (nos. 6 and 7)	
	(Vives 1924–6: Pl. LXXVII.)	250
12 /	Hadrianic aureus featuring laureate and cuirassed bust of	290
1).4	Hadrian (obverse) and Hercules Gaditanus with water god	
	reclining below and prow on left (reverse) (British Museum	
	1861: 1105.1; ©Trustees of the British Museum.)	253
13.5	Hadrianic aureus featuring laureate and cuirassed bust of	))
,	Hadrian (obverse) and Hercules standing in a tetrastyle temple	
	holding club and apples; the face of a god (Oceanus?) and	
	ship's prow appear below (reverse) (British Museum 1844:	
	1008.147; ©Trustees of the British Museum.)	254

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-40604-8 — Rome, Empire of Plunder Edited by Matthew P. Loar, Carolyn MacDonald, Dan-el Padilla Peralta Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

## Contributors

- THOMAS BIGGS is Assistant Professor of Classics at the University of Georgia.
- MEGAN DANIELS is the former Redford Postdoctoral Fellow in Archaeology at the University of Puget Sound and the current IEMA Postdoctoral Fellow at SUNY-Buffalo.
- BASIL DUFALLO is Associate Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Michigan.
- CARRIE FULTON is Assistant Professor of Historical Studies and Classics at the University of Toronto.
- AYELET HAIMSON LUSHKOV is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Texas at Austin.
- MATTHEW P. LOAR is Assistant Professor of Classics and Religious Studies at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln.
- CAROLYN MACDONALD is Assistant Professor of Classics and Ancient History at the University of New Brunswick.
- MICAH Y. MYERS is Assistant Professor of Classics at Kenyon College.
- MARDEN FITZPATRICK NICHOLS is Assistant Professor of Classics at Georgetown University.
- DAN-EL PADILLA PERALTA is Assistant Professor of Classics at Princeton University.
- GRANT PARKER is Associate Professor of Classics at Stanford University.
- STEFANO REBEGGIANI is Assistant Professor of Classics at the University of Southern California.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-40604-8 — Rome, Empire of Plunder Edited by Matthew P. Loar, Carolyn MacDonald, Dan-el Padilla Peralta Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

х

Contributors

AMY RICHLIN is Professor of Classics at the University of California, Los Angeles.

JENNIFER TRIMBLE is Associate Professor of Classics at Stanford University.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-40604-8 — Rome, Empire of Plunder Edited by Matthew P. Loar , Carolyn MacDonald , Dan-el Padilla Peralta Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

## Acknowledgments

The idea for this edited volume was hatched at "Cargo Culture: Literary and Material Appropriative Practices in Rome," a two-day conference held at Stanford University in March 2014. The conference was generously funded by Stanford's Department of Classics and by the Stanford Humanities Center; invaluable administrative and logistical support was provided by Valerie Kiszka, Lydia Hailu, and Lori Lynn Taniguchi. For initiating the proceedings *liquido auspicio*, we thank Alessandro Barchiesi; for gangbuster papers delivered at the conference but not included in this volume, we thank Joy Connolly, Nathaniel Jones, Isabel Köster, Scott McGill, Christopher Simon, William Stull, Chris van den Berg, and Ann Marie Yasin; and for responding to papers with verve and provocation, we thank Stephen Hinds, Grant Parker, and Jennifer Trimble. Alessandro Barchiesi, Denis Feeney, Stephen Hinds, and Walter Scheidel subsequently offered much-needed advice and encouragement as the volume began to take shape.

The editors would like to thank all the contributors for their enthusiasm for and support of this volume. We are also grateful to Princeton University's Kathleen Cruz for editing the manuscript and to the Princeton University Department of Classics Magie Fund for compensating her hard work. To Michael Sharp and Cambridge University Press for their interest in this project, and to the two anonymous referees who were so generous with their time and feedback, we give our warmest thanks. Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-40604-8 — Rome, Empire of Plunder Edited by Matthew P. Loar , Carolyn MacDonald , Dan-el Padilla Peralta Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

## Abbreviations

CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin 1863–.
Clauss-	Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss-Slaby, www
Slaby	.manfredclauss.de/gb/index.html.
D–S	Daremberg, C. and Saglio E. (1877–1919). <i>Dictionnaire</i>
20	des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, 5 vols., Paris:
	Hachette.
LTUR	Steinby, E. M. ed. (1993–2000). Lexicon Topographicum
21011	Urbis Romae, 6 vols., Roma: Quasar.
RE	Pauly–Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie des classischen
	Altertumwissenschaft, Stuttgart 1894–München 1980.
RIC	Mattingly, H., & Sydenham, E. A. (1926). The Roman
	Imperial Coinage, Vol. II, Vespasian to Hadrian, London:
	Spink & Son, Ltd.
RIC <sup>2</sup>	Carradice, A. I. & Buttrey, T. V. (2007). The Roman
	Imperial Coinage, Vol. II Part. I. From AD 69 to AD 96,
	Vespasian to Domitian, second edition. London: Spink &
	Son, Ltd.
Tab.	Bowman, A. K., Thomas, J. D. & Adams, J. N. (1994).
<i>Vindol.</i> II	<i>The Vindolanda Writing–Tablets</i> (Tabulae
	Vindolandenses II), London: British Museum Press.
Tab.	Bowman, A. K. & Thomas, J. D. (2003). The
Vindol. III	Vindolanda Writing–Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandenses
	III), London: British Museum Press.
Tab.	Bowman, A. K., Thomas, J. D. & Tomlin, R. S.
Vindol. IV	O. (2010). "The Vindolanda Writing–Tablets (Tabulae
	Vindolandenses IV, Part 1)." Britannia, 41, 187–224.
TrRF	Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta. (2012–). 4 vols.,
	Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.