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All Roads Lead Through Rome: Imperial Armatures on the Triumphal Route

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All Roads Lead Through Rome: Imperial Armatures on the Triumphal Route

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A public building...is not merely a pile of stone, brick, and concrete. So often architecture is used for ideological ends, as buildings come to express something about their builder's ideology. The site chosen for a building, the choice of what to build there, the design, even the features of its decoration, or the function of a building...a series of such buildings can form part of a consciously planned programme.¹

From its beginnings to the ascension of Constantine in the 4th century CE, the city of Rome was a canvas for the great buildings and monuments of its elite; a space for them to paint their names and accomplishments into immortality. Catharine Edwards, in *Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*, tell us that buildings were indicators of a person's self-perception, especially as applied to the emperors. It was their way of making their mark on Rome and displaying their 'virtues' to the public.²

With monuments come the paths they were placed upon. William MacDonald discusses the power of paths through a city. He posits that Roman architecture can mainly be defined by the interconnectivity of Roman structures and urban planning.³ He centers on armatures, distinct pathways through cities on which the major buildings, thoroughfares, and activities lie. Specifically, according to MacDonald, an armature is: "a clearly delineated, path-like core of thoroughfares and plazas, which for convenience can be called an armature, that provided uninterrupted passage throughout the town and gave ready access to its principal public buildings."⁴ One of the most important aspects of his argument is that these armatures are fluid and connective pathways, in which no one element is isolated from its broader context;⁵ thoroughfares, buildings, and junctions

¹ Darwall-Smith, Robin Haydon. *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome*. Collection Latomus. Vol. 231. Brussels: Journal of Latin Studies, 1996, 18.

² Edwards, Catharine. "Rhetoric, Buildings, Social Hierarchy." In *Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 164.

³ MacDonald, William L. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: An Urban Appraisal*. Vol. 2. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986, 3.

⁴ MacDonald, *Roman Architecture Vol 2*. 3.

⁵ MacDonald, *Roman Architecture Vol 2*. 14.

are all in dialogue with one another through forms, imagery, location, and even direction.⁶ Finally, these pathways are not static. The only time an armature is finished, he states, is when nothing more is added to it.⁷

Furthermore, MacDonald discusses the importance of movement within the armature. After all, how would there be a dialogue between structures without movement through the path? Narrative comes from movement,⁸ as the citizens are the ones that bring the story to life. People also had to be able to figure out the logical layout of a city, where street signs would have been few, if they had existed at all.⁹ Thus, it is easy to imagine people moving through an armature, subconsciously aware of the messages they were receiving.

MacDonald applies the concept of armatures to Roman cities and colonies outside of Rome, not the city itself. He does, however, assert that Rome is the inspiration for the various images and types of buildings that appear in these other cities. While it may seem obvious, this is an important distinction to make, as it adds more continuity to the concept of Roman architecture and the similarity of its themes. This is especially significant with the expansion of Rome, and later, the rise of the emperors, which leads to the way I build from MacDonald's work.

Instead of using to understand cities outside of Rome, I will take the concept of an armature as MacDonald defines it and apply it to the triumphal route in Rome. All of MacDonald's characteristics for an armature are located on, or are visible from the triumphal route. The triumphal route is a narrative pathway, which is different from an

⁶ Ibid. 256.

⁷ Ibid. 18.

⁸ Ibid. 269.

⁹ Favro, Diane. *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 8.

armature. Though both an armature and a narrative pathway involve fluidity, interconnectivity and dialogue concerning their structures, multiple armatures make up a narrative pathway. A narrative pathway is the finished product—here, the triumphal route. An armature, on the other hand, is just one aspect of a narrative pathway—here, the path the monuments of each dynasty make. There can be various armatures along a narrative pathway—indeed, these armatures create the narrative pathway. For example, dynasties like the Flavians, Antonines, and Severans,¹⁰ created their own armature along the triumphal route. These armatures are in dialogue with each other within the larger narrative pathway that is the route, and still maintain their relationships with each other in their own armature. The reader will see that this distinction is important while discussing the layout of the city of Rome, especially within the context of the all-important triumphal route.

In her chapter “The Street Triumphant: The Urban Impact of Roman Triumphal Parades,” Diane Favro explains how the triumph created a distinct pathway through the city, both in the route itself and the interconnected associations it gave to the buildings that flanked it. She states that this distinction is what gave certain routes their own identity.¹¹ Monuments would become part of the traveler’s memory of the procession and therefore create an association between the purpose of the path and the buildings. Mary Beard tells us, “The meaning of a procession...regularly ‘feeds off’ the buildings

¹⁰ Covering the armature of each dynasty is beyond the scope of this paper. Here, only the Flavians are discussed.

¹¹ Favro, Diane. “The Street Triumphant: The Urban Impact of Roman Triumphal Parades.” In *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, edited by Zeynep Celik, Diane Favro and Richard Ingersoll, 151-164. Berkeley: University of California: Berkeley, 1994, 151-164.

and the landscapes by which it passes.”¹² This is especially visible in how the majority of the buildings built by triumphing generals were built with spoils from their success.

Rome as the capitol was significant because of its associations with triumphs, the place where the greatness of the empire was celebrated. As the idea of triumph evolved, buildings and the triumph began to be even more closely associated with the rise of the empire. No other emperor exemplified this idea more than the first emperor, Augustus, during his reign from 27 BCE to 14 CE. According to Edwards, Augustus sought to rebuild Rome in order to give it the appearance of a city worth the title, ‘capitol.’¹³ In the famous passage from Suetonius, Augustus boasts, he left a city in marble, which he had found in brick.¹⁴ It is widely known that many of Augustus’ building projects were to serve as legitimizing features for his heirs and family, proving their worthiness to the empire. Many of these buildings stood along the triumphal route, using the power of the route for legitimization and glorification.

I argue that Augustus’ buildings on the route create an Augustan triumphal armature that makes up part of the triumphal narrative pathway. This method was incredibly effective and served as an example to future emperors and dynasties when they needed to improve their standing. I further argue that the Flavians responded to the Augustan triumphal armature by the constructing their own triumphal armature along the triumphal route. The Flavians used a cohesive decorative program in Augustus’ example to glorify their family and their worthiness as rulers, heirs to Augustus’ grand tradition.

¹² Beard, Mary. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007, 92.

¹³ Edwards, Catharine. *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*, edited by Dennis Feeney, Stephen Hinds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 20.

¹⁴ Suetonius *Divius Augustus*, 28. All citations from Suetonius come from: Suetonius. *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. Loeb Classical Library. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913.

They were the first dynasty after Augustus to come to power following a civil war. Thus, it is understandable why they would want to use Augustus' methods. In a sense, he paved the way for them.

First we will examine the triumph in Rome—its origins, the major players, the rituals, and most importantly, the path, in order to understand the nature of its power in Roman politics and even in the cityscape. We will then turn to the Augustan armature with a description of Augustus' crowning triple triumph of 29 BCE, the methods and imagery he used in constructing the monuments in his armature, and a selection and discussion of its most significant buildings. We will see several themes figure prominently in Augustus' buildings and how these themes serve to legitimize his claim to power, his divine sanction, his family, and his ability to triumph and restore peace and prosperity to the Empire. Following Augustus will be a discussion of the Flavian armature. We will first consider the crowning moment of the Flavians—the triumph of 71 CE and then discuss a selection of the monuments that make up their armature. Within each monument we will see how it responds to Augustus' armature—either in innovation or some type of mimicking.

The triumphal route was one of the most significant pathways in Rome. It had the power to legitimize and empower any man who celebrated a victory by passing through its streets. As we will learn, it had the same power for buildings and their patrons. I will show that Augustus' triumphal armature accomplished his goal of proving his worth as emperor so effectively that the Flavians emulated it in hopes of sharing in his success.¹⁵

¹⁵ It is important to note that the Flavians were not the dynasty to succeed Augustus. The Julio-Claudians followed Augustus, and while they did construct buildings on the triumphal route, their close relations to Augustus ensured the security of their power, at least until they abused it. Thus their armature is less developed than the later ones, perhaps because they did not come to power after a civil war.

Chapter 1: The Triumph—Romulus to Caesar

According to Mary Beard, triumphs were “famous parades through the city of Rome that celebrated Rome’s greatest victories against its enemies...To be awarded a triumph was the most outstanding honor a Roman general could hope for.”¹⁶ There were many important aspects of the triumph, but for this paper one of the most significant is the actual route. The route of the Roman triumph is one that has been debated throughout the years, but I accept the route that is generally agreed upon by Payne, Favro, and Beard. The route starts with the procession in the Campus Martius area, and then makes a loop around the southern end of the Palatine, up the Via Sacra, and through the Roman forum, culminating with the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus atop the Capitoline.¹⁷

Figure 1. The Triumphal Route

<http://honorsaharchive.blogspot.com/2005/09/manifest-glory-of-rome-roman-triumph.html>

Roman legend held that the triumph was a tradition as old as the city. The first triumph belonged to the heroic founder of Rome, Romulus.¹⁸ According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities*, 2.34), Romulus carried the spoils from his enemies, some for himself, but the best as offerings, and rode into the city in a four-horse chariot in a purple robe with a laurel branch on his head. The rest of the army followed him. Though we cannot know exactly what the first triumph was like, this was an important moment in Roman. The triumph was inextricably bound to the city, and the triumph became the highest honor for any male citizen, a way to draw positive attention and gain

¹⁶ Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 1.

¹⁷ Beard, *Roman Triumph*; Favro, "The Street Triumphant: The Urban Impact of Roman Triumphal Parades," 151-164. ; and Payne, Robert. *The Roman Triumph*. London: Cox & Wyman Ltd, 1962.

¹⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus. *Roman Antiquities*. Loeb Classical Library. Translated by Earnest Cary. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937, 2.34; All citations from Plutarch are from: Plutarch. *Lives*. Loeb Classical Library. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923, *Life of Romulus*, 16.5-8. Though both sources say Romulus had a triumph, they disagree over what exactly happened.

power.¹⁹ As Diane Favro states, “Each procession was part of an urban continuum, a street connected in time as well as space with the past and future of the Roman state, the triumphal ritual, and the topography of Rome.”²⁰

The basic rules of the triumph were set by the fourth century BCE.²¹ According to Robert Payne, in order to have a triumph, the general had to get permission from the senate, have booty and prisoners to parade, and obtain permission to ride in the *quadriga*, the four-horse chariot.²² During this time, the triumph became grander as a means of attracting attention for the *triumphator*, and competition to have a triumph increased.²³ This is evident in the fact that from the Battle of Zama in 202 BCE to around 104 BCE, there were 68 triumphs, or at least two every three years.²⁴

All of this positioning and grasping for power by means of a triumph came to a head under Sulla, the first man who seized sole power during the Republican period. After defeating his rival, Marius, for power in Rome, Sulla celebrated a great triumph.²⁵ Though he paraded grand spoils from his wars in Greece, the most significant element of his triumph was the return of the exiles sent from the city while Marius was in power. According to Plutarch, they danced through the city praising Sulla as their savior. This was how Sulla wished to present his ascension to power—it was good for the entire city. The triumph was the best medium to advertise this. Sulla set the example for the next Republican men to make a run at sole power—Pompey and Julius Caesar.

¹⁹ Favro, “The Street Triumphant,” 152.

²⁰ “The Street Triumphant,” 155.

²¹ Payne, *Roman Triumph*, 41

²² Payne, *Roman Triumph*, 41.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid. 73

²⁵ Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, 34.

Pompey, who came to power under Sulla, was part of the distinctive club of generals who had triumphed three times—including the great Romulus.²⁶ His first triumph was over Numidia in 80 BCE, and came while he was only a young man and held no elected position.²⁷ Plutarch tells us it was a grand affair; Pompey was concerned with glorifying himself as much as possible, and even tried to ride in a chariot drawn by elephants. The second triumph came after victory in Spain around 71 BCE,²⁸ but it was his triumph in 61 BCE that really set him apart from the rest. It was a triumph over the pirates, Mithridates, and Judea. The triumph lasted two days because there was too much treasure to parade in one day;²⁹ such was the scale of Pompey's power. He paraded the names of the places he had conquered, and captives from these places, including children of Mithridates and Aristobolus, king of the Jews.³⁰ In conjunction with this triumph, Pompey built his magnificent theater, the first permanent theater in Rome.³¹ Lined with spoils from his triumph, it would stand as a permanent reminder of Pompey's greatness. After this triumph, people compared him to Alexander in his age and his military skill, but Julius Caesar would soon rise and compete for power.³²

Like Sulla and Pompey, Julius Caesar would use the triumph to self-aggrandize and draw attention to himself in order to gain power. Some of his methods, however, became an example of what not to do for Augustus. Caesar celebrated a quintuple triumph in 46 BCE over Gaul, Alexandria, Pontus, Africa, and Spain, which did not take

²⁶ Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 15

²⁷ Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 14-15.

²⁸ Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 22.

²⁹ Ibid. 45.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 22-24.

³² Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 46.

place over five days, but was spread out throughout the year.³³ A vast amount of money was paraded through the city and distributed to the soldiers, and various games were put on with horses and elephants.³⁴ However, Caesar displayed some unorthodox images that may have upset the spectators. Appian explains that Caesar depicted the deaths some of his Roman enemies in his triumph. Lucius Scipio had thrown himself into the sea, Petreius had killed himself at a banquet, and Cato had torn himself apart. According to Appian, the people were upset by these images, but kept silent out of fear.³⁵ Augustus would be sure to exclude any allusions to his defeated rivals in his own triumph in 29 BCE. Caesar also built several buildings with spoils from this triumph, including the Temple to Venus Victrix and the Basilica Julia,³⁶ leaving a more permanent mark of his triumph upon the city. In this Augustus would emulate his example.

Coupled with the triumph was manubial building along the triumphal route. Because his successes made the triumphing general a rich man, it was custom for him to construct a public building with booty from his triumph.³⁷ As discussed with Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar, manubial building was a way for a *triumphator* to permanently link himself to the triumphal tradition in the most public manner possible. The building, usually a temple to a god the general favored, would recall the triumph of the general and advertise his capability.³⁸ According to Diane Favro, these buildings were clustered as close as possible to the route,³⁹ which speaks more to the narrative power of the triumphal route. Putting a manubial building on the route gave the *triumphator* more

³³ Suetonius, *Caesar*, 37-39.

³⁴ Appian. *Civil Wars*. Loeb Classical Library. Translated by Horace White. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913, 2.102.

³⁵ Appian, *Civil Wars*, 2.101.

³⁶ Ibid. 2.102.

³⁷ Favro, "The Street Triumphant," 159.

³⁸ Favro, "The Street Triumphant," 159.

³⁹ Ibid.

“exposure and association [with the triumph].”⁴⁰ In time, these buildings came to dominate the cityscape in Rome⁴¹—distinct buildings not in conversation, but in competition with each other. These highly individual monuments are dotted along what is left of the triumphal route even in the modern city, so it is reasonable to imagine that they came to overtake the cityscape in ancient Rome. Augustus would have to work to unite the individualized cityscape upon his ascension to power, which we will see when we discuss the buildings in his armature.

In the end, we can see how the triumph was an integral part of Rome, a necessary part of its traditions and its cityscape. It was a ritual that was as old as the city, and a way for men to write themselves into the history and landscape forever. We have seen how the triumph became a way for men to distinguish themselves from the crowd of ambitious men during the Republic. The two great examples of this strategy were Pompey and Julius Caesar, men who had, for time, held immense power in the city. Both celebrated multiple triumphs that were grand and opulent, celebrations the city had not seen before. Their multiple triumphs became central parts of their public personas as reminders to the people of their greatness in war and peace. Additionally, over time, generals implemented physical reminders of their triumphs. The example of Pompey, Caesar, and their buildings was the example Augustus would follow upon his ascension to power. Augustus would associate himself in the closest ways possible, and create a distinct armature in this prominent narrative pathway through the city with buildings that recalled his abilities and his worth to rule Rome.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 43.

Chapter 2: The Augustan Triumphal Armature

The year was 30 BCE, and the young great-nephew of the beloved Julius Caesar, Octavian, had just overcome his main rival, Marc Antony at the Battle of Actium. The rest, to use a cliché, is history, but it is difficult to explain just how large an impact Augustus would have on Rome—the culture, the morals, the ideals, and the physical fabric of the city. After his victory in the civil war, he inherited a Rome destroyed economically, politically, and physically by years of civil war. His power was not secure by any means, and Octavian was faced with the challenge of repairing Rome while maintaining sole power in a republic. One method Octavian used to legitimize himself and advertise his abilities as ruler was to associate himself with the triumph as much as possible. Here I examine methods in which Octavian connected himself with the triumph, including transforming the narrative of the triumphal route itself.

I first present Augustus' greatest triumph: the triple triumph of 29 BCE as the standard for all later triumphs. This was the triumph where Augustus celebrated his victory over Dalmatia on the first day, the victory at Actium on the second, and the subjugation of Egypt on the third.⁴² Also in this section, I discuss how Augustus manipulated some traditional aspects of the triumph, even after he had celebrated his last one. Next, I briefly outline the methods that Augustus used in creating a unified, cohesive image of Rome. The descriptions of his buildings, with their imagery and materials among other aspects, will exemplify how they play into the larger themes of victory, peace, family, *pietas*, and divine sanction that Augustus was promoting.

The Triple Triumph of 29 BCE

⁴² Eck, Werner. *The Age of Augustus*. Blackwell Ancient Lives. Second ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 44; Favro, *Urban Image*, 92.

The triple triumph of Octavian in 29 BCE must have been a sight to behold. In Werner Eck's words, "Rome had never seen anything like the three-day celebration of Octavian's three-fold triumph—for his victories in Illyrium, Actium, and Alexandria—held in August of 29 BCE."⁴³ After all, Octavian was not just celebrating simple victories; he was celebrating his power, himself, and the end to the two decades of civil war that had wearied Rome.⁴⁴ Because of the image of himself that he wished to portray, the triple triumph would be the new standard for triumphal celebrations in Rome.

The spectacle of Octavian's triple triumph has been recorded in two historical accounts, Dio 51.21 (which gives more detail), and Suetonius *Augustus* 17. Ida Oestenberg gives an interesting way to consider how Octavian wanted to portray his victories in the triumph—that he subjugated the world in three days.⁴⁵ Thus, Octavian was much more efficient than the great leaders before him, Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar.⁴⁶ For one, the wealth that these victories brought was almost incomprehensible, as property rates rose, interest rates fell, and this wealth became the main source of income for the entire city.⁴⁷ He would later use this wealth to construct mostly public buildings, including temples, as generations of *triumphators* had done since the beginning of the Republic.⁴⁸ Thus, this fantastic show of wealth was Octavian's way to show the people how he could bring them a healthy economy, and that his generosity was selfless.

⁴³ Eck *Age of Augustus* 2007, 44.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Oestenberg, Ida. *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, 287.

⁴⁶ Oestenberg *Staging* 287.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 66.

⁴⁸ Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 43.

As a way to convey power, prisoners of war also featured prominently in the triple triumph of Octavian. This particular triumph included many captives, who were probably included for a variety of reasons. According to Dio (51.21), Cleopatra was paraded in effigy, and her two young children were featured in Octavian's triumph on the final day. Dio also mentions "other captives," which were probably defeated soldiers from Dalmatia. Octavian was careful to parade foreigners in his triumph, not Romans. He had seen Caesar parade images of his dead Roman enemies, and how poorly that was received by the public. The foreign captives proved his military might; their foreignness was an example of the far-off lands that his empire now controlled.⁴⁹ Their language was different, even the animals with which they paraded were foreign. For additional drama, Augustus paraded the captives close to his own chariot.⁵⁰ The sight would have created an interesting juxtaposition; the wholly Roman general, civilized and mighty next to the unfamiliar, yet still strong prisoners. Exotic, conquered captives coupled with immense wealth would make powerful statements about Augustus' abilities as a general and therefore as a leader. Other "prisoners of war" include remnants from the Battle at Actium, such as the models of ships sunk or captured and the beaks of actual defeated ships.⁵¹ These objects would emphasize Augustus' aptitude in all types of war, a desirable talent in a leader. Clearly, he was capable of great achievements and glory, which would only bring achievement and glory to Rome.

⁴⁹ Oestenberg *Staging*, 147-148.

⁵⁰ Augustus and Bushnell, Thomas. "The Divine Deeds of Augustus." 2012, <http://classics.mit.edu/Augustus/deeds.html>, 4. All citations from the *Res Gestae* come from here; Oestenberg, *Staging*, 145.

⁵¹ Oestenberg *Staging*, 51-56.

Lastly, and certainly significantly, the triple triumph was meant to exemplify stability that Augustus would bring to Rome.⁵² The wealth paraded in the triumphs represented the steady economy of a peaceful state, while the captives exemplified how Augustus could end war, thus bringing peace. Domination of land forces and naval forces also exemplifies how Augustus could bring peace by conquest if he needed.⁵³ For the Roman people, peace was precious.⁵⁴ Perhaps this was the most important reason to celebrate for many Romans. Augustus was well aware of this, and was sure to incorporate into many of his buildings, as we will see later. In the end, the triple triumph of Augustus was indeed a demonstration of his skills: he could bring wealth, he could bring military might, and he could bring peace to Rome.

Augustus and the Notion of Triumph

While triumphs were nothing new to the city of Rome, the triple triumph of Augustus began to change some of the traditions associated with them to show off his power, his might, and his ability to rule. He changed the location where triumphs were voted and granted, he gradually and very subtly took more control over granting triumphs and the images of triumphant generals, and even took aspects meant solely for triumphs and applied them to his daily life.⁵⁵

Once constructed, the Forum of Augustus became an integral part of the city, one of the busiest spaces in the heart of Rome.⁵⁶ The physical appearance of his forum, the methods of construction, and the overall meaning of the space will be further discussed in

⁵² Oestenberg *Staging*, 288.

⁵³ Oestenberg *Staging*, 51-52.

⁵⁴ Eck, *Age of Augustus*, 44.

⁵⁵ Eck *Age of Augustus* 123; Syme, Ronald. "Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature." Chap. 1, In *Augustus*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson, 40-59. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2009, 43-44; Favro, *Urban Image*, 1996, 108, 121-123, 126, 242; Beard, *Roman Triumph* 69, 276-77, 295-298.

⁵⁶ Favro *Urban Image* 1996, 82.

the monuments section. For our purposes now, it is important in what it became to the triumph. The senate would henceforth vote on granting a general a triumph in the Forum of Augustus, ensuring that the emperor's gaze would always be upon them and the future *triumphators*.⁵⁷ Even when he no longer lived, the senate would be able to feel his presence and the standards he set when it came to a triumph. By moving the voting for triumphs to his own space, Augustus attached future victories and conquest to himself.

Following this innovative program, Augustus managed to play a large part in turning the triumph into an imperial tradition. Though he did not implement any legislation to limit the triumph to members of the imperial family, after the triumph of Cornelius Balbus in 19 BCE⁵⁸, only members of the imperial family celebrated triumphs.⁵⁹ Mary Beard discusses how Augustus cleverly changed methods of granting *imperium*, a necessary power for a general to have if he was to be granted a triumph, so it was very difficult to acquire.⁶⁰ As a result, the notion of the triumph came to be intrinsically connected with Augustus and the imperial family. Also, not only was the triumph somewhat restricted to Augustus' connections, it was celebrated far less often—only twice in the twenty years before his death.⁶¹ Clearly this was a further way promote himself, and the “uniqueness” of his own triumph, the triple triumph of 29 BCE.

Another way in which Augustus manipulated triumphal traditions is in construction of manubial structures. Not only was he sure to construct his own, he

⁵⁷ Favro, *Urban Image* 1996, 126.

⁵⁸ According to Dio (54.25), Balbus celebrated a triumph in 19 BCE and dedicated an opulent theater in 13 BCE. Perhaps Augustus realized there was still competition, and so restricted the triumph to the imperial family.

⁵⁹ Eck, *Age of Augustus* 146.

⁶⁰ Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 298.

⁶¹ Favro *Urban Image* 121.

restricted others from building grand monuments as was tradition in Republican Rome.⁶² Favro states, “the *princeps* began to assume more and more control over triumphal building, directing victorious generals to undertake lower-profile, pragmatic projects rather than the highly visible temples.”⁶³ The return to virtuous, moral Rome also played into these Augustan building policies. Men should work for the good of the state, not their own personal gain, and take on upkeep of aqueducts, sewers, and other public utilities.⁶⁴ Augustus, however, was allowed to recreate the city, since he was the *princeps*, and representative of the Roman citizens as a whole.⁶⁵ He and no one else was the benevolent leader of the people who could afford to build beautiful monuments for the people. Whatever he wanted, whether a new portico or a new temple, they surely wanted, too. As we will see, Augustus spared no expense, and left nothing out when it came to constructing his new city. That he was able to have the entire canvas to himself helped establish his agenda in shaping of a distinct narrative in many sections of the city.

Even when Augustus did not celebrate a triumph, he was sure to connect that victorious tradition to himself through title. First, he took the title *imperator*, which was a title specifically given to a “victorious commander” in association with a triumph.⁶⁶ According to Ronald Syme, the title was unusual, and it was traditionally bestowed upon the general by his soldiers, and would remain only until after his triumph or his return to Rome.⁶⁷ Additionally, it is a title that evokes a sense of glory and power because of the strong mythical connection to Romulus and Rome’s foundation.⁶⁸ Again this tie to

⁶² Favro *Urban Image* 106, 242.

⁶³ Ibid. 108.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 119.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 119.

⁶⁶ Eck, *Age of Augustus* 123; Syme, *Imperator*, 46; Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 295.

⁶⁷ Syme, *Imperator*, 45-46.

⁶⁸ Syme, *Imperator*, 53-53.

victory was of extreme significance to Augustus, since it had elevated him to power in the first place. It would remain an important aspect of Augustus' public persona, in name and in his structures, as we will later see. It is apparent that Augustus had his hands in the triumph, even after his own massive celebration in 29 BCE. Now we will examine how Augustus continued to associate with the triumph by gradually constructing an armature along the route.

Methods of Augustus: Materials, Architectural Orders, and Symbolic Imagery

Before discussing the buildings that comprise the Augustan armature, it is important to consider Augustan architectural style and methods, or how Augustus created an urban image of Rome with architectural orders and specific images and symbols.

Diane Favro states, "Augustus manipulated the cityscape to offer dynamic and meaningful sensorial experiences, imbued with directed meaning."⁶⁹ This change was utterly necessary for the "humble heir of Julius Caesar,"⁷⁰ since if Rome was to be the capital of the commanding Roman Empire, it simply had to look the part.

For his triple triumph in 29 BCE, Octavian needed the city to be as grand as his parade. It was necessary to have a spectacular backdrop for his grandiose triumph because it would make everything look that much better. According to Favro, the triumph "drew strength from the power of place."⁷¹ Dilapidated buildings received "facelifts," and incomplete buildings were quickly finished, or made to appear complete.⁷² Even after this, according to Favro, his triumph did not traverse through a "unified image of Rome" because the individualism that dominated building in the

⁶⁹ Favro, *Urban Image*, 4.

⁷⁰ Favro, *Urban Image*, 141.

⁷¹ Favro, "Street Triumphant," 153.

⁷² Favro, *Urban Image*, 92.

Republican era was still apparent.⁷³ This individualism in buildings would have to give way to cohesion and unity in the cityscape. He would use distinct materials and specific Augustan imagery/symbolism to unify the Roman cityscape and promote his ideals.⁷⁴

One of the biggest changes Augustus made was in the materials that were used for building civic structures. Marble, instead of tufa, became the building block of Augustan monuments.⁷⁵ Not only does marble last longer than tufa,⁷⁶ it is clearly the more attractive stone of the two. Augustus also began incorporating colored marbles such as giallo antico and red porphyry, yet another indicator of wealth, high status, and the lands he had conquered.⁷⁷ The use of multicolored stone became a trademark of imperial building, thanks to Augustus, who started the trend.⁷⁸ These stones were expensive and high class, the materials of emperors, almost as if the new, sparkling materials were a metaphor for the shiny new “golden age.”⁷⁹ The use of exotic materials also points to the expanse of the empire and the power of Augustus. We will see this in the Forum of Augustus, where architects incorporated marbles from Numidia, Ionia, and Phrygia with marbles from Italy.⁸⁰ The ability to import marbles from all corners of the empire reflected on the power and the wealth of the *princeps*. The new materials would have made these buildings immediately recognizable as Augustan structures, powerful billboards for power.

⁷³ Favro, *Urban Image*, 101.

⁷⁴ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 49.

⁷⁵ Favro *Urban Image* 183; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 49.

⁷⁶ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 49.

⁷⁷ Favro, *Urban Image*, 183.

⁷⁸ Favro, *Urban Image*, 249.

⁷⁹ Favro, *Urban Image* 183.

⁸⁰ Galinsky, Karl. *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996, 202-203.

Augustus used Hellenic art as a model to unite the cityscape of the capital.⁸¹ Not just settling with the Greek orders, Augustus and his architects spent time developing and perfecting the orders to present not only traditional values, but also a distinct Augustan style that would come to be connected with these values.⁸² This is evident with the rise of the Composite style in Roman architecture, which, according to Frank Sear, was invented during the reign of Augustus.⁸³ The Composite style was a mix of Corinthian and Ionic elements, the most recognizable feature being the addition of the Ionic scrolls to the Corinthian capital. In addition, Augustus used Greek architectural features and mixed them with Italian ones to create buildings, such as the lavish pediment and high podium in the Temple to Mars Ultor.⁸⁴ Thus he was combining the two styles, the high cultural Greek style and the Italian style of the first Romans. The use of Greek style helped create a unified decorative program as well.⁸⁵ The classical style was conservative, and thus underscored the avoidance of hubristic and inappropriate imagery, such as violent battles or the imperial family enthroned. The gods, Mars, for example, became more dignified and mature in statuary as well.⁸⁶ Quasi-mythological figures like Aeneas and Romulus were also idealized in the classical Greek style as the proper examples of *pietas* and victory (more on this later in the next section).⁸⁷ By using adapted Greek classical style and architectural orders, Augustus promoted a return to reason and *pietas*, and unified visually his architectural program.

⁸¹ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 49.

⁸² Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 62.

⁸³ Ibid. 62.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 105, 255-256.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 111.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 197-199.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 207.

Another interesting innovation that Augustus had a hand in was sightlines. One way this manifests is in the scale of buildings, which was generally increased, especially with temple podia.⁸⁸ This means that these buildings could be seen more easily and could have been seen from great distances, giving the impression that the pediments literally towered over the rest of the buildings in the city. This is especially clear in the Temple to Apollo on the Palatine and the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The taller buildings would be what Diane Favro terms “extroverted buildings,” where the gaze is centered on the outside of the monument, in which case the elements of the facades and entablatures would be most important.⁸⁹ Specific images and symbols would be placed here to give them more priority and visibility. On the other hand are the “introverted buildings,” where boundary walls enclose the space, so the gaze is focused within the monument, such as the Forum of Augustus and Portico of Octavia. Introverted sightlines keep out the “contaminated” outside buildings and focus on the inside, where statues and other elements would communicate the messages and themes of the *princeps*. The sightlines between particular monuments vary, and so they will be discussed with their respective buildings.

The imagery of the Augustan program is extensive, and includes everything from vines to gods. Below are nine images or symbols that were particularly significant in Augustus’ buildings. Many began with a generic meaning, but through time as he incorporated them more and more they took on a specifically Augustan meaning.

⁸⁸ Favro, *Urban Image*, 150, 192.

⁸⁹ Favro, *Urban Image*, 194.

Apollo came to take on a special role during the reign of Augustus. As his rule progressed, the more it seems Augustus associated himself with Apollo.⁹⁰ The new triumphal armature contains two buildings that were dedicated to Apollo and other buildings that contain images linked to him. Indeed, we will see how this link was even physical with the connecting ramp between Augustus' private home and the Temple to Apollo on the Palatine. There is even a myth that attests that Apollo is Augustus' father, and came to Atia (his mother) in the form of a snake.⁹¹ But why did Augustus choose Apollo as his deity? Paul Zanker argues that it was for what Apollo represented—discipline and morality, especially in the face of the excess of Antony's Dionysius and Hercules personas.⁹² This is logical when we consider how Augustus promoted victory, peace, *pietas*, tradition, and family. Karl Galinsky, on the other hand, argues Augustus took on Apollo because of what he *didn't* represent: "Apollo was relatively unencumbered by constraints of a previous tradition, which left him much creative latitude for shaping the image of Apollo in Rome and, especially, his association with the god."⁹³ Both reasons make sense, and do not contradict each other. Essentially, Apollo was the perfect god for Augustus because he was not yet a member of the Roman pantheon and so Augustus could represent him in any way, but he also had a strong association with the morals Augustus wanted to promote. Consequently, Apollo and his signs would become popular images and oft-used motifs in Augustan buildings.

⁹⁰ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 48-49.

⁹¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 94.4.

⁹² *Power of Images*, 51-53, 57.

⁹³ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 216.

The most significant image of the program is the laurel branch and wreath. The laurel came to be one of the most recognizable emblems of Augustus,⁹⁴ and it took on several meanings. One association the laurel had was with victory,⁹⁵ since *triumphators* traditionally wore a laurel wreath during the triumph.⁹⁶ Suetonius (*Galba* 1), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 15.136-137), and Dio Cassius (48.52.3-4) also recount a myth about the origin of the laurel tree from which the *triumphators*' wreaths were made. As the story goes, shortly after her wedding to Augustus, Livia sat outside in her garden. An eagle then flew over, dropping a white hen with a laurel sprig in its mouth into her lap. Livia had the sprig planted, and it grew into a laurel tree that the later triumphing generals would use for their laurel crowns. This myth connects the laurel and the triumph to Augustus' family. Yet the laurel also signified *pietas*.⁹⁷ This meaning comes from the connection between laurel and Apollo, as it was Apollo's sacred tree.⁹⁸ By using the laurel as a personal symbol, Augustus was connecting himself with Apollo and Apollo's powers.⁹⁹ The laurel, symbol of Apollo and victory, became a sign of Augustus, an easily recognizable connection wherever it appeared.¹⁰⁰

Figure 2. Coins of Augustus depicting laurel branches

<http://www.cngcoins.com/Article.aspx?ArticleID=258>

The oak crown, or the *corona civica*, was another image that became inherently associated with Augustus. In the *Res Gestae* (34), Augustus writes that he had been awarded the oak crown and that it was nailed to the door of his home. The oak crown

⁹⁴ Augustus was voted the honor of having a laurel tree planted on either side of the door to his home (*RG* 34), a physical connection we will discuss more in the section on the Temple to Apollo on the Palatine.

⁹⁵ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 37, 218; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 92-93; Favro *Urban Image* 224; and Beard, *Roman Triumph* 287.

⁹⁶ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 218; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 92-93.

⁹⁷ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 37; Favro, *Urban Image* 224; and Beard, *Roman Triumph* 287.

⁹⁸ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 37, 218; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 92-93.

⁹⁹ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 50.

¹⁰⁰ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 93; Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 287.

symbolized victory, like the laurel wreath, as well as civic virtue. The *corona civica* had military roots— it was awarded to a citizen who had saved the life of another Roman in battle.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the oak crown was connected with the most important building in the triumphal procession, the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, because the oak tree was Jupiter's sacred tree.¹⁰² The military connection would have solidified Augustus' link between himself and victory, but it would promote him as a good citizen as well. When the oak crown was presented to Augustus, it was meant as a symbolic tribute for a man who had saved many Romans *from* battle, not in battle. In consolidating power, Augustus prevented more civil war, and saved the lives of many men, or at least that's how the senate presented the oak crown.¹⁰³ It came to be a symbol of Augustus as the "savior of the Roman people."¹⁰⁴ As the years passed, it lost its original meaning and came to simply represent Augustus.¹⁰⁵ We will see this image in the Temple to Apollo in the Palatine and in the Forum to Augustus, two of his most important monuments.

Figure 3. Augustus wearing the *Corona Civica*

http://www.ask.com/wiki/Corona_civica

Two more important images are the acanthus and vine. Both of these images appear at some point in almost every Augustan monument because they were easy to place, could incorporate other images, and generally represented abundance and fertility.¹⁰⁶ Spiraling acanthus and flowing vines figuratively illustrated the growth of the

¹⁰¹ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 93.

¹⁰² Ibid. 93.

¹⁰³ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 208.

¹⁰⁴ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 208; Gruen, E. S. "Augustus and the Ideology of War and Peace." In *The Age of Augustus: Conference Held at Brown University Providence, Rhode Island*, edited by Rolf Winkes. Vol. 5, 208-72. Providence: Brown University, 1986, 60.

¹⁰⁵ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 94.

¹⁰⁶ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 179-182; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 153; and Kleiner, Diane E.E. "Semblance and Storytelling in Augustan Rome." In *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*. Cambridge, 2005, 218.

empire,¹⁰⁷ a theme Augustus wanted to emphasize under his rule. In appearance, the vegetation was organized and ordered, though not strictly controlled.¹⁰⁸ This represented the ordered style of Augustus, but left room for growth and flexibility. Indeed, there are several instances where figures rise from acanthus leaves, such as the rising victories in a frieze from the Temple to Divus Julius, and the Pegasus heads from the Corinthian columns of the Temple to Mars Ultor. Thus the acanthus could be combined with other images to expand their meanings.¹⁰⁹ Each was also depicted realistically, promoting the idea that the abundance of the acanthus and vines applied to the abundance of real vegetation in the empire.¹¹⁰ Finally, both of these images were fairly classicizing, recalling the decorations on monuments of classical Athens,¹¹¹ which helped unite the decorative programs of each building, appeal to a higher cultural aesthetic, and mark them as Augustan. Augustus' vision of Rome was similar to the idea of classical Greece—he wanted Rome to be the center of learning and reason. By incorporating Greek elements, he was able to make the cityscape more uniform as well as remind viewers that Rome was Greece's heir.

Symbols of *pietas* were also abundant in Augustan monuments. We will see that *pietas* was one of the ideals that Augustus promoted to the public as the reason he was in power and as a way to ensure peace and prosperity in the empire. Augustus represented *pietas* by building a temple to his divine father, Divus Julius, and to his patron god, Apollo.¹¹² Yet there were specific images that symbolized *pietas* within the actual

¹⁰⁷ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 180.

¹⁰⁸ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 153, 200.

¹⁰⁹ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 111-112.

¹¹⁰ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 153.

¹¹¹ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 181; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 184, 200.

¹¹² Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* 86-88.

buildings. Popular images were the Delphic Tripod, candelabra, bucrania, and other tokens of sacrifice (offering bowls and garlands, for instance). The tripod was clearly associated with Apollo, as it was a principal instrument in the oracle at Delphi.¹¹³ We see it in buildings linked with Apollo, such as the Temple on the Palatine, as well. Perhaps because it was quite recognizable in decoration due to its distinctive form, it came to symbolize wide-ranging piety, not just piety for Apollo.¹¹⁴ The candelabra were similar to the tripod in that they first appeared as a symbol of Apollo worship and came to represent general worship as well.¹¹⁵ This was particularly true whenever the image was paired with laurel.¹¹⁶ Bucrania and other symbols of worship took on the general theme as well. Since they were usually presented on temples, they were appropriate images, and their implications of *pietas* would have been clear. They also symbolized an aspect of divine sanction because proper *pietas* would lead to favor from the gods,¹¹⁷ as we will see in the buildings.

Figure 4. Entablature containing bucrania and vines from the Temple to Apollo Medicus

http://www.flickr.com/photos/roger_ulrich/6029453016/sizes/m/in/photostream/

Symbols of the defeat of Cleopatra and Egypt also take prominence in some of Augustus' early buildings. Perhaps the most evident are parts of ships, such as ship prows and beaks. These elements represent the Battle at Actium, where Octavian defeated Cleopatra and effectively conquered Egypt.¹¹⁸ They also recall Octavian's triple

¹¹³ Claridge, Amanda. *Oxford Archaeological Guide to Rome*, edited by Berry Cunliffe. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 142.

¹¹⁴ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 88-89.

¹¹⁵ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 89.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 89.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 209.

¹¹⁸ Richardson, L. Jr. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992, 214; Claridge, *Rome*, 100; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 59; and Zanker, *Power of Images*, 80.

triumph, as they were paraded around the city as spoils.¹¹⁹ We will see physical ship prows and carved ship prows in the Augustan armature. Another image for Egypt is the lotus flower,¹²⁰ which appears among some vegetation in Augustan reliefs. It is a subtler symbol, but its presence alludes to the defeat of Egypt nonetheless. Dolphins also appear from time to time, though they have more of a dual meaning—they represent Actium and Venus, an ancestor of the Julian family.¹²¹ It is interesting that this one image could have such different meanings, but essentially promote Octavian at the same time. Where we see the dolphins, they almost certainly represent the Battle at Actium because of their close proximity to an Egyptian obelisk. Finally, Cleopatra appears in some of Octavian's buildings, though not explicitly. As a barbarian queen,¹²² Cleopatra was presented as lacking the refinement and morals of the Romans. Consequently, she was symbolized by barbarian forms or monsters in some monuments. One example is the gorgon heads on a frieze from the Temple to Divus Julius, which is a building wrought with allusions to Actium. In the Temple to Apollo Medicus, it is possible that Hippolyte in the pediment represents Cleopatra.¹²³ What is somewhat brilliant about portraying Cleopatra in this manner is how non-committal it is—a viewer can take the image as Cleopatra, or can take it as just a gorgon or Amazon. It is a safe way to characterize a defeated enemy.

When Augustus first came to power, he faced a Rome exhausted by a long period of civil war—its economy, politics, and physical state in shambles. In order to advertise his aptitude as ruler, he linked himself to the triumph and its associations with victory as

¹¹⁹ Dio Cassius, 51.21.

¹²⁰ Kleiner, Diana E. E. *Roman Sculpture*. Yale Publications in the History of Art., edited by Walter B. Cahn. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992., 83.

¹²¹ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 71.

¹²² Severy, Beth. *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire* Routledge, 2003.38.

¹²³ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 348.

much as he could. To make this as clear as possible, he used several images perhaps not even consciously at first, that would represent him and link him to victory. The symbols ranged from obvious to subtle, but we will see that Augustus used each of them to great effect in his triumphal armature. Let us now turn to the Portico of Octavia, the Theater of Marcellus, the Temple to Apollo Medicus, the Obelisk in the Circus Maximus, the Temple to Apollo on the Palatine, the Temple to Divus Julius, the Triumphal Arch of Augustus, the Portico of Gaius and Lucius, the Forum of Augustus, and the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus—the actual buildings of Augustus’ triumphal armature, keeping these images and ideals in mind.

The Augustan Triumphal Armature

The Portico of Octavia

Though not the first building the triumph would pass, the Portico of Octavia was the first building on the Augustan triumphal armature because of its location near the start of the triumph in the south Campus Martius.¹²⁴ Though the sources vary on who was actually responsible for its construction— Octavia, Marcellus, Augustus, or all of them— this building served an extremely important function in the parade and in the armature of Augustus along the triumphal route. For one, it emphasized the family connections of the imperial family, especially in conjunction with the Theater of Marcellus, which came a few years later. Additionally, the portico was a new place to display grand, prestigious works of art and house a library, which called attention to the power and benevolence of the imperial family. Finally, its grand materials and architectural decoration

¹²⁴ The exact starting point for the triumph is still unknown. See Beard, *Roman Triumph*.

monumentalized the portico, making it a significant landmark in the traditional triumphal staging area, the south Campus Martius.¹²⁵

While the ancient sources are unclear about the exact identity of the patron of the Portico of Octavia, this is not as problematic as it may seem. Octavia is mentioned in at least every instance in connection with the portico. Suetonius (*Augustus* 28-30) and Cassius Dio (49.43.8) claim that Augustus built the portico and some other buildings in the names of his respective relatives. Propertius (3.18.11-20) and Plutarch (*Marcia* 30.6) claim Octavia finished the school and the library inside the portico, but do not mention her patronage of any other architectural aspect of the portico. Pliny (*NH* 35.114, 36.22) adds the artwork she deemed fit to display within it, see paragraph below). Ovid (*Art of Love* 1.69-70) and Livy (*Periocha* 140) state Octavia finished the monument in honor of her son, Marcellus, whose death prompted the construction of the Theater of Marcellus, as we will see later. Richardson states that Octavia finished it for Marcellus after his untimely death. Though the identity of the exact patron cannot be completely ignored, regardless of who actually did the majority of the building, three major players in the imperial family are connected to the portico's construction.

In "The Evolution of the Porticus Octavia," Richardson posits that the inscription above the library read "PORTICVS OCTAVIAE ET FILI," instead of the generally accepted "PORTIVUS OCTAVIAE ET FILIPPI."¹²⁶ He argues rather convincingly that the space does not seem adequate enough for FILIPPI, nor does it make sense that the Portico of Philip around the Hercules Museum and the Portico of Octavia be an

¹²⁵ Claridge, *Rome*, 255; Richardson, L. Jr. "Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae." *American Journal of Archaeology* 80, no. 1 (1976): 57-64.61.

¹²⁶ Richardson, "Evolution", 63.

architectural unit.¹²⁷ Indeed, it makes more sense to view the Theater of Marcellus and the Portico of Octavia as an architectural unit, especially given that the theater lacks a portico. This evidence connects Octavia and her son to the buildings in the area.

If Augustus did build the entire portico, it was unprecedented for him to name the monument after his sister, though it was even more unprecedented for Octavia to build a grand portico and to name it after herself.¹²⁸ Whichever is the case, it publicly celebrates her maternity in conjunction with the Theater of Marcellus just down the triumphal path and gives an example of proper Roman aristocratic behavior: have children and honor the state.¹²⁹ Augustus' veneration of this relationship is exemplified by the construction of these two buildings in such close proximity. The fact that he chose to emphasize this relationship along the triumphal route conveys how important it was to his notion of the state.

According to Richardson, the portico housed two temples, a library, and a curia, and displayed lavish, famous art works.¹³⁰ Pliny (*NH* 34.31, 35.114, 139, 36.15, 22-4, 34-5) describes how Octavia finished the library and the school in the portico, and then decorated it with famous works of art.¹³¹ As mentioned earlier, these acts were even more unprecedented for a woman, but as an important member of the imperial family, Octavia was still acting in line with Augustus, using imperial power as a way to show imperial benevolence. The art was for the people, the libraries were for the people, but both were located in a place named after the *princeps*' sister and connected with her son in a prominent location on the triumphal route. As Beth Severy states, "By filling

¹²⁷ Richardson, "Evolution", 63.

¹²⁸ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 91

¹²⁹ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 91, 94.

¹³⁰ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary* 317; Claridge, *Rome*, 256.

¹³¹ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 92.

the...portico with famous artwork, Octavia similarly returned items to public view which had recently been hoarded in private collections.”¹³² Pieces included Greek statues, the Lysippus bronze statue of Alexander and his companions at the Battle of Granicus, and statues of Venus and Eros.¹³³ These two statues are familiar representations of the divine family of Augustus and himself.¹³⁴ Thus the people were able to see the “best” kind of art (Greek art),¹³⁵ which itself emphasized the imperial family. It is clear that the patrons of the Portico of Octavia used it to promote themselves to the best advantage, in this case showing their benevolence by building a public library for the people and exhibiting precious, famous art. Yet the art and the library were not alone. Let us now examine the portico itself and how its construction helped in stating the message of its patrons.

The Portico of Octavia was also a space that manipulated sightlines in order to convey Augustus’ emphasis on family. The architectural features of porticos allow for internal sights and spaces,¹³⁶ keeping the “contamination” of outside buildings from obscuring Augustus’ message. In fact, Augustus seemed to prefer porticoes because of their sightlines, their ability to keep the messages in his buildings clear since they create a strong internal space, unobstructed or contaminated by their “unseemly” surroundings. Internally, they were social spaces, much like a theater or forum, for people to meet, and in porticoes, view art. Yet they also provided a monumental entrance that was not lost in the landscape to draw people inside.¹³⁷ Externally, porticoes could function as frames,

¹³² Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 92; Pliny the Elder. *The Natural History*. Translated by John Bostock and H. T. Riley. London: Taylor and Francis, 1855, 35.26.

¹³³ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 333; Zanker *Power of Images*, 145; Claridge, *Rome*, 256.

¹³⁴ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 145.

¹³⁵ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 334

¹³⁶ Favro, *Urban Image*, 169.

¹³⁷ Favro, *Urban Image*, 171.

backdrops, and edges for sightlines.¹³⁸ With the Portico of Octavia, the colonnade was mostly closed.¹³⁹ The internal concentration would be useful, furthering Augustus' family messages. The external element of the portico would be what was visible from the triumph, but would evoke the messages promoted within.

Architecturally, the portico was a reworking of the Portico of Metellus, which had been built around 146 BCE by Q. Caecilius Metellus with booty from his triumph over Macedonia in 146 BCE.¹⁴⁰ The two temples enclosed in the portico, the Temple to Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina, had already existed at the time of the construction of the Portico of Metellus.¹⁴¹ The patrons of the Portico of Octavia took advantage of the existing buildings and their power of place by restoring them, but were able to put their mark on the place with new buildings, like the library, new features, like the art, and new decorations.¹⁴² The portico was raised off the ground,¹⁴³ creating a monumental entrance so favored by Augustus, and the double Corinthian colonnade added more monumentality by creating a more imposing presence.¹⁴⁴

Yet within all this grand architecture lay a few small decorations that refer to military victory and divine sanction. Paul Zanker gives a detailed description and interpretation of a relief frieze of unknown origin, though it comes from a building in the south Campus Martius, and dates to the Augustan age.¹⁴⁵ The frieze is interesting in that

¹³⁸ Ibid. 169.

¹³⁹ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 318.

¹⁴⁰ Claridge, *Rome*, 255-256; Favro, *Urban Image*, 94; Richardson *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 317.

¹⁴¹ Richardson "Evolution", 63.

¹⁴² Favro, *Urban Image*, 94; Claridge *Rome*, 254-55; Zanker *Power of Images*, 123.

¹⁴³ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 317.

¹⁴⁴ Richardson "Evolution", 63.

¹⁴⁵ Tonio Holscher warns that it cannot be connected to any building for sure, but that "we can undoubtedly assume that the frieze belonged to one of those buildings with which Augustus fundamentally transformed the 'triumphal' area *in circo*" Holscher, Tonio. "Monuments of the Battle of Actium: Propaganda and Response." Chap. 10, In *Augustus*. Translated by Claus Nader, edited by Jonathan Edmondson, 333-333.

it contains images of prows, sterns, rudders, and anchors mixed with images associated with priests: *lituus* (curved staff), *apex* (spiked hat), *acerra* (incense box), and *simpvium* (libation ladle), among others.¹⁴⁶ Zanker argues that the combination of these two seemingly different themes is meaningful, in that the victory at Actium (the ship imagery) was divinely sanctioned due to Augustus' proper respect and treatment of the gods (the priest/ritual imagery).¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, *pietas* and *virtus* were necessary to continue this divine favor in restoring the republic.¹⁴⁸

In the end, the Portico of Octavia starts the Augustan triumphal armature in a rousing fashion. There was a strong emphasis placed on family and family duty, as exemplified by the allusions to the imperial family that rang strong in this building named for a famous sister and mother, and later in the theater named for her son. Yet this royal family also cared for the people, which is evident in Octavia's addition of the library and famous art for the public. Finally, the portico created significant sightlines, keeping the view in an area concentrated on the imperial family and associated with triumph and victory, but also creating an enclosed space where many could enjoy the contributions of the family without the distraction of other buildings. The Portico of Octavia was a gift and subtly self-promoting monument marking the first stop on the Augustan triumphal armature.

The Theater of Marcellus

The next building on the Augustan armature on the triumphal route is the Theater of Marcellus. It truly draws upon almost every aspect of Augustan ideals with its

Endinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2009, 316.

¹⁴⁶ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 123-125.

¹⁴⁷ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 125.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. 125.

emphasis on family connection and purpose. It stood down the triumphal path from the Portico of Octavia, right across from the Temple of Apollo Medicus, three buildings in triumphant, familial dialogue with each other. The emphasis of the Theater of Marcellus on family connections, architecture, and entertainment for the people as well as its location are what is most significant about this building.

One of the most apparent facets of the Theater of Marcellus is the prominence of the imperial family. The theater was named for Augustus' nephew, Marcellus, and the family connection goes back even further. Julius Caesar had first acquired the land and begun plans for construction of a theater by clearing the space.¹⁴⁹ According to Diane Favro, Caesar was motivated by the colossal Theater of Pompey, which he attempted to outdo.¹⁵⁰ The site was picked because of its proximity to the city center, and the original theater plans were quite opulent and large.¹⁵¹ Despite the close connection to Caesar, construction on the Theater did not begin until at least 23 BCE, prompted by the death of Augustus' nephew, heir, and namesake of the theater, Marcellus.¹⁵² It was dedicated in 13 BCE.¹⁵³

As we have discussed, up until this time it was unprecedented to name a building after someone other than the patron or a god.¹⁵⁴ By naming this grand theater after his deceased heir, Augustus appears to be legitimizing him even in death. Favro adds that this gesture is a dynastic one.¹⁵⁵ Thus Augustus was able to promote his dynasty and his

¹⁴⁹ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 382; Favro, *Urban Image*, 64.

¹⁵⁰ Suetonius, *Julius Ceasar*, 44; Favro, *Urban Image* 64.

¹⁵¹ Favro, *Urban Image* 67.

¹⁵² Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 382; Favro *Urban Image*, 122.

¹⁵³ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 382.

¹⁵⁴ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 91.

¹⁵⁵ Favro, *Urban Image*, 129.

“first among equals”¹⁵⁶ image simultaneously. The theater was also used to legitimize his new heirs, namely Gaius (a grandson), who we will see later. The theater was not for him, but he did led exercises at the dedication games for the theater, almost in a “passing of the torch” ceremony.¹⁵⁷ Finally, the proximity of the theater to the Portico of Octavia speaks to this dynastic dialogue. As Beth Severy states, the close location of these two buildings speaks to Octavia’s maternity and celebrates it,¹⁵⁸ whereby Augustus is able to set an example for Romans that they should have families and have children. Augustus illustrates his promotion of the family with these monuments because it was odd to recognize women and heirs in public buildings. This example, coupled with dynastic intentions, makes for a powerful statement on the triumphal route. Augustus’ family, as he presented it, was capable of bringing victory and peace and of keeping the peace.

Theaters helped unite the city, and were a way to note the connection between the emperor and his people by sharing in the same experience.¹⁵⁹ Thus Augustus was able to demonstrate his power and simultaneously endear himself to the people.¹⁶⁰ However, the theater was carefully designed to promote Augustan ideals. For one, it was associated with a law that governed social order and how social groups were arranged in public areas.¹⁶¹ It cemented social order, and left no confusion as to where people fell on the hierarchy.¹⁶² The clear social distinctions were incorporated into the well-designed building design.

¹⁵⁶ Favro, *Urban Image*, 129.

¹⁵⁷ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 84

¹⁵⁸ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 93.

¹⁵⁹ Favro *Urban Image*, 162; Zanker *Power of Images*, 147

¹⁶⁰ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 147.

¹⁶¹ Claridge, *Rome*, 275.

¹⁶² Zanker, *Power of Images*, 149.

The plan was radial, with arched entrances flanked with elegant engaged columns around the bottom level, marked with section designations.¹⁶³ Not only did these openings serve as entrances, they served as a support for the continuous entablature above the arches—called a *fornix*.¹⁶⁴ These entrances further pointed to staircases, which would continue upwards with decreasing social status. There were three principal seating zones: the broader steps closer to the orchestra for the senators; the intermediate seats for the equestrians; and a wooden colonnade at the very top for the poorer masses.¹⁶⁵ This tripartite organization is reflected in the exterior decoration. Each level was decorated with engaged columns or pilasters, and the order was ascending. The bottom level was outfitted with engaged Tuscan columns and a Doric frieze beneath the cornice, unfluted Ionic columns on the next level, and the third was probably capped off with Corinthian columns (though the third level does not survive today).¹⁶⁶ All of this exterior was constructed from white travertine, and would have caught the light of the sun well in order to draw attention.¹⁶⁷

Additionally, its interior decoration and purpose was designed to be gifts for the people from a benevolent *princeps*. Inside the theater, in the central arch of the *scaenae frons*, stood four grand and lavish columns that had once stood in the home of M. Aemilius Scaurus, who had brought them from Greece.¹⁶⁸ These columns were unusually opulent for a home, and by placing them in such a prominent spot in a public building

¹⁶³ Richardson *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 383; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 27 & 37; and Claridge *Rome*, 275

¹⁶⁴ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 27.

¹⁶⁵ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 383; Claridge, *Rome*, 275.

¹⁶⁶ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 383.

¹⁶⁷ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 383.

¹⁶⁸ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 137; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 92.

Augustus made a grand show of giving them back to the people.¹⁶⁹ The interior and exterior designs of the building truly fit with Augustus' architectural plan as well as his political plan, and play their parts wonderfully.

Lastly, the location and orientation of the Theater of Marcellus is quite important to note as an Augustan building along his triumphal armature. As Galinsky notes, it was located in the south Campus Martius, which was near the start of the triumphal route.¹⁷⁰ This would be an important location for a building, especially one emphasizing family power and benevolence for the people. Aside from the evident importance of its location, the theater was oriented northeast/southwest with the *scaena* facing the river, which was unusual, and unlike the Theater of Pompey and the Theater of Balbus.¹⁷¹ Favro contends that this odd orientation is a result of the triumphal route passing through this area, and the need to fit the building in this space and preserve the significance of the route itself, and the evidence seems to support her.¹⁷² The procession probably did not pass through the theater, but was oriented so the façade, the most attractive part of the building, faced the route. Given the proximity of the Portico of Octavia and the Temple to Apollo Medicus, this odd orientation makes sense if Augustus was promoting his family and triumphal image simultaneously.

In its emphasis on family connections, innovative architecture, and purpose as entertainment for the people, the Theater of Marcellus truly exemplifies the Augustan program. Augustus was able to promote family, triumph, and peace in a magnificent building placed along the all-important triumphal route. The organization of the theater

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 382.

¹⁷¹ Favro, *Urban Image*, 164, Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary* 383.

¹⁷² Favro, *Urban Image*, 164.

served as a subconscious way of promoting his social hierarchy and a blueprint for all future theaters in the empire. Instead of experiencing ostentatious self-promotion, the people received a grand building, decorated majestically, for them to enjoy along with their benevolent *princeps*. All of this wrapped in a building that was oriented to fit with the triumphal route—a powerful and effective way for Augustus to imprint a permanent image of himself on the cityscape and minds of Romans forever, revisited by every subsequent *triumphator*.

Temple to Apollo Medicus

The next building in the Augustan triumphal armature is the Temple to Apollo Medicus. This building was not a creation of Augustus. Rather, a former supporter of Marc Antony named Gaius Sosius rebuilt the temple, and was responsible for its decoration.¹⁷³ Despite this, the Temple to Apollo Medicus still celebrates Augustus and illustrates his emphasis on victory, peace, and *pietas*. We will see specifically how the Temple fits into the Augustan program through its décor and images and its location on the triumphal route and in the south Campus Martius.

Gaius Sosius himself was a *triumphator*, having been awarded a triumph for his defeat of Judea in 34 BCE.¹⁷⁴ Most likely Sosius began to construct the Temple around 32 BCE, before his ally, Marc Antony, had been defeated and when he was consul with enough money to continue the tradition of *triumphator* self-advertising with manubial buildings.¹⁷⁵ However, only a year later, in 31 BCE, Octavian defeated Antony at Actium—placing Sosius in a precarious political situation. Yet Octavian showed

¹⁷³ Claridge *Rome*, 278; Richardson *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 12

¹⁷⁴ Josephus. *The Jewish Wars*. Translated by William Whiston. Buffalo, NY: John E. Beardsley, 1895, 14.16; Claridge, *Rome*, 278; and Favro, *Urban Image*, 91.

¹⁷⁵ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 12; Favro, *Urban Image*, 91; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 68-69.

clemency to his former enemy and pardoned Sosius, an act of clemency that he would thank Octavian for by altering his plans for his temple to Apollo in the south Campus Martius.¹⁷⁶ Since Augustus did not construct this temple, it is perhaps counterintuitive to include this building as evidence of his armature. However, because the other man who built and decorated it in a manner conforming to the Augustan program, the Temple to Apollo Sosianus is evidence that this program was influential and successful. Now let us examine several specific indications of Augustan victory and *pietas* in the Temple to Apollo Medicus.

The friezes and the pediment sculpture were the most prominent indications of Augustan victory and triumph in the temple. The temple contained several Hellenistic entablature friezes that alluded to Octavian's triple triumph of 29 BCE, including scenes of battle and the actual triumph. One frieze depicts a battle between Romans and a barbarian tribe, with the armored Romans showing their strength and courage by fighting armed men on horseback.¹⁷⁷ Another illustrates a triumphal procession—the first depiction of one to survive—with attendants carrying *fercula* loaded with items for sacrifice and barbarian captives.¹⁷⁸ Scholars argue over what tribe the men on horseback and the captives represent (though the general consensus is Gauls),¹⁷⁹ but nevertheless the triumphal implication is clear. Indeed, the captive frieze may illustrate a specific moment from Octavian's triple triumph. The victorious associations of these friezes would not be lost on any viewer since the scenes are so explicit and clear. They were not scenes from

¹⁷⁶ Favro, *Urban Image*, 91; Holscher “Monuments of the Battle of Actium;” Zanker, *Power of Images*, 69; and Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 346.

¹⁷⁷ Galinsky *Augustan Culture*, 346; Kleiner *Roman Sculpture*, 86.

¹⁷⁸ Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 86.

¹⁷⁹ See Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* and Holscher, “Monuments of the Battle of Actium,” for more about this debate.

Sosius' Jewish triumph—the captives are wearing clothing of northern barbarians, not clothing that Jews were typically depicted as wearing.¹⁸⁰ As shown in these friezes, Octavian could (and would) fight against barbarians with courage and strength and conquer them to parade in his honor and in honor of all Romans.

Figure 5. Frieze depicting the prisoners paraded in 29 BCE

http://www.indiana.edu/~c494troy/Augustus/sosianus_frieze_procession.jpg

The pediment is a less obvious indicator of Augustan victory, but is still a significant part of this program and with multiple meanings. The pediment was a prize in and of itself—spoils from Greece— and illustrated an Amazonomachy from the 5th century BCE by an unknown artist.¹⁸¹ It showed Athena with Theseus, Hercules, and various other Greeks engaged in battle with Amazons.¹⁸² Galinsky and Kleiner offer differing interpretations of the pediment, both of which are plausible and adhere to the idea of victory Augustus promoted. Galinsky suggests that the pediment alludes to the victory over Cleopatra at Actium, as amazonomachies were sometimes used as a symbol, with the Amazon queen, Hippolyte, representing Cleopatra.¹⁸³ Kleiner notes that the Greeks used allegorical scenes to represent real battles, and that the Romans could have very well done the same thing here, with this being a scene from the Battle at Actium or one of the other triumphal victories.¹⁸⁴ What both scholars assert is that the use of an archaic Greek pediment was an appeal to a higher intellectual level and imagination, and a way to show Sosius' and Octavian's class and intelligence.¹⁸⁵ Both arguments fit into Octavian's claim that he could bring victory and peace to Rome. Indeed, the ambiguity

¹⁸⁰ Favro, *Urban Image*, 91.

¹⁸¹ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 13; Claridge, *Rome*, 278; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 348; and Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 86.

¹⁸² Claridge, *Rome*, 278; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* 349; and Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 86.

¹⁸³ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 346.

¹⁸⁴ Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 86.

¹⁸⁵ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 348; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 86.

of the pediment makes it flexible enough to fit with many ideas about victory and triumph. Sosius, in gratitude for Octavian's mercy, conveyed some of the most important concepts of Octavian's program—the ability to bring military might, victory, and peace to Rome.¹⁸⁶

Images of *pietas* are also visible in the Temple to Apollo Medicus. The frieze contained laurel sprigs, *bucrania*, and candelabra, symbols of victory, proper worship and of Apollo.¹⁸⁷ In addition, the temple was ornate and sumptuously decorated, following in the belief that the gods deserved the best. The rich decoration also set it apart in the competition of the late republic and early empire.¹⁸⁸ The rich décor of the temple points to Sosius' loyalty to Apollo and his favorite, Octavian, and his clemency and his triumph.¹⁸⁹ Sear describes the temple in great detail, calling the decoration “bold and unorthodox.”¹⁹⁰ Examples include the architrave, which has four steps instead of three, and the column fluting, which is alternately broad and narrow instead of static.¹⁹¹ This bold decoration fits with the concept that nothing was too good for the gods, or even Augustus. Thus *pietas* plays a major role in the Temple to Apollo Medicus, just as victory peace do.

The location of the temple in the south Campus Martius is significant for two main reasons. For one, this temple was a renovation of a temple that one of Octavian's ancestors had built,¹⁹² playing into the family connection of the Theater of Marcellus and

¹⁸⁶ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 384.

¹⁸⁷ Claridge, *Rome*, 278; Zanker *Power of Images*, 89; and Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 13.

¹⁸⁸ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 68-69; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 64 & 84.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. 69.

¹⁹⁰ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 64.

¹⁹¹ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 64.

¹⁹² Livy. *The History of Rome, Vol. 1*. Everyman's Library. Translated by Canon Roberts, edited by Ernest Rhys. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1912, 4.25.3 & 4.29.7.

the Portico of Octavia. Also, the south Campus Martius was associated with the triumph in the late Republic, making it an important place to build for a politician grasping for attention.¹⁹³ According to Livy (4.25.3 & 4.29.7), the Temple to Apollo was originally dedicated by the consul C. Julius in 431 BCE in response to a widespread plague in 433 BCE. Asconius (*Cic.Tog.Cand.* 80-81) notes that it was the only temple to Apollo in Cicero's time, or maybe, the first temple to Apollo in the city.¹⁹⁴ Hence we can see that while the *gens* Julia's connection to Apollo may have been more coincidental than fated, playing up this connection would have promoted divine sanction,¹⁹⁵ because it showed that Apollo had always been a patron of the family. The reason for the construction of this temple in 431 BCE also points to ruler benevolence—the care of Octavian's family for the people, as illustrated by bringing a foreign god to Rome and making a temple for the health of citizens. In addition, Octavian could also preset a family line of past (Temple to Apollo Medicus), present (Portico of Octavia), and future (Theater of Marcellus) in this small area through which the triumphal procession passed.

As previously noted, the south Campus Martius was a starting point for the procession, making it one of the more important points along the triumphal route. Also, as Severy and Favro state, this area was traditionally a location for triumphal display.¹⁹⁶ As a result, the images of the procession on the frieze would have kept Octavian's triple triumph fresh in the minds of the viewers as they stood in a place where these events had taken place. As they looked, the ideas of Octavian as bringer of victory and peace would be reinforced. The pediment was highly visible, and gazed on any processions that

¹⁹³ Favro, *Urban Image*, 87; Severy *Augustus and the Family*, 90.

¹⁹⁴ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 12.

¹⁹⁵ Galisnky, *Augustan Culture*, 215.

¹⁹⁶ Favro, *Urban Image*, 87; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 90.

turned through the area. Furthermore, the pediment would have been at eye-level for anyone on the second story of the Theater of Marcellus at any time of year, regardless of a triumph or not.¹⁹⁷ It is clear that the images on the Temple to Apollo Medicus were meant to emphasize Octavian's ability to bring triumph and peace to Rome, ideas emphasized even more by the temple's location in the triumph-associated south Campus Martius. With the familial connection close at hand, this temple and Octavian's buildings truly formed a powerful section of the Augustan triumphal armature in the south Campus Martius.

The Circus Maximus Obelisk

After the procession moved through the dynastic ensemble of the portico, theater, and temple on the Augustan triumphal armature, the parade entered the greatest and oldest circus in Rome, the Circus Maximus. The *spina* of the Circus Maximus included several buildings and monuments, but the one that towered over all of them was the great obelisk Octavian placed upon it.¹⁹⁸ Though the obelisk was a clear sign of Octavian's power over Egypt and presence in the circus, it is important to consider the Circus Maximus itself in brief detail in order to ascertain why it was a suitable choice for the placement of the obelisk.

Like the tradition of the triumph, Roman legend holds that Romulus built the Circus Maximus when he founded Rome.¹⁹⁹ As such, the Circus had a long, distinguished history of games, races, and festivals that could be traced back to the beginning of the city itself.²⁰⁰ The *Ludi Romani*, the ancient Roman games held since the

¹⁹⁷ Galisnky, *Augustan Culture*, 332; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 153; and Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 86.

¹⁹⁸ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 84.

¹⁹⁹ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 84; Zanker *Power of Images*, 51.

²⁰⁰ Claridge, *Rome* 299; Sear, *Roman Architecture* 37; and Zanker, *Power of Images*, 51.

4th century BCE, were held in the Circus Maximus, in addition to several other festivals.²⁰¹ Thus, already we can see why Octavian would want to construct a monument within the Circus— it was a very public place with foundations tracing back to the beginning of the city. In addition, Octavian's deified father, Caesar, had implemented renovations to the Circus, using booty from his five triumphs in 46 BCE no less, probably trying to associate himself with Romulus.²⁰² Caesar had also been awarded an imperial box, which, though Caesar would never use, Octavian constructed on the *pulvinar*, and deemed important enough to mention in his *Res Gestae*.²⁰³

The obelisk, however, was one of the main attractions on the spine of the *spina*, and surely drew the attention of the audiences at the Circus for games and future triumphs. The obelisk, a massive piece of Aswan granite standing 23.7 m high, had originally stood proudly at the Temple of the Sun in Heliopolis in Egypt.²⁰⁴ It was carved with hieroglyphs dedicating to the Sun, and had been erected by Ramesses II.²⁰⁵ After his victories in Egypt, Octavian had this obelisk removed and shipped to Rome in 10 BCE, where he placed it on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus.²⁰⁶ This monument was quite foreign to Rome and the people who lived there, and in its foreignness would have suggested power over enemies as well as the ability to move such a massive stone and place it in the city.²⁰⁷ Additionally, the hieroglyphs were clearly Egyptian, once more

²⁰¹ Claridge, *Rome* 299.

²⁰² Favro, *Urban Image*, 62; Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 85.

²⁰³ Farvo, *Urban Image*, 165; Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 85. The box, though constructed, was hardly ever used during Augustus' reign. Disliking the attention that it drew, he preferred to watch the games from the Palatine Hill, which overlooked the circus.

²⁰⁴ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 85.

²⁰⁵ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 85.

²⁰⁶ Claridge, *Rome*, 299; Polzer, Joseph. "The Location of the Obelisks in the Circus Maximus in Rome." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 24, no. 2 (1965): 165-169, 165.

²⁰⁷ Rich, J. W. "Augustus' Parthian Honours, the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Arch in the Forum Romanum." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66, (1998): 71-128.138.

reminding the audience of the victories over Egypt and the man who had accomplished them. Yet with this reminder of power also came a reminder of peace. Octavian had triumphed over Egypt with his military might, but in doing so he had brought peace to the city. Though there is some debate over the exact placement of the obelisk on the *spina*,²⁰⁸ the obelisk would have towered over all the other monuments present upon it (statues, columns, and trees, for example).²⁰⁹ Not only would it have been the main attraction on the *spina*, the obelisk would have been visible above the games and races, no matter what event was taking place.

As later triumphs passed through the Circus, or whatever games went on, Octavian's obelisk would stand and preside over the happenings. It was always visible to the audience, and a constant reminder of the man who brought might, wealth, and peace to the city of Rome. Furthermore, Octavian had established a subtle connection to Romulus and Caesar, founders of Rome (in a sense) with the construction of the imperial box over the Circus. Thus Octavian's triumphal armature continued through one of the oldest spaces in Rome.

The Temple to Apollo and the Palatine Complex

Next in Augustus' triumphal armature came the Temple to Apollo on the Palatine and its complex, one of the crowning monuments of Augustus' building projects, a sumptuous and marvelous temple wrought with subtle self-promotion. Richardson declares, it was "universally admired as the most sumptuous and magnificent of all early Augustan buildings,"²¹⁰ and Suetonius even thought it was one of his most

²⁰⁸ See Polzer, "Location of the Obelisks in the Circus Maximus," 166-169.

²⁰⁹ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 84.

²¹⁰ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 14.

“outstanding.”²¹¹ Though this temple did not stand on the triumphal route, it stood on the tall Palatine hill, gazing southward over the Circus Maximus and the southern loop that triumphal processions would make²¹²—surely noticeable by the participants and spectators of the triumph alike. We will see that though the images on the temple were not visible, its themes were known, and evoked as the route looped around the Palatine. This building is the ultimate in self-glorification, as he tied himself to victory, *pietas*, divine sanction, and ruler benevolence in this important building on his triumphal armature.

Gurval calls the Temple to Apollo on the Palatine the “most obvious testimonial in Rome to his [Augustus’] victory at Actium.” However, Gurval is also careful to note that the temple was not solely a victory temple, but also a temple celebrating peace.²¹³ In a similar vein, I argue that this temple recalled Augustus’ military victories (particularly the one at Actium), but more importantly, it advertised the victory of peace and reason, or the restoration of the Roman Republic brought about by Augustus and Apollo. This is apparent in the types of images found on and around the temple and in the style of these images.

Images of victory can be found on terracotta plaques found during excavations, particularly one that depicts the struggle between Apollo and Hercules over the Delphic tripod, which Hercules had tried to take rather impiously.²¹⁴ The myth tells that Jupiter had to separate the two with a thunderbolt, and Hercules was sold into slavery for this

²¹¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29.1.

²¹² Favro, *Urban Image*, 194, 236.

²¹³ Gurval, Robert. *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998, 88. See also Wyke, Maria. “Meretrix Regina: Augustan Cleopatra.” Chap. 11, In *Augustus*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson, 334-380. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2009, 361.

²¹⁴ Kleiner *Roman Sculpture*, 83.

crime as well as a murder he had committed.²¹⁵ Several scholars, including Kleiner, Favro, Kellum, and Zanker argue that the plaque is meant as a veiled analogy for the power struggle between Augustus and Antony.²¹⁶ Antony claimed descent from Hercules, had minted coins with Hercules' image, and dressed as him, so the analogy would have been fairly clear.²¹⁷

This image could also represent the victory of reason. Galinsky and Gurval posit that the image does not refer to Augustus' triumph over Antony, but instead to the reconciliation of all Romans.²¹⁸ Galinsky notes that the image does not illustrate a struggle, and Hercules had a positive connection with the Palatine, having defeated the monster Cacus here in ancient times.²¹⁹ Though the lack of struggle on the plaque may simply reflect the archaic style, Hercules' positive connection to the Palatine is certainly legitimate since he had killed a monster here. Additionally, Gurval argues that representing Antony as Hercules (a divinity) legitimizes Antony's claim to power.²²⁰ Given the overt links between Augustus and Apollo and Antony and Hercules, it is highly likely that the divinities on the plaque represent their earthly counterparts. Yet Augustus was careful to not draw attention to his defeat of a fellow Roman, and Hercules was a positive character in Palatine related myth. Thus this plaque celebrates Augustus' victory at Actium as well as the restoration of peace in Rome with the reconciliation (of sorts) between Augustus and Antony.

²¹⁵ Kleiner *Roman Sculpture*, 83.

²¹⁶ Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 83; Favro, *Urban Image*, 94; Kellum, B. "Sculptural Programs in Augustan Rome: The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine." In *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War*, edited by Robert Alan Gurval, 169-176. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998, 170-171; and Zanker, *Power of Images*, 85.

²¹⁷ Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 83.

²¹⁸ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 222-223; Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, 127.

²¹⁹ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 223.

²²⁰ Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, 127.

Figure 6. Terracotta Plaque of Apollo and Hercules

<https://resources.oncourse.iu.edu/access/content/user/leach/www/2007/tripod.jpg>

Other images representing victory come from the ivory panels found on the doors of the temple. According to Propertius (2.31.12-16), one panel showed the death of the Niobids, the other the Gauls' sack of Delphi in 279 BCE. Both of these panels are allegories for Augustus avenging Caesar's murder.²²¹ The story of the Niobids was a common story in antiquity, as was its theme of vengeance. Niobe had bragged she was better than Leto because unlike Leto she had many children. Apollo and Diana then slew all of Niobe's children in retribution for her insult.²²² Also, the Gauls' sack of hallowed Delphi had ended poorly for them, as Pausanias relates in *The Description of Greece* 19-23. After their unholy act, the Gauls suffered from earthquakes, storms, bitter cold, and rockslides that Apollo himself had sent upon them.²²³ As Apollo had taken his just revenge on those who had wronged him and his people, so did Augustus. These panels would also serve as a warning to all not to commit wrongful acts, since the *princeps* and his god were more than capable of restoring order.²²⁴ Consequently, the stories on these doors allude to the victory of reason and Rome's return to reason.

Representations of victory also adjacent to the temple in the porticoes, such as in the Portico of Danaids. According to Apollodorus (*The Library* 2.1.4-5), the Danaids were the fifty daughters of Danaus, the king of Libya, who murdered their bridegrooms/cousins (except one), the fifty sons of Aegyptus, the king of Egypt and their uncle, on order from Danaus on their wedding night. The portrayal of the myth of the

²²¹ Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 84.

²²² Apollodorus. *Apollodorus, the Library, with an English Translation*. Translated by Sir James Frazer. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921, 3.5.6.

²²³ Pausanias. *Pausanias, a Description of Greece with an English Translation*. Translated by W. H. S. Jones, D. Litt and M. A. Ormerod. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, 22.2-4.

²²⁴ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 219; Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras," 361; Kellum, "Sculptural Programs and Propaganda," 172.

Danaids was an interesting choice, since it held several meanings: victory over Egypt, victory over the impious Cleopatra, or victory of reason over barbarians.²²⁵ The reference to the defeat of Egypt is immediately clear, as forty-nine of its sons were killed. Danaus and Aegyptus could be symbols for Augustus and Antony, since the two had started off as allies (like brothers), and ended in war, with Danaus/Augustus ultimately winning.²²⁶ The statues may also represent the unholy crimes of Cleopatra—illustrated in a terrible crime other women committed.²²⁷ This idea also plays into a more general concept, that the portico represented the triumph over all barbarians who were capable of such acts.²²⁸ Reason had clearly triumphed over impiety and sin, and Rome was safe from barbaric forces with Augustus and Apollo. Like the terracotta plaque, this portico probably had several meanings, yet they all promoted Augustus as the bringer of reason and safety for the city.

Along with the allegorical images, there are plenty of symbols that connect Augustus with victory and restoration. The most significant of these images are the oak and laurel wreaths voted to him that were placed on the doors of his home. As mentioned earlier, in the *Res Gestae* (34.2), Augustus states in 27 BCE the senate voted him laurel leafs on both of his doorposts, and he had the *corona civica*, or an oak crown, fixed to his door. These honors were quite significant, and in time the oak crown and laurel came to be associated with him.²²⁹ Both of these honors were related to victory, and the overt

²²⁵ Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, 124; Wyke, “Augustan Cleopatras,” 361.

²²⁶ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 221; Kleiner, *Augustan Sculpture*, 84; and Kellum, “Sculptural Programs and Propaganda,” 174.

²²⁷ Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, 124; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 84; Wyke, “Augustan Cleopatras,” 361.

²²⁸ Wyke, “Augustan Cleopatras,” 361; Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, 124; Claridge, *Rome*, 144.

²²⁹ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 216-218; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 49-50.

gesture of nailing them to his door linked the *princeps* to triumph, something not lost on passersby.

From the start the Temple to Apollo on the Palatine had associations with *pietas* and divine sanction. Velleius Paterculus (2.18.3) tells us that Octavian had planned to construct a temple for Apollo upon returning to Rome after defeating Sextus Pompey in 36 BCE. After his success at Philippi and then at Actium, Octavian may have emphasized his victories as a combination of his own skill as well as the divine favor of Apollo,²³⁰ and so began to associate his image with Apollo.²³¹ At any rate, Velleius (2.81.3) explains that Augustus built the temple “with princely generosity,” meaning that the materials were sumptuous and expensive—perhaps as a sort of thank you for the god who had helped him win at Philippi and Actium. Propertius (2.31.9) tells us that the temple was constructed almost entirely of white marble, and the Portico of the Danaids was built out of exotic yellow and red marble (2.31.3-4). The rich ivory temple doors and terracotta plaques that decorated the temple also speak to the “princely generosity” of Augustus.²³²

Perhaps the most overt method of thanking Apollo was giving him not only a beautiful temple, but also a temple that rivaled the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in appearance and in importance.²³³ Both temples stood on hills towering above the city, outfitted with high podiums to enhance their great height and catch the attention of passersby, especially during a triumph. In addition, the two temples were constructed from expensive, lavish materials—we have already discussed the shining marble of the

²³⁰ Favro, *Urban Image*, 88 & 94.

²³¹ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 49.

²³² Favro, *Urban Image*, 190. See later paragraphs for details about these features.

²³³ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 108; Favro, *Urban Image*, 204.

Palatine temple, and Augustus states the “great expense” at which he restored Jupiter Optimus Maximus.²³⁴ The locations of the two temples also rivaled each other in their connection to Romulus and the foundations of Rome. Tradition holds that Romulus lived in a hut atop the Palatine, and the Lupercal, the cave where the she-wolf had nursed Romulus and Remus, was somewhere on the hill as well.²³⁵

This rivalry between the Capitoline and Palatine temples helped Augustus legitimize his rule, and the god who had helped him. However, where the temples truly competed was with the sacred Sibylline Books. Augustus himself (*Res Gestae* 19), as well as Suetonius (*Augustus* 31) and Dio (54.4) state that the Sibylline books were moved from the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus to the Temple to Apollo on the Palatine in 12 BCE. These books were extremely important to the Romans politically and religiously. In moving them, Augustus shifted significance from Jupiter Optimus Maximus to Apollo on the Palatine, hence shifting significance from the old republic to his temple, his house, and himself.²³⁶

The divine sanction of Apollo for Octavian is especially evident in the story of the lightning strike on the Palatine. The land on which the Temple stood was originally private land, which Augustus had bought for his home.²³⁷ Yet it was against the law to build a temple on private land. As the story goes, Apollo wanted his temple constructed near Octavian’s house, and so he struck the Palatine with a lightning bolt. The senate

²³⁴ Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 20.

²³⁵ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 213.

²³⁶ Scheid, John. "To Honour the Princeps and Venerate the Gods." Chap. 9, In *Augustus*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson, 275-300. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009, 284.

²³⁷ Velleius Paterculus. *The Roman History*. Loeb Classical Library. Translated by Frederick W. Shipley. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924, 2.81.3.

declared it public land, and Octavian was free to build the temple.²³⁸ True or not, this tale serves to illustrate Apollo's extreme favor of Octavian. As Zanker states, "but it was surely the most striking proximity of Octavian's residence to Apollo's temple on the Palatine that attested most dramatically to the close relationship of the two."²³⁹ Excavations have shown a ramp connecting the modest house of Augustus to the magnificent temple—a physical link between the *princeps* and a god that would have further solidified their connection, or Augustus' emphasis on their connection.²⁴⁰ The emphasis of this special relationship, of proper *pietas* and the resulting divine sanction, was made even more clear and significant as the temple gazed over the triumphal route. Augustus and Apollo would look upon all future *triumphators*, who could not escape the gaze of the emperor and the god from high atop the Palatine.

The Temple to Apollo on the Palatine is truly one of Augustus' most significant monuments in his building program. Victory had come to Rome in the form of the *princeps*, and he masterfully used images to convey this to the people. Though the images and statues were not visible from the triumphal route, the overall theme of the temple—glorification of Augustus—was evident as the ceremony passed. People would have known about the images of military victory, *pietas*, divine sanction, and Augustus' generosity. In fact, because it was raised high above the path, it presided over each procession, another building on Augustus' triumphal armature.

The Temple to Divus Julius and the Rostra Julia

²³⁸ Dio Cassius. *Roman History*. Loeb Classical Library. Translated by Earnest Cary. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914, 49.15.5 & Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29.3.

²³⁹ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 51

²⁴⁰ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 51.

The next buildings on Augustus' triumphal armature were in the revered Roman Forum. Nearing the end, the route entered the Forum, where several Augustan buildings stood, including the Temple to Divus Julius. Only a few days after the epic celebrations of his triple triumph of 29 BCE, Octavian dedicated a temple to the Deified Julius Caesar, the man to whom he owed his initial claim to power.²⁴¹ With this temple, Octavian glorified his divine father and linked himself to Caesar's power. As a result, this building conveyed Octavian's divine lineage as well as his military skill on the path of victorious generals.

The Temple of Divus Julius was vowed in 42 BCE, and built in the place where a frenzied crowd had burned Caesar's body the day of his funeral two years earlier.²⁴² Acquiescing, in a way, to the majority of the population, the triumvirs all vowed to build the temple.²⁴³ Of course, by the time the temple was built and dedicated, only Octavian remained to take credit for its construction and to benefit from the association with the deified Caesar. The details of the civil war that raged from 42 BCE to 31 BCE are not so much important for this section, but it is undeniable that after this civil war, it was in the best interest of Octavian to emphasize his connection with Caesar.²⁴⁴ Indeed, along with building this temple to him, it is well known that Octavian made a show of finishing Caesar's incomplete public works, such as the Basilica Julia in the Forum and the Theater of Marcellus.²⁴⁵ However, the Temple to Divus Julius was not just a monument to Octavian's divine father; it was also a monument to Octavian's victory at Actium and in

²⁴¹ Favro, *Urban Image*, 95.

²⁴² Richardson *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 213.

²⁴³ Richardson *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 213.

²⁴⁴ Favro, *Urban Image*, 95.

²⁴⁵ Favro, *Urban Image*, 95.

the civil war. I will first discuss these two important aspects of the building within the temple itself, and then move on to the Rostra that stood in front of it.

The first clue we get about the importance of the connection to Caesar is how the design of the temple is modified to fit the space.²⁴⁶ Instead of the rectangular plan of most Roman temples, the Divus Julius temple has a square plan, measuring about 25 meters across and 27 meters front to back.²⁴⁷ Why was it so important to build the temple on this specific spot? We know that this was probably the spot where Caesar's pyre had stood.²⁴⁸ Yet beyond that, it was near the center of the Forum, the home of numerous buildings that had been constructed from Rome's very beginnings, and the center of its government.²⁴⁹ What better place to build a temple to one's own deified father? Additionally, the temple was hexastyle and pycnostyle (columns spaced 1.5 width of column apart), which emphasized the verticality of the building.²⁵⁰ Finally, the podium was elevated to around 6 meters, quite taller than usual temples.²⁵¹ As Diane Favro explains, tall podia literally and conceptually add height to temples, which increases "the perceived scale of new buildings without taking up increased urban space."²⁵² This increased vertical scale of the temple may have been a reflection of Octavian's military might. He had, after all, defeated Cleopatra and conquered Egypt. A physically imposing building in the Forum would be reflection of that power. Based on the design of the temple alone, we can see that Octavian was concerned with connecting prestige and power to this building and consequently to his relationship with Caesar, and himself.

²⁴⁶ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 213.

²⁴⁷ Claridge, *Rome*, 101.

²⁴⁸ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 213.

²⁴⁹ Favro, *Urban Image*, 198.

²⁵⁰ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 213.

²⁵¹ Favro, *Urban Image*, 151.

²⁵² Favro, *Urban Image*, 151.

Another interesting aspect concerning the design of the temple is how it “repeats with emphasis the aesthetic of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Julia.”²⁵³ Of course, we cannot be entirely sure if Octavian’s Temple to Divus Julius was modeled on Caesar’s Temple to Venus Genetrix, but the shrine on which his body rested was modeled on the latter. Additionally, some scholars posit that the Divus Julius temple could have the same model.²⁵⁴ If this is true, the link between Octavian and Caesar is evident at first glance, without even considering all of the imagery on and within the temple. It is well known that Caesar was eager to declare his family descendants of Venus,²⁵⁵ and in modeling the temple to his divine father on a temple to Venus, Octavian is adding on to that link as the descendant of a goddess and the son of a god, increasing his prestige.

The links between Octavian and Caesar and Octavian and victory are present in the external decoration of the temple, mostly in the Corinthian frieze of the temple. In conjunction with this imagery, it is important to note that, following Octavian’s program of innovation, the Temple to Divus Julius was constructed of finer materials than many Republican buildings, mainly travertine, tufa, stucco, and marble.²⁵⁶ Richardson and Claridge describe a marble frieze decorated with acanthus scrollwork showing winged figures rising from each one, as well as pinecones and female gorgon heads.²⁵⁷ While Richardson simply called the winged figures “archaizing,” Claridge identifies them as victories, an identification that makes sense given their placement on a temple constructed by a war victor and dedicated after victory in that war. Additionally, we will

²⁵³ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 213.

²⁵⁴ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 213; Claridge, *Rome*, 100.

²⁵⁵ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 84.

²⁵⁶ Claridge, *Rome*, 101; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 84.

²⁵⁷ Claridge, *Rome*, 101; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 213.

see many more buildings with winged figures on monumental war buildings identified as victories. The pinecones are images typically associated with Venus, images with which Augustus once again harkens back to his divine ancestry.²⁵⁸ In the introduction, we saw how gorgon heads may have represented Cleopatra. In positioning these images together, Octavian illustrated how his divine lineage and military skill had conquered Egypt.

Finally, in the pediment of the temple was a star, carved from the surrounding stone.²⁵⁹ The star was a symbol for the apotheosis of Caesar. During the games in honor of Venus Genetrix four months after his assassination and held by Octavian, a comet appeared in the sky and was taken as an omen of his apotheosis.²⁶⁰ The reason for its presence hardly calls for explanation (this is, after all, a temple for a man made into a god), but its placement in so prominent of a spot would be the finishing touch of the story of the temple, to ingrain the nobility of Caesar, his family, and thus, Octavian. Putting this message in his armature along the triumphal route strengthens this message.

Figure 7. Coins from 29 BCE showing the temple on the obverse, not the star in the pediment

<http://ancientcoins.narod.ru/rbc/crawford/page6/page6.htm>

Now let us consider the Rostra Julia, the monument built in direct connection with the Temple to Divus Julius and where Octavian's victory at Actium was anything but understated. The Rostra, the new speaker's platform in the Forum, was placed directly in front of the Temple to Divus Julius at a height of 3.5 meters. More importantly, it stood directly across from the Republican Rostra hung with ship beaks from the naval battle at Antium in 338 BCE.²⁶¹ Like the Republican Rostra, the new Rostra was hung with ship

²⁵⁸ Claridge, *Rome*, 100.

²⁵⁹ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 213; Claridge *Rome* 100.

²⁶⁰ Claridge, *Rome*, 100.

²⁶¹ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 59.

beaks, this time from Octavian's victory at the Battle of Actium.²⁶² As Sear states, "Thus the two rostra faced each other across the Forum and reminded the Romans of the glories of the old Republic, and the more recent triumphs of the restored Republic and its new leader, Augustus."²⁶³ The ship beaks would call up memories of Octavian's triple triumph, since they had been paraded as spoils of war. The advertisement of Octavian's military power was obvious here.

Also, this show of might was coupled with a direct harkening to Caesar. According to Richardson, Claridge, and Favro, the Rostra preserved (almost) the exact spot where Caesar's funeral pyre had stood.²⁶⁴ It is described as being a niche in the front, center of the podium wall that was fenced off and probably housed a small altar.²⁶⁵ Access to the podium came from a staircase on each side of the rostra, giving the complex a balanced feel.²⁶⁶ It was a monument for Caesar, but also a way for Octavian to reclaim the spot after Antony had made a name for himself with his speech at Caesar's funeral. Thus, even in the most glaring "victory" monument, a direct link to Caesar strengthens Octavian's claim to power. The Rostra, coupled with the Temple to Divus Julius, would be an imposing sight in the spot of (former) Republican power.

A person who came upon this arrangement would see the ship beaks gleaming on the Rostra, crank their neck to see the acanthus, victories, pinecones, and star elaborately carved into the temple frieze and pediment, and think of Octavian. This person would see the family line from Venus to Caesar to Octavian, and notice Octavian was a

²⁶² Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 214; Claridge, *Rome*, 100; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 59; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 80.

²⁶³ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 59.

²⁶⁴ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 214; Claridge, *Rome*, 100; Favro, *Urban Image*, 151.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Favro, *Urban Image*, 151.

descendant of divinities. Yet the strong, military connection was also be inherent. Octavian was a man who was capable of restoring the Republic and defeating Rome's enemies. This is a powerful story to tell within a building, but entirely necessary for Octavian at this point in his career. He still owed his claim to power to his inheritance from Caesar, and owed his power to his victory at Actium. Thus he built a monument to glorify these connections in the heart of the city, along the all-important triumphal route that he had just travelled, a reminder of his power to all who would pass by, and a legacy to attain for all future emperors. This section of the armature would later grow as Octavian's program evolved and as he celebrated new victories of diplomacy and family connections. This end of the Forum was to become a node of the *gens* Julia.

*The Triumphal Arch of Augustus*²⁶⁷

The next extension of this end of the Forum on the Augustan triumphal armature was the triumphal arch of Augustus. It was located next to the Temple to Divus Julius on the south side, the Temple to Castor on the other side, and actually spanned the triumphal route. Because only the foundations of the arch remain today, scholars have differing opinions on when the arch was built and the purposes behind its construction.²⁶⁸ The two main arguments concerning the purpose of the arch are that: 1) the arch was built to commemorate Augustus' victory at Actium and later expanded or destroyed to make room for the Parthian arch²⁶⁹ and 2) the Actium arch was never built and this arch is

²⁶⁷ Scholars disagree over the name of the arch since they are unable to come to a consensus on what the arch was built for. Some contend it was erected for the return of the military standards from Parthia (Rose), others argue it was for both (Holland, Gurval, Sear, Zanker, Favro, and Rich). I simply call it a triumphal arch.

²⁶⁸ See Claridge, *Rome*, 102-103; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 43, 59-64; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 81-203; Favro, *Urban Image*, 170, 198-199; Rose "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 28-64; Rich "Augustus' Parthian Honors" 71-127; Holland, "The Triple Arch of Augustus" 52-59; Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, 39-47; and Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 23.

²⁶⁹ Holland, Sear, Zanker, and Gurval.

solely for the “victory” in Parthia.²⁷⁰ Though the true “identity” of the arch is important and might have affected the way a viewer would interact with it, the arch is nonetheless a triumphal arch, and that would have been its most important characteristic.

The placement of a triumphal arch of Augustus in this section of the Forum, right next to the temple of his divine father, further cemented the connection of victory and peace to the *gens* Julia. Also, triumphs would pass through this arch on their trek through the Forum, further enhancing the *princeps*’ and his divine father’s claim of bringing victory and peace to Rome. Finally, the *Fasti Consulares* and *Fasti Triumphales*, the lists of every consul and every triumphant general in history, were inscribed upon this arch—reminders of the magnificent Roman tradition that gazed upon each person to pass through the arch, and a reminder of the new keeper of these traditions. I will outline each argument for the purpose of the arch separately, but I will show that whether this is an Actium or a Parthian arch, it still advertises the triumph and peace-bringing capacities of the Augustan line.

The argument that the arch was first constructed in 29 BCE and later expanded or destroyed seems to stem from Dio Cassius 51.19.1, where he states that the senate honored Augustus with a triumph and two arches, one at Brundisium and the other in the Forum. In addition, there are two pieces of physical evidence that support this argument. For one, an inscription dating to approximately 29 BCE was uncovered in this area, near the Temple to Castor.²⁷¹ It reads, “The Roman senate and the people to Emperor Caesar, son of deified Julius, consul designate for the sixth time, *imperator* for the

²⁷⁰ Richardson, Rose, and Favro.

²⁷¹ Rich, “Augustus’ Parthian Honors”, 100; Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, 42.

seventh time, the republic having been saved.”²⁷² Due to the date and the language (“the republic having been saved”), it is reasonable that this inscription may have belonged to the attic of a triumphal arch commemorating Actium. The other piece of evidence is a *denarius* that dates to 29-27 BCE.²⁷³ The coin depicts a single arch with a *quadriga*, and an inscription on the attic reading, “IMP CAESAR.” Holland states that there is some debate as to the exact arch the coins depicts, but the date of the coin and the inscription might refer to the Actium arch erected for Augustus.²⁷⁴

However, all of the scholars that argue the Actium arch was actually built also argue that this arch was not the arch that spanned the triumphal route during the later years of the Roman Empire. Sear, Holland, and Rich posit that the Actium arch was remodeled and expanded into the larger, more ornate arch commemorating the “victory” over Parthia in 19 BCE,²⁷⁵ while Gurval suggests that the Actium arch was completely torn down or had cracks in the foundation.²⁷⁶

The new arch commemorated the Parthians’ return of the Roman standards lost at Carrhae in 53 BCE.²⁷⁷ It was even bigger and grander than the first, as can be seen on various coins.²⁷⁸ Coins dating from around 19-16 BCE depict a triple arch, and it is possible some aspects of the original arch were reused. For example, Sear and Rich argue that the builders reused the inscription dating to 29 BCE, and though it would have been too small for the attic of the larger arch, it was placed somewhere new within it.²⁷⁹

²⁷² Rich, “Augustus’ Parthian Honors” 100.

²⁷³ Holland, “Triple Arch of Augustus” 54.

²⁷⁴ Holland, “Triple Arch of Augustus” 54; Gurval *Actium and Augustus*, 41.

²⁷⁵ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 43; Holland, “The Triple Arch of Augustus,” 56; Rich, “Augustus’ Parthian Honors,” 114.

²⁷⁶ Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, 44.

²⁷⁷ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 23.

²⁷⁸ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 43.

²⁷⁹ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 59; Rich “Augustus’ Parthian Honors,” 114.

Rich also argues that the additions to the Actium arch would have broader significance for the triumph and peace to which Augustus continually connected his family.²⁸⁰ For one, it celebrates Augustus' peaceful victory over an enemy. It also adds to the success of his political career physically and figuratively.²⁸¹ It is logical that the Actium arch could have been redecorated and embellished to celebrate Augustus' diplomatic success against Parthia. Yet not all scholars agree that there was an Actium arch in the first place.

Favro, Rose, and Richardson do not discuss an Actium arch in their examination of Augustus' triumphal arch in the Forum—they only describe the arch as the Parthian arch. As such, I will describe the arch in their terms, and then relate this description to Augustus and his emphasis on the *gens* Julia as bringers of peace and victory along the triumphal route. What we know about the Parthian arch mostly comes from contemporary coins. These coins date from 19-16 BCE, around the time the Parthian arch would have been completed.²⁸² They illustrate a triple arch with a *quadriga*, flanked by a figure on each side.²⁸³ The form is unusual in that the central entrance is the only true arch, while the side entrances are post and lintel constructions.²⁸⁴ Richly decorated, the arch had engaged Doric columns supported the flanking portals, while engaged

²⁸⁰ Rich, "Augustus' Parthian Honors," 127.

²⁸¹ Rich, "Augustus' Parthian Honors," 114-115, 127.

²⁸² Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 30; Holland, "The Triple Arch of Augustus," 54; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 23.

²⁸³ Holland, "The Triple Arch of Augustus," 54; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 59.

²⁸⁴ Holland, "The Triple Arch of Augustus," 53. Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 59. Holland notes that the first "true" triple arch was not constructed until the reign of Tiberius. Holland also notes that this odd construction may have been because there was no precedent for a triple arch, or due to space confines of the area.

Corinthian columns supported the main arch.²⁸⁵ This is a progression of style somewhat like the one on the exterior of the Theater of Marcellus.

Yet it is the statues set on top of each portal that are perhaps the most striking decoration on the arch. Unsurprisingly, the figures on the coins (and probably the arch) represent the major characters in the bargain to retrieve the lost standards. The figure in the *quadriga* is almost certainly Augustus, since he was voted a triumph and an arch when he successfully bargained for the standards.²⁸⁶ This is even more likely given that the side figures are probably Parthians, as we can tell from analyzing the images on the coins, particularly (though not exclusively) the *vinicius* (from Rome, 16 BCE).²⁸⁷ On these coins, the side figures wear conical caps, one holds a bow, the other an eagle, and both salute the *quadriga*.²⁸⁸ Rose explains that the Parthians were associated with archery, hence the bow; the eagle probably refers to the return of the Roman standards.²⁸⁹ As for the caps, these were known parts of Parthian dress. According to Rose, the salute is part of Augustus' visual program of this diplomatic achievement—instead of conquering by destruction and death, Augustus has conquered with peace and friendship.²⁹⁰ With this friendship, Augustus suggests that there will be no more war and difficulty, only peace and prosperity.

We see this perpetually present peace also in the *Fasti Triumphales* attached to the arch.²⁹¹ The *Fasti Triumphales* was a list of every Roman *triumphator*, from

²⁸⁵ Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 29; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 23.

²⁸⁶ Dio Cassius, 54.8.

²⁸⁷ Rich, "Augustus' Parthian Honors," 111; Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 28.

²⁸⁸ Holland, "The Triple Arch of Augustus," 54; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 59; Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 33.

²⁸⁹ Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 33; also, the eagle, see Richardson *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 23.

²⁹⁰ Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 35-36.

²⁹¹ Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 33.

Romulus' very first triumph down through the monarchy and the republic.²⁹² Like areas like the Circus Maximus, the *Fasti* were part of the sacred, ancient tradition of Rome. Every name inscribed on the list became a part of one of the most revered companies in history.²⁹³ In fastening the *Fasti* to his arch, Augustus was inextricably connecting himself to the triumph, not only as a name on the list, but also making himself the keeper of the hallowed list. Augustus also used the *Fasti* to physically illustrate the establishment of peace by ending the list.²⁹⁴ The *Fasti Triumphales* "intentionally ends," giving the sense that wars are over, and there will no longer be need for any more *triumphators* after Cornelius Balbus (the last man on the list).²⁹⁵ With the saluting figures and the inclusion of the *Fasti*, it is clear that Augustus was making himself guarantor of victory and peace, a fact even more apparent whenever the triumphal procession passed through this arch.

Finally, we must consider the physical location of the arch and those implications. As mentioned previously, the Triumphal Arch of Augustus stood adjacent to the Temple to Divus Julius on the south side. As the monument drew power from the *Fasti* attached to it, so too did it draw legitimacy from the temple.²⁹⁶ This was not just a proximal connection either. According to Rose, the pediments on the side portals would have given the appearance of the arch physically connecting to the buildings on either side, cementing the arch and temple together.²⁹⁷ This clear link to his divine father, the man he

²⁹² Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 23.

²⁹³ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 203.

²⁹⁴ Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 32-33.

²⁹⁵ Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 33.

²⁹⁶ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 60; Favro, *Urban Image*, 170; Rich, "Augustus' Parthian Honors," 114; and Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 63.

²⁹⁷ Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 63.

owed his power to, only enhanced the prestige of Augustus' triumphal arch.²⁹⁸ Like his divine father, Augustus was a capable ruler. Furthermore, besides just using the Temple to Divus Julius to strengthen his claim to power, the triumphal arch of Augustus created a "wall" on the east end of the Forum that would become a tribute of sorts to men of the *gens* Julia.²⁹⁹ A viewer looking at the east end of the Forum from the west would not see out to the Via Sacra. Instead, the viewer would see the imposing Temple to Divus Julius, the soaring Triumphal Arch of Augustus, and later, the Portico of Gaius and Lucius. This space was the space of the Julii—part of Augustus' program emphasizing his family's virtues and capability in the public sphere.³⁰⁰ The dynastic implication is clear, as is the victory and peace that Augustus' family brought to Rome.

In the end, the Triumphal Arch of Augustus is a complicated monument, yet still a triumphal monument that conveys Augustus' association of his family with the triumph and as citizens able to win victories—in war and in diplomacy—and establish peace and prosperity for the Roman Empire. We can see how its possible association with Actium and its association with Parthia play into this theme. Augustus is presented as the man who can win friends and peace, but is keeper and a member of the revered list of triumphing generals and can win in war if necessary. These ideas are further enhanced with the arch's proximity to the Temple to Divus Julius, and the "wall" of greatness that it helps to create. All of this is emphasized even more as part of a Augustus' triumphal armature on the triumphal narrative pathway, a monument that would gaze over all future triumphs and serve as an example of a proper ruling family.

The Portico of Gaius and Lucius

²⁹⁸ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 60; Rich, "Augustus' Parthian Honors," 114.

²⁹⁹ Favro, *Urban Image*, 198; Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," 58.

³⁰⁰ Favro, *Urban Image*, 198.

The next monument of the Augustan triumphal armature in the east end of the Forum continued the connection to Augustus' family line, this time not drawing a connection to the past, but promoting a connection for the future. Augustus constructed a new portico in front of the Basilica Aemilia, and named it in honor of his grandsons and heirs, Gaius and Lucius (Lucius, as we saw, participated in the dedication ceremonies of the Theater to Marcellus).³⁰¹ This shows how Augustus continued to use hallowed areas in Rome for his buildings—in this case the traditional Forum and a spot on the triumphal route. This family display is not meant to support his legitimacy by connection to his divine father, but his heirs' legitimacy by connection to him (his triumphal arch), and his father (the Temple to Divus Julius). We will see how the Portico of Gaius and Lucius and its location on the triumphal route and in the Forum was part of Augustus' advertisement of family connection and family aggrandizement.

First it is important to consider briefly Gaius and Lucius themselves, and how Augustus used honors and buildings to convey their merit to the people. To begin, Augustus adopted them in 17 BCE, after his nephew and heir, Marcellus died.³⁰² They were later both bestowed with magisterial offices and honors despite their youth.³⁰³ Suetonius (Suet.*Aug.*56) writes that Augustus never recommended them for office without the support of the Senate, and that the Senate was ultimately in charge of the appointments. Additionally, Dio Cassius (55.10.56) tells us that they had the right to consecrate appropriate buildings in Rome by virtue of being consuls.³⁰⁴ Despite Augustus' apparent *laissez-faire* approach to his grandsons and their political careers, he

³⁰¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29.4.

³⁰² Suetonius, *Augustus*, 64.

³⁰³ Favro, *Urban Image* 130.

³⁰⁴ See also Favro, *Urban Image*, 130.

undoubtedly had some influence in granting these honors to Gaius and Lucius. Additionally, he reworked the Basilica Julia in the Forum and renamed it after them,³⁰⁵ though the Basilica remained known as the Basilica Julia. These honors and buildings were effective in legitimizing Gaius and Lucius as heirs to Augustus. As Diane Favro writes, “Given the numerous images and dedications to the youths that began to appear throughout the city, few could deny their worthiness.”³⁰⁶

As we have seen with the Theater of Marcellus, the Portico of Octavia, and in Suetonius (*Augustus* 29), Augustus built several monuments and named them for his relatives. Augustus displayed his family’s many virtues, such as *pietas* and proper behavior, as examples to be followed and reasons for them to be in power by building monuments and naming them for his family. The Portico of Gaius and Lucius follows a similar theme, this time with Augustus boasting his grandsons as his deserving heirs. The portico was probably constructed in 14 BCE, after a fire had damaged the Basilica Aemilia.³⁰⁷ All that remains of the portico today is a large inscription excavated in the southwest corner of the Basilica that is dedicated to Lucius Caesar.³⁰⁸ According to Richardson, the excavation notes of the area called the finds “the remains of a monumental entrance to the forum,”³⁰⁹ though the exact appearance of this monumental entrance is unknown. Unfortunately, we cannot know what the monumental entrance was like or what it advertised, but perhaps was connected with the portico in some way.

Regardless, since Augustus was responsible for its construction and because it was located in a prominent place in the Forum, it is reasonable to say that the portico

³⁰⁵ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29.4; Favro *Urban Image*, 130.

³⁰⁶ Favro, *Urban Image*, 130.

³⁰⁷ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 56; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 56.

³⁰⁸ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 313.

³⁰⁹ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 313.

would have been quite grand. Indeed, the quality of the inscription can attest to this. It was an opportune time to build and name the portico, especially in conjunction with the Basilica Aemilia, which Pliny called one of the most beautiful buildings in Rome.³¹⁰ This would showcase the portico even more. The outside of the Basilica Aemilia was striking, faced in exotic colored marbles from all over the empire: Lucullan red/black; Carystian green; Numidian yellow; and Phrygian purple, to name a few.³¹¹ The many colors reflecting in the light would have surely captivated the attention of any passers-by to the Portico.

However, the most important aspect of the Portico of Gaius and Lucius is its exact location within the Forum and the triumphal route. The Portico was located on the north side of the Temple of Divus Julius (on the east side of the Forum), while the Arch of Augustus was on the South side of the temple. The portico and the arch were flanking sections of the “wall” of men from the *gens* Julia that enclosed this section of the Forum. We have already discussed the significance of the Temple of Divus Julius and the arch of Augustus, but it is essential to keep this in mind in our discussion of the portico. The Portico of Gaius and Lucius was purposely built in this “wall” as a way to represent Gaius and Lucius’ deserved claim as Augustus’ heirs.³¹² That this ensemble was located on an important section of the triumphal route adds even more legitimacy to Gaius and Lucius’ merit. Favro notes that with this monument, Augustus completed a “dynastic ensemble”—the divine father surrounded with memorials to his son and his grandsons.³¹³ Considering the divine father and his heirs within the hallowed Forum would be powerful

³¹⁰ Pliny, *NH* 36.101-2.

³¹¹ Claridge, *Rome*, 69.

³¹² Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 60; Favro, *Urban Image*, 130.

³¹³ Favro, *Urban Image*, 130.

for any viewer, but considering them within the Forum and along the triumphal route is even more effective for the Augustan program.

Figure 8. The South end of the Roman Forum. The Portico is the *Tabernae*.

<http://ldmart315.edublogs.org/2011/09/18/roman-forum-and-palatine/>

We have already examined the Temple of Divus Julius (specifically the Rostra) and the Arch of Augustus as monuments of victory and peace, and how they convey their namesakes as responsible for victory and peace. By virtue of its proximity to these monuments, the Portico of Gaius and Lucius ties into the triumphal and peace-bringing tradition of its predecessors.³¹⁴ Richardson and Zanker even argue that the portico was supposed to be a triumphal arch: “The portico was, in effect, a triumphal arch for a triumph never won[.]”³¹⁵ It might have been a building that anticipated a triumph for either Gaius or Lucius, but literary sources never mention a triumph for either of them, only that both died relatively young.³¹⁶ Certainly, it would have been attractive for Augustus to surround his temple to the divine Caesar with the triumphal arches of Caesar’s heirs. Even if the portico is not technically a triumphal arch, victory and peace still infuse it simply by the victorious family lineage in the buildings on the east end of the Forum. More importantly, its location on the triumphal route serves to convey Gaius and Lucius’ connection to triumph and peace, and the strong family from which they came. Thus, the Augustan armature on the triumphal route continues with this monument to his grandsons.

The Forum of Augustus

³¹⁴ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 379.

³¹⁵ *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 313-314; See also Zanker, *Power of Images*, 379.

³¹⁶ Tacitus. *The Annals*. Loeb Classical Library. Translated by J. Jackson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925, 1.3.

As the triumphal procession began to ascend the Capitoline, the next building of Augustus' triumphal armature came into view—the Forum of Augustus. Though this was not directly on the triumphal route, Augustus' Forum was still visible from it, a powerful way to remind the *triumphators* and the spectators of his worth as ruler. Due to its visibility from the triumphal route and the accessibility of its themes, it served as a way for Augustus to display on his triumphal armature Rome's great history united under his rule, his inherent association with victory and triumph, and the great expanse of his empire. Though the images within the Forum would not be visible, the space commemorated Augustus, and every spectator would have known that. These were ways to further legitimize himself as ruler and present his greatness to everyone, especially future victorious generals as they traveled the triumphal route.

Figure 9. Plan of the Forum of Augustus
<http://www.vroma.org/~bmcmanus/forumaugplan.html>

Within his Forum, Augustus presented the Roman military and civic tradition united under his power as a way to promote himself. Striking aspects of the Forum of Augustus were the porticoes that showcased the great men of Roman history and their deeds. In particular, it seems Augustus promoted war, and therefore victory, and peace simultaneously.³¹⁷ More important, though, is how these men were to be seen as examples of proper behavior and bravery for all Romans— they were men of inspiration.³¹⁸ Suetonius (*Augustus* 31) describes how these statues were not meant just as inspiration to Romans, but as the standards to strive towards for Augustus and all future emperors. Aeneas and Romulus were the most significant. According to Galinsky and Holscher, Aeneas represented *pietas*, while Romulus symbolized military might and

³¹⁷ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 199.

³¹⁸ Favro, *Urban Image*, 126; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 210; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 204.

victory.³¹⁹ Aeneas is depicted in his flight from Troy, though he wears Roman armor and patrician shoes and he carries his father and leads his son by the hand.³²⁰ He clearly exemplifies the proper way to behave, having respect for his family, since he carries his father and leads his son away from destruction. The statue of Romulus held the *spolia opima* in his hands—the weapons of his conquered enemy—the ultimate spoils for a *triumphator*.³²¹ By highlighting these men and their actions, Augustus connected himself to their accomplishments.

Other men included in the “who’s who” of the Forum of Augustus were men who had contributed to Rome by way of victory or civic duty.³²² Zanker calls this a monumentalizing method of using ancestors’ deeds as examples or ways to promote one’s family.³²³ Augustus even included the father of Julius Caesar, though it appears that he had not distinguished himself in anything other than being Caesar’s father.³²⁴ Additionally, Augustus further conveyed himself as heir to the deeds of these men by presenting all them together. Though they may have been foes in life, Augustus showed how they were all united under his reign.³²⁵ Myth and history from past to present were presented together harmoniously, further unifying these men and their deeds under Augustus.³²⁶ The message this statue group would have emitted is powerful indeed. It drew attention to Rome’s distinguished history, and showed Augustus as the heir and the one to carry on the history and traditions since this was present in his forum.

³¹⁹ *Augustan Culture*, 204; Holscher, *Monuments of the Battle of Actium*, 315-316.

³²⁰ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 204; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 202.

³²¹ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 204; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 203.

³²² Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 199.

³²³ *Power of Images*, 210.

³²⁴ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 210.

³²⁵ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 211

³²⁶ *Ibid.* 195

Augustus also used the pediment of the Temple to Mars Ultor as a way to link himself with the divine tradition of Rome, mainly in portraying Mars and Venus as his ancestors. The temple pediment did not survive antiquity, but was preserved in an altar, the Ara Pietatis Augustae.³²⁷ In the pediment, Mars is the center figure, flanked by Venus and Fortuna.³²⁸ The story of Romulus' descent from Mars was well known to the Romans, as was Aeneas' descent from Venus. We know that the statuary group in the porticoes contained statues of Romulus and Aeneas along with members of Augustus' family, one way he linked them to his relatives. Augustus had also vowed a temple to Mars right before the Battle of Philippi.³²⁹ This supported the link between Mars and his family more, since Mars had helped him avenge the death of Caesar. By uniting great military leaders, political leaders, heroes, and gods in his Forum, Augustus promoted himself as heir to these grand traditions, and as such, a mighty ruler.

Above all else, the theme of triumph saturated the Forum of Augustus, from its images down to the rituals performed within it. Suetonius (*Augustus* 29) tells us that the purpose of the Forum was judicial. It was meant to be an expansion of courts to serve the larger population and higher number of judicial cases. However, we hear from Dio (55.10) that the Forum held another, grander purpose. According to Dio, provinces were administered here, and governors made sacrifices at the Temple to Mars Ultor before embarking to their new assignments. More importantly, this was the place where the senate would vote on awarding triumphs, and where generals would sacrifice before leaving Rome for war and (maybe) glory. The triumphal purpose takes on more meaning

³²⁷ Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 99.

³²⁸ Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 99. There were other figures present, but are not important for this discussion.

³²⁹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29.2.

since it was conducted in the presence of great Romans who had achieved these honors previously. It took on even more meaning given all Augustus had done to make the triumph exclusive to himself and his family. Thus, even though he and his heirs would not reign forever, future *triumphators* would forever connect the triumph to him. In later triumphs, as the procession ascended the Capitoline, a *triumphator* could look upon Augustus' Forum and remember the place where he had been awarded his greatest honor, in the presence of the *princeps* who had started it all.

Images of triumph were also scattered throughout the Forum, attached to Augustus. The clearest examples are the images of Mars in the pediment and the statue of Romulus in the hall of fame. Romulus held the *spoila opima*, an obvious link to a triumph, but the image of Mars held a subtler, deeper meaning. Ovid, in his *Fasti* (5.533) notes this, describing the pediment as if it were alive. Mars, God of war and a founding god of Rome, could look upon his descendants and distinguished men and revel in their success. He could watch over the senate and unleash a war through them, if he so desired.³³⁰ With the god of war on Rome's side, it would be impossible to lose—an idea Augustus wanted to promote in conjunction with his rule. Augustus had the approval of the gods—or so he illustrated—and was crowned by Nike and had defeated war. The use of Alexander's image helped make his self-aggrandizement.

Finally, the statue of Augustus in a *quadriga* placed at the center of the Forum was linked Augustus with triumph. However, this image was not added by Augustus, but by the senate, keeping the *princeps*' modesty intact.³³¹ In looking at the statue of Augustus in the *quadriga*, even the simplest of viewers could make the connection

³³⁰ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 113.

³³¹ Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 35.

between him and triumph. Set between the halls of statues and before the temple, the *quadriga* physically linked Augustus to the accomplishments of those around him.³³² In 2 BCE, the senate awarded him the title, *Pater Patriae*,³³³ and this was inscribed on the bottom of the *quadriga*, further immortalizing Augustus and his contributions to Rome. The images of triumph in the Forum were clear, and they were all connected to Augustus.

In addition to the purpose of the Forum and the images in the Forum, Augustus presented it as a place to hold his conquest of the Empire.³³⁴ For one, *tituli* of all the provinces were displayed,³³⁵ and may have been inscribed on the architraves between the upper and lower columns on the porticoes.³³⁶ Wherever they were within the Forum, the names of all the conquered territories and provinces would have been a strong reminder of the might of Rome, or namely, the power of Augustus. It did not matter who had led each territory because they all had fallen to the Romans.

Also demonstrating the expanse of Augustus' empire was the combination of Greek and Italic elements. This represents the victory over Greece and the superiority of the Romans—an important facet of Augustus' victory program. The most obvious example is the Temple to Mars Ultor, which incorporates the typical Italic high podium, but includes classical Greek elements as well.³³⁷ For instance, where the volutes would be on the Corinthian capitals, winged horses were placed instead.³³⁸ According to Kleiner, this substitution had Greek parallels, such as the bulls in place of volutes in the

³³² Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 206.

³³³ Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 35.

³³⁴ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 200; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 232; Rich, "Augustus, War and Peace," 138

³³⁵ Velleius 2.39.2

³³⁶ Velleius does not mention where these *tituli* were. Luce, T. J. "Livy, Augustus, and the Forum Augustum." Chap. 13, In *Augustus*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson, 399-416. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2009, 403, suggests the architraves.

³³⁷ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 200; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 161; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 49.

³³⁸ Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 100.

capitals of the Propylaea at Eleusis.³³⁹ However, the Temple to Mars Ultor was placed in an Italic sort of arrangement—only the front was clearly visible to the average spectator as the flanking porticoes obscured the temple sides and the back.³⁴⁰ The enclosure of the sides of the temple along with the high podium gave the temple power in the spatial relationships of the Forum of Augustus.³⁴¹ It is interesting to note that the mixture of Greek elements—the porticoes, for example—and the Italic elements like the high podium are what give the temple this authority.

This sweep of empire also manifests in the rich materials used in the Forum's construction. We know from excavations that the floors of the porticoes were brightly colored, as well as the columns.³⁴² Not only were these marbles meant to amaze and delight visitors, but they were also meant to demonstrate the reach and power of the Roman Empire.³⁴³ Viewers would see the names of Roman provinces and experience the gifts of these provinces as well. In a sense, the materials made the *tituli* more tangible and were physical examples of Rome and Augustus' power. The Greek/Italic temple was a permanent example of how Augustus had conquered extensively.

In the end, the Forum of Augustus is a compelling tool in Augustus' self-promotion and aggrandizement. Though it was not entirely visible from the triumphal route, simply passing this space during the procession would recall images of the unification of Rome's great past under Augustus' rule, Augustus' inherent link to victory, and the great sweep of his empire. Thus, it was an important element of Augustus'

³³⁹ *Roman Sculpture*, 100.

³⁴⁰ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 212.

³⁴¹ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 212.

³⁴² Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 161.

³⁴³ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 202-203.

triumphal armature. As every *triumphator* looked upon it, Augustus' presence over the entire procession would be even more apparent.

The Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus

The ultimate building on the Augustan triumphal armature was one of, if not the, most central buildings in the entire city. As Richardson describes it, "To the Romans, it was the touchstone of Roman sovereignty and immortality."³⁴⁴ The Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was not an Augustan creation—according to tradition it was one of the oldest buildings in Rome, a remnant of the age of monarchs during Rome's foundation and the dawn of the great Republic.³⁴⁵ Augustus did, however, restore it, an action he deemed important enough to mention in his *Res Gestae* (19). Though we cannot know the exact restorations Augustus made to the Temple, in restoring it Augustus continued to link himself to the triumph, this time as a keeper of the tradition. Such was the importance of this temple to the triumph, Augustus' triumphal armature would be incomplete without it.

More than any other building Rome, the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was steeped in the tradition of the triumph. According to Dionysius (*Early History* 3.69), Tarquinius Priscus first vowed the temple during a battle against the Sabines. While the foundations were laid and much of the structure built during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus (who was later overthrown), the temple was not fully constructed until the Republic, the first few years of the Republic, in fact. Thus, the Temple was about as old as the Republic and as such, a revered and sacred building.³⁴⁶ It also marked the end of the triumphal route, where the enemy leaders would be led away for execution, and the

³⁴⁴ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 224.

³⁴⁵ Dionysius, *Early History* 3.69 & 4.61.

³⁴⁶ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 224; Favro, *Urban Image*, 43.

best of the spoils offered to Jupiter.³⁴⁷ Sacrificing at the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus after a triumph was an action few men had realized, and as a *triumphator* made his offering, he became part of the exclusive club made up of Rome's finest men. In other words, the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was really the goal of every general.

One important facet of this temple comes from the very beginning of its construction, when the builders were digging the foundations. According to Livy (1.55), "it is said that those digging the foundations to the temple to Jupiter came upon a human head with its features intact. This was a clear sign that this spot would be the citadel of the empire and the head of the world, as interpreted thus by soothsayers..."³⁴⁸ Though this is probably an old story by the time Livy wrote, a tale had evolved connecting this temple to the triumph. It is worth noting that Livy wrote during Augustus' time, and how his story ties the Capitoline to the notion of empire. Livy's account of this story may well be an attempt to tie Augustus, his patron, to the realization of empire.

Another triumphal aspect of this Temple was the tradition of dedicating some booty from the procession to Jupiter.³⁴⁹ Livy (2.22.6) tells us that this began with the dedication of a golden crown from the Latins in 495 BCE. As the culminating point and house of treasure for the triumph, this temple played an enormous role in its tradition. The final aspect from the temple came from the cult statue of Jupiter. Pliny (*NH* 35.157) explains that the famous sculptor Vulca of Veii completed the statue. What is significant about the statue is that its dress became the traditional dress for *triumphators*.³⁵⁰ Livy

³⁴⁷ Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 95.

³⁴⁸ Translation from *Rome Alive*, by Peter Aicher

³⁴⁹ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 222.

³⁵⁰ Livy 10.7.10.

describes the dress as a *tunica palmate* (tunic embroidered with palms), a *toga picta* dyed purple and embroidered with gold, as well as a golden triumphal crown.³⁵¹ According to Livy, it was the most magnificent insignia of all.³⁵² The sacred Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus gave precedent for all future triumphs to come. Consequently it was a building Augustus had to tie his name to, an essential part of his triumphal armature.

Throughout the Republic all the way up to Augustus, men vying for power had attempted to attach their names to the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The three men I will discuss here are all directly involved with the development of the empire—Sulla, Caesar, and Augustus. Sulla was responsible for the first grand restoration of the Temple after a fire in 83 BCE, though his name was not placed on the temple (to which Tacitus says, “in this alone Fortune failed him”).³⁵³ This restoration involved more than just replacing wooden beams and statues—the new materials were richer and costlier than the originals, though Sulla maintained the original plan.³⁵⁴ We will see how maintaining the original building plan would become the most important element in the restoration of this temple over the years.

Trying to tangibly link himself to the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Caesar tried to fix his name to the Temple. Dio Cassius (37.44.1) tells that Caesar had been trying to get Catulus’ name removed from the Temple because Catulus had embezzled money—a very un-Republican thing to do. Dio (43.14.6) later says that the senate acquiesced, decreeing that Caesar’s name should be inscribed in Catulus’ place. This decree, perhaps un-coincidentally, occurred in conjunction with Caesar’s triumph in

³⁵¹ Livy 10.7.10 & 30.15.11-12.

³⁵² Livy 30.15.11-12.

³⁵³ Tacitus *Hist.* 3.72; Plutarch *Publicola* 15.1-4.

³⁵⁴ Dionysius, *Early Rome*, 4.61.

46 BCE.³⁵⁵ He also received a bronze statue of himself upon a likeness of the world to be placed before the temple. Caesar had already been using architecture to gain support, and tying himself to the greatest triumphal building of all would have been a powerful way to promote his military skills, especially in conjunction with his claim of being a descendant of Aeneas and Romulus.³⁵⁶ Augustus would also link himself to this temple, but without putting his name on it.

At the beginning of his rule, Augustus was careful to adhere to the triumphal traditions associated with the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. While he slowly shifted the triumphal focus to himself throughout his reign, he revered the temple all the same. During his triple triumph, Augustus probably wore the typical dress of a triumphing general, and after the triumphal processions, he probably deposited spoils and made sacrifices to Jupiter at the temple, just as the *triumphators* before him. During his restoration however, Augustus was sure to aggrandize the temple even more, thereby cementing his name to it and its triumphal implications. For one, Augustus himself writes that he restored the Capitol at great expense, though humbly, without inscribing his name.³⁵⁷

In spite of this, Augustus made certain that his name was connected to the temple through generous donations. Suetonius (*Augustus* 30.2) tells that Augustus deposited 16,000 pounds of gold along with pearls and other precious gems in the temple after he restored it. There is no mention of these being war spoils, but we know that Augustus' personal wealth was enhanced by his military victories. This incredible amount of treasure would surely astound anyone who knew about it. It is clear that Augustus

³⁵⁵ Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 43.14.6.

³⁵⁶ Favro, *Urban Image*, 63-65.

³⁵⁷ Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 20.

attempted to associate himself to the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and in so doing link himself to the triumphal tradition it held like no other building did.

The Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was the premier temple in Rome. It was as old as the hallowed Republic, and harkened back to the prestigious monarchs who founded Rome. The most fundamental triumphal traditions had come as a result of this temple, including the dedication of war spoils, sacrifice, and triumphal garb for the special general. We have seen that ambitious men did their best to attach their names and legacies to it, and gain some of the triumphal esteem that it held. Though Augustus would subtly shift the focus from Jupiter to himself later in his career, the temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus remained the temple to the greatest god, perched on the highest hill in Rome, gazing over the entire city in triumph.

Conclusions

After Augustus' death in 14 CE, the Augustan triumphal armature was completed. He had celebrated a grand triumph that would forever ring in the memories of the city, both in literature and in the buildings he left behind. Further, Augustus had an enormous impact on the Roman triumph, from how it was awarded to where it was awarded, and had even appropriated some aspects from the ritual to link to himself. This is most apparent in the laurel, which we saw repeatedly in the discussion of the monuments along the armature. Throughout his reign Augustus has advertised himself and his family as worthy rulers of Rome because of their military skills, ability to bring peace to the empire, and favor from the gods due to their *pietas*. We have seen how Augustus accomplished this program through several types of images. Images of victory included allusions to defeated enemies such as Cleopatra and the Parthians. The god Apollo

reigned as Augustus' benevolent patron, so close that they shared a physical residence as well images like the laurel. Augustus' distinctive style incorporated Greek elements as well as Italic ones, which marked a building as one commissioned by the *princeps*.

As later processions passed along the route, Augustus' buildings would preside over the celebration as reminders of the man who had been able to consolidate power after a civil war had rocked Rome. Consequently, Augustus' methods became examples for later emperors who had to legitimize their own rule and garner support. The triumphal armature, a path of monuments in dialogue that drew power from their location on the triumphal route, was one of the most effective ways to do this. Now we will examine the Flavians, and their response to the Augustan triumphal armature and the making of their own triumphal armature.

Chapter 3: The Flavian Triumphal Armature

Introduction

Like Augustus, the Flavians came to power after an assassination and a civil war. Like Augustus, they had a powerful propaganda tool—the subjugation of Judea by Vespasian and Titus in 69 CE. They would use this victory and ensuing triumph to lay claim to absolute power in Rome, as Augustus did with the triple triumph of 29 BCE after his defeat of Egypt. Augustus had already changed much about the triumph, making it an imperial privilege instead of an opportunity for any general, for instance.³⁵⁸ The Flavians would not implement any changes to the triumph—they followed Augustus’ traditions. In following Augustus’ traditions, they created a triumphal armature along the triumphal route narrative pathway in order to legitimize their right to rule. We will first discuss their triumph and how it served as a starting point for their armature, some of their methods in construction, and then travel the armature itself. We will see how the Flavian armature emulated the Augustan one.

The Triumph of 71 CE

The triumph of the Flavian dynasty was formally a triumph over Judea, but one could argue that it was a triumph to celebrate their rise to the throne after a civil war.³⁵⁹ This idea is significant when considering the motives behind constructing monuments along the triumphal route. The Flavian triumph was a grand, lavish affair, according to the Flavian historian, Josephus. This was in tradition with past Roman triumphs.³⁶⁰ Ida Oestenberg describes the triumph as a “flourishing spectacle, one that lasted in the

³⁵⁸ Favro 1996, *Urban Image*, 121.

³⁵⁹ Beard, Mary. "The Triumph of Flavius Josephus." In *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, edited by A. J. Boyle and W. J. Dominik. Leiden: Brill, 2003, 552.

³⁶⁰ For the details of the Flavian Triumph, see Josephus. *BJ*. 7.5.4-7.5.6.

memories of the people present...”³⁶¹ For people who were not present, the buildings with inscriptions would serve as permanent reminders of the extravagant triumph and the prestige of the Flavians—what they wanted a viewer to think as he traveled the route of the triumph.

Josephus chronicled the triumph of the Flavians in great detail, and like Octavian’s triple triumph it was a lavish spectacle of power and might. Josephus tells us that the multitude of riches was impossible to describe, and that heaps of priceless treasure had flowed through the city more like a river than a procession.³⁶² Rare stones, fabrics, and animals all made appearances in the parade, much like we saw in Octavian’s triumph more than a century prior. Fabulous portable stages also made their way along the route, decorated with scenes from the siege in Jerusalem and capped with the actual Jewish generals who had surrendered to the Romans.³⁶³ The most extraordinary spoils were the treasures from the Temple in Jerusalem—the golden table, the seven-pronged candlestick (Menorah), and the “Law of the Jews”—and were the last of the triumphal spoils in the procession.³⁶⁴ The *triumphators* Vespasian and Titus followed last, accompanied by Domitian riding a horse.³⁶⁵ As Mary Beard points out, Josephus presents the three Flavian emperors together, emphasizing the future dynasty.³⁶⁶ As with all previous triumphs, the Flavians ended at the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, where they waited until the traditional execution of the enemy leader had been carried

³⁶¹ Ostenberg, *Staging*. 13.

³⁶² Josephus, *BJ*, 7.5.5.

³⁶³ Josephus, *BJ*, 7.5.5.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Beard, “The Triumph of Flavius Josephus,” 549.

out.³⁶⁷ They then made their traditional sacrifices at the temple, while the rest of Rome celebrated victory, the end of the civil war, and their hope for the future.³⁶⁸

Most notable about the triumph of the Flavians is the wealth that they displayed. As previously stated, this was quite similar to Octavian's triumph, where he brought so much wealth into the city that property taxes and interest rates were affected. This is also significant in the building potential. Because they were now quite wealthy, the Flavians could afford to build monuments on a grand scale—indeed the same scale as Augustus. Like Augustus, the message stated that Flavians were capable of bringing success and prosperity to Rome and would give back to the people. They would illustrate this in their buildings on the triumphal route.

Methods of the Flavians: Symbolic Imagery and Power of Place

In Augustus' example, the Flavians built many buildings and monuments in Rome, and many of these monuments, arguably the most important, were built along the triumphal route. They created a triumphal armature of their own buildings and imitated some of Augustus' images and ideas while simultaneously presenting their own. The most significant aspects of the Flavian triumphal armature are the ones of their triumph of 71 CE. This was the moment power truly became theirs, and giving passersby every opportunity to recall the triumph would enhance the Flavian legitimacy to rule. We will see how inscriptions serve this purpose as well as reliefs. The power of place is also a significant aspect of the Flavian triumphal armature. They were careful with using space to either distance themselves from bad emperors (Nero) or to physically link themselves to good emperors (Augustus). In addition, the Flavians incorporated their own style into

³⁶⁷ Josephus, *BJ*, 7.5.6.

³⁶⁸ Josephus, *BJ*, 7.5.6.

their buildings, which was a high relief type of sculpture that emphasized movement and depth. Finally, they used Augustan images, like victory and *pietas* to link themselves to Augustus and his qualities.

One example power of place on the armature is the “reclaiming” of the area of Nero’s Golden House for the public with the Flavian Amphitheater. In addition to wanting to connect themselves with Augustus, the Flavians were careful to distance themselves from their profane predecessors, especially Nero. Nero, of course, was the last emperor of the Julio-Claudians (and remembered as the worst sort of ruler and man). The Flavians took places that had been associated with the private wealth of Nero such as his Golden House and made a show of making them public places for all to enjoy. In this sense, they were like Augustus in being benefactors for the people, but it was an effective strategy to associate themselves with good emperors and distance themselves from the selfish, mad ones. Another example is the placement of the Temple of Peace and Forum Transitorium adjacent to the Forum of Augustus. It is also important to mention the Palatine Palace that Domitian constructed on the Palatine. Though it was not a manubial monument, it still illustrates how the Flavians wanted to connect themselves to Augustus. Domitian placing his home next to Augustus was like Apollo wanting his temple next to Augustus, in a way. This is also example of distancing themselves from Nero, since Nero’s home had been at the base of the Palatine. I will not discuss this complex further, simply because it is not a triumphal monument, and too broad for the scope of this paper. It is, however, impossible to ignore.³⁶⁹ Like the Palatine buildings though, this palace stood tall above the triumphal route as a noticeable reminder of the power and wealth of the Flavians.

³⁶⁹ See Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 179-214.

As Augustus used a more classical style in his buildings, the Flavians pioneered a less static, deeper style in their building reliefs.³⁷⁰ Reliefs from their reign tend to be deeply carved and illusionistic, or more realistic than the classical style that Augustus and most of the Julio-Claudians favored.³⁷¹ For one, there is more space in the background of these reliefs, which gives the impression that the figures are not just standing in front of a flat background—they are standing in space.³⁷² Carving deeper images allows light and air to invade the spaces between the figures, which further gives the illusion of depth and movement, quite unlike the rigidity of the Augustan classical reliefs. This is apparent in the reliefs from the Arch of Titus, where the figures appear to traverse through the panel. Also important to note is that the sculpture of the Flavians, while highly carved, did not lose the detail that marked the classical style reliefs of Augustus.³⁷³ We see this in the exquisite entablature from the Temple to Deified Vespasian and Titus, especially when compared with the entablature from the Temple to Apollo Medicus, seen above. This unique style of the Flavians ensured that their monuments would not be mistaken for another emperor's. Like Augustus had used the classical style to unite his buildings, the Flavians used the illusion of movement to distinguish theirs.

Images and ideas that the Flavians took directly from Augustus include *pietas*, peace and victory, using depictions of generalized sacrificial implements in temples as well as winged victories holding laurel branches. We will see images like this across a variety of monuments, such as arches and temples. By doing this, the Flavians were

³⁷⁰ J. M. C. Toynbee. *The Art of the Romans*. Ancient Peoples and Places. edited by Dr Glyn Daniel. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965, 55.

³⁷¹ Toynbee, *Art of the Romans*, 55-56.

³⁷² Kahler, Heinz. *The Art of Rome and Her Empire*. Translated by J. R. Foster. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc, 1963, 126.

³⁷³ Strong, Donald. *Roman Art*. Edited by J. M. C. Toynbee. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1976, 74.

using as many mediums as possible to link themselves to Augustus and his images, though they maintained their own carving style that would ensure their monuments pointed to them. Now we will examine the monuments on the Flavian armature—the First Arch of Titus, the Meta Sudans, the Flavian Amphitheater, the Second Arch of Titus, the Temple of Peace, the Forum Transitorium, the Temple to Deified Vespasian and Titus, and the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

Flavian Monuments of the Armature

Circus Maximus: The First Arch of Titus

The first Flavian monument that the traveler of the triumphal route would come upon would be in the southeast hemicycle in the Circus Maximus, where the triumphal procession would pass after entering the city through the Campus Martius. Plutarch mentions how the people would watch the procession from “horse-racing stadia,” which probably means the Circus Flaminius and the Circus Maximus.³⁷⁴ Most Romans would know the Circus, and therefore know the First Arch of Titus.

Though there are hardly any remains of the arch today, it at least existed up until the 9th century, when its inscription was copied down. The original inscription was lost, but the copy has been preserved. It detailed how the Senate and the Roman people dedicated the arch to Titus for waging war against Judea and conquering and destroying Jerusalem, which all had failed to achieve.³⁷⁵ While this is not even remotely true, the inscription conveys the feeling of the power and legitimacy of the Flavians; they could do what no one else could in the eyes of the senate and Roman people. It also recalls the reason the Flavians were in power—their military skill and ability to bring peace to the

³⁷⁴ Plutarch *Aem.* 32, 1.

³⁷⁵ Aicher, *Rome Alive*, 145-146.

city. It was probably erected around 80 CE (dated by the inscription), and one of Titus' few projects during his short rule.³⁷⁶ Its location in the Circus Maximus would ensure its visibility to the masses, both during sporting events and during later triumphs.

The placement of this arch in the southeast hemicycle in the Circus Maximus recalls Augustus' Egyptian Obelisk, also located in the Circus. As Augustus tied himself and his obelisk to the foundations of Rome, so too did the Flavians. This Arch of Titus would also take a prominent spot in the Circus—the central monument of one of the two hemicycles. According to Fergus Millar, its location at the southeast end of the Circus would have afforded it prominence, a highly visible monument.³⁷⁷ We cannot know what adorned the arch besides its inscription, but it remains one of the great monuments of Titus' reign—a monument in conversation with Augustus' obelisk on the Flavian triumphal armature. Thus, as the Augustan obelisk overlooked the Flavian triumph, the Arch of Titus would look over the triumphs of future emperors.

South Palatine: The Meta Sudans

After the Circus Maximus, the triumphal armature of the Flavians would come upon the southern end of the Palatine Hill, where it would encounter two Flavian monuments: the Meta Sudans and the famous Flavian Amphitheater. The triumphal procession, while in the shadow of the Colosseum, would first reach the Meta Sudans as wound its way to the Via Sacra. Known as the "Sweating Rock," it was a monumental fountain Domitian built between 89-96 CE.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 95.

³⁷⁷ Millar, Fergus. "Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome." In *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason and James Rives. Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2005, 119-121.

³⁷⁸ Claridge, *Rome*, 307.

The Meta Sudans is a critical place-marker of where the triumphal procession would turn to ascend the Via Sacra, after which it would enter the Roman Forum for the final leg of the parade.³⁷⁹ Thus we have a monumental feature that would not only remind the viewer of the Flavians, but also call to mind the place where the grand triumphal parade would make its concluding turn. Marking this spot tied the Flavians physically to this turn in their own procession as well as every triumphal procession that had come before them. As a result, they carried on the tradition, just giving this place a monument to mark its importance. The Meta Sudans also serves as a special link between the Colosseum and the Second Arch of Titus.³⁸⁰ This is somewhat like the familial connections Augustus made between the Portico of Octavia and the Theater of Marcellus in the south Campus Martius. There Augustus promoted his sister and her son, while here Titus had promoted his father in finishing the Colosseum and Domitian had promoted his brother with an arch, as well as himself with a fountain. These three monuments in quick succession point to the familial connection the Flavians used to legitimize their position.

³⁷⁹ Claridge, *Rome*, 307; Millar, "Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome," 125.

³⁸⁰ Millar, *Monuments of the Jewish War*, 125.



Figure 10. The Arch of Constantine and remains of the Meta Sudans

Credit: Machal Gradoz

In addition, there appears to be remains of a fountain from the reign of Augustus underneath the foundations of the Meta Sudans. According to Richardson and Claridge, the Augustan fountain was also a tertiary feature of an armature of sorts; it marked the convergence of narrow streets, or a street junction.³⁸¹ Four regions of Rome met at the point where the Meta Sudans stood, and so it was an important place marker for several reasons.³⁸² Yet again we have an example of the Flavians wishing to equate themselves with Augustus. This grand fountain would be another Flavian monument easily recognizable to the Roman people, and another reminder of their power and wealth carefully placed along the triumphal route.

South Palatine: The Flavian Amphitheater

The next building of the Flavian armature was the Flavian Amphitheater, or the Colosseum, an imposing feature of the cityscape. Begun by Vespasian in 72 CE and

³⁸¹ Claridge, *Rome*, 307.

³⁸² Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 216.

completed by Titus in 80 BCE,³⁸³ it is undoubtedly the most famous of the Flavian monuments (and probably the Roman Empire) and is another instance of the Flavian emperors carefully choosing their monuments' locations along the triumphal route. This spot of the southern Palatine, upon which the Via Sacra looked, was important in the mind of the public as a place that was rightfully public, but taken by Nero for his "Golden House."³⁸⁴ However, it would become a much greater symbol for a new dynasty.

The Colosseum was wrought with reminders of the Flavians during the Roman Empire. The inscription detailed that it was built with spoils from the Jewish War, and it was one of the great Vespasian's first monuments.³⁸⁵ However, it is important to remember that not only were the Flavians attempting to prove the legitimacy of their dynasty, but they were also doing so by equating themselves with Augustus. The Colosseum calls to mind another theater, the Theater of Marcellus, which Augustus built for his then-heir, Marcellus, in 23 BCE.³⁸⁶ Augustus' intent in building this theater was to present and legitimize his heir. Significantly, the theater is also located on the triumphal route, a similarity that cannot be mere coincidence. As Augustus legitimized his heir with a gift to the people, the Flavians advertised themselves with a grander gift for public use. Additionally, the only precedent for the particular ordering of the engaged columns of the façade is the Theater of Marcellus.³⁸⁷ Vespasian was clearly drawing a connection between the Theater of Marcellus and his own amphitheater, in appearance, message, and location. Like the benevolent Augustus, the Flavians cared and provided

³⁸³ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 459.

³⁸⁴ For more information on Vespasian and Nero, see: Levick, Barbara. "Enhancement: the Physical and Moral Restoration of the Roman World." In *Vespasian*, 124-151. London: Routledge Press, 1999, 127-128.

³⁸⁵ Claridge, *Rome*, 312.

³⁸⁶ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 382.

³⁸⁷ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 79.

for the people. It is also important to note that Suetonius (*Vespasian*, 9.1) mentions that the Colosseum was the first amphitheater made entirely of stone. Augustus had planned on building a stone amphitheater, but had never realized the goal. This is another important instance of the Flavians emulating Augustus.



Figure 11. The Facades of the Flavian Amphitheater and Theater of Marcellus

Flavian Amphitheater credit: Machal Gradoz, Theater of Marcellus credit: http://traditional-building.com/Steve_Semes/?p=222

Despite that the amphitheater was for the people, it was obviously a symbol of the power of the new emperor and his family. It was a space for the people, but it remained carefully controlled by the emperor in how he controlled the entrances, could use the space to address the public and show his power, and simultaneously keep the senate happy by allowing them to parade their status.³⁸⁸ Again, we saw this in the Theater of Marcellus as a way for Augustus to enforce his social hierarchy. Vespasian would restore order, as Augustus did, with this carefully organized crowd control plan. The Colosseum was not the first building project that the Flavians undertook, but it was the most monumental and the one on the grandest scale. Passersby would never mistake it for anything but a masterpiece, and more importantly, a Flavian masterpiece, built with

³⁸⁸ Beard, Mary and Keith Hopkins. *The Colosseum*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005, 133.

the wealth from their incredible military victory. It would loom over the triumphal route as an important element of the Flavian triumphal armature.

Via Sacra: The Second Arch of Titus

The next Flavian monument on the Flavian armature was the Second Arch of Titus, which survives on the upper Via Sacra. This location is prominent in the Flavian triumphal armature; it looked out over the Meta Sudans and the Colosseum to the south, the three monuments all connected, recalling the abilities of the Flavians and their victory over Judea, and each member of the family.³⁸⁹ It also looked north over the Forum, in dialogue with the Augustan buildings constructed there. From this spot, the viewer could see the triumphal arch to Augustus, the Temple to Divus Julius (and maybe the Portico of Gaius and Lucius), and the Temple to Deified Vespasian and Titus. The power of the gaze of this arch over the Augustan buildings as well as the temple to the deified patriarch speaks to the careful placement of Flavian monuments.

Built by Domitian in 81 CE for Titus, the arch calls to mind all of the aspects of the Flavian armature. For one, it is mostly in the Augustan style—composite capitals, and sparsely decorated—directly cites the triumph over Judea, and displays the worth of the Flavians in its location. The triumph—the crowning moment of the Flavians—is presented alongside the wealth of the spoils of their war in the two relief panels inside the *fornix* and in a relief that circled around the arch under the architrave. The reliefs are deeply carved in the Flavian style, creating shadows and a sense of movement somewhat different from Augustus’ archaic and classicizing reliefs in his monuments.³⁹⁰ As we saw earlier, this was a way to distinguish Flavian monuments from Augustan ones, though the

³⁸⁹ Millar 2005, “Monuments of the Jewish War,” 123.

³⁹⁰ Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 190.

Flavians were still following his example. For example, the laurel wreath appears in the frieze depicting Titus in the *quadriga*, which was an element of the triumph, but also an image of Augustus, as we saw previously. The procession recalls the frieze from the Temple to Apollo Medicus, where it depicted the parade of captives from the triple triumph of Augustus. The procession beneath the architrave is another depiction of the triumph, carved in very high relief so the figures stand out despite their small size.³⁹¹ Victories are also present throughout the arch, as they were in monuments like the Temple to Divus Julius and the Forum of Augustus. Here, victories holding laurel branches and standards decorated the spandrels—a pairing of images that were all over Augustan monuments.

The images of victory and triumph would be powerful for the triumphing generals to pass through, reminders of the spectacular Flavian triumph and the prosperity and peace it brought for them and Rome. This idea is present in the triumphal arch to Augustus in the Forum. Instead of images of a specific triumph in the *fornix*, *triumphators* would pass by the *Fasti Triumphales*, a reminder of the keeper of the triumphal tradition—Augustus. Victorious generals would see the list of the great men who had traveled this route before them paired with images of Augustus' diplomatic skills and only hope to achieve as much as the *princeps* had.

Figure 12. North panel of the Arch of Titus showing triumphal procession

<http://cnes.cla.umn.edu/courses/archaeology/Rome/ArchTitusPanels.html>

This arch is also similar to the Temple to Divus Julius in that it glorifies the *princeps*' predecessors. Monumentalizing Titus linked Domitian to his brother and his

³⁹¹ Ibid. 187

brother's great deeds,³⁹² as Augustus connected himself to his divine father and his divine ancestry. Indeed, Titus' apotheosis is actually illustrated in the vault, where he peers down on the viewer on the back of an eagle. According to Kleiner, this is the first depiction of an apotheosis in monumental Roman relief sculpture,³⁹³ but we see a similar image in the pediment of the Temple to Divus Julius. The star was a symbol of Caesar's apotheosis, and had a central spot in the pediment of the temple. The image of Titus' divine ascension is thus another example of the Flavians imitating Augustus' style.



Figure 13. Central coffer showing apotheosis of Titus

Credit: Machal Gradoz

Additionally, the presence of the treasure of the Temple in Jerusalem would allude to the next visible Flavian monument from the triumphal route—the Temple of Peace. This grand space actually housed these treasures so the Roman people could see them and not forget who brought them to Rome in the first place. This Arch of Titus would have clear implications to the traveler of the Flavian triumphal armature as the Flavian monuments continued to guide the triumphal parades. It would be a clear

³⁹² Ibid. 185.

³⁹³ Ibid. 189.

reminder on the Flavian armature that the viewers would be able to connect to the dynasty.

Figure 14. South panel of the Arch of Titus showing spoils from the temple

http://www.fransite.net/Klassiek/Romeins/kunst/Spoils%20of%20Jerusalem,%20relief%20panel%20from%20the%20Arch%20of%20Titus,%20Rome,%20Italy,%20after%2081%20CE_jpg_orig.html

Imperial Fora: The Temple of Peace

According to Josephus, the Temple (or Forum, as it would become known) of Peace was Vespasian's first original monument in Rome.³⁹⁴ Though technically not on the triumphal route, this extremely important Flavian construction was still visible to the triumphal procession as it passed through the forum and is still part of the Flavian triumphal armature, like the Forum of Augustus is part of the Augustan triumphal armature. Pliny, (*NH*, 36.102) called it one of the three most beautiful buildings in Rome, along with the Forum of Augustus.

As the first official monument of the Flavian dynasty,³⁹⁵ the Temple of Peace holds extreme importance in the propaganda agenda of the Flavians. Vespasian, in connecting himself to Augustus and distancing himself from Nero, made sure to build a grand building, a grand building for the public. Josephus recounts, "After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which was...beyond all human expectation and opinion..."³⁹⁶ Indeed, it was built to house the grand spoils of the great Temple in Jerusalem and to display them and other exotic works or art to the Roman people—all the best art in Rome in one public place.³⁹⁷ Unlike Nero, Vespasian would not hoard all the best art in his private home, but share it with the people, as Augustus

³⁹⁴ Josephus *BJ*. 7.5.7.

³⁹⁵ Dio Cassius 65.15.1.

³⁹⁶ Josephus. *BJ*. 7.5.7

³⁹⁷ Josephus, *BJ*, 7.5.7.

did.³⁹⁸ Some of the art in the complex even came from Nero's Golden House.³⁹⁹ The Temple of Peace is very similar to the Portico of Octavia in its purpose as a public art museum.⁴⁰⁰ High culture would be available for all to enjoy, thanks to Augustus and Vespasian. Of course, the grandiose scale was not solely for the interior, or the displayed objects themselves; the entire Temple/Forum was a rival to the Augustan Forum in richness and size, another important aspect of the Augustus connection the Flavians stressed.⁴⁰¹

Though it was a public art museum, the Temple of Peace was also a public park. Based on the *Forma Urbis*,⁴⁰² the complex had large plant beds in the courtyard, unlike other complexes of this time.⁴⁰³ Not only is the reminiscent of Augustus' floral motifs that decorated almost all of his monuments, but it also gives the Temple another purpose, or another element for the public to enjoy.⁴⁰⁴ The abundance of vegetation points to prosperity and peace that Vespasian hoped to bring with his ascension to power. We saw the same images with Augustus—carved acanthus, laurels, and fruits representing the future bounty of Rome.

We cannot forget that the space was dedicated to Peace in addition to being a public art gallery. By dedicating this place to Peace, Vespasian was sure to emphasize the stability he would bring to the empire after the strife and chaos of civil war. This agenda is mirrored almost exactly on Augustus. We saw how the Temple to Apollo

³⁹⁸ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 67.

³⁹⁹ Pliny, *NH*, 34.84.

⁴⁰⁰ Pliny, *NH*, 65; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 181.

⁴⁰¹ Beard 2003, "Triumph of Flavius Josephus," 555.

⁴⁰² The *Forma Urbis* is a marble plan of the city that dates to the rule of Septimius Severus. Though it is highly fragmented, it is a great help in reconstructing the ancient Roman cityscape. It was displayed in a room in the Temple of Peace.

⁴⁰³ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 58.

⁴⁰⁴ Anderson, James C. Jr. *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*. Collection Latomus. Vol. 182. Brussels: Journal of Latin Studies, 1984, 112.

Medicus, the Temple to Apollo on the Palatine, the Temple to Divus Julius, and the triumphal arch of Augustus emphasize Augustus' peace bringing capabilities. *Pax* meant the end of the bedlam of the civil wars and the restoration of proper government and ideals⁴⁰⁵—an idea Augustus first promoted and copied by the Flavians.

Along with peace, the Temple of Peace was also a convenient space to display the Flavians' military credentials.⁴⁰⁶ Not only were the spoils of the triumph incredible riches to display for the benefit of the people, they were symbols of the military might of Vespasian and Titus. Like the Parthian standards in the Forum of Augustus, the spoils simultaneously promoted peace, but the ability to subjugate enemies if the need arose. The connection to the Forum of Augustus would soon be clearer with Domitian's construction of the Forum Transitorium between the Temple of Peace and Forum of Augustus. Thus the Flavians imitated Augustus, and advertised peace and military might in one of their most significant buildings along their triumphal armature.

Imperial Fora: The Forum Transitorium

Directly adjacent to Vespasian's Temple of Peace and the Forum of Augustus was Domitian's attempt at his own forum—the Forum Transitorium (also called the Forum of Nerva). Though this building was not on the triumphal route, it still constitutes an important part of the Flavian triumphal armature, just like the Temple of Peace. Nerva completed the Forum Transitorium after Domitian's assassination in 96 CE.⁴⁰⁷ Though the images found within this complex are distinctively Flavian—the importance of Minerva, for example—this forum acted as a connecting feature between the Temple of

⁴⁰⁵ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 162; Levick, *Vespasian*, 126.

⁴⁰⁶ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 67.

⁴⁰⁷ Suetonius, *Domitian*, 5.

Peace and the Forum of Augustus,⁴⁰⁸ thereby connecting the Flavians to Augustus once more.

Figure 15. The Imperial Fora and the Roman Forum

After Robert Garbisch, <http://www.legionxxiv.org/lrgforumplan/>

As Augustus favored Apollo (and Apollo favored him), Domitian favored Minerva, and decorated his forum with images of her. Only a single bay of a colonnade survives (called “Le Colonnacce”), but it is ornately decorated with reliefs of Minerva.⁴⁰⁹ Like the terracotta plaques from the Temple to Apollo on the Palatine, the reliefs show Minerva in various scenes from her myths. The punishment of Arachne is one, which might serve as a reminder of the power of the goddess, like the Niobid panel on the doors of the Temple to Apollo. Though these images were not visible from the triumphal route, it is likely that people would have known about them, and passing by would conjure memories of the images.

The Forum Transitorium is constructed in an unorthodox manner because of the space constraints.⁴¹⁰ This speaks to the importance of physically linking Flavian monuments to Augustus’ Forum. As Sear notes, the columns stand close to the walls instead of freestanding columns in the space before the temple, saving space.⁴¹¹ A portico was not possible, but having bare walls would look poorly upon Domitian.⁴¹² These columns supported the frieze discussed above, projecting it out and making it a bit easier to read. Saving space made more room for the Temple to Minerva, which was like the Temple to Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar and the Temple to Mars Ultor in

⁴⁰⁸ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 168; Anderson, *A Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*, 126-127; Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 117.

⁴⁰⁹ Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 193; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 168.

⁴¹⁰ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 147.

⁴¹¹ Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 147.

⁴¹² Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 119.

the Forum of Augustus in that it was the main attraction in the complex.⁴¹³ The similar design of the temples is one way in which Domitian copies Augustus. More importantly, the long sides of this forum contained several doors that would lead from the Forum of Augustus to the Temple of Peace.⁴¹⁴ This physical link, though not seen from the route, was well known among people in the city, and displays the link the Flavians wanted to make between them and Augustus. Though the Forum Transitorium was a small space, it served as an important association between the Flavians and Augustus along their triumphal armature.

Roman Forum: The Temple of Deified Vespasian and Titus

As the procession approached its endpoint at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus atop the Capitoline, one Flavian building stood as part of the Flavian triumphal armature along the route in the Roman Forum. We have already seen how the Roman Forum had long been considered significant, and served as the final thoroughfare for the triumphal parade. Augustus' construction of a dynastic ensemble in the Forum speaks to its power of place. At the opposite end of the Roman Forum from the Augustan ensemble stood the Flavian Temple of Deified Vespasian (and later, Titus). The location of the Temple of Deified Vespasian and Titus solidified the importance of the Flavians and their legitimacy to assume the throne. The significance of Vespasian and Titus' deifications is clear, but becomes especially important in the placement of their temple in the Forum. Indeed, after the death of Augustus, hardly any buildings were erected in the space.⁴¹⁵ Not only would their temple stand among ancient buildings of Rome's

⁴¹³ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 118.

⁴¹⁴ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 168-169.

⁴¹⁵ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 412.

founders, but also it would watch over the last leg of the triumphal route and over the new generations of Rome's rulers.

Begun by Titus upon his ascension to his father, it was finished by Domitian after the death of Titus in 81 CE, around 87 CE.⁴¹⁶ The Temple is located at the northwest end of the forum, right against the base of the Tabularium, and what would have been the foundations of the Temple of Jupiter.⁴¹⁷ The decoration of the temple is uniquely Flavian in style—ornate details, the “spectacles” between the egg and dart, and high relief.⁴¹⁸ The entablature illustrated sacrificial and floral elements like bucrania and acanthus leaves,⁴¹⁹ which were common images in Augustan monuments. A similar relief with sacrificial elements has been associated with the Portico of Octavia.

Figure 16. Entablature frieze from the Temple to Deified Vespasian and Titus

http://www.vroma.org/images/raia_images/index8.html

These generalized tools of religious ritual advertised the *pietas* of the Flavians, as they advertised Augustus' *pietas* during his rule. The presence of religious motifs also emphasizes that not only did the Flavians act with proper reverence for the gods, but that Titus and Domitian were sons of a god. Augustus displayed a similar message directly across from the Temple to Deified Vespasian in the Temple to Divus Julius. Additionally, the plan shows a rather square building, not usually typical of prostyle temples.⁴²⁰ This square shape is indicative of planning around the space, so we can infer that it was important to Titus and Domitian to use this specific land for a temple to their father because of the implications its placement would bring. We see this in the Temple

⁴¹⁶ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 412.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 155; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 147.

⁴¹⁹ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 412; Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 147.

⁴²⁰ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 412; Packer, James E. "Plurima Et Amplissima Opera: Parsing Flavian Rome." In *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, edited by A. J. Boyle and W. J. Dominik. Leiden: Brill, 2003, 173.

to Divus Julius as well, where Augustus constructed the temple in a particular spot and had to fit the temple to the space.

The deification of Vespasian itself would seem to prove the Flavians worthy successors of Augustus, but by placing his temple in the forum, right along the triumphal route, Titus and Domitian especially strengthened their dynasty's claim. Future triumphs, having already passed Flavian monuments, would still be reminded of the greatness of the dynasty, not only in life but in death, even as they celebrated the greatness of the current triumphing general and his family. The images of *pietas* also promoted the respectability of the Flavians as examples for proper behavior. The glorification of their family in this temple is a strong way to promote it along their triumphal armature, especially it reached its climax.

The Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus

As with Augustus, the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was important part of the Flavian triumphal armature. This temple has the distinction of being the only building of the Flavian armature that was constructed before their triumph in 71 CE,⁴²¹ since having a triumph without the endpoint would hardly be considered a real triumph. It had remained the last stop in the triumphal route after Augustus and through the Julio-Claudians, as it had since the beginning of Rome. Associating their family with this temple would help legitimize the Flavians as heirs to power, as Caesar and Augustus had done. The restoration of this temple would be the first project in Vespasian's rule, and was also part of Domitian's extensive building projects.⁴²² Both father and son promoted their dynasty and connection to Rome's triumphal tradition all the way back to Romulus.

⁴²¹ Josephus, *BJ*, 4.11.4

⁴²² Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 41, 106-107.

Vespasian's reason for restoring the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was not so much voluntary as it was necessary. The original temple had burned down during the chaos of the civil war in 69 CE,⁴²³ and as one of Rome's most significant temples, it was essential that it be rebuilt. By rebuilding this temple, Vespasian promoted a return to peace and order after the strife of a civil war.⁴²⁴ He also recalled the impious actions of Vitellius, whom the Flavian sources say set fire to the temple.⁴²⁵ Vespasian would be a beneficent emperor for the people, not a crazed arsonist that Vitellius was painted to be. According to Tacitus (*Histories* 4.53), the soothsayers proclaimed the temple had to be rebuilt exactly the same as the original, which helped Vespasian connect himself with the ancient tradition of the temple. Vespasian's restoration of the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus portrayed him as a benevolent emperor, restorer of normality, and linked to triumph like the great emperors before him.

Domitian's rebuilding of the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was not out of necessity, but wanting to connect himself to the triumphal tradition of the temple. Suetonius (*Domitian*, 5) states that Domitian added his name to the temple, but did not include any of the original builders. Plutarch (*Publicola*, 15) describes how expensive and ornate Domitian's restoration was (with obvious distaste), which included pillars of Pentelic marble from Athens, and that it was gilded. Though Plutarch disliked Domitian's taste, we can see from these opulent materials and use of his name that Domitian was quite keen to associate himself with this temple. He wanted to connection to be an obvious one in order to legitimize himself as heir to his father and brother and

⁴²³ Josephus, *BJ*, 4.11.4; Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.70-74.

⁴²⁴ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 43.

⁴²⁵ Josephus, *BJ*, 4.11.4.

the great *triumphators* of the past. According to Darwall-Smith, Domitian knew it would be one of his most important projects, even though it was just a restoration.⁴²⁶

In the end, the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was one of the most significant parts of the Flavian triumphal armature. It had the inherent association with triumph and tradition that new buildings did not have, as well as the links to great leaders, especially Augustus. This building had to be part of every triumph, which was why Vespasian restored it before his triumph in 71 CE. Domitian's rich restoration further points to the temple's importance. It was a fitting culmination of the Flavian triumphal armature.

Conclusions

As we have traveled along the Flavian triumphal armature within the triumphal narrative pathway, we have seen examples of how the Flavians emulated Augustus in order to present themselves as worthy heirs to power. They imitated some physical aspects of his buildings, like the tiered column façade in the Temple of Marcellus and the Colosseum. They also copied building purposes, such as the public museums in the Portico of Octavia and the Temple of Peace. Yet the Flavians also used some Augustan imagery in their buildings. The triumphal processions on the Second Arch of Titus on the Via Sacra recall the triumphal procession on the Temple to Apollo Sosianus. Distinctive images of their triumph, like the treasures from the Temple in Jerusalem, were given prominent places in the Second Arch of Titus and the Temple of Peace—like images of Egypt and Cleopatra permeated the Obelisk in the Circus Maximus and the Temple to Divus Julius.

⁴²⁶ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 110.

It is clear that the Flavians had their own set of distinguishing images on their triumphal armature, but it is clear how they responded to Augustus' triumphal armature and its effectiveness. By copying him, the Flavians hoped to link themselves to him and prove their worth as rulers. Doubtlessly, this creates a powerful armature for the new dynasty; their buildings would forever be associated with the triumphal route narrative pathway and the greatness it brought. By following Augustus' example, the Flavians made sure they would be remembered as bringers of peace, bringers of wealth, and just rulers.

Conclusion: The Triumph of the Dynasties

The spectacular buildings of ancient Rome hold a different kind of splendor today. Instead of marveling at the rich materials and masterful carving, those who look upon these monuments today are usually more impressed by their longevity. The patrons of these buildings would surely be happy that, after almost two thousand years, what survives of their buildings continue to advertise the greatness of their builders. These buildings form connected pathways through Rome, drawing on connections from each other and their placement in the city. Perhaps the most evident pathway is the triumphal route, which even today narrates the supreme importance it had in the city.

We have seen how the triumph was inextricably linked with the foundation of Rome, to its success and prosperity. As long as there were triumphs, Rome was in power. The triumph was also a ceremony awarded to only a select group of men, an honor beyond almost all other honors. To triumph was to celebrate one's greatness for an entire day with the entire city, surely an intoxicating, surreal experience. Men who triumphed usually had power in politics and wealth, and consequently became influential figures in the city. It is clear how powerful an association to the triumph was. As we saw, building monuments along this route was a way to permanently connect oneself to the hallowed ritual, and perhaps keep some of that power permanently. This is clear with the advent of empire and the construction of imperial armatures on the triumphal route.

Augustus and the Flavians faced challenges when they came to power in Rome. The civil wars had drained the city on every level, and their power was not secure. Augustus, the first emperor was so successful in securing his power and gaining the support of the empire that he would become the example, the standard, that most future

emperors would try to follow. As we have seen, one strategy Augustus used to solidify his position was to link himself to the triumph and its associations with victory and power. He changed elements of the ritual that would help whoever held power keep power and avoid usurpers, such as limiting triumphs to members of the imperial family, and awarding far less triumphs. His own forum became the new place for awarding triumphs, and part of his title was even the title of a victorious general. To truly link himself permanently to the triumph, Augustus constructed many buildings on the triumphal route, forming an armature that spoke to his legitimacy as ruler.

Augustus was sure to use symbols and elements that would make his buildings distinct and sure to evoke associations with him and his family. The laurel, the *corona civica*, and images of *pietas* are just some of the images that Augustus implemented in his building program. He also promoted his family, illustrating how all of them were proper examples of Roman behavior, and all fit to rule, as he was. Stability was another theme that the *princeps* advertised in his buildings. Under his rule, Rome would prosper. Symbols of the defeat of his enemies also permeated his monuments, exemplifying his military might as well as serving as a warning to those who would cause trouble.

Upon his death, Augustus left a path of buildings on the triumphal route that advertised his power, military skill, and the greatness of his family. Though buildings are not real ways to gain power, his monuments on the triumphal route helped add legitimacy to his rule. Augustus was forever associated the triumph thanks to his triumphal armature. His successors would continue to build, though their dynasty would not last.

The Flavians, needing to secure their power and legitimize their own family copied this method of Augustus. Drawing from the types of buildings and images that

Augustus used, the Flavians hoped to be just as successful as Augustus in obtaining power and support from the public. Some monuments were almost direct imitators of Augustan buildings or buildings Augustus had restored, like the Colosseum and the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, while others were more innovative, like the Temple of Peace. However, all of them promoted the Flavians. They advertised their victory and Judea and subsequent triumph to evoke respect along their triumphal armature, as we see in the Arch of Titus and the Temple of Peace. Like Augustus, they created family ensembles to legitimize each other and promote their family.

As subsequent triumphs moved along the route through the city, reminders of Augustus and the Flavians would confront the participants and spectators at every turn. As they celebrated, Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian would appear to look on them—examples of the great men who had celebrated triumphs and rose to ultimate power in Rome. Because their buildings were permanent aspects of the route, they were forever linked to one of the most important rituals in Rome. Future emperors would continue to copy this and construct their own armatures on the triumphal route. Trajan and the Antonines are prime examples of other armatures on the route. Though an examination of these triumphal armatures is beyond the scope of this study, it is likely that their buildings continued the dialogue between the monuments of past emperors.

The cityscape of ancient Rome was full of magnificent buildings and pathways, remembrances of the great men who had built them. These pathways formed armatures, fluid paths, which came together to form narrative pathways that told of moments in the city's history, or of distinguished men who had lived there and built there. The triumphal route was perhaps the most important pathway in the city, one that all men hoped to take

someday. Wanting to promote themselves, Augustus and the Flavians created their own armatures along the triumphal route that emphasized their victories and ability to rule. In constructing triumphal armatures on this narrative pathway, they advertised their greatness and were forever linked to the triumph, remembered as good emperors and examples to the Roman people.

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