‘Riders in the Chariot’; Children Accompanying their Fathers in Roman Triumphs

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It is a generally held view in the modern literature, based on a few pieces of ancient evidence, that it was a common practice for the children, especially sons, of a successful general who had been awarded a triumph to accompany their father in his triumphal procession. One such recent example is the work on triumphs by Mary Beard who writes:

> It seems to have been, or become, the custom that the general’s young children should travel in the [triumphal] chariot with him, or, if they were older, to ride horses alongside. We have already seen Germanicus sharing his chariot in 17 CE with five offspring. Appian claims that Scipio in 201 BCE was accompanied by ‘boys and girls’, while Livy laments the fact that in 167 BCE Aemilius Paullus’ young sons could not – through death or sickness – travel with him, ‘planning similar triumphs for themselves.’[1]

But there is such a small number of examples that it might be worth testing the validity of this common view about children accompanying their fathers in triumphs.

The earliest example relates to Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, five times consul between 322 and 295 and three times *triumphator*. During one of his triumphs he is said to have held his little son in his arms (Val. Max. 5.7.1). Despite his advanced age, he served as a legate to his son, Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges, consul in 292, in his campaigns in Samnium. When Gurges in turn celebrated the first of his two triumphs, his father took pleasure in riding behind the triumphal chariot, ‘watched not just as an adjunct to that glorious procession but as its author’.[2]

The general ritual for a triumph is described by two ancient authors. Appian (*Pun.* 66) describes the triumph of Scipio Africanus, but uses that occasion to talk generally about what happened in a triumphal procession. Dio (in Zonaras, *Epit.* 7.21) gives a similar general description. In the *pro Murena* Cicero provides a general statement that ‘sons in their early

[1] Beard (2007) 224, cf. 20 and 82.

[2] Val. Max. 5.7.1: *idem triumphantem equo insidens sequi, quem ipse parvulum triumphis suis gestaverat, in maxima voluptate posuit, nec accessio gloriosae illius pompae sed auctor spectatus est.* For the triumphs of both father and son, see *CIL* 1^2, Fasti Triumphales, q.v. 322, 309, 295, 290 and 276. On fathers setting an example for their sons, see below, n. 26.

youth usually ride the horses of their father's triumphal chariot.'[3] In regard to Scipio's triumph in 201, Appian refers to 'boys and girls' accompanying Scipio (*Pun.* 66). We know of only four children of Scipio:[4] a son, who as a result of physical infirmity, was unable to pursue a public career later, though he had considerable learning and rhetorical ability, another son who gained a praetorship in 174, a daughter who later married P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, and a younger daughter who later married Ti. Sempronius Gracchus the elder. Their birth dates are unknown, and there may well have been others, so it is difficult to determine who might have been the ones in Scipio's triumphal chariot and how many.

For the triumph of Aemilius Paullus for his victory over Perseus in Macedonia in 168, the evidence which Mary Beard and others use comes from Livy (45.40.4 and 7-8) and Plutarch (*Aem. Paull.* 35.1-2). It is uncertain whether this was Paullus' second or third triumph – but we need not bother ourselves with discussion of that problem here. The sources tell us that Paullus' younger sons should have accompanied their father on this occasion, but they did not – for an unfortunate reason dealt with later.

These three triumphs are the only ones in the republican period in which the sources actually mention that children accompanied their father, but there is the triumph of App. Claudius Pulcher as consul in 143 in which there is an oblique reference to a child taking part. Refused permission to conduct a triumph, Pulcher celebrated one on his own authority. To block tribunician opposition, his daughter, a Vestal, rode with him – or did she jump onto the chariot? – to shield her father with her inviolability and to prevent the tribunes from trying to drag them both from the chariot.[5]

That is it then: three, or perhaps four, examples from the written evidence of children accompanying their fathers in triumphs.

The victory of Paullus against Perseus had produced 120 million sesterces,[6] plus a somewhat larger total than that in gold and silver objects (Liv. 45.40.1); Such was the amount

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[3] Cic. *Mur.* 11: . . . *cum sedere in equis triumphantium praetextati potissimum filii soleant,* . . . The description *praetextati* could apply to the ages of the sons who took part as riders in the triumphs of Marius and Pompeius discussed below (see n. 14 and n. 16).

[4] For a genealogical table, see Scullard (1973) 307; Astin (1967) 357 (but giving only three children); Ridley (1999) 98 (also giving only three children). Flory (1998) 494 thinks that Appian's notice is anachronistic: he inserted what was contemporary imperial practice, such as the triumph of Germanicus, where girls did ride in the triumphal chariot (see below, n. 11).

[5] Cic. *Cael.* 34*: . . . non virgo illa Vestalis Claudia quae patrem complexa triumphantem ab inimico tribuno plebei de curru detrahi passa non est?* (' . . . Claudia, that famous Vestal, who held her father in her embrace during his triumph and did not allow him to be dragged from his chariot by a hostile tribune of the plebs'). Val. Max. 5.4.6 says that, when Claudia saw her father being dragged from his chariot by a violent tribune, she speedily put herself between the two to prevent the hostile action by the tribune. Suet. *Tib.* 2 says Claudia was Appius' sister. See also Dio frag. 74; Oros. 5.4.7; Macrob. *Sat.* 3.14.14.

[6] Other sources give different amounts paid into the treasury by Paullus. Vell. Pat. 1.9.6 says 210 million; Plin. *NH* 33.56 says 300 million.

paid into the treasury that the state was able to abolish the *tributum* which was not re-imposed until 43 (Plin. *NH* 33.56).[7] Permission to hold a triumph was granted by the senate (except for the odd occasion when a triumphing general not granted a triumph took matters into his own hands and went ahead and celebrated it anyway – like the example of App. Claudius Pulcher mentioned above. Occasionally the citizens led by the general's troops, voting in the assembly to confirm the senate's decision, objected to the granting of a triumph (especially if they felt that had not been rewarded sufficiently).[8]

Paullus' claim to a triumph was a case in point. His troops were not happy, it seems, with their reward: led by Ser. Sulpicius Galba, they opposed the award of a triumph to Paullus because of the supposed stinginess of the rewards he handed out to them (Liv. 43.35.9).[9] The tribunes of the people were overawed by the *principes*, who, naturally, wished to see that Paullus received his triumph, and eventually the necessary proposal to award it was passed (Liv. 45.35.4-36.10). The triumph was grandiose and lavish in presentation and scale, lasting for three days.

The description of Paullus' triumph in both Livy and Plutarch shows a sorrowful situation faced by the *triumphator*. He had agreed to the adoption of his two older sons to other very distinguished aristocratic families with which his own had long-standing connections – one was adopted into the family of the Fabii Maximi (Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, consul in 145), and the other into the family of the Cornelii Scipiones (P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage in 146 and Numantia in 132). Paullus had kept two younger sons at home to carry on the family name. Unfortunately the younger of these two died just five days before his triumph, and the other, obviously sick on the days of the triumph, died a few days later. The older sons, however, who had been adopted into other

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[7] *intulit et Aemilius Paullus Perseo rege victo e Macedonica praeda MMM, a quo tempore populus Romanus tributum pendere desiit.* ('After the defeat of King Perseus, Aemilius Paullus also paid into the treasury from the booty won in Macedonia 300 million sesterces, and from that time on the Roman people ceased paying the property tax.')

[8] There was also opposition by the troops to the granting of Pompeius' first triumph, because they did not receive as much as they expected (Plut. *Pomp.* 14.5). This contrasts with the massive amounts his troops received at his third triumph (below, n. 9).

[9] Each *eques* received 400 *denarii* and each infantryman 200 *denarii* (Liv. 45.34.6); Plutarch gives a smaller amount, just eleven drachmas (= eleven *denarii*) (*Aem. Paull.* 29.3). To draw some comparisons: Flamininus in 194, Scipio Asiaticus in 188 and Fulvius Nobilior in 187 had handed out 25 *denarii* (Liv. 34.52.11, 37.59.6 and 39.5.17); Manlius Vulso in 186 gave 42 *denarii* (Liv. 39.7.6) and Fulvius Flaccus in 180 distributed 50 *denarii* (Liv. 40.43.5). After the defeat of Numantia in 132 Scipio Aemilianus gave his troops just seven *denarii* (Plin. *NH* 33.141), while Pompeius rewarded his troops following the defeat of Mithridates with the massive amount of 1500 drachmas (Plut. *Pomp.* 45.3). See Scullard, *Politics* (n. 3) 218 n. 2. According to Livy (45.40.5), Paullus gave his troops additional amounts at his triumph: 100 *denarii* per infantryman, 200 per centurion and 400 per cavalryman, but says they would have received double those amounts if they had supported the vote for his triumph more enthusiastically.

families, did take part in Paullus' triumph, following immediately behind their father's chariot among other dignitaries (Liv. 45.40.4).

Octavian's triumph for the victory at Actium from 13th to 15th August 29 BC could be said to follow in the 'republican' tradition: his step-son Tiberius, the future emperor, then aged 12 (born November 42), rode the left trace-horse of the triumphal chariot, and his nephew Marcellus, then of similar age (born 42), rode the right-hand, but more prestigious, one.[10] There was a triumph in the early imperial period, that of Germanicus in AD 17, where children accompanied their father: Tacitus says five children accompanied Germanicus.[11] It is likely that this practice continued a republican tradition, even though the number of triumphs conducted in the 'republican' manner, that is, celebrated by senators, dwindled under Augustus. They were rarely awarded after 30 BC, and not at all after 19 BC, when they were celebrated only by members of the imperial family.[12] The inclusion of children in Germanicus' triumph may give us some clues to the purpose of this practice, which I will come to later. What is unusual is the inclusion of daughters in this triumph.[13]

The odds are improving – we are up to a possible six examples now. To those we can add another two from the evidence of coins.

The iconographic material for sons accompanying their fathers in the republican period comes from just two coins. A *denarius* issued by C. Fundanius in 101 shows on the reverse (**image no. 1**) a *triumphator* in a *quadriga* with a rider on one of the trace-horses. The reverse of a *quinarius* issued by the same moneyer (**image no. 2**) depicts Victory crowning a trophy, a *carnyx* (a type of Gallic war trumpet) and a kneeling captive. The bronze coin suggests a victory over Celtic peoples, a most likely reference to Marius' recent victories over the Cimbri and Teutones. The *triumphator* on the silver coin may therefore plausibly 'be regarded as Marius himself, the rider on the near horse as Marius' son, now aged about 8,' as Crawford suggests.[14]

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[10] Suet. *Tib.* 6.4. The scene is reminiscent of the coins depicting Marius' and Pompeius' sons riding trace-horses in their respective father's triumphs (see below, n. 14 and n. 16).

[11] *Ann.* 2.41. Agrippina bore Germanicus nine children; all the birthdates are not certain, nor is it certain how many survived and who were alive at the time of the triumph in 17 CE. Possibilities are: Nero Iulius Caesar (born 6 CE, so about 11), Drusus Iulius Caesar (born c. 7 CE, so about 10), Gaius Iulius Caesar (the later emperor) (born 12 CE, so about 5), Agrippina the Younger (born 15 CE and so 2 at the time), Iulia Drusilla (born probably 16 CE, and perhaps too young in 17). Iulia Drusilla was born in 18 CE, after the event. On the dates of the births of Germanicus' children, see Lindsay (1995) 3-17.

[12] For this view see e.g. Goodman (1997) 108; cf. Syme (1939) 404.

[13] App. *Pun.* 66 refers to παῖδές τε καὶ παρθένοι ('boys and girls'), [not 'sons and daughters', note], in the triumph of Scipio Africanus (above, n. 4). For a discussion of females participating in triumphs, see McWilliam (2010) 124-5 (with n. 29 and references listed there).

[14] *RRC* 1.328. Beard (2007) 90 with n. on 354, says that the date of the coin is disputed, but does not give any references for the dispute.

The second coin relates to the triumph of Cn. Pompeius Magnus in 61. Peter Greenhalgh describes this triumph in detail, and Mary Beard devotes the whole of her first chapter to describing it.[15] An *aureus* (**image no. 3**) has on the obverse a figure with an elephant-head helmet, and on the reverse a *triumphator* in a *quadriga* with a boy or young man on the trace-horse (just like the earlier coin of Marius).[16] The legends MAGNVS on the obverse and PRO COS on the reverse show clearly the reference is to Pompeius.

The dating of the coin (and therefore the triumph it is referring to) is debated. Since the reverse has the title PRO COS, the only possibilities are 71 and 61. The figure with the elephant-head helmet is taken by some to show a personified Africa; if that identification were correct, it would sensibly point to Pompeius' victory in Africa in 81 after his appointment to a command there by Sulla to get rid of Marian remnants. But that was an appointment only as *pro praetor*, so the coin cannot be dated to the time of this triumph. Pompeius had extorted the triumph from Sulla by what was to become an often-used device of his – the threat of an undisbanded army. After intially being denied a triumph because it was said that he had not achieved his victory as a magistrate and that he was still technically an *eques*, Sulla eventually conceded. There is a connection with elephants for this triumph, since Pompeius tried to substitute them for the usual white horses to pull the triumphal chariot, only to be forced to abandon this extravagant display because the animals would not fit through the *Porta Carmentalis*.

However, those who pursue this interpretation, that the coin reference is to Pompeius' African triumph, have to resort to a strained argument to explain why this coin was issued years later in connection with, say, his triumph in 71, celebrated on his return from Spain where he had indeed been proconsul. For example, Crawford says:

> . . . the reference to Africa is somewhat surprising, but it is intelligible if one remembers that the swift and decisive victory in Africa was a more striking achievement than the victory in Spain, long delayed and only achieved after the murder of Sertorius by Perperna; it is also perhaps relevant that the victory in Africa was less recent and less charged with bitterness than the victory in Spain.[17]

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[15] Greenhalgh (1980) 168-76; Beard (2007) chap. 1

[16] *RRC* 402/1a and b. The coin is extremely rare; only three examples exist, one in the British Museum, one in Bologna and one in a private collection.

[17] Crawford, *RRC* 1.413. Mattingly (1928, 2nd edn 1960) 77, gets the occasion right (i.e. Pompeius' triumph in 61 on his return from the East), but still wishes to associate it with his African victories because of the elephant-head helmet.

There is a simpler argument. Pompeius' *cognomen* Magnus, conferred by Sulla when he greeted Pompeius on his return from Africa in 81, imitated, perhaps, the title of Alexander.[18] Pompeius is said to have cultivated the image of being a latter-day Alexander (Plut. *Pomp.* 2.1-2).[19] Consider, for example, Pompeius' hair style: the *anastole* or widow's peak is definitely Alexandrian, as their portrait heads show (**image no. 4**).[20] Appian says that there were claims that the cloak worn by Pompeius in his triumph actually belonged to Alexander, though he doubts the truth of that.[21]

The personification on the obverse of the *aureus* wearing the elephant-head helmet contains a clue also. The Macedonian successors to Alexander used his iconography on their own coins. There is a coin issued by Ptolemy I (two examples – **image no. 6**) which shows Ptolemy on the obverse wearing – an elephant-head helmet (the same as the figure on Pompeius' Roman coin), and the title ALEXANDROY on the obverse. It makes sense then that this sort of inconography is eastern, emphasising a connection with Alexander. Thus the imagery on the coin makes better sense if it is related to Pompeius' triumph in 61 after his defeat of Mithridates, extensive conquests in the East and re-organisation of Rome' eastern possessions – just like an Alexander. [I am indebted to Kathryn Welch and Hannah Mitchell for making this point, in a paper I heard at a conference held in honour of Erich Gruen at the ANU in September 2011.]

On the reverse of the coin, which shows the triumphal chariot, there is a young person on one of the trace-horses, presumably one of Pompeius' sons. The older son was born between 80 and 76, and so 15-19 years of age in 61 and more likely to be the out-rider then; compare the ages of Tiberius and Marcellus, 12 or 13, when they rode the trace-horses in Octavianus' triumph in 29. Pompeius' younger son was born about 67 and so not even alive at the time of the triumph in 71. The older son may just have been old enough in 71 to be the

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[18] Plut. *Pomp.* 13.5 says that he did not start using the new *cognomen* immediately; it was not until he took up the command against Sertorius in Spain some years later.

[19] Plut. *Pomp.* 2.1-2: ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἀναστολὴ τῆς κόμης ἀτρέμα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ὄμματα ῥυθμῶν ὑγρότης τοῦ προσώπου, ποιοῦσα μᾶλλον λεγομένην ἢ φαινομένην ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνας. ᾗ καὶ τοὔνομα πολλῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ συνεπιφερόντων οὐκ ἔφευγεν ὁ Πομπήιος, ὥστε καὶ χλευάζοντας αὐτὸν ἐνίους ἤδη καλεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. ('There was a slight lifting of his hair and a softness in the proportions of his face around the eyes which produced a resemblance, more talked about rather than actually apparent, to the portrait statues of king Alexander. And so, since many applied the name to him in his early years, Pompeius did not avoid it, so that in time some called him Alexander as a mockery.')

[20] The portrait head of Pompeius in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek shows the hair style; that image is similar to his head on a number of Roman coins issued by his sons (image 5). Admittedly these coins were not struck until after his death. The furrowed brow might be a sign of seriousness, a good quality in a Roman.

[21] App. *Mith.* 117: . . . αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἦν, καὶ τοῦδε λιθοκολλήτου, χλαμύδα ἔχων, ὡς φασιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, εἴ τῳ πίστον ἐστιν· ἔοικε δ' αὐτὴν εὑρεῖν ἐν Μιθριδάτου, Κῴων παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας λαβόντων.

out-rider if he was born early in the range of years possible for his birth; i.e. he would have been about 8 or 9 if born in, say, 80. Compare the age suggested for the younger Marius, 8 years old, when riding one of the horses in his father's triumph. If he were born any later than this, he would have been too young to ride a trace-horse in a triumph in 71, and it makes better sense then to argue on the basis of the sons' ages that the coin image fits with the year 61, the year of Pompeius' third triumph.

The Roman triumph was a ritual, and there were certain ceremonial conventions to it, such as the appearance of the *triumphator* (reddened face, special boots, dressed to resemble Jupiter etc.). The chariot, with a phallus hanging underneath to avert the evil eye, was drawn by four white horses, though even with this there were variations: as already mentioned, Pompeius tried to use four elephants to pull the chariot in his first triumph to provide a spectacular and unique performance, but it turned out the elephants could not fit through the *Porta Triumphalis*, and so, to his chagrin, he had to abandon the attempt (Plut. *Pomp.* 14.4). The *triumphator* stood in the chariot holding an ivory sceptre in one hand and a branch of laurel in the other, quite a balancing act, especially if there were children in the chariot with him.[22] How did he manage to control the chariot, since he would need to hold the reins also? Behind him in the chariot stood a slave, holding a golden crown over the *triumphator*'s head and whispering throughout the procession, 'Look behind you. Remember you are human.'

In the iconography the chariot does not look large enough to transport the victorious general, the slave standing behind and a number of small – and wriggling? – children. At least older sons, if there were any, rode on horseback alongside. Why the children anyway? When first thinking about this topic, I wondered, as the ritual was overlaid with all sorts of religious connotations, whether there might have been a problem in having children involved. Clearly this was not a problem, else objections would have been raised. Rawson points out not only how children were, as we have seen, involved in the actual triumphal procession, but also in the religious ritual accompanying the special sacrifices, usually of white oxen, made at the culmination of the triumph. For example, the priests were assisted by boys (*camilli*) carrying libation vessels made of precious metal (Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 32). Rawson goes on to describe how often boys and girls participated in festivals and ceremonies, both in the republic and on into the empire, principally as choirs singing hymns in processions.[23]

The iconography of the Ara Pacis might provide a parallel which can help explain the presence of children – admittedly it dates to the early imperial period, but the triumph of

[22] Val. Max. 5.7.1 implies that *parvuli* were held by their father. How was he to manage them as well as the ivory sceptre and laurel branch?
[23] Rawson (2003) 311-28.

Germanicus with his five children is also demonstrative. It may have marked an innovation – the centrality of the *domus Augusta*.[24] The appearance of the daughters as well as the sons suggests that one motive of the triumphal procession was to advertise dynastic continuity. Increasingly through the imperial period was the appearance of the women of the imperial family: for example, in Claudius' triumph in AD 44 for victory over Britain his two children, Britannicus (aged 2 or 3) and Octavia (aged 4) rode in the triumphal chariot with their father, and their mother Messalina rode immediately behind in a *carpentum*, a symbolic vehicle (Dio 60.22.2), a position normally for male members of the family and high-ranking citizens or army officers.

The imperial family depicted on the south wall of the entablature of the Ara Pacis shows a family procession, including the nice touch of a number of children (**image no. 7**).[25] There is considerable scholarly debate about their identities – that need not concern us here. The purpose was, no doubt, to display the potential leaders of the imperial family who would go on, like Augustus, to secure great achievements in the service of the state. That motive backs up what was probably the purpose of the presence of children, especially sons, in the republican triumphs considered in this paper: in commenting on the sadness of Aemilius Paullus' triumph in 167, Livy remarks that his two younger sons should have ridden in the chariot with their father, 'planning similar triumphs for themselves in the future' (i.e. an example was being set for them to follow in their father's distinguished footsteps: Liv. 45.40.8).[26] The description of Paullus' triumph reveals that the two older sons, who had been adopted into other families, followed behind their father's triumphal chariot, as did Marcellus and Tiberius in Octavianus' triumph, no doubt too being encouraged to think of future triumphs for themselves. One might compare a comment by Polybius at the end of his long description of the Roman aristocratic funeral procession (6.54.3): 'The most important result is that young men are thus [*by seeing the long-line of family portraits and achievements*] inspired to endue every suffering for the public welfare in the hope of winning the glory that attends on brave men.'[27]

It is not only the younger members of aristocratic families who would thus be inspired, according to Polybius, but also all young Romans who watched the funeral

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[24] Flory (1998) 492-3.
[25] A recent brief discussion in McWilliam (2010) 126-7
[26] Cf. above, n. 2: the account of Fabius Rullianus' participation in his son's triumph, of which he was considered to be the author.
[27] Polyb. 6.54.3: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οἱ νέοι παρορμῶνται πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ὑπερ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων χάριν τοῦ τυχεῖν τῆς συνακολουθούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐκλείας.

processions.[28] This is discussed in regard to children in general by Beryl Rawson.[29] She points out that, because public festivals, entertainments and rituals took place outdoors, children were often spectators or participants, and that what was seen conditioned all members of the community, including children. All the great Roman festivals were in origin religious, though perhaps the religious element became less dominant, as the entertainment aspect became more obvious from the second century BC onwards. Triumphs were primarily associated with thanksgiving to the gods, but as the processions became more spectacular with Rome's growing domination of the Mediterranean, the entertainment value increased: works of art, huge displays of booty, illustrated placards showing exotic places, high-ranking captives – all would have been fascinating, not least to children.

The *triumphator* with his special appearance was presented as superhuman, almost divine; the route of the triumphal procession took people past the many historic monuments and statues which had been set up, principally by successful generals, and provided a history lesson of Roman achievements and notable leaders; and the objects, pictures and accounts carried in the procession showed that Rome was taking over the leadership from other powerful and wealthy countries. All of this visual *Realien* of Rome's power and success could not help but stir pride and patriotism, particularly among the young.

There seems clear evidence, then, that it was the norm for children, especially sons, to accompany their triumphing fathers either in the chariot if young or riding on the horses if old enough, and that the effect of this was to inspire them to imitate the achievements of their fathers. But not just aristocratic children: the spectacle and the religious aspect of the triumph helped to inspire patriotism in all Roman children who observed it.

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[28] Polyb. 6.54.2: ἐξ ὧν καινοποιουμένης ἀεὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φήμης ἀθανατίζεται μὲν ἡ τῶν καλόν τι διαπραξαμένων εὔκλεια, γνώριμος δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ παραδόσιμος τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἡ τῶν εὐεργετησάντων τὴν πατρίδα γίνεται δόξα. ('By these means and by the constant renewal of the reputation of brave men, the fame of those who performed fine deeds is rendered immortal, while the celebrity of those who were benefactors of their country becomes known to the wider community and an example to future generations.')

[29] Rawson (2003) part II, chap. 7 'Public Life', passim.

Image 1: *denarius* issued by C. Fundanius in 101 [*RRC* 326/1]
(from the Gale Collection, ACANS, Macquarie University)

Image 2: *quinarius* issued by C. Fundanius in 101 [*RRC* 326/2]
(from the Gale Collection, ACANS, Macquarie University)

Image 3: *aureus* of Pompeius Magnus [*RRC* 402/1a and b]
(image from British Museum website catalogue

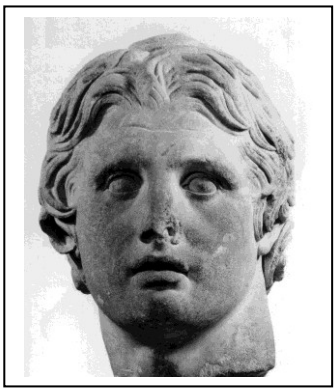

Image 4: heads of Pompeius and Alexander, Ny Karlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen
(images from Wikimedia Commons)

Image 5: *denarius* of M. Minatius Sabinus, 46-45 [*RRC* 470/1-4]
(image from British Museum website catalogue

Image 6a: tetradrachm of Ptolemy I
(image from Wild Winds website catalogue, Svoronos 22)

Image 6b: tetradrachm of Ptolemy I
(image from Wild Winds website catalogue, Svoronos 33)

Image 7: procession on south wall of the Ara Pacis
(image from postcard in author's possession)

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(from the Gale Collection, ACANS, Macquarie University)

Image 2: *quinarius* issued by C. Fundanius in 101 [*RRC* 326/2]
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Image 3: *aureus* of Pompeius Magnus [*RRC* 402/1a and b]
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Image 4: heads of Pompeius and Alexander, Ny Karlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen
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Image 7: procession on south wall of the Ara Pacis
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