CHAPTER ONE

THE REUSE AND REDISPLAY OF HONORIFIC STATUES IN POMPEII

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Honorific statues were one of a number of distinctions that could be conferred on individual members of a Roman community during or after their lifetimes. Initiated by family members, other individuals, or communal, civic or religious groups, these statues were treasured privileges, as they not only publicly presented the quid pro quo relationship of elites and the larger community but also provided a sanctioned means of familial self-promotion and advancement.[1] Often decreed in thanks for specific benefactions or to serve as a perpetual reminder of a promised social good, such statues publicly monumentalized and memorialized the positive relationships of communities with individual patrons, from local office holders to the emperor himself. Typically the location and appearance of these statues were proposed by the sponsoring individual or group and then approved or modified by the local council; the emperor also could alter the dedication. Honorific statues populated public and private spaces in cities across the Roman empire, including crossroads, baths, basilicas, theaters, temples, and residences, but the heavily trafficked nature of fora – civic, economic, and administrative centers where vast swathes of the local and broader community would congregate to shop, attend court, hear pronouncements, and otherwise linger and socialize – made these nodal spaces among the most coveted for the display of such commemorative statues. In addition to the location, the size, format, material, posture, and dress of each statue spoke to the position of the honorand within the existing social hierarchy, while the requisite inscribed statue base typically recorded the name

and position of the honoree, dedicating individual or entity, and date, ostensibly preserving this information for perpetuity.[2] As this chapter will demonstrate, however, the envisioned longevity of such commemorative monuments is undermined by the many instances in which honorific statues and their inscribed bases were moved, transformed, or repurposed.

This chapter first provides an overview of the myriad ways portrait statues were altered in antiquity in order to examine the disposition of such statues and explore the range of possible effects of their repurposing on dedicators, honorands, and the general populace. It then turns to statues and bases from Pompeii that exhibit evidence of alteration, focusing on three examples. By closely examining the physical details and contextualizing the condition of repurposed honorific statues in a single city, this chapter details the frequency with which statues of publicly honored benefactors were transformed and manipulated, sometimes into something other than what was originally intended. By considering the repurposed Pompeian statues within their local contexts, this chapter also addresses the effects of re-erecting obviously modified statues in public and private spaces, where they may have been seen by the same people who knew them in their original states, and who probably recognized either the original honorand or the subsequent one, at least by reputation. Moreover, the chapter's focus on reused and refreshed statues introduces the effects of the passage of time to the larger picture of honorific statues. Communal attitudes towards memories of patrons fluctuated not only throughout the lifetimes of those self-same patrons, but also during subsequent generations. More than occasionally, these variations in attitude appear to have affected the permanence of commemorative portraits.

THE RECYCLING AND REFASHIONING OF HONORIFIC STATUES IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

Although scholars have dynamically investigated the reuse of statues in late antiquity for more than four decades,[3] statues that were modified or repurposed in antiquity have not received the same attention. In general, discussions of the Roman reuse of portrait statues have focused on examples linked with the practice of "damnatio memoriae," a modern term used for the political and social denunciation of an emperor or elite, which involved eradicating communal memory of the person in part by seizing property and prohibiting the public display of his or her name and image. This term is often invoked to explain cases in which a portrait was destroyed or reworked into that of someone else.[4] Sometimes the act of censure in the repurposed faces was easily recognizable and publicly exhibited. In the sacellum of the Augustales at Misenum, for instance, the full and youthful face of a bronze equestrian statue of Domitian was neatly cut away along its profile and replaced with the pinched

1.1. Bolsena Octavian. Rome, Museo di Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia inv. no. 104973A © MiBACT. SABAP-RM-MET

and aging face of his short-lived successor, Nerva. Stefania Adamo Muscettola associates the statue with an inscribed statue base that left a negative impression on the temple podium. The imprint records a dedication to Domitian in 94/95 CE that had been turned upside-down and replaced with a dedication to Nerva, and thus provides a public makeover that parallels that seen in the statue.[5] If the transformed equestrian statue of Nerva stood atop this statue base, then we know that the repurposed portrait with conspicuous residual Domitianic features – including the hair and inscription – was prominently displayed beside the temple, drawing attention to the reworking.[6] But outside of such clear-cut cases, where the same audience would see the changed statue and in which the traces of the statue's original appearance were evident and the inscription identifying the subject also deliberately and visibly altered, labeling the work in question as an example of "damnatio memoriae" obscures the many possible motivations behind acts of reuse.[7]

Take, for instance, the marble head of Constantine found in 1981 near a Christian basilica in Bolsena (ancient Volsinii), which originally was a head of Octavian created in 44–40 BCE (Fig. 1.1). Octavian/Augustus was considered an illustrious predecessor and an exemplary model to emulate by emperors from Tiberius to Theodosius;[8] thus, in this case, the reuse should not be attributed to "damnatio memoriae." Since Friedrich Deichmann described late antique reuse as an economic phenomenon, scholars have often pinpointed the practical and presumably inexpensive nature of recycling as the primary reason for repurposing statues and building materials.[9] Because the hairstyle of Constantine was partially modeled on that of Augustus, it is tempting to attribute the repurposing of the Octavian head to the ease – and thus cost-effectiveness – with which the hairstyle could be transformed. This line of thinking, however, becomes potentially difficult when it is noted that most of the recutting of the Bolsena Octavian focuses on shortening the hair. The fringe of locks over the forehead was reworked to transform the signature hairstyle of Octavian into that of Constantine, also attested on the coinage of 310 CE and the recut reliefs on the Arch of Constantine.[10] Moreover, Antonio Giuliano illustrates two possible heads of Augustus that were transformed into portraits of Maxentius, who had a short beard and shared neither hairstyle nor facial features with the first emperor.[11] For these portraits of Maxentius and Constantine, economics and the scarcity of marble may have played a role, but the extensive reworking of the hair of Constantine – the one feature most closely shared with Augustus – cautions against assuming that these heads were

repurposed solely for cost-effective reasons.[12] On some level, the heads provide examples of imperial portrait reuse that either accidentally or purposefully folds the memory of Augustus and its associative value into the image of the current emperor.[13]

The potential associative value in the repurposing of heads like the Bolsena Octavian also can be recognized in reused honorific inscriptions. Honorific statues and their accompanying inscriptions were reused in cities and sanctuaries across the empire and in myriad ways that may or may not reflect negatively on the honorand. Some of the best-known examples of reuse come from the sanctuary at Oropos in Attica, where a long line of honorific statues erected in honor of third-century BCE benefactors were re-inscribed in the first century BCE to honor new sanctuary benefactors like Sulla, Caecilia Metella, and Agrippa; the bronze statues that stood on top of the re-inscribed bases may have been left untouched, as the bases do not show signs of the statues being replaced. The orator Dio Chrysostom (*c.* 40–*c.* 115 CE) chastised the Rhodians for just this practice, arguing that the repurposing of bronze statues was unjust to the recipient, fraudulent, and exposed the community as miserly:[14]

> For whenever you vote a statue to anyone … presto! there he stands on a pedestal, or rather, even before the vote is taken! But what occurs is quite absurd: your chief magistrate, namely, merely points his finger at the first statue that meets his eyes of those which have already been dedicated, and then, after the inscription which was previously on it has been removed and another name engraved, the business of honoring is finished.[15]

Throughout the lengthy oration, Dio Chrysostom emphasizes that repurposed statues disgracefully reflect on the community's lack of honor and insult the benefactor.[16] Indeed, scholars like Horst Blanck have characterized the reuse at Oropos as an economically advantageous shortcut, akin to what Dio Chrysostom scolded the Rhodians for doing.[17] Perhaps the sanctuary administrators intended for their new Roman benefactors to know of the statues erected in their honor but to never see the second-hand nature of the honor; such repurposing could be read as a lackadaisical attitude toward the sanctuary's absent Roman patrons.[18] Yet the evidence from Oropos does not offer us a window into the administrators' motivations or the responses of those whom statues were intended to honor. For this, we must turn to other sources.

The sophist Favorinus (*c.* 80–160 CE) offers a discussion of reuse that reveals how much was at stake for the people involved. A pupil of Dio whose speech to the Corinthians is included within Dio's corpus of discourses,[19] Favorinus both received community honors in the form of commemorative portraits *and* saw two of them removed in Athens and Corinth during his lifetime. His Corinthian oration provides a glimpse of how honorands could react adversely

to the reuse of statues originally intended for them. Echoing many of the points made in Dio's Rhodian oration, Favorinus emphasizes that repurposing statues is dishonorable, comparing honorific statues to votive offerings and suggesting that their reuse is akin to sacrilege. In part, Favorinus is concerned with how the repurposing of honorific statues complicates the connections implicitly present between a portrait and its accompanying text.[20]

But sometimes both the community making the dedication and the honorand actively embraced this complication. For instance, Julia Shear's examination of the sixteen bases for bronze portrait and equestrian statues on the Athenian Acropolis that were re-inscribed between the Sullan and Julio-Claudian periods problematizes the negative associations often given to the contemporary re-inscribed honorific statue bases like those at Oropos.[21] At a time when many new honorific statues were being added to the Acropolis, the Athenian demos approved the use of older statues to honor two local benefactors and fourteen Roman patrons, indicating that repurposing portrait statues by changing the inscription was not inevitably a miserly move on the part of the honoring community, as Dio and Favorinus complain, nor a back-handed accolade done without the knowledge of the original or secondary recipient. Rather, Shear convincingly argues that such older statues could be particularly desirable because they added the weight of Athenian history to the dedication, especially as certain aspects of the original inscription, like the Classical sculptor's name, are assimilated with the new inscription.[22] Moreover, the dispensation of such honorifics by the demos, coupled with the limited reserves of venerable statues, made them a hard-won honor for locals and Romans alike. Their restricted use may indicate that the Romans living elsewhere who were honored with these repurposed bases – including at least six consuls and possibly a prefect of Egypt – were effectively being embraced as part of the Athenian community.[23] Shear's contextual analysis of the reused statue bases on the Athenian Acropolis provides an important check to the enduring assumption that Dio's rant and Favorinus' pleas are applicable to every instance of reuse in communities across the Mediterranean, and that repurposed statue bases indicate duplicity on the part of the community or would be distastefully received if the reuse were known to the honorand. The statue bases at Oropos that were rededicated to Appius Claudius Pulcher and Marcus Agrippa, for instance, also retained the signatures of third-century BCE artists. Thus, it is possible that the repurposed statues were construed as extraordinary honors reserved for those Romans who had been embraced as part of the local community.[24]

Often changes to existing inscriptions and statues were intended to enhance the original honorific function, and these alterations served as evidence for the active maintenance of these honors over generations. In venerable sanctuaries like Olympia and the Athenian Acropolis, certain Classical statue bases

had their inscriptions refreshed in the Hellenistic and Roman periods to make them easier to read and to draw new attention to a long-standing monument. Catherine Keesling, for instance, has noted that the artist signatures on the re-inscribed Acropolis bases were recarved and, presumably, repainted when the secondary dedication was added.[25]

The practice of renewing faded or worn features also was applied to the statues themselves. Plutarch, for instance, notes that painting and gilding require upkeep,[26] and Paolo Liverani has noted ancient evidence of repainting on the Augustus of Prima Porta.[27] On the cuirass, the mantle of Mars was first painted orange and then repainted red. More noticeably, the shoulder straps were first painted Alexandrian blue and then repainted yellow. The carved features of statues left out in the elements also required maintenance over generations. For instance, a colossal head of Hadrian found in Castel Fusano and now in the Ostia Museum received a facelift about a century after it was first carved.[28] The pupils and eyes were recut, and secondary drill holes were added to rejuvenate the weathered frontal hair and beard, yet it is clear that the subject, Hadrian, remained unchanged. Such rejuvenation indicates renewed or continuing interest of the community in the portrait head.

Honorific statues and their accompanying inscriptions also received attention during the course of a donor's lifetime. For instance, the inscription accompanying a statue dedicated by Cartilius Poplicola in the sanctuary of Hercules at Ostia was updated to reflect Poplicola's changes to the number of times he held the duumvirate: "Gaius Cartilius Poplicola, son of Gaius, duumvir a second/third time."[29] This inscription, which added the surname Poplicola and altered the Latin "a second time" (iterum) to "a third time" (tertio), provides a rare glimpse of how patrons might have sustained interactions with the statues they added to the landscape. At the same time, however, the inscription could have been updated another five times, as the monumental inscription on his tomb (*c.* 20–15 BCE) states that he held the duumvirate a total of eight times (and the censorship three times).[30] Given Cartilius' initial eagerness to update his *vita* on the votive base, it might pay to reflect on possible reasons why he did not continue this practice as his career progressed. The answer may lie in his tomb, which was given at public expense. The marble façade features a frieze of a city attacked by sea, sixteen fasces, and a rather fawning monumental inscription, suggesting that the community recognized Cartilius' major contributions in such an over-the-top fashion that he no longer needed to remind people of them himself. L. Bouke van der Meer has proposed that the frieze indicates that Cartilius saved Ostia when it was raided by Sextus Pompeius in 40 or 39 BCE and suggests that he received the name Poplicola ("friend of the people") because of his actions.[31] If this is the case, then this pivotal career moment for Cartilius happened after the original statue base was dedicated and before its textual emendation.

Another statue base from Ostia also documents a secondary interaction with a sculpture displayed in the forum:

> Moved from a squalid place, for the embellishment of the forum and for public display. Overseen by Publius Attius Clementinus, a very renowned man, prefect of the Annona.[32]

The base was prominently positioned along the decumanus maximus, next to the basilica and facing the Capitolium. As praefectus annonae at some point between 390 and 400 CE,[33] Publius Attius Clementinus supervised the grain supply as well as the upkeep of Ostia's public areas, and so it makes sense that he was responsible for moving the statue. Although the relocation took place in late antiquity, this practice of moving honorific statues across the cityscape is common earlier as well, taking place, as we shall see, in towns like Pompeii. Hadrian provides the most famous example of a moving statue in Rome, when he used elephants to move the colossus of Nero from the Velian hill and to the Colosseum valley below.[34] But Augustus also transferred honorific statues from the Area Capitolina to the Campus Martius, citing congestion as the reason for the exile of these statues beyond the pomerium.[35] This culling of commemorative statues from crowded display spaces was nothing new. Livy tells us that in 179 BCE Marcus Aemilius Lepidus had removed statues from the Capitolium that were in the way, and Pliny mentions that the censors of 158 BCE removed all the statues of former magistrates in the Forum Romanum that had not been set up by the will of the senate or people.[36]

Throughout antiquity, therefore, statues were relocated to new display settings that may not have been to the liking of the original honorand. Portrait statues also received a wide range of treatments that impacted their visibility in the landscape and their condition over time. These interactions ranged from regular maintenance paid by the donor,[37] adornment of the monument on annual or festive days, carrying imperial portraits in procession,[38] seeking asylum at the statue of an emperor, and toppling the visage of a disgraced individual.[39] With each interaction, the ephemeral attention paid to the statue had the potential to strengthen, transform, or erase the initial relationship that had been established between community and honorand with the erection of the honorific statue.

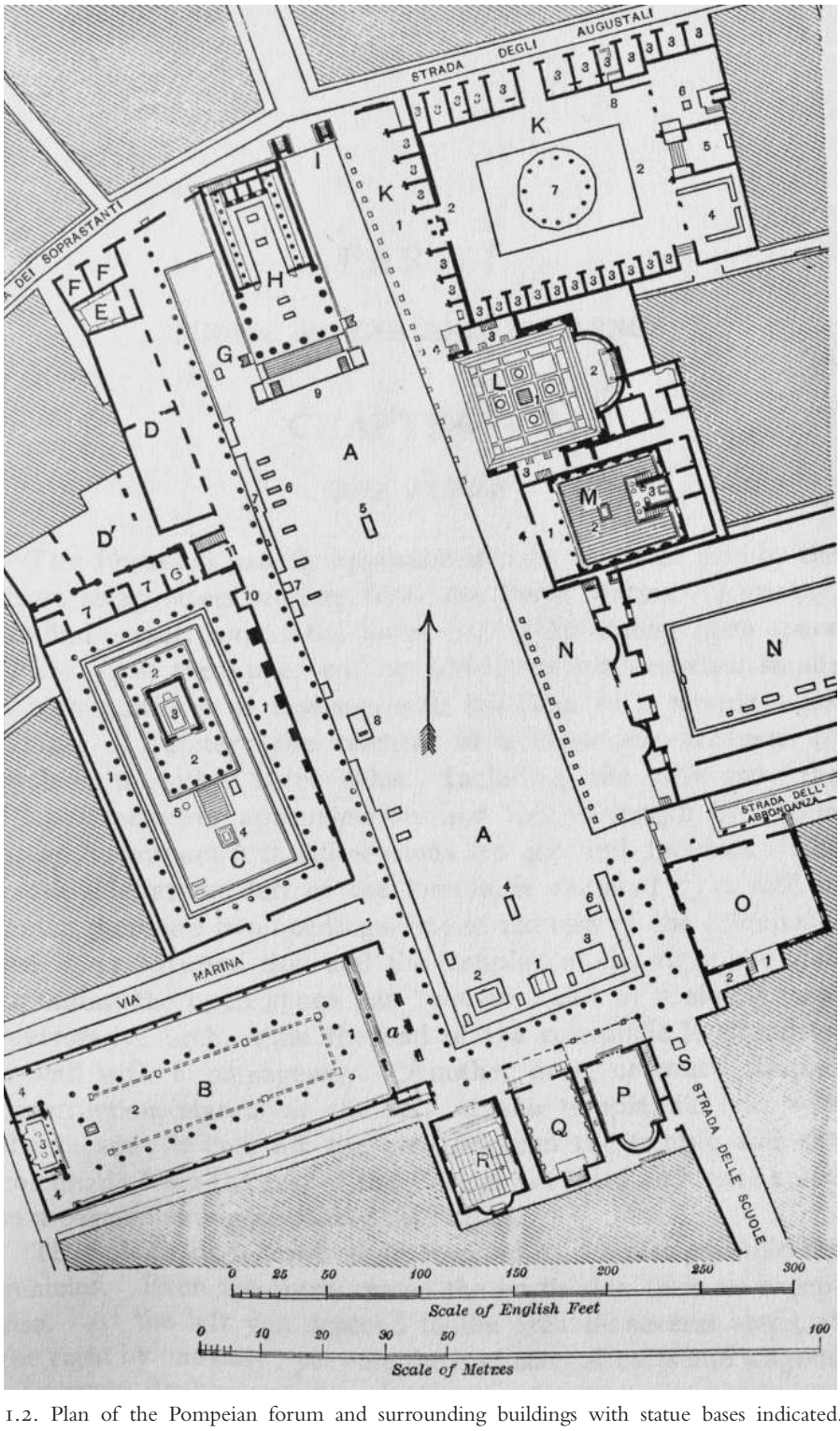
When set within the context of the myriad temporary and permanent transformations wrought on the placement and appearance of honorific statues across the Roman world, those damaged or destroyed due to "damnatio memoriae" prove to be a small subcategory of a much larger picture of regular repurposing, maintenance, and refashioning. For most recycled commemorative statues, the places or contexts in which the works were first displayed are unknown to us; inscriptions may document the process, but the texts leave little information about the original or transformed details of the portraits

supported on the inscribed base. The unique preservation circumstance of Pompeii, however, allows us to see many different kinds of reuse in precise physical locations, and provides cases where more is known about the agents over time.

THE COMPLEXITY OF PORTRAIT USE AND REUSE AT POMPEII

The rich archaeological record at Pompeii at once confirms and confounds our expectations about the function and reception of honorific portraits. For instance, the extant statue bases in the forum of Pompeii indicate that over sixty marble and bronze statues once thronged the area (Fig. 1.2). Set in the open space of the piazza, perched on the step in front of the surrounding colonnade, and settled within the walkway of the colonnade, many of these statues honored members of the imperial family and local elites. These commemorative statues span the possible spectrum of public support: some were decreed by the ordo and set up at public expense, like the equestrian statue honoring local garum magnate Lucius Umbricius Scaurus in the forum;[40] others were commissioned by family members, like one of two statues of Marcus Lucretius Decidianus Rufus in the forum;[41] still others were commissioned and paid for by religious groups but displayed in spaces decreed by the decurions, like the herm of the actor Gaius Norbanus Sorex, which was paid for by the magistri (officials) of the pagus Augustus Felix suburbanus, a suburban region of the Pompeian territory, but displayed in spaces provided by the ordo in the Eumachia building.[42] Some honorific inscriptions do not mention the dedicator, suggesting that the individual or group sponsoring the statue was obvious from its location and context. For instance, a dedicatory inscription for a statue of Augustus recovered in the Temple of Augustan Fortune simply provides the emperor's name and a select title (father of the fatherland),[43] thus relying on the viewer to know whether the statue was set up by the ordo of Pompeii or by Marcus Tullius, the duumvir who built the temple on land that he owned.

This handful of examples stands within a much larger population of Pompeian statues. At least fourteen heads, busts, and full-length statues were recovered in the civic areas and sanctuaries of Pompeii. The twelve that are still extant today include a bronze equestrian statue, three bronze busts of men, three male and two female marble statues, and one male and two female marble heads.[44] These statues are augmented by more than thirty surviving dedicatory inscriptions for honorific statues from the same locales.[45] At least eight of these inscriptions honor members of the imperial family,[46] at least twenty are dedicated to local male and female elites,[47] and two celebrate the actor Norbanus Sorex.[48] The range of portrait formats from equestrian statues to herms, coupled with the mix of bronze and marble statues, indicate that the



1.2. Plan of the Pompeian forum and surrounding buildings with statue bases indicated. (Mau 1902, plan II)

Pompeian statues ran the gamut of what would be seen in city centers across the Roman world. Also typical is the honoring of male and female elites and members of the imperial family. Taken together, the surviving statues and bases confirm the overall picture of public honors in cities in the western empire.

Yet at the same time, the material from Pompeii calls into question the longevity of such honors. The value of bronze as scrap metal means that very little metal sculpture is known from cities around the Roman world, and Pompeii is no exception. At least for the forum area, it is generally accepted that the marble and bronze statues probably were salvaged during recovery efforts that also stripped the forum of its marble revetment, columns, and entablatures after the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE.[49] Furthermore, many sculptures from Pompeii and their accompanying inscriptions, intended to confer honor upon particular citizens, were found in secondary contexts. In the sanctuary of Apollo adjacent to the forum in Pompeii, for instance, Larry Ball and John Dobbins have noted that all the statue bases have had the base and crown moldings on their backsides removed, suggesting that they were retrofitted for their locations; the Augustan renovations to the sanctuary provide a terminus post quem for the movement of the bases to their current positions, but they also could have been added during the renovations after the 62 CE earthquake.[50] Moreover, one of these recut bases was inscribed with an Oscan inscription that had been covered with a layer of plaster, providing further evidence of its repurposed nature; this particular inscription records a benefaction of Lucius Mummius, who dedicated spoils from the sack of Corinth in 146 BCE in at least seventeen allied cities.[51] The use of Oscan is unique among the known Mummius benefactions,[52] indicating that this honor specifically addressed the Oscan-speaking Pompeians. One might assume that such an honor, associated with a great Roman general, would resonate with the town for generations and yet, when the inscription is covered over, its significance for the community was effectively erased. This erasure, however, may have been resisted, as Oscan letters (albeit letters entirely unrelated to the inscription beneath) were then scratched into the plaster covering the inscription.[53]

The open space of the forum in Pompeii holds more evidence for the routine movement of these purportedly permanent monuments, both the sculptures and their inscribed bases. At the time of the eruption in 79 CE, the southern end of the forum was dominated by enormous likenesses of an emperor and other imperial family members. Set on an arch and two flanking bases, these statues, which are no longer extant, presumably took the form of bronze quadrigae. This collocation of impressive – and costly – statues created an imperial focal point that was balanced and complimented by a similar imperial focal point on the northern end, where the Capitolium was flanked by bases and arches that exhibited statues of imperial family members. To make room for the imperial display at the southern end of the forum, a number of equestrian