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PORTRAITS, POWER, AND PATRONAGE IN THE LATE ROMAN REPUBLIC*

By JEREMY TANNER

(Plates I–VIII)

Recent work in ancient art history has sought to move beyond formalist interpretations of works of art to a concern to understand ancient images in terms of a broader cultural, political, and historical context.[1] In the study of late Republican portraiture, traditional explanations of the origins of verism in terms of antecedent influences — Hellenistic realism, Egyptian realism, ancestral *imagines* — have been replaced by a concern to interpret portraits as signs functioning in a determinate historical and political context which serves to explain their particular visual patterning. In this paper I argue that, whilst these new perspectives have considerably enhanced our understanding of the forms and meanings of late Republican portraits, they are still flawed by a failure to establish a clear conception of the social functions of art. I develop an account of portraits which shifts the interpretative emphasis from art as object to art as a medium of socio-cultural action. Such a shift in analytic perspective places art firmly at the centre of our understanding of ancient societies, by showing that art is not merely a social product or a symbol of power relationships, but also serves to construct relationships of power and solidarity in a way in which other cultural forms cannot, and thereby transforms those relationships with determinate consequences.

[1] In addition to the standard abbreviations in the *OCD*, the following frequently cited works are referred to as follows: Badian, *FC* = E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae 264–70 BC* (1958); Crawford, *RRC* = M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (1973); Gelzer, *RN* = M. Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility* (1969; o.v. 1912); Giuliani, *Bildnis* = L. Giuliani, *Bildnis und Botschaft: hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (1986); Gruen, *HWCR* = E. S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (1984); Gruen, *CI* = E. S. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (1993); Hallet 1993 = C. H. Hallett, *The Roman Heroic Portrait* (PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1993); Harmand, *Patronat* = L. Harmand, *Le Patronat sur les collectivités publiques, des origines au Bas-Empire* (1957); *ID* = *Inscriptions de Délos;* Marcadé = J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Delos. Étude sur la sculpture hellénistique en ronde bosse*

découverte dans l'ile (1969); *Ritratto* = N. Bonasca and G. Rizza (eds), *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato*, Quaderni de la Ricerca Scientifica 116 (1988); *Römisches Porträt* = *Römisches Porträt: Wege zur Erforschung eines gesellschaftlichen Phänomens, Wissenschaftlichen Konferenz 12–15 Mai, 1981. Wiss. Z. Berl. 2–3, Berlin* (1982); Sherk = R. K. Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus*, Translated Documents of Greece and Rome vol. 4 (1984); Smith, *HRP* = R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (1989); Smith, *Foreigners* = R. R. R. Smith, 'Greeks, foreigners and Roman Republican portraits', *JRS* 71 (1981), 24–38; Toynbee *RHP* = J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Historical Portraits* (1978); Tuchelt = K. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien I: Roma und Promagistrate,* Ist. Mitt. Beiheft 23 (1979) — inscription numbers refer to the chronological list in the appendix, following p. 249; Vessberg, *Studien* = O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik* (1941); Wallace-Hadrill, *Power* = A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Roman arches and Greek honours: the language of power at Rome', *PCPS* 36 (1990), 143–81; Zanker, *Rezeption* = P. Zanker, 'Zur Rezeption der hellenistischen individual Porträts in Rom und in den italischen Städten', in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, Abh. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Dritte Folge 97 (1976), 581–609; Zanker, *Führender Männer* = P. Zanker, 'Zur Bildnisrepräsentation führender Männer in mittelitalischen und campanischen Städten zur Zeit der späten Republik und der iulisch-claudischen Kaiser', in *Les Bourgeoises municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.C.* (1983), 251–66.

I. ROMAN PORTRAITS OF THE LATE REPUBLIC: FORMS AND MEANINGS

The cultural distinctiveness and chronological parameters of Roman Republican portraits are now well-defined.[2] The veristic style of late Republican portraits consists in a 'cartographic realism', which carefully describes the distinguishing features of its sitters, laying particular emphasis on physiognomical peculiarities such as facial asymmetry, and all the signs of aging from sunken and hollow cheeks to crow's-feet and bags under the eyes.[3] Whilst there is a spectrum of such images from what seem to modern viewers to be the most unsympathetic, like the Torlonia patrician (Pl. I), to softer images, like the Tivoli general (Pls II.1, III.1), they are visually quite distinct from contemporary Hellenistic Greek portrait types. Hellenistic kings are almost always represented as being youthful, seldom older than thirty-five to forty. The lines and wrinkles of aging are very lightly modelled, smoothed out to the point of vanishing even on relatively 'mature' portraits like that of Seleukos I from the Villa of the Papyri (Pl. II.2).[4] Although Hellenistic civic benefactor portraits are considerably more aged than their royal counterparts, the model they follow is that of the Hellenistic philosophers, retaining in their structure (overall proportions and facial symmetry) and modelling the characteristics of classical ideal portraiture.[5] Although the earliest examples we have of veristic heads date from the first century B.C., the evidence of copies and coins suggests very strongly what is now the consensus opinion that the origins of verism should be placed in the second century B.C.[6]

Whilst the empirical foundations for the study of these portraits now seems fairly secure, their interpretation and explanation remains at best unsatisfactory, and often quite confused. Reacting against traditional explanations in terms of the diffusion of stylistic influences, more recent work has interpreted verism as a reflection of Roman culture or a symptom of social structure. The emphasis on the age of persons portrayed is seen as a reflection of the value placed on age and experience within Roman culture, codified in the minumum age-limits for holding certain offices.[7] Portraits are then interpreted as a form of propaganda, to engage political support on behalf of the person portrayed amongst the populus at Rome.[8] Within a broader Mediterranean context, it has been suggested that development of verism was designed to symbolize the 'hard' style of Roman politics in contrast with the 'soft, effeminate, and deceitful' style of self-representation characteristic of late Hellenistic monarchs, which especially emphasized 'ideal and divine heroic elements'. The contrasting styles of Hellenistic ruler portraiture and Roman verism 'were made to express the opposing ideologies with which the conflict between Rome and the kings was fought'.[9]

Whilst representing a considerable advance over earlier work, such arguments are subject to both theoretical and empirical objections. On a theoretical level such arguments lack any sense of works of art as more than privileged indicators of social and cultural context. There is no account of works of art or their particular visual components as active elements in the articulation of social relationships, the mobilization of cultural ideologies and the material transformation of relationships of power and solidarity. For the ancient historian the new contextual classical art history tends merely to confirm what was already known: that the Republic was conflictual and contradictory, that the Romans valued age as a sign of political authority in contradistinction to the

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[2] Giuliani, *Bildnis*; Smith, *Foreigners*; *HRP*; Zanker, *Rezeption*; *Führender Männer*.

[3] S. Nodelmann, 'How to read a Roman portrait', *Art in America* 63 (1975), 26–33; reprinted in and cited from E. D'Ambra, *Roman Art in Context* (1993), 10–26.

[4] Smith, *HRP*, 47–8 on 'youthening' of ruler portraits, 73–5 on Seleukos.

[5] Zanker, *Führender Männer*, 258–61.

[6] Gruen, *CI*, 161.

[7] Giuliani, *Bildnis*, 190–9, esp. 198, 'direct reflection', 'corresponds to a structural element of the Roman constitution'.

[8] Giuliani, *Bildnis*, 51–5, esp. 52.

[9] Smith, *HRP*, 115–30.

charismatic ideologies of Hellenistic kingship.[10] Art is treated as a symptom of historical processes rather than as making any particular contribution to them. Whilst most art historians would assent to the proposition that art and society or art and culture are mutually constitutive, they are unable to specify the processes through which art makes a specific contribution — distinguishable (at least analytically) from that of moral or cognitive culture for example — to the reproduction and transformation of systems of social relations or non-artistic cultural systems. In practice, entirely *ad hoc* intuitive models of the relationship between art and society are tacked on to studies rooted in style analysis and iconography — for Zanker art as a reflection of society or art as propaganda,[11] for Smith art as an expression of identity or ideology, for Giuliani art as propaganda or rhetoric. The underlying interpretative protocol is that of Panofsky's iconography and iconology: the third stage of an analysis, following style analysis and iconography, is iconology in which the work of art is interpreted through 'synthetic intuition' as a 'symptom' of its historical context.[12] Superficially, theories of propaganda might seem to move beyond this model, but the very concept of propaganda tends to assume a passive viewer innoculated with the dominant meaning propagated from above, a meaning decoded through iconographic analysis.[13]

The weakness of the theoretical foundations of such approaches has two empirical symptoms. First, these approaches cannot explain the timing of the development of verism. Why is it only during the course of the second century that these values manifest themselves in portraits, although such values had been built into the structure of the Roman Republic since at least the late fourth century B.C., when the *seniores* were given privileged rights in the organization of voting in the centuriate assembly?[14] Second, there is a substantial group of portraits, dating from the second half of the second century to the end of the Republic, which combine veristic heads with ideal nude bodies in a strongly Hellenizing tradition, like the Tivoli general (Pl. III.1) or the portrait from the theatre at Cassino (Pl. IV).[15] Most of the secondary literature has regarded this combination of nudity and verism as somehow anomalous, without offering any very convincing interpretation or explanation of the phenomenon. One strand is aesthetic and evaluative, ultimately attributing this combination of discrepant styles to poor

[10] The reflex of ancient historians writing essentially formalist art histories shows an unwillingness to extend analysis of mounds of textual evidence concerning the social functions and uses of art to cultural analysis of the corresponding corpus of images on the grounds that they are not art historians. See for example R. van Bremen's insightful but purely textual discussion of the uses of portraits in Hellenistic cities — *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (1996), 170–90; G. Lahusen, *Untersuchungen zur Ehrenstatue in Rom: literarische und epigraphische Zeugnisse* (1983); A. P. Gregory, 'Powerful images: responses to portraits and the political uses of images in Rome', *JRA* 7 (1994), 80–99, esp. 82, for the desire to detach response and the political meaning of images as the province of the social historian from visual analysis as the domain of art history. For a sophisticated analysis of imperial statues in the context of the imperial cult, critical of notions of art as a reflection of ideology rather than constitutive of it: S. Price, *Rituals of Power: the Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (1984), 171–200; although in practice Price concentrates, like Gregory, on statues as 'objects of discourse', provincial reflections about the nature of imperial power, rather than as a cultural discourse in their own right, or as objects of non-discursive visual response.
[11] According to Zanker, 'visual imagery reflects a society's inner life', whilst 'artistic style [is a] faithful

reflection of social and political setting'. The absence of any stylistic norm reflects the normlessness of late Republican Roman politics. Stylistic contradiction and dissolution, for example in the portrait of Pompey, corresponds to political contradiction and the dissolution of the Republic: P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988), 1–31; 3 and 11 for the quotations.
[12] E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939), 1–17, esp. 14–17.
[13] For criticism of the model of 'propaganda' see A. Wallace-Hadrill's review of Zanker, 'Rome's cultural revolution', *JRS* 79 (1989), 157–64; J. Elsner, 'Cult and sculpture: sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae', *JRS* 81 (1991), 50–61.
[14] T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome* (1995), 380; T. Hölscher, 'Die Anfänge römischer Repräsentationskunst', *MDAI -R* 85.2 (1978), 315–57, esp. 348–57. The same problem arises in Hallett's brief discussion of verism, where he argues that verism simply reflects 'innate Roman feelings about what a Roman public man ought to look like' (Hallett 1993, 213–25, at 217). Why then is there no verism before the late second century B.C.?
[15] For catalogues and full references to the secondary literature: Hallett 1993, 226–9; D. E. E. Kleiner and F. S. Kleiner, 'A heroic relief on the Via Appia', *AA* 90 (1975), 250–65.

Roman taste.[16] Another strand simply ignores the body as a vehicle of artistic meaning, beyond identifying the particular classical model on which it was based, placing the heads of the statues in one artistic series (Roman veristic portraiture) and the bodies in another (copies of classical Greek masterpieces), without asking what might underlie the combination of these two series either in a particular work of art or in this group of statues as a whole.[17] Smith, for example, suggests that the body functions merely as a 'stand' for the portrait, carrying little or no specific meaning in its own right, so that one body type could be substituted for another without significantly affecting the meaning of the whole statue.[18]

Iconographic studies of these ideal-real portraits, however, suggest that nudity was a very striking choice within the traditions of both Roman and Greek portrait statuary of the second and first centuries B.C.[19] The 'default' type for an honorific statue of a civic benefactor in both the Roman world and the Greek world during this period would have been much more fully draped. The naked athletes and warriors characteristic of Classical Greek portrait statuary were displaced in the Hellenistic period by mantel-statues, partly in response to the changing role of the ideal-citizen, from hoplite-warrior to educated product of the gymnasium, intellectual, and civic benefactor.[20] Apart from the Hellenistic monarchs themselves, the only contemporary parallels are on a small and regionally restricted group of funerary reliefs and funerary statues, which can hardly explain the geographically widespread and relatively frequent use of full or extensive nudity in our group of portrait statues.[21] The same model of draped statue, ultimately derived from the late fourth-century statue of the Athenian orator Aeschines, had also been conventional in the Roman world since the mid-third century B.C. at the latest,

[16] R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: the Center of Power* (1969), 47, speaks of an 'insensitivity as regards style . . . typical of the times'. A. Stewart, *Attika: Studies in the Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (1979), 143–5, on realism and idealism, esp. concerning statues like the Pseudo-Athlete and C. Ofellius Ferus from Delos: 'pastiche, a piece of pure kitsch, a monster of inauthenticity'. Zanker provides a reductionist sociological variant whereby stylistic contradiction reflects social contradiction, op. cit. (n. 11), 8–11, esp. 9, 'the combination of simple physiognomies with heroic bodies points up the discrepancy between rhetoric and real accomplishment'.

[17] M. R. Sanzi di Mino and L. Nista, *Gentes et principes: iconografia romano in Abruzzo* (1993), 36–7. G. F. Carettoni, 'Replica di una statua Lisippea rinvenuta a Cassino', *Mem. Pont. Acc.* 6.1 (1943), 53–66. Cf. F. Coarelli, 'Classe dirigente romani e arti figurative', *Dial. Arch.* 4–5 (1971), 241–65, at 259, on C. Ofellius Ferus — classicism of the body as an expression of late Hellenistic artistic culture, verism as expressing the wishes of the Roman commissioner.

[18] Smith, *HRP*, 136. Hallett's suggestion (1993, 213–25) that the collocation of verism and 'ideal' nudity requires no special explanation, since verism is simply 'idealization' in terms of Roman values seems to me to be nothing more than word-play. After all, if verism did not signal something distinctive from what was signalled in earlier Greek and Roman traditions of portraiture, why was it developed and used in the context of these statues that otherwise depend on Hellenistic Greek traditions?

[19] A good deal more striking than Zanker, also, allows: *Führender Männer*, 258. Contrast N. Himmelmann, *Herrscher und Athlet: die Bronzen vom Quirinal* (1989), 116, on the development of nudity in civic honorific statues not of kings as 'erstaunlich'; Hallett 1993, 145, 'a dramatic innovation' — although Hallett oddly concludes his study (219–20) by arguing that the Romans had 'no ready formula for the appearance of the body' (in contrast to verism for their faces) in portraits of their leaders, and this was why they adopted the Greek heroic image: quite why togate or

cuirassed statues would not do the job, as they did for Augustus, is never made clear.

[20] P. Zanker, 'The Hellenistic grave stelai from Smyrna: identity and self-image in the polis', in A. Bullock *et al.* (eds), *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World* (1993), 212–30, esp. 218–21; idem, 'Brüche im Bürgerbild? Zur bürgerlichen Selbstdarstellung in den hellenistischen Städten', in M. Wörrle and P. Zanker (eds), *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus* (1995), 251–73, esp. 251–5, 258–60; M. Wörrle, 'Von tugendsamen Jüngling zum "gestressten" Euergeten: Überlegungen zum Bürgerbild hellenistischer Ehrendekrete', in Wörrle and Zanker, op. cit., 241–51; Smith, *HRP*, 32–4 — but underestimating the elevating character of nudity in Hellenistic ruler-portraiture, as analysed by Himmelmann; R. R. R. Smith, 'Kings and philosophers', in A. Bullock *et al.*, op. cit., 202–11, esp. 203–5; Himmelmann, op. cit. (n. 19), 115, on mantel statues as the norm for Hellenistic civic honorific statues of fellow-citizens, 62–5 against the use of nudity on portraits of living persons, except athletes, before Alexander, whose ideal nudity, echoing images of heroes like Achilles, became the norm for Hellenistic rulers; idem, *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst*, JdI EH 26 (1990), 29–79.

[21] Himmelmann, op. cit. (n. 19), 116; F. Queyrel, 'C. Ofellius Ferus', *BCH* 115.1 (1991), 389–464, at 440; and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 20, 1993), 228, on the exceptional character of heroizing nudity amongst funerary reliefs. Hallett 1993, 30–4 on the funerary reliefs and 33–46 and 59–64 on 'heroic nude' funerary statues — noting in particular that all these heroizing images are of men who died young, consequently endowed with strongly idealizing faces, designed to lay stress on 'the youthful beauty of the deceased'. The nudity, Hallett suggests, emphasizes the idea of 'a young man in his physical prime', and that, although dead, the deceased 'still young lives out his *acme* — the bloom of his youth — among the heroes', quoting W. Peek, *Griechische Grabesgedichte* (1960), no. 255.

where, with varying degrees of restriction of movement by the hang of the drapery, it had connotations of continence and self-control similar to those of its Greek models.[22]

Nudity, then, especially in combination with realistic portrait heads which set the image apart from Hellenistic rulers, would have represented a very striking choice to contemporary viewers in both the Greek and the Roman worlds and presupposes a very particular communicative purpose, a positive choice, on the part of whoever commissioned these statues. Iconographic studies of many individual examples of these portraits have given us a clearer idea of the particular choices being made in selecting body models for particular statues and has allowed a more precise decoding of their 'meaning' within the iconographic codes of Hellenistic Greek (and hellenizing Roman) art. Such iconographic analysis on its own, however, serves only to give a more nuanced *interpretation* of particular cultural (iconographic) choices made by individuals in selecting for their statue this or that classical model from the repertoire available in the Greek iconographic tradition. We still lack any adequate *explanation* of what gave rise to the broader patterning of individual choices as a collective phenomenon, what pushed those commissioning these portraits to make their contextually quite unusual choices both in the selection of ideal body types and their combination with veristic heads, and what the entailment of such choices, in particular the responses of viewers, might have been.

II. BEYOND CONTEXT: SOCIAL THEORY AND THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF ART

Part of the problem in contemporary approaches lies in the invocation of an unexamined conception of 'context' as a response to the shortcomings of formalist art history.[23] The difficulties classical art historians face in seeking to break out of an oscillation between over specific (narrowly archaeological) and completely diffuse (art as a reflection of society or identity) conceptualizations of context is a function of a disciplinary tradition which is much more richly endowed in methodologies of art analysis (iconography, style analysis, and more recently structural analysis) than in theories of art, let alone a cumulative theoretical tradition. In what follows I draw on two closely related traditions of sociological theory to reformulate the object-oriented problematics of art and context or art and society as a process-oriented account of expressive-aesthetic action. I analyse artistic culture (iconographic codes and stylistic conventions) as a set of cultural patterns mediating expressive action in the context of cultural, social-structural, and psychological environments. This theoretical framework allows specification of the mechanisms by which expressive-aesthetic culture plays an active role in the articulation of social relationships, the mobilization of cultural ideologies and the material transformation of relationships of power and solidarity.

The theoretical basis of this approach lies in the pragmatism of Mead and Peirce and the action theory of Talcott Parsons. The primary difference of pragmatist semiotics, elaborated by Peirce and Mead, from the structuralist (and post-structuralist) semiotics now quite commonly deployed in classical studies is its conception of the sign not as a dyadic *structure* — signifier and signified — but as a triadic *system* — signifier, signified and interpretant.[24] *Per se* the sensuous material of a sign means nothing until it evokes a certain response (the interpretant) in an individual correlating that significant material with meanings (signifieds) on the basis of a code in the context of some kind of

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[22] The best evidence we have of the range of statue-types in third- and second-century Rome is the series of terracotta statues from the eastern sanctuary at Lavinium, published in *Enea nel Lazio: archaeologia e mito* (1981), 221–64, esp. cat. nos 241, 259, 261–2. Cf. also Giuliani, *Bildnis*, 159 and 210–20; E. H. Richardson and L. Richardson Jr., 'Ad cohibendum bracchium toga: an archaeological examination of Cicero pro Caelio 5.11', *Yale Class. Stud.* 19 (1966), 251–68. E. H. Richardson, 'The Etruscan origins of

early Roman sculpture', *MAAR* 21 (1953), 79–124, esp. 105–24, on early Roman statue types.

[23] E. K. Gazda and A. E. Haeckl, 'Roman portraiture: reflections on the question of context', *JRA* 6 (1993), 289–302.

[24] My account of pragmatist semiotics here draws on: G. H. Mead, *On Social Psychology* (1956), esp. 115–96 'Mind', 199–246 'Self', 249–82 'Society'; and M. P. Jones, 'Post-human agency: between theoretical traditions', *Sociological Theory* 14.3 (1996), 290–309.

interpretative interaction between two parties, whether direct social interaction or social interaction mediated through some kind of symbolic objectification which extends the potential availability of meaning in time and space — a text or a work of art. This triadic conception of the sign can open up analysis in several complementary directions. First, the recipient of a communication, the primary viewer, is built into the model of communication as an intrinsic component, not added as an afterthought. This gives an intrinsically dynamic, processual character to symbolism as a diachronic chain of 'gestures'[25] and responses to gestures which are themselves gestures and so on. Consequently there is no symbolic meaning without social interaction: 'meaning appears in the process . . . of co-operation within the group'.[26] The cultural elaboration of systems of 'significant symbolism' or shared meanings — that is, gestures which have the character of languages, calling forth in both gesturer and respondent corresponding interpretants — arises out of such processes of social interaction. Sustaining communicative interaction, whether such communication is an end in itself or a means to facilitating co-operative instrumental projects, involves mutual adjustment to each other on the part of the participants to such interaction, an adjustment accomplished through gestures. Ego gestures. Alter responds with a gesture. Ego responds with a different gesture taking into account the meaning of his/her first gesture to alter as indicated by alter's initial response, and so on, adjusting gestures and responses, building up a shared symbolic repertoire adjusted to the exigencies of the purposes for which they interact. Such a conception of meaning as process has a number of advantages over iconographic and structuralist accounts or decodings of meaning. Not least, it builds into its understanding of the dynamic nature of symbolic meaning the necessary theoretical resources for an account of the production, reproduction, and transformation of symbolic languages, in place of the gap between iconographic/ structuralist decodings of 'textual' objects and reductionist explanations of them in terms of context external to the textual objects (or the complete absence of explanation of change in some post-structuralist accounts of cultural or epistemic rupture).

Whilst Mead's pragmatic semiotics provides a powerful framework for the analysis of processes of symbolic interaction, it has no very clear characterization of how systemically varying exigencies of sociocultural interaction might give rise to qualitatively different *kinds* of gestures, or, in their more elaborate forms, cultural systems — religious, cognitive, expressive-aesthetic, and so on. This can be accomplished by embedding Mead's symbolic interactionism in Talcott Parsons' functional theory of action systems. Parsons interprets art as 'expressive symbolism', a specialized strand of the cultural tradition of an action system which serves to mediate the relationships which constitute social systems with the personalities of the agents who are members of those systems. This particular cultural tradition serves to give cultural shape and social organization to, and to elaborate or control, emotions generated during the course of social interaction.[27] An expressive symbol is any act or object which stands for the feelings or attitude of an ego towards an alter and which thereby mediates the emotional component of interaction. The development of an expressive symbolic dimension whereby acts or objects stand for the attitude of an ego towards an alter is common to all social relationships of more than transitory duration. The emergence of the work of art as a particular kind of artifact and the function of the artist as a specialized role, concerned with the production of such artifacts and the elaboration of the cultural codes used to communicate expressive meanings, is a function of the level of differentiation which has taken place within an action system with respect to expressive symbolization.

This concept of art as a particularly elaborate form of expressive symbolism is an analytic concept, in contrast to the substantivist concept of art as certain unspecified kinds of visual artifact tacitly assumed in most art history writing. Consequently, Parsons' theory of art as expressive symbolism allows us to ask much more precise

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[25] I use the term in Mead's somewhat extended sense of any communicative act, ranging from animal stimuli, the dog growling at an intruding animal, to the human use of language in utterances.

[26] Mead, op. cit. (n. 24), 121.
[27] T. Parsons, 'Expressive symbols and the social system: the communication of affect', in idem, *The Social System* (1951), 384–427.

questions and to try to formulate more determinate answers about the social significance of art. The formal meanings of languages, verbal and visual, represent only the most fully articulated, abstracted component of the various social and cultural substances — moral attitudes, feelings, social expectations — carried by languages in processes of action.[28] I argue in Sections III–V of this article that the strictly formal meanings of iconography and style are only one dimension, although needless to say an extremely important one, of the meanings carried by portraits. The iconography and style of portraits also carry social-relational and expressive-affective meanings. Moreover the formal languages of art do not merely express pregiven meanings (identities or ideologies). Rather, by virtue of their institutionalization as conventions of communication in the context of systems of social relations, they function as cultural operators to work on and transform certain dimensions of the relationships of which they are a part. They accomplish this not only directly, in processes of symbolic exchange, but mediately: first, through the structuring of the personalities of the parties to a relationship and their disposition to respond to each other; and second, through the elaboration of the core meanings symbolized by portraits in processes of reception and interaction extending beyond the relationships they directly symbolize. Conversely, the environments of processes of expressive action act as selective pressures on the cultural forms (iconography and style) chosen or created for use in these processes of symbolic interaction. These environments are constituted by: (1) the cultural (moral and religious) values which regulate the relationships which portraits are used to construct and transform; (2) the social and political interests which give rise to the construction of these relationships in the first place; (3) the psychological needs and capacities that condition the mutual affective investment of the parties to the relationship. The selective pressures of these environments are realized through processes of interaction. The parties to the relationships articulated in these interactions, drawing on already existent cultural repertoires and elaborating new forms as circumstances dictate or allow, adjust their gestures and responses to each other as they pursue their particular purposes in constructing and maintaining these relationships.

Both Parsons' and Mead's accounts of symbolic action suggest an analysis that looks more closely at how symbols are used in contexts of interaction. In Sections III–V, I analyse two relational contexts in which portraits were used as expressive symbols: public honorific portraits of the Roman state (III), and portraits set up by clients of their patrons (IV–V). I sketch the sets of rules which regulated the use of portraits in these two contexts. These bear family resemblances to each other, but differ in terms of the moral and social presuppositions which inform the relationships, and which regulated both patterns of use of portraits and the selection of appropriate visual forms for them. These differences in their turn differentially shaped the solidarity of the social networks in which they functioned, and the power of those who could mobilize such networks. Public honorific portraits were designed to motivate loyalty on the part of individual members of the élite to the Senate and People as a whole, and form a continuous tradition stretching back into the middle Republic. The exchange of portraits in the context of patronal relationships was an innovation of the second century B.C., which took place as a result of Roman expansion into the Greek world. The social and cultural framework of patron-client interactions between members of the Roman élite and Greek client communities allows us to interpret the characteristic forms of Roman veristic portraits, including the nude sub-group within them, as a strategy for constructing and maintaining new relationships of power and solidarity between rulers and ruled.

[28] V. M. Lidz, 'Transformational theory and the internal environment of action systems', in K. Knorr-Cetina and A. V. Cicourel (eds), *Advances in Social* *Theory and Methodology: Toward an Integration of Micro and Macro-Sociologies* (1981), 205–33, esp. 228.

III. PUBLIC HONORIFIC PORTRAITURE IN LATE REPUBLICAN ROME

At the end of the fifth Philippic, Cicero proposes to the Senate a decree to honour M. Aemilius Lepidus, at the time governor of Narbonese Gaul and a potential ally of Cicero and the Senate in the developing conflict with M. Antonius:

> Whereas the State has been often well and prosperously administered by Marcus Lepidus, imperator and pontifex maximus, and the Roman People has understood that kingly power is especially repugnant to him; and whereas by his help, valour and prudence, and singular clemency and mildness, a most bitter civil war has been extinguished and Sextus Pompeius Magnus, the son of Cnaeus, has, obediently to the authority of this Order, laid down his arms and has been restored to his fellow citizens by Marcus Lepidus, general and pontifex maximus, with the utmost good-will of the Senate and the Roman People, be it decreed that, in regard of the eminent and most numerous services (*pro maximis plurimisque*) to the State on the part of Marcus Lepidus, the Senate and People repose in his valour, influence and good fortune a great hope of ease, peace, concord and liberty, and that of his services to the State (*eiusque in rem publicam meritorum*), the Senate and Roman People will be mindful, and that it is by its decree the pleasure of this order that a gilt equestrian statue to him should be erected on the rostra, or in any other place in the forum he may wish.

Cicero adds the comment:

> This honour, Conscript Fathers, seems to be very great, first because just, for it is not only given for expectations for the future, but is given in return for the most ample services rendered (*pro amplissimis meritis*), and we cannot recall that this honour has been bestowed on anyone by the Senate with the Senate's free and unfettered judgement.[29]

Within this decree we find a number of assumptions about the use of portraits as public honours which are paralleled in more fragmentary contexts reaching back perhaps as early as the fourth century B.C. First, the awarding of public honorific statues to stand in civic space is at the disposition of the Senate and People, as is the particular location of the statue. Whilst subject to contestation and, paradoxically, probably never fully routinized until the imperial period, senatorial control over the giving of honorific portraits is widely evidenced,[30] and was periodically symbolically asserted by the removal from their public setting of statues which infringed on this prerogative. In 158 B.C., the censors removed from the forum — the primary setting for civic honorific portraits — all the statues of magistrates 'excepting those which had been set up by a resolution of the People or the Senate'.[31]

The spatial setting of honorific portraits was also subject to the control of the Senate and People, because some (more prestigious) settings represented a greater honour than others, so the placing of a statue was one of the means of grading the level of honour.[32] Pliny quotes from a senatorial decree in honour of one Octavius, killed on an embassy in 162 B.C., specifying that the statue honouring his memory be placed 'quam oculatissimo loco', namely the rostra or speaker's platform.[33] Further, 'a decree was passed to erect a statue to a vestal virgin named Tarcia, "to be placed where she wished", an addition that is as great a compliment as the fact that a statue was decreed in honour of a woman'.[34] It is, of course, only in the context of some set of institutional

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[29] Cic., *Phil*. 5.41.

[30] cf. *Phil*. 9.15–17, for a similar decree passed in the Senate relating to a pedestrian statue for Servius Suplicius Rufus, who had died on an embassy to M. Antonius. Octavian makes much of a statue he is awarded by the Senate by representing it on a coin with the initials SC, *senatus consulto* — again pointing to the value placed on this relational dimension of the object — Crawford, *RRC*, nos 490, 497.

[31] Pliny, *HN* 34.30.

[32] Lahusen, op. cit. (n. 10), 7–40 for a comprehensive collection of references on the spatial placing of portrait statues in Rome, but rather limited analysis; 129–30 on prestige and placement.

[33] Pliny, *HN* 34.24–5.

[34] ibid.

rules or broadly shared expectations that the physical placing of portraits can take on these specifically relational, honorific overtones.

Second, a portrait statue is not only a token of honour but a gift. As a gift, a portrait statue sets up obligations for the future on the part of the honorand to reciprocate the gift in appropriate ways.[35] In the case of an honorific portrait statue, the appropriate response is an attitude of sustained gratitude manifested in continued meritorious action on behalf of the state. Cicero rebukes Lepidus within a few months of the award of the portrait in our decree, on the grounds that he has not shown sufficient *gratia* towards the Senate.[36] When Lepidus, by joining the triumvirate with Octavian and the outlawed Antony, failed to live up to the Senate's 'expectations for the future', his statue was pulled down, thus dissolving the bond of solidarity between him and the Senate and People of Rome — and he himself was outlawed.[37]

Third: there is an internal relationship between the form of the portrait, which is also controlled by the Senate and People, and the definition of the relationship between Senate, People and honorand constituted by setting up the portrait. The size and form of the statue served further to define the degree of honour in which the person portrayed was held, or the nature of his services already accomplished and of the expectations on the part of the Senate and People concerning his future services. Pliny, for example, tells us that third-century statues given as a posthumous honour to memorialize persons killed while on embassy were 'three feet high, showing that that was the scale of these marks of honour in those days'.[38] When Caesar returned to Rome after the battle of Munda, the Senate and People set up a number of statues in his honour, all celebrating his services to the state and articulating the nature of his relationship with the Roman People. We are told that 'he was represented in different schemes, and in some cases crowned with oak as the saviour of his country, for this crown those whose lives had been saved used formerly to award those to whom they owed their safety'.[39] In addition, there was decreed in Caesar's honour a statue of him shaking hands with Clementia. 'Thus', Appian comments, 'whilst they feared his power, they sought his clemency'.[40]

The selection of such appropriate forms was not a mechanical process, but a social one, in which instrumental as well as expressive purposes and social as well as cultural factors shaped the final image which was selected. When it was decided that someone should receive an honorific portrait, much of the debate seems to have concerned the type of portrait the honorand should receive. Whoever proposed, in a meeting of the Senate or before a popular assembly, the erection of a portrait, in addition to enrolling support for the erection of a portrait *per se*, had to invoke typological precedents and cultural ideals about the valuation of service to the state, and perhaps also to compromise with colleagues pursuing other political interests or with other interpretations of core political values, in order to reach some sort of agreement about what type of statue would appropriately symbolize the relationship between honourers and honorand. In *Philippic* 9, for example, Cicero advocates that Servius Sulpicius Rufus, having died whilst on an embassy to Mark Antony on behalf of the Senate, should be honoured with a bronze pedestrian statue. Cicero enlists support for his proposal by citing precedents of similar honours for men who had died on embassies, a sense of gratitude and obligation on the part of the Senate to one who had died in its service, and more instrumental-expressive purposes such as a desire to memorialize the wickedness of the

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[35] The language of gift-exchange and reciprocity is built into the decrees and discussion of them — 'non solum enim *datur* propter spem temporum reliquorum, sed pro amplissimis meritis *redditur*' (*Phil.* 5.41). The concept of *gratia* also presupposes reciprocity.

[36] Cic., *Ad. Fam.* 10.27 — 28 March 43 B.C.

[37] Dio 46.51 — June 43 B.C. Conversely, Lepidus' legate Juventius, who, when he found out what his commander had done and was unable to persuade him to change his mind, committed suicide in front of his

soldiers, was honoured by the Senate with eulogies, a funeral, and a statue on the rostra.

[38] Pliny, *HN* 34.24.

[39] Appian, *BC* 2.106.

[40] Appian, *BC* 2.106. Cf. Dio 44.4.4–5 on the honorific statues of Caesar set up on the rostra in 44 B.C., 'one representing him as the saviour of the citizens and the other as the deliverer of the city from siege, and wearing the crowns customary for such achievements'.

behaviour of Antony, who had turned away the embassy of the dying Rufus.[41] This proposal mediated between two contradictory proposals of two former speakers in the debate — that of the consul Pansa who had advocated a gilt equestrian statue and that of P. Servilius who had suggested on the basis of precedent that the appropriate honour for Rufus should not extend beyond a public funeral. Cicero thereby created a consensus behind what he perceived as an appropriate measure and symbol of honour for a man who, in addition to being of great service to the state, had led a life of exemplary 'purity and honour', characterized by a particular respect for traditional self-restraint (*continentia maiorum*). The enumeration of the positive moral grounds for the honouring of Rufus is then incorporated in a decree along with instructions for the erection of the statue, specifying the material and type of the statue and that the consuls should 'order the city quaestors to let out the construction of the pedestal and the statue, and their erection on the rostra, and see that the contract price be appropriated and paid to the contractor'.[42]

Fourth: the very act of giving a statue is underwritten by and presupposes a certain set of shared and institutionalized norms defining the validity of the procedure and rules for the allocation of such honours as portrait statues. This set of normative underpinnings of the entire institution is intimated in Cicero's comment, at the end of the decree of a statue for Lepidus, that such an honour had never previously been 'bestowed on anyone by the Senate by the Senate's free and unfettered judgement'.[43] To count as an honour, and hence as an objectification of the nature of the relationship between giver and recipient — a symbol of their attitudes towards each other — the portrait must be given freely and not under duress.

Thus far I have presented a rather synchronic, overschematized picture of public honorific portraiture in the late Republic. The Senate and People awarded public honorific portrait statues. They controlled the placement of such statues and the form of portraits. The location and visual form of a statue served to define the level of honour and the nature of the relationship between the state and the individual honoured. This institutional pattern was morally underwritten by a shared set of norms articulated in terms of gift-exchange. This simplified picture requires some complication to give a sense of how this pattern of exchange developed over time in response to the changing balance of power between the Roman state, the collectivities which undertook to represent the state — primarily the Senate and the People in assembly — and the families and individuals who composed the élite, particularly in the light of recent arguments that the whole idea of honorific portraiture is a late invention.

I have strongly stressed the normative dimension in the giving of honorific statues. Moral norms were not the sole element structuring the exchange of portraits, but they constitute an irreducible one. Unless their role is given proper attention it is possible neither to understand the institution of portrait-exchange nor to draw the links between this social level of the patterning of the use of portraits and the cultural levels of iconographic and stylistic patterning with which art historians have traditionally been primarily concerned. First, as I have shown, it is precisely within the context of this normative framework that the selection of particular visual forms for portraits was made. Second, outside some kind of normative framework the very idea of honorific portraits as a sign of prestige becomes quite literally meaningless, since portraits routinely extracted by coercion or the threat of force can hardly function to signify and sustain solidarity.[44] That is not to say that we should think of norms as rules which are unthinkingly acted out by the parties to these relationships, or ignore the possibility that the balance between normative and coercive control may sometimes shift quite markedly towards the latter. Norms require interpretation, and are thereby opened up to strategic manipulation, within limits.

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[41] Lahusen, op. cit. (n. 10), 99. Cf. Appian, *BC* 3.51, where the Senate, seeking to build up the power and prestige of Octavian in order to combat that of Antony, in addition to allowing him to stand before the normal age for the consulship, awarded him a gilt equestrian statue.

[42] Cic., *Phil.* 9.16.
[43] Cic., *Phil.* 5.41.
[44] And thereby serve to generate power — see below Section v.

Particularly in the later Republic, with the emergence of powerful dynasts backed by armies which they were prepared to use against the state, statues might be given out of a fear of force, but precisely in order to create moral obligations on the part of those honoured as in the case of the portrait of Caesar with Clementia.[45] The scale of honours offered, requested, and accepted was considerably expanded in such circumstances, particularly, once again, after Caesar's defeat of Pompey — but always within a sense of normative limits. Politicians who wished to push at the boundaries needed to maintain a keen sense of the limits of honours they might accept without overstepping bounds, or being presented by their opponents as overstepping bounds, thereby subverting the prestige and influence which such portraits might otherwise afford. In 46 B.C., as Dio tells the story, whilst Caesar accepted 'a bronze statue, mounted upon a representation of the inhabited world with an inscription to the effect that he was a demigod', he refused other, presumably more elevated, honours.[46] In the following year, the level of prestige marked by the honours Caesar was offered (presumably through the initiative of his supporters) and accepted raised Caesar to the level of the gods, through the material used for portraits (ivory, on the model of the great chryselephantine cult statues), their placement (in the temple of Quirinus), and their use (carried in processions of statues of gods in the opening ceremonies of games in the circus). One of these statues was placed on the Capitol alongside those of the former kings of Rome, celebrated for their contributions to the foundation of Rome and the construction of its most important religious and social institutions. Here also stood a statue of Brutus the Tyrannicide, who had slain the last of the Tarquins and thereby created the Republican system of government. It was the clash between the evident aspirations represented by the placement of the statue of Caesar, and its collocation with the statue of Brutus the Tyrannicide, which acted, according to Dio, as the first stimulus to the younger Brutus' participation in the plot to murder Caesar.[47] Shortly after the fall of Caesar, we encounter Cicero attacking the political pretensions of Lucius Antonius as a potential pretender to sole rule and claimant of authoritarian patronage over the entire Roman people by virtue of his acceptance of a series of honorific portraits not from the Senate and People, but from a series of groups who were some of the major constituencies within the Roman state — the thirty-five tribes, the equestrian order, some military tribunes — and could be presented (by Cicero) as amounting to the state.[48] Members of the élite who exploited the elasticity of the norms that regulated the institution of honorific portraits ran the risk that such elastic norms would (or could be made to) snap back.

Although it has been suggested recently that there was no public honorific portraiture at Rome before 158 B.C., there is good reason to suppose the practice stretched back at least to the fourth century B.C., even if it was subject to a considerable degree of formalization in the late Republic and into the Principate. This formalization occurred in part as a function of changing patterns of social and political relations, in part on the basis of Greek models of honorific systems with which the Romans became increasingly familiar in the last two centuries B.C.[49] A fragment of Ennius, which probably dates from the late third or early second century (certainly before Scipio's death in 189), celebrates the victories of Scipio and asks 'What manner of statue, how great a column shall the Roman people make, to tell of your deeds?'.[50] This seems to presuppose the idea of public honorific portraits, and in particular the column statues of C. Maenius and C. Duillius as models. In addition, series of memorial statues of

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murdered ambassadors were erected in the Roman forum in 438, 230, and 162 B.C.[51] The statues of Maenius and Duillius represent part of a small group of public honorific statues from the late fourth and early third century which make good sense in terms of the political reorganization at Rome in the last part of the fourth century B.C. The honorific statues on rostrate columns of Maenius, Duillius, and Aemilius Paulus were set up in 338, 260, and 255, for victories at Antium and over the Carthaginians in the latter two cases.[52] In the same period, a series of equestrian statues is attested, first in 338 B.C. in honour of the consuls C. Maenius and L. Camillus, as a supplement to the triumphs they were awarded for victories over the Volscians and the Latin league,[53] and then an equestrian statue of Q. Marcus Tremulus, set up in the Roman forum alongside the temple of Castor to celebrate the conquest of the Hernici in 306 B.C.[54] This cluster of examples towards the end of the fourth century B.C. should be interpreted as part of the formation of the new patrician-plebeian nobility which emerged out of the Licinio-Sextian laws. In addition to the first honorific portrait statues, this period saw a major reorganization of the forum to accommodate the new institutional arrangements of the middle Republic, and the creation of standardized forms for other elements of the prestige symbolism of the political élite, such as the triumph.[55] While the erection of public honorific portraits was not a common event in Republican Rome, and the procedure was perhaps less formalized than in Athens by virtue of the different political organization of the two states, it was certainly a good deal more frequent in Rome than in classical Athens, where no one has questioned the institutional character of the practice.[56]

The chronology of the institution obviously has important implications for the question of whether one should tie the emergence of verism to a supposed concern with the articulation of Roman identity in the context of a new institution of honorific portraiture created after 158 B.C., as Smith suggests.[57] If, as I have argued, there is in fact a much longer tradition of honorific portraiture at Rome, this institution cannot in itself explain the emergence of verism. Our best guess at what these mid-Republican

[51] Accepted even by sceptics concerning early honorific portraits, like Wallace-Hadrill and Smith, but with the (to my mind unhelpful) qualification that these are not proper honorific portraits, since the honorands were dead and the statues, at least in the case of the third-century group, only three feet high (Wallace-Hadrill, *Power*, 171; Smith, *HRP*, 125–6). Smith again misses Pliny's institutional point, namely that three feet was considered the appropriate measure for this type of memorial portrait, which Smith extends to being the norm for all third-century and earlier honorific portraits. Pliny (*HN* 34.23–4) was relying on a text for this datum, the Annales Maximi, and it seems highly unlikely that the other honorific statues of the fourth and third centuries which he mentions as still surviving to his day were of this reduced scale, since he makes no mention of the fact in discussing them. On the contrary, the measurement is mentioned by both Pliny and the Annales as peculiar to the statues of this particular group of honorands — Fidenae ambassadors: *HN* 34.23–5; Livy 4.17; Cic., *Phil.* 9.1.4; Vessberg, *Studien*, 91–2; Publius Junius and Titus Coruncianus, ambassadors killed by Teuta Queen of the Illyrians in 230 B.C.: *HN* 34.23–4.

[52] *HN* 34.20, 23; Livy 42.20.1; Richardson, op. cit. (n. 22, 1953), 102–3; Wallace-Hadrill, *Power*, 172; F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano II: periodo repubblicano e augusteo* (1985), 39–53.

[53] Livy 8.13.9; Eutropius 2.7; Lahusen, op. cit. (n. 10), 63. Wallace-Hadrill (*Power*, 171–2) finds this early use of honorific equestrian statues 'difficult to accept', on the grounds that this honour is only attested in the Hellenistic Greek world for kings as

late as 314/13 B.C. Equestrian statues were, however, not uncommmon in the Greek world from the Archaic period onwards. We know of votive equestrian statues in the Classical period (Xenophon, *Hipp.* 1.1), and there is evidence in the form of bronze statuettes for Etruscan equestrian statuary from this period (Richardson, op. cit. (n. 22, 1953), 115–23). The use of column statues conceivably (if one accepts the authenticity of the columna Maenia) and rostrate columns without question in public honorific monuments were Roman innovations, and it would not be surprising if Rome also took the lead in equestrian monuments, eschewed until the Hellenistic period in the more egalitarian Greek poleis. See esp., Hölscher, op. cit. (n. 14), 339.

[54] Livy 9.43.22; Pliny, *HN* 34.23; Cic., *Phil.* 6.13; represented on the coins of the moneyer L. Marcius Philippus in 113/112 B.C., Crawford, *RRC*, 293/1; Wallace-Hadrill, *Power*, 72.

[55] Hölscher, op. cit. (n. 14); idem, 'Römische nobiles und hellenistische Herrscher', in *Akten des XIII Internationalen Kongress für klassische Archäologie, Berlin* (1988), 74–84, esp. 75–9; Cornell, op. cit. (n. 14), 333–44, for a recent account of the Licinio-Sextian laws and the formation of the patrician-plebeian nobility.

[56] On honorific portraiture in Classical Athens, see P. Gauthier, *Les Cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*, BCH Suppl. 12 (1985), 92–111; J. Tanner 'Art as expressive symbolism: civic portraits in classical Athens', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 2.2 (1992), 167–90.

[57] Smith, *HRP*, 125–8.

portraits looked like is the Conservatori Brutus (Pl. V).[58] Without a radical shift in terms of the function of portraits and the normative frame which regulated their use and their form, it is hard to place the emergence of verism in this particular institutional context. There is simply neither the social nor the cultural pressure which could explain such a fundamental reorganization of artistic form. On the contrary, in the light of the fact that portrait-giving was in this case designed to bind the individual more closely into the collective social order, through obligations of *gratia* to the Senate and People, it seems likely that there were strong pressures towards respect for traditional stylistic, as well as iconographic, norms, laying relatively little stress on the individuality of the person portrayed. Whilst verism could conceivably have been adopted from some other context where it was originated into the context of public honorific portraiture, it seems unlikely to have originated here — especially if the development of verism should be seen as part of the same process as the assumption of ideal-nude bodies in portraits of Romans, as the evidence of the Pseudo-Athlete and, perhaps, C. Ofellius Ferus would seem to suggest. Nudity was not part of the Roman image.[59]

IV. PORTRAITS AND PATRONAGE IN THE LATE ROMAN REPUBLIC

The second institutional context in which we find Romans engaged in the exchange of portraits is that of portraits given by subject communities, or groups living in them, to members of the Roman élite, particularly those serving as governors or other officials, primarily in the provinces of the eastern Mediterranean. By no means all of these statues were exchanged in the context of explicitly patronal relationships, but over time the patronal character of these relationships became increasingly explicit, in so far as the idea and institution of patronage leant itself to the extension of these new imperial relationships of power.[60] In this section, I shall construct a series of interrelated arguments. First (i), I shall show that whilst the rules regulating the exchange of portraits in client-patron relationships bear a family resemblance to those of public honorific portraiture of the Roman state, they differ in virtue of the rather different values, norms, and power differentials that inform the relationship of client and patron, or subject and member of the ruling Roman élite, from those that inform relationships between the Roman state and individual members of its élite. I shall suggest that there is an affinity between these norms and values peculiar to the patron-client relationship and the sculptural style we call verism, and that this style played a functional role in the construction, definition, and emotional sustenance of such relationships. Second (ii), I shall open up the primarily text-based account of these rules through an exploration of epigraphic evidence, which, whilst lacking the high resolution of literary texts in their account of the normative underpinnings of such exchanges, gives a much fuller sense of the range of the social networks which gave rise to the participation by members of the Roman élite in the exchange of portraits with subjects and subject communities in the expanding Roman Empire. This facilitates the reconstruction of both the chronological

[58] D. Strong, *Roman Art* (2nd edn, 1988), 32–6 on Etruscan bronze and terracotta sculpture, 47 on the Conservatori Brutus; D. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (1992), 23–5 and 31–3; Bianchi-Bandinelli, op. cit. (n. 16), 11–17 on Etruscan and Roman sculpture in the early Republic. On the Conservatori Brutus: W. H. Gross, 'Zum sogennanten Brutus', in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* (1976), 564–80, esp. 576–80 (rejoinder of Torelli).

[59] For Roman suspicion of nudity: Plut., *Cato* 20.5–6; Cic., *Tusc. Disp.* 4.70; *De. Rep.* 4.4; cf. Pliny, *HN* 34.18. *Contra* Gruen (*CI*, 112), such popular suspicion of nudity could also extend to statues: hence Cicero's gibe at the naked statue of Verres' son in Syracuse: Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.63/154; cf. Hallett 1993, 67–117, esp. 113 on Cicero's joke; and Dio 45.31.1 on Cicero suggesting a nude portrait of Antony be

erected in the forum, as an appropriate counterpart to a statue of Horatius 'seen wearing his armour even in the Tiber'. The first state nude portrait statue seems to have been Octavian's statue of 36 B.C. Since Octavian/Augustus did not repeat the type, after the shortlived period when he seems to have been thinking of stylizing himself on the model of Hellenistic rulers, one supposes it was not a great success with the public to whom it was oriented (cf. Zanker, op. cit. (n. 11), 38–57, esp. figs 31 and 32).

[60] The category of patronal portraits is recognized by Lahusen (op. cit. (n. 10), 84), and much of the epigraphic material referenced, but without sufficient critical analysis or any consideration of the connections between these relationships and the form of the portraits used to construct them.

PLATE I

PORTRAIT OF A 'PATRICIAN'. MUSEO TORLONIA. FIRST CENTURY B.C.
Photos: DAI-Rome 33.58, 33.60

PLATE II

2. PORTRAIT OF SELEUKOS I, ROMAN COPY OF A THIRD-CENTURY B.C. GREEK ORIGINAL.
Photo: DAI-Rome 85.909

1. PORTRAIT OF A GENERAL FROM TIVOLI, 75–50 B.C.
*Photo: DAI-Rome 32.425*

PLATE III
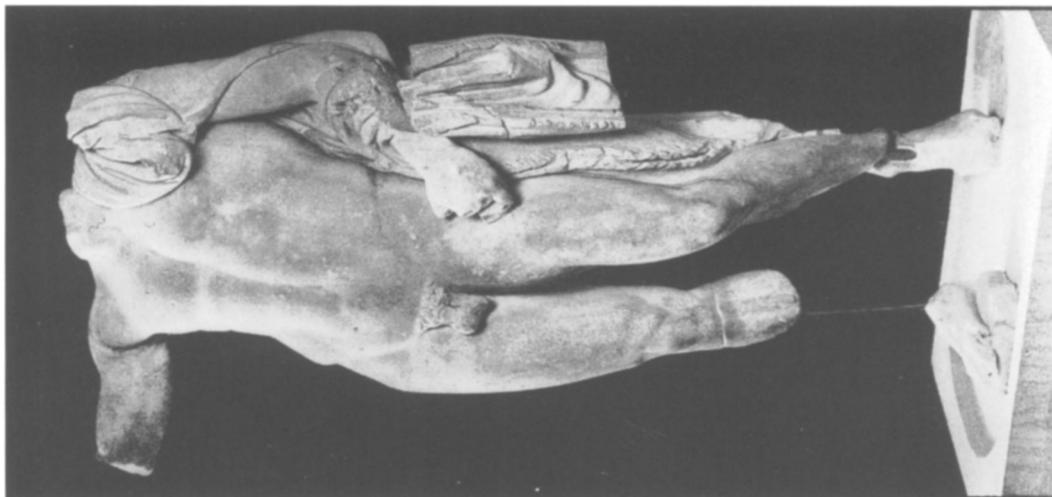
2. C. OFELLIUS FERUS, c. 100 B.C.
After BCH 1991, p. 394, fig. 8. courtesy of R. Etienne


1. PORTRAIT OF A GENERAL FROM TIVOLI, 75–50 B.C.
Photo: Alinari Anderson 28853
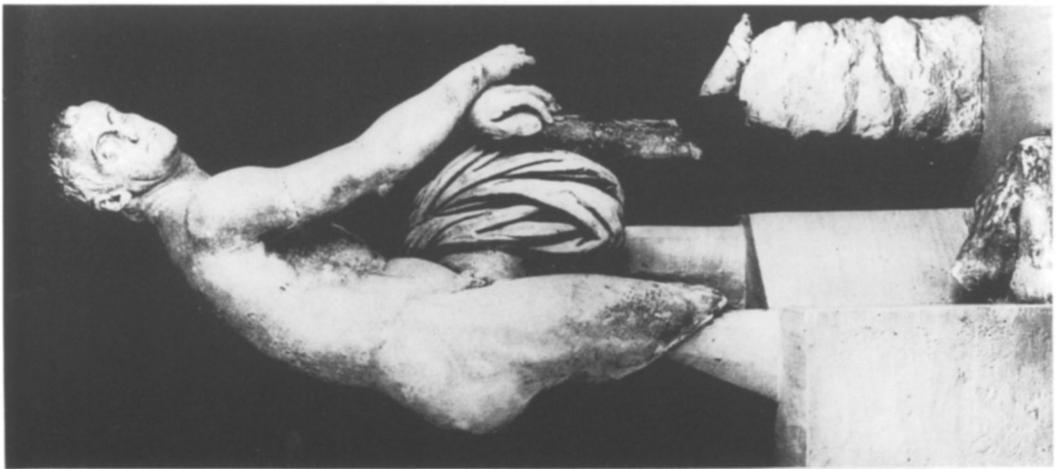
STATUE FROM THE THEATRE, CASSINO; LATE FIRST CENTURY B.C.
Photos: Carretoni, Mem. Pont. Acc. VI.1. (1943)

PLATE V
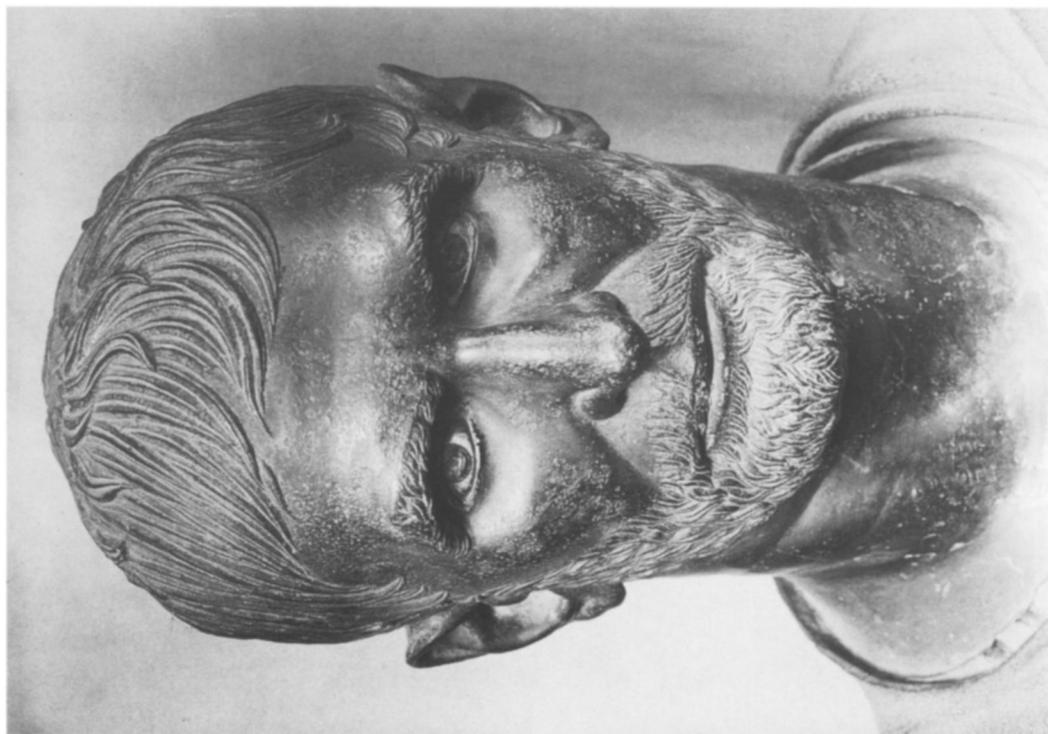
SO-CALLED 'BRUTUS'. BRONZE BUST, *c.* 300 B.C. CONSERVATORI MUSEUM, ROME.
Photos: DAI-Rome 7852, 7854
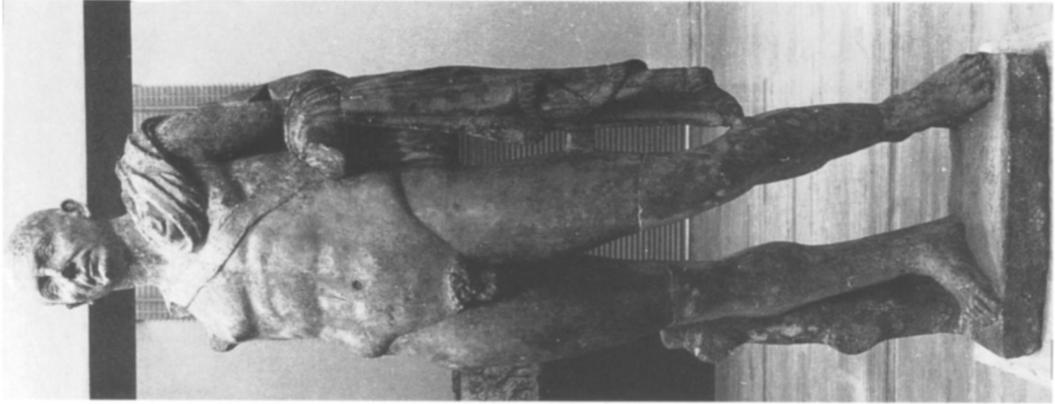
STATUE OF A GENERAL FROM FORULI, 60—50 B.C.
Photos: DAI-Rome 67.843, 60.32

PLATE VII

2. THESEUS AND THE MINOTAUR. WALL-PAINTING FROM POMPEII. ROMAN COPY OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D. AFTER A CLASSICAL GREEK ORIGINAL.
Photo. Alinari/Anderson 23475
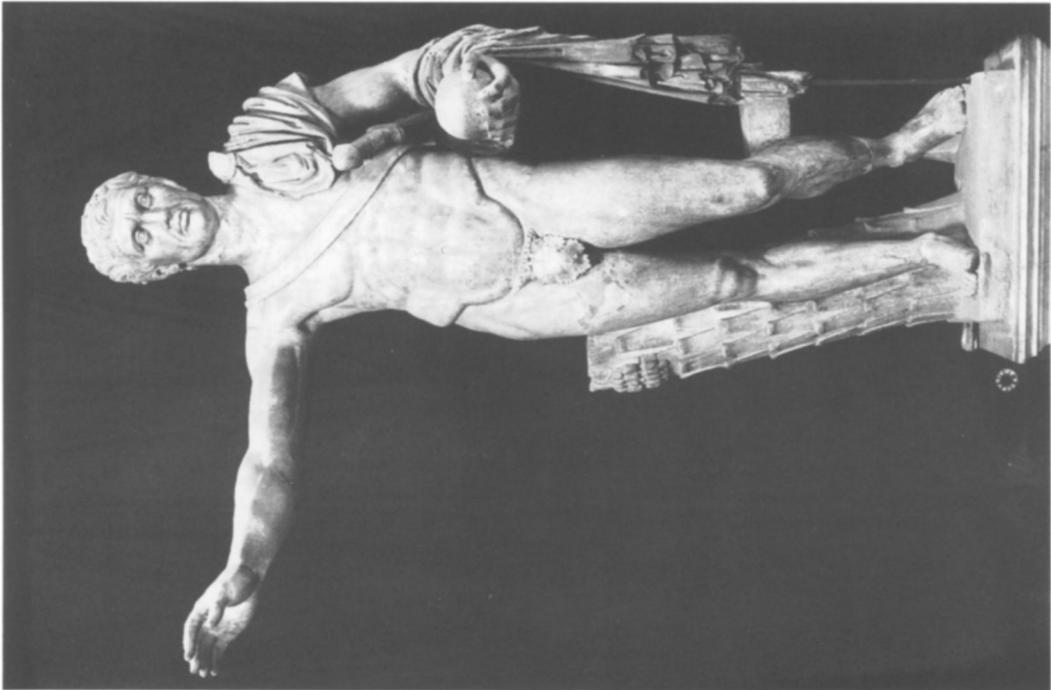
1. PALAZZO SPADA POMPEY, c. 60 B.C. (HEAD RESTORED).
Photo. Alinari/Anderson Roma 1978

PLATE VIII

PORTRAIT OF M. NONIUS BALBUS, FROM HERCULANEUM, C. FIRST CENTURY B.C./FIRST CENTURY A.D.
Photos: SAP neg. Herc D/46171, 46172

and the geographical parameters of this developing pattern of exchange, and in particular shows the place of patronage and patronal values in these exchanges alongside more traditional terms of honour and relationships of benefaction within provincial communities of the eastern Mediterranean. On this basis, I argue that portrait-exchange, integrated with the traditional Roman institution of clientela, develops out of Roman expansion in the eastern Mediterranean in the context of a changing balance of power between Romans and Greeks, and that we should interpret the development of verism in this particular historical and social context. Lastly (iii), I shall look at a group of texts and inscriptions in which the Roman recipient of a portrait from a Greek community is celebrated as patron and *soter*. Drawing upon these, I argue that the characteristic elements of late Republican Roman portraits, both verism and nudity, should be understood in terms of their particular contribution to the collaborative construction of culturally distinctive attitudes of authoritarian protectiveness and submissive/respectful dependence. Such attitudes provided the emotional grounding of these relationships between members of the Roman élite and subject Greeks. The driving forces which gave rise to the creation of portraits were the social and political pressures which motivated the construction of clientela relationships, and the social-psychological exigencies of interaction which required their expressive-aesthetic elaboration through the means of honorific portraits. These forces were interwoven with and shaped by the cultural values which animated and the norms which regulated these relationships — the idea of the patron as authoritarian father and divine saviour. This combination of dynamizing and controlling factors drove and shaped over a period of time the selection of ideal-body iconography and the development of the sculptural style of verism on the part of the Greek sculptors commissioned to make these monuments.

i. Portraits, Patrons and Exchange

Like public honorific portraits awarded by the state, portraits given by clients were reward symbols, symbolizing the attitude of respectful gratitude that clients felt towards their patron for the protection he afforded them and the services which he performed.[61] The same dimensions of the exchange of portraits are regulated in the context of patronage relationships as in public honorific portraiture, with appropriate adjustments in so far as the relationship between patron and client, or governing magistrate and provincial subject, was governed by rather different norms than those which governed the relationship between the Respublica as a whole and one of its citizens.

To give a portrait statue in return for *beneficia* received and in expectation of those to come was tantamount to entering into a relationship of clientela with the recipient as patron. Pliny reports that in 283 B.C. the Thurians 'presented Fabricius with a statue for having rescued them from a state of siege; and various races successively in this way entered into clientelae'.[62] Cicero records that the Capuans gave him a gilt statue on entering into a relationship as clients with him as patron.[63] To judge from the testimony

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[61] For a generalized analytical account of the institutionalized regulation of reward symbolism, see Parsons, op. cit. (n. 27), 414–27.

[62] *NH* 34.32: 'iidem postea Fabricium donavere statua liberati obsidione, passimque gentes in clientelas ita receptae.' According to Badian (*FC*, 157), the story of Fabricius' Samnite clientela is a late invention, and there are no genuine cases of foreign clientelae before the late third century (Marcellus and Syracuse). Foreign patronage really only becomes routinized during the course of the second century B.C., as also the giving of portraits to patrons as a part

of the relationship — see below Section ii. For my purposes, the truth or otherwise of Fabricius' clientela does not really matter very much. It is only in the context of a routinized exchange of portraits in the context of clientela relationships that we might reasonably expect a reorganization of artistic form in portrait statues to have taken place.

[63] Cic., *In Pis.* 25. Cf. also Cic., *Phil.* 6.13–14 for statues erected to Lucius Antonius, the brother of Marcus, as patron by the equestrian order and by military tribunes who had served under Julius Caesar.

of Pliny and the epigraphic evidence, additional gifts of statues were made by clients from time to time in return for further *beneficia* received from their patrons.[64]

The giving of portraits, both on the occasion of and subsequent to entry into a relationship of clientela, was at the disposition of the client, normally in these circumstances a group or community, making the gift. To count as an honour the portrait must be freely given as a reward for services, not extracted through coercion.[65] The arrangements for making and setting up the statue were normally to be made by the individual or collectivity giving the statue, in part to avoid the embezzlement by Roman officials of money subscribed for a statue in their honour,[66] in part presumably so that the type, materials, and form of the statue could be selected by the community giving the portrait to fit the particular attitude they felt towards their patron and the kind and degree of esteem in which they held him (as with state honorific statues where we can see the process more closely through the surviving speeches of Cicero).[67] Similarly the setting up of the portrait and its location should be at the disposition of the community giving the portrait, since the precise location of the statue inflected the level of honour.[68] Such portraits might be erected either in the public space (fora, sanctuaries) of the community or group honouring the person portrayed, or in the homeplace of the person honoured, often Rome.[69]

Our knowledge of the normative status of the rules and assumptions which informed these exchanges is largely a function of Cicero's attacks on Verres for having broken them during his governorship in Sicily (73–71 B.C.). Verres, Cicero alleges, extracted decrees of portraits and money for them from unwilling donors by force or the threat of force.[70] He had portraits decreed to him by cities' magistrates, the censors, rather than the proper representative communal groups or bodies which had the authority to decree such honours.[71] Verres' case highlights the great difference in terms of the power ratio between givers and receivers of honorific portraits in the case of patronal relationships as opposed to state honorific portraits at Rome itself. In a limiting case, prestige symbolism in the form of portraits could be extracted under duress. In practice, however, such an order based on force alone was unstable. As soon as Verres left Sicily, his portraits were torn down, in some places as part of an apparently spontaneous act of collective symbolic retribution against a hated ruler,[72] in others after the passing of official decrees by a community's senate providing for the demolition of statues erected in transgression of the customary rules.[73] This, however, was not the end of the story. The expressive relationship of client and patron was embedded in a further

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[64] Pliny, *HN* 34.17 on *atria*, the halls, of the houses of Roman nobles becoming crowded with honorific portrait statues given by clients, as the Forum had become crowded with public honorific statues awarded by the state: 'mox forum et in domibus privatis factum atque in atriis; honos clientium instituit sic colere patronos.'

[65] Some sense of the kind of services which might give rise to the offer of a statue are afforded by Cic., *Ad. Att.* 5.21, where Cicero talks of declining the statues which are offered to him (along with shrines — *fana* — and sculptured groups including four-horse chariots — *tethrippa*) in gratitude for the *beneficia* the people and communities of the province of Cilicia had enjoyed during his governorship, namely freedom from requisitions and billeting. Despite such offers, Cicero only accepts decrees in his honour. Cf. *ILLRP* 372: the Abbaitae and Epictetes, peoples of Mysia, set up a column (as a base for a portrait?) with a bilingual inscription in honour of the bravery of C. Salluvius Naso, who, whilst legate of Lucullus in Asia Minor in 73–1 B.C., saved them from Mithridates. The base was set up at Nemi in Italy, presumably Salluvius Naso's home town.

[66] Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.143–4. The epigraphic evidence confirms Cicero's suggestion that the manufacture of the statue and its erection was supervised by an appropriate local official, often the *epimelete* — e.g. *ID* 1604bis, *ID* 1659, *SIG*³ 681.

[67] Tuchelt, 74–86, esp. 74–9.

[68] Tuchelt, 66–8. Cic., *Verr.* 2.4.41/90 for Verres' insistence that the people of Tyndaris place his statue alongside those of the Marcelli, the patrons of Tyndaris, but on a higher base — a transparent symbol that their new patron, Verres, was now the top man in Tyndaris.

[69] Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.60/150 for gilt equestrian statues of Verres at Rome, set up by various Sicilian communities including the farmers of Sicily; 2.2.59/145 for a subscription by the Syracusans for statues of Verres at Rome, as well as those set up in Syracuse itself in their agora and bouleuterion (including statues of his father and son). Compare: (1) *ILLRP* 398 for a (statue?)-base in honour of M. Favonius at Terracina in Italy by the people of Agrigentum, for services performed whilst he was legate in Sicily (cf. Münzer, *RE* VI.2 (1909), col. 2074); (2) *ILLRP* 372 (discussed above n. 65); (3) *ILLRP* 380 base from excavations in the area of the Largo Argentina in Rome, set up by Italians who were *negotiatores*, businessmen, at Agrigentum in honour of Pompey the Great, Imperator.

[70] Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.143 and 145.
[71] Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.55/137.
[72] Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.65–6/158–60.
[73] Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.66–7/161–2.

set of material and normative controls by virtue of its embedding within a wider system of Roman imperial control of provincial populations. In so far as a statue of a Roman governor is also a symbol of Roman authority, an attack on such a symbol is an attack on Roman authority, and Verres' successor as praetor of Sicily (and a member of the family which had sponsored Verres' political career, to complicate the picture further) insisted by virtue of his authority as governor that the statues of Verres be restored.[74] Conversely, provincials might seek to strengthen their position normatively, through seeking increased central regulation of the practice of portrait-giving,[75] or materially by seeking the support of other members of the Roman élite who were already, or were prepared to become, patrons of the provincials, and to assist in the prosecution of a governor for maladministration.[76]

This particular pattern of inequality in relationships informing the award of portraits to patrons and Roman governors was rooted not only in the material realities of an imperialist administrative system, but also in the set of moral values which informed the normative structure and legitimated the pattern of patron-client relationships. Clientela relationships were relationships between unequals, involving a mutual exchange of services over an extended period of time.[77] A patron from an élite family would provide physical and legal protection for his clients in return for political support and the performance of acts expressive of respect which enhanced the prestige of the patron within the community of Rome as a whole.[78] Such acts might include attending the patron at his *domus* in the morning or as he went about his daily business in the city. These relationships were an established means by which men of lower status were integrated into the political order at Rome, dominated as it was by a restricted body of aristocratic families. The moral ideology which informed such relationships was explicitly patriarchal, modelled on a father's authority over his children and the reciprocal duties which characterized familial solidarity.[79] The ideal patron was characterized by a cluster of moral and personal qualities encapsulated in the concepts of *fides*, *gravitas*, and *severitas*, all of which expressed the hierarchical relationship of the *patronus* to his *clientes*.[80] The core concept was the *fides* of the *patronus*, his trustworthiness and reliability in the fulfilment of his obligations as *patronus*.[81] The *patronus* in whom one could have such confidence was characterized by *gravitas*, a weightiness which was once exterior and physical as well as intellectual and moral, manifested in reduced emotional expression and constancy (*constantia*) in all circumstances in one's dealings with clients, gravity in style of speaking (*graviter dicere, sententia gravis*), and a certain moral rigour or *severitas*, both in one's personal conduct and in one's dealing with clients.[82] These qualities were a prerogative of age. Severity of visage combined with weightiness of stature and a certain stateliness of movement represented the physical expression of the moral qualities of the ideal patron.[83] The ideal client responded to such a patron with the pious respect a son might be expected to show his father, manifested in particular dutifulness in supporting his patron in times of need

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[74] Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.67–8/162–4; Harmand, *Patronat*, 106–17 and Badian, *FC*, 282–4 for the complicated political and patronal context of Verres' prosecution.

[75] The Sicilians, for example, petitioned the Roman Senate to pass a law whereby it should become illegal for any community to be allowed to decree portraits in honour of a governor until he had left the province — Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.59–60/146–8. The temptation to use subscriptions for honorific statues as an instrument of extortion was to some degree alleviated by a rule that the governor had to be able to show that the money in question had been spent on the erection of portraits within five years or be liable to face a charge of extortion — Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.57–8/141–3.

[76] Cicero's prosecution of Verres was in part a favour for Pompey, who was seeking to protect and gain justice for his clients in Sicily — Badian, *FC*, 282–4.

[77] On the patron-client relationship as a general analytic category, see A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Introduction', in idem (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*

(1989), 1–13. On Roman patronage, idem, 'Patronage in Roman society from Republic to Empire', ibid., 64–87, esp. 71, 84, for criticism of exaggerations of the importance of patronage as the primary means of 'generating power' in Roman political life, rather than just one, if an important one, amongst many.

[78] Gelzer, *RN*, 70–3 on patronage in the courts.

[79] Badian, *FC*, 1–14, 163–5, on the ideology of patronage and the reciprocal services; Gelzer, *RN*, 62–70 on the personalistic and hierarchical character of *patrocinium*. The classic statement of the moral ideology of clientela is Dion. Hal. 2.10.

[80] J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République* (1963), 275–94 'Les virtues du Patronus'; Giuliani, *Bildnis*, 225–33.

[81] Hellgouarc'h, op. cit. (n. 80), 275.

[82] ibid., 275–85.

[83] ibid. Cf. Ter., *Andr.* 855 — 'tristis severitas inest in voltu et in verbis fides' — with Giuliani, *Bildnis*, 225–33.

and manifesting gratitude for *beneficia* rendered by the *officia* of attendance upon his patron in his house and in the forum.

In the case of the honorific portrait awarded by the Roman state, the recipient of the portrait was the junior partner in the relationship, receiving the honour of the portrait as a *beneficium* from the greater party, the Senate and People of Rome of which the recipient was a single component, and to whom he owed a debt of *gratia* in return for the *beneficium*. Clients by contrast, as lesser partners in their relationship, gave portraits out of *gratia* in return for *beneficia* they had received from their *patronus*. This expression of gratitude involved a marked self-subordination, and the whole exchange was characterized by a strongly hierarchical character and patriarchal tone, as manifested in Cicero's account of the Capuans' entering into his clientela:

> Upon me [the Capuans] had bestowed a gilded statue; I had been chosen as their special patron; they accounted their lives, their fortunes and their children as a gift from me.[84]

It is precisely this difference in regulative norms characteristic of these two contexts in which portraits were exchanged which makes Lucius Antonius' acceptance of a statue as patron from the thirty-five tribes, in effect the entire Roman citizen body, transgressive, and thereby prompts Cicero's outraged attack in the sixth *Philippic*:

> But I return to your love and your darling, Lucius Antonius, who has taken all of you under his charge (*qui vos omnes in fidem suam recepit*). Do you deny it? Is there any of you that has no tribe? Assuredly no-one. And yet the thirty-five tribes have adopted him as their patron. Do you again shout 'No'? Look at that gilt equestrian statue on the left: what is its inscription? 'The thirty-five tribes to their patron.' The Roman People's patron then is Lucius Antonius. May evil plagues fall on him! For I agree with your shouts. To say nothing of this brigand whom no-one would chose as a client, who at any time has been so powerful, so illustrious in achievement as to dare to call himself the patron of the Roman People which is the conqueror and lord of all nations (*qui se populi romani victoris dominique omnium gentium patronum dicere auderet*).[85]

It is only in terms of an understanding of and moral commitment to the different set of assumptions underlying the constitutive rules which regulated the giving of honorific portraits by the Roman People as a whole, and the patriarchal assumptions underlying the practice of portrait giving from client to patron, that the setting up of this portrait to Antonius can be perceived as transgressive.

What then is the precise character of the meanings that are being mobilized, the responses that are elicited on the part of viewers, by a portrait in this institutional context? Portraits are not decoded simply on the basis of their visual form, whether as a reflection of Roman values or as a projection of the way the individual portrayed wishes himself to be perceived in terms of the dominant values in Roman society. Rather they are interpreted and responded to, first, on the basis of the relational context of the image; and second, in terms of the relationship of the particular viewer in question to that relational context, as well as and in interaction with their visual form.

The portrait functions as a sign, standing for the relationship between the giver of the portrait and the portrayed, which the viewer infers from seeing the portrait in a particular context. When Cicero is asked to attend a meeting at the senate of Syracuse, and is asked why he had not asked the people of Syracuse for evidence against Verres, he replies that, in addition to the fact that the Syracusans had not been amongst those Sicilians who sought him out at Rome,

> I could not expect any resolution against Gaius Verres to be passed in a senate-house where I saw before me Gaius Verres' gilded statue.[86]

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[84] Cic., *In Pis.* 25.
[85] Cic., *Phil.* 6.12.

[86] Cic., *Verr.* 2.4.138.

Tacit knowledge of the rules of the institution whereby clients award portrait statues to their patrons enables Cicero to infer from the presence of a statue of Verres in the Syracusan senate-house that there exists a relationship of clientela between Verres and Syracuse, and that the Syracusans, as clients who have honoured Verres with a statue in this location, must be well disposed towards him and consequently will be unwilling to testify against him in court.[87]

The statue then signifies not just the existence of the relationship, and the moral values which legitimate it, but also the attitudes or feelings of the two parties to the relationship towards each other. This last, more particularistic, level of meaning evokes a different response for the person who is party to the relationship than for the outside observer, like Cicero. Cicero's affectively neutral observation of Verres' portrait in the senate-house at Syracuse is in marked contrast to the response of the Syracusan senators, the clients of Verres only under duress, which immediately follows the passage quoted above:

> These words of mine were followed by such a groan, as those present looked at the statue and took in my reference to it, that one might have supposed it set up in the senate house to commemorate the man's crimes and not his services (*beneficia*).[88]

Anger and hostility, corresponding to the abusive nature of both the relationship of clientela and its expression through portraiture, replace the benevolent respect and submissive dependence that should more normally characterize both the feelings of client for patron and the response evoked in clients by their patron's portrait.

Verism invokes and elaborates each of these levels of meaning. On a cultural level, the new style does not reflect Roman values in general, but inscribes in portraits the moral values relevant to the relationship of patronage which the portrait is used to construct, objectify, and thereby sustain. On a social level, verism, stressing the age, gravity, and severity of the sitter, functions as a visual metaphor which invokes the moral contract, *fides*, the shared normative culture, between the two parties to the relationship. On a social-psychological level, verism is the sensuous, material basis which makes possible the generalization of meanings and sentiments proper to the relationship of clientela from the relationship and its parties to the portrait as a sign that stands for the relationship. An image dedicated at Rome by a client community of their patron calls out in the patron a pleasurable feeling of authoritarian benevolence for them as clients which is his response to their self-subjection manifested in the gift of the portrait. For the clients, gazing on a portrait of their patron in the forum or senate-house of their home community, the veristic style of the portrait allows them, as they gaze upon it, to project and elaborate affect-laden fantasies of their patron as ideal patron, fantasies of his *constantia* and *fides*, fantasies which generate a pleasurable sense of personal security rooted in personal subjection to the masterly patron. Both in the exchange of portraits and in the repeated viewing of them, patron and client are socialized into a language of emotional communication, which shapes the feelings of the two parties to that communication in terms of the moral culture which underpins the institution of patronage. They become sensitized to, and increasingly affectively invested in, their relationship to each other, the reciprocal attitudes and expectations which constitute that relationship and the moral values which legitimate those attitudes and expectations.[89] The form of the portrait, we may conclude, is a condition of the

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[87] cf. Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.151. Anticipating Verres' defence against the testimony of the Sicilian farmers — namely that they are not to be trusted, because they were upset by Verres' efficient management of the corn-supply for Rome and therefore presumptively hostile — Cicero heaps ridicule on Verres' defence in so far as it contradicts the testimony afforded by the statues set up in honour of Verres at Rome by the Sicilian farmers: 'What an amazing position, what a miserable and hopeless line of defence! That the accused man, after being the

governor of Sicily, should have to deny, when his accuser is willing to allow, that the farmers, of all people, have set up a statue of him of their own free will, that the farmers think well of him, feel friendly towards him, and hope for his escape (*aratores ei statuam sua voluntate statuisse, aratores deo eo bene existimare, amicos esse, salvum cupere)*.'

[88] Cic., *Verr.* 2.4.139.

[89] Parsons, op. cit. (n. 27), 387, on the internalization of expressive symbolism.

expressive adequacy of portraiture as a medium through which clientela relationships might be constructed, normatively defined, and affectively sustained.

Such a *functional contextualization* of veristic portraiture in its immediate cultural, social and psychological environments, does not in itself amount to a full *historical explanation*. It represents simply a more multidimensional account of the construction of meaning than earlier efforts, and one which at least intimates how art feeds back into the contexts out of which it was created rather than being solely an epiphenomenon of them. The question remains, when exactly does the exchange of portraits between clients and patrons become a culturally significant practice; in particular does it broadly correlate with the development of verism during the course of the second century B.C.? What is the special motivation during this period on the part of both clients and patrons for developing this new practice in the context of clientela relationships, which required, in addition to the expenditure of resources on statues, the considerable cultural investment represented by the creation of the new artistic language of verism (and in some cases the combination of verism with ideal naked bodies)? What is the broader historical context that gives rise to the process whereby the practice of portrait giving is extended to the context of clientela relationships, and can certain features of this context help us to explain the presence of ideal nudity alongside verism?

ii. Imperial Expansion, Social Interaction and Political Integration: the Role of Honorific Portraits

Originally developed in the context of élite-subordinate relations in the city of Rome and its immediate geographical environs, patronal relationships were extended from individuals to entire communities throughout Italy and into the eastern Mediterranean as Rome's empire expanded. The first securely attested example of such 'foreign clientelae' is that of Marcellus, who became patron of Syracuse after its defeat and sack in 211 B.C.[90] In addition to conquest, legal services or benefactions of one kind or another on the part of a Roman magistrate serving in a province could give rise to relationships of patronage.[91] The extension of clientela relationships to communities was a means by which Rome could incorporate and control new subjects, without extending to them the jealously-guarded privilege of citizenship. As Rome's network of alliances expanded, and she became increasingly independent of the support of any one community, so, inversely, subject communities became increasingly dependent upon Rome, and upon patrons as the means of access to central decision-making bodies at Rome in order to secure the material benefits of membership in the Empire, such as support against hostile neighbours or resolution of legal disputes, and protection from the more outstanding abuses of imperial rule.[92] Previously egalitarian reciprocal relationships of *hospitium* in Italy and proxeny in the Greek world took on an increasingly hierarchical and patronal character.[93]

This process whereby the relationship between the Roman élite and their provincial, more particularly their Greek, subjects was negotiated took place in large part through the medium of honours. On inscribed honorific decrees, and, particularly importantly for my purposes, statue bases, one can watch this process of the negotiation and transformation of relationships of authority. On the one hand, the Greeks extend to the Romans the kind of honours they offered to powerful benefactors within their own communities and the larger Greek world. On the other hand, the Romans respond in

[90] Badian, *FC*, 155; Harmand, *Patronat*, 14–23.
[91] Harmand, *Patronat*, 14–23 patronage by right of conquest, 34–9 juridical patronage, 39–48 provincial magistracies and patronage.

[92] Harmand, *Patronat*, 90–100 on the role of the patron in legal disputes.
[93] Badian, *FC*, 148–53 (Italian cities), 157–67 (Greek world); Harmand, *Patronat*, 55–82.

terms of conceptions of authority derived from the institution of clientela.[94] Ultimately, the Greeks even project themselves into that institutional context in order to secure increased levels of patronal protection and benefaction in the context of increasingly inegalitarian relationships, particularly as Roman influence was replaced by Roman rule following annexation. If one looks at series of statue-bases and decrees erected and inscribed in the Greek world in honour of Romans, the pattern that emerges is one of a gradual shift from a language of honour which is exclusively Greek to one which assimilates Roman vocabulary and moral concepts, above all those of patronage, and fuses Greek and Roman conceptions in highly novel combinations.

Whilst the first examples we know of Romans acting as the *proxenos* of a Greek community date back to the third century B.C.,[95] the title of patron is not attested until 173 B.C.[96] During the course of the first half of the second century, honours for Romans in the Greek world, both in the form of inscribed decrees and statue bases, become increasingly common-place. Initially the greater part deploy the traditional Greek honorific vocabulary, praising locally-resident Romans, in particular wealthy bankers and Roman promagistrates, for their *arete* and *kalok'agathia*.[97] By the end of the second century and the beginning of the first century B.C., the title of patron on such statue bases is regularly attested, although, unlike the more conventional vocabulary of honour, this term is used in effect exclusively for Roman promagistrates or envoys, that is to say members of the governing senatorial élite from Rome.[98] On the Greek mainland and adjacent islands, statues in honour of Romans using conventional honorific vocabulary are known from the early second century.[99] Statues honouring Roman promagistrates as patrons enter the record in the mid-second century,[100] and continue throughout the first century B.C.[101] Decrees and statue bases using the standard Greek formulae in honour of Roman businessmen and promagistrates are found on Delos from the

[94] Even where the relationship is not technically a patronal one, Roman provincial administrators seem to have projected themselves in accordance with a conception of authority derived from patronage, and with a strongly patriarchal character. Cicero, writing to his brother Quintus, advises him on the importance of *constantia* and *gravitas* in the administration of justice in his province (Asia), and suggests that if he carries out his duties to a sufficiently high level he will be 'not only entitled but also esteemed the father of Asia — *parentem Asiae*', Cic., *Ad Q. fr.* 1.1., esp. 20 and 31. Cf. Badian, *FC*, 73–5; Harmand, *Patronat*, 100–4.

[95] Badian, *FC*, 44; Harmand, *Patronat*, 58–60 for tables of early Roman *proxenoi*.

[96] Harmand, *Patronat*, 74, Claudius Marcellus, sent as envoy to reconcile members of the Aetolian league in 173 B.C., patron of Delphi, *BCH* VI, 449, no 78.

[97] Gruen, *HWCR*, 169–72, heavily emphasizing continuity in the language of honour.

[98] The only exceptions are some inscriptions of freedmen, although obviously these are not communal clientela relationships, which are my concern here. For an emphasis on the development of relationships of *patrocinium* as an innovation within this pattern of honorific exchange, and transforming proxeny relationships in an inegalitarian direction, see Tuchelt, 61–3, Badian, *FC*, 157–67, Harmand, *Patronat*, 55–82.

[99] *SIG*³ 649 — *koinon* of the Achaians, statue in

honour of Q. Marcius Philippus, cos. 169 B.C., for his *arete* and *kalok'agathia* towards the Achaeans and the other Greeks; *SIG*³ 650 — polis of the Eleans, statue in honour of Cn. Octavius (*praetor classi* in Aegean 168 B.C.), for his *arete* and *eunoia*; *IG* VII 3490; *SIG*³ 710C, 110–106 B.C.

[100] *SEG* I.149 — Roman legate (name lost) named as patron, honoured with statue by the *koinon* of the Phokaians; cf. *SEG* I.150; *SEG* I.152, orthostate from the base of an equestrian statue erected by the polis of the Delphians in honour of A. Postumius Albinus, their patron and benefactor, for his offices in securing their freedom (cos. 151 B.C., leader of the ten members of the commission sent for the organization of Achaia as a province in 146, although the letter forms of the inscription may suggest a later date). Cf. Gruen, *HWCR*, 170; Harmand, *Patronat*, 74 — Quintus Baebius, patron of Tegea, probably also a member of Postumius Albinus' commission.

[101] *IvO* 328; cf. Harmand, *Patronat*, 39, *koinon* of the Achaians honours Q. Ancharius Q. f. as patron and benefactor, before 90 B.C., proquaestor of Macedonia-Achaia, statue-base. *AJA* 44 (1940), 485–93, boule and demos of the Samothracians honour L. Calpurnius Piso (procos. 57–55 B.C.) as autokrator and patron, statue-base. *AJA* 48 (1944), 76–7, people of Beroea and the Romans who possess land there honour L. Calpurnius Piso as their patron, statue-base.

beginning of the second half of the second century B.C.,[102] the first statues explicitly for patrons at the beginning of the first century.[103] The fullest picture is afforded by Tuchelt's collection of inscriptions honouring Roman magistrates in the province of Asia, and his chronological list of their statue-bases.[104] The first bases in this series, dating from c. 132 B.C., draw upon the standard repertoire of honorific formulae in the Greek world,[105] whilst for the period from the 90s to 29 B.C., twenty-two out of a total of sixty-three are either explicitly in honour of a patron or are in honour of a relative (mother, father, wife) of a patron.[106] Hoghammar's study of Kos, based on a much smaller number, shows a similar picture.[107] The first honorific portrait of a Roman, Flamininus, was erected in 198 B.C.[108] The first patronal portraits date from the beginning of the first century.[109] The scattered evidence of other patronal inscriptions from the remainder of the eastern part of the Greek world suggests a broadly similar picture, with statues erected in honour of Roman promagistrates as patrons beginning in the second half of the second century and intensifying in the first century.[110]

It has recently been suggested that the term patron is used in these honorific contexts as a simple synonym of the long conventional *proxenos*.[111] If true, this would seriously undermine my argument, in so far as it would be impossible to demonstrate that there was any new social or cultural pressure arising out of this particular context to generate the new artistic forms (verism) appropriate to the moral and affective culture of patronage. However, both the pattern of social relationships which lies behind these honours, where we can glimpse it, and the way the title itself is used, show that the Greeks recognized the specificity of the idea and the institution of patronage, and that in using the term they sought to construct specifically patronal relationships and call forth the corresponding attitudes and services on the part of their patron. The title of patron is not one that can be relatively freely bestowed, like *proxenos* or *euergetes*, but depends on the consent of the patron-to-be, arises out of a process of interaction, and implies

[102] *ID* 1842, statue in honour of Scipio Aemelianus, c. 140–130 B.C., erected by a Roman, L. Babullius, in recognition of the *euergesia* and *kalok'agathia* of his *philos* Scipio. *ID* 1520, honorific decree by Poseidoniastes of Berytos in honour of the banker M. Minatius Sextus, *euergetes*, awarded two portraits, one sculpted, one painted, for his *arete* and *eunoia*, paid for cult equipment for the association; mid-second century. *ID* 1523, honorific inscription, possibly by members of an Isis cult, probably late second century, awarding a statue to a Roman, with provisions for annual cleaning and monthly crowning. *ID* 1603, base for statue erected in honour of M. Antonius, quaestor pro praetore in Asia in 113 B.C., by the demos of Prostaenna in Pisidia, for his *arete* and *eunoia*. *ID* 1622 , 43 B.C.; *ID* 1659, 80 B.C.; *ID* 1660, c. 80 B.C.; *ID* 1699, 99 B.C.; *ID* 1710, c. 100 B.C., for his *euergesia*; *ID* 1782, c. 90 B.C.

There are also, of course, statue-bases in honour of Romans with no explicit honorific vocabulary: *ID* 1604; *ID* 1620; *ID* 1679 those living and working on Delos, statue-base for C. Cluvius, procos. Asia 103 B.C., standing immediately adjacent to the statue of Ofellius in the so-called Agora of the Italians (cf. Queyrel, op. cit. (n. 21), 415); *ID* 1694; *ID* 1695–7 Italians and Greeks who do business on Delos, statue-bases for L. Munatius Plancus, c. 88 B.C., Latin inscriptions, Agora of the Italians.

[103] *ID* 1700, the Delians honour Marcus Antonius, *strategos hupatos*, patron, c. 97 B.C.; *ID* 1701, the Delians honour Gaius Julius Caesar, patron, c. 90 B.C.

[104] Tuchelt, Appendix following p. 249.

[105] Nos 1–4: (1) M. Cosconius, honoured for his *arete* and *eunoia* by the demos of Erythrai, c. 132 B.C. (2) M. Antonius, q. pro. pr., honoured for his *arete* and *eunoia*, by the demos of Prostanna in Pisidia, at Delos = *ID* 1603 above n. 102. (3) M. Popillius Laenas, leg., honoured by the boule and demos of Magnesia on the Maeander, early first century. (4)

Q. Mucius Scaevola, pr. pro cos., honoured as *soter* and *euergetes* for his *arete* and *dikaisosune* and *kathareiotes* by the demoi, the ethne, and the friends of Rome in Asia and those Greeks who celebrate the Mukiaia, 98/7 or 94/3 B.C., dedicated at Olympia.

[106] Tuchelt's nos: (5) C. Valerius Flaccus, pr. pro. cos., honoured as patron of the city Klaros, c. 95 B.C. (6) Idem, c. 92/91 B.C. (11) L. Licinius Lucullus, proqu., honoured as patron and *euergetes* by the demos of Synnada, after 83 B.C. — also received cult as *soter* cf. nos 10 and 18. (25) Cn. Pompeius Magnus, imp. III., honoured as patron and *euergetes* by the demos of Miletos, 63/62 B.C. (28) Idem, honoured as *ktistes* and patron by the demos of the city of Pompeiopolis, and for guaranteeing the autonomy, freedom from seizure, and liberty of the sanctuary; the city also issued coins with portrait of Pompey — *Syll. Graec. Numm.* (Copenhagen) 33 (Cilicia), Soli-Pompeiopolis, nos 244–5; *BMC* Lycaonia, pl. XXVII.2, p. 152, no. 48. (28bis) Idem, honoured as patron and (?) *en isotheoi* by the demos of Side, after 67 B.C. Also nos 29, 30, 34, 36, 41, 42, 45, 47, 50, 59, 60, 62, 67.

[107] K. Hoghammar, *Sculpture and Society: A Study of the Connection between Free-Standing Sculpture and Society on Kos in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (1993).

[108] ibid., no. 45.

[109] ibid., no. 76: M. Popilius Laenas, patron and benefactor, 100/70 B.C.; no. 48: . . .cius Balbus, 70/30 B.C.

[110] *IGRRP* IV.928, 968, 1684, 1716; III.1102; *ILLRP* 433.

[111] Gruen, *HWCR*, 169–72, esp. 171, and G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965), 12–13. For a more balanced account of the role of patronage in Roman foreign relations, see J. Rich, 'Patronage and interstate relations in the Roman Republic', in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (1989), 117–35.

certain obligations on the part of the patron (and the client) for the future.[112] The Greek-speaking population of Capua certainly recognized the difference: whilst Cicero was awarded the title of patron for his services to Capua during the Catilinarian crisis, Sestius was only awarded *hospitium* or proxeny.[113] The special nature of the continual obligation of the patron to take care of the interests of his clients, and conversely for clients to cultivate their patrons through acts expressive of respect, was recognized in the incorporation of the vocabulary of patronage into Greek culture to designate these actions. A fragmentary honorific decree from Mesambria in Thrace recalls how Marcus Terentius Lucullus (procos. in Macedonia 72/1 B.C.) 'patrons' on behalf of the city (the Latin term is transliterated and given the form of a Greek participle), always co-operating with embassies sent to him by the city, and in particular seeing to it that they did not have to billet troops.[114] Similarly, an honorific inscription of 62 B.C. from Delphi describes L. Tullius as '*patroneuon dia pantos*'.[115] Conversely, when the people of Abdera sought Roman assistance against the expansive territorial ambitions of Kotys of Thrace, they also recognized what was expected on the part of those seeking help from patrons: first, that in order to secure help from a patron, one should already have an established relationship with him — so the Abderans secured the assistance of their mother-city Teos, which already had established relationships of patronage with Romans; second, that activating patronal ties requires a series of acts expressive of respect to cultivate the patron's interest in and feelings of benevolence towards the client, 'daily salutation (*proskunesis*)' and 'daily morning calls at their atria', in order to 'win over the friendship' of these patrons and mobilize their support in the Senate.[116]

There is, therefore, a body of evidence which demonstrates that a considerable number of statues were erected to members of the Roman élite by groups and communities in the Greek world. Beginning in the second century B.C., there is increasing evidence that such statues honoured the person portrayed as patron and were one component of a pattern of reciprocal interaction whereby client communities sought to attach to themselves Roman patrons and to evoke an attitude of authoritarian protectiveness on the part of their patron. In addition to the evidence of the inscriptions, there is also a not inconsiderable series of late Republican veristic portraits from the Greek East, and in particular Asia Minor.[117] Smith has argued that these are portraits of *philorhomaioi*, Greeks modelling themselves on the Roman image as a way of expressing their support for and loyalty to the new ruling power.[118] In the light of the epigraphic evidence, one might wonder whether it is not more likely that these are portraits of Romans themselves, perhaps even patrons. In the absence of portraits that can be

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[112] Each of these statue-bases represents the material residue of quite complex sequences of interaction, preceeding and giving rise to the pattern of interaction involved in the giving and receiving of the honour itself. If the honorand was not immediately present on the occasion of the decreeing of an honour or the erection of a statue, he would need to be informed of it, so an embassy would be sent. See, for example, Sherk, 48 = *SIG*³ 700, 119 B.C., an inscription which records the sending of an embassy to the quaestor M. Annius, with a copy of the decree (as inscribed), to inform him of the honours afforded him by the Macedonian city of Lete. Cf. Smith, *HRP*, 16, for the same practice when statues of kings were set up in the cities of Hellenistic Greece.

[113] Cic., *Pro Sest.*, 9–10 and 36.

[114] Sherk, 73 = *IG Bulg.* I² 314a.

[115] *CIG* I.1695: Harmand, *Patronat*, 40. Some understanding of and orientation towards the particularities of Roman moral culture in these kinds of relationship is also implied by the coins issued by Epizephyrian Locris, representing Roma crowned by Pistis (Harmand, *Patronat*, 21). Cf. letter of the Scipios to Herakleia = Sherk, 14, *SIG*³ 618, 190 B.C.

[116] Sherk, 26 = *SIG*³ 656, c. 160 B.C. Both the terms for patron and atria are transliterated into Greek on the basis of the Latin words. The word translated by

Sherk as 'salutation' is (if correctly restored) *proskynesis*, suggesting an understanding of the deeply inegalitarian nature of the relationship, since the word is derived from court ritual and would, I expect, not often be used of an ordinary benefactor. Correspondingly, whilst one does quite often find the combinations '*patron* and *soter*' (see further below), one never finds the combination '*proxenos* and *soter*'. Moreover, the term *patron* is, to my knowledge, only used in Greek inscriptions of Roman benefactors, generally members of the senatorial élite, which again indicates that it is not, as Gruen suggests, simply interchangeable with *proxenos*. Cf. Gelzer, *RN*, 89.

[117] J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (1966), nos 93, 136, 137, 139, 203, 204, 284; J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rodenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Turkei — Neue Funde* (1979), nos 97, 122, 173, 248; G. Richter, 'The origins of verism in Roman portraits', *JRS* 45 (1955), 45; and Hallett 1993, 30–46 (pls 2.57, 2.58) for further examples.

[118] R. R. R. Smith, 'Philorhomaioi: portraits of Roman client rulers in the Greek East in the first century BC', *Quaderni de 'La Ricerca Scientifica'* 116 (1988), 483–7; Smith, *HRP*, 130–4.

demonstrated to belong with particular bases, there can be no certain answer, although in fact Smith's argument presupposes considerable numbers of distinctively Roman (by virtue of their verism) portraits of Romans in the Greek world to serve as models for the *philorhomaioi*, and to guarantee that their self-representation was read by viewers in the Greek world as indicating some kind of self-assimilation to the ruling power, rather than, as the logic of his formalist arguments might equally imply, that they were being represented as peasant-like boors by hostile sculptors.[119]

iii. The Patron as Saviour: Cultural Interaction and Cultural Assimilation in the Late Republican Mediterranean

Of course, the language of patronage was not the only way of expressing increasing assymmetry of power. Early Roman generals not only competed with and defeated the Hellenistic monarchs who had represented the pinnacle of political power in the eastern Mediterranean, they also stepped into their shoes both as rulers and as objects of respect.[120] The story of the extension of the kinds of cultic honours that Hellenistic kings enjoyed to Roman Republican generals is well known and now well understood.[121] I shall concentrate on continuities between forms, materials, and epigraphic titulature associated with statues of Hellenistic kings and of Roman magistrates. In particular, I shall examine the development of intersections between the ideology of patronage and that of Hellenistic kingship. This will provide a context within which we can understand both the striking nudity of some late Republican Roman portraits and the perhaps even more striking collocation of ideal nudity with verism in the same statue as meaningful choices, motivated by changing patterns of social relations, the social-psychological underpinning of those relations, and the moral systems which regulated those relationships.

Flamininus was the first Roman commander to receive cult in the Greek world, following his declaration of the freedom of Greece. Alongside festivals in his honour,[122] he also received statues celebrating him as *soter*, saviour, on the model of the Hellenistic kings,[123] a title which if not divinizing as such was certainly elevating.[124] Cultic honours were later extended to ordinary promagistrates and governors,[125] and there is a considerable series of statue-bases of Roman promagistrates which honour their subject

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[119] cf. Smith, *Foreigners*.

[120] Sometimes quite literally — cf. F. Felten, 'Römische Machthaber und hellenistische Herrscher: Berührungen und Umdeutungen', *ÖJh* (1985), 109–54; Hallett, 1993, 148–64.

[121] Bowersock, op. cit (n. 111), 111–15, 150–1; Gauthier, op. cit. (n. 56), 59–63; Price, op. cit. (n. 10), 40–7.

[122] Plut., *Flam*. 16.4 on the cult of Flamininus as saviour at Chalcis; the *Pistis* of the Romans was particularly celebrated in the hymn in honour of Flamininus. Other cults of Titus are attested at Eretria (*IG* XII.9.233 — holiday, sacrifice, statue of Flamininus in the temple of Artemis) and Argos (*SEG* XXII.266, ll. 13–14).

[123] Statues explicitly celebrating Flamininus as saviour include *SIG³* 592 (the demos of Gytheion, after Flamininus had freed them from the domination of Nabis, cf. Livy 34.29.13), *IG* XII.9.931 (two gymnasiarchs at Chalcis dedicate the statue on leaving office). See Sherk, 6 for other statues dedicated in honour of Flamininus, by both individuals and communities.

[124] Gauthier, op. cit. (n. 56), 46–53, esp. 50–3, on the use of the title *soter* in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, in particular in the context of cultic honours. On the use of the title *soter* by the Hellenistic kings, Smith, *HRP*, 50.

[125] Sometimes perceived as part of a built-in tendency towards the trivialization of honours (cf. e.g. Wallace-Hadrill, *Power*, 151), this extension of the highest signs and titles of honour in the later Hellenistic period is in fact quite structured, being limited primarily to Roman citizens and magistrates — Gauthier, op. cit. (n. 56), 59–69. For Verres as *soter* and the festival of the *Verria* replacing festivals in honour of the original patrons of Syracuse, the Marcelli, see Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.63/154. Cic., *Flac.* 55 for cult of the father of C. and L. Valerius Flaccus (themselves later governors, and honoured as patrons in Klaros — Tuchelt, nos 4 and 5) in Asia, after his governorship, in the late second century B.C. For a list of cults of Republican governors, Bowersock, op. cit. (n. 111), 150–1.

as *soter*,[126] some of them more or less directly associated with the offering of cult to the person represented as *soter*.[127]

The material attributes of the statues with which we are concerned fit neatly into this pattern of social relations, as well as the cultural assumptions and psychological attitudes which animate it.[128] Whilst most public honorific statues were of bronze, marble was the more normal material for *agalmata*, cult-statues, of both gods and Hellenistic kings.[129] In one case, the statue awarded to a patron is explicitly designated an *agalma marmarinon*.[130] The statue of C. Ofellius Ferus was made by Dionysios and Timarchides, sculptors better known for the cult-statues they executed in Greece and Rome. Moreover it was installed in the portico of the Agora of the Italians (Fig. 1), set back in a niche, placed high on a base, and set apart by shutters — all features which recall the framing of cult statues, even if, in the absence of an altar, it is unlikely that the statue was offered cult (Pl. III.2).[131]

The colossal format of all our statues also set them apart from standard honorific statues;[132] so also did their nudity. But such nudity was characteristic of statues of the Hellenistic kings. 'Superiority in appearance . . . as well as in the actions, movements, and attitudes of the body' were the visual counterpart of the Hellenistic king's superiority of the soul, and as such were supposed to 'put in order those who looked upon him, amazed at his majesty', which was in turn held to be 'a godlike thing (*theomimon pragma*), [which] can make him admired and honoured by the multitiude'.[133] The only surviving full-scale statue of a Hellenistic king, the Terme ruler, is more than life-size, and, like other representations of rulers preserved in statuettes, projects the ruler's 'god-imitating majesty' through a powerfully muscled nude body, based on a divine-heroic prototype, in this particular case probably one of the Dioscuri.[134] The particular iconographic types chosen may have been selected on occasion with the

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[126] Tuchelt, no. 12: L. Licinius Murena, imp. , honoured with a bronze equestrian statue by the demos of the Kaunians as *euergetes* and *soter* of the demos, on account of his *arete* and *eunoia*; after 83 B.C. Tuchelt, no. 13: C. Licinius Murena (son of no. 12), honoured with a bronze statue as *soter* and *euergetes* on account of his *arete* and *eunoia* by the demos of the Kaunians. Tuchelt, no. 26: Cn. Pompeius Magnus, imp., honoured in 63/62 B.C. as *soter* and *euergetes* of the demos of Miletopolis and of all Asia, on account of his *arete* and *eunoia*. Tuchelt, no. 43: Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, imp., honoured in 49/48 B.C. as *soter* and *euergetes* by the demos of Pergamon. Tuchelt, nos 46, 48, 51, 52, 55; *ID* 1605, 1621; *IG* II² 4146; *SIG*³ 751.

[127] Tuchelt, no. 4: statue-base from Olympia, set up in honour of Q. Mucius Scaevola (pr. pro cos, 98/97 or 94/93 B.C.) as *soter* and *euergetes*, on account of his *arete*, *dikaiosune*, and *kathareiotes* by the demoi, the *ethne*, the *philoi* of Rome in Asia, and the Greeks who celebrate the Mukiaia; cf. Sherk, 58 = *OGIS* 438. Tuchelt, no. 10: L. Licinius Lucullus, proqu., *c.* 80 B.C., statue-base from Thyateira, set up by the demos, honouring Lucullus as *soter*, *euergetes,* and *ktistes tou demou*, on account of his *arete* and *eunoia* — on the cult of Lucullus in Kyzikos, Appian, *Mithr.* 11.76; Plut., *Lucul.* 23. Tuchelt, no. 18: idem, imp., statue from the demos of Klaros as *soter* and *euergetes*, after 73 B.C. Cf. Durrbach, *Choix d' inscriptions de Delos* (1921), 162 = Sherk, 75B: statue of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, set up by the demos of Athens and the Society of Worshippers of Pompeius, *c.* 65 B.C.

[128] I do not mean to suggest that every statue that had *soter* inscribed on its base would have been naked, over-life-size, and made of marble, any more than that every statue of a patron will be veristic, or that all of this group of naked veristic portraits will have had bases describing them as *patron* and *soter*. The selection of expressive symbolism is not so mechanical. Rather, these roles, and the cultural values associated

with them, acted as a strong, generalized selective pressure in these processes of communication. Sometimes *soter* on a base will have been accompanied by an appropriately naked portrait; sometimes it will have been felt that it was sufficiently elevating to name the person as *soter*, without a correspondingly assertive portrait, or vice versa, as in the case of the portrait of C. Ofellius Ferus, who is simply named without any additional honorific titulature or Piso (below n. 130) who is named as *patron* but represented in a marble *agalma*. The complex negotiations that informed such particular decisions are suggested by the discussions in Cicero's *Philippics* 5 and 9 as discussed above.

[129] Smith, *HRP*, 15–16. Tuchelt, 79–90 on the connections between 'göttergleiche Ehrung', especially cult, and marble portrait statues as *agalmata*, esp. p. 82 on the associations with the honorific title of *ktistes* of a community. Cf. Artemidorus 3.63 for the instruction that statues in stone, as opposed to bronze, which appear in dreams should be interpreted according to the rules specified for the interpretation of statues of gods.

[130] Tuchelt, no. 102: L. Calpurnius Piso, awarded an *agalma marmarinon* on the occasion of renewed honours from the demos of Stratonikeia to their *patron kai euergetes dia progonon*.

[131] Zanker, *Führender Männer*, 253; Queyrel, op. cit. (n. 21), 442.

[132] cf. Tuchelt, 84 and 95 on the choice of colossal formats for marble statues, and their departure from the standard chiton and himation type used for honorific statues of citizens in the Greek cities in favour of late classical models favouring the mantel and leaving the upper body bare.

[133] Diotogenes, ap. Stob., *Anth.* 4.7.62 = 266f. [Hense], transl. in E. R. Goodenough, 'The political philosophy of Hellenistic kingship', *YCS* 1 (1928), 55–104, at 71–3. Smith, *HRP*, 50–3.

[134] Himmelmann, op. cit. (n. 19), 24, 126–49.
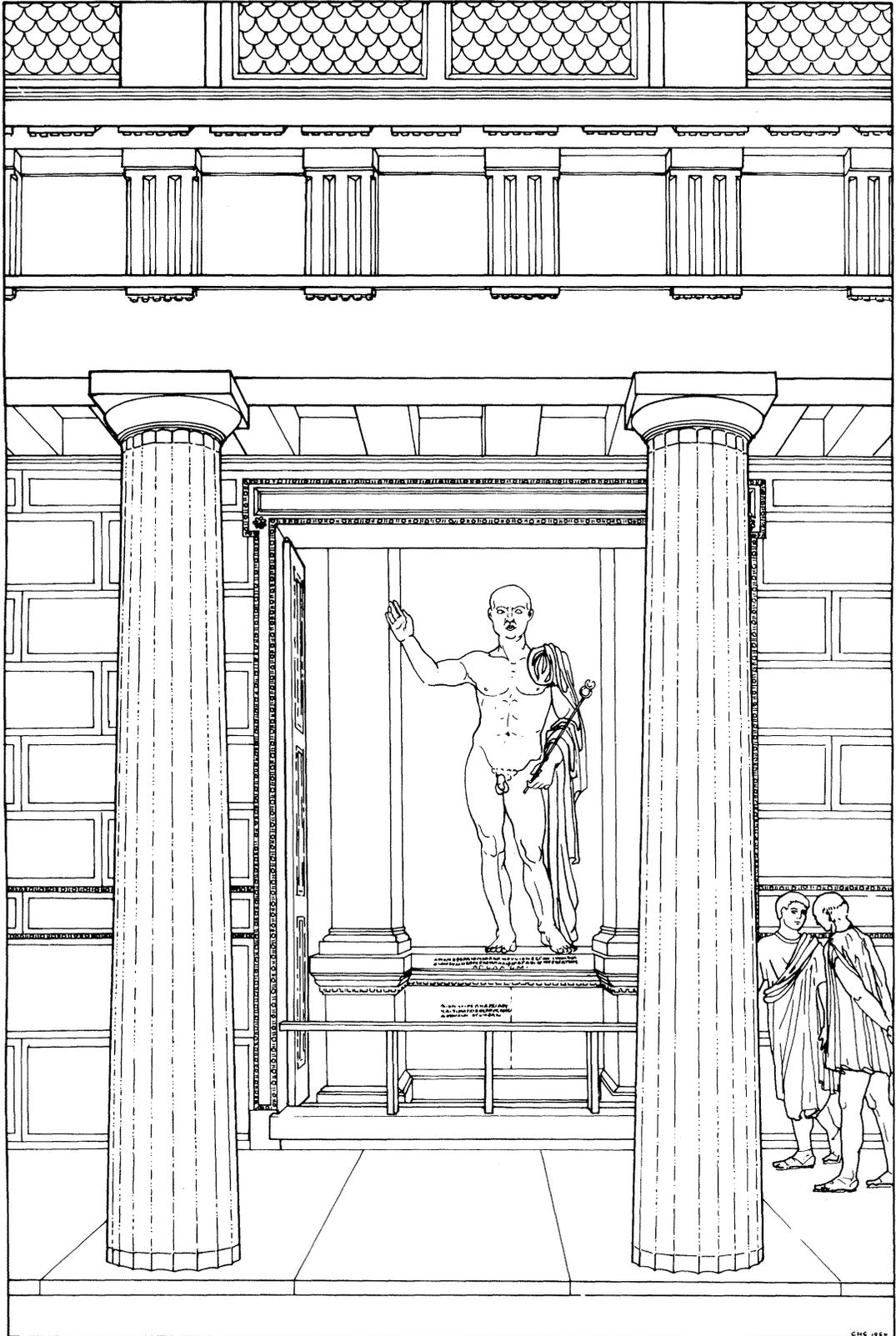
FIG. I. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NICHE OF C. OFELLIUS FERUS IN THE AGORA OF THE ITALIANS ON DELOS, *c.* 100 B.C.
(*Courtesy of Candace Smith and Andrew Stewart; originally published as fig. 839 in A. Stewart,* Greek Sculpture: an
Exploration)

specific intention of enhancing the sense of awe generated in the first place by a superiorly powerful and beautiful body. These recall classical images of saviour-heroes with which not only Greek but also increasingly Italian and Roman viewers will have been familiar, as the heritage of classical Greek art was appropriated through force, purchase, and copying. Ofellius Ferus (Pl. III.2), the Foruli statue (Pl. VI), and the Palazzo Spada Pompey (Pl. VII.1) strongly recall (in pose, drapery, and equipment) late classical paintings of Theseus, like that copied in the Villa Imperiale at Pompeii (late first century B.C.) and the house of Gavius Rufus (Pl. VII.2), showing Theseus receiving the grateful thanks of the Athenian children he has saved from the minotaur, manifested in acts of self-negation such as proskynesis, grovelling at the feet of Theseus and kissing his hand.[135] Of course, there is no way of knowing whether this particular image would be evoked. But our concern is with generalized codes and the types of response they produce — not origins and influences. The material, scale, body-imagery, and even on occasion the mode of display of our group of statues all point towards a desire to evoke the idea of 'saviour', expressing the corresponding attitudes of humble dependence on the part of those who set up the statue, inducing respectful subordination on the part of their primary viewers, and seeking to call out an attitude of concern and readiness for intervention *in extremis* on the part of the patron thus portrayed.

Particularly pertinent to our group is a series of bases in which the person honoured is celebrated in the — at first sight somewhat oxymoronic — combination of 'patron and *soter*'.[136] This combination of titles corresponds on a purely titular level to the combination of the two sets of ideas that I have been suggesting inform portraits which combine heroic-nudity and verism. Behind it lies a process of acculturation, mediated in part through the kinds of expressive-action richly evidenced in the epigraphic record, whereby patronage was interpreted by Greeks in terms of Hellenistic kingship, and members of the Roman élite drew on Greek theories of rulership to legitimate their domination of the Greek world. On the Roman side, there were already monarchical elements in the idea of patronage. The client might refer to his patron as *rex,* whilst Roman senators sometimes liked to think of themselves as Homeric *basileis*.[137] Conversely, as we have already seen evidenced in statue-bases, the Greeks extended their ideas concerning the king as benefactor, and *ispo facto* legitimate ruler, to members of the Roman élite.[138] L. Calpurnius Piso was the proconsular governor of Macedonia in 57–55 B.C. He received statues honouring him as patron from the demos and boule of the Samothrakians and from the people of Beroea. He was accompanied by his client

[135] R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (1963), 14, for the paintings from Herculaneum and from the house of Gavius Rufus, esp. on the frontality of the hero, and the worshipful 'adulation' of the 'hero who is greater than life, as the saved humiliate themselves before their saviour'. *Proskynesis*: C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (1890), 157–60. The Cassino statue and the statue of Poplicola may also have soteriological connotations. In addition to recalling statues of Hellenistic monarchs, like Alexander (the Rondanini Alexander, Munich) or Demetrios Poliorketes, they may also have evoked their originals, both images of gods and of heroes, like Perseus rescuing Andromeda on the late classical painting by Nikias, frequently copied in Pompeii: G. Ch. Picard, 'La statue du temple d' Hercule à Ostie', in L. Bonfante and H. v. Heintze (eds), *In Memoriam Otto Brendel* (1976), 121–9.

[136] *IGRRP* III.888: demos of Mallus honours [??] Valerius the son of Marcus as *euergetes, soter,* and *patron* of the polis. *SIG³* 750: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, *patron* and *soter* of Cyrene (legate of Pompey in the 60s B.C.; cf. Harmand, *Patronat*, 30; Gelzer, *RN*, 88). *BCH* 14 (1890), 231 no. 3: demos and boule of Nysa in Caria honours P. Licinius Crassus Junianus, propr. 49 B.C., as their *soter, euergetes,* and *patron*. Tuchelt, nos 41 and 42: L. Antonius, q. pro pr. 49 B.C., honoured by the

demos of Pergamon as *patron* and *soter*; cf. Cic., *Phil.* 6.12. Tuchelt, no. 47: C. Julius Caesar, honoured by the demos of Pergamon as their *patron* and *euergetes* and as *soter* and *euergetes* of all the Greeks, 48 B.C. Tuchelt, no. 59: M. Cocceius Nerva, imp., honoured with a bronze equestrian statue by the demos of Lagina as *euergetes* and *patron* and *soter* of the city, for his *arete, eunoia,* and *euergesia,* and in particular for the restoration of their ancestral freedom and constitution. Tuchelt, no. 60: idem, honoured by the demos of Teos as *patron* of the city, and common *euergetes* and *soter* of the province. Cf. Tuchelt, no. 28bis: Cn. Pompeius Magnus, honoured as *patron* [*kai euergetes/ soter*] *en isotheoi timoumenos* by the demos of Side, after 67 B.C.

[137] Plaut., *Asin.* 919; cf. Colum. 1. pref. 9; with P. Wiseman, 'Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo: the public image of aristocratic and imperial houses in the late Republic and early Empire', in C. Pietri (ed.), *L' Urbs: espace urbain et histoire, Ier siècle av J-C–III siècle ap. J-C* (1987), 393–413, esp. 412; and idem, *Roman Political Life 90 BC–AD 69* (1985), 10–12. On the appropriation of the decorative schemes of Hellenistic palaces in late Republican wall-painting, see n. 151.

[138] On Scipio as *euergetikos* and therefore *basilikos*, see Polybios 10.3.1 and 5.6; 10.40; cf. Livy 27.19; Gauthier, op. cit. (n. 56), 40 and 59.

Philodemos, who wrote a treatise on *The Good King According to Homer*, which was dedicated to Piso, presumably as the embodiment of the appropriate virtues.[139] Whilst in Greece, Piso acquired a number of statues, possibly including not only the series of portrait heads of Hellenistic kings but also his statuette of Demetrios Poliorketes in the same pose as the Alexander Rondanini, and a Lysippan Poseidon.[140] Had he been represented by his Greek clients in the same manner as either the Cassino statue or the Foruli statue, there is little doubt that Piso would have understood what was implied in the visual choices manifest in the images for both head and body.

The dedication of such portraits both in the client community and in Rome or the hometown of the patron suffices to explain the transfer of the artistic language of verism from Greece, its technical home, to Italy, and in addition portraits combining verism and nudity.[141] A set of such dedications also provides us with what may be the nearest we are likely to get to a direct, if still (in the nature of the material) implicit, verification of my central argument, given the infrequency with which portraits are found in their original archaeological context.[142] A series of statues and statue-bases in honour of M. Nonius Balbus and his family have been found in Herculaneum. The earliest (equestrian) statue in honour of Balbus erected by his fellow-citizens (*municipes*) mentions his proconsular status but makes no reference to him as patron. Further such statues were erected of him, including a togate statue in the theatre from which both the body and possibly the head survive. The head represents Balbus as a somewhat youthful man, despite his proconsular status, and the head of the equestrian statue may have looked similar, so far as we can judge from the eighteenth-century copy, made to replace the original head after it was removed by a cannon-ball.[143] The idealized, ageless features of these portraits stand in strong contrast to a third portrait head of Balbus (Pl. VIII) which shows him in a veristic mode: scraggy neck, double-chin, thin lips, furrowed brow. This head, unlike the two more youthful portraits which were made in a local workshop, was probably made by a sculptor from an East Greek workshop.[144] The statue has naked feet, which suggests heroization,[145] and, although more probably a cuirassed statue, could well have been a naked statue along the lines of those we have already seen, since inserted heads, whilst unusual, are not unknown on such images.[146] Zanker suggests that it was erected by a Greek community to Balbus as their patron, as one such base — collectively dedicated by the communities of Crete where Balbus had been governor — explicitly records.[147] Zanker interprets the verism in this portrait of Balbus as a simple function of age, but it may equally be, like the naked feet, a positive choice on the part of the dedicators, designed to call out the authoritarian benevolence

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[139] Harmand, *Patronat*, 40; H. Bloch, 'L. Calpurnius Piso in Samothrace and Herculaneum', *AJA* 44 (1940), 485–93. O. Murray, 'Philodemus on the good king according to Homer', *JRS* 55 (1965), 161–82. The same ideology of rulership is manifest in Cicero's letter to his brother Quintus, advising him on his moral responsibilities as governor of Asia, and probably owes much to Panaetios' development of Stoicism to fit the moral culture of the Roman élite and justify Roman imperialism in the Greek world: D. Earl, *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome* (1967), 40–1.

[140] Smith, *HRP*, 70–8 on the royal portraits from the Villa of the Papyri.

[141] A good number of the original dedicants of portraits of Romans in the Greek world (most notably that of C. Ofellius Ferus) in the first place were Italians, who doubtless brought back both the relationships and the practice of giving portraits to patrons to Italy, as well as the artistic forms for such portraits — see for example *ID* 1999, *ID* 1694, *ID* 1695–7, *ID* 1699, *ID* 1642–6, *ID* 1648, *ILLRP* 376.

[142] Zanker, *Führender Männer*, 260–1; with L. Schumacher, 'Das Ehrendekret für M. Nonius Balbus', *Chiron* 6 (1976), 165–84 and A. Maiuri, *Rend. Acc. Linc.* VII.3 (1943) 253–72.

[143] Copies in biscuit-porcelain made before the accident indicate that the youthfulness of the head was characteristic of the original — Zanker, *Führender Männer*, 262 n. 65.i.

[144] ibid., 261.

[145] J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer* (1995), 162.

[146] cf. for example, the statue from Pergamum, naked, cuirass-support, very similar to our group but considerably less than life-size: C. Maderna-Lauter, 'Polyklet in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit: die Rezeption Polykletischer formen in hellenistischen Osten', in H. Bol (ed.), *Polyklet: der Bildhaer der griechischen Klassik* (1990), 298–327, esp. 311, figs 191a–c; F. Hiller, *Antiken von Pergamon* XV.1 (1986), 153. Both Maiuri, op. cit. (n. 142), 269, and Schumacher, op. cit. (n. 142), 182, suggest the possibility that the statue may have been heroically nude. But see now U. Pappalardo, 'Nouve testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo ad Ercolano', *MDAI-R* 104 (1997), 417–76.

[147] *CIL* X.1430, with 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, for further statues and other inscriptions in honour of Balbus erected by communities from Crete.

of their patron in the way I have already suggested.[148] It was perhaps precisely these elevating features (as well as the suitability of the portrait for evoking the feelings appropriate to a patron) that motivated the placing of an altar in front of this particular statue after Balbus' death. The inscription on the altar recorded that it, and a further equestrian statue, was dedicated to Balbus as the patron of the people of Herculaneum, on account of the fact that throughout his life he had shown exceptional generosity and a fatherly disposition to one and all (*parentis animum cum plurima liberalitate singulis universis praeistiterit*). The games at the festival of the Parentalia were to be extended by one day in Balbus' honour. Moreover, during the course of the celebrations, a procession was to be held, starting from the altar and finishing, probably, at the tomb of Balbus.[149] As Schumacher points out, there is a strongly Greek component in these honours, and the best parallels for such hero-cult are the cults of the Roman governors in the Greek East. The private ancestor cult of the Parentalia effectively becomes a civic cult of Balbus. It is unique in Italy, and such elevated honours were increasingly monopolized by the imperial family. It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that our series of nude-veristic portrait statues comes to an end during the reign of Augustus.[150] So also does the series of cults of magistrates and even the use of the title *soter* in honorific inscriptions for magistrates.[151] The emperor himself replaced other officials as the universal patron and primary source of public benefactions throughout the Empire, and substantially refigured the visual field in portraiture by adopting classicism as the court style.

One should not perhaps place very much reliance on a single example. But the interpretative and explanatory possibilities in looking at the Balbus portraits are somewhat opened up when placed in the light of the arguments I have been developing. Whilst lacking the precision which a much larger series of such portraits with good archaeological contexts might allow, my argument rests on a fairly secure basis in so far as it is more fully consistent than competing arguments with three quite different sources of relevant evidence — literary texts, the epigraphy of the statue-bases, and the forms of the statues themselves — quite apart from considerations of theoretical power and coherence. The development of both verism, and more particularly, of portrait statues combining verism and heroic nudity, may be explained as the product of a process of symbolic interaction between the Roman élite and their Greek subjects, of which the Balbus portrait is just one material trace. Each sought to construct relationships based on the dominant models of authority within their own cultures, the patron and the royal benefactor. Over time, each adjusted their own cultural models in response to the other, and ultimately created a novel synthesis represented in the notion of the saviour-patron. The moral culture which informed such relationships and the psychological dispositions on which the relationships rested (particular patterns of self-subjection on the part of the Greek communities, a predisposition to patriarchal forms of authoritarian domination on the part of members of the Roman élite) acted as selective pressures in shaping the cultural patterning of the portraits which formed such a central component in the symbolic mediation of such interactions. Body imagery (nudity, iconographic types, size, materials) was selected from a repertoire already established within the codes of Greek iconography. In addition, a new style, verism, was elaborated on the basis of Greek sculptural technology and the moral culture of Roman patronage. These were combined in an expressive culture which sought to bring out (both aesthetically and psychologically) the patriarchal protectiveness and salvific potency of the *patron-soter*, whilst evoking corresponding feelings of security in grateful subjection on the part of the Greek clients.

[148] The earlier, more youthful types may owe something to the more youthful image established by Octavian-Augustus. As the case of Augustus demonstrates, natural aging *per se* does not explain the choice of an aged-looking portrait.

[149] Schumacher, op. cit. (n. 142), 174–81.

[150] One of the last examples is the Venice Agrippa: Maderna-Lauter, op. cit. (n. 146), 225, taf. 27.3.

[151] Tuchelt, nos 70, 73, 82, 85, 87. Bowersock, op. cit. (n. 111), 119–21. Similarly, the imitation of the

decorative schemes of the palaces of Hellenistic rulers in first and second style Pompeian wall-painting is replaced by the less overtly referential architectural fantasies of the third style, certainly strongly sponsored by and possibly even created for the imperial family: A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (1994), 24–31; R. R. R. Smith, 'Spear won land at Boscoreale: on the royal paintings of a Roman villa', *JRA* 7 (1994), 100–28, esp. 101–2, 127.

V. PUTTING PORTRAITS TO WORK: RECEPTION, RESPONSE, AND THE EXPRESSIVE
CONSTRUCTION OF POWER

Portraits were not the only cultural representations which synthesized Roman and
Greek conceptions of hierarchical power. We find homologous expressive acts articu-
lated in different media in Plutarch's account of the funeral of Aemilius Paullus in 160
B.C. Clients of Paullus from Greece and Spain who happened to be in Rome at the time
participated like traditional Roman *clientes* in the funerary rites of their *patronus*.

> At all events, out of all the Iberians and Ligurians and Macedonians who chanced to be
> present those that were young and strong of body assisted by turns in carrying the bier,
> while the more elderly followed with the procession calling upon Aemilius as the *euergetes*
> and *soter* of their countries. For not only at the times of his conquests had he treated them
> with mildness and humanity, but also during the rest of his life he was ever doing them some
> good and caring for them as though they had been kindred and relations.[152]

But there is much more to the development of a similar fusion of the expressive culture
of Roman patronage and Hellenistic royal euergetism in portraiture than the semantic
homology or pattern consistency between the portraits and the behaviour of clients at
Aemilius Paullus' funeral, that is all that iconographic analysis on its own can reveal.
The functional — cultural, social, and psychological — environments which I have
invoked to interpret portraits and causally explain their developmental trajectory can in
turn become the object of analytic attention. How did the insertion of this expressive
culture — both the practice of portrait giving and the particular stylistic and
iconographic forms that portraits took — in the context of clientela relationships and
Rome's relationships with subject communities affect the way those relationships
functioned? The materialization of this expressive culture in statuary extended the
availability of the expressive meanings — the attitudes that each party holds to the
other — associated with these relationships in time and space. This has both direct and
indirect pragmatic expressive consequences which were part of the point of participating
in this portrait-exchange for both clients and patrons. It made possible new relations of
power and solidarity for both parties, enhancing levels of power and the reach of old
relationships of power, but also making such relationships vulnerable to contestation in
new ways.

Whilst the extension of clientela relationships to communities beyond the immedi-
ate environs of Rome, particularly in provinces such as Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor,
provided a much less radical solution than the extension of jealously guarded citizenship
to the problem of including the conquered within Roman patterns of social and political
organization, the increased spatial distancing of such relationships cannot have been
unproblematic.[153] One difficulty lay in the fact that the traditional expressive acts
performed by the client for the patron — for example the attendance of the client at his
patron's morning rising and during his daily business — presupposed the presence of
both client and patron in the same locale, and consequently that the client should live
relatively nearby the patron.[154] How otherwise could the mutual affective investment
which underlay the solidarity of the clientela relationship, or the prestige afforded by
the possession of a large clientela, be generated and sustained? The practice of portrait-
exchange, the setting up and viewing of portraits by patrons and clients alike in the
public spaces of the client community and in appropriate areas in the hometown of the
patron, together with the development of an appropriate stylistic language and
iconography for these portraits, served to sustain mutual affective investment of patron
and client even in each other's absence. Affective ties which might have become
attenuated through geographic distance or dimmed through time, could be kept alive,

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[152] Plut., *Aem.* 39.8–9. On Aemilius Paullus' *clientes*
in Greece and Spain see Badian, *FC*, 122, 310;
Harmand, *Patronat*, 14, 35, 105.

[153] Badian, *FC*, 169 on the widening geographical
extension of clientela in the second century.
[154] Badian, *FC*, 163 on clients' *officia*.

reawakened everyday through encounters with portraits which evoked confidence in and respect for one's patron on the part of clients, a sense of authoritarian benevolence towards his clients on the part of a patron.

Such affective orientations internalized in personalities were thereby kept alive over much greater extents of time and space than was characteristic of traditional relationships of clientela. This enhanced, first, the power of both parties to the relationship to mobilize the other on their behalf when, from time to time, it might prove necessary, and, second, the spatial reach of clientela as a system of social control. Even after a person's death, their image might be a powerful means of mobilizing an inherited clientela. Plutarch tells the story of how Caesar, the nephew of the deceased Marius' wife Julia, sought to 'revive and attach to himself' the following of Marius, when, during his aedileship in 66 B.C., he had erected on the Capitol portraits of Marius along with trophies celebrating Marius' military triumphs.[155] The response was mixed, but interestingly (especially since the portrait is technically as such neither a public honorific portrait nor set up by clients for their patron) followed two directions, related to the two institutional contexts of portrait exchange that I have analysed. On one side:

> Some cried out that Caesar was scheming to usurp sole power in the state when he thus revived honours which had been buried by laws and decrees . . .

when Marius was outlawed as a traitor, and consequently his image also banned, under the Sullan dictatorship. On the other:

> The partisans of Marius encouraged one another and showed themselves on a sudden in amazing numbers and filled the Capitol with their applause. Many too were moved to tears of joy when they beheld the features of Marius, and Caesar was highly extolled by them, and regarded as above all others worthy of his kinship of Marius.

After the death of Pompey the Great in the civil war with Caesar, and the defeat of his supporters in Africa, Pompey's sons were driven back to Spain. The coins they issued here combine the head of Pompey on the obverse, and a series of images on the reverse, both evoking the mutual good will between the Pompeians and the cities of Spain, where Pompey had extensive clientelae.[156] In each case a figure in military dress (a Pompeian soldier, Pompey or his son?) interacts with female personifications of Spanish cities, wearing turreted crowns, who come to greet him, kneel before him offering a shield, shake hands, or crown him as victor.[157]

Reception of portraits, response to them, and the mobilization of the meanings they generate extend beyond these affectively laden responses of the parties to the relationship of clientela symbolized in a portrait. But the play of meaning, or perhaps better the variously interested elaborations and displacements of meaning effected by different interpreters, whilst infinite (or potentially endless), is not limitless (or random) as certain deconstructive strains of cultural analysis might suggest. On the contrary, it remains structured by the institutional horizon of the patterns of exchange within which it is embedded. The responses of viewers or appropriators of portraits represent *transformations* of the core institutional meanings of portraits in accordance with the particular social and cultural projects of those viewers, whether 'displacements' — a relatively simple transformation and redirection of meaning — or 'contestations' —

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[155] Plut., *Caes.* 6.
[156] Pompey's Spanish clientelae: Gelzer, *RN*, 95, n. 292; Harmand, *Patronat*, 15; Badian, *FC*, 318.
[157] Crawford, *RRC*, no. 470 and p. 739. Cf. in the context of public honorific portraiture, the coins issued at Rome by moneyers seeking to reawaken and appropriate the good will and prestige enjoyed by their ancestors, manifested in public honorific portraits, by representing those statues on coins issued during their magistracy: Crawford, *RRC*, 242–3, 291,

293, 419, 425. It is in this kind of context that verism, a stylistic mode established for a major medium such as honorific portraiture, is transferred into such minor art forms as coins and gems. On clients wearing gems or glass-paste rings with the head of their patron, H. M. Vollenweider, 'Verwendung und Bedeutung der Porträtgemmen für das politische Leben der römischen Republik', *Mus. Helv.* 12 (1955), 96–111, esp. 107–8.

which require much more transformative work on the part of the respondent.[158] For most viewers, their identity was not in any profound way at issue in looking at a particular portrait. That is not to say they were not interested, just interested in rather more detached, affectively uninvolved ways. We have already seen how Cicero simply assumes that the Syracusans are clients of Verres on the basis of the portrait statues of Verres in Syracuse, and therefore does not even bother to seek testimony from them in preparing his case against Verres.[159] Most viewings of portraits will have involved this kind of casual, but not inconsequential, glance and inference, rather than the strongly projective, affect-laden gazings of client and patron: a recognition, for example, that 'every class of persons in [a] province' is well-disposed towards their former governor as manifested in the various groups who have erected statues to him in Rome.[160] Such viewings had real implications for the prestige and power of the person represented, in so far as they shaped action — a man of influence, worth supporting or attaching one's own interests to — or inaction — a man too well-endowed with clients to be worth taking on in the courts or other arenas of political competition.[161]

> For who would annoy you, or dare to call you to account when he saw those statues, erected by the merchants, the farmers, by Sicily as a whole. What other class of persons is there in the province? Why none. Very well, here is the province as a whole, and here are the several classes that compose it not merely liking the man but doing him honour. Now who will dare to touch him?[162]

It is the real substance of these inferred meanings, patterns of assumption and orientation towards Verres taken on by people at Rome — especially Verres' supporters in the court and the jurors — on the basis of viewing these portraits that Cicero has to seek to unravel in his prosecution of Verres. Large chunks of the speech are consequently given over to suggesting and mobilizing testimony to the effect that the portraits have been forcibly extracted from unwilling donors, and consequently that they should not be taken at face value: on the contrary their apparent meaning should be inverted as further evidence of the extent of Verres' gubernatorial corruption.[163] Significantly, this deconstructive reading — seeking to undo or destabilise materially established meanings — presupposes not only somewhat unusual motivations on the part of the viewer-interpreter, but also an institutional position — as prosecutor and legal patron — from which to bring it off with any real effect.

    In deconstructing the social meanings of Verres' portraits, Cicero was doubtless playing upon the sectional divisions within the communities which had originally set them up. The purposeful, interested enlistment and displacement of the core meanings of a patronal portrait was, of course, also carried out by clients, alongside primary affective responses to the image. Some portraits of patrons were set up in response to a particular benefaction that was inscribed on the base of the portrait. This could serve not only to memorialize the benefaction but to enlist Roman power behind a particular dispute settlement, and thereby to stabilize the pattern of relations recognized by that settlement. When Samos secured control of the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos, disputed with the community of Oinoe, through the good offices of their patron Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, they permanently tied this dispensation to their Roman

[158] On interpretation as translation, transformation, and displacement of meaning, rather than simple decoding, diffusion, and faithful transmission of meaning, see Jones, op. cit. (n. 64), 300–4 and especially B. Latour, 'The powers of association', in J. Law (ed.), *Power, Action and Belief: a New Sociology of Knowledge,* Sociological Review Monograph no. 32 (1986), 264–80.
[159] Cic., *Verr.* 2.4.139; cf. above Section i.
[160] Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.167–8: alleging that Verres erected and provided with appropriate inscriptions the various honorific statues given to him by clients and subject communities in Sicily, precisely in order 'to check the fierce attacks of all your enemies and accusers'.

[161] The function of portraits as 'delegates' of the clients whose relationship to the patron they represent is another aspect of the capacity of the material artifact to act on behalf of a subject at a distance. For clientelae in court to show support for their patron, or their patron's man, see Cic., *Sulla* 60–2. Such personal or indirect manifestations of clients support became increasingly important to members of the Roman élite following the creation of the *quaestio repetundarum* in 149 B.C.:Badian, *FC,* 161.
[162] Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.167–8.
[163] Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.59/145, 58–61/143–51, 66–9/161–8. Cf. Cicero's similar interpretative work on the portraits of Lucius Antonius in *Philippic* 6.12.

patron's power by erecting a statue of him which recorded this particular service on its base.[164] The demos of Ilium set up a statue of Lucius Julius Caesar, censor in 89 B.C, with an inscription in Greek and Latin, obviously aimed at the tax-collectors, recording that he had 'restored the sacred territory to Athena Ilias and removed it from the public revenue contract'.[165] Such extensions of the core meaning of a portrait took place also after its initial erection. The equestrian statue of Ms. Acilius Glabrio, set up at Delphi in 191/0 B.C., had inscribed upon it letters from Glabrio in which he made provision for the return to the city and the sanctuary of lands encroached upon by the Aetolians, and undertook to maintain the autonomy and the safety of Delphi for the future. In the following year an additional letter from the Senate and one of the consuls was inscribed. This responded to an embassy sent by the Delphians in order to complain about further Aetolian encroachments, and contained a promise that instructions would be sent to the proconsul M. Fulvius Nobilior to punish the perpetrators.[166] Some years after the initial dedication of a portrait to Flamininus as saviour and benefactor by the gymnasiarchs of Chalkis, a further series of leading men of the city had their names inscribed on the sides of the base as co-dedicants, personally submitting themselves to Flamininus' authority at the same time as they appropriated this symbol of power for their own sectional interests within the city of Chalkis.[167] Conversely, when Verres as governor of Sicily was refused by the senate of Tyndaris a cult image of Mercury to which he had taken a fancy, he had Sopater, one of the leading men of the Sicilian city of Tyndaris, tied naked to a bronze equestrian statue of Gaius Marcellus, 'whose services to Tyndaris . . . were the most recent and the most extensive', and left him there to freeze until the statue of Mercury was handed over. In choosing the statue of the city's patron, Verres was making a nice rhetorical point, intimately related to the institutional assumptions of portrait-exchange, namely that for the present it was Verres alone, not symbolically present but physically distant patrons, who had the immediate power as governor to help or harm the peoples of Sicily.[168]

VI. CONCLUSION

Inevitably, as we follow the path which can be traced from the core meanings of portraits and the relationships of solidarity and power that they were used to construct and sustain to the transformations of these core meanings as they are contested and elaborated over time, our grasp of the relative importance (compared with other factors) of the portraits and their imagery *per se* to the structuring of social relations and the historical patterns that follow from them becomes increasingly diffuse. Obviously the more importance one attributes to the use of extensive clientelae by leading members of the Roman élite in the breakdown of the Roman state in the late Republic, the more importance one will attribute to these portraits in so far as they played an important role in constructing, defining, and affectively sustaining such relationships, in particular at the expense of the attachment of Rome's subjects to the Roman state itself.[169] However

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[164] Sherk, 46 = *IGRRP* IV.968; cf. Robert, *Opera* I, 559 for the details.
[165] Sherk, 59 = *OGIS* 440 = *IGGRP* IV.194 = *ILS* 8770.
[166] Sherk, 12 = *SIG*[3] 609. Cf. also *SIG*[3] 607–8, 609–10; 191–189 B.C.
[167] *IG* XII.9.931 = Sherk, 6A.
[168] Cic., *Verr.* 2.4.39–40/85–7. Harmand, *Patronat*, 109.
[169] The strong claims made by R. Syme (*The Roman Revolution* (1939)) and Badian (*FC*) for the place of client relations in the Roman revolution was certainly exaggerated, but so also has been the reaction against it, as in Gruen (*HWCR*, 158–99) and P. Brunt, 'Clientela', in idem, *The Decline of the Roman Republic* (1987), 382–442. One should perhaps distinguish between clientelae *per se* as a political end in them-

selves and the importance of clientelae as an instrument of power used in the realization of the concrete political goals which, as Brunt suggests, actually animated Roman political life. That said, the ancient texts are very alive to the distribution of people's clientelae and their capacity to mobilize them, particularly during periods of armed conflict when strategic decisions are sometimes explicitly informed by the distribution of one's own or one's enemies' clients (see, for example, Caes., *Bell. Afr.* 22; *Bell. Civ.* 2.18/ 38; Harmand, *Patronat*, 125–7). It is not a coincidence that Pompey's preferred recruiting ground in Picenum, and in fact the centre where he enlisted men in his legions, is also a place where we find statue-bases erected in his honour as patron (Gelzer, *RN*, 93; Plut., *Pomp.* 6; *ILS* 877).

difficult the effects are to measure, the real intersections between portraits and power should now be apparent. A reconstruction of such intersections requires a much sharper analytic focus than the addition of vague conceptions of 'context' to an art history which otherwise continues business as usual with an almost exclusive concentration on style and iconography. It presupposes an approach to art that allows the integration of traditional cultural analysis of the art object (stylistic and iconographical analysis), with a general sociological theory of art that is sensitive both to patterns of social interaction and to the ways in which such patterns structure the personalities and dispositions of the viewers who respond to works of art and mobilize their implicit meanings in the course of everyday life. In the case of Roman Republican portraiture, such an analysis not only facilitates a more powerful interpretation and explanation of the questions art historians have traditionally been interested in — form and style. It also makes it possible to show how changes in the forms and uses of a particular genre may have contributed to the shape of much broader historical processes. Without the innovations in the uses and forms of Roman portraiture that I have described, the ties of solidarity between patrons and their distant Italian and provincial clients would have been weaker, and the relative weakness of such ties could not but have had implications for the fissive role played by Republican dynasts' vast networks of clients in the Roman revolution.

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