

'More than conquerors' (Rom 8:37): Paul's Gospel and the Augustan Triumphal Arches of the Greek East and Latin West

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Abstract: This paper investigates the social and theological import of Romans against the iconography of the Augustan arches, focusing on Paul's indebtedness to Greeks and barbarians, the reconciliation of enemies, the victory of Christ on behalf of believers, and his rule over the nations. D.C. Lopez and B. Kahl investigated the iconographic evidence of Aphrodisias and Pergamon when discussing the political implications of Paul's gospel in the Roman province of Asia. Paul visited neither city, so arguments about the apostle's interaction with the imperial ideology of 'victory' depends more on the ubiquity of the Julio-Claudian propaganda than on any contact Paul might have had with those specific monuments. The Augustan arches throughout the Empire stereotypically depict the humiliation of barbarians at the sites of Pisidian Antioch, a city visited by Paul (Acts 13:14-50), as well as at La Turbie, Glanum, Carpentras and the triple arch at the Roman Forum. However, there were other iconographic motifs on the arches that conflicted with the relentless triumphal ideology of Augustus. They articulated an alternate vision of social relations between conqueror and conquered.

Introduction

The Ubiquity of Triumphal Monuments in the Roman Empire

In New Testament studies there has been no definitive work written on the intersection of the imperial iconography with the Pauline epistles comparable to O. Kiel's towering study of the Psalms against the backdrop of the Ancient Near Eastern iconography (Keel 1978). The closest approximation we have is L. Kreitzer's collection of essays exploring the New Testament documents from

the perspective of the numismatic and gem evidence (Kreitzer 1996). Several works have recently recognised the importance of the imperial iconography in discussing Paul's theology and exegesis. J.L. White's work on the Abrahamic covenant in Paul's theology, for example, drew widely upon the Julio-Claudian iconography, as did N. Elliott's study of the nations in Romans (White 1999; Elliott 2008). D.C. Lopez and B. Kahl have investigated the iconography of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and the Great Altar at Pergamum (now in the Berlin

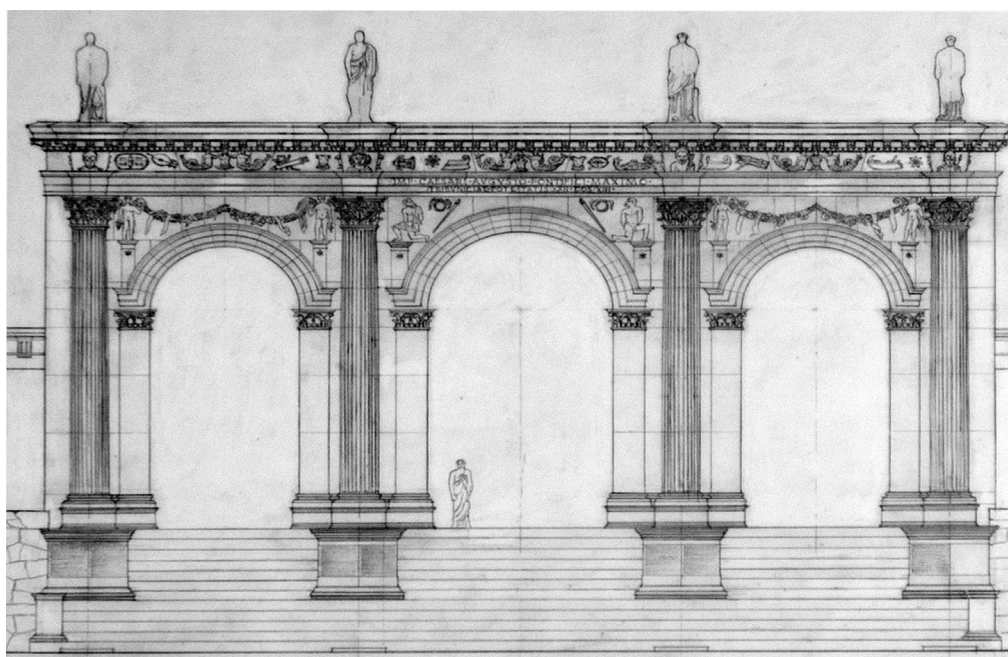


Figure 1: A reconstruction of the propylon (Arch of Augustus) at Pisidian Antioch made by F.J. Woodbridge 1971. Image: Rubin (2011: fig 3.5) courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (AAR 2386).

museum) in discussing the political implications of Paul's gospel in Roman Asia (Lopez 2008; Kahl 2009). In my opinion, Lopez and Kahl have methodologically advanced Pauline studies by their innovative use of the iconographic evidence. Believers living within the eastern Mediterranean poleis would have seen imperial monuments and sculptures in various public places and precincts articulating the ruler's propaganda. By concentrating discussion on a 'city-by-city, and institution by institution' approach (Judge 2008: 135), we avoid the mistake of ranging too widely across the different genres of iconography, failing thereby to discriminate between their varied historical, social and ideological contexts.

But, as far as we know, Paul did not visit Aphrodisias or Pergamon. Thus the arguments of Lopez and Kahl about Paul's interaction with the imperial ideology of 'victory' over the barbarians, while legitimate, rest more on the ubiquity of the Julio-Claudian propaganda than on any specific visual contact Paul might have had with the iconography of barbarians at a particular site. This is not meant to diminish the achievements of Kahl and Lopez, but simply to highlight the problem we face in finding extant Julio-Claudian iconographic evidence in the cities visited by Paul. Strangely overlooked in this regard, however, is the Sebasteion at Pisidian Antioch with its depiction of conquered barbarians on the central arch of the propylon (Figure 1). The likelihood is that Paul would have seen this monument during his ministry at Antioch in his first missionary journey (Acts 13:14-50). There were also reliefs of captured barbarians at Corinth, but they belong to a period later than Paul.¹ Notwithstanding, the Augustan arches throughout the Empire stereotypically depict the humiliation of barbarians, including the sites of La Turbie (Monaco), Glanum (St. Rémy), Carpentras (Provence), and the triple arch at the Roman Forum (Rome).² It is likely that there was iconographic evidence of humiliated barbarians, now no longer extant, in some of the eastern Mediterranean cities visited by Paul in his missionary journeys from the late forties to the beginning of the sixties.³ The iconographic media were varied: friezes and statues on public monuments, terracotta campagna reliefs, coins, funerary stelae, lamps and gladiatorial helmets depicted barbarians in scenes of submission.⁴

In writing to the Romans about his indebtedness to Greek and barbarian (Rom 1:14), Paul could count on the familiarity of his auditors at the capital of the Empire with the motif of the Augustan triumph over the nations. This motif was heavily underscored in the Latin text of the *Res Gestae* (3.1-2; 4.3; 25-33) at Augustus' mausoleum in the city. It is also possible that Paul saw a Greek version of the text of the *Res Gestae* at Pisidian Antioch, along with the Latin text that still survives there, during his first missionary journey (Acts 13:14-50), even though there are no archaeological remains of the Greek text at Pisidian Antioch today.⁵ But even if this was not the case, Paul may have had sufficient facility in Latin to appreciate the extent



Figure 2: A bound captive, Museum of Corinth.
Photo: Author

of Augustus' boasting in the *Res Gestae* about his conquest of the nations and his diplomacy with their kings.⁶ Further, we know from the literary sources of several Augustan arches at Rome.⁷ Roman believers would also have been aware of reliefs on the Temple of Apollo Sosianus and the *Ara Pacis* depicting barbarians and their children.⁸ Further, the iconography of the Augustan arches in Gaul is worth bringing into dialogue with the epistle to the Romans, given that Paul intended to establish Rome as a staging base for his mission to Spain in the Latin West (Rom 15:23-27). In regards to Spain, the arch of Berà, located on the Via Augusta some 20 km north of the city of Tarragona, has been recently shown to have been built in the Augustan age somewhere between 15-5 BC, and not in the reign of Trajan as previously thought.⁹ However, although the arch celebrates Augustus' subjugation of Spain (*Res Gestae* 12.2), there are no reliefs of barbarians on the monument, in contrast to the rich iconography in the Gallic arches.¹⁰

Provincial believers in the Greek East and Latin West needed to hear that their incorporation into Christ was based on their elect status before God as the covenantal children of Abraham, the father of all nations (Rom 4:9-25; 9:6-10). They were now ruled mercifully by the root of Jesse (15:9-12, esp. v. 12) instead of just being one of the many humiliated nations defeated under the auspices of the elect ruler and the Roman gods. Gentile believers living in the capital also had to be instructed that the

Julio-Claudian presumption about Rome's superiority as the 'conqueror of the nations', including Israel, was totally misplaced (Rom 11:17-21).¹¹ The iconographic evidence of the Augustan arches, therefore, provides a uniform genre for understanding the perspective of western and eastern believers about the barbarian nations. But what methodological caveats are necessary if we are to handle responsibly the evidence of the Augustan arches?

Methodological Issues

New Testament scholars have been prone to emphasise the brutal subjugation of the barbarians under Rome at the expense of evidence pointing in a different direction. As we will see, there were other messages that conflicted with the triumphal ideology of the Augustan arches: specifically, the signing of a peace treaty with 14 Alpine tribes at Susa (Italy), and the gesture of reconciliation and assimilation towards a barbarian captive at Glanum (Gaul). These different understandings of Roman rule over the nations, limited as they were, expressed an alternate vision of social relations between the conqueror and the conquered.¹² How did the epistle to the Romans speak into this different configuration of race relations between Rome and the barbarian nations?

Care should be taken not to stereotype the depiction of the nations in the imperial iconography and literature. Undeniably, there were examples of racial caricature at some sites. We will argue that in the iconography of the arch at L'Orange (Provence) a barbarian is depicted in a way similar to the grotesque buffoon and *stupidus* of the comic mime productions. We will include this piece of visual evidence in our study, even though the arch is from the reign of Tiberius. But it is debatable whether there was a uniformly superior attitude towards the nations on the part of the Romans. E.S. Gruen's nuanced reading of how Roman writers depicted nations such as the Gauls and Britons points in a different direction.¹³ How did this hitherto underestimated respect on the part of some Romans for the barbarian nations intersect with Paul's gospel of divine and human reconciliation? And what perspectives might the Gallic evidence throw on Paul's future plans for a mission in Spain? Ultimately, what differences exist between the 'victory' ideology of Rome and that of Paul?

Last, visual images do not necessarily interpret themselves and would have provoked complex reactions in contemporary viewers. Thus we will make use of any inscriptional or numismatic evidence relevant to the sites being discussed in the Greek East and Latin West for clarification of the ideology conveyed. Further, in confining our investigation to the Augustan arches we will have a stable deposit of evidence to analyse.¹⁴ Thus any departure from the ideological norm will be readily apparent. We turn now to a discussion of the iconography of the Augustan Arches in the Greek East and Latin West.

The Arches in the Greek East

The Sebasteion at Pisidian Antioch

The complex history of the archaeological excavation of the site of Pisidian Antioch has been already extensively discussed by scholars and is not germane to our focus (Robinson 1926, Vermeule 1963, Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, Rubin 2008 and 2011, Ossi 2010, Tuchelt 1983). Near to the two main streets of Pisidian Antioch is the Sebasteion. The imperial sanctuary is approached by the Tiberia Plateau, which culminated in twelve steps, above which stood the arch of Augustus, constructed in 2/1 BC (Ossi 2010: 21). This served as a propylon to the sanctuary proper. Since the extensive 1924 expedition of the University of Michigan, led by Francis W. Kelsey, the stairs and pavement had almost entirely disappeared by the next excavation, led by Stephen Mitchell and Marc Waelkens in 1982. The residents of nearby Yalvaç had removed the stones for their own building projects, with the result that by 2004 the foundations of the arch of Augustus were no longer to be found.¹⁵ Thus our discussion of the remains of the arch of Augustus will be confined to a selection of the iconography documented in Robinson's 1926 pioneering article,¹⁶ with the pictorial evidence sourced from the Kelsey Museum archives, the original pieces now being at the Yalvaç museum. The upper section of the Augustan arch is the best preserved since the lower section had disappeared long before the Michigan excavations.

On the frieze on the western outer face of the Augustan arch and in the spandrels over the archways of the monument, there was rich and complex iconography that articulated the Augustan ideology of rule. First, there was inscribed a *sidus Iulium*, the apotheosis sign of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar (Ossi 2010: 300, fig. 131). The dedicatory inscription to Augustus on the arch bears the same message of Caesar's apotheosis and Octavian's adoption into the Julian family with the title 'son of god'.¹⁷

Second, the frieze contained a Capricorn, the astrological sign prophetically associated with Augustus' birth (Suetonius, *Aug.* 94.12; Dio Cassius 56.25.5; Manilius, *Astronomica* 507-509: cf. Rubin 2011: 43, fig. 3.9; Ossi 2010: 300, fig. 128). Given that his birth sign on September 23-24 was in reality Libra (Manilius, *Astronomica*, 4.548ff), Augustus must have chosen Capricorn for other reasons (Barton 1995: 33-51; Gee 2000; Rehak 2006: 71-73). Rather than it being a case, as some scholars have argued, of Augustus preferring his conception date to his birth date,¹⁸ we should ask why Augustus' clients in Pisidian Antioch, who erected the monument, decided to emphasise the 'Capricorn' motif. It is worth remembering that the iconography of the arch of Augustus interacts ideologically with the text of the *Res Gestae* at the same site. Capricorn was associated with Western Europe — especially Spain, Gaul and Germany — the area that the (then) Octavian had controlled before



Figure 3: *Draped bound captive from the Arch of Augustus, Pisidian Antioch. Photo: G.R.Swain (Ossi 2011: Fig 5.19a) courtesy of Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (neg. no. 7.1275)*

Actium (31 BC).¹⁹ A new age had dawned with the end of the winter solstice traditionally associated with Capricorn (Barton 1994: 40).²⁰ Capricorn now ruled the entire world through Augustus as its Saviour, since he and his family members — as his Graeco-Phrygian and Roman clients at Pisidian Antioch gratefully acknowledged — had conquered the barbarian peoples on the edge of the empire. Thus the appearance of the Capricorn in the iconography of the arch synchronised with the motif of the ‘conquest of the nations’ in the *Res Gestae* (3.1-2; 4.3; 25-33; cf. the Latin Preface).

Third, over the archway of the western façade are placed two kneeling bound captives in the spandrels (Figures 3 and 4). One is nude, one is partially draped, and their precise identification has been debated by scholars (Mitchell and Waelkens 1998: 162, fig. 113; Rubin 2011: 43, fig. 3.12, 99, fig. 5.19a). B. Rose has proposed that Hadrian’s arch, built as the ornamental city gate of Pisidian Antioch, had copied motifs already present on the arch of Augustus (Rose 2005; cf. Ossi 2010: 108-185; 2011: 85-108). It is possible that the two Hadrianic standard-bearing barbarians, one from Gaul and the other from Parthia, had been previously placed on the eastern façade of the Augustan arch (Ossi 2010: 302, fig. 133, 302, fig. 134). Thus, if Rose is correct, the ‘conquest of the nations’ motif is visually present on both the eastern and western facades of the arch.

Fourth, naval iconography (ship prows, the ram of a warship, tritons, the god Poseidon) pointed symbolically to Augustus’ famous victory at Actium (Ossi 2010: 76; *id.* 2011: 97, fig. 5.15a). Winged figures of victory, of a quasi-supernatural character, feature with garlands on the spandrels of the western face (nude males) and on the eastern face (draped females) (Ossi 2010: 80-81; Rubin 2011: 43, fig. 3.10). Combining Hellenistic and sacral elements in the iconography, the divinely sanctioned nature of Augustus’ rule is powerfully emphasized (Ossi 2010:

83). This is reinforced by the presence of other prominent deities on the arch, variously identified by scholars (Ossi 2010: 84-86).²¹ In the sanctuary proper, the inscriptional dedication of the Sebasteion underscores the superintendence of Augustus’ rule by Jupiter.²² Last, several large statues, each 2 metres high, crowned the top of the arch, representing Augustus and his family. A headless statue most likely represents Augustus as Zeus (Rubin 2011: 58, fig. 3.23), while another statue perhaps depicts the Roman ruler pinioning a barbarian captive (Ossi 2010: 71-72).

What portrait of victory emerges from the Augustan triumphal arch at Pisidian Antioch? There is little doubt, as Ossi argues (Ossi 2010: 71-72), that

the Augustan arch at Pidian Antioch is a ‘visual *Res Gestae*’. It does not just commemorate a single victory like the other Augustan arches (Ossi 2010: 71-72). Its ideological sweep embraces Augustus’ ancestry, birth, triumviral years, divinely sanctioned rule from Actium onwards, and continuing maintenance of the borders of



Figure 4: *Bound nude captive; a spandrel from the Arch of Augustus, Pisidian Antioch. Photo: Rubin (2011: fig. 3.12) courtesy of Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.*



Figure 5: The monument to Augustus at La Turbie. Photo: Ville de La Turbie.

Rome against the unruly peoples. What is significant is that his clients in the city have erected the arch and, as its inscription demonstrates, they are conveying an honorific accolade to their imperial benefactor for bringing the city so much prosperity and prestige in Asia Minor (Ossi 2010: 58). This is certainly not a case of ‘Romanisation’ imposed on conquered provincials, but rather an integration of indigenous Hellenistic and Roman elements in honour of the benefactor of the world.²³

The Arches at Rome

The Triple Arch at the Roman Forum

The single bay Actian arch of Augustus, erected in 29 BC, will not be discussed due to the continuing controversy concerning its location and its relation to the later triple arch of Augustus (Gurval 1995: 8, 36-46). The triple arch of Augustus in the Roman Forum, near the Temple of Divus Julius, commemorated the conquest of the Parthians and pointed to Augustus as a worthy successor of Augustus (Holland 1946; Wallace-Hadrill 1998; Rose 2005; Coarelli 2007: 79-81; Kleiner 2010: 64). This was erected in 19 BC in honour of the recovery of the spoils and standards from Parthia through the diplomacy of Augustus (*Res Gestae* 29.2; Dio Cassius 54.8.4; cf. 51.19; Suetonius, *Aug.* 21.3). We know about its design from the reverse side of an Augustan denarius (*RIC* I² ‘Augustus’, Nos. 131-137). Augustus surmounts the triple arch in a four-horse chariot, flanked by a Parthian on the left and right, holding, respectively, a standard, and an aquila and bow. Significantly, even though Augustus’ achievement was entirely diplomatic, the iconography of Augustus on the arch is presented in triumphal terms.

The Arches in Roman Gaul

La Turbie (Monaco, France)

The monument at La Turbie to Augustus’ pacification of the Alpine tribes (*Res Gestae* 26.3) in 16-14 BC was erected in 7/6 BC.²⁴ It was originally 50 metres high and still dominates the environs today at 35 metres (Bromwich 1993: 271) (Figure 5). The west face of the monument’s first podium was nearest to the entrance and the Roman road, having the most complete fragments of its iconography and inscription (Formigé 1949: 47-64) (Figure 6). The second podium, by comparison, is very incomplete, but probably had statuary (eagles) in the corners (Formigé 1949: 65). Both podiums were surmounted by a circular colonnade of 24 Doric columns — 4 of which survive — with a frieze decorated with military symbols.²⁵ Bromwich observes that the niches, originally 12, are still visible between the columns and posits that statues of Augustan generals filled them (Bromwich 1993: 274). On top of this, a cone roof supported a trophy, which, according to Formigé (1949: 74), was a statue of Augustus.

On either side of the inscription on the first podium are reliefs of two small winged victories presenting their crowns to Augustus (Binner 2009: 50). Also there are two reliefs of Alpine tribe members, each depicting a male captive squatting with his hands bound behind his back, accompanied by a female seated at his side with hands crossed at the front. These are placed to the right and left of the victory inscription, with the captives squatting under a cruciform-shaped trophy ‘tree’, from which hang their weapons, shields and tunics (Ferris



Figure 6: West facade of the monument to Augustus at La Turbie. Photo: Ville de La Turbie.

2000: 40, fig. 16; Binniger 2009: 50). The fragments of the captive reliefs have been reconstructed — consisting of 98 pieces on the left, 63 on the right (Bromwich 1993: 273) — from the stereotyped renderings of bound captives found at Carpentras, Saint-Rémy and Orange.²⁶ It is worth remembering, if Formigé and Bromwich are correct, that the statues of Augustus and his generals dominate architecturally over the ‘captive’ reliefs, accentuating thereby the symbolism of Augustus’ total triumph over the barbarians.²⁷ N.C. Hartshorn also observes that, in contrast to the female captive on the right, whose eyes are directed towards the male captive, the female captive on the left looks defiantly upwards towards the trophy tree and its spoils — a testimony to the intense struggle required by the Roman forces to overcome the Alpine tribes (Hartshorn 2006: 49-50).

Formigé reconstructed the inscription, consisting of 145 fragments, from its reproduction in Pliny the Elder (*HN* 3.20.136-138). Binniger argues that Pliny did not see the original inscription but more likely had consulted the official documents in the imperial archives at Rome.²⁸ The inscription, listing the 44 Alpine tribes conquered by Augustus:²⁹

To Emperor Caesar Augustus,
son of god,
pontifex maximus,
imperator 14 times,
in his 17th year of his tribunician power.
The senate and the Roman people [erected this
monument],
in memory of the fact that under his orders,
and under his auspices, all the people of the Alps,
from the Upper Sea to the Lower,³⁰
have been brought under the command of (the) Roman
people.³¹

Names of Alpine peoples conquered:
Trumpilini, Camunni, Venostes, Vennonetes,
Isarci, Breuni, Genaunes, Focanates.

The four Vindelician nations:
Cosuantes, Rucinates, Licates, Catenates,
Ambisontes, Rugusci, Suanetes, Calucones,
Brixentes, Leponti, Viberi, Nantuates, Seduni,
Veragri, Salassi, Acitavones, Medulli, Ucenni,
Caturiges, Brigiani, Sogionti, Brodionti,
Nemaloni, Edenates, Esubiani, Veamini, Gallitae,
Triullati, Ectini, Vergunni, Eguituri, Nemeturi,
Oratelli, Nerusi, Velauni, Suettri.

Pliny (*HN* 3.20.138) adds his personal addendum:

*I have not included the twelve non-belligerent
states of the Cottiani, nor those that were
controlled by the Italian municipalities under the
Lex Pompeia.*

There is little doubt from this inscription and from the *Res Gestae* that the conquest of the Alpine peoples was, in Roman perception, a ‘just war’ (cf. *Res Gestae* 26.3: ‘without waging unjust war on any people’). Under Augustus’ orders (*eius ductu*) and under his ‘god-like’ auspices (*auspiciis que*; cf. *Res Gestae* 30.2; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.26; Livy 28.12), the conquests of the barbarian tribes were carried out. There is no suggestion here of an ill-considered or arbitrary decision on the part of Augustus. He alone had the right to consult the gods through the interpretation of omens (*Res Gestae* 4.2; cf. pontifex maximus [‘High Priest’], La Turbie inscription, *supra*), procuring their favour and thereby winning victories by means of his generals (Brunt and Moore 1967: 44). The same point is made about Augustus’ auspices on the Gemma Augusta where he is depicted in the guise of Jupiter, lituus in hand, greeting the victorious Tiberius (Zanker 1999: 230-231, 321, fig. 182). Consequently, the Alpine peoples are placed under the providential ordering of the Roman gods and under the command of the Roman people (*sub imperium p.r.*) Thus the iconography of the La Turbie monument powerfully substantiates the message of the inscription.

Notwithstanding Augustus’ imposition of Roman rule upon the Alpine tribes, the Roman ruler became a patron to the barbarian kings who had accommodated themselves to Roman rule and had become his *amici* (‘friends’).



Figure 7: The arch at Carpentras.

Photo: Public domain by Véronique Pagnier

<http://www.geolocation.ws/v/>

[W/4e7e6b5165192916be000300/filecarpentras-arc-romain-jpg/en](http://www.geolocation.ws/v/W/4e7e6b5165192916be000300/filecarpentras-arc-romain-jpg/en)

Consequently, as Pliny notes, Augustus did not declare war on them because they had demonstrated that they were not hostile to Rome. The 12 Cottianae cities were indebted to their King, Marius Julius Cottius, for their preservation. Cottius, the first-century BC ruler of the Ligurian tribes, had made peace with Julius Caesar, but for a while had maintained independence in the face of Augustus' onslaught against the Alpine tribes. However, Cottius relented, submitted, and was named Prefect of the 12 tribes — *pace*, 14 tribes in the Susa inscription *infra*³² — in his region by Augustus for his loyalty as an *amicus* ('friend'). As we will see, Cottius, in reciprocation of this honour, honoured Augustus with a triumphal arch at his capital Segusio in 8 BC (modern Susa, Italy).

In sum, what we are witnessing in Pliny's brief addendum to the inscription is the conciliatory approach that Augustus adopted towards some barbarian tribes (cf. *Res Gestae* 26.4, 31-33) because of the establishment of *amicitia* ('friendship'). This stands in contrast to the iconography of humiliated nations on La Turbie monument and the 'just' war ideology articulated in the inscription. But caution is required lest we overstate the social significance of what is happening here. The Cottianae cities have become an exemplum of the benefits that compliance with Rome brings in contrast to those who do not submit to Roman rule. This result had propagandist value for the Roman cause in Gaul. Consequently Cottius became an honoured figure in Roman literature (Pliny [the Elder], *HN* 3.20; Pliny [the Younger], *Ep.* 3.1.10; Ammianus Marcellinus 15.10.2, 7; Ovid, *Ex Pont.* 4.7). Once again we see how critical it is to bring the inscription accompanying the monument into dialogue

with its iconography, as well as its attendant historical circumstances, lest we overemphasise the brutality of Roman imperialism or naively play down its reality (*Res Gestae* 26-30).

Carpentras (Provence, France)

The arch at Carpentras probably celebrated Augustus' victories over the Germans through the agency of Drusus and Tiberius (Germany: 11 BC [Dio Cassius 54.33.5]; 8 BC [Dio Cassius 55.6.4]; cf. *Res Gestae* 4.2; 26.2) and over the Dalmatians by means of Tiberius (11 BC [Dio Cassius 54.34.3]; cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 21.1; *Res Gestae* 4.2; 29.1) in the period spanning 11 to 8 BC (Silberberg-Peirce 1986: 306-324; Bromwich 1993: 161-162) (Figure 7). We will focus on the best-preserved side of the arch. The relief on the west side of the arch shows two barbarians chained to a pillar from which hang their weapons (Figure 8).³³ As far as their identification, one wears a Phrygian cap,³⁴ while the other, a German, wears a thick woollen cloak, with his curled hair blowing out behind him.³⁵ Scholars have observed that the German captive faces north-east, whereas the Phrygian looks to the south-east, theorising that they may be looking in the direction of their defeated homeland (Silberberg-Peirce 1986). Here we see something of the psychological dislocation for the barbarians created by Rome's conquest of their homelands. Also the wide geographical spread of Augustus' rule in the iconography — Germany, Phrygia, and Syria — underscores the fact that Rome is the undisputed conqueror of the nations.



Figure 8: The relief on the west facade of the arch at Carpentras. Photo: <http://members.virtualtourist.com/m/p/m/17ba1e/#2>

L'Orange (Provence, France)

As noted above, the magnificent arch at Orange is datable to the reign of Tiberius (AD 26-27) from the arch's fragmentary dedicatory inscription (Amy 1962 (I)) (Figure 9). Therefore the arch is, strictly speaking, outside of the purview of our study (Amy 1962; Gros 1979; Bromwich 1993). However, we will focus on an intriguing case of the racial stereotyping of the barbarian, spotted by G.-H. Picard, on the southern face of the second attic of the arch (Amy 1962 (I): 107-135). Three pedestals



Figure 9: Triumphal arch at L'Orange.

Photo: Public domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Arc_de_Triomphe_d%27Orange.jpg

comprise the second attic, the central one depicting a large battle relief on the southern and northern sides. The two scenes show a writhing *mêlée* dominated by a group of Roman horsemen with barbarians interspersed (Amy 1962 (II): pls. 5, 28, 63). The barbarian nations depicted are Gauls, bare-chested and wearing breeches, and Germans, long-breeched and leather-capped. Legion II Augusta is involved in the battle, identified by the Capricorn on the shield held by a Roman foot soldier, standing to the left of centre in the northern relief.³⁶

G.-H. Picard has drawn attention to a completely bald barbarian in the southern relief, positioned to the left of centre. His torso is entirely nude and his head is bald, the rest of his body being obscured by the surrounding *mêlée*. The barbarian rises above the horsemen prancing around him; his head is thrust backwards, his face distorted and looking upwards, grimacing with panic. According to Picard, there is no other iconographic equivalent, but the closest representation we have are the buffoons and grotesques of the world of ancient entertainment. In particular, Picard argues, one is reminded of the bald-headed *stupidus*, the slave who assumes the role of the clown in the travelling mime groups. Furthermore, by reducing this barbarian to the foolish 'slave' stereotype, the iconographer, Picard suggests (Amy, 1962 (I): 128-129), finds a sympathetic dialogue partner in Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.40-47).

There is a real force to Picard's argument when one compares the iconography of the southern attic relief with the terracotta statues of mimic fools (Welborn 2005: 37-40, figs. 2-5). We know that farting fools and Indian barbarians appear in a second century AD farce, based on Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, found in a papyrus at Oxyrhynchus (*P. Oxy.* III. 413) (Welborn 2005: 41-

42). One of the mimes of the mime troupes was called '(Merriments) of the Goths' (*P. Berol.* inv. 13927). Further, the stupidity of barbarians is underscored in Greek comedy (Long 1986: 133, 139, 152; Dauge 1981: Index s.v. 'foules (caractère barbare des)'). In sum, the iconographic belittling of the barbarian opponent at Orange, if Picard is correct, matches what we know about barbarians and fools in the world of mime and in Greek comedy more generally.



Figure 10: Drawing of a relief of bald barbarian in battle scene, L'Orange. From Amy (1962: fig 28.1)



Figure 11: *The Augustan arch at Susa.*

Photo: by Lorenzo Rossetti, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arco_di_Augusto-Susa.jpg

Messages Conflicting with the Triumphal Ideology of the Roman Arches

Susa (south of Turin, Italy)

The Augustan arch at Susa (ancient Segusio), datable to 9/8 BC from its inscription, has no pediment or sculpture in the spandrels (Espérandieu 1965: 15-20; Prieur 1982: 442-475, esp. 451-459; Kleiner 1985: 32-33; 2010: 93-95; Ferrero 1901). Its famous sculptured frieze wraps around all four sides of the immense rectangular arch, which was erected on the road leading to the Alpine crossing to Gaul (Espérandieu, 1965: 15; Kleiner 2010: 93, fig. 7.5). It commemorates the signing of a treaty of friendship between Augustus, the ruler of Rome, and Marcus Julius Cottius, the son and successor of King Donnus, the ruler of 14 small tribes in the Cottian Alps (*Res Gestae* 26.3).



Figure 12: *The Peace treaty relief, Susa.*
From Espérandieu 1965

The iconography is the best preserved of any triumphal arch in Italy. On the east side of the relief is depicted the act of submission of the Alpine tribes (Espérandieu 1965: 16 ‘Face est’ [single pl.]), whereas on the north side we see the Roman ritual of the *souvetaurile* being performed (Espérandieu 1965: 18 ‘Face nord’ pl. 1; 19-20 ‘Face nord’ pls. 2-4). In this sacred ceremony, a pig, sheep and bull were sacrificed to Mars in order to bless and purify the land. In the middle of the west side of the relief is rendered the pivotal scene for our purposes, namely, the signing of the peace treaty (Espérandieu 1965: 16 ‘Face ouest’ pls. 1-2; Kleiner 2010: 93, 7.6 top). Two people are seated face to face before a table: Augustus is seated prominently to the left and is easily recognisable due to his distinctive hairstyle, whereas Cottius sits opposite the Roman ruler on the right. The third person behind the table, Espérandieu suggests (1965: 17), is a representative of the cities, with Roman lictors nearby holding their fasces. Finally, on the south side of the relief, we see the ceremony of lustration closing the ceremony of the signing of the peace treaty (Espérandieu 1965: 16, ‘Face sud’ pl. 1; 17-18 pls. 2-4).

The bronze inscription, originally inserted in the attic of the arch, celebrates the establishment of the *pax Augusta* as follows:

To Imperator Caesar Augustus,
son of god,
pontifex maximus,
in his 15th year of his tribunician power,
imperator 13 times,
Marcus Julius Cottius, son of King Donnus,
prefect of the states which are written underneath:
Segovii, Segusini, Belaci, Caturiges, Medulli,
Tebavii, Adanates, Savincates, Egdinii Veaminii,
Venisami, Iemerii, Vesubianii, Quadiates
and the states which have been under that prefect.³⁷

What are we to make of the dynamics of power being enacted in the iconography of the arch and its inscription? Is this just another instance of the enforced ‘Romanisation’ of barbarian subjects? It is clear from the inscription that the erection of the arch in honour of Augustus is an act of reciprocation to the Roman ruler for his preservation of the 14 Alpine states and for the honouring of their king who, although now a subject of Augustus, has been appointed as an imperial ‘Prefect’. Ossi’s conclusion (2010: 64) is apt:

The inscription makes it clear that the arch was built at the behest of the tribal communities in honor of their new ally, rather than as an imperially-ordered sign of military dominion. The arch commemorates a change in political status, for which the residents were indebted to Augustus, and the preserved decoration of the arch reflects this primary purpose.



Figure 13: *Glanum Augustan triumphal arch.*

Photo: public domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Glanum-triompfal_arch-arc_de_triomphe.jpg

Glanum (St. Rémy)

Our discussion of this Augustan triumphal arch (Figure 13), linked by Rolland to one of Agrippa's visits (c. 25 BC onwards),³⁸ will concentrate on the distinctive iconography of the north-west relief (Rolland 1934: 79-89; 1977; Bruchet 1969; Congrès 2010). The eastern façade reliefs facing Glanum show the two versions of the stereotyped image of a bound man on the left and a woman on the right of the (fragmentary) cruciform-shaped trophy 'tree'.³⁹ Their clothes indicate that they are Gauls.⁴⁰ In the case of the western façade reliefs facing St Rémy, the south-west relief portrays a man naked apart from his cloak next to a woman seated on a mound of military equipment, reminiscent of the later *Judaea capta* and *Dacia capta* coins of Vespasian and Trajan respectively (Rolland 1977: 35-37, pls. 25, 48-50). Rolland argues that the woman is a personification of the Gallic nation conquered by Julius Caesar (Rolland 1977: 37).

However, as noted, the most intriguing relief is found on the north-west. There we see a bound male captive on the right, but significantly the male togate figure on the left places his hand on the captive's shoulder (Rolland 1977: 50-51, pls. 24). J. Bromwich (1993: 217) interprets this gesture as 'surely an appeal for reconciliation and assimilation'. The identity of this figure has been hotly debated. A.R. Congrès, for example, points to (in her view) the 'Gallic coat draped in the Roman fashion' over the figure. From this she concludes that 'Perhaps he is the son of a warrior, or a Romanised native, who acquired the new culture and denounced the dream of independence and the consequences of rebellion'.⁴¹ By contrast, I.M. Ferris (2000: 45) has suggested that the

togate figure is Roma with her hand on the captive 'in a proprietorial manner'.

In the view of H. Rolland, however, the figure is not a barbarian, but rather a togate Roman,⁴² who is a conqueror presenting his conquered enemy (1977: 35) (Figure 14). As proof, Rolland appeals to the famous coin of the famous republican general, Paullus Aemilius Lepidus 'Macedonicus', who triumphed over the Perseus, the Macedonian king, at Pydna in 168 BC. On the denarius commemorating the victory, Lepidus places his hand on the trophy, not the captive, with Perseus standing nearby with his two sons (Sydenham 1952: §926). Rolland (1977: 35) argues that the same stance of the victor characterises the iconography of both the denarius and the Glanum relief, so the republican allusion — and therefore its symbolic meaning — would have been obvious enough. But there is no parallel in the Augustan arches for such an intimate gesture, especially since the stereotypical trophy of arms, ubiquitous in Gallic iconography and on the denarius of Lepidus, is removed from the scene at Glanum. Such a removal is unprecedented and therefore points in another interpretative direction.⁴³

In sum, J. Bromwich, A.R. Congrès and P. Gros are closer to the mark than Rolland in this case. While the suggestion of Roma remains, the fragmentary nature of the relief - missing the left half of its torso, left arm and head - makes certainty impossible. Alternatively, could this enigmatic figure represent a Romanised member of the Gallic provincial elite, a togate *amicus* of the Romans, who is urging reconciliation and assimilation? We have seen that relations of *amicitia* between the Romans and

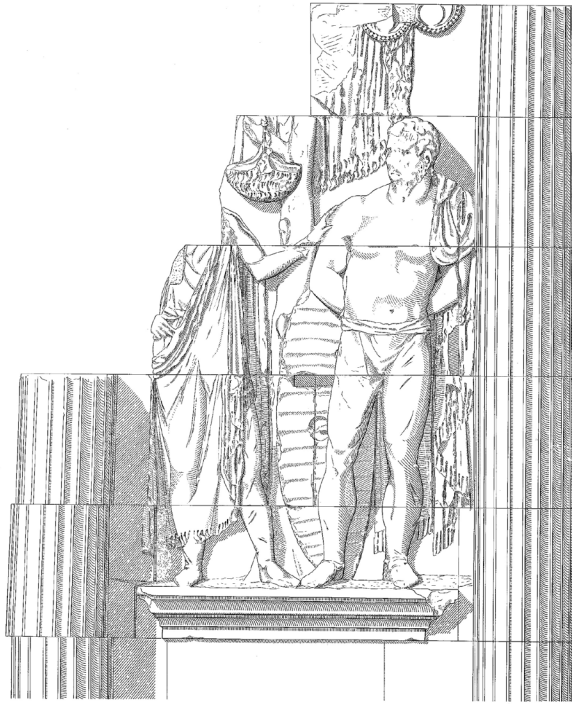


Figure 14: Drawing of relief on the Glanum Augustan triumphal arch. From Rolland (1977: pl 24)

Alpine tribes were highlighted in the inscriptions and iconography of the Augustan monuments (e.g. La Turbie, Susa). Is this relief urging in its iconography a different approach on the part of the conquered Gallic tribes to their Roman overlords? This, in my opinion, remains the most likely interpretative option. The north-west relief, therefore, presents a social alternative to the eastern and western façade reliefs of humiliated captives, in the same way that the La Turbie inscription highlights as an exemplum the 12 Alpine tribes, in contrast to the other 44, who had become clients of Augustus.

The Augustan Arches and the Message of Romans

In the previous sections, we argued that New Testament scholars have overlooked the evidence of the Augustan triumphal arches as an important ideological backdrop to Paul's gospel in the Greek East and Latin West. Not only were the barbarians the rightful object of conquest in a just war, the Roman ruler as Pontifex Maximus acted with the authority and blessing of the Roman gods in bringing them under the command of the Roman people. Furthermore, in the iconography of the arches, barbarians could be demeaned as the *stupidus* of the comic mime, or presented as a threat to the integrity of the Empire's borders, or depicted as humiliated and chained, longing for their homelands.

New Testament scholars have also overlooked the patronal dynamic occurring in the Augustan iconography and in the site inscriptions. Some barbarian tribes became the *amicus* of the Roman ruler and had experienced his

beneficence towards their state. These *amici*, sympathetic to the Romans, may have urged the more contumacious tribes to seek assimilation and reconciliation with Rome. Indeed, tribes who had become his client highlighted the benefits of the *pax Augusti*. The local Greeks and Phrygians from Pisidian Antioch worked with the Roman elite in the colony to effect a fusion of indigenous and imperial ideologies, with a view to honouring the Julio-Claudian ruler as the world benefactor, and to secure his blessing as the intermediary between the Roman gods and the colony. In conclusion, the dynamics of Roman power towards the nations in imperial iconography is more complex than New Testament scholarship appreciates.

Was Paul aware of some of these ideological subtleties in writing to the Romans, incorporating motifs that would capture the attention of those who were looking for a different narrative of power and grace?

Paul's Indebtedness to Greeks and Barbarians (Romans 1:14)

Paul only uses the word βάρβαρος ('barbarian') three times in his 'genuine' epistles, once in Romans 1:14, and twice in 1 Corinthians 14:11.⁴⁴ The latter two references are conventional in their reference to speaking an unknown foreign language.⁴⁵ However, the Romans reference is unusual because Paul employs the word in a pastoral, missionary and evangelistic context (Rom 1:10-12, 13b, 15b) that transcends cultural and racial barriers (1:14a: Ἑλλησίν τε καὶ βάρβαρος; cf. 1:16b: Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι; 10:12). Paul is well aware of the social, educational and racial opprobrium that βάρβαρος carried in the first century, as the parallelism of the words σοφοί (Rom 1:14b: 'wise') and ἀνοήτοι (1:14b: 'unintelligent') with the preceding words 'Greek' (1:14a) and 'barbarian' (1:14a) shows (Jewett 2007: 130-133). Paul would have encountered popular stereotypes of barbarians similar to those on the arch of Orange, as well as presentations of barbarian captives like those on the arches of Carpentras, La Turbie and Pisidian Antioch. Undoubtedly, in considering his shift in mission from the Greek East to the Latin West (Rom 1:9-10, 13, 15b; 15:25-29), the apostle had to grapple with how to shift hardened Roman attitudes of superiority towards the barbarian nations, as much as towards the Jews (Rom 11:17-21; 14:10). The preponderance of triumphal arches in Italy and Gaul, with their iconography of humiliated barbarians, testified to the challenge he faced.

What is remarkable about Paul's strategy is that the apostle says he is indebted to each group (Rom 1:14a: ὀφειλέτης εἰμί), whether Greek or barbarian. There is no cultural fusion here of the Graeco-Phrygian elite with Roman provincial leaders, such as we saw at Pisidian Antioch, maintaining thereby imperial benefits for the city, and relegating the barbarian threat to the margins of the Empire. The self-conscious cultural superiority of Greeks towards the barbarian tribes is also relativised in Paul's mutual obligation to both groups (Hall 1989).

For Paul, the believer is indebted to no one, except for the ‘debt’ of love to all, articulated in the Old Testament and fulfilled in the Jesus tradition (Rom 13:8-10 [v. 8: μηδὲν ὀφείλετε]; cf. Mark 12:28-34; Matt 22:36-40). The believer is justified before God by grace (Rom 4:4: κατὰ χάριν) and not by ‘works’ of indebtedness (4:4: κατὰ ὀφείλημα). The dynamic of divine grace (Rom 4:1-25) — expressed in love without pretence (13:8-10; cf. 12:9a: ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκροτος) — explains why the apostle challenged the denigration and stereotyping of the ‘barbarian’ in mid-fifties Rome.⁴⁶ The consequences for social relations within the body of Christ were immediate: the ‘strong’ were obligated to put up with the failings of the ‘weak’ (Rom 15:1: ὀφείλομεν δὲ ἡμῖς), and the Gentile was obligated to the Jew in beneficence to the poor (15:27: ὀφειλέται εἰσὶν αὐτῶν). But, in Romans 1:14, the apostle spells out what this obligation meant for the believer’s mission to the marginalised people groups *outside of* the body of Christ. His decision would enable his house-churches not only to embrace the peoples from barbarian tribes with whom the Romans had patronal relations, but also those tribes whom the Romans had punished for their non-compliance.⁴⁷

The Reconciliation and Forgiveness of Enemies (Romans 5:6-11; 12:17-21)

We have seen that in the Latin West at La Turbie, Susa and Glanum reconciliation, assimilation and peace with the barbarian tribes were emphasised on the arches and in their accompanying inscriptions. These had propagandist value for the Roman cause in the west of the Empire, being based on the familiar conventions of patronage and *amicitia*, with their rituals of reciprocity and the enhancement of the honour of patron and client. What is intriguing is that Paul inverts the operations of the benefaction system in Romans 5:6-11. The apostle presents a dishonoured benefactor (Gal 3:13; 1 Cor 1:18-25; 2 Cor 8:9) who had died for his ungrateful and hostile enemies (Rom 5:6-8; 1:21; 5:10a). Notwithstanding, Christ’s dependents have been ushered into a new age of peace (Rom 5:1), reconciliation (5:9-11) and overflowing grace (5:12-21; 8:32).

Paul’s understanding of reconciliation, however, differs to the ‘Romanisation’ offered at Glanum, or the fusion of Graeco-Phrygian and Roman culture at Pisidian Antioch that relegated the barbarians to the margins of Empire. Because of the reconciliation of enemies to God through Christ’s atoning work (Rom 5:9-11; cf. 3:25; 8:3), there is now unity for Jew and Gentile in the ‘one God’ (3:29-30). In Christ diversely gifted members of Christ ‘form one body’ (Rom 12:5). Paul’s prayer-wish is that God would give Jews and Gentiles ‘a spirit of unity’ as they followed Christ and accepted each other in him (Rom 15:5-7). Consequently, Paul argues that personal revenge was to be left to God’s wrath, peace was to characterise all relations, and the enemy was to be shown beneficence (Rom 12:17-21, esp. v. 20a).

What is remarkable in this new social construct is that cultural, ethnic and social distinctions do not become grounds for communal exclusion or for enforced communal change, as was the case in Roman ‘reconciliation’. The reason is that such distinctions were totally irrelevant as far as God’s justification of the ungodly (Rom 1:14, 16b; 4:11-12, 16-18; 10:11-12; 14:1-8). This stood in contrast to the Pliny the Elder’s vision of *humanitas* that would be imposed upon the barbarian tribes. Italy, the ‘parent of all lands’, was chosen by the gods:

... to gather together the scattered realms and to soften their customs and unite the discordant wild tongues of so many peoples into a common speech so that they might understand each other; and to give civilisation to mankind (humanitatem homini), in short to become the homeland of every people in the entire world (NH 3.39, cited in Woolf (1998: 57)).⁴⁸

The Victory of Christ on Behalf of Believers (Romans 8:37-39)

Unexpectedly for Romans familiar with the iconography of the triumphal arches, Paul portrays the love of Christ (Rom 8:35a, 37b, 39b) as the only power able to preserve believers through tribulation (v.35). It provides them eschatological victory over cosmic enemies imperilling the soul and body (Rom 8:37b-39; cf. 5:9). As R. Jewett observes (2007: 549; cf. Morris 1988: 340), the aorist participle ἀγαπήσαντος in Romans 8:37b, refers to a ‘single act of love’ (8:30). It denotes Christ’s timely death for the ungodly enemy (5:6, 8, 10a). The submissiveness of the defeated barbarians and their rough treatment at the hands of their captors portrayed on triumphal arches contrasts markedly with the way that believers participated in their benefactor’s unsurpassed victory on their behalf.

However, why does Paul use the ὑπερ-compound in verse 37 (ὑπερνικῶμεν) and what would it have signified for Roman auditors familiar with the imperial propaganda of victory?⁴⁹ R. Jewett (2007: 548-549) and C.E.B. Cranfield (1975: 441) point to a variant of a famous maxim of Menander for the clarification of the word’s meaning: ‘to be victorious (νικᾶν) is good (καλόν), but to be super-victorious (ὑπερνικᾶν) is bad (κακόν)’. The idea conveyed by ὑπερνικᾶν is that the victory achieved is excessive in its scope: consequently the victor is marked as a ‘super victor’ among vastly inferior victors (Jewett 2007: 549; Bruce 1963: 181). In using the ὑπερ-compound, Paul pivots the total superiority of Christ’s soteriological victory over against all other victors in history, whether human or cosmic. In Paul’s view, therefore, the triumph of the Julian house over its political opponents at Rome and its victories over the barbarian threat to the Empire, articulated on the arches, was in reality a passing sideshow (cf. 1 Cor 2:7-8; 7:31b).

The Rule of the Root of Jesse over the Nations (Romans 15:7-13)

Paul's typological use of LXX texts in Romans 15:3 (LXX Ps 68:10a; ET 69:9a), 15:9 (LXX Ps. 17:50; ET 18:49; cf. 2 Sam 22:50), 15:10 (LXX/ET Deut 32:43) and 15:11 (LXX Ps 116:1; ET 117:1) is a pivotal part of his rhetorical strategy in persuading his Roman auditors regarding God's messianic grace towards the Gentile nations, including the βάρβαροι living at the fringes of the Empire. It is clear from the link between Romans 15:3a and 15:3b that the Messiah is the speaker in the LXX text cited in v. 3b. The messianic leitmotiv is also present in the LXX texts cited in vv. 9, 10 and 11. The Messiah, as Paul depicts him, addresses the Gentile nations in vv. 9-11 in a winsome and celebratory manner: the Son of David praises God before the Gentiles for his salvation and Davidic descendants (v. 9), invites the Gentiles to rejoice in God's salvation from their enemies (v. 10), and summons them to praise God for his steadfast love and faithfulness (v. 11). A messianic proof-text from Isaiah (LXX Isa 11:10) brings Paul's typological use of the LXX to a resounding conclusion in v. 12. There the risen and reigning Messiah brings the nations under his personal rule and affirms their present incorporation into the body of Christ through the summons of divine grace.

We have here a conquest of the barbarian nations vastly different to that which we find in the *Res Gestae* or on the Augustan arches at Pisidian Antioch and La Turbie. The wars waged against the unruly barbarians by Augustus' legates under his auspices were 'just'. The hostilities were an expression of Augustus' mediator role as the Pontifex Maximus of Rome. He brought the nations under the command of the Roman people and their gods, and protected the Roman colonia from barbarian incursion. Paul provides a different narrative of beneficence for his Roman auditors. The Gentiles, who formerly were neither God's people nor his loved one (Rom 9:25-26; cf. Hos 2:23; 1:10), had now become God's beloved people, by divine invitation, through Christ. The Benefactor of the universe had eclipsed the benefits offered by the Caesars (Rom 5:12-21).

Conclusion

This article has quarried a vein of iconographic evidence ignored by New Testament scholarship (*pace*, Knowles 2000), though classical scholarship has subjected the Augustan triumphal arches to intense study. We have seen that New Testament scholars have sometimes over-emphasised Rome's ruthless conquest of the nations and their 'Romanisation' at the expense of other iconographic and inscriptional evidence that pointed to more positive patronal relations, the reconciliation of enemies, and the willing assimilation of subjects in the Empire. When this countervailing evidence is taken seriously, we have seen that some of Paul's distinctive theological emphases in Romans — given his missionary focus on the Latin West

— acquired pastoral, ecclesial and social potency for believers at Rome and for his mission in Spain.

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Endnotes

- 1 See Vermeule (1963: 83, 87, figs. 27-30) for captive barbarians on Corinthian sculptures and panel reliefs, but they postdate Paul (AD 160-170). In the Corinthian museum I recently saw another small (undated) captive barbarian statue on exhibition: could this be a first-century example? A Roman arch, hurriedly built and of poor workmanship, was erected for Nero's visit to the Isthmian games and his proclamation of freedom from taxation for the province Achaia (AD 67: *SIG*³ 814). However, the triumphal arch at Isthmia, symbolic of the greatness of the Roman Empire, did not possess any sculpture, let alone barbarian reliefs (Mills 1984). It is important to realise that indigenous motifs still appeared on the local triumphal arches. Pausanias 2.3.2 refers to an arch over the Lechaion Road at Corinth, with sculptures of the gods of Acrocorinth on its top (Edwards 1994). At Philippi there was an arch marking the limit of the forum. Additionally, in the east, outside the theatre, there was a large arch in extension of the wall of the *parados* (Collart 1937: 334, 379). Also, two kilometers west of Philippi, there was an arch spanning the Via Egnatia, erected to commemorate the foundation of the *colonia Augusta Iulia Philippensis* after the battle of Actium (31 BC), as well as marking the line of the city's sacred boundary (*pomerium*: Collart 1937: 320-323). This confirms the reference to Paul going outside the city gate by the river in search of a place of prayer (Acts 16:13: ἔξω τῆς πόλης). See Kleiner (1985: pl. I.2) for an artistic reconstruction of the arch

from its marble block remains. There is little doubt that Paul would have encountered imperial triumphal arches in the cities he visited, even if their remains are no longer extant.

- 2 For studies of Roman arches, see Frothingham (1904) and (1915), Curtis (1908), Gros (1979), Güven (1983) (unavailable to me), Kleiner (1985), Wallace-Hadrill (1990). Specific studies on individual Augustan arches in the Greek East and Latin West will be referred to throughout the study. On the Augustan arches generally, see Richmond (1933) and Kleiner (1985).
- 3 Frothingham (1904) lists 466 memorial and triumphal arches throughout the Roman Empire.
- 4 Throughout Italy there is widespread diffusion of *campagna* reliefs — i.e. terracotta revetments moulded in bulk for house walls — showing, among other motifs, bound Gallic prisoners (*Res Gestae* 26.2; 28.1). See Tortorella (1981: 69, figs. 9-11). An Augustan denarius, showing the *submissio* of a barbarian (*BMC I* 'Augustus', No. 127), depicts the long-haired and bearded captive as entirely naked apart from a cloak over the shoulders. An aureus from Lugdunum shows a bearded and cloaked barbarian holding up a small child who stretches out its arms to Augustus. For the numismatic references, see Kuttner (1995: 187). For funerary stelae, see Walter (1993: pls. 41-52). For lamps and gladiatorial helmets, see Levi (1952: 8 n. 9).
- 5 On the possibility of a Greek version of the *Res Gestae* being present at Pisidian Antioch, see Harrison (2011: 24-25).
- 6 See Porter (2008). It is a matter of debate from the fragments of the *Res Gestae* found at Pisidian Antioch where its rendering was actually located: was the text inscribed on the faces of the pedestal blocks punctuating the stairway to the arch or on a monument nearby? The *Res Gestae*, published after Augustus' death, would have been inscribed 15 years after the construction of the arch. For discussion, see Ossi (2010: 37-40).
- 7 Literary sources mention four arches at Rome that commemorate (a) Augustus' victory over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus (Dio Cassius 49.15.1), (b) Augustus' victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium (51.19.1), (c) the return of captives and the legionary standards from Parthia (54.8.3), and (d) Augustus' biological father on the Palatine (Pliny, *HN* 36.36). For discussion, see Kleiner (1985: 22-28).
- 8 On a frieze from the Temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome, two captives — part of Augustus' 29 BC triple triumph (*Res Gestae* 4.1; 30.1) — are displayed. Each sits on a parade float, hands bound behind his back, ready to be hoisted mid-air for exhibition in Augustus' triumphal procession. See Bradley (2004: pl. 1) and Zanker (1999: 70 fig. 55). In regard to the Ara Pacis, Rose (1990) has argued that the two male children in foreign dress on the north and south friezes are respectively Gallic and (royal) Bosphoran captives. Evidence elsewhere confirms this portrait. Contra, see Rossini (2010: 48-79), who posits imperial family members. Gergel (1994: 196) proposes that the two female figures, which flank the gods Caelus and Sol on the cuirassed breastplate of Augustus' statue at Prima Porta, are Spain and Gaul. Finally, for depictions of barbarians (Gaul, Spain, Africa and Asia) under the rule of Augustus on the Borcoreale cups, see Kuttner (1995: pls. BRL.1.3; BRL.2.4-5). Last, a silver cup, found in a royal tomb at Meroe in the Sudan, provides an important perspective on Augustus' annexation of Egypt and his conquest of ancient Ethiopia (modern northern Sudan). On the cup we see depicted a king with the features of Augustus, an executioner with his axe, a distressed woman with two children clasping her knees, and behind her, a man leaning forward and pleading in front of a chopping block (Vermeule 1963: pls. 53-56). Vermeule (1963: 128) suggests that the woman symbolises Egypt, with her two children representing Upper and Lower Egypt. The conquest being alluded to was the invasion of Upper Egypt and ancient Ethiopia by Augustus' general, Petronius (23 BC: *Res Gestae* 26.5; 27.1).
- 9 See the book of Raventós (1994: 247-78), written in Catalan. For numismatic evidence of four Augustan arches on Spanish coins of 17/16 BC, see Kleiner (1985: 31). A double arch and a square arch show an elephant biga carrying Augustus and Victory (*RIC* 12, 'Augustus', Nos. 315-316), whereas other arches show Augustus and Victory riding in a chariot pulled by four horses (*BMCR* II Nos. 4463-4464). Frothingham (1904) argues that the following arches in Spain are also Augustan: the bridge arch in Martorel (date unknown); (b), the Janus Quadrifrons (a four-faced arch) in Caparra (date unknown); (c), the triumphal arch in Merida (date unknown); (d) the triumphal arch (before 20 BC) in modern Cabanes, called Augusta Emerita in the first century. There are no extant remains for (a), (c) and (d). The Quadrifrons at Caparra still stands, but there is no iconography on the arch. There is, however, an Augustan denarius from Augusta Emerita showing the city gate on the reverse (*RIC* I 'Augustus', §§288-292).
- 10 The iconography of the Iberian Peninsula (Spain) differs to the imagery of victory and defeat found on the Augustan arches of Southern France. The Augustan propaganda adopts a subtler and less imperialistic approach in Iberia. Mierse (1999: 124) notes that the militaristic relief decoration of the theatre at Augusta Emerita alludes to Augustus' victory at Actium and not to his conquests on the Iberian peninsula. However, some Spanish coins, struck in 18/17 BC (*BMC* I, 'Augustus', Nos. 427-429, pl. 10, Nos. 2 and 3), did not balk at showing the subjugation of the barbarians depicted on the triple arch located near the temple of Divus Julius at Rome (Cassius Dio 54.8.3). See Levi (1952: 6-7).
- 11 Augustus built the Portico of Nations in an unknown location in Rome (Pliny, *HN* 36.39; Velleius Paterculus 2.39.2; Servius, *Aen.* 8.721). It contained statues representing all the nations of the Roman world. A few hundred metres away from the site of the *Res Gestae* at Augustus' mausoleum, which highlighted the ruler's domination of the nations (3.1-2; 4.3; 13; 25-33), was Agrippa's monumental map displaying the extent of the Roman Empire and its peoples (Hingley 2005: 79).
- 12 I am not meaning to imply that the social position of the barbarian was somehow ameliorated in the official Roman propaganda. Rather the conception of the barbarian became increasingly abased in the numismatic and sculptural evidence from the second century AD onwards. See Levi (1952: 3-4, 25-40).
- 13 On Roman attitudes to the 'other', see Gruen (2011: 115-196). On enlightened Greek attitudes on the nobility of barbarians, see Hall (1989: 211-223). Some of the Roman love poets showed little interest in the Julio-Claudian military 'jingoism' against the barbarian nations, preferring the delights of love to the imperial propaganda

- (e.g. Propertius, 3.4.13-18). See Merriam (2004: 50-70). However, see the venomous stereotyping of barbarians in Cicero's *pro Fonteio* (Woolf 1998: 61-62).
- 14 This means that other important Augustan triumphal monuments will be bypassed. For example, the *tropaeum* of Augustus' sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis shows a (fragmentary) marble relief of the triumph of the victorious Octavian, with two children beside him in his chariot. These are probably the children of the defeated Antony and Cleopatra, alluded to in *Res Gestae* 4.3. See Zachos (2003: 65-92, esp. 90-92).
- 15 Ossi (2011: 15). For the dramatic contrast between the archaeological remains present at the site in 1924 and 2004, see Rubin (2011: 40, fig. 3.7 and 48, fig. 3.17).
- 16 See Robinson (1926). For Robinson's two pictorial reconstructions of the arch, see Rubin (2011: 36, fig. 3.2, 38 fig. 3.5).
- 17 The inscription, datable to 2/1 BC, is as follows (Ossi 2010: 21):
 Imp. Caes[ari. di]vi.[i f. a]ugusto. ponti[f]ici. m[axim]o
 cos. x[iii]. trib[un]iciae potestatis. xxii. [im]p. xiiii. p[er] p[ro]p[ri]o
 For the emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god,
 pontifex maximus, consul for the
 13th time, with tribunician power for the 22nd time,
 imperator for the 14th time,
 father of the country.
- 18 Barton (1995: 34, 36, 39, 42, 47) argues that ancients were more flexible about birth signs than moderns, choosing what was the most appealing sign personally.
- 19 Manilius, *Astronomica* 4.791-796: 'You, Capricorn, rule all that lies beneath the setting sun and all that stretches thence to touch the frozen north, together with the peoples of Spain and of wealthy Gaul; and you, Germany, fit only to breed wild beasts, are claimed by an uncertain sign ...'. Cf. Horace, *Odes*, 2.17.19-20.
- 20 Rubin (2010: 38-39) states: 'While not a symbol of victory in itself, this Capricorn is probably intended to signify that Augustus' rise to power was preordained in the stars'.
- 21 For the local god, Mên Askaēnos, who is represented alongside the imperial iconography - pointing thereby to a fusion of Roman and Anatolian motifs on the arch - see Rubin (2011: 43, fig. 3.13).
- 22 Rubin (2010: 63) renders the incomplete inscription thus:
 IOVI • OPT • MAX
 AUG • ET • GEN • COL
 [vacat] EVEI
 To Jupiter Optimus Maximus
 Augustus and the Genius of the Colony
 [] the son of Eueius
 Rubin (2010: 55-71) argues that the Latin dedication was a collaborative effort on the part of Italian colonists with the local Graeco-Phrygian elite, one of whom is mentioned on the inscription ('Eueius'). He observes that Augustus functions as an intermediary — having the same 'godlike' status as the Olympian deities — between Jupiter and the Genius of the Colony, Pisidian Antioch.
- 23 Note the insightful comment of Ossi (2010: 56): the arch 'stands as an attempt to integrate the multicultural population, not by turning Greeks and Phrygians into Romans, but by melding aspects of each cultural tradition into a new provincial culture'.
- 24 For discussion of the monument, see Formigé 1949; Casimir 1932; Hartshorn 2006; Binninger 2009. Although it is not an arch, I have included the La Turbie monument in my discussion due to its iconographic and epigraphic importance. On the history of restoration of the monument, with photographs, see Binninger (2009: 18-37). See, too, Formigé's reconstruction of the monument (1949: pl. 51; cf. Casimir 1932: 46). For a general discussion of the arches of early imperial Gaul, see Kleiner (1985: 40-50).
- 25 Formigé (1949: 68-69) lists the following: a cuirass, a wild boar, a bull, horns, a skull, and a ship's prow (alluding to Augustus' naval battle on Lake Constance: 15 BC). For a picture of the frieze, on the entablature above the columns, as well as one of the niches between the columns, see Formigé (1949: fig. 7).
- 26 See the helpful picture in Binninger (2009: 50) contrasting the existing fragments on the left with the reconstituted relief in marble on the right. Additionally, see Formigé (1949: 52-54, pl. 47).
- 27 As evidence for the possibility of a statue of Augustus crowning the monument, Formigé (1949, pl. 51) notes that a fragment of a bronze statue has been discovered. However, Formigé's assertion that two captives also adorned the cone roof - argued on the basis of an analogy with Trajan's trophy - is possible but unprovable (*ibid.*).
- 28 Binninger (2009: 51). On the inscription, see Formigé (1949: 54-64). For pictures of Mommsen's and Formigé's rendering of the inscription, see Casimir (1932: 56, 61).
- 29 Casimir (1932: 63-114) provides an excellent historical exposition of each of the tribes. On the geographical spread of the tribes, see Formigé (1949: 60-61). Strabo (4.32) mentions an Augustan altar, location unknown, which is inscribed with the names of 60 Gallic tribes.
- 30 Respectively, the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas.
- 31 Casimir (1932: 57) translates loosely: 'submit to Roman laws' ('se sont soumis aux lois romaines').
- 32 On the differences between Pliny's rendering of the La Turbie inscription and the Susa inscription, see Prieur (1982: 454-455).
- 33 Bromwich (1993: 162) describes the eastern side relief thus: 'The prisoners, one tall and long-haired, the other squatter, almost dumpy, both wear Greek costume and are from the east, perhaps Syria'.
- 34 Bromwich (1993: 162) says of the captive: 'The easterner, head bowed in defeat, wears the Phrygian hat of Asia Minor, an Iranian tunic, baggy trousers and fringed cloak'.
- 35 For the relief, see Ferris (2000: 47, fig. 21); Bromwich (1993, pl. 22). Bromwich (1993:161-162) observes regarding the German captive: 'His wide chest and firm look emphasise the need to control such a powerful, barbaric force'.
- 36 Amy (1962 (I): 126, fig. 53) 'Face Sud', figure 5 in diagram. Amy (1962 (II): pl. 28 (top diagram)).
- 37 *CIL* V 7231.
- 38 H. Rolland (1977: 46). Gros (1979) argues that the Glanum arch, as part of a wider explosion in arch building, belongs to the late Augustan or early Tiberian era (AD 10-20).
- 39 Rolland (1977: 33-35). For the iconography, see Rolland (*ibid.*): south east relief: pls. 22, 43-44; north east relief: pls. 23, 44-47.
- 40 Bruchet (1969: 29 n. 29) argues that the chained barbarians on the arch of Glanum are more likely Germans or other prisoners as opposed to Gauls.
- 41 Congrès (2010: 27). Similarly, P. Gros (1981: 162) argues that the north-west relief presents an image of an acculturated, urbanised Gaul on the left, deliberately placed alongside the image of a 'traditional, bearish and proud Gaul' on the right, who has not yet been

- Romanised. However, in Bruchet's view (1969: 29), the indigenous figure on the left, clothed in Gallic dress, has compromised with the Roman occupiers, agreeing to hand over to them a hostage in an obvious sign of goodwill.
- 42 On the elite status of the Roman toga in provincial power-politics, see Hingley (2005: 76).
- 43 Walter (1993) presents 70 plates of barbarian reliefs, statues and funerary monuments that almost exclusively depict Gauls and Germans either with their hands bound behind their backs or being crushed under the Roman cavalry.
- 44 If Colossians is an authentic epistle of Paul as opposed to the pseudonymous product of a later generation, then Colossians 3:11 (βάρβαρος) would have to be considered. We will, however, focus on the evidence of Romans.
- 45 Ferris (2000: 3) makes a perceptive comment regarding the onomatopoeic nature of the word βάρβαρος, mimicking the unintelligible speech ('bar, bar, bar') of the barbarian to the Greeks: 'This initial drive to define difference purely in linguistic terms later came to encompass both real and perceived visual, cultural and psychological differences ... Vocabulary and grammar were both used by the Greek to define and subtly define others, while *the vocabulary and grammar of Roman art* could also be used in the same way' (my emphasis). The relevance of studying the iconographic evidence of the Augustan arches for Roman attitudes to the βάρβαροι could not be clearer.
- 46 This contrasted with the Roman understanding of 'obligation' (*officium*) to the gods, one's family, state and patrons (Jewett 2007: 132). Indissoluble ties of honour, piety and reciprocity defined each of these relationships, but the βάρβαροι were excluded in each instance. For Roman auditors hearing Romans 1:14 for the first time, the social implications of what Paul was saying would have been confronting.
- 47 Paul's enlightened stance towards barbarians had no impact in shifting hardened official attitudes within the Christian bureaucracy of the later Empire. Note the comment of Levi (1952: 4): 'Neither in coins nor in official sculpture did the advent of Christianity cause any change in the conception of the barbarian. He appears until the end as a sign of the victory or of the victorious power of the emperor over his military enemies'.
- 48 On the Roman assimilation of the Carthaginians, see Statius, *Silvae* 4.5.45-48. Pace, note the remarkable papyrus fragment of Antiphon's *On Truth* (*P. Oxy.* LII. 3647, cited in Hall (1989: 218-220)). The fragment speaks of the physical homogeneity of the human race based on nature as opposed to distinctions originating from social class and law, even though the latter divisions remain entrenched in the world: 'The laws of our neighbours we know and revere: the laws of those afar we neither know nor revere. Thus in this we have been made barbarians with regard to one another. For by nature we are in all respects similarly endowed to be barbarian or Greek. One may consider those natural facts which are necessary in all men and provided for all in virtue of the same facilities — in these very matters none of us is separated off as a barbarian or a Greek. For we may all breathe into the air by way of our mouths and noses, we laugh when we are happy in our minds and we cry when we are in pain, we receive sounds by our hearing and we see with our eyes by light, we work with our hands and we walk on our feet ...'. Paul, however, speaks of his obligation of 'love' to Greek and barbarian (Rom 1:14; cf. 13:8-10), thereby rendering unimportant differences of social class (12:16b) and law (3:29-30; 10:12; 11:18-20; 12:14-21; 14:1-15:7) in the body of Christ.
- 49 Jewett's concise discussion (2007: 549-550) of the imperial background pertaining to Romans 8:37 is outstanding.