The Monument of Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos

a funerary monument in a visual, comparative, and environmental context in Athens

Master Thesis

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Introduction

Athens is a city filled with marvellous landmarks and interesting architecture dating from the bronze age till modern times. It is therefore only logical that these landmarks are thoroughly studied and admired by many people from around the world. The exclusion of one of these landmarks, or rather the general disinterest in one of them, can hardly be fathomed and is a downright shame if one thinks about it. In this case, I am talking about the almost two thousand years old monument on top of the Mouseion hill, overlooking the Acropolis hill: the monument of Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos, or Philopappos in short. This magnificent monument has been overlooked by many, disregarded by others and, by yet a few, described into detail without much discussion. Because of this, I feel it is my duty to discuss this monument, challenge the status quo, and bring it back to the prominent position that it rightfully claims in the heart of Athens.

"The monument of Philopappos, what is so interesting about it that deserves our attention?" and, "The monument of Philopappos, I know that one, what is it again?" are questions that rise to many when confronted with the monument and that deserve being answered in a satisfying and reliable fashion. Throughout this thesis, based on my own research questions, I will make sure that whomsoever reads this thesis, will no longer have these questions, and better yet, be able to answer them when faced with these or similar questions, when talking about the monument of Philopappos.

What makes this monument so interesting to begin with, and what forms the basis for my interest for this monument, is both the location of the monument and what is on the monument. This may sound perfectly natural; however, it is most intriguing when faced with the monument itself. The monument is located on one of the most prominent hills in the heart of Athens, overlooking the Acropolis, the south side of the Acropolis, the Olympieion, and

three quarters of the city, including the Piraeus harbour and the mountain-passes towards Eleusis. The only large archaeological structure obscured from its view is the Agora and what lies beyond. There must be a reason for this location, and I intend to find out what that is. Besides its location, its epigraphical side has also peaked my interest, for the inscriptions on the monument are not just in Greek or Latin, but rather in both, and with different messages to convey. These two features alone should have made the monument an object of great debate and discussion, yet it remains an obscure remnant of ancient times, visited by most tourist for the view of the Acropolis and the city alone.

The questions I raise in this context that shall guide my research and eventually bring me to my conclusions on this monument are. These questions are three-fold and will bring me closer to an overarching question: What is this monument of Philopappos, why is it represented as it is, what makes it an important monument, and what can we learn from it about the intentions of the man behind the monument? Firstly, in answering the overarching problem, we have to look at the appearance of the monument, for in order to understand the monument as a whole, or in detail for that matter, we have to be fully aware of the monument in both its appearance and its place. The question here is then what can we observe from the monument itself and what underlying fact do we know about it, in the sense that we should also observe the history of both the monument and the man behind the monument. Secondly, we have to examine the message of the monument, and asks what the monument says to its audience(s) and who and what are visible on the monuments facade? And thirdly we have to look at the function, or intention, of the monument; questioning what it is and who was responsible for it being what it is? What is the meaning of the monument? Both in itself, towards its audience and in the broader perspective. These three approaches embody the what, why and how of the monument, and by answering them will hopefully paint a clear

picture of every side there is to this monument, making it a monument that has not only lasted for almost two millennia, but also remains a piece of pride for at least another two more.

In this research thesis, I shall explain and flesh out each of the research questions and the corresponding side to the monument in a different chapter. However, before delving into the different research questions on the monument, it is vital to be aware of the monument, of the way it looks, and the history of the monument, both the archaeology and the literary history of the monument as it has been researched in the past before. This will descriptive part of the thesis will be the first chapter, in order for the reader to be fully aware of the details that are discussed in the other chapters and the nuances that may otherwise be to obscure to fully be appreciated.

In my effort to analyse the meaning, and subsequently the importance as well, of the monument of Philopappos, I intend to employ different disciplines to help me understand the monument, in all of its facets, better than I would under normal circumstances. These disciplines, which consist of archaeology and human geography, will provide tools and theory that will help to structurally analyse the monument through the interdisciplinary field of landscape archaeology, on which I shall write extensively in Chapter IV.

Chapter I: The monument of Philopappos

The archaeological history

The monument of Philopappos has not been excavated, it simply stood on top of the hill since it was built in the second century A.D., and because of this it may seem strange to discuss its archaeological history. This history, however, is very important, as it gives us more insight as to how the monument has looked in the past, as well as how people have perceived the monument in their time, both in terms of aesthetics and in terms of importance to the archaeological record of Athens. For this history to be fully fleshed out, it is imperative to look at what is written on the monument by scholars who observed it in the past. One of these scholars, albeit an formally untrained one, is Cyriacus of Ancona. In his travels, he is the first to accurately describe and draw the monument, giving us a clear picture of the state of the monument in his time.[1] The only earlier mention of the monument that we know of is that of Pausanias, though he seems to, uncharacteristically, go out of his way as not to describe it. The drawing that Cyriacus made is one of the best ways for us to know what people in the past have been able to see of the monument.

Cyriacus from Ancona (1391-1452)[2] was a merchant son who was fascinated by Greek and Roman antiquities. Because of his general accuracy in his recordings of these antiquities (and particularly his recordings of inscriptions) he is sometimes referred to as the founding father of modern classical archaeology.[3] The illustrations he provides with his letters to accompany the verbal descriptions of what he saw in his travels, still serve as evidence of how structures appeared in the past, before they were either removed or deteriorated further. In his letters, he shows not only admiration for the classical world, but

[1] Edward W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Brussels 1960) 38.
[2] Sometimes he is also referred to as Syriac in other literature.
[3] Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* , xi.

also tries to emulate it. Not only does he write his letters and journal in Latin, he also adopts a semi-pagan, semi-Christian view of the world, bringing him (in his view at least) closer to antiquity.[4] The impact he has on later scholars is also apparent from the fact that he is the first modern scholar to call the Acropolis in Athens the Acropolis[5], and that he, like most modern scholars, placed his focus mainly on classical Athens with some interest in Hellenistic Athens, forgoing the opportunity to look beyond.

There is not much information on the archaeology beyond this point, other than that the monument has remained a landmark through the ages and that parts of it have been broken off and lost since the days that Cyriacus gazed upon them. The reason for the lack of archaeological investigations may be due to the bare state of the monument, there is little to be dug up on the bedrock top of the hill it stands on, and due to the lack of material surrounding it, which could have been removed and reused as building material somewhere in Athens' past, there is no reconstruction work to be done as well. This leaves the monument as it is, protected by a fence nowadays and with little consideration from either scholars or tourists.

Description of the monument

Before trying to understand the different implications that the monument has to offer, it is wise to know everything there is to know about the way the monument looks. By describing every facet of the structure, without going into detail about the implications of certain aspects immediately[6], I shall paint a picture of the monument, in ways more detailed than the naked eye would observe when in front of the monument. It is my opinion that, to really understand the monument and all the questions that surround it, it is imperative to be aware of it in both

[4] Ibidem , xii-xvi.
[5] Richard Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods: the Search for Classical Greece* (New York 1987) 28-29.
[6] The discussing about the implications of both the details and the broader perspectives shall take place in the next chapter.

its current and its, in the past, observed form. This chapter will therefore start of by focussing on the dimensions of the structure, the sculptures in and on it, the epigraphy of the monument and on its location in the archaeological site.

To start off with the dimensions is, to me, the fastest way of grasping the size and monumentality of the structure. It invokes a feeling of certain astonishment and appreciation, which would not be present otherwise, unless of course one has visited the site of the monument beforehand. It is worth noticing, that the dimensions given do not reflect the monument in the state in which it was built, rather, they reflect the remains of the structure as it can be observed nowadays, with just a part of the façade standing. Therefore, it provides only an impression of what the structure must have been like. The structure would have been larger, since it probably contained a burial chamber behind the façade, of which nothing but a base remains to date.[7]

The dimensions of the ground plan of the podium, on which the monument stands, is almost square in form, with it measuring 9,11 by 9,65m, and it supports and levels the superstructure on top of the hill. This superstructure itself contained both the visible façade of the monument as well as the burial chamber of which (as previously mentioned) nothing remains to date. The burial chamber would have measured 3,00 by 3,40m according to reconstructions, and, following with the symmetrical nature of the structure, would have had the entrance in the middle of the back of the structure. Both plans of the structure in its probable original form, and of the current state are included in the appendix.[8] According to these same reconstructions, the back of the monument, containing the entrance, would probably have served as a secondary façade, with probably pilasters and a pediment adorning

[7] Diana E.E. Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos* (Rome 1983) 40.
[8] Figure 1-3, Appendix A.

it.[9] Though due to the state of the remains this remains highly speculative and cannot be proven by any uncovered remains of the structure, and shall therefore not be discussed further in the course of this thesis.

The façade itself, as can be observed in reconstruction from the side in the appendix, consists of three stages. The first stage, which holds a frieze, is 3,51m high, the second stage, containing niches with statues, is 6,50m high, and the third stage, which consisted of the pediment, of which the exact height is unknown.[10]

As mentioned before, the monument that is visible today is only part of the monument as it was. Therefore, the dimensions given of the original structure are speculative and should always be taken with caution, as they are only based on what is left. The current state of the structure only leaves part of it visible, though it is still an impressive sight. The before mentioned burial chamber has nearly completely disappeared. Of it, only a part of the outline and the podium remain. The façade too is heavily damaged, with the (for the beholder) right side missing, with a fragmented top and damaged side. What does remain of the structure indicated a larger structure as described above. The sizeable structure will be taken into account when discussing the monument in its context, though nothing definitive can be said about it, given the fact that there is not enough of it left. Further conclusions, based on the structure, will be made on what is left of it and what can be seen, not on what is peculated to have been part of the structure, save for the fact that the monument would probably have been more visible when still intact.

[9] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 39-42.
[10] Figure 3, Appendix A.

The epigraphy

The epigraphical side of the monument is not only interesting; it also had a slightly more interesting history to it than the rest of the structure has. To date, there are three inscriptions on the structure that can be found and read (that are not modern graffiti). There were, however, up until at least the fifteenth century probably five inscriptions on the monument. These inscriptions were recorded by the merchant/scholar Cyriacus of Ancona[11], who, in typical Renaissance fashion, sought to see the classical world, and collect antiquities on the road. In his travels he also visited Athens, though only for sixteen days, in which he also observed the monument of Philopappos and recorded the inscriptions on the monument. The inscriptions he recorded are the only surviving evidence of the (probably) complete epigraphical record of the monument and are considered accurate and reliable by many scholars. It is my opinion, however, to be sceptical of these recordings, since they were recorded five hundred years ago and are not verified by any other scholar. This means that they could just as easily have been forged by the author, in order to make the monument seem all the more impressive or simply because it suited him better. At any rate, there is no concrete evidence to support his claim, only his own travel notes. I take this as a reason to be very sceptical of these inscriptions and do not hold them as truth, for they pose to much issue in my opinion. There are those who do consider them to be true and use them for their argument, sometimes even without acknowledging the controversy behind the recordings or even ignoring the disappearance of the inscriptions entirely, something I am against since they are not beyond dispute. They are, though, worth noticing, as many authors and scholars before have done, for if they are correct, they could pose a serious contribution to the monument and the identification of the third statue on it.

[11] Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, 18.

In correspondence with what most other literature does, I included the parts of the inscription that are disputed, including a translation of my own making, in order to fully grasp the supposed implications that surround these inscriptions. In the transcription of the inscriptions, the part recorded by Cyriacus (part *b* and *e*) are underlined to signify this uncertain and disputed nature.[12] Note that although the inscriptions are disputed, they may still hold a kernel of truth though should not be used in any argument or conclusion due to their disputed nature, since this would give a false perception of implied reality.

Inscr. a.	C. · Iulius C. f. Fab(ia) · Antio- chus · Philo- pappus · cos., frater · Ar- valis · alle- ctus · inter praetori- os · ab · Imp(eratore) · Caesare Nerva · Traia- no · Optu- mo · Augus- to · Germa- nico · Da- cico.	Caius Iulius Antiochus Philopappus, son of Caius, of the Fabian tribe, consul, and Arval brother, admitted to the praetorian rank by the emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus.
Inscr. b.	<u>βασιλεὺς</u> <u>Ἀντίοχ-</u> <u>ος Φιλό-</u> <u>παππος</u> <u>βασιλέ-</u> <u>ως Ἐπι-</u> <u>φάνουςτοῦ Ἀν-</u> <u>τιόχου</u>.	King Antiochos Philopappos, son of king Epiphanes, son of Antiochos
Inscr. c.	βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου.	King Antiochos (IV), son of king Antiochos
Inscr. d.	[Φιλό]παππος Ἐπιφάνους Βησαιεύς.	Philopappos, son of Epiphanes, of the deme Besa
Inscr. e.	<u>βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Ἀντιόχου Νικάτωρ</u>.	King Seleukos Nikator, son of Antiochos

[12] IG II^2 3451.

Besides the uncertainty of the number and content of inscriptions, it is also worth noticing that the inscriptions present are inscribed in two languages, both in Latin and in Greek. Part *a* of the inscription is in Latin, while part *c* and *d* (and *b* and *e* according to Cyriacus) are in Greek. This bilingual nature of the inscriptions is very interesting and shows two different sides of the monument at the same time. The Latin inscription reflects the Roman side of the monument, and the roman name and titles of Philopappos, while the Greek inscriptions reflect both the Athenian and the Kommagenian[13] side of Philopappos. This division of worlds through text shall be discussed later, in chapter III.

In translation, these inscriptions give both the name and titles of Philopappos, as well as his lineage, and honour the emperor as well. They also serve as identification for the statues within the niches in the second stage of the façade. It is here that one of the unverified descriptions (*e*) by Cyriacus comes to value, since it seems to confirm the presence of a third statue by identifying it as King Seleukos Nikator, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty and important forefather of Philopappos.

The sculpture programme

On the façade of the structure, there are two surviving statues and a frieze. The statues are located inside niches and would have originally consisted of three, rather than two. The reasoning behind this, is that the right statue of the two is larger and in the centre of the concave façade, and symmetry would suggest that beside the statue to the left of it, it would have contained a statue to the right as well. This claim is supported by the inscriptions underneath the statues that also imply a certain symmetry, suggesting another statue to the right of it.[14]

[13] From the kingdom of Kommagene, or sometimes Commagene.
[14] M. Santangelo, "Il Monumento di C. Julius Antiochos Philopappos in Atene", in *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene N.S. 3-5, 1941-43* (1947) 158-9. (153-253)

The now central statue is that of Philopappos himself, with the remaining statue flanking him representing his grandfather, King Antiochos IV, son of King Antiochos, of Kommagene, the last king of Kommagene before it was incorporated into the Roman Empire and the province of Syria. The missing statue is presumed to be a statue of King Seleukos Nikator, son of Antiochos, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty[15], though this identification is supported solely by the inscriptions that were recorded by Cyriacus and, as I have discussed in the previous section, this should be taken with caution as the inscription is disputed.

The frieze

The frieze in the lower stage of the façade may be heavily damaged, but the image on it can still be observed. Though part of it is missing, a lot of figures can still be seen and identified. In what used to be the centre of the frieze, there stands a man on a chariot, with four horses drawn before it. The figure in this chariot is most probably Philopappos himself, clad in a tunic and a toga, who seems to be carrying a long sceptre in his left hand, while making a gesture with his right hand. Around his head would have been a radiate crown, as suggested by Santangelo based on traces behind the head and a drawing made by Cyriacus.[16]

Figure 1 The frieze

[15] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 15
[16] Santangelo, "Il Monumento di C. Julius Antiochos Philopappos in Atene", 215.; Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 82.

Next to the figure of Philopappos in the chariot are, besides the groom who holds the reigns of the horses and a small figure following the chariot, probably a servant of sort, six lictors. They are identified as such due to their togas and the objects they are holding in their hands. These objects are *fasces* and are directly associated with the office of lictor in the Roman Empire.

It is striking that all the figures on the frieze are missing their heads or faces. Although this had been attributed to falling rocks from the top of the façade in the past[17], and this is not unlikely since there are more parts of the frieze that have been heavily damaged besides the faces of the figures, there could be another reason for the missing of the faces. It is not without fathom that the faces of the figures were deliberately vandalized in the past, as is not uncommon with freestanding monuments, although the reason behind this is unknown and only a possibility not a certainty.

The frieze reminds the viewer, in part, of a Roman commemorative arch. Both the placement of it as a horizontal lint, divided into vertical sections, and the narrative and processual element of it remind of parallels on these arches, like the ones in of Titus and Nero in Rome. In similarity, it is most alike the arch of Titus, with a triumphal procession on it. Here, Titus stands on a chariot in a very similar fashion as Philopappos does, with the same posture and gestures, holding the same object. Even the horses hold the same position here. It is striking that the monument of Philopappos seems to imitate this scene from the arch of Titus in Rome, since the arch itself differs from many other Roman triumphal processions on friezes, in that the direction of the procession is reversed.[18] There are, however, also differences between the two representations, and that is that the monument of Philopappos

[17] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos* , 81.
[18] Franz Josef Hassel, *Der Trajansbogen in Benevent: ein Bauwerk des römischen Senates* (Zabern, 1966) plates 20-21, 24, 27i.

misses almost all the elements of a triumphal procession which are present on the arch of Titus, including the image of Victory that stands next to Titus, as well as militaristic elements and the spoils of war. Still, all the similarities seem to indicate that this frieze was adapted from the one on the arch of Titus in Rome.

When looking at the figure of Philopappos in the frieze, it also bears the effort to look at what remains of his head more closely. Besides the before mentioned traces of a radiate crown behind his head, it can also be noted that Philopappos probably wore a beard on this statue, a feature not commonly seen on a Roman statue before Hadrian, though often present on statues in the Hellenistic world.[19] It is also worth noting, that when this frieze was adapted from the original in Rome, the chariot was changed as well. The decoration on the chariot looks to be a *naiskos* with a statue inside of it, most probably representing Heracles.[20] The importance and implications of this small scene shall be delved into further in later chapters.

Figure 2 Triumphal procession on the arch of Titus in Rome[21]

[19] Tonio Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, Anthony Snodgrass and Annemarie Künzl-Snodgrass (trans.) (Cambridge 2004) 114-117.
[20] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos* , 87.
[21] By Anthony M. from Rome, Italy - https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=990319 (12-04-2017).

The sculptures

Of the possibly three original statues, only two remain have been preserved. In the centre sits a statue of Philopappos himself, and to his side sits his grandfather, the last king of Kommagene. In correspondence with the frieze, the statues to are heavily damaged and, most distinctively, are missing their heads and most of their hands and feet. Although they could have been in a better shape when Cyriacus observed them as they seem to be more complete in his drawing of the monument.[22]

The statue of Philopappos in the middle, identified by the subscript that bears his name, is striking for multiple reasons. First of all, it is clearly different from his representation on the frieze below, setting this statue apart from it. It is a sitting statue with a bare chest and covered only on the lower part of his body with a himation. This garment style is very dissimilar in representation to his image in the frieze, where he strikes the image of a Roman. The style of his statue does not strike as Roman, nor does it Persian as his ancestors' garments often appeared. It does, however, seem very similar to Greek heroic and divine statues. Emperor portraits were often styled in those examples.[23] These statues were styled after divine statues of Zeus or Jupiter, with the difference ebing that the statues of the chief deity were usually with sandals and the emperors were usually portrait barefoot in the same posture. Nonetheless, this similarity between statues gives the statue of Philopappos a somewhat divine feeling to it that may have had more implications, of which I shall discuss some further on.

[22] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos* ,plate XXXV.
[23] Ibidem ,91.

Figure 3 Statues in niches (photo of own making)

The flanking statue, that of his grandfather, is (perhaps surprisingly) dressed in a very Roman style toga. It is interesting to see that the last king of Kommagene would be honoured here by his grandson, not as a king in traditional robes or armor but as a Roman magistrate. I suggest that this could be due to his grandfather's life in Rome before and after he was king in Kommagene, by the grace of Caligula between 38 and 72 A.D., and the foundation he laid there for Philopappos' own status in the Roman Empire and consulship.[24]

If we accept the idea that on the other side of Philopappos there stood a statue of his ancestor Seleukos Nikator, then the entire composition itself would have been an image of power and with its own story. It does seem to reflect the arrangement of Nemrut Dağı[25]

[24] Richard D. Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene", in Temporini, H. and Haase, W., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römische Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel de Neueren Forschung II* (Berlin 1977) 784-786.

[25] Sometimes in other literature referred to as Nemrut, Nemrud, Nemrud Dagh.

where his family has a parallel, where Zeus, Antiochos I and others are flanked by relief portraits of both Persian and Seleucid ancestors.[26]

The location

All around the monument of Philopappos stand other significant ancient sites and structures, and beside these structures, the location of the monument itself is worth noticing as well. If we look at the location of the monument on top of one of the larger hills in Athens, we can immediately see the monument, from whichever way we approach it. It stands on the top of the Mouseion hill in the centre of Athens, right next to the Acropolis. When descending or ascending the Acropolis, it is almost impossible to miss the Mouseion Hill, as was already the case when Cyriacus passed it in his travels through the ancient world.[27] On the significance of this location shall be elaborated in a later chapter on the archaeology of context.

Apart from the monument, the Mouseion hill has seen other structures of importance. For instance, on the spot the monument now occupies, there stood a fort to defend the city wall in classical times. Although it did no longer exist in the time of erection of the monument, it was not forgotten, as can be observed by reading Pausanias' account of the monument in his book Description of Greece.[28] A little downhill from the monument stands a heroon of Musaeus, a poet who is mentioned in line with Homer, Hesiod and Orpheus in Socrates' Apology by Plato.[29]

[...], fortifying the place called the Museum. This is a hill right opposite the Acropolis within the old city boundaries, where legend says Musaeus used to sing, and, dying of old

[26] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 90, Princeton Encyclopedia
[27] Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens, 38.*
[28] Paus. 1.25.8
[29] Plat. Apol. 41a

age, was buried. Afterwards a monument also was erected here to a Syrian. At the time to which I refer Demetrius fortified and held it.[30]

Another site on, or rather in, the hill is more near the foot of the hill, where a series of small caves are excavated from the hill. Inside these caves are notches and holes that used to support wooden beams. It is unclear from what period these man-made caves are although it is known that they were in use as a depot for works of art in the Second World War. They are now mockingly, and incorrectly, called the cells of Socrates.

When discussing important sites near the monument, it is impossible not to mention and discuss the Acropolis Hill and its south slope, both of which the monument gazes over. From the monument, the Propylaea, temple of Athena Nikè and the Parthenon are clearly visible, and more important, vice versa is the monument of Philopappos visible from these locations. The south slope of the Acropolis is clearly visible from the monument as well, with the theatre of Dionysos just visible on the edge, obscured by trees and other structures. This also means that when one walks from the theatre, up the slope towards the top of the Acropolis, the monument is constantly visible to the left-hand side.

The man behind the monument

Now that we have seen a lot about the monument of Philopappos, it is also important to know more about the man behind the monument. Who was Philopappos, what do we know about the man whose impressive monument survives to this day? To understand who we are dealing with here, it is important to look at a few different sources for information. Firstly, at the family he comes from, who his ancestors (whom he seems to hold dear and value deeply) were and where they came from. Secondly, how he is portrait in ancient literature. And third

[30] Pausanias, *Description of Greece.*

and last, if there are any other archaeological remains besides his monument that can tell us something about the man.

As mentioned before, Philopappos can trace his lineage through the Kommagenian kings back to the founder of the Seleucid Empire, Seleukos Nikator. His reverence and proudness of this ancestry was so great, that his official Roman nomenclature was only used in formal occasions, and he used his renowned grandfather's name in public.[31] It is this awareness of his descent, which permeates his approach to his funerary monument on the Mouseion hill, and makes him recreate a miniature Nemrut Dağı in on it in the process, according to Sullivan.[32] He is, however, not the only one to makes this parallel, as Sullivan likes to point out, since his sister Julia Balbilla did something similar. She inscribed a poem[33] on the colossi of Memnon in Egypt, reminiscent perhaps of the statues at Nemrut Dağı, of which the for this study most important lines read:

> *I do not think this statue of you would thereupon perish, and I sense within a soul hereafter immortal. For pious were my parents and grandparents, Balbillus the Wise and King Antiochus: Balbillus the father of my mother, a Queen; and King Antiochus, father of my father. From their stock, I too have obtained noble blood, and these are my writings, Balbilla the pious.*[34]

Julia Balbilla wrote this 15 years after Philopappos' death while journeying with emperor Hadrian and his wife Sabine through Egypt.[35] Although Philopappos and Balbilla

[31] Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene", 781.
[32] Ibidem, 797.
[33] For the full poem in Greek, see Appendix B.
[34] Bernard and Bernard, Colosse de Memnon (1960) 29.; translation by: Elizabeth Speller, *Following Hadrian: A Second-Century Journey through the Roman Empire* (Oxford 2003) 144.
[35] Elizabeth Speller, *Following Hadrian: A Second-Century Journey through the Roman Empire* (Oxford 2003) 87.

both praised and referred to their ancestors, it is Balbilla who marks that this is because of their pious heritage, and, as Wu notices in his work[36], not because they could be a threat to the power of the emperor.

Though we see something of Philopappos in his sister's approach to their ancestry, including who his maternal grandfather was, namely Balbillus the Wise, who was the prefect of Egypt[37], we get to know the man better through the writings of Plutarch, and especially his work *How To Tell a Flatterer from a Friend*.[38] In this work, Plutarch's essays on flatterers addressed to Philopappos are gathered, indirectly warning him of individuals of certain standing, trying to worm their way into the lives and confidence of great man, as to exercise their influence on them. Although the warning is not outspoken towards Philopappos but in general, the fact that the essays are addressed to him infer that they are meant as a warning to him from Plutarch. Whatever the case may be, the importance of this works is the man himself, and the way he is addressed and portrayed by Plutarch, a man close to him or at the least familiar with him first hand. In the essays, Plutarch addresses Philopappos as a friend and call him by his Kommagenian name Antiochos Philopappos (Ἀντίοχε Φιλόπαππε), leaving out his Roman nomenclature.

There are also other sources that we can use to get to know the man that is Philopappos. That is to say, there are other sources that are either attributed to him or about him. One of these sources is an inscription on a choragic monument, where the patronage of Philopappos to the arts is mentioned. This monument, a statue on a base of which only the base with the inscription remains to date, was presented to the archon Philopappos by the Athenian tribe *Oineis*, somewhere between 85/6 and 92/3 in return for his benefactions as

[36] Ching-Yuan Wu, '"Live Like a King": The Monument of Philopappus and the Continuity of Client-Kingship.' in Francis K.H. Ho (ed*.), Perceiving Power in Early Modern Europe* (New York 2016) 40.
[37] Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene", 796.
[38] Plutarch, *Moralia I: How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend*.

well as to celebrate the tribe's participation in the choral contest of the city Dionysia.[39] The inscription on the statue base (IG II^2 3112[40]) details the *didaskolos*, *choregos*, *auletes*, and the members of the *choros*, as well as the identity and civic status of the benefactor Philopappos. By giving all his names and his deme, that of *Besa*, as well as the offices he holds and the act of being a good citizen by sponsoring the arts, he is showcased in his social and civic context.[41] This inscription not only shows a side to Philopappos we have not seen before, a patron of the arts and an archon of Athens at work, but it also shows us that Philopappos did not only built a monument to himself as to be remembered, but also other people felt it worthwhile preserving his memory. Thus making him more than eccentric nobility but a man with civic duties and responsibilities, and more than "a Syrian" as Pausanias calls him in reference to his monument.[42]

As can be seen by now, a great deal of whom Philopappos is can be traced back to how he views his position in the shadow of his ancestors, who appear to be more important to him than most other aspects of his life. This fascination with his ancestors even permeates through his names, which, apart from boasting family names, also shows his affection for his grandfather in Philopappos, meaning loving his grandfather.[43] But who are these ancestors he seems to adore? To answer that, it is important to notice that an entire study can be done to answer that question, which will not be the focus of this work. Instead, I shall focus on a short description of the kingdom of Kommagene, along with its last king, Philopappos' grandfather, and his son, the direct ancestors of Philopappos.

[39] Julia L. Shear, 'Choruses and Tripods: The Politics of the Choregia in Roman Athens' in Barbara Kowalzig and Peter Wilson (ed.), *Dithyramb in Context* (Oxford 2013) 389.
[40] Appendix B.
[41] Shear, 'Choruses and Tripods: The Politics of the Choregia in Roman Athens', 390-91, 405.
[42] Paus. 1.25.8.
[43] 'Loving one's grandfather (Liddell, Scott, Jones Dictionary).

Kommagene was a kingdom in Asia Minor; in the northern part of what would later be the Roman province of Syria (in present-day East Turkey). As the geographer Strabo mentioned, who lived and wrote in the time of Augustus, Kommagene was a small land with a former seat of kings, suggesting that even in his time already, the kingdom was incorporated into the roman empire, more on that later.

> *In describing it in detail, we say that Commagene is rather a small district. It contains a strong city, Samosata, in which was the seat of the kings. At present, it is a [Roman] province. A very fertile but small territory lies around it. Here is now the Zeugma, or bridge, of the Euphrates, and near it is situated Seleucia, a fortress of Mesopotamia, assigned by Pompey to the Commageneans. Here Tigranes confined in prison for some time and put to death Selene, surnamed Cleopatra, after she was dispossessed of Syria.*[44]

Strabo also mentions the wealth and fertile lands of Kommagene, making it a very wealthy country, however small it may be.[45] The kings of Kommagene claimed their heritage to be both Iranian and Macedonian, with an Orontid (a family of Persian satraps ruling over Armenia) and Achaemenian (the family of king Darius of Persia) house being in rule before they were conquered by Antiochus the Great and brought under Seleucid rule, subsequent intermarriage proved useful in the sense that the dynasty could now claim both their Orontid as well as their Seleucid heritage.[46] This show of heritage and ancestry would become apparent in their rule, as the greatest monument of the royal house of Kommagene, as constructed by king Antiochus I (70-36 B.C.), showed multiple statues of their ancestors on both sides (as well as both Greek and Iranian deities).[47]

[44] Strabo 16.2.3.
[45] Strabo 16.2.3.749
[46] Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene", 736.
[47] Andreas J.M. Kropp, *Images and Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasts, 100 BC-AD 100* (Oxford 2013) 180-8.

The autonomy of Kommagene and its royal house was threatened by the Romans for the first time in 29 B.C., when Rome, under August, dispatched of one of the princes of Kommagene to avoid unrest and conflict within the dynasty and to strengthen their bridgehead in the Hellenistic kingdoms with a diplomatic opening into the Iranian worlds.[48] Although the Romans sought stability for the kingdom and the dynasty, the opposite became truth and kings did not live long from then on in Kommagene. Internal troubles, however, ceased when in 17 A.D., Roman sentiment in Kommagene surpassed dynastic sentiment and the country came under Roman rule, however it remained a country and was not absorbed into Syria just yet. For the first time in 180 years, Kommagene was not governed by its own kings, but by foreign rule.[49] After twenty years of continued dynastic practice in Rome, the heir of the throne, Antiochos IV Epiphanes, returned their rule to Kommagene, albeit as a client-king, due to his good relations with the current emperor Caligula. This good relation did not last but Antiochos was fortunate to continue good relations under Claudius. This good fortune is connected to his military campaigns for the Romans against the Parthian, and his major role in the Jewish War (solidifying his place in Jewish history as a great calamity and terrible enemy). This good fortune would sadly not last, as under Vespasian, the now old king Antiochos would see an end to his rule. Vespasian incorporated Kommagene in the province Syria, as to eliminate a possible Parthian threat and create a clearer limes of the empire. Antiochos declined battle as he saw the futility of it and so the transition from Kommagene to Syria was a relatively easy and peaceful one. After this, Antiochos saw his goodbye from Kommagene and spend the remainder of his life in Rome, where his son and grandson would make a name for themselves in becoming senators and even consul.[50] This grandson would also come to be archon in Athens and was called Philopappos.

[48] Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene", 778.
[49] Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene", 784-5.
[50] Ibidem, 792-5.

The family of Philopappos would have had little difficulty in integrating in the aristocratic regions of society in the Roman Empire, especially in Athens. This is due to the fact that the royal house of Kommagene, unlike its citizens most probably did, did not speak Aramaic, but converses in Greek like other Hellenistic kings in the surrounding kingdoms, and Latin in their relations as a client Kingdom with the Roman Empire.[51] The ease with which they made this new position in their new surroundings their own is displayed by the political careers of both Philopappos, his sister and their father. Besides these achievements, Philopappos was also included in the Arval Brethren. These priests were dedicated to Ceres and the harvest and held an old and important religious office. Although important and prestigious, this office has no representation on the monument of Philopappos apart from being mentioned in the inscription of his Roman names and titles, perhaps this is due to its location in Athens rather than Rome, the city where the Arval brethren held their rituals and sacrifices.[52]

[51] A.J.M . Kropp, *Images and Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasts, 100 BC-AD 100* (Oxford 2013) 23.
[52] Wu, '"Live Like a King": The Monument of Philopappus and the Continuity of Client-Kingship' ,31; M. Facella 'Advantages and disadvantages of an allied kingdom: The case of Commagene' in T. Kaiser & M. Facella (Eds.), *Kingdoms and principalities in the Roman near East* (Stuttgart 2010) 189.

Chapter II: The importance of image

Image and sculpture

In order for us to fully understand all the different aspects of the monument of Philopappos, it is important to understand what imagery is present on the monument, and for what reason they appear as they do. In the previous chapter, I discussed in detail what sculpture and imagery was present on the monument, without trying to explain these images. Here, they will be discussed, not only in their own context, but also later in the next chapter in a larger frame of other, similar, images on monuments. Firstly, I shall discuss the frieze in all its facets, after which I shall discuss the main sculptures on the monument. Afterwards, I shall compare the different ways in which Philopappos in visually represented on the monument, by discussing the differences and similarities between his image on the frieze and on his sculpture.

The frieze

The image on the frieze, as discussed previously, has been preserved for about two thirds on the monument disregarding for a moment the damage the remaining parts have sustained over time. In this discussion about the ideas and meaning behind the frieze, I shall look at the previously made connection between the frieze on the monument of Philopappos, and the similar image that can be observed on the arch of Titus in Rome. A connection that has been shortly addressed earlier in this thesis.

It is both interesting and important to note the reason why he chose to imitate the arch of Titus, which was erected some decades before his own monument. The Arch of Titus was put up by Titus' younger brother, emperor Domitian, to commemorate the military victories

of Titus, including his triumph in the Jewish War at the siege of Jerusalem[53]. A war in which the grandfather of Philopappos, Antiochus Epiphanes[54], as mentioned by Josephus, also fought at Titus' side[55]. This information by Josephus seems to confirm a connection between Antiochus Epiphanes and Titus, at least in memory, that Philopappos might have wanted to show by making the frieze of his monument reflect on the Arch of Titus in its imitation of the arch. The shared history between a Roman emperor and his own grandfather could be something worth commemorating by Philopappos, by means of imitating a well-known monument in the Roman Empire. It is noteworthy that Kleiner also payed attention to the similarities between the frieze of the Philopappos monument and the Arch of Titus, as I have done in the previous chapter, though she does so for purely aesthetic similarity and does not include this apparent connection between Antiochus Epiphanes and Emperor Titus.[56]

It is important to note that the relief on the monument only refers to a small section of the Arch of Titus, as mentioned previously, and is not a clear imitation of the entire arch. I strongly suggest that the two are connected through Philopappos' intention, though because they are both only parts of a whole, it cannot be proven without a doubt that the connection is there. My claim that they are is in my view strengthened by the presence of both the statue of Antiochus Epiphanes in the sculpture row above the frieze on the monument, as well as the inscription bearing his name, making it easier for the viewer to make a connection between the two.

As far as the intended audience for this part of the monument, if we take into account the probable intention of the monument to be considered a reminder of the connection

[53] Steven Fine, Polychromy and Jewish Visual Culture of Roman Antiquity, in Raja, Rubina; Rüpke, Jörg, A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World (New York 2015) 133-43; 137-142.; Diana E. E. Kleiner, Roman Sculpture (Yale 1992) 188-9.
[54] The same grandfather who is present on the monument as King Antiochus (IV).
[55] Flavius Josephus, *Jewish War V, 460-64*, H.St.J. Thackeray ed. (Cambridge 1979) 344-345.
[56] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 70-72.

between Antiochus Epiphanes and emperor Titus by means of its similarity with the Arch of Titus in Rome, we can assume that it was meant to be understood by the more travelled or learned citizens of the Roman Empire, those who would be familiar with the imagery of the Arch of Titus and the history of the Jewish War. But to what purpose would this connection serve? It could be argued that, by showing this intricate connection, Philopappos claims for himself a position in the heritage of his grandfather's exploits and relations. Thus, making a political statement that he is more than a random citizen or even a noble citizen, but that he stands in a proud tradition and has a royal heritage to his name, something that becomes even more clearly apparent through the epigraphy on the monument. To accept this use of art, in a political sense, is not something unique to Philopappos, and had been used by Roman emperors as early as Augustus[57]. He, according to Kleiner in another of her works, embodies his art with an ideology that is both political, social, historical, and religious. Showing that art, both in sculpture and in literature, can be used to influence the beholder with the ideology of the artist or the person behind the art.[58] Although these remarks convey the ideology of Augustus, it can be extrapolated towards other Roman art as well, including the frieze on the Monument of Philopappos who, as I suggest, uses the frieze to convey an ideological message not unlike the art of Augustus did.

If the frieze does indeed refer to the connection between both men, the identity of the man in the chariot might be contested. Although it is claimed to be Philopappos by Kleiner[59], and subsequently by me as well in the previous chapter, this man could also represent his grandfather Antiochus Epiphanes. Although it is more likely that it is Philopappos himself, with the relief being part of his monument and his figure seems to be central, and he is

[57] Louis van den Hengel, *Imago: Romeinse Keizerbeelden en de Belichaming van Gender* (Hilversum 2009) 95-96.
[58] Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 60-1.
[59] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 65-76.

imitating Titus in a fashion that reminds of his grandfather, it is worth noting that this connection made with above does shed some doubt on the identity, and that it is to be considered.

Other imagery on the frieze

Among the imagery on the frieze, one detail stands out among the other images: a small figure inside a temple on the crest of Philopappos' chariot[60]. As mentioned previously, this figure is identified by Kleiner as being Heracles.[61] If this is Heracles, or Verethragna as he was assimilated with in Iranian cultures and in Kommagene[62], why is he represented on the chariot of Philopappos? It could be argued that the image of Heracles is on the chariot to represent the strength and bravery of Philopappos himself or his family, or that it refers to the image of Heracles Verethragna in Nemrut Dağı. It could even be argued that he is present in the image because he was in style, though this does not seem to correspond with the carefully laid out program that Philopappos seems to have instilled in his monument. Still, this leaves open the question if this even is Heracles, or perhaps some other deity.

The statues

Most prominently featured on the monument are the larger-than-life statues that stand above the frieze on the façade of the monument. Two of the probably three statues remain and still impose a serious gravity to the monument with their presence. The central statue, that of Philopappos himself, directs the attention of the viewer to it, making it both central to the sculpture program and to the monument as a whole. Next to the central statue is a statue of Philopappos' grandfather Antiochus Epiphanes, the last king of Kommagene. On the other

[60] Figure 11, Appendix A.
[61] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos*, 87.
[62] Wathiq Al-Salihi, 'Hercules-Nergal at Hatra', in *Iraq* 33, No. 2 (1971) 113-115.

side of the central statue the flanking statue is missing, though many scholars regard Syriacus' accounts of the inscriptions as proof that there once stood a statue of Seleukos Nikator.[63]

Philopappos himself

As interesting as statues get, the statue of Philopappos seems to have dominated the monument even more in the past than it does now. Even though parts of the statue are missing, by what remains a great deal can be said on its appearance, from its pose to how it is clothed. At first sight, without even regarding the details that make the statue, the grandeur of it is apparent. Its pose and clothing, as previously discussed in short, are reminiscent of statues of gods and emperors, and this is probably no coincidence. Like the description of the statue of Zeus by Pheidias in Olympia[64] he was seated, wore a himation over his legs without a chiton under it, exposing his upper body.[65] Though the arms of Philopappos' statue are missing, it can be argued that the would have held something, perhaps along the line of the sceptre and Nike statue that the Olympian Zeus held, though the former would be more likely than the latter, as even Roman copies of the statue from the same period as Philopappos held different objects.[66]

Philopappos is not alone in the imitation of the divine in his statue, as he may be imitating someone who has already imitated the statues of the chief deity. For there are statues of Roman emperors, who imitate the chief deity Zeus[67] in much the same way as Philopappos does it on his monument, making it more likely he took the idea from an

[63] See the chapter I, on the history of the monument.
[64] Pausanias V, 11.1-9.
[65] Gisela M. A. Richter, 'The Pheidian Zeus at Olympia', in *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 35, 2* (1966) 166-170.
[66] Ibidem, 168.; figure 10, Appendix A.
[67] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 91.; Kleiner*, Roman Sculptures*, 134.

emperor and might even be just imitating him and not necessarily a god. An argument against this indirect imitation, and in favour of a more direct inspiration of the divine statue of Zeus is that like the statues of Zeus, and unlike the Roman emperors, Philopappos is said to have worn sandals on the sculpture.[68]

The divine character of the statue in enhanced by the position of the statue within a vaulted niche, a common setting for a cult statue in a temple of the period.[69] Because the statue reminds in style of the statue of Zeus by Pheidias, it is most probable that the divine connotation was the intention of the artist and of the man behind the statue, Philopappos himself. It was not common to imitate the style of Pheidias for something other than to create a statue of a god. Statues of men were more often styled after other sculptors, without the majesty that comes with the style associated with Pheidias' sculptures.[70]

The stature of the statue does fit in the idea that the image of the deceased on funerary monuments is usually a more idealised representation instead of an accurate image of what the deceased used to look like, and the identity of the deceased is often elevated beyond what it was.[71] This does seem to fit in the idea of the divination and heroization of Philopappos in the statue on his monument.

The other statues

The only other surviving statue is that of the grandfather of Philopappos, King Antiochus Epiphanes of Kommagene. This, slightly smaller, flanking statue is quite different from the statue in the centre of the monument, since it is dressed in a far more conservative and common manner, more befitting of a statue on a funeral monument. Antiochus is clad in

[68] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 91.
[69] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos* ,91.; K. Lehman, 'The Dome of Heaven' in *Art Bulletin* 27 (1945) 13.
[70] Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 97-8.
[71] Valerie M. Hope, 'Negotiating Identity and Status: The Gladiators of Roman Nîmes' in Joanne Berry and Ray Laurence (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire* (London 1998) 179.

a Roman style, wearing a toga that covers his entire body. The choice for this garment over the more traditional Kommagenian fashion, which borders more on the Iranian garments instead of the Roman and is shown in both Nemrut Dağı and other places where the Kommagenian royal family is pictured[72], and is clearly a choice to identify his grandfather as a friend and ally of Rome, even though his alleged conspiring against Rome was the downfall of their kingship in Kommagene.[73]

It is a pity that nothing of the head of this statue has survived the ages, since it would have been fruitful to compare it with the known images of Antiochus Epiphanes that have survived on bronze coins from Samosata,[74] and with the limestone portrait of (possibly) him from the same place.[75] What we know from these coins and portrait could be considered a contrast with the statue, though we should remain sceptical of this idea. This contrast concerns the garment that is visible on the coin and the style of the portrait. If we look at the coins the image of Antiochus has features common for Augustan and Julio-Claudian portraits when looking at the composure of the face and the details of the hair, a style which could also be imposed on the statue in the monument for they both appear roman in details. There are, however, also royal Hellenistic elements on the image on the coins. The strands of hair are rather thick, and Antiochus is shown wearing a broad diadem, considered as belonging to royalty.[76] The draped bust on the coins could refer to a number of different draped garments and should therefore not be considered as either similar of different to the statue. The presence of the diadem could, though not definitively, be considered as different from the statue. Though the head of the statue is missing and the argument is therefore only a possibility, the style of the statue seems to imply a Roman style, while the coin draws more

[72] F. K. Dörner, T. Goell, and W. Hoepfner, *Arsameia am Nymphaios vol. 33* (Berlin 1963) 213-215..
[73] Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene", 783-8.
[74] Kropp, *Images and Monuments*, 82-3.
[75] Ibidem, 85.
[76] Kropp, *Images and Monuments*, 86.

heavily on the royal Hellenistic style, with some Roman-like features that may have been just the fashion of the moment or the style of the artist crafting the template for the coins. The limestone portrait continues in this fashion, as it appears in the same style as portraits by Ptolemaic and Seleucid kings[77], though it is important to notice that the portrait could also belong to another Antiochus in the line and not to the grandfather of Philopappos.[78]

The reason behind the attempt to give his grandfather a more Roman appearance might have something to do with his Roman identity and the status his grandfather had in the empire, even after the downfall of his reign. Even though this might elevate his own standing in the Roman empire, it is unclear why he would not emphasize on the royal heritage of his grandfather in the style of the sculpture.

On the other side of the monument, also flanking the central statue of Philopappos, there is a missing statue. As said before, the inscription recorded by Syriacus identifies this missing sculpture as Seleukos Nikator, which would fit the image a lot of scholars, like Santangelo, Kleiner and Sullivan[79], have of the sculptures reminiscing of the statues at Nemrut Dağı, with the central figure being surrounded by ancestors. In my view, this comparison could be just one of the explanations, as the occurrence of a central figure being surrounded by ancestors is not exclusive to Nemrut and should not be simply taken for truth if there are more ways of looking at the composition.

If we disregard the claim of Syriacus that the statue belonged to Seleukos Nikator, given that he is our only source for this claim, it would still be logical and apparent that a third statue would have graced the façade of the monument. There are, however, other

[77] Marianne Bergmann, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und der römischer Kaiserzeit* (Mainz 1998) 13-5
[78] Kropp, *Images and Monuments*, 84-5.
[79] Santangelo, "Il Monumento di C. Julius Antiochos Philopappos in Atene", 215.; Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 82.; Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene", 785.

candidates who would fit the profile of revered ancestor by Philopappos, from both the royal Kommagenian line, as well as from another lineage Philopappos belongs to. This other line is his maternal heritage, the same one his sister Balbilla referred to in his poem, and his grandfather on that side the praefect of Aegyptus: Tiberius Claudius Balbillus, who himself was also of Kommagenian decent.[80]

Statues of Philopappos

When comparing the statue of Philopappos with the frieze of him standing on a chariot, we can observe several differences between the two visual representations of the man. Apart from the difference in medium, one being a fleshed-out statue and the other a relief, the differences are mostly in the style of image and the way in which Philopappos is represented. While the frieze seems very Roman in style and reminiscent of both religious and victory processions, the statue seems more Greek or Hellenistic in style. This difference is style, while striking, may not have any deeper meaning or added intention and may be for either purely aesthetic reasons or because these sorts of images would have done in styles reminiscent of the styles of similar works of art.

Other differences between both representations may be more open to clear messaging, as they are different from another, independent of style. One of these differences is the fact that Philopappos is clad in Roman garments in the frieze, while he is dressed as a god or emperor in the statue. These differences may be due to the different images he wants to project of himself. While he is dignified and senatorial in the frieze, he shows himself as more regal and divine in his statue, clearly separating the two sides of him by these two different visual representations. In the frieze, he is the political and civic figure that he was in

[80] H. Stuart Jones, 'Claudius and the Jewish Question at Alexandria' in *The Journal of Roman Studies 16* (1926), 17-35; 18.

daily life, engaging in matters of state and polis. In the statue, he is the descendant of kings and heroes, almost divine in his being and heritage.

The sculpture program: a conclusion

When we look at the sculpture program as a whole, considering both the statues and the frieze below them, we can start imagining what message is being sent by the monument towards the beholder. As has been mentioned in this subchapter, the statues and the frieze present us with different view on Philopappos, and even among the statues there is a certain discord between the two that remain. On the one hand, in the frieze, Philopappos is a Roman citizen in both the style of the relief and in the memories of his grandfather who fought besides the roman emperor of his time, cementing his position as an influential member of the Roman elite. On the other hand, however, his sculptures tend more toward the Hellenistic world, though not completely, in part due to the style of the central statue of Philopappos himself which imitates divine statues. They are not completely Hellenistic in their style, as the imitation of deities in statuaries is not unknown to Roman emperors as well, making him part of a similar tradition as well[81]. Besides the statue of Philopappos, the statue of his grandfather is also linked to the Roman world, by both his dress and image, which do not at all recall the image of Kommagenian dynasts but rather remind of Roman senators.

There is, however, a common factor to all the imagery on the façade of the monument, and that is Philopappos and the gravity of his heritage and position of power. All the imagery gravitates towards his person and the importance of his heritage, his legacy, which elevates him almost to the divine. By emphasising on, and reminding viewers of, his important ancestry and royal heritage, he claims a very important part in society. And even

[81] Even though it can be argued that the imitation of Greek divine statues is a style that appears to be ore Hellenistic the Roman emperors participate in, rather than a style of statues that appears to be more Roman.

though he may have been influential and moderately important in life, in death he will be recognised for his importance and be even more powerful.

The question of the different styles and their meaning in contrast remains. Different styles used on a single monument are not always meant to indicate different cultural expressions, they may simply bet here because different themes are pictured in different styles. Like for example in the monument of Lucius Verus[82], where the family scene is in the classical tradition of the great frieze of the Ara Pacis, yet the battle scene belongs to the Hellenistic tradition of the Mantua relief. The patterns and visualisation of one sculpture may following the figural types and formulae of Greek art, while those of the other sculpture follow the Hellenistic model, simply due to the different themes of the sculptures, not because of cultural connections.[83] The idea, and practice for that matter, of using different styles on one structure or in this case on monuments, sometimes by simply using whatever is at hand but more often intentionally suing different styles, is called bricolage. This practice was not unheard of in Hellenistic times, as it was also employed by the ancestors of Philopappos in Kommagene.[84]

[82] A monununet that will be discussed later on in the next chapter in more detail.
[83] Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 16-17.
[84] Miguel John Versluys, *Visual Style and Constructing Identity in the Hellenistic World: Nemrud Dağ and Commagene under Antiochos I* (Cambridge 2017) 35-37.

Text and context

In this part of the chapter, I will look at the inscriptions that are present on the monument. The inscriptions that may or may not have been present on the monument when it was built will also be discussed, albeit in moderation and with reservation, and only to contribute to the possible context of the to this date remaining inscriptions. The nature and validity of the missing inscriptions s discussed in a previous chapter so I will not repeat them in the interest of the flow of this chapter. The discussion of the inscriptions in this chapter will encompass the nature of the texts, what is actually said in each text along with the goals the texts themselves may have had in their communications with their intended audience, i.e.: what messages they are meant to convey to their beholders. After explaining the texts and placing them in context, I shall delve further into the issue of the bilingual nature of the inscriptions on the monument, and what that means for the message it is expanding to the world.

The messages of inscriptions

The first inscription that will be discussed is inscription *a*, which is written on the column between the two statues that remain on the monument. This inscription is written in Latin, and mentions the complete Roman name, or nomenclature, of Philopappos, with *nomen*, *praenomen*, and *cognomen*[85], along with his titles and accomplishments and the full name of the emperor who admitted him to the praetorian rank, namely emperor Trajan. [86] This inscription helps the beholder not only to identify the monument and the person who is behind the monument, it also shows of the civic career of that person, what he has accomplished in his career by showing the titles associated with those achievements. By

[85] Olli Salomies, "Names and Identities: Onomastics and Prosopography" in John Bodel (ed.), Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions (New York 2001) 77, 83, 87-89.
[86] Appendix B, 1.

inscribing these titles in Latin, nearly every schooled citizen of the empire would be able to read, and thus appreciate, who Philopappos was and what his life must have been like, concluded by the titles alone. It is interesting to note that there are no mentions of his family or dynasty at all in this inscription.

The second inscription, inscription *c*, is located beneath the statue to the left, naming and identifying it as Antiochus Epiphanes by naming him king Antiochus, son of king Antiochus.[87] The inscription is in Greek and its main function is to identify the statue above it, of which the importance is mentioned previously and does not need further mentioning. What is important to note however, is the title of king, both attributed to Antiochus and to his father, giving a clear message of a dynasty at work in this inscription and in the statue above. If the beholder could read Greek, the lingua franca of the Eastern empire and thus very likely to be the case, he would get a notion of this dynastic element that is now connected to the entire monument, and by that also to Philopappos.

The third inscription that remains is inscription *d*, which is located beneath the statue of Philopappos and is, like the inscription next to it, in Greek. It states his Greek (or rather Athenian) name, which consists of his name, his father's name, and his deme. This way of inscribing his name makes him look like an Athenian citizen, and shows of his connection to the polis of Athens. For by using the same formulae for his name as any other Athenian citizen would, he identifies himself in this inscription as an Athenian citizen, and nothing less.[88] Thus, he claims to be an Athenian before anything else, leaving out here any title he may have obtained or claimed in his life. This makes for an interesting inscription, as it stands in contrast with the other present inscriptions which do contain titles, both of nobility

[87] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 15, 90.
[88] Salomies, "Names and Identities: Onomastics and Prosopography", 81.

and of office. This inscription makes the monument appear more local and more humble, though the latter is arguably overshadowed by the entire rest of the monument.

The other two recorded, yet disappeared, inscriptions mention the other statue, supposedly Seleukos Nikator, and the dynastic name of "king" Philopappos. The first gone inscription would cement the dynastic element of the monument by letting another important dynastic figure flank Philopappos, while the latter would serve as a Greek counterpart to the Latin inscription, giving the titles that are important to Philopappos in the world he is addressing.

The importance of title

The titles that are mentioned on a monument, or on any other stone bearing inscriptions, are important, since they give value and meaning to the message the inscription has to offer its reader. By inscribing a title, the name it belongs to is carries more weight than it otherwise would, making the message more important in the process. By giving the titles associated with the offices he has held in his life, Philopappos is presented as an important member of society, far more important than the bulk of the audience that would read the inscription, elevating him above them even in death.

Like the use of these titles, the use of the title 'king' or *βασιλευς* gives Philopappos the opportunity to manipulate the image people have of him. The title of king appears in the inscription written underneath the statue of his grandfather, cementing the dynastic context of the monument and himself by placing him in line with holders of this title, adding the grandeur of it to his own status. Furthermore, he continues in his not so humble humility by leaving out the title in the inscription identifying his own statue, yet presumably adding it in the other inscription mentioning his name, although this is disputed. This presumed use of the

title king in connection to his own name has been the reason for some scholars to claim he was a not so humble descendant of kings who saw himself as a king as well.[89]

If we only regard the remaining inscriptions, the omission of the title 'king' in connection with Philopappos himself is even more striking than a connection would be. In every aspect of the monument, from its imposing size and the divine nature of his statue to the dynastic inscription of his grandfather, it seems to elevate the status of Philopappos. However, the inscription identifying his statue is striking in its humility and simplicity. It looks almost bare without the title that adorn the other inscriptions. It forgoes any assumption of hubris and is, in this respect, more alike the classical gravestones in Athens than any aristocratic funerary monument.[90]

Bilingualism in inscriptions

As is evident by looking at the inscriptions on the monument, there is a bilingual nature to the inscriptions, most notably by the two different languages used in the different inscriptions. Apart from this obvious bilingual nature of the monument, there is also another bilingual element, which I would like to discuss first, which is the name of Philopappos in the Latin inscription. While some of his names here are clearly Roman, his Greek name has been morphologically Latinised.[91] This slight adaptation from his normal, Greek, name is more commonly than uncommonly seen in cases where people have relations with both Greek and Latin speaking communities, or who do not wholly want to give up their Greek identity when

[89] Altay Coşkun, 'Die Ehrenstellungen des Dexandros und die königlichen Vorfahren des L. Iulios Agrippa von Apameia' in *Ancient West & East 13* (2014) 82-3.
[90] Graham J. Oliver, 'Athenian funerary monuments: style, grandeur, and cost.' In Graham J. Oliver (ed.), *The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome* (Liverpool 2000): 59-80.72-4.; David Noy, 'Death' in Andrew Erskine (ed.), A Companion to Ancient History (Sussex 2009) 414-26.
[91] J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism in the Latin Language* (Cambridge 2009) 419.

adopting a more Roman name. In fact, by retaining most of their Greek name they integrate it with their Roman identity.[92]

The use of Latin on the monument, in combination with the Greek, is far more interesting than the slightly Latinised name of Philopappos in the Latin inscription. This, however, is also not an isolated occurrence on the monument, as it appears more often that there are multiple languages present on the same monument. In Delos for example, a Greek speaking island with many Latin speaking immigrants and traders from the second century B.C. onward, there are many instances of bilingual inscriptions, both written in two languages (Latin and Greek) and written in Greek alphabet with Roman names and words.[93] Something quite interesting and extraordinary is going on here in some of the inscriptions that may shed some light on bilingual inscriptions and the nature of bilingual citizens as well. On one of these inscriptions[94] shows two different languages in one message, first Latin followed by Greek, neither of them giving the full information of the inscription. It is as though the inscription was meant to be read by those who could read both languages, something that would not be done so frivolously if there was no large basis in society for bilingual citizens. It appears that the writer has made the assumption that the potential readers are in fact bilingual in Greek and Latin.[95]

There is also a clear distinction in most bilingual conventions between the public and the private inscriptions. If the inscription is public and consist of bilingual elements, it is often a product of targeted text from a source text. Especially in the Near East, these bilingual texts were primarily used for education in scholarly or pedagogical ways, though not exclusively, as rulers also used public bilingual texts. These texts often contain decrees,

[92] Adams, *Bilingualism in the Latin Language,* 491.
[93] Ibidem, 641-49.
[94] Appendix B, 4.
[95] Adams, *Bilingualism in the Latin Language,* 649.

inscribed in both the ruling class language as well as the local language, in order for everyone to understand the decree.[96] The private bilingual inscriptions are often more a mixture of two language than two separate messages, although this also occurs, especially on private inscriptions in public places. The largest body of these inscriptions consists of funerary inscriptions and showcase names and epitaphs in different ways I different languages, something which also occurs on the monument of Philopappos. If an inscription is bilingual in Latin and Greek, a difference in style can be observed between both inscribed languages, as the Latin part of the inscription is often more formal and more detailed in information than the Greek part is. Many instances of bilingual inscriptions are born from the desire of the inscriber to project a dual cultural identity, which is strengthened by the addition of a second language of the inscription.[97]

The message of the bilingual inscriptions on the monument

What is important to the interpretation of this monument, is how the bilingual inscriptions influence the beholder of the monument, what message it sends to its (intended) audience. If we compare the inscriptions with the inscription from Delos, where the complete information of the text can only be observed if the reader is bilingual and can read both the Greek as well as the Latin part of the inscription, we see some parallels and some differences, as they do not share the same characteristics. For one, the Delos inscription comprises of one text, incomplete and unintelligible to a monolingual reader, while the inscriptions of the Philopappos monument are multiple and monolingual and intelligible on their own. They do show different sides to Philopappos in his name, and thus the monument as one element can only be fully appreciated by a bilingual observer, though it is not necessary to understand it,

[96] Jennifer Larson, 'Bilingual inscriptions and translation in the ancient Mediterranean world', in *Complicating the History of Western Translation: The Ancient Mediterranean in Perspective* (2014): 53-4.
[97] Larson, 'Bilingual inscriptions and translation in the ancient Mediterranean world', 52.

like it is the case in the Delos inscription. The notion that the audience of the monuments inscriptions does not have to be bilingual, widens the possible audience, not restricting it to a small group of citizens of Athens, but rather expanding it to anyone who could read. However, if we consider the notion that the display of two languages on the monument is simply a way for Philopappos to express his dual cultural identity, it is not necessary for the audience of the monument to be able to read the inscriptions at all, only to recognise that the inscriptions are written in two different languages and that the inscriber, Philopappos, is a worldly man with multiple cultural identities.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have looked at what the images and the sculptures on the monument represent and what the meaning behind them could be. We have also seen the different inscriptions that appear on the monument, what they translate to and what significance this holds in both our interpretation of the monument and the message the monument wants to send out to its intended audience.

The image and sculpture part of the monument has taught us that the monument uses different style of sculpture to carry over its different messages. In the frieze, we see a more Roman style of sculpture that adheres more to the civic status and achievements of Philopappos, and in the more Greek style of the statues, we see a man who stands in line of a, in his eyes, great dynasty of which he is the heroic and perhaps even divine culmination. In the sculptures, we have also seen the many references, both nearly oblivious and obvious, to his heritage and ancestry of which he is proud, and the level of status that he supposes he belongs to or that he would have himself remembered by after his passing.

These same ways of representing himself in different fashions and different styles, we can also observe in the inscriptions that remain on the façade of the structure. By inscribing

in both Greek and in Latin, he clearly states the different ways in which he wants to be remembered, as well as the different cultural identities and subsequent heritages he claims for himself. Furthermore, it provides us with an insight into what the intended audience of the monument must have been like, or rather, what the different audiences must have gathered from the monument, as it appears to have targeted multiple audiences, each with a different message that may have altered their interpretation of the monument.

In conclusion to the importance of image, by looking at the different ways in which Philopappos has not only made clear to the viewers in what ways he relates to his heritage of a Kommagenian royal house, but also what his ambitions were beyond his station in society, we can see the man he wants to appear to be. Though we know of his descent, and that he was an influential aristocrat in both Rome and Athens, by examining the image he paints for himself on and by use of his monument, we can see the man he thinks himself to be. A man who is more than that aristocrat, am man who is still a king, and even a hero. If we would know of the man Philopappos only by the texts that have been written about him, we would not have come close to knowing the man as he sees himself, as we see him through the image he paints us through his monument on the Mouseion hill in Athens. It is therefore safe to say that the importance of image is essential in trying to understand a monument like this, for if we did not take the image seriously, the monument would have maybe appeared dull and uninteresting, not worthy of attention, unlike it does now, now that we know more on the reasons behind it and the images known to us.

Chapter III: Funerary monuments: a comparative study

Funerary archaeology, and especially the field of Roman tomb archaeology, is one of the most varied and diversified fields in terms of architecture. This means that it is no easy task to categorize tombs, as they each have individual characteristics and generally do not follow any dogmatic approaches to their form and construction. This individualistic approach to tomb architecture means however, that they do represent either the buried individual or the patron who ordered the tomb in a greater part than other forms of architecture generally do. This can also mean that, to a certain degree, similarities between different tombs are perhaps intended and serve a greater purpose than merely an aesthetic one, as is the case with Augustus' funerary monument that imitated the round tombs of his Italian ancestors.[98] Although imitation can be an important factor, it is also worth noticing that sometimes tomb architecture, and especially the iconography on it, reflects the status and wealth of the deceased person, especially in Roman times.[99] It is therefore imperative that we look at other, similar, tombs that share characteristics with the monument of Philopappos, in order to try and understand what makes his monument so special, and where he could have drawn inspiration from, and for what reason.

The funerary structures that I will be looking at in this subchapter are the ones that either culturally, visually, or geographically related to, or can be compared with, the monument of Philopappos. This means that I shall be looking at both contemporary and earlier monuments from both the Hellenistic and the Roman world in a traditional sense.

[98] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos*, 51; M. Eisner,'Zur Typologie des Mausoleen des Augustus und des Hadrian', in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung 86* (1979) 319-324.
[99] Leonard V. Rutgers, 'Cemeteries and Catacombs' in Paul Erdkamp (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 2013) 507-509.

Nemrut Dağı

To start the comparison off, it is good to look at the similarities and differences between the sanctuary at Nemrut Dağı and the monument of Philopappos, to see how the monument compares to that of his ancestors in Kommagene. It is interesting to see if both the monument and the sanctuary show similarities as Kleiner[100] and Sullivan[101] suggest, or if there is no real comparison between the two as Kropp states.[102]

Understanding what similarities there may be between the monument of Philopappos and the sanctuary at Nemrut Dağı may give us insight in what the intentions of Philopappos may have had with his monument. Does it relate to his ancestors, like the sculptural and epigraphical program does, or does it stand apart from the sanctuary and follows other conventions. Whichever it will be, it will enhance our understanding of the monument so far. The parallels drawn by other scholars like Kleiner and Sullivan are important to take in, since it is my strong opinion that they are, partially, correct in their assumption that a parallel can be observed between the monument and the sanctuary. When I say partially, it is because the two are also very distinct and appear in very different fashion apart from the few parallels that have been drawn in the past. Kleiner, for example, mentions the parallel between the two, of central figures that are flanked by ancestors,[103] albeit that at Nemrut there are many more statues and that here they are freestanding, as opposed to the monument where there were probably only three statues, encased in the façade of the monument. The importance of this similarity between the two might be of importance, but only if the composition on the monument is intentionally referring to the sanctuary at Nemrut Dağı, which is not clear enough to be argued definitively. In my opinion, the differences between the two

[100] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 82.
[101] Sullivan, 'The dynasty of Commagene', 732-98.
[102] Kropp, *Images and Monuments*, 188.
[103] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 82-3.

compositions are too many to be regarded a clear parallel. It may have some relevance, though that is up for debate.

Another parallel that has often surfaced is that of the location of both the sanctuary and the monument on an elevated area.[104] The idea posed by some scholars is that in the case of the sanctuary at Nemrut, this marks the elevated, divine, position of the Royal tombs and family, at two-thousand meter above sea-level, over the ordinary citizens, an extreme example of a ruler being elevated above earthly existence.[105] If this superposition of the sanctuary can be openly applied to the monument of Philopappos, it would certainly strengthen the argument for the parallel between it, and the sanctuary at Nemrut Dağı. Although neither the height of the location nor the scope of the structure can compare, and it is located in a more urban landscape. This argument shall be expanded upon on its own, without the comparison with Nemrut Dağı, in a later chapter concerning the archaeology of context and the landscape of the monument.

Although the expectations may be that there is some form of a parallel between the sanctuary and the monument, mainly because of the other connections with his family and his ancestors that Philopappos has included in the façade of his monument, it is not a given that this has to be the case. In terms of the monument as a whole, and the similar compositions in both the monument and the sanctuary, there is something to be said for the argument that the monument reminds of the sanctuary, as Kleiner and Sullivan argue, and even though it seems very likely, it is important to note, as Kropp did, that the comparison is only hinted at and not clearly visible, making it no more than an assumption and not a fact, he further notes that the

[104] Janos Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age: A Study of Selected Tombs from the Pre-classical to the Early Imperial Era* (Toronto 1990) 70.
[105] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age,* 202.; F. Krischen, Weltwunder der Baukunst in Babylonien und Ionien (Tübingen 1956).

monument is too far removed from the sanctuary, both in time and space, to be considered a parallel, and that it is, essentially, a Roman aristocratic tomb.[106]

One difference between the sanctuary and the monument that I would like to point out that may be of significance, is that the monument of Philopappos probably doubled in function as a tomb to the deceased Philopappos himself, while the sanctuary at Nemrut Dağı, does in fact not hold any deceased and cannot be considered as a tomb. The actual tomb there is located in the side of the mountain and not in the sanctuary, thus weakening the argument of the elevated position of Antiochus, due to his tomb being lower than the sanctuary. Still, his image is located on the top so the argument, though weakened, does still hold.

Nereid Monument

This monumental tomb from Xanthos was built for a Lycian king and, perhaps owing to its current location in the British Museum, is one of the more well-known Hellenistic tombs from Asia Minor. In appearance, it resembles an Ionic Greek temple, to such extreme detail in some of the construction, especially of the roof, that it has been considered and argued by some that either the architects or the workmen must have worked on the construction of the Acropolis in Athens before the construction of this monument as well[107], on a podium, richly decorated with sculptures, both in reliefs and freestanding. The sculptures, both on the frieze as well as the freestanding 'Nereids' are portrayed all around the monument, creating a façade from every viewpoint of the monument.

Although it is, like the sanctuary at Nemrut Dağı, far removed in time from the monument of Philopappos, it is closer to it in space, and boast some features that may not directly appear like they are similar to the monument of Philopappos, but if examined closer

[106] Kropp, *Images and Monuments*, 188.
[107] William Bell Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: an Account of its Historic Development* (London 1950) 256-7.

do shed new light on the monument and help us understand the monument of Philopappos that much better. The Nereid monument is traditionally thought of as a combination of Persian ideas of the after lie and Greek art and architecture,[108] Even though we should see the monument for what it is, a product of local style and belief, and a variation on what we see as Greek style, we can use the links it has with other styles to our advantage by using what scholars have said about them and applying it to this monument. The heroization of rulers for example, that has been applied before in the Persian empire, seems to have been applied to the Nereid monument as well.[109] It is this element of the Nereid monument that I want to compare the monument of Philopappos to, as his monument too seems to have some form of heroization of the deceased, albeit of a more divine nature. Both monuments do something that is different from the status quo in heroizing their maker to the divine, and thus elevating their status in the afterlife above that of the living.

Another parallel that can be drawn between the two monuments is the sculptural elements that adorn the facades of the Nereid monument and the façade of the monument of Philopappos. Even though they are different in both style and theme, their place on their respective monument are similar. It is not without some merit that Philopappos may have seen or have heard about this monument, and used its imposing and magnificent stature as a template for some parts of his monument. Then again, it could also very well be that they are not related at all, and that the striking visuals of both monuments, meant to awe their audience as well as deliver messages, are simply two very similar ways in which the artists that created them gave form to the desire of their patrons. Besides that, the adornment of the Nereid monument goes further than what we know of the monument of Philopappos, as it

[108] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age,* 66.
[109] Ibidem, 66.

contains more sculptures in the form of another frieze on top of the statues and a pediment filled with sculpture on top of that.

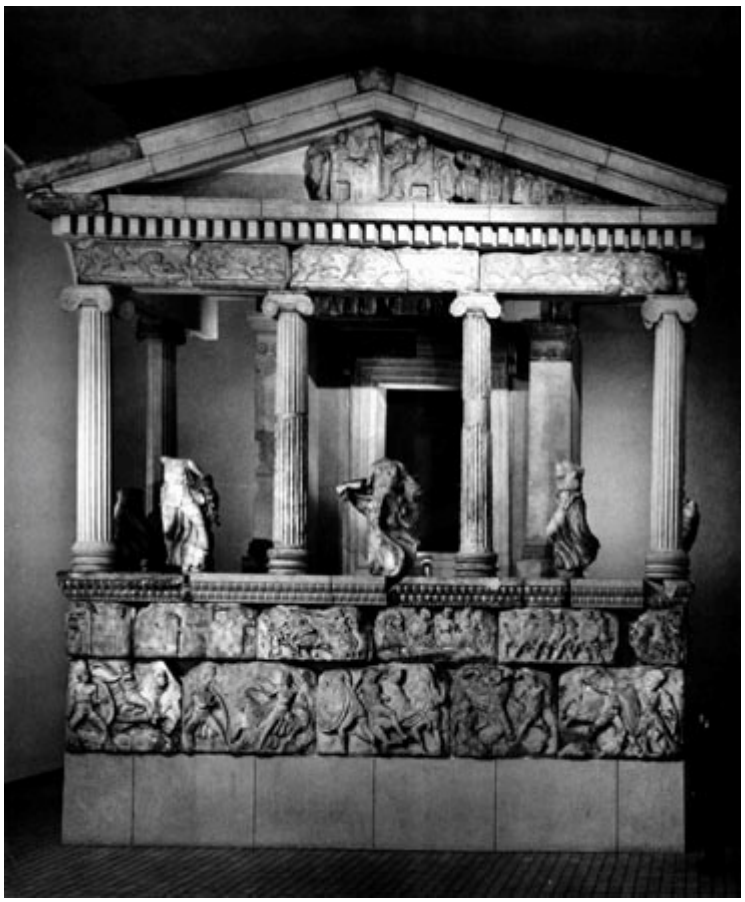

Figure 4: The Nereid Monument from Xanthos[110]

The two monuments are even alike in their placement, both being present in an Urban cityscape, instead of outside the of the city, like most funerary monument would be. This placement of the Nereid monument has been associated with the heroizing function, rather than the monumental and funerary one.[111] It is interesting to note this similarity with the monument of Philopappos, which has also been erected inside of the city limits, and shall be discussed later on in the chapter on the archaeology of context.

[110] Photo by the British Museum, http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/Sculpture/ashmolean/sites/nereid.htm (17/05/2017).
[111] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 58.

Tomb of the Cornelii Scipiones

The tomb of the Cornelii Scipiones is an interesting comparison to the monument of Philopappos, as it is often seen as a Hellenistic influenced aristocratic tomb in Rome. It is located along the Via Appia and was put up by the Scipio family, a prominent and highly influential family in the Roman Republic, in the second century B.C..[112] The tomb is also mentioned by Livy in his work *On the History of Rome*, where he mentions the tomb and the three statues that are present on its façade, two of which belong to the Scipio family, and one that belongs to the poet Quintus Ennius.[113] The structure was unique to the Roman Republic and would remain unique up until the later days of the Republic, when other influential families began building great monumental tombs of their own.[114]

These three statues are the main reason I am comparing this tomb to the monument of Philopappos. As you can see in the reconstruction (fig. 4) the three statues on the façade of the tomb are placed in niches, with the central figure being of greater stature than the flanking statues. This composition of the sculptures is very similar to the composition of the sculptures on the façade of the monument of Philopappos. Through Livy we know of the fame of both the family of the Cornelii Scipiones and of their tomb, and it is not unlikely that both Philopappos and his in Rome residing father have seen this monument with their own eyes. Although there are some major differences in the poses and combination of the statues, the likeliness between the two monuments is striking and probably intentional. Philopappos saw himself and his direct ancestors as Roman besides Kommagenian, and his family was both politically and civically influential in the Roman Empire, as the Scipio family was in the Roman Republic. The parallel between the two families could easily be made on account of

[112] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* 122-3.
[113] Livy, *On the History of Rome*, 38.56.
[114] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age,* 379.

the similarities in their tombs when familiar with both of the monumental structures and the families behind them.

Another interesting detail about the tomb is that, although it was built in a period where is was located beyond the city limits and outside of the city walls, it was later incorporated in the city by its inclusion in the Aurelian city Wall from the third century A.D., placing it well within the city limits along the Via Appia but not past the Porta Appia.[115] The parallel with the monument of Philopappos here is the inclusion within the city walls of the tomb. While it was not done to erect a tomb within the city walls, an already existing tomb may be included when the city limits and the corresponding walls were expanded outward, encompassing the area in which a tomb was already built. The parallel here is that the monument of Philopappos also sits within the city walls of Athens, as the Tomb of the Cornelii Scipiones does in Rome. The curious detail being here, that the monument of Philopappos was built within the city wall limit, but after they were destroyed by Sulla in 86 B.C., making them non visible.[116] The reason why it was seemingly fine for him to build his tomb inside of the city limits shall be discussed further in the next chapter, however, it is worth noting the similarity with the location of the tomb of the Cornelii Sciopiones in this regard, as tombs located in a city where it was not commonly acceptable to have a tomb within the city limits.[117]

[115] J.C.M. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London 1971) 103.
[116] T. Leslie Shear Jr, 'Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town', in *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 50, 4 (1981) 356-7.
[117] Wu, '"Live Like a King": The Monument of Philopappus and the Continuity of Client-Kingship', 36.

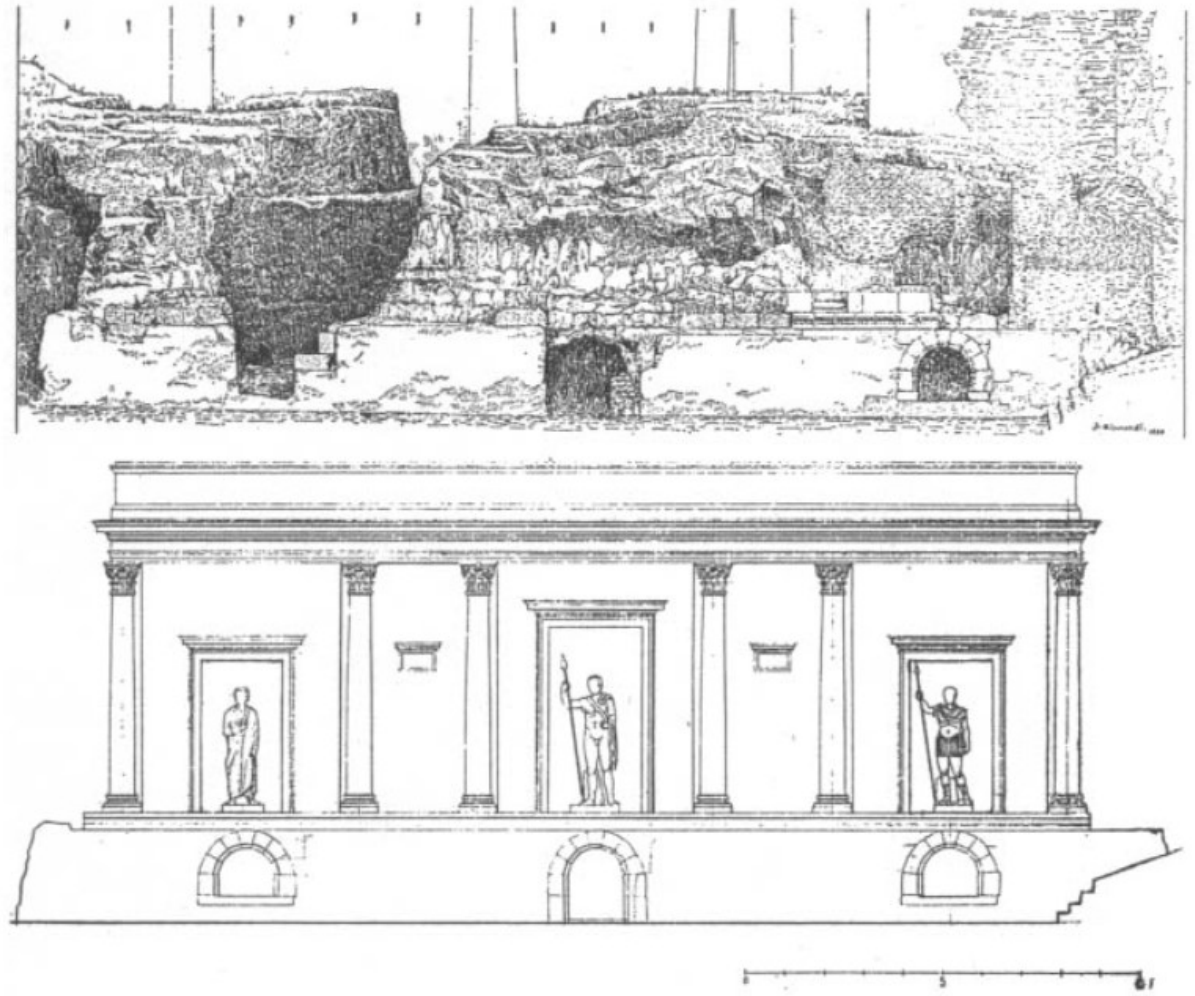

Figure 5: Tomb of the Cornelii Scipiones, reconstruction according to Lauter-Bufe[118]

The temple-tomb of Asfionius Rufus

When we talk about Hellenistic style tombs, we often think of Greece, Anatolia or the Near East as influence spheres where these types of tombs occur and appear. Rarely do we think of Italy, let alone the area around Rome, as part of this influence sphere. Yet in the city of Sarsina in central Italy, a tomb for the Imperial period was uncovered that resembles the temple-tombs of the Hellenistic world. It is similar to the Nereid monument, although not nearly as lavishly decorated or impressively in terms of stature.[119] It is interesting to observe

[118] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age,* 379.
[119] Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World,* 131.

in the context of this comparative study because of the temporal closeness to the monument of Philopappos, as well as the fact that it too, like the monument, appears in a style that is uncommon for the place that it is set up in. While the monument of Philopappos borrows more, in architectural sense, from the western styles of the Roman empire, so does the temple-tomb of Asfionius Rufus from the styles of the Hellenistic Eastern part of the Empire. Both tombs appear to be out of their context, and odd as they may appear, to me they signify that style is not region exclusive and more bound to personal preference or belonging to a certain artist. Like the different styles of sculpture used on one monument, they do not necessarily represent a direct link with a different culture, but rather are styles that are implored due to subject matter, theme or personal preference.

The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus

Another tomb that has a very Hellenistic style to it, and is located in the Hellenistic world as well, is the famous Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. This monument stands as a category of its own its massive scope and numeral sculptures and decorative elements, although this can mostly just be found in literature on the mausoleum, as it has not survived the ages.[120] In general appearance, it is similar to the Nereid monument previously discussed, only of greater proportions. It was built several decades after the Nereid monument and could very well have drawn inspiration from it. Like the Nereid monument, it is said to have been constructed by Greek workers by Dinsmoor, although it is my opinion that workers from Anatolia could just as well have been the workmen, as the provenance of the worker who made the Greek structures that are similar is not as clear. The architect were Greeks, as they wrote a book on the construction that was mentioned in the work of Vitruvius.[121]

[120] Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 257-62.
[121] Ibidem, 259.

In comparison with the monument of Philopappos, it can be compared as a monument that stands out due to its uniqueness in the surrounding area. As was the case with the temple-tom of Asfionius Rufus and the monument of Philopappos, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus is of a style that is not common in its near surroundings. Its style is, as some scholars have come to call it, very un-Asiatic.[122] Apart from its outstanding style, it has another feature that, in my view, fits the monument of Philopappos as well. Because of its unique features and also due to its great stature, the Mausoleum really stands out and holds a certain grandeur that gives it more weight in its surrounding than other structures, thus also elevating the deceased to whom it belongs above those who view the Mausoleum. IT is my opinion that this is also the case with the monument of Philopappos for reason already stated previously in this chapter. Its stature too elevated the monument from its surroundings and the person behind the monument with it. The difference between the two structures here, that makes the Mausoleum stand out more than the monument of Philopappos, is the fact that it is not outshone by a nearby monument of even greater grandeur, while the monument of Philopappos does have this competition with the closely neighbouring Acropolis of Athens with its magnificent structures.

Lucius Verus

As this monument and its significance have been mentioned before in the subchapter on sculpture, I shall limit the devotion to it in this chapter. However, it is an important monument to mention in this comparative study, since it shows a clear style distinction between its sculptures, as is the case on the monument of Philopappos. As mentioned before this is because of the different themes that are represented by the different sculptures, for which there exist different stylistic paradigms that today we consider as Roman and

[122] Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 260.

Hellenistic.[123] This becomes most obvious in the famous battle scene that is visible on this monument. This battle scene follows the Hellenistic model because of the pathos and the multiple interrelations that can appear in the Hellenistic model, while if the artist used the Classical model for the battle scene, the combat would have been broken up into single combat, forgoing the complex relations on the battlefield and the pathos.[124]

Whichever way we look at these different sculptures, the fact remains that the visual discrepancy is present on the monument. This discrepancy itself may have an alternative interpretation, since it clearly distinguishes the one set of sculptures from the other, just like it does in the case of the monument of Philopappos. This practice of using different styles of sculpture, suitable to the themes that they represent, is perhaps a more common occurrence, of which Philopappos employs the use to make the sculpture on his monument not only thematic and stylistic appropriate, but also visually striking.

The Ahenobarbus altar

The inclusion of this so-called altar, which is a large statue-base, may seem odd, as the monument of Philopappos and the share neither form nor function, neither location nor period, and seem very different altogether. What they do share, and which is the reason for the inclusion of the altar in this comparison, in the way in which they are different. They are both out of place in their style and yet very much a product of circumstances and thus no anomalies or abnormalities. The Ahenobarbus altar juxtaposes two different styles on the same monument, in a similar way to how the monument of Philopappos does. Only where the monument of Philopappos chooses to separate the styles in different artistic expressions of a relief on the one hand and statues on the other, the Ahenobarbus altar employs one kind of expression, the relief, and separates both styles by showing them on

[123] Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman* Art, 97-8.
[124] Ibidem, 23.

different sides of the altar. On the altar, the different styles present are the veristic Italic/Roman on the one hand and the more baroque Hellenistic style on the other.

Both the use of the veristic Italic/Roman style on the monument of Philopappos and the use of the more baroque Hellenistic style on the altar can easily be explained by looking at the relations between both worlds. The use of Hellenistic style reliefs on the Ahenobarbus altar could be a reference to the area from which the Romans claim their heritage, Anatolia, as Trojans, and be used in showing the beginnings of their cultural identity, as the Hellenistic style was the style of that area in the period the Ahenobarbus altar was constructed. Something similar can be said for veristic Roman style in the eastern part, as is the case with the frieze on the monument of Philopappos. Here, the style can refer to the relation his family has had with the Romans, both in his life and in the client, ship the royal family had when they still resided in Kommagene, when they influence from Rome was probably more than just a political one.

It is clear that the two structures, the Ahenobarbus altar and the monument of Philopappos, share more than initially meets the eye. The use of style receives a new dimension when looking at the usage of it in this respect, and due to the theory behind the styles on the Ahenobarbus altar. This aspect of style should not be ignored when looking at the monument of Philopappos and has a place besides the other stylistic arguments that relate more to the subject of the sculptures, rather than the cultural connotations that are proposed in this comparison.

The tomb of Herodes Atticus

Perhaps one of the most famous residents of Athens from the Roman period, and arguably also the wealthiest, was a man known as Herodes Atticus. More monuments and structures in Athens stand to his name than any other person in the history of the Polis, except

maybe for Pericles. This aristocrat from Marathon, who claims to trace his line back to the mythical kings of Athens[125] and even gods and heroes[126], lived a couple of decades after Philopappos and can be considered as a contemporary source.

The hard part about comparing the two tombs is that the authenticity of the tomb and sarcophagus of Herodes Atticus has been disputed.[127] Although the sarcophagus was found roughly on the spot where he would have been buried according to Philostratus, it does not correspond with contemporary sarcophagi, but rather with third century types found in the Kerameikos, and apart from that discrepancy, it was also not finished, a rather odd thing given the status of Herodes Atticus.[128]

According to the sophist Philostratus, Herodes Atticus was buried in Athens, against his will, as most aristocrats were buried in their ancestral lands[129], by the people of Athens, inside his own reconstructed Panathenaic Stadium, just outside the city walls:

> *He died at the age of about seventy-six, of a wasting sickness. And though he expired at Marathon and had left directions to his freedmen to bury him there, the Athenians carried him off by the hands of the youths and bore him into the city, and every age went out to meet the bier with tears and pious ejaculations, as would sons who were bereft of a good father. They buried him in the Panathenaic stadium, and inscribed over him this brief and noble epitaph: "Here lies all that remains of Herodes, son of Atticus, of Marathon, but his glory is world-wide." That is all I have to say*

[125] Jennifer Tobin, 'Some New Thoughts on Herodes Atticus's Tomb, His Stadium of 143/4, and Philostratus VS 2.550' in *American Journal of Archaeology* 97, 1 (1993) 81.
[126] Joseph L. Rife, 'The Burial of Herodes Atticus: Élite Identity, Urban Society, and Public Memory in Roman Greece' in Journal of Hellenic Studies 128 (2008) 93-4.
[127] Tobin, 'Some New Thoughts on Herodes Atticus's Tomb', 83.
[128] Ibidem, 83-4.
[129] Rife, 'The Burial of Herodes Atticus', 94.

concerning Herodes the Athenian; part of it has been told already by others, but part was hitherto unknown.[130]

Now it is worth noting that, unlike the case with his own daughter, Herodes Atticus did not enjoy an intramural burial, though the site of the Panathenaic Stadium can also be considered as unique and special in its own right.[131] There is some debate whether he was buried underneath the dromos of the stadium, as Tobin suggest[132], or whether a monument was built next to the stadium, as elongated foundations uncovered beside it might suggest, according to Rife[133], who also suggests that a monument would be in line with other benefactors of the polis from the same period, like the monument of Philopappos.[134] Whether he was buried beneath or besides the stadium would have made little difference in the preservation of his memory however. As Rife argues that at every game held there, the people would see his monument and preserve his honoured memory. This public memory would establish some sort of universal fame, that would ensure the survival of his memory, as long as the stadium was in use.[135]

Arguably, the same can be said for the monument of Philopappos, as this too is a monument of an Athenian benefactor, and it too preserves the memory through its visibility. If it was as successful as the monument of Herodes Atticus was is up for debate, given the low-key profile it held when Pausanias described it, not even mentioning his name in the process. Even so, the importance of a monument like that of Herodes Atticus may help us understand the monumentality and impact of the monument of Philopappos, even though the monument of Herodes Atticus has not survived the ages.

[130] Philostratus of Athens, *Lives of the Sophists*, 2.566.
[131] Rife, 'The Burial of Herodes Atticus', 102, 109.
[132] Tobin, 'Some New Thoughts on Herodes Atticus's Tomb', 84.
[133] Rife, 'The Burial of Herodes Atticus', 109.
[134] Rife, 'The Burial of Herodes Atticus', 109.
[135] Ibidem, 121.

The Olympieion or temple of Zeus Olympos

Though not a tomb or monument, and certainly not a structure that appears similar to the monument of Philopappos, this structure too, deserves our attention in comparison to the monument of Philopappos. This temple, although finished by the Roman emperor Hadrian, was constructed by an ancestor of Philopappos, Antiochus IV Epiphanes from the second century B.C. (so not his grandfather with the same name), who ruled over the Seleucid Empire as heir and descendent of Seleukos the Great, and was responsible for the dealing with Maccabean Revolt in Judea. He built the temple on the foundations laid out by the Peisistratids of Athens, the sons of the tyrant Peisistratus.[136] He most probably became the patron of this temple by financing its construction to associate himself with the fabled, but in his time toothless, polis of Athens because of its historical and cultural relevance, that he could politically exploit.[137]

The parallel here is more than simply that both man are relatives, although this does play a part in why both structures can be compared to each other. They are also similar in that both men consider themselves patrons of Athens, each in their own right and in their own way. Both of them have spent time in the city, and both want to be remembered for that. Antiochus by (trying) to build a great temple, and Philopappos by constructing his tomb in the city, and being a patron for the arts in the city, for which he was commended as discussed earlier in the first chapter.

Another way in which they compare is the position thy hold in the physical landscape of the city, as the Olympieion is located south of the Acropolis, with an unobstructed view of the Acropolis. Just as the monument of Philopappos is located next to the Acropolis, also

[136] Disnmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece,* 280.
[137] Bonna D. Westcoat, 'The Patronage of Greek and Roman Architecture' in Clemente Marconi (ed.) , *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture* (Oxford 2015) 183.

with an unobstructed view of it. This may suggest an implied connection that both structures want to express with the polis of Athens, through its symbolic and cultural centre of the Acropolis, that represents the city itself in this connection.

Conclusions

Now that we have looked at different funerary monuments that in one way or the other can help us understand the monument of Philopappos better, we can place it in a larger context in order to understand what kind of monument it really is. Furthermore, we have seen how the monument compares to other funerary monument and tombs from different parts of the Ancient world, both further remove in time and further removed in space. We have observed that, though fairly unique in multiple ways for its period and place, the monument can be compared in nearly every of its aspects with other monuments that show the same characteristics, making it less unique in each of those aspects separately. However, the combination of all the characteristics in this one monument can be considered as something unique of its own and can perhaps be considered as its defining characteristic so far.

Chapter IV: The location of the monument of Philopappos

One major aspect of the monument that has been glanced at on multiple occasions in the previous chapters, but has not been explored in detail as of yet, is the space the monument of Philopappos occupies in the physical landscape. As mentioned before, its location is fairly unique in Athens and very prominent as well. For reasons unknown, many scholars have either barely observed this or even completely overlooked this fact, and have therefore either diminished the importance of the monument, or regarded it as insignificant due to this oversight. It is my intention to correct this error and provide the academic world with an adequate overview of the theories that consider the archaeology of the landscape and the context of monuments, and furthermore, place the monument of Philopappos within this framework and explain why the monument is important due to the location is built in. By doing so, I hope to have also illustrated the general importance of placing monuments in their context, not simply their historical or artistic context, but also in the spatial and social context.

The idea of landscape

In order to fully understand what it means for a monument to be in a specific location in the landscape, and what this surrounding landscape does for the meaning of the monument, it is important to identify this notion of landscape and define it. For this purpose, I have taken the geographical definition of landscape, due to the geographical nature of this part of the chapter, as proposed by Cosgrove[138]. He states, that landscape denotes the external world, mediated through subjective human experience in a way that neither region nor area immediately suggest. Landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a

[138] Who was an Alexander von Humboldt Professor of Geography at the University of California, U.S.A..

composition of that world. Landscape is a way of seeing the world.[139] This view is influenced by the words of Yi-Fu Tuan: 'the landscape is somewhat analogous to the interior of the house, in that its totality reveals purposes and ends that have directed human energy'.[140] It is clear that landscape is more than just the surrounding environment and nature, and also envelops the way in which we have influenced, see, and experience our surroundings. This also means that from inside our environment, our surroundings, we experience the landscape differently from those observing it from a distance or from a picture. We as insiders of the landscape cannot simply walk away from the scene to observe it more subjectively, as an observer of a picture could, making us experience the landscape differently. Besides this, if the insider has social connections to his or her surroundings, they too influence the way in which the landscape is experienced. This means that the composition of the landscape is much more integrated and inclusive than an observer could perceive, making unambiguous classifications of landscape almost impossible to create.[141]

This idea differs slightly from the more material oriented approach of landscape archaeology, where the main focus lies with the artefacts, sites, and site complexes within wider spatial realms, both physical and meaningful, of past human experiences.[142] The spatial realms that are mentioned in this field, can be considered similar to the what is viewed as landscape in the geographical approach, only differentiating the two approaches with the focus on the material context in archaeology and the social and spatial context in geography. The similarities between both approaches are no coincidence, as many scholars in both fields exchange information and make use of each other's publications. The world of landscape

[139] Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London 1984) 13.
[140] Yi-Fu Tuan, 'Geography, Phenomenolgy and the Study of Human Nature' in *Canadian Geographer* 15, 3 (1971) 183.
[141] Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape,* 19.
[142] Tim Denham, 'Landscape Archaeology' in Allan S. Gilbert (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Geoarchaeology* (2017) 464.

archaeology has broadened in the past decades to also encompass the more social and human aspects of the archaeology, in order to place the material evidence in a wider context than before.[143] One of these social aspects of landscape archaeology is the idea that landscape archaeology and the meaning of the landscape goes beyond the physical and material. This idea by Relph[144] connects with the geographical approach to landscape as mentioned by Cosgrove above. He shifts the focus of landscape archaeology to an approach of the meaning of landscape through the realm of past human experiences. This means that the remains of human activity, although still important, as pushed aside by the more conceptual ideas of human perceptions of landscapes they considered meaningful and in which they lived their lives.[145]

It seems now that there are two different ways of approaching the field of landscape archaeology, both in a physical sense and in a social sense. For the purpose of this study into the landscape and place of the monument of Philopappos in this landscape, it is, in my opinion, important to exploit both of these approaches to this case, in order to fully understand the complex context of this monument. I shall begin with a description and analysis of the direct surroundings of the physical landscape of the monument, both in the physical geography of the landscape as well as the archaeological material of the landscape, in this case the surrounding monuments and structures. This has to be done first, in order to fully be able to talk about the social implications of the landscape, as the physical side of the landscape is vital in understanding the surroundings of the people who lived there. Without the material evidence, the social layers of the landscape can not be fully uncovered. After this analysis of the both the physical and the social landscape that surrounded the monument of Philopappos in the time that it was built, I will also look at the modern-day equivalent of this

[143] Denham, 'Landscape Archaeology', 465.
[144] E. C. Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London 1976).
[145] Denham, 'Landscape Archaeology', 467.

case study, and try and see if much has changed in both the physical and the social landscape of the monument.

The physical landscape

For the physical landscape, a physical boundary has to be set to mark the end of the landscape, since we cannot simply discuss everything in Athens, or even Attica. A good boundary for the landscape surrounding the monument of Philopappos would be everything clearly visible from the monument from which you can distinguish details. I added this last part since on a clear day you could see Salamis from the hill, or even further, and that would be too large a scope to consider. The area that is encompassed by this boundary would be the south slope of the Acropolis and what lies just to the east and west of it on one side, and the harbour of Piraeus and the sea to the other side, along with the countryside surrounding both sides. For convenience sake, I have added a map of Athens from the Roman period to illustrate the distances and structures of note present in the landscape. Note that at least some structures on the map are from the decades after the construction of Philopappos' monument, like the structures put up by Herodes Atticus, and shall therefore not be discussed.

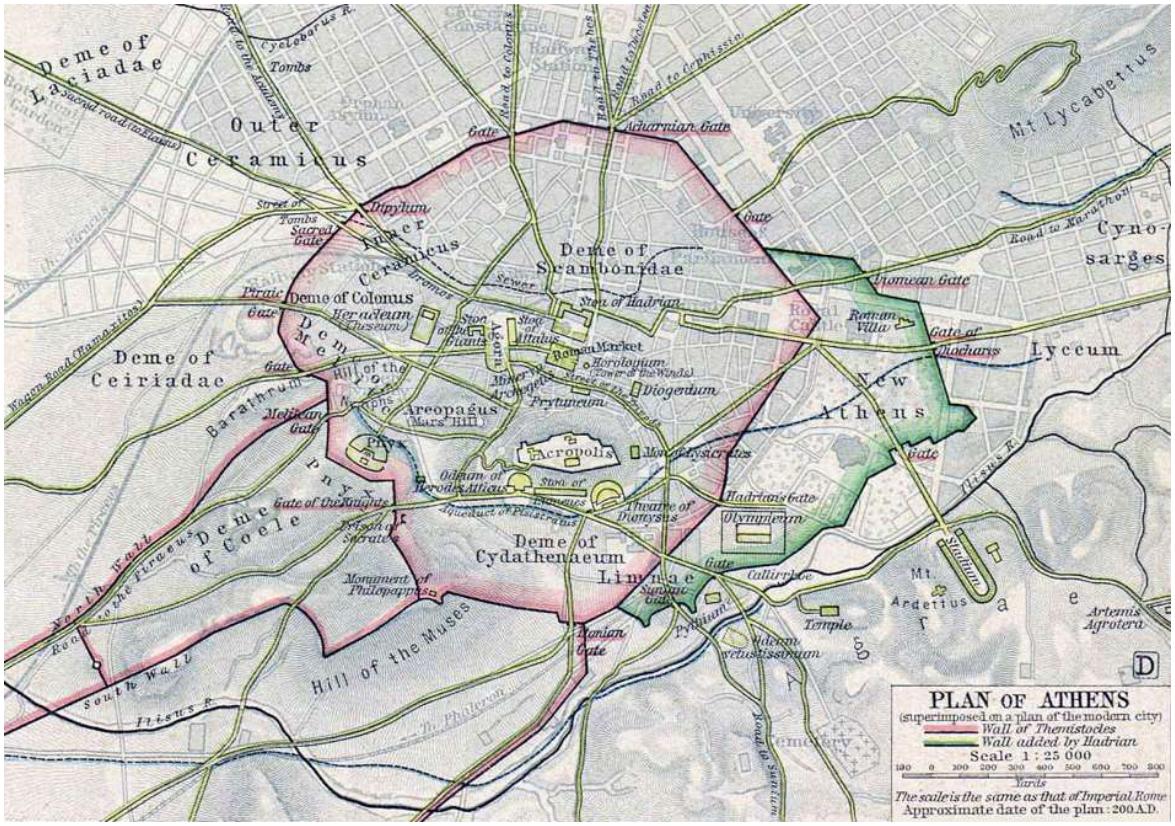

Figure 6: City Plan of Athens around 200 AD[146]

Geological landscape

The geological, or geophysical, landscape consist of both the soils and elevations as well as the plants and trees that grow on it, giving a geographical side to the landscape. This part of the landscape, though sometimes slightly altered, is the most basic part of the landscape and show the least amount of interference from the people living in the area, especially the soil and elevations. People often interfere in the landscape, by either delving into hillsides, creating arable land by irrigation and deforestation, and in doing so, they create a footprint in the landscape that can be observed for thousands of years, making it the most basic form of landscape archaeology, also referred to as paleoecology, or the study of ancient environments and ecology.[147]

[146] William R. Shepherd, Historical Atlas (New York 1923) 23.
[147] Denham, 'Landscape Archaeology', 466.

In the area of Athens around the monument of Philoppappos, the landscape is quite dramatic and interesting in elevations and declines. As can be seen on the map of figures 5 and 6, the area within the city boundaries of the classical city walls consists of multiple hills and ridges, on one of which stands the monument of Philopappos, to the southwest of the Acropolis, on the Mouseion Hill. These hills make for a physical landscape with very little sightlines when walking between the hills, with all the landmarks gracing either the tops or the sides of these hills, grasping the attention of the passers-by. Not much else has been found on the sides of these hills, suggesting that they consisted, like they do today to some degree, of small urban forests, creating a hint of green and nature that would contribute to the sacred nature of these hills. This sacred nature becomes clear when looking at all the smaller and larger sanctuaries and shrines that dot the landscape.[148]

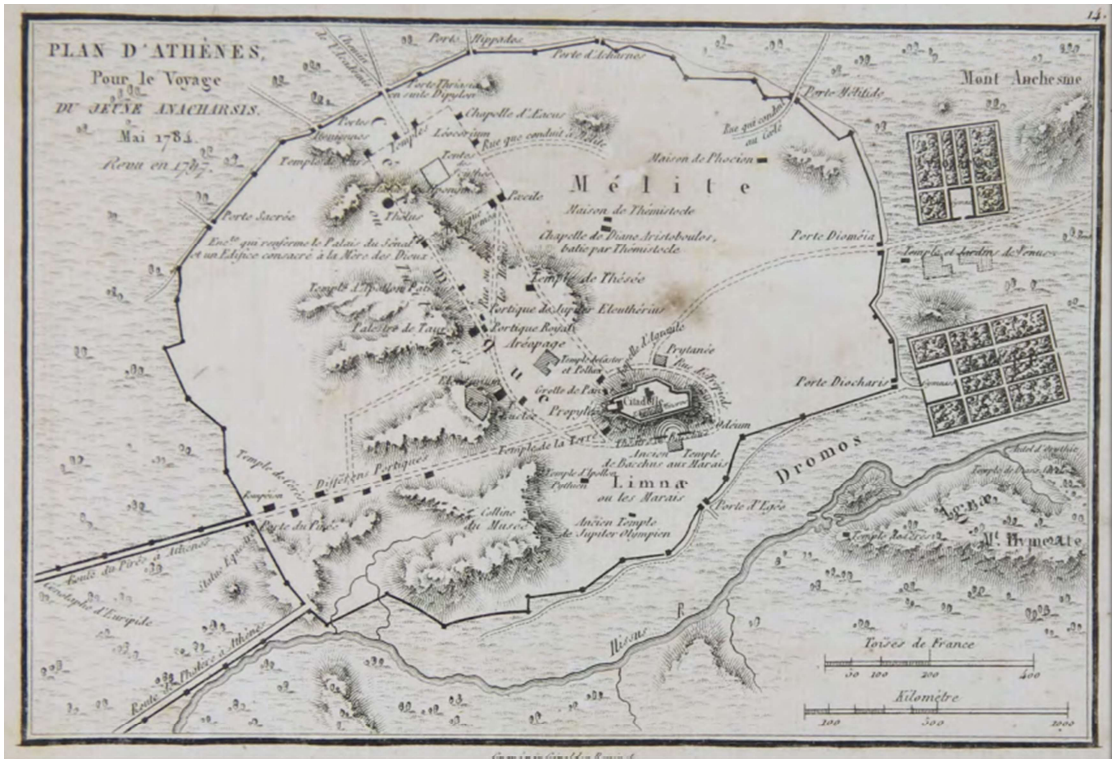

Figure 6: Topographical map of Athens in more detail[149]

[148] Susan Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge 1993) 199-201.
[149] Bovinet Χαρτογράφος Giraldon and Jean Denis Barbié du Bocage, *Atlas du voyage du jeune anacharsis/Jean Denis Bardie du Bocage; Giraldon-Bovinet* (Paris 1821) 14.

The hills themselves are mainly composed of limestone, formed in the Upper Cretaceous, that belong to a larger so-called formation of the "Athenian Schists"[150] Nowadays this limestone is very visible on both the tops and sides of the hills, with the outstanding example being the Acropolis hill, very nearly all the bedrock limestone is visible. This may not have been the case in the time of Philopappos as in classical times, it was noted that save for a few patches, almost the entire Acropolis hill was covered in soil, which stretched to the neighbouring hills as well, as mentioned in the dialogue "Kritias" by Plato. The disappearance of this soil, on top of the hills in large part due to the extensive excavations of archaeologists, is mainly due to the centre of Athens laying in a hydrologic basin on the Attic peninsula, creating a waterflow from the surrounding mountains towards the city, eroding soil between hills over time.[151] Although the main body of water came from these mountains, the Hymettos mountains in particular, the hills of the centre themselves also held smaller water reservoirs, or acted as filters for rain water, due to their limestones tops and semi-permeable bases, creating natural springs along the hillsides.[152] These springs may have also contributed to the perception of the landscape and the hills within them as sacred, since they were naturally occurring and had nothing to do with human interference of the landscape. Between the hills and in the centre of the hydrologic basin lies the so-called Agora-basin, on the spot where the ancient Agora of market was located. The waters flowing from the mountain and from the surrounding hills converged in this basin, making the ground both wet and fertile.[153]

[150] G. Marinos et al., "The Athens schist formation. I. Stratigraphy and structure." In *Annales Géologiques des Pays Helléniques 22* (1971) 201-6.
[151] E.D. Chiotis and L.E. Chioti, 'Water Supply of Athens in Antiquity' in Andreas N. Angelakis, Larry W. Mays, Demetris Koutsoyiannis and Nikos Mamassis (ed.), *Evolution of Water Supply Through the Millennia* (Londen 2012) 409-410.
[152] Chiotis and Chioti, 'Water Supply of Athens in Antiquity', 411-12,416.
[153] Ibidem, 413-14.

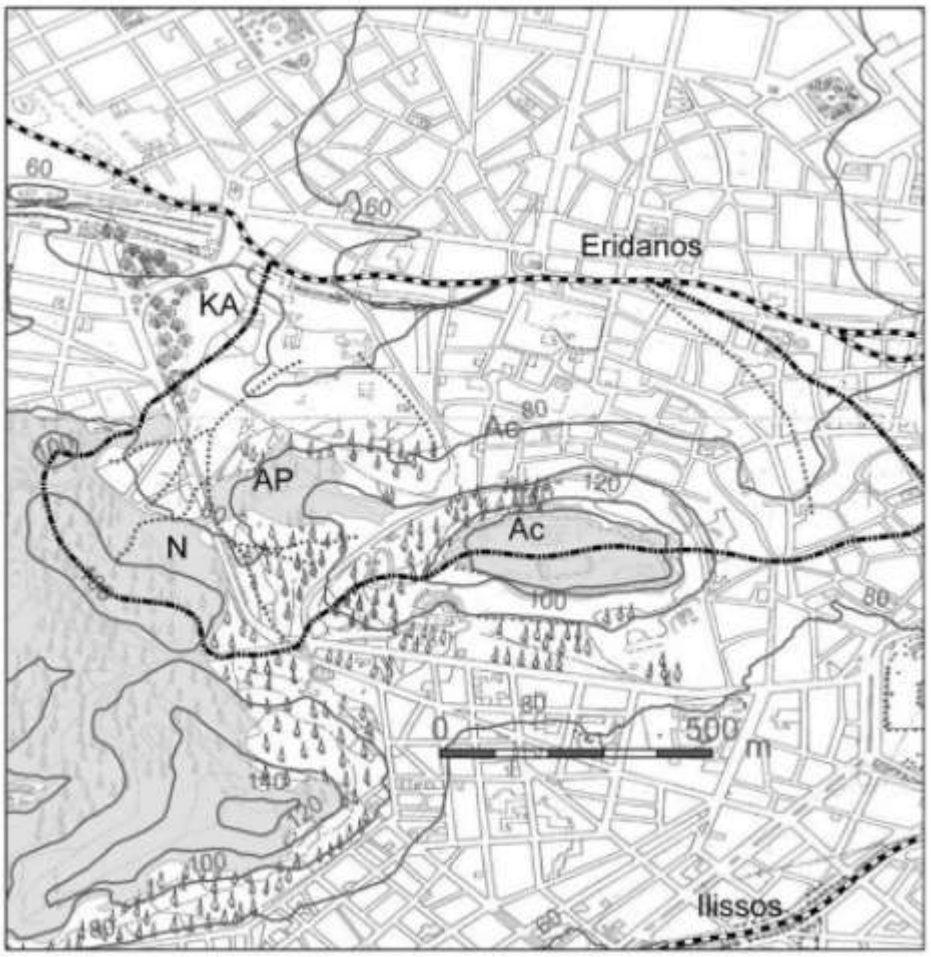

Figure 7: The Agora-basin and surrounding hills (N: Hill of the Nymphs/Mouseion Hill, AP: Areopagus, AC: Acropolis, KA: Kolonos Agoraios[154]

In short, we can see that the geological landscape of the area surrounding the monument of Philopappos consist of an in elevation diverse, limestone with tree-dotted covered soil, and hydrologically interesting landscape. Which resulted in a landscape with diverse hills, with springs and tree on their sides, and a water-rich basin in between them. These elements made for a good basis of building structures on solid limestone, surrounded

[154] Ibidem, 414.

by trees that could be used in the construction of said structures, and enough water to supply the needs of the people living in, and contracting these structures.

Archaeological structures

If we move from the geological side of the material landscape to the human interference in the landscape, we come to the structures that they built. These structures compose the archaeological side of the landscape, and offer us an insight into the image of the past, how the landscape must have looked in ancient times, and show us the complete material side of the landscape, where the geological and archaeological (or architectural) sides are combined into one.

The mayor archaeological structure that is visible from the monument of Philopappos would have to be the Acropolis. The structures on this hill, are in this aspect combined to form one superstructure, as it appears that way from afar. From the monument, itself there are some structures individually distinguishable nowadays, though due to the acropolis being crowded with structures and people in antiquity, this may not always have been the case. Most clearly visible are the Propylaea and the Parthenon, along with the fortified wall that surrounds the Acropolis. These structures form a great part of Athenian identity and are important parts of the sacred hill that is the Acropolis, functioning as the entrance and treasury of the sanctuary of goddess Athena respectively. Due to their high visibility from the monument, a connection between the two, at least from the monuments' perspective, is highly implied, with the Acropolis as symbol for the polis of Athens and the monument as a symbol for its patron and buried Philopappos.

Apart from the visibility, it is also important to note the relative proximity of the monument of Philopappos to the Acropolis and its sacred structures. Indeed, almost every building in the centre of Athens is in relative proximity to the Acropolis hill, though in the

case of an aristocratic monument like the monument of Philopappos, this is uncommon, since most monuments either grace the edge of a polis or are located within the rural residences of the aristocracy.[155] This could also be the case why, as said in a previous chapter, Herodes Atticus wanted to be buried and commemorated in his estate in Marathon, rather than inside Athens where he was eventually brought by the people of Athens.[156]

One of the other archaeological features that stands close by the monument of Philopappos is located on the south slope of the Acropolis. Here lies the theatre, and sanctuary, of Dionysos. As a patron of the arts[157], it can be argued that Philopappos would have wanted his monument overlooking the theatre of Dionysos, where he most likely spent many of his days enjoying the plays that were presented there. It is also a highly frequented site, due to the public function it serves, from where many people would have been able to see the monument of Philopappos, and remember the him for the patron he was. Along with the theatre itself, the surrounding sanctuaries and structures would have served the same purpose in the sense that they are visually connected with the monument.

An archaeological location similar to the theatre, in the sense that it draws an audience that would have been able to spot the monument of Philopappos from a distance, is the hill located next to the Acropolis that carries the name Areopagos. An aristocratic council took session here in older times[158], but in the time of Philopappos it served other functions as well. Of which the most notable and famous example is the speech by the apostle Paul as recorded in the New Testament.[159] Those who attended these speeches or other gatherings

[155] Alcock, *Graecia Capta,* 67.
[156] Rife, 'The Burial of Herodes Atticus', 94.
[157] As can be read in Chapter I, the man behind the monument.
[158] Ryan K. Balot, *Greek Political Thought* (Oxford 2006) 179-80.
[159] The Acts, 17:22-34.

would have had a great view of the monument of Philopappos, placing it in the centre of attention when looking past the Acropolis from the Areopagos hill.

Two archaeological features that are very close to the monument are the Heroon of Musaeus and the remnants of the Themistoclean city wall and the Macedonian fort. When looking at the remains of the wall, it is clear that it runs just past the monument of Philopappos, encapsulating it within the city boundary of old. Besides this significance, of which I already pointed out the probable reason why it is there, it is also interesting to note the wall itself in this part of the city and how it was used. Throughout Athens, and especially in the area around the Mouseion hill on which the monument of Philopappos stands, and the neighbouring Pnyx and Areopagos, many aristocratic houses have been uncovered close to the Themistoclean wall, marking it as more than just a defensive structure.[160] These houses would have been part of the landscape as well, effectively increasing the audience that could have enjoyed the view of the monument of Philopappos and seen it on a regular basis. The Themistoclean walls also extend all the way to Piraeus, which is downhill from the monument and clearly visible in its entirety. This also means that from the harbour of Piraeus, all the way past the long walls, the monument would have been, and is, visible, marking the way to the city. In 262 BC, the wall on top of the hill of the Muses (Mouseion hill) was fortified when a garrison of Macedonian soldiers took up residence there, and remaining there for the better part of the next thirty years, ensuring Macedonian power over the area.[161] The existence of the fortress could have been known to the Athenians in the time of Philopappos, creating a Macedonian connotation between the monument and its place in the landscape. At the same time, this could also be a coincidence and not be part of the public

[160] James Whitley, *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 2001) 358-9.
[161] R. Malcolm Errington, *A History of the Hellenistic World: 323-30 BC* (Oxford 2008) 90.

memory. It is possible however, that Philopappos could have known about the fort and the Macedonians, whom he counted amongst his ancestors.[162]

Another archaeological structure that is located just downhill and a few meters away from the monument is the Heroon of Musaeus. Though it looks interesting and seems to have either been named after the hill or lend its name to the hill, no study has been done that has considered this monument.[163]

On last archaeological structure that I would like to discuss is one we have already looked at in the comparative study with other monuments. This structure is the temple to the Olympic Zeus, or the Olympieion. Its importance in this context is very much alike the other mayor structures that have been discusses. Because of the line of sight between the monument of Philopappos and the Olympieion, a connection may be implied. Especially since the Olympieion meant a great deal to him from a dynastic and ancestral point of view. Though the view is somewhat obscured in modern times due to the modern building that stand between the two structures and intersect the normal line of sight, the connection is still there and probably more important than meets the eye at first.

By looking at the archaeological context, the richness of architectural, cultural, and artistic presence in the landscape surrounding the monument becomes clear. Not only does the landscape pose a beautiful sight, it also makes an important and culturally and politically relevant statement. This landscape makes, at least physically, the monument of Philopappos more relevant and important than it would have been standing on its own. It not only shares the features of the landscape, it becomes part of it itself. It is my strong opinion that the way in which it is nested in the landscape, not just physically but also though its visibility from

[162] See Chapter II: *the man behind the monument* on the relation between Philopappos and Seleucos Nikator, who was of Macedonian birth.
[163] Or that I could find, many descriptions of the hill seem to ignore its presence altogether.

within many parts of the landscape and from important archaeological structures and features, is an important factor in understanding the monument of Philopappos. It gains in stature and importance, from its place in the landscape. It is located in an important part of the landscape, amidst many notable places, claiming this importance for itself as well. Just as its visibility makes it a landmark worthy of notice, placing it firmly in the visible space of the landscape.

The social landscape

Though the people belonging to the landscape have been briefly discussed as audience and visitors of the archaeological side of the landscape, it is important to note that the social landscape surrounding the monument is also made up by these people and includes them. As previously mentioned the social landscape involves moving away from the physical side of the landscape and looking at relations between the landscape and the inhabitants of it; how the landscape plays a part in social memory and experiences.[164] The relations people have with the landscape, or structures within the landscape, can range from topographical relations, to political relations, or even personal relations among others.[165] This range of relations between the landscape and its inhabitants, or even visitors for that matter, make describing the social landscape a difficult task, that can vary from each point of view taken. Therefore, is it important to make a clear distinction between the perspectives that are to be discussed in this matter, in order to maintain an overview and not get lost in the many different sides to the same story. In this case, I shall look at three different perspectives on the social landscape, limiting the landscape and thus making it more comprehensive.

The first perspective to the social landscape I shall discuss is the way in which the landscape functions as a sacred landscape. This type of landscape was created through means

[164] E. C. Relph, Place and Placelessness (London 1976) 35.
[165] Bruno David and Julian Thomas, 'Landscape Archaeology: Introduction', in Bruno David and Julian Thomas (ed.), *Handbook of landscape archaeology* (London 2008) 27-43.

of various human actions and interactions within the landscape like building, dedicating, dramatizing, processing, and ritualising in a marked area that would become this sacred landscape. These sacred landscapes, both socially constructed initially and historically sensitive consequently, vary from place to place and through time. Once constructed, they are not immune to change and reflect many aspects of human life, both cultural and political.[166] Because of these changes, every sacred landscape reflects the social interactions of the people behind said landscape, creating a unique and personal landscape from place to place.

The sacred landscape is closely related to the cults that make the landscape in a sacred one. These cults appear both in rural areas as well as urban areas, creating different kinds of sacred landscape depending on the environment of the cult. In many studies, these cults have been "decontextualized" from their topographical setting or the social and political change surrounding the cult sites.[167] This decontextualizing also removes the sacred landscape as a feature of the cult, leaving it mostly ignored and underexposed in these studies and thus devaluating its importance in relation to cult sites.

However, how does this sacred landscape play a part in the social dimensions of the landscape, and how does this than differ from the rural landscapes to the urban landscapes? In the social perspective of landscape, the sacred landscape plays both a social and a political part in the lives of people. The kind of influence and the degree to which it influences people differs from place to place, though the central idea does not. The sacred landscape plays a role in the day to day social life of both the people living in the area as well as the visitors certain cults might receive, this is due to the impressions people make and receive in the sacred landscape and the importance it holds in their communal perception. The impact certain cults make on people may differ, just like the topographical features that differ from

[166] Alcock, *Graecia Capta,* 172.
[167] Alcock, *Graecia Capta,* 173-4.

place to place and vary greatly, but the importance that the cult and the landscape surrounding it plays in the lives of people varies only little, at least it varies only little from local community to local community, visitors may experience different degrees of impact from different cult sites. This importance has often to do with political aspects that play out in the sacred landscape, as politics and religion are closely connected and cannot easily be considered individually in terms of space and importance. Many political activities are also part of, and take part in, the sacred landscape, only adhering to the importance of the sacred landscape in the social lives of people.

These sacred landscapes show us that the interaction between the people and the landscape can be of religious and political nature, though this has not always had to be the case. Social landscape interactions can also take place in smaller, more individual, aspects of interaction. These aspects include, but are not limited to, inscriptions in the landscape, symbols representing the landscape on the people themselves, or references to the landscape from other places. The first of these aspects mentioned, the inscriptions in the landscape, are often considered as smaller and personal inscriptions made by individuals, rather than larger funded inscription as can be seen on monuments. They are considered to be intended as mnemonics for feelings towards the area or of experiences that have taken place within the area.[168] It is my strong opinion that these larger inscriptions, both funded by the state as well as by richer individual, can also be of inscriptions of this kind. The creation of a lasting element, however large of small, within the landscape, makes this element, and likewise the individual or community behind the inscription, part of the landscape. Because of the both the lasting nature of the inscription and the social nature of leaving a message, the act of inscribing here is very much part of interacting within and with the social landscape. In other

[168] David and Thomas, 'Landscape Archaeology: Introduction', 266.

cultures,[169] symbols on people, often taking the form of tattoos, referring to either object within a landscape or a landscape on its own are also indications of interacting with the social landscape. These permanent symbols play the same part as inscriptions do, only the people belonging to the social landscape take these mnemonics with them wherever they go instead of leaving them inside the landscape.[170] References to the landscape in other landscapes also occur, albeit not as often. These are often inscriptions but can also consist of replicas of structures present in the landscape that refer to other landscapes or structures within other landscapes. These references are more an indication of relations between social groups of different social landscapes than they are indications of social interactions within one landscape, though they can indicate certain social groups that are part of the social landscape but are originally from another area, or identify with a social group that lives in another area.

Though many of these relations, save the inscriptions, are not quantifiable, they do play a great part in the forming and maintenance of the social landscape.[171] This side of the landscape, that is harder for us to fully understand due to the lack of physical and literary evidence, played perhaps an even greater part in the lives of people than the physical side of the landscape that we can still observe today. It is therefore vital to hold this side of the landscape in mind when observing an archaeological site, and not just look at the archaeology and the artistic side of it.[172]

So how does the monument of Philopappos fit into this social landscape, and why is it important to place him inside this idea of a social landscape altogether? The easy answer to this question may not exist, and the complicated answer to this question may not fully satisfy, though this does not mean that the question is therefore not important. As we have seen

[169] I am not aware of the same or a similar practice in Roman Greece though it would not surprise me.
[170] David and Thomas, 'Landscape Archaeology: Introduction', 267.
[171] David and Thomas, 'Landscape Archaeology: Introduction', 267-8.
[172] Ibidem, 269.

before, the idea of a social landscape is not a very tangible one, and the material evidence for it is scarce and one-sided. We should therefore consider the ways in which the monument of Philopappos communicates with its surroundings in a social sense, and look at it in its relation to the landscape. From this perspective, we can see a couple of ways in which it relates to its environment. The first way in which this is done, we should consider the inscriptions placed on the monument. If we consider them in the same way as we considered the inscription made by other individuals, we can see that Philopappos left something of himself in the landscape, signifying its relation to it, without even having to look at the messages relayed inside these inscriptions. The only thing that matters here is the fact that he left inscriptions and that they are a part now of the landscape. Another way in which we can look at its relationship with the landscape, is its topographical position. This position has been mentioned before in regard to its visibility within the physical landscape, but it should also be addressed here in relation to the social landscape, since the people seeing the monument are the ones that make up the social landscape. The way in which it plays a visual part in the landscape is a reminder of the importance of both Philopappos as a person, and also the importance of the monument within the landscape. Its elevated position is both physical and metaphorical as it soars above the landscape and is part of it at the same time. Its relationship with the social landscape becomes much clearer through its position, as it not only plays a part in the landscape, but it also places itself in its upper regions, denoting its general importance.

Modern landscape

Now that we know how the monument of Philopappos with in relation to both the physical and social landscapes in Roman Athens, it is interesting to see how this has changed through time. Here we shall look at how the monument of Philopappos relates to the modern landscape of Athens, in a quest to find out why it is well known, yet under appreciated by

modern scholars and tourists alike. To find this out, we shall again look at both the physical and the social landscape, to see not only what has changed, but also how the monument fits into this changed landscape of both monuments and people.

The physical landscape

The physical landscape surrounding the monument of Philopappos has obviously changed a lot in the almost two thousand years since it was erected. Where the landscape used to be mostly empty surrounding Athens, a modern city has formed around it, sprawling over the landscape. Even the city centre of Athens, and Mouseion hill on which the monument stands, have not been spared the burden of modernization. However, no matter how many modern buildings have been built in the area surrounding the monument, many of the geographical and topographical features have remained, as well as the remains of the monument in the surrounding landscape.

In this new modern urban landscape, there have been made attempts to build structures that are intentional contradictive to the existing landscape, as to innovate the space and become an international recognized city as well as attract tourists that appreciate this avant-garde approach.[173] These building are called "counter structures" and are in the area of Athens surrounding the monument of Philopappos best represented by the modern Acropolis Museum, which stands directly across from the theatre of Dionysos and thus along the road towards both the acropolis and the Mouseion hill.

This counter structure is not the only new building however, as an entire residential area has been built in the landscape surrounding the monument, even as far as on the north and east slope of the acropolis hill. Even though some of the larger building now obstruct the

[173] Elias Beriatos and Aspa Gospodini, '"Glocalisation" and Urban Landscape Transformations: Built Heritage and Innovative Design versus non-competitive morphologies – the case of Athens 2004' in *Discussion Paper Series 9,* 24 (2003) 552.

view from and towards the monument in certain cases, as mentioned before between the Olympieion and the monument of Philopappos there now stand many multi-storied buildings obstructing the direct view, the monument is still visible from many places and plays a prominent part in shaping the sightlines of the landscape surrounding it. Below is a picture of the modern buildings that sprawl up the slopes of the hill, with in the righthand corner a modern restaurant.[174]

Figure 8: Philopappos Hill with surrounding buildings

If anything, this picture shows that the monument, and the hill on which it stands, is still very much a part of the landscape, and a very visible one at that. Its position is very central and visible from multiple angles, as far away as the harbour of Piraeus, which can be seen laying behind the monument on the picture. The monument is not very visible from that angle though, since it and its façade face inward, towards the acropolis, rather than outward.

[174] Picture of own making, in Appendix A there are some more pictures of the monuemtn with modern buildings surrounding it and showing the dominant position it still plays in the visual landscape.

The social landscape

In the case of the social landscape of modern times, a focus-shift has taken place from the social groups that take place in this landscape. Where the context in ancient times was mostly that of political and religious relations with the landscape, it has now shifted almost entirely to residential and cultural touristic relations. This shift has an impact on how we observe the social landscape around the monument of Philopappos, and plays a part in how the landscape is subsequently treated. As has similarly been the case with other cultural sites, most notably the prehistoric remains of Stonehenge, the landscape has played an increasing part in both the experience of visitors and the cultural heritage programmes of local governments (as well as global institutions like UNESCO). In terms of conservation of cultural sites, the landscape has been accepted as an aesthetic element of the cultural sites, worthy of conservation as well.[175] The importance of heritage sites themselves has also been a point of interest for many local governments of late, as they have realized not only their importance as tourist attractions, but also as part of their regional or national identity and history, and important to their cultural identity.[176]

The emphasis on the restoration and conservation of the cultural heritage, taking the shape of archaeological sites here, through means of conservation the landscape around it, is a form of a social relation with the landscape, where both the people involved and the people witnessing the results are experiencing the social landscape. It is fortunate that this had happened to the landscape surrounding the monument, as other sites have not been so fortunate. In many places, another form of preservation has been applied, listening to the term of salvage archaeology. When other destinations have been intended for the landscape that

[175] David and Thomas, 'Landscape Archaeology: Introduction', 33.
[176] Beriatos and Gospdini, '"Glocalisation" and Urban Landscape Transformations', 553.

are not part of the conservation of the archaeological sites within the landscape, then the remains are salvaged instead of restored, breaking them apart from their landscape.[177]

The aspect of social interactions with the landscape by leaving inscriptions, as previously discussed, still applies in some degree to the landscape, albeit in a different and less aesthetically pleasing manner. These interactions of which I speak are the many form of graffiti and inscribing's on the stones and walls present in the landscape. Even the monument of Philopappos has not been spared this treatment, hence it is now surrounded by a fence. When looking at the monument, especially from the flanks or the back, dozens upon dozens of names are inscribed on it, defacing the monument. Not all of these smaller inscribing's are very modern, some are slightly older, but all still play a part in the modern social landscape, as they signify the need of visitors to be related to the landscape and the monument, no matter how small it may seem.

Conclusions on the location

The location of the monument is a both where it is topographically located as well as how it first within the physical and social landscape. For these last two locations, we have seen that it is more complicated than just describing what is around it, as especially the social landscape, influenced by the composition of the physical landscape, that determines what the significance of the location of the monument really was then, and is now. The location is what makes the monument all the more significant and important, for the context determines value just as much as the monument itself does. If not for the importance of the landscape in the lives of people both in Roman Athens and in modern day Athens, the monument would not have carried the same weight as it does now. Both the physical elevation of the monument above the landscape, the surrounding (sacred) structures, and the way in which it

[177] David and Thomas, 'Landscape Archaeology: Introduction', 33-34.

is seen from many other locations by even more people, make that the importance of the monument is set from the start, without even having to mention what is visible on the monument. The context alone is enough to consider the importance of the monument, and should therefore be taken seriously and not be left out when discussing the monument of Philopappos. In my opinion, this argument should convince those sceptical of its importance, those who have overlooked this most important of aspects of the monument, that is is not just a structure that gains its own importance, it is the landscape around it, the structures around it within this landscape, the entire context of the structure, that make a monument into an important archaeological building.

Chapter V: Conclusion

When facing the monument of Philopappos is all of its facets, we see a monument that is more than initially meets the eye, and that is more than most people initially think it is. When we look back at the research question stated in the introduction of this thesis, a lot of this becomes apparent: "What is this monument of Philopappos, why is it represented as it is, what makes it an important monument, and what can we learn from it about the intentions of the man behind the monument?" We have seen by analysing the monument in general, by analysing the man behind the monument, by looking at symbolism and comparing it to other structures, and by looking at its location in different ways, that we have learned much about what the monument is, what the intentions behind it are and, in general, why it is important.

In the first chapter of this thesis, apart from the description of the monument, we have looked at the Philopappos himself, as the man behind the monument. Here we have discovered that he was an important man, both a politician and a patron of the arts, and above all: a descendant of royalty and proud of it. His Kommagenian heritage, of which both he and his sister Balbilla profit and towards which they both reference in a number of occasions, is part of what defines him, and his family, and which makes both the man and his monument very interesting objects of study. As mentioned in this chapter, this is hardly the first study that has been done to understand the monument, as it has been described as long ago as Roman times, albeit very short by Pausanias, and in the Renaissance period. It is here that the monument is described by Cyriacus, and where, according to me at least, the troubles with the monument start. Where he saw two inscriptions, none remain to this date, making him the only available source for these inscriptions, of which one provides us, according to him, with the identity of the third, now disappeared, statue on the monument. Against the ideas of most scholars who have researched the monument of Philopappos, I have opted to take great caution in using this source, as it stands alone as the only source in this regard, and only

mention what he says, without taking his findings for truth and thus not using them any further in my research. However, this does not mean that I am not interested in the identity of the third statue and the contents of the two missing inscriptions, and if another source would confirm the description of Cyriacus, or disprove them, I would gladly take note of that and use it to my advantage, for I believe that the research into the monument would greatly benefit from more information about its original state and appearance. That being said, I do have my own theories on the identity of this third statue. For one, it could well be Seleukos Nikator, as people following Cyriacus propose, given the fact that it is one of his more important ancestors and a famous historical figure known in Athens as well. The fame of this ancestor would also certainly play its part in the overall stature of the monument. However, its eventual validity rests on Cyriacus alone, as previously discussed, no matter the arguments for its likeliness I propose. A second theory towards the identification of the third statue I think could also be likely, is his maternal grandfather Balbillus. The argument in favour of this identification is the parallel it has with the poem of Philopappos' sister, mentioned in chapter I. Both of these men could have held a likeness on the monument of Philopappos, as well as neither of them. This theory of the identity of the third statue is only what I think to be most likely, not what can truthfully be claimed.

In the following chapter, I have discussed the image and sculpture and inscriptions on the monument, not only describing but also explaining them, in order to note the ideas behind them and the importance they have on the monument. By examining the image and sculpture on the monument, we have seen that there are different styles of sculpture that carry different messages. In the sculpture present on the frieze, and in a more Roman style, the civic and political achievements of Philopappos are laid out, while in the statues, in a more Greek/Hellenistic style, his heritage along with a certain heroization and divination are displayed. While references are abundant in both sculpture groups on the monument, for

example the reference to the Arch of Titus on the frieze, the general message of the sculptures seems to be hidden in the styles that are used, and are recognizable to the intended audience, with clear distinctions between the different styles and the way in which they are used and what they represent. This differentiation is no mere coincidence but rather an organized framework in which the different sides and stories of Philopappos can be placed. The bricolage of different styles too shows that the monument belongs to a worldly man who himself belongs to different worlds and is not afraid to show that.

In similar fashion, the different language and messages that are conveyed by the monument through text show the different sides of the same man. By inscribing in both Greek and Latin he is claiming different cultural identities, both because of his lineage, his political career, and because of his affiliation with Athens. Not only can we learn this from the inscriptions on the monument, we can also learn more about the intended audiences, as the different language, both separate and combined, show us the different messages conveyed to the different audiences, that help us to interpret the monument even better.

What also helps in this regard, is what the next chapter had to relay, the comparative study with other monuments (of which a few were structure of a different nature, yet still showed important connections with the monument of Philopappos). Though the different strucutres were sometimes further removed in either time or space from the monument of Philopappos, they porved crucial insights to the monument, placing it in a wider context. And though the individual aspects of the monument could be found in other monument throughout the ancient world, the sum of its parts was unique, making it a monument worthy of study! In this study, I have shown its relation with other strucutres in the Roman Empire, either due to similarity in certain aspects, or because the people behind the monument were related to Philopappos, in the case of the Olympieion in Athens, or they have had a similar career as Philopappos, as we have seen in the case of Herodes Atticus. It has also become clear that in

many aspects, the monument of Philopappos shares characteristics with other funerary monuments from aristocrats and royalty from both the Eastern and Western part of the Roman Empire, from both the Hellenistic and Roman world, making it a monument that bridges both worlds, and shows us insights in people who walk this bridge, as they belong to both and are not above showing it.

In the fourth and final chapter, I have tried to examine the monument in a fashion that has not been attempted previously, by looking at the location of the monument, with special regard to its position in the landscape. Apart from its elevated position in the landscape, which makes it stand out from its context with an air of importance to it due to almost always being seen by people looking up to it, it also gains importance due to its part in the landscape. In the physical sense of the landscape, the surrounding structures play an important role, as they are the context in which the monument of Philopappos is placed. These structures, as previously discussed, are the central cult nd civic structures of ancient Athens, and play a great role in both past and present Athens. Because of the placement of the monument within this context, as well as it sightlines from and towards these other monuments which connect them with each other, it gains mayor importance as a monument inside a monumental landscape. Besides this, it also holds a place within the social landscape, which consist of the interactions between people that live and visit the landscape and everything else within it. In this respect, the monumental context plays a part as well, as its importance in people's lives rubs off on the monument of Philopappos, and the way in which they experience the monument by seeing it from all sort of places embeds its importance within a social context as well.

When looking back at the conclusions that have been made after the chapters, certain aspects of those chapters have not been included in the conclusions, or have not yielded the results that may have been expected at the start. These aspects, of which some have briefly

been mentioned in the conclusions anyway, albeit in a different manner, show what kind of research could be done in order to delve further into the subject of the monument of Philopappos. Two of these aspects are related two each other and very important to further research into the monument of Philopappos. These aspects are the travels of Syriacus and his description of the monument and the missing inscriptions and statue on the monument. If the latter would be available through different sources, the description of Syriacus could be critically examined further, and the monument could be examined further subsequently. Both a more in-depth study into the writings of Syriacus (something I would have liked to do but was unfortunately not in the position to do), as well as any discovery of other descriptions of the missing inscriptions, or statue, would yield more research material and information, desperately needed to complete the picture of the monument of Philopappos even more. Other aspects that could yield more information, though unexplored due to lack of time to put into the effort, are the figure and writings of Philopappos' sister Balbilla and the presence of the miniature sculpture of Heracles on the frieze. Both could offer new insights if investigated properly and thoroughly. One other option for further research, though of a much larger scope than previous aspects of this research, is a comparative study into how monuments play a part in their respective physical and social landscapes, much alike I did in chapter III, only on a larger scope. A study like this could offer more new insights into how monuments played, and still play, a part in their environment and in the lives of the people who came into contact with them.

To sum things up, we have looked at all the different ways in which the monument not only signifies itself as belonging to an important man in an important lineage, we have also seen how the monument itself is important. By means of showing what messages it conveys in its image and language, to which monuments it refers in its form and image, and in the way, it takes its position in the landscape on both a physical and on a social level. By

looking at all these ways the monument of Philopappos communicates with us and its audience we can finally fully answer the research question as stated in the introduction. It is represented in a way that shows who Philopappos was, where he came from, and what he has achieved in his lifetime on his own accord, its importance shows from every aspect down to its very location, and the intentions of the man behind the monument can be nothing less than showing the audience his life, his death, and the important part that he and his ancestors have played by leaving a monument to remind people of this importance. Thus, the monument of Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos has been removed from its lonely place on top of the Mouseion hill, and has been placed into his rightful context of ancestry, achievement, and landscape.

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Appendices
Appendix A

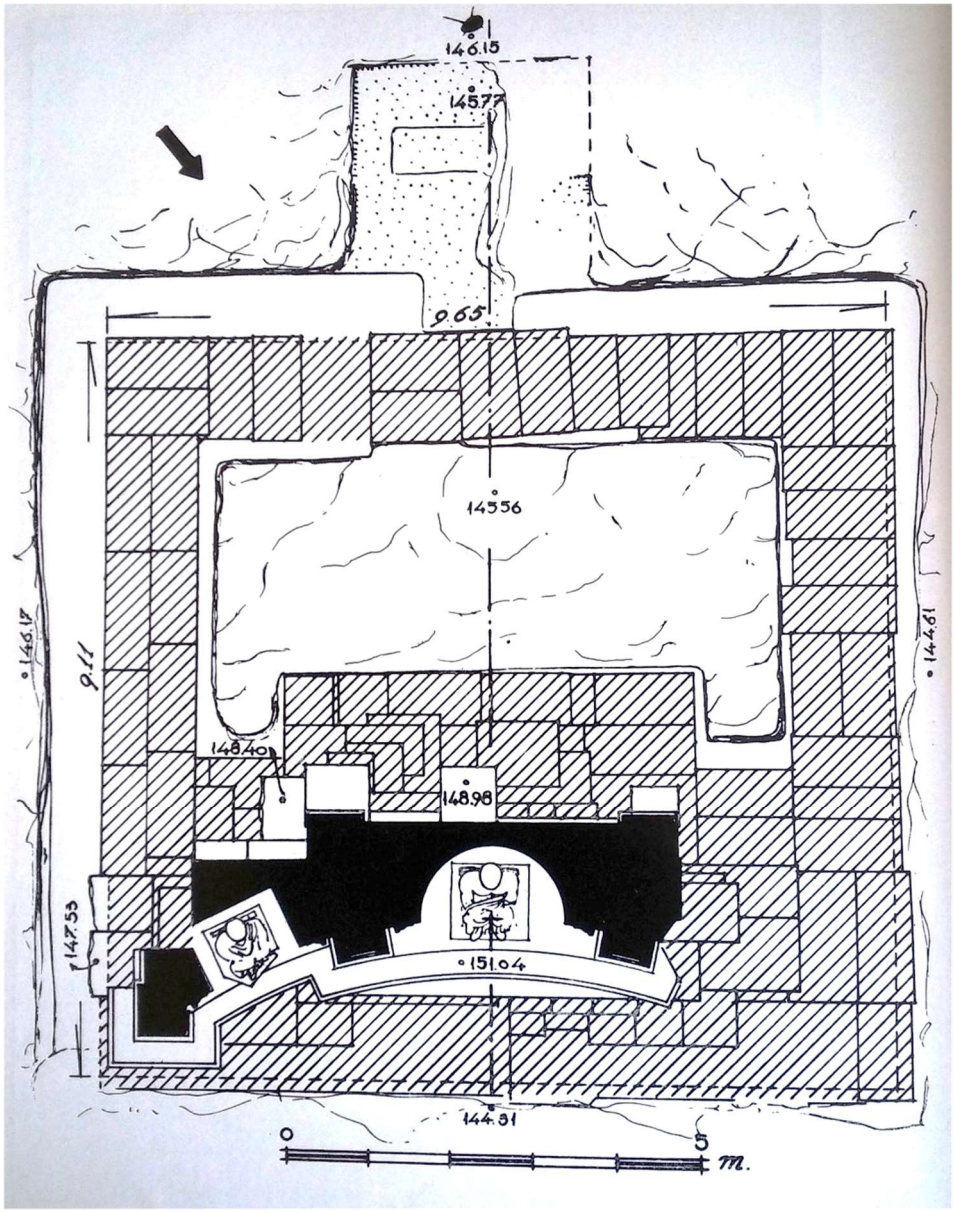

Figure 9: Plan of the structure remains[178]

[178] Kleiner

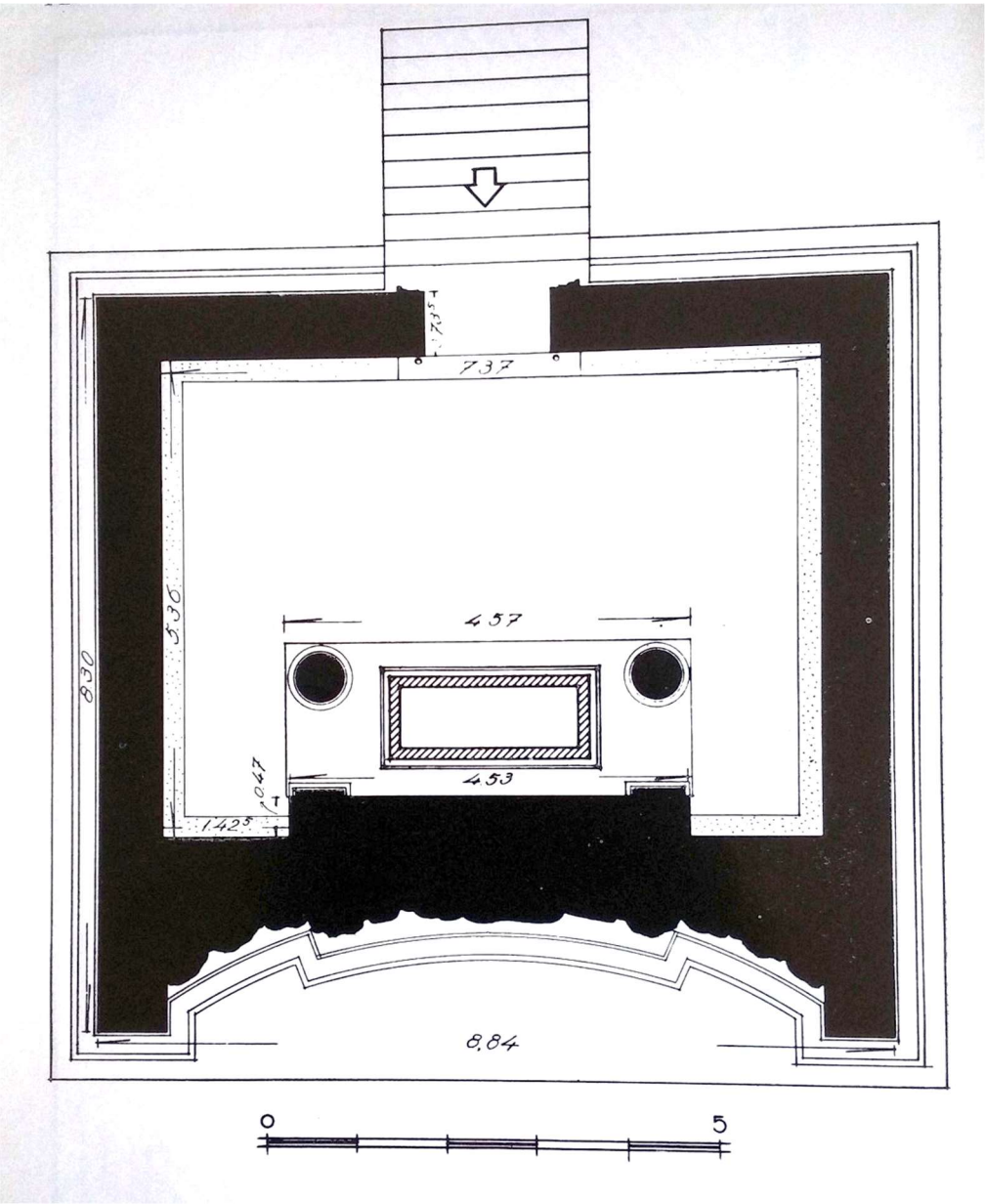

Figure 10: Reconstructed floor plan[179]

[179] Kleiner

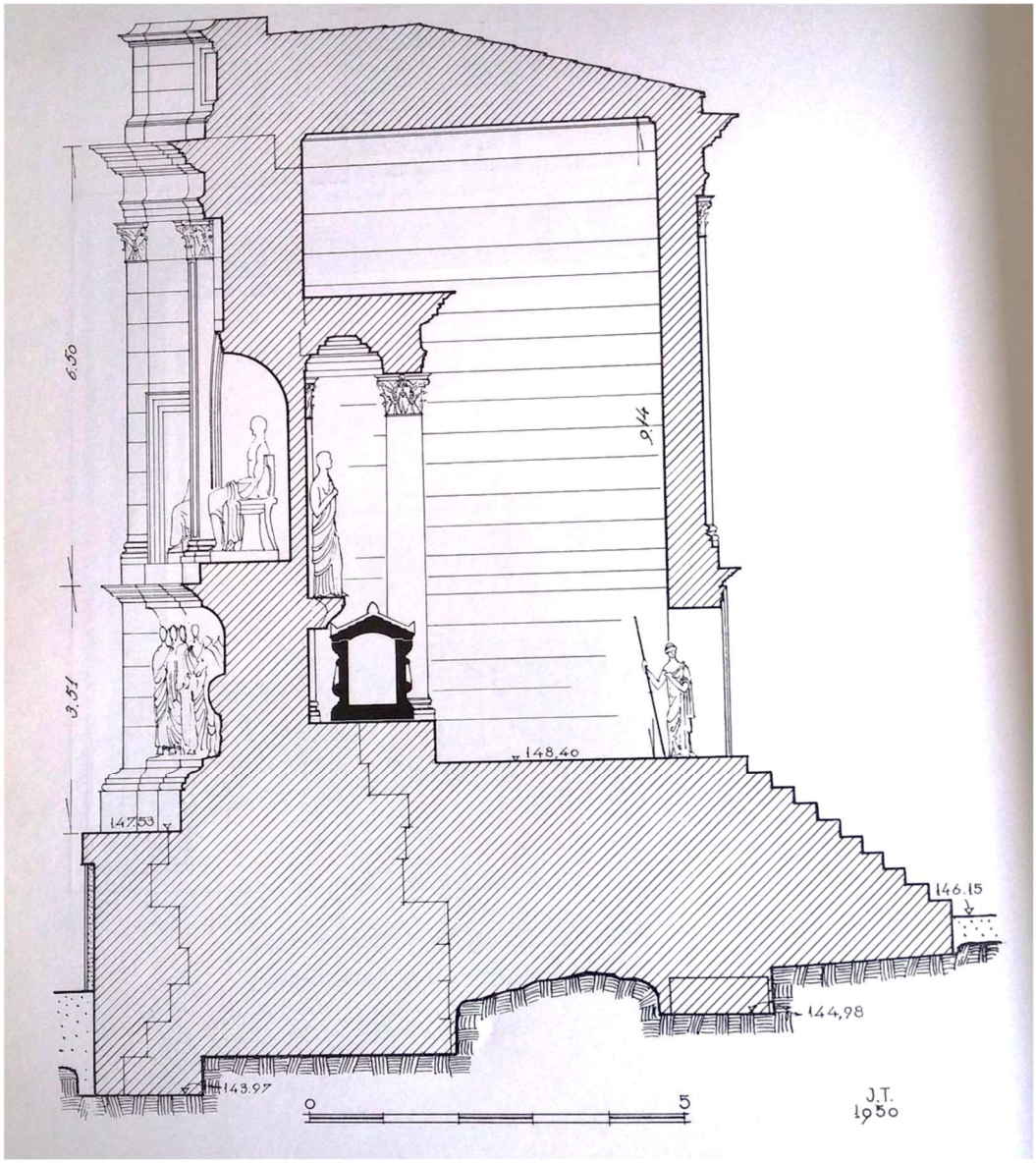

Figure 11: Reconstructed side view[180]

[180] Kleiner

Figure 12: Statue of a seated Zeus[181]

Figure 13: Detail of the chariot on the frieze with possibly Heracles[182]

[181] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rome_Seated_Zeus.jpg.
[182] Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos,* plate XVII.b.

Figure 14: The monument of Philopappos as seen from street level. Still very visible, even in snowy conditions. The buildings in the bottom half of the picture are modern and show the continuing use of the landscape. (picture of won making)

Figure 15: another view of the hill and monument, as taken from the slopes of the acropolis, right above the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. (picture of own making)

Figure 16: Remains of the Olympieion, with in the back the acropolis. The modern high rise in de left of the picture is the only thing obstructing the view towards the monument of Philopappos. (picture of own making)

Appendix B

1. IG II^2 3451

Inscr. a.	C. · Iulius C. f. Fab(ia) · Antio- chus · Philo- pappus · cos., frater · Ar- valis · alle- ctus · inter praetori- os · ab · Imp(eratore) · Caesare Nerva · Traia- no · Optu- mo · Augus- to · Germa- nico · Da- cico.	Caius Iulius Antiochus Philopappus, son of Caius, of the Fabian tribe, consul, and Arval brother, admitted to the praetorian rank by the emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus.
Inscr. b.	βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχ- ος Φιλό- παππος βασιλέ- ως Ἐπι- φάνουςτοῦ Ἀν- τιόχου.	King Antiochos Philopappos, son of king Epiphanes, son of Antiochos
Inscr. c.	βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου.	King Antiochos (IV), son of king Antiochos
Inscr. d.	[Φιλό]παππος Ἐπιφάνους Βησαιεύς.	Philopappos, son of Epiphanes, of the deme Besa
Inscr. e.	βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Ἀντιόχου Νικάτωρ.	King Seleukos Nikator, son of Antiochos

2. Colosse de Memnon, 29

ὅτε σὺν τῇ Σεβαστῇ Σαβείνη-
ι ἐγενόμην παρὰ τῷ Μέμνονι.
Αὔως καὶ γεράρω, Μέμνον, πάϊ Τιθώνοιο,
Θηβάας θάσσων ἄντα Δίος πόλιος,
ἦ Ἀμένωθ, βασίλευ Αἰγύπτιε, τὼς ἐνέποισιν
ἴρηες μύθων τῶν παλάων ἴδριες,
χαῖρε, καὶ αὐδάσαις πρόφρων ἀσπάσδε[ο κ]αὖτ[αν]
τὰν σέμναν ἄλοχον κοιράνω Ἀδριάνω.
γλῶσσαν μέν τοι τμᾶξε [κ]αὶ ὥατα βάρβαρος ἄνηρ,
Καμβύσαις ἄθεος· τῷ ῥα λύγρῳ θανάτῳ
δῶκέν τοι ποίναν τῶτωι ἄκ[ρῳ] ἄορι πλάγεις
τῷ νήλας Ἆπιν κάκτανε τὸν θέϊον.
ἀλλ' ἔγω οὐ δοκίμωμι σέθεν τόδ' ὄλεσθ' ἂν ἄγαλμα,
ψύχαν δ' ἀθανάταν λοίπον ἔσωσα νόῳ.
εὐσέβεες γὰρ ἔμοι γένεται πάπποι τ' ἐγένοντο,
Βάλβιλλός τ' ὁ σόφος κ' Ἀντίοχος βασίλευς,
Βάλβιλλος γενέταις μᾶτρος βασιλήϊδος ἄμμας,
τῷ πάτερος δὲ πάτηρ Ἀντίοχος βασίλευς·
κήνων ἐκ γενέας κἄγω λόχον αἷμα τὸ κᾶλον,
Βαλβίλλας δ' ἔμεθεν γρόπτα τάδ' εὐσέβεος.

I do not think this statue of you would thereupon perish, and I sense within a soul hereafter immortal. For pious were my parents and grandparents, Balbillus the Wise and King Antiochus: Balbillus the father of my mother, a Queen; and King Antiochus, father of my father. From their stock, I too have obtained noble blood, and these are my writings, Balbilla the pious.

3. IG II^2 3112, column 1, ll. 1-7

ἡ Οἰνηὶς φυλὴ διὰ τῶν ⟦εὖ⟧ ἀγωνισαμέ-
νων χορῷ Διονυσιακῷ ν τὸν ἄρχον-
τα καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην Διονυσίων Γάιον
Ἰούλιον Ἀντίοχον Ἐπιφανῆ Φιλόπαπ-
πον Βησαιέα τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὴν εὐεργεσίας
ἕνεκα folium ἐδίδασκε Μοιραγένης, ἐχορή-
γει Βού<λ>ων οἱ Μοιραγένους Φυλάσιοι

4. ID (Inscriptions de Délos) 1736

Delos — ca. 100 BC

L. L. Orbieis L. l. mag(istreis)
laconicum Italiceis
Λεύκιος Ὄρβιος Λευκίου
Λικῖνος καὶ Λεύκιος Ὄρβιος
Λευκίου Δίφιλος Ἑρμαισταὶ
γενόμενοι *vac*. Ἰταλικοῖς.