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Public and private tributes to the emperor Domitian in Hispania

Confronting the inscriptions with the sculptorical and archaeological evidence

David Gordillo Salguero

A. Behind the tracks of an emperor "who should not exist"

At the end of the year 96, the emperor Domitian was assassinated. Immediately, the Senate decreed that his memory had to be eliminated from the public and private spaces. These circumstances explain the difficulties that the researchers had when approaching the reception of the Domitian's image and the imperial ideology. This problem is particularly intense in the case of inscriptions, the material most affected by the *damnatio memoriae*. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to show the possibilities of confronting the epigraphical testimonies with the sculptorical and archaeologicals evidences to complete, increase and contrast the current information provided by the epigraphy.

B. The reception of the imperial image and ideology: the evidences

Epigraphy. I have collected in the Table 1 all the honorific inscriptions dedicated to Domitian found in Hispania. We can complete our study with the tributes dedicated to members of the flavian family during his reign: Divine Titus in Regina (CIL, II, 979), the empress Domitia in Metellinum (CIL, II, 610) and Augusta Emerita (Gordillo Forthcoming), and the Flavia Domitilla, deified with Titus or Domitian (CILA, II, 398; ERItalica, 60).

Sculpture. Table 2 is about the Domitian's portraits from Iberian Peninsunla. We can also include the imperial statues and sculptorical cycles dated in this period. For example, the groups of three statues found in the theatre's scenes of Tarraco (Ruíz de Árbulo 2004, 145 y ss.) and Augusta Emerita (Peña 2009, 616); or the military torsos interpreted as statues of Domitian in Segobriga (Ojeda 2008, 323-328) and Los Bañales (Romero, Andreu y Gabaldón 2014, 197-216).

Archaelogy. Some studies propose the existence of dynastic commemoration's spaces dedicated to the flavian family in this moment: Augusta Emerita (Peña 2009), Tarraco (Rosso 2007) or Termes (Martínez Caballero 2010, 221-266). These projects were inspired by initiatives such as the Templum Gentis Flaviae in Rome (A. D. 90's).

Others. Laslty, we have an interesting and little-known number of testimonies: the portraits of Domitian and his family presents in some pieces of hispanic terra sigillata's pottery (Sáenz 1996, 549-560; Bustamante 2008, 194-197; 2012).

| N° | PROVENANCE | DATE | DESCRIPTION | Reference |
|----|---------------------------|---------------|---|---|
| | | | HISPANIA ULTERIOR LUSITANIA | |
| 1 | Augusta Emerita | 81-83? | Pedestal statue. It's remarkable the absence of the tittle <i>Germanicus</i> . However, the state of this piece is fragmentary | CIL, II, 477; ERAE, 63; CIIAE, 25; AE, 2005, 760; 2006, 582 |
| 2 | Mirobriga | 82 | Pedestal statue (Fig. 1) | CIL, II, 862 |
| 3 | Augusta Emerita | Dom. or Traj. | Marble plaque. Its only preserve the title divi filius and Germanicus, wich can only refer to Domitian or Trajan | AE, 2006, 586; HEp, 15, 52a |
| | HISPANIA ULTERIOR BAETICA | | | |
| 4 | Munigua | 81? | Statue pedestal, identical to those dedicated to Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus (fig. 4) | CIL, II, 1051; CILA, II, 1066; HEp, 15, 2006, 331 |
| 5 | Iluro | 83 or post. | Statue pedestal dedicated to the emperor by two private promoters as a sign of gratitude for the acquisition of citizenship | CIL, II, 1945 |
| 6 | Cisimbrium | 83/84 | Statue pedestal dedicated to <i>Venus Victrix</i> in honour of the emperor by private promoter as a sign of gratitude for the acquisition of citizenship. | CIL, II ² /5, 291 |
| 7 | Regina | Dom. or Traj. | Marque plaque. This inscription was found with a colossal bust of the emperor Trajan made from a Domitian's portrait (nº 16) (fig. 3) | Unpublished (in study by Saquete Chamizo) |
| 8 | Ugultunia | Domitian? | The mention [V]espas[ianus] suggests that this inscriptions can be attributed to an incert flavian emperor. The presence on the top line the letter D can be interpreted like the filiation throught Divus. For this reason, we can identify it with Titus or Domitian. | HEp, 8, 1998, 23 |
| 9 | | | The presence of tittle <i>censor p[erpetuus?]</i> , the paleography and his similitudes with n° 8 can suggest his identification with a tribute to the emperor Domitian | HEp, 8, 1998, 24 |
| | | | HISPANIA CITERIOR | |
| 10 | Oscilis | Dom. or Traj. | Monumental inscription made with bronze letters on the architrave of an arch dedicated to the <i>numen</i> of Domitian (Fig. 2) | HEp, 6, 1996, 885; 2002, 378; AE, 2002, 796 |

Table 1. Honorific inscriptions dedicated to the emperor Domitian in Hispania

| N° | PROVENANCE | Reference* | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| HISPANIA ULTERIOR LUSITANIA | | | | | | |
| 11 | Aeminium | García y Bellido 1996, 283; Souza 1990, 23, nº 41; Bergmann 1997, 141 | | | | |
| 12 | Bobadela | Cardim, 2002, 409 ("Open" identification: Galba, Vespasian or Domitian) | | | | |
| HISPANIA ULTERIOR BAETICA | | | | | | |
| 13 | Munigua | Grünhagen 1986, 309-323; Hertel 1993, 82-86; León, 2001: 294 ss., nº 90 | | | | |
| 14 | Acci | Bergmann 1997, 141-142; Baena 2000, 233 ss., n° 1; León 2001, 298 ss., n° 91 | | | | |
| 15 | Baelo Claudia | Bergmann 1997, 142; León 2001, 302 ss., nº 92 | | | | |
| 16 | Regina | Nogales y Silva 2010, 191-194 (n° 4) | | | | |
| 17 | Villa de El Ruedo | Vicent 1990, 29-35 | | | | |
| HISPANIA CITERIOR | | | | | | |
| 18 | Turiasu | Boschung 1993, 193-194, n° 208; Dahmen 2001, 167, n° 76; Beltrán Lloris 2004, 89 y ss., 363 y ss. | | | | |



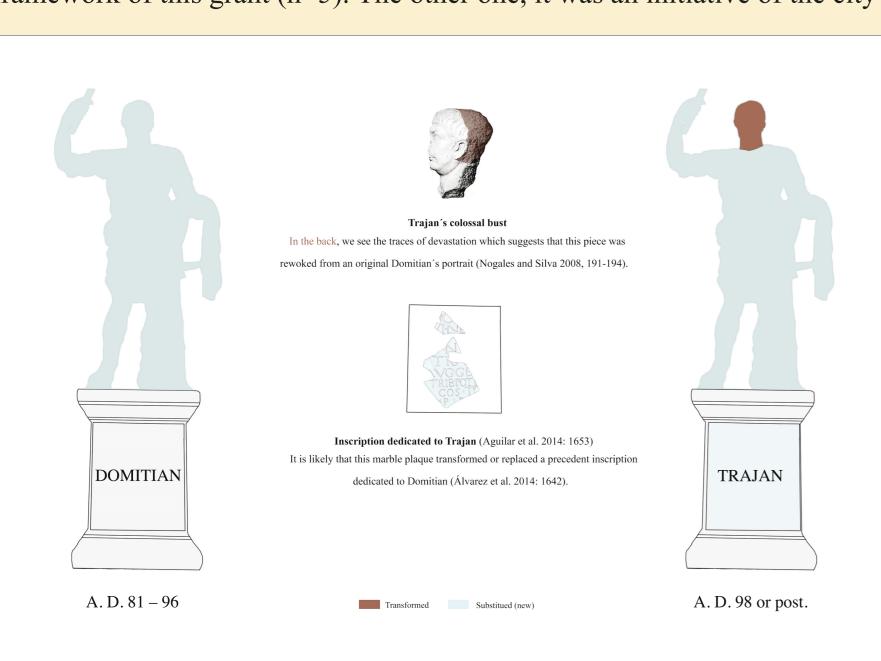
Fig. 1. Domitian's tribute in *Mirobriga*(Phot. A. Martín Esquivel). This
inscription remains intact.

Table 2. Portraits attributed to Domitian from Hispania

*All bibliographical references will be included in a paper which is being prepared

C. Some considerations about the destiny of the Domitian's tributes

Almost all of the honorific inscriptions seem to be affected by the senatorial sentence, but in different ways. In two of the ten cases, it was only deleted the name of the emperors (n° 1 y 6). In another two, the erasure was more extensive and left these tributes practically unrecognizable (n° 4 y 8) (Fig. 4). Other testimonies suggest the possibility that the inscription itself or their content were replaced or transformed in order to get a tribute to Trajan (n° 3 y 7) (Fig. 3). In this sense, the case of *Oscilis* Is really illustrative (n° 10, Fig. 2). Instead, the last two pieces remained intacts (n° 2 y 5) so it suggests that some Domitian's tribute must have escaped from the senatorial measure. However, this should have been an exception, explainable for his popularity between the local elites benefited by the concession of Latin right. Precisely one of these tributes was erected by two private promoters as thanks for the acquisition of the roman citizenship in the framework of this grant (n° 5). The other one, it was an initiative of the city council of a community promoted to *municipium* by the Flavians (Fig. 1).



We can observe a similar phenomenon in the case of the portraits attributed to Domitian. Most of them were transformed into portraits of others emperors, fundamentally, Trajan (n° 11, 14, 15 and 16), but also the Divine Augustus (n° 18). These evidences allow us to affirm that the application of the sentence was widespread, but not immediate (Fig. 3). Only two testimonies were not affected. However, these exceptions respond to extraordinary situations. The portrait of *Munigua* is currently considered an unfinished work (n° 13) and the small bust belonged to a private collection (n° 17).

Fig. 3. Mutilation and transformation of the Domitian's tribute: the case of *Regina*. The portrait was transformed into Trajan's and the original inscription was replaced.

D. Conclusions: a necessary multidisciplinary approach

A multidisciplinary approach is always desirable, but it is absolutely necessary in these processes of deliberate destruction. This approach allow us to know that the application of the senatorial decree was widespread, but, as we can see through the sculpture, not immediate. Most of theses tributes survived until the reign of Trajan, when almost the whole amout of Domitian's portraits were transformed. Therefore, these situations are applicable to the epigraphical testimonies.

However, this measure can't eliminated the Domitian's memory. Theses deliberate destructions of his monuments left a scar in the public space which was in itself the best evidence of his existence.

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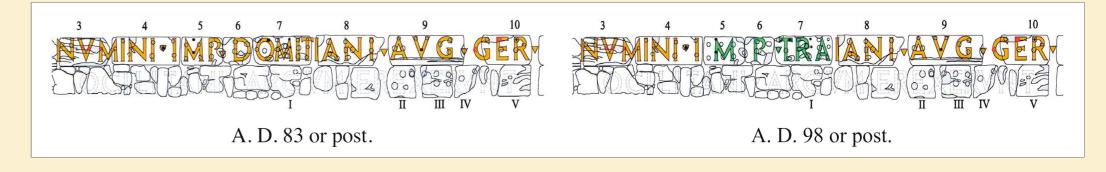


Fig. 2. Hypothetical restitution of the inscription of the Arch of Medinaceli (Alföldy and Abascal 2002, 71-115, figs. 11 and 12). According to these authors, some bronze's letters have been substituted in order to transform the name of Domitian into Trajan's.



Fig. 4. Hypothetical chronological sequence of the flavian dynasty's tributes in *Munigua*. The pedestal of Domitian remain. The *damnatio* affected the name of the emperor and his titles. The name of tribute promoter's was not erased.

Kontakt | contact details:

FPU13/05106. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte Dpto. Prehistoria, Historia Antigua y Arqueología University of Salamanca.

davidgs@usal.es



Fakultät



