

# Investments of Hispano-Roman Elites in Metal Statues: A First Costs Evaluation according to Epigraphy

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## Introduction

During the 1<sup>st</sup> and especially during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, public areas were adapted according to tastes of the Imperial government. Forums, porticoes, temples, theatres among others places, were remodelled at the expense of emperors or *privati*. The statuary associated with these works was an opportunity to place certain members of the community in high social standing, fixing their memory among society.<sup>1</sup> Being the patron of a statue placed in a public area was the greatest honour a Roman citizen could aspire to as a model citizen, since the object was made visible to future generations.<sup>2</sup> For this reason, the destruction of metal sculptures, as well as the regrinding of stone statues, could be viewed not only as a normal process of recycling, but also as a case of *damnatio memoriae*. Proof of this can be found in written sources frequently referring to sculptures made of *av* and *ar* no longer existing, the systematic destruction or reconversion of the figures of emperors, such as Nero or Commodus,<sup>3</sup> or the melting of Domitian statues for making coins.<sup>4</sup>

Our analysis has focused on statues made of metal, and in particular those made of *AV* and *AR*. The sheen, their great intrinsic value and the connotations of immortality make precious metals ideal materials for creating statuary. The origin of this tradition comes from the Hellenistic world, as well as the other traditions borrowed from this culture by the Roman Imperial world.<sup>5</sup>

These sculptures are fragile and very vulnerable for obvious reasons. Very few have survived,<sup>6</sup> but they were an essential element in completing the panorama of the Roman visual culture. In Hispania, there is a lack of physical evidence of sculptures made of gold or silver, although epigraphy refers to them on numerous occasions.<sup>7</sup>

Traditionally, statuary has been analysed separately from the epigraphs that accompanied it. Moreover, until recently, statues have been examined fundamentally from a stylistic perspective, ignoring basic information such as the contextualization of the piece itself. For some, the metallographic composition has been analysed.<sup>8</sup> However, we believe that in order to advance in research and reach solid conclusions, it is essential to contrast all available information.

We have reviewed the inscriptions with information on the weights and values of sculptures made of *AV* and *AR* in Hispania. Many epigraphs served as pedestals, and we believe their dimensions may be significant in evaluating the characteristics of the sculpture.

Standardised patterns are common in Roman productions. This is why today we know that although some *AV* and *AR* statues were made on a higher scale most were

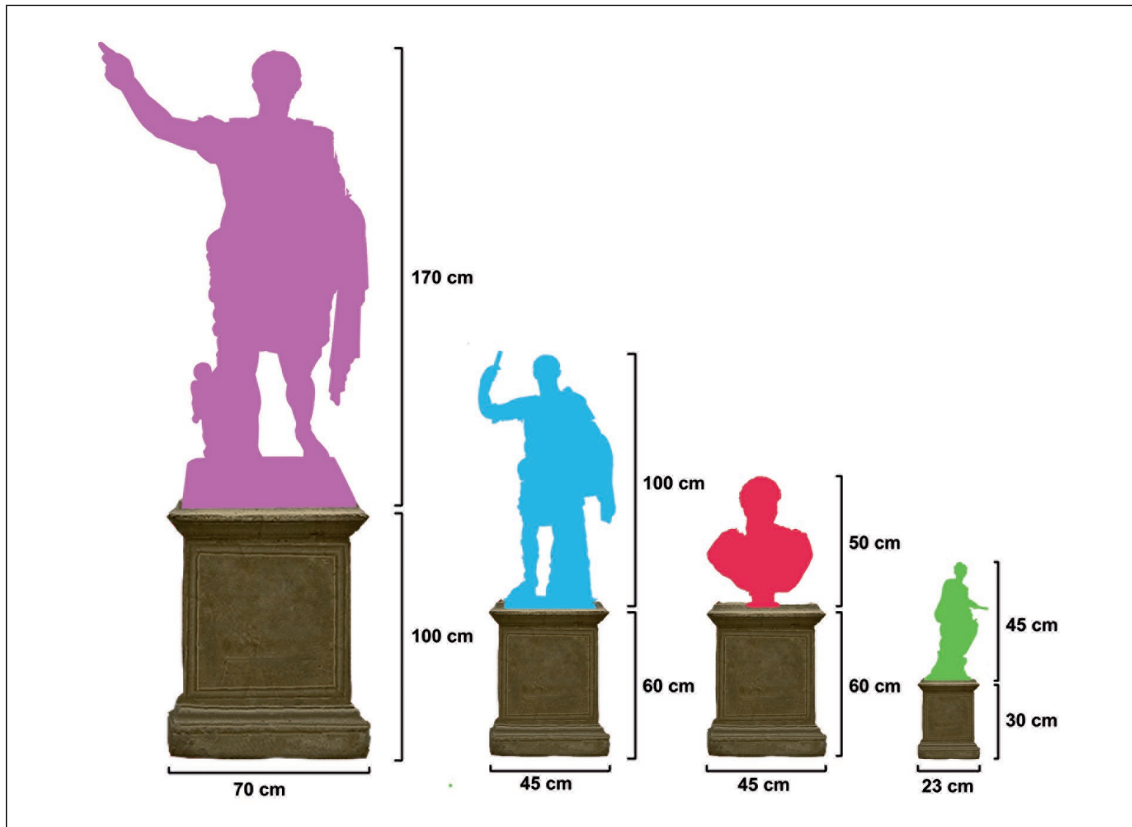


Fig. 1: Relationships between statuary and base dimensions.

life-size,<sup>9</sup> as revealed by their pedestals (fig. 1), which had a height of 100–120 cm and a width of 45–60 cm when the dimensions were smaller, with a height of 60–50 cm and a width of 40–30 cm, the statues normally corresponded to a medium format, being smaller than the natural size or busts. The final block is that of figures made of noble metals with a small format, with a base of 25/30 cm in height and 19–15 cm wide.

In Hispania, we have located 29 inscriptions that refer to the number of pounds of AR or AV contained in the statues (fig. 2). All are dated in the Flavian and Antonine periods. Twenty-seven inscriptions mention statues made of AR and 2 made of AV. The AV statues weighed 5 pounds while most of the AR statues weighed between 100 to 200 pounds.<sup>10</sup>

Almost all of the epigraphs refer to statues of Imperial deities or *virtutes* and members of the *domus* imperial. Only one,<sup>11</sup> whose interpretation is doubtful, details the dedication of a 250-pound statue made of AR to *L. Aemilius Rectus* (tab. 1). The scarcity of inscriptions that collect the representation of *privati* regarding this type of statues can be explained by the very connotations of the precious metals; the link with the concept of immortality encouraged that the use of these materials was reserved only for imperial deities and figures.<sup>12</sup>



Fig. 2: Geographical distribution of Latin inscriptions with references of the weight of gold and silver of the statues. Legend: Green Rhombus: Silver Statues; Red Rhombus: Gold Statues. There is 1 inscription per city except in Colonia Patricia (2), Munigua (2), Itatica (3) and Astigi (4).

According to literary sources, almost all emperors declined the proposal that their images be made in AV during their lifetime, since this implied the acceptance of a divine honour. For example, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus refused to be depicted using AV statues in 179 AD, when the Athens *gerusia* consulted them about what their statues should look like.<sup>13</sup> The emperors asked that they be made of bronze, thus rejecting divine homage. Tiberius<sup>14</sup>, Vespasian<sup>15</sup> and Trajan<sup>16</sup>, for example, established strict rules concerning their representations by prohibiting their statues from being cast in AV, which was only acceptable for representations made posthumously. This decision was due to two fundamental factors: ideological background associated AV with a divine nature and its use during a person's lifetime was a show of arrogance, assumed only by emperors. Additionally, there was an economic factor, since both the manufacture and the maintenance of this type of statue was excessively expensive.

Nos.	Reference	Dedicated to	Weight (AV/AR)	Town	Province	Date	Object Type	Epigraph measures
1	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /5, 515	unspecified	** Roman pounds AR	<i>Ulia Fidentia</i> (Montemayor, Córdoba)	<i>Baetica</i>	151–200 AD	base	(25) × (43) × 23 cm
2	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /5, 1166	unspecified	100 Roman pounds AR	<i>Astigi</i> (Écija, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	101–135 AD	base	24 × 105 × 55 cm
3	CILA II, 14	unspecified	106 Roman pounds AR	<i>Hispalis</i> (Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	101–150 AD	base	13 × (42) × 28 cm
4	CIL II, 3424	unspecified	250 Roman pounds AR	<i>Carthago Nova</i> (Cartagena, Murcia)	<i>Tarraconensis</i>	71–138 AD	base	unknown

Table 1: Inscriptions without specified dedication (the bad preservation of epigraph prevents from a clear reading/it is not specified in the text). \*\* = without precised amount.

### Imperial Statues

In Hispania we have registered four inscriptions where statues were dedicated to emperors (tab. 2). Three indicate that the weight of AR was between 5 and 10 pounds. One exception to this is the 100-pound statue supposedly dedicated to Caracalla,<sup>17</sup> although its poor conservation prevents us from assuring that it was a statue of honour.<sup>18</sup> Only one base makes reference to an AV statue,<sup>19</sup> dedicated to Titus as the successor of the emperor Vespasian in 77 AD.

The weight of Spanish Imperial statues coincides with data from the Italian peninsula and North Africa.<sup>20</sup> The majority contained less than 10 pounds of AR and were dedicated by *privati*,<sup>21</sup> as opposed to what is documented in Hispania. The pursuit of Imperial favour by local communities may have motivated this fact. For example, statues dedicated to Septimius Severus<sup>22</sup> by *Norba Caesarina* (Cáceres) and *Urunia* (Fuenteguinaldo, Salamanca) in the context of the civil wars against *P. Niger* and *C. Albinus* would have been an example of loyalty to the newly established Imperial dynasty.

All supports are too small for a life-size statue, so it seems that they would be, for the most part, smaller imperial representations. An example of this is the sculpture dedicated to Titus in *Augusta Emerita* (Mérida).<sup>23</sup> The reduced dimensions of the base would only support a small representation of the Imperial heir.<sup>24</sup>

When contrasting information on the Imperial statues made of AV and AR in Hispania using the 13 metals busts recovered from other Roman provinces, we see that the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD is a particularly important period.<sup>25</sup> The work carried out always consisted of embossing a metal plate, more or less thick, but quite fragile. The busts were never associated with a fixed base or any other type of support, although some have traces of some type of fixing device possibly linked to processional ceremonies.<sup>26</sup>

Nos.	Reference	Dedicated to	Weight (AR/AV)	Town	Province	Date	Object Type	Epigraph measures
5	CIL II, 863	Septimius Severus	5 Roman pounds AR	<i>Urunia</i> (Fuenteguinaldo, Salamanca)	<i>Lusitania</i>	193–211ad	base	unknown
6	CIL II, 693	Septimius Severus	10 Roman pounds AR	<i>Norba Caesarina</i> (Cáceres)	<i>Lusitania</i>	194 AD	base	(67) × 29 × 19 cm
7	CIL II, 1040	Caracalla (?)	100 Roman pounds AR (?)	<i>Curiga</i> (Monesterio, Badajoz)	<i>Baetica</i>	196 AD	base	*(58) × (45) cm*
8	CIL II, 5264	Titus	5 Roman pounds AV	<i>Augusta Emerita</i> (Mérida)	<i>Lusitania</i>	77 AD	base	31,6 × 19 × 11 cm

Table 2: Inscriptions referring to Imperial gold (AV) or silver (AR) statues from Hispania.

For example, the bust of Marcus Aurelius of *Aventicum* (Avenches, Switzerland), of approximately 5 pounds of AV, and the bust of Lucius Verus of the Treasury of Marengo, in northern Italy, 9 pounds of AR, have been linked to Imperial tributes in legal contexts, in military establishments and even in domestic worship.<sup>27</sup> It is evident that none of these resemble the statues that would have been placed on the pedestals we have studied, but their dimensions and weight are indicative of what could be made in AV and AR.

The enormous variety of Roman statues was commensurate with the flexibility of the manufacturing techniques used.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, we believe that the weight recorded in the inscriptions may indicate the type of statuary, to which it refers. The technical characteristics and the difficulty in making each type of sculpture conditioned the final price. Moreover, the reference to the weight of AR is in no way indicative of its dimensions. For example, in *Norba Caesarina* (Cáceres) a fragment of an Imperial statue, made of bronze but covered by a thick layer of AV, has recently been found.<sup>29</sup> In this case it would have been a life-size full body figure, although the number of pounds of AV would have less.

### Statues of Deities, *Virtutes* and Civic *Genii*

In Hispania, none of the statues made in AV or AR of this type has been preserved, but according to epigraphy, these types of statues were the most abundant (tabs. 3–4). All sponsors of sculptures dedicated to deities were private, individuals who allocated a considerable part of their wealth to pay for these objects: most of the statues weighed around 100 pounds of AR – 3.4/32.7 kg. Only one in *Regina* (Casas de Reina, Badajoz),<sup>30</sup> with 50 pounds of AR, weighs less than this amount. This, added to the large dimensions

Nos.	Reference	Dedication to	Weight (AV/AR)	Town	Province	Date	Object Type	Epigraph measures
9	CIL II, 8	<i>Iuppiter Optimus Maximus</i>	** Roman pounds AR	<i>Ossonoba</i> (Faro, Portugal)	<i>Lusitania</i>	unknown	base	unknown
10	CILA II, 233	<i>Sacrum Numen</i>	** Roman pounds AR	<i>Canana</i> (Alcoléa del Río, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> centuries AD	Base?	59 × (66) × 4 cm
11	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /7, 975	<i>Iuno</i>	50 Roman pounds AR	<i>Regina</i> (Casas de Reina, Badajoz)	<i>Lusitania</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	base	80 × 49/55 × 37/43 cm
12	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /5, 1164	<i>Pantheus</i>	100 Roman pounds AR	<i>Astigi</i> (Écija, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> centuries AD	base	25,5 × 101 × 52 cm
13	CIL II, 1267	<i>Iuno Regina</i>	100 Roman pounds AR	<i>Ostur</i> (Villalba de Alcor, Huelva)	<i>Baetica</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> centuries AD	base	110 × 54 × ** cm
14	CIL II, 342	<i>Apollinus Augustus</i>	100 Roman pounds AR	<i>Italica</i> (Santiponce, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	69–170 AD	base	63,4 × 93,4 × (43) cm
15	IRPCádiz 80	<i>Iuno Augusta</i>	100 Roman pounds AR	<i>Barbesula</i> (San Roque, Cádiz)	<i>Baetica</i>	117–200 AD	base	97 × 67 × 55 cm
16	CIL II, 3386	<i>Isis Puella</i>	112 Roman pounds AR 2,5 unciae 5 scripuli	<i>Acci</i> (Guadix, Granada)	<i>Baetica</i>	98–117 AD	base	87 × 47 × 47 cm
17	CILA II, 358	<i>Victoria Augusta, Isis, Ceres and Iuno Regina</i>	132 Roman pounds AR + 2,5 unciae	<i>Italica</i> (Santiponce, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	271–300 AD	base	(12,5) × (37,5) × (36) cm
18	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /7, 67	<i>Fortuna and Mercurius</i>	5 Roman pounds AV + 5 Roman pounds AR	<i>Urgavo</i> (Arjona, Jaén)	<i>Baetica</i>	151–200 AD	base	unknown

Table 3: Inscriptions referring to gold (AV) and silver (AR) statues of deities from Hispania (Nos. 17 and 18 are included in the Table 4 because they also refer to civic virtues).

\*\* = without precised amount.

Nos.	Reference	Dedicated to	Weight (AV/AR)	Town	Province	Date	Object Type	Epigraph measures
17	CILA II, 358	<i>Victoria Augusta, Isis, Ceres and Iuno Regina</i>	132 Roman pounds AR + 2,5 unciae	<i>Italica</i> (Santiponce, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	271–300 AD	base	(12,5) × (37,5) × (36) cm
18	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /7, 67	<i>Fortuna and Mercurius</i>	5 Roman pounds AV + 5 Roman pounds AR	<i>Urgavo</i> (Arjona, Jaén)	<i>Baetica</i>	151–200 AD	base	unknown
19	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /5, 69	<i>Pietas Augusta</i>	** Roman pounds AR	<i>Tucci</i> (Martos, Jaén)	<i>Baetica</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> centuries AD	base	163 × 61 × ** cm
20	CILA II, 1057	<i>Fortuna Crescenti Augusta</i>	** Roman pounds AR	<i>Munigua</i> (Vva. del Río y Minas, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> centuries AD	base	unknown
21	CILA II, 1058	<i>Genius Municipii</i>	** Roman pounds AR	<i>Munigua</i> (Vva. de Río y Minas, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	151–200 AD	public plaque	44,5 × (128) × 2 cm
22	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /7, 227	<i>Genius Coloniae</i>	** Roman pounds AR	<i>Colonia Patricia</i> (Córdoba)	<i>Baetica</i>	71–130 AD	base	30 × (23) × 36 cm
23	CIL II, 3265	<i>Pietas Augusta</i>	** Roman pounds AR	<i>Castulo</i> (Linares, Jaén)	<i>Tarraconensis</i>	unknown	ara	unknown
24	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /14, 819	<i>Genius Coloniae</i>	15 Roman pounds AR + 2 unciae	<i>Tarraco</i> (Tarragona)	<i>Tarraconensis</i>	117–161ad	public plaque	32 × 59 × 15 cm
25	AE 1982, 520	<i>Genius Coloniae</i> (4 statues)	100 Roman pounds AR	<i>Italica</i> (Santiponce, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	117–150 AD	base	25 × 57 × (16) cm
26	CIL II, 1278	<i>Fortuna Augusta</i>	100 Roman pounds AR	<i>Siarum Fortulianum</i> (Utrera, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	unknown	unknown
27	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /5, 1165	<i>Pietas</i>	100 Roman pounds AR	<i>Astigi</i> (Écija, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	70–200 AD	base	63,4 × 93,4 × (43) cm
28	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /5, 1162	<i>Bonus Eventus</i>	150 Roman pounds AR	<i>Astigi</i> (Écija, Sevilla)	<i>Baetica</i>	101–150 AD	base	unknown
29	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /7, 228	<i>Genius Coloniae</i> (unknown amount of statues)	1.000 Roman pounds AR	<i>Colonia Patricia</i> (Córdoba)	<i>Baetica</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	public plaque	22 × (47,5) × (22,5) cm

Table 4: Inscriptions referring to gold (AV) and silver (AR) statues of Civic Virtues and Genii (Nos. 17 and 18 are included in the Table 3 because they also refer to deities). \*\* = without precised amount.

of almost all the pedestals, suggests that the statues had a large format, unlike the previously mentioned Imperial statues.

With respect to the AV statues only one inscription mentions the compliance of an *ex voto* with two signa of *Fortuna* and *Mercurius*,<sup>31</sup> both of 5 pounds and placed on pedestals decorated with 5 pounds of AR. These Hispanic weights contrast greatly with those of the Italic Peninsula, where only 4 statues, 9.3% of the total, equaled or exceeded 100 pounds of AR and only one reached 5 pounds of AV.<sup>32</sup>

Possibly many would have been representations *in formam deorum* or *sub specie deae*, an image of deity with the physical features resembling the patron.<sup>33</sup> This would justify the link, traceable in some inscriptions, to female priests, the sex of the divinity and, on occasion, the use of defined terms to clarify to what the statue was consecrated (*sacrum*) and who was being honoured in the dedication (*in honorem*). The local elites would use these sculptures made in AV and AR as an object that represented them even though it was explicitly an object of veneration.

Although the archaeological context, in which most of the inscriptions were found, is unknown, the associated statues would be placed in public and semi-public contexts. Since Claudius, representations of *privati* with divine attributes have gained strength, following the ‘fashion’ of imperial representations<sup>34</sup> that, in the case of women, monopolised some types such as enthroned Juno.<sup>35</sup> Thus, divine attributes, for non-funeral purposes, transferred the character and values of the deity to the person being commemorated.<sup>36</sup> For this reason, they were placed in temples, theatres, *scholae*, house atriums... Possibly some Spanish statues had these characteristics such as those dedicated to *Ceres*, *Juno Regina*, *Apolo* and *Victoria* in the *Traianeum* of *Italica* (Santiponce, Sevilla).<sup>37</sup>

We have also documented 13 inscriptions linked to the AR statues of *virtutes* and *genii* (tab. 4). All were paid for by *privati*, but only Imperial *virtutes* reached or exceeded 100 pounds of AR. Their characteristics may have been similar to those of *sub specie deae* statues, due to their similarity in weight, in the epigraphic formulas and their location in temples and semi-public contexts along with representations of *privati*.

The weight of civic *genii* was less.<sup>38</sup> Possibly they were statues with a reduced format, since the supports did not reach 1 metre in height or length,<sup>39</sup> except the one in Munigua (Villanueva de Río y Minas, Sevilla).<sup>40</sup>

### Conclusions and Cost Assessment

We have observed certain uniformity in the weight of the Spanish metallic sculptures, the majority of them weighing approximately 5 pounds in AV and approximately 100 pounds in AR. Such information and, above all, the characteristics of the pedestals allow us to estimate the size of the statues. Although this could lead us to believe that calculating their costs is relatively easy, we recognise there are serious drawbacks.



For example, the different techniques used to manufacture the sculptures remains unknown.<sup>41</sup> Some of the sculptures could have been hollow pieces, while others were embossed or solid. In other cases it could have been possible that less expensive materials were used as the core, which was then plated with AR or AV (fig. 3). In other words, each type of statue, its size and purpose determined the quantity of metal used and also its final cost.

We have continued studying these aspects because in previous research the available information on labour costs was compared in order to establish parameters, from which the final cost of these statues could be deduced. In this respect the complaint expressed by Marcial (3.62) regarding the high cost of 1 pound of worked AR, for which they had to be paid 5,000 HS. An inscription from *Formiae* (Italy),<sup>42</sup> involving a weight of 100 pounds of AR for a cart that cost 100,000 HS, has also been taken as a basis for

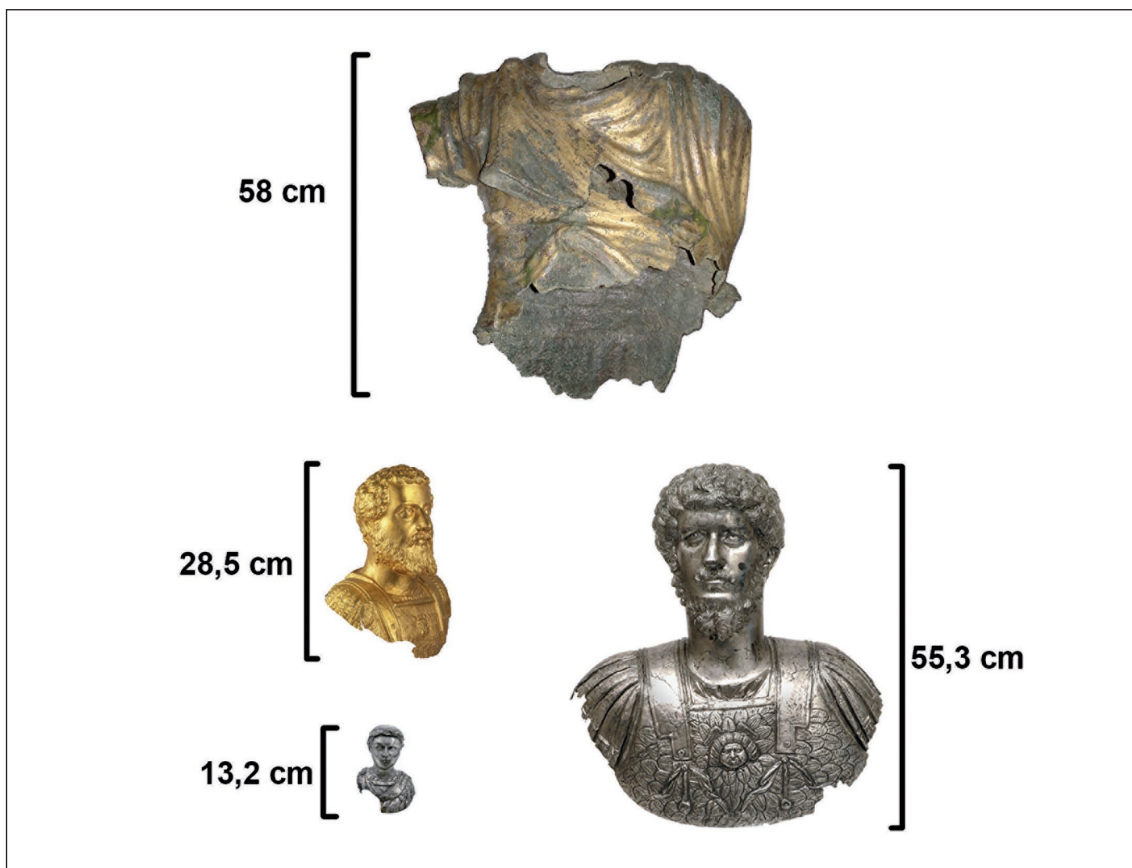


Fig. 3: Different kind of silver and gold statuary. From the Top/Bottom to Left/Right: *Thoracata* sculpture from *Norba Caesarina* (Cáceres, Spain); Golden Bust of Septimius Severus, from *Plotinopolis* (Didymoteicho, Greece); Silver Bust of Lucius Verus belonging to the treasure of Marengo (Italy); and Silver Bust of Gallien of *Lugdunum* (Lyon, France).

the calculations. According to Duncan-Jones,<sup>43</sup> a metal and labour cost ratio of approximately 40:60 is derived from this. However, not even the very weight of the Roman pound is recognised with a unanimously accepted value; according to some authors the pound weighed about 327 g<sup>44</sup> and according to others 322 g<sup>45</sup>. This difference of 5 g, which seems unimportant, is significant when dealing with large quantities and precious metals, which have a high price.

In our opinion, the calculations carried out have been excessively standardised, because they do not take into account the type or difficulty of the order, the skill of the craftsman, or the price per pound. All of this must have generated fluctuations in the cost. But also variation in the price of the metals according to chronology is also not taken into account. This is something that can be deduced from how the Imperial AV and AR coinage evolved. That is why we have tried to establish an approximate calculation of the cost of both metals in order to have some basic parameters, from which to estimate the costs (tab. 5).

We begin by considering the amount of AR in 1 denarius, taking into account the highs and lows of the Flavian and Antonine periods.<sup>46</sup> Albeit these are approximate calculations, since a AR coin in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, after successive devaluations, reached a higher value than the intrinsic one.<sup>47</sup>

The cost of 100 pounds of unworked AR varied considerably: from 36,281 HS after the Domitian reform of 82–85 AD to 73,898 HS at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The price range of 100 pounds of unworked AR throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD would have been 42,091–73.8 HS and the price range of 100 pounds of AR throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD would be HS 42,091–73,898. In addition, the price of manufacturing must be added to this. If we accept Duncan-Jones' calculations<sup>48</sup> based on the *Formiae* car, the final value of an AR statue in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD would have been between 105,227 and 184,745 HS.

Regarding the cost of a pound of AV, we must bear in mind that the weight of the *aureus* and its purity remained stable from the reform of Nero (64 AD) to that of Caracalla (215 AD),<sup>49</sup> being around 7.39 g and 99% purity. That is to say, 1 AV pound would have been equivalent to 43/45 *aurei*. From this, it can be deduced that the 5 AV pounds from the statue of Titus in *Augusta Emerita* would have cost between 21,500–22,500 HS.

Chronology	Date	Grams (g) of AR per X	1 Roman pound (327 g)	1 Roman pound (322 g)
1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	Flavian (69–96)	82–85 = 3,55 g / 1 X	92,11 X = 368,45 HS	90,70 X = 362,81 HS
		69–79 = 2,72 g / 1 X	120,22 X = 480,88 HS	118,38 X = 473,52 HS
2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	Traianus	98–99 = 3,06 g / 1 X	106,86 X = 427,45 HS	105,22 X = 420,91 HS
	Marcus Aurelius	161–180 = 2,69 g / 1 X	121,56 X = 486,24 HS	119,70 X = 478,81 HS
	Septimius Severus	193–211 = 1,77g / 1 X	184 X = 738,98 HS	181,92 X = 727,68 HS

Table 5: Estimation of Denarii (X)/Sestertii (HS) per 1 AR Roman pound.

Some inscriptions reveal the price of silver statues whose weight is unknown. For example, in *Nemausus* (Nîmes, France) in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, a *statuam argenteam* with a value of 50,000 HS was placed in the basilica.<sup>50</sup> Something similar occurred in *Hippo Regius* (Annaba, Algeria),<sup>51</sup> where a statue of AR cost 51,335 HS. We do not know its weight in AR, but in both inscriptions reference is made to the sculpture using the term *statuam*, which was commonly used for honorary statues, those made to the true size or even greater.<sup>52</sup> If we are right and this was also the same size of the Spanish statues of deities of 100 pounds of AR, the cost of these statues sharply diverges for that given by Duncan-Jones for the price of one worked pound of silver. Perhaps the *Nemausus* and *Hippo Regius* were made mainly of a cheaper material, such as stone, in which case the amount of ar would have been less than in Spanish statues. In fact, we do not believe these two statues were made of solid AR. Therefore, this type of calculation should not be done in a generic way; it is necessary to take into account the type of statue being studied.

It is evident that the Hispanic costs using this material, although approximate, are exceptional, which is even more so if we compare them with the Italian costs, where 53% of the inscriptions refer to weights less than 10 pounds of AR.<sup>53</sup>

These expenses are more surprising if we compare them to the presumed wealth of the patrons. If most of the Spanish statues cost at less than 50,000 HS, the cost would be more than half of the minimum income possible for a member of the *ordo decurionalis*. In addition, the cost of the base, maintenance, manufacturing and transport would have to be added to this, generating a final figure, according to the calculations mentioned above, close to 100,000 HS. This figure represents a quarter of the minimum income of a member of the *ordo equester* in the Roman Empire.

These large amounts of AR have been associated with intense labour in Hispanic mines<sup>54</sup> where the donors, descendants of mine tenants, were in possession of ingots;<sup>55</sup> or had ideological and religious issues.<sup>56</sup> We believe that this was not the case of AR mines, as the exploitation of mines rich in AV did not have a similar effect. In addition, we must bear in mind that the price of both metals was maintained throughout the Empire controlled from Rome.

We believe that one of the reasons that such large amounts of money were invested in these types of statues is founded on the riches of *Baetica*,<sup>57</sup> resulting from commercial activity involving wine and oil. Thanks to substantial incomes, the wealthy invested in AR statues as objects that represented themselves, although in theory they were conceived as sacred representations or being connected to honouring the Empire.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. 34, 17; Cic. Phil. 9, 10.
- <sup>2</sup> Mattusch 2015, 140. 141.
- <sup>3</sup> Højte 2005, 50–64.
- <sup>4</sup> Cass. Dio 58, 1.
- <sup>5</sup> de Pury-Gysel 2017, 59–60.
- <sup>6</sup> de Pury-Gysel 2017, 60.
- <sup>7</sup> Jiménez – Rodà 2015, 492.
- <sup>8</sup> Mattusch 2015, 150–151.
- <sup>9</sup> Fejfer 2008, 25–26.
- <sup>10</sup> Regarding the silver pieces, the poor conservation of the epigraph prevents us from knowing the exact number of pounds in eight of the cases. We have not counted CIL II, 5210 of Vila Viçosa (Évora, Portugal), nor CIL II, 4626 of *Emporiae* (La Escala, Gerona) since these might not refer to statues.
- <sup>11</sup> CIL II, 3424 from *Tarraco* (Tarragona).
- <sup>12</sup> Højte 2015, 51.
- <sup>13</sup> Oliver 1941, 111 note 24.
- <sup>14</sup> Suet. Tib. 26; Tac. Ann. 3, 18, 2.
- <sup>15</sup> Suet. Vesp. 23, 3.
- <sup>16</sup> Plin. Paneg. 52.
- <sup>17</sup> CIL II, 1040 from *Curiga* (Monesterio, Badajoz).
- <sup>18</sup> Stylow 2010 considers this inscription a proof of a sacred place dedicated to the *domus* imperial in *Emerita*.
- <sup>19</sup> CIL II, 5264 from *Augusta Emerita* (Mérida, Badajoz).
- <sup>20</sup> Duncan-Jones 1974, 93–94 and 163–166.
- <sup>21</sup> Højte 2005, 51.
- <sup>22</sup> CIL II, 693 and CIL II, 863.
- <sup>23</sup> CIL II, 5264.
- <sup>24</sup> We have in preparation an exhaustive work of this imperial dedication.
- <sup>25</sup> Cf. de Pury-Gysel 2017, with information about the characteristics of each bust, its possible function, the amount of av and ar in each one, etc.
- <sup>26</sup> de Pury-Gysel 2017, 64–65.
- <sup>27</sup> de Pury-Gysel 2017, 65–88.
- <sup>28</sup> Mattusch 2015, 141.
- <sup>29</sup> Museum of Cáceres, invent. no. D 2811.
- <sup>30</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 975.
- <sup>31</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 67.
- <sup>32</sup> Duncan-Jones 1974, 163–166.
- <sup>33</sup> Wrede 1981.

<sup>34</sup> In the inscriptions collected, the most frequent are *Iuno* and *Isis*. The first was strongly associated with the imperial *domus* as a counterpoint to the representation of the emperor as *Iuppiter* (Fejfer 2008, 341). The second can be justified by the widespread presence of the isiac cult in Hispania.

<sup>35</sup> Fejfer 2008, 342.

<sup>36</sup> Fejfer 2008, 127.

<sup>37</sup> CIL II, 324. 358 and AE 1982, 520.

<sup>38</sup> Although in *Italica* (Santiponce, Seville) 100 pounds of AR are financed, there are 4 statues for the *Genius Coloniae* (AE 1982, 520), while in *Colonia Patricia* (Córdoba) there are 1,000 pounds for an unknown number, which we suppose to be very high, of sculptures (CIL II2/7, 228).

<sup>39</sup> AE 1982, 520; CIL II<sup>2</sup> 14, 819; CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 227. 228.

<sup>40</sup> CIL II, 1058. We must be cautious because its poor conservation prevents a clear reading. Melchor 1994, 223 proposes that it was not a statue, but some other object of homage.

<sup>41</sup> Mattusch 2015, 141.

<sup>42</sup> CIL X, 6102.

<sup>43</sup> Duncan-Jones 1974, 126–127.

<sup>44</sup> Böckh 1838; Sutherland 1976.

<sup>45</sup> Duncan-Jones 1974; Naville 1920.

<sup>46</sup> Butcher – Ponting 2014, 701.

<sup>47</sup> Butcher – Ponting 2014, 25–26.

<sup>48</sup> Duncan-Jones 1974, 126–127.

<sup>49</sup> Butcher – Ponting 2014, 705.

<sup>50</sup> AE 1982, 682.

<sup>51</sup> CIL VIII, 17408.

<sup>52</sup> Oria 2000, 454; Lahusen 1982.

<sup>53</sup> Duncan-Jones 1974, 127.

<sup>54</sup> Curchin 1983, 231.

<sup>55</sup> Dardaine 1993, 60–61.

<sup>56</sup> Melchor 1994, 223–224.

<sup>57</sup> 22 of 29 inscriptions come from *Baetica*.

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Fig. 1–2: by authors. – Fig. 3, top: Museo de Cáceres: <http://museodecaceres.juntaex.es/web/view/portal/index/standardPage.php?id=104> – Fig. 3, middle left: de Pury-Gysel 2017, 12 fig. 2. – Fig. 3, bottom left: de Pury-Gysel 2017, 148, fig. 128. – Fig. 3, bottom right: de Pury-Gysel 2017, 158 fig. 155. – Table 1–5: by authors.

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