

TRAJAN AND THE SENATE. ICONOGRAPHIC MESSAGES OF MONUMENTS AND COINS

<https://www.doi.org/10.17234/9789533790367.7>

Marina Milićević Bradač
Ana Pavlović
Department of Archaeology
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
University of Zagreb
Ivana Lučića 3
HR – 10000 Zagreb
mmilicev@ffzg.hr
apavlovi3@ffzg.hr

Dio Cassius speaks of the dream Trajan had before he was an emperor: he saw an old man looking as the Senate was represented in pictures. That dream was in fact a prophecy telling him that he would be the emperor one day. Dio's text is the starting point for an analysis of the iconography of the Senate before Trajan, during Trajans reign, and after Trajan, on monuments and on coins.

Key words: *Trajan, Senate, People of Rome, Genius Senatus, Genius Populi Romani, reliefs, coins*

Dio Cassius, when speaking of Trajan before he was an emperor, described the dream he once had predicting his great future and his prudent rule (68.5.1): “Trajan, before he became emperor, had had a dream of the following nature. He thought that an old man in purple-boarded toga and vesture and with a crown upon his head, as the senate is represented in pictures, impressed a seal upon him with a finger ring, first on the left side of his neck

and then on the right. When he became emperor, he sent a letter to the senate, written with his own hand in which he declared, among other things, that he would not slay nor disfranchise any good man; and he confirmed this by oaths not only at the time but also later.”¹

Since Dio's text is the only source mentioning Trajan's dream, we have no means of corroborating the story, so it could be false and it could be true –

¹ *Dio's Roman History*, with an English translation by Earnest Cary, on the basis of the version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, I-IX, Vol. VIII, London, Loeb Classical Library, William Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press, 1955.

Τραϊανῷ δὲ ὄναρ ἐγγέγονε, πρὶν αὐταρχῆσαι, τοῖόνδε· ἔδοκει ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην, ἐν ἱματίῳ καὶ ἐσθῆτι περιπορφύρω, ἔτι δὲ καὶ στεφάνῳ ἐστολισμένον, οἷά που καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν γράφουσι, δακτυλίῳ τινὶ σφραγίδα αὐτῷ ἕξ τε τὴν ἀριστερὰν σφαγὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπιβεβληκέναι.² ὡς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ἐπέπεστειλε τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἄλλα τε καὶ ὡς οὐδένα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποσφάζει ἢ ἀτιμάσει, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ὄρκοις οὐ τότε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπιστώσατο.

either way it served its purpose: to confirm Trajan's good relationship with the Senate (Swinford 2012: 47). Dreams had an important role in the narratives of ancient historians, especially prophetic dreams sent by a divinity. Almost every great man in the past had a dream of that kind, foretelling his destiny. One of the most famous dreams (or visions) is one of Julius Caesar on the eve of his crossing the Rubicon. He saw the "giant image of the shaken state", as described by Lucan (1.185).² Suetonius, in his life of Caesar, has the same story (Julius Caesar, 32).³ Aeneas had a vision of Penates (Verg. *Aen.* 3.150)⁴ and the personifications of the Roman state continued to present themselves until late antiquity (cf. Claudian, *In Eutrop.* 1.390).⁵ Since all the ancient authors lived in the world full of personified abstract ideas and state symbols, whose statues could be seen everywhere, it is not surprising that the state looked like a statue in dreams and consequently the state continued to be described as a statue.⁶ In that sense the Senate in Trajan's dream belongs to that rich tradition of state functions rendered in sculpture. Dio said explicitly: "as the senate is represented in pictures" (οἷά που καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν γράφουσι). In order to be seen like that by Trajan, well known and immediately recognizable, the iconography of the Senate should have been established beforehand. In other words: Senate should have had a history of representations before Trajan to be perceived as such by Trajan, so our first question should be the figure of the Senate before Trajan. The second question is: if Trajan really had such a dream, then he would have preferred the afore stated iconography of the Senate, and consequently Trajanic monuments should show that. The third question is: did such iconography persist after Trajan? Since Roman art is never devoid of politics, representations of the Senate in the arts unavoid-

ably point to the relationship of the emperor with the Senate.

Generally speaking, the idea of personifying the Senate stems from the East (as do other manifestations of power and rule) (Forni 1953: 67–68), but the religious cult of the Senate always stayed primarily eastern (Forni 1982: 18; Erskine 1997). Representations of the Senate, as it seems now, started in the East in the tradition of the Hellenistic art, and are transmitted primarily through the coinage of the Eastern cities as the type ΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΟΣ. His first appearance is the head of the beardless young man and those portraits show Hellenistic features of the Apollonian type, oriental type and influences of Roman portraiture⁷, with rare examples showing *Sygkletos* like the bearded older man with covered head.⁸ That iconography is at odds with Roman imperial iconography of the Senate as the figure of the bearded standing man wearing toga, holding a staff (*scipio*) and with covered head. Additional details are found in Dio's text where he had *toga praetexta*, a ring on his finger and a wreath on his head. As such he is immediately recognizable as figure stemming from Roman tradition: elder wise men governed the state from the beginning, like Plutarch said (*An seni respublica gerenda sit*, 789E): "...and the council at Rome is still called the Senate ("body of elders")"⁹ Trajan's dream, as told by Dio (68.5.1) fits in that picture (Forni 1953: 63; Béranger 1965: 79) and represent the canonic image of the Senate. Figure of elderly Senate frequently appears together with the youthful personification of the Roman People (*Populus Romanus*) (Blanchet 1943). They are both defined as *Genii: Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani*. We have an inscription from Gightis (Tunisia), not yet dated, mentioning *Genio Senatus ob spectatam iustitiam*, and we know that a statue was erected too.¹⁰ These facts bring to mind

² Lucan, *The Civil War*, with and English translation by J. D. Duff, Loeb Classical Library, London, William Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1962.

...ut ventum est parvi Rubiconis ad undas./ingens visa duci patriae trepidantis imago. „When he reached the little river Rubicon, the general saw a vision of his distressed country“. Cf. Swinford 2012: 44.

³ Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Twelve Caesars*, translated by Robert Graves, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1975, (1st ed. 1957): „As he stood, in two minds, an apparition of superhuman size and beauty was seen sitting on the river bank...“. Plutarch (Caesar, 36-37) has neither dream nor vision.

⁴ Virgil, *Eclagues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1-6*, with and English translation by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, London, 1998 (1st ed. 1916).

⁵ Claudian, with an English translation by Maurice Platnauer, vol. I, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge MA-London, Harvard University Press, 1990. (1st ed. 1922).

⁶ Like in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury in the 12th century. Swinford 2012: 43–44.

⁷ Daremberg & Saglio: 1198–1199, s.v. Senatus; Forni 1953: 60–62.

⁸ Alföldi 1935: 17; Forni 1953: 61. figure BMCRE III 37, p. 32; RPC 951/2 (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1327925&partId=1)

⁹ ἡ δὲ Ρωμαίων σύγκλητος ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. Plutarch's *Moralia*, with an English translation by Harlod North Fowler, vol. X, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, London, William Heinemann Ltd, 1960. (1st ed. 1936). Here we could compare etymologies of the word *Senatus* given by ancient authors (Cic. *Cato maior*, 56; Varr. *L.L.* 5.156; Plut. *Rom.* 13.3; Isid. *Etym.* 9.4.8).

¹⁰ *CIL* VIII, 11017; Constans 1914: 282–283, no. 13; Béranger 1965: 80. Two more dedications *Genio Senatus* from Tunisia are known, one from Sicca Veneria (*CIL* VIII, 15847), the other from Sufetula (*Ann. Épigr.* 1911, no. 10).

words of Libanius (*Orat.* 11. 150–152)¹¹ who, in the 4th century reminded us of that particular relationship: people behaves like the child and *boule* has the role of the father (Veyne 1961: 264). *Genius Populi Romani*, in the imperial art, was rendered as a young man¹² with the half-naked torso, and with the horn of plenty (*cornucopia*) in one hand (Béranger 1965: passim; Fears 1978: 276–277). These two figures, standing side by side, appear on monuments of imperial age, symbolizing in art the Roman state: *Senatus Populusque Romanus* (Veyne 1961: 269; Béranger 1965: 79).

Monuments and coins show the very foundation of every government – Senate and the people, so every emperor or pretender to the throne had to have a defined relationship with the Senate, while permanently claiming that he was working for the people. During the Flavian age the Senate was changing, accepting new members from the provinces, especially from the East (Syme 1997: II, 585; Eck 2000: 218–219), but from Pliny the Younger we learn that Domitian rarely consulted Senate and the assemblage's prerogatives were ephemeral and limited to decisions like the increasing the number of the gladiators or the founding of a *Collegium fabrum* (Plin. *Pan.* 54.3–4), notwithstanding the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani* (69 or 70 A.D.), which regulated relations between emperor and the Senate (*CIL* VI, 930 = *ILS*, 224; Eck 2000: 232–233). Political and real interactions between Flavian emperors and the Senate were not ideal and the emperor had, in fact, all the power, but the state monuments show a different picture, sending the political message of collaboration and respect.

The so-called Nollekens relief from the Domitian's time¹³ is a fine example. Together with the emperor, as integral part of his entourage, stand *Genius Senatus*, represented as an elderly bearded man, wearing toga, and *Virtus* or *Roma* beside him. Political message is obvious, but we might add that the limited surface of the relief did not allow for the multitude of figures, so the personification of the Senate filled the space quite well – the whole assembly rendered as one person. Another example from the Flavian period is the Arch of Titus, built in 81 by Domitian honoring his brother Titus. In the scene of Titus' triumph we can see Victoria standing with him on the chariot, and beside the chariot two male figures, although very damaged, can be recog-

nized as *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus* (Kleiner 1992: 188–189, fig. 156).

Of all the Flavian monuments pertaining to our topic, the most famous are the so-called Cancellaria reliefs, A and B. It is still not known what was their purpose and where they were originally situated.¹⁴ The main theme of the Cancellaria relief A is *profectio* of Vespasian – his leaving for the Sarmatian war in 92–93 A.D. Emperor's entourage features figures otherwise well known in official imperial art, like Victoria, Mars, Minerva, Roma (or *Virtus*), mixed with mortal companions like lictors and soldiers, all bidding fare well. Among the divine followers of the emperor, together stand *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani*, both easily recognized because of the established iconography which leaves no doubts who they are (Last 1948: 9; Koeppel 1969: 140, fig. 3; Kleiner 1992: 191–192, fig. 159). Most figures on this relief are moving to the left, the whole composition is oriented to the left, to the road, with Victoria leading the way. Only *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* stand still, with both feet on the ground. They are waving to the emperor but are standing still. We do not have immediate proof for our conclusion, but we dare speculate that this iconography suggests that the Senate and Roman People should be firm, stable, unwavering, reasonable, “with both feet on the ground”.

Cancellaria relief B shows *adventus* of Vespasian, his return to Rome, probably in the year 70, after the civil war in 68–69. Here we find all the main features of the *adventus* iconography that will be repeated in imperial art many times. State dignitaries and divinities are here to greet the emperor, all together and respectful. Vespasian is looking at Domitian and between them, in the second row, *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* are here, looking at Vespasian. *Genius Populi Romani* steps on a stone – perhaps the sacred boundary stone of *pomerium* (Last 1948: 9–10; Koeppel 1969: 172 f, fig. 16; Kleiner 1992: 191, fig. 158).

The context for the appearance of *Genius Senatus* on these monuments clearly defines his role: he is there to greet the emperor, to bid him fare well, to assist him during the sacrifice, to cheer the emperor's triumph. There are no images of emperor conferring with the Senate and treating him as equal.

The same thing could be said for the images of Senate on roman provincial coins minted in various cities in

¹¹ Libanii sophistae *Orationes XVII*. Antonius Bongiovanni, Venetiis, Ex Typographia Joan. Baptistae Albrittii Hier. F. 1754.

¹² On republican coinage, on the other hand, he looked like the Greek *Demos*: bearded and mature, but still recognizable by *cornucopia* (*denarii* of Cn. Lentulus minted during 70-ties of the 1st cent. B.C.). Fears 1978: 277–278.

¹³ Today lost and known only from drawings. Kleiner 1992: 183, fig. 153.

¹⁴ Last 1948: 9; Hammond 1953: 134; Béranger 1965: 80; Kleiner 1992: 191, figs. 158–159.

the Roman province of Asia during the Flavian reign and Nerva's rule (Amandry & Burnett 2015: 134). The above described type of the draped bust of the youthful Senate continues to appear on civic coinage. Very often we can't be sure which emperor or empresses is represented on these coins and under whose name were they issued, so we must identify them as anonymous (Forni 1953: 61). While during the Flavian dynasty there are no depictions of Senate or *Genius Senatus* on imperial coins, the situation changes with the arrival of Nerva. Very rare *sestertii* from Nerva's third emission in early 97 depict Nerva and the genius of the Senate holding a globe between them with the legend *Providentia Senatvs*, "fore sight of the Senate (RIC II 90; for picture of this coin see Elkins 2017: 90, fig. 2. 32). These coins must be viewed in the context of an earlier type of Titus that depicts Vespasian passing a globe to Titus with the legend *Provident(ia) Avgvst(i)*, "foresight of the Augustus. In contrast to these issues the designation of the princeps by the Senate on Nerva's emissions is very clearly shown and acknowledged, since the Senate was partly responsible for Nerva's succession.¹⁵ The same type would be copied afterwards by Trajan, as he was also fond of the inclusive treatment of senators in his governance, even though that inclusiveness was probably only nominal.

It is quite obvious that by the time Trajan had his dream the iconography of *Genius Senatus* will have been well established as the familiar figure. Trajan would use it to improve his relations with the Senate, to ingratiate himself to the Senate, while implementing his will much more efficiently. Domitian's reign has clearly shown that the bad relations with the Senate were of no use to anyone (Gsell 1887: 339, 342; Frankfort 1962). We already quoted Pliny's *Panegyricus Traiani*, where he described the miserable role of the Senate during Domitian's reign, but with Trajan, he said, things had changed, and they could take responsibility for the empire. Dio Cassius (68.7.3) adds to the praises: "His association with the people was marked by affability and his intercourse with the senate by dignity, so that he was loved by all and dreaded by none save the enemy". Everyone praised his *civilitas* and his reluctance to do harm to the senators (Eutrop. 8.4).¹⁶ His good relations with

the assembly and traditional institutions were especially good during his early years (Scardigli 1974: 59; Eck 2017). Trajan even empowered the Senate to negotiate peace with the Dacians in 102 A.D, and in 105 A.D. he first asked the Senate to proclaim Decebalus enemy of the state, before going to war (Dio 68.9.7; Scardigli 1974: 66, 69–70; Griffin 2000: 98–99, 103–106). He continued with the policy of integrating new members to the Senate, notably from the East (Gsell 1887: 343; Eck 2000: 219).

Trajan stayed true to his dream and Pliny the Younger speaks of his civil treatment of the senators, how he greeted them with the kisses (*Pan.* 43) and they were free to visit him in his home as it was their own (*Pan.* 48; cf. *Ep.* 6.31; Gsell 1887: 340). We should not, of course, take all the flattering for granted, because Trajan reserved all the power for himself, but prudently kept peace at home. And that particular fact could be seen on the monuments of his age (Forni 1953: 63).

We can quote the *Extispicium* relief (today in Louvre), with the state sacrifice and inspection of the victim's entrails, probably on the occasion of the emperor's departure for war. Once again we have the usual group around the emperor, this time Trajan, with Victoria and lictors.¹⁷ Heavily damaged *togatus* in the middle connects both compositions: one with the victim and the other with Trajan.¹⁸ It is nowhere explicitly stated, but the damaged *togatus* in the middle might be *Genius Senatus* – his usual position between the lictors and the emperor, his calm stature with both feet on the ground, point us to that conclusion.

The most famous example to be quoted is, of course, Trajan's Arch in Benevent, the peak of Roman state art (Stuart Jones 1905: 227–228; Hammond 1953: 134) and the state propaganda (Domaszewski 1899; Snijder 1926; Garger 1943; Gauer 1974), which offers enormous opportunities for analysis. We shall limit ourselves to the figure of *Genius Senatus*. The arch was commissioned in 114 A.D. and probably finished in 118 A.D. after the death of Trajan (Kleiner 1992: 224–227, fig. 189). Eight main panels on the body of the arch commemorate emperor's main achievements. Two panels, on the lower left and right on the side of the city, show Trajan's *adventus* in Rome in 99 A.D. when he became the emperor. On the right pan-

¹⁵ Elkins 2017: 91. For various interpretations of this issue see: Merlin 1906: 56–60; Strack 1930: 45–48; Mattingly 1976 (BMCRE III): xlix; Shotton 1978: 164.

¹⁶ *...nullum senatorem laedens, nihil iniustum ad augendum fiscum agens...* Eutropii, *Breviarium historiae Romanae*, editionem primam curavit Detl. C. G. Baumgarten-Crusius, alteram Henricus Rudolphus Dietsch, Lipsiae, in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1883. Wallace-Hadrill 1982; García y Bellido 1995.

¹⁷ This topic has an obvious parallel on the Trajan's arch in Benevent. Koeppl 1985: 154 ff.

¹⁸ Wace 1907: 233 ff, Pls. XX–XXIV; Scott Ryberg 1955: 128 f; Koeppl 1969: 146–148, fig. 5; Koeppl 1985: 154–157, 204 ff, Abb. 35–41, esp. Abb. 36; Kleiner 1992: 223–224, fig. 187.

el *praefectus Urbis* invites Trajan to make *ingressus* and enter the city: an important event since it was the first time that citizens of Rome saw the new ruler. On the left panel we can see *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* standing in front of the Curia Iulia and greeting Trajan. *Genius Municipiorum* (recognized by the turreted crown, understood as *Ordo* as well) and *Genius Ordinis Equestris* (wearing *trabea* and a cloak) stand with them. The posture of *Genius Senatus* could be read as *postulation* and *reception* – a welcome for his favorite son.¹⁹ Since the Senate's hand is damaged we do not know what he held in his hand, but comparison with coins suggests that he might have held a globe (Petersen 1892: 255; Koeppl 1969: 164; Fittschen 1972: 767, Abb. 21, 22).

The other relief on the arch in Benevent, which features *Genius Senatus* lies on the northern side of the passageway. Main topic of this relief is the sacrifice taking place in Rome, and in the middle of the composition stand Trajan and *Genius Senatus*. Senate is holding *volume* in his left hand – symbol of authority. Young *Genius Populi Romani* is beside him (Scott Ryberg 1955: 118, 135; Veyne 1961: 231–232; Torelli 1997: 148).

Trajan's coins acknowledged the role the Senate played in the investiture of imperial power. The same complex dynamics seen on monumental imperial representations, can also be recognized on his monetary issues. After Nerva's death, Trajanic *denarii* et *aureii* depict a globe passed to the emperor by the Genius of the Senate with the legend *Provid(entia)* in the exergue (RIC II 28; for picture of *denarius* of Trajan with PROVIDENTIA reverse type see Seelentag 2004: 78). Some *sestertii*, which do not bear a descriptive legend, depict the exact same scene as Nerva's *sestertii*, mentioned above, with both of the genius's hands on the globe passing it to Trajan who holds sceptre (RIC II 437; Mattingly 1976 (BMCRE III): 157 nr. 774). These *sestertii* were issued during Trajan's third consulate in years 101–102. The absence of the word *senatus* from the legend *Provid(entia)* on the *denarii* and *aureii* was the root of a mistaken belief that the togate figure standing left and presenting Trajan with a globe was his predecessor Nerva, in accordance with earlier similar emissions of *Providentia Avgvsti* types mint-

ed during Titus' rule. Several recent numismatics studies have shown that the Trajan's coins replicate Nerva's *sestertii* with strong exactitude and that it is much more logical to recognize a personification of the Senate in the image of the masculine figure standing on the left, dressed in toga, with a scroll in his left hand.²⁰

The second type which bears the depiction of Senate on Trajan's coins is *Vota Suscepta* type, one of the later Trajan's gold issues minted in 115.²¹ *Denarii* and *aureii* show the Senate standing right, holding sceptre and sacrificing before the Genius of Roman people, standing left and holding cornucopiae (RIC II 371–374; for picture of this type see Beckmann 2009: 160, fig. 23). This type should be interpreted together with another type, also issued in year 115, *Salus Augusti* (RIC II 368–370), showing the goddess seated on a throne, holding a patera over an altar around which a snake is coiled. *Salus* is specifically labeled as *Salvs Avgvsti*, a direct invocation of the goddess on behalf of the emperor's health (fig. 1). The *Vota* coins record „vows undertaken“ (*Vota Suscepta*) by the senate and the People (identified by their personifications), for emperor's health and safe return, presumably after the fashion of those made for Augustus 16 BC and commemorated on his coinage.²² The appeal to *Salus* and the record of vows both point to a decline in the emperor's health (Strack 1931: 227; Beckmann 2007: 82–83; 2009: 50–51). The iconography of Trajan's votive coins reflects exactly such an event: The Senate and the People shown standing around small altar, are in an act of pouring libations. The emperor's health problems were serious enough to make a fairly major appearance on coinage.²³

The same iconography of Senate persisted after Trajan. The scope of this paper permits us to quote only the most famous examples. Hadrian, when he came to power, continued Trajan's policy of good relations with the Senate. Consequently, Hadrianic monuments show the same dignified Senate with the emperor. Two vertically oriented reliefs decorated once the so-called Arco di Portogallo. It was torn down in 1662 and is known only through the contemporary drawings.²⁴ The mentioned re-

¹⁹ Veyne 1960: 196; Veyne 1961: 253–254; Koeppl 1969: 163; Torelli 1997: 156.

²⁰ Méthy 2000: 378–380; Seelentag 2004: 78–87; Noreña 2011: 96–98; Elkins 2017: 90–92.

²¹ for datation see M. Beckmann 2009: 150.

²² BMCRE I Augustus 92; RIC 358: *Vota* inscribed in an oak wreath: *Iovi Optimo Maximo senatus populusque Romanus vota suscepta pro salute Imperatoris Caesaris*.

²³ Beckmann 2007: 84 identifies 5 dies for *Salus* series, 2 dies for *Vota*.

²⁴ Arco di Portogallo stood on Via Flaminia/Lata, today Via del Corso, and was destroyed by the orders of pope Alexander VII. Possible dates of the original arch vary: from Vespasian to the 5th century construction ornated with the reliefs of earlier times. Wace 1907: 258–263; Kleiner 1992: 253; VanderLeest 1995: 319.



Figure 1. Denarius of Trajan from 114–117, with *SALVS AVGVSTI* reverse type (Archaeological Museum of Zagreb; C1227. Published with permission. Autor of photography: Igor Krajcar).

reliefs are the remaining parts (today in Palazzo dei Conservatori). One of them is the famous relief with the apotheosis of Hadrian's wife Sabina. The other is of special interest now: it shows Hadrian allotting food to the poor children of Rome (*institutio alimentaria*).²⁵ The emperor stands on the pedestal (*suggestus*) holding a speech. The bearded *togatus* is beside him – obviously *Genius Senatus*, and a young man in front of the emperor looks like *Genius Populi Romani*. Around them are three more men and a child (Kleiner 1992: 254; VanderLeest 1995: 320). This relief is a wonderful example of why such personifications functioned so well in Roman art. With only three main figures mass event is described. Emperor accompanied by the whole assembly gave speech to the multitude of people. Perhaps the artistic functions of *Genius Senatus*, clearly seen here and on other examples, was the reason why the cult of this *Genius* was limited to the East, and is not known in Rome. Personifications were so amply used because they solved the problems of artistic composition, and not because of the religious sentiment.

Another, also vertically oriented relief (today in Palazzo dei Conservatori) shows Hadrian's *adventus* in Rome. Among the crowd to greet him are *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani*. It might be Hadrian's coming to Rome in 118 or 134 A.D., since both are commemorated on Hadrian's coins. This relief is sometimes connected with Arco di Portogallo too. Roma receives the emperor and is giving him the globe, and both *Genii* are watching the scene (Koeppel 1969: 156, fig. 9; Kleiner 1992: 255–256, fig. 223). What is of interest here is the posture of *Genius Senatus* – he is wearing *embades* (*endromides*) of the divinity, not *calcei patricii* (*sen-*

atorii), and he is not standing with both feet on the ground. This is a subtle change in the Hadrianic art speaking in favor of our view that *Genii* were used to organize the artistic composition and that the obvious symbolism of their figures from Flavian times has gradually diminished.

A good example is sestertius issued by Hadrian circa 128–132 A.D. *Genius* of Senate and Hadrian are standing vis à vis, clasping hands and Roma is shown standing right, behind, holding clasped hands and spear (RIC II 968; BMCRE III 1364). This reverse type, representing “*Concordia Senatus*,” likely commemorates the conferring of the title *pater patriae* upon Hadrian by the Senate in 128 AD. Roma is embracing the two main parts of Roman imperial rule and power: the emperor himself and the Senate, again personified in its well known image of a tranquil, togate and dignified man. There is a coin of Hadrian (Cohen, *méd. imp.* II², n. 1406) where the position of the words *Senatus* and *Populus Romanus* correspond directly with the figures of the bearded Senate and the young People of Rome, standing beside the altar. Under the altar are the words *vota suscepta* (Cohen 1882: 223; Petersen 1892: 255).

If we move forward in time, we shall find our *Genii* on the monuments of Marc Aurel. Of the eleven extant panels, generally thought to originally ornate one or two arches of Marc Aurel from 176 A.D., eight panels are in the attica of the arch of Constantine, and three are in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Kleiner 1992: 288, figs. 256–262). One of them, on the arch of Constantine, shows *profectio* of Marc Aurel in the year of 169. He is going North, along the Via Flaminia personified in the lower right corner. *Genius Senatus*, with both feet on the ground, is there to bid him fare well, and

²⁵ That is not the only explanation, the other being that the topic is Hadrian's *adlocutio* to the people and declaration that Sabina has been deified. VanderLeest 1995: 326; Andrae 1978: 222, 252.

Ordo Equester stands behind him. Roma (or Virtus) is leading the emperor.²⁶ Relief is generally deemed to be very conservative and the posture of *Genius Senatus* confirms that, looking like the figure from the times of the Flavians.

The relief from Palazzo dei Conservatori shows Marc Aurel leading the sacrifice in front of the temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* on the Capitoline Hill. The figure standing near the emperor is *Genius Senatus*, very traditionally rendered.²⁷

In the end we may quote the famous sarcophagus from Acilia (Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome) which might be dated to 238 A.D. with the possible portrait of Gordian III, although that is not certain (Kleiner 1992: 387, fig. 357). Beside the possible Gordian stands *Genius Senatus*, very traditionally rendered, very conservative, reminding us of the political necessity for the emperor and the Senate to work together.

Dio's report on Trajan's dream might be true, found in sources today lost, and it might be invented, in the tradition of prophetic dreams that all the great men once had, with the sole purpose of "foretelling" (like the Virgil's *vaticinia ex eventu*) Trajan's good relations with the Senate and his prudent reign. History tells us that Trajan was true to his dream and respected the Senate and the senators. Monuments and coins tell us that the iconography of *Genius Senatus* was established well before Trajan came to power and that Trajan's dream was in accordance with the standard image. Relations between the emperor and the Senate, before and after Trajan, were not always good, but all the stated emperors were sculpted together with the *Genius Senatus*, whether they were friendly or not (e. g. Domitian). On the one hand, the figures of *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* had deep, symbolic meaning for everyone in Rome, and on the other hand, those *Genii* solved a lot of problems for the Roman artists when it came to composition of official reliefs, and with time they became an artistic convention.

ANCIENT SOURCES

Claudian	<i>Claudian</i> , with an English translation by Maurice Platnauer, vol. I, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge MA-London, Harvard University Press, 1990 (1 st ed. 1922).
Dio Cassius	<i>Dio's Roman History</i> , with an English translation by Earnest Cary, on the basis of the version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, I-IX, Vol. VIII, London, Loeb Classical Library, William Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press, 1955.
Flavius Eutropius	Eutropii, <i>Breviarium historiae Romanae</i> , editionem primam curavit Detl. C. G. Baumgarten-Crusius, alteram Henricus Rudolfus Dietsch, Lipsiae, in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1883.
Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus	Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, <i>The Twelve Caesars</i> , translated by Robert Graves, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1975 (1 st ed. 1957).
Libanius	Libanii sophistae <i>Orationes XVII</i> . Antonius Bongiovanni, Venetiis, Ex Typographia Joan. Baptistae Albritii Hier. F. 1754.
Lucan	Lucan, <i>The Civil War</i> , with and English translation by J. D. Duff, Loeb Classical Library, London, William Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1962.
Plutarch	Plutarch's <i>Moralia</i> , with an English translation by Harlod North Fowler, vol. X, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, London, William Heinemann Ltd, 1960. (1 st ed. 1936).
Virgil	Virgil, <i>Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1-6</i> , with and English translation by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, London, 1998 (1 st ed. 1916).

²⁶ Stuart Jones 1905: 265; Koeppl 1969: 136–137, fig. 2; Angelicoussis 1984: 145, Taf. 62.1; Koeppl 1986: 56 ff, Abb. 31; Kleiner 1992: 288, fig. 256.

²⁷ Angelicoussis 1984: 154, Taf. 67.1; Koeppl 1986: 47 ff, 52 ff, Abb. 29; Kleiner 1992: 294, fig. 262.

ABBREVIATIONS

BMCRE I	sv. Mattingly 1983.
BMCRE III	sv. Mattingly 1976.
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin, 1863–.
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , London, 1923–.
RIC II	sv. Mattingly & Sydenham 1968.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alföldi 1935 A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser", *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 50, 1935, 3–171.
- Amandry & Burnett 2015 M. Amandry & A. Burnett (eds.), *Roman Provincial Coinage. Volume III, Part 1: Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian (AD 96–138)*, London – Paris, 2015.
- Andreae 1978 B. Andreae, *The Art of Rome*, tr. R. E. Wolf, London, 1978.
- Angelicooussis 1984 E. Angelicooussis, "The Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius", *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 91, 1984, 141–205.
- Beckmann 2007 M. Beckmann, "Trajan's Gold Coinage, AD 112–117", *American Journal of Numismatics* 19, 2007, 77–130.
- Beckmann 2009 M. Beckmann, "The Significance of Roman Imperial Coin Types", *Klio* 91, 2009, 144–161.
- Béranger 1965 J. Béranger, „Der 'Genius populi Romani' in der Kaiserpolitik", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 165, 1965, 72–87.
- Blanchet 1943 A. Blanchet, "Le 'Genius populi Romani', remarques et hypotheses", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 87/3, 1943, 333–348.
- Cohen 1882 H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain communément appelées médailles imperiales vol. II*, Paris – London, 1882.
- Constans 1914 L. A. Constans, "Inscriptions de Gightis (Tunisie)", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, 34, 1914, 267–286.
- Daremberg & Saglio Ch. Daremberg & E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1873..., 1198–1199, s.v. Senatus.
- Domaszewski 1899 A. von Domaszewski, "Die politische Bedeutung des Trajansbogens in Benevent", *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 2, 1899, 173–192.
- Eck 2000 W. Eck, "Emperor, Senate and magistrates", in: A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey & D. Rathbone (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XI, *The High Empire, A.D. 70–192*, Cambridge, 2000, 214–237.
- Eck 2017 W. Eck, "Traian – Bild und Realität, einer grossen Herrscherpersönlichkeit", in: F. Mitthof & G. Schörner (eds.), *Columna Traiani – Traianssäule Sigesmonument und Kriegesbericht in Bildern, Beiträge des Tagung 9.–12. Mai 2013*, Wien, 2017, 3–14.
- Elkins 2017 N. T. Elkins, *The Image of Political Power in the Reign of Nerva, AD 96–98*, Oxford, 2017.
- Erskine 1997 A. Erskine, "Greekness and Uniqueness: The Cult of the Senate in the Greek East", *Phoenix* 51/1, 1997, 25–37.
- Fears 1978 J. R. Fears, "Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ. Genius Populi Romani. A Note on the Origin of Dea Roma", *Mnemosyne* 4 Ser. 31/3, 1978, 274–286.
- Fittschen 1972 K. Fittschen, "Das Bildprogramm des Trajansbogens zu Benevent", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4, 1972, 742–788.

- Forni 1953 G. Forni, "Hiera e Theos Synkletos. Un capitol dimenticato nella storia del senato romano", *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie*, serie 8, vol. 5, fasc. 3, 1953, 49–178.
- Forni 1982 G. Forni, "Il culto del Senato di Roma", *Tituli* 4, 1982, 3–35.
- Frankfort 1962 Th. Frankfort, "Le retour de Trajan aux apparences républicaines", *Latomus* 21/1, 1962, 134–144.
- García y Bellido 1995 A. García y Bellido, "La 'modestia' de Trajano ante la reception del imperio", *Estudios Clásicos (Barcelona)* 3, 1995, 3–9.
- Garger 1943 E. von Garger, *Der Traiansbogen in Benevent*, Berlin, 1943.
- Gauer 1974 W. Gauer, "Zum Bildprogramm des Traiansbogens von Benevent", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 89, 1974, 308–335.
- Griffin 2000 M. Griffin, "Trajan", in: A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey & D. Rathbone (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XI, *The High Empire, A.D. 70–192*, Cambridge, 2000, 96–128.
- Gsell 1887 S. Gsell, "Étude sur le rôle politique du Sénat Romain à l'époque de Trajan", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 7, 1887, 339–382.
- Hammond 1953 M. Hammond, "A Statue of Trajan Represented on the 'Anaglypha Traiani'", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 21, 1953, 125–183.
- Kleiner 1992 D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, New Haven – London, 1992.
- Koepfel 1969 G. Koepfel, "Profectio und Adventus", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 169, 1969, 130–194.
- Koepfel 1985 G. Koepfel, "Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit III. Städtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus trajanischer Zeit", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 185, 1985, 143–214.
- Koepfel 1986 G. Koepfel, "Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit IV. Städtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus hadrianischer bis konstantinischer Zeit", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 186, 1986, 1–90.
- Last 1948 H. Last, "On the Flavian Reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancelleria", *The Journal of the Roman Studies* 38, 1948, 9–14.
- Mattingly & Sydenham 1968 H. Mattingly & E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman imperial coinage. Vol. 2, Vespasian to Hadrian*, London, 1968.
- Mattingly 1976 H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. Volume III Nerva to Hadrian* (BMCRE III), London, 1976.
- Mattingly 1983 H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. Volume I Augustus to Vitellius* (BMCRE I), London, 1983.
- Merlin 1906 A. Merlin, *Les revers monétaires de l'empereur Nerva (18 septembre 96– 27 janvier 98)*, Paris, 1906.
- Méthy 2000 N. Méthy, "Éloge rhétorique et propagande politique sous le Haut-Empire. L'exemple du Panégyrique de Trajan", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 112.1, 2000, 365–411.
- Noreña 2011 C. F. Noreña, *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power*, New York, 2011.
- Petersen 1892 E. Petersen, "L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento", *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 7, 1892, 239–264.
- Scardigli 1974 B. Scardigli, "Da Traianus Optimus Princeps a Traianus Optimus Augustus", *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 18, 1974, 57–103.
- Scott Ryberg 1955 I. Scott Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 22, 1955, 1–227.
- Seelentag 2004 G. Seelentag, "Taten und Tugenden Traians. Herrschaftsdarstellung im Principat", *Hermes Einzelschriften* 91, Stuttgart, 2004.
- Shotter 1978 D. C. A. Shotter, "Roman Historians and the Roman Coinage", *Greece and Rome* 25, 1978, 156–168.

- Snijder 1926 G. A. S. Snijder, "Der Trajansbogen in Benevent. Bemerkungen zur trajanischen und hadrijanischen Skulptur", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 41, 1926, 94–128.
- Strack 1930 P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Kaiser Nerva, Traian und Hadrian. Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung Traians in den Jahren 98 bis 100*, Stuttgart, 1930.
- Strack 1931 P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts I. Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Traian*, Stuttgart, 1931.
- Stuart Jones 1905 H. Stuart Jones, "Notes on Roman Historical Sculpture", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 3/2, 1905, 215–271.
- Swinford 2012 D. Swinford, "Dream Interpretation and the Organic Metaphor of the State in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*", *The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 38/1, 2012, 32–59.
- Syme 1997 R. Syme, *Tacitus*, I–II, Oxford, 1997 (1st ed. 1958).
- Torelli 1997 M. Torelli, "Ex his castra, ex his tribus replebuntur', The Marble Panegyric on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum", *Studies in the History of Art* 49, 1997, 144–177.
- VanderLeest 1995 J. VanderLeest, "Hadrian, Lucius Verus, and the Arco di Portogallo", *Phoenix* 49/4, 1995, 319–330.
- Veyne 1960 P. Veyne, "Une hypothèse sur l'arc de Bénévent", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 72, 1960, 173–219.
- Veyne 1961 P. Veyne, "Ordo et Populus, genies et chefs de file", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 73, 1961, 229–274.
- Wace 1907 A. J. B. Wace, "Studies in Roman Historical Reliefs", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 4/3, 1907, 229–276.
- Wallace-Hadrill 1982 A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Civilis Princeps: Between Citizen and King", *The Journal of Roman Studies* 72, 1982, 32–48.