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**ARCHITECTURAL IMAGES
IN ROMAN STATE RELIEFS, COINS, AND MEDALLIONS:
IMPERIAL RITUAL, IDEOLOGY, AND THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ROME**

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Classical Art and Archaeology)
in The University of Michigan
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Frontispiece. View of the *Anaglypha* in the Forum Romanum (Lanciani 1899, fig. 21). This photograph, taken from the corner of the Argiletum and the Sacra Via, records the sightline to the *Anaglypha* and the Column of Phocas. It also suggests the sightlines from the record burning panel of the *Anaglypha* (on the left) to the Basilica Julia (on the left) and to the Temple of Saturn (on the right). The *suovetaurilia* relief of the *adlocutio* panel is visible on the right.

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For my parents,
William and Patricia Grunow

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Depictions of architecture in the official state reliefs, coins, and medallions of the Roman emperors have much to reveal about how the Romans conceptualized and manipulated the urban environment of the city of Rome for symbolic and ideological purposes. Many architectural images occur in the backgrounds of figural scenes depicting the religious and political rituals of the Roman emperors. The surviving literature of the Romans does not preserve explicit comment on the use of architectural backgrounds in state art; analysis, therefore, depends primarily upon the visual evidence. The majority of images with architectural backgrounds depict locations in Rome itself, and have long held the interest of topographers of the city of Rome because they provide valuable evidence concerning the original appearance of badly damaged and lost structures. But to consider the architectural backgrounds primarily as topographic evidence for the buildings depicted does not do justice to their contribution to the images in which they are represented. In this dissertation, I argue that representations of architecture are vital components of the composition, iconography, and symbolism of the images that include them. I investigate patterns of architectural representation, moving beyond the identification of individual buildings to contextualize architectural backgrounds within compositions, within the goals of imperial imagery, and within the topography of Rome.

The chronological bounds of the material under consideration coincide roughly with the period during which the emperors ruled from Rome.¹ The use of architectural backgrounds in official state reliefs, coins, and medallions developed concurrently with the imperial system, which focused on a single person—the emperor—whose whereabouts, well-being, and dynastic plans were of concern to all. The regular exploitation of the iconographic potential of architectural backgrounds began with the reign of Augustus.² Figural scenes contextualized by architectural backgrounds regularly appear in the official art of the Roman emperors during the first three centuries A.D. Constantine was the final emperor whose relief and numismatic images depicted him at specific locations in Rome. A few fourth-century contorniates and the intentional redisplay of earlier relief sculptures demonstrate the continuing relevance of this imperial imagery in late antique Rome. This study, however, ends with these late antique examples and does not trace the transformation of architectural backgrounds in Christian contexts.³

¹To assemble the corpus of material discussed here, I conducted a general survey of the literature, including previous studies of architectural representation, topographic dictionaries, and catalogs of coins, medallions, sculptures, and museum collections, and searched through the photograph archives of the Fototeca Unione and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome. Nevertheless, I do not claim to have identified every surviving image with an architectural background, nor do I attempt to discuss every relief, medallion, and coin that I found. Some are too fragmentary for useful analysis. Others cannot be dated securely, and so they cannot be contextualized. For example, I do not discuss the Mattei temple-sacrifice relief in the Louvre (Koeppel 1983, 140-1) and the temple-sacrifice relief in the Uffizi (Koeppel 1985, 167-9) both because they have undergone such extensive alterations that I do not believe that they can be reliably dated and because their architectural backgrounds, while distinctive, cannot be identified at this time.

²Depictions of architecture and the contextualization of figural scenes by architecture certainly predate the Roman imperial system, but only under the Roman emperors is such representation used regularly. Very few figural scenes contextualized by architectural backgrounds identifiable with specific locations in the city of Rome survive from the Republic. The two Republican outliers have unusual iconography as well. They are a coin of P. Licinius Nerva, depicting voting either at the Comitium or the Saepta (Crawford 1974, 1: 306, n. 292; Hill 1989, 42 fig. 62), and a coin of Marcellinus, depicting Marcellus dedicating the *spolia opima* at the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius (Crawford 1974, 1: 460, n. 439/1; Hill 1989, 27 fig. 34). Also see Fuchs (1969) and Trell (1972) for examples of Republican *architectura numismatica* without figures.

³Several studies have explored late antique and medieval architectural representation. The links to actual topography become less important and the meanings attached to architectural representation change

History of Scholarship on Roman Architectural Representation

Most of the objects discussed in this study are familiar and have accumulated an extensive bibliography. Aside from the obvious task of identifying the buildings represented, however, little of this literature directly addresses the implications of the Roman practice of depicting the architectural contexts of state ritual. Many catalogs, from Francesco Gnechi's *I Medaglioni Romani* (1912), to the essential reference work, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* (1923–), to Gerhard Koeppel's more recent series of articles covering "Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit" (1983-92), include images with architectural representations by default. The main goal of a catalog entry, whether part of a comprehensive survey of a museum's holdings or published individually to document a particular object, is to classify the object, determine its date, and decipher its iconography. In this process, authors commonly propose new identifications or repeat previous ones for any architectural backgrounds. Generally, catalog discussions of particular reliefs tend to include more detailed consideration of architectural backgrounds than do catalog discussions of individual numismatic types. Catalogs are useful both for identifying images relevant to this study and for situating those images in the wider context of other Roman art in the same media. Most of the citations in the bibliography can be characterized as catalogs or as books and articles that provide mainly catalog information.

In *Architectura Numismatica* (1859), the first monographic treatment of architectural representations, T. L. Donaldson clearly articulated his opinion of architectural backgrounds:

dramatically. See Egger (1959); Lampl (1960-1); Mansuelli (1972); Mann (1974-5); Billig (1977); and Wikander (1989).

“Very frequently medals have crowded groups of figures mixed up with buildings, as in the allocutions and sacrifices of the emperors, many of which occur in front of a temple. But in the following series care has been taken to avoid any examples of such a mixed character, unless the building be greatly predominant, and shows some marked feature.”⁴

Donaldson’s bias against images that were not purely architectural has not disappeared.

More recent studies of *architectura numismatica* either entirely eschew images with figural scenes, or limit their discussion of any figural scenes to an identification of iconographic type. The reason for this bias, however, lies in the single goal of most of these studies: deducing information about the architecture of the buildings depicted. For Donaldson and many others, architectural representations are merely raw data about other monuments, and figural scenes only hide critical details of the architecture.

Nearly a century later, in his 1941 dissertation entitled “Architectura Numismatica. Part 1. The Temples of Rome,” Donald Brown assembled an invaluable list of more than two thousand coins arranged by building represented, numismatic type, and within each type, die variant. Brown concentrated on those coins and medallions representing specific buildings in Rome. Again, a concern with underlying structures emerges as the paramount factor in both the conception and the organization of the work. While Brown did include numismatic types with figural scenes in his corpus, he limited his analysis of the figural scenes to noting that they depicted religious and political events.⁵ The titles and organization of other numismatic studies focusing on architectural representation—*Bauten Roms auf Münzen und Medaillen. Ausstellungskatalog* (A.A.V.V. 1973), *Coins and Their Cities: Architecture on the Ancient Coins of Greece, Rome, and*

⁴Donaldson 1959: xvi-xvii.

⁵Brown (1940, 12-3). The analytical introductory chapter of Brown’s dissertation was published in its entirety by the American Numismatic Society as *Temples of Rome as Coin Types* (1940). Where possible I cite Brown’s conclusions from this publication, as it is more accessible.

Palestine (Price and Trell 1977), *The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types* (Hill 1989), and *Monumental Coins: Buildings and Structures on Ancient Coinage* (Tameanko 1999)—reveal a nearly exclusive interest in interpreting architectural representations as primary evidence for ancient structures.

Continuing the pattern seen in numismatics, studies of relief sculptures that focus on architectural representations largely ignore the figural scenes. In his two-part study, *Indagini sui frontoni dei templi di Roma*, A. M. Colini attempted to gather all the evidence for the early development of Roman pediments (1923) and for the appearance of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (1925). Peter Hommel (1954) continued Colini's work with his *Studien zu den römischen Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit*, cataloging all relief representations of pediments except for those of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which Colini had already analyzed. Hommel's catalog is still cited as one of the major studies of architectural representation in relief, although it lacks both an explicit interpretative framework and synthetic conclusions. The most recent study of relief representations of architecture, Josef Maier's (1985) *Architektur im römischen Relief*, also focuses on the underlying architecture, not the images themselves. His concern with the *Realitätstreue* of the images drives the organization of the whole work.⁶ Maier, like Hommel and Colini, says very little about the figural scenes present on nearly every relief.

Studies that consider a group of images iconographically or a single object holistically usually treat architectural backgrounds as just another symbol to be deciphered. They rarely comment more generally on the role of architectural backgrounds in contextualizing figural scenes. The few explicit syntheses are quite short and much subordinated to the authors' main concerns. For example, even though twenty-eight

⁶Schmidt-Colinet (1987) published a harsh review, criticizing Maier's method and selection of material, among other things.

percent of the images in Inez Scott Ryberg's *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (1955) feature architectural backgrounds,⁷ her perceptive observations on architectural backgrounds are confined to a few pages scattered throughout her book.⁸ Still, Ryberg is one of three scholars to have mused on the chronology and purpose of architectural backgrounds per se.⁹ In his study of a relief from Anzio, Stephano Tortorella provides a brief overview of the use of architectural backgrounds.¹⁰ Ann Kuttner, in her book *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (1995), has published the most extensive synthesis of the role of temples in the narrative structure of individual compositions to date.¹¹

In addition, several recent articles on architectural imagery without figural scenes advance the study of architectural representation by asking questions about the audience and the purpose of the images. Andrew Burnett's "Buildings and Monuments on Roman Coins" (1999) and Paul Zanker's "In Search of the Roman Viewer" (1997) both move beyond treating representations as mere evidence for lost buildings. Although each approaches the subject in a different way, they both emphasize that the images "are interpretations, rather than reproductions, of buildings....it may be thought that information about such contemporary perceptions is actually at least as interesting as the actual appearance of the buildings."¹² Lothar Haselberger's "Architectural Likenesses:

⁷Seventy-two out of two hundred and sixty images (28%) have architectural backgrounds.

⁸This can best be illustrated by presenting the relevant entry from Ryberg's index (1955, 225): "Temple, façade, on Ara Pietatis 69f., 75; as background for sacrificial scene 94f., 130-33, 159, on coins 94 f., 186-9, value of 200; with reduced number of columns 71 n., 131 n.; in three quarters view 173, 176, 184, 186; small, in background 41, 75, 143."

⁹Ryberg 1955, 186-9, 200-1.

¹⁰Tortorella 1988b, 42-3.

¹¹Kuttner 1995, 127-31, 234-5 n. 57.

¹²Burnett 1999, 152.

Models and Plans of Architecture in Classical Antiquity” (1997) provides an overview of the entire range of architectural representations made in antiquity, and sets them within the context of Platonic philosophy. A sensitivity to audience response characterizes all three of these recent studies, and I have found them to be particularly helpful in framing my approach to the images with architectural backgrounds.

Studying Relief Sculptures together with Coins and Medallions

This review of previous scholarship reveals a general division between studies of relief sculptures and studies of coins and medallions. Most studies of iconography or of architectural representation focus on one medium with a token acknowledgment of the striking similarity of images in the other medium. For example, Hommel’s *Studien zu den römischen Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit* cites—but does not illustrate—coin and medallion representations as comparanda for the reliefs he discusses. Inez Scott Ryberg’s *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (1955) primarily discusses relief sculpture, with a single short chapter given to numismatic imagery. Similarly, Hill’s *The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types* (1989) supplements the numismatic illustrations of Rome’s buildings with a few relevant relief images.

The division between numismatic and sculptural studies of iconography and architectural representation is partly a matter of disciplinary separation and partly a matter of real—and perceived—differences between the media. In this dissertation, I aim to balance the use of evidence from both media to present a more complex history of the use of architectural backgrounds. While key aspects of relief sculptures, coins, and medallions, such as medium, size, audience, and numbers produced are all very different, the compositions, iconographies, and messages found in these media are much more similar than the chasm in the literature might suggest.

All of these images can be characterized as state art. They depict the important ritual actions of the emperor. Yet, such basic questions as the extent to which emperors

personally asserted artistic control over the monuments and coinage produced during their reign—and how such control might have changed over time—remain unanswerable.¹³ The most attractive solution to this problem argues that even when the emperor did not have any direct say in the design process, the persons responsible (whether senators, members of the emperor's staff, or the artists themselves) took care to create imagery that would flatter him.¹⁴

A key point of difference lay in the audience for each medium. There are no easy measures of ancient audience response to monuments,¹⁵ but display context and access were surely significant. Reliefs were large-scale objects on permanent display in public settings; any passerby could view them. Coins, portable by design, traveled across the empire, and would have been used and seen by those Romans participating in the cash economy. Medallions were distributed by the emperor to a select audience on an annual basis, and occasionally in response to special events such as imperial weddings.¹⁶ Patterns in the use of these media reflect length of reign rather than any consistently

¹³The majority of reliefs have become dissociated from any inscriptions that may have once named their patrons and purpose, but it is clear that some reliefs were directly sponsored by the emperor; others were erected by the senate and people of Rome to honor the emperor. For example, the Column Base of Antoninus Pius preserves an inscription declaring that Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus erected it (*CIL* 6.1004; illustrated by Vogel 1973, fig. 18). The inscription of the Arch of Titus indicates that it was set up by the senate and people of Rome in honor of the deified Titus (*CIL* 6.945).

¹⁴The issues of patronage and artistic control in Roman imperial art are quite complex. The literature on the topic is extensive. Perspectives on the issue of the patronage of state relief that I have found particularly useful include those of Geertz (1983); Leander Touati (1987); Zanker (1988); Kleiner (1992); Gregory (1994); and Davies (2000, 1-11). For the numismatists' approach to this issue, see Crawford (1983); Ehrhardt (1984); Crump (1985); Burnett (1987); Lo Cascio (1996); and Paul and Ierardi (1999). The same type of negotiation and creation of consensus about the public image of the emperor can be found in the practice of panegyric. See MacCormack (1981).

¹⁵Aside from comments in ancient authors, graffiti, and copying—none of which survive for the material under consideration, and none of which are without difficulty in interpretation.

¹⁶Vermeule (1957, 117): "In a sense some medallion designs are more truly official than major marble reliefs, since they were manufactured for court presentation not for permanent public display." Also see Clay (1976) and Toynbee (1986) for the occasions of medallion distribution.

detectable strategy of favoring one medium over another to reach a particular audience. Generally, emperors with long reigns have both relief sculptures and numismatic types, and emperors with short reigns have only numismatic types. Moreover, nearly all the coins and medallions were minted (and probably distributed) in Rome, and nearly all the reliefs were created and displayed in Rome as well. Elite audiences would have had preferential access to the numismatic images and would be more likely to have acquired the knowledge base for interpreting all the images, including the publicly displayed relief sculptures. The extent to which non-elites would have seen and understood these images can only be guessed.

The differences among the media particularly affected the durability of these images. Coins and medallions usually survive relatively intact and in multiple examples.¹⁷ In contrast, many reliefs are badly damaged and their compositions are incomplete. Coins and medallions usually pair a figural scene on the reverse with a portrait of the emperor on the obverse. Legends giving the emperor's titulature allow most coins and medallions to be dated to a single year. On many reliefs, however, the imperial portrait has sustained significant damage, if it survives at all; such reliefs can be very difficult to assign to a

¹⁷The existence of multiple examples of a numismatic type brings with it the problems of variation in representation between dies, and variation in the condition of individual specimens. I have consulted images, and where possible the actual specimens, of as many examples of each type as possible. In this I was aided by the useful catalog of Brown (1941), who attempted to assemble a corpus of all numismatic representations of temples in Rome, listed by individual specimen. But as my goal is to understand the iconography of figural scenes with architectural backgrounds, I have limited my comments on variations between specimens of a single numismatic type to those that affect its iconography. The methodology used by Kleiner (1985) to study variant representations of the Arch of Nero in Rome might be applicable to certain common types, like the Divus Augustus *sestertii* of Caligula, for which Brown (1941, 12-5) identified fifty-one examples. Many of the types discussed in this study, however, are quite rare, with fewer than ten known examples. For an overview of numismatic methodology and its limits, see Metcalf (1999).

specific reign, especially if previous restorations have removed or obscured the original tool marks and other datable stylistic characteristics.¹⁸

The most immediately noticeable difference among the media, however, is their disparate size. Yet the relatively small scale of coins and medallions did not prevent Roman die-engravers from creating some compositions as complex as those found on relief sculpture. The most complex numismatic compositions—such as the sacrifice scenes found on a medallion of Commodus (fig. 65) and an *as* of Septimius Severus (fig. 77)—included as many as nine participants in the figural scene (not counting the victim) and a hexastyle temple in the background decorated with pedimental and acroterial sculpture.¹⁹ By way of comparison, the relief panel of Marcus Aurelius that depicts the emperor sacrificing at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus also features nine figures (fig. 61a). On close observation, the reliefs certainly present more details than the coins and medallions ever could. Yet the amount of detail that can be discerned by the naked eye is approximately the same whether one scrutinizes a relief mounted high on a triumphal arch or a coin held in the hand. The greatest difference between them lies in the context and experience of viewing, not the artistic intent or level of detail. At a fundamental level, both media can be characterized as consisting of relatively shallow three-dimensional modeling that projects from a more-or-less two-dimensional surface, that is, work in relief. Coins and medallions, therefore, are essentially small portable reliefs struck in metal.

¹⁸Conlin (1997), in her case study of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, provides an overview of the methodology of studying tool marks as well as a summary of restoration techniques used on relief sculptures since the Renaissance.

¹⁹The illustrations are arranged chronologically.

Nevertheless, images in one medium do not seem to have been copied directly from the other.²⁰ Even when two images depict the same number of figures performing the same type of action before very similar temples, the details of individual figures and their arrangement differ considerably. With the exception of multiple examples of the same numismatic reverse, no two images in this corpus are identical. Even in the temple-sacrifice reverses of Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Septimius Severus (figs. 55, 64-6, 77), which may reflect the copying of numismatic designs, the number of figures changes each time the design is reissued. Chronology also suggests that relief sculptures did not directly inspire coin or medallion images with architectural backgrounds.²¹ No surviving coin or medallion in this corpus can be linked to the same event as any surviving relief sculpture. Coins and medallions seem to have been designed independently of contemporary relief sculpture, even when they depicted similar events during the reign of a single emperor. Despite a rather repetitious set of iconographic types, the surviving images reflect diverse messages and fresh designs.

But despite all the significant differences between these media, their undeniable similarities—as reliefs, as products of the Roman government, as bearers of the same iconographic types—demand a study that considers them together. It seems likely that the Romans would have interpreted the coins and medallions in light of the relief

²⁰The possibility that coin and medallion designs originated as copies of relief sculptures was hotly debated during the 1950s. For summaries of the debate, see Vermeule (1952; 1953; 1957); for the suggestion that certain temple-sacrifice coin types are copies of otherwise lost relief sculptures, see Ryberg (1955, 174-9) and Fuchs (1969, 111). Hammond (1953, 129 n. 7) noted that while familiar sculptural types and temples certainly provided material for coin types, relief sculptures cannot be shown to have been prototypes for numismatic types. Also see Levi (1952) and Toynbee (1956; 1986, 218-20). More recent theoretical views have emphasized the common cultural ideas and expectations that lead to visual similarities without involving ‘copying’ per se. See, for instance, the work of Hölscher (1987) and Fullerton (1997). Note, too, the recent direction in the study of copies that emphasizes the study of individual examples on their own terms, not for what they can reveal about an underlying prototype, e.g. the volume of papers edited by Gazda (in press).

²¹See chapters 3 and 4.

sculptures they had seen, and vice versa. Likewise, the two sets of artists surely did not operate in a vacuum: both had the opportunity to be aware of the other's designs and motifs, as well as those rendered in more ephemeral media. Neither medium alone presents more than a very partial picture of the strategies behind the use of architectural backgrounds. I do not mean to imply that the coins and medallions can help 'fill in' what is missing from individual reliefs. Minor differences in conventions of representation in each medium prevent that.²² The obvious gaps in the material record caution that a comprehensive account of the use of architectural backgrounds is impossible. By studying the iconography of architectural backgrounds on relief sculpture together with coins and medallions, however, it may be possible to generate a more nuanced survey of this complex phenomenon.

Overview of Chapters

Four chapters present the core of my argument. In chapter 2, I develop a methodology for identifying and interpreting architectural images as representations of specific buildings. Chapter 3 considers, through the investigation of a particular iconographic type—the emperor sacrificing before a temple—how the location of an event is an essential ingredient of the event's iconography, and how even the presence of an unrecognizable architectural background can take on iconographic significance. Chapter 4 explores how memories and expectations of the emperor's actions in specific places, primarily Rome, are created by the depiction of the emperor amidst recognizable architectural backgrounds. Here, I emphasize the privileged status of the city of Rome as the site and object of the majority of these visual discourses on the emperor's roles.

²²See chapter 2.

Chapter 5 seeks to place the relief sculptures back in their topographic contexts. I argue that many reliefs were placed to create sightlines to the buildings represented. These sightlines aided in the recognition of building images. More importantly, they created immediate visual connections between the location of the monument and the location of the action depicted upon it. These links suggest an interest in influencing the viewer's experience of the place where the relief was located, as well as the viewer's perception of the location depicted. To describe this additional layer of topographic perception and thinking, which hints at a whole network of such connections, I have coined the term "metatopography."²³ Despite the fact that many of the reliefs, coins, and medallions with architectural backgrounds have been the subjects of extensive research and publication, this study seeks to fill a significant gap in the scholarship.

²³See chapter 5 for further discussion of and justification for this new term.

CHAPTER II

REPRESENTATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND BUILDING IDENTITIES

The Importance of Identification

Antiquarian interest in the identities of buildings depicted on coins and medallions can be documented as early as the late fifteenth century.¹ To this day discussion of reliefs, coins, and medallions usually includes consideration of the identity of any buildings depicted.² Many of these studies use similar methods to establish or argue for particular identifications. No previous study, however, lays out an explicit methodology for identifying architectural images with the specific ancient buildings they represent.

Much of the argument of this study depends on determining the identities of the buildings represented on these coins, medallions, and reliefs. Analyses of the significance of sacrifice scenes (chapter 3), of the locations of the emperor's actions (chapter 4), and of the metatopographic connections created by the relief sculptures (chapter 5) all depend upon accurate and convincing identification of the buildings represented. Because the process of identifying buildings has not been clearly defined by any previous scholar,

¹On 15th-century numismatic studies: Weiss (1969, 167-78); Panvini Rosati (1987, 61).

²The major studies of *architectura numismatica*, Donaldson (1859, rpt. 1965); Brown (1940; 1941); Fuchs (1969); K  thmann and Overbeck (1973); Price and Trel   (1977); and Hill (1989) all focus on the identification of buildings. The only systematic studies of relief representations of buildings (Colini 1923; 1925; Hommel 1954; and Maier 1985) concentrate on identification of temple images. Continuing interest in the identity of building images on reliefs, coins, and medallions is evident from the work of Kuttner (1995); La Rocca (1992a; 1994a; 1994b); Liljenstolpe (1996); Paris (1994); Polito (1994); Rehak (1990; 2001); and Tortorella (1988b).

however, and because the identities of many of the architectural representations in this corpus have been contested, establishing a methodology for determining the identity of buildings is therefore fundamental to this study.

In this chapter, I argue for the bases upon which identifications can and should be made. To do so, I evaluate the relative values of six categories of evidence for identifying buildings:

1. identifying legends
2. distinctive architectural features
3. sculptural iconography
4. juxtaposition with identifiable structures
5. scene type and participants, and
6. sightlines from relief representations to the structures represented.

None of these categories represent a new type of evidence. Organizing the evidence in this way, however, makes it easier to compare the means of identifying various images. It helps explain why images of a single building can look so different from each other. It also highlights the few but significant differences between numismatic and sculptural representations. Moreover, it suggests something of the decision-making process faced by the artists who created these representations.

Roman architectural representations reflect a wide variety of artistic options. Instead of following a single set of conventions for depicting buildings, the artists made choices in relation to the goals of the image as a whole. As I will show, different representations of a single building can preserve diverse, even seemingly contradictory views, while a single image can represent some buildings carefully yet distort others. In fact, different images of the same structure can vary so much that some scholars have resorted to suggesting intervening building reconstructions to explain the changes.³ Only

³See, for example, Brown (1940; 1941).

rarely, however, should this variability be attributed to different building phases or redecorations.⁴ Rather, because architectural images can be made recognizable as specific buildings from as little as one or two identifying features, artists were only loosely bound to structural realities.

From the point of view of modern scholars, images that include features that fall into at least four of these six categories tend to be easily identified. Those images for which only one or two recognizable features survive are often difficult, if not impossible, to identify. Especially in cases where the exact identity of a building is disputed, this methodology can aid in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments supporting each identification. Although it is very difficult to determine the reaction of ancient viewers, I believe that this methodology can be used to assess the extent to which artists felt it necessary to include redundant identifying evidence for the viewing audience. The more detail that the artists included, the more certain we can be that the proper interpretation of the architectural image is essential to understanding the composition as a whole.

Identifying Legends

A written label can identify a building definitively. Thus, this category of evidence provides some key identifications from which the assessment of other categories of evidence can proceed. Such written labels are, however, confined to numismatic images of buildings, and these are relatively few in number.⁵ None of the surviving state reliefs bear identifying inscriptions.⁶

⁴Criticism of the practice of hypothesizing the renovation of buildings from coin types alone can be found in Stokstad (1954); Trell (1972); and Drew-Bear (1974).

⁵The numismatic types with legends identifying the temples are as follows:
 -Caligula, "DIVO AVG" (Temple of Divus Augustus) (figs. 7a-b).
 -Julia Domna, "VESTA" and "VESTA MATER" series (*aedes Vestae*) (figs. 69-70).

The architectural representations on the few coins and medallions with legends labeling the building also have, fortunately, additional specific features that confirm their identities. For the ancient artists, such redundancy ensured recognition; for modern scholars, such redundancy helps to demonstrate the relevance of other categories of specific evidence. Two examples illustrate this point. On the bilingual medallion of Gordianus III (fig. 89a),⁷ the Latin legend, “VICTORIA AVG” is amplified by the Greek legend “NEIKE ΟΠΛΟΦΟΡΟΣ” (Victory wearing armor) that labels the pediment and architrave of the temple.⁸ The cult statue depicted within the temple, a winged female in a cuirass, supplies a concrete image of these legends: Victory, wearing armor (fig. 89b).⁹

-Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea, “ROMAE AETERNAE” series (Temple of Venus and Roma) (figs. 86b-7).

-Severus Alexander and Orbiana, “CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM” (Temple of Concordia) (fig. 88).

-Gordian III, “VICTORIA AVG/NEIKE ΟΠΛΟΦΟΡΟΣ” (Temple of Nike Hoplophoros) (fig. 89a).

-Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus, “FORTVNAE REDVCI” (Temple of Fortuna Redux) (figs. 91a-c).

-Tetrarchy, “ROMAE AETERNAE” (Temple of Venus and Roma) (fig. 96).

-Contorniates of Trajan and Hadrian, “VRBS ROMAE AETERNAE” (Temple of Venus and Roma) (fig. 106).

Although all the numismatic types with legends identifying the building are sacrifice types, there is no consistent pattern for those types lacking identifying legends. Some coins and medallions lack reverse legends. Other issues carry legends but these either identify the event, e.g., Marcus Aurelius’s “VOTA PUBLICA” (sacrifice before a hexastyle temple, fig. 64); express a positive sentiment, e.g., the Tetrarchic “TEMPORVM FELICITAS” (sacrifice before an unknown temple, figs. 94-5); or give the emperor’s titulature, e.g., Hadrian’s “COS III” (*adlocutio* at the Temple of Divus Iulius, fig. 45).

⁶Only one of the state reliefs, the Trajanic *Extispicium* relief (fig. 25a), bears an inscription; it is an artist’s signature (Koeppel 1985, 205). Leander Touati has also commented on the general absence in state relief of descriptive epigraphy (1987, 27). The only example of a relief with inscriptions identifying buildings that has come to my attention is from the Tomb of the Haterii (fig. 21); of five buildings depicted, only two (both arches) are labeled. Even so, all proposed identifications for the *arcus in Sacra via summa* are problematic. It seems clear that the difficulties encountered in interpreting this relief are entirely due to the disappearance of all the depicted buildings—except for the Flavian amphitheater—from the landscape of Rome. See Bodel (1999); Kleiner (1989, 197); Sinn and Freyberger (1996); De Maria (1988, 72, 288); Castagnoli (1941, 59-69).

⁷As this chapter’s discussion is not arranged chronologically, the references to images are necessarily out of order. I beg the reader’s patience with this inconvenience.

⁸Gnecchi 1912, 2: 92-3, n. 49-53, pl. 106.3-4; Hölscher 1967, 134-5; Dressel 1973, 225-30, pl. 16.5.

⁹Hölscher (1967, 135) notes that no other surviving representations of Victory wear armor.

Although this temple is otherwise unknown, the repetition of the dedication to Victory in three languages—Latin, Greek, and Roman visual imagery—emphasizes its identity. On a silver medallion of Julia Domna (fig. 69), legend and iconography work together as well. The medallion bears the legend “VESTA MATER” and depicts six women sacrificing at a round temple.¹⁰ The round *aedes Vestae* has been excavated and literary evidence confirms that there were six Vestal Virgins; together with the legend “VESTA MATER,” the identification of the temple as the *aedes Vestae* is incontrovertible.¹¹

These two examples of the interplay of identifying legends and iconography suggest several patterns that are confirmed by other coin and medallion reverses. Only temples in the background of sacrifice scenes are identified by legends. The legends refer simultaneously to the deity and the temple in which the deity is housed. Moreover, the identity of each temple identified with such a legend is corroborated by additional evidence, primarily the architectural form or sculptural iconography of the temple.

Formal Elements: Architectural Features and Sculptural Iconography

The formal elements of building representations—that is, the architectural details and sculptural iconography—have always been of particular interest to topographers. Many studies treat architectural representations solely as primary source material for lost and heavily damaged buildings—indeed, even as substitutes, however inadequate, for photographs of the buildings in their prime.¹² Because images of buildings often include specific elements that identify them, it has been assumed that these images also provide at

¹⁰Gnecchi 1912, 1: 45 n. 2, pl. 22.4.

¹¹*LTUR* 5: 125-8 s.v. Vesta, aedes (R. T. Scott); Cicero, *De legibus*, 2, 12, 29.

¹²For example, the major illustrated topographic dictionaries of Rome (Nash 1968 and *LTUR*) use reliefs, coins, and medallions for images of building facades.

least some accurate information about the original appearance of the structures depicted. Accordingly, scholars who study relief and numismatic images of buildings have attempted to pinpoint those features of the building images that can be relied upon as evidence for structural details.¹³ I would argue, however, that the two notions of specificity and accuracy need to be disentangled: images can be specific (i.e., recognizable) without being accurate as a documentary record of the original structure. Norman Freeman, in writing about drawings made by children, formulates a crucial distinction:

“...crude ‘photographic realism’ criteria fail to capture a fundamental fact about pictorial instruments of representation whereby observers seem to know that there is a crucial difference between merely not drawing a nose and positively depicting someone as noseless.”¹⁴

His statement can be reworded to fit the most frequently emphasized concerns about Roman architectural images. There is a difference between merely not representing all the columns of a temple and positively depicting a temple as hexastyle. There is also a difference between merely not including the pedimental and acroterial sculpture and positively depicting an empty pediment. I will outline these crucial differences by focusing on those elements of specificity that lead to the recognition of buildings.

Distinctive Architectural Features

In pictorial imagery of buildings, architectural features primarily fall into two categories: those that distinguish one building type from another, and those that identify a particular building. The important variations in architectural form (long, low rectangle, versus high, tall rectangle, colonnade versus arcade, the presence or absence of a pediment,

¹³Note especially the study of reliefs by Maier (1985), reviewed by Schmidt-Colinet (1987). Bluma Trell, one of the most prolific scholars of *architectura numismatica*, concluded that coin types often sacrifice “strict reality” to bring out “important and hidden details” (1976, 10). Also see Haselberger’s study (1997) of ancient construction plans, a very different type of architectural representation.

¹⁴Freeman 1993, 113.

etc.) only signal a building type. Generally speaking, they do not identify specific buildings. For example, honorific arches are characterized by an arched passageway through a roughly rectangular structure; this general architectural form can be particularized by the number and arrangement of openings, producing recognizable subtypes such as single bay, triple bay, and quadrifrons arches.¹⁵

Temple facades have a canonical shape: a series of columns capped by a pedimental triangle. So many relief and numismatic representations of temple facades share common characteristics that the following elements can be considered normative: four or six fluted Corinthian columns on one of the narrow ends of the temple; a high podium accessed by a central flight of stairs; one cella door set on the central axis of the temple; and a triangular gable often—but not always—filled with sculpture and topped with acroteria.¹⁶ Such common features are practically useless as clues to a temple's identity. Rather, these commonalities, by indicating the essential features of normal temples, provide a template for recognizing unusual architectural features in temples, such as the Temple of Concordia (transverse cella), the *aedes Vestae* (round cella), and the

¹⁵Interestingly, the only arch identifiably depicted in relief or coinage is the quadrifrons Arch of Domitian that was topped by elephant quadriga. For the arch itself, see below p. 41 n. 67, and De Maria (1988, 289-91), with bibliography. The arch is depicted without a figural scene in *sestertii* of Domitian. Kleiner (1989, 197) cautions that some *sestertii* depicting the arch are modern forgeries, but Flower (2001, 641 n. 100, fig. 17) argues for their authenticity. The same arch is depicted on two reliefs of Marcus Aurelius (figs. 57a-b, 60a) and a medallion of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 56). It is also shown on the small triumph frieze on the Arch of Constantine (fig. 102). See L'Orange and Von Gerkan (1939, 74, 79, pl. 18d). For the symbolism of elephants in the Roman world, see Kellum (1990, 283-7).

¹⁶Fuchs (1969, 64-70) noted these artistic conventions for representations of temples in Roman republican coinage without figural scenes. Drew-Bear (1974, 32) noted similar artistic conventions in the Roman provincial coinage, of a frontal tetrastyle temple with cult statue and without pedimental decoration: "This simplified and standardized tetrastyle occurs on great numbers of coins issued throughout the Greek East; used conventionally to depict any sort of temple, it is by far the most common type among all the numismatic representations of architecture." Common variations that Drew-Bear notes, such as spiral fluted columns and an arched lintel, are limited to the Greek East.

Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (three cella doors). Even these exceptions, however, must be treated with caution, as these architectural forms were rare but not unique.¹⁷

The limited range of column styles used by Roman architects does not offer much leeway for distinguishing individual temples. The Corinthian order was used frequently both in actual structures and in representations of structures.¹⁸ The Ionic order was used often enough that it cannot be considered exceptional. The Doric/Tuscan order, however, can be considered rare: only one such temple representation survives (fig. 19).¹⁹ Moreover, on many numismatic representations the column style is indistinct. Thus, while the column style on a structure and the column style of a representation should match, in and of itself column style may be considered supporting evidence rather than a primary justification for identification.²⁰

¹⁷For example, the debate over whether Augustus built a second shrine of Vesta on the Palatine affects the interpretation of Augustan representations of Vestals in front of a round temple (figs. 2, 5). The images, unfortunately, are ambiguous and do not resolve this problem. See the discussion of juxtaposition starting on p. 40.

¹⁸Wilson Jones (2000, 135) speculates that “two-thirds or more of all imperial columns are Corinthian or variants on this theme, Composite included.” Wilson Jones also emphasizes the fluidity of the orders, which were much more flexibly mixed and altered than the Renaissance codification of the canonical orders (Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite) implies (2000, 109-13). In my corpus of architectural representations, Corinthian style columns are most frequently depicted (slightly more than half the temple representations).

¹⁹The representation of the Temple of Quirinus from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (discussed further in chapters 3 and 5). Note that the presence of Doric/Tuscan columns alone is inadequate to identify this temple without the additional evidence of the pedimental iconography.

²⁰Little evidence supports assertions that the column style represented on an image of a building could be different from the structure itself. The only possible candidate for a change of order comes from the representation of the Temple of Venus at Ancona on the Column of Trajan (fig. 33). It is shown as an Ionic tetrastyle, but excavations show it to be hexastyle and the column capitals associated with the temple are Corinthian/Composite. Bacchielli (1985, 136) argues that the temple may have originally been Ionic, as depicted on the Column of Trajan, and that the discrepancy between the image and the excavated remains of the building resulted from a rebuilding, not artistic liberty. A mismatch between depicted order and actual order has been proposed in two other cases; in both, temples are represented as Ionic rather than Corinthian/Composite. Some scholars have argued that the Ionic tetrastyle temple depicted in the triumph scene on the Tiberius cup from Boscoreale (fig. 6) and the Ionic distyle temple depicted on the small triumph frieze of the Arch of Trajan at Benevento (fig. 32a-b) should be identified with the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which was Corinthian and hexastyle. For the Boscoreale cup, see

Similarly, the size of a temple's facade (two, four, six, eight, or ten columns) presents only five distinct options. Considering the large number of temples in Rome—Augustus himself restored more than eighty—it seems clear that careful depiction of the number of columns in itself did little to help distinguish individual temples from one another.²¹ Logically, it seems that temple images with large numbers of columns are more likely to be relatively accurate representations of the original building. Of the reliefs in my corpus, only one temple is represented as octastyle (the Temple of Mars Ultor, which was actually octastyle, fig. 8), and only one temple is represented as decastyle (on the Vatican-Terme relief; the identity of that temple is still disputed, fig. 23a-b). That only two relief images representing more than six columns survive suggests the relative rarity both of such large temples and of careful representations of them. Even so, the number of columns is not an reliable clue to the identity of even large octastyle and decastyle temples—there were too many of them.

Some temple images are depicted with fewer than the actual number of columns.²² The variation between representation and reality can be quite striking. On various coins (most without figural scenes), the decastyle Temple of Venus and Roma is depicted with

most recently Kuttner (1995, 127-31); for the Benevento arch, see Turcan (1988, 27, fig. 53). Muscettola (1992, 2-6) challenges both identifications and suggests alternatives along the triumphal route in Rome. See below, p. 42 n. 68 and pp. 48-9 n. 82, for a discussion of the triumph scene type common to both these images.

²¹ *Res Gestae* 20.4.

²² Numismatists have repeatedly noted inconsistencies in column counts: see Gagé (1938, 181-2), on the medallions of Philip and family, quoting W. Froehner; Brown (1940, 1941); Stokstad (1954); Drew-Bear (1974, 27-9); Trell (1972; 1976); and Panvini Rosati (1987, 62). Some of the well-known numismatic and relief representations with the 'wrong' number of columns are:

- 4 instead of 6, for the Temple of Venus at Ancona (Column of Trajan, scene 79, fig. 33; see Bacchielli 1985)
- 5 instead of 8, for the Temple of Castor and Pollux (*Anaglypha: adlocutio*, fig. 37)
- 4 instead of 6, for the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Marcus Aurelius sacrifice panel, fig. 61a)
- 4 or 6, actual number unknown, for the Temple of Fortuna Redux (Marcus Aurelius *adventus* panel, fig. 60a; medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus, figs. 91a-c).

two, four, six, eight, or ten columns.²³ On the *Anaglypha*, the octastyle Temple of Castor and Pollux is depicted with only five facade columns (fig. 37). The exact number of columns seems therefore to have been relatively unimportant to the artists and their audience.

While the exact column count could serve as a general gauge of a temple's size, and was certainly of interest to architects, it seems clear that, for artists, the mere existence of columns on a building's facade was much more important than their actual number. Modern research into the ways that the human brain handles visual information provides us with another way to think about this issue. Studies have determined that a relatively slow brain process is involved in counting more than four objects.²⁴ In other words, a viewer must deliberately decide to count the columns to determine whether a temple or its image is hexastyle, octastyle, or decastyle. Given that the number of columns was not a particularly helpful clue to a temple's identity, it seems reasonable that other identifying features were preferred by both artists and viewers. The number of columns represented should not, therefore, be given any interpretative weight beyond confirming that particular care was taken by artists when the represented number of columns matches that on the actual structure.²⁵

²³Gagé 1938; Bayet 1993.

²⁴Studies of the brain mechanics involved in perception and counting measure physical properties of the brain, which are not culturally determined. According to a recent article in the *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, this phenomenon has been studied for more than a century (Sathian 1999). The term 'subitizing,' coined in 1949, describes the "highly accurate, rapid, and apparently effortless visual object enumeration" of up to four items (Sathian 1999, 36). Sathian's research team used positron emission tomography (PET scanning) to determine that one region of the brain subitizes (the occipital extrastriate cortex), and that several different parts of both brain hemispheres work together to count more than four objects. Sathian describes the latter process as "more error-prone, much slower, and...[apparently] effortful" (1999, 36).

²⁵For example, the correctly hexastyle Temple of Magna Mater and the correctly octastyle Temple of Mars Ultor represented on the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, and the correctly hexastyle Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus represented on the *Extispicium* relief (figs. 8, 9, 25a).

Likewise, the depiction of a temple's flank probably had very little to do with whether it could be easily identified.²⁶ Research in cognitive psychology has demonstrated that people consistently prefer either the frontal or the three-quarter view of an object, whichever presents the greatest amount of information.²⁷ This rule, in fact, had an ancient counterpart. Vitruvius uses the Platonic term *ideai* to describe the three essential views of buildings that an architect should present to his patron: *scenographia* (perspective); *orthographia* (elevation); and *ichnographia* (ground plan).²⁸ Two of these—*scenographia* and *orthographia*—correspond both to the preferred views of the research subjects (three-quarters and frontal), and to the two ways that buildings are shown in the background of official Roman art: flank-and-facade, and facade-only.

Roman building representations can present highly informative facade views, especially when they are dominated by sculptural iconography. Depicting the flank of a temple, however, does not necessarily increase its recognizability; in the case of a peripteral temple and a pseudo-peripteral temple, for example, both will look the same when depicted in relief. The inclusion of the flank was therefore partly dependent on medium and partly upon compositional goals.

Sometimes the flank was depicted to indicate the temple's distance from the foreground, as on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* panel with the sacrifice of a sow (fig. 1). The

²⁶In order to avoid the imprecise term 'three-quarter view' and the problematic term 'perspectival,' I prefer to describe these images as facade-only and facade-and-flank representations. For discussions of various perspectival techniques used by the Romans, see Fuchs (1969, 77-81); Richter (1970); Tameanko (1999, 19-22). Von Blanckenhagen, quoted in Vogel (1973, 71) in a discussion of so-called 'bird's eye' landscape views, notes that "the representation of reality as it appears to the eye takes second place to the desire to give the fullest possible information about the things selected for representation."

²⁷For instance, research subjects chose a photograph showing a three-quarters perspectival view of a cube (i.e., with three surfaces visible), over all other viewing angles. However, in the case of a clock, they preferred a frontal view (Palmer 1980).

²⁸Vitruvius 1.2.2. See Haselberger (1997, 92-4) on the interpretation of these technical terms and significance of Vitruvius' use of Platonic terminology.

rocky outcrop on which the temple stands also emphasizes the distance between foreground and background. In another case, the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (figs. 8-9), the alternation between facade-only and facade-and-flank views reflects the actual view from the monument of the temples thus depicted, as will be discussed in chapter 5.²⁹

Domitian's *Ludi Saeculares* coins with architecture (fig. 17) exhibit an interesting distinction: the sacrifices are given facade-only backgrounds, while other types of ritual feature facade-and-flank temple images.³⁰ In many cases, the decision may well have been an aesthetic one. On coins and medallions most temple images feature the facade only.³¹ On the other hand, more than half the temple images in relief contain at least an indication of the flank and roof.³² Examples of both representational schemes can be found over the entire chronological span under consideration.³³

²⁹This example, however, is the only case for which such a visual correlation can be demonstrated.

³⁰In these, the emperor is framed by the clear space on the temple's flank; other figures stand in front of the facade. Note that this pattern only holds for the *Ludi Saeculares* series, and not for other coins of Domitian (or for that matter, for images of any other emperor).

³¹Only seven coin types feature facade-and-flank representations:

- Domitian, sacrifice at shrine of Minerva (fig. 16)
- Domitian, *Ludi Saeculares*, acceptance of the *fruges* (fig. 17b-c)
- Domitian, *Ludi Saeculares*, distribution of the *suffimenta* (fig. 17a)
- Domitian, *Ludi Saeculares*, prayer of the matrons (fig. 17i)
- Hadrian, *adlocutio* at Temple of Divus Iulius (fig. 45)
- Marcus Aurelius, *adventus* medallion (fig. 56)
- Caracalla, sacrifice at Temple of Asklepios (fig. 82)

³²Close examination of reliefs in facade-and-flank view reveals that the corner joining the facade to the flank is usually carved in higher relief than the rest of the facade, which generally recedes towards the background as the depth of carving gets shallower. Moreover, this tilting is usually accompanied by an awkward concave transition between the frontal view of the triangular pediment and the side view of the temple's roof. Generally, the deeper the relief carving, the greater the distortion. The variable relief depth contributes significantly to the breakage patterns seen on these reliefs. The facade columns closer to the flank, carved in higher relief and often detached from the relief ground, are thus more vulnerable to damage. The columns carved in shallow relief, still attached to the relief ground, often survive in excellent condition. For example, the Valle-Medici panel representing the Temple of Magna Mater (fig. 9) and the *adventus* panel relief of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 60a) both display this breakage pattern. Although it tends to be more pronounced in facade-and-flank representations, tilting is also found in facade-only temple representations. In every case in which I have observed such angling, the temple facades are tilted towards

Distortion of temple proportions is quite common in these reliefs, coins, and medallions. The sculptors and die cutters that depicted the buildings were generally unconcerned with the unifying dimensions and proportions of the buildings, choosing rather to fit the buildings into the composition in such a way as to achieve the design goals of the final image.³⁴ The resulting proportional contrasts are exemplified in two representations of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus: on the Trajanic *Extispicium*, the horizontal dimension is emphasized (fig. 25a); on the sacrifice panel of Marcus Aurelius, the vertical dimension is emphasized (fig. 61a). The number of facade columns, their spacing and height relative to the width of the temple, the angles of the pediment's corners, the dimensions of the architrave, and the height of podium relative to the height of the temple all vary from image to image and from image to archaeological and literary evidence of the appearance of individual temples.³⁵

Why did the ancient artists so freely ignore architectural categories like number, spacing and layout of columns, and the proportions of the canonical orders, which Vitruvius used to organize his entire discussion of temples in books three and four of *De re architectura*? In my opinion, the artists worked for identifiability, not accuracy. Those

the center of the relief panel. Tilting (and the concave distortion of the join between the roof tiles and the pediment) is difficult to observe in standard frontal photographs. This aspect of the representation of buildings has received very little attention except by Koeppel (1969) who records the angling of arches, but not of temples, and Billig (1977, 75-9) who discusses the angling of rectangular buildings in late antique representations, which tend to be part of sarcophagi and other objects significantly smaller than the state reliefs considered here.

³³For the persistence of facade as well as facade-and-flank architectural representations into the late antique and medieval eras, see Egger (1959); Lampl (1960-1); and Billig (1977).

³⁴Wilson Jones' (2000) study of the mathematical and geometric principles underlying Roman architectural design reveals both the simplicity of the initial design ideas and the modifications necessary to erect the buildings while attending to competing priorities. As a result, many buildings ended up with some irregular dimensions.

³⁵Colini (1923, 323-5) discusses the variance of pedimental angles in reliefs and surviving architecture. Many of the other proportional issues are mentioned in passing by Maier (1985).

features that deviated from the architectural norm had a higher likelihood of being represented at all, while common features were prime candidates for the application of artistic shorthand. The ones frequently distorted, abbreviated, or omitted from temple images are those very features that contribute relatively little to the temple's identification. Roman images of buildings can thus best be described as schematic representations of reality.³⁶ The existence of the standardized temple iconography described here, with its preference for a tetrastyle or hexastyle frontal facade view, allowed the die-engravers and relief sculptors to work from previous compositions, memory, or even verbal description when creating architectural backgrounds for figural scenes.³⁷ Then only the iconography of cult statue and pedimental sculpture—or some other clue to identification—needed to be specified, if recognition of the image was desired.

Sculptural Iconography

The frequency with which sculpture is depicted even on numismatic representations (whose small scale we might think discouraged such tiny detail) suggests something of the importance of architectural sculpture in the viewer's experience of public buildings and monuments. In particular, temple images are frequently characterized by sculpture in the pediment, on the roof, and in the cella. Similarly, attic and spandrel

³⁶Parsons (1987, 49) defines schematic realism as follows: "Schematic realism requires that a painting represent what we know about the subject, that it mention the important parts." Both resemblance to reality and adherence to conventions of representation are essential for the recognition of images, as Costall (1997, 58) points out: "The information in the natural array is inexhaustible, and the structures deployed within any artistic tradition are not just a selection, but, of necessity, a finely judged resolution of competing demands."

³⁷On coins, abbreviation may also reflect the gradual simplification and distortion of previous designs 'on file' in the die-carving workshops. For example, see Kleiner's study (1985) of numismatic representations of the Arch of Nero.

sculptures help distinguish triumphal arches from each other.³⁸ Nor are representations of buildings adorned with sculptures limited to official art. A number of temple images on sacro-idyllic reliefs meant for the private realm feature pedimental sculpture (fig. 107).³⁹ The representation of an octastyle temple with five pedimental figures from the fifth-century manuscript of the Vatican Vergil demonstrates the persistence of this practice (fig. 108).⁴⁰ The regular depiction of sculptural elements on both public and private representations of these building types signals the importance of sculpture in Roman conceptions of architectural form.⁴¹

³⁸The arch on the spoils panel of the Arch of Titus (fig. 18a-b) represents two four-horse quadrigae, a single horseman, and a female figure on foot; in the spandrel is a victory holding a wreath and a palm. According to Pfanner, the figures crowning the arch must be Vespasian and Titus in triumphal quadrigae, accompanied by Domitian on horseback, and led by Minerva. Therefore, the arch in the spoils panel must have been erected for the victory over the Jews (Pfanner 1983, 50-1, 71-2, pl. 56.1-5). A trophy, two prisoners (one seated under the trophy, the other standing next to it), and an elephant quadriga crown the representation of the quadrifrons arch of Domitian on the *profectio* panel of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 57a-b), and victories holding shields appear in the spandrels (Ryberg 1967, pl. 22; Koeppl 1986, 56-8). The unidentified arch on the Sacchetti relief (fig. 71) has two victories in the spandrels, one holding a military standard, the other a wreath (Budde 1955, 52 figs. 53-4).

³⁹For example:

- Fig. 107. Sacro-idyllic relief with shrine of Diana. In pediment: dogs attacking Actaeon. Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 39113 (Schraudolph 1993, pl. 55.3).
- Sacro-idyllic relief known only from a drawing in the Codex Coburgensis (n. 88). Tetrastyle Ionic temple behind a precinct wall with an arched gateway decorated with spolia. In pediment: bow and club. Although Pfanner (1980) argues that this drawing documents a relief depicting the *Porta Triumphalis*, iconographically, the image is much closer to the other sacro-idyllic reliefs listed here.
- Sacro-idyllic relief from Horti Tauriani, with tetrastyle Ionic temple behind turreted wall. In pediment: liknon filled with fruit and ribbons. Musei Capitolini, inv. no. 960 (Polito 1994, 94-7, figs. 18-19; Von Hesberg 1986, 23-4, fig. 26).
- Sacro-idyllic relief with temple facade columns hidden by boundary wall. In pediment: gorgoneion held by tritons. Acroteria: winged victories. Musei Capitolini, inv. no. 1426 (Polito 1994, 68-76, fig. 4; Von Hesberg 1986, 23-4, fig. 25).

On account of the apparent particularity of these last two temple images, Polito has argued that they represent actual temples in and around Augustan Rome.

⁴⁰Vatican Vergil, Folio 60v. See Wright (1993, 64).

⁴¹Zanker responds to this phenomenon by asking “how is the sculptural decoration of Roman public buildings reflected on coins, and how does this allow us to draw possible conclusions about contemporaneous modes of perception and its evolution?” (1997, 179).

Sculpture offers significantly more variability to artists seeking to particularize building facades than does the depiction of architectural form. Unlike columns that primarily varied only in number and order, the amount of sculpture, its arrangement, and iconography could all vary. Sculpture in the form of cult statues identifies the deity of a temple. Pedimental and acroterial sculpture can also reproduce the iconography of a temple's deity. Sculpture can help demarcate multiple temples of a single deity through differences in the attributes and posture of the cult statue, and by changes in the composition and iconography of the pediment. Because of their importance for the identification of temples, representations of cult statues and pedimental sculptures merit consideration in detail.

Cult Statues

The image of the cult statue, visible through the central intercolumniation of the temple, frequently identifies temples on coins and medallions with and without figural scenes.⁴² Figural scenes presented a special challenge to artists also representing cult statues. To avoid possible ambiguity between cult statues and human participants in a scene of sacrifice, cult statues are always completely framed by the architrave and central intercolumniation of the temple, whereas human worshipers stand in front of the temple's columns or on either side of the temple's facade. Cult statues also tend to be much smaller than human figures.

The cult statue, however, does not always help to identify the temple. Certain common postures and attributes admit multiple interpretations, and sometimes cult

⁴²Drew-Bear (1974, 28-9); Panvini Rosati (1987, 62). Kleiner (1983, 296) points out that there is no evidence for "the representation of a sacrifice to a deity where the deity itself (or a statue of the same) or the deity's shrine is omitted, but the shrine of another deity is depicted." Martin (1987) studies surviving cult statues of the Republican period from Rome. Vermeule (1987) studies artistic and numismatic evidence for the cult statues of Rome. See also the review of both by Gergel (1990).

statues are depicted at such a small scale that their attributes are unrecognizable.⁴³

Moreover, in official state relief, the view into the cella is usually blocked, preventing any glimpse of the cult image presumably housed in the temple.⁴⁴ Sometimes the cella doors are closed (as on the panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius, figs. 60a, 61a, 62), but usually the cella door is shown slightly ajar, neither firmly closed nor fully open.⁴⁵ In the case of the Temple of Quirinus fragment (fig. 19) and the *Extispicium* relief (fig. 25a), among others, the cella door(s) can be seen behind human figures; thus, two barriers separate the viewer from the cult statue. In the reliefs of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, doorframes lacking doors suggest that visual penetration of the cellas is possible, but the blank stone surfaces deny any actual view of the temple interiors (figs. 8-10).⁴⁶

The frequent presence of cult statues within temples depicted on coins and medallions, and their usual absence from reliefs, is notable as one of the few artistic differences between the two media—especially since one might expect to see the opposite pattern, if scale conditioned those elements that were preferentially featured in each. Instead, this discrepancy may be attributable to differences in the representational traditions followed by numismatic and sculptural workshops.⁴⁷ Coins without figural

⁴³As Gagé (1938, 182) complains.

⁴⁴With the exception of the temple-sacrifice panel of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (fig. 1) and the shrine of Vesta depicted on the Sorrento base (fig. 2). Cult statues are depicted more frequently in private art, for example, the Sacra Via panel from the Tomb of the Haterii (fig. 21).

⁴⁵On doors: Haarløv (1977); Davies (1978); Walsh (1983); and Borrelli (1990).

⁴⁶The absence of cult statues seems to be original. Of these three temple images, only the Via Lata fragment with the Ionic tetrastyle temple is accessible for close study (in the Musei Capitolini installation at the Centrale Montemartini). The stone of the Via Lata fragment is polished and does not seem to have been recut to eliminate a cult figure, as the doorframe is flush with the surface of the marble. The casts of the other two temple images in the Museo della Civiltà Romana similarly suggest that the absence of cult statues was intended. The reliefs themselves are immured high on the garden facade of the Villa Medici in Rome.

⁴⁷In his article on images of architectural sculpture on coins, Zanker (1997, 183) suggests that cult statues are depicted to remind viewers of festival days when the temple doors were opened. Zanker's explanation

scenes frequently include representations of cult statues, usually to identify the temple; thus, for die-engravers, the cult statue was probably an expected part of the composition.

Pediments and Acroteria

Two factors complicate attempts to analyze pedimental sculpture for the purpose of identifying temples. First, the only visual evidence for the sculptural programs of most of these buildings comes from the very representations under consideration.⁴⁸ Moreover, not all depictions of sculpture represent specific, recognizable features. Therefore, care must be taken to avoid circular arguments when discussing representations of pediments. Fortunately, six variant images of the Temple of Fortuna Redux survive, providing evidence for various ancient approaches to representing pediments. The Temple of Fortuna Redux was first represented on a relief of either Domitian or Trajan (fig. 22) and last represented on a medallion series of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus in the mid-third century (figs. 91a-c).⁴⁹ The methodology of *Kopienkritik* can be applied, cautiously, to these miniature images of original pedimental compositions.

does not account for the pattern seen in the two media: coins and medallions usually (but not always) include cult statues, whereas reliefs include them very rarely.

⁴⁸Very little sculpture from imperial Rome can be confidently assigned to pedimental groups; Colini (1923, 331) lists only three pieces. Peter Hommel's 1954 study of Roman pediments, *Studien zu den römischen Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit*, became by default one of the major studies of architectural representations in relief. While Hommel's text does not attempt to examine the relationship between these reliefs and the actual appearance of temple pediments, his entire study rests on the assumption that they are closely linked. See also Romanelli's (1956) review of Hommel.

⁴⁹The temple was either built or restored by Domitian; for a summary of the evidence supporting the latter position, see *LTUR* 2: 275-6 s.v. Fortuna Redux, Templum (F. Coarelli).

Representations of Fortuna Redux:

-Fig. 22, Relief from the Forum of Caesar, Domitianic or Trajanic (Koeppel 1985, 153-4, 197-203, figs. 28-33).

-Fig. 56, *Adventus* medallion of Marcus Aurelius, 172-4 A.D. (Gnecchi 1912, 2: 27 n. 2-3, pl. 59.5).

-Fig. 60a-b, *Adventus* relief of Marcus Aurelius, now on the Arch of Constantine (Koeppel 1986, 70-2, figs. 37-8).

-Fig. 91a-b, Sacrifice medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus, 251-3 A.D., depicting Fortuna Redux with pedimental sculptures (Gnecchi 1912, 2: 103 n. 3, pl. 111.9)

One representation of the Temple of Fortuna Redux, on the *adventus* medallion of Marcus Aurelius, is too small for any sculpture to be included (fig. 56). The other five representations—three sculpted and two numismatic—all depict varying amounts of the sculptural decoration. The legend “FORTVNAE REDVCI” identifies the temple depicted on the medallion series of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus. These medallions preserve two variant representations. On one, the pediment contains seven items: Fortuna Redux herself stands at the center of the pediment, her attributes, wheel and globe, can be seen to either side, two striding figures flank her attributes, and two cornucopia fill the corners (fig. 91a). On the other, a wreath replaces this complex pedimental iconography (fig. 91c). Both medallions, however, indicate acroterial sculpture and the cult statue (Fortuna Redux, seated with her rudder).

Although none of the marble relief representations depict acroterial sculpture, all three depict the pedimental group, in varying degrees of detail. The fragmentary relief from the San Omobono excavations (fig. 92) features six of the seven pedimental items seen in the detailed medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus; presumably, the second cornucopia would have appeared in the damaged corner of the pediment. The other two reliefs, the *adventus* panel of Marcus Aurelius (figs. 60a-b) and a fragmentary relief of either Domitianic or Trajanic date from the Forum Iulium (fig. 22), both abbreviate the pedimental representation by omitting the two striding figures that flank Fortuna Redux’s attributes, the globe and wheel.⁵⁰ The resulting images retain, therefore,

-Fig. 91c, Sacrifice medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus, 251-3 A.D., depicting Fortuna Redux without pedimental sculptures (Gnecchi 1912, 2: 103 n. 4, pl. 111.10).

-Fig. 92, Relief (subject unknown) from the Area Sacra di S. Omobono, dated by Loreti (1996) to the third century.

⁵⁰Hommel (1954, 46) saw the two striding figures on the medallion as Victories crowning Fortuna; in her publication of the San Omobono relief, Loreti (1996, 246-7) suggests that these figures are the *Lares Compitales*. In neither interpretation do they contribute significantly to the iconography of Fortuna Redux. On the other hand, the cornucopia, globe, wheel, and rudder are not just part of the pedimental sculpture of the temple but are also common to representations of the cult statue as well.

the essential elements of Fortuna Redux's iconography. Despite leaving out two subsidiary figures, the artists managed to preserve the iconography of the pedimental group, as well as the general outlines of its composition.

The varying amounts of detail seen among all six images of Fortuna Redux indicates several possibilities for abbreviation of sculptural decoration. The sculptural program seems to have been abbreviated with identifying features in mind. Because few reliefs depict cult statues, it seems likely that the iconographic clarity of the pedimental sculpture was especially important for the recognition of the location depicted.⁵¹ Distinctive and iconographically essential features are consistently privileged. Subsidiary figures could be eliminated.

The overall consistency of the four detailed representations of the pediment of Fortuna Redux, which range in date from the late first century A.D. to the mid third century A.D., suggests that all four reflect the actual composition of the sculptural group in the temple's pediment. Additional evidence that artists carefully copied the distinctive features of particular pedimental groups comes from the sacrifice relief of Marcus Aurelius and the Trajanic *Extispicium* relief (figs. 25a-b, 61a-b). Both include very similar representations of the pediment of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which depict Juno, Jupiter, and Minerva seated at the center of the pediment.⁵² Below their thrones, Jupiter's eagle stretches his wings. The subsidiary figures surrounding this central group are largely identical, although minor details differ.⁵³

⁵¹On the *adventus* panel of Marcus Aurelius the doors of the temple are closed. The other two images are too badly damaged to determine whether the cult image was depicted.

⁵²In each case, the presence of three cella doors confirms the identification of the image as the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

⁵³The pediment from the *Extispicium* relief is lost, but four drawings of it survive. For the drawings, detailed comparison of all these images, and identification of the remaining pedimental figures, see Wace (1907, 240-44); Colini (1925, 181-91). For drawings of the Marcus Aurelius pediment by some of the

Few temples, however, have multiple surviving representations for such comparisons to be made. The sheer variety of iconography and composition in the corpus as a whole is further evidence that actual pedimental compositions were portrayed on these coins, medallions, and reliefs. Despite the design constraints imposed by the format of a triangular pedimental space, surviving depictions of Roman pediments show significant variation in both composition and iconography.⁵⁴ The most complex representations, some with more than a dozen figures arranged in the pediment and on the roof, range from static compositions of standing and reclining deities (as in the image of the Temple of Mars Ultor, fig. 8) to classically Greek battle scenes (as in the image of an Ionic tetrastyle temple from the Via Lata, fig. 10), to dynamic narratives that depict multiple moments in time and space (as in the image of a pediment showing both the rape of Rhea Silvia by Mars as well as the wolf suckling the babies that resulted from that encounter, fig. 23b). Other types of pedimental arrangements include heraldic compositions depicting attributes of a particular deity, which can consist of single objects (such as Jupiter's thunderbolt, fig. 31) or larger groups of symbols and figures (as in the case of the Temple of Magna Mater, fig. 9). Although coins and medallions frequently feature these complex designs, in many cases numismatic representations of pedimental

same artists, see Horster (1975, 418-20, fig 15) and La Rocca (1986, 49 fig. 9). For recent discussions of the *Extispicium* relief, see Tortorella (1988a) and Leoncini (1988).

⁵⁴Small (1999, 565) notes in connection with Greek pediments that "The most common place for arranging figures and actions in evenly flanking, parallel units occurs naturally in pediments. ('Naturally,' that is, since sequential compositions are nigh impossible to arrange within an isosceles triangle)." See Colini (1923, 332-9) for an early typology of Roman pedimental compositions and acroterial sculptures drawn from both archaeological and visual evidence. Just as the representations of pediments suggest, earlier sculpture from Rome indicates that a wide variety of compositional styles and iconography were used: the terracotta figures of the Republican era pedimental group from the Via San Gregorio (Anselmino 1990-1; Strazzulla 1993); the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, rebuilt early in Augustus' principate, featured an imported Greek battle scene. See La Rocca (1985); *LTUR* 1: 49-54 s.v. Apollo, Aedes in Circo (A. Viscogliosi). Other evidence about the types of pedimental decoration that might have been seen in Rome comes from small shrines, tombs, provincial temples of the imperial period (Hommel 1954, 52-67), and Etruscan temples (see Jannot 1998 for illustrations of various terracotta pedimental groups).

iconography are indistinct. Even so, the remarkable variety of designs, and their complexity, strongly implies that these pediments in miniature reflect the actual sculptural groups installed on the temples themselves.⁵⁵

It is equally important, however, to identify non-specific ways of filling pedimental space. As already noted in the case of Fortuna Redux, the pedimental sculpture was replaced by a wreath on certain medallions of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus (fig. 91c). Similar alternation between a wreath and a figural composition is seen in other numismatic reverse series, including the “VOTA PVBLICA” series of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (figs. 64-5) and the “ROMAE AETERNAE” series of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea (figs. 86b-7).⁵⁶ The most significant example of the substitution of generic symbols within pediments comes from the series of coins issued to commemorate Domitian’s *Ludi Saeculares* of 88 A.D. (figs. 17a-i). None of the coin types depict a full program of pedimental sculpture. Of those coins with legible pedimental iconography, the majority have wreaths.⁵⁷ Others are clearly blank. A few pediments contain an eagle. Although Hill argues that both wreaths and eagles on these coins are indiscriminately indicative of temples of Jupiter, Di Manzano sees eagles as generic symbols of immortality. I believe that these coins provide evidence of the

⁵⁵Stokstad (1954) and Drew-Bear (1974, 30) articulate the corollary view, that elaboration of an original composition is unlikely in a miniature copy. They imply that the most complex of the surviving compositions are likely to be careful, accurate copies.

⁵⁶This alternation, however, is not reflected in the illustrations included here, but can be found on other published examples from the same medallion series.

⁵⁷Brown (1941, 135, 140-2, 205-7) provides an extensive list of individual examples of the *Ludi Saeculares* types. Although I have not been able to verify all of Brown’s descriptions, a rough estimate of various pedimental types can be gleaned from Brown’s list, as follows:

Tetrastyle facade-and-flank

Distribution of *suffimenta*: 8 examples, all with obscured pediment.

Acceptance of the *fruges* (both types conflated): 13 examples. 3 eagle, 4 wreath, 3 empty, 3 obscure.

Supplicatio: 3 examples. 2 wreath, 1 obscure.

Hexastyle facade-only (three types conflated), 53 examples. 7 eagle, 46 wreath.

interchangeable use of wreaths and eagles as generic signs of temple decoration.⁵⁸ The survival of inscriptions recording the *Ludi Saeculares* of both Augustus and Septimius Severus make it possible to match the events depicted on the coins with their probable location(s).⁵⁹

The comparison of epigraphic evidence with the numismatic images suggests that the minimal variation in pedimental iconography seen in these coins has no significance. Three of the events held (at least in part) at a temple of Jupiter—the distribution of the *suffimenta* for ritual purification, the *supplicatio*, and the sacrifice of a bovine—have no surviving coin examples with eagles. One event, the emperor's acceptance of the *fruges* (first fruits), took place at the temples of Jupiter Tonans, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Apollo Palatinus, and Diana on the Aventine. Even though some examples of this type depict an eagle, others a wreath, and still others a blank pediment, three variant pedimental images do not correlate with the four locations attested—nor could the simple presence of an eagle in the pediment differentiate between the two temples of Jupiter

⁵⁸Hill 1965; 1989, 21-2, 30; Di Manzano 1984, 299.

⁵⁹For 17 B.C.: *CIL* VI, 32323; Pighi (1965, 107-19).

For 204 A.D.: *CIL* VI, 32326-32335; Pighi (1965, 137-75).

Correlations between the events detailed by these inscriptions and the coins of Domitian were initially made by Dressel (1899); for various proposals to refine Dressel's scheme, see Pighi (1965, 79-87); Hill (1965); Carlson (1971-2a and b); and Di Manzano (1984). To summarize the topographic possibilities indicated by the inscriptions:

Distribution of *suffimenta*: temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline, and Apollo on the Palatine

Acceptance of the *fruges* (two types): temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline, Apollo on the Palatine, and Diana on the Aventine

Sacrifice of ovicaprids: sacrifice to the Moirae at the Tarentum

Sacrifice of bovine: either sacrifice of a bull to Jupiter or sacrifice of a cow to Juno; both took place at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline.

Bloodless sacrifice at double-pediment structure: probably sacrifice to the Ilithyiae at the Tarentum

Bloodless sacrifice at hexastyle: possibly sacrifice to the Ilithyiae at the Tarentum, or to Apollo and Diana at the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

Supplicatio: prayer of matrons to Juno, on the Capitoline.

See Pighi (1965, 269-71) for a listing of all topographic references in the *Ludi Saeculares* inscriptions.

used for this ritual. Finally, one scene type that varies between an eagle and a wreath in the pediment—the sacrifice of ovicaprids—did not take place at a temple of Jupiter at all, unless Domitian’s celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* deviated from those of Augustus and Septimius Severus. This coin evidence, on its own, is not detailed or reliable enough to support such an assertion. In the *Ludi Saeculares* coins of Domitian, the wreath and eagle are clearly generic symbols, applied to temples as indications of their sanctity and perhaps responding to an expectation on the viewer’s part that temple pediments should be decorated. As a result, these particular symbols cannot help identify the temples in question.

As with architectural detail, sculptural iconography must also be evaluated for its departure from normal or generic representation to establish its usefulness as a criterion for identification. As a general rule, the more complex the imagery and the more specific its iconography, the more helpful it becomes in narrowing the possible identities for the building. Specific, complex pedimental iconography confirmed by additional evidence can be very helpful in identifying temples. Several examples, such as Fortuna Redux and Jupiter Optimus Maximus, demonstrate that pedimental iconography was often specific to the cult of the temple.⁶⁰ Because multiple representations of these pediments survive, it is possible to identify additional examples from the pedimental composition alone. Depictions of pedimental compositions could also be abbreviated and simplified without

⁶⁰In several other cases, the iconography of the pediment is so particular to a specific deity that the identification has won wide acceptance (e.g., Magna Mater). Actually proving that relationships between the cult and the pedimental iconography of a temple were *de rigueur*, however, is more difficult. Additional evidence to confirm this pattern is scarce. The few images that depict both cult statue and pedimental iconography are the most suggestive in this regard. A little-known sacro-idyllic relief, probably from a private setting, however, depicts such a link between cult statue and pedimental iconography. It depicts a shrine of Diana (identified by her drawn bow) that carries in the pediment the image of Actaeon torn apart by his dogs (fig. 107). Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 39113 (Schraudolph 1993, pl. 55.3).

violence to the underlying iconography, in the same way that the number of columns on a temple could be reduced without compromising the temple's identifiability.

Not all complex pedimental representations, however, are distinctive enough to support an identification with a particular deity. Moreover, quite a few deities had multiple cult locations in Rome. Such difficulties have been largely glossed over in attempts to assign an identity to every surviving temple image. Unless more evidence emerges, certain temple images, such as the Ionic tetrastyle temple from the Via Lata (fig. 10) or the Corinthian decastyle temple of the Vatican-Terme relief (figs. 23a-b), cannot be securely identified.

The classically Greek battle scene of the Ionic tetrastyle temple's pediment suggests that the pediment group might have been imported from Greece, as was that of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus.⁶¹ As battle groups, like sacrificial emblems, were quite flexible in meaning, no consensus about the identity of this temple has emerged. Proposals range from Victory on the Palatine to Fides on the Capitoline, and even the Temple of Penates on the Velia.⁶²

Roman foundation iconography—the *Lupa* and the rape of Rhea Silvia by Mars—adorns the decastyle temple on the Vatican-Terme relief (fig. 23b). The obvious

⁶¹See La Rocca (1985); *LTUR* 1: 49-54 s.v. Apollo, Aedes in Circo (A. Viscogliosi).

⁶²This image has drawn quite a variety of identification attempts, including:

- Temple of Artemis at Ephesos: Bloch (1939, 17)
- Temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine: Hommel (1954, 40-1)
- Temple of Apollo Palatinus: Ryberg (1955, 70)
- fictitious temple or from legendary past and should remain nameless: Lattimore (1974)
- Temple of Fides on the Capitoline: Torelli (1982, 80)
- Temple of Victory on the Palatine: Rehak (1990)
- Temple of Penates on the Velia: La Rocca (1992a, 81-2, 106 n. 163)

Because the other two temple images from the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* could originally have been identified through metatopography, I suspect that the temple represented in this image was likewise visible from the Capitoline. Nevertheless, because the combination of pedimental iconography, metatopography, and Ionic columns does not sufficiently narrow the possible identifications of this temple representation, I agree with Lattimore (1974) that this temple should remain unidentified.

candidate on the basis of iconography and architectural detail, the decastyle Temple of Venus and Roma, unfortunately clashes with the chronology suggested by the relief's stylistic qualities, which place it well before the temple of Venus and Roma was built.⁶³ The continuing search for an earlier decastyle temple bearing Rome's foundational iconography has produced many suggestions, ranging from the Temple of Quirinus, to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.⁶⁴ None are persuasive.

Despite these cautionary examples, pediment iconography remains a useful method for narrowing the field of possibilities when identifying temple images. Several factors may have contributed to the frequent depiction of sculpture, especially cult statues and pedimental groups, as an integral aspect of the temple image. First and most importantly, it seems that this portion of the building facade could be more individualized than any other. Sculptural programs of temples carried complex iconographic symbolism related to the deity housed within. Compositions varied—from ones of static solemnity to ones of dynamic motion, from few to many figures, from stark symbols to dramatic

⁶³Goette (1983) provides a rigorous stylistic evaluation; Ambrogi (1986) gives full bibliography. For the early identification of the temple as that of Venus and Roma, see, for example, Petersen (1895).

⁶⁴Additional proposed identities for the Vatican-Terme decastyle include:

- Temple of Mars Ultor or Temple of Venus Genetrix: Wace (1907, 247-9).
 - Temple of Mars outside the *Porta Capena*: Hülsen, cited by Wace (1907, 249 n. 1); this theory was revived by Albertson (1987).
 - The Pantheon of Augustus: Strong (1923, 71).
 - Unidentified: Hommel (1954, 44).
 - The facade of the Domitianic palace on the Palatine: Simon in Helbig4 1: 728 n. 1013.
 - A still unknown temple of Romulus or of some deity connected with the city's foundation: Goette (1983, 244 -5).
 - Templum Gentis Flaviae*: Paris (1994, 28-33); followed by Coarelli in LTUR 2: 368-9, 497 figs. 180-1 s.v. Gens Flavia, Templum, and by Davies (2000, 156-8). Both Paris and Coarelli give incorrect bibliographic information for Ambrogi's discussion (1986) of the upper fragment in the Museo Nazionale Romano Sculpture catalog series; it is in volume I.6, not I.8.
 - Temple of Quirinus: Liljenstolpe (1996).
- I agree with Hommel (1954, 44) that this temple should remain unidentified.

narrative, and so on. These unique and memorable qualities make sculpture a potent tool for recognizing individual temples.

Contextual Elements: Juxtaposition, Scene Types, and Sightlines

The remaining three categories of evidence—juxtaposition, scene type, and sightlines—all contextualize the building representations, and therefore aid significantly in the reading and identifying of temple images. The interpretation of such contextual evidence, however, depends upon the audience's cultural knowledge and experience with other similar images.

Juxtaposition

It is perhaps obvious that the buildings from the Forum Romanum represented on the *Anaglypha* (figs. 37, 39) and on the Arch of Constantine (fig. 101) are more easily recognized because they are presented in a group. Sequences of buildings themselves can create distinctive patterns (temple–quadrifrons arch; single arch–rostra–triple arch; basilica–temple–temple).⁶⁵ Such juxtaposition of buildings provides data for recognizing particular locations. Moreover, one identifiable building can compensate for several obscure or abbreviated buildings. Identifying some of the more blatantly distorted buildings—such as the single-bay representation of the triple-bay Arch of Augustus and the five-columned representation of the octastyle Temple of Castor and Pollux from the *Anaglypha* (fig. 37)—can only be done by interpreting architectural juxtapositions.

⁶⁵Wilson Jones notes rhythmic patterns within the articulation of individual buildings (2000, 118-9). See also McConnell's comments on the perception of skylines and architectural ensembles in Rome (1999); he draws a comparison between the importance of modern city skylines as icons of place and the visual impact of the Tabularium as a building towering over the Forum.

Two *adventus* scenes of Marcus Aurelius illustrate both the strengths and the limitations of this mode of specifying the identity of a place or structure.⁶⁶ One, a medallion reverse (fig. 56), is one of the rare examples of the use of juxtaposition by die-engravers (juxtaposition is much more commonly used on reliefs). In both the *adventus* medallion and the *adventus* relief of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 60a), the quadrifrons Arch of Domitian is to the right and the Temple of Fortuna Redux is placed on the left, in facade-and-flank view. But each of these images emphasizes a different building. On the relief, the Temple of Fortuna Redux is depicted with its pedimental sculpture while the arch has no sculpture. On the medallion, the elephant quadriga on top of the arch compensates for the missing temple sculpture, which would have been impossible to depict at such a small scale. A poem of Martial in honor of Domitian's triumphant return to the city, which associates the Temple of Fortuna Redux and the triumphal arch surmounted by elephant quadriga, is usually cited in support of this topographic juxtaposition.⁶⁷ The juxtaposition in poem, medallion, and relief makes recognition of both buildings

⁶⁶Fig. 56, *Adventus* medallion of Marcus Aurelius, 172-174 A.D. Gnechi (1912, 2: 27, ns. 2-3, pl. 59.5). Fig. 60a-b, *Adventus* panel relief of Marcus Aurelius, 176-180 A.D. Koepfel (1986, 70-2).

⁶⁷Martial 8.65:

*Hic ubi Fortunae Reducis fulgentia late
 templa nitent, felix area nuper erat.
 Hic stetit Arctoi formosus polvere belli
 purpureum fundens Caesar ab ore iubar;
 hic lauro redimita comas et candida cultu
 Roma salutavit voce manumque deum
 Grande loci meritum testantur et altera dona:
 Stat sacer et domitis gentibus arcus ovat:
 Hic gemini currus numerant elephanta frequentem,
 sufficit immensis aureus ipse iugis.
 Haec est digna tuis, Germanice, porta triumphis;
 hic aditus urbem Martis habere decet.*

The text clearly indicates the proximity of the Temple of Fortuna Redux and the Arch of Domitian with elephant quadriga. Ryberg (1967, 29-32) has a detailed discussion of the interpretation of this epigram. Coarelli (1968; 1988, 372-99) uses this text, the reliefs, and the medallions to argue further that the Arch of Domitian with elephants should be identified with the *Porta Triumphalis*.

possible.⁶⁸ However, not even the images reveal much more than the proximity of the buildings.

Again, the recognizability and readability of the architectural image is more significant than the factual accuracy of that image. Spatial relationships were probably modified for compositional reasons. In the case of the forum representations on the *Anaglypha* and on the *adlocutio* of the Arch of Constantine, architectural space is flattened (figs. 37, 39, 101). Building facades that stood at ninety-degree angles to each other are represented as though aligned along a straight road (fig. 36). The representation of Ancona on the Column of Trajan presents an extreme example of intentional building displacement for pictorial clarity (fig. 33). The facade and cult statue of the Temple of Venus are visible above and to the left of the arch at the end of the harbor mole, facing the harbor. Instead, excavations have shown that the temple faced the opposite direction, away from the arch and towards the city.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of the harbor, the arch on the end of a mole, the Temple of Venus reached by a steep path with switchbacks, and the warehouses closely matches the distinctive features of ancient

⁶⁸The triumph panel of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 62), which depicts a tetrastyle temple (without sculptural iconography) juxtaposed with a single-bay arch (without sculptural iconography) is sometimes thought to depict the Temple of Fortuna Redux and the Arch of Domitian. For example, it is labeled that way in *LTUR* 2: 275-6, 448 fig. 107 s.v. Fortuna Redux, templum (F. Coarelli). This hypothesis, however, must overcome the lack of particular iconography on both buildings, inconsistency in the representation of the Arch of Domitian, which is represented twice in the same series of relief panels as a quadrifrons (figs. 57a, 60a), and the lack of a consistent architectural setting for images of triumph. The juxtaposition of a temple with an arch was common, even along the triumphal route (especially in the Forum and on the *clivus Capitolinus*). Moreover, the background architecture of the triumph scenes on the Boscoreale cup (fig. 6), the Arch of Titus (fig. 18a) and the Arch of Benevento (fig. 32a) all lack secure identifications (see pp. 48-9 n. 82). It seems clear that a variety of places along the triumphal route must have been represented, including the much-debated *Porta Triumphalis*, for which no satisfactory topographic solution has yet been proposed. See Kleiner's (1989) critique of previous proposals. The suggestion by Pfanner (1980) that a drawing in the Codex Coburgensis represents the *Porta Triumphalis* does not take into account the image's close resemblance to sacro-idyllic reliefs such as those discussed by Polito (1994). Neither De Maria (1988, 289-91) nor Kleiner (1989, 201-4) accept the identification of the arch on the Marcus Aurelius triumph panel as the Arch of Domitian.

⁶⁹Stucchi 1965; Bacchielli 1985, 132-4.

Ancona. It makes sense that the temple was rotated so that its most distinctive features could be visible as well. Another example of building displacement can be found in the well-known fresco from Pompeii depicting a riot in the amphitheater and the neighboring palestra.⁷⁰ In the fresco, the entrance facade of the amphitheater is rotated ninety degrees from its actual physical orientation, so that both buildings can be depicted parallel at the top of the scene without obscuring the characteristic facade of either building.⁷¹ As these examples show, the spacing between buildings and their relative orientations are sometimes significantly altered. The buildings and their spacing are stretched or squeezed, both horizontally and vertically, to fit into the background of the figural scene. These manipulations also result from efforts to coordinate the architectural background with the figural scene.

Faced with a dense monumental landscape, artists presented selected portions of the visible architecture even in reliefs and medallions that feature a continuous architectural background. Low-status structures, such as houses, are hardly ever depicted in the background of figural scenes.⁷² But even high-status buildings were sometimes

⁷⁰From the peristyle of house I, 3, 23; now in Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale inv. I 12222. Donati (1998, 216 pl. 211, 306).

⁷¹See De Vos and De Vos (1982, 147-153) for a description and plans of these buildings. I owe the observation about the manipulated orientation of the buildings depicted in this painting to J. A. Becker (2001. "Roman Perspectives of Urban Landscape." Paper read at "Space and Locale in Classical Antiquity," the Fifth Annual Graduate Student Colloquium of the University of Virginia's Classics Graduate Student Association, 24 February, Charlottesville).

⁷²With the possible exception of the enigmatic building between the Temple of Fortuna Redux and the Arch of Domitian on the *adventus* medallion of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 56). The house of Augustus, depicted on the Sorrento base (fig. 3) as well as on a relief fragment that La Rocca (1994b) attributes to the same monument as the Valle-Medici reliefs, can be considered high-status architecture. Senatorial decrees had mandated extraordinary decorations for its entrance facade, as the *Res Gestae* of Augustus records (34.2: "*laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est*"). It is significant, however, that in later periods the imperial residence does not appear as an architectural setting for imperial action. Sculpted images of houses as backgrounds do appear in private art (for example, the lying-in-state relief of the Tomb of the Haterii, Kleiner 1992, 196-9, fig. 164).

omitted. For example, the scene of tax-burning on the *Anaglypha* depicts the Temple of Saturn, an arch over the *clivus Capitolinus*, and the Temple of Vespasian between the Basilica Julia and the rostra (fig. 39). The later Constantinian *adlocutio*, however, depicts only the Arch of Tiberius (over the *vicus Iugarius*) between the Basilica Julia and the rostra (fig.36).⁷³ In fact, no temples are shown in the Constantinian relief, even though three temples stood between the Basilica Julia and the Arch of Septimius Severus.⁷⁴ Instead, there is an emphasis on an arcaded background (the Basilica Julia, the Arch of Tiberius, and the Arch of Septimius Severus), broken by the verticals of the Tetrarchic five-column monument depicted behind the rostra.

Attempts to elucidate spatial relationships between buildings based solely on these visual representations therefore encounter many difficulties. For example, both the locations and the exact spatial relationship of the Temple of Fortuna Redux and the Arch of Domitian remain unclear. The position of the temple in the upper left-hand corner on the *adventus* relief panel of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 60a) can be interpreted as an indication of distance or elevation on a hill, or both. It is visually ambiguous. No clues compel one reading over another. These images cannot lend support to any of the competing hypotheses concerning the location of the Temple of Fortuna Redux. They can only rule out hypotheses that deny the simultaneous visibility of temple and arch during the ceremony of *adventus*.⁷⁵

⁷³For the Arch of Tiberius, see De Maria (1988, 275-6), with full bibliography.

⁷⁴The absence of temples in this panel, however, does not reflect some sort of Constantinian anti-pagan bias; many of the panels reused on the Arch of Constantine include temples and images of gods.

⁷⁵Coarelli identifies the Temple of Fortuna in the San Omobono area as that of Fortuna Redux, and would place the Arch of Domitian in the same complex. Coarelli's views have most recently been presented in *LTUR* 1: 92 s.v. Arcus Domitiani (Fortuna Redux) (E. Rodríguez Almeida) and *LTUR* 2: 275-6 s.v. Fortuna Redux, Templum (F. Coarelli). Richardson (1992, 25, 157, 301) accepts Coarelli's identification of Domitian's arch with the "Porta Carmentalis/Scelerata/Triumphalis" (25) but would place neither the temple nor the arch in the San Omobono area. Richardson would place the temple higher on the slope of the Capitoline and the arch in an as-yet unexcavated portion of the Forum Boarium. De Maria (1988, 289-

When architectural backgrounds appear on two relief faces at a right angle to each other, interpretation is more difficult. The problem is posed most clearly by the Sorrento base (figs. 2-4): does the architectural background continue from one face to another or does it represent two discrete locations, without implying unity of background architecture and figural scene?⁷⁶ If it represents a continuous architectural background, this sculpted base supports the argument that Augustus built a temple of Vesta on the Palatine next to his house.⁷⁷ Evidence of other continuous architectural backgrounds suggests that either possibility can be supported. For example, on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, the representation of an Ionic distyle temple negotiates one corner of the small relief frieze depicting a triumphal procession that winds around the entire arch (figs. 32a-b). The facade of the temple is depicted on one facade of the arch, and the flank of the

91) rejects claims that the quadrifrons Arch of Domitian was the *Porta Triumphalis*. Instead, De Maria suggests reviving the earlier hypothesis of Lyngby (1954, 119-22) that places the Arch of Domitian along the Via Lata, between the Column of Marcus Aurelius and the Mausoleum of Augustus, near the Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina.

⁷⁶A second example of such ambiguity is the relief fragment from the corner of a monument excavated from the Area Sacra di San Omobono. On one face it depicts the facade of the Temple of Fortuna Redux (fig. 92); the other surviving face preserves part of two arches of a colonnade. See Loreti (1996, 251), who assumes a topographic connection between the two faces of this relief fragment.

⁷⁷Proponents of the second temple of Vesta on the Palatine include: Rizzo 1933; Guarducci (1964; 1971); Cappelli (1990); McDaniel (1995); and Cecamore (1994-5), who identifies a circular foundation near the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine with a Vespasianic reconstruction of the Augustan temple of Vesta. Also see *LTUR* 5: 128-9 s.v. Vesta, ara, signum, aedes (in Palatio) (R. Cappelli). Objections to this identification have been raised by Deggrasi (1955) and Hölscher (1988, 375-8). Although the central section of the Vestal scene on the Sorrento Base does not survive, a reconstruction based on Rizzo's study (1933) was added to the cast of the monument in the Museo del Civiltà Romana. Unfortunately, this reconstruction is especially misleading in photographs. The discussions of Hölscher (1988, 375-6) and Kuttner (1995, 61-2), accompanied by photographs of this reconstructed cast, do not point out the reconstruction. The identifications of two Julio-Claudian representations of round temples also hinge on whether there was a second temple of Vesta: a heavily restored fragment with Vesta, Vestals, and architecture in the Villa Albani, inv. nr. 1010, possibly of Claudian date (Koepfel 1983a, 78, 118-9); and two fragments representing a round temple that La Rocca (1994b, 283) attributes to the same Julio-Claudian monument as the Villa Medici reliefs.

temple on the flank of the arch.⁷⁸ The *Anaglypha* (figs. 37, 39) demonstrate that an architectural background can continue across non-contiguous relief panels with different figural scenes. The repetition of the Marsyas statue, fig tree, and Basilica Julia on each panel emphasizes the continuity of the architectural background. Unity of scene and place, however, is the exception rather than the rule for multi-sided or multi-paneled monuments, and thematic relationships need not imply topographic juxtaposition.⁷⁹

Returning to the Sorrento base, the interpretation of the two adjacent faces with architectural backgrounds is further confused by the use of an Ionic column at the corner (fig. 4). It could imply the continuity of the architectural facade of the house of Augustus with the Ionic colonnade behind the procession of Vestals, but it could equally be used as a framing device that need not imply architectural continuity. The figural scenes of each face are separate, both directed away from the corner in question. Even so, the repetition of Ionic capitals on both faces encourages the viewing of this relief base from the corner, an angle at which both architectural backgrounds are simultaneously visible (fig. 4). From this view, the idea of a continuous architectural background indicating a unified location seems more appealing. However, if Augustus did not build a temple of Vesta on the Palatine, the ancient viewer would not have even thought to interpret these two relief faces as depicting a contiguous set of buildings. Thus, the Sorrento base cannot offer

⁷⁸Muscettola (1992, fig. 1-3). Another example of flank-and-facade aligned with the corner of a block can be found on a mythological sarcophagus in the Palazzo Altemps (Museo Nazionale Romano inv. n. 8644, illustrated by De Lachenal 1983, 193-5, fig. 82). Similarly, two faces of the quadrifrons Arch of Domitian, with its elephant quadriga, negotiate the northeast corner of the small procession frieze on the Arch of Constantine, fig. 102 (L'Orange and Von Gerkan 1939, 74, 79, pl. 18d).

⁷⁹Overlapping buildings, such as on the city scenes from the Column of Trajan, are clearly meant to be read as a discrete group. In these cases, the unified figural scene indicates that the group of buildings are a topographic unit, not a series of different places. On the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, new scenes—and locations—are signaled by new focal points for action, the repetition of the imperial figure, and changes in background, varying from architecture (of both city and village) to landscapes with trees, rivers, and undefined space. On narrative art, see Brilliant (1984) and Small (1999).

support to either position in the debate over the existence of an Augustan temple of Vesta on the Palatine.

In antiquity, the juxtaposition of buildings was an important technique for representing a recognizable architectural landscape, although it was not intended to record exact spatial relationships or the full range of buildings visible from a given location.⁸⁰ The ancient viewer was able to refer to the actual landscape to determine the exact spatial relationship among a series of buildings.⁸¹ The selective representation of reality—the omission of intervening buildings, the rotation, displacement and re-proportioning of the buildings represented, presenting the most recognizable facade of each—reflects the varied choices made by artists seeking to optimize compositions while still valuing the recognizability of the resulting architectural images. Despite the difficulties that the very different modern landscape of Rome presents to scholars who attempt to interpret such images, the juxtaposition of multiple building images in a single composition still offers a foothold for identifying building images.

Scene Types

Like the other categories of evidence treated so far, the distinctiveness of scene type—that is, the participants and their joint activity—varies. Some scene types are closely correlated with a single location, whereas the interpretation of other scene types is dependent upon their location. Furthermore, a significant number of images with architectural backgrounds do not share composition or setting with other surviving images. These images might depict rarely enacted events or unconventional views of

⁸⁰Unlike the Severan marble plan of Rome with its precise detail about the ground plans of the city's buildings, both public and private (see Reynolds 1996). The Severan plan is sufficiently detailed and accurate that it can be used as a guide to excavation; these reliefs are useless for that type of research.

⁸¹It could be interesting to speculate to what extent these images influenced ancient perceptions of the buildings depicted on them.

familiar events. They may simply happen to be the only surviving example of a certain iconographic type. These images without close parallels, however, often cannot be interpreted without additional historical information that describes the event and its location. For example, the location of events depicted on the *Ludi Saeculares* coins of Domitian (figs. 17a-i) discussed above can only be identified by matching the iconography of the scenes with the description of the events provided by the inscriptions detailing the *Ludi Saeculares* of Augustus and Septimius Severus. But because some of the rituals of the *Ludi* took place at multiple locations, these scene types are of limited use for identifying specific temples.

The most prominent non-distinctive scene type is the emperor sacrificing before a temple. The exact emphasis of the sacrifice iconography depends upon the location depicted. The basic message of sacrifice, *pietas*, could be further specified by representing the temple, and, by extension, revealing which deity was the recipient of sacrifice. These choices reflected the concerns of the emperor whose sacrifice was commemorated in sculptural or numismatic form. A sacrifice to the oldest gods of the Roman state carries a very different emphasis than one to a recently deified emperor. Chapter 3 explores how some of the settings for sacrifice mediated dynastic concerns. Some of the other messages conveyed by such temple-sacrifice scenes will be discussed in chapter 4.

Another ambiguous scene type is the triumph. No consistent architectural background can be associated with the triumph. In fact, although quite a few scenes depicting triumphal chariots or the procession of *ferculum* bearers include architectural backgrounds, only one of these backgrounds can be identified with confidence.⁸² Perhaps

⁸²For triumphs in general, see Künzl (1988). The images of triumph with architectural backgrounds that I have identified include:

-Fig. 6, the sacrifice scene paired with a triumphal procession on the Boscoreale cup, (Ionic tetrastyle with eagle in pediment; the temple either has a high podium or is raised on a hill); see recently Kuttner (1995, 127-31).

the absence of a fixed architectural background reflects the importance of movement in the ritual of the triumphal parade. *Adventus* scenes are also sensitive to location.⁸³ The distinction between an *adventus* to Rome and an *adventus* to some other location was made clear both by architectural backgrounds and by whether some representative of Rome, such as the Genius Senatus or Roma herself is included in the scene. Although some *adventus* scenes lack architecture and others include only a simple, undecorated arch in the background, the ceremonial return of the emperor to Rome was most closely associated with the Temple of Fortuna Redux.⁸⁴ Fortuna Redux communicated the emperor's return so powerfully that representations of sacrifice at this location imply

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- Figs. 18a-b, the spoils relief of the Arch of Titus in Rome (single bay arch with two quadrigae on the attic); see De Maria (1988, 286).
 - Figs. 32a-b, the small triumph relief on the Arch of Trajan in Benevento (Ionic distyle temple placed at relief corner). See Muscettola (1992).
 - Fig. 62, the triumph panel of Marcus Aurelius (Corinthian tetrastyle juxtaposed with single bay arch, sometimes identified as Fortuna Redux and the *Porta Triumphalis*, identifications which cannot be supported by architectural details, sculptural iconography, juxtaposition, or scene type). See La Rocca (1986, 39-40); *LTUR* 2: 275-6, 448 fig. 107 s.v. Fortuna Redux, Templum (F. Coarelli).
 - Fig. 80, Fragmentary relief in the Palazzo Altemps, Museo Nazionale Romano (B 13618), possibly of Severan date, depicting a *ferculum* being carried through an undecorated single-bay-arch. Koeppel (1986, 15-6, 85-6).
 - Fig. 102, small relief frieze on the Arch of Constantine: the ends of the triumph procession panel are framed by arches. The arch depicted on the northeast corner of the arch has, on one face, the heads of two elephants, and thus can be identified with the quadrifrons of Domitian. These elephants, however, are difficult to spot even in detail photographs. L'Orange and Von Gerkan (1939, 74, 79, pl. 18d).

⁸³For the iconography of *adventus*, see Koeppel (1969).

⁸⁴This connection can be traced to the Augustan age. In 19 B.C., a decade before the *Ara Pacis Augustae* was dedicated in celebration of Augustus' return to Rome from Spain and Gaul, Augustus' safe return from Syria was celebrated by the erection of an altar to Fortuna Redux, recounted in the *Res Gestae*, 11-12. Numismatic images of the altar of Fortuna Redux emphasize its label, not its architectural or sculptural details; whether it had a decorated precinct on the model of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, as Hill implies (1989, 62), cannot be determined from the coins alone. See also *LTUR* 2: 275 s.v. Fortuna Redux, Ara (F. Coarelli). The Temple of Fortuna Redux depicted in the relief and medallion images was erected by Domitianic times, if not earlier. See *LTUR* 2: 275-6, s.v. Fortuna Redux, Templum (F. Coarelli). As an indication of the emperor's return, the personification of Fortuna Redux herself often appeared on the coinage. For the ideology of Fortuna Redux, see Kajanto (1988).

adventus as well.⁸⁵ The two representations of *adventus* with complex architectural backgrounds, however, both depict the Temple of Fortuna Redux. Pedimental iconography clearly identifies the temple on the *adventus* panel relief of Marcus Aurelius as that of Fortuna Redux (fig. 60a). The identity of the tiny, schematically represented temple on the *adventus* medallion of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 56), however, established through juxtaposition of buildings (see above), is confirmed by the association between *adventus* and Fortuna Redux.

Likewise, *adlocutio* could take place at a wide variety of locations, as the many military *adlocutio* scenes on the Column of Trajan attest. Scenes of civic *adlocutio* in Rome, however, consistently use the Forum Romanum for their architectural setting. Three representations show *adlocutio* in the Forum Romanum; each image features a different view of the Forum. A *sestertius* of Hadrian depicts an *adlocutio* at the Temple of Divus Iulius (fig. 45). The *Anaglypha* depicts an *adlocutio* from the rostra of the Temple of Divus Iulius (fig. 37). The continuous architectural background also depicts the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the Basilica Julia. The small *adlocutio* panel of the Arch of Constantine shows the emperor speaking on the rostra before the Tetrarchic five-column monument, with the Basilica Julia, the Arch of Tiberius, and Arch of Septimius Severus to either side (fig. 101). Thus, just as there is no standard depiction of the Temple of Fortuna Redux or of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, there is no canonical view of the Forum. Yet the repeated representation of the Forum Romanum suggests its continued resonance as a locus of political speech.

⁸⁵Two images—a relief of either Domitianic or Trajan date from the Forum of Caesar (Degraasi 1939, 70-6), and the “FORTVNAE REDVCIS” medallions of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus—depict sacrifice at the temple; another relief depicting the Temple of Fortuna Redux is too badly damaged to determine whether a figural scene was present (Loreti 1996). See above, pp. 31-3, especially n. 49.

The Vestals regularly occur in scenes set at the *aedes Vestae*, but not in scenes specifically given other locations through architectural backgrounds. Early first-century A.D. representations of the Vestals and the personification of Vesta with a round temple are found on a sculpted base found at Sorrento and a relief now in Palermo (figs. 2, 5). As noted above, the evidence of juxtaposition does not provide decisive evidence either for or against the hypothesis that Augustus built a second temple of Vesta on the Palatine.⁸⁶ The iconography of the figural scene does not decide the question either; the presence of the priestesses of a specific deity does not reveal which locus of worship for that deity is represented. The *aedes Vestae* appears again in the late second century A.D. as background to the six Vestal Virgins sacrificing on medallions of Lucilla, Crispina, and Julia Domna (figs. 67-9).⁸⁷

In the end, figural scenes are useful in that they suggest the extent to which certain actions were regularly performed at a consistent location.⁸⁸ These examples demonstrate that while certain places were closely linked to specific actions, actions by themselves rarely settle the identity of the architecture depicted. The scene type can, however, narrow down the range of likely possibilities, and can help solidify identifications arrived at by other means. Reliefs, coins, and medallions thus vividly illustrate the historical associations between place and event, as well as the variety of locations at which important events could take place.

⁸⁶Rizzo 1933, 26-50; Guarducci 1964; Cecamore 1994-5; McDaniel 1995.

⁸⁷See the discussion of these medallion types in chapter 3.

⁸⁸Livy 5.52.2 observed such a nexus between ritualized action and the urban landscape in Republican Rome: "Just as the days are fixed for our sacred ceremonies, so too are the places where they are performed." Translation from Favro (1999, 205). Also see the comments on the importance of place in Vasaly (1993); Edwards (1996); and Small (1999).

Sightlines

Another type of contextualization that I believe was important to ancient viewers of architectural images was the placement of a given monumental relief in such a way that the relief image and the building(s) depicted upon it were simultaneously visible. In antiquity, such sightlines aided the viewer in making the connection between image and original. To give just one example, the *Anaglyphs* (figs. 36-9), depicting the Forum Romanum, were placed within the Forum itself.⁸⁹ Today, however, such sightlines must be reconstructed, as none of the reliefs survive *in situ*. As a result, the high potential for circular argumentation suggests that sightlines should be used cautiously, and only to reconfirm identifications derived from other sources of evidence.

Architecture and Status

Relationships between figural scenes and architectural backgrounds are more complex than the simple contextualization of events. I have alluded several times to the manipulation of architectural backgrounds to support compositional goals. The need to balance priorities sometimes affected the ways in which the artists made a particular building recognizable. Therefore, in this chapter on a methodology for identifying buildings, it is necessary to discuss the ways in which architectural backgrounds were manipulated to emphasize the status distinctions also present in the figural scenes.

In particular, background architecture often draws attention to the figure of the emperor. Several techniques are used. In some cases, such as the *adlocutio* relief from the Arco di Portogallo (fig. 48), the emperor's head aligns with a temple's pediment, subtly suggesting an equivalent status. Sometimes the emperor is placed in opposition to

⁸⁹See chapter 5 for the other examples of sightlines that I have identified.

architecture, as on some of the coins of Domitian's *Ludi Saeculares* series (figs. 17a-i). In these images, the emperor dominates the open space while others stand against the architectural background.

Alternately, the emperor can stand close to the center of the temple, directly underneath any deities depicted in the pediment, as on the *sestertius* of Caligula depicting the Temple of Divus Augustus (figs. 7a-b). In the *Extispicium* relief of Trajan, the emperor stands before the central cella door of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; we see him, not Jupiter (figs. 25a-b). Moreover, if the emperor stands in front of architecture, he usually stands in front of the 'highest status' building in the scene. In the *Extispicium* relief, the emperor and his retinue stand in front of the temple, while those involved in the messy work of extracting and reading the bull's entrails are not framed by any architecture at all. The background architecture of the temple-sacrifice relief of Marcus Aurelius replicates the status distinctions among the participants: the imperial group stands beneath the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus while the victim group stands beneath a colonnade (fig. 61a). In all the panels of Marcus Aurelius, if a temple is depicted, the emperor stands beneath it (figs. 60a, 61a, 62). This type of segregation need not be horizontal, as the small sacrifice panel from the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna illustrates (fig. 72). Septimius Severus and his family, interspersed with deities, stand on the temple's podium, but the local officials, victims, and the *victimarii* cluster about the altar at the bottom of the steps, their heads literally below the level of the feet of the imperial family.⁹⁰

Similar architectural reflections of rank can be seen on the *Anaglypha*.⁹¹ The *adlocutio* relief features one temple, that of Castor and Pollux (fig. 37). There the emperor

⁹⁰In this way, the artist also cleverly disguised the joint between two marble slabs. See Elena La Rocca (1985, 5-7).

⁹¹Torelli 1982, 89-118; Rüdiger 1973; Hammond 1953.

stands, neatly framed by the temple in the background. His retinue emerges out of the Arch of Augustus; his audience stands in front of the Basilica Julia. On the tax-burning relief, the men bringing tax records walk past the Basilica Julia (fig. 39). The records themselves are piled before the Temple of Saturn, where the senatorial treasury of Rome was kept. The god is meant to watch this cancellation of debts to the state.⁹² The man about to put a torch to the tablets is perfectly framed by the arch between the two temples, and Ann Kuttner has suggested that we should recognize this prominently positioned figure as the emperor himself.⁹³

The complex, continuous architectural backgrounds of the *Anaglypha* clearly work with the figural scenes to emphasize both the action and the relative status of the participants, even though the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Castor and Pollux had to be made smaller to fit. In the *adlocutio* scene, the already prominent figure of the emperor (on a podium, in the foreground, at the center of attention with most of the figures gazing in his direction) is further emphasized by the Temple of Castor and Pollux, whose facade columns are here reduced from eight to five. The wide gap next to the temple (for the *vicus Tuscus*) only accentuates the purposeful distortion of this temple.⁹⁴ The emperor's head even violates the integrity of the temple's pedimental triangle. The absence of pedimental sculpture makes this choice reasonable from an artistic point of view.

The intensive framing of the emperor by the temple suggests that in this case the abbreviated Temple of Castor and Pollux may act as a kind of full-body frame, or 'halo,' for the emperor. Likewise, on a *sestertius* of Hadrian, the emperor is outlined by the

⁹²Torelli (1982, 108) also notes the appropriateness of the Temple of Saturn's presence in the background of this event.

⁹³Kuttner (1995, 46) also claims that traces of a beard are visible on this figure, whom she identifies as Hadrian.

⁹⁴As Rüdiger (1973, 164) points out.

Temple of Divus Iulius as though he were its cult figure (fig. 45). Only the presence of the audience, responding to his speech, assures the viewer that this coin represents the emperor in action. This visual ambiguity perhaps alludes to the emperor's controlling position within the state cult and to his potential status as a recipient of cult after death.⁹⁵ A similar double reading can be made of a provincial medallion, which celebrates Caracalla's visit to Laodicea (fig. 84).⁹⁶ Here the architectural frame is not limited to the temple itself, but also includes a bird's eye view of the forum enclosure that focuses the composition on the figure of the emperor. In late antiquity and beyond, background architecture continues to thrive as a compositional device for focusing attention on the central figures of a scene.⁹⁷

⁹⁵Observations about the use of architecture to frame important figures have been made before, although generally not in reference to these particular reliefs, medallions, and coins. Alföldi (1955) explores Persian and Hellenistic precursors for architectural framing; Smith (1956) explored the imperial symbolism of the pediment and arch; Yegül (1982, 22-4) considers the architectural framework of sculptures of the imperial family in *Kaisersaal*; and Ulrich (1994) explored the implications of attaching speaker's platforms to temples in Rome. Ulrich's observations are particularly cogent here:

"Nevertheless, an orators' platform appended to the front of a monumental temple building could hardly have provided a more dramatic setting for public display in an exterior setting. In the Imperial period the portrayal of the emperor in front of a temple facade or its architectural equivalent—a frame of columns and pediment—is a recurring theme and one that may have originally held royal connotations, as is hinted in such diverse sources as the writings of Vitruvius and the paintings of kings on fourth-century B.C. Greek vases. Indeed, the use of the temple facade to frame the emperor reaches its zenith in the fourth century, when the temple form is combined with palace architecture to create a kind of divine tribunal." (Ulrich 1994, 17-8).

⁹⁶Harl 1987, 56, pl. 23.6; Johnston 1983, 60, 70; Price and Trelle 1977, 25 fig. 23.

⁹⁷For the late antique, see the images collected by Egger (1959) and Billig (1977); Smith (1956) reflects on the symbolism of architectural form from antiquity through the middle ages; Summerson (1963) does the same for the Gothic period. The architectural framing of powerful persons continues to resonate as a successful compositional device, as can be seen on the November 20, 2000 cover of *Newsweek*. It shows a photomontage of the two presidential candidates, representing the then undecided election, neatly framed by the architectural background of the White House in Washington, D.C., the seat of presidential power.

Conclusions

The discussion of the interplay between architectural backgrounds and the status of individuals within figural scenes demonstrates some of the competing priorities that artists had to balance. The six categories of evidence that I have outlined imply that artists had a wide range of options for making architectural backgrounds recognizable. This versatility helped artists achieve both identifiability and compositional unity. It helps to explain why there was no one canonical way to indicate particular buildings or locations, such as the Temple of Fortuna Redux, the Forum Romanum, or the Capitoline temple. Instead, the Roman artists used a combination of formal and contextual cues to signal the identity of the buildings they depicted. The flexibility inherent in this system of architectural representation also cautions against forcing a linear scheme of stylistic development onto these images.

Although the message of the image often depended on the viewer's ability to recognize the location, a few distinctive clues often sufficed. On the whole, Roman artists tended to be sparing with their use of redundant detail; most of their audiences were familiar with these places and only needed to be reminded of them.⁹⁸ The historic and literary evidence that can be adduced to support identifications also fits into this scheme. Historical evidence can reveal a building's architectural form and decoration, can help make a scene type legible, and can confirm the juxtaposition of buildings. The cultural

⁹⁸The importance of particular details and distinctive iconography is not confined to architectural images like those under consideration. Ancient systems for enhancing the memory depended upon architectural spaces and vivid images. Architectural spaces were memorized as the basis for the organizational system; students were warned to choose architectural spaces distinctive from each other—repetitive colonnades were discouraged, as those places were too similar and might result in confusion. When practitioners of such memory systems wished to remember particular things, they were arranged iconographically within the architectural space—perhaps in effect similar to the arrangement of figural scenes before architectural backgrounds discussed here. For a particularly lucid explanation of ancient memory systems, see Yates (1966, 1-26).

knowledge of the Roman viewer is replaced for us by the additional evidence needed to interpret the identifying features of many buildings.

The most characteristic view of a building—its facade—was generally depicted. Beyond that, artists often included iconographic details that helped viewers to recognize buildings, but they frequently abbreviated and distorted those architectural features less critical for identification. Some images do indeed have rather accurate architectural details, although they are rarely the primary basis for identification.⁹⁹ Those temple images with a legend or contextualized by a series of buildings could be extremely abbreviated, yet still identifiable.¹⁰⁰ If the entire burden of rendering a building recognizable had been placed on the architectural details, then the types of abbreviation and distortion noted among these images would not have been possible. When we shift the emphasis of the analysis from the pursuit of errors in representation to the classification of methods for identifying the structures represented, we can discover a whole series of intermediate representational strategies that artists employed.

Broadly speaking, it is important to realize that not all the architectural images that were intended to be recognized can still be successfully identified. Too much contextual and topographic information has been lost. In this study, I point out when insufficient detail was included in images for identification to be a reasonable goal. Details that are ambiguous—whether they were originally so or have become so through loss of monuments and context—will be clearly noted as such. Although I dispute some past

⁹⁹Examples of architectural accuracy include the representations of the Temples of Magna Mater and Mars Ultor from the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, with correct numbers of facade columns and simplified but carefully depicted versions of column base and entablature moldings (figs. 8-9). Even in the most detailed representations, some architectural features were privileged over others, and the identification of these temples depends upon their pedimental iconography as well. See Maier (1985, 138-42) for a comparison between these relief representations and the archaeological evidence.

¹⁰⁰Such as the many third-century coin representations of the Temple of Venus and Roma (Bayet 1993) or the representation of the Temple of Castor and Pollux on the *Anaglypha*.

identifications of individual architectural representations, I do not put forward any new identifications. I use the attribution “unknown building” frequently.

In some cases, one distinctive characteristic—such as a numismatic legend—might be sufficient to identify a building, but those images for which only one or two recognizable features survive are often difficult, if not impossible, to identify. Usually, three or four types of evidence need to point to the same identification for it to be persuasive, if not conclusive. This methodology allows me to evaluate and compare the strengths and weaknesses of various identifications. Moreover, it also provides a clear definition of those architectural images that were not intended to be recognized as particular buildings: they lack any specific identifying features.

For my purposes, a secure identification of an architectural image depends on the depiction (and preservation) of multiple features that are specifically and exclusively associated with a single building or location. For example, the identification of the Basilica Julia on the *Anaglypha* is secure (figs. 37, 39). The architectural form, an arcade, suggests a basilica; juxtaposition with other buildings, especially the rostra, suggests the Forum Romanum; the lion’s head keystones depicted on the arcade match those excavated from the Basilica Julia.¹⁰¹ The scene type of one of the panels, *adlocutio*, conforms to the traditional uses of the Forum Romanum. Finally, the *Anaglypha* panels were displayed within the Forum Romanum (figs. 36, 38). The Basilica Julia itself could be seen from where its relief representation was erected. That the representation omits several of the Basilica’s arcades and its upper level, and alters its proportions with respect to neighboring buildings, seems unimportant in comparison to what it does indicate: the identity of the location.

¹⁰¹Torelli 1982, 113 n. 59.

Upon close examination, many identifications turn out to be plausible but not convincing. For example, the *Curia* has been recognized in the background of one panel of the Arch of Trajan at Benevento (fig. 30).¹⁰² This identification is entirely dependent on the interpretation of the scene in front of it as the reception of Trajan by the senate, an event that could conceivably have taken place at many different locations in Rome.¹⁰³ The unusual omission of any pedimental representation perhaps suggests that the building depicted was not a temple.¹⁰⁴ Yet this conclusion can only be tentative, in light of the Roman penchant for abbreviating buildings. The identification of the image as the *Curia* may indeed be correct, but since all arguments in support of this identification proceed from interpretation of the figural scene, for which no exact parallels can be found, this identification is weak.

This method of analyzing architectural representations works equally well on Augustan and Constantinian representations of architecture. Although stylistic changes occur during the first three centuries A.D., the principles underlying the identification of architectural backgrounds do not. In reliefs of the Augustan age, such as the temple-sacrifice scene from the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, images of the cult statues inside the temple suggest that its particular identification is important for the reading of the entire scene (fig. 1). As discussed above, the Sorrento base uses architectural features, sculptural iconography, juxtaposition, and the figural scene to identify the action at a temple of Vesta (fig. 2), although gaps in the archaeological and historical record prevent the location

¹⁰²Most recently supported by Torelli (1997, 156, 175 n. 48, with previous bibliography).

¹⁰³See Bonnefond-Coudry (1989) for the variety of locations at which the senate could meet.

¹⁰⁴ The absence of a pediment, however, does not prevent the architectural background from being interpreted as a temple. A similarly ambiguous representation, this time of a garlanded distyle Ionic building with elaborate doors, can be found on the Mattei relief in the Louvre (MA 992). It is juxtaposed with a tetrastyle Corinthian temple. Neither structure can be identified. In the foreground is a scene of sacrifice. See Koeppel (1983a, 84-5, 140-1, fig. 46), with full bibliography.

from being exactly known. The Arch of Constantine in Rome reused many second-century reliefs with the same ways of making architectural backgrounds distinctive—architectural features, sculptural iconography, and juxtaposition. The more recent sculpture on the arch, such as the small *adlocutio* relief (fig. 101), used the same identifying techniques. This relief, one of the three surviving scenes of *adlocutio* depicting the emperor in the Forum Romanum,¹⁰⁵ uses architectural features (the triple Arch of Septimius Severus, the rostra), juxtaposition (the Basilica Julia, the Arch of Tiberius, the rostra and the Tetrarchic five-column monument behind it, and the Arch of Septimius Severus), and sculptural iconography (portraits of previous emperors on the rostra and on the five-column monument) to identify the location of the event. Numismatic legends and sightlines can be found over the entire chronological range under consideration as well. The persistent inclusion of specific architectural backgrounds in Roman state art suggests something of the importance of the particularity such backgrounds provided to what could otherwise become generic, repetitive displays of the emperor's virtues.

In conclusion, although I have emphasized the tenuous nature of many identifications in this chapter, I also hope to have demonstrated that the majority of these architectural representations were intended to be recognized as images of specific buildings. By categorizing the types of information used to identify architectural representations, I have attempted to provide a consistent set of criteria for evaluating the evidence that supports particular identifications, in order to separate workable identifications of architectural representations from wishful thinking. Finally, this methodology highlights what is absent from certain representations. All of this information is important for interpreting individual compositions holistically.

¹⁰⁵The others are the *adlocutio* panel of the *Anaglypha*, fig. 37, and a *sestertius* of Hadrian, fig. 45.

CHAPTER III

THE TEMPLE-SACRIFICE MOTIF IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF IMPERIAL SUCCESSION

All scenes of sacrifice can be taken as reflections of the imperial virtue of *pietas*.¹ The motif of the emperor sacrificing before a temple, however, often projects more than imperial piety. Changes in location can have a dramatic effect on the meaning of a sacrifice. Sacrifices at the Temple of Victory suggest gratitude for military success. Sacrifices at the Temple of Fortuna Redux suggest a safe return from travel. Sacrifices at the Temple of Divus Augustus suggest filial piety. Sacrifices at the Temple of Concordia suggest dynastic unity. In this chapter, I argue that despite the variety of locations depicted, many occurrences of the temple-sacrifice motif can be linked to the powerful ideas of dynastic legitimacy and imperial succession. I do not, however, restrict the interpretation of sacrifice types to just these themes. Chapter 4 explores how temple-sacrifice scenes and other iconographic types with architectural backgrounds help articulate the emperor's role in the city of Rome.

The use of the temple-sacrifice motif to reiterate dynastic relationships begins under the Julio-Claudian emperors and can be observed as late as the Tetrarchy. Changes in the Roman imperial system influenced the relative importance of temple and sacrifice in these images. The earliest uses of the temple-sacrifice motif include extremely detailed images of temples to Augustus or images of temples built by Augustus. Such images

¹Gordon 1990b.

emphasize the emperor's connection to the founder of the imperial system during the first century, when one-man rule in Rome was not yet taken for granted. In this period, the essential imperial qualification was membership in the Julio-Claudian family.

By the Severan era, however, less detailed and sometimes entirely anonymous temple images unify compositions in which the emperor and his heir(s) sacrifice together. This shift from past-centered to future-centered messages of dynastic succession meant that the temple's identity was no longer essential to the dynastic message of the image. Rather, the temple serves as a common background, emphasizing the cooperation, coordination, and concord within a family or among co-emperors implied by joint sacrifice.

The Temple-Sacrifice Motif

The essential element of the sacrifice motif is a gesture. The officiating priest—in state art, almost always the emperor—pours the contents of a patera onto a burning altar. Beyond this core image, a rather flexible set of participants can be added to individualize the composition. Lictors, senators, flamens, advisors, soldiers, personifications, and deities can accompany the emperor and emphasize his status. Others, like musicians, *camilli* (youths holding ritual objects), the sacrificial victims, and the *victimarii* (the slaves that handled the animals and did the actual killing and butchering) are standard participants in the ritual of sacrifice, and often provide evidence for the subject of a relief when the imperial figure does not survive.

The sacrificial victim and animal handlers usually stand as far from the emperor as possible, generally on the opposite side of the altar. This visual separation demarcates the 'clean' and 'messy' aspects of the sacrificial ritual, and reflects the relative status of the

participants.² The architectural background sometimes reinforces this separation between the emperor's group and the victim's group. In the third century, the victim group is often replaced by a second emperor and imperial retinue. The versatility of the spatial configuration of the figural scene and the architecture contributes to the variable appearance of this iconography as well.

Even the most elaborate depictions of sacrifice, however, represent a conceptual, idealized version of events. Spectators are never shown. Although most imperial sacrifices involved large numbers of victims, most representations depict just one or two animals. Moreover, only selected moments of the sacrificial ritual are depicted. It seems that the illustration of one part of the ceremony was sufficient to indicate the entire set of ritual activities. While the sequence of events can be pieced together from different representations and from literary sources, no relief monument or coin series presents a coherent narrative of a single event.

Several moments of the sacrifice are represented preferentially.³ Some reliefs depict the procession preceding the sacrifice. Many relief images, and nearly all the numismatic images, record the essential priestly gesture of sacrifice, which occurred as the participants stood around the altar and before the victim was killed. Also characteristic is

²Aldrete, G. (1999) "Hammers, Axes, Bulls, and Blood: Some Practical Aspects of Roman Animal Sacrifice," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association, December 27-30, Dallas, Texas, examines the practicalities of sacrifice, including the necessities of managing the blood and guts (a bull has approximately two gallons of blood).

³Van Straten (1987; 1992; 1995) discusses Greek representations of sacrifice and has developed the useful classification of sacrifice images into 'pre-kill,' 'kill,' and 'post-kill.' He notes that most Greek representations of sacrifice depict either pre-kill or kill moments, although a few show events subsequent to the kill.

the dramatic positioning of the victim for the death blow.⁴ Rarely is the dead victim depicted.⁵

Because they communicated important imperial virtues, and because of their iconographic flexibility, sacrifice scenes are extremely common in Roman state relief.⁶ Approximately half of all surviving imperial sacrifice reliefs have architectural backgrounds.⁷ The majority of coin types with a figural scene contextualized by architecture fall into the temple-sacrifice category as well.⁸ Although this iconography has not passed entirely unobserved, the combination of sacrifice and temple deserves further exploration.⁹

⁴Brendel (1930) argues that the composition of a *victimarius* swinging his axe at a bull, whose head is pulled down by a second kneeling *victimarius*, had a Greek prototype.

⁵Two images depict dead sacrificial animals: the *Extispicium* of Trajan (fig. 25a), which features the inspection of the bull's entrails; and some variants of the Fortuna Redux medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus, in which the head and foreleg of the sacrificial bovine can be seen (fig. 91c). This medallion is unusual in that it also compresses two different moments in the sacrifice. The co-emperors extend their arms in the gesture of sacrifice, but the victim already lies dead at their feet.

⁶See Ryberg (1955) and Ronke (1987).

⁷Of the imperial sacrifice reliefs illustrated in Ryberg's *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (1955), twenty-two have architectural backgrounds while twenty do not. Of the imperial sacrifice reliefs illustrated in Koeppel's corpus of historical reliefs from Rome (1983a; 1984; 1985a; 1986; 1989; 1990), thirteen have architectural backgrounds and eighteen do not. Attempting a more exact count of the percentage of sacrifice scenes with architectural backgrounds would not be helpful, as many relief fragments can be identified as belonging to a sacrifice scene or belonging to an architectural background, but the iconography and composition of the entire relief cannot be determined.

⁸More than three-quarters of the coin types in my corpus depict a sacrifice before a temple. Giving an exact count would be misleadingly specific, because reissues of the same reverse type over several years are counted together, whereas issues of the same reverse type in different denominations are counted separately. Issues of the same reverse type with different obverse portraits of a single ruler are counted together, but issues of the same reverse type with obverse portraits of different rulers (i.e., the emperor alone, the emperor's son, the emperor and his son, the emperor and his wife and son) are counted separately.

⁹For example, Brown (1940, 12-3) notes the "third reason [for the depiction of temples] is the pictorial commemoration of the celebration of religious ceremonies. The group has been isolated through the common factor of a religious action going on before the temple." See also Brendel's (1930) comments on the sacrifice of bulls and Gagé's (1938) discussion of representations of sacrifice set at the Temple of Venus and Roma.

Connecting with the Past: Sacrifice at the Family Temple

Coin of Caligula

The earliest securely dated use of the temple-sacrifice motif in a dynastic context is a *sestertius* of Caligula first minted in 37 A.D. (figs. 7a-b).¹⁰ Its initial issue probably commemorated the completion and dedication of the *templum novum divi Augusti*, the setting of the sacrifice on the reverse,¹¹ but the message of this *sestertius* extended beyond a simple announcement of the temple's dedication. The continuing importance of this *sestertius* type within Caligula's visual program is demonstrated by its reissue every year that *sestertii* were minted during Caligula's reign.¹²

This *sestertius* is not subtle, emphasizing Caligula's legitimacy as heir to Augustus' power on several levels. First, the legend always includes Caligula's title Augustus. The TR P III and TR P IIII issues note in addition that Caligula was Augustus' great-grandson: "DIVI AVG PRON." Caligula's title *Pontifex Maximus*, also listed in the obverse legend, suggests that Caligula performed the sacrifice depicted on the reverse in his capacity as chief priest of Roman state religion. Augustus himself stressed *pietas* in his campaign for religious renewal, which culminated in his appointment as *Pontifex Maximus*.¹³ Both faces of Caligula's *sestertius* feature *pietas*, in words and images, as well

¹⁰*BMCRE* 1: 153 ns. 41-3, 156 n. †, 157 n. 69, pls. 28.6, 28.9, 29.14; Brown (1941, 12-8); Fuchs (1969, 45, 111-16); Hill (1989, 19-20).

¹¹Caligula's dedication of this temple: Suetonius *Caligula* 21; Dio 59.7; Tacitus *Annals* 6.45. For an overview of the literary and archaeological evidence for the temple, see Hänlein-Schäfer (1985, 113-28); *LTUR* 1: 145-6 s.v. Augustus, divus, templum (novum); aedes (M. Torelli). Gagé (1930, 146, 150-3), Hill (1960, 208-10; 1962, 130), and Fishwick (1992) discuss the identification of this temple. The legend "DIVO AVG" combined with the Augustan imagery of the sculptural iconography and the historical knowledge of Caligula's dedication of the Temple of Divus Augustus all secure the identification of the temple depicted on this *sestertius* reverse type. Richmond's (1913) hypothesis that this coin represented the Temple of Apollo Palatinus has been thoroughly discredited. For the possible discovery of the site of the Temple of Divus Augustus, see Ammerman (2000, 80).

¹²*RIC* 1: 105.

¹³See Zanker (1988, 101-35).

as through allegory and action. A female personification labeled “PIETAS” appears on the obverse (fig. 7b).¹⁴ On the reverse, the depiction of the Temple of Divus Augustus as the setting for the sacrifice demonstrates Caligula’s *pietas* both in dedicating the temple to his great-grandfather and in sacrificing to him. Finally, the prominent placement of Caligula at the center of the scene also lines him up with the central figure of the pediment: a statue, probably of Augustus, in a posture of sacrifice similar to Caligula’s. The redundant words and images on this *sestertius* testify to the importance of these themes of *pietas* and dynastic legitimacy. The themes of this *sestertius* fit within a larger pattern: almost every coin type of Caligula’s reign emphasizes his membership in the Julio-Claudian clan and his close blood relationships to other prominent Julio-Claudians.¹⁵

Caligula’s reign featured a number of innovative twists on traditional state religion, many of which have been analyzed as missteps in the development of imperial cult.¹⁶ On the positive side, Caligula was the first emperor to use the temple-sacrifice motif in his coinage, and perhaps he was the first to use the temple-sacrifice motif in a dynastic context as well.¹⁷ This coin type is certainly the earliest piece of fixed date to use the temple-sacrifice motif to connect the emperor to his most eminent predecessor. This *sestertius* clearly served as the archetype for the iconography in its numismatic form.¹⁸

¹⁴See Gordon (1990b, 215-6, 218 fig. 28) on the close association between *pietas* and images of imperial sacrifice.

¹⁵Additional dynastic types: Augustus, Agrippina and Germanicus on the gold and silver; Germanicus, Nero and Drusus, and the three sisters of Caligula on bronze. See *RIC* 1: 104-13.

¹⁶Caligula’s religious experiments (including sacrifices of exotic birds and a personal relationship with Jupiter Optimus Maximus) certainly contributed to his poor historical reputation. For a recent discussion of Caligula’s religious innovations, see Simpson (1996). For an overview of scholarship on Caligula, see Yavetz (1996).

¹⁷It is impossible to determine if this coin or the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (discussed below) has priority as the first to manipulate the temple-sacrifice motif to express messages of dynastic continuity. In Caligula’s favor, however, is a pattern of innovative reverse types in the coinage. See *RIC* 1: 102.

¹⁸Ryberg (1955, 94) argued that this composition was “adapted from a monumental relief,” a position also taken by Fuchs (1969, 111); Kuttner (1995, 128) suggests that “the confident execution of this new numismatic convention indicates its derivation from monumental relief conventions.” Kuttner (1995, 276,

Dynastic Topography 1: The Ara Gentis Iuliae

The large-scale relief counterpart to Caligula's *sestertius*, with a similarly overdetermined message of dynastic legitimacy, is the monument to which I believe the Valle-Medici reliefs should be assigned: the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*.¹⁹ The proportions and decorative scheme of Valle-Medici reliefs, as well as the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, suggest that in overall design this monument was remarkably similar to the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. The scenes of procession and sacrifice and strikingly detailed representations of Augustan temple architecture (figs. 8-9) from the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* communicate the same themes of *pietas* and dynastic legitimacy that Caligula's *sestertius* stressed.

Did the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* set a Tiberian precedent for Caligula's coin issue, as Rehak and Kuttner suggest?²⁰ Or did Caligula's coin set the precedent for depicting temples connected with Augustus, as the traditional Claudian date for the reliefs implies?

n. 21), on Koeppel's relief catalogs: "One would have liked to see greater use of the admittedly limited but invaluable coin issues that show similar scenes, as they establish at least a *terminus ante quem*." Evidence suggests, however, that temple-sacrifice numismatic designs were not dependent upon sculptural models.

¹⁹Cordischi (1985) provides an excellent historiographic overview of the scholarship on the Valle-Medici and associated Via Lata reliefs. Additional bibliography is given by Koeppel (1983a, 116) and La Rocca (1994a, 321-2). See Rehak (1990) for a reconstruction drawing of the relief panels. Bloch (1939, 85-6) outlines the ownership history of the Valle-Medici reliefs. In 1584, they were built into the garden facade of the Villa Medici, which now houses the French Academy in Rome. Casts of the reliefs are in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in EUR. Cozza (1958) rediscovered the joins between the sacrifice scenes and the temple facades, mounted separately on the Villa Medici facade. Several reliefs from the Via Lata, discovered during excavations in 1923 and 1933, are generally accepted as belonging to the same monument as the Valle-Medici reliefs. Mancini (1925, 225-6, 232-4) reported the original find on the Via Lata; Colini (1935) published a more extensive study and made the identification between these fragments and the Valle-Medici reliefs. Laubscher (1976) has demonstrated what Bloch (1939) originally hypothesized: that the Valle-Medici and Via Lata reliefs were reused in the *Arcus Novus* of Diocletian on the Via Lata. When the *Arcus Novus* was destroyed in 1491, the adjacent property belonged to the first known owners of the Valle-Medici reliefs. More recently, La Rocca (1994b) has proposed that several relief fragments depicting architecture, excavated on the slopes of the Capitoline in the early 20th century, should also be attributed to the same monument as the Valle-Medici reliefs. These fragments include an image of a round temple, probably of Vesta (1994b, 282, figs. 18-19), and what may be a representation of the house of Augustus, with a door flanked by an oak wreath (1994b, 284, fig. 22).

²⁰Rehak (1985); Kuttner (1995, 128).

Can the similar iconography of the reliefs and the coin be used to support a Caligulan date for the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* ?

In the case of the Valle-Medici reliefs, attribution and date have always been closely related problems. The reliefs are so similar in proportions and general decorative scheme to the *Ara Pacis Augustae* that at the beginning of the twentieth century the Valle-Medici reliefs were thought to belong to the *Ara Pacis Augustae*.²¹ Excavations of the *Ara Pacis*, however, uncovered a relief depicting Augustus surrounded by flamens; their headgear significantly differed from those of the Valle-Medici flamens. This discovery forced a re-evaluation of the Valle-Medici reliefs. Johannes Sieveking observed that they seemed more advanced, stylistically, than the reliefs of the Augustan *Ara Pacis* and proposed that the Valle-Medici reliefs belonged to the reign of Claudius.²² Soon after, Franz Studniczka attributed them to a Claudian *Ara Pietatis Augustae*.²³ This hypothesis was widely accepted.²⁴ As a result the Valle-Medici reliefs, thought to be securely dated, served as a valuable fixed chronological point in the history of Roman historical relief sculpture.²⁵

²¹Petersen 1902, 54-78.

²²Sieveking 1907, 175-90.

²³Studniczka 1909, 907-9.

²⁴The *Ara Pietatis Augustae* hypothesis was presented in its most elaborate form by Bloch (1939). Cagianò de Azevedo (1951, 9-23) reprinted Bloch's article in his catalog of the antiquities of the Villa Medici. The association between the Valle-Medici reliefs and the name *Ara Pietatis* will probably persist in the nomenclature of Roman topography permanently. E.g., recent handbooks such as Kleiner (1992, 141-5); the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* 4: 87-9 s.v. *Pietas Augusta*, ara, (E. La Rocca); and the *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale* (Suppl. 2.1: 320-2) all refer to these relief sculptures as the *Ara Pietatis Augustae*.

²⁵As these reliefs are often used as comparanda in establishing the date of other sculptures, this situation creates an unfortunate risk for circular arguments. The issue of circularity has always been a problem for the Valle-Medici reliefs; see the comments of Cagianò de Azevedo (1951, 56).

In 1982, Gerhard Koeppel deconstructed the evidence for the *Ara Pietatis*, demonstrating that it was a mere fabrication of scholarship.²⁶ Disassociated from the *Ara Pietatis*, the Claudian date of the Valle-Medici reliefs must be questioned as well.²⁷ Although a number of historical reliefs are thought to be Claudian, none are securely dated. As Ann Kuttner observes,

“...somehow almost all of the Julio-Claudian reliefs end up being dated to the Claudian period (from which we have no monumental historical relief of fixed date from Rome), although wide divergences in drapery style, compositional grouping, etc., are evident among the pieces so grouped.”²⁸

The concept of a Claudian relief style is thus too problematic to be a reliable guide to dating the Valle-Medici reliefs.²⁹ Their status as Julio-Claudian imperial relief sculptures, however, is not in doubt. The similarity of the reliefs of the *Ara Pacis* and the Valle-Medici reliefs, as well as the depiction of important Augustan locations, make it clear that this monument was intended to advertise the dynastic continuity between the rule of Augustus and one of his Julio-Claudian successors. To approach the chronological question, therefore, it is also necessary to review the evidence linking the Valle-Medici and Via Lata reliefs with the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*.

²⁶Koeppel (1982a). In the same year, Torelli (1982, 63-88) also challenged the identification of the Valle-Medici reliefs with the *Ara Pietatis*, but on purely topographic grounds. For an attempt to defend the *Ara Pietatis*, see Reuter (1991, 21-3), who argues that the lack of historical evidence for the *Ara Pietatis* does not prove its non-existence.

²⁷For the most part, the Valle-Medici reliefs continue to be dated to the reign of Claudius, e.g. Koeppel (1983a, 98-103; 1983b); Kleiner (1992, 141-5); and *LTUR* 4: 87-9 s.v. *Pietas Augusta*, ara (E. La Rocca). Only Rehak (1985, 10-32, 164) and Kuttner (1995, 128) have challenged the Claudian date of these reliefs. Kuttner supports a pre-Claudian date. Rehak suggested a Tiberian date for the Valle-Medici reliefs and argued for their association with the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*.

²⁸Kuttner 1995, 276 n. 21.

²⁹Moreover, only five years separate the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius: insufficient time, I would argue, for substantial stylistic differences in sculpture carving to have accumulated. Hammond (1953, 136) raised a similar point in his discussion of the date of the *Anaglypha*: “In general as regards style, costume, and features, it is probable that different concepts and methods overlapped and that within the twenty, or even ten, years which probably represent the outside temporal limits of the anaglyphs, there was no abrupt change in these matters which could serve as an absolute criterion for dating.”

The dynastic theme embedded in the relief imagery, the compositional and dimensional similarities between the Valle-Medici reliefs and the *Ara Pacis*, and the topographic evidence, all point to the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* as a likely identification for this monument.³⁰ The *Ara Gentis Iuliae* is first mentioned in the *acta fratrum Arvalium* of 42 A.D. as the site of a sacrifice on the birthday of Augustus.³¹ According to a series of military discharge documents ranging in date from 68 to 79 A.D., this altar of the Julians was located on the Capitoline hill.³² A concrete podium on the Capitoline hill has been identified as the foundation of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (figs. 11-12). Its location fits the textual sources and its dimensions suggest a monument close in size and shape to the *Ara Pacis Augustae*.³³ As noted above, the Valle-Medici reliefs also come from a monument

³⁰Torelli (1982, 63-88) first proposed that these reliefs belonged to the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*. His complex topographic argument in support of this identification is problematic. See the reviews of Torelli (1982) by Pollini (1983), Smith (1983), and Hölscher (1984). Cordischi (1985) and Fishwick (1992) have also commented on Torelli's argument. Rehak (1985, 1990) attributes the Valle-Medici reliefs to the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* but for completely different reasons. Rehak focuses on the identities of the temples depicted and points out that they were closely associated with the Julian family. I thank Paul Rehak for generously allowing me to consult the manuscript of his dissertation "*Ara Pietatis Augustae or Ara Gentis Iuliae?*" (Bryn Mawr, 1985), which includes discussion of unpublished material in the collection of the Capitoline Museums. Some of these pieces were subsequently published by La Rocca (1992c; 1994b) and some remain unpublished. La Rocca (1992a; 1992b; 1992c; 1994a; 1994b; *LTUR* 2: 369-70 s.v. Gens Iulia, ara; and *LTUR* 4: 87-9 s.v. Pietas Augusta, ara) has published a series of articles on the state monuments attributable to the reign of Claudius, among which he includes the Valle-Medici reliefs. La Rocca prefers to assign the Valle-Medici reliefs to an otherwise unknown monument, for which he coins the name '*Ara Redituus Claudii*' (1992a). In his discussion of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, he argues that the Ravenna reliefs are copies of reliefs originally decorating the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (1992b). This solution seems unnecessarily difficult and speculative. La Rocca gives a Claudian date for all these reliefs.

³¹*CIL* 6.2035; Panciera (1968, 315-9). Beard (1985) evaluates the Arval Acta as a historical source.

³²*CIL* 16.7-17, 24, 196-7. These documents were created in duplicate: one given to the discharged soldier, and the other posted in some official location. What survives are the soldier's copies, which describe where the official copy was located. For example, the official copy of *CIL* 16.14 was posted "*in capitolio ad aram gentis iuliae de foras podio sinisteriore tab I pag II loco XXXXIII*" (On the Capitoline, at the Altar of the Julian Family, on the exterior of the podium, left side, plaque 1, page 2, spot 44).

³³The location of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* is mentioned in passing by Torelli (1982, pl. 3.32), who gives credit to La Rocca for the hypothesis. La Rocca's topographic arguments for identifying the concrete podium with the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* are independent of his arguments about which set of relief sculptures belong on top (1992a, 97 n. 75; 1992c, 410-11; 1994b, 289; *LTUR* 2: 369-70 s.v. Gens Iulia, ara). La Rocca's article "*Ara Gentis Iuliae in Capitolio*," cited as "*RendPontAcc (in corso di stampa)*" has not

similar in scale to the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Architecturally, this podium seems appropriate for the surviving reliefs. As La Rocca points out, the location of the concrete podium in relation to other Augustan landmarks also supports its identification as the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*. La Rocca notes that this podium directly faced the facade of the *templum novum divi Augusti* next to the Basilica Julia, below in the forum, a rather appropriate orientation for an altar to the clan of the Julii.³⁴

The identities of the temples depicted on the Valle-Medici reliefs are critical to the argument linking these reliefs with the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* on the Capitoline hill. Each of the two Valle-Medici relief panels depicts a temple and part of the sacrificial ritual. In one, a sacrificial procession moves along the flank of a temple towards its hexastyle facade; in the other, a sacrifice takes place adjacent to the facade of an octastyle temple. The temple with the hexastyle facade is easily identified as that of Magna Mater on the Palatine (fig. 9).³⁵ Not only is the pedimental iconography peculiar to the cult of Magna Mater, but the architectural details on the relief also correspond remarkably well to the archaeological remains of the temple itself on the Palatine.³⁶

The identity of the octastyle temple, on the other hand, has been recently disputed, but its identification as the Temple of Mars Ultor has been vigorously defended and is still commonly accepted (fig. 8).³⁷ It is clear that the central figure in the pediment

appeared yet (1992b, 312 n. 205; 1992c, 411 n. 68; and 1994b, 289 n. 110). *LTUR* 1: 116 s.v. Area Capitolina (C. Reusser) also supports the identification of this concrete podium as the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*.

³⁴La Rocca 1992a, 97 n. 75.

³⁵See Petersen (1902, 65-78) and Hommel (1954, 30-34). The identification has been universally accepted.

³⁶For the excavations of the Temple of Magna Mater, see Huelsen (1895, 3-28) and Pensabene (*LTUR* 3: 206-8 s.v. Magna Mater, aedes; 1998, 34-51). For comparison of the relief image and the archaeology of the temple site, see Maier (1985, 30-1, 76-9, 138-40). For the iconography of Magna Mater, see Roller (1999, 289-90, 295, 309-15).

³⁷Identification as Temple of Mars Ultor: Petersen (1902, 54-65); Hommel (1954, 22-30); Maier (1985, 32-3, 79-82, 140-2); Reuter (1991, 37-41). Torelli (1982, 73-8) revived Sieveking's hypothesis (1907) that this relief depicts a Temple of Divus Augustus, arguing that the central figure of the pediment was unbearded and therefore could not be Mars. Smith (1983), Hölscher (1984), Cordischi (1985, 249-54),

is Mars Ultor and that the architectural details recorded on the relief match the architectural remains of the temple from the Forum of Augustus.³⁸

Both temples were significant in the topography of Augustan Rome (fig. 13).³⁹ The Temple of Mars Ultor, of course, was the centerpiece of the Forum of Augustus. The Temple of Magna Mater was among the many temples restored by Augustus. It stood near the house of Augustus, prominently located on the southwest corner of the Palatine hill.⁴⁰ In other words, these two temples symbolized the two places in Rome most obviously connected with the rule of Augustus.⁴¹ Iconographically, it seems appropriate to assign these reliefs to the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, the Altar of the Julian Clan.

Does this identification help solve the relative chronology of Caligula's *sestertius* and these reliefs? Unfortunately, the answer remains no. The first mention of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, a sacrifice on the birthday of Augustus in 42 A.D., is a record of use, not of dedication. Although it is clear from both content and style that this monument belongs to the second quarter of the first century, it is not possible to prove which of three emperors caused it to be erected. Tiberius (14-37 A.D.), Caligula (37-41 A.D.), and Claudius (41-54 A.D.) all had excellent reason to emphasize their familial connections to Augustus. All

Fishwick (1992, 234 n. 11), and La Rocca (1992a, 68-9) rebut Torelli's argument. Detail photographs show that the central figure of the pediment is bearded and wears a helmet; he must be Mars.

³⁸For the image of Mars Ultor, see La Rocca (1992a, 68-9, figs. 3-4); Fishwick (1992, 234 n. 11). For the remains of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, see Ganzert and Kockel (1988) and *LTUR* 2: 289-95 s.v. Forum Augustum (V. Kockel).

³⁹Augustus, *Res Gestae* 19. One indication of the importance of the temples of Magna Mater and Mars Ultor is that they were both among the eleven temples specifically named in the section of the *Res Gestae* celebrating Augustus' building program.

⁴⁰Wiseman (1987) explores how Augustus' house fit very carefully into the Palatine's visual and traditional power structures. See Roller (1999, 270-1) for the symbolic connections between Magna Mater and the Trojan heritage of Rome that may partly underlie the importance of this temple for Augustus. See Roller (1999, 316-9) for the integration of the worship of Magna Mater into Roman state religion. Additional connections between Augustus and Magna Mater are discussed by Cheal (1999).

⁴¹See Gros (1976) for the temples built and rebuilt by Augustus. See Favro (1996) for Augustus' overall urban program and its visual effects.

three certainly stressed Augustan themes in their coinage.⁴² And, while both Torelli and La Rocca attempt to associate the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* and the Valle-Medici reliefs with specific events of Claudius' reign, their very different conclusions illustrate the speculative nature of such exercises.⁴³ Given the Augustan associations of the Palatine and the Forum of Augustus, a variety of events might have inspired such a pair of sacrifices as commemorated on this quintessentially dynastic monument. Thus, the chronological relationship between the Valle-Medici reliefs and the *sestertius* of Caligula discussed above cannot be settled unless further evidence emerges. Despite this chronological aporia, it is clear that this relief monument made an important statement of dynastic continuity through the motif of sacrifice at Augustan temples.

Dynastic Topography 2: The Templum Gentis Flaviae

After the Julio-Claudian period, the temple-sacrifice motif continued to be salient in the monumental propaganda of imperial dynasties. Portions of a temple-sacrifice relief, including a fragment depicting a flamen in front of the Temple of Quirinus (fig. 19)⁴⁴ and a fragment of the head of a sacrificial bovine, survive from the decoration of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which was located on the Quirinal hill.⁴⁵ A number of parallels in both

⁴²See the discussion by Scott (1982, 436-49).

⁴³Torelli (1982, 63-88), who first identified the Valle-Medici reliefs with the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, associates this monument with Livia's deification by Claudius in 42. Torelli's argument, however, depends on the now-discredited evidence supporting the reliefs' identification with the *Ara Pietatis*. La Rocca (1992a, 1994a) does not accept the identification of the Valle-Medici reliefs with the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, but argues that the reliefs must be associated with Claudius' *reditus* of 44 A.D. He also notes coincidences in date between the birthday of Claudius, the dedication day of the Temple of Mars Ultor, and the anniversary for a college associated with the worship of Magna Mater. The synchrony of these dates, however, does not demonstrate that the Valle-Medici reliefs must be Claudian.

⁴⁴Museo Nazionale Romano inv. no. 310251. Paris (1994, 52-3); Gazda and Haeckl (1996, 48).

⁴⁵On the sculptures and architecture of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, see most recently Gazda and Haeckl (1996); and Paris (1994), reviewed by Koeppel (1996). Fifteen sculptural and architectural fragments from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* are known. Nine were published by Hartwig (1904) and are now in the Museo Nazionale Romano. The six purchased by Kelsey, now in the Kelsey Museum in Ann Arbor, were recognized as belonging to the same monument as Hartwig's fragments in 1980. Koeppel (1980) recognized a join between a piece in Rome and a piece in Ann Arbor. The attribution of these sculptures to

nomenclature and decoration suggest that parts of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* were consciously modeled after the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*. Just as the temples depicted on the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* were chosen because they reinforced the dynastic association with Augustus, the image of the Temple of Quirinus from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* also emphasizes dynastic legitimacy through the depiction of architecture.

The *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is the only large imperial monument known to have been built on the Quirinal hill between Augustus' rebuilding of the Temple of Quirinus and the construction of the Baths of Diocletian in the third century.⁴⁶ It monumentalized the house of Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, in whose house the future emperor Domitian was born.⁴⁷ Several archaeological finds suggest the location of the Flavian family home: near or under the western corner of Baths of Diocletian (fig. 20). The fifteen sculptural and architectural fragments attributed to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* come from this area. Paul Hartwig noted in his publication of nine fragments now in the Museo Nazionale Romano that he had acquired them from workers constructing a palazzo in the western corner of the Baths of Diocletian, on the north side of the modern Piazza della Repubblica.⁴⁸ The attribution of the Hartwig fragments to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* based on where they were found has been considered sufficiently secure for that find area to then be used as evidence for the location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.⁴⁹

the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* was initially considered by Hartwig (1904, 33-7), who was misled by the bearded figures to date the reliefs to the reign of Caracalla.

⁴⁶Literary evidence for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* includes Suetonius, *Domitian* 1, 5, 15, 17; Tacitus, *Histories*, 3.69. Additional sources on the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* are collected in Paris (1994, 15-8). For the Temple of Quirinus, see Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 19; for the Baths of Diocletian, see most recently Tagliamonte (1998).

⁴⁷Suetonius, *Domitian* 1.

⁴⁸Hartwig 1904, 23.

⁴⁹See Coarelli (1984, 146-55); *LTUR* 2: 368-9 s.v. Gens Flavia, templum (F. Coarelli) and Candilio (1990-1; 1995) for additional discussion of the location of this complex.

These relief fragments display characteristically Flavian workmanship and style.⁵⁰ Further confirmation of the Flavian date for these relief fragments comes from a portrait of Vespasian associated with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.⁵¹ In the same year that Paul Hartwig acquired fragments from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Francis Kelsey purchased the portrait of Vespasian and five other fragments of relief and architectural sculpture in Rome. Although their specific provenances were not recorded, the correspondences in material, scale, and style between the Kelsey and Hartwig fragments, as well as a join between two fragments (a soldier's head in Rome and a cuirassed torso in Ann Arbor), indicate that they all belong to the same monument.⁵² The association of the Kelsey-Hartwig relief fragments with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is generally accepted.⁵³

The surviving sculptural fragments hint at the programmatic message of this monumental complex, even though the type of structure in which the reliefs were incorporated is a matter of debate and the overall plan of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*

⁵⁰Koeppel (1980, 17-8); D. Conlin (1996) "The Hartwig/Kelsey Fragments and the Style of Flavian Relief Sculpture," paper read at the conference Representing the Roman Past: Archaeologists, Museums, Logistics, Legalities, 4-5 October, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Plenty of well-dated comparative material, such as the Cancelleria reliefs and the Arch of Titus, make stylistic analysis a much more useful exercise in this case. In contrast, no reliably dated comparanda for the Valle-Medici reliefs survive. Hartwig (1904, 33-4), misled by the two bearded figures, dated the relief fragments to the reign of Caracalla despite his hunch that they could have belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. At that time, beards were thought to be indicative of Hadrianic or later dates. As Palmer (1976, 53) notes, the discovery of the Cancelleria reliefs in 1937 and 1939 conclusively proved that beards were depicted during the Flavian period; see Magi (1945, pls. 13, 17.1, 18.2, 19.1, 23).

⁵¹Kelsey Museum inv. no. 2430. Koeppel 1980, 15-7; Gazda and Haeckl 1996, 55.

⁵²Koeppel (1980). A fragment of a soldier's torso in Ann Arbor (Kelsey inv. no. 2431) joins with a soldier's head in Rome (MNR inv. no. 310257). The surviving relief background on this piece bears ashlar articulation. It seems likely, however, that these fragments belonged to a separate panel, as the wearing of armor was generally inappropriate for sacrifices within the pomerium of Rome (Kleiner 1983).

⁵³Recent supporters of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* attribution for these relief fragments include: Koeppel (1980, 19); Torelli (1987, 563); Paris (1994); *LTUR* 2: 368-9 s.v. Gens Flavia, templum (F. Coarelli); Darwall-Smith (1996, 159-65); Gazda and Haeckl (1996); Davies (2000, 148-58). Palmer (1976, 56) and Carafa (1993, 134) favor instead an association with an altar related to the fires that devastated Rome.

remains obscure.⁵⁴ Despite the extremely fragmentary condition of the reliefs from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, it is clear that the Temple of Quirinus fragment belongs to a sacrificial composition. It depicts two men: the bearded man wearing an *apex* is clearly a flamen; only traces of the second figure survive. In general, flamens are only depicted in sacrificial processions or among the attendants in the moments preceding the kill. Confirmation of the sacrificial motif is provided by another relief fragment from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which depicts part of the head of a bovine victim decorated with fillets.⁵⁵

The tetrastyle Doric temple in the background of this sacrificial relief with its elaborate pedimental composition has, predictably, been the subject of much discussion. In his initial publication of this relief, Hartwig narrowed the possibilities to temples of deities with a flamen, i.e. Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus.⁵⁶ Vitruvius tells us that the Temple of Quirinus, like the temple depicted on this relief fragment, was built in the Doric order.⁵⁷ In antiquity, Quirinus was popularly believed to be the deified Romulus;⁵⁸ thus, Hartwig's analysis of the pedimental composition as depicting the augural contest between Romulus and Remus for the privilege of founding Rome conclusively established

⁵⁴On the setting for the reliefs: Koeppel (1980, 19) suggested an arch or precinct wall; Torelli (1987, 569) preferred an arch; the reconstruction proposed by Paris (1994, 75-83) features an Ara Pacis-like precinct; *LTUR* 2: 368 s.v. Gens Flavia, templum (F. Coarelli) favors an arch.

⁵⁵Museo Nazionale Romano inv. no. 310253. Paris (1994, 54-5); Gazda and Haeckl (1996, 49). For a reconstruction of the panel as a sacrificial procession, see Paris (1994, 77-80, 90, pl. 4) and Gazda and Haeckl (1996, 26-31, fig. 24).

⁵⁶Hartwig 1904, 25; on the role of flamens, see Vanggaard (1988).

⁵⁷Vitruvius *de Architectura* 3.2.7. Both Vitruvius and Cassius Dio (54.19.4) indicate that the Temple of Quirinus was octastyle: Vitruvius specified the number of facade columns because he was a practicing architect; Cassius Dio was concerned with the number of columns because they corresponded to Augustus' age at death. Although the relief fragment depicts only four columns, artists commonly abbreviated images of temple facades. See chapter 2.

⁵⁸For the equation of Romulus with Quirinus, see Plutarch, *Romulus* 43, 48; Livy 1.16; Scott (1925); Porte (1981). For the iconography of Quirinus/Romulus, see Small (1994, 612-3, 639-44).

that this relief fragment depicts the Temple of Quirinus.⁵⁹ Although debate continues over the identities of individual figures within the pedimental composition, neither the presence of both Romulus and Remus in the pediment nor the identification of the temple have ever been challenged.⁶⁰

In the decoration of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, the Temple of Quirinus exists as a multivalent symbol. It serves as a key landmark for the location of the dynasty's family home, much as the image of the Temple of Magna Mater does for the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*. The connotations of the Temple of Quirinus include not just the neighborhood, but also the foundations of Rome, its refoundation by Augustus, and expected deification of Domitian as third founder of the city.⁶¹ The deification of Romulus as Quirinus provided a necessary precedent and model for the deification of first Julius Caesar, then Augustus himself and all subsequent emperors that received the honor.⁶² The precedent of Romulus' deification as Quirinus alluded to by the inclusion of an image of the Temple of Quirinus may also be significant in the context of the secondary use of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* as a family mausoleum.⁶³

⁵⁹Hartwig 1904, 27-31.

⁶⁰The iconographies of several individual figures as well as that of the overall composition are unique. This iconography may date to the Augustan reconstruction of the temple. See Zanker (1988, 195-215) on Augustus' use of Rome's foundation legends in state art. In the same issue of *Römische Mitteilungen* as Hartwig's initial publication, Petersen disputed the identification of individual figures within the pediment while accepting Hartwig's overall conclusions about the pedimental subject and the temple (Petersen 1904, 156-8). Subsequent scholarship on this relief has followed this pattern. Most commentators suggest novel identities for only one or two figures, but Hommel (1954, 9-21) and Paris (1988, 27-38) offer elaborate reinterpretations of nearly every figure. Only Paris offers a different interpretation of the subject of the pediment: she argues that it is the *apotheosis* of Romulus, not the augural competition, that is depicted. See Paris (1988) for a useful graphic summary of the various proposals (28, fig. 2) and for detail photographs of the pediment (figs. 4-9). All agree that the temple is that of Quirinus.

⁶¹Davies 2000, 149.

⁶²Porte (1981, 333-40) suggests that the story of Romulus' deification as Quirinus was started by partisans of Julius Caesar. Davies (2000, 148-58) explores Romulus' role as an exemplar of *apotheosis*.

⁶³Haeckl (1996, 19-24) explores the funerary function of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. The 9th-8th century B.C. necropolis posited by Carafa (1993, 136-9) should not be interpreted as a precedent for this funerary function of the complex. See most recently Davies (2000, 148-58).

Romulus, one of the two city-founders consciously emulated by Augustus, appeared frequently in Augustan iconography. “Romulus” was among the titles that Augustus was offered by the Senate.⁶⁴ The Temple of Quirinus is one of eleven temples specifically named in Augustus’ *Res Gestae*.⁶⁵ The seventy-six columns of the rebuilt temple were seen as an omen of Augustus’ life span.⁶⁶ The reference to Augustus inherent in the depiction of the Temple of Quirinus also recalls Vespasian’s self-promotion as a restorer of the ideals of Augustus’ reign after the civil war that followed Nero’s death.

Augustus’ well-known manipulation of Rome’s foundation mythologies for ideological purposes is also echoed in the presence of the Temple of Quirinus in the decoration of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. The implication, of course, is of a deep historical connection between the Flavians and Rome. Suetonius records that the “obscure” Flavian family came from the village of Vespasiae near Spoleto, that is, from the Sabine region of Italy.⁶⁷ It seems clear that the choice of the Quirinal—the Sabine hill of Rome—for the family’s lodgings was a deliberate reference to their Sabine ancestry. This tie to the past was also articulated by the *cognomen* Sabinus used by both Vespasian’s brother and nephew. The Sabine connection provided a way for the Flavians to claim Rome’s foundation myths as part of their family history.⁶⁸ These connections even appear in the epic poetry of the Flavian period: a panegyric disguised as prophecy

⁶⁴Suetonius, *Augustus* 7. See also Gagé (1930); Zanker (1988, 98).

⁶⁵Augustus *Res Gestae*, 19-21. Augustus claimed to have restored or rebuilt eighty-two temples (not counting completely new temples like those of Divus Iulius or Mars Ultor).

⁶⁶Cassius Dio 54.19.4.

⁶⁷“...gens Flavia, obscura illa quidem ac sine ullis maiorum imaginibus...” Suetonius, *Vespasian* 1.

⁶⁸The most famous of these stories, of course, is the Rape of the Sabines (Livy 1.9-13). For a history of the Flavian family before their rise to power, see Levick (1999, 4-7). Torelli (1987, 571) explores the topographic connection among the Quirinal, Sabines, and Flavians.

in Book 3 of Silius Italicus' *Punica* plays on the Sabine origins of the Flavians and also predicts that Quirinus would give his seat to the deified Domitian.⁶⁹

As in the *sestertius* of Caligula and the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, the temple-sacrifice relief from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* features a meticulously detailed image of a temple associated with that dynasty in an explicitly dynastic context. The overall effect of these dynastic monuments is of emphatic repetition of the dynasty's connections with past success. The fascination with background details mirrors these images' role in repeating background information about the previous history of the ruling family.

Connecting with the Future: Shared Sacrifice

Interestingly, the temple-sacrifice motif does not appear in an explicitly dynastic context during the reigns of the adoptive emperors Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian. Many other themes—such as military prowess—were much more important during the reigns of the adoptive emperors.⁷⁰ Although some dynastic monuments survive from this period, none of them employ the temple-sacrifice motif.⁷¹ The absence of such imagery in the surviving corpus, however, does not conclusively indicate that the temple-sacrifice imagery was not used for dynastic purposes during this period, as much relief sculpture has been lost.⁷² When the temple-sacrifice motif reappears under Antoninus Pius, it again focuses on the dynastic message, but with two significant changes. Instead of a single officiant, the sacrifice is performed jointly by emperor and heir(s). It seems that the

⁶⁹Silius Italicus *Punica* 3.595-6; 627-8.

⁷⁰See Hannestad (1986, 143-218).

⁷¹See chapter 4 for the use architectural backgrounds during this period.

⁷²It has also been suggested that both the *Anaglypha Traiani/Hadriani* and the *adlocutio* panel from the Arco di Portogallo (either Hadrianic or Antonine), both of which feature an *adlocutio* contextualized by specific architecture, may be representations of dynastic events (in the former, imperial accession; in the latter, imperial adoption). See chapter 4.

identity of the temple becomes less significant as the identity of the officiant(s) becomes more important for conveying the image of dynastic succession. Furthermore, the temple-sacrifice reverses featuring joint sacrifices are often paired with multiple obverses that together showcase the most important members of the dynasty: the current ruler and his heir(s).⁷³ Such types emphasize both dynastic continuity and concord within the imperial family. In contrast to the temple-sacrifice coins and reliefs of the first century, these images promote the future continuity of the dynasty, not its links with its past. The father and son (sometimes co-emperors) in the foreground are thus more important than the temples that stand in the background. The temples offer a sense of continuity—with the past of Rome and with the earlier examples of the temple-sacrifice motif—but no more than a vague allusion to that past is needed, because the focus for the messages of dynastic cohesion and continuity has shifted from the identity of the temple to the identity of the participants in the sacrifice.

Dynastic Continuity among the Antonines

The earliest evidence hinting at this shift from backward-looking messages of continuity dependent on specific temple identities to forward-looking messages of continuity emphasizing the identities of emperor and heir comes from a medallion of 145 A.D. (fig. 51). Its obverse features Marcus Aurelius, then Caesar to Antoninus Pius. The reverse iconography, however, is ambiguous. The temple-sacrifice scene on its reverse features a cuirassed priest, accompanied by a child wearing Persian-style clothing. A

⁷³Cheal's (1999, 88) comments on a different set of numismatic types actually works well in this situation: "...it's obvious that the iconography of coins is forced by its dual-sided fields into specific visual dichotomies. I would argue that in the case of the Augustan Paphian bronzes, this requirement of coin iconography is taken advantage of, so that the meaning is amplified with particularly fortuitous choices of images for both their contrast and linked connotations. Three sets of oppositions are apparent....These visual contrasts are tempered, though, by underlying links implied by their juxtaposition, creating a single unified message." In this case, the juxtaposition of an obverse and reverse suggests that they be read together to generate meaning. The further juxtaposition of multiple obverses with a single reverse connects multiple images into a single unified message.

youth facing the priest holds a tray; a second person stoops to hold the sacrificial victim, a pig. In the background stands a tetrastyle temple without any identifiable features.

This temple-sacrifice scene may be derived from the very similar composition on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (fig. 1): the number and arrangement of the figures is identical, as is the sacrificial animal. Moreover, as on the *Ara Pacis*, the temple is placed in the upper left-hand quadrant of the scene.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, several differences between the two images—in the costume of the figures, in the details of the temple representations, as well as in the absence of the rustic landscape elements on the medallion—show that this medallion was not an exact copy of the *Ara Pacis* panel. In fact, the dress of the priest and the child accompanying him on the Antonine medallion are more congruent with the established iconography of Aeneas and Ascanius than that of the priest on the *Ara Pacis* panel.⁷⁵

Antoninus Pius issued an extensive series of coins and medallions celebrating the early history of Rome, and if seen as part of that series, the Aeneas identification of this medallion seems likely.⁷⁶ Yet this medallion, and indeed the entire series of medallions to which it belonged, carry an intentional ambiguity, as Pond Rothman has observed:

⁷⁴Even with these differences in mind, the overall arrangement of figures and architecture between the *Ara Pacis* panel and the medallion is as close a resemblance as can be found between relief sculpture and official numismatic issues. If this medallion indeed was designed with the *Ara Pacis* temple-sacrifice panel as a model, then as far as I know it is the only surviving numismatic composition that clearly reflects a surviving relief sculpture.

⁷⁵Rehak (2001, 202 n. 9). On the medallion, the officiant wears a cuirass and is accompanied by a youth wearing a Trojan cap, more closely matching the traditional iconography of Aeneas and Ascanius than the *Ara Pacis* image. In contrast, the *Ara Pacis* panel features a togate officiant, accompanied by a second adult, who holds a staff or scepter. See Rehak (2001) for the iconographic problems of the *Ara Pacis* panel and a reinterpretation of its priest as Numa. If Rehak's reinterpretation of the *Ara Pacis* panel is correct, then this medallion might also be evidence for an Antonine reinterpretation of the *Ara Pacis* as a representation of Aeneas' sacrifice. However, I believe that both the *Ara Pacis* panel and this medallion refer to Aeneas' sacrifice. C. B. Rose, (2001) "Rome and Troy: The Problem of the East in the West," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, January 3-6, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has recently pointed out that the iconography of Aeneas was not firmly established until 2 B.C., as part of the sculptural program of the Forum of Augustus.

⁷⁶Hill 1970, 91; Toynbee 1986, 143-4.

“Aeneas represented the founding of Rome, the programs of Augustus, and the *pietas* of the present emperor....Antoninus literally effaced himself to emphasize his regard for both predecessor and designated successor; he used the iconography of Aeneas to celebrate the approaching anniversary of Rome’s founding and to link the imperial dynasty with the family of Aeneas.”⁷⁷

The use by Antoninus of the epithet “Pius” recalls the frequent use of that adjective for Aeneas in Virgil’s *Aeneid*.⁷⁸ Comparisons between the dynastic triad of Anchises, Aeneas, and Ascanius and that of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius are found elsewhere in Antonine coinage.⁷⁹ Moreover, in nearly every image of a sacrifice created under imperial auspices, the officiating priest is the current emperor. So the priest sacrificing on the reverse of this medallion perhaps simultaneously represents both Antoninus Pius and Pius Aeneas. The presence of Marcus Aurelius on the medallion’s obverse can then be read as a reminder that he, like Ascanius, would follow his pious father as ruler. The dynastic content of this medallion is unmistakable; but unlike earlier temple-sacrifice images, the identity of the temple is irrelevant to its interpretation.

Another temple-sacrifice type, issued in 148 A.D. with an obverse portrait of Antoninus Pius, is the first to depict joint sacrifice before a temple (fig. 52). Although the poor condition of the one known example prohibits any close reading of its iconography, Jocelyn Toynbee and Paul Strack suggest that Antoninus Pius and his heir Marcus Aurelius sacrifice together on the reverse;⁸⁰ the third figure on the left may then be the

⁷⁷Pond Rothman 1978, 117.

⁷⁸See Hannestad (1986, 212-3), who also notes the similarity in names between the hometown of Antoninus, Lanuvium, and the city founded by Aeneas, Lavinium. Alternate ancient explanations for Antoninus Pius’ epithet are given in the *Historia Augusta, Antoninus Pius* 2.

⁷⁹*BMCRE* (4: lv, lxxxi, xciv, pls. 6.5, 29.5) and Hill (1970, 91) note additional coin types where this comparison is made explicit.

⁸⁰Strack (1931-7, 3: 138, 236-7 n. 602, pl. 4); Toynbee (1986, 79, pl. 12.8). Strack’s interpretation of the figure on the right as an augur seems dubious, as it requires interpreting a squiggle at the center of the scene as a *lituus* held by the man on the right, rather than the more likely possibilities that the man held a patera or that a cult statue was represented within the temple.

junior heir, Lucius Verus, or an attendant. The joint sacrifice of the reigning emperor with one or both of his heirs reinforces the unity of the adoptive family: with heirs in place, the continuity of imperial rule is assured.

Medallions issued during the reign of Marcus Aurelius also reinforced the position of the heir apparent.⁸¹ In 166-7, 167-8, and 168-9 A.D., temple-sacrifice reverses paired with obverses of Marcus Aurelius featured an elaborate composition (fig. 55).⁸² A sketchily delineated hexastyle temple occupies the background. The absence of any sculptural program and the lack of an identifying legend suggest that the temple's identity was relatively unimportant to the interpretation of this scene.⁸³

A temple-sacrifice reverse issued in 177-8 A.D. features a nearly identical composition (figs. 64-5).⁸⁴ The reverse type used in 177-8 features much more carefully rendered detail than that of 166-9. The changes include the addition of two soldiers bearing standards, who stand behind Marcus Aurelius; the substitution of a lictor for the second musician; and a more detailed representation of the bovine victim, whose spatial relationship with the *victimarius* is clarified. The more dominant hexastyle temple in the background bears both pedimental and acroterial sculptures, suggesting that its recognition

⁸¹In the second and third centuries, the imperial heir (whether child of the emperor or not) often was given the status of junior emperor or co-emperor. Although technically both Lucius Verus and Commodus had the status of co-emperors, as symbolized by the consulship, tribuneship, and imperial acclamations, both were clearly junior partners, positioned as the obvious successor should Marcus Aurelius die. Marcus Aurelius had been promoted to a similar status under Antoninus Pius. Marcus Aurelius held the consulship (3 times) and the tribuneship (15 times) before the death of Antoninus. After the death of Antoninus, both Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus were acclaimed *imperator* for the first time; Marcus Aurelius, as senior partner, held the position of *pontifex maximus*. In general, I will note when the obvious imperial successor also held the status of co-emperor.

⁸²Gnecchi 1912, 2: 30 n. 26, pl. 61.3, 33 n. 51, pl. 63.2, 34 n. 61-2; Ryberg 1955, 180-1; Clay 1976, 259 n. 21.

⁸³The reverse legend on these medallions continues Marcus Aurelius' imperial titulature from the obverse.

⁸⁴Medallion of Marcus Aurelius: Gnecchi 1912, 2: 34 n. 60, pl. 63.9.

Medallion of Commodus: Gnecchi 1912, 2: 70 ns. 166-7, pl. 89.2-3; Dressel 1973, 124-7, pl. 9.2.

was expected.⁸⁵ The label “VOTA PVBLICA” specifies only the action, not the place, suggesting either that the decoration of the temple was sufficient for its recognition, or that the identification of the temple was less critical than the overt symbolism of the sacrifice.

Several attempts have been made to associate the issue of these nearly identical reverse types with particular events of Marcus’ reign. Although they were issued roughly a decade apart, the dates do not allow an association with the celebrations of Marcus Aurelius’ twentieth (165-6 A.D.) or thirtieth (175-6 A.D.) years in power. Two hypotheses relate these issues to the military campaigns of Marcus Aurelius. One suggests that the medallions were issued in preparation for upcoming campaigns.⁸⁶ The other suggests that they were issued in commemoration of recently celebrated triumphs.⁸⁷

A closer examination of the normal patterns of medallion issue and of the chronologies involved suggests that the latter hypothesis is to be preferred. In general, medallions were minted as gifts to celebrate the New Year and, while they set the tone for the propaganda for the year, they usually commemorated events of the previous year or two.⁸⁸ The specific chronology of the 177-8 A.D. medallions suggests that they, too, followed this common pattern. Although it has been suggested that these medallions were issued during the preparations for the second Dacian campaign that began in the summer of 178,⁸⁹ it seems clear that they predate those preparations. The titles “GERM SARM,” included on these medallion obverses of both Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, were

⁸⁵The pedimental iconography is not clear to the modern observer, but the arrangement of the pedimental and acroterial figures are quite different from those of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

⁸⁶For these medallions as pre-campaign issues, see Dobias (1932, 154-5); Wegner (1938, 167); Ryberg (1955, 180-1); Toynbee (1986, 80).

⁸⁷*BMCRE* 4: cxlvi.

⁸⁸Clay 1976; Toynbee 1986.

⁸⁹Dobias 1932, 154-5; Wegner 1938, 167; Ryberg 1955, 180-1; Toynbee 1986, 80.

dropped when the news of the renewed conflict on the Danube reached Rome, early in 178.⁹⁰ Thus, the inclusion of those titles also suggests that these medallions, like many others, were minted for distribution either for the renewal of tribunicial power on December 10, 177 or for the New Year, January 1, 178, well before the Danube expedition was planned.⁹¹

The medallions probably commemorated the previous year's joint triumph of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, an event also commemorated by the surviving historical relief panels of Marcus Aurelius.⁹² In the same year, Commodus had been elevated to the status of co-emperor.⁹³ As the obverse types associated with this reverse have portraits of either Marcus Aurelius or his son Commodus, I would suggest that these medallions were specifically intended to bolster the position of Commodus as heir of Marcus Aurelius.⁹⁴

⁹⁰*BMCRE* 4, cxxx.

⁹¹Toynbee 1986, 73-5; Clay 1976.

⁹²Clay (1976, 256) notes several instances in which New Year medallions commemorated significant events of the previous year. For the triumph of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, see Angelicoussis (1984).

⁹³See Angelicoussis (1984) and La Rocca (1986). It should be noted that the temple-sacrifice composition used on the medallion both predates and differs significantly from the temple-sacrifice relief panel (fig. 61a).

⁹⁴In this section, I discuss several medallion reverse types that are issued with more than one obverse type featuring portraits of different individuals, sometimes in groups and other times separately. I interpret this pattern of linking various individuals of the dynasty to a single reverse type (in this case, the temple-sacrifice motif) as an attempt to emphasize dynastic unity and continuity. Such links are strongest when that shared reverse itself depicts two or more members of the ruling family acting jointly; aside from the sacrifice types discussed here, medallions depicting joint triumph come to mind. The practice of simultaneously issuing identical reverses with several single portrait obverses can be seen as perhaps a subtle version of the later method of pairing two or even three portraits on a single obverse, which even more obviously emphasized the relationship of the individuals involved. See King (1999, 132) for comments on such multiple-person obverses. The pattern seen here and in other medallions discussed in this chapter raises the question of how commonly emperor and heir/co-emperor shared reverse types. To my knowledge, this question has not yet been pursued. The usual methods in numismatic studies have obscured possible patterns of connection when two individuals share reverse types. Studies of reverse types often gloss over the obverse types except for the chronological information that they provide. Older catalogs are organized alphabetically by obverse legend. Recent catalogs are organized according to obverse portraits and types.

The continued celebration of triumph and the emphasis on the dynastic heir seen in the medallions of 177-8 may help elucidate the earlier temple-sacrifice medallions of 166-7, 167-8, and 168-9. In fact, the first issue followed the joint triumph of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in 166. Although I am unaware of any surviving medallions pairing an obverse of Lucius Verus with the temple-sacrifice reverse, two details support a tentative association between the earlier temple-sacrifice medallion and Marcus Aurelius' dynastic intentions. First, this medallion reverse was minted each year following the joint triumph until the death of Lucius Verus,⁹⁵ and the temple-sacrifice reverse was not employed again until Marcus Aurelius once again had an heir apparent holding the position of junior co-emperor. Additionally, the two temple-sacrifice reverses may themselves provide an iconographic indication of dynastic continuity. On the temple-sacrifice reverses of 166-7, 167-8, and 168-9, the officiating priest, Marcus Aurelius, is accompanied by a single togate figure, who stands in the background, but is closer to the altar than the emperor himself. Following the precedent set by the coin of Antoninus Pius and confirmed by the coins of Septimius Severus discussed below, I would venture to identify this otherwise anonymous togate figure accompanying the emperor as the co-emperor and heir to the throne: Lucius Verus. On the 177-8 medallions, the sacrificing emperor's companion may be identified as the new heir and co-emperor, Commodus. Such depiction of father and son on the reverse of the medallion complements the symmetry of pairing this temple-sacrifice reverse with the separate obverses of father and son in the 177-8 medallions. It also links the temple-sacrifice motif more strongly with the iconography of the dynastic succession.

The Empress and the Vestals

A remarkable series of coin and medallion types featuring portraits of various imperial women on the obverse and the Vestals sacrificing before the *aedes Vestae* on the

⁹⁵Lucius Verus died in January 169 (that is, after the year's medallions had been distributed).

reverse also carries strong dynastic implications. Although the role, status, and privileges of the empress were in some ways modeled upon those of the Vestal Virgins,⁹⁶ the first Vestal sacrifice medallions were issued in celebration of the marriage of Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, to Lucius Verus, his co-ruler (fig. 67).⁹⁷

The medallions of Lucilla, the eldest daughter of Marcus Aurelius, suggest a symbolic relationship with the Vestals.⁹⁸ Part of a series of medallions issued in connection with Lucilla's marriage to Lucius Verus in 164, the allusion to the hearth of the state and to women whose virginity was dedicated to the state perhaps focused attention on Lucilla's status as a virgin entering a state marriage.⁹⁹ Support for this hypothesis can be found in the repetition of this reverse type upon the marriage of Crispina to

⁹⁶For the construction of the empress's roles in Roman religion, see Stepper (2000). For recent discussions of the role of the Vestals, see Cancik-Lindemaier (1996); Staples (1998, 129-56). For an analysis of imperial patronage of the Vestal Virgins based on the sculptures and inscriptions from the Atrium Vestae, see Lindner (1996). For a list of all Roman coins and medallions featuring either the temple or Vesta herself, see Cappelli (1986).

⁹⁷A persistent difficulty in the scholarship on Vestal sacrifice medallions and coin types comes from the sometimes unrecognized fact that enterprising Renaissance forgers copied the iconography of Vestals and temple, creating new medallions with the busts of Faustina the Elder and Faustina the Younger. No authentic versions are known. See Klawans (1977, 90-1) for these specific forgeries. For the practice of forging antique coins, see Muller (1989, 141-2). Cappelli (1986, 64); Tameanko (1992, 61; 1999, 181-2); and Lindner (1996, 107-8, 148) treat these types of the two Faustinas as authentic. Banti (1985) illustrates three examples: he labels one medallion of Faustina the Elder as a work of Cavino (3.1: 54); a second medallion of Faustina the Elder is known only from a drawing (3.1: 70). Banti illustrates the only known example of the medallion of Faustina the Younger and points out that its authenticity has been challenged (3.2: 72).

⁹⁸As Lindner (1996, 148-9) notes, these images cannot be interpreted as evidence of successive restorations or rebuildings of the *aedes Vestae*. She suggests a possible connection with the celebration of the birthdays of imperial women, but her hypothesis does not account for the addition of this iconography to the numismatic repertoire. If the celebration of birthdays was the key to interpreting this iconography, one would expect evidence of their issue either annually or on key anniversaries.

⁹⁹Grueber (1874, 19, pl. 26.3); Kenner (1884, 56-7, pl. 5.50); Gnechi (1912, 2: 51, n. 13-4, pl. 76.9-10); Dressel (1973, 113-4, pl. 9.4). For the chronology of Lucilla's medallions and coinage, see Szaivert (1980); Schultz (1982); Fittschen (1982, 69-75). For another wedding medallion of Lucilla, see Metcalf (1979, 8-9). For the political implications of Lucilla's marriages, see Birley (1987, 131, 161-2); Bianchi (1988).

Commodus in 178 (fig. 68).¹⁰⁰ The dynastic emphasis of the temple-sacrifice image seems clear: the Vestals sacrifice in honor of the marriage, intended to produce imperial heirs.¹⁰¹

Julia Domna also used the iconography of the six Vestal Virgins sacrificing before the *aedes Vestae*, but her usage of this imagery differed substantially from that of the marriage medallions of Lucilla and Crispina (figs. 69-70).¹⁰² Julia Domna and Septimius Severus had married well before the latter's rise to the purple. The *aedes Vestae* was severely damaged in a fire in 191 A.D., and was probably rebuilt under Severan patronage.¹⁰³ Despite suggestions that the use of this reverse type refers to the restoration of the cult building, the obverse legends and portrait types place the beginning of this series no earlier than 207 A.D.¹⁰⁴

Coins and medallions in a wide variety of metals and denominations (silver and bronze medallions, gold *aurei*, silver *denarii*, bronze *sestertii* and *asses*) feature this Vestal iconography with the portrait of Julia Domna on the obverse.¹⁰⁵ Unlike the earlier issues

¹⁰⁰Gnecchi (1912, 2: 72, n. 5, pl. 91.5); Turcan (1988, 23, n. 33). For the chronology of Crispina's coinage and portraiture, see Fittschen (1982, 82-8). For the rivalry between Lucilla and Crispina, see Bianchi (1988).

¹⁰¹Further evidence for the popularity of images of the *aedes Vestae* and the Vestal Virgins in the Antonine court comes from the excavations of imperial property in the Lateran area: fragments of two relief panels depicting women in procession to the temple of Vesta were found, associated with what is probably the original base to the famous bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. See Scrinari (1995, 210-3, figs. 238-9).

¹⁰²Ehrhardt (1984) suggests mechanisms whereby the earlier designs would have been available for selection by the new imperial administration.

¹⁰³Herodian 1.14.4; Cassius Dio 72 [73].24. The fire was interpreted, in hindsight, as an omen of Commodus' assassination.

¹⁰⁴See Hill (1977, 25) and Lusnia (1995) for the chronology. For the erroneous association with the rebuilding of the *aedes Vestae*; see *BMCRE* (5: lxxxi cxxxii); Brown (1940, 10-1); Hill (1989, 24).

¹⁰⁵Types issued during the reign of Septimius Severus (six adult Vestals), dated by Hill to 207 A.D., who connects them with vows for the health of Severus (Hill 1977, 25 ns. 886, 888, 889, 892):

-Fig. 69: Silver medallion: Gnecchi 1912, 1: 45 n.2, pl. 22.4; Dressel 1973, 172-3, pl. 13.7.

-Bronze medallion: Gnecchi 1912, 2: 77 n. 8, pl. 95.1; Dressel 1973, 174.

-Small bronze medallion: Gnecchi 1912, 3: 92 n. 10, pl. 160.9.

-*Aureus* (gold): *BMCRE* 5: 169 n. 97; *RIC* 4.1: 171 n. 586.

-*As* (bronze): *BMCRE* 5: 314 n. 796; *RIC* 4.1: 209 n. 867, 211 n. 892a-b.

of Lucilla and Crispina, Julia Domna's Vestal issues included a reverse legend. "VESTA MATER" marks those medallions and coins minted during the reign of Septimius Severus, which directed the viewer's attention away from the virginal aspect of the Vestals to the domestic role of the goddess Vesta. As mother of two boys, heirs to the imperial throne, it seems likely that Julia Domna would have wanted to emphasize the motherhood aspect of the goddess. The reverse legend was shortened to "VESTA" during the reign of Caracalla.¹⁰⁶ Both the earlier and later versions of this reverse type, however, emphasize Julia Domna's central position in the Severan dynastic scheme.

Severan Dynastic Temple-Sacrifices

The temple-sacrifice motif articulated dynastic continuity in medallions and reliefs during the reign of Septimius Severus as well. No evidence, however, suggests that the repeated use of the temple-sacrifice motif in particular resulted from the deliberate coordination of visual imagery in the differing media.¹⁰⁷ Rather, the use of the motif in multiple media reflects the importance of multivalent messages of piety and dynastic promotion.¹⁰⁸

During the reign of Septimius Severus, two variant versions of the Vestal scene appear:

-*Denarius* (silver), with just one Vestal: *BMCRE* 5: 169 n. 96; *RIC* 4.1: 171 n. 584.

-*Denarius* (silver), with just two Vestals: *RIC* 4.1: 171 n. 585.

Types issued during reign of Caracalla (four adult Vestals, two child Vestals), dated by Hill to 214-5 A.D., who connects them with vows for the health of Caracalla (Hill 1977, 34 ns. 1435, 1437-9):

-Bronze medallion: Milan, Gabinetto Numismatico B5519.

-*Aureus* (gold): *RIC* 4.1: 272 n. 392.

-*Sestertius* (bronze): *BMCRE* 5: 471 n. *.

-Fig. 70: *As* (bronze): *BMCRE* 5: 473 n. 232-3, pl. 74.12.

During the reign of Caracalla, one variant version of the Vestal scene appears:

-Small bronze medallion, with the addition of three lictors: Gneccchi 1912, 3: 39 n. 9, pl. 152.7; Dressel 1973, 174-5, pl. 13.5.

¹⁰⁶ *BMCRE* (5: cxcviii) speculates that the drop of MATER may be related to Julia Domna's grief at the murder of Geta.

¹⁰⁷ A note of caution: this discussion explores only a small iconographically restricted portion of the large corpus of images defining and articulating the position of Caracalla and Geta within the Severan dynasty.

¹⁰⁸ The layers of meaning inherent in specifying the exact location of the emperor will be discussed in chapter 4.

In the Severan images, Severus and his sons sacrifice together before a temple. The first example, on the reverse of an *as*, features a composition clearly derived from the medallions of Marcus Aurelius (figs. 64, 77). The repetition of familiar compositions, as in this case, suggests that an archive in the mint was consulted in the design of new types.¹⁰⁹ But no type ever simply repeated another. Changes, small or large, ensured that each coin and medallion type was unique, if not immediately distinctive. This *as* presents the smallest surviving representation of the full sacrifice scene: the emperor, his two sons, five attendants, and a bovine victim stand before a hexastyle temple with indications of pedimental and acroterial sculpture.¹¹⁰ The key feature of this coin—and the main change from the Antonine designs—is the joint sacrifice by Severus, Caracalla, and Geta. All three participants extend one arm over the altar in the gesture of sacrifice. This coin, celebrating Severus' *decennalia*, emphasizes Severus' dynastic arrangements as one of his achievements as emperor.

In fact, one of the signal features of official Severan art is the repeated display of family unity in nearly every possible context. Thus, the *Ludi Saeculares* of 204 provided yet another opportunity to emphasize Severus' dynastic plans. Two closely related reverse types commemorating the *Ludi Saeculares* show Severus, Caracalla, and Geta sacrificing together at a temporary wooden theater erected on the banks of the Tiber specifically for the performance of the games.¹¹¹ Significantly, these coins also show a

¹⁰⁹For other evidence of just such a collection of historic coins and medallions within the mint and in private hands, see Ehrhardt (1984).

¹¹⁰*As* of Septimius Severus, issued 202 A.D. *BMCRE* 5: 328 n. 817, pl. 49.6. It is approximately the size of an American quarter. The surviving examples of this type are barely legible, but the temple may have been recognizable. Its sculptural decoration is similar to that represented on the medallions of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus issued in 177-8 (figs. 64-5). For other examples of the reuse and adaptation of reverse types within the mint, see Ehrhardt (1984).

¹¹¹For the inscriptions with the *Acta* of the Severan *Ludi Saeculares*, see Pighi (1965, 137-94). See Traversari (1956) for the initial identification of the structure represented on these coins as a theater. For the theater typology on the *Ludi Saeculares* coins of Domitian and Septimius Severus, see La Rocca (1984, 49-53). Hill (1964, 175-8) considers the chronology of these issues—not minted in celebration during 204, the year of the games, but during subsequent years in commemoration of the games.

pattern of obverse-reverse association similar to that seen in the medallions of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus minted in 177-8 A.D. The *sestertius* type paired with obverses of Severus and Caracalla depict the three imperial family members sacrificing together, flanked by a pair of musicians; a personification of the Tiber reclines on the left, giving a topographical clue to the location of the garlanded post-and-lintel theater structure that stands in the background (fig. 78).¹¹² A simpler type is paired with obverses of Severus and Geta, depicting only the three family members and the post-and-lintel theater structure (fig. 79).¹¹³ As in the case of the medallions of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, the reverse types are carefully paired with obverses that together indicate the unity of the imperial family and provide a reminder of dynastic arrangements. Here, both the more elaborate and the simpler reverse types are paired with portraits of Septimius Severus; the more elaborate reverse type also occurs with obverses of Caracalla; and the simpler reverse type occurs with obverses of Geta. Perhaps these coins reveal a rather carefully asymmetrical display of the two heirs. In these coins, the dynasty is being celebrated as much as the *Ludi Saeculares*.

Severan relief sculpture also shows the family grouping in specific architectural contexts. The Sacchetti relief depicts an imperial audience in which the emperor is seated on a platform with his two sons (fig. 71). The composition and elaborate architectural background are generally similar to the *Anaglypha* (fig. 37), but a closer look reveals this similarity to be quite superficial, as both scene type and location differ. Despite several attempts to determine the subject of the imperial audience on the Sacchetti relief (suggestions include an event connected with the *Ludi Saeculares* or the announcement of the joint consulships of Caracalla and Geta), nothing of its subject is certain other than its

¹¹² *Sestertius* of Septimius Severus: *BMCRE* 5: 325 n. 810, pl. 48.10.
Sestertius of Caracalla: *BMCRE* 5: 330 n. 818, pl. 49.10.

¹¹³ *As* of Septimius Severus: *BMCRE* 5: 327 n. 813, pl. 49.3.
As of Geta: *BMCRE* 5: 337 n. 836, pl. 50.6.

blatant dynastic advertisement, a theme present in so many other pieces of Severan state art.¹¹⁴ Even though the architectural background indicates a specific location—more than one building is depicted, the arch spandrels are decorated with victories, and the colonnade has a peculiar niche (a wall shrine?)—temple architecture is absent, and the location cannot be determined without further evidence.¹¹⁵

Dynastic emphasis also dominates the Arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna. The erection of this quadrifrons arch, with its thematic imagery of *victoria*, *virtus*, *concordia*, and *pietas*, both glorified the hometown of the Severans and promoted the emperor and his nascent dynasty.¹¹⁶ One of the small panels that decorated the interior of the quadrifrons arch features the imperial family sacrificing at a hexastyle temple (fig. 72).¹¹⁷ Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta, accompanied by the patron deities of Leptis Magna and the personification of Roma/Virtus, stand on top of the steps of the podium.¹¹⁸ Gordon comments on the constant repetition of the imperial family group in nearly every relief of the arch, observing that “the dominant meaning of the sacrificial scene is to preserve the imperial house, to maintain the continuity of key

¹¹⁴Budde (1955); Koeppel (1986, 15, 81-4); Kleiner (1992, 333-4). La Rocca (1984, 68-9, n. 66, 84) suggests that the Sacchetti relief belonged to an arch celebrating the *Ludi Saeculares*.

¹¹⁵Budde (1955, 58-61, figs. 53-62) points out that the victories depicted on the Sacchetti relief arch match those on both the Arch of Titus in Rome and the Arch of Trajan in Benevento. Budde uses this similarity to argue that the Sacchetti relief represents the Arch of Titus, and suggests, on the basis of juxtaposition, that the colonnade is the facade of the imperial residence on the Palatine. On the other hand, the survival of two arches sharing the same pairing of victories (one with a flag, the other with a crown) argues for caution. Moreover, the Arch of Titus does not stand as an entrance to any colonnaded space of the sort represented on this relief.

¹¹⁶Elena La Rocca 1985, 10.

¹¹⁷Bartoccini 1931; Ryberg 1955, 134-6; Squarciapino 1967, 79-87; Parra 1978, 807-28; Ghedini 1984a, 77-9; Elena La Rocca 1985, 2-11.

¹¹⁸The separation of sacrifice into two registers is unusual. The imperial group stands above, among the colonnade of the pronaos, while the victim group and local magistrates cluster around the altar at the center of the lower register.

imperial institutions and to bring these iconographically into relation with the social hierarchy in Lepcis.”¹¹⁹

Dynastic Unity: The Temple-Sacrifice Motif in Third Century Medallions

After the reign of Septimius Severus, very little relief sculpture was created at all until the end of the third century, when first the Tetrarchs and then Constantine created new state reliefs.¹²⁰ During the third century, most emperors reigned too briefly to leave extensive coinage programs, much less any large monuments. Coins and medallions become even more valuable as evidence for the kinds of visual imagery favored by particular emperors.¹²¹ Few numismatic temple-sacrifice images were issued during the third century A.D. The majority of them continue the Antonine and Severan pattern of joint sacrifice reverses paired with multiple obverses depicting different members of the current imperial family.

The dynastic implications of these images are quite clear, as is the continuing creativity of the artists responsible for the new types. The victim group becomes increasingly rare. In its place, a second imperial group—featuring the co-emperor or imperial heir—shows that dynastic unity and continuity continues to be a focus for the creation of such images. The carefully balanced sacrifice scenes demonstrated the equality and concord of two or more co-emperors, proclaiming the unity of inherently unstable regimes. After the reign of Constantine, who moved the imperial government to a new capital and who began the official Christianization of the Roman empire, the production

¹¹⁹Gordon 1990b, 214.

¹²⁰See Hannestad (1986, 298-300) and Kleiner (1992, 394) on the absence of relief sculpture from this period. It can be explained, at least in part, by the decreasing stability of the imperial system.

¹²¹See, for example, the dissertation of Paul Legutko, *Roman Imperial Ideology in the Mid Third Century A.D. Negotiation, Usurpation, and Crisis in the Imperial Center* (2000), which depends largely on numismatic evidence.

of images showing the emperor sacrificing in front of a temple virtually ceased, except for a few contorniates.¹²²

During the reign of Severus Alexander, last emperor of the Severan dynasty, the practice of issuing a temple-sacrifice medallion with multiple obverses reflecting the dynastic arrangement has an unusual twist.¹²³ Instead of promoting the status of an heir (there was none), Severus Alexander shared obverses with his mother, Julia Mamaea, who had maneuvered her son to the throne, and with his wife, Orbiana (figs. 87-8). The type featuring sacrifice at the Temple of Venus and Roma, accompanied by the legend “ROMAE AETERNAE,” was issued with obverses of Severus Alexander alone and Severus Alexander together with his mother.¹²⁴ The bridal issue of Severus Alexander and Orbiana features a sacrifice at the Temple of Concordia, conveniently labeled by the legend and depicted with its distinctive transverse cella (fig. 88).¹²⁵ These medallions emphasize the female side of dynastic propagation, also seen in the *aedes Vestae* medallions of Lucilla, Crispina, and Julia Domna.

The “SAECVLVM NOVVM” medallions of Philip the Arab also emphasize dynastic unity on both obverse and reverse (figs. 90a-b). The reverse, showing a sacrifice at the Temple of Venus and Roma in celebration of the millennial anniversary of Rome in 248 A.D., depicts Philip the Arab and his son Philip sacrificing together. Two imperial

¹²²The only exception are fourth century contorniates showing the emperors Nero, Trajan, and Hadrian—incidentally, no temple-sacrifice coins or medallions survive from the reigns of those emperors. For the contorniates, see Alföldi (1990, pl. 113.7-9, 167.1-3) and Kapossy (1971-2, 148 n. 13). Also see Ehrhardt (1984, 48-9) on the origin and purpose of contorniates.

¹²³Medallion of Severus Alexander and Orbiana: Gnechi (1912, 2: pl. 102.3).

¹²⁴Medallions of Severus Alexander alone: Gnechi 1912, 2: 81 n. 11, pl. 99.1, 82 ns. 25-6, pl. 100.1-2. Medallions of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea: Gnechi 1912, 2: 85 n. 11, pl. 101.9; 3: 45 n. 22, pl. 153.8.

¹²⁵Gnechi (1912, 2: 85-6 n. 2, pl. 102.3). As the medallion reverse has been heavily tooled, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the depiction of a transverse cella was part of the medallion's original design. For the architecture of the Temple of Concordia, see *LTUR* 1: 316-20 s.v. Concordia, aedes (A. M. Ferroni).

groups mirror each other on either side of the altar. Philip the Arab should be identified as the taller emperor standing on the right.¹²⁶

The obverses paired with this reverse vary. One depicts Philip the Arab, Otacilia, and their son Philip as a family group, with the legend “CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM” (fig. 90a).¹²⁷ Another depicts the younger Philip alone (fig. 90b).¹²⁸ A third obverse depicts father and son together, again with the legend emphasizing the concord of the imperial family.¹²⁹ The emphasis on dynastic unity on both sides of these medallions ensures that the message comes across.

The co-emperors Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus, father and son, issued a closely linked set of medallions featuring a sacrifice at the Temple of Fortuna Redux (figs. 91a-c) that again uses both these techniques of indicating dynastic unity. These medallions were issued with four different obverses: one showing Trebonianus Gallus alone, one showing Volusianus alone, and two showing both Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus—one with Gallus listed first in the legend (fig. 91c) and the other with Volusianus listed first (figs. 91a-b).¹³⁰ On the reverses, the victim group is replaced with a second imperial group. Both emperors sacrifice over a flaming altar in the center of the composition. They are accompanied by carefully balanced retinues: the emperor on the left is crowned by a soldier and accompanied by a second soldier while the emperor on

¹²⁶Ryberg (1955, 159) notes in general “the position of the emperor at the right of the altar, in the favored position for the sacrificing priest.” The position to the left of the altar seems clearly subordinate.

¹²⁷Gnecchi 1912, 2: 99 n. 13, pl. 109.6; Dressel 1973, 240, pl. 16.8.

¹²⁸Gnecchi 1912, 2: 97 n. 8, pl. 108.9.

¹²⁹Gnecchi 1912, 2: 100 n. 5.

¹³⁰Trebonianus Gallus alone: Gnecchi 1912, 2: 102 n. 3, pl. 111.4, 103 n. 6, pl. 111.7.

Volusianus alone: Gnecchi 1912, 2: 104 n. 2; Toynbee 1986, pl. 17.8.

Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus: Gnecchi 1912, 2: 103 n. 4, pl. 111.10.

Volusianus and Trebonianus Gallus: Gnecchi 1912, 2: 103 n. 3, pl. 111.9.

the right is crowned by the *Genius Senatus* and accompanied by a lictor (figs. 91b-c).¹³¹ On two examples, the emperors are not being crowned (fig. 91a).¹³² On some examples, the head and foreleg of the dead victim are visible on the left, next to the altar (fig. 91c).¹³³ Again, the shared obverses are extended by the theme of a joint sacrifice on the reverse, with the victim group replaced by a second imperial group. Here, the temple does not add to the dynastic message of the medallions, which is carried by the obverse pairing and the image of joint sacrifice. Rather, the temple is used to extend the meaning of the scene further by cross-referencing the theme of *adventus* suggested by its setting at the Temple of Fortuna Redux. In contrast to the early Julio-Claudian and Flavian images discussed, the sacrifice scene carries enough of the dynastic weight for the temple to be free to indicate additional symbolic messages.

The strategy of indicating equality among emperors through shared sacrifice in front of a temple was used again during the Tetrarchy. The surviving coins and medallions of the Tetrarchs show quite extensive use of the temple-sacrifice motif to visually articulate their complex scheme of co-rulership.¹³⁴ A gold medallion of Constantius Chlorus from the Arras hoard (fig. 94) shows all four emperors making the sacrificial gesture over a flaming altar in the center. The temple in the background is completely unidentifiable. Other medallions from the same hoard depict the two senior emperors sacrificing together, also in front of an anonymous temple (fig. 95).¹³⁵ A series of silver coins issued by many of the regional mints, paired with obverses of each of the individual

¹³¹Crowning types: Gnechi 1912, 2: 102 n. 3, pl. 111.4, 103 n. 4, pl. 111.10, 103 n. 6, pl. 111.7.

¹³²Gnechi 1912, 2: 103 n. 3, pl. 111.9, 104 n. 2; Toynbee 1986, pl. 17.8.

¹³³Victim types: Gnechi 1912, 2: 102 n. 3, pl. 111.4, 103 n. 4, pl. 111.10.

¹³⁴See the more extensive discussion of the Tetrarchic coins and medallions in chapter 4.

¹³⁵For the Arras hoard, see Evans (1930, 232-6); Bastien and Metzger (1977, 137-9, ns. 393-397). The temple-sacrifice types from this hoard were all minted in 305 A.D. They all depict Constantius Chlorus on the obverse, but some predate his promotion from Caesar to Augustus.

Tetrarchs, depicts the four Tetrarchs sacrificing together at an anonymous fortress (figs. 93a-c).¹³⁶ The simple repetition of images showing the shared military and religious power of the Tetrarchs emphasized their concord and unity. The emphasis on shared obverses and in pairing single reverse types with multiple obverses, one for each of the Tetrarchs, can also be seen in these coins and medallions.

Conclusions

I think it significant that so many temple-sacrifice images emphasize the legitimacy of the dynasty, through connection with past emperors or through promotion of heir(s) as future emperor(s). Initially, the temple provided the key link between present and past: the temple images appealed to the history of a dynasty and its successes. In the second and third centuries, however, the temple-sacrifice motif is more frequently connected with attempts to establish new dynasties and provide for the smooth succession of the chosen heir. The dynastic message shifts from the background (the temple) to the foreground, where images of emperor and heir sacrificing together predominate. The temple image literally recedes to the background. But it does not entirely disappear. To indicate a dynastic ‘spin’ on a sacrifice scene, perhaps it had become necessary to include a temple. The background architecture is also given a new relevance, in that it functions as a common location indicating the political unity of the participants in the sacrifice. In fact, when the later medallions depict identifiable temples, those temples—namely Concordia, Fortuna Redux, and Roma Aeterna—reinforce these very themes of unity and stability. The implications of these locations will be further explored in the following chapter.

¹³⁶Bayet 1994.

CHAPTER IV

DEPICTING ROME AS THE CENTER OF POWER

Nearly every image discussed in chapter 3 represents the emperor in the city of Rome. Such images affirm the emperor's proper place in the capital. Looking beyond the temple-sacrifice iconography, it becomes clear that most of the non-sacrifice images represent the emperor's presence at specific locations within the city of Rome as well. Such images may have been indispensable because many emperors spent more of their time away from Rome than in the city.¹

One of the temples most frequently represented in the background of figural scenes, the Temple of Fortuna Redux in Rome, emphasized the importance of the emperor's return to Rome whenever he traveled. In the third and fourth centuries, representations of the Temple of Venus and Roma, usually labeled "ROMAE AETERNAE," assert the permanence of the city and its empire. The temples of the oldest state cults of the city of Rome, those of Vesta and Jupiter Optimus Maximus, are represented multiple times; so is the political heart of the city, the Forum Romanum. Representations of these places emphasized continuity with the past. More importantly, all these places were iconic landmarks that symbolized the city of Rome.

This imagery celebrates Rome as the center of empire for the benefit of the citizens of Rome and of the emperor. When these images were promulgated by the imperial administration, they advertised the emperor's connections with Rome. When

¹Millar 1977, 15-57; Halfmann 1986.

these images were set up “by the Senate and People of Rome,” they declared the city’s importance and reminded the emperor of his responsibilities to the imperial capital. It is rare, therefore, for images of Rome’s architecture to appear outside the capital itself. But it is not surprising when, in the Severan period, certain provincial cities commemorated imperial visits with imagery depicting the emperor in local architectural settings.

This chapter explores the placement and distribution, primarily within the city of Rome (but also, exceptionally, in the provinces), of representations depicting the emperor in an identifiable architectural setting. This is not a study of a single iconographic type, as in the previous chapter. Rather, it is a study of a recurring theme whose threads can be traced in several iconographic types throughout the three centuries that the Roman emperors were officially based in Rome. To get a sense of the shifting trends in the usage of architectural backgrounds, I have attempted to arrange the discussion of images in chronological order, centered around the programs of different emperors. Such an arrangement is simple for the coins and medallions. The reliefs, however, present more of a challenge. While some can be securely dated through portraiture, inscriptions, or other archaeological evidence, many more must be dated based on stylistic criteria alone. As the discussions of particularly problematic pieces will show, these stylistic dates often do not allow the confident assignment of particular reliefs to a specific reign. I cope with this ambiguity by considering how such images might have contributed to the iconography of each reign to which they could have belonged.

Augustus and the Julio-Claudians

The reign of Augustus was highly influential in the development of state imagery with background architecture. Several Augustan relief monuments include architectural backgrounds. These are the temple-sacrifice panel from the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, a relief base in Sorrento, a relief panel in Palermo, and the relief prototype for the Boscoreale cups. Despite their interpretative difficulties, the existence of four Augustan reliefs

featuring specific architectural backgrounds demonstrates an early interest in depicting the emperor's actions in a topographic context. Only the *Ara Pacis Augustae* can be given a secure date (13-9 B.C.); it is unusual in showing not a contemporary scene, but one out of Rome's mythical history (fig. 1).² The Tiberius cup from Boscoreale (Kuttner dates its prototype to between 8-7 B.C. and 6 B.C.) depicts Tiberius triumphing and sacrificing a bull before a temple that cannot be satisfactorily identified (fig. 6).³ The reliefs in Sorrento and Palermo both depict the Vestals and Vesta before a temple to Vesta that some would place on the Palatine and that others would place in the Forum Romanum (figs. 2, 5).⁴ Whether the Sorrento base and Palermo relief celebrate the erection of a temple of Vesta on the Palatine in 12 B.C. or an event that took place at the *aedes Vestae* in the Forum Romanum, they indicate an Augustan interest in representing buildings in the city. The difficulties in interpreting the architecture depicted in the surviving Augustan reliefs prevent, however, an assessment of the extent to which recently

²Rehak (2001) has recently challenged the traditional reading of the temple-sacrifice scene on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* as Aeneas sacrificing a sow before the Temple of the Penates at Lavinium. The main difficulty with both the traditional identification and Rehak's proposal rests in the absence of iconographic parallels for either the figural scene or the cult statues in the temple. In the context of this study, however, the exact identification of the panel is less important than that it demonstrates Augustan period interest in detailed architectural backgrounds.

³The Tiberius cup from Boscoreale has also been the subject of much attention (most recently, Kuttner 1995); it clearly represents a specific place (high podium with an arch in the lowest portion; Ionic columns; eagle with globe in pediment usually thought to suggest a dedication to Jupiter). However, it cannot be identified with the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome because of the difference in order (Ionic instead of Corinthian; see chapter 2, pp. 20-1. The use of eagles on the *Ludi Saeculares* coins of Domitian as a generic pediment filler, essentially equivalent to the use of the wreath, cautions against placing too much interpretative weight on the eagle in the pediment here; see chapter 2, pp. 35-7. Other suggested identifications of the temple represented on the Boscoreale cup, from the extra-urban sanctuary proposed by Polacco (1954-5), to the Temple of *Divus Iulius* proposed by Stucchi (1958, 33-8), to the Temple of Jupiter Stator in the Circus Flaminius, as proposed by Muscettola (1992, 5-7) do not convince me; I agree with Kleiner (1983, 297) that it is best to leave the location of this temple unresolved.

⁴Proponents of the second temple of Vesta on the Palatine include Rizzo (1933); Guarducci (1964; 1971); Cappelli (1990); McDaniel (1995); and Cecamore (1994-5), who identifies a circular foundation near the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine with a Vespasianic reconstruction of the Augustan temple of Vesta. Also see *LTUR* 5: 128-9 s.v. Vesta, ara, signum, aedes (in Palatio) (R. Cappelli). Objections to this identification have been raised by Deggrasi (1955) and Hölscher (1988, 375-8). As noted in chapter 2, pp. 45-7, the Sorrento base does not offer definitive evidence for either side of the argument.

constructed buildings or more historical buildings were favored for representation in the background of figural scenes. The reliefs also seem to reflect the diversity of Augustus' imagery rather than a concentrated effort to depict the emperor as specifically located in Rome.

Significantly, Julio-Claudian images with architectural backgrounds primarily feature Augustan and post-Augustan construction. The detailed representation of temples that had been built by or for Augustus reinforces the dynastic message of these images; that the temples are located in Rome is incidental to the interpretation of that dynastic message. The image of the Temple of Divus Augustus on the *sestertius* of Caligula (figs. 7a-b) primarily associates Caligula with Augustus. Similarly, the representations of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Temple of Magna Mater on the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (figs. 8-9) reveal a focus on dynastic *pietas*.⁵ Nevertheless, these temples were all located in the center of the city of Rome, and these images provided a model for many later representations of the emperor in an architectural context.

The Flavians

Except for one coin type showing Vespasian sacrificing in front of an arch,⁶ nearly all the relevant Flavian coins and surviving Flavian relief sculpture date to the reign of Domitian—despite the official *damnatio memoriae* after his murder. Architectural backgrounds are used more widely in Domitianic state art than in previous reigns. In the

⁵In chapter 3, pp. 67-73, I support the attribution of the Valle-Medici reliefs to the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*. La Rocca (1992a), on the other hand, argued that the Valle-Medici reliefs should be attributed to an unattested *Ara Redituus Claudii* and that they were thus closely related to themes of *adventus*. Nevertheless, La Rocca's emphasis in this article upon the significant number of monuments celebrating imperial returns to the city fits well with the argument of this chapter. See La Rocca (1992a, 77).

⁶Levick (1999, pl. 21). Vespasian sacrifices over an altar; a winged victory crowns him. The arch in the background has two openings visible and should probably be read as a quadrifrons. It bears two statues; Levick tentatively suggests that they represent the *Genius Populi Romani* and the *Genius Senatus*. The arch cannot be identified.

coinage, a *sestertius* emphasized Domitian's devotion to Minerva with an image showing him sacrificing at her shrine (fig. 16).⁷ The spoils relief in the passageway of the Arch of Titus is the first surviving representation of a triumph contextualized by an architectural setting—the arch in the background recursively refers to the triumph depicted by the panel (fig. 18a).⁸ The depiction of the Temple of Quirinus in the decorations of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* emphasizes the connection between the Flavian family and Rome implicit in their common Sabine heritage (fig. 19).⁹ These images established a visual and spatial connection between the emperor and the city.

The most significant and intriguing example of Domitian's extensive use of urban Roman architectural backgrounds comes from the series of coins issued to commemorate the *Ludi Saeculares* of 88 A.D. This festival, held in Rome at irregular intervals (approximately once a century), was transformed by Augustus into a celebration focusing on the emperor and the 'rebirth' of his transformed capital, Rome.¹⁰ Domitian issued an extraordinarily rich series of fourteen different coin types commemorating the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*. Eight of these types feature architectural backgrounds (figs. 17a-

⁷*BMCRE* 2: 363 ns. 296-7, 370 ns. 332-3, 381 n. 376, 386, 389 n. 408. This *sestertius* type was issued in each of four succeeding years (Domitian's COS XI-XIII; 85-89 A.D.) and can be connected to Minerva's status as one of Domitian's patron deities (Suetonius, *Domitian* 15; Morawiecki 1977). Scott's (1935) suggestion that the building depicted is a *lararium* of Minerva in the Palatine, followed by Brown (1941, 187-9) and Hill (1989, 30-1), although attractive, cannot be verified. Considering Domitian's long-term interest in Minerva and the repeated issue of this type over a period of four years, this reverse design should not be associated with any single event.

⁸The arch on the spoils panel of the Arch of Titus represents two four-horse quadrigae, a single horseman, and a female figure on foot; in the spandrel is a victory holding a wreath and a palm. According to Pfanner, the figures crowning the arch must be Vespasian and Titus in triumphal quadrigae, accompanied by Domitian on horseback, and led by Minerva. Therefore, the arch in the spoils panel must have been erected for the victory over the Jews (Pfanner 1983, 50-1, 71-2, pl. 56.1-5).

⁹I support the attribution of the Quirinus temple fragment to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* in chapter 3, pp. 73-5.

¹⁰Beard, North, and Price (1998, 1: 201-6). Augustus held the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 B.C. He set an official interval for the celebrations of 110 years, which was never followed exactly.

i).¹¹ The *Ludi Saeculares* coins of other emperors are far less extensive and do not place similar emphasis on architectural context. Despite the topographic details recorded by the *Ludi Saeculares* inscriptions of Augustus and Septimius Severus, the *Ludi Saeculares* coins of Augustus have no architectural backgrounds and those of Septimius Severus include only two coin types with an architectural background (figs. 78-9).¹²

Six out of the fourteen Domitianic *Ludi Saeculares* types lack architectural backgrounds, so the presence and absence of architecture should have some meaning. Although this series of coins features a large number of architectural backgrounds, the backgrounds are surprisingly minimalistic. The locations of the action are not specified by architectural or sculptural detail.¹³ The figural scenes present the only reliable information for determining the locations, yet they are imperfect guides. Some events happened at more than one location; others, such as the bloodless and bovine sacrifices, could refer to more than one of the rituals outlined in the *Ludi Saeculares* inscriptions.¹⁴ The visual

¹¹ *BMCRE* 2, xcv-xcvi; Welin 1954; Ryberg 1955, 174-7; Hill 1965; Carlson 1971-2a; b; Di Manzano 1984.

¹² Augustus issued four *Ludi Saeculares* types, none with architecture (see Carlson 1971-2a, figs. 1, 4, 6, and 9). Septimius Severus issued six types, two with architectural backgrounds (see Carlson 1971-2a, figs. 3, 8; 1972b, figs. 16, 17, 20, and 24).

¹³ See chapter 2, pp. 25, 35-7.

¹⁴ The survival of inscriptions recording the *Ludi Saeculares* of both Augustus (*CIL* 6: 32323; Pighi 1965, 107-19) and Septimius Severus (*CIL* 6: 32326-32335; Pighi 1965, 137-75) make possible the matching of events depicted on the coins with their probable location(s). Correlations between the events detailed by these inscriptions and the coins of Domitian were initially made by Dressel (1899); for various proposals to refine Dressel's scheme, see Pighi (1965, 79-87); Hill (1965); Carlson (1971-2a and b); and Di Manzano (1984). See Pighi (1965, 269-71) for a listing of all topographic references in the *Ludi Saeculares* inscriptions. In summary, I list the possible locations of the different events depicted on these coins:

- Distribution of *suffimenta*: Temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline, and Apollo on the Palatine.
- Acceptance of the *fruges* (two types): Temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline, Apollo on the Palatine, and Diana on the Aventine.
- Sacrifice of ovicaprids: sacrifice to the Moirae at the Tarentum.
- Sacrifice of bovine: either sacrifice of a bull to Jupiter or sacrifice of a cow to Juno; both took place at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline.
- Bloodless sacrifice at double-pediment structure: probably sacrifice to the Ilithyiae at the Tarentum.
- Bloodless sacrifice at hexastyle: possibly sacrifice to the Ilithyiae at the Tarentum, or to Apollo and Diana at the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

ambiguity of these temple representations suggests that the nature of the festival was not the impetus for the inclusion of architectural backgrounds.

The architecture represented on the eight relevant coin types falls into three distinct groups: four scenes feature tetrastyle facade-and-flank temples (figs. 17a-c, i), three feature hexastyle facade-only temples (figs. 17d, e, h), and one features an enigmatic double-pediment facade (figs. 17f, g).¹⁵ Only the double-pediment facade diverges from the norms of non-specific temple representations, suggesting that a different architectural type, probably a theater, is depicted.¹⁶ The two different temple views used on the *Ludi*

-*Supplicatio*: prayer of matrons to Juno, on the Capitoline.

¹⁵Architectural details that vary from die to die include the dimensions and fluting of the columns, the size and degree of detail of the column capitals, the spacing of the columns, and for the facade-and-flank representations, the degree to which the roof is articulated to indicate tiles. As established in chapter 2, these variations do not affect the identification of the temple or the classification of these images into reverse types. The important variations in this series include the number of columns and whether the flank of the temple is depicted; these variables are linked for this series:

Tetrastyle facade-and-flank:

Distribution of *suffimenta* (sulfur, tar, and torches for ritual purification).

Acceptance of the *fruges* (agricultural first fruits of beans, oats, and wheat): two types depict different moments in the ritual. In one type, the participants lean forward to pour the *fruges* into a container on the ground in front of the emperor's platform; in the other, the participants stand erect and the baskets with the offerings have been placed on the emperor's platform.

Supplicatio (the emperor leads a group of kneeling figures in prayer).

Hexastyle facade-only:

Sacrifice of ovicaprids

Sacrifice of bovine

Bloodless sacrifice

Double-pediment facade:

Bloodless sacrifice

¹⁶To complicate matters, different examples of the double-pediment facade type show rather significant structural variations. Although all three variants demonstrate the same underlying symmetry—a series of small and larger columns supporting two pediments bridged by an arch—the number and arrangement of the columns varies, as does the placement of the arch between the two pediments (figs. 17f-g). Whether these images represent a temporary wooden theater, two temples with an arch between them, or both simultaneously, has not been satisfactorily settled. Dressel (1899) originally identified this structure as a temporary theater erected in the Tarentum for the *Ludi Saeculares*. Coarelli (1968) proposed instead that the image represents a temple-arch-temple sequence, and on those grounds, assigned a fragment of the Severan marble plan with that architectural sequence to the Tarentum. La Rocca (1984, 34-55) defended the theater hypothesis. In response, Coarelli (1997, 74-117; *LTUR* 5: 20-2 s.v. Tarentum) has hypothesized that these coins represent a simple wooden stage building in the near background (the larger columns and the horizontal line connecting them all), and two temples in the distant background (the small columns and two pediments), with an arch between them. However, such complicated visual layering of structures in several different visual planes is not otherwise attested in the realm of numismatic architectural imagery. If

Saeculares coins correlate with the type of action depicted, not with the location or the likely appearance of the temples.¹⁷

Nevertheless, such compositional variation hardly seems a sufficient justification for the inclusion of architecture. Perhaps the representations of architecture functioned as reminders of the extensive building programs that followed the disastrous fire of 80 A.D.¹⁸ It also seems possible that these specific representations of the emperor's presence in Rome contrast with Domitian's significant absences on campaign.¹⁹ Neither of these hypotheses, however, satisfactorily explains why the *Ludi Saeculares* coins of Domitian participate in a larger pattern of interest in architecture and architectural representation by this emperor. Their significance should rather come from the importance of the *Ludi Saeculares* themselves. The coins that commemorated this festival—all bronze denominations issued as part of the regular coinage used by the ordinary people of Rome²⁰—display what was significant about the performance of this ritual in 88 A.D.: the emperor conducting all the events, in person, at many important sacred areas of the city.

this is indeed the correct reading of these types, perhaps it can best be viewed as an innovation that was not subsequently imitated.

¹⁷All the facade-only representations are in the background of sacrifice scenes. The facade-and-flank representations occur in the background of non-sacrifice rituals. In the latter, the emperor is separated both horizontally and vertically from the rest of the figures (seated on a platform while others stand, or standing while others kneel). This variation thus seems rooted in compositional concerns, as the division between temple facade and flank mirrors the separation between the emperor (positioned prominently in the 'empty' space of the flank) and the citizens who participate in the ritual.

¹⁸The most important of these projects being the rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Darwall-Smith 1996, 105-110).

¹⁹Jones (1992, 26-7) summarizes the five military expeditions of Domitian; he was absent in 86 A.D. and left again in 89 A.D., the year following the *Ludi Saeculares*.

²⁰Carradice 1983, 81, 123, 135.

The Temple of Fortuna Redux: Domitian or Trajan?

Imperial absences, and the monuments commemorating them, demonstrate another important aspect of the relationship between the emperor and the city of Rome. Those monuments that present the emperor's travels to the people of Rome take two major forms: monuments depicting the emperor on campaign (such as the Column of Trajan), and monuments depicting the emperor's departures from and returns to Rome (such as the Domitianic Cancellaria reliefs showing *profectio* and *adventus*). During the Flavian period, the recognizable iconography of *adventus* and *profectio* begins to appear in state relief.²¹ Such formal arrival and departure scenes commemorate the emperor's travels but emphasize that his home and seat of administration are officially located in Rome.

An extremely fragmentary relief found in the Forum Iulium in 1932 preserves what may be one of the earliest representations of a sacrifice at the Temple of Fortuna Redux (fig. 22). Subsequent to their initial publication, only the pieces of this relief that represent the Temple of Fortuna Redux have received much attention.²² Because the cult of Fortuna Redux was concerned with the safe return to Rome by travelers, especially the emperor, all representations of this temple imply the celebration of imperial *adventus*. Depicting a sacrificial procession moving towards the Temple of Fortuna Redux, the relief includes lictors and the head of a sacrificial bovine. This relief thus sets a precedent for the third century medallions of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus that depict sacrifice at the same temple (figs. 91a-c).

In contrast to the exact date provided by the obverse legends on the coins of Domitian's *Ludi Saeculares* series, the absence of a surviving imperial portrait from this relief means that stylistic and iconographic criteria must be used to deduce its date. As

²¹Koeppel (1969, 130); Maggi (1993) presents evidence for the earlier development of both the ceremonies and their iconography.

²²Degrassi 1939; Hommel 1954, 44; Koeppel 1969, 170-1; 1985, 153-4, 197-223; Maier 1985, 89-91; Darwall-Smith 1996, 130-3.

with the identification of architectural images, the process of determining the date of reliefs is often a matter of narrowing down the possibilities. There are two theories as to the date and iconography of this relief. In his initial publication of the relief, Degraasi proposed that it depicted Domitian's dedication of the Temple of Fortuna Redux. This assessment was generally accepted until Koeppel suggested a Trajanic date and an association with the *adventus* of 107 A.D.

Stylistic criteria point equally to either a Flavian or a Trajanic date. Similarly, the iconography favors both Domitian and Trajan, as parallels for architectural backgrounds, sacrifice, and *adventus* can be located in other relief monuments of each emperor. Both emperors made triumphant returns to Rome. Although Domitian built the Temple of Fortuna Redux, the garland decorating the temple representation does not necessarily point, as Degraasi argues, to the dedication of the temple.²³ Moreover, the archaeological evidence does not help narrow the possibilities. The renovation of the Forum Iulium to which this relief is thought to belong was begun by Domitian and finished by Trajan.

From an analytical standpoint, it is tempting to make a judgment in favor of one emperor over the other; once this decision is made, it is then possible to comment on how this relief might have fit into the career and politics of that emperor. The limits of archaeological and stylistic analysis in providing exact answers from such ambiguous evidence, however, should be accepted. In the end, whether this relief was carved during the reign of Domitian or Trajan is less important than its existence as an attestation of the early development of the imagery of return, contextualized by architectural backgrounds. Since both Domitian and Trajan returned to Rome in triumph after foreign campaigns, the

²³The only evidence that temples were garlanded for their dedication comes from the *sestertius* of Caligula depicting a sacrifice in front of the Temple of Divus Augustus (fig. 7a-b). As I discuss in chapter 3, the *sestertius* of Caligula invites a broader range of interpretation beyond the completion of a building project. Turcan's (1971) study of garlands in Roman art and literature identified a wide range of events that might lead to the garlanding of temples; none of them explicitly mention dedications. Victories and triumphs, however, were frequently the reason for such decorations (Turcan 1971, 108-111).

iconography of sacrifice at the Temple of Fortuna Redux would have been appropriate for both emperors.

Trajan

In contrast to Domitian's extensive coin series with architectural backgrounds, the only Trajanic coin with an architectural background for a figural scene is the reissue of a Republican coin design of Marcellinus, not a freshly created design (fig. 24).²⁴ Therefore, to assess Trajan's usage of architectural backgrounds, one must rely entirely on the relief monuments carved during his reign.²⁵ A substantial number of the historical reliefs attributed to the reign of Trajan feature architectural backgrounds.²⁶ They belonged to

²⁴See *BMCRE* 3: 136 n. 689; Mattingly (1926, 253-4). The *denarius* shows Marcellinus' ancestor Marcellus dedicating the *spolia opima* at the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius (identified through scene type and the legend MARCELLVS; Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus* 8 records the story). The exact date of the original coin of Marcellinus has not been established, though it certainly falls in the mid-1st century B.C. (*BMCRR* 2: 567 ns. 4206-8; Sydenham 1952, 187 n. 1147; Fuchs 1969, 33, 67-8, 97, 109; Crawford 1974, 1: 460 n. 439/1; Hill 1989, 27; Flower 2000, 46-8). It is the only coin of the Republic depicting action at a temple. For the reissue of prominent Republican and early Imperial *denarii* during Trajan's reign, see Mattingly (1926); Ehrhardt (1984, 48).

²⁵The absence of coins with architectural backgrounds, despite the relatively large number of reliefs with such backgrounds, suggests that the output of the mints and the sculpture workshops was only loosely coordinated, if at all, during this period. There are, however, a small number of Trajanic coins depicting architecture without figural scenes. See Burnett (1999, 161, table 3).

²⁶A rough estimate can be made from Koeppl's (1985) catalog of reliefs attributed to Trajan. Excluding those fragments that show only heads (as the background cannot be evaluated), eight out of fourteen reliefs include architecture in the background. This total does not include the Column of Trajan, which Koeppl published separately (1991; 1992) or the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, which, as a monument outside Rome, did not fall within the scope of Koeppl's project. The problems of determining chronology, raised in the previous section of this chapter, have affected the selection of material discussed here. In particular, I have limited the reliefs discussed in detail to those pieces for which significant evidence—in addition to stylistic criteria—supports a Trajanic date. It is also necessary to consider the various attempts to reattribute monuments on which Trajan's portrait and inscription survive. Claridge (1993) suggested that the spiral frieze of Trajan's column was carved at the direction of Hadrian; Davies (2000, 127-33) convincingly argues that the spiral frieze was an integral part of the column's design from the beginning. The debate over the Arch at Benevento centers on claims that Hadrian should be recognized in the bearded figures standing next to Trajan in front of the Temple of Jupiter on one of the panels (this view is summarized by Kleiner 1992, 224-9). In her study of the portrait types of Hadrian, however, Evers concluded that Hadrian should not be recognized in any of the panels of the Arch at Benevento (1994, 56-8).

monuments showing Trajan's actions in Rome, especially his departures and returns. They also belonged to monuments showing Trajan's actions on military campaigns. They were mostly set up in Rome. But, as in the case of the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, they could be set up outside the capital. This keen interest in contextualizing the emperor's image with architectural settings reflected the necessity of communicating the purpose of (and divine approval for) the emperor's travels to the senate and people of Rome. Domitian's surviving monuments emphasize his presence in Rome. Trajan's surviving monuments emphasize his absences from Rome. The variety of imagery used demonstrates that artists continued to experiment with different approaches to express the important event of the emperor's return. In these ways, the relationship between the emperor and the city of Rome was formalized in stone.

The variation and experimentation seen in the *Extispicium* relief (figs. 25a-b), the Arch of Trajan at Benevento (figs. 29-32), and the Column of Trajan in Rome (figs. 33-5) demonstrate that the imagery of imperial travel and connection with Rome was still developing during Trajan's reign. The monuments of Trajan present a cycle of movement, a dichotomy of presence and absence, to an audience in the capital: Trajan sacrificing in Rome before his departure; Trajan in transit, arriving at, sacrificing at, speaking at, departing from, and fighting in various rural and urban locations during his military campaigns; and Trajan returning to Rome. This complete cycle is not depicted in any single surviving monument of Trajan, but it can serve as an organizing principle for exploring how Trajan's relationship to Rome—both in presence and absence—was always directed at an audience in Rome and was frequently contextualized by architecture.²⁷ This discussion follows the logical order of events among the various scene types—departure, action, and return, emphasizing the emperor's progress rather than the chronology of individual monuments. In each image, the representation of specific,

²⁷The full cycle, however, can be seen in the panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius, discussed below.

recognizable locations communicates the emperor's whereabouts; in aggregate, they emphasize the emperor's commitment to Rome despite his continual mobility. Several reliefs depicting events at well-known locations in Rome provide a visual record of the emperor's actual presence in Rome. To the senate and people of Rome, who were vitally concerned with city's continuing prestige as the center of the Roman world, such images could have been intended to reassure.

The *Extispicium* relief (figs. 25a-b), from the east hemicycle in Trajan's Forum, has long been recognized as depicting a ritual preceding the emperor's departure for a military campaign (although the exact campaign is not certain).²⁸ On the left, *victimarii* and a *haruspex* cluster around the sacrificed bull, examining its entrails for omens. On the right, the emperor and his entourage stand in front of the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, easily recognized due to its hexastyle facade and triple cella doors. The togate dignitaries stand as far away from the blood and filth of the actual sacrifice as possible; the change from an empty background to the architectural background enhances the contrast between the two groups. The two eagles perched on the temple and the Victory flying over the reading of the *exta* suggest that the divination concerns a military campaign. Moreover, they strongly imply Jupiter's support for what was surely to be a successful campaign.

Why place this ritual at the Capitoline? The Temple of Jupiter was home to the oldest, most important cult in Roman state religion. The actions of Augustus had shown that effective handling of the cult of Jupiter was an essential aspect of holding power in

²⁸The most recent study of the relief is by Tortorella (1988a). Wace (1907, 229-49) deduced the excavation location; Michon (1932) integrated the fragment depicting a flying Victory; Koeppl (1985, 154-7, 204-12) provides a full bibliography. Leander Touati (1987, 110) argues against its inclusion in the Great Trajanic Frieze cycle, but would still place it in the decoration of the Forum of Trajan. Although the imperial portrait does not survive, the date of the relief, based upon the findspot, sculptural style, subject matter, and sculptor's signature "M V[lpius]/ ORE[s]/ TES" (C/L 6.29800) all point to a Trajanic origin.

Rome.²⁹ The depiction of sacrifice also memorialized the emperor's presence at the heart of the city at the center of the empire in a concrete way, with a particularized setting. This relief allowed Trajan, the *Optimus Princeps*, to make his association with Jupiter Optimus Maximus visible by standing in front of the temple's central cella door.³⁰ Finally, the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was the ultimate destination of all triumphal parades. Thus, while depicting preparations for a campaign, this relief simultaneously anticipates its success.

The monumentalization of Trajan's travels is best known from the Column of Trajan (figs. 33-5).³¹ The spiraling accumulation of imperial actions emphasizes the emperor's mobility. On a compositional level, architectural backgrounds help mark civic and ceremonial occasions as distinct from battle scenes. This technique was also used in the Great Trajanic Frieze, where a single-bay arch emphasizes Trajan's *adventus* as distinct from the adjoining battle scenes.³² The architectural backgrounds of the Column of Trajan increase the apparent realism of a sanitized version of war. On the Column of Trajan, the architectural backgrounds distinguish between urban centers with their romanized architectural features such as temples, theaters, and porticos, and the very simple housing of the enemy or the organized, utilitarian camp constructions of the

²⁹For instance, Augustus tried to diffuse the influence of Jupiter's cult by reassigning many functions from the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus to the newly built Temple of Mars Ultor. See Zanker (1988) on Augustus' consolidation of power and Bonnefond (1987) on the transfer of functions from one temple to the other. See also the discussions of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* in chapters 3 and 5. In the end, as reliefs like the *Extispicium* show, the tradition of Jupiter's primacy had a long-lasting importance that even Augustus could not permanently shift.

³⁰See Bennett (1997, 106) for Trajan's acquisition of this title and its implications.

³¹For the reliefs of Trajan's column, see Lepper and Frere (1988); Koeppel (1991; 1992); for specific attention to the architecture, see Coulston (1990). The recent suggestion (Claridge 1993) that the relief carvings should be attributed to Hadrian has been adequately answered by observations that the relief carvings were an integral part of the column's original design (Davies 2000, 27-34, 71-2, 127-8; Wilson Jones 2000, 161-9).

³²Leander Touati 1987, 14-6.

Roman army. The urban backdrops contextualize solemn rituals; the Dacian huts contextualize battles. Most importantly, both the Column of Trajan and the Great Trajanic Frieze monumentalize, for an urban audience in Rome, the emperor's actions while away from the city.

The Arch of Trajan at Benevento (figs. 27-32), one of the few such monuments not located in the capital, presents a complex symbolic and allegorical program. The narrative organization of the arch depicts the progress of the emperor from his travels in the provinces and on campaign (west side), to his policies in Italy (*alimenta* and sacrifice scene in the passageway), and finally his return to Rome (east side).³³ All the architectural representations, including the one in the triumphal frieze, are located on the east side of the arch, and most likely depict specific locations in Rome.³⁴ The series of events depicted on the east side of the arch can be seen as an extended form of *adventus*. The emperor, surrounded by lictors, enters the city gate (fig. 29), then is greeted by the *Genius Senatus*, the *Genius Populi Romani*, and other personifications (at the Curia?, fig. 30), and finally is welcomed by Roma (possibly at the entrance to the Capitoline hill, fig. 31).³⁵ The Rome-centered focus of the architectural backgrounds, as well as the prominence of the senate in the iconography³⁶, reflects this arch's status as a senatorial commission. The arch's dedicatory inscription even ends in "SENATVS P Q R," giving

³³Hassel 1966; Rotili 1972; Fittschen 1972; De Maria 1988, 232-5 (with full bibliography); Torelli 1997.

³⁴Although there will always be a degree of uncertainty surrounding the identification of these buildings (an undecorated arch, a Corinthian colonnade with open doors, a temple of Jupiter next to an arch, and a distyle Ionic temple), the presence of senators and personifications specific to Rome suggest that the setting was indeed Rome. See Torelli (1997, 156-62).

³⁵Koeppel 1969, 161-70; Torelli 1997, 156-62.

³⁶Additional indications of the importance of the senate may lie in the architectural background of the panel in which the senators greet the emperor: it may represent the Curia Julia. This identification, however, is at best hypothetical, as there are no other representations of events at the Curia, and the architectural background does not indicate architectural features or sculptural iconography that can be specifically and exclusively associated with the Curia.

extra emphasis to the senate's role. The quality of its sculpture and complexity of its iconography also suggest that both the artists and the design were sent to Benevento from Rome.

In the reign of Trajan, then, a complex range of representations all present the travels and returns of the emperor to the urban audience of Rome. These monuments emphasize the importance of the imperial capital as the place to which the emperor always returns, and as the place where his travels are assumed to be of the greatest public interest. Even the Arch at Benevento, on an imperial highway to a major port city, makes the same points; its intended audience of travelers would particularly appreciate the message of homecoming to Rome.³⁷

The *Anaglypha*: Trajan or Hadrian?

The monument variously known as the *Anaglypha* (or *Plutei*) *Traiani* (or *Hadriani*) illustrates a number of issues central to the interpretation of architectural backgrounds. The still-debated chronological problems surrounding these reliefs lead me to discuss first the general interpretation of the scene, independent of chronological determinations. I then consider the chronological problems, specifically focusing on the evidence provided by the architectural background, before discussing implications of these images for the reigns of both Trajan and Hadrian.³⁸

³⁷Tonio Hölscher has recently emphasized that this arch was specifically intended to be viewed by those who traveled between Brindisi and Rome on the newly built Via Traiana. Thus, the pairing of the emperor's travels abroad and his reception in Rome could be considered analogous to the experiences of the intended audience (who, however, probably could not expect such a lavish welcome home). Hölscher 2001, "Imperial Rome: Monuments, Rituals and World-Dominion," paper read as lecture 5 of his Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures at the University of Michigan, "Public Monuments in Ancient Greece and Rome," 8-17 October, Ann Arbor.

³⁸Although I prefer the Hadrianic date for these reliefs, I want to demonstrate that an analysis of the *Anaglypha* in terms of its architectural background is a useful approach, no matter which precise chronology one accepts for this monument.

This monument consists of a pair of freestanding relief walls. One face of each wall features a narrative scene with an architectural background.³⁹ One relief depicts a civic *adlocutio*, probably on the theme of *liberalitas* (fig. 37).⁴⁰ The second relief depicts the burning of wooden tablets, marking the permanence of tax/debt reform through the vivid image of the destruction of public records (fig. 39).⁴¹ Both scenes are set against the architectural backdrop of the Forum Romanum and demonstrate a sophisticated compositional and symbolic relationship with their architectural backgrounds.⁴²

These reliefs confirm the potential that architectural backgrounds have for reinforcing the primary message of figural scenes. In particular, the architectural backgrounds that place both scenes in the Forum Romanum emphasize that the citizens of Rome are the primary audience for both these imperial actions.⁴³ Torelli has noted several instances of symbolic congruity between the individual scenes and particular buildings of the Forum Romanum. For example, the record burning at the center of one scene takes place in front of the Temple of Saturn, the traditional location of the state treasury. Torelli suggests that the emperor on the *adlocutio* relief stands on the *rostra ad aedem divi Iulii* because it was a purely imperial rostra, and therefore appropriate for the announcement of a *congiarium* from the emperor's private funds. On the other hand, the

³⁹The other side of each relief wall features the three animal victims of the *suovetaurilia* in procession (without any human figures) at a much larger scale than the narrative reliefs.

⁴⁰It is clear that the emperor is giving a speech (*adlocutio*). The purpose of that speech has been a matter of some debate. Earlier proposals suggested that the speech had something to do with the *alimenta* of Trajan, as a statue group closely resembling Trajan's *alimenta* coin types appears in the scene (Brizio 1872; Hammond 1953; Rüdiger 1973). Torelli (1982, 90-1) pointed out, however, that the lack of children in the scene, and the *sportula* held by one of the listeners, suggests that a *congiarium*, or distribution of money, is the subject of the speech.

⁴¹The two reliefs thus contain three representations of *liberalitas*: the remission of taxes, the *adlocutio* probably announcing a *congiarium*, and the representation of the *alimenta* as a statue group within the *adlocutio* panel.

⁴²The compositional aspects of this relationship are discussed in chapter 2, "Architecture and Status."

⁴³Torelli 1982, 91: "...the setting of the relief emphasizes a direct relationship with the people of Rome."

rostra on the other (west) end of the forum, near the Curia, was chosen for the record burning because it affected the state funds, nominally under the control of the senate.⁴⁴ The architectural backgrounds also mirror the status of the individual participants and the organization of the scenes as a whole. Temples are in the background at the center of attention, whereas the Basilica Julia usually can be seen behind the low-status participants in the scene (behind the row of soldiers bringing tablets for burning on one panel, and in the *adlocutio*, behind the audience for the emperor's speech).

Further interpretation of these reliefs depends upon their date. Unfortunately, they present a rather intractable set of chronological difficulties. The surviving evidence provides nearly equivalent support for dates in both Trajan's and Hadrian's reigns. Both dates are equally problematic.⁴⁵ Nearly all the heads on the figural scenes have been so badly vandalized as to obliterate portrait and hairstyle features. The remaining stylistic clues of the garments and carving allow a date in the reigns of Trajan or Hadrian.⁴⁶ Thus, the interpretation of the figural scenes, especially that with the relatively rare iconography of record burning, becomes key in determining the date of the reliefs.

⁴⁴*LTUR* 4: 95 s.v. Plutei Traianeï (Anaglypha Traianeï) (M. Torelli). One slab of the record-burning relief, which represented the rest of the rostra and perhaps the Temple of Concordia as well, is missing.

⁴⁵The result is a substantial amount of ambivalence about their date in the scholarly literature. Although Koeppel (1986, 2-5, 17-24) assigns the *Anaglypha* a Trajanic date, he published them with the reliefs of Hadrian, not those of Trajan (Koeppel 1985). Boatwright (1987, 182-90) argues that the matter should be left undecided. Kleiner (1992, 248-50) prefers a Hadrianic date but gives them the neutral title *Anaglypha Traiani/Hadriani*. Evers (1994, 58-9) thinks they are consistent with Hadrian's propaganda in 118, but notes that the damages to the relief prevent a precise date on portrait or stylistic grounds. Kuttner (1995, 44-51) adds to the previous arguments an identification of the emperor Hadrian in the bearded torchbearer of the tax-burning scene. This suggestion seems plausible. I prefer a Hadrianic date, but recognize that the question is still open.

⁴⁶Hammond (1953, 133-6); Rüdiger (1973, 170-1); Koeppel (1986, 2-5). Hammond (1953, 136) points out the limits of stylistic criteria: "In general as regards style, costume, and features, it is probable that different concepts and methods overlapped and that within the twenty, or even ten years which probably represent the outside temporal limits of the anaglyphs, there was no abrupt change in these matters which could serve as an absolute criterion for dating."

A number of influential scholars prefer to assign the *Anaglypha* to Trajan.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, there is very little evidence on which to base a record burning or tax remission under Trajan;⁴⁸ moreover, Hadrian claims to be the first emperor to burn tax records.⁴⁹ As R. R. R. Smith points out, one would expect Trajan to have commemorated such a dramatic act as record burning and tax remission in his coinage as well.⁵⁰ The other difficulty with a Trajanic date lies in the interpretation of the *alimenta* statue group depicted in the *adlocutio* relief. Based on comparisons with Trajanic coins, the seated magistrate in the group has been identified as Trajan.⁵¹ To avoid arguing that the same emperor was represented twice on a single relief as speaker and as statue, Torelli suggests that the statue group might have represented Nerva.⁵²

If the *Anaglypha* indeed belong to Trajan's reign, how would this additional monument impact the evaluation of his use of architectural backgrounds? First, along with the *Extispicium* and the Arch of Benevento, it would show Trajan's actions specifically in Rome, balancing the prominent monuments showing his actions outside of Rome. As Torelli points out, the distribution of money and other dramatic gestures of fiscal generosity often closely followed the emperor's *adventus* to Rome, to the extent that a *congiarium* became a standard sequel to the emperor's arrival.⁵³ So this monument, like

⁴⁷Torelli (1982, 89-118) and in *LTUR* 4: 95 s.v. Plutei Traianei (*Anaglypha Traianei*); Coarelli (1985, 34-8); Koeppl (1986, 2-5, 17-24); Spinola (1990, 15-6); Hölscher (pers. comm., October 2001).

⁴⁸Torelli cites the *Chronicon Paschale*, *ad an.* 106; Smith (1983) and Boatwright (1987, 189) point out the weaknesses in Torelli's hypothesis about this text.

⁴⁹*CIL* 6.967.

⁵⁰Smith 1983.

⁵¹*BMCRE* 3: pl. 33.2; Hammond 1953, 155-7.

⁵²*LTUR* 4: 95, s.v. Plutei Traianei (*Anaglypha Traianei*) (M. Torelli).

⁵³Torelli (1982, 107). This sequence, combined with a triumph, can be seen on the relief panels of Marcus Aurelius and the Arch of Constantine. See also the list of *congiaria* and the events they commemorated in Spinola (1990, 11-14).

the other monuments depicting Trajan in Rome, would simultaneously contrast with—but also imply—his absence.

Hadrian has a more obvious claim on tax remission and record burning: the iconography of record burning appears on Hadrianic coins.⁵⁴ Moreover, both his biography and an inscription found in the Forum of Trajan attest to such an event in 118.⁵⁵ Significantly, both the record burning and a cash distribution came soon after Hadrian's first *adventus* to Rome as emperor.⁵⁶ As a result, the *adlocutio* and record burning can also be interpreted in light of Hadrian's accession to power in 117 A.D. *Liberalitas* was expected as one of the first acts of a new emperor.⁵⁷ If the succession had been peaceful, commemoration of the emperor's predecessor was also in order.⁵⁸ As a monument illustrating both new forms of *liberalitas* (tax burning) and old (cash distributions), as well as the trademark form of *liberalitas* practiced by the previous emperor (the *alimenta* statue group), the *Anaglypha* almost seem made to order as a monument of Hadrian's accession.⁵⁹

⁵⁴Hammond (1953, 144); *BMCRE* 3: pl. 79.4-6. The Chatsworth relief, which also depicts men carrying records (presumably for burning), is usually assigned to the reign of Hadrian based on the subject matter and the hairstyles of the two surviving heads, but Koeppel has redated it to the reign of Trajan on purely stylistic grounds (1985, 148-9, 171-2); contra, Evers (1994, 70) and Boschung (1997, 77-9). Two columns, one resting on two steps at the far right, are all that survives of the architectural background of this piece. Although Torelli (1982, 109) and Boatwright (1987, 189-90) argue that the scene type is enough to identify this fragmentary architectural representation as the Forum of Trajan, the *Anaglypha* themselves demonstrate that argument from scene type alone is insufficient in this case.

⁵⁵*Historia Augusta, Hadrian* 7.6; *CIL* 6.967.

⁵⁶Birley 1997, 93-8.

⁵⁷For Hadrian's distribution of coinage upon his first arrival in Rome as emperor, see Hill (1970, 48-52, 150-4).

⁵⁸For an analysis of funerary and other accession monuments, see Davies (2000). She does not discuss the *Anaglypha*.

⁵⁹Especially since the unsuccessful attempts to identify Hadrian's portrait and influence in Trajanic monuments like the Column of Trajan and the Arch of Trajan at Benevento are based, at least in part, in the search for appropriate Hadrianic accession monuments.

The sources are equally clear, however, that Hadrian's one attested record burning happened in the Forum of Trajan. Therefore, the record burning in the Forum Romanum depicted on the *Anaglypha* cannot be easily reconciled with the event recorded by the inscription and biographer.

There are two ways to approach this problem. The first posits an additional, otherwise unattested record burning in the Forum Romanum.⁶⁰ Alternately, one can follow Rüdiger and argue that although the record burning happened in the Forum of Trajan, it was intentionally depicted in the Forum Romanum.⁶¹ Boatwright counters Rüdiger's justification for the shift—the desire to connect the record-burning scene with Trajan's *alimenta* statue group on the *adlocutio* panel—by pointing out that the Forum of Trajan was an even more appropriate setting for evoking a connection with Trajan.⁶² To these previous arguments, I would add an evaluation of both the Forum of Trajan and the Forum Romanum in terms of their potential for providing a dynamic architectural background for such a scene.

The long, uniform colonnades of the Forum of Trajan, which blend into the facade of the Basilica Ulpia (marked by a change in scale, by richer materials, and by triumphal sculpture groups), created an impressive architectural space.⁶³ The Forum of Trajan was distinguished from the other imperial fora by its sheer scale and (perhaps) the absence of a temple on its central plaza, not by the individuality of its decorative scheme (that of the flanking colonnades, for instance, strongly resembles the Forum of Augustus; the projecting ressaulls on the side adjoining the Forum of Augustus resemble those in the

⁶⁰I.e., the same solution used to support a Trajanic date for the *Anaglypha*.

⁶¹Rüdiger 1973, 173.

⁶²Boatwright 1987, 189-90.

⁶³Packer's (1997) reconstructions give an idea of the scale and magnificence of the forum and the basilica. All numismatic images of the Basilica Ulpia have identifying legends (Hill 1989, 43-4, figs. 64-5).

Templum Pacis and the Forum Transitorium).⁶⁴ Moreover, the surviving reliefs depicting multiple buildings in the background do not feature the symmetry characteristic of spaces such as Trajan's forum, carefully designed as a pleasing, coherent whole.⁶⁵ Instead, images with continuous architectural backgrounds usually feature buildings of different shapes and status, arranged asymmetrically, in dynamic compositional relationships with the figural scene. The representation of the Temple of Mars Ultor from the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (fig. 8)—the only image certainly depicting an event in one of the imperial fora—includes only the temple facade and not the flanking colonnades. An artist attempting to depict the Forum of Trajan as the background for an event would have faced several difficulties, including its general similarity to other structures, its emphasis on sheer scale and rich materials (difficult, if not impossible, to convey in a relief focusing on imperial *action*), and its overall symmetry and architectural uniformity.

By contrast, the Forum Romanum, the symbolic heart of Rome, offered a significantly wider selection of buildings and statues of various shapes and sizes. Thus, for the artist, the Forum Romanum provided an easily recognizable architectural background.⁶⁶ The entire Forum Romanum, as well as its constituent buildings and monuments, could enrich the events depicted through their traditional associations and long history. The resulting architectural and symbolic complexity carried the potential to

⁶⁴The recent excavation of large sections of Trajan's forum have only been published in preliminary form, so I am unable to judge the evidence for the new plans and reconstructions presented by Rizzo (2000, 72-8, pl. 62, 65, 66, 68). The most surprising result of these excavations may be that the interior facade of the forum directly opposite the Basilica Ulpia had a pediment; behind this pedimented facade, the connection to the Forum of Augustus was accomplished by a colonnaded courtyard or room. On analogy with the arrangement of the Templum Pacis, Rizzo suggests that this space with its pedimented facade may have been dedicated by Hadrian as the Temple of Divus Traianus (*CIL* 6.966 indicates that the temple was dedicated after 125 A.D.).

⁶⁵On symmetry in architectural planning, see Wilson Jones (2000).

⁶⁶Significantly, similar reflections on the difference between memorable and unmemorable architectural settings can be found in the ancient rules for enhancing memory: "Memory *loci* should not be too much like one another, for instance too many intercolumnar spaces are not good, for their resemblance to one another will be confusing." *Ad Herennium* 3, trans. Yates (1966, 7).

enhance the figural scene both compositionally (i.e., by framing the emperor with a temple; by placing lower-status figures before the non-sacred Basilica Julia) and ideologically (i.e., by placing the pile of records to be burnt before the Temple of Saturn; by including the *alimenta* statue group in a reference to the generosity of the emperor's divine predecessor).⁶⁷ Overall, the architectural background contextualizes these imperial acts within the long tradition of Roman politics centered on the Forum Romanum. So perhaps, if the artist of the *Anaglypha* indeed transferred events that transpired in the Forum of Trajan to the Forum Romanum, the topographic change may have been a solution to the problem of depicting a convincing and interesting architectural background. This topographic argument, added to the ideological, stylistic, and iconographic arguments made by others, provides a certain amount of support (though far from definitive) for a Hadrianic date for the *Anaglypha*.

Any attempt to explain the disparity in location between the historically known Hadrianic tax-record burning and the *Anaglypha* relief while maintaining that they both refer to the same event raises a key question concerning the historicity of state images.⁶⁸ Yet whether or not the *Anaglypha* were intended to depict Hadrian's tax burning of 118 A.D., they show a plausible state event at a plausible location, projecting a desirable image of the emperor depicted. They fit within the genre of official state images of *liberalitas*, appropriately modified to fit the novel form that it took. Whether a Trajanic or Hadrianic date is accepted for this relief, this monument would have been created to

⁶⁷The missing end slab of the record-burning relief depicted the rest of a seated, draped female figure and the architectural background probably continued with the Temple of Concordia. If so, then a further scene-background resonance, signaling that the emperor was in accord with the senate and the people in the destruction of these records, could have been read in this relief.

⁶⁸Similarly, concerns over the depiction of architecture relate to historical trustworthiness and fidelity to the original monument. Depictions of architecture must be interpreted as having been filtered by artistic conventions (see chapter 2). The *Anaglypha*, then, would exemplify several ways in which Roman artists occasionally sacrificed the truth of an event to get at the 'conceptual reality' of an event (to use a phrase of Hölischer). This relief raises a number of issues about the aims and methods of Roman official art, which I hope to explore in more detail in my future research.

commemorate a moment of *liberalitas* immediately subsequent to an *adventus* marking the termination of a substantial absence from Rome. These reliefs emphasize the emperor's actions to benefit the city in concrete ways, as well as his presence in the city's center.

Hadrian

Unlike Trajan, Hadrian did not pursue foreign conquest. The imagery connected with Hadrian's voyages abroad instead reflects his interest in the peaceful integration of conquered territories within the Roman empire.⁶⁹ Due to his extensive travels, however, Hadrian's relationship with the city of Rome centered around three major occasions of *adventus*: in 118, 125, and 134 A.D.⁷⁰ The importance of the emperor's *adventus* can be seen in the facade of the Pantheon. Wilson Jones suggests that its completion was rushed to coincide with the emperor's second *adventus* in 125 A.D., even though it was necessary to substitute smaller columns than the facade design required.⁷¹ Hadrian's arrivals were marked not only by improvements to the architectural fabric of the city and solemn ceremonies, but also by acts of generosity, by the issue of coins with celebratory designs, and by the creation of relief sculptures.

Although many reliefs have been attributed to the reign of Hadrian, none of those with identifiable architectural backgrounds can be assigned a firm Hadrianic date, primarily because subsequent damage, recarving, and restoration have eliminated portrait features and disguised stylistic characteristics.⁷² The only firmly Hadrianic image with an

⁶⁹See Toynbee (1934); Boatwright (2000); and the review of Boatwright by Metcalf (2001).

⁷⁰For Hadrian's travels, see Halfmann (1986, 188-210); Birley (1997).

⁷¹Wilson Jones (2000, 210-11). On Hadrian's building programs, see Boatwright (1987).

⁷²See especially Koeppel (1985; 1986); La Rocca (1986); and Boatwright (1987). Boatwright, in fact, discusses all of the relevant relief sculpture in her chapter on "Missing and Misidentified Buildings" (1987, 182-235). Evers (1994, 55-73) points out that very few relief portraits of Hadrian survive, and those few that survive from Rome are so damaged as to prevent their placement within her typology of Hadrian's portraiture.

architectural background is a *sestertius* showing an imperial *adlocutio* at the Temple of Divus Julius (fig. 45).⁷³

The *sestertius* of Hadrian recalls the same themes and architectural setting as the *Anaglypha* (fig. 37), although many precise details are different. The coin depicts the emperor standing on the rostra, speaking to a crowd. The facade of a temple frames his figure. This temple, shown in facade-and-flank view, can be identified as that of Divus Julius both because of its physical relationship to the rostra and because of the presence on some examples of horses in chariot-groups, which have been interpreted as the attic sculptures of the arches to either side of this temple.⁷⁴

No evidence justifies the still-repeated hypothesis that Hadrian's speech was a eulogy following the death of Plotina in 122 A.D.⁷⁵ The *sestertius* was minted in 126 A.D. as one of a series of coins celebrating Hadrian's second *adventus* to the capital and the *congiarium* distributed in connection with that event.⁷⁶ Therefore, this *sestertius* cannot represent the same speech that was depicted on the *Anaglypha*, either.⁷⁷

⁷³*BMCRE* 3: clxviii, 433 ns. 1309-11.

⁷⁴Strack (1931-7, 113-5) and Brown (1941, 66-73) discuss the identification of this temple. See also Brown's list of 44 examples of this *sestertius*, divided into major variants based on the number of people in the audience and whether the horses are included; add to Brown's list Étienne and Rachet (1984, pl. 40, fig. 2649). Stucchi (1958, 42-3, 80) and Coarelli (1985, 314-8) use this coin type support their arguments about the topography and architecture of the Temple of Divus Iulius and the rostra attached to it. Ulrich (1994, 187-9) discusses this coin as "a vivid picture of a *templum rostratum* in use"(88).

⁷⁵First suggested by Strack (1931-7, 2: 113-5). Boatwright (1987, 102-4) reviews the scholarship on this coin and expresses support for Strack's position that the *sestertius* represents a eulogy. Mattingly (in *BMCRE* 3: clxviii) and Hill (1970, 58 n. 2) both point out that this coin was minted several years after Plotina's death, and that her posthumous honors were not celebrated on any other coins.

⁷⁶Hill (1970, 15-6, 58, 159; 1971). The legend, COS III, suggests a date between 125 and 128 A.D. Hill's more specific date is based on the portrait type, the organization of the mint with its annual production of new *sestertii* types, and his arrangement of the other fourteen *sestertii* with the legend COS III within this three-year span. Other types in the same issue included Fortuna Redux (the personification) and *liberalitas* (scene of money distribution).

⁷⁷This *sestertius* can be linked with a near-contemporary event (the *adventus* of 125 A.D.), and therefore it makes no sense to look for an earlier event for an explanation of the type. If the *Anaglypha* are Hadrianic, they can be most convincingly dated with the events of 118 A.D. If they are Trajanic, then there is

Moreover, the differences in architectural view and composition demonstrate that the *sestertius* was not derived from the relief. It is significant, however, that Hadrian's second *adventus* to Rome uses iconography and setting similar to those of the *Anaglypha*. Although the similarities to the *Anaglypha* and the context of the coin's issue are insufficient to interpret this numismatic *adlocutio* as the announcement of *liberalitas*, the date of the coin suggests that this *adlocutio* closely followed upon an *adventus*. Whatever the exact subject of the emperor's speech might have been, this *sestertius* reverse depicts him in a specific location of Rome, making a public announcement after his return from a long absence. The numismatic dissemination of the emperor's appearance in the Forum Romanum emphasizes his arrival in the capital. This coin effectively announces Hadrian's presence in Rome.

Four Reliefs Dating to the Mid-Second Century (Hadrian or Antoninus Pius)

The construction of triumphal arches almost entirely ceased during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.⁷⁸ Still, four battered but mostly complete relief panels (*apotheosis* of an empress, civic *adventus*, civic *adlocutio*, and *supplicatio*) show a lively interest in contextualizing the emperor in the architectural setting of Rome.⁷⁹ These panels come from an unknown number of monuments but share the following characteristics: architectural backgrounds, compositional and stylistic traits attributable to the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, overall similarity in proportions, uncertain origins, and a history of severe damage and excessive restoration (especially affecting the

absolutely no reason, other than similarity in subject matter, to associate this *sestertius* with the *Anaglypha*.

⁷⁸Kleiner 1989, 197.

⁷⁹ See Kleiner (1992, 254-6) for a review of previous hypotheses about the number of monuments involved; see La Rocca (1986, 12-37) for in-depth examination of all four reliefs.

imperial portraits). Although they resist precise dating, these four reliefs show a continued desire to depict imperial activities at specific locations in the capital, as well as an expanded iconographic range of activities and building types considered appropriate for such contextualization.

The two panels reused in the late antique Arco di Portogallo, the *apotheosis* of an empress (fig. 47) and the imperial *adlocutio* (fig. 48), have been incorrectly treated as a pair in all previous scholarship, as I will show.⁸⁰ The interpretation of both panels has largely rested on the *apotheosis* panel, both because of its unmistakable iconography and because the portrait of the empress survives. The relief shows a female winged figure, *Aeternitas*, carrying the empress into the skies from the flaming structure in the lower left. A reclining personification (on the left) and a seated emperor (on the right) witness the *apotheosis*. The empress has long been identified as Sabina (died 136 A.D.) and thus the seated emperor, whose portrait was recut (when installed in the Arco di Portogallo?) and heavily restored (when installed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori), would be Hadrian.⁸¹ However, even this identification has been challenged. M. Torelli asserts that Faustina the Elder (died 141 A.D.) and Antoninus Pius cannot be eliminated from consideration in the interpretation of these portraits.⁸² The reclining personification probably represents the Campus Martius, although no identifying attributes of this figure survive. The ceremonies of the imperial funeral always took place in the Campus Martius.⁸³ The unique

⁸⁰Based primarily on their shared provenance (the Arco di Portogallo) and justified by their apparently shared dimensions (Wace 1907, 258-63). For the Arco di Portogallo and its reliefs, see Stucchi (1949-50); La Rocca (1986, 21-3); Koeppel (1986, 7-8, 39-43); De Maria (1988, 324-5); Kleiner (1992, 253-4); *LTUR* 1: 77-9 s.v. Arco di Portogallo (M. Torelli).

⁸¹For the history of this relief and an analysis of its extensive restorations, see La Rocca (1986, 21-3, 32-7, pl. 7-8). For *apotheosis* scenes, including this one, see Vogel (1973, 44-55). For a recent discussion of the funerary iconography of this relief, see Davies (2000, 105-6, 116-8). Davies suggests that this relief may have belonged to a monumental altar in the northern Campus Martius, erected in honor of Sabina (2000, 105).

⁸²*LTUR* 1: 78, s.v. Arco di Portogallo (M. Torelli).

⁸³Jolivet 1988; Coarelli 1997, 599-601.

architectural background, a roughly rectangular structure topped with flames, has been the subject of some controversy concerning its antiquity, but based on La Rocca's analysis, it certainly belongs to the original composition.⁸⁴ Whether best interpreted as a stylized representation of a funerary pyre, as an altar, or as an *ustrinum*, the flames clearly refer to the ritual of *apotheosis*. Thus, the structure must have served as a topographic clue for both the location of the action and the identity of the reclining personification: the Campus Martius.

Although the *apotheosis* and *adlocutio* panels were reused in the same arch, they cannot have been arranged as pendants before their spoliation. It has not been previously noted that while the *apotheosis* relief is complete, the *adlocutio* relief is not. Similarities between their current measurements are thus entirely misleading.⁸⁵ Both reliefs are embedded in the walls of the Musei Capitolini.⁸⁶ Portions of all four original borders of

⁸⁴Boatwright (1985, 496-7; 1987, 226-228) argues on the following grounds that the entire structure behind the personification is a modern addition to the relief:

- Previous scholars identified the structure and flames as a modern alteration.
- The structure does not appear in all the 16th century engravings of the relief *in situ* on the Arco di Portogallo.
- Such structures do not appear on other depictions of *apotheosis*.

I would answer each of these objections:

- The scholars that Boatwright cites identify the articulation of the ashlar as modern, but none dismiss the entire structure or the flames. See La Rocca (1986, 32-7, pl. 7, 8) for description of later alterations and graphic analyses of original and modified portions of the relief. The articulation of the ashlar may indeed be modern, but La Rocca (1986, pl. 7) indicates that the shape of the structure and the flames and palmette on top of it are ancient.
- While the structure does not appear in all the engravings, neither does the temple of the *adlocutio* relief; the structure on the *apotheosis* relief is carved in low relief and does not stand out at a distance. Moreover, the structure is clearly depicted on three renaissance drawings: by Carlo Fontana (Stucchi 1949-50, fig. 3), by an anonymous artist (Stucchi 1949-50, fig. 12), and by Pirro Ligorio (Stucchi 1949-50, pl. 2).
- While this may be the only depiction of a structure with flames coming out of the top depicted as background in Roman historical relief, many of the structures depicted in relief are only depicted once; although the reliefs all share a common visual language, many of them have unique features.

⁸⁵La Rocca (1986, 24) gives measurements of the two panels. *Apotheosis*, dimensions as installed: 2.95m x 2.52m; without restorations: 2.76m x 2.18m. *Adlocutio*, dimensions as installed: 2.93m x 2.51m; without restorations: 2.71m x 2.11m.

⁸⁶La Rocca 1986, 32.

the *apotheosis* relief survive and are clearly visible in the relief's current installation. In contrast, portions of only three original borders of the *adlocutio* scene survive. The right edge of the *adlocutio* scene has no surviving border.⁸⁷ Moreover, several clues indicate that the relief once continued in that direction. The shoulder, drapery, and rear foot of the *Genius populi romani* are truncated, and his cornucopia is entirely gone; a proper cornucopia would extend beyond the relief panel's border as currently restored. The strongest evidence for the continuation of the panel, however, comes from the incomplete facade of the temple in the background of the scene.

The temple facade on the *adlocutio* panel preserves traces of sculptural decoration: the tail of a sea creature in the pediment, and the traces of a broken-away acroterion at the left corner of the roof. Normally, the edge of the relief panel does not truncate a temple's pediment.⁸⁸ Every other representation of a temple with architecture sculpture presents a complete facade and pedimental triangle.⁸⁹

⁸⁷Wace (1907, 259) asserts that "remains of all the original edges may still be traced," but my examination of photographs and the relief itself show no traces of an original border on the right. The broken edge of the upper portion of the relief is visible in its current installation. The lower right edge is flush with the modern border of the panel that integrates it into the museum wall. See the photographs and drawings of the panel published in La Rocca (1986, pls. 6, 8 [with image reversed], XV, XIX.1).

⁸⁸Facades, however, being more important than other architectural and compositional features (for instance, the pedimental triangle is rarely violated by a head), will sometimes extend on top of a relief's decorative border. Such patterns of privileged overlapping can be seen on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento and on the panels of Marcus Aurelius. Temple flanks, as subordinate architectural features, generally 'fade' into the background or are cut off by the edge of the panel.

⁸⁹If Wace (1907, 259) were correct that the panel "was never any wider or higher," then this relief would be the only example of a truncated pediment with sculptural decoration in the entire corpus of Roman relief sculpture. Three representations of truncated pediments without pedimental sculpture survive. None of them are truly analogous to this panel:

- The temple represented on the corner of the small triumph frieze on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento (figs. 32a-b) is closer in inspiration to a model than a relief. It represents three sides of a temple. One of its two facades is truncated as it intersects the relief ground at a ninety-degree angle.

- A medallion of Hadrian (fig. 46) shows the god Silvanus approaching a temple. The temple is indicated only by a single column and the corner of a pedimented roof (Grueber 1874, 4 n. 11, pl. 5.1).

- The *adventus* medallion of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 56) may or may not represent a truncated pediment. The temple image lies very close to the edge of the flan.

The interpretation of an *adlocutio* depends not only upon the composition of the audience, but also upon the context provided by the architectural background. The presence of sculptural detail in the pediment of the temple suggests that the identity of the temple was an integral part of the iconography of this scene. Cropping the meaningful portion of the temple facade—whether intentionally or accidentally—compromises its identifiability. Thus, where it is not obviously broken, the current right edge of the panel must represent either an original slab border or the dimensions to which the relief was sawn for its inclusion in the Arco di Portogallo. Because more than half of the temple facade is missing, the relief must have originally been at least half a meter greater in width.⁹⁰ Therefore, even if both the *apotheosis* and *adlocutio* reliefs originally belonged to the same monument, they would not have been paired before their reuse on the Arco di Portogallo.

Most efforts to determine both the date of the *adlocutio* panel from the Arco di Portogallo and the subject matter of the emperor's speech, however, depend upon its association with the *apotheosis* panel.⁹¹ As a result, the *adlocutio* has often been interpreted as a eulogy or as an announcement of deification.⁹² Just as no evidence supports a funeral interpretation for the Hadrianic *adlocutio sestertius* (fig. 45) as an oration for Plotina, no evidence supports a funeral interpretation for the Arco di Portogallo *adlocutio*. This relief and the *sestertius* of Hadrian are the only two *adlocutio*

⁹⁰ The half-meter figure represents a rough measurement of the existing width of the temple facade; as the peak of the pediment and central intercolumniation of the temple are absent, this figure certainly represents an underestimate.

⁹¹ The *adlocutio* relief is difficult to date on its own. Several heads, including that of the emperor, were recarved in antiquity and the entire panel has been extensively restored. The most detailed study of the relief assumes that the portrait must be that of Hadrian (as restored) due to its association with the *apotheosis* panel (La Rocca 1986, 24-30). For the state of preservation of the *adlocutio* relief, as well as a history of its alterations and restorations, see La Rocca (1986, 32-7).

⁹² Wace (1907, 258-63); VanderLeest (1995) summarizes the previous versions of the funereal hypothesis before presenting his own, which connects this relief with the death of Aelius Verus and the resulting prominence of the imperial heir, Lucius Verus. See also the bibliography in Koeppl (1986, 7-8, 40-43).

images ever read in this way. In fact, it is hard to see why an iconography as ambiguous as *adlocutio* would be chosen to commemorate the death and *apotheosis* of a member of the imperial family.

The other suggested reading for the *adlocutio* scene focuses on the child at the center of the composition. The presence of a child suggests that this scene celebrates a *liberalitas*.⁹³ This interpretation seems more likely, given that there are iconographic parallels for an *adlocutio* focusing on *liberalitas* and none for a funerary *adlocutio* in state art. Nevertheless, given the range of possible subjects for *adlocutio* and the multiple locations from which *liberalitas* could be announced, the temple cannot be securely identified at this time.⁹⁴

Overall, it is clear that this relief commemorates a civic *adlocutio* in Rome. The architectural background preserves sculptural decoration that, when the panel was complete, made the exact location readily identifiable. Once again, the architectural background proves to be an essential part of the iconography of the scene. Moreover, it emphasizes the emperor's presence in Rome.

Like the reliefs of the Arco di Portogallo, the Torlonia *supplicatio* relief (fig. 50) and the Conservatori *adventus* (fig. 49) both include architectural backgrounds. Damage to these two reliefs, however, disproportionately affects the architectural backgrounds. The upper third of the Torlonia *supplicatio* is missing, and the upper quarter of the Conservatori *adventus* is missing as well. Both show unusual twists on standard events. The *adventus* has a civic rather than military focus, as shown by the emperor, who wears a toga rather than a cuirass or paludamentum. The arch and the welcoming figure of Roma mark the transition of return to the city. The *supplicatio* depicts barbarians prostrating

⁹³La Rocca 1986, 24-30; Spinola 1990, 16-7.

⁹⁴Spinola (1990, 16-7), an advocate of the *liberalitas* hypothesis, suggests a temple in the Porticus Minucia, where grain distributions were made (the temple of this portico has not been identified but was either the Temple of the Nymphs or the Temple of the Lares Permarini).

themselves before an emperor. The presence of the *Genius Senatus*, as well as the architectural background (best read as an arch juxtaposed to a temple) suggest that the action happens not on a military campaign, as on the Column of Trajan or the panels of Marcus Aurelius, but in Rome.⁹⁵ These two reliefs have been plausibly but not definitively attributed to the entrance arch of the Hadrianeum, built by Antoninus Pius.⁹⁶

Both reliefs emphasize the peaceful version of traditional military virtues of the emperor. The emperor returns, not in triumph, but in peace. Barbarians submit, not to military force on the fringes of the empire, but in Rome, defeated by their perception of Rome's power. Whether the protagonist in these reliefs was Hadrian or Antoninus Pius (and both panels did not necessarily depict the same emperor), the scenes suitably suggest the peaceful reigns of both. The architectural backgrounds of both reliefs emphasize the importance of Rome as the center of the empire. The emperor returns to Rome; the barbarians submit to Rome, in Rome.

Marcus Aurelius

A relatively large number of relevant medallions and reliefs survive from the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Like Trajan, Marcus Aurelius spent much of his reign on campaign. Unlike Trajan, however, Marcus Aurelius did not sponsor extensive building programs in the city. Still, a large number of medallions and relief sculptures that depict Marcus Aurelius in Rome emphasize his connection with the capital. Because many of these images represent the resolution of imperial travels, they simultaneously memorialize his

⁹⁵Cianfarani (1949-50); De Maria (1988, 300-302). The head of Lucius Verus is not original to the relief.

⁹⁶Castagnoli 1941; Cianfarani 1949-50; La Rocca 1986, 14-5; De Maria 1988, 300-302; *LTUR* 3: 7-8, s.v. Hadrianus, Divus, Templum; Hadrianeum (M. Cipollone); some would suggest that the Arco di Portogallo reliefs came from the same monument: see most recently Nista (1999, 110).

absences. Especially revealing are an *adventus* medallion and the set of eleven relief panels showing the events leading up to Marcus Aurelius' last triumph.⁹⁷

The *adventus* medallion of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 56) is unusual both artistically and historically.⁹⁸ One of the most complex numismatic representation of *adventus*, it is also one of the few numismatic pieces to have a continuous architectural background. Three buildings are depicted: on the left, the Temple of Fortuna Redux and an unknown building type, perhaps either domestic or defensive in nature, and on the right, the quadrifrons Arch of Domitian with its elephant quadriga.⁹⁹ Moreover, this medallion represents an *adventus* that never happened. Although it was issued in two successive years (172-3, 173-4), Marcus Aurelius was absent from 169 to 176 A.D., campaigning on the northern frontier.¹⁰⁰ Here again we see a challenge to the presumption of historicity so often attributed to these images. Whether deliberate misrepresentation, or merely the advertisement of plans that did not come to fruition, this medallion reverse type demonstrates that the expectation and promise of an *adventus* to Rome was in itself worth promoting with complex architectural and figural vocabulary.

Following Marcus Aurelius' eventual return to Rome and triumph in late 176 A.D., at least one victory monument decorated with panel reliefs, probably an arch, was

⁹⁷Of course, the artistic output featuring architectural backgrounds was not limited to the *adventus* medallion and the famous series of relief panels. For example, medallions with the temple-sacrifice motif issued in 166-7 and again in 177-8 (figs. 55, 64-5), discussed in chapter 3, probably commemorated triumphs. The obverse and reverse iconography suggest that they emphasized the dynastic succession as well. The funerary theme of the Arco di Portogallo *apotheosis* relief appears again on the memorial column base erected for Antoninus Pius and Faustina (fig. 53). It is architecturally contextualized through the depiction of the Horologium of Augustus in Rome's Campus Martius and will be further discussed in chapter 5.

⁹⁸Gnecchi (1912, 2: 27, n. 2-3, pl. 59.5); Castagnoli (1945); Koeppel (1969, 152); Dressel (1973, 81-7, pl. 7.2); Angelicoussis (1984, 151).

⁹⁹See chapter 2.

¹⁰⁰For the eight-year absence, see Dio Cassius 71.32; Birley (1987, 175-6, 195-7). At the time that the medallions were issued, the Marcomanni had been defeated, and the difficulties of the war with the Quadi had not yet materialized.

erected. Eleven panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius survive. Eight were reused on the Arch of Constantine. The other three were acquired for the Capitoline Museums from the Church of S. Martina in 1515; they may have been incorporated in the church as early as the 6th century A.D., although this is far from certain.¹⁰¹ Six of the eleven panels—five scenes set in Rome, plus one scene in a military base—include architectural backgrounds (figs. 57-63). Although the original structure is lost, its location unknown, the extent of its decorative program a matter of speculation, and the assignment of both groups of relief panels to the same monument disputed, surviving portraits of Marcus Aurelius and Claudius Pompeianus (his son-in-law and military advisor) give all eleven panels a firm date.¹⁰² These reliefs of Marcus Aurelius depict the emperor's departure from Rome, stock episodes of his administration of the successful Danubian campaign, his return to Rome, his triumph, his sacrifice at the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and finally his distribution of money to the people. These panels thus present the entire imperial travel cycle hinted at by the monuments of Trajan, which suggests that they indeed came from a single monument. The panels give a visual balance to the emperor's time in Rome as opposed to his time on campaign that was not matched by the historical facts. The cyclical nature of the journey—departure *and* return—is emphasized as much as the events that took place abroad on campaign.

The reliefs begin and end their narrative in the city of Rome. So that this point is not missed, specific architectural structures of the city are included as background

¹⁰¹For the history of these panels, see La Rocca (1986, 38-9).

¹⁰²Wegner (1938); Ryberg (1967); La Rocca (1984); Angelicoussis (1984); Koeppel (1986, 9-12, 47-77); De Maria (1988, 303-5); Kleiner (1992, 288-95); *LTUR* 1: 98-9, s.v. Arcus Marci Aurelii (M. Torelli). The strongest evidence against a single origin of all the panels is that they were preserved as two different groups; but different histories do not preclude a single origin. In fact, their commonalities are quite striking. That the panels share a common set of measurements, similar portrait types, the erasure of Commodus from one panel of each group (triumph and *liberalitas*), as well as a common narrative theme and similar usage of architectural backgrounds, argues for their unified conception as part of a single monument. An unknown number of additional panels once belonged to the monument; estimates range between one and thirteen.

architecture. All of the scenes that could be expected to take place in Rome based on their iconography alone (*profectio*, *adventus*, triumph, sacrifice, and *liberalitas*) are contextualized by architecture indicating the location of events within the capital city.¹⁰³

For example, the *profectio* relief (fig. 57a) deliberately historicizes the moment of Marcus Aurelius' departure, while simultaneously anticipating the moment of his return. The presence of the quadrifrons Arch of Domitian fixes the location of the action at a specific place in Rome and suggests that Marcus Aurelius will return in triumph. The *profectio* relief is answered by the *adventus* relief (fig. 60a) showing Marcus Aurelius, triumphant and crowned by Victory, re-entering the city through the very same quadrifrons arch. Notably, while the composition and setting roughly resemble those of the *adventus* medallion of 172-4 (fig. 56), the particulars (the emperor's clothing, his companions, the views of the two buildings) are strikingly different. The subsequent panels in the series—the emperor riding in the triumphal chariot under an arch along the *Via Triumphalis* (fig. 62), his sacrifice on the Capitoline at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (fig. 61a), and his distribution of money to the people (fig. 63)—take place at three different locations with distinctive architectural backgrounds. As in the case of the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, the emperor is shown at various places around the city, performing a series of actions that emphasize his success abroad and the importance of his return to the capital. Likewise, although several buildings depicted on each monument cannot be identified with confidence, it seems clear that care was taken to differentiate the backgrounds from each other. Thus, even observers that did not recognize

¹⁰³The panels depicting events in Rome, and the locations depicted, are:

Fig. 57a, *Profectio*: quadrifrons Arch of Domitian

Fig. 60a, *Adventus*: Temple of Fortuna Redux, quadrifrons Arch of Domitian

Fig. 61, Sacrifice: Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, adjoining colonnade

Fig. 62, Triumph: tetrastyle Corinthian temple juxtaposed with arch. Not currently identifiable.

Fig. 63, *Liberalitas*: colonnade, perhaps the interior of a building (the cornice becomes the top frame of the relief panel, and the building clearly extends further on either side). Not currently identifiable, although the Porticus Minucia has been suggested (Spinola 1990, 18-9).

the specific locations could still see how the emperor interacted with the gods and the people at multiple locations around the city.

This series of relief panels also allowed the viewer to contrast images of the emperor Marcus Aurelius in Rome with images of him on campaign. An obvious contrast between the domestic and military scenes lies in their backgrounds: all the scenes set in Rome have architectural backgrounds, compared to only one of the campaign scenes (fig. 58).¹⁰⁴ Thus, the backgrounds of the panels reinforce the distinctions between events at Rome and events on campaign. The urban scenes are dense with architecture: richly articulated temples, arches, and colonnades garlanded in celebration. In contrast, the rustic campaign scenes have backgrounds filled with more ephemeral objects (trees, banners, standards). The pattern in the absence and presence of backgrounds invites the viewer to contemplate both the emperor's absence and return, contrasting specific, recognizable locations in Rome with the mostly featureless locations of the campaign.

The one campaign scene with an architectural background, in which Marcus Aurelius officially presents a vassal-king to his troops (*rex datus*), has a utilitarian building completely lacking decorative touches (fig. 58). The austere flank of a basilica, articulated by two large arches and a bi-level roof separated by a row of clerestory windows, emphasizes the division between the emperor, his vassal, and the military audience. Not only is this the only surviving depiction of a military basilica, which is probably the *praetorium* of a permanent military encampment, but it is also the only image in which the flank of a building is presented as the primary view. The artists of the relief emphasized the minimal articulation provided by the roof tiles, windows, ashlar, and arches to decorative effect. This minimal architecture contrasts with the elaborate temples, arches, and colonnades that fill the city scenes.

¹⁰⁴Most analyses of the reliefs that attempt to divide them into two groups respect their preservation histories over any other type of evidence; in attempts to justify their historic separation, phantom stylistic differences have been cited. But other ways of grouping the reliefs deserve exploration.

Interestingly, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, erected after his death by his son Commodus, does not depict the full cycle of imperial travel seen on the relief panels of Marcus Aurelius, but follows the Column of Trajan in mainly depicting events of the campaign.¹⁰⁵ In contrast to the Column of Trajan, however, there is significantly less use of architecture in the background, and scenes of urban sacrifice are entirely absent.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, the architecture depicted is less prominent.¹⁰⁷ Battle scenes, entirely absent from the series of relief panels, dominate the narrative of the column.

Other than the column for his father, the reign of Commodus is entirely lacking in state relief sculptures. The *damnatio memoriae* following the death of Commodus even erased his image from two of the surviving panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius: the triumph and *liberalitas*.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, many of Commodus' medallion types survive, preserving his image and iconography. In 185 A.D., Commodus issued a temple-sacrifice medallion (fig. 66) very similar to those minted in 178 A.D. for himself and his father (figs. 64-5).¹⁰⁹ Although the event leading to the issue of this later medallion is no longer obvious, it shows the emperor in Rome, conducting a sacrifice at a temple made specific through the depiction of pedimental and acroterial sculpture, even though we are unable to identify it today.

¹⁰⁵Jordan-Ruwe 1990; *LTUR* 1: 302-5, s.v. Columna Marci Aurelii Antonini (S. Maffei); Davies 2000, 46-8, 171-1.

¹⁰⁶See Caprino et al. (1955) for photographs of all the scenes on the column.

¹⁰⁷Davies 2000, 165.

¹⁰⁸See Angelicoussis (1984, pls. 69.2, 71.1) for suggested reconstructions of the figure of Commodus.

¹⁰⁹Gnecchi 1912, 2: 70, n. 168-70, pl. 89.4-5; Ryberg 1955, 180-1.

The Severans

After the civil war following the assassination of Commodus, Septimius Severus established a new dynasty of Roman emperors. Much of Severan state art, including that with architectural backgrounds, focuses on dynastic concerns, and I discussed several examples in chapter 3.¹¹⁰ Here, I concentrate upon images that demonstrate Severan innovation in the use of architectural backgrounds, particularly those of the arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna and the Vesta types of Julia Domna.

As in previous reigns, the state art of the Severans depicts the emperor in the city of Rome and presents the foreign campaigns of the emperor to the city of Rome. Despite the fact that imperial travel had always been well commemorated in Rome itself, it is only in the reign of Septimius Severus that imperial travel is commemorated outside Rome as well. Previous examples of imperial relief sculpture with architectural backgrounds found outside of Rome—the Palermo relief (fig. 5), the Sorrento base (figs. 2-3), and the Arch of Trajan at Benevento (figs. 29-32)—all depict specific locations in Rome itself, not the place where they were found.¹¹¹

The quadrifrons arch at Leptis Magna in North Africa commemorates the visit of the emperor Septimius Severus to his home town.¹¹² It replicates in a provincial setting a type of imperial representation usually seen only in Rome. Three panels on the arch depict the emperor and his family with architectural backgrounds, emphasizing that the events took place in Leptis Magna itself. On the large triumph relief, the local lighthouse

¹¹⁰These pieces, discussed in chapter 3, include the Sacchetti relief (fig. 71), an *as* of Septimius Severus (fig. 77), and the *Ludi Saeculares* types of Septimius Severus (figs. 78, 79).

¹¹¹Except for the Arch at Benevento, which is still intact, the original placement of these reliefs remains uncertain. The Sorrento base and Palermo relief may well have come from Rome. The adaptation of such imagery to a local event and setting, without imperial participation—for instance, the Augustan altar from the forum of Pompeii—lies outside the scope of this work.

¹¹²The major publications of the relief decoration of this arch are Bartoccini (1931); Bober (1943); Parra (1978); Ghedini (1984a, 55-110; 1984b); Elena La Rocca (1985); and Bacchielli (1992). For Severus' visit to North Africa, see Birley (1989, 146-54).

stands in the background (fig. 73).¹¹³ One of the smaller panels from the interior of the arch depicts a sacrifice before a temple (fig. 72). Although the upper section of that relief has not survived, leaving open the question of whether the convention of depicting pedimental and acroterial sculptures was followed, the local deities interspersed with the members of the imperial family indicate that this sacrifice also took place at Leptis Magna.¹¹⁴ This sacrifice relief, however, differs in composition from more familiar sacrifice reliefs in Rome. Instead of a horizontal division between the emperor's group and the victim group, the two are separated vertically. The emperor, his family, and the local deities stand among the temple's columns; the victim group and local dignitaries gather around the altar in the lower register, below the temple steps.

Another relief from the arch's interior also has innovative characteristics. It is so fragmentary, however, that both the subject matter and interpretation of the architectural background are a matter of debate (fig. 76). It has been variously interpreted as a scene of concord, or as cult activity taking place inside a temple (if true, one of very few interior views of a temple), or as a *congiarium*, with small rooms in the background housing the tables and bureaucrats distributing funds.¹¹⁵ Considering the scale of Severan-period

¹¹³Ghedini (1984b, 74-9) challenges the reading of this structure as a lighthouse; Tuck (1997, 191-2) defends it.

¹¹⁴Bartoccini (1931, 78) was content to leave the identity of the temple vague: "al tempio maggiore della città, ad una specie di Pantheon." Parra (1978, 815-28) argues that the Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus is represented. While her argument is suggestive, it rests on very little evidence: Septimius Severus' special connection with Jupiter Dolichenus, the presence of a Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus at Leptis Magna, and the presence of Silvanus in the relief and a pinecone on the altar; none of this evidence is sufficiently specific to support a temple identification. Elena La Rocca (1985, 7) suggests that the temple is that of the Triad of Leptis, i.e., of those deities represented on the relief (Hercules, Liber, and Tyche[?]). For these deities, see Squarciapino (1967) and Birley (1989, 5). The proposed temple identifications depend on different interpretations of the badly damaged central figure of the relief.

¹¹⁵Proposed interpretations of this relief include:

- A cult scene related to worship of Liber, patron of ivory merchants: Bober (1943, 28-32).
- Either a scene of cult or of concord: Ghedini (1984a, 74-6).
- Sacrifice in the cella of a temple, perhaps that of the Triad of Leptis: Elena La Rocca (1985, 5-6). This hypothesis suggests an unprecedented reading of the architecture as the interior space of a temple, which lacks parallel in any other Roman temple representation. The *liberalitas* panel of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 63),

alterations to the physical fabric of Leptis Magna, direct imperial influence in the design and composition of the relief panels was likely.¹¹⁶ At the same time, the architectural backgrounds of the Leptis Magna arch show some significant innovations that suggest local input and freedom for experimentation.

The arch of Leptis Magna also included scenes of battle. One panel depicts a city under siege (fig. 74).¹¹⁷ It has frequently been compared to the relief panels of the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome, which include images of cities under siege as well (fig. 75).¹¹⁸ In contrast to the panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius, which emphasized the emperor's departure from and return to Rome, the campaign scenes of both arches of Septimius Severus, like those on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, emphasize direct imperial action through battle scenes. In contrast to the use of architecture on the Column of Trajan, which marked out the differences between Roman civilization and Dacian barbarism, the Severan battle scenes necessarily include architecture, for—unlike Trajan and Marcus Aurelius—Septimius Severus campaigned in an urbanized region. Architecture, therefore, helps identify the Rome's opponent: the Parthian empire.

The recombination of familiar elements for new purposes can also be found in Julia Domna's extensive coinage, which reflects her prominent role in the politics and

now on the Arch of Constantine, may depict interior architecture of a public building—not the interior of a religious space.

—*Congiarium*, perhaps accompanied by sacrifice: Spinola (1990, 23, fig. 27); he incorrectly describes the relief as “inedito.” Spinola does, however, publish a line drawing of the relief that incorporates all known fragments. It is significantly clearer than any of the published photographs.

¹¹⁶For the Severan building program at Leptis Magna, see Ward Perkins (1993).

¹¹⁷The similarities between this panel and those of the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome have been noted since the Leptis sculptures were excavated. Bartoccini (1931, 111) identified the city under siege as Nisibis. Ward Perkins (1951, 228) felt content to leave the identity of the city open. Elena La Rocca (1985, 2-3) summarizes other propositions and argues that the city under siege should be identified as Seleucia.

¹¹⁸Brilliant 1967; De Maria 1988, 305-7; Koeppel 1990, 1-7, 9-32; Kleiner 1992, 329-32; *LTUR* 1: 103-5 s.v. Arcus: Septimius Severus (Forum) (R. Brilliant); Desnier 1993.

iconography of the Severan dynasty.¹¹⁹ Of particular interest here are the coins and medallions that repeat the image of the six Vestals sacrificing at the *aedes Vestae* previously used only for limited issues of medallions celebrating the weddings of Antonine women (figs. 67-8).¹²⁰ Julia Domna's coinage featured this Vestal imagery both before and after the death of her husband, Septimius Severus (figs. 69-70). Each time, it was minted in a wide variety of metals and denominations.¹²¹ Hill assigns all these coins to two separate issues, one in 207 A.D. in connection with vows for the health of Septimius Severus, and the second in 214-5 A.D. in connection with vows for the health of Caracalla. Beyond this event-specific interpretation, however, these issues link Julia Domna to a prominent location in the city of Rome. Julia Domna's emphasis on the Vestals and the *aedes Vestae* may also be an expression of her *Romanitas*, helpful to

¹¹⁹Lusnia 1995.

¹²⁰See also the discussion of "The Empress and the Vestals" in chapter 3, pp. 86-9, which explores the dynastic implications of this imagery.

¹²¹Types issued during the reign of Septimius Severus (six adult Vestals), dated by Hill to 207 A.D., (1977, 25 ns. 886, 888, 889, 892):

- Silver medallion: Gnechi 1912, 1: 45 n.2, pl. 22.4; Dressel 1973, 172-3, pl. 13.7.
- Bronze medallion: Gnechi 1912, 2: 77 n. 8, pl. 95.1; Dressel 1973, 174.
- Small bronze medallion: Gnechi 1912, 3: 92 n. 10, pl. 160.9.
- Aureus* (gold): *BMCRE* 5: 169 n. 97; *RIC* 4.1: 171 n. 586.
- As* (bronze): *BMCRE* 5: 314 n. 796; *RIC* 4.1: 209 n. 867, 211 n. 892a-b.

During the reign of Septimius Severus, two variant versions of the Vestal scene appear:

- Denarius* (silver), with just one Vestal: *BMCRE* 5: 169 n. 96; *RIC* 4.1: 171 n. 584.
- Denarius* (silver), with just two Vestals: *RIC* 4.1: 171 n. 585.

Types issued during the reign of Caracalla (four adult Vestals, two child Vestals), dated by Hill to 214-5 A.D., who connects them with vows for the health of Caracalla (Hill 1977, 34 ns. 1435, 1437-9):

- Bronze medallion: Milan, Gabinetto Numismatico B5519.
- Aureus* (gold): *RIC* 4.1: 272 n. 392.
- Sestertius* (bronze): *BMCRE* 5: 471 n. *.
- As* (bronze): *BMCRE* 5: 473 n. 232-3, pl. 74.12.

During the reign of Caracalla, one variant version of the Vestal scene appears:

- Small bronze medallion, with the addition of three lictors: Gnechi 1912, 3: 39 n. 9, pl. 152.7; Dressel 1973, 174-5, pl. 13.5.

counterbalance her Syrian origin and lasting connections with foreign deities.¹²² Julia Domna's coin types featuring the Vestals stressed her role in traditional Roman religion as the most prominent woman in Rome and wife of the *pontifex maximus*. In addition, slight design changes to the coins issued during Caracalla's reign—two adult Vestals are replaced by two child-sized figures on the later issues—suggest that this iconography was also sensitive to changes in the makeup of the college of Vestal Virgins.¹²³

In 214-5 A.D., Caracalla also minted gold coins with Vestals sacrificing at the *aedes Vestae* (fig. 81).¹²⁴ In sharp contrast to all the types paired with imperial women, Caracalla's Vestal sacrifice reverse includes an image of the emperor. Wearing a cuirass, he sacrifices over the altar. He is accompanied by a child and a flamen, distinguished by the *apex* on his cap. A third head can be seen between the two adult men. On the other side of the scene stand three adult Vestals and a second child. This design integrates the compositions of both of Julia Domna's Vesta types, thus representing up to five of the Vestals in addition to the emperor and the flamen. While the Vestals may indeed have made vows of sacrifice for the health of Caracalla, as Hill suggests, Caracalla's absence from Rome at that time marks this coin as another example of propagandistic license, like the *adventus* medallion of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 56).

In 214-5 A.D., Caracalla traveled in Asia Minor on his way to campaign against the Parthians. Caracalla's travels in Asia Minor were well documented by local numismatic production.¹²⁵ Of particular interest is his visit to Laodicea ad Lycium in 214

¹²²Ghedini (1984a) discusses the wide variety of deities, both Roman and Syrian, in whose guise Julia Domna is depicted. She is not directly depicted as Vesta. The chronology of these coin types argues against associating them with the rebuilding of the *aedes Vestae*; see chapter 3, p. 88.

¹²³Girls chosen to be Vestals were between the ages of six and ten (Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 1.12).

¹²⁴*Aureus*, 214 A.D.: *BMCRE* 5: 450 ns. 101-2, pl. 70.5-6; Hill 1977, 34 n. 1433. *Aureus*, 215 A.D.: *BMCRE* 5: 458 n. †; Hill 1977, 34 n. 1441.

¹²⁵Levick 1969; Johnston 1983; Harl 1987, 52-70, pl. 23-4.

or 215 AD. In celebration of this visit, the city minted several numismatic types that represent the emperor in local settings.¹²⁶ One type (fig. 83), a temple-sacrifice composition, clearly draws on the imagery of the imperial capital; it seems to be a poorly executed copy of the familiar composition known from medallions of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus as well as coins of Septimius Severus (figs. 55, 64-6).¹²⁷ Several differences in the design—the emperor is significantly larger than the rest of the figures, the *victimarius*' weapon is enlarged for visibility, the temple is octastyle rather than hexastyle, three windows appear in lieu of pedimental sculpture,¹²⁸ and the Greek legend names the location as Laodicea—reflect changes made to clarify the action of the scene and to emphasize that its location is Laodicea, not Rome. Here, as on the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna, the honor of an imperial visit is specially commemorated by the use of elaborate imperial temple-sacrifice imagery.

Another medallion commemorating the same visit by Caracalla to Laodicea (fig. 84) features a brilliant solution to the same problem faced by the artists of the *Anaglypha* and Hadrian's *adlocutio sestertius*: how to depict the emperor speaking in a forum.¹²⁹ By depicting the forum in a bird's eye view, with the temple and emperor at the center of it, the artist achieved a largely symmetrical design that focuses attention on the emperor. The legend again establishes the location as Laodicea. The details of the forum suggest that the architectural complex was intended to be recognized. In these examples, the citizens depicted the emperor, in person, in their own local landscape, claiming him for themselves.

¹²⁶There is some evidence for workshops that contracted with multiple cities to produce coinage at a central location. See Kraft (1972); Johnston (1974); Metcalf (1999, 13-4).

¹²⁷Dressel (1973, 125 n. 2, fig 25) notes in his discussion of the temple-sacrifice medallion of Commodus from 177-8 the close similarity of this coin of Laodicea.

¹²⁸Price and Trell 1977, 129-30, fig. 226.

¹²⁹*BMC-Phrygia* 316 n. 226, pl. 38.1; Price and Trell 1977, 25 fig. 23, 31; Harl 1987, 56, pl. 23.6.

Coins celebrating Caracalla's visit to Pergamon on the same journey also depict sacrifices before temples, but they do not follow the visual conventions familiar from the coins, medallions, and reliefs of Rome (figs. 85).¹³⁰ The sacrifice scene is reduced to bare essentials: the hieratically scaled emperor (larger than either the victim or the temple), the victim, and the *victimarius*. The temple in the background sometimes shares the ground line of the emperor and victim and sometimes seems to float on the flan. Some examples show a seated cult statue; others show a standing cult statue; both types are accompanied by snakes, suggesting that they depict Asklepios, who had a major sanctuary on the outskirts of Pergamon.¹³¹ Interestingly, an *aureus* minted in Rome in 215 shows Caracalla, wearing armor, conducting a bloodless sacrifice to Asklepios (fig. 82). The temple is shown in three-quarter view and the cult statue stands out as the identifying feature of the temple.¹³² It confirms Caracalla's interest in the healing god at that time—an interest prompted, perhaps, by illness.¹³³ Whether this coin depicts Caracalla at the Temple of Asklepios in Rome or at the Temple of Asklepios in Pergamon cannot be determined.

The provincial coinages, which peaked between the reigns of Commodus and Caracalla, often minted imperial images and reflected imperial trips, but the use of

¹³⁰Harl 1987, pl. 24.2-3.

¹³¹Examples with standing cult statue: *BMC-Mysia* (155 n. 324, pl. 31.5); Harl (1987, pl. 24.3). Examples with seated cult statue: Price and Trell (1977, 211 fig. 439); Harl (1987, pl. 24.2). The proportions and placement of the compositional elements vary from example to example, but they are sufficiently coherent to be treated as a group. Although Harl (1987, pl. 24) and Price (1984, 152-3, pl. 3e) identify two different temples of Asklepios—the standing cult statue belonging to the major sanctuary and the seated cult statue belonging to a second temple dedicated to Zeus Asklepios by Caracalla—Price and Trell (1977, 211 fig. 439) identify the temple with the seated cult statue as that of Dionysus Kathegemon in their figure caption; the identification is not discussed. In his archaeological overview of Pergamon, Radt discusses the extra-urban sanctuary of Asklepios (1999, 220-42) and a Temple of Dionysos near the theater (188-93) but not a second temple of Asklepios.

¹³²*BMCRE* 5: 458 n. 148, pl. 71.8

¹³³Dio 78.15.2-6; Harl 1987, 55, 65-6.

architectural backgrounds was rare.¹³⁴ A few later examples of coin reverses similar to those from Pergamon celebrating Caracalla's visit also seem to record imperial visits.¹³⁵ In the case of two later issues, the temple-sacrifice imagery seems to have been adopted locally to record sacrifices to the emperor at the temple built in his honor.¹³⁶ But as a rule, images of the emperor in an architectural setting appear in direct connection with an imperial visit. The coins of Asia Minor reflecting Caracalla's trip of 214-5 A.D. and the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna are the most elaborate and detailed examples of the provincial adaptation of such imperial iconography with architectural backgrounds.

The reign of Caracalla—and of subsequent emperors until the Tetrarchy—did not result in the production of much, if any, official relief sculpture.¹³⁷ The visual evidence for the use of architectural backgrounds becomes entirely restricted to numismatic types. A new location for sacrifice, the Temple of Venus and Roma, first appears as an architectural background on medallions of Severus Alexander, the last of the Severan

¹³⁴Harl (1987). Both architectural images and figural scenes are common, but the combination is rare. As the volumes of *Roman Provincial Coinage* are published, it will become substantially easier to survey the eastern coinages chronologically (rather than geographically and by collection, as is currently the case).

¹³⁵-Elagabalus (218-222): Coin of Ephesus, emperor sacrificing at the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos (ANS 1971.279.26).

-Severus Alexander (222-235): Coin of Aegeae, emperor sacrificing at the Temple of Asklepios (Harl 1987, 60-1, pl. 25.8).

-Valerian (253-89): Coin of Side, emperor sacrificing at a temple (Price and Trell 1977, fig. 407); Coin of Aegeae, emperor sacrificing at the Temple of Asklepios (Price and Trell 1977, fig. 406; Harl 1987, 60).

¹³⁶-Macrinus (217-8): Coin of Ephesus, a sacrificial scene, but with all participants hailing cult statue of emperor in temple; VOTA in pediment (Price and Trell 1977, fig. 438; Price 1984, 214-5, 256-7, pl. 3a).

-Valerian (253-89): Coin of Colophon, unusual composition: in the center, victim and *victimarius*, at the top, the temple, and arranged around the bottom half of the flan, a line of worshippers in a semi-circle, all hailing cult statue in temple (Price and Trell 1977, fig. 440).

¹³⁷Kleiner (1992, 394): "No major monuments with state reliefs survive from the period of the emperors from Macrinus to Carinus, and, given the brevity and military preoccupations of their principates, it is unlikely that any were ever commissioned." Hannestad (1986, 298-300) also points out the general absence of relief sculpture between the Severan and Tetrarchic period. He notes, however, the possible exception of one sacrifice relief (no background) with "traditional content and poor craftsmanship" that some attribute to the reign of Claudius Gothicus.

emperors (figs. 86a-c). He sometimes shares the medallion obverse with his mother, Julia Mamaea (fig. 87).¹³⁸ The temple can be identified primarily by the reverse legend, “ROMAE AETERNAE.”¹³⁹ This direct indication of the importance of the city and its permanence sharply contrasts with the environment of military instability that characterized Severus Alexander’s rise and fall from power (222-235 A.D.). The other temple-sacrifice type of Severus Alexander places him and his bride together at the Temple of Concordia, characterized by its transverse cella and an identifying legend (fig. 88).¹⁴⁰ Through careful choice of depicted location, these medallions emphasize the stability of Rome and the stability of the imperial family.

Three Third Century Medallions

During the third century, few of the soldier-emperors chose to mint images with architectural backgrounds.¹⁴¹ A cluster of such images, however, appeared mid-century. These medallions demonstrate some of the ways in which the earlier established iconographies of sacrifice, *adventus*, and victory shifted and mixed in sometimes surprising ways.¹⁴² The brief reappearance of architectural settings for the emperor, indicating the importance of his specific location, contrasts with the increasing artistic

¹³⁸Grueber 1874, 40 n. 8, pl. 39.3; Gneecchi 1912, 2: 81 n. 11, 82 n. 25-6, 85 n. 11, pls. 99.1, 100.1-2, 101.9; *BMCRE* 6, 165-6, ns. 536, 542; Brown 1941, 228; Tella 1995, 56-7, fig. 3.

¹³⁹The temple’s architecture is severely abbreviated, and the sculpture, although consistently represented, is so schematic that its iconography is not easily determined. For the Temple of Venus and Roma and its symbolism, see Gagé (1938); Manieri Elia (1987); *LTUR* 5: 121-3 s.v. Venus et Roma, aedes, templum (A. Cassatella); for other schematic representations of the Temple of Venus and Roma, see Bayet (1993).

¹⁴⁰Gneecchi 1912, 2: 85-6 n. 2, pl. 102.3; Brown 1941, 27, 30-1; Tella 1995, 57, fig. 4.

¹⁴¹Overall, very few numismatic types in the third century depict buildings (Brown 1940, 8-9).

¹⁴²Legutko (2000) explores the coin types of the third century soldier-emperors as a vehicle to understand the changing imperial ideology of that century. He observes that some emperors consciously emulated the coinage of earlier rulers, while other emperors chose types that distanced their imagery from that of their predecessors. He also explores the ways in which established patterns of iconographic association were recombined to the point at which traditional iconography broke down.

trend away from particularity in the later third century. Imperial portraits became more generic and less individually recognizable.¹⁴³ Very few images include recognizable architectural backgrounds.

A medallion of Gordianus III (238-44 A.D.) depicts a sacrifice at a very unusual temple: the domed, pedimented structure seems to be a close relative of the Pantheon in Rome (fig. 89a).¹⁴⁴ This medallion also has unique iconography in which the cult statue of Victory inside the temple wears a cuirass (fig. 89b), a previously unknown combination.¹⁴⁵ A dual legend, in Greek and Latin, emphasizes the identification of the deity and temple: “VICTORIA AVG” and “NEIKH ΟΠΛΟΦΟΡΟΣ.” The message of victory suggests that this medallion was minted in the years 242-4 A.D., during which Gordianus III campaigned against Persia. The bilingual legend suggests that this medallion was for an eastern audience or that the temple depicted was located in the east (or both).¹⁴⁶ The care given to the depiction of architectural detail, as well as the unusual placement of the figural scene to either side of the temple so that the facade is not obscured, argues that this temple indeed existed. It is equally clear, however, that the insistent repetition of the theme “victory” in both legend and iconography ensures the comprehension of the primary message of this medallion, a partial compensation for our inability to locate this temple precisely.

The immediate successor of Gordianus III, Philip the Arab (244-9 A.D.), also minted a temple-sacrifice medallion (figs. 90a-b). Its composition is similar to the *as* of Septimius Severus (fig. 77) and the medallions of Severus Alexander (fig. 86-7) discussed

¹⁴³For these general artistic trends, see Hannestad (1986, 285-338).

¹⁴⁴Gnecchi 1912, 2: 92-3 ns. 49-53, pls. 106.3-4.

¹⁴⁵Hölscher (1967, 134-5). Legutko (2000) explores the increasing flexibility of iconography in imperial ideology in the third century A.D.

¹⁴⁶Dressel 1973, 225-30.

above. The impetus for Philip's temple-sacrifice issue was the millennial anniversary of Rome's foundation in 248 A.D.¹⁴⁷ As in the case of Domitian's and Septimius Severus' *Ludi Saeculares* (figs. 17, 78-9), the opportunity to celebrate a rare event was accompanied by the issue of commemorative issues featuring locations specific to the event. Philip the Arab and his son Philip, at this time officially joint rulers, sacrifice jointly in a show of dynastic unity at the Temple of Venus and Roma. Although the legend, "SAECVLVM NOVVM" refers to the new millennium rather than the location of the sacrifice, the detailed pedimental and acroterial iconography leave no doubt as to the temple's identity.¹⁴⁸ The Temple of Venus and Roma was the obvious place to celebrate Rome's longevity and stress its continuity into the new millennium.

Trebonianus Gallus (251-4 A.D.), the successor of Philip the Arab, also issued a medallion type set at Rome (figs. 91a-c). The primary difference between this medallion and that of Philip the Arab lies in the change of location. Trebonianus Gallus and his son, Volusianus, sacrifice at the Temple of Fortuna Redux.¹⁴⁹ Here the focus is on the emperor's *adventus* to the city, not on the city itself. This medallion combines the traditional setting of the *adventus*, Fortuna Redux, with the iconography of sacrifice.¹⁵⁰ It marks a conscious continuity with (or perhaps revival of) earlier imperial imagery.

The Tetrarchy

Images depicting the emperor against an architectural background are absent from the second half of the third century until the creation of the Tetrarchy by Diocletian in

¹⁴⁷Legutko (2000, 70-1) emphasizes that the millennial celebrations, and the concomitant anxieties of many, were a major focus of imperial ideology at that time.

¹⁴⁸As demonstrated by Gagé (1938); see also Bayet (1993).

¹⁴⁹Gnecchi 1912, 2: 102 n. 3, 103 n. 4; pls. 111.4, 10.

¹⁵⁰See also the discussion of the Temple of Fortuna Redux in chapter 2, pp. 31-3.

291 A.D. At that time, the temple-sacrifice imagery, with its connotations of dynastic concord and stability, is revived to indicate the unity of the Tetrarchs. Individual Tetrarchs also adapt the imagery of *adventus*. Specific, recognizable architectural backgrounds are rare.

The precise locations of the Tetrarchs' joint sacrifices seem largely unimportant, for two reasons. First, nearly all the architectural backgrounds are devoid of any identifying information. Second, the motif of group sacrifice was symbolic, not commemorative: the four Tetrarchs, each responsible for a different quadrant of the empire, never had the opportunity to conduct a sacrifice as a group. Instead, such types primarily indicated the solidarity of the Tetrarchs as co-rulers.¹⁵¹ The Tetrarchic group sacrifice appeared regularly in the coinage and the medallions. A common silver coin type, issued at many of the imperial mints and with obverses of each of the Tetrarchs, depicts all four sacrificing together at a walled enclosure, presumably a military camp (figs. 93a-c).¹⁵² The anonymity of location emphasized the Tetrarchs' joint protection of the entire empire, as Bayet argues.¹⁵³ The legends paired with this reverse suggest as much:

¹⁵¹Group iconography was a mainstay of the Tetrarchs. Examples in other media can be found in Kleiner (1992, 400-28).

¹⁵²Diocletian reformed the coinage early in his reign; the exact terminology for silver coins in this period is unknown (*RIC* 6: 97-100). There were sixteen imperial mints during the Tetrarchic period, not all of which operated simultaneously (*RIC* 6: 5-6). Each mint produced coins with obverses of all four Tetrarchs. *RIC* 6: 175-8 (Treveri) ns. 100-133 (dated 294, 295-7, 298-9, 300-1). *RIC* 6: 281-2 (Ticinum) ns. 12-22 (dated 294, 295, 300). *RIC* 6: 351-4 (Roma) ns. 10-42 (dated 294, 295-7). *RIC* 6: 459-61 (Siscia) ns. 32-62 (dated 294, 295). *RIC* 6: 529-30 (Heraclea) ns. 1-11 (dated 294, 295, 296). *RIC* 6: 555 (Nicomedia) ns. 18, 20 (dated 295). *RIC* 6: 578-9 (Cyzicus) ns. 4-6 (dated 294-5). *RIC* 6: 616 (Antiochia) ns. 31-3 (dated 294-5). *RIC* 6: 661 (Alexandria) ns. 7-8 (dated 295).

¹⁵³Bayet 1994.

“PROVIDENTIA AVGG,” “VIRTVS MILITVM,” “VICTORIA SARMATICA,”
 “VICTORIA AVGG” and “CONCORDIA MILITVM.”¹⁵⁴

The Tetrarchs also issued a number of medallions showing sacrifice at temples (figs. 94-6). These medallions, many of which survive as single examples from the Arras hoard, show some variety in composition.¹⁵⁵ Either the four Tetrarchs sacrifice as a group without additional figures, or the two Augusti sacrifice accompanied by a musician and attendants. The background, however, remains constant: a tetrastyle temple with a wreath in the pediment.¹⁵⁶ The legend common to all the Tetrarchic temple-sacrifice scenes in the Arras hoard, “TEMPORVM FELICITAS,” expresses a standard positive sentiment of imperial panegyric.¹⁵⁷ Bronze Tetrarchic medallions of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius, however, do have the legend “ROMAE AETERNAE” (fig. 96).¹⁵⁸ Although these last medallions can be read as a specific reference to the Temple of Venus and Roma, a more general concept—the stability of the Roman empire—was probably intended as well. The total lack of information identifying the temple backgrounds of the “TEMPORVM FELICITAS” types, however, suggests that unity, not location, is the driving idea behind the inclusion of architecture in these medallions.

¹⁵⁴About these legends, Bayet (1994, 8) observes, “Ces légendes, très claires, situent donc les revers dans un contexte militaire, exaltant la prévoyance des empereurs dans leur gouvernement, les vertus et le courage de l’armée, ainsi que leurs victoires.”

¹⁵⁵For the Arras hoard, see Evans (1930, 232-6); Bastien and Metzger (1977, 137-9, ns. 393-397). The temple-sacrifice types from this hoard were all minted in 305 A.D. They all depict Constantius Chlorus on the obverse, but some predate his promotion from Caesar to Augustus.

¹⁵⁶Hill (1989, 26) identifies the temple depicted as Jupiter Optimus Maximus, based on the presence of a wreath in the pediment. More logical but still not convincing is Gagé’s argument (1938) that all unidentified temples of this time period should be read as representations of Venus and Roma because nearly all the identifiable temple representations can be associated with this temple.

¹⁵⁷MacCormack 1981, 32-3.

¹⁵⁸Brown 1941, 228; Toynbee 1986, 103 n. 72, pl. 4.9.

When important, however, place was still specified. Another medallion of the Arras hoard, depicting Constantius Chlorus' *adventus* to London (fig. 97), celebrates the return of the semi-independent 'British empire' to the control of the Roman emperors.¹⁵⁹ The entrance of a Roman emperor represented a significant victory for the Tetrarchs. Here the location is secured by the legend labeling the female personification who greets the triumphant emperor. The depiction of water indicates something of the local environment, but the city wall indicates only that London was fortified.

Limited evidence also exists for the depiction of the Tetrarchs with architectural backgrounds in their provincial capitals. The Arch of Galerius at Thessaloniki preserves several scenes with architectural backgrounds.¹⁶⁰ Like the coins and medallions, most of the architecture lacks identifying features. For example, the sacrifice scene on the Arch at Thessaloniki is set in front of an arcade rather than a temple (fig. 99).¹⁶¹ An interesting relief scene combines the genres of *profectio* and *adventus* (fig. 98). In the style of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, a single scene encompasses the emperor's travel from one location to another. The city to which the emperor travels is marked by a temple just outside the city wall. Its visible cult statue may have once held an attribute.¹⁶² Although the exact cities depicted on this frieze cannot now be identified, it seems that specific locations may have been intended.

¹⁵⁹Babelon and Duquénoy 1924; Evans 1930, 225-9; Bastien and Metzger 1977, 94 n. 218.

¹⁶⁰For the Arch of Galerius, see Laubscher (1975); Pond Rothman (1977); Meyer (1980).

¹⁶¹Pond Rothman (1977, 442) concluded that "the arcaded setting need not refer to a specific site."

¹⁶²Laubscher (1975, 64) identifies the temple as one of Sol. Pond Rothman (1977, 442, 449) argues that the internal evidence of the relief is insufficient for an identification. Meyer (1980, 408-14) argues that the emperor is depicted traveling from Sirmium to Thessaloniki.

Constantine

Nearly every block of the Arch of Constantine was reused from another monument or structure, including nearly all the relief sculptures decorating it.¹⁶³ The architectural backgrounds of the panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius and the Great Trajanic Frieze have already been discussed. The reuse and recontextualization of so many reliefs with architectural images on the Arch of Constantine suggests not only that such backgrounds were reasonably prevalent among the material available for inclusion in this monument, but also that depicting Constantine in architectural settings was considered desirable. Although the replacement of imperial portraits and their new context certainly affected the interpretation of these reliefs, neither the underlying themes of imperial virtues nor the identification of the buildings of Rome depicted on them changed. The panels depicting locations outside Rome, however, may have been reinterpreted. For instance, the utilitarian architectural background of a military basilica in the *Rex Datus* relief panel of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 58) shares quite a few visual characteristics with the basilica of the imperial complex in Trier, Constantine's Tetrarchic capital (fig. 59). I wonder whether this architectural resemblance had more to do with this panel's reuse on Constantine's arch than the subject matter of its figural scene.

The fourth-century relief sculptures on the Arch of Constantine also reinforce my argument that its creators paid careful attention to architectural backgrounds. Battle scenes, procession scenes, and *adlocutio* and *liberalitas* scenes all include architectural backgrounds. An arch depicted at the very corner of the small procession frieze articulates

¹⁶³On the details of reuse, see most recently Pensabene and Panella (1999), reviewed by Kleiner (2001). For the widely accepted reading of the intended message of such reuse, see for example Brilliant (1984, 120-3); Peirce (1989); Kleiner (1992, 444-55). The Arch of Constantine was not the first arch erected largely from spolia, as the *Arcus Novus* of Diocletian demonstrates (Laubscher 1976). Although Holloway (1985) contested the general assumption that the spolia were from damaged monuments in Rome, his ideas have not been supported by others. Coates-Stephen (2001) has identified an additional source of spolia in third and fourth century Rome: he points out that the construction of the Aurelian wall in the 270s A.D. caused great disruption in the built landscape of Rome and made significant amounts of material available for spoliation.

the connection between Constantine's triumphal entry into Rome on the east side of the arch and the continuation of this procession on the north side of the arch (fig. 100). This representation of an arch is badly damaged, but two tiny elephants can be seen decorating its attic on the north side (fig. 102).¹⁶⁴ In orientation and general mode of representation they closely resemble the elephants of the quadrifrons Arch of Domitian on the *profectio* panel of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 57b), which was incorporated into the north side of the Arch of Constantine (fig. 100). The *profectio* panel of Marcus Aurelius may have directly inspired this corner arch, the final surviving representation of the quadrifrons Arch of Domitian.

The small *adlocutio* scene on the Arch of Constantine shares many points of similarity with the *adlocutio* of the *Anaglypha* (fig. 37): general proportions, a continuous background showing the buildings of the Forum Romanum, scene type (the emperor speaking, probably announcing a *liberalitas*), and a connection with the events surrounding the emperor's *adventus*.¹⁶⁵ The composition and details of the architectural background of the *adlocutio* on the Arch of Constantine (fig. 101), however, are very different. Interesting correlations between architecture and status can be observed. No sculptural decoration appears on the buildings behind the crowd. Such decoration, including the statues of Marcus Aurelius and Hadrian and the statues of the Tetrarchs on the five-column monument, elaborately frames the rostra on which the emperor stands.¹⁶⁶ The inclusion of statues of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius in this small relief echoes the deliberateness with which reliefs of the same two emperors were chosen to adorn the arch as a whole. In this context, the depiction of the emperor in the Forum Romanum—indeed,

¹⁶⁴L'Orange and Von Gerkan 1939, 74, 79, pl. 18d.

¹⁶⁵Kuttner (1995, 233 n. 45) suggests that the artist of the Constantinian panels used the *Anaglypha* as a prototype.

¹⁶⁶For the five-column monument, see Kähler (1964); Kleiner (1992, 413-7).

the post-Tetrarchic Forum Romanum, as the presence of the five-column monument emphasizes—is most important as testimony to the emperor’s presence in Rome, guaranteed by the crowd of witnesses depicted surrounding the rostra.

Contorniates

In the fourth century A.D., after it had become clear that the emperors had more or less abandoned Rome for Constantinople, no more relief sculpture was created to depict the emperor in action in the city of Rome. With the exception of the new sculptures of the Arch of Constantine, in fact, such relief sculptures were primarily a phenomenon of the first and second centuries A.D. The imagery created by earlier emperors, and its importance in the ideology that conceptualized Rome as the center of world empire, however, is reflected in several fourth century contorniates.¹⁶⁷ They bear portraits of Nero, Trajan, and Hadrian on the obverse.¹⁶⁸ The reverses depict the emperor sacrificing at the Temple of Venus and Roma. The Nero contorniate (fig. 105) closely resembles the “ROMAE AETERNAE” types of Severus Alexander (figs. 86-7); the Trajan and Hadrian contorniates (fig. 106) seem to derive from the millennial “SAECVLVM NOVVM” types of Philip the Arab (fig. 90).¹⁶⁹ The contorniate reverses

¹⁶⁷Contorniates are medallion-like, except for the presence of a raised edge around the rim and their generally lower quality workmanship. Issued only in Rome, the contorniates were apparently produced under the supervision of Rome’s elite from the second-half of the fourth century to the late fifth century A.D. Alföldi (1943; 1990) theorizes that the contorniates represent anti-Christian propaganda distributed at games celebrating the New Year. Toynbee (1945; 1986, ii, 234-5) notes, however, that New Year themes are rare and *ludi* imagery is common, suggesting that contorniates were distributed at public entertainments throughout the year. She argues that the imagery as a whole reflects a continuity with earlier Roman visual culture rather than a reaction to Christianity.

¹⁶⁸Contorniate of Nero: Kaposy (1971-2, 148 n. 13).
 Contorniate of Trajan: Alföldi (1990, 163, pl. 113.7-9).
 Contorniate of Hadrian: Alföldi (1990, 163, pl. 167.1-3).

¹⁶⁹Ehrhardt (1984, 47-9) argues that contorniates are evidence for private heirloom collections of coins and medallions and suggests that the copying and adaptation of specific designs reflects not only nostalgia for the past but also indicated contemporary interests and concerns.

of Trajan and Hadrian proclaim “VRBS ROMAE AETERNAE” in both writing and imagery. The legend, in fact, emphasizes the city as location, rather than the temple that is depicted; or rather, the synecdoche by which the Temple of Venus and Roma came to symbolize the city and empire is now explicitly communicated by the legend. The temporal disjunction implied in the pairing of Nero and Trajan with a temple built by Hadrian does not matter, because the essential sentiment—the pairing of the most prominent emperors with the most important of Rome’s temples—speaks to contemporary late-fourth century concerns. The citizens of Rome could no longer claim the emperor’s current presence in their city, but attestations of past imperial presences visible on reliefs, coins, and medallions reminded them that things had once been different. In these contorniates, they claimed what they could: the past presence of the emperors, and the belief that Rome was indeed the Eternal City.¹⁷⁰

Conclusions

In the first century A.D., the context of imperial travel seems to have been largely incidental to the creation of reliefs and coins depicting the emperor in specific locations in Rome. The accumulation of such images as record of past imperial actions in context, however, may have suggested their usefulness in mediating the memory of the emperor’s travels. During the second century, the heyday of such imagery, lavish representations of imperial departures and returns emphasized the city of Rome as the essential point of reference for all imperial travel. Under the Severans, architectural backgrounds found in provincial contexts suggest that these visual records of imperial presence reflected local pride in hosting such prestigious events. In the third and fourth centuries A.D., the

¹⁷⁰Or, as Purcell (1999, 135) says in a different context, “The past was of critical importance in Rome of the fourth century: it was all that was left.”

representations of events at the Temple of Venus and Roma can be seen as assertions of Rome's preeminence, however symbolic it may have been by the end of this period.

Overall, the monuments discussed in this chapter demonstrate a continuing artistic interest in the whereabouts of the Roman emperor. In addition, they articulate key aspects of the emperor's various roles within the city. Certain themes—especially travel, *liberalitas*, sacrifice, and *adlocutio*—are particularly likely to include architectural settings. Many of these images represent events associated with the emperor's return to Rome, and they place the emperor in specific locations within the city of Rome.

The uncertainty surrounding some of these images serves as a reminder of the incomplete nature of the surviving evidence. These descriptions of the emperor's depicted presence in Rome can only, in the end, be illustrative case studies of the phenomenon under consideration. Some monuments might have been erected in preparation for an imperial visit, whether it actually occurred or not; in a very few cases images have proven to be counter-factual. Even when images record actual events, representations were constrained by any number of political, ideological, and practical considerations. Still, by their topographic specificity such reliefs, coins, and medallions emphasize the emperor's physical presence in the actual cityscape. These images transformed ephemeral appearances and rituals into perpetual records of imperial actions and virtues.

CHAPTER V

ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATIONS IN CONTEXT: THE METATOPOGRAPHY OF ROME

After the death of Antoninus Pius, his successors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus erected a column in his honor on the Campus Martius.¹ The dedicatory inscription occupies the north side of the column's pedestal. Relief sculptures decorate the other three sides. The south side of the column pedestal depicts the *apotheosis* of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder (fig. 53).² Two personifications observe the *apotheosis*. Roma sits on the right. The Campus Martius reclines on the left, holding his attribute, an obelisk. This obelisk has long been recognized as a representation of the pointer of Augustus' monumental sundial. The largest and most prominent obelisk in the Campus Martius, it was a major landmark for travelers on the Via Flaminia (fig. 54b).³ Recently, Penelope Davies has demonstrated that the landmark attribute was chosen very carefully to coincide with the *apotheosis* relief's siting:⁴

“The orientation of the Column and Altar set them apart from the [neighboring] Hadrianic buildings with their east-west orientation and suggests an effort to establish a visual link with the Augustan funerary

¹Vogel 1973; *LTUR* I: 298-300 s.v. Columna Antonini Pii (S. Maffei).

²For the original orientation of the pedestal, see Vogel (1973, 32).

³Recognition of the relief representation of the obelisk: Vogel (1973, 32); Favro (1993, 241). The Horologium obelisk as a landmark: Buchner (1976; 1988); Favro (1993, 240-4).

⁴ Davies (2000, 163-5). Reviews of Davies' work: Wood (2000); Broucke (2001); Ling (2001).

complex to the north, specifically with the gnomon of the sundial, fashioned, like the Column's shaft, of a single piece of red granite."⁵

Davies goes on to note the simultaneous visibility of the relief representation of the obelisk and the actual obelisk of the Horologium (fig. 54a). The inclusion of an architectural representation on the *apotheosis* relief created a sightline. It commented on the earlier monument and suggested how the new monument should be seen in relation to the old. It added one more visible connection to a set of topographic interrelationships in and around the northern Campus Martius—among the individual parts of Augustus' funerary complex (Mausoleum, Horologium, *Ara Pacis*)⁶ and among the funerary monuments and temples of later emperors.⁷

The recognition of sightlines and other topographic interrelationships among the buildings and monuments of Rome has become an increasingly important element in scholarship on the ancient city. With the exception of two reliefs discussed by Davies, however, little attention has been paid to the topographic contexts of state reliefs depicting architecture. This is partly due to the usual methods of studying both these reliefs and the topography of Rome, which serve to obscure connections among monuments. Topography, especially when presented in dictionary format, rarely admits links between even neighboring monuments. As I have noted, relief images of architecture have primarily served as illustrative material for studies of the architecture and topography of the buildings represented; their other topographic relationships have been neglected. Sculpture studies, if concerned with the architectural representations at all, are usually content to determine the identification of the building. Moreover, periodization

⁵Davies 2000, 164.

⁶Favro 1993; Davies 2000, 137-42.

⁷Boatwright 1987; Jolivet 1988; Coarelli 1997, 599-601; Davies 2000, 142-71.

often breaks the links between reliefs and the buildings that they depict. For example, more than a century separates the Column of Antoninus Pius and the Augustan sundial obelisk. Finally, most topographic interrelationships have been the casualties of change to Rome's landscape. Destruction of the buildings depicted, destruction or removal of the reliefs representing buildings, and—as in the case of the Column of Antoninus Pius—the construction of buildings blocking the sightlines all hinder the recognition of the topographic and visual relationships between depictions of architecture and the buildings represented. Despite these difficulties, an expanding number of topographic interrelationships in the city of Rome have been identified.

The organization of Rome's sacred landscape depended on directed views from specific places.⁸ During the Republic, certain buildings were contested when it became apparent that they would block significant sightlines.⁹ Ann Vasaly has demonstrated how Cicero took advantage of the physical settings of his orations, supporting critical points of his arguments by referring to visible monuments and their historic associations.¹⁰ Research on domestic architecture has revealed the exploitation of organized vistas and

⁸Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 7.6-10; Coarelli (1983, 97-107, fig. 33); Cancik (1985-6); Beard et al. (1998, 22-3); Bergmann (1992, 31): "In Roman religion the high priest, or *augur*, scanned the land from a high spot, drew lines through it, took sight of certain landmarks, and spoke out their names. Repeatedly in augural texts a landscape feature is referred to as *signum*, a sign selected to represent the place in a new, more meaningful context. Once the spot was defined, structures were erected to order the sacred space, direct sight and movement, and communicate with the divine."

⁹Coarelli (1983, 101-3) and Cancik (1985-6, 252-3), citing the destruction of the house of Ti. Claudius Centumalus as ordered by the augurs (ca. 100 B.C., reported by Cicero, *de officiis* 3, 16, 66), and the height limitations imposed on Marius' construction plans for the Temple of Honos and Virtus on the Velia (ca. 101 B.C., reported by Festus 466-8 L). See also *LTUR* 2: 82 s.v. Domus: Ti. Claudius Centumalus (E. Papi).

¹⁰Vasaly (1993). Also notable is the significance of the various locations of senate meetings, especially in the late Republic, as analyzed by Bonnefond-Coudry (1989).

considered the programmatic associations of decorative assemblages that created meaning through symbolic juxtaposition of visual elements and iconography.¹¹

Diane Favro has investigated the late Republican and especially Augustan reshaping of the urban experience of Rome.¹² Drawing heavily on the work of urban theorists, especially Kevin Lynch, Favro points out the importance of sightlines and directed paths through the city.¹³ She argues that Augustus' changes to the landscape (i.e., his new monumental complexes) gave coherence to the city through the many ways in which they were interconnected, both visually and thematically.

Penelope Davies has taken a similar approach in exploring the connections among the funerary monuments of the Roman emperors. To examine the means through which new monuments were integrated into the network of previously existing monuments, she discusses familiar as well as newly identified sightlines.¹⁴ She notes the extremely careful placement of Augustan buildings on the Campus Martius to take advantage of civic memories and their symbolic associations. Within Augustus' Campus Martius complex, sightlines between the Mausoleum and the Pantheon and between the Horologium and the *Ara Pacis* are given attention.¹⁵ She underscores the pivotal position of the Arch of Titus as a gateway mediating between the Flavian entertainment complex of the Colosseum area

¹¹Bek (1983; 1985; 1993); Bergmann (1991; 1992; 1994); Wallace-Hadrill (1994, 44-6); also J. Hartnett (2002) "Roman Domestic Facades and the Architecture of Interface," paper read at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 3-6 January, Philadelphia.

¹²Favro (1993; 1994; 1996; 1999). Her book, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (1996), has attracted many mixed reviews, including those by Jaeger (1997); Dyson (1998); and Haselberger (2000).

¹³In fact, Favro structures her book using Lynch's (1960) categories of analysis as section and chapter titles.

¹⁴This paragraph summarizes the sightlines discussed by Davies (2000, 136-171) in chapter 6: "The Power of Place."

¹⁵Mausoleum and Pantheon sightline first suggested by Castagnoli (1947, 146); also see Boatwright (1987, 37). *Ara Pacis* and Horologium sightline first noted by Buchner (1976; 1988).

and the Forum Romanum. Here she depends on the work of Torelli, who demonstrated that many Flavian buildings were located next to Augustan buildings, suggesting that the Flavian emperors were not only imitating but trying to out-do Augustus' comprehensive re-working of the city.¹⁶ Davies considers the proximity of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* to the Temple of Quirinus, of particular interest here because the only surviving relief representation of the Temple of Quirinus comes from that Flavian complex.

The most fascinating sightlines identified by Davies, however, all belong to the second century A.D. The Mausoleum of Hadrian was sited not only to take advantage of associations with the Mausoleum of Augustus, but also to be viewed from the top of the Column of Trajan. The exact same line of sight included the dome of the Pantheon.¹⁷ Davies argues that this visual connection among the three structures suggested Hadrian's quasi-divine status.¹⁸ This sightline also emphasized Hadrian's connection with Trajan and made the Column of Trajan into a viewing platform for Hadrian's building projects. Earlier, I discussed the sightline from the Column of Antoninus Pius to the Horologium of Augustus. The design of the final monument that Davies discusses, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, also demonstrates careful consideration of views and sightlines. The door to the viewing platform on top of its capital is placed such that the visitor immediately sees the funerary altars of the Antonines, and the wide angle vista from this

¹⁶Torelli 1987.

¹⁷Davies (2000, 162) evocatively describes this sightline: "Looking northwest from the top of the Column, a viewer would have recognized the Pantheon, a vast reflecting dome amid the gabled roofs of the city. Directly behind the Pantheon, she would have seen another circular building, Hadrian's Mausoleum, and its crowning statue or tempietto rising above the Pantheon's dome as if emerging from it—for a perfectly straight line unites the Column with temple and tomb. This planimetric relationship must have implied a thematic link between the two circular buildings."

¹⁸Davies 2000, 158-63.

height includes the Mausoleum of Hadrian on the far left as well as the Mausoleum of Augustus on the far right.¹⁹

Davies and Favro successfully argue that the Romans consistently considered views both to and from the monuments as an essential element of the design process. In his study, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, Mark Wilson Jones relates these patterns to the working methods of the Roman architects: “geometry presumably came into play because it offered a means of organizing vistas and privileged lines of sight.”²⁰ These principles have also been considered by Lise Bek, who argues that these ideas have a pervasive influence on the way the Romans conceptualized both public and domestic architecture.²¹ Bek describes the architects’ goals of creating “a series of self-contained prospects, each of which had its own ideal standing-point for the beholder, and which could be enjoyed only piece by piece like pictures in a gallery, the beholder having to fix in every case the optical axis as running from standing-point to picture-plane.”²²

Also relevant are a number of studies exploring how various emperors attempted to orchestrate the urban experience of Rome.²³ Many of these studies depend in some way on the work of scholars like Filippo Coarelli and Mario Torelli, who have sought to integrate individual monuments within their topographic and functional contexts, seeking

¹⁹Well illustrated by Davies (2000, fig. 115).

²⁰Wilson Jones 2000, 100-1.

²¹Bek 1985.

²²Bek 1985, 146.

²³Flavians: Torelli (1987); Gazda and Haeckl (1996, 21-2); Darwall-Smith (1996). Hadrian: Boatwright (1987). Severans: Desnier (1993). Tetrarchy: Giuliani and Verduchi (1987, 185-7); Coarelli (1999); Curran (2000), reviewed by Kleiner (2001a). Topographic associations of the Temple of Venus and Roma: Manieri Elia (1987). Also germane here is McConnell’s (1999) analysis of the Tabularium as a case study for the creation of a skyline in Rome.

a broader understanding of the landscape and the ways in which the Romans actively exploited topographic associations to generate meaning in new situations.²⁴

The Roman habit of considering space in terms of the visibility and juxtaposition of particularly significant objects provides a useful context in which to analyze state reliefs with architectural backgrounds. Reliefs were themselves topographic features, albeit relatively small ones. The reliefs directly influenced the viewer's experience of the urban landscape. They associate particular emperors with specific locations. More broadly, they explicitly comment on the functions of various buildings. Putting the image of one monument and all its historical and symbolic associations into the context of another monument was a powerful iconographic tool.

I have used a number of circumlocutions in attempting to describe the topographic relationships between relief representations of buildings and the actual buildings. 'Topographic interrelationship' is particularly vague and applicable to too many situations. 'Planimetric,'²⁵ 'view planning,' 'optical axiality,'²⁶ 'vista,' and 'sightline' all eliminate from consideration those cases in which the original building was not visible from the relief's display location. These terms primarily apply to the creation of urban ensembles to be viewed from a distance, or to the directed views conditioned by such ensembles. None of these terms get to the heart of how the reliefs interact with their topographic context and the buildings they depict.

²⁴For instance Torelli (1982) and Coarelli (1985; 1988; 1997).

²⁵Davies (2000) prefers the term 'planimetric,' by which she indicates sightlines that reflect Roman surveying practice and that are recoverable by careful study of modern maps.

²⁶Bek (1985, 141) defines optical axiality as "the determination of the axis (of a domestic space) depending on the sight line of the viewer, not on any partition of the ground plan." Bek (1985, 142) describes view planning as "the idea of turning the sight of the elevation of the building as beheld by the viewer from a given point into the aesthetic principle of planning."

Topographic representations of topography need a descriptive term of their own: metatopography. This term hints at the metamorphosis that buildings undergo when represented in relief. Topography is concerned with establishing bare facts about individual buildings on the ground; it seeks to understand individual monuments and their placement within the city. Metatopography contextualizes representations of buildings. It seeks to identify and understand relationships between relief images of buildings and the buildings represented, sometimes in close proximity and sometimes responding to one another over great distances.

Reconstructing the metatopography of ancient Rome is a formidable task, considering the current state of the city of Rome and the destruction or dispersion of many reliefs that were once solidly anchored to a particular location. To expose such elusive connections, three pieces of information are needed: the ancient display location of the relief, the identity of the structures depicted on it, and those structures' actual location in the urban landscape. Several reliefs—the Valle-Medici reliefs, the fragment depicting the Temple of Quirinus, the *Extispicium* relief, the *Anaglypha*, the Column Base of Antoninus Pius, and the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine—yield to such analysis (fig. 104). Each example demonstrates a different way that metatopography added value to the iconography of the monuments on which specific buildings were depicted.

The *Anaglypha* and the Forum

The *Anaglypha* were discovered in 1872 near the Column of Phocas in the Forum Romanum, found still *in situ* on rough travertine bases of much later date than the reliefs themselves (frontispiece).²⁷ The two reliefs depict a continuous architectural background

²⁷Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 80, figs. 93-4.

of the south and west sides of the Forum Romanum, emphasized by the repetition of the Basilica Julia, statue of Marsyas, and fig tree on both panels (figs. 37, 39).²⁸ The *Anaglypha* were placed within the physical setting they depict, and they present a synthetic rather than descriptive view of the forum.²⁹ Against this continuous architectural background, the *Anaglypha* depict two different aspects of *liberalitas*, as discussed in chapter 4.

Soon after the discovery of the *Anaglypha*, Francis Nichols articulated the significance of their placement:

“When we turn to the backgrounds of the two bas-reliefs, we find that they both represent the scene that was in reality before the spectator, the Forum Romanum; and in this lies the important topographical interest of the sculptures. ...In order to identify the scene it is only necessary for the spectator to turn from the sculpture to the ruined buildings before him.... The whole of the background may thus be explained by the aid of the ruins which remain.”³⁰

Even now, located inside the Curia, just steps away from the rostra and their now-neglected travertine bases, the *Anaglypha* continue to be viewed and explained with reference to the surrounding architecture. That this topographic association has been accepted as unremarkable both by tourists and by modern scholars demonstrates just how obvious such sightlines are when a relief monument remains *in situ* or close to its original placement.

²⁸Hammond 1953; Rüdiger 1973; and Torelli 1982, 92-6.

²⁹The close proximity of original and depiction, as well as the juxtaposition of a series of buildings, allowed the artist some leeway in the exact depiction of the architecture involved—as is clear from the abbreviated depiction of the Temple of Castor and Pollux.

³⁰Nichols 1877, 65-6.

No matter where these reliefs were initially located,³¹ the *Anaglypha* were repositioned on irregular travertine bases sometime after the end of the fourth century A.D.³² These new bases were oriented almost parallel to the facade of the rostra on the west end of the forum. The late antique placement of the *Anaglypha* created sightlines from the reliefs to the buildings depicted on them, including those from the record-burning relief to the temples of Saturn and Vespasian and from the *adlocutio* relief to the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the Arch of Augustus (figs. 36, 38, 40).

These sightlines, however, are not the only ones that integrated the repositioned *Anaglypha* within their monumental context. While the sightline from the Argiletum to the Column of Phocas (a Diocletianic column monument rededicated in 608 A.D.) is well known, it has not been previously noted that the *Anaglypha* also stood precisely on this axis through the Forum Romanum (fig. 44).³³ Because they are placed close to the northern edge of the forum pavement, the *Anaglypha* could be seen not only from the Argiletum, but also from the Sacra Via between the Temple of Divus Iulius and the Arch of Septimius Severus (fig. 43). This new monumental setting was carefully thought out, even though the new bases for the *Anaglypha* compare quite unfavorably with the quality of the reliefs themselves. The position of the *Anaglypha*, at the intersection of several paths and sightlines (fig. 42), encouraged passersby to stop and reflect on the buildings of the forum and the actions of the emperor depicted on the *Anaglypha*. The more elaborate

³¹The original location of the *Anaglypha* is a matter of some debate. Hammond (1953, 131) best expresses the limitations of the evidence: "Although the background of the scenes and the place of finding strongly suggest that the anaglyphs originally stood somewhere in the forum, this is itself incapable at present of absolute proof." The precise original placement of the reliefs cannot be deduced directly from the presentation of the architectural background, because it presents a conceptual view of the forum rather than an exact view.

³²Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 80.

³³Giuliani and Verduchi (1987, 100, 185, fig. 262). They focus on the sightline to and from the Column of Phocas and do not point out the significant positioning of the *Anaglypha*.

relief faces with narrative scenes face outwards, angled to be visible from multiple directions of approach. These reliefs animate the central plaza of the Forum Romanum: they remind the viewer that it is not merely a place surrounded by historically significant buildings, but a stage for important events.

The latest example of this phenomenon from ancient Rome, this is also the only certain instance in which spoliated sculpture was located to emphasize its metatopography. The findspot of the *Anaglypha* demonstrates, therefore, that in late antiquity they were purposely placed within the forum to take advantage of their metatopographic possibilities. Moreover, it also provides evidence that the ancient Romans recognized relief images of particular buildings and that they expected such reliefs to have a meaningful connection to their architectural context. The late antique placement of the *Anaglypha* demanded the attention of the viewer.

Hills and Valley: The *Ara Gentis Iuliae*

A similar process can be seen at work in the Valle-Medici reliefs attributed to the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (figs. 8-9). As discussed in chapter 3, a combination of historical, topographic, and iconographic evidence supports this attribution. La Rocca notes that the podium of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* directly faced the *templum novum divi Augusti* next to the Basilica Julia (fig. 13).³⁴ The orientation of both these dynastic monuments on a mutual sightline between the Capitoline and the Palatine suggests careful planning, although their relative chronology is uncertain.³⁵

³⁴La Rocca (1992a, 97 n. 75). Also note Fishwick's (1992) observations about the similarities in form and decoration between the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and that of Divus Augustus.

³⁵Epigraphic evidence provides a *terminus ante quem* of 43 A.D. for the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (CIL 6.2035), which corresponds with the chronological indications provided by the subject matter and stylistic analysis. Caligula probably dedicated the Temple of Augustus in 37 A.D., as the *sestertius* depicting a sacrifice at that temple indicates (figs. 7a-b). Later, Caligula attempted a physical manifestation of this sightline

The metatopography of the relief representations of the temples of Mars Ultor and Magna Mater, however, has not been previously investigated. Crucially, a sightline links the Capitoline hill and the Forum of Augustus. The Capitoline hill, in fact, offers the only frontal facade view of the Temple of Mars Ultor that could be obtained outside of the Forum of Augustus itself. The concrete podium of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* stands at this ideal viewing point, and the relief representation of the Temple of Mars Ultor would have drawn attention to this fact. Moreover, from the very same point on the Capitoline hill, the view to the Palatine hill would have been dominated by the flank of the Temple of Magna Mater, which marks the southwest corner of Augustus' Palatine complex. This temple, too, was represented on the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*.

The temples depicted on the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* are, therefore, the earliest surviving examples of metatopography in Rome. The details of the relief representations reinforce this reading. The views obtained of each temple from the Capitoline hill are the very views depicted in relief. The Temple of Mars Ultor stands in full frontal facade view. The Temple of Magna Mater is angled on the Palatine hill such that its pediment is not visible from the Capitoline, but its relief representation preserves the correct orientation of the facade, that is, on the right end of the temple. The concrete podium on the Capitoline identified as the foundation of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* is ideally sited for viewing both temples as they are depicted on the Valle-Medici reliefs (figs. 8, 9, 11-15).

As Diane Favro has noted, "within the Augustan cityscape, the Palatine and Forum Augustum stood out as dominant urban focal points."³⁶ The *Ara Gentis Iuliae* on the Capitoline hill explicitly prompted the viewer to gaze across the landscape of Rome at these

between the Palatine and the Capitoline, using the roof of the Temple of Augustus to support a bridge between the two (Suetonius, *Caligula* 22).

³⁶Favro 1996, 204.

two highly visible locations.³⁷ The visibility of the temple edifices from the altar precinct also increased the identifiability of the temple images, and it is surely no accident that of all the temple images in my corpus, these are the most accurate in their architectural details.

This metatopography extended the symbolic significance of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* and the reliefs that decorated it. By drawing the viewer's attention to prominent Augustan areas of Rome, the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* simultaneously de-emphasized the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus just a few steps away (fig. 12). Even if Jupiter himself is included in the audience for this monument, in light of the many ritual functions that Augustus transferred from the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus to his new forum and to his house-complex on the Palatine, it is significant that the *Ara Gentis Iuliae in Capitolio* encouraged the visitor to look not at the Republican Temple of Jupiter but rather at a panoramic selection of Augustan monuments.³⁸ Several examples of functional transfer between the Capitoline and various Augustan sites around Rome are well known. The senate met in the Temple of Mars Ultor instead of the Capitoline to discuss declarations of war.³⁹ Magistrates left for extra-urban assignments from Mars Ultor instead of Capitoline Jupiter.⁴⁰ The Temple of Mars

³⁷For the 'landmark' status of the temples of Magna Mater and Mars Ultor, see Favro (1996, 193-4). Favro correctly notes that for the most part, the Temple of Mars Ultor would only have been visible within the Forum of Augustus, but she does not take into account its visibility from the heights of the Capitoline. I have confirmed the clear sightlines available in imperial times through inspection of the model of Constantinian Rome in the Museo della Civiltà Romana. I thank Dott.ssa Clothilde D'Amato of the Museo della Civiltà Romana for the opportunity to verify my ideas by close study of the *plastico*.

³⁸See Bonnefond (1987) for a discussion of the functions transferred from the Capitoline to the Forum of Augustus. On page 270 she notes that "cette rivalité entre Jupiter Capitolin et Mars Ultor s'est inscrite dans la topographie urbaine elle-même." Also see Suetonius, *Augustus* 29.2 and Cassius Dio 55.10. Of interest as well are Fishwick's (1992) observations about Augustus and Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Fishwick argues, moreover, that the Temple of Divus Augustus closely imitated the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in design and decoration. I thank Bettina Bergmann for suggesting that the reliefs also suggest Jupiter's view from the Capitoline temple (pers. comm.).

³⁹Bonnefond 1987, 254.

⁴⁰Bonnefond 1987, 256-7.

Ultor was added to the itinerary of the triumphant general.⁴¹ Even the statuary program in the Forum of Augustus mirrored that of the *area Capitolina*.⁴²

The Augustan complex on the Palatine did not usurp as many of the prerogatives of the Capitoline as the Temple of Mars Ultor did. The Sibylline books were moved from the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus⁴³ and “the gleaming marble temple to Apollo overtly vied with the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the most dramatic hilltop location in Rome.”⁴⁴ Thus, the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* not only emphasized the dynastic connections between Augustus and his successors, but also highlighted the Augustan building complexes that diluted the meaning and functionality of the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter, right on that temple’s threshold. Moreover, both the Palatine and Forum of Augustus were used as loci of worship of the deceased Augustus.⁴⁵

The representation of a series of buildings on the reliefs of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* served as a sort of ‘skyline guide’ to Augustan Rome, pointing out several pertinent monuments visible from the Capitoline hill.⁴⁶ The *Ara Gentis Iuliae* created a tightly clustered set of visual links among several important Augustan building projects that prompt reflection on the dynamic changes to the religious and political landscape of Rome made by the first emperor, Augustus.

⁴¹Bonnefond 1987, 258-60.

⁴²Bonnefond 1987, 261.

⁴³Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.1.

⁴⁴Favro 1996, 204.

⁴⁵Hänlein-Schäfer (1985, 113-28) and La Rocca (1992a, 75-7) outline the relevant evidence.

⁴⁶Even more Augustan monuments, such as the Theater of Marcellus and the Campus Martius funerary complex, would have been visible from other parts of the *area Capitolina*.

Jupiter Optimus Maximus Again: Trajan's *Extispicium*

In some ways, the presence of the *Extispicium* relief in the Forum of Trajan (figs. 25a-b) can be read as a response to the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* on the Capitoline hill. The *Ara Gentis Iuliae* drew attention away from the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The *Extispicium* relief depicts a sacrifice, in preparation for a military campaign, at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.⁴⁷ This image not only draws attention to the Capitoline temple, but also emphasizes the importance of the cult of Jupiter in the reign of Trajan, the *Optimus Princeps*.

The *Extispicium* relief was discovered close to the northeastern hemicycle of the Forum of Trajan in 1540.⁴⁸ It is not certain whether it was found in a display context. Moreover, no convincing reconstruction of its exact placement within the decorative program of the Forum of Trajan has been published. Nevertheless, the *Extispicium* relief was nearly intact upon its discovery, suggesting that it had been intentionally displayed within the Forum of Trajan.⁴⁹ Assuming that its findspot is a guide to its original location, an analysis of its metatopography may be attempted.

The northern portions of the Forum of Trajan offered a clear sightline to the Capitoline temple, although that temple's facade was generally oriented towards the Circus Maximus, not the imperial fora (figs. 14-5, 26a). This representation of the Capitoline temple not so subtly associates Trajan, *Optimus Princeps*, with Jupiter. Trajan

⁴⁷For the Trajanic date of the relief and the significance of the background architecture for the iconography of the sacrifice scene, see chapter 4.

⁴⁸Wace 1907, 229-32.

⁴⁹At least two large pieces of the relief have been lost since its discovery in 1540. If the relief had been destined for limekilns, it would have been broken into much smaller pieces. To my knowledge, there is no evidence that the Forum of Trajan was used to stockpile spoliated sculptures; the Forum seems to have been maintained until the second half of the ninth century, when housing began to encroach upon it. See Meneghini's (2000, 84-8) account of the medieval fortunes of the forum.

stands before the central cella door, hiding the cult statue of Jupiter from view; Jupiter sits directly above him in the pediment as well (figs. 25a-b). The replication of the Temple of Jupiter as part of the decorative scheme of the Forum of Trajan thus directly includes Jupiter within the forum as part of Trajan's celebration of victory. The viewer who looked up at the Capitoline hill from the north colonnade of the forum would simultaneously see the over-life-sized equestrian statue of Trajan inside the forum and the Capitoline temple, repeating the juxtaposition of the emperor and the god seen on this relief (fig. 26b).⁵⁰ Here, metatopography brings Jupiter into Trajan's forum and projects Trajan onto Jupiter's temple.

The Quirinal

Trajan, however, was not the first emperor to attempt an association with a particular deity using temple representations. It is hardly coincidental that one of the few relief sculptures from the Quirinal hill features an image of that hill's eponymous temple (fig. 19). The identification of the temple on the relief fragment as that of Quirinus and the assignment of this relief to the decoration of the Domitianic *Templum Gentis Flaviae* have already been discussed.⁵¹ All three—relief findspot, Temple of Quirinus, and *Templum Gentis Flaviae*—were certainly located on the Quirinal hill, although the exact locations of each are still a matter of debate (fig. 20).⁵² So little survives of the *Templum Gentis*

⁵⁰For the recent excavation of the base of Trajan's equestrian statue, see Rizzo (2000, 73-4, fig. 62).

⁵¹See chapter 3, pp. 73-9.

⁵² The various proposals for the location of the Temple of Quirinus and the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* are summarized on figure 20.

-For the location of the Temple of Quirinus: Pickett (1930, 30-43); Santangelo (1941, 132-5); Manca di Mores (1982-3, 326-7, 338-47); Carafa (1993); *LTUR* 4: 183, 186 s.v. Quirinalis collis and Quirinus, aedes (F. Coarelli).

-For the location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*: Coarelli (1984, 146-55); Torelli (1987, 568-9); Candilio (1990-1, 177-183; 1995, 193-202); Paris (1994, 21-5); De Vos and De Vos (1997, 57-98); *LTUR* 2: 102-3

Flaviae and its decorative program that any reconstruction of the reliefs and their placement within that complex is hypothetical at best. As a result, this example of metatopography must be analyzed in the absence of a confirmed sightline from the relief to the monument represented upon it.

Because very few relief sculptures come from the Quirinal hill, the metatopography of the fragment depicting the Temple of Quirinus is immediately noticeable. Until the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* was built, the Temple of Quirinus was the most prominent monument on the Quirinal hill. The topographic proximity of the relief and the building it represented was first noted by Hartwig in his initial publication of the relief fragment.⁵³ The most recent discussion of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, by Davies, focuses on the complex's funerary function.⁵⁴ Davies remarks upon Domitian's attempts to suggest his own *apotheosis* through iconographic parallels with both Augustus and Romulus, especially those emphasized by the representation of the Temple of Quirinus.⁵⁵

The iconographic association between Domitian and Romulus fostered by this relief fragment, however, is only one of the ways in which this image carries meaning. The proximate siting of the two monuments certainly has relevance in explaining the presence

s.v. Domus: T. Flavius Sabinus (M. Torelli); *LTUR* 2: 368-9 s.v. Gens Flavia, templum (F. Coarelli); *LTUR* 3: 82-3 s.v. Horti Sallustiani: ninfeo o terme (M. de Vos).

-For the location of this relief within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* complex: Koepfel (1980, 19) suggested an arch or precinct wall; Torelli (1987, 569) preferred an arch; the reconstruction proposed by Paris (1994, 75-83) features an *Ara Pacis*-like precinct; *LTUR* 2: 368 s.v. Gens Flavia, templum (F. Coarelli) favors an arch.

⁵³Hartwig (1904, 37). The nearness of relief to temple has been repeatedly remarked upon, but not closely analyzed.

⁵⁴Davies' discussion (2000, 148-58) primarily summarizes Paris (1994).

⁵⁵Davies (2000, 149): "Inevitably, his architectural policy and program of moral renewal must have cast Domitian as a new city founder, a second Augustus, a third Romulus, and it is in this image, as refounder of Rome, that he appears to have presented himself to the public in his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*."

of an image of the Temple of Quirinus in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. But Flavian associations with Romulus/Quirinus had much deeper roots than Domitian's desire for deification. As discussed in chapter 3, the representation of the Temple of Quirinus alludes to the foundations of Rome, to the first emperor, Augustus, and, most importantly, to the location of the Flavian family house. To create the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Domitian transformed his birthplace, the family estate on the Quirinal, into a sanctuary-mausoleum complex. Hence, the Domitianic relief follows the model of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* by depicting a temple that gives a visual topographic clue to the location of the family home. The Temple of Quirinus exists, therefore, as a multivalent symbol in the decoration of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

Metatopography on the Via Triumphalis

Although the relief fragment depicting the Temple of Quirinus may indeed have been positioned to create a sightline, it is equally possible that it was not. This ambiguity, however, suggests the potential of finding metatopography in other cases where no direct sightline connected representation and original, where the visual relationship between the two was not immediate, but mediated through memory. The Quirinal example (fig. 20) also gives clues of promising places to seek such cross-references: within a district (i.e., the Quirinal hill) or along a road (i.e., the Alta Semita).⁵⁶

The Via Triumphalis was arguably the most important route through the heart of Rome. It was marked out by a prominent series of triumphal arches (fig. 103).⁵⁷ Two of

⁵⁶I am here using Lynch's categories of paths and districts to explore metatopography; previously, I was considering metatopography in terms of landmarks. See Lynch (1960).

⁵⁷MacDonald's (1986, 74-110) ideas about the relationship between arches and streets have been essential to the development of my argument. Note entries for the relevant arches in De Maria (1988). For the triumph, see Holliday (1980; 1997); Künzl (1988); Coarelli (1988); Favro (1994; 1999).

the arches still standing, the Arch of Titus and the Arch of Constantine, both bear depictions of additional arches. Those depicted on the Arch of Constantine are known to have been located elsewhere on the Via Triumphalis (figs. 57a, 60a, 100-2). The figural scene passing through the arch represented on the Arch of Titus indicates that it also depicts another location along that route (figs. 18a-b).⁵⁸ In fact, after temples, arches are the most commonly represented architectural type. It stands to reason that other reliefs along the Via Triumphalis might have depicted arches as well.⁵⁹

Depicting an arch upon an arch, not just once but on a series of triumphal arches, each spanning the Via Triumphalis and each referring to other arches on the same route, creates a concatenation of self-referential architectural representation that seems best subsumed under the heading of metatopography. The arches depicted on the Arch of Constantine include strong allusions to the point at which the Via Triumphalis crossed the Republican pomerium. For example, the quadrifrons arch of Domitian with its elephant quadriga is represented three times on its north facade, once along with the Temple of Fortuna Redux (figs. 57a, 60a, 102).⁶⁰ The representations of processions passing through arches on the small frieze of the Arch of Constantine and on the spoils

⁵⁸The arch on the spoils panel of the Arch of Titus (figs. 18a-b) represents two four-horse quadrigae, a single horseman, and a female figure on foot; in the spandrel is a victory holding a wreath and a palm. According to Pfanner (1983), the figures crowning the arch must be Vespasian and Titus (each in a triumphal quadriga), accompanied by Domitian on horseback, and led by Minerva. Therefore the arch in the spoils panel must have been erected for the victory over the Jews. Pfanner suggests the Arch of Titus known to have stood in the Circus Maximus (Pfanner 1983, 50-1, 71-2, pl. 56.1-5). De Maria (1988, 286) prefers to leave the location of the represented arch unknown.

⁵⁹For example, a fragmentary relief in the Palazzo Altemps (fig. 80), Museo Nazionale Romano (B 13618), possibly of Severan date, depicts a *ferculum* being carried through an undecorated single-bay arch (Koeppel 1986, 15-6, 85-6). The multiple surviving relief representations of Fortuna Redux (see chapter 2, pp. 31-2 n. 49) may also have been grouped in a similar manner.

⁶⁰Whether or not one accepts Coarelli's (1968; 1988) contested thesis claiming that the Arch of Domitian was the Porta Triumphalis, it is clear that the two monuments stood close to each other and to the Temple of Fortuna Redux, and that the Arch of Domitian is frequently (but not always) linked with representations of triumph.

relief of the Arch of Titus emphasize the performative nature of this metatopography, repeated by each observer passing through these arches. Moreover, the small *adlocutio* relief on the Arch of Constantine (fig. 101) alludes to places farther along the traditional route of the triumph: the Forum Romanum and the Arch of Septimius Severus, through which the parade would have passed on its way to the Capitoline hill. The *adlocutio* and *liberalitas* reliefs also depict events that occurred in the days following the triumph itself. The Arch of Constantine, like so many other triumphal arches, compresses space and time on a single structure.

In this idea of the representation of a series of places along a single path lies a solution to the lack of satisfactory identifications of many architectural backgrounds in triumph representations.⁶¹ Traditionally, scholars have sought to place all of their backgrounds at one of the two endpoints of the triumph: the Porta Triumphalis and the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The more flexible idea of path

⁶¹For triumphs in general, see Künzl (1988). The images of triumph with architectural backgrounds that I have identified include the following:

- Fig. 6, the sacrifice scene paired with a triumphal procession on the Boscoreale cup, (Ionic tetrastyle with eagle in pediment; the temple either has a high podium or is raised on a hill); see recently Kuttner (1995, 127-31).
- Figs. 18a-b, the spoils relief of the Arch of Titus in Rome (single-bay arch with two quadrigae on the attic); see De Maria (1988, 286).
- Figs. 32a-b, the small triumph relief on the Arch of Trajan in Benevento (Ionic distyle temple placed at relief corner). See Muscettola (1992).
- Fig. 62, the triumph panel of Marcus Aurelius (Corinthian tetrastyle juxtaposed with single-bay arch, sometimes identified as Fortuna Redux or the Porta Triumphalis, identifications which cannot be supported by architectural details, sculptural iconography, juxtaposition, or scene type). See La Rocca (1986, 39-40); *LTUR* 2: 275-6, 448 fig. 107 s.v. Fortuna Redux, Templum (F. Coarelli).
- Fig. 80, Fragmentary relief in the Palazzo Altemps, Museo Nazionale Romano (B 13618), possibly of Severan date, depicting a *ferculum* being carried through an undecorated single-bay arch. Koeppel (1986, 15-6, 85-6).
- Fig. 102, small relief frieze on the Arch of Constantine: the ends of the triumph procession panel are framed by arches. That on the northeast corner of the arch has, on one face, the heads of two elephants, and thus can be identified with the quadrifrons of Domitian. These elephants, however, are difficult to spot even in detail photographs. L'Orange and Von Gerkan (1939, 74, 79, pl. 18d).

metatopography suggests that many points along this significant route may have been represented as well.

The Arch of Trajan at Benevento, with its representations of multiple locations in the city of Rome, can well be read as an extreme example of metatopography. Positioned as a fulcrum between Rome and Brindisi, it stood at the juncture of the Via Appia and the new Via Traiana (figs. 27-8). It symbolized the halfway point of a road marked with arches at both ends.⁶² The two arches represented on the city face of the Arch of Trajan at Benevento evoked particular locations at Rome at the same time as they recalled the endpoints of the road that this arch connected. The Arch at Benevento summed up the journey made by its intended audience of travelers on Trajan's new road from Rome to Brindisi and back again.⁶³

Conclusions

The frequent depiction of detailed, recognizable buildings within official relief sculpture added to the network of sightlines and designed views within the urban fabric of imperial Rome. The depiction of buildings in state relief was one way in which projects of earlier emperors were reinterpreted, recontextualized, and even borrowed for new contexts. The paucity of evidence prevents a full picture of the use of metatopography by various Roman emperors, but I have discussed examples from the Julio-Claudian, Domitianic, Trajanic, Antonine, Constantinian, and late antique periods.

⁶²There was at least one arch in Brindisi, the Arch of Octavian (De Maria 1988, 236).

⁶³Tonio Hölscher has recently emphasized that this arch was specifically intended to be viewed by those who traveled between Brindisi and Rome on the newly built Via Traiana. Thus, the pairing of the emperor's travels abroad and his reception in Rome could be considered analogous to the experiences of the intended audience (who, however, probably could not expect such a lavish welcome home). Hölscher 2001, "Imperial Rome: Monuments, Rituals and World-Dominion." Paper read as lecture 5 of his Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures at the University of Michigan, "Public Monuments in Ancient Greece and Rome," 8-17 October, Ann Arbor.

Metatopography seems to have been a recurring principle of monument design and placement within the city of Rome (fig. 104). The earliest evidence for metatopography comes from the Julio-Claudian *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, with its views from the Capitoline hill to the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Temple of Magna Mater. The latest evidence, the late antique repositioning of the *Anaglypha*, demonstrates that even in an era of spoliation and abandonment, metatopography could still be meaningful. The urban contexts of both new and reused reliefs were often as carefully planned as their iconography.

Metatopography implies that the artists were aware of the careful scrutiny that their depictions of buildings would prompt. Because metatopography worked in connection with the recognition of the buildings represented in relief, sometimes it seems to have inspired additional care (as in the case of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*); other times it seems to have been an excuse for abbreviation (as in the case of the *Anaglypha*).

From the point of view of the observer, metatopography was often intuitive, whether recognized through the visual immediacy of sightlines to and from the Capitoline hill or through the reminders on successive triumphal arches of the route of the Via Triumphalis. Creating links obvious to the casual viewer, however, took careful calculation and foresight. The deeper ideological and symbolic associations I have attempted to elucidate would have been particularly accessible to Rome's elite, who may have participated in the creation and placement of some of these reliefs.⁶⁴

It is, however, clear that metatopography could be subordinated to other programmatic ideas communicated by a monument. The sheer number of architectural representations on the Arch of Constantine and the panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius

⁶⁴Also note Favro's (1999, 205-7) comments on the informed—yet limited—range of responses to spectacles that can be expected of the crowd in Rome.

suggest that not all of them were always given the same amount of careful attention from passersby. In other cases, the creation of new monuments from old disrupted sightline-based metatopography, as when the reliefs of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* were repositioned over the Via Lata as part of the *arcus novus* of Diocletian.⁶⁵ The spoliation of reliefs involved in metatopography, however, did not entirely destroy these connections. As the examples of the *Anaglypha* and the reused panels of Marcus Aurelius on the Arch of Constantine show, repositioning often created new, equally compelling topographic links.

In essence, metatopography forces a reinterpretation of the buildings depicted. The experience of metatopography had a visual immediacy in the ancient world that it lacks today due to changes in the urban landscape. Our few remaining clues to the rich semantic range of these images, however, should inspire us to look harder and more contextually at what the reliefs were intended to communicate. With their fixed viewpoints and representations of specific structures, state reliefs with architectural backgrounds privileged certain topographic associations over others. Metatopography requires the viewer to make connections, to place these reliefs within a landscape and to view them as much more than isolated pieces of iconographic representation. All this contributed significantly to the ideological messages projected by the finished monument.

⁶⁵Laubscher 1976; De Maria 1988, 312-4.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

At a basic level, architectural backgrounds simply increase the visual richness of a representation. They help organize the image and draw attention to the high status figure of the emperor (chapter 2). The recognizable architectural settings support the messages of figural scenes on reliefs, coins, and medallions. Two major thematic patterns emerge around the use of many architectural backgrounds: the reinforcement of the dynasty (chapter 3) and the placement of the emperor at specific locations, especially within the city of Rome (chapter 4). Architectural backgrounds indicate the location of an action and thereby set it firmly in space and, by implication, in reality and time as well. The meaningfulness of these representations extends to the places in which such images were observed (chapter 5). Architectural backgrounds, therefore, could simultaneously satisfy a number of expressive goals.

One striking pattern that has emerged in this study is the frequency with which certain locations are represented. The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the *aedes Vestae*, the Forum Romanum, the Temple of Fortuna Redux, the quadrifrons Arch of Domitian, and the Temple of Venus and Roma all serve as the background for multiple events. Each of these quintessentially Roman locations has its own historically resonant associations, but they all share one thing: the triumph paraded past or through each of these places.

The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, one of the oldest state cults, had multiple significant symbolic associations. Not only was it the endpoint of the triumph,

but Jupiter himself provided a model of autocratic power with which various emperors contrasted, compared, or assimilated themselves. The Forum Romanum, as the traditional political center of the city and, in the empire, as the showplace for a succession of imperial monuments, was an important locus of oratory and political action. The *aedes Vestae* stands out as the most domestically oriented of the locations represented. The Temple of Fortuna Redux, by focusing on the emperor's safe return to the city, ironically emphasized the likelihood of his absence. The Temple of Venus and Roma, the latest of the structures to be built and the last to be represented, stood for the permanence of the city and its empire, as the legend "ROMAE AETERNAE" reiterated.

Predictably, the primary buildings to be depicted in relief are elite structures such as temples and arches. Other building types occur much less frequently. Except under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, images of the imperial residence and of the temples of deified emperors are largely absent. Similarly, the imperial fora receive little attention as loci for imperial action in these reliefs, coins, and medallions. In every period, however, the individual buildings represented reflect the concerns of that time.

Other than the six places represented multiple times, a remarkable variety of temples and other buildings are shown in these images. While this diversity makes identification more of a challenge, it also reveals some of the flexibility inherent in Roman artistic thinking. Although in certain ways these representations are remarkably homogenous (in the prevalence, for example, of frontal representations of temples), the artists created a rather heterogeneous set of representations out of a common vocabulary of architectural and sculptural elements (chapter 2). With the exception of multiple specimens of a numismatic type, no two representations of a single temple are identical. The very particularity of such images perhaps functioned as an essential element of their continuing appeal to the image-makers of Rome. This could only happen in a built environment of sufficient complexity that there was indeed a choice—a wide choice—of

where and how to hold events and in which such decisions transmitted significant messages.

Similar choices were made concerning which events to commemorate in more or less permanent media. Whether or not these images document actual events, they remain valid expressions of those aspects of imperial administration and ceremony that were considered important enough to communicate in monumental or numismatic form. These images permitted events to be shared with a wide audience for a long time. Gradually, the distinctions between events that actually occurred and those that did not would have blurred. As in the case of the architectural images themselves, the issue of fidelity to reality should be secondary to the exploration of the imperial concerns to which these reliefs, coins, and medallions responded.

Frank Brown opened his *Roman Architecture* (1961) with the following words: “The architecture of the Romans was, from first to last, an art of shaping space around ritual.”¹ These images with architectural backgrounds powerfully convey an impression of the architectural spaces of ancient Rome *in use*. They urge topographers and architectural historians to consider the experience of these places, the ways in which they functioned, and the ways that ritual shaped space and space shaped ritual in return.

These reliefs, medallions, and coins provided sustained opportunities for past events to find new audiences. They also reinforced memories of past events (perhaps barely glimpsed), framing them in particularly desirable ways. They provided visibility to the emperor, even when he was not in Rome. The images themselves are performative, preserving the ritual action and its stage, encouraging viewers to recreate the event in their imaginations.² For the Romans, contemporary and past images would resonate with the

¹ Brown 1961, 9.

² For related issues, see *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, edited by Bergmann and Kondoleon (1999).

rituals they had experienced.³ Perhaps these images even had a normative effect upon the performance of ritual, establishing expectations by which contemporary events could be measured. The relief images in particular stood in spaces where such rituals would be re-enacted on a regular basis (for example, the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* on the Capitoline hill, or the representations of triumphal processions on triumphal arches spanning the Via Triumphalis). The most striking aspect of these images, however, is the way they emphasize the architecture of Rome. These images symbolically define Rome as a landscape of built space and imply that the proper context of Roman imperial ritual is the city itself.

³ Anderson (1998, 45), writing about the *Ara Pacis* and its over-generic 'portraits,' comments that "...the sense that a specific event portrayed in stone will also suggest all similar such events to the Roman audience must have remained and have contributed to the tradition of particular type, or genre, scenes that comes to dominate much of Imperial relief."

FIGURES



Figure 1. The temple-sacrifice panel from the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Strong 1923, pl. 7).

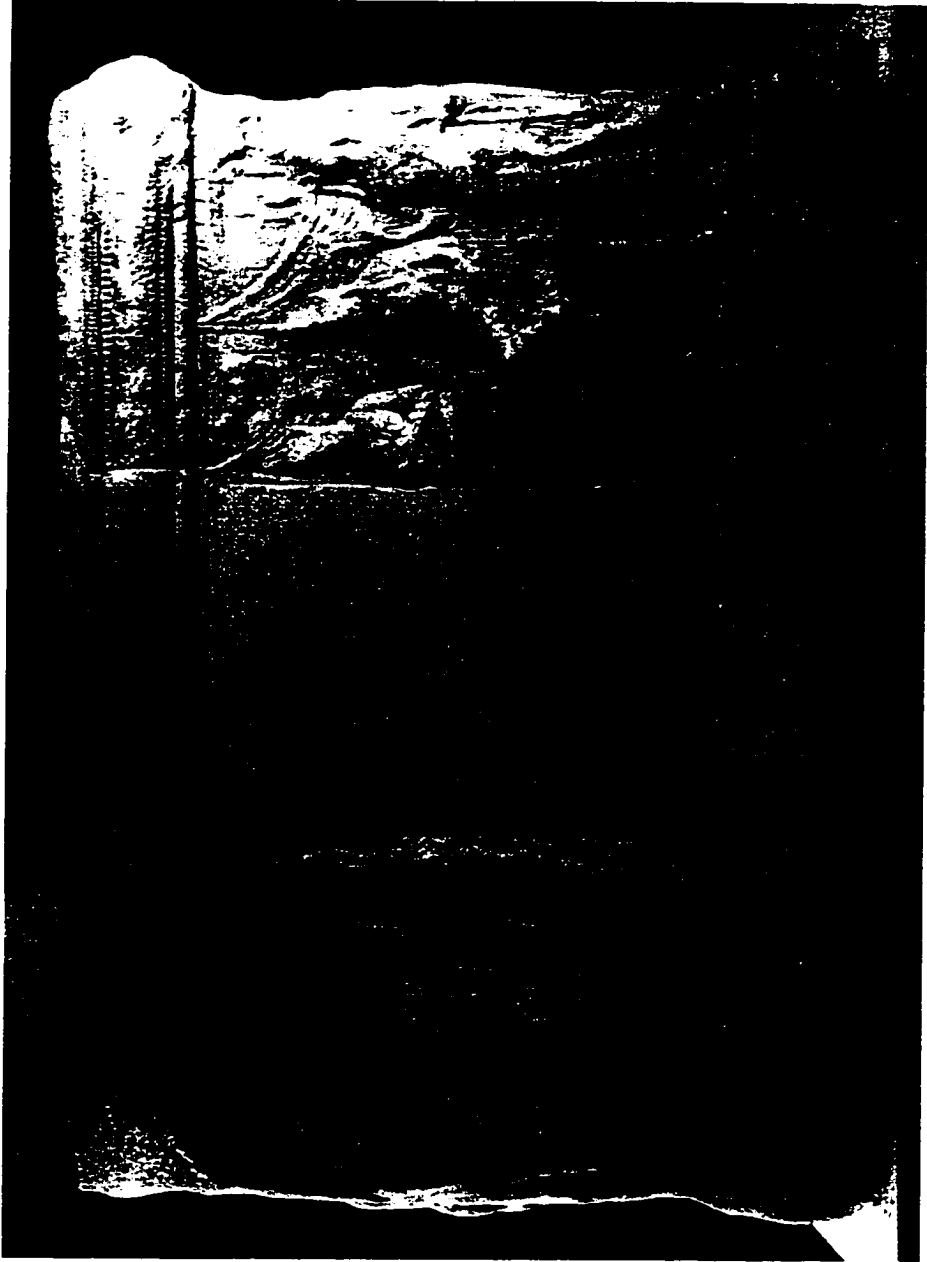


Figure 2. The Sorrento Base. Procession of Vestals towards the *aedes Vestae* (DAIR 65.1252, photo Koppermann).



Figure 3. The Sorrento Base. Mars(?) before the house of Augustus (DAIR 65.1251, photo Koppermann).

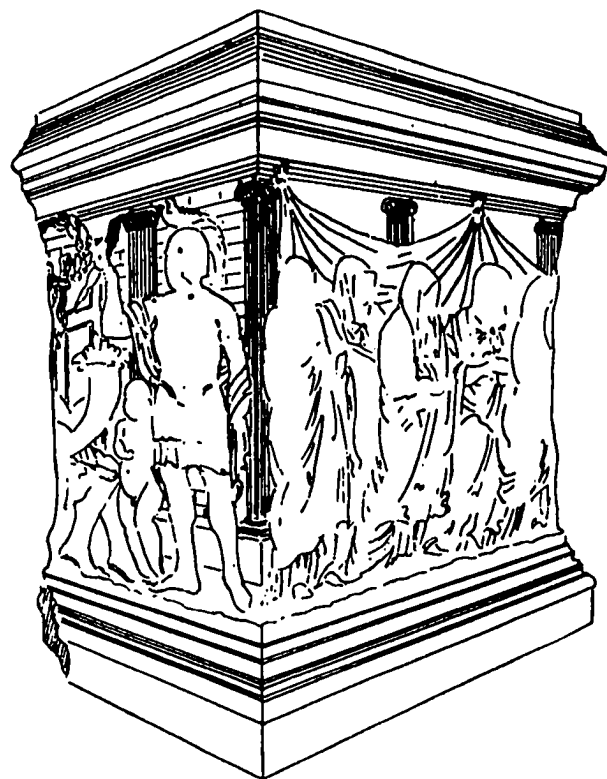


Figure 4. Corner view of the Sorrento Base, restored (Stucchi 1958, 12 fig. 2).

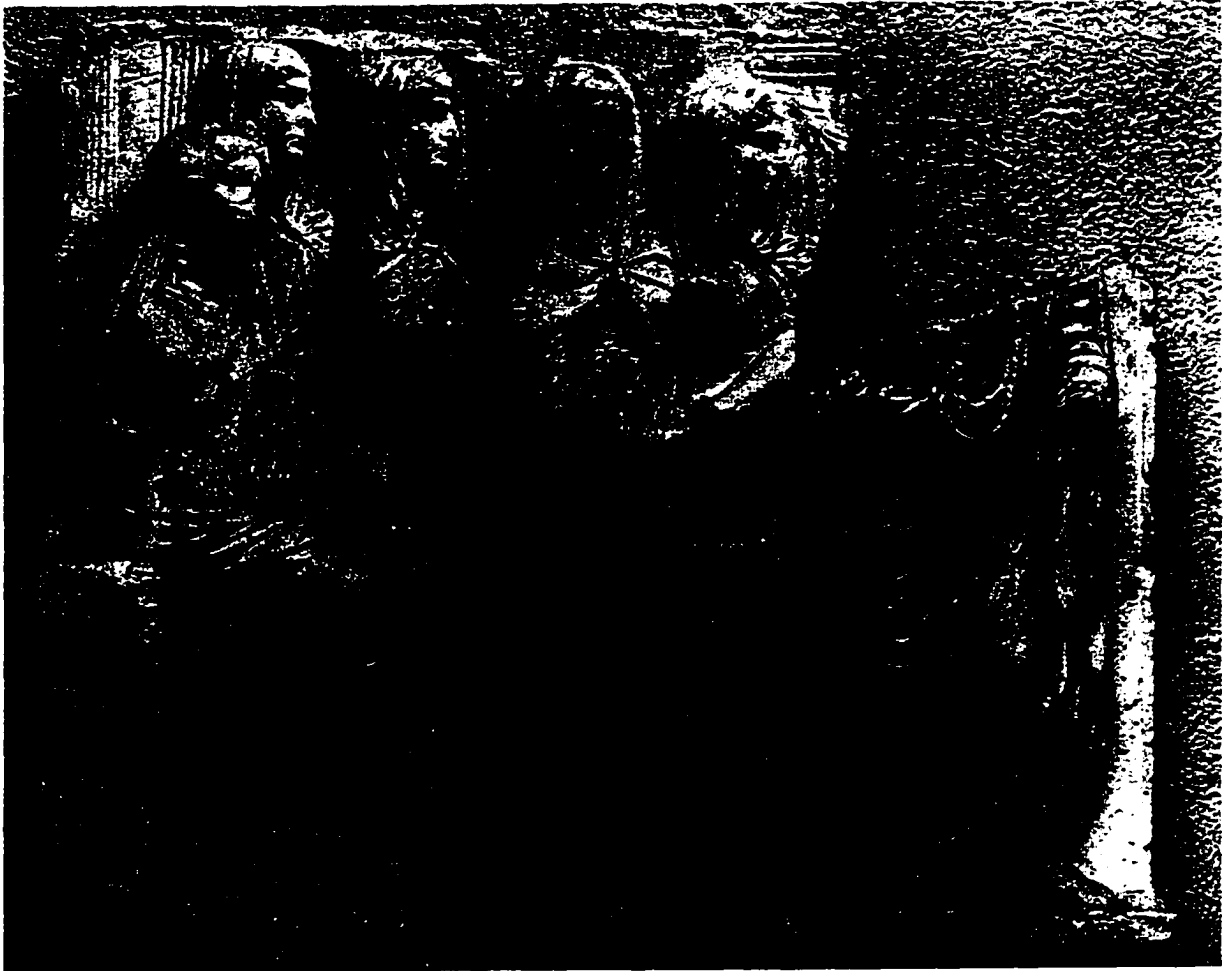


Figure 5. The Palermo Relief. The emperor sacrificing at the *aedes Vestae*. Cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome (DAIR 77.1763, photo Rossa).

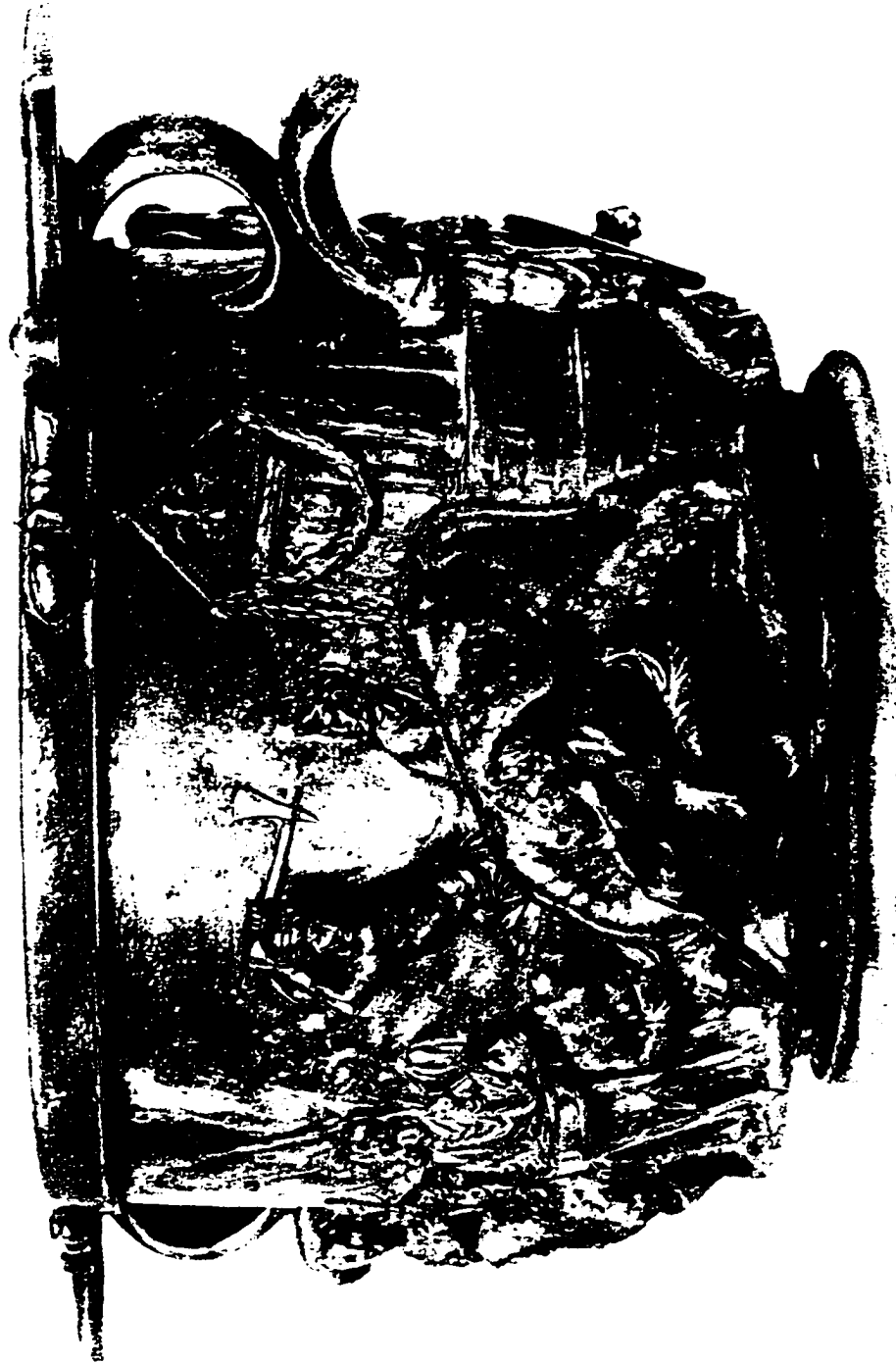


Figure 6. Silver cup from Boscoreale (the Tiberius Cup), sacrifice of a bull (Héron de Villefosse 1899, pl. 36.2).

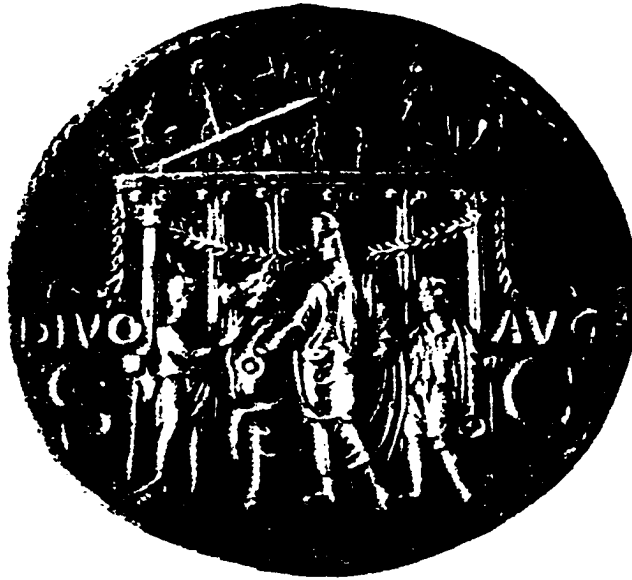


Figure 7a. *Sestertius* of Caligula. Sacrifice at the Temple of Divus Augustus (Fuchs 1969, pl. 10.112).



Figure 7b. *Sestertius* of Caligula. Sacrifice at the Temple of Divus Augustus (*BMCRE* 1: pl. 129.14).



Figure 8. Valle-Medici relief from the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*. Sacrifice at the Temple of Mars Ultor. Cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome (Fototeca Unione, Rome 4365f).

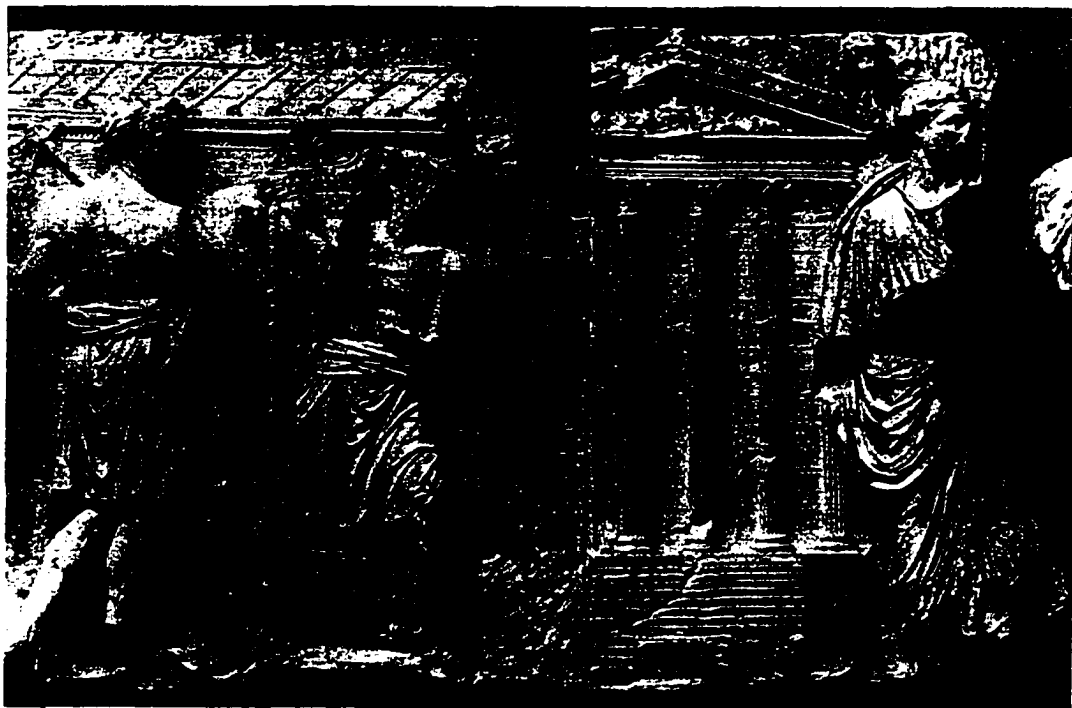


Figure 9. Valle-Medici relief from the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*. Sacrificial procession at the Temple of Magna Mater. Cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome (Fototeca Unione, Rome 4366f).

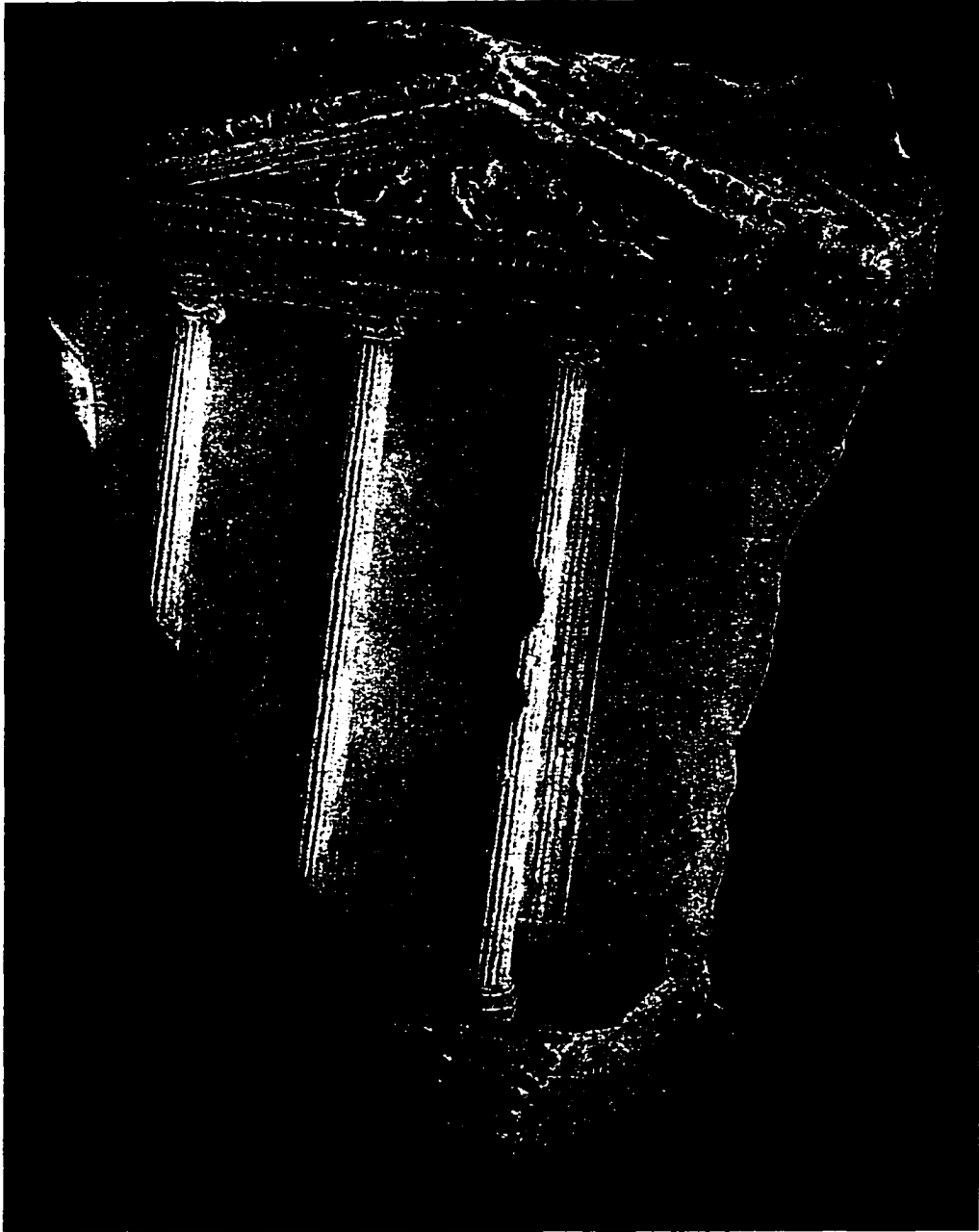


Figure 10. The Via Lata relief fragment attributed to the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (DAIR 29.266, photo Faraglia).



Figure 11. The concrete podium of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* in 1896 (DAIR 713).

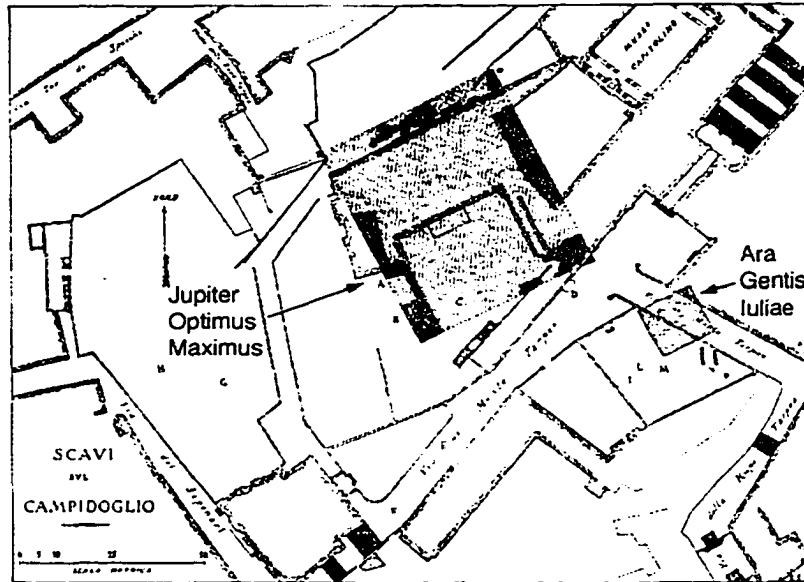


Figure 12. Plan of the Capitoline Hill, showing the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the podium of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (Paribeni 1921, 45).

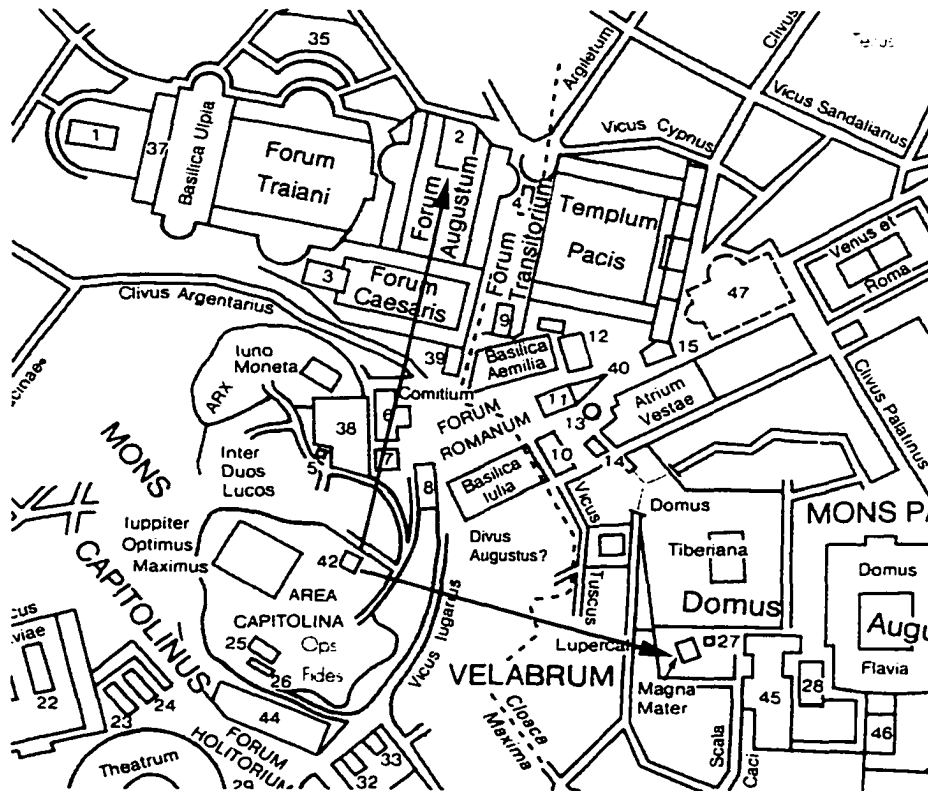


Figure 13. Map showing sightlines from the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (#42) to the Temple of Mars Ultor (#2) and to the Temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine Hill. The location of the Temple of Divus Augustus is based on Ammerman (2000). (Modified from Talbert 1985, 121 "The Centre of Rome in the Age of Caracalla").

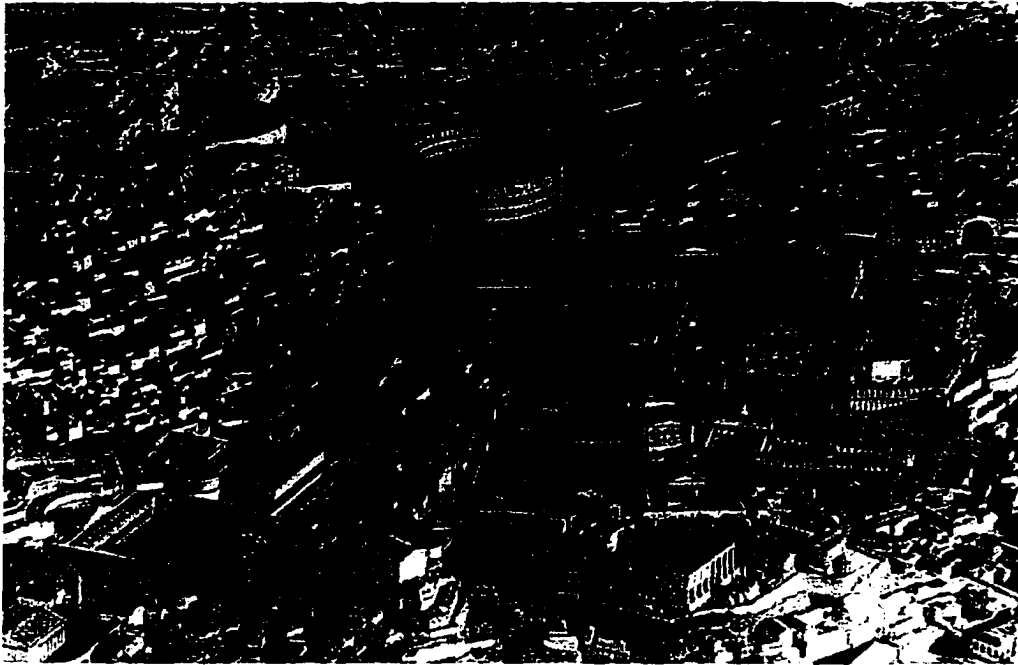


Figure 14. Model of Rome. View showing Imperial Fora, Capitoline Hill, Palatine Hill (DAIR 73.1079).



Figure 15. Model of Rome. View showing Imperial Fora, Capitoline Hill, Palatine Hill (DAIR 73.1098).



Figure 16. *Sestertius* of Domitian, sacrifice at shrine of Minerva (*BMCRE* 2: pl. 71.1).

Figure 17. The *Ludi Saeculares* coins of Domitian (*Dressel* 1899, pl. 1).

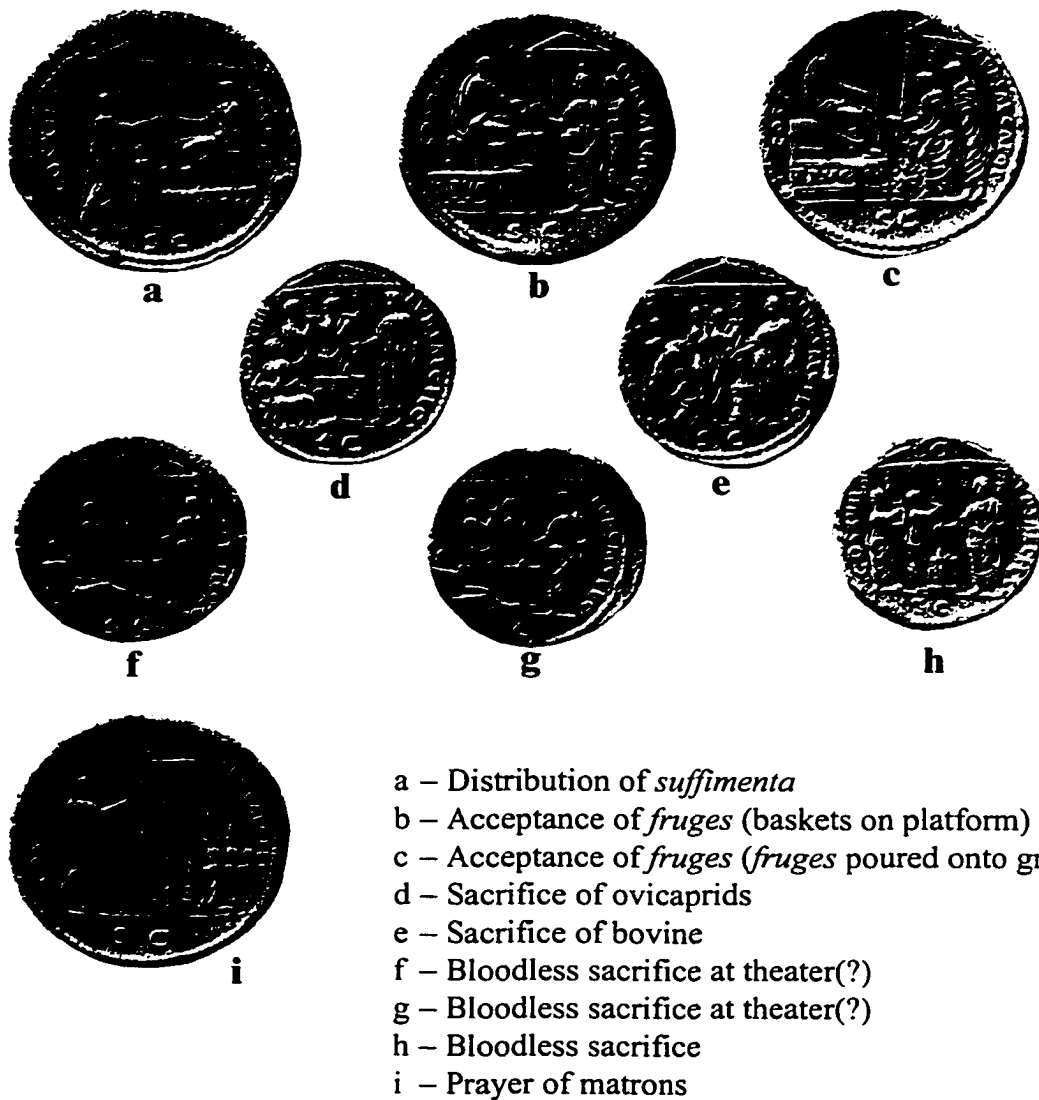




Figure 18a. Arch of Titus, spoils procession through arch (DAIR 79.2494, photo Schwanke).

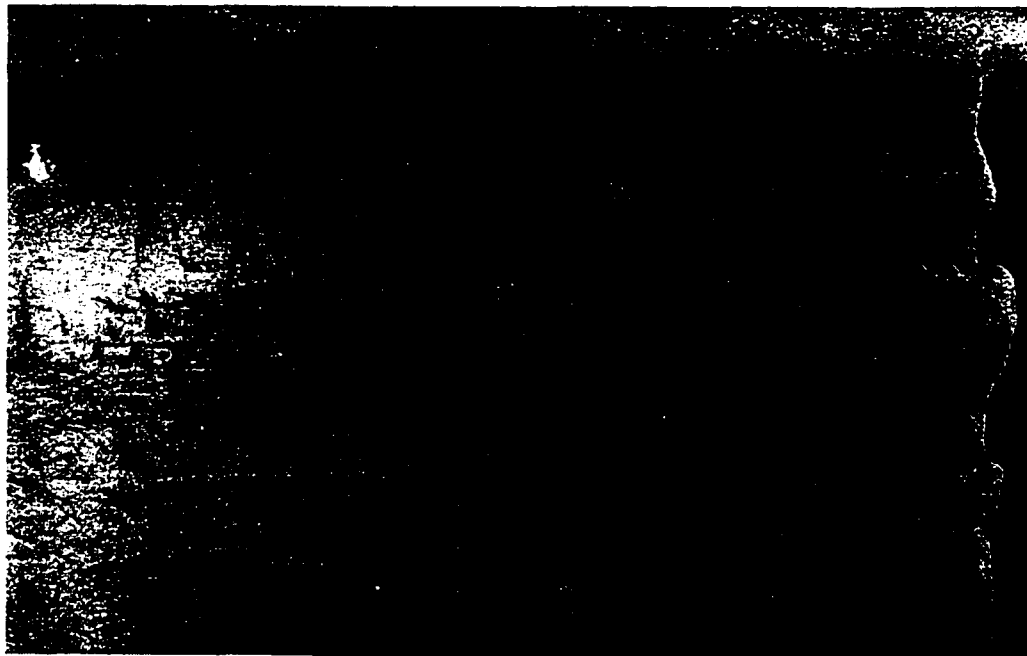


Figure 18b. Arch of Titus, spoils procession, detail of arch (DAIR 79.2601, photo Schwanke).



Figure 19. Relief fragment depicting the Temple of Quirinus, attributed to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (DAIR 6434).

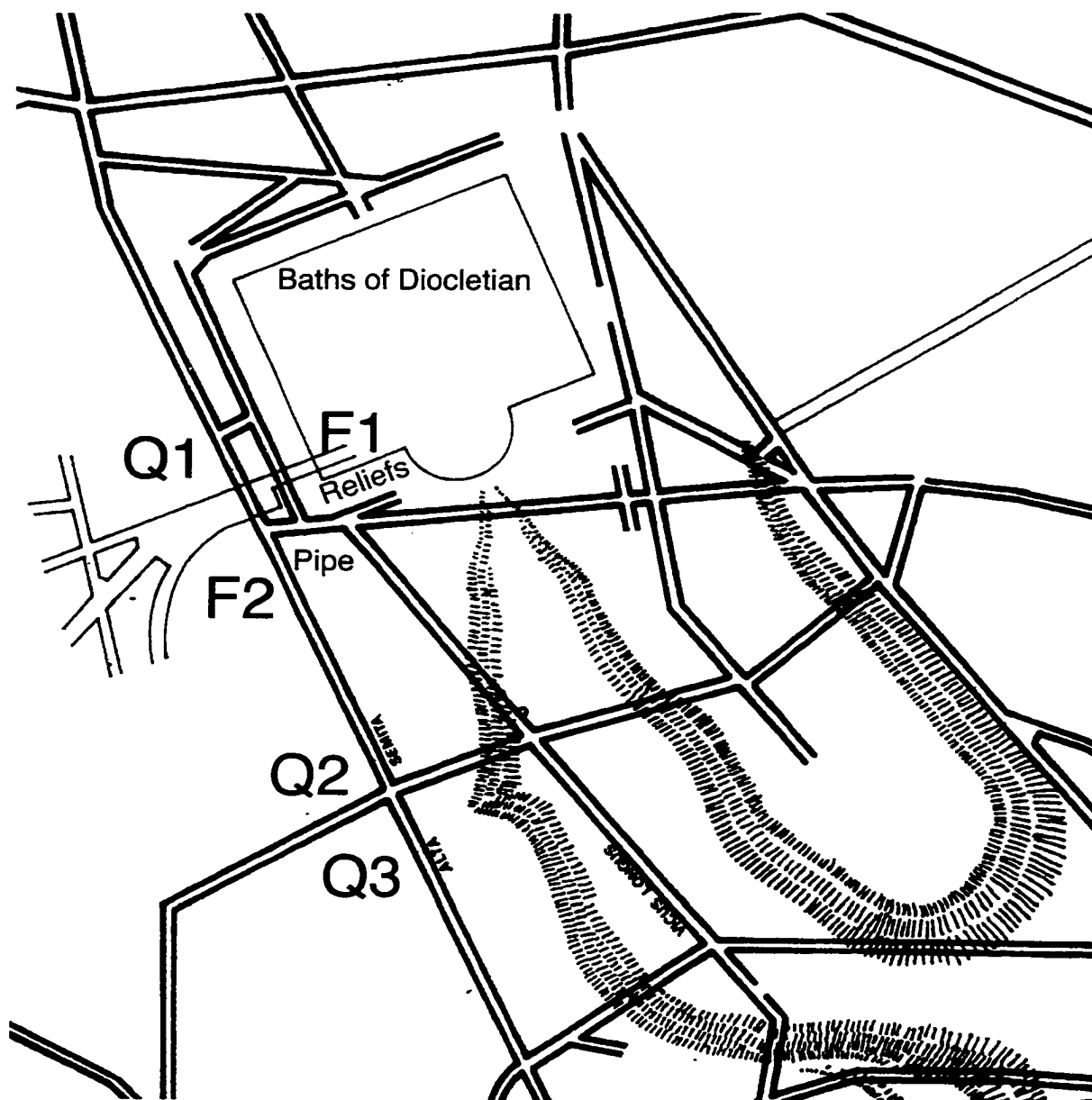


Figure 20. Map of Quirinal Hill (modified from Manca di Mores 1982-3, fig. 1). Key:

- F1 – Location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* according to Coarelli (1984, 146-55) and Torelli (1987).
- F2 – Location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* according to Candilio (1990-1; 1995).
- Q1 – Location of the Temple of Quirinus according to Manca di Mores (1982-3).
- Q2 – Location of the Temple of Quirinus according to Coarelli (*LTUR* 4:185-7 s.v. Quirinus, aedes).
- Q3 – Location of the Temple of Quirinus according to Carafa (1993).
- Reliefs – Indicates the find area of the sculptural fragments attributed to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.
- Pipe – Indicates the find area of a pipe inscribed with the name of Domitian's uncle, T. Flavius Sabinus, who owned the estate on the Quirinal where Domitian was born (*CIL* 15.7451; Gatti 1893, 418).

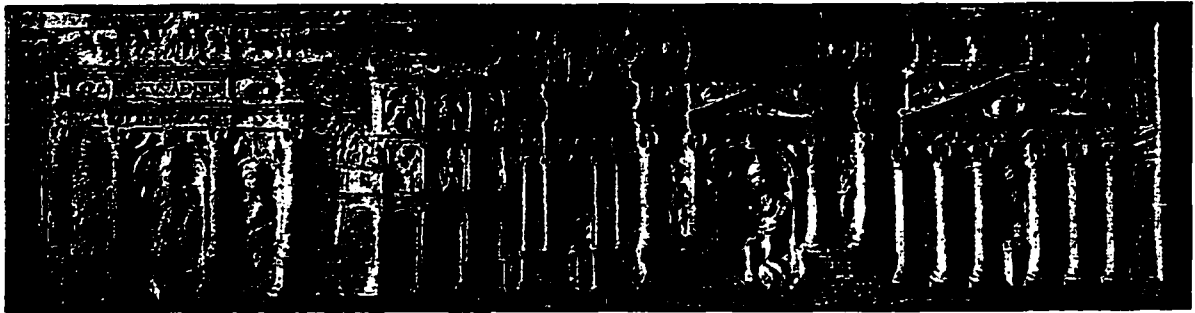


Figure 21. Tomb of the Haterii, Sacra Via relief (DAIR 81.2859, photo Schwanke).

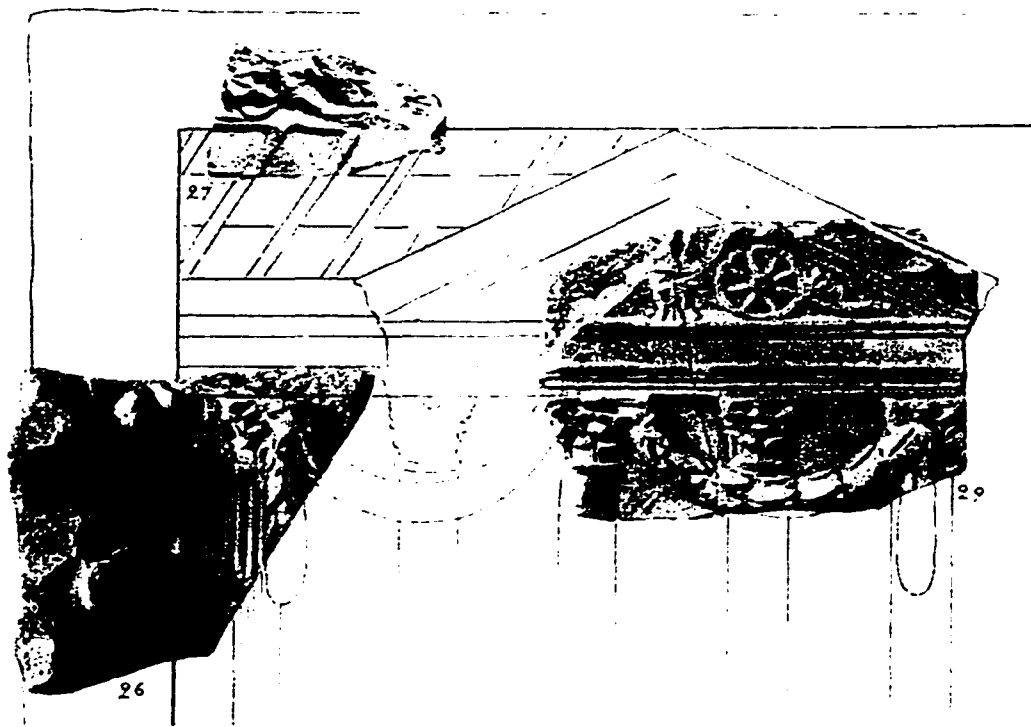


Figure 22. Representation of the Temple of Fortuna Redux from the Forum Iulium (Degrassi 1939, pl. 2).



Figure 23a. The Vatican and Terme relief fragments rejoined in a cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome (DAIR 77.1747, photo Rossa).

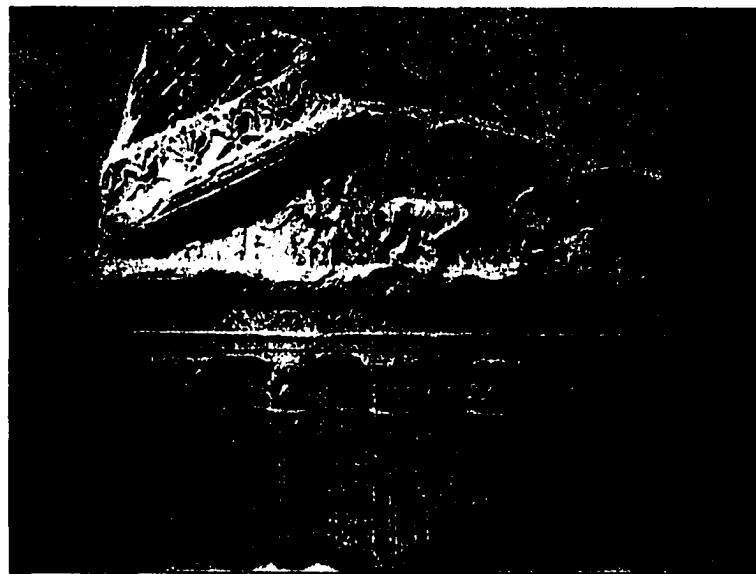


Figure 23b. Detail of the pediment (photo author).



Figure 24. *Denarius* of Trajan, restoration of a *denarius* of Marcellinus. Reverse: Marcellus dedicating the *spolia opima* at the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius (Mattingly 1926, pl. 12.16).



Figure 25a. The *Extispicium* relief. Cast, integrating drawings of portions now lost, in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome (DAIR 77.1757, photo Rossa).



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Figure 25b. Drawing of the imperial group from the *Extispicium* relief, with the architectural background partially sketched (Wace 1907, pl. 20).



Figure 27. The Arch of Trajan at Benevento, city face (photo author).

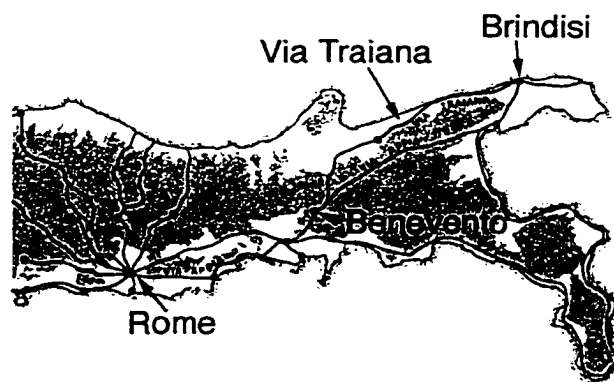


Figure 28. Map of southern Italy (modified from Potter 1987, 129).



Figure 30. The Arch of Trajan at Benevento. Trajan at the Curia? (Photo author).

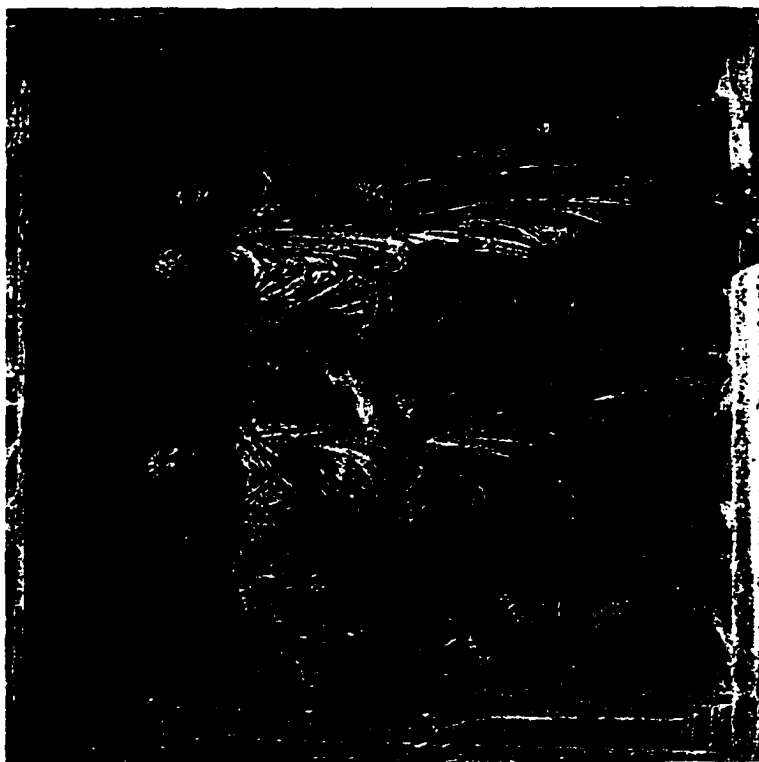


Figure 29. The Arch of Trajan at Benevento, *adventus* (photo author).



Figure 31. The Arch of Trajan at Benevento. Trajan greeted by Roma. In the background: arch, city wall, temple of Jupiter (Strong 1923, 2: pl. 38).



Figure 32a. The Arch of Trajan at Benevento, small triumph frieze. Corner with representation of an Ionic temple. Cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome (DAIR 72.2643, photo Hutzel).

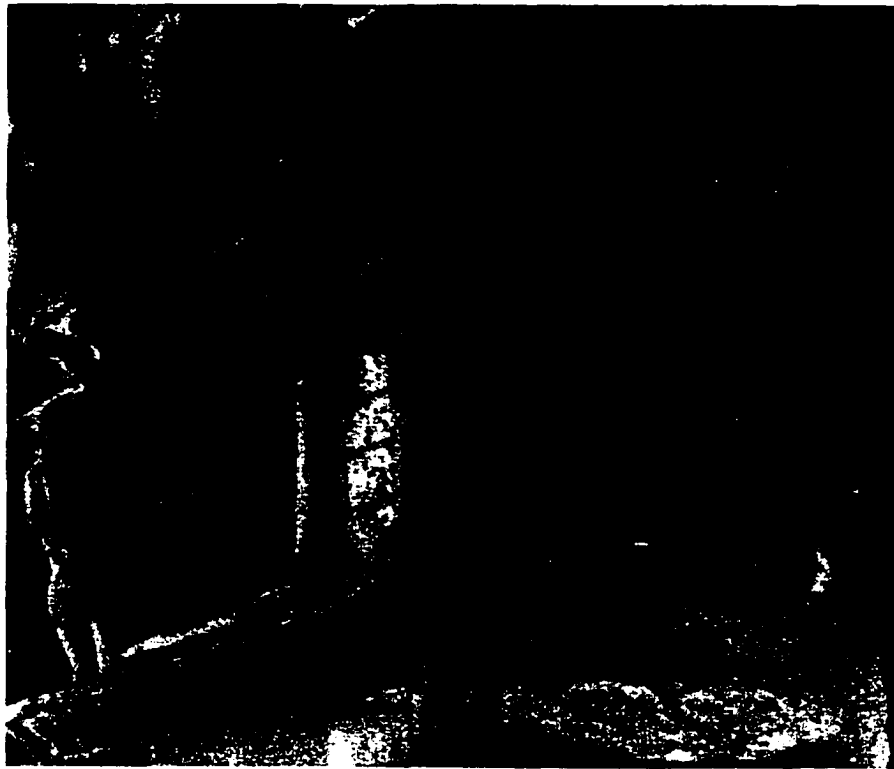


Figure 32b. The Arch of Trajan at Benevento, small triumph frieze. Corner with representation of an Ionic temple (Rotili 1972, pl. 149.9).

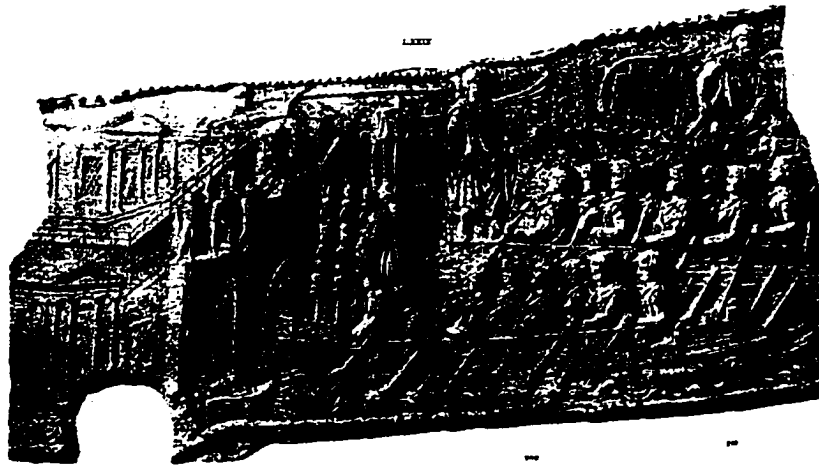


Figure 33. Column of Trajan, scene 79. Trajan departs from Ancona (Koeppel 1992, fig. 1).



Figure 34. Column of Trajan, scene 86. Trajan sacrifices at a harbor city with a theater (DAIR 89.553, photo Anger).



Figure 35. Column of Trajan, scene 98. Trajan sacrifices at the bridge over the Danube (DAIR 89.574, photo Anger).

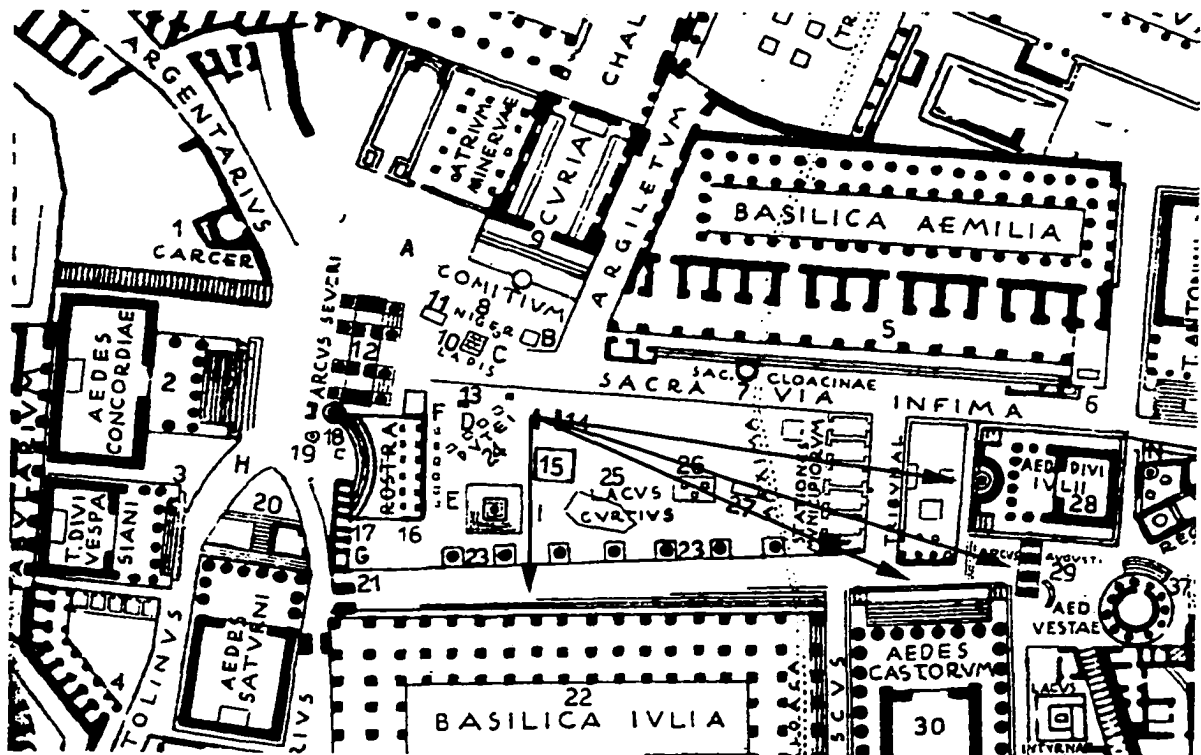


Figure 36. Map of the Forum Romanum. Arrows indicate sightlines from the *adlocutio* panel of the *Anaglypha* (on its late antique base) to the buildings depicted on that panel (modified from Lugli 1946, pl. 4).



Figure 37. *Adlocutio* panel of the *Anaglypha* (DAIR 68.2783, photo Felbermeyer).

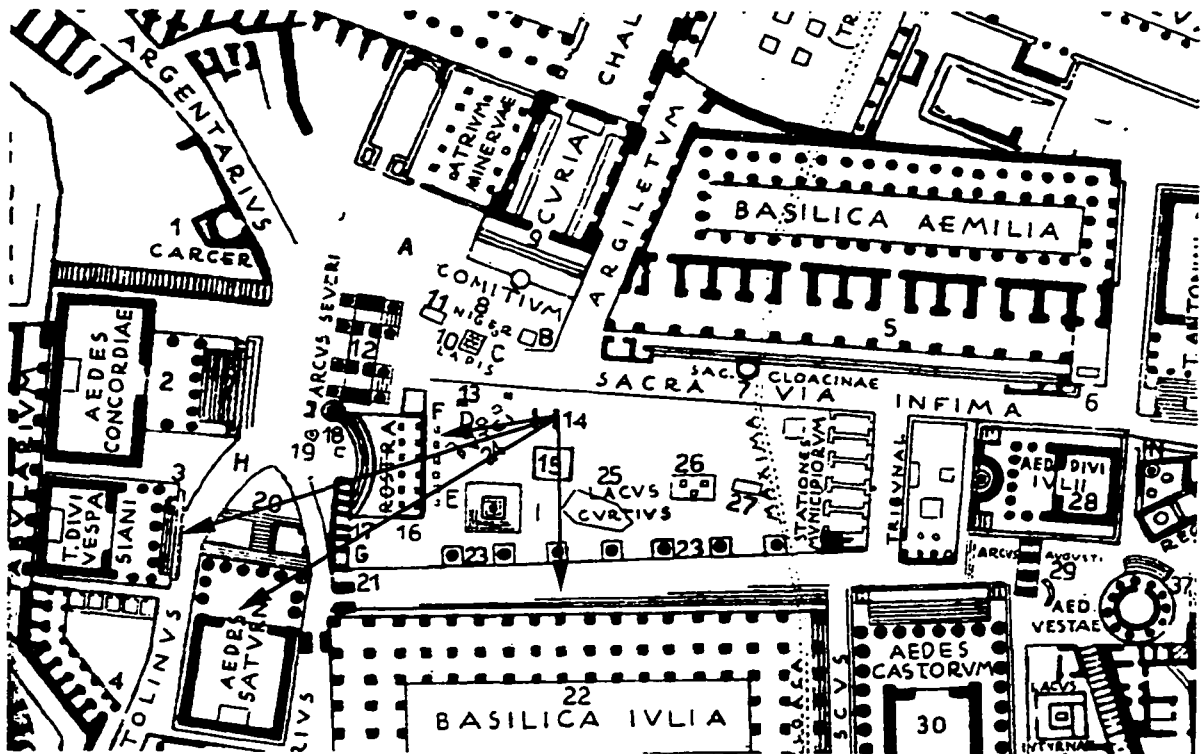


Figure 38. Map of the Forum Romanum. Arrows indicate sightlines from the record burning *Anaglypha* panel (on its late antique base) to the buildings depicted on that panel (modified from Lugli 1946, pl. 4).



Figure 39. Record burning panel of the *Anaglypha* (DAIR 68.2785, photo Felbermeyer).

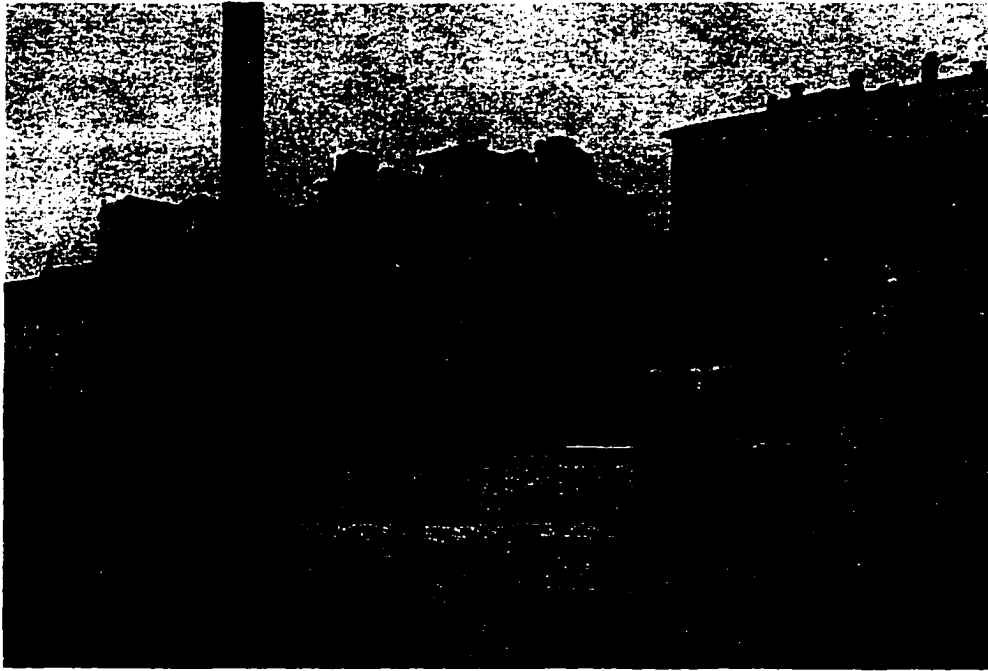


Figure 40. Photograph illustrating the simultaneous visibility of the record burning panel of the *Anaglypha* and buildings represented on it: the Temple of Saturn, the Temple of Vespasian, and the rostra (Magoffin 1927, 34).



Figure 41. The Chatsworth relief (DAIR 28.144, photo Fleming).

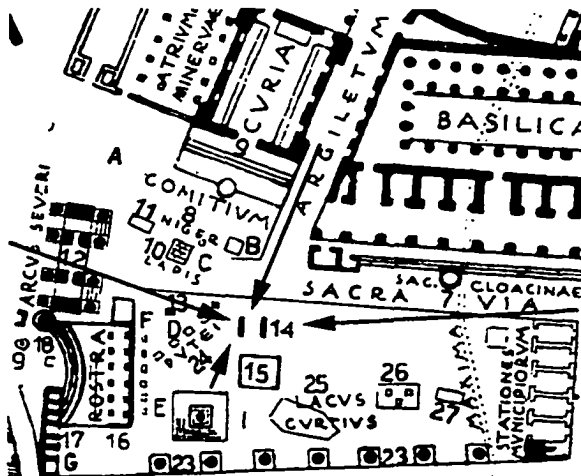


Figure 42. Significant sightlines to the late antique location of the *Anaglypha* (modified from Lugli 1946, pl. 4).



Figure 43. View through the Arch of Septimius Severus towards the Arch of Titus (in background, marked with black arrow) and the *Anaglypha* (in middle ground, marked with black arrow). (Curtius 1963, pl. 26).



Figure 44. View down the Argiletum towards the Forum Romanum and the Column of Phocas. The late antique bases of the *Anaglypha* are marked by white arrows (Nash 1968, 1: fig. 165).



Figure 45. *Sestertius* of Hadrian, *adlocutio* at the Temple of Divus Iulius. Drawings of three examples (Richter 1889, 144 figs. 6a-c).

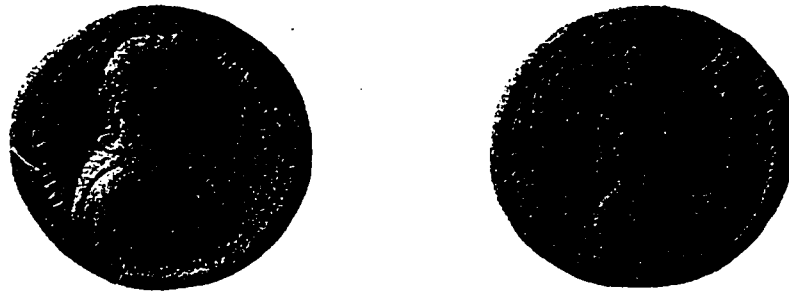


Figure 46. Medallion of Hadrian. On reverse, Silvanus approaching a temple indicated by one column and the corner of a pediment (Grueber 1874, pl. 5.1).



Figure 47. *Apotheosis* of an empress. Relief panel reused in the Arco di Portogallo (DAIR 29.283, photo Faraglia).



Figure 48. *Adlocutio* relief from the Arco di Portogallo (DAIR 54.41, photo Sansaini).



Figure 50. The Torlonia *supplicatio* relief (DAIR 60.2430, photo Felbermeyer).



Figure 49. The Conservatori *adventus* relief (DAIR 61.717, photo Koppermann).



Figure 51. Medallion of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar
(Gnecchi 1912, 2: pl. 66.6. Courtesy of the University
of Michigan Special Collections Library).

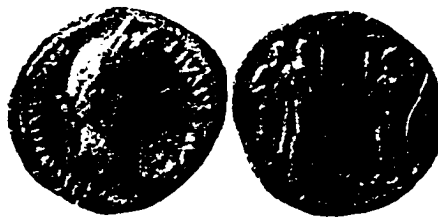


Figure 52. Medallion of Antoninus Pius.
(Strack 1931-7, 3: pl. 4, fig. 602).



Figure 53. Column Base of Antoninus Pius, south face with *apotheosis* of Antoninus Pius and Faustina (DAIR 38.1463, photo Faraglia).

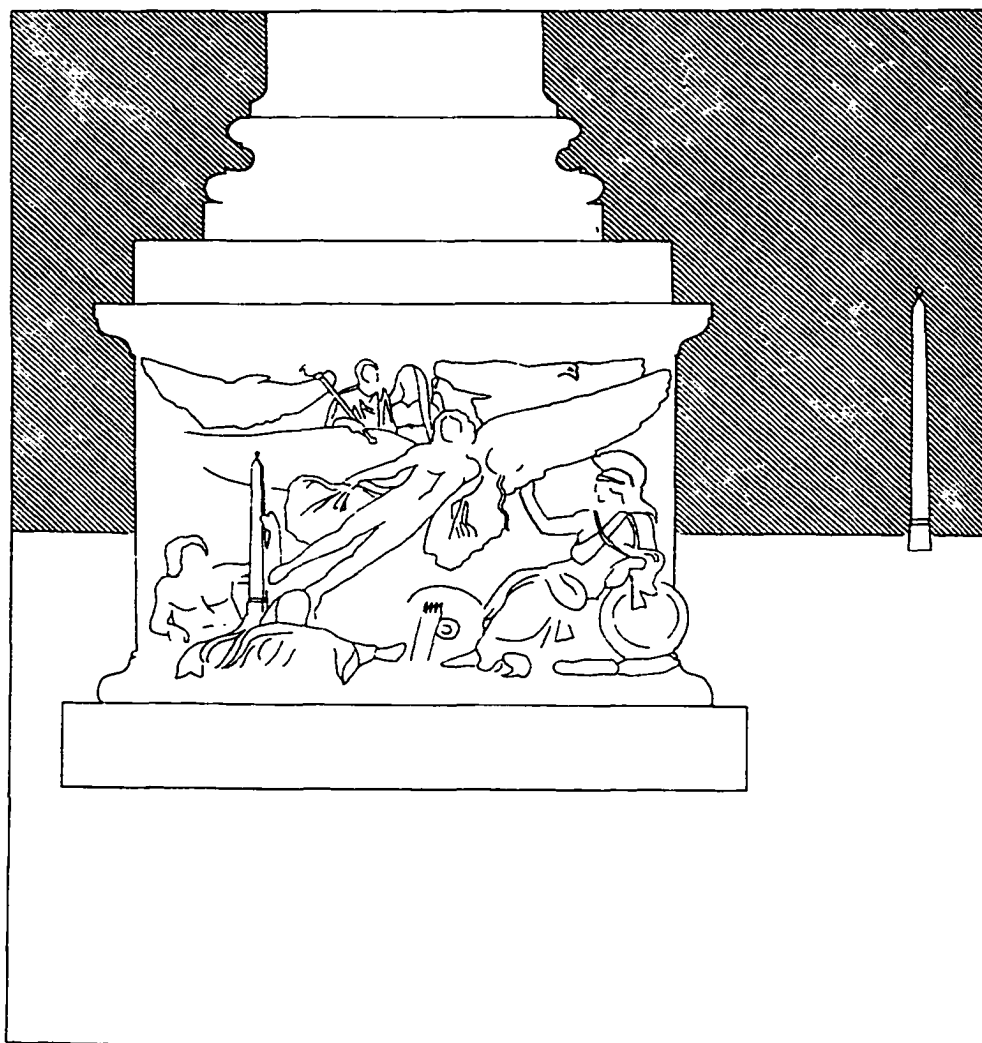


Figure 54a. Drawing showing the simultaneous visibility of the *apotheosis* relief of the Column Base of Antoninus Pius and the Obelisk of the Horologium of Augustus (Davies 2000, fig. 113, used by permission).

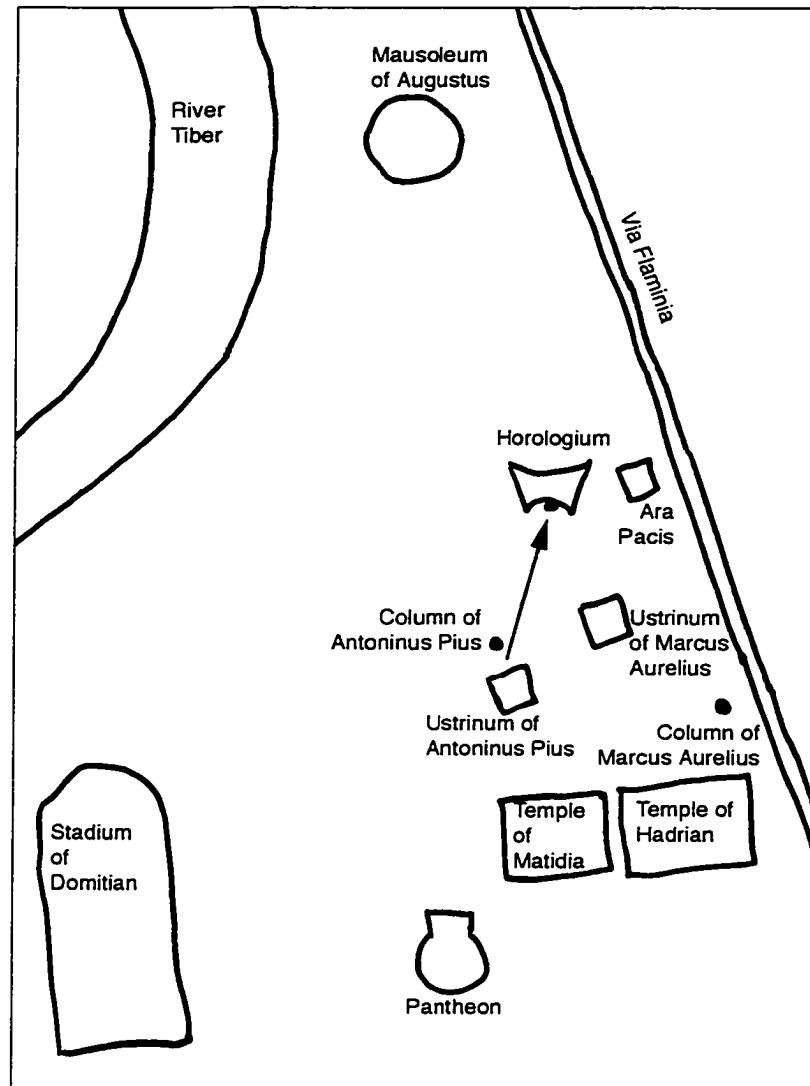


Figure 54b. Plan of the northern Campus Martius, indicating major buildings and the sightline between the Column of Antoninus Pius and the Obelisk of the Horologium of Augustus (drawing by author).

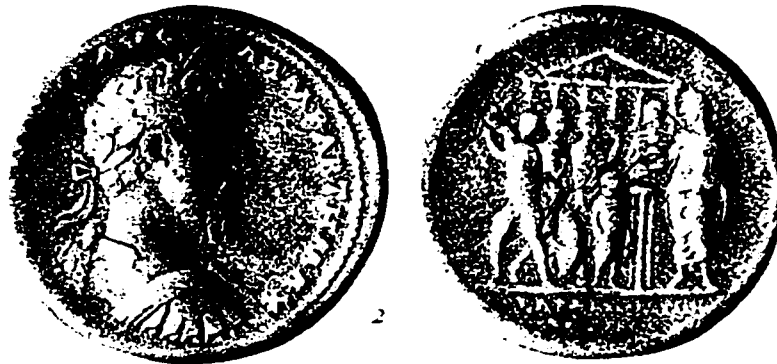


Figure 55. Temple-sacrifice medallion of Marcus Aurelius, 167-8 A.D. (Gnecchi 1912, 2: pl. 63.2. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).



Figure 56. *Adventus* medallion of Marcus Aurelius (Gnecchi 1912, 2: pl. 59.5. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).

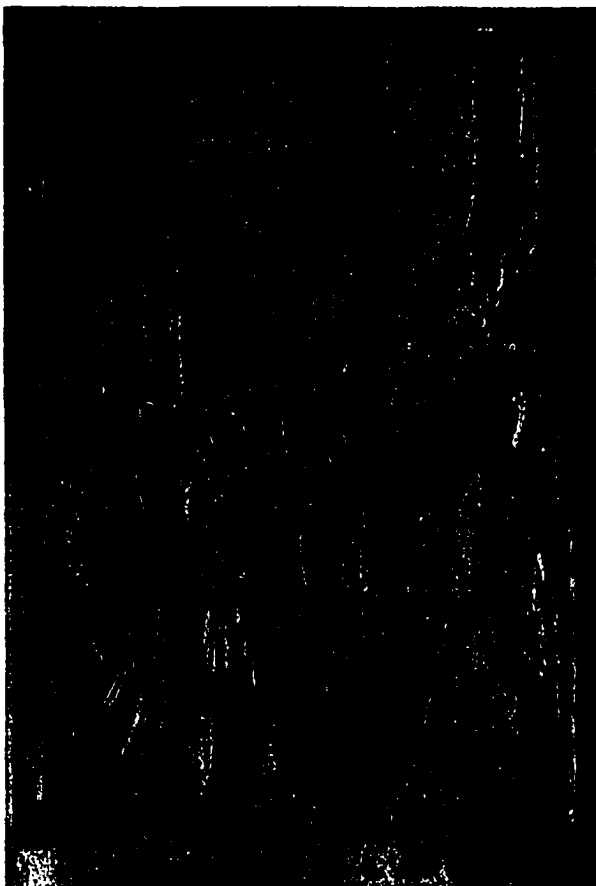


Figure 57a. *Profectio* relief panel of Marcus Aurelius, now on the Arch of Constantine (Stuart Jones 1905, pl. 24).



Figure 57b. The attic of the quadrifrons Arch of Domitian, with elephants, trophy, and prisoners. Detail of the *profectio* relief panel of Marcus Aurelius (DAIR 56.908, photo Sansaini).



Figure 58. *Rex Datus* panel of Marcus Aurelius, now on the Arch of Constantine (Fototeca Unione, Rome 4233).

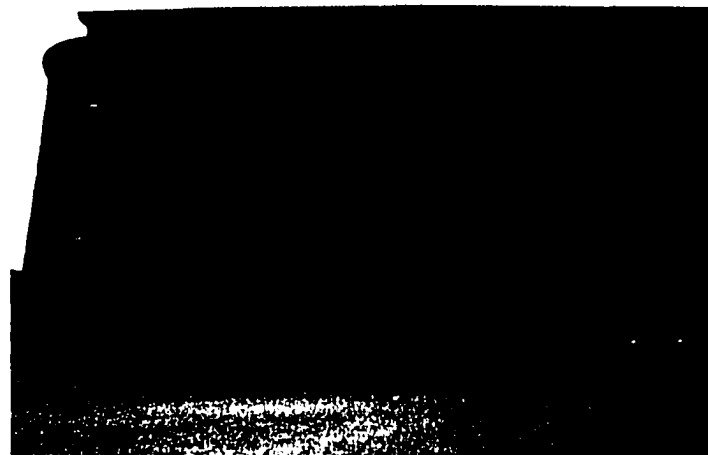


Figure 59. The Tetrarchic palace basilica at Trier (photo author).

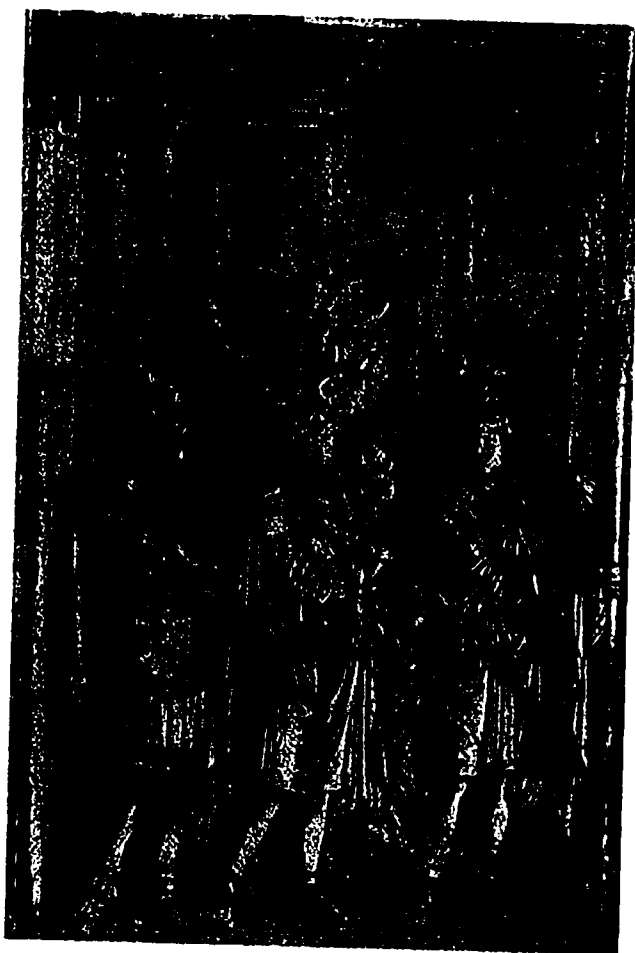


Figure 60a. *Adventus* relief panel of Marcus Aurelius, now on the Arch of Constantine (Stuart Jones 1905, pl. 24).

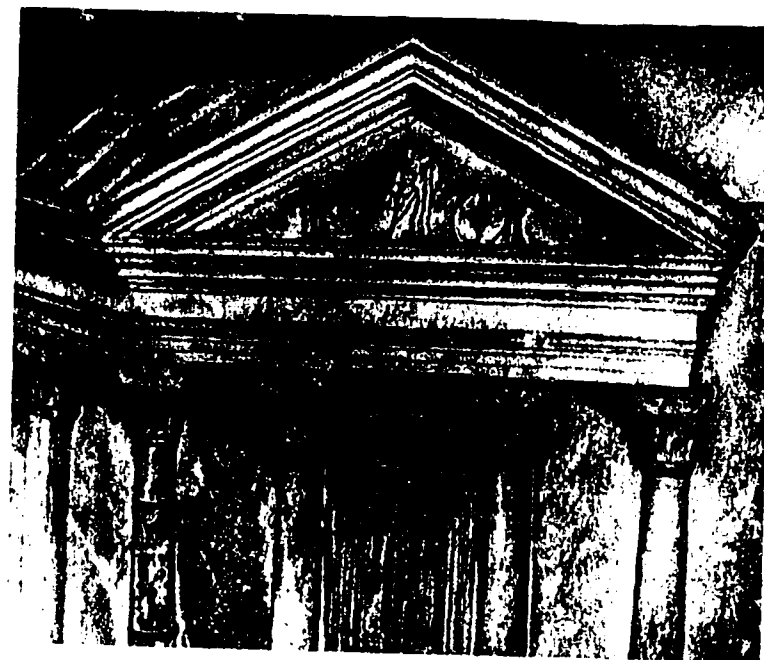


Figure 60b. Detail of the Temple of Fortuna Redux on the *adventus* relief panel of Marcus Aurelius (Fototeca Unione, Rome 27932).



Figure 61a. Relief panel of Marcus Aurelius, depicting sacrifice at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Stuart Jones 1905, pl. 26).

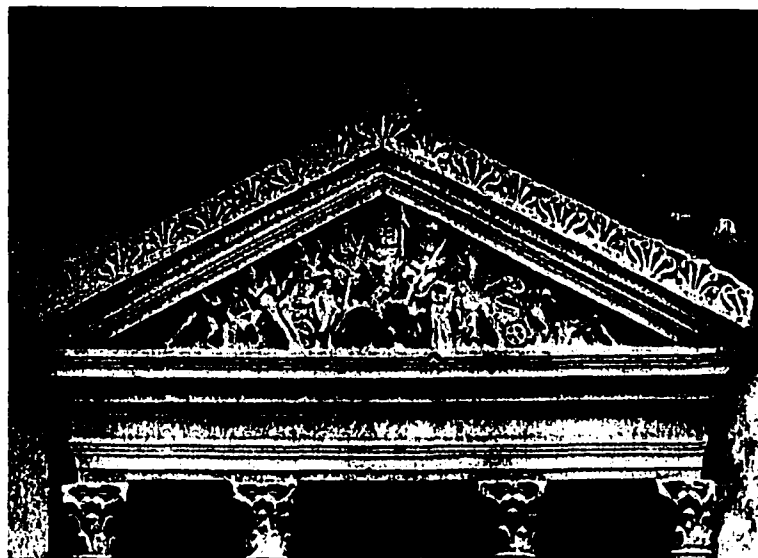


Figure 61b. Detail of the pediment of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Colini 1923, pl. 2).

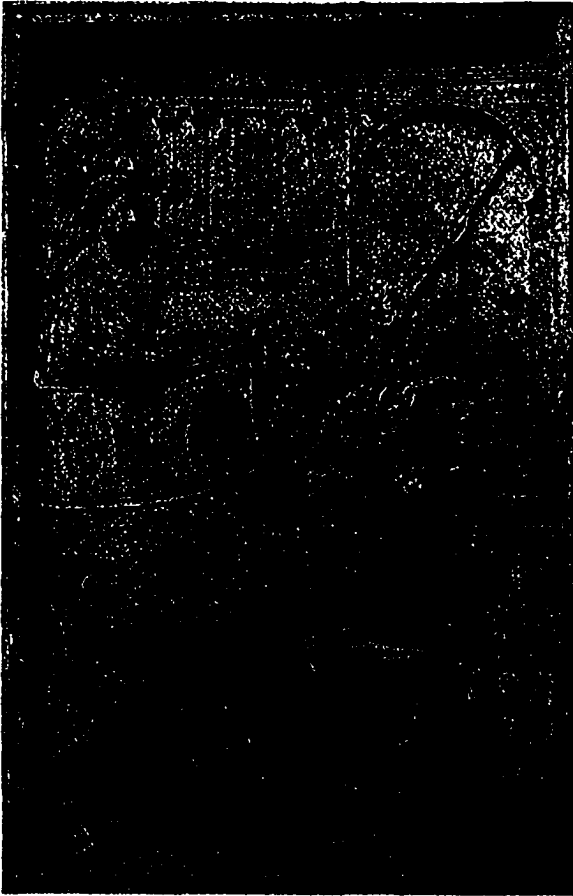


Figure 62. Triumph relief panel of Marcus Aurelius (Stuart Jones 1905, pl. 26).



Figure 63. *Liberalitas* relief panel of Marcus Aurelius, now on the Arch of Constantine (Fototeca Unione, Rome 28746).



Figure 64. Temple-sacrifice medallion of Marcus Aurelius, 178 A.D. (Gnechi 1912, 2: pl. 63.9. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).



Figure 65. Temple-sacrifice medallion of Commodus as Caesar, 178 A.D. (Gnechi 1912, 2: pl. 89.2. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).

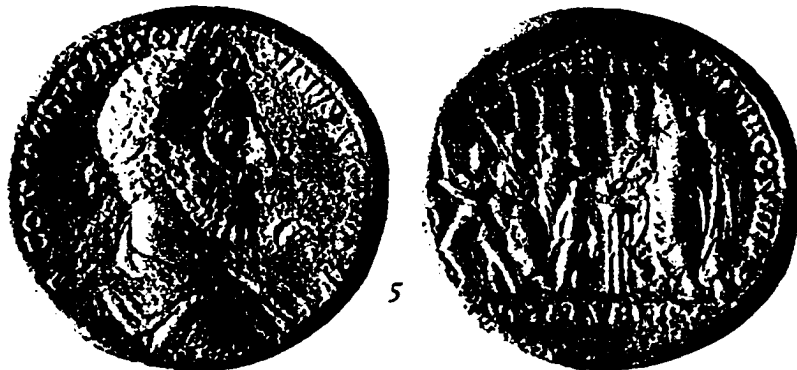


Figure 66. Temple-sacrifice medallion of Commodus, 185 A.D. (Gnechi 1912, 2: pl. 89.5. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).

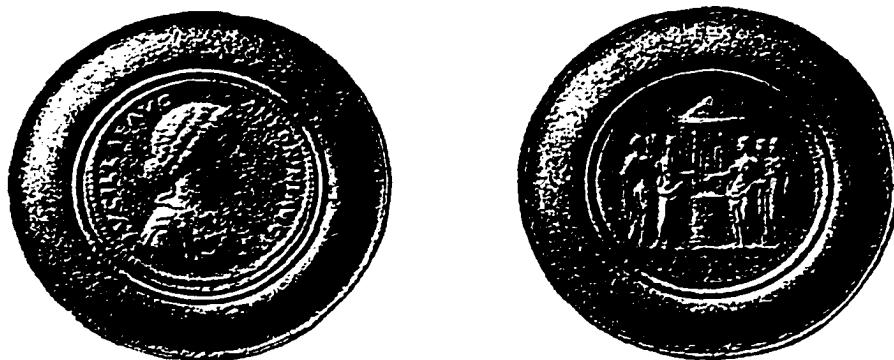


Figure 67. Medallion of Lucilla (image from auction catalog: Helbing, June 1929, no. 3879).



Figure 68. Medallion of Crispina (Gnecchi 1912, 2: pl. 91.5. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).



Figure 69. Silver medallion of Julia Domna (Regling 1939, pl. 14.7).



Figure 70. *As* of Julia Domna (image from auction catalog: Glendining, 2 April 1952, pl. 28, no. 2822).



Figure 71. The Sacchetti relief (DAIR 65.140, photo Koppermann).

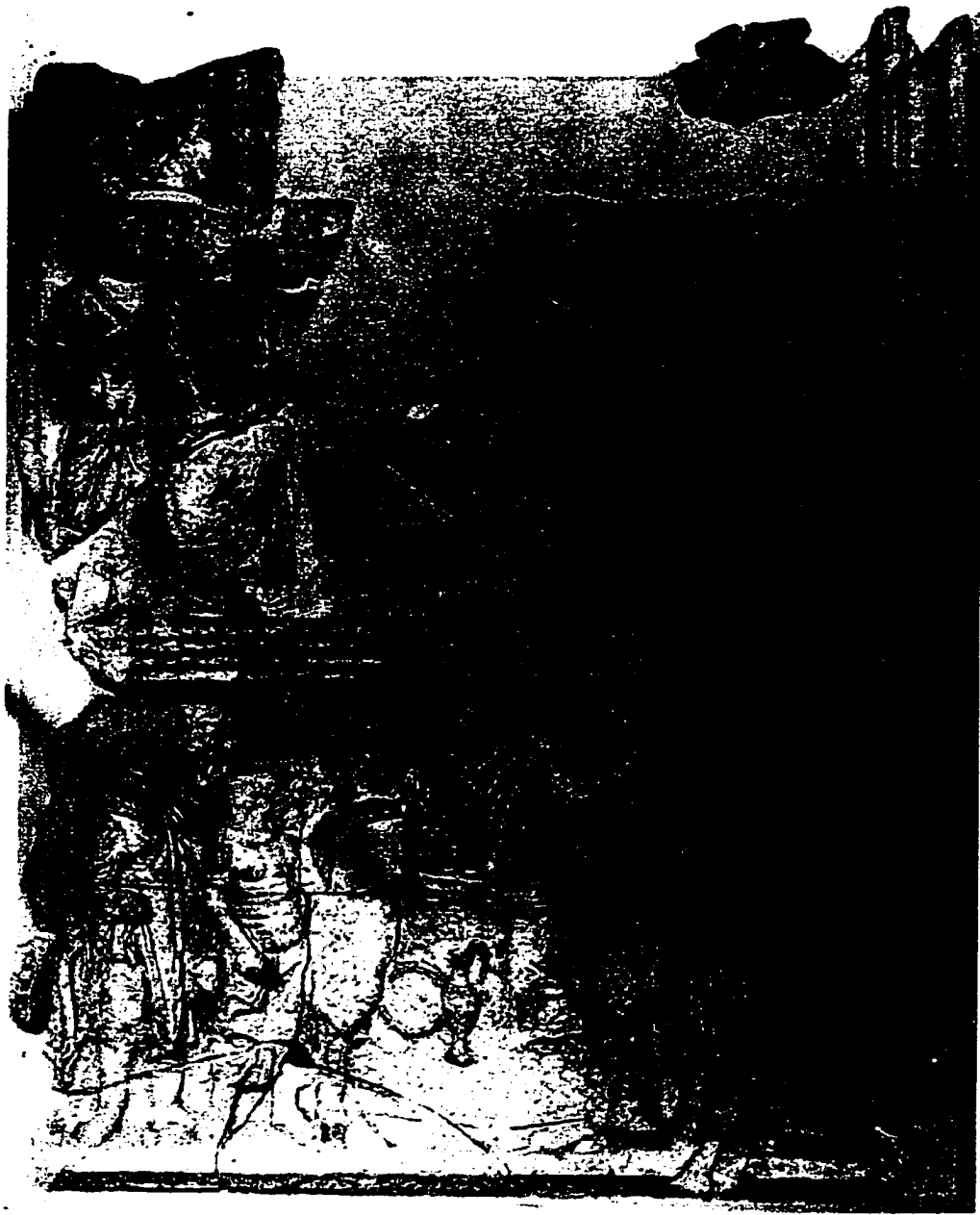


Figure 72. Temple-sacrifice relief from the Arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna (DAIR 61.1711, photo Koppermann).



Figure 73. Triumph relief from the Arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna. Cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome (photo author).

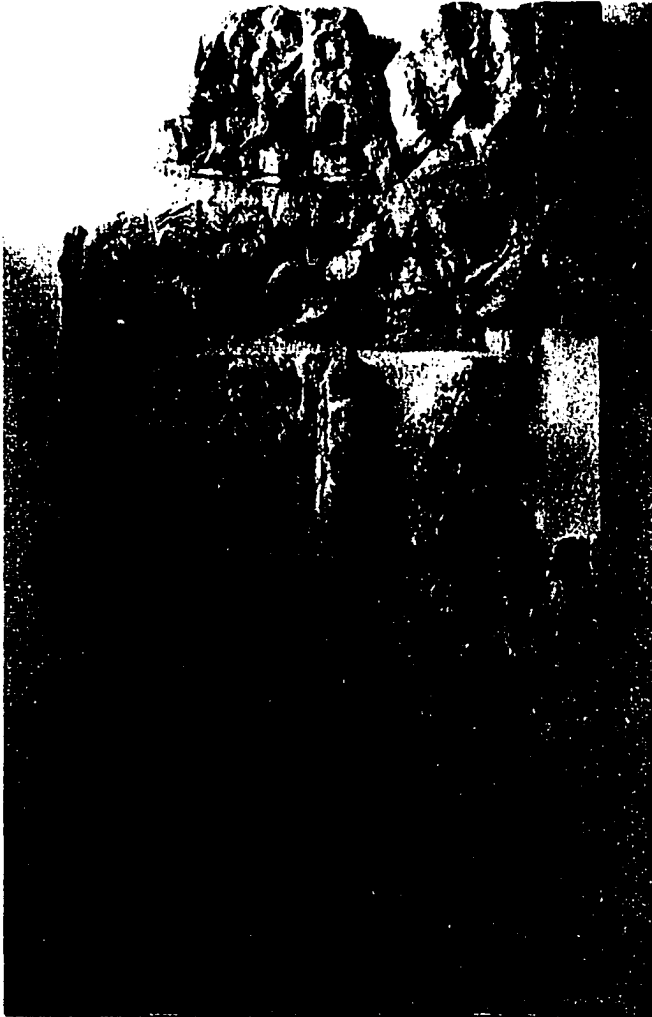


Figure 74. Battle panel from the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna (DAIR 61.1710, photo Koppermann).

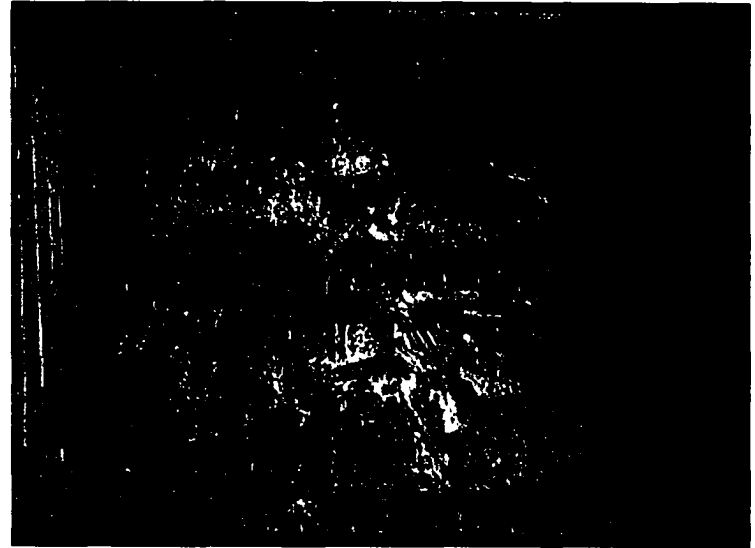


Figure 75. Panel from the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome (photo author).



Figure 76. Relief, subject uncertain, from the Arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna (DAIR 61.1712, photo Koppermann).

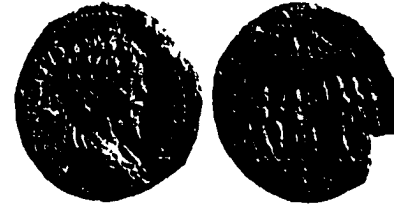


Figure 77. *As* of Septimius Severus (*BMCRE* 5: pl. 49.6).



Figure 78. *Sestertius* of Septimius Severus (*BMCRE* 5: pl. 48.10).



Figure 79. *As* of Geta as Caesar (*BMCRE* 5: pl. 50.6).



Figure 80. Relief fragment, probably Severan, depicting a triumphal procession through an arch (DAIR 66.1881, photo Koppermann).

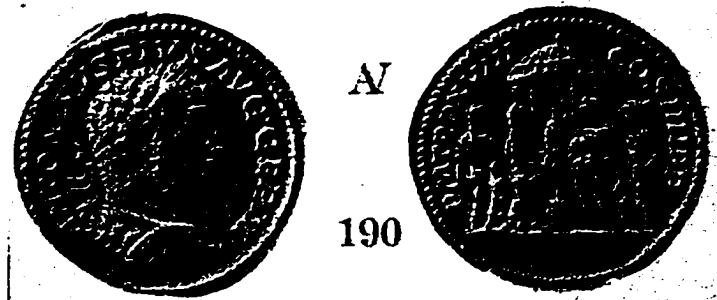


Figure 81. Aureus of Caracalla. Sacrifice at the *aedes Vestae* (Jameson 1913, no. 190).



Figure 82. Aureus of Caracalla. Sacrifice at a Temple of Asklepios (image from auction catalog: Hirsch 29, 1910, no. 1171).



Figure 83. Caracalla sacrificing at an octastyle temple. Coin of Laodicea ad Lycium (Price and Trell 1977, 129 fig. 226).

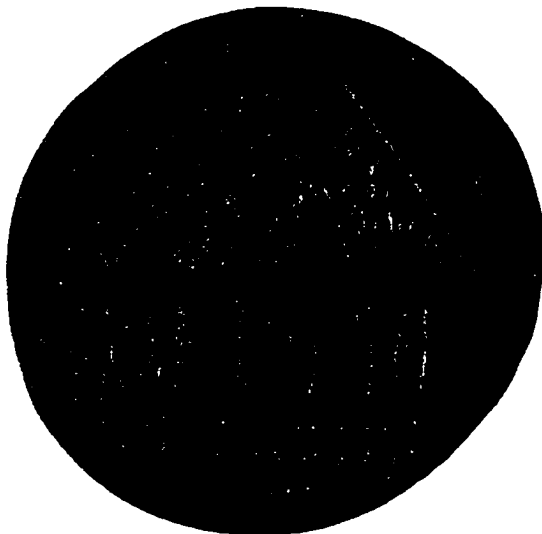


Figure 84. *Adlocutio* of Caracalla in a forum. Medallion of Laodicea ad Lycium (Price and Trell 1977, 25 fig. 23).



Figure 85. Caracalla sacrificing to Asklepios. Coin of Pergamon (*BMC Mysia*, pl. 31.5).



Figure 86a. Medallion of Severus Alexander. Sacrifice at the Temple of Venus and Roma (Gnecchi 1912, 2: pl. 99.1. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).



Figure 86b. Medallion of Severus Alexander. Sacrifice at the Temple of Venus and Roma (Gnecchi 1912, 2: pl. 100.1. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).



Figure 86c. Medallion of Severus Alexander. Sacrifice at the Temple of Venus and Roma (Gnecchi 1912, 2: pl. 100.2. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).



Figure 87. Medallion of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea. Sacrifice at the Temple of Venus and Roma (Gnechi 1912, 2: pl. 101.9. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).



Figure 89a. Medallion of Gordianus III. Sacrifice at a Temple of Victory (Gnechi 1912, 2: pl. 106.3. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).



Figure 88. Medallion of Severus Alexander and Orbiana. Sacrifice at the Temple of Concordia (Gnechi 1912, 2: pl. 102.3. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).



Figure 89b. Detail of the cult statue on the medallion of Gordianus III. Winged Victory wearing a cuirass (enlarged detail of Turcan 1988, pl. 38, fig. 72).



Figure 90a. Medallion of Philip the Arab and family. Sacrifice at the Temple of Venus and Roma in honor of the millennial anniversary of Rome (Grueber 1874, pl. 44.3).



Figure 90b. Medallion of Philip the younger. Sacrifice at the Temple of Venus and Roma in honor of the millennial anniversary of Rome (Gnecchi 1912, 2: pl. 108.9. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).



Figure 91a. Medallion of Volusianus and Trebonianus Gallus. Sacrifice at the Temple of Fortuna Redux (Gnecchi 1912, 2: pl. 111.9. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Special Collections Library).

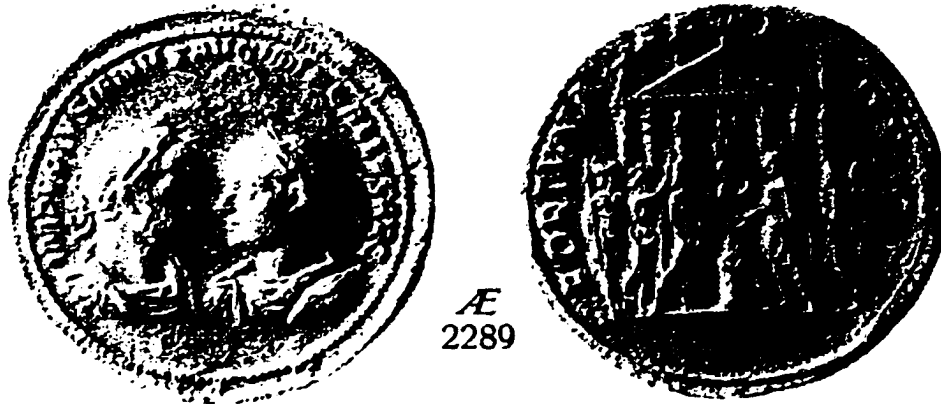


Figure 91b. Medallion of Volusianus and Trebonianus Gallus. Sacrifice at the Temple of Fortuna Redux (image from auction catalog: J. Schulman, March 1923, no. 2289).



Figure 91c. Medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus. Sacrifice at the Temple of Fortuna Redux (Grueber 1874, pl. 46.3).

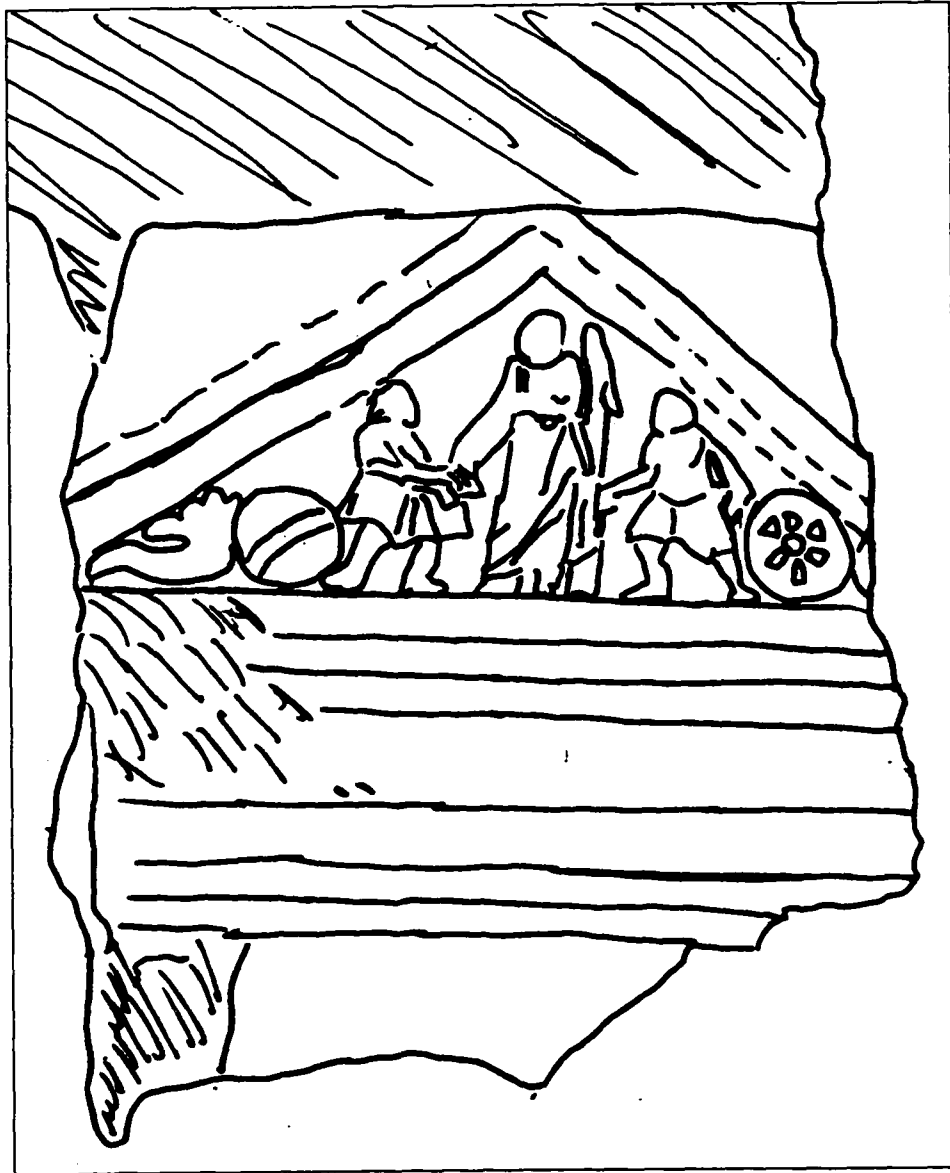


Figure 92. Drawing of the relief fragment from the Area Sacra di San Omobono depicting the Temple of Fortuna Redux (drawing by author).

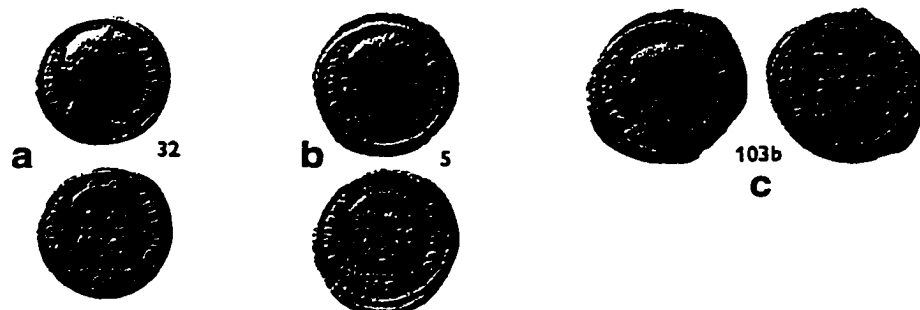


Figure 93a-c. Silver coins of the Tetrarchy. Four Tetrarchs sacrifice at a fort.
 a – Obv.: Diocletian. Rev.: VICTORIAE SARMATICAE. Mint: Antioch (*RIC* 6, pl. 15.32).
 b – Obv.: Constantius Chlorus. Rev.: PROVIDENTIAE AUGG. Mint: Heraclea (*RIC* 6, pl. 12.5).
 c – Obv.: Maximianus. Rev.: VIRTUS MILITVM. Mint: Trier (*RIC* 6, pl. 2.103b).



Figure 94. Gold medallion from the Arras Hoard. Four Tetrarchs sacrifice at a temple (Bastien and Metzger 1977, 138 fig. 395).

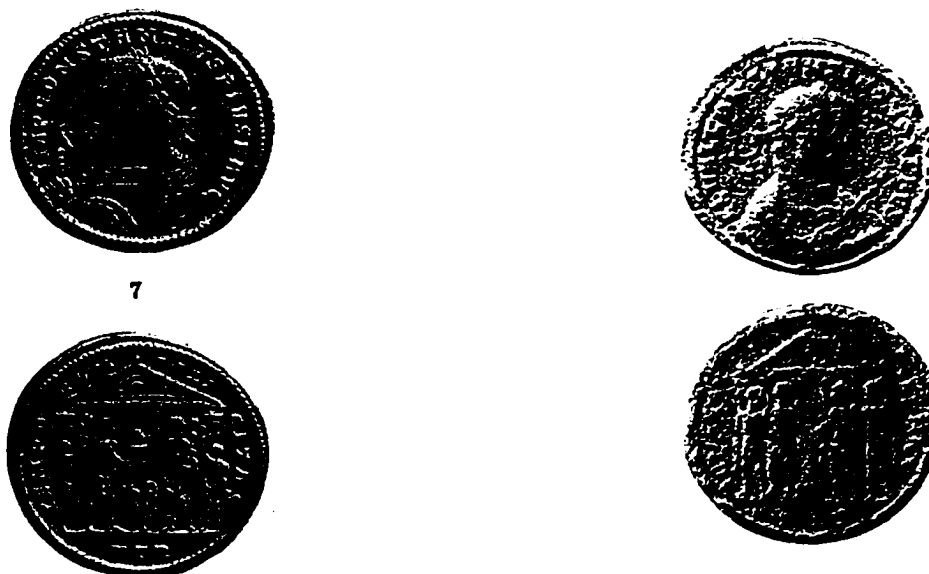


Figure 95. Gold medallion from the Arras Hoard. The two senior Tetrarchs sacrifice at a temple (Babelon and Duquenoy 1924, pl. 8.7).

Figure 96. Bronze medallion. Tetrarchs sacrifice at the Temple of Venus and Roma (Toynbee 1944, pl. 4.9).



Figure 97. Gold medallion from the Arras Hoard. *Adventus* to London (Babelon and Duquenoy 1924, pl. 7).



Figure 98. Arch of Galerius at Thessaloniki. *Adventus*. Cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome (photo author).



Figure 99. Arch of Galerius at Thessaloniki. Sacrifice. Cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome (photo author).

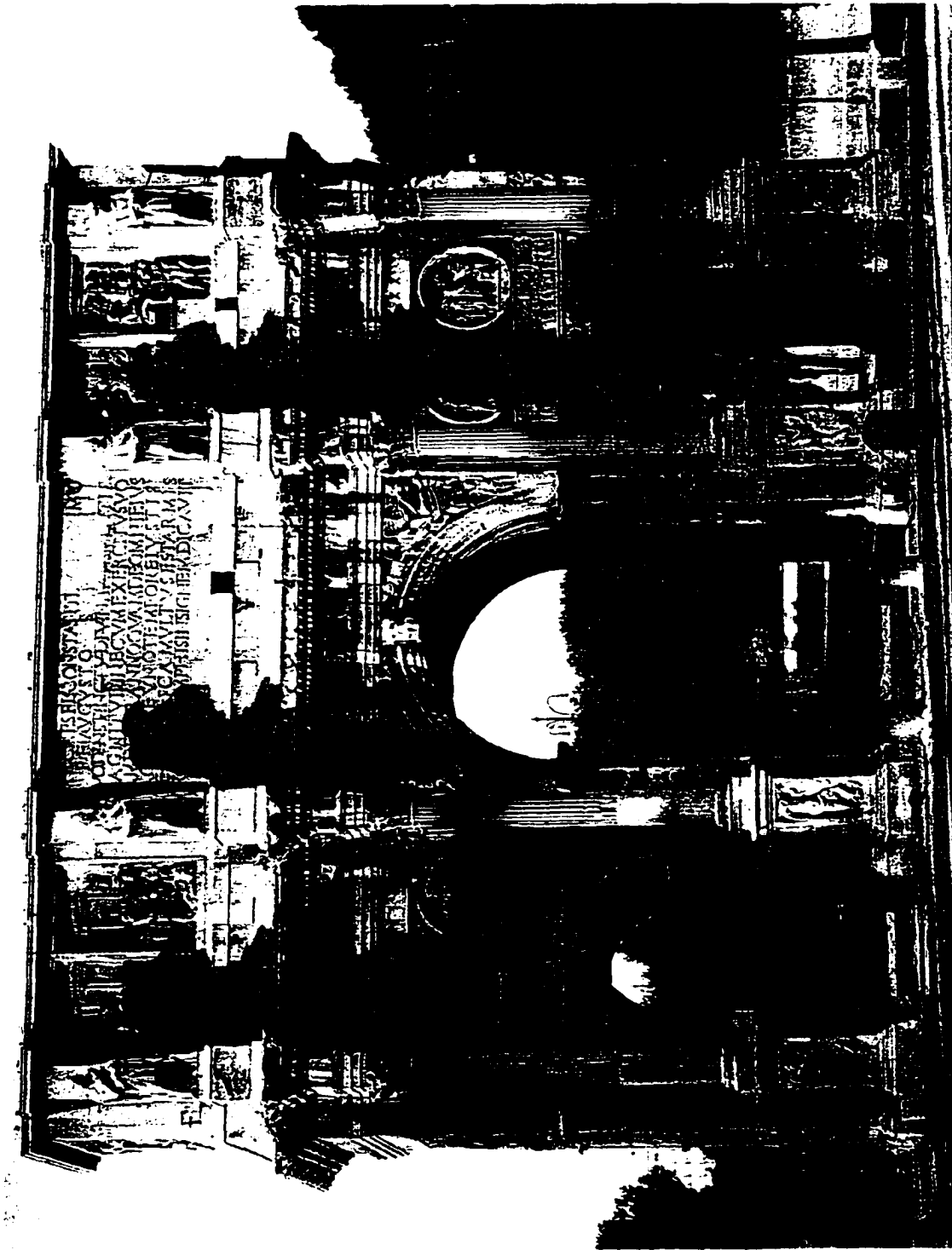


Figure 100. North face of the Arch of Constantine (DAIR 61.2297, photo Koppermann).

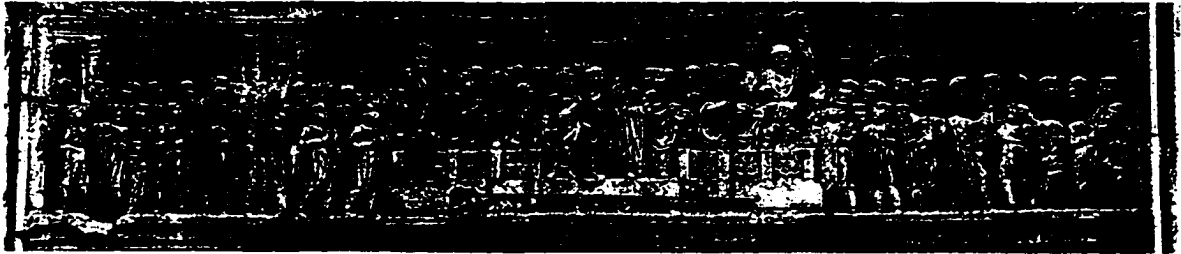


Figure 101. *Adlocutio* panel from the Arch of Constantine (detail of L'Orange 1939, pl. 5a).



Figure 102. Detail of the corner of the procession frieze on the Arch of Constantine. Representation of an arch with elephants (detail of L'Orange 1939, pl. 18d).

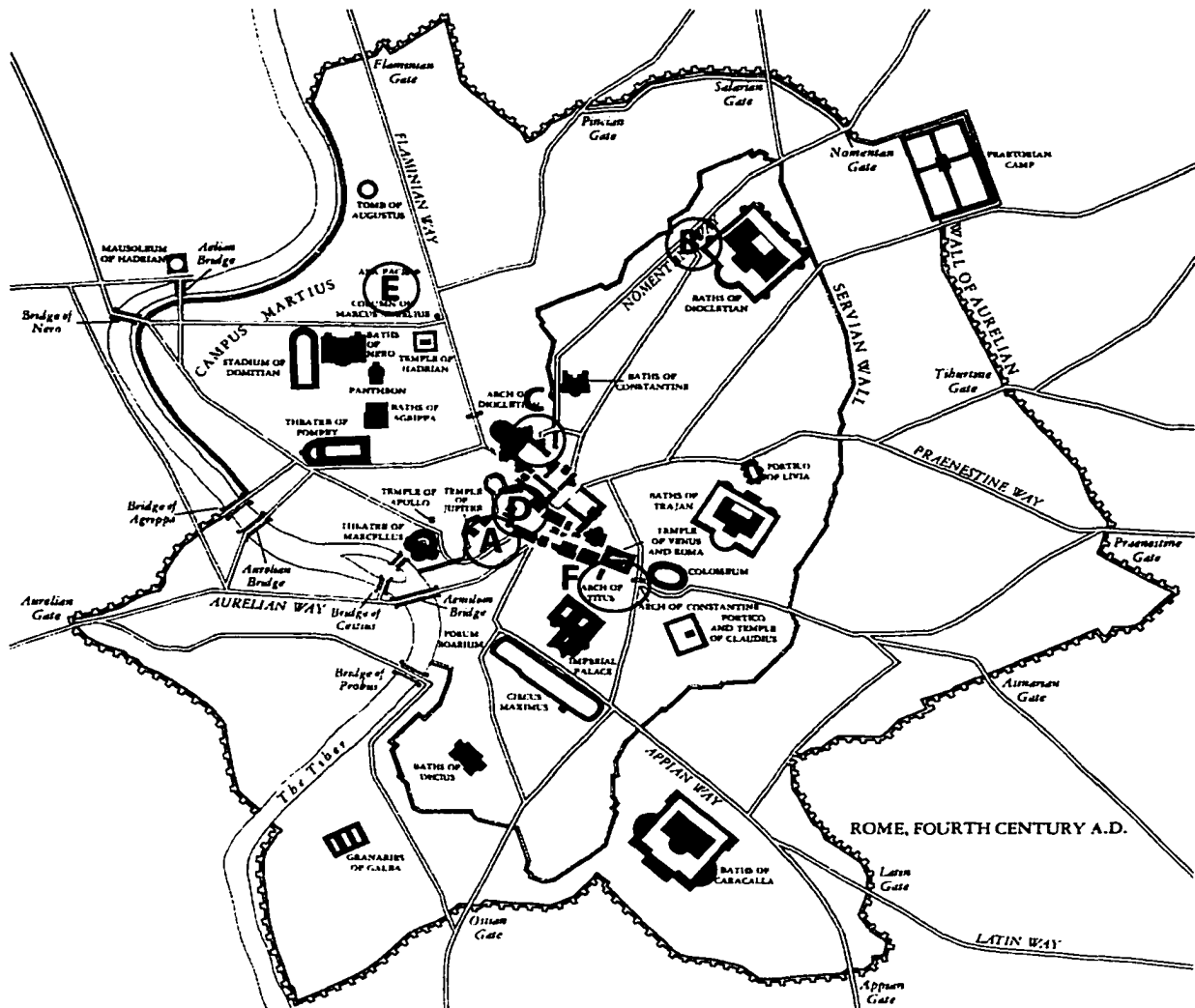


Figure 104. Map of Rome, marked with the display locations of relief sculptures participating in metatopography (modified from Payne 1966, 337).

Key: A - *Ara Gentis Iuliae*
 B - *Templum Gentis Flaviae*
 C - *Extispicium*
 D - *Anaglypha*
 E - Column Base of Antoninus Pius
 F - Arches of Titus and Constantine

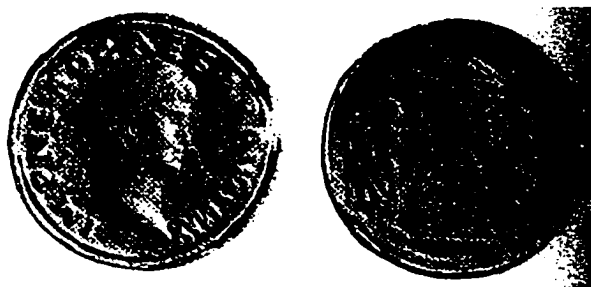


Figure 105. Contorniate of Nero
(Kaposy 1971-2, 148 n. 13).

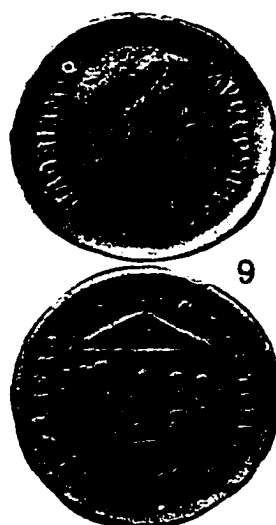


Figure 106. Contorniate of Hadrian
(Alföldi 1943, pl. 23.9).

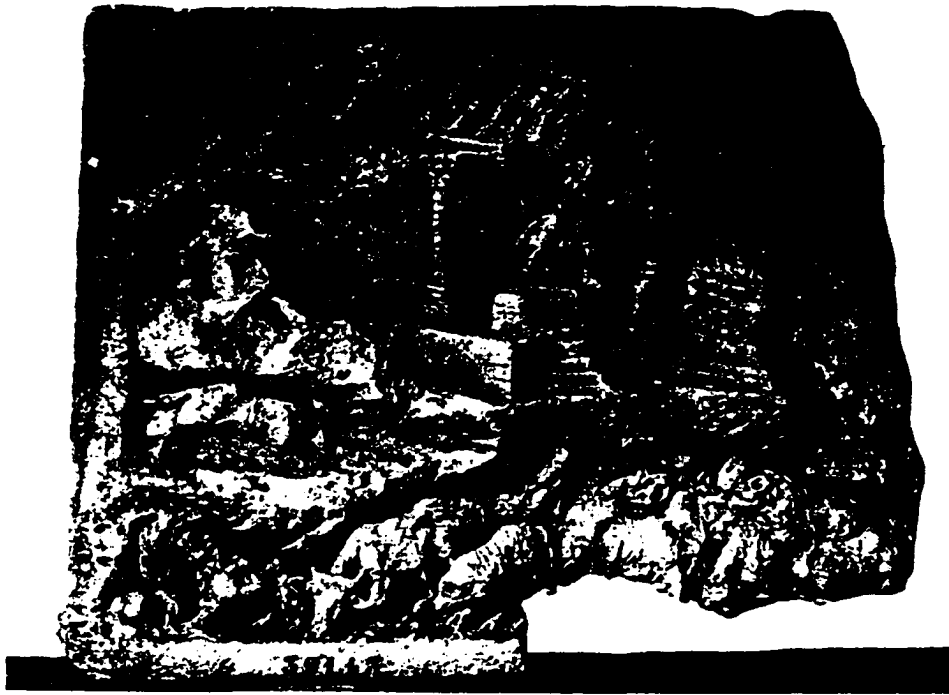


Figure 107. Sacro-idyllic relief with a shrine of Diana. In the pediment, Actaeon attacked by his dogs (DAIR 65.272).



Figure 108. The Vatican Vergil, folio 60V (De Wit 1959, pl. 23.2).

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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