

Carlo Lualdi

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore
Milan, Italy
ares.88@hotmail.it

VICTORY, CELEBRATION AND MEMORY: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR

Abstract: *Roman historical commemoration in figurative arts is an interesting subject of analysis. If we consider the iconographies of the Roman Republican Period, we only have a few examples of representations which can be related to a specific historical event. However, if we consider the figurative evidence in relation to the Third Macedonian war, we can observe two surviving iconographic schemes related to this conflict: the figurative models of the monument of Lucius Aemilius Paullus at Delphi and the reverse type of the denar minted during 63 BC. by Lucius Aemilius Lepidus Paullus. Modern scholars consider the first example as related to Lucius Aemilius Paullus' celebration of his military virtue while the second one is connected to the memory of Paullus' triumph over Perseus held in Rome during 167 BC. Despite the fact that the two representations belong to a subject related to the outcome of the Third Macedonian war, a detailed comparison between the two iconographies has never been performed. This study aims to compare the two representations in order to better comprehend the Roman Republican figurative language related to military events. The present analysis allows also us to express some new observations about the different figurative and narrative models celebrating and commemorating Roman victories during the Roman Republican Period.*

Keywords: *trophy, Delphi, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, Rome*

The ceremony of the Roman Republican triumph was an ephemeral commemoration of the military virtues of the *triumphator* and it was one of the most important public events for a Roman magistrate.¹ Not surprisingly, Roman Republican triumphal art includes a wide range of representations, such as funerary iconographies,² commemorative paintings,³ friezes,⁴ sculptures, public monuments, and numismatic iconographies.⁵ The depictions represented on the reverses of Roman Republican coin issues noticeably have an iconographical scheme related to the triumphal ceremony that includes the dis-

¹ Kinnee 2016: 204.

² Holliday 2002: 33–43.

³ Östenberg 2009: 189–199.

⁴ Holliday 2002: 43–48; Dillon and Welch 2006: 105–111; Cadario 2016: 19–21; Kinnee 2016: 205–206.

⁵ Kinnee 2016: 208–217.

play of trophies with prisoners below them.⁶ This practice is attested by literary sources and by figurative evidence.⁷ Therefore, it was argued that these representations were made to secure the remembrance of the otherwise ephemeral ceremony.⁸ These monuments offered several iconographic models which were often represented by Roman Republican moneyers, particularly during the Late Republican Period, on the reverse sides of their coin issues.⁹ These depictions provide us with a great deal of information about victory commemoration in Roman culture that would otherwise be unknown due to the loss of the vast majority of Roman Republican monuments.

This study will focus on the iconographies related to the Roman victory over Perseus and Macedon, mainly the decorative programme of the monument of Lucius Aemilius Paullus in Delphi (Figs. 1 and 2),¹⁰ and the reverse type of the coin issue minted by Lucius Aemilius Lepidus Paullus in 63 BC (Figs. 3, 4, 5 and 6).¹¹

Before moving on to the analysis of the figurative evidence, I will quickly describe the development of the last stage of the Third Macedonian War and the Roman victory celebrations that followed.¹² The main sources for these events are Plutarch (*Aem.* 17–23.2), Livy (44.36.1–44.44.4.), and Cassius Dio. The latter was excerpted by Zonaras (9.22–23), which ultimately derived from Polybius' account, which is fragmentary. From these sources, we know that military operations quickly developed soon after the Consul Paullus arrived in Greece. The two armies reached the city of Pydna after some strategic movements. We are fortunately able to precisely date the day of these historical events to the 21st of July in 168 BC due to a lunar eclipse that occurred during the night. The following day in the afternoon the two armies started to fight. We do not know exactly how the battle started but it can be easily summarised as close-quartered combat on irregular ground between the Roman legionaries and the Hellenistic phalanx. The Roman victory caused the cavalry led by king Perseus of Macedonia to withdraw.¹³ After this decisive defeat, Perseus surrendered himself to the Roman naval praetor, Gnaeus Octavius, thus bringing about an end to the war.

Following this event, it is possible to quote some episodes related to the celebrations of the Roman victory over Macedon. In Athens, Paullus,

⁶ Cadario 2016: 19–22; Kinnee 2016: 203–208.

⁷ Kinnee 2016: 204–206.

⁸ *Ibidem*: 204.

⁹ *Ibidem*: 217.

¹⁰ See Holliday 2002: 91–96 and Taylor 2016 with regard to the figurative programme of the monument of Lucius Aemilius Paullus at Delphi.

¹¹ Regarding this coin issue, see RRC 415/1; Sydenham 926; Babelon *Aemilia* 10; Weigel 1976; Belloni 1993: 101; Catalli 2003:193; Harlan 2015: 1–3; Cadario 2016: 19–20.

¹² For the Third Macedonian War, see Meloni 1953: 349–370; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 505–547; Lendon 2006: 182–219.

¹³ For the Battle of Pydna, see Lendon 2006: 182–219 and Taylor 2016.

*requested the Athenians to send him the most esteemed philosopher for the education of his children, and a painter to adorn his triumph, they made choice of Metrodorus, declaring that he was eminently suited for either purpose; a thing which Paullus admitted to be the case.*¹⁴

At Delphi, the Consul noticed two incomplete pillars.¹⁵ These monuments had originally been commissioned by Perseus, but now, Paullus ordered that they be completed.¹⁶ Polybius and Livy both quote the presence of two pillars, whereas Plutarch describes only one marble pillar. Modern analysis of new material evidence has confirmed the presence of a second limestone pillar proving that Polybius and Livy were, in fact, correct.¹⁷ Literary sources claim that the Consul placed his own statues on the monuments.¹⁸ Paullus also organised an event in Amphipolis that included a parade of the Roman military forces, theatrical performances, athletic games, and religious ceremonies.¹⁹ Finally, in 167 BC, Paullus held the triumph over Perseus and Macedonia in Rome. The triumph was held for three days and its celebration was impressive. This was attested by Velleius Paterculus, who said that:

*Paullus' triumph so far exceeded all former ones, whether in the greatness of King Perseus himself, or in the display of statues and the amount of money borne in the procession, [...] and by reason of this vast sum eclipsed all previous triumphs by comparison.*²⁰

In the following analysis I do not discuss all the elements of Paullus' triumph, but instead, I point out only details that are relevant to the figurative evidence analysed in the present study. Paullus, following the Roman tradition, displayed various figurative art in the triumphal parade,²¹ which probably included the *tabulae triumphales*,²² spoils and war booty from the campaign and finally captives, like king Perseus, his two sons, and his daughter.²³ The triumphal parade also included Paullus, his own two sons, and the victorious Roman military forces.

¹⁴ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.135.

¹⁵ Bommelaer-Laroche 2016: 219–220.

¹⁶ Polyb. 30.10.2; Liv. 45.27.7; Plut. *Aem.* 28.4.

¹⁷ See Jacquemin et al. 1995: 125–136.

¹⁸ Pol. 30.10.2; Liv. 45.27.7; Plut. *Aem.* 28.2.

¹⁹ For the festival at Amphipolis, see Erskine 2013.

²⁰ Vell. Pat. 1.9.6.

²¹ For the Roman Triumphal Procession, see Östenberg 2009.

²² The *Tabulae Triumphales* were part of the tradition of the Roman triumphal paintings. These artworks were displayed during Roman triumphs and were comprised of several forms showing a large variety of subjects related to successful military campaigns. See Östenberg 2009: 192–199.

²³ Cadario 2016: 19, argues that these statements might refer to the display of trophies during Paullus' triumphal parade. I would argue that the word 'trophies' can be used especially when taking into account Betalli's observations on trophies in Greek and Roman culture. See Betalli 2009: 363.

The Consul celebrated his victory over Perseus by completing the two pillars originally erected by the king at Delphi near the temple of Apollo. This probably occurred not too long after 168 BC. Material evidence related to these two monuments includes a battle frieze which decorated the base of the equestrian bronze statue of Paullus that was placed on the top of a rectangular marble pillar near the temple of Apollo. The material evidence on the superior base of the marble pillar seems to suggest that Paulus was depicted on a rearing horse.²⁴ The model of this representation was probably influenced by the heroic figurative models that were started by Alexander the Great, continued by the Diadochoi, and then included in the Roman figurative language.²⁵ The figurative frieze shows us representations of a fight between infantrymen and horsemen.²⁶ Modern scholars generally agree that this iconography was related to the Battle of Pydna (Figs. 1 and 2).²⁷

Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, however, proposed a different interpretation for the frieze. According to Ridgway, the frieze was commissioned by Perseus and carved before the end of the war between the Roman Republic and the Macedonian kingdom.²⁸ Therefore, the frieze would symbolically represent the victories of the Macedonian army against the Romans before the battle of Pydna.²⁹ Ridgway's interpretation is problematic for various reasons. First, previous studies have shown that the marble pillars had been made using two different systems of dowels, suggesting the intervention of two different workshops in its construction.³⁰ Analysis of the inscriptions that had been placed on both the pillars brought Jean-François Bommelaer and Dessins de Didier Laroche to suggest that the limestone pillar had been completed first, probably prior to 167 BC. On the other hand, the epigraphs on the marble pillar cannot be related to Perseus and therefore, they must be dated to sometime after 167 BC.³¹ Finally, Taylor has stated that: "Each panel [of the frieze] instead renders the same triumphant moment: Romans slaughtering the Macedonians".³² The observations of these latter authors are more convincing than those of Ridgway, and it is most likely that the frieze on the pillar is related to the Battle of Pydna. The equipment carried by the fighters represented on the frieze helps us to recognise the culture of the soldiers. The Roman infantrymen carry their

²⁴ Holliday 2002: 93, fig. 45.

²⁵ Holliday 2002: 92; Cadario 2004: 34.

²⁶ The first detailed analysis about the frieze can be found in the important monograph of Kähler 1965.

²⁷ The most recent analysis on the frieze is provided by M.J. Taylor in 2016.

²⁸ Ridgway 2000: 76–80.

²⁹ *Ibidem*: 83.

³⁰ Coarelli 1996: 65; Kousser 2010: 530 n. 28. This could prove that the making of the marble pillar could have had two different building phases. The first phase following the projects of Perseus and the second one carried out following the instructions of Paullus.

³¹ Bommelaer and Laroche 2016: 220.

³² Taylor 2016: 572.

oval *thyreos*-type shields and wear different types of breastplates including the *lorica hamata*, a cuirass of chain mail. On the other side, the Macedonians are characterised only by their big round shields, which can be defined by the term *aspis*, decorated with *episemata* (painted emblems) (Fig. 2).³³ One representation of the frieze is associated by modern scholars to Plutarch's account at the beginning of the battle:³⁴

*Towards evening, Aemilius himself, as some say, devised a scheme for making the enemy begin the attack, and the Romans, pursuing a horse which they had driven forth without a bridle, came into collision with them, and the pursuit of this horse brought on a battle.*³⁵

This narration ascribes the stratagem of the horse without a bridle to Paullus.³⁶ The other representations of horses include some holes for the bridles that were made of metal. Only this representation does not include any evidence concerning the presence of bridles (Fig. 2). Therefore, it is possible to consider this representation as related to the beginning of the battle of Pydna and to the stratagem conceived by Paullus.³⁷ This could be considered a celebration of Paullus' tactical skills.

The development of the battle described by the literary sources cannot be linked directly to the remaining representations on the frieze. This can be affirmed especially if we consider the close combat between the legionnaires and the soldiers of the Hellenistic phalanx. It was surely the main tactical episode during the battle and on this point, all the literary sources agree. The representations of the *phalangites* in the frieze are very different from the battle-scene depicted on a Hellenistic bronze plaque from Pergamum.³⁸ Therefore, it could be argued that there is no depiction of a Hellenistic phalanx in a pitched battle on the Paullus monument.³⁹ Thus, we cannot consider the frieze a realistic chronicle of the battle. This is also confirmed by the great number of representations of horsemen and by the presence of three nude warriors. The representations of horsemen equipped with chainmail in the frieze belonged probably to the members of the Roman equestrian class. But we know that the cavalry played a fairly marginal role at the battle of Pydna so the representations can hardly be justified if we were to consider only literary source material. We also know that the equestrian and senatorial classes were the two wealthiest upper-elite classes in Roman society. Lucius Aemilius Paullus was a member of the Senate and he was interested in maintaining political and military cooperation with the equestrian social class. Therefore, it is pos-

³³ Holliday 2002: 92–96.

³⁴ Holliday 2002: 94; Taylor 2016: 562–563.

³⁵ Plut. *Aem.* 18.1.

³⁶ Holliday 2002: 94.

³⁷ Taylor 2016: 562.

³⁸ *Ibidem*: 573, fig. 10.

³⁹ *Ibidem*: 573.

sible to consider the depictions of the horsemen in the frieze as being merely symbolic allusions to the political and military contributions of the equestrian class rather than ones based in reality.

The interpretation of the three nude warriors is controversial. Some scholars believe that the three nude warriors can be considered examples of heroic nudity, an iconographic convention belonging to neo-Attic classicism.⁴⁰ Other analysis suggests that the three nude warriors can be identified as Gauls,⁴¹ which were usually represented nude in battle scenes in Hellenistic art.⁴² In my opinion, the three nude warriors are not represented with some conventional details of the equipment that allow us to identify them clearly as Gauls like metal neck rings (*torques*), trousers (*brachae*) and *thyreos*-type shields.⁴³ On the other hand, the representations of the Macedonian and the Roman soldiers are easily recognizable and detailed. For these reasons in my opinion the iconography of the frieze from Delphi is characterized by both the influences of neo-Attic classicism, which started in the second century BC, and the Roman social conventions.⁴⁴

Consideration for the context of where the pillars were erected should be made. The two pillars were probably located near the temple of Apollo at Delphi.⁴⁵ Shields were hung on the metopes of this building in order to celebrate the Greeks' victories against external invaders such as the Persians and the Gauls.⁴⁶ It is, therefore, possible to assume that the representations of the large Macedonian shields, which we can observed on the frieze of Paullus' monument, were made following this figurative convention in order to clearly identify the defeated cultures. It is also important to underline that the frieze does not include a representation of a trophy. This absence is coherent with the literary accounts describing the events after the battle of Pydna, which do not include any mention about the erection of a trophy on the battlefield by Paullus.⁴⁷

In summary, the evidence from Delphi regarding Paullus' victory have celebrative, symbolic and allusive meanings that were related to the contemporary artistic trends similar to the previous dedication. Roman political hegemony, gained through a victorious military confrontation against the Macedonian forces, was represented using a figurative language involving different levels of narration including historical

⁴⁰ Holliday 2002: 95.

⁴¹ Taylor 2016: 564–571.

⁴² Holliday 2002: 74–76.

⁴³ Conversely these details can be easily observed in a battle frieze showing a Galatomachy, named *Reiterschlacht*, coming from Ephesus and dated between 189 and 160 BC, now at the Ephesus museum in Wien. Moreno 1994: 252–253.

⁴⁴ Holliday 2002: 94–95.

⁴⁵ Bommelaer and Laroche 2016: 219–220.

⁴⁶ Mercuri 2008: 87; Scott 2014: 171.

⁴⁷ Liv. 44.45.3–4.

figurative details, symbolic widespread iconographies, and representations of the new ruling culture.⁴⁸

The silver coin issue minted by Paullus Lepidus shows, on the obverse, a bust of Concordia, diademed and draped facing right. The legend states PAVLLVS LEPIDVS – CONCORDIA.⁴⁹ On the reverse is shown the representation of a togate figure (Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus) standing and facing left, a trophy, two children standing and facing right (the sons of king Perseus) and a draped male figure standing and facing right (king Perseus himself). Above the trophy, the legend states TER and in exergue, PAVLLVS (Fig. 3).

The iconography of the reverse of this coin issue is mostly related to the celebration of the triumph of Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus. Lepidus Paullus was not a direct descendant of Aemilius Paullus⁵⁰ but, as it was argued by Richard David Weigel, “The reference to L. Aemilis Paullus’ three triumphs and the depiction of his victory over Perseus of Macedon would obviously have propaganda value for the Aemilian gens”.⁵¹ The iconography of Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus on the reverse of Lepidus Paullus’ *denar* is schematically described by modern scholars: Paullus is represented standing, facing left and completing a trophy by adding to it a rod or a spear.⁵² Matteo Cadario has recently underlined that Lucius Aemilius Paullus is represented wearing a *toga exigua*, draped according to the fashion of to the Roman Republican costume of the second century BC. The author suggested also that this detail could bring us to date the iconography of the reverse type to the 167 BC short time after the celebration of Paullus’ triumph.⁵³ In order to verify this hypothesis, we have to analyze the other elements of the reverse type of Lepidus Paullus’ coin issue.

First, it is possible to notice that Perseus is represented as a captive, in chains, following Livy’s description about Paullus’ triumph,⁵⁴ wearing the *himation*, a Greek clothing explicitly quoted by Plutarch describing Perseus during Paullus’ triumphal parade in Rome⁵⁵ (Figs. 3, 4 and 5). We can also observe that Perseus’ sons are represented wearing the same type of clothing.⁵⁶ This is confirmed by a confrontation with the reverse type of

⁴⁸ Holliday 2002: 92/96.

⁴⁹ Harlan, in Harlan 2015: 1, highlight the presence of a variant of the coin issue with only PAVLLS on the obverse.

⁵⁰ Harlan 2015: 3–4.

⁵¹ Weigel 1976.

⁵² See RRC 415/1; Sydenham 926; Babelon Aemilia 10, Weigel 1976; Belloni 1993: 101; Liampi 1998: 160–161; Catalli 2003: 193 and Harlan 2015: 1–3.

⁵³ Cadario 2016: 20.

⁵⁴ Liv. 45.40.6.

⁵⁵ Plut. *Aem.* 34.1.

⁵⁶ Cadario 2010: 117.

the *denar* minted by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus during the 58 BC.⁵⁷ These iconographies can be related to the figurative models of the Roman Republican coin issues minted during the first half of the first century BC analysed by Cadario. These coin representations include characters distinguished by the type of clothing: the *toga* identifies Roman characters while the *pallium* identifies characters coming from the Hellenistic world, as king Ptolemy V or king Perseus.⁵⁸ These reverse types allowed for Romans to identify clearly and immediately the different characters on a coin as Roman or Greek and allow us to assume that people coming from different cultures were represented wearing different clothes on Roman Republican coins. A *toga* or a *pallium* can be easily depicted, also schematically, on a small size object like a coin and provide an easily interpreted information about the main characters represented. Further confirmation of this figurative convention comes from other evidence and it is well attested in Roman sculpture.⁵⁹ Therefore, it is possible to consider this figurative practice as part of the Roman figurative language.⁶⁰

We can now focus our attention on the iconography of the trophy. It was depicted as if it were built on a trunk of a tree fixed in the ground with some small branches. A hemispherical helmet with an apex and a cuirass ending with a row of *pteryges* with circular ends hung on the trunk. A circular shield, represented in profile and with hemispherical decorations,⁶¹ and a spear hung respectively to the left, and to the right of the breastplate on a horizontal rod. Finally, two greaves are placed at the base of the trunk. This representation could be related to the equipment of the soldiers of the Hellenistic phalanx.⁶²

Finally, it is possible to express some observations about Lucius Aemilius Paullus' depiction. The trophy is shown as erected and complete; therefore, we cannot consider Paullus as completing it by adding a spear or a rod. In addition to this, the literary sources do not provide any description of Paullus erecting a trophy during his triumph. If we observe another representation of the reverse of Lepidus Paullus' coin issue it is also possible to observe clearly Paullus holding a linear object (Fig. 4).⁶³ It is important

⁵⁷ RRC 419/2; Cadario 2010: 119.

⁵⁸ Cadario 2010: 116–119.

⁵⁹ Ibidem: 115–122.

⁶⁰ Ibidem: 118–119.

⁶¹ Whilst performing this analysis, I identified two new variants of Paullus Lepidus' reverse type coin, which differs both in the size of the shield and from the type of the cuirass (See figs. 4 and 5). I have not found mention of these variants in previous bibliography. I will provide a detailed analysis about these variants in a further study (forthcoming).

⁶² About the equipment of the *phalangites* see Markle 1999; Sekunda 2007: 337–339.

⁶³ The references of the three coins with this representation which I have identified are: American Numismatic Society Collection S.926 – 1896.7.90, Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH Auction 99 Lot 70, Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Mail Bid Sale 61 Lot 1435.

to note that the spear of the trophy is parallel to the trunk whereas the object in Paullus' right hand is depicted as oblique (Figs. 4, 5 and 6).

The comparisons for this object can be the reverse type of the coin issue minted by Augustus in 28 BC.⁶⁴ Here, we can observe a linear object identified by modern scholars as a *volumen*,⁶⁵ and the triumphal parade represented on a silver cup from Boscoreale, where we can see a *scipio eburneus*, an ivory scepter, and one of the Roman *ornamenta triumphalia*, surmounted by the image of an eagle.⁶⁶ Despite a vague resemblance and similarity, the object on Lepidus Paullus' coin issue seems to be smaller than the *volumen* held by Augustus and it is not surmounted by any image. For these reasons I would argue that it is not actually possible to provide unequivocal identification of the linear object held by Paullus.

To summarise, the iconography on the reverse coin of Lepidus Paullus includes some symbols and characters related to Paullus' triumph held in Rome during 167 BC. But these depictions should not be considered to be a chronicle of Paullus' triumphal parade.⁶⁷ Lauren Kinnee also has argued that the juxtaposition of Paullus, Perseus, and his children with a trophy was an imaginary scene "whose iconography has been drawn from contemporary practice".⁶⁸

Surely it is possible to observe that the coin iconography represents a somewhat static scene, rather than an episode of a triumphal parade. Additionally, the trophies that are identified by the image, *Costly panoplies mounted on poles*,⁶⁹ were displayed before Perseus and his three sons.⁷⁰ The king of Macedonia is described as preceding Paullus in the triumphal parade. Plutarch states that Paullus was:

*mounted on a chariot of magnificent adornment [...] wearing a purple robe interwoven with gold and holding forth in his right hand a spray of laurel.*⁷¹

Surely this description cannot be considered as represented on the reverse of Lepidus Paullus' coin issue.⁷² On the other hand, however, I wish to highlight that the iconography of the reverse is very detailed if we consider the clothes of Paullus, Perseus, and his children and the representation of the trophy, as I stated before. Furthermore, the reverse of the coin issue minted by Lepidus Paullus cannot be compared directly to the other coin

⁶⁴ About this coin issue see Rich and Williams 1999; Mantovani 2008.

⁶⁵ Rich and Williams 1999: 168 and fig. 20.1.

⁶⁶ Östenberg 2009: 110, fig.9.

⁶⁷ Cadario 2016: 19–20.

⁶⁸ Kinnee 2016: 216.

⁶⁹ Diod. 31.8.10–11.

⁷⁰ Cadario 2016: 19, provides us some other observations about incongruities between the literary accounts describing Paullus' triumph and the representation on Lepidus Paullus' coin issue.

⁷¹ Plut. *Aem.* 34.3. This description seems to be more similar the representation of the *triumphator* on a Boscoreale silver cup. Östenberg 2009: 110, fig. 9.

⁷² Cadario 2016: 19.

issues, which include representations of trophies and prisoners which we can define as almost standardized, minted between the 60s and the 50s by Roman moneyers.⁷³

Therefore, in my opinion, we can consider the reverse of the coin type minted by Lepidus Paullus to be characterized by representations of the Roman costume and of the Macedonian military equipment belonging to the first half of the second century BC. These details can be related to the representations celebrating the memory of the triumph of Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus displayed in Rome. Triumphal paintings were created to be displayed during Paullus' triumphal procession. After this ceremony, the *tabulae* were plausibly exhibited in public in Rome.

Literary sources provide evidence that Paullus used to put depictions of his military successes in a public place in Rome before 167 BC. As a matter of fact, Paullus, after his triumph over the Ligurians in 181 BC, *Put up a painting in public where the sequence of his achievements was depicted.*⁷⁴ Remembering what we have noted before, it is possible, as some scholars have suggested, that the *tabulae* included representations of the triumph itself.⁷⁵ It is also reasonable to think that the *tabulae* could have been placed in a public place as a memorial of the triumph. If this is true, we could assume that Paulus may have repeated this practice for his triumph in 167 BC, thanks, in particular, to the painter Metrodoros from Athens who executed the paintings, which were exposed in the triumphal procession.⁷⁶ After the ceremony, the painted *tabulae* were probably displayed in public in Rome, as it happened in 181 BC. Therefore, we could assume that the reverse type of Paullus Lepidus' coin could prove that in the first century BC there were still figurative depictions of Paullus' triumph over Perseus and Macedonia in public in Rome.

These commemorative and celebrative iconographies were a useful archive for the political communication of the Roman political elite. This is surely testified by the iconography of the coin issue minted by the brother of Lucius Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, during 61 BC.⁷⁷ By placing a horseman carrying a trophy on the reverse of his coin, Marcus Lepidus chose to recall the military valor of his ancestor Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, consul in 187 and 175 BC. At the end of the III century BC Marcus, who was only fifteen, killed an enemy and saved a Roman citizen during a battle. For this reason, the Senate exceptionally ordered to erect a statue in the Capitoline to honour the young Marcus Lepidus. This public monument was described by Valerius Maximus.⁷⁸ Modern scholars agree that the reverse of Marcus Lepidus' coin shows the

⁷³ *Ibidem*: 21–22.

⁷⁴ *De Vir. Ill.* 56.

⁷⁵ Östenberg 2009: 196.

⁷⁶ Holliday 2002: 32–33, 92, 198–199; Östenberg 2009: 248.

⁷⁷ RRC 419/1.

⁷⁸ Val. Max. 3,1,1.

equestrian statue of his great-grandfather and the dedicatory inscription on the base of the statue,⁷⁹ that was still visible and recognizable in Rome.

This reinforces the hypothesis that public monuments celebrating military achievements of members of Roman families were used as iconographic models by moneyers. Note, however, that these images offered some figurative models which can be reworked by the engravers for the communication aims of the Roman magistrate who choose them. Richard David Weigel clearly synthesises the political use of these images: “The association of a name with past glory was an important consideration in gathering support for one’s political career”.⁸⁰ About this topic it is also possible to quote an iconography represented on Faustus Sulla’s coin issue minted during 56 BC. The reverse types of this coin issue included a representation of Jugurtha handing Bocchus to Sulla.⁸¹ This iconography was known in Rome because the historical event was depicted on a monument placed by king Bocchus of Mauretania in the Capitol,⁸² and on Lucius Cornelius Sulla’s signet.⁸³ Indeed the representation on the reverse of Faustus Sulla’s coin issue can be linked to iconographic models related to the historical memory of a specific character and to his deeds⁸⁴ and already known in Rome.

A comparison between the iconography of the reverse type of Lepidus Paullus’ coin issue and the representations of frieze at Delphi provide us interesting information about Roman figurative memory about past victories. The subject chosen by Lepidus Paullus does not reproduce figurative models related to Paullus’ monument in Delphi. Indeed, the representation on Lepidus Paullus’ coin issue could be put in relation with the iconographies celebrating the memory of Paullus’ triumph in Rome. Summarizing the representations celebrating the Roman victory during the third Macedonian war show the influence of the contexts where they were displayed or where they were used. The representations related to Paullus’ monument at Delphi show a partial reinterpretation of the visual models displayed in the area near the temple of Apollo. On the other hand, the numismatic iconography can be related both to the representations coming from the Roman Republican figurative tradition about the memory of triumphs and to the symbols of the Roman Republican coin issues minted during the first half of the first century BC.

In summary, the analysis of the representations related to the monument of Lucius Aemilius Paullus at Delphi and the reverse type of Paullus Lepidus’ coin issue provided us with some information about the Roman Republican historical commemoration

⁷⁹ Cadario 2010: 115–116; Harlan 2015: 33–36.

⁸⁰ Weigel 1976: 56.

⁸¹ RRC 426/1.

⁸² Plut. *Sull.* 6.1 and Plut. *Mar.* 32.2.

⁸³ Camp et al. 1992: 450 n.27.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*: 449–451.

in the visual arts. The study of the reverse type of Paullus Lepidus' coin issue has allowed us to identify some new details concerning the representation of the trophy. In particular, the weapons represented on the reverse can be related to the military equipment used by the Hellenistic phalanx during the second century BC. This allows us to consider the recent academic hypothesis, which relates to the numismatic iconography of figurative models made and displayed in Rome not long after Paullus' triumph in Rome in 167 BC, as being more plausible. The reverse type of Lepidus Paullus' coin issue also shows representations coming from the figurative language regarding the Roman Republican coins minted during the first half of the first century BC. Finally, the confrontation between the iconographies of the decorative programme of Paullus' monument in Delphi and the numismatic iconography allows us to underscore the influence of context in the selection of the figurative models by the political elite during the late Roman Republic.

Abbreviations

RRC – M.H. Crawford. 1991. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Vols. I-II. Cambridge.

Sydenham – E.A. Sydenham. 1952. *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*. London.

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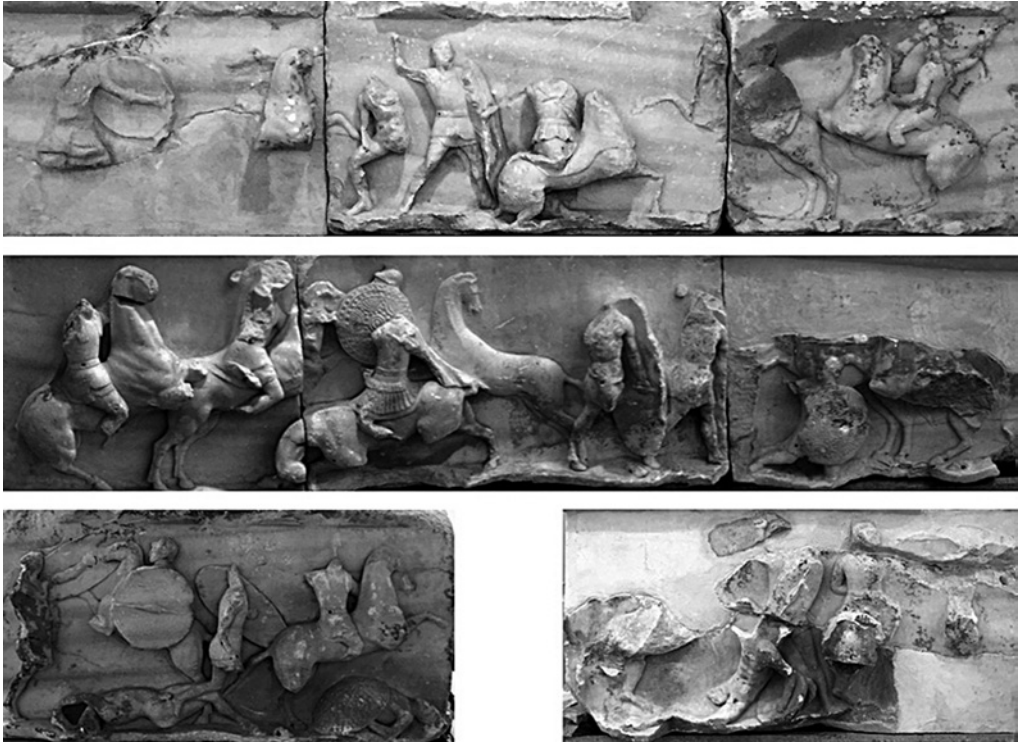
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Figures

1. Frieze of the monument of Lucius Aemilius Paullus in Delphi (© author)



2. Frieze of the monument of Lucius Aemilius Paullus in Delphi, details of the large Macedonian shields (© author)



3. L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus 63 BC, AR Denarius

(www.acsearch.info, Ex Bertolami Fine Arts ArtCoins Roma-ACR Auctions, Auction Mail Bid Sale 1 Lot 137)

**4. L. Aemilius Paullus 63 BC, AR Denarius**

(www.sixbid.com, Heritage Auctions. Inc. Auction 3019 Lot 26032)

**5. L. Aemilius Paullus 63 BC, AR Denarius**

(www.ikmk.smb.museum, Münzkabinett: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, by kind permission of professor Bernhard Weisser)

**6. L. Aemilius Paullus 63 BC, AR Denarius**

(www.numismatics.org, the collection of the American Numismatic Society, Object Number 1896.7.90)

