

The supposed Augustan arch at Pavia (Ticinum) and the Einsiedeln 326 manuscript

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One of the most frequently cited examples of Julio-Claudian dynastic imagery is a triumphal arch at Pavia (ancient Ticinum) in northern Italy, supposedly erected by Augustus and crowned by 10 statues of the Julio-Claudian family.¹ There are no remains of such an arch in Pavia, and the only evidence for its existence comes from the 9th-c. Einsiedeln 326 manuscript, a valuable topographical source for classical monuments and inscriptions within the city of Rome.² Folios 77'-79 of this manuscript contain a travel itinerary of Rome which proceeds from the gate of St. Peter to the church of St. Paul fuori le mura and then presumably back again to St. Peter's (fig.1).³ Near the end of the itinerary, under the rubric "IN PORTA PAPIA", the monk listed in 3 parts a series of Julio-Claudian inscriptions which constitute 10 dedications in the dative case.⁴ In the first group appear Nero, son of Germanicus, Drusus the Younger, Germanicus, and Tiberius; in the second, Augustus and Livia; and in the third, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Claudius, and Drusus Caesar son of Germanicus.⁵

- 1 S. De Maria, *Gli archi onorari di Roma e dell'Italia romana* (Roma 1988) 62, 66, 78, 91, 106-7, 169, 249-50, 282; F. Kleiner, *The arch of Nero in Rome* (Roma 1985) 33, 60, 64, 66; C. Saletti, "L'urbanistica di Pavia romana," *Athenaeum Pavia* 61 (1983) 132; G. Gualandi, "L'apparato figurativo negli archi Augustei," *Studi sull'arco onorario romano* (Roma 1979) 106-7, 139; G. Mansuelli, *Urbanistica e architettura della Cisalpina romana* (Coll. Latomus 111, 1971) 189; M. Pallottino, "Arco onorario e trionfale," *EAA* 1 (1958) 594 no.69; H. Kähler, "Triumphbogen," *RE* VII,A,1 (1939) 408, no. II,13; M. Stuart, *The portraiture of Claudius* (New York 1938) 15, 22 n.138, 40-42, 52; id., "The date of the inscription of Claudius on the arch at Ticinum," *AJA* 40 (1936) 314-22; L. Curtius, *RömMitt* 50 (1935) 296-97; T. Frank, "Claudius and the Pavian inscription," *CQ* 11 (1908) 89-92; V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* III.1 (1904) 1257; Mommsen (1850) 313-20 = *Gesammelte Schriften* 93-100.
- 2 A. Bruchner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica I: Schreibschulen der Diözese Chur* (Geneva 1935) 76; R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma* 2 (Roma 1942) 155ff; C. Huelsen, *La pianta di Roma dell'Anonimo Einsiedlense* (Roma 1907) 7ff; R. Lanciani, "L'itinerario di Einsiedeln e l'ordine di Benedetto Canonico," *MonAnt* 1 (1899) 437-552; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* 2 (Berlin 1871) 329ff; T. Mommsen, "Der anonymus Einsiedlensis" and "Inscription des Bogens von Pavia," *Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft* (1850) 287-313 = *Gesammelte Schriften* 8 (1913) 64-93.
- 3 Valentini and Zucchetti (supra n.2) 169-75; Huelsen (supra n.2) 42-44; Lanciani (supra n.2) 508-13; I. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* 2 (Roma 1888) 31-33 (henceforth *ICUR*).
- 4 *CIL* 5. 6416 = Dessau 107; *CIL* 6. p.xv.
- 5 Mommsen 1850 (supra n.1) 313-20 = *Gesammelte Schriften* 8 (1913) 93-100. Each of the inscriptions was originally oriented vertically and placed side by side. When the monk copied the inscriptions, however, he treated all of the dedications as a single unit, reading from left to right rather than from top to bottom. Mommsen realised the monk's error and reconstructed their original appearance. His reconstruction has been emended by M. Stuart, *AJA* 40 (1936) 320 n.2 and 321 n.3. The rearrangement is as follows:
Section 1: **Nero Caesar** – Neroni Iulio/Germanici [f.]/Aug. pronepoti/Caesari;
Drusus, son of Tiberius – D[ruso Iulio Ti.] f./ Augusti nepoti/Divi pron. Caesari/ pontifici;
Germanicus – Germanico/ Iulio Ti.f./Augusti nepot./Divi pron. Caesari/ augurique;
Tiberius – Ti. Caesari/Augusti f./Divi nepot. pont./cos.ter.Imp.ter./tribuniciae potestatis VIII
Section 2: **Augustus** – Imp.Caesari/Divi f. Augusto/pontific. maximo/ patri patriae Aug. XVVir S.F. VIIVir Epulon/cos. XIII Imp. XVII tribunic. potest. XXX;
Livia – Livia<e>/Drusi f./uxori Caesaris Aug.
Section 3: **Gaius Caesar** – [C.] Caesari/ Augusti f./Divi nepot./pontific. cos./imperator;
Lucius Caesar – <L.> Caesari/ Augusti f./ Divi nepot./auguri cos. design./principi iuventutis;
Drusus Caesar – Druso Iulio/Germanici f./Aug. pronepot./Germanico;
Claudius – Ti. Claudio/Drusi Germanici f./Neroni Germanico.