

**THE GLORY OF ROME:
DEPICTIONS OF ARCHITECTURE ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN**

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ABSTRACT

ELIZABETH WOLFRAM: The Glory of Rome:
Depictions of Architecture on the Column of Trajan
(Under the direction of Monika Truemper)

Over three hundred depictions of architectural structures appear throughout the Column of Trajan frieze, illustrating both Roman and Dacian fortifications and settlements. These depictions have seen little thematic analysis in previous scholarship. I argue that the architecture on the Column draws a purposeful contrast between superior Roman civilization and primitive, barbarian Dacian culture. Most architecture on the frieze is too generic to serve as any specific topographical marker. Rather, depictions of civilian settlements favor building types (amphitheater, monumental arch) and construction techniques (ashlar masonry, concrete vaulting, columnar façade) that immediately associate the peaceful towns with Roman urbanism. Likewise, the unrealistic but consistent depiction of all Roman fortifications as stone-built emphasizes their permanence and technical achievement. Dacian architecture, meanwhile, only accounts for roughly one-fourth of the frieze's architectural representations. Clearly non-Roman building types and wooden constructions, often shown in flames, effectively imply the inferiority and transience of Dacian civilization.

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DEDICATION

To Stephen, whose unfailing support and encouragement has allowed me not only to complete this thesis, but to pursue my dream of becoming an archaeologist.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Over three hundred depictions of architectural structures appear throughout the Column of Trajan, illustrating both Roman and Dacian architecture. Despite the prevalence of architectural depictions on the Column of Trajan, there has been little scholarly energy devoted specifically to these important components of the frieze's composition. Previous discussions of the architectural depictions, furthermore, have focused almost exclusively on reconciling the pictorial with the archaeological record. Broader surveys, such as those by F. Lepper and S. Frere and by I. Richmond, discuss architectural structures in their review of the frieze's content, but attempt little analysis of the architecture's significance.¹ M. Turcan-Déléani and J.C.N. Coulston have written more specific discussions of the frieze's civilian architecture and military fortifications, respectively, but neither author truly endeavors to connect their subject to the message of the Column as a whole.² The representations of architecture thus await the sort of comprehensive analysis which could more fully contribute to scholarship's thematic understanding of the Column of Trajan.

I argue that features which have been traditionally interpreted as misunderstandings in the sculpting process instead form consistent patterns that draw a purposeful contrast between superior Roman culture and primitive barbarian Dacian

¹ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926; Richmond 1982; Lepper and Frere 1988; Köppel 1991, 1992; Coarelli 2000.

² Turcan-Déléani 1958; Coulston 1988, 1990a.

culture. Most architecture on the frieze is too generic to serve as any specific topographical marker. Rather, the unrealistic but consistent depiction of all Roman fortifications as stone constructions emphasizes their permanence and technical achievement. Likewise, depictions of civilian architecture favor building types and construction techniques that immediately associate the peaceful towns with Roman urbanism and culture. In contrast, Dacian architecture appears much more infrequently on the frieze. Clearly non-Roman building types and wooden constructions, most often in flames, effectively imply the inferiority and transience of Dacian culture. A noteworthy indigenous urban culture in Dacia, increasingly demonstrated in the archaeological record, is downplayed in favor of a stronger contrast between the achievements of Roman culture and the limitations of barbarian society.

CHAPTER 2: PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

It is beyond the scope of this analysis to cover in detail all of the many problems debated in the scholarship on the Column of Trajan. There are nevertheless certain issues which have direct ramifications for the interpretation of the architectural depictions on the frieze, and which must be understood before any further analysis of these depictions can be undertaken. Logistical questions of the Column's design and production, particularly regarding the relative influences of the various individuals involved, has universal importance for any study of the monument. The prevailing concern of visibility, furthermore, must be addressed in all analyses reliant on the frieze's details. Finally, questions of the historical reliability of the frieze's representations have traditionally dominated discussions of the architectural depictions. A survey of the previous scholarship in these particular areas can pave the way for the new analyses of the architectural depictions undertaken in this thesis.

2.1: KEY PROBLEMS: DESIGN, VISIBILITY, AND HISTORICITY

The following discussion is not intended as an exhaustive review of any debates in scholarship. Instead an attempt has been made to focus on those issues most relevant to the discussion of the architectural depictions. The position undertaken in this thesis towards the problems raised in these debates will be outlined in Section 2.2.

2.1.1: DESIGN OF THE FRIEZE

The design of a monumental column with a helical sculpted frieze appears to have been developed specifically for the Column of Trajan.³ In terms of the monument's general form, the most commonly cited source of inspiration are literary scrolls, recalling in particular those containing Trajan's commentary on the Dacian Wars, thought to have been housed in the Imperial libraries supposedly flanking the Column.⁴ Such theories obviously favor the conception of the frieze as a continuous narrative outlining the course of the Dacian Wars.⁵ Other suggested influences have been the paintings carried in triumphal processions,⁶ or illustrated cartographic itineraries.⁷ These may have inspired the format of a series of scenic vignettes, strung together to create the impression of a narrative.⁸ Since none of these proposed sources of inspiration have survived from the ancient world, their influence remains difficult to properly assess.

³ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, 1; Settis 1988, 86; Hölscher 1991a, 264; Settis 2005, 70. The design was, however, repeated three times, in the Column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome and the Columns of Theodosius and Arcadius in Constantinople (Köppel 2002, 249).

⁴ Settis (1988, 87-89) argues for a textile, rather than papyrus, roll. For discussion of the papyrus roll suggestion, see Coulston 1988, 111; Settis 1988, 87-89; Coulston 1990b, 295. For the location of Trajan's commentaries, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 25-26; Packer 1997, 121; Coarelli 2000, 13-14. For the influence of the commentary specifically on the design of the frieze, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 26; Coarelli 2000, 11, 13-14.

⁵ Settis 2005, 72. See, for example, Coarelli's (2000, 11) discussion of this issue: "[w]hat mental model...lies behind an image like that of a continuous, rolled-up strip bearing a series of images that form a continuous narrative. The need for a mental association with a papyrus *volumen* seems inescapable."

⁶ For discussion of triumphal paintings in general, see Holliday 1997; Hölscher 2004, 38, 44. For the influence of triumphal paintings on the Column of Trajan, see Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, 2, 29; Coulston 1988, 124; Settis 1988, 94-96; Coulston 1990b, 295; Hölscher 1991b, 294; Coarelli 2000, 11; Köppel 2002, 248.

⁷ For discussion of painted itineraries in general, see La Rocca 2000, 62-63; 2004, 23-30; Favro 2007, [9]. For the influence of painted itineraries on the Column of Trajan, see Settis 1988, 97-98; Coulston 1990b, 295; La Rocca 2004, 26; Settis 2005, 75.

⁸ Köppel 2002, 249; Settis 2005, 75.

Originally the progression of scenes was thought to be determined simply by a linear narrative, without much consideration or need for more rigorous design. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, however, called attention to important narrative and thematic events aligned vertically along the major faces of the Column.⁹ S. Settis and J.C.N. Coulston have subsequently demonstrated several instances where various types of scenes are arranged horizontally along the spirals to produce balancing compositions contrasting Roman and Dacian fates.¹⁰ Each war, furthermore, is allotted exactly one half of the Column, and is divided into offensive and defensive campaigns.¹¹ All of these constraints demonstrate that the frieze was designed in part as a holistic unit, with vertical and horizontal frameworks cross cutting the entire work and affecting the position of various scenes.

All of the above considerations have met with general agreement in recent scholarship. As the focus moves towards individual scenes and features, however, logistical questions of design become more contentious. In particular, the question of production, of who decided what to carve where, has become extremely problematic. This debate combines three equally controversial questions: (a) the sources of information available; (b) the logistics of the design for individual scenes; and (c) the driving authority behind the choices made in the design of various aspects of the frieze.

The wealth of detail present in the frieze has led many scholars to reconstruct equally detailed sources of information for the production of the frieze. The most

⁹ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926. For discussion, see also Coulston 1990b, 298-99; Coarelli 2000, 19; Köppel 2002, 250.

¹⁰ Coulston 1988, 28, 91-92; Settis 1988, 163-66; Coulston 1990b, 296-98.

¹¹ Coulston 1988, 27; Hölscher 1991b, 294.

commonly cited source of information is Trajan's *Dacica*, a commentary along the line of Caesar's commentary on the Gallic Wars.¹² The preservation of this work as a single line of text has encouraged scholars to attribute to it every level of detail, from limited place names to the layouts of particular fortresses.¹³ Scholars have also suggested that a field artist may have accompanied Trajan on his campaigns, and that on site sketches of various features would have been available for the design of the frieze.¹⁴ The use of models, ranging from Roman legionaries to more complicated field machinery to the surrounding architecture in Rome, has also been proposed.¹⁵ There has been little consensus, however, on the validity or relative importance of any of these sources of information, nor even what level of detailed background knowledge can be assumed for the Column's depictions.

There has naturally been much debate about the various roles of patrons, designers, and artists in the Column of Trajan's design,¹⁶ but sorting out the particular impact of these various influences has been primarily regulated to the realm of speculation. Many scholars have proposed the presence of a figure traditionally referred

¹² For general information about Trajan's *Dacica*, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 17; Coarelli 2000, 13. For commentary on the debate over the *Dacica*'s influence on the frieze, see Coulston 1988, 119; 1990b, 293. For arguments in favor of the direct influence of the *Dacica* on the frieze, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 25-6; Claridge 1998, 167; for arguments against, see Coulston 1988, 118; Hölscher 2002, 139.

¹³ Coulston 1990b, 293. For a minimalist view of the *Dacica*, see Coulston 1990b, 293. For the opinion that the *Dacica* preserved an extensive amount of detail, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 32, 56, 66, 78-9, 103-5, 111, 173.

¹⁴ For a general discussion of the debate over the field artist, see Coulston 1988, 136; Lepper and Frere 1988, 19. For argument in favor of the use of such sketches, see Rossi 1978, 19; Richmond 1982, 4; Lepper and Frere 1988, 19; for argument against, see Coulston 1988, 136; Williams 1998, 175-76; Coulston 1990a, 49.

¹⁵ Coulston 1988, 150-51; 1990a, 44; 1990b, 303.

¹⁶ Richmond 1982, 3; Coulston 1988, 96; Lepper and Frere 1988, 16-17, 23, 27-30, 158; Settis 1988, 100-2; Coulston 1990b, 303; Coarelli 2000, 30-1; Hölscher 2002, 127-28.

to as the “Maestro,” who was responsible not only for the general layout of the frieze but also for much of the firsthand knowledge of the wars and the supervision of their representation.¹⁷ The detailed rendering of the bridge over the Danube in Scenes XCIX-CI has led many scholars to equate this figure with Apollodorus of Damascus, the architect of the bridge and the Forum of Trajan.¹⁸ Scholars have also suggested the existence of detailed cartoons, which were employed in transferring the Maestro’s designs to the marble.¹⁹ Coulston, however, has convincingly demonstrated that much of the composition of individual scenes was determined during the sculpting process by the sculptors themselves;²⁰ he nevertheless assumes the presence of some knowledgeable authority figure, probably Apollodorus, overseeing the production and correcting sculptors’ mistakes in detail as they moved upwards along the spirals.²¹

All of these aspects of the Column of Trajan’s design would have had a significant impact on the depictions of architecture. Of all these various issues, the question of the nature of information available for the frieze’s execution has been the most influential in determining scholarship’s approach to the architectural depictions; this issue will be taken up again below in the discussion of the historicity of the frieze’s representations.

¹⁷ Coulston 1988, 96; Lepper and Frere 1988, 16, 18, 28, 30, 32, 56, 78-79, 99, 135; Coarelli 2000, 30.

¹⁸ Rossi 1978, 19; Coulston 1988, 96, 121; Lepper and Frere 1988, 16, 18, 32. Although Lepper and Frere (1988, 16) believe that this Maestro can be equated with Apollodorus, they (1998, 150) actually see the depiction of this bridge as the strongest argument against such an association.

¹⁹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 32, 63; cf. Coulston 1988, 104; 1990b, 301.

²⁰ Coulston 1988, 96-100, 104-05, 107; 1990b, 302-03.

²¹ Coulston 1988, 96, 101.

2.1.2: VISIBILITY OF THE FRIEZE

Complicating discussions of the Column's design is the fact that the narrow architectural circumscription of the monument, combined with its height of one hundred Roman feet, greatly obscured the audience's view of the frieze.²² Archaeological excavation has determined that the Column of Trajan stood at the center of a constricted peristyle.²³ Within the peristyle, the Column's substantial pedestal alone raised the bottom spirals of the frieze some nine meters from the ground level.²⁴ Even if viewing platforms²⁵ (for which there is not much evidence²⁶) lined the peristyle around the Column, the viewer could at best achieve a position eight meters away from the frieze itself; the upper spirals, furthermore, would still rise away from the viewer at a forty-five degree angle.²⁷ Finally, wherever one stood, in order to follow the narrative along the spirals, the viewer would be forced to circumnavigate the Column twenty-three times without losing their place.²⁸

Scholars have repeatedly questioned why such meticulous details were included in the frieze, if the average ancient viewer would never be able to see them clearly. The

²² Coulston 1988, 13; Hölscher 1991a, 262; Coarelli 2000, 19; Hölscher 2002, 139; Settis 2005, 65.

²³ The peristyle measured 25 x 20.20 m. (85 x 58 $\frac{3}{4}$ Rom ft; Packer 1997a, 113). The southern end of this peristyle was formed by the northern wall of the Basilica Ulpia, separating the Column from the rest of the Forum of Trajan; the northern end of the peristyle was originally closed by a colonnaded wall, which was removed at some later point and replaced by an open colonnade. To the east and west the peristyle was flanked by two large buildings, traditionally believed to be libraries (Packer 1997a, 113-15).

²⁴ Coulston 1988, 14.

²⁵ Coulston 1988, 13-14; Settis 2005, 70.

²⁶ Richardson 1992, 177.

²⁷ Coulston 1988, 14; Clark 2003, 35.

²⁸ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, 1; Coulston 1988, 108; Coarelli 2000, 27.

most rudimentary solution has been ancient casts or drawings of the frieze, located nearby where the details could be appreciated.²⁹ There is no archaeological or philological evidence, however, to suggest that such casts or drawings existed. Several scholars have drawn comparisons to such monuments as the Parthenon frieze, the Severan *Forma Urbis Romae*, and even Gothic cathedrals, all highly detailed works with limited visibility.³⁰ Such comparisons traditionally reconstruct an appeal to a divine audience as the motivation for the precise rendering of these works.³¹ T. Hölscher has correctly rejected such arguments for the Column,³² pointing out that Roman state relief in general is aimed at a strictly human, civil audience, and the Column itself features a notable lack of explicit concern for divinity in particular.³³

Several scholars have suggested as an explanation for the high level of detail something along the lines of an *ars gratia artis* mentality. In this theory the details were included not for the satisfaction of the gods but for the satisfaction of the sculptors themselves.³⁴ This idea, however, seems potentially anachronistic, given the general Roman disinterest in visual artistic achievement for its own sake. Furthermore, the fact

²⁹ Davies 1920, 4; Clark 2003, 35.

³⁰ Coulston 1988, 111; Coarelli 2000, 19-21; Zanker 2000a, vii. Coarelli (2000, 20-21) considers both the Severan Plan and the Column to be “monumental replicas” of archived documents (in the Column’s case the *Dacica*) to be consulted nearby.

³¹ Zanker 2000a, vii. Claridge, who argues (1993; 1996, 167) for a Hadrianic date of the frieze, suggests (1996, 167) that in the case of the Column the divine audience may have been Trajan himself.

³² Hölscher 2002, 140.

³³ Hölscher 1991a, 263; see also Lepper and Frere 1988, 17.

³⁴ Coulston (1988, 107; see also 1988, 108, 1990b, 302) in particular argues that “[t]he proliferation of small details...speak of a love of virtuoso detail for its own sake.” For discussion of Bandinelli’s arguments along these lines, see Settis 2005, 68-69.

that in many places the rendition has been executed with less than meticulous precision suggests that other factors must be at play as well.

Hölscher has suggested that the repetition of detail, rising above the viewer, would encourage the belief that the same level of documentary detail present in the lower spirals would continue for the length of the Column.³⁵ Trajan's glorious achievements would thus likewise seem to spiral unceasingly towards the heavens.³⁶ This effect is easily recognizable today by anyone visiting the monument, but is notably lost when studying the frieze in cast or plate reproductions, or even when standing close to the Column on scaffolding. In a similar vein, Settis has suggested that the repetition of particular scene types and compositional elements would allow the viewer to understand how the narrative progressed up the length of the frieze, and perhaps even to recognize in the upper spirals the same scenes present in the lower, more visible spirals.³⁷ S. Dillon has also pointed out that the endless wealth of detail encourages the viewer to take the reliefs as "objective (and inevitable) historical truth."³⁸

It is difficult to determine the extent to which the production team of the Column was concerned with the visibility. Paint certainly might have helped a viewer discern details,³⁹ but since polychromy was a widespread feature of Roman sculpture, and little to no paint has survived on the Column itself,⁴⁰ it is difficult to assess the degree to

³⁵ Hölscher 1991a, 263-64; 2002, 140; see also Zanker 2000a, vii; Settis 2005, 73.

³⁶ Hölscher 1991a, 263-64.

³⁷ Settis 1988, 109; 2005, 70-71, 74; see also Coarelli 2000, 19, 27.

³⁸ Dillon 2006, 259.

³⁹ Coulston 1988, 109; 1990b, 303-04; Coarelli 2000, 27; Clark 2003, 35.

⁴⁰ Coulston 1988, 109; 1990b 303.

which color was employed to improve the visibility. Coulston has pointed out that there is no evidence for any compensation for the growing height of the Column: the level of detail and sizes of the figures stay consistent for the lower and upper spirals, as in general does the height of the spirals themselves.⁴¹ The vertical axes connecting thematically related scenes along the face of the Column are often cited as an acknowledgement of the difficulty in visibility,⁴² but these seem more a recognition of and solution to the difficulty in following the spiraling narrative. For some of these axes, such as the alignment of the bridge crossing scenes, the ability to see the lower examples would aid in picking out the correlates above.⁴³ But in most cases, such as the axis with the suicide of Decebalus, the alignment would have been little help in making sense of the details of the axis's upper scenes.

One must also consider that the difficulty in visibility may not have been considered a significant problem.⁴⁴ The order may simply have come down for the frieze to have been executed in a certain way,⁴⁵ without any further discussion about the practical application. The details may also have been intended to impress and satisfy a narrow audience, perhaps Trajan, who would have had access to the scaffolding

⁴¹ Coulston 1988, 108; see also Zanker 2000a, vii. Coulston (1990b, 301; cf. Coarelli 2000, 27) is probably right in considering the extra height of the last two spirals to be the result of a miscalculation regarding the surface area to be covered, rather than compensation for the difficulty in visibility.

⁴² Coulston (1988, 108) calls these axes "the greatest aid to visibility;" for similar views see Coulston 1988, 18; 1990b, 298-99; Coarelli 2000, 19-20; Settis 2005, 79-80.

⁴³ Settis 2005, 79.

⁴⁴ Coarelli 2000, 20. Zanker (2000a, vii), for example, maintains that "[t]he concrete reading of the images had no role in the planning." Coulston (1988, 108) argues that since the sculptors were working for their own interest, they would not have been concerned with what a wider audience could see. Settis (2005, 69) points out that the Column's problems of visibility did not prevent its design from being copied several times; this seems, however, to demonstrate only that the design became a signature of the Column itself after its execution.

⁴⁵ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, 1.

surrounding the Column. The production in and of itself of the Column, in other words, may have been a significant act independent of its later life as a monument.

2.1.3: HISTORICAL RELIABILITY FOR THE FRIEZE

Over the years, the degree to which the Column of Trajan has been seen in scholarship as an exact documentary of real historical events has vacillated widely.⁴⁶ On the one side are scholars such as Richmond, who have held to the principle that the type of composition seen in the Column “can only be successful...when each scene is a precise and accurate delineation of the characters which compose it.”⁴⁷ This point of view necessarily privileges the “almost photographic”⁴⁸ details over any larger thematic message:

The essential merit and ultimate value of these reliefs may therefore well be considered to rest entirely upon their claim to represent faithfully the figures and objects which go to make up each striking vignette...it may be asked with some reason whether the composer of the scroll did not consider the similar representation of army life the greatest part of his work, to which all else was subordinate?⁴⁹

It is this sort of confidence in the accuracy of the Column’s depictions⁵⁰ that has inspired reconstructions of field artists,⁵¹ the *Dacica*’s meticulous presentation of material,⁵² and the frequent input of an all knowing Maestro.⁵³

⁴⁶ Davies 1920, 1-2; Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, vii; Gauer 1977, 13; Rossi 1978, 98; Coulston 1988, 19, 22-27; Lepper and Frere 1988, 2-3, 19; Hölscher 1991a, 261; Zanker 2000a, vii.

⁴⁷ Richmond 1982, 3; see also Lepper and Frere 1988, 2. For a direct rebuttal of this mindset, see Hölscher 2002, 130.

⁴⁸ Richmond 1982, 4; see also Williams 1998, 192.

⁴⁹ Richmond 1982, 5. For similar sentiment, see also Coarelli 2000, 20 n. 108, 28 n. 135, 30.

⁵⁰ Davies 1920, 3; Köppel 2002, 245.

⁵¹ *Infra* n. 14.

Other scholarship has tended to move away from such literal interpretations towards more nuanced approaches, viewing the Column as a complicated medium of expression for the various parties involved in its conception and construction.⁵⁴ Lehmann-Hartleben was one of the first to suggest that there were other factors besides strict narrative progression at play in the frieze's arrangement,⁵⁵ stressing compositional concerns for the depiction of supposedly historical events.⁵⁶ His vertical axes of thematically related scenes would have delivered shorthand propagandistic messages to the viewer:⁵⁷ glancing up upon entering the Forum of Trajan from the northeast, the viewer would have seen the "triumphal"⁵⁸ axis of the favorable mushroom omen, the Victory following the end of the first war, the Bridge of Apollodorus, and the suicide of Decebalus.⁵⁹ Other authors have also pointed out several similar minor axes of correspondence.⁶⁰ Balanced compositions of scenes, both horizontal and vertical, counterpoised Roman success and reward with Dacian failure and despair, sending clear

⁵² *Infra* n. 13.

⁵³ Lepper and Frere 1988, 56, 99, 103.

⁵⁴ Turcan-Déléani 1958, 149; Richmond 1982, 3; Lepper and Frere 1988, 2-3, 28; Coulston 1990a, 39; Hölscher 1991a, 262, 264; Coarelli 2000, 19-20; Zanker 2000a, viii; Hölscher 2002, 130.

⁵⁵ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, especially 12; see also Coulston 1988, 28; Lepper and Frere 1988, 2-3; Coulston 1990b, 298.

⁵⁶ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, 13-14, 19, 24-25.

⁵⁷ Coulston 1988, 109; 1990b, 299; Hölscher 2002, 138.

⁵⁸ Coulston 1988, 16.

⁵⁹ Coulston 1990b, 299; Coarelli 2000, 19; Köppel 2002, 250. Other major axes include the crossing of bridges at the start of offensive campaigns (Coarelli 2000, 19; Köppel 2002, 250) and boat journeys at the start of defensive campaigns (Coulston 1990b, 298).

⁶⁰ Coulston 1988, 87-88; 1990b, 298-99.

messages to the Column's audience about the relative superiority of Trajan's empire.⁶¹

All of these structural manipulations within the frieze "limited the naturalistic and faithful representation of events"⁶² and demonstrate that the selection and placement of scenes was determined more by thematic and compositional concerns than by a documentary narrative.

Several scholars have pointed out other propagandistic concerns for the Column, which at times may have interfered with a strictly realistic narrative.⁶³ In particular, scholars have argued that the repetition of many stock scenes cannot be explained by the significance of any one example; rather the repetition itself and the placement of the scenes must be explained as having thematic value.⁶⁴ These repetitive scenes often symbolize a particular virtue associated with the Roman army or the emperor.⁶⁵

Hölscher, for example, has pointed out how Trajan is depicted as involved in every aspect of the war, however minute;⁶⁶ Hölscher has also called attention to the careful inclusion of auxiliary units from the north, south, east, and west, creating an impression of an extensive world empire united under Trajan against the Dacians.⁶⁷ The distinction

⁶¹ Coulston 1988, 28, 91-92; Settis 1988, 163-66; Coulston 1990b, 296-98.

⁶² Coulston 1988, 28; see also 1990b, 300.

⁶³ Hölscher 1991a, 262; Winkler 1991, 267.

⁶⁴ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, 12; Settis 1988, 109, 118; Hölscher 1991a, 263-64; 2002, 135.

⁶⁵ Hölscher 1991a, 265; Winkler 1991, 267; Baumer 1991, 279; Hölscher 1991b, 289; 2002, 136; Settis 2005, 72. For example, Winkler (1991, 275-76) argues that the many scenes of sacrifice carefully illustrate the pious loyalty of the army and the provinces, united under the common leadership of the emperor. Baumer (1991, 281) presents a similar argument regarding the *adlocutio* scenes, suggesting that these scenes emphasize an important aspect of Trajan's role as emperor. Hölscher (1991b, 289) suggests that military *virtus* is exemplified in the first war by open battles, in the second by sieges. For such phenomena in Roman state art in general, see Hölscher 2006, 43.

⁶⁶ Hölscher 1991a, 264.

⁶⁷ Hölscher 2002, 137.

between legionaries and auxiliary soldiers in battle also seems more related to messages of the relative importance and skill of citizen troops, than to actual battlefield tactics.⁶⁸ Finally, no Roman soldier is ever shown dead or dying, a statistic that not even the most ignorant Roman viewer could be expected to believe.⁶⁹

2.2: APPROACHES FOR THIS ANALYSIS: DESIGN, VISIBILITY, AND HISTORICITY

Although applicable to the frieze as a whole, these theoretical issues of the design, visibility, and historicity of the frieze's depictions have particular importance for analyses of the architectural depictions. While the ultimate resolution of any of these questions is obviously beyond the scope of this study, the following section briefly summarizes my approach to these problems, specifically as they relate to the depictions of architecture.

2.2.1: DESIGN OF THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN FRIEZE

There are several observations which can be made with relative certainty regarding the inspiration and logistics of the frieze's design and the design of the architectural depictions. The production of the Column of Trajan must have involved the confluence of multiple personalities, including architects, several teams of sculptors, the Senate who ostensibly dedicated the Column, and Trajan himself. Given the alignments of specific scenes, furthermore, the most general structure of the frieze must have been determined at some point before the actual sculpting of the scenes.⁷⁰ It is also apparent

⁶⁸ Hölscher 2002, 136.

⁶⁹ Hölscher 1991b, 289.

⁷⁰ Coulston 1988, 96; Hölscher 1991b, 294.

that several reoccurring themes run throughout the Column, and that these are generally favorable to the Roman army and its leader.

The architectural depictions have often been cited in attempts to determine the information and influences of various personalities involved in the frieze's design and production. Nevertheless, it is my opinion that, barring some remarkable discovery, any attempts to address such issues for the architectural depictions are bound to be irreconcilably regulated to the realm of speculation. In particular, although it is probable that there existed some distinction for these architectural depictions between designer(s) and carvers, it is difficult to determine where the influence of one leaves off and the influence of the other begins. In light of these problems, throughout this thesis the term "the production team" is employed in a specifically neutral sense, to refer collectively to anyone and everyone involved in the logistical design and execution of the reliefs.

2.2.2: VISIBILITY OF THE ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS

I find most convincing those arguments stressing the importance of the repetition of detail for the frieze. I would argue, furthermore, that these arguments also raise the question as to whether or not scholars have been approaching the problem of visibility from the right angle. Scholarship has traditionally repeated the same line of inquiry: why uphold the same level of detail for the length of the frieze? Perhaps instead scholars should ask, why *not* uphold this same level of detail. Scholars have all tended to agree that a uniform impression of meticulous and documentary detail for the length of the Column was desirable, while ignoring the fact that the easiest way to achieve the impression of a uniform frieze would be to actually produce a uniform frieze. This would

be especially true if different teams of sculptors were working on the Column simultaneously. The production team, in other words, may have been following the path of least resistance, rather than going the extra mile. Capitalist reasoning which would calculate the cost of the carving in order to minimize expenditure, furthermore, is perhaps anachronistic for a project sponsored by ancient imperial plunder.

One misconception regarding the details of the Column, particularly those of the architectural depictions, has been to treat the details as if they actually were as small as they appear from the ground level. Details covering important spaces, such as the hatching of camp walls, are sometimes treated as potential sources of confusion, almost as if the sculptors could not see clearly what they were doing. It is important to always keep in mind that the spirals are each about one meter high,⁷¹ and that the carved details themselves each cover a considerable amount of space. The buildings in Scene XXXVIII, for example, range in height from fifteen centimeters for the smallest building to twenty-six centimeters for the amphitheater (FIGURE 22.B). The ashlar blocks of the fortifications in the same scene are three to four centimeters high, while the same feature in the Dacian walls of Scene CXVI are five centimeters high (FIGURES 36.H-I). Each plank of wood for the Dacian building in Scene LIX is over three centimeters tall (FIGURES 29.D-E). These are details, in other words, but they are not minutia. It is important to remember not only that visibility would hardly have been a problem in the actual carving of the reliefs, but that the addition of each feature would have been a significant act, implicating a substantial surface area.

The problem of visibility will continue to influence any analysis of the details of the Column. Nevertheless, to ignore the details of the frieze or discount them completely

⁷¹ The actual height varies from 0.8 to 1.25 meters (Coarelli 2000, 27).

seems a potential dismissal of a valuable source of information about the ancient world. The details are there, after all, carved on a large scale and consciously depicted in a manner that is neither haphazard nor arbitrary. In this thesis, therefore, the details of the architectural depictions are treated as if they were both intentional and significant, with the potential to play a role in the intended message of the Column. Some consideration has been given to the relative ease with which various forms could be recognized, but unless otherwise specified such comparatives are absolute, without reference to a particular viewer or viewpoint.

2.2.3: HISTORICAL RELIABILITY OF THE ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS

As will be seen, scholarly interest in the architectural depictions has traditionally been limited to the extent to which these depictions can be used to pinpoint the geography of the narrative or fill gaps in the archaeological record. The Column's depictions of architecture and construction are therefore an excellent opportunity for examining the interplay on the frieze between miniscule detail and historical validity. For example, despite the acknowledgement of thematic concerns for the Column, there lingers an assumption, seen particularly clearly in discussions of the architectural depictions, that the individual constituent pieces of the scenes were derived from a spirit of documentary precision.⁷²

As will be seen, to base any theory on such assumptions quickly lands one in obvious logical quandaries. On the one hand, archaeological investigation is increasingly

⁷² For this phenomenon in general, see Coulston 1990a, 39. For the architectural depictions in particular, see Richmond 1982, 3-5; Lepper and Frere 1988, 17, 31-32; Coarelli 2000, 28 n. 135.

calling into question many of the features and events depicted on the Column.⁷³ Even without the added archaeological information, some of the representations on the Column are not internally consistent. Accounting for these inconsistencies is almost always dealt with under the category of mistakes, of “seeing without understanding,”⁷⁴ with the primary difference among explanations lying in where in the chain of command for the design and execution of the carvings a scholar chooses to place the blame.⁷⁵ What is most notable, further, is that rarely are such supposed infelicities seen as intentional. Even when the production team has clearly misrepresented an architectural subject, what is questioned is the understanding of the subject, not the intent.⁷⁶ This holds true even in instances (such as marching camps executed in ashlar masonry) when simple common sense could have suggested that what was being depicted could not possibly represent reality.

There is no inherent logical justification for such views. Certainly the forces (both artistic and political) behind the Column of Trajan were concerned with issues of message and artistry, and the production team was perfectly willing to manipulate narrative and composition to achieve some greater goal. It would seem, then, that one should at least consider the idea that the production team was willing to sacrifice documentary precision for individual representations to the same general pursuit. The best explanation for logical inconsistencies and historical inaccuracies, in other words,

⁷³ Coulston 1988, 3.

⁷⁴ Richmond 1982, 5-6.

⁷⁵ See for example Turcan-Déléani 1958, 154; Lepper and Frere 1988, 32, 55-56, 63, 67, 158; Williams 1998, 176-77.

⁷⁶ For discussion, see Richmond 1982, 5-6; Lepper and Frere 1988, 32; Coulston 1990, 44; Williams 1998, 192. For specific examples of this logic in practice see also Lepper and Frere 1988, 62, 63, 100, 144, 264.

perhaps lies not in *ad hoc* justifications for each individual “error,” but in larger themes which may suggest a pattern (besides general ignorance) to these supposed “mistakes.” It is my theory that for the architectural depictions these inconsistencies and inaccuracies fall into such a pattern: this pattern is not one of general ignorance, but of intentional and consistent manipulation of the overall picture presented, without great regard for historical accuracy. The architectural depictions, in other words, reveal not how the production team understood the reality of architecture, but how they intended to represent that architecture.

2.3: CONCLUSION

It is important to understand these debates in scholarship, and to consider their ramifications for the architectural depictions. As will be seen, a thorough analysis of these depictions can also in turn shed light on some of these topics. In particular, the architectural depictions have important implications for the question of the information taken into consideration during the frieze’s production, and the question of the frieze’s historical reliability.

CHAPTER 3: GOAL, APPROACH, AND METHOD

This thesis is intended as a comprehensive analysis of the architectural depictions on the Column of Trajan. The goal is to determine whether general trends, both quantitative and qualitative, can be determined for the architectural depictions, and whether these trends can be related to thematic concerns for the Column as a whole. My initial hypothesis holds that throughout the Column, constructions associated with Rome, be they civilian architecture or military fortifications, are consistently portrayed in a manner which emphasizes their particular Roman connections and the strengths of Roman culture. In contrast, Dacian constructions are consistently depicted in a manner that highlights their barbaric nature. In my opinion it is this effort to emphasize the differences between the urban sophistication of Rome and the supposed backwoods chaos of the Dacians that determines the manner in which architecture and construction are depicted on the Column.

My first step was the creation of a catalog of each architectural structure on the frieze. I also carefully studied the architectural features within their narrative and compositional settings. For both steps of this analysis, I utilized F. Coarelli's recent edition of photographs of the frieze itself,⁷⁷ and my own photographs of the Column casts in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome. My photographs were extremely helpful in picking out and clarifying details in the architecture, since many of the details are

⁷⁷ Coarelli 2000.

difficult to see in reproductions of entire scenes (the standard format for publications of the frieze). I also consulted the most recent scholarship on the frieze, concentrating in particular on the identifications and approaches towards the various architectural depictions. The architectural depictions were then divided into three categories—Roman military architecture, civilian settlements, and Dacian architecture—for analysis and presentation.

3.1: CATALOG: METHOD AND TERMINOLOGY

As a first step in my analysis, I constructed a catalog of all architectural depictions on the frieze, in order to determine quantifiable trends within the depictions of architecture. The following discussion is intended to illustrate the methods by which this catalog proceeded, as well as to clarify basic terminology used throughout the catalog and this thesis. Unless otherwise specified, all numbers, percentages, typologies, and classifications within this study refer back to this catalog.

3.1.1: “ARCHITECTURAL UNITS” WITHIN THE ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS

In order to capture the greatest range of detail and maintain the highest degree of precision, each architectural depiction was broken up into the smallest possible coherent units, referred to here as “architectural units.” For example, the forts and watchtowers which open the frieze (Scenes I-II; FIGURE 1.A) were each cataloged as two separate architectural units: one building and one palisade. This allowed a distinction to be made in the catalog between the different construction methods of the two units. If there arose any question as to whether or not two elements were part of the same structure, then

those elements were cataloged as two separate architectural units. The settlement in the right palisade of Scene II (FIGURE 1.B), therefore, was cataloged as having four architectural units: one palisade, two *horrea*, and one “feature” (the low wall (?) which is not clearly connected to any structure, between the two *horrea*). Gateways and towers which were distinguished from their surrounding fortifications in their depiction were counted in the catalog as individual architectural units; otherwise these features were considered part of the fortifications. Thus in the town of Scenes III-IV (FIGURE 1.C), the fortifications (including in this instance the gateways), the stone tower, and the arch were counted as three individual architectural units.

No attempt was made to record whether two or more architectural units in different scenes were meant to represent the same structure. For the most part, such associations and identifications are highly speculative. In addition, since the catalog was intended to discern broad patterns for the manner in which architecture is depicted on the frieze, topographic identifications were not necessary, and perhaps even detrimental, for this stage of the analysis.

3.1.2: CLASSIFICATION OF ARCHITECTURAL UNITS

3.1.2.1: *Structural*: Architectural Types

After the architectural units were determined for a given composition, each unit was first classified as representing a particular “architectural type.” Architectural types were developed according to the needs of the catalog, with care being taken to minimize divisions; new architectural types were created only when the identification of an architectural unit clearly could not be subsumed under previous categories. In total,

twenty-five independent architectural types were represented, along with seven additional types consisting of particular variant forms of a broader type (TABLE 1). While most of these architectural types are self explanatory, some definition is required to clarify the use of certain terminology.

“Feature” as an architectural type encompasses any structure (such as that seen in the right palisade in Scene III or behind Trajan in Scene XXV; FIGURE 1.B) whose form and structural associations can not be definitively determined. The architectural type of “Building” comprises any generic, independent, walled structure. “*Horreum*” denotes those buildings with distinctive elongated, narrow doors evocative of granaries (e.g. Scene II; FIGURES 1.B, 2). “Platform” includes the detached, tribunal-like structures on which Trajan either stands or sits in various scenes (e.g. Scenes VI, X). The architectural type of “Tower Building” is discussed in length in Chapter 6, but in general comprises tall, windowed buildings set behind the fortification walls, as seen in several Dacian strongholds.

Although military terminology is a developed science of its own, its employment in descriptions of the military architecture on the frieze has been unsystematic. In recognition of this difficulty, I selected only broad terms in my catalog for the military architecture, without any attempt to adhere to technical terminology or to previous authors’ classifications. In this way, I sought to avoid imposing uncertain or spurious identifications on any architectural unit. Thus “Camp” as an architectural type includes any walled defenses either under construction or in clear association with the occupation of the Roman army in particular. Tents were considered to indicate a classification within this architectural type, since tents seem to suggest temporary occupation by the

Table 1: Architectural Types for the Column of Trajan Frieze (*continued on next page*; see Section 3.1.2 for definition of terms)

ARCHITECTURAL TYPES	Architectural Units	Percentage of Total Architectural Units for Frieze	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units classified as Roman	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units classified as Dacian	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for classified as Unclear
1. altar	12	***	12 100.00%	0	0 ***
2. amphitheater	2	***	2 100.00%	0	0 ***
3. arch	13	***	12 92.31%	0	1 ***
4. bridge	14	***	12 85.71%	0	2 14.29%
5. bridge (pontoon)	2	***	2 100.00%	0	0 ***
<i>bridges total</i>	16	***	14 87.50%	0	2 12.50%
6. building	92	28.22%	58 63.04%	32	2 34.78%
7. building (round)	8	***	0 ***	8 100.00%	0 ***
8. building (tower)	6	***	0 ***	6 100.00%	0 ***
<i>building total</i>	105	32.21%	58 55.24%	46	2 43.81%
9. camp	46	14.11%	46 100.00%	0	0 ***
10. canal	1	***	0 ***	1 100.00%	0 ***
11. column	1	***	1 100.00%	0	0 ***
12. defenses	8	***	5 62.50%	3	0 37.50%
13. feature	7	***	5 71.43%	1	0 14.29%
14. fortifications	32	***	14 43.75%	12	6 37.50%
15. fortifications (round)	1	***	1 100.00%	0	0 ***
<i>fortifications total</i>	33	10.12%	15 45.45%	12	6 36.36%
16. gateway	8	***	3 37.50%	5	0 62.50%
17. horreum	6	***	6 100.00%	0	0 ***
18. lighthouse	1	***	1 100.00%	0	0 ***
19. palisade	18	***	9 50.00%	9	0 50.00%
20. palisade (round)	1	***	0 ***	1 100.00%	0 ***
<i>palisade total</i>	19	***	9 47.37%	10	0 52.63%
21. platform	7	***	7 100.00%	0	0 ***

ARCHITECTURAL TYPES	Architectural Units	Percentage of Total Architectural Units for Frieze	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Architectural Type classified as Roman	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Architectural Type classified as Dacian	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Architectural Type classified as Unclear
22. porticos	8	***	8 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
23. quay	3	***	3 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
24. siege engine	2	***	2 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
25. temple	3	***	3 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
26. theater	1	***	1 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
27. tower	14	***	3 21.43%	11 78.57%	0 ***
28. tower (round)	1	***	1 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
<i>tower total</i>	15	***	4 26.67%	11 73.33%	0 ***
29. tunnel (?)	1	***	0 ***	0 ***	1 100.00%
30. vaults	1	***	1 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
31. wall	5	***	5 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
32. wall (round)	1	***	1 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
<i>wall total</i>	6	***	6 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***

*** : number of architectural units too small to yield a statistically significant percentage greater than 10%

army; tents themselves, as impermanent structures, were not considered architectural units. The architectural type of “Fortifications,” on the other hand, incorporates any stone defenses not considered to be a camp. Wooden walled defenses are encompassed by the architectural type of “Palisade.” As the least specific of the military architectural types, “Defenses” subsumes any non-walled defenses not covered by any of the previous categories (e.g. the spikes and cavalry traps of Scene XXV, the Roman ballista station of Scene LXVI). “Tower” indicates any larger structure without an entrance that is set within the line of the fortification walls.

Once the architectural types had been determined, I calculated the number of architectural units belonging to each type, as well as how many of these units for each type were classified as Roman or Dacian architecture (see Section 3.1.2.2 for the classification of architectural units according to cultural association). I also calculated for each type the number of units representing particular types of construction technique and material (see Section 3.1.2.4). The results and significance of these calculations, as well as the significance of the architectural types in general, will be presented fully in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

3.1.2.2: *Cultural*: Roman vs. Dacian

The most crucial classificatory distinction was dependent on whether an architectural unit should be associated with the influences of Roman or Dacian culture. If an architectural unit was clearly associated with Roman culture, the unit was classified as “Roman architecture;” if an architectural unit was associated with Dacian culture, the unit was classified as “Dacian architecture.” For many architectural units, such as camps and

platforms, a classification as “Roman architecture” was obvious. Roman influence was plainly present in the majority of architecture of the civilian settlements as well.

Similarly, many buildings and fortifications were easily classified as “Dacian architecture,” typically by their unusual forms or specific contexts, such as fleeing Dacians or destruction of settlements. An attempt was made, however, to always err on the side of ambiguity, in order to avoid incorrectly classifying a unit. Thus within the categories of “Roman” and “Dacian,” some architectural units were distinguished as uncertain, whenever an association was probable but not definite (although as will be seen, this occurred less frequently than was expected). Those architectural units whose associations were completely ambiguous were classified as “Unclear.”

3.1.2.3: *Functional*: Military vs. Civilian

Originally I attempted to distinguish between architectural units associated with the martial sphere and those associated with the civilian sphere. This categorization proved basically meaningless, given the preponderance of buildings whose exact identity, and therefore associations, were unclear. Not surprisingly, this distinction did not yield significant results, with fifty percent of the architectural units classified as “military” and forty-four percent classified as “civilian.” The general terms “military” and “civilian” are nevertheless employed in the thesis’ descriptions of architecture to distinguish architecture particularly associated with the Roman army from architecture more indicative of non-military occupation.

3.1.2.4: *Material*: Construction

Each architectural unit was classified according to construction material and technique. The two largest categories of construction type were “Stone” and “Wooden,” although a few architectural units featured some combination of these two materials. As before, care was taken to avoid spurious classifications. For a structure to be classified as “Stone,” it needed to have either block hatching or features, such as arched openings, possible only in stone construction. For a classification as “Wood,” an architectural unit was required to have either planking or peg construction clearly indicated on its walls (since plank roofs and doors appear on stone structures, the construction method of these features alone was not considered indicative of a structure’s construction). If the construction method was ambiguous, a unit was classified as “Unclear.”

3.1.3: STRUCTURAL FEATURES

Once the various classifications for a given architectural unit were determined, various features for the unit were recorded. I maintained a distinction between arched or rectangular design for several features, since this could have significant bearing on an architectural unit’s construction technique. In order to summarize the rendering of each unit, I made note of the compositional arrangement (e.g. frontal or three-quarter views, etc.) and the presence or absence of defining details and molding. I also recorded whether or not the unit was complete or under construction. A unit’s entranceway was classified as either open (i.e., without a closed frame or lintel), simple, or formal, with distinctions between rectangular and arched designs.

Windows, columns, and defined stories were tallied for each building, with the columns and windows divided according to form. The form and material were recorded for any roofs, as well as any defined pediment. I also made note if a building had stilts or was on fire or associated with fire. For fortifications and camps, any interior buildings and tents were counted, as well as any stone or wooden towers. Merlons were noted and classified according to a vague typology; this typology later proved to be only generally sustainable and probably insignificant for the aims of this study. Lines of roundels were recorded according to position along their supporting wall or bridge. For those architectural units with depicted interiors, I determined whether all interior details corresponded with the depicted exterior, or whether only secondary details (such as a crowning molding but no hatching) or no details at all were shown. Finally, my own descriptions were included for any unique features of an architectural unit.

3.1.4: NARRATIVE CONTEXT OF ARCHITECTURAL UNITS

Because the plates published by C. Cichorius were for many years the primary publication for the frieze, the scene divisions established by that author have become the traditional reference points for the Column of Trajan frieze.⁷⁸ Accordingly, I determined for each entry in the catalog the Cichorius scene and plate in which each architectural unit appears. General broad divisions of the frieze, into two wars comprising a total of three offensive and two defensive campaigns (initiated by bridge crossings and boat

⁷⁸ Lepper and Frere 1988, 1-4. Cichorius' plates reproduce photographs of casts of the Column of Trajan frieze; these casts, located in Rome, were copied from casts originally made for Napoleon III in 1861 (Lepper and Frere 1988, 1; Zanker 2000a, vii).

travel, respectively) are also generally accepted,⁷⁹ and were incorporated into this catalog: each architectural unit was identified as belonging to either the first or second war and to either an offensive or defensive campaign.

There has been less scholarly consensus in terms of a defined typology of scenes, with a wide distribution in scholarship in terms of the level of specificity for scene types. In order to facilitate clear analysis and avoid unnecessary distinctions, I followed the same procedure for determining scene types as I did architectural types, introducing new types according to the needs of the catalog, while employing broad categories to minimize divisions. Calculations by scene type, however, did not yield many quantifiable results that could not be explained by the fact that Roman soldiers tend to perform some actions but Dacians do not; in other words, the fact that only Roman architectural features appear in sacrifice scenes, for example, is a product of sacrifice being an exclusively Roman activity on the frieze. Since a thorough investigation of this phenomenon would obviously move far beyond the architectural depictions, the significance of all scene types for the architectural units is not discussed in this thesis. It remains nevertheless an intriguing subject for potential future analysis.

3.2: IMPORTANT STATISTICS FOR THE ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS

The quantitative analysis of the catalog yielded many interesting and significant results. This section presents those results encompassing all architectural units for the frieze, and is intended to demonstrate broad trends in terms of architecture for the frieze as a whole. The significance of these results, as well as statistics and trends within each

⁷⁹ Coulston 1988, 18.

of the three main categories of architectural depictions, will be presented and discussed in full in Chapters 4-6.

Following the methodology outlined above, the Column of Trajan frieze can be seen to have three hundred and twenty-six architectural units. These are distributed relatively evenly on the frieze between two wars, with a comparable number of units present in each war (TABLE 2). The distribution between offensive and defensive campaigns is more uneven (TABLE 3), although the relative percentages of architectural units encompassed in each campaign type are probably a direct product of the uneven structural divisions of the frieze. In other words, there are less architectural units in defensive campaigns, most likely because the defensive campaigns are allotted less space on the frieze. This can be seen more clearly if the campaign types are considered according to war: the second war, which features a much longer defensive campaign, also features a substantially larger percentage of architectural units falling within defensive campaigns.

There is significantly more Roman than Dacian architecture throughout the frieze (TABLE 4), according to the classificatory standards outlined above. A small percentage of units could not safely be classified as either Roman or Dacian and were therefore labeled as unclear. Within the two main divisions, there was a surprisingly small amount of recorded uncertainty: uncertain identifications, in other words, formed a small percentage of each cultural classification. I judged these percentages to be sufficiently small to warrant treating each cultural classification as a single category, without maintaining any distinction between certain and uncertain identifications in subsequent calculations.

Table 2: Distribution of Architectural Units between First and Second Dacian Wars

WAR	Architectural Units	Percentage of Total Architectural Units for Frieze	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for War in Offensive Campaigns	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for War in Defensive Campaigns
First Dacian War	165	50.61%	140 84.85%	25 15.15%
Second Dacian War	160	49.08%	90 56.25%	70 43.75%

Table 3: Distribution of Architectural Units between Offensive and Defensive Campaigns

CAMPAIGN TYPE	Architectural Units	Percentage of Total Architectural Units for Frieze	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Campaign Type classified as Roman	Percentage of all Roman Architectural Units for Frieze within Campaign Type	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Campaign Type classified as Dacian	Percentage of all Dacian Architectural Units for Frieze within Campaign Type
Offensive	231	70.86%	134 58.01%	59.56%	85 36.80%	96.59%
Defensive	95	29.14%	90 94.74%	40.00%	3 3.16%	3.41%

Table 4: Classification of Architectural Units according to Cultural Association

CULTURAL ASSOCIATION	Architectural Units	Percentage of Total Architectural Units for Frieze	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Cultural Association with certain classification	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Cultural Association with uncertain classification
Roman	225	69.02%	213	12
Dacian	88	26.99%	79	9
Unclear	13	3.99%		

Table 5: Distribution of Architectural Units for Construction Technique According to Cultural Association

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE	Architectural Units (AU)	Percentage of Total AU for Frieze	Number (Percentage) of AU for Construction Technique classified as Roman	Percentage of all Roman AU for Frieze illustrating Construction Technique	Number (Percentage) of AU for Construction Technique classified as Dacian	Percentage of all Dacian AU for Frieze illustrating Construction Technique
Stone	183	56.13%	154	84.15%	22	12.02%
Wooden	88	26.99%	36	40.91%	49	55.68%
Combination	6	1.84%	2	33.33%	4	66.67%
Unclear	47	14.42%	33	70.21%	13	27.66%

Interesting trends were determined for the distribution of Roman and Dacian architecture in terms of campaign type (TABLE 3). Dacian architecture is limited almost exclusively to offensive campaigns, with ninety-seven percent of all Dacian architecture on the frieze contained within the narrative of Roman offensive thrusts. Roman architectural units, on the other hand, occur with nearly equal frequency in offensive and defensive campaigns. Offensive campaigns feature a relatively even distribution of Roman and Dacian architecture, while defensive campaigns are dominated by Roman architecture, with ninety-five percent of all architectural units classified as Roman. There appears to be a clear association, therefore, between Roman aggression and Dacian architecture, and Roman protection and Roman architecture.

General statistics for construction techniques, when applied to the frieze as a whole, were not particularly striking (TABLE 5). Stone architecture comprised over fifty-six percent of all architectural units for the frieze, while wooden architecture comprised twenty-six percent. Fourteen percent of all units, furthermore, could not be firmly classified, but were categorized as Unclear. Architectural units demonstrating a combination of wood and stone construction comprised only four percent of all units. The analysis of the construction techniques' distributions within the Roman and Dacian architecture, on the other hand, yielded very interesting and significant results, which will be discussed at length in later chapters.

CHAPTER 4: DEPICTIONS OF ROMAN MILITARY ARCHITECTURE ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

The depiction of Roman military architecture has become one of the most famous features of the Column of Trajan frieze. The original importance of this architecture in the portrayal of the Roman military is evidenced by the amount of the Column involved (FIGURE 3): over twenty percent in terms of surface area by topic is concerned with military engineering, second only to the twenty-five percent devoted to scenes of battle.⁸⁰ These architectural depictions are notable not only for their quantity but also for their quality and variety. Roman defenses are shown in a variety of stages: walls are depicted under construction and complete, as temporary camps and permanent fortifications. Tents, towers, gates, and other details enliven the architecture and provide visual variety. The overall impression gained from the Roman architecture is that of organization and permanence in the midst of primitive, barbaric disorder.

Modern interest, however, has been more concerned with the level of accuracy for these depictions, since they often preserve the only known representation of activities and structural features which have left little trace in the archaeological record.⁸¹

Reconstructions of frontier forts in particular have relied on the Column of Trajan for

⁸⁰ Williams 1998, 175. For the importance of construction scenes in highlighting military technical expertise, see Richmond 1982, 3-5; Coulston 1988, 39; Hölscher 2002, 137.

⁸¹ McCarthy 1986, 340; Coulston 1988, 22, 24-25; Lepper and Frere 1988, 264.

their upper structures and overall appearance.⁸² The military architecture of the Column of Trajan thus presents an important case study to test the relationship between reality and representation on the frieze. Close analysis suggests that, despite archaeologists' hopes, thematic concerns were often privileged over documentary accuracy in the depictions of Roman military architecture.

4.1: PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP ON THE FRIEZE'S DEPICTIONS OF MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

In many ways the general scholarly approach to the frieze's military architecture can be exemplified by that of F. Lepper and S. Frere. In their thorough description and presentation of Cichorius' plates, Lepper and Frere show considerable interest in Roman military architecture in particular.⁸³ They spend most of their discussion of these depictions, however, in an attempt to make historical sense of the frieze's narrative.⁸⁴ Their description of Scenes XVI-XVII is in many ways exemplary of their general approach:

We see first yet another 'construction-camp' (?), with tents inside, yet with a turf rampart with 'log-walks' ...then a more permanent stone and timber-towered fort (?) being built up alongside... Others may be wondering about the speed...of this advance: did Trajan say in the *Dacica* that at each station he paused long enough to construct a permanent fort for the future?...surely he would have left working-parties behind for such purposes and not held up the advance of the whole army.⁸⁵

⁸² Coulston 1990a, 39, 46. For the dangers of such practice, see Coulston 1988, 138-39, 142; 1990a, 41.

⁸³ Lepper and Frere 1988.

⁸⁴ Lepper and Frere 1988, 39, 48, 58, 62, 66.

⁸⁵ Lepper and Frere 1988, 66.

The authors' primary concern seems to be to identify the military depictions, both in terms of geography⁸⁶ and vague typology,⁸⁷ as well as to deduce the source and extent of the information available for the Column's production.⁸⁸ Lepper and Frere assume a constant interest in this production to maintain documentary precision,⁸⁹ and see the many inconsistencies in the frieze's depictions of military architecture as mistakes stemming from confusion during the sculpting process.⁹⁰

The most methodological analyses of the frieze's military architecture are those of J.C.N. Coulston.⁹¹ Although Coulston employs a more systematic approach and greater technical knowledge than do Lepper and Frere,⁹² his ultimate concerns are basically the same: to sort out a typology for the various camps and fortifications,⁹³ and to evaluate the

⁸⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 60-61, 62-64, 66-67, 86, 89, 95, 100, 103, 108, 134, 171.

⁸⁷ Lepper and Frere 1988, 58, 60-61, 62, 64-67, 99, 103, 105.

⁸⁸ Lepper and Frere 1988, 19, 55-56, 63, 103, 150, 173. For commentary on Lepper and Frere's approach to this problem, see Coulston 1990b, 293, 303.

⁸⁹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 17, 62, 103. Only once, in the appendix, do Lepper and Frere (1988, 265) suggest that the artists may have been not only untrained but also "unconcerned with the niceties of such military detail." This may be compared to the number of instances where the authors assume outright misunderstanding (*infra* n. 90).

⁹⁰ Lepper and Frere 1988, especially 55-56, 63, and 264, also 32, 62, 67, 100, 103, 117-18, 156, 158. Lepper and Frere attribute quite a few of these mistakes to specific aspects of the carving process, usually either (a) poorly executed master sketches (1988, 32, 63) or (b) confusion along the drum joins arising from the separate carving of each drum (for the sculpting process, see 1988, 23-25; for the resultant mistakes, see 1988, 48, 98, 160, 164; cf. Coulston 1990b, 300). Coulston (1988, 104, 136; 1990b, 301-02, 162) has convincingly demonstrated the likelihood that the sculptors were working primarily from their own imagination and memory, rather than prepared sketches. Coulston (1990b, 300-02) has also shown the impossibility of executing the frieze by Lepper and Frere's method, arguing (*infra* n. 96) instead that the frieze was carved *in situ*, advancing from bottom to top. Beckman (2006, 225-29, 233-34) seems to have independently reached similar conclusions about the execution of the frieze, drawing on the same lines of evidence.

⁹¹ Coulston 1988; 1990a; 1990b.

⁹² See for example Coulston 1988, 137. For a criticism of Lepper and Frere's technical inaccuracies, see Coulston 1990b, 293-94.

⁹³ Coulston 1988, 137-38, 149-50; 1990b, 39.

influential discussion to date.⁹⁹ As seen in a Chapter 2, Richmond has the utmost faith in the frieze's intention of accuracy of detail,¹⁰⁰ although he does question its general historical reliability.¹⁰¹ This faith leads Richmond to see any deviation from realistic depiction as a product of a misunderstanding between the draftsmen and sculptors.¹⁰² Richmond's primary interest in terms of architecture is clarifying the method of construction for the various fortifications. His argument that the production team of the Column intended to represent turf-and-timber construction for most Roman camps has been received by subsequent scholarship almost without question.¹⁰³ As the discussion below will prove, however, broader themes may prove more important than the individual details underlying Richmond's theories.

4.2: THE GREAT TURF HYPOTHESIS: REALITY, REPRESENTATION, AND RICHMOND'S ROUNDELS

For all Roman camps and fortifications on the frieze, the basic material making up the walls is depicted in the same way: regular, horizontal rectangular blocks, with alternating joins between the rows (FIGURE 4.A). This is exactly the same technique found on the surrounding walls and interior buildings of the civilian settlements, often in conjunction with large arched gateways, colonnades, and other features reminiscent of

⁹⁹ Richmond 1982.

¹⁰⁰ Richmond 1982, 3-5; see also Coulston 1988, 136; Lepper and Frere 1988, 3.

¹⁰¹ Richmond 1982, 4; see also Lepper and Frere 1988, 3.

¹⁰² Richmond 1982, 5-6.

¹⁰³ Lepper and Frere 1988, 62-63, 264. While Coulston (1990a, 39-40, 44, 46) questions Richmond's interpretation of the specific actions of the construction scenes and the structural significance of the roundels, he nevertheless seems to follow Richmond in accepting that the sculptors were meant to indicate turf-and-timber construction.

stone (FIGURE 4.B). Art historians and archaeologists alike have baulked at the idea, however, that in the particular case of the Roman camps the production team of the Column was seeking to depict construction in stone.

Richmond has famously argued that, in the case of Roman military fortifications, the rectangular hatching is in fact meant to be the turf blocks of turf-and-timber construction.¹⁰⁴ Richmond and other turf proponents have based their arguments on three major considerations: a) it is illogical and anachronistic to expect temporary camps on campaign to be constructed in stone;¹⁰⁵ b) in several instances the legionaries involved in construction seem to be depicted in activities more conducive to turf construction than stone;¹⁰⁶ c) the horizontal arrangements of roundels which appear on many fortifications seem to represent the ends of logs making up corduroy catwalks along the tops of earthen ramparts.¹⁰⁷

All of these arguments are based firmly on the assumption that the production team of the Column was seeking to represent the events they sought to document with amazing accuracy and detail. Following this assumption through at any stage, however, forces proponents into a series of logical machinations in an effort to uphold its premise. This is brought about by the fact that the depictions on the Column simply do not match reality in any coherent way.¹⁰⁸ Attempts to explain away the inconsistencies through

¹⁰⁴ Richmond 1982, especially 5, 21-22; Lepper and Frere 1988, 62. For the same issue regarding the Column of Marcus Aurelius, see Hanoune 2000, 208, 210.

¹⁰⁵ Richmond 1982, 21; Coulston 1988, 137; Lepper and Frere 1988, 66, 145, 265; Coulston 1990a, 39, 44.

¹⁰⁶ Richmond 1982, 21-22; Coulston 1988, 144; Lepper and Frere 1988, 66, 88, 103; Coulston 1990a, 42.

¹⁰⁷ Richmond 1982, 22; Lepper and Frere 1988, 62.

¹⁰⁸ For a comprehensive list of inconsistencies and logical impossibilities in the depictions of military architecture, see Coulston 1988, 138-39.

frieze's many inconsistencies in light of the sculpting process. Coulston judges the military architecture as too generic and dependent on compositional concerns to be completely historically reliable,⁹⁴ but he nevertheless seems to consider the depicted constructions as mostly reliant on actual architectural practice, with an intention to reflect reality.⁹⁵ Coulston thus interprets inconsistencies as mostly "the result of sculptors' confusion and inattention to detail,"⁹⁶ although he attributes the primary agency, in terms of design of the frieze's depictions, to the sculptors themselves (rather than to some "Maestro" stylist).⁹⁷ Coulston's analysis thus represents some advance over that of Lepper and Frere, but does not break from the academic fold in terms of questioning much more than the means of execution for the architectural depictions.⁹⁸

The approaches of both Coulston and Lepper and Frere can be traced back ultimately to I. Richmond, whose analysis of the military architecture remains the most

⁹⁴ Coulston 1988, 24, 26-27.

⁹⁵ Coulston 1990a, 41.

⁹⁶ Coulston 1988, 69; see also 1988, 42, 61, 69, 107, 139, 143; 1990b, 294, 303 and especially 1988, 53-55, 81-82, 162. Coulston (1988, 55, 97-100; 1990b, 302, 306-07) uses the distribution of particular inconsistencies and other details to argue for several different sculpting teams working simultaneously on the frieze, moving from bottom to top (1988, 101; 1990b, 301). In particular Coulston (1990b, 303; see also 1988, 55, 81, 101) argues that these sculptors can be seen as "making less mistakes as they went along."

⁹⁷ Coulston 1988, 104-106; 1990b, 301, 303.

⁹⁸ In a general discussion of the historicity of the frieze's narrative, Coulston (1988, 30) argues that "[i]t may be suspected that the creation of a realistic pictorial narrative of events was subordinated to other purposes, and that a large proportion of the modern literature devoted to the problems of historical interpretation has been misdirected." Yet Coulston (1988, 122) often falls into the typical trap of considering all details in military architecture as intended to faithfully reflect some real feature. This mindset can be seen in his discussion of the Dacian ballista in Scene LXV: Coulston (1988, 61) notes that "[s]tylised and symbolic gestures are repeatedly employed to elucidate situations" and that "the operators are a mirror image of the confronting...Roman artillery men;" yet he still argues that "the ballista is pointing in the wrong direction due to the sculptor's technical incomprehension." Lepper and Frere (1988, 32) notably choose this same scene to raise the possibility that "some alleged errors...may not be errors at all."

speculations of “who was familiar with what construction technique when” only lead to more confusion and contradictions. The assumption regarding the production team’s intent thus appears to be inherently flawed. It is significantly easier to see the depictions of Roman military architecture within the same conceptual framework as the depictions of civilian settlements, namely as an effort to extol the Roman way of life and draw a positive contrast between Roman culture and barbaric Dacia. In this light the representation of all Roman fortifications as stone takes on intriguing symbolic importance.

4.2.1: EVALUATION OF RICHMOND’S TURF AND TIMBER THEORY

In building his case for the turf-and-timber construction of the majority of Roman camps on the frieze, Richmond presents a series of arguments, many of which are based on a particular example on the frieze and then extrapolated to apply to the Roman camps in general. Many of these arguments seem less certain, however, when considered in light of broader trends, both on the frieze and in the archaeological record, and it may be questioned whether or not Richmond’s theories do in fact “prove that turf ramparts were what the designer had in mind and intended to portray.”¹⁰⁹

4.2.1.1: Logic and Archaeology

The first of Richmond’s arguments for interpreting the Roman fortifications as turf-and-timber stems from the logistical nonsense of constructing temporary military

¹⁰⁹ For the quotation, but certainly not the doubt regarding Richmond’s theories, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 264.

encampments out of ashlar masonry.¹¹⁰ Scholars have generally ignored, however, the fact that building any significant fortification along the lines of those depicted on the frieze would require more work and material than logistically possible on campaign, regardless of construction method. The rampart at Carlisle is estimated to have entailed “a total strapping requirement of around 2,200 m³” in timber and an area of turf “well in excess of 12 acres.”¹¹¹ Even if one considers Carlisle to be significantly larger than any camp implied on the Column, one must still question whether the scale of construction on the frieze, which in many camps includes elaborate gates, towers, and completed buildings, can be considered logical for any building material.

Besides the obvious considerations of mechanics, turf proponents point out that even for later, more permanent Roman fortifications, there is little archaeological evidence in Dacia or any other frontier for stone construction until the Hadrianic period or later.¹¹² There is nearly as little evidence in Dacia, however, for turf-and-timber construction. While turf-and-timber forts are common in Britain, the majority of continental forts seem to have been built using earth-and-timber construction,¹¹³ a technique more suited to continental soils and easily distinguishable archaeologically by its unique ramparts.¹¹⁴ The archaeological record in Dacia regarding the subject of Roman fortification construction is inadequate, with few examples of marching camps recognized and little attention having been paid in excavation to the earlier layers of

¹¹⁰ Richmond 1982, 21; Lepper and Frere 1988, 66, 145; Coulston 1988, 137, 146; 1990a, 39, 44.

¹¹¹ McCarthy 1996, 341.

¹¹² Wade 1969, 234; Richmond 1982, 22; Coulston 1988, 146, 149; 1990a, 44.

¹¹³ Lepper and Frere 1988, 262.

¹¹⁴ Lepper and Frere 1988, 264.

occupation for forts of all sizes.¹¹⁵ There may be some examples of turf-and-timber construction in Dacia,¹¹⁶ mostly for later auxiliary forts,¹¹⁷ but for now there is little archaeological evidence to suggest that turf-and-timber construction must be the most historically valid assumption for Dacia, especially to the exclusion of the more common earth-and-timber.¹¹⁸

4.2.1.2: Depictions of Construction in Progress

The second of Richmond's arguments relates to the manner in which the Roman legionaries go about the process of construction.¹¹⁹ In particular, Scene XX may depict legionaries cutting turf blocks (FIGURE 5).¹²⁰ It is unclear in any scene of legionaries digging (Scenes XI-XII, XX, XXXIX, LII, LVI, LX, LXV; FIGURES 6.A-E), however, exactly what they are doing, and they could equally well be digging the ditches which were so crucial to the design of temporary Roman encampments.¹²¹ In Scene LVI

¹¹⁵ Lepper and Frere 1988, 263-65.

¹¹⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 265; Coulston 1990a, 44.

¹¹⁷ Wade 1969. Wade (1969, 212) simply makes remarks along the lines of "[a] turf and timber structure preceded a later camp constructed of stone," without any further discussion or description; it seems reasonable to consider the possibility that at least some of the camps discussed by Wade may have been constructed along the lines of earth-and-timber.

¹¹⁸ There are also several examples of Roman fortifications in Dacia which suggest that earth-and-timber was a common construction technique (Lepper and Frere 1988, 120; Daniel Moore 2006 *personal correspondence*).

¹¹⁹ Richmond 1982, 24; Lepper and Frere 1988, 103.

¹²⁰ Richmond 1982, 21-22; Lepper and Frere 1988, 66; Coulston 1988, 144; 1990a, 42. Although Richmond (1982, 24) chose Scene LX as his illustrative example of turf cutting, followed by Lepper and Frere (1988, 103), in my opinion Scene XX comes closest to definitive evidence for a depiction of turf cutting on the frieze, since it is the only scene which includes (possible) cut turfs on and in the ground.

¹²¹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 66; Coulston 1990a, 42. Coulston (1988, 144; 1990a, 42) in particular sees Scene XX as representing the digging of a ditch around a second pair of fortifications, although his

digging appears next to an already completed fort, and in Scene LII there is no architecture at all.¹²² In Scene LXV (FIGURE 6.E) legionaries are also shown digging in overtly hilly and rocky ground,¹²³ an impossible location for removing turfs. Digging is indicated in part by the use of baskets;¹²⁴ not only does it seem illogical to load square turfs into small round baskets, but in Scenes XX, LII and LVI what is in the baskets is clearly not turfs (FIGURES 6.B, 6.D). Since one must cut turf *in situ*, not shape it like bricks after excavation,¹²⁵ if one takes these scenes literally it seems more logical to interpret the digging as related to defensive ditches. In other words, if Scene XX does in fact show the removal of turfs, it should be taken as an isolated depiction, not a general theme of the frieze.¹²⁶

It is true that *dolabrae* appear several times,¹²⁷ furthermore, but stone-working tools do as well (Scenes XXXIX and LX), and “in wall construction scenes” in general, “individual blocks are treated as if they were made of stone.”¹²⁸ The many depictions of legionaries carrying large rectangular blocks on their backs or handing them around (Scenes XI-XII, XX, XXXIX, LX, LXVIII, CXXVI, CXXIX; FIGURES 7.A-E) have been

¹²² Coulston 1988, 144.

¹²³ Lepper and Frere (1988, 105; cf. Coulston 1990a, 42) accept that this scene depicts the cutting of turf—and therefore a turf built fort—in rough terrain, without addressing the consequent logical difficulties.

¹²⁴ Coulston 1990a, 42.

¹²⁵ Richmond (1982, 22) points out that this fact was understood even by Latin authors, but does not address the inconsistency between this fact and the depictions on the Column.

¹²⁶ This can be compared, for example, to Lepper and Frere’s (1988, 88) identification of the camp in Scene XXXIX as constructed of turf based on what they see as a scene showing “the regulation turves...being cut, handed up and placed in position.” For a discussion of this identification, especially in light of the scene’s inclusion of stone cutting tools and the size of the blocks being handled by the legionaries, see Section 4.2.2.

¹²⁷ Lepper and Frere 1988, 143; Coulston 1990a, 42-3.

¹²⁸ Coulston 1988, 145; 1990a, 43-44.

used to argue for lighter turfs,¹²⁹ but the logistics of carrying either a turf or an ashlar block on one's shoulder are equally improbable, if for different reasons.¹³⁰ Legionaries not only carry unrealistically large blocks, but also unrealistically large timbers (FIGURE 7.F), or use "small mallets" to pound in fortifications' gate-posts (FIGURE 7.G).¹³¹ Scene CXXXIV, where legionaries hurl rectangular blocks down on the besieging Dacians (FIGURE H), makes little logistical sense with heavy ashlar, but makes no logistical sense at all with lighter turfs.¹³²

Just as in scenes of completed buildings,¹³³ scale and positioning are manipulated in construction scenes to fit within a restricted area the elements necessary to form a recognizable scene.¹³⁴ "Such scenes suffer badly from the scaling down in size of scenery:"¹³⁵ human figures are not only out of proportion to their construction materials, but more noticeably to the constructions themselves (FIGURES 8.A-B). Within a single wall, incoming blocks are sometimes adjusted to the same scale as preceding courses (e.g. Scenes XX, LX, LXVIII; FIGURE 7.D), but sometimes are not (Scenes XI, XXXIX;

¹²⁹ Richmond 1982, 24; for discussion see Coulston 1988, 142; 1990a, 41-42, 44.

¹³⁰ Coulston 1988, 146; 1990a, 43-44. Richmond's argument (1982, 24) in favor of carrying turfs on one's back is unconvincing and does not sufficiently address the very probable result of the turfs crumbling (for the difficulties inherent in turf transport, see McCarthy 1986, 341). Coulston (1988, 149; 1990, 46) argues that the scenes imitate workers carrying bricks to build the Forum of Trajan, a model readily available to the Column's production team; Coulston does not answer, however, the question of what material the production team intend to have the legionaries carrying in that manner.

¹³¹ Coulston 1988, 145; 1990a, 43.

¹³² Coulston 1988, 145-46; 1990a, 43-44. Compare Scene CXVI (FIGURE 36.H; Chapter 6), where Dacians push blocks onto Romans: the wall in this scene has traditionally been interpreted as constructed of ashlar.

¹³³ Turcan-Déléani 1958; Lepper and Frere 1988, 32, 48, 149; Coarelli 2000, 30.

¹³⁴ Lepper and Frere 1988, 32; Coulston 1990a, 41.

¹³⁵ Coulston 1990a, 43; see also 1988, 54.

FIGURE 8.A).¹³⁶ In Scene XI, a soldier inserts a block immediately next to a line of roundels (FIGURE 8.A). K. Lehmann-Hartleben, furthermore, argued that the construction scenes rely heavily on a few stock figure poses with parallels elsewhere in Roman art,¹³⁷ decreasing the likelihood that every movement represented has some significance specific to the construction technique at hand.¹³⁸ These scenes of construction seem ultimately “concerned less with the actual activities than with advertising the skills of the citizen troops and the generalship qualities of the emperor.”¹³⁹

4.2.1.3: Richmond’s Roundels

The most famous argument for turf-and-timber construction is Richmond’s interpretation of the lines of roundels appearing along camp and fortification walls as the ends of wooden catwalks crowning earthen ramparts.¹⁴⁰ Since such features are considered incompatible with stone construction,¹⁴¹ Richmond concluded that it was turf-and-timber, not stone, which the production team was seeking to portray for most military structures.¹⁴² The handling of these roundels on the frieze is hardly consistent, however, raising serious questions about the validity of many of Richmond’s conclusions.

¹³⁶ Coulston 1988, 145; 1990a, 43-44.

¹³⁷ Coulston 1988, 29; 1990a, 42.

¹³⁸ Coulston 1988, 145.

¹³⁹ Coulston 1990a, 39.

¹⁴⁰ Richmond 1982, 5; Lepper and Frere 1988, 62.

¹⁴¹ Richmond 1982, 22; Coulston 1988, 142; 1990a, 41.

¹⁴² Richmond 1982, 19-20; Coulston 1990a, 41.

Twenty-seven features with roundels appear on the frieze, for a total of thirty-two individual roundel lines. Roundels appear on sixteen camps and three fortifications, as well as on three bridges, one tower, one wall, and four features whose type cannot be identified. Thirty-five percent of camps, therefore, and not quite ten percent of fortifications feature roundels. The manner in which these roundels are rendered varies. Roundels typically appear as a row of circular features, with distinct linear bands above and below (e.g. Scenes XI-XII, CVIII; FIGURES 9.A-C, E-F). These bands are sometimes omitted (e.g. Scenes XIII, CXLVII; FIGURE 9.G); in Scene XCIII (a Dacian example; FIGURE 9.D) the bands appear on one side of a gateway but not the other. There is a range of spacing between the roundels, from crowded (e.g. Scene XX; FIGURES 9.A, F) to so far apart as to render any catwalk hazardous (Scenes XVII, XLIII, CVIII; FIGURES 9.B, I). The roundels themselves are occasionally rendered as distinct hemispheres (e.g. Scenes XII-XIII; FIGURE 9.C), more often as circular disks (e.g. Scenes XX, XXII, XXVI-XXVII; FIGURES 9.B, F). In one example (admittedly Dacian; Scene LXXI), roundels appear without rectangular hatching.

Coulston has demonstrated that roundel position varies according to the height of the frieze, with roundels in general becoming much less frequent with increasing height (only six examples appear in the second war) and generally more logically positioned.¹⁴³ Only eight of all roundel lines appear in vaguely the correct position for catwalks, along the middle of their supporting walls (Scenes XIII, XLIX, LXXI, CIX, CXIII-CXVI, CXLI, CXLVII; FIGURE 9.E); the most frequent position for the roundels is one crowning their supporting walls, with eighteen examples (e.g. Scenes XI-XII, XX, XLIII; FIGURES

¹⁴³ Coulston 1988, 53, 142; 1990a, 42.

9.A-D, F).¹⁴⁴ In Scene XII, roundels appear too high, too low, and in an approximately suitable position for catwalks, all within inches of each other (FIGURES 9.G-H). In no case does the catwalk itself appear: in instances when the pictured walls turn at an angle to reveal the interior space where the catwalk should be, the catwalk is absent (see especially Scene XLIII; FIGURE 9.I).¹⁴⁵ In Scenes XXII, XXVIII and XLIX (FIGURE 9.F), where the roundels themselves appear again on the interior, they are treated in exactly the same manner as on the exterior of their structures. Finally, the roundels are much smaller in proportion to the rectangular hatching than actual timbers would be to turf blocks. Coulston concludes that “the sculptors were employing this device inconsistently for purely decorative effect and were not following structural considerations.”¹⁴⁶ The roundels may be connected in some way to catwalks as Richmond suggests, but this connection is clearly not one of one-to-one realistic accuracy.

Even if Richmond were right in his interpretation of the roundels as timber catwalks, it does not necessarily follow that his interpretation of the walls as turf-and-timber is also correct. On seventeen out of twenty possible structures (excluding bridges and unidentifiable features), roundels are present along the same supposed catwalk as what appear to be merlons, a feature usually composed of single ashlar blocks placed along *stone* ramparts (e.g. Scenes XI, XXVIII, CVIII; also in Dacian fortifications: Scene

¹⁴⁴ For the logical validity of various roundel positions and their distribution on the frieze, see Coulston 1988, 53, 142; 1990a, 42. For additional discussion of the logic of particular instances, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 63.

¹⁴⁵ Lepper and Frere 1988, 63, 67.

¹⁴⁶ Coulston 1988, 54.

XCIII; FIGURES 9.A-I).¹⁴⁷ Roundels also appear on the same features as rounded arches, a feature impossible in turf-and-timber (Scenes XI-XII, XXII, and especially XX-XXI, where the roundels follow the line of the arch; FIGURES 9.F, 10).¹⁴⁸ The roundels as they appear on the Column, therefore, are not only at times inconsistent with the internal logistics of turf-and-timber construction, but they are sometimes mixed with elements inconsistent with turf-and-timber as a technique.

4.2.2: INTERPRETING THE INCONSISTENCIES OF THE FRIEZE'S MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

The inconsistencies in military architecture on the frieze have traditionally been explained away by the argument that “the artists were completely ignorant of turf construction and that they impractically applied information supplied by a knowledgeable source.”¹⁴⁹ What made it onto the marble, according to this theory, was a stylized representation, with the background concept of what the roundels were meant to represent having been lost. This is certainly possible, given the likelihood that few involved with the Column would ever have seen, let alone built, a turf-and-timber fort. If one assumes such a lack of conceptual understanding or interest regarding the catwalks, however, it seems reasonable to exclude the roundels as definitive evidence for the larger background concept of turf-and-timber forts. If the production team did not know (or care) enough concerning what the roundels were meant to represent to pay attention to position, there is no reason to believe that they would have been more concerned with

¹⁴⁷ Coulston 1990a, 42. For the incompatibility between timber catwalks and stone walls, see Richmond 1982, 21-22; Coulston 1988, 143-44. Richmond (1982, 21) interprets the merlons as timber; for the presentation of these merlons as stone blocks, see Coulston 1988, 143.

¹⁴⁸ Lepper and Frere 1988, 62, 67.

¹⁴⁹ Coulston 1990a, 44; see also Richmond 1982, 5-6; Coulston 1988, 122, 147, 149-150; Lepper and Frere 1988, 56, 62-63, 117-18, 264.

structural logistics and only included the roundels on the camps that they intended to specifically portray as turf-and-timber. That they in fact included roundels alongside equally diagnostic features for stone only furthers the impression that the production team did not utilize the roundels as some sort of distinguishing characteristic for turf-and-timber construction in particular.

Viewing the inclusion of roundels as definitively “correct,” furthermore, forces a scholar to privilege the roundels above other details—in other words, to view other details as definitively “incorrect.” One hundred percent of Roman camps have rectangular hatching reminiscent of stone. Merlons appear on eighty percent of these camps, while roundels appear on only thirty-five percent; of the sixteen camps with roundels, fourteen also have merlons and four have arched entranceways. Yet in these latter examples, the assumption has been that it is the roundels, even if they are “incorrectly” positioned, which indicate the construction method, meaning that the stone merlons (although more “correctly”¹⁵⁰ and frequently represented), the arched gateways, and perhaps the hatching are all mistakes. This can be seen in Lepper and Frere’s comments that “where mere routine drills are concerned...monstrosities may be perpetrated: one may observe...features only possible in stone inserted into the turf rampart of what is otherwise clearly a temporary invasion camp.”¹⁵¹ This mindset can also be extended to making choices about the relative validity of construction activities: for Scene XXXIX (FIGURE 11) Lepper and Frere privilege the baskets over the stone

¹⁵⁰ Although the merlons’ position is generally more logical, Coulston (1988, 143-44; 1990a, 42) notes that, in terms of strict adherence to the logistics of military campaigning, both merlons and roundels are “inappropriate features for camps.”

¹⁵¹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 56; see also 1988, 62, 67, 89, 100.

cutting tools in arguing for turf construction,¹⁵² despite, as has been seen, the relative ambiguity of baskets in relation to turf. In arguing for turf-and-timber construction, in other words, modern scholars have decided which details are more important, not only for themselves, but for the design of the frieze over all.

In my opinion the employment of the roundels should be interpreted somewhere between the “purely decorative effect” of Coulston and the structural specificity of Richmond. The roundels are most prevalent in the beginning of the frieze, at a point where there seems to be an interest in establishing the flavor of the setting for the narrative. Just as the forts, watchtowers, palisades, and piled logs of Scenes I-II effectively convey the idea of “the frontier” (FIGURE 12), the roundels characterize their constructions as belonging to another place and time, outside of the ancient viewer’s everyday experience. The roundels, in other words, evoke the character and setting of the camps and fortifications, not their construction technique.

4.3: BEYOND TURF-AND-TIMBER: A THEMATIC APPROACH TO THE FRIEZE’S MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

As can be seen above, previous insistence on the Column of Trajan’s strict adherence to reality for its depictions of military architecture has done little to advance the understanding of these important phenomena. The rejection of this mindset, on the other hand, can allow movement beyond debates over details to the exploration of broader themes and influences evident in these depictions.

In all of these discussions of roundels and ramparts one essential fact has become lost: the military structures as depicted do not look like turf-and-timber constructions—

¹⁵² Lepper and Frere 1988, 88.

they look like stone. Even the strongest proponents of turf implicitly acknowledge this fact, when in the case of some fortifications they interpret the same rectangular blocks which they elsewhere insist are turfs as ashlar.¹⁵³ Lepper and Frere go so far as to explicitly admit that the sculptors uses “a stone-work pattern,”¹⁵⁴ thus “depicting [the supposed turfs] as no different from ashlar,”¹⁵⁵ characteristically this is chalked up to sculptor’ “misinterpret[ation].”¹⁵⁶

There is no apparent effort on the part of the production team to distinguish the construction technique used in Roman military architecture from that used in Roman cities or towns: exterior walls and interior buildings in both military and civilian contexts are all depicted using the same rectangular block hatching (FIGURES 4.A-B). Nor is there any obvious consistent attempt to distinguish construction techniques among types of fortifications.¹⁵⁷ Archaeologists have developed a detailed hierarchy of distinct military camp types, from permanent stone forts to ephemeral timber encampments.¹⁵⁸ While attempts have been made to discern similar distinctions on the Column,¹⁵⁹ discrete types

¹⁵³ Lepper and Frere 1988, 63, 100-02, 116, 118, 134, 143, 152; Coulston 1990a, 46, 47. Lepper and Frere (1988, 265) suggest that the stone construction for these specific fortifications may indicate (a) forts built by Domitian or (b) Roman engineers misused by Decebalus, or (c) misunderstandings on the part of the artists.

¹⁵⁴ Lepper and Frere 1988, 143.

¹⁵⁵ Lepper and Frere 1988, 264.

¹⁵⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 264; see also 1988, 265-66.

¹⁵⁷ Lepper and Frere 1988, 55-56. For the same issue regarding the Column of Marcus Aurelius, see Hanoune 2000, 208.

¹⁵⁸ Coulston 1988, 137; Lepper and Frere 1988, 55-56, 260-62; Coulston 1990a, 39.

¹⁵⁹ Coulston 1988, 137-38; Lepper and Frere 1988, especially 65-66; Coulston 1990a, 39.

of fortification are really not apparent;¹⁶⁰ all military architecture is depicted with the same type of rectangular block wall, and elements of more permanent structures mix with those of the ephemeral.¹⁶¹

Yet as Coulston, points out, given the wealth of careful detail and its use throughout the Column, it seems likely that had the production team wished to somehow distinguish stone walls from turf ramparts, they could have done so.¹⁶² Elsewhere on the Column, the most miniscule details are used to differentiate one military legion from another;¹⁶³ distinct modes of dress discriminate between Dacian social classes (FIGURE 14.A);¹⁶⁴ and auxiliary units of German cavalry (Scene LXIV) and eastern archers (Scene XCIV-CXV; FIGURE 14.B) wear characteristic dress and “retain their native physiognomy and costume.”¹⁶⁵ It would appear, then, that the production team of the Column had recourse, from whatever knowledgeable source, to a highly refined degree of information,¹⁶⁶ and that they actively utilized this information at points to paint a very detailed, differentiated picture. One can only conclude that for whatever reason they did not choose to pursue a similar vein with the Roman military architecture.

¹⁶⁰ Coulston 1988, 137-38; Lepper and Frere 1988, 55-56, 103, 263; Coulston 1990a, 39, 41. Lepper and Frere (1998, 264) “prefer the explanation that the sculptors were not sufficiently briefed on the distinctions between permanent and temporary work.”

¹⁶¹ Coulston 1988, 138; Lepper and Frere 1988, 56, 67, 103.

¹⁶² For example, by using closer hatched lines (Coulston 1988, 147; 1990a, 44).

¹⁶³ Rossi 1978, 100.

¹⁶⁴ Rossi 1978, 121. For the accuracy of such depictions, see MacKenzie 1986, 30.

¹⁶⁵ Richmond 1982, 18. For discussion of the eastern archers see Richmond 1982, 18; Coarelli 2000, 185; for discussion of the German cavalry see Coarelli 2000, 111. For the significance of the inclusion of these auxiliaries, see Coulston 1988, 43; Hölcher 2002, 137.

¹⁶⁶ Coulston 1988, 121. Coulston (1988, 121) specifically lists fortifications, artillery, monumental architecture, and even possibility the buildings of Ancona as areas where experts could be supplied from within Rome.

It can be no coincidence, as Lepper and Frere would have it, that the technique employed for this architecture looks like stone: it could not have escaped the production team that these rectangular blocks would be reminiscent of cut stone masonry. Not only would they most likely have been familiar with the broader Mediterranean canon, but they themselves would have been surrounded by a city replete with examples of ashlar masonry, either real or simulated in marble and stucco facings.¹⁶⁷ This later Roman artistic tradition of passing off hatched rectangular blocks as stone, furthermore, extended all the way back to the extremely popular so-called “First Style” of the Roman Republic.¹⁶⁸ Nor does Coulston’s solution—that faced with a void as to how the forts were constructed, the sculptors simply fell back on the Hellenistic convention of ashlar masonry¹⁶⁹—seem tenable. It is difficult to believe that such a void, which would after all have involved a considerable percentage of the surface area of the Column, could have been allowed to exist, or that some *ad hoc* solution would have gained such wide acceptance, approval, and above all consistent application.¹⁷⁰

In the spirit of Occam’s Razor, it would perhaps be wise to abandon the logical acrobatics of what the Column’s production team could have possibly known or not

¹⁶⁷ Adam 1994, 146; Coulston 1990a, 44.

¹⁶⁸ Coulston 1988, 147. Although the use of Mau’s pure “First Style” in domestic contexts is traditionally dated to the Republican period, it was actively maintained at least through the end of Pompeii and appeared as part of larger compositions much later than then.

¹⁶⁹ Coulston 1990a, 44.

¹⁷⁰ Lepper and Frere’s (1988, 32, 63) repeated suggestion—that the master sketches designed by the “Maestro” (commonly believed to be Apollodorus himself; *supra* n. 18) were left blank for the walls of fortifications, leaving the actual sculptors to fill in the applicable marble willy-nilly according to their own prerogative—seems especially unbelievable. It would seem that if a single figure, especially one of Apollodorus’ caliber, were directly overseeing the project with an eye to documenting actual military practice, then that figure would have been able to either deduce or inquire into the construction technique for military fortifications, and also recognize and correct the supposed mistakes of his free-wheeling artisans.

known, in favor of pursuing the simplest solution. It is much more straightforward and less complicated to trust the production team, to imagine that they consistently portrayed Roman military architecture as if made of stone because that is what they intended to do. Whether or not the various members of the production team were familiar with turf-and-timber construction, it is apparent regarding military architecture that a conscious and definitive choice was made to consistently employ the same technique used elsewhere (not only on the Column but in the broader Mediterranean and Roman artistic tradition) to depict ashlar masonry. This choice probably had little to do with desperation and much more with a conscious desire to harness the evocative power of that specific method of construction.

As will be discussed in more detail for the depictions of the civilian settlements, cut stone masonry had important connotations in the Roman world. Actual ashlar masonry required considerable resources and technical skill. Its visual appearance, on the other hand, was not only readily recognizable but also relatively easy to reproduce, leading to its widespread imitation across the empire in more economic materials or techniques.¹⁷¹ This was fueled in part by Rome's gift for mass-production, which led to the standardization and extension of cut stone masonry (and its imitations) even into the provinces.¹⁷² Fortification walls in particular were some of the first structures to benefit from this systematic use of standardized reticulate masonry.¹⁷³ The widespread

¹⁷¹ The appearance of cut-stone construction could be achieved by tufa or other stone facings (Coulston 1988, 147; Anderson Jr. 1997, 147-48, 155) or stucco (MacDonald 1986, 250; Anderson Jr. 1997, 147).

¹⁷² Adam 1994, 128, 135, 141-42. This standardization not only allowed more efficient extraction and transport, but also drastically reduced the skill necessary for assembly (Adam 1994, 128, 131).

¹⁷³ Adam 1994, 135.

employment of ashlar masonry would be, therefore, an excellent means of calling to mind the technical expertise and efficiency of the Roman Empire and her army.

The practical benefits of stone construction, furthermore, leant the technique connotations of permanence, strength, and cultural achievement. Genuine stone construction or facing protected buildings from fire and delayed their decay: Augustus' promotion of stone construction in Rome herself, for example, not only improved the city's aesthetic, but also prevented the spread of destructive fires and ensured the physical immortality of the city. The Roman belief in the early foundation of the Servian wall serves as one example of the ancient willingness to attribute great age and importance to cut stone structures.¹⁷⁴ The use of stone construction for the representations of Roman military architecture on the frieze would promote these same connotations, and present a clear message, not only of the technical skill and cultural sophistication, but also the permanence of the Roman army in Dacia.

4.4: THE STONE TRIBUNALS OF TRAJAN

One particular aspect of military architecture on the frieze that has not seen much discussion is the many appearances of Trajan on stone built platforms. In seven different scenes Trajan is positioned on a high platform, either standing addressing the troops (Scenes X, XXVII, LXXVII, CIV, CXXXVII; FIGURE 13), or seated holding council with his officers (Scene VI) or receiving supplications (Scene LXXV). These platforms can be included under the heading of military architecture, since they appear strictly outside

¹⁷⁴ Livy, apparently correctly, dates the wall to 378 BCE (Cornell 2000, 45). This wall also demonstrates the potential victorious associations of stone construction: the use of tufa from Veii "symbolized Rome's recent conquest of the area" (Cornell 2000, 45). Coulston (1988, 147; 1990a, 44) suggests that the tufa ashlar of this wall may have served as models for the handling of fortification walls on the frieze.

of civilian contexts, in scene types closely associated with the Roman army. L.E.

Baumer argues that platforms from which the emperor addressed his army seem to have been a common enough occurrence to be understood as part of the typical equipment of a Roman camp.¹⁷⁵

The basic form of these platforms is a small rectilinear block (Scenes XXVII, LXXV, CXXXVII);¹⁷⁶ the examples of Scenes LXXVII and CIV have greater length, and the former has a crowning molding. Scene X adds a ramp or stairs to the back of a larger version of the basic type, while Scene VI features the basic type on top of a substantial secondary platform. Four platforms (Scenes VI, X, LXXVII, CIV) appear independent of any architecture, while two appear in front of fortifications (Scene LXXV, CXXXVII) and one example (Scene XXVII) occurs inside a camp. There is no apparent connection between tribunal form, scene type, and relation to surrounding architecture, but instead these aspects seem to be related to compositional needs. All tribunals appear in offensive campaigns, with five out of seven in the first war; tribunals nevertheless appear throughout the frieze as one of the first (Scenes VI, X) and last (Scene CXXXVII) examples of military architecture on the frieze.

All of these platforms are marked by the same rectangular block hatching seen on camp and fortification walls, as well as on civilian buildings.¹⁷⁷ Scholarship, however, has in general shied away from discussing this aspect of the platforms.¹⁷⁸ Lepper and

¹⁷⁵ Baumer 1991, 279.

¹⁷⁶ Baumer 1991, 280.

¹⁷⁷ Baumer 1991, 280-81.

¹⁷⁸ Baumer (1991, 280-81) is one exception: he argues that for the platforms to be recognizable, they could not be represented as turf, but instead needed to employ the rectangular masonry. He suggests that specific

Frere describe the example in Scene VI as a “high stone-built (?) tribunal;”¹⁷⁹ F. Coarelli describes the same feature as “a masonry dais”¹⁸⁰ and the example in Scene X as “a stone dais.”¹⁸¹ Neither, however, directly addresses the fact that the employment of ashlar masonry for depictions of temporary tribunals, just as for temporary camps, makes no sense if one’s goal is reproduction of actual military practice.¹⁸² If one is interested, however, in harnessing the evocative power of stone construction, this technique can be employed for tribunals just as for larger structures.

These platforms, in fact, connect Trajan both to military architecture in general and to the connotations of permanence and stability of stone construction. Even beyond the platforms, Trajan frequently appears in conjunction with military architecture. He appears inside stone camps or fortifications in a dozen instances (Scenes VIII, XIII, XX, XXVII, XXXIX, LIII, LXXIII, CIII, CV, CXIV, CXXV, CXLI; FIGURE 15.A); he appears nine more times directly in front of military architecture (Scenes XVI, XXIV, XLVI, L, LI, LXI, LXVI, LXXV, CXXXVII; FIGURE 15.B) and six times in close association but without physical contact (Scenes XIV, XVII, XXV, LVIII, LXXXIX, XCVI). Many of these instances may be related to narrative or compositional clarity, but the overall frequency is nevertheless striking.

comparisons to the Rostra may have been intended. Lehmann-Hartleben (1926, 14) uses these platforms as an example of unrealistic rendering on the frieze, but does not discuss them at length.

¹⁷⁹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 57.

¹⁸⁰ Coarelli 2000, 51.

¹⁸¹ Coarelli 2000, 54.

¹⁸² For the incompatibility of stone tribunals with military practice, see Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, 14. Actual tribunals are thought to have been constructed from wood or earthen bricks (Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, 14; Baumer 1991, 279).

The fact that Trajan appears thirty-one times in association with the depiction of stone construction (or the manifestation thereof) could not fail to associate him with the same civilizing and stabilizing implications discussed above. In Scene XXXIX, for example, Trajan meets with Dacian supplicants inside of a fort currently under construction, where legionaries carry notably large, prominent blocks and use stone cutting tools (FIGURE 11). The use of stone masonry behind Trajan in Scene XXIV may be seen as aligning the emperor with the forces of civilization, in the face of the barbarity of the auxiliary soldiers holding severed Dacian heads (FIGURE 15.C). The first and most prominent platform (Scene VI) even constitutes Trajan's first appearance on the frieze.¹⁸³ These instances suggest that, while the primary intention of these physical associations may have been to link Trajan to construction in general, rather than particularly to stone, the production team was nevertheless willing to exploit the connotations of stone construction in particular in their portrait of their emperor.

4.5: CONCLUSION

The use of ashlar blocks for Roman military architecture may be seen in the same light as the depictions of civilian settlements. With the civilian settlements, as will be demonstrated, particularly Roman elements are often emphasized to draw attention to the settlement's civilized assimilation into the Roman world. By depicting Roman military architecture as if made of stone, the production team connected those structures, their legionary builders, and the emperor directing the construction to the same advanced, civilizing forces. In their familiar poses and tasks, the Roman legionaries call to mind the

¹⁸³ Even if his first depiction is technically the figure at the head of the military column in this scene (Coarelli 2000, 51), Trajan then first appears standing directly in front of the platform.

Roman engineering expertise which helped make the empire, both military and civilian. Just as in the legionaries' other engagements, their architectural constructions are given a sense of strength, organization, and permanence which stand in favorable contrast to the Dacians swarming below them.

CHAPTER 5:
DEPICTIONS OF CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS
ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

Scholars have long taken note of the many depictions of civilian settlements on the Column of Trajan's frieze. The general tendency, however, has been to reduce these renderings to architectural snapshots and topographical signposts. Thus the wealth of detail available in these depictions— theaters, arches, porticos, quays—has been evoked primarily in a quest to connect these depictions to the archaeological record.¹⁸⁴ The primary goal in many of these efforts has been to trace an accurate map of Trajan's march into Dacia,¹⁸⁵ but, not surprisingly, this quest has for the most part proven futile.¹⁸⁶ Although the archaeology of the Roman frontier has improved dramatically, nowhere has there emerged a clear one-to-one correspondence between state plan and the portrait on the Column. It appears, therefore, that there is need for a more nuanced approach to the frieze's depictions of civilian settlements.

A notable feature of the depictions of civilian settlements on the Column of Trajan is their emphasis on building types and materials associated with Roman culture, particularly those suggesting the benefits of Roman urbanism. Recognizably Roman building types, vivid evidence of urban prosperity, and stone construction all call

¹⁸⁴ See for example Davies 1920, 4; Gauer 1977, 13; Lepper and Frere 1988, 35. For a discussion of this phenomenon, see Coulston 1988, 22, 24-25.

¹⁸⁵ For a discussion of this phenomenon, see Coulston 1988, 22, 24-25; Lepper and Frere 1988, 35, 53. For an excellent example of this approach, see Davies 1920, 6.

¹⁸⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 35, 48, 50, 81, 133. For the usefulness of such approaches, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 81.

attention to the settlements' position within the Roman Empire. The initial impression gained from a general description of Trajan's progress from settlement to settlement along the frieze is confirmed by a more focused quantitative analysis of the various building types and construction materials depicted on the frieze. The selection of these features can then be set within the larger framework of Roman urbanism, to gain a sense of the overall thematic impact of these depictions.

5.1: PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP ON THE FRIEZE'S DEPICTIONS OF CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS

F. Coarelli's approach in his recent edition of photographs of the frieze towards the representations of civilian settlements is in many ways exemplary of scholarship's typical treatment of the subject.¹⁸⁷ For each of his photographic plates, Coarelli provides a brief description of the scene and its narrative content. The architectural backdrops are usually identified with phrases along the lines of "a fortified village" (Scene II)¹⁸⁸ or "a city surrounded by many-towered walls" (Scene III).¹⁸⁹ In terms of identifying particular locations, Coarelli is generally cautious or simply vague, although he does argue specifically for an identification of Brindisi, rather than Ancona, for the city from which Trajan departs for the Second Dacian War (Scenes LXXVIII-LXXIX).¹⁹⁰ Coarelli's approach, to focus only briefly on the architectural representations, serves as an example of the general elusiveness in scholarship regarding these depictions, as well as the manner in which these depictions' role has been limited to serving as topographic signposts.

¹⁸⁷ Coarelli 2000.

¹⁸⁸ Coarelli 2000, 47.

¹⁸⁹ Coarelli 2000, 48.

¹⁹⁰ Coarelli 2000, 136-7.

Despite their thorough treatment of the frieze in general, F. Lepper and S. Frere mention the civilian settlements only in passing.¹⁹¹ The authors are primarily concerned with identifying each represented location,¹⁹² relying on historical sources and comparisons with the archaeological records of various provincial towns. The ultimate goal in all this seems to be to reconstruct the Roman route into Dacia,¹⁹³ despite the authors' complaint against past scholarly devotion to this subject.¹⁹⁴ It is significant that in nearly all cases (with the possible exception of Apollodorus' famous bridge across the Danube) such identifications prove to be impossible. In terms of interpretation, Lepper and Frere do note the gradual transition between "peaceful" and "militaristic" settlements as Trajan moves further into barbarian territory, but do not expand upon this observation.¹⁹⁵

J.C.N. Coulston in his unpublished dissertation takes a cautious approach towards the identification of particular civilian settlements on the frieze.¹⁹⁶ He points out that most identifications, however popular, "are not based upon convincing features of the location represented."¹⁹⁷ He argues further that "the conventions of perspective, space, and skill employed in the depiction of architectural scenery on the frieze preclude the

¹⁹¹ Lepper and Frere 1988.

¹⁹² See for example, Lepper and Frere 1988, 78-79. Coulston (1990b, 292) praises Lepper and Frere's restraint in assigning identifications, but the fact remains that such identification remains the authors' primary interest in the towns.

¹⁹³ Lepper and Frere 1988, 35, 50, 81, 133, *passim*.

¹⁹⁴ Lepper and Frere 1988, 81.

¹⁹⁵ Lepper and Frere 1988, 134.

¹⁹⁶ Coulston 1988.

¹⁹⁷ Coulston 1988, 25.

literal deduction of building ground plans.”¹⁹⁸ Coulston’s primary focus for his research, however, are the frieze’s human figures, and what time he does spend on the architectural representations is devoted primarily to military architecture.

The most specific analysis of the provincial urban backdrops is that of M. Turcan-Déléani.¹⁹⁹ While she does not discuss the thematic significance of her subject, Turcan-Déléani does argue for recognition of the aesthetic and compositional concerns behind the backdrops’ designs. She effectively demonstrates that the artists of the Column did not hesitate to manipulate perspective and proportion in order to fit into the available space on the spiral what were, in the end, schematic representations of notable buildings. Turcan-Déléani extends this line of observation to contend that, just as the artists were not required to produce an accurate portrait of a monument in proportion to other elements in the scene, the placement of these elements in the composition need not correspond to their actual geographical positions.²⁰⁰ She focuses primarily on the comparison between the representation of Apollodorus’ bridge and the preserved archaeological remains, in order to illustrate how a high degree of detail in this representation, demonstrating a familiarity with the depicted subject, can nevertheless preserve obvious structural impossibilities.²⁰¹ Turcan-Déléani’s approach, however, seems to have made little impression on subsequent scholarship, and is not prominently cited in any of the other sources mentioned above.

¹⁹⁸ Coulston 1988, 25; see also 27-28.

¹⁹⁹ Turcan-Déléani 1958.

²⁰⁰ Turcan-Déléani 1958, 157.

²⁰¹ Turcan-Déléani 1958, 150-55; see also Lepper and Frere 1988, 150.

5.2: THE CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

In my analysis of the Column of Trajan frieze, I distinguished ten assemblages of civilian architecture which I see as intended to represent areas under the control of the Roman Empire (TABLE 6). These assemblages are referred to throughout this thesis as “Civilian Settlements.” This admittedly unspecific terminology is necessitated by the great variety in architectural features within these assemblages; just as specific types of military installments are not differentiated clearly on the Column, so the production team does not develop a strict typology for the civilian settlements. These Civilian Settlements nevertheless share many common elements, and are characterized by the dominance of civilian (rather than military) architectural types. The Civilian Settlements are further differentiated from military architecture by their presentation as discrete assemblages, or towns; in comparison, military architecture is distributed much more evenly throughout the frieze, usually as independent camps or fortifications.

The follow survey presents several examples of the civilian settlements. These examples are intended to illustrate the different architectural types and construction methods employed in the settlements’ depictions, as well as these features’ significance and role in establishing topographic identities for the various settlements. These examples are also chosen to provide a comprehensive demonstration of the thematic or analytical concerns raised for the frieze’s civilian architecture. These concerns will be discussed at greater length following the survey.

Table 6: Civilian Settlements on the Column of Trajan

	Civilian Settlement	Scene(s)	Number of Architectural Units
1.	First Harbor Settlement	III	13
2.	Second Harbor Settlement	XXXIII	13
3.	First Fortified Settlement	XXXVI	5
4.	Third Harbor Settlement	LXXIX	6
5.	Fourth Harbor Settlement	LXXX-LXXXI	9
6.	First Collection of Altars	LXXXIII	4
7.	Fifth Harbor Settlement	LXXXVI	9
8.	Second Fortified Settlement	LXXXVIII	8
9.	Second Collection of Altars	XCI	7
10.	Settlement around Apollodorus' Bridge	XCIX-CI	9

5.2.1: SECOND HARBOR SETTLEMENT (Scene XXXIII)

The Second Harbor Settlement repeats many of the elements seen in the First Harbor Settlement (Scene III; FIGURES 57.A-B).²⁰² As in the preceding depiction, fortification walls surround the majority of the buildings, with significant features and a few generic buildings outside the walls. The buildings inside the walls are too cramped and too generic to be identified, but it should be noted that all are apparently of stone, and many feature prominent arched doorways or arched windows, features impossible in wood (FIGURES 16.A-B).²⁰³

The use of multiple perspectives for the amphitheater set outside the city walls²⁰⁴ clarifies the structure's form as round or ovoid (and therefore its identification as an amphitheater), and also grants the viewer the added details of the rows of interior seats and even the stairways between them (FIGURE 16.C).²⁰⁵ A curving lower story supported by vaults further emphasizes the structure's form and its stone construction. Two more stone buildings, which may be storehouses, stand at the edge of the harbor (FIGURE 16.D). Finally, forming the right side frame of the scene are two monumental arches, positioned in the composition one on top of the other, with the lower arch supporting a crowning *quadriga* (FIGURES 16.D-E). The lower arch seems to be set in the water at the

²⁰² Lepper and Frere (1988, 78-79) note the similarity between the first two harbor towns and the possibility that these reflect general artistic ideas of how to depict a harbor, rather than topographic similarities. They make no more of this point, however, than to suggest that similar features between these towns in particular can therefore not be used to identify the towns.

²⁰³ For the relationship between these features and stone construction, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 62, 67.

²⁰⁴ This amphitheater has been connected to that depicted in the Settlement around Apollodorus' Bridge (Scenes XCIX-CI), and this Second Harbor Town therefore identified as Drobeta (Coulston 1988, 25). Coulston (1988, 25) correctly rejects this connection, if for no other reason than the difference in construction material between the two amphitheaters.

²⁰⁵ Coulston 1990a, 48.

bottom of the scene, but whether this is significant or merely a casualty of the scene's composition is difficult to determine.

Lepper and Frere have noted in their discussion of this scene that the amphitheater cannot be used in identifying the city, since amphitheaters in general were “characteristic” of legionary fortresses, *municipia*, *coloniae*, and Italian towns.²⁰⁶ This in fact may be exactly the point: the amphitheater serves here as one of a set of “widely reproduced architectural symbols”²⁰⁷ meant to link the depicted town with the wider experience of the Roman way of life. Likewise the arches here, regardless of their own possible particular significance,²⁰⁸ were part of a larger trend whereby the image of the arch, “combined with that of the city wall, came to stand for the concept, the idea, of the city.”²⁰⁹ As will be seen, honorific arches and other monumental passageways, like amphitheaters, often served not only as a symbol of urban life, but of urban life in the Roman Empire in particular, as “established... symbols both of Roman rule and of Roman cities.”²¹⁰ Thus although it is possible that this depiction of a harbor was intended to be evocative of a particular location,²¹¹ the generality of the symbols employed hints at a second intention, to set these representation within the broader context of the imperial urban world.

²⁰⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 81. Over 400 examples of amphitheaters are known (MacDonald 1986, 112; see also Gros 1996, 324). The arrangement of an amphitheater exterior to the city walls was quite common (Zanker 2000c, 39); for particular examples see Gros 1996, 44, 46.

²⁰⁷ MacDonald 1986, 16-17; see also Favro 2007, [11].

²⁰⁸ Lepper and Frere (1988, 81) argue that, just as the amphitheater is too general to be a topographical indicator, these arches cannot be used to identify the town, since they are “so peculiar.”

²⁰⁹ MacDonald 1986, 82.

²¹⁰ MacDonald 1986, 82, 84.

²¹¹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 81, 131-32.

5.2.2: THIRD HARBOR SETTLEMENT (Scene LXXIX)

This civilian settlement has seen perhaps the closest scrutiny in attempts to identify its location, and is critical for those scholars who hold that the architectural depictions on the frieze are meant to represent particular topographic realities.²¹² Most scholars have accepted Cichorius' identification of this town as Ancona, based on what he saw as a temple to Venus.²¹³ Others have been skeptical of this interpretation, or rejected it out-right, on the basis that the inclusion of the Trajanic Arch at Ancona would have been prohibitively anachronistic;²¹⁴ Coarelli suggests historical support for Brindisi.²¹⁵ It is worth asking, however, whether the choice of features for the Third Harbor Settlement can be separated from the phenomenon seen in other civilian settlements, where elements seem to have been chosen primarily to evoke the prosperity of Roman culture.

²¹² See for example Grunow 2002, 42-43. Lepper and Frere (1988, 131) choose this town to elaborate on their theory of how the viewer was meant to interact with the representations in order to identify a town: "The viewer's thought-process is...supposed to be...more impressionistic: 'Harbour—temple on hill—Venus—ah! It must be Ancona!' A reasonable education was all that was needed: autopsy might even be a disadvantage." They do not, however, specifically discuss the problem of visibility.

²¹³ For Cichorius' identification, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 130. For the acceptance of Cichorius' identification, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 130; Winkler 1991, 271; Grunow 2002, 42. Coulston (1988, 26) considers this identification one of only two locations on the frieze that "can be determined with any surety;" Davies (1920, 4) ranks it as one of three.

²¹⁴ Turcan-Déléani 1958, 155. For an excellent discussion of this problem and various attempted solutions, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 130-31, also Coulston 1988, 26. It is notable that scholars are on the one hand ready to insist on the identification of the city based on the fidelity of a particular cult statue and arch, and then resort to logical acrobatics to explain away details (namely that same arch's statues) that may strike the casual observer as being equally significant. Claridge (1993, 20) has taken a different approach to this conundrum, arguing not that the depiction is inaccurate, but instead that the arch's inclusion indicates that the frieze postdates both the construction of the Arch at Ancona and the Column of Trajan itself.

²¹⁵ Coarelli 2000, 137.

In this scene two temples are shown in meticulous detail (FIGURE 17.A). The upper temple, shown in three-quarter view with a (pseudo?)peripteral²¹⁶ tetrastyle Ionic colonnade,²¹⁷ has two elaborating features: a prominent female cult statue in the central intercolumniation, and a large grated window along the flank (FIGURE 17.D). The temple's capitals, molded bases, and grated windows are echoed in the colonnaded precinct wall which surrounds the building (FIGURE 17.F). The lower temple appears, on the other hand, to be Etrusco-Italic in form, since it features a marked balustrade along the flank (rather than columns) and four prostyle columns, each of which have clearly defined Corinthian capitals and molded bases (FIGURE 17.E). Both temples feature more prominent and detailed molding than any previous building on the frieze, along with tiled (rather than planked) roofs. These buildings thus present not only a heightened level of detail, but also a heightened sense of urban opulence. The three male statues on top of the monumental arch, which stands on a rounded mole at the end of a zigzagging path, are also rendered in fine detail (FIGURES 17.B-C). Vaulted construction is also indicated clearly for the far right structures with tiled roofs (FIGURE 17.G); these structures may be related to naval activity.

Arguing for a particular topographic portrait for the Third Harbor Settlement is the inclusion of the cult statue, the statues above the arch, the zigzag path (FIGURES 17.A,

²¹⁶ The positioning of the temple and the level of detail do not allow one to determine whether the plan is truly *peripteros* or *peripteros sine postico*, or whether the columns are free-standing or engaged (for this general problem in depictions of architecture in Roman art, see Grunow 2002, 24). The low balustrade indicated along the flank wall but missing along the façade may indicate that the flank columns are meant to be seen as engaged, in contrast to the free-standing façade columns (thank you to Dr. Truemper for calling my attention to this).

²¹⁷ In her discussion of the various features which render the depiction of a particular building recognizable, Grunow (2002, 21 n. 20) presents this temple as the only example of a possible change in order between a depiction and the actual temple, since excavations have shown the Temple of Venus at Ancona to have been Corinthian hexastyle.

E), and the harbor mole.²¹⁸ While the cult statue is a unique feature for the frieze, her pose and attributes are rather generic.²¹⁹ The upper temple itself, like the temple below it, has no other defining features (such as pedimental sculpture²²⁰). The inclusion of crowning statuary has likewise been seen as important for the scene's identification, but arches with statues also appear in the Second Harbor Settlement (Scene XXXIII) and the Settlement around Apollodorus' Bridge (Scenes XCIX-CI; see below); in both cases, the statues (a *quadriga* and trophies, respectively) are too generic to illicit firm identification.²²¹ Similarly, the zigzag path and harbor mole may have been meant to indicate the topography of Ancona in particular, but they could also serve as more generic details characterizing a hilly harbor settlement, a selection possibly demanded by the scene's compact composition.²²² Zigzag paths certainly appear elsewhere on the Column as a compositional element without any clear geographic significance (Scenes XIV, L, CXXIV; see Scene III for a non-zigzagging example; FIGURE 4.B).

All of the features in favor of a particular topographic identification for the Third Harbor Settlement are details. The architectural elements which make up the settlement, on the other hand, are common architectural types associated with particularly Roman urban prosperity. It has been seen that the amphitheater and honorific arches of the

²¹⁸ Lepper and Frere 1988, 129; Grunow 2002, 42.

²¹⁹ For the difficulty in identifying cult statues in such situations, see Grunow 2002, 29.

²²⁰ For the frequency and importance of pedimental sculpture in Roman depictions of architecture, see Grunow 2002, 27-29, 33.

²²¹ For the common use of *quadriga* as crowning statues in pictorial representation of arches, see MacDonald 1986, 94. For the use of trophies as crowning statues, see Coulston 1988, 26.

²²² Grunow (2002, 43) admits that the scene's compositional requirements drive the location of the various buildings within the scene, but she sees this as a rearrangement of buildings correlating to actual features of Ancona; in other words, as an explanation as to why the layout of the town as depicted is so far from the archaeological record.

Second Harbor Settlement (Scene XXXIII) are such generic representations of ubiquitous features that it is difficult to imagine that they could have been intended to help the viewer identify a particular location. Likewise the Etrusco-Italic temple of this harbor town is so general that it could have added little to any impression gained from the more detailed upper temple, which is itself not an inordinately unusual depiction of a Greek style precinct.²²³ Even the combination of the two types of temples would not be that unusual in the Roman world.²²⁴ None of these elements, in other words, would have given their respective towns an unambiguous identification.²²⁵ The overall impression gained from the combination of these generic elements—temples of varying types, arches, statues—would have been clear, however: a cultured, wealthy Roman town.

Naturally, emphasizing the particularly Roman features of a given settlement does not necessarily preclude it from being identifiable. Certainly background knowledge of the history of the campaigns may have aided the viewer in locating a scene, and it is possible that the selection of elements and details included for the Third Harbor Settlement may have been related to the physical layout of a historical port. This relationship should probably been conceived as one of inspiration, however, rather than faithful reproduction. One may envision a choice of constituent elements influenced both by a general sense of an actual town and by the scene's compositional needs, with details added or altered, perhaps to evoke the actual town, but also to add variation to the frieze's

²²³ Grunow (2002, 21) includes the arrangements of four prostyle columns and a central intercolumnar *cella* door as “normative” features for the depictions of temples in Roman art.

²²⁴ Coulston 1990a, 48. Compare, for example, the Porticus Metelli (Octaviae) complex in Rome, which features an Etrusco-Italic temple paired with a peripteros temple, both enclosed in the same portico.

²²⁵ Gauer 1977, 14.

repetitive vignettes of harbor settlements.²²⁶ As will be seen, the selection of which elements to include seems to have been motivated in part by a desire to provide variety and indicate a settlement's relative level of sophistication, while working within a limited amount of space. One must also remember, furthermore, that this scene occurs half way up the Column, at a height where general features are much more visible from ground level than particular details.

5.2.3: FIFTH HARBOR SETTLEMENT (Scene LXXXVI)

Arches with torrents of water underline the entire scene in the next civilian settlement (FIGURE 57.D), where Trajan performs a sacrifice with the local citizens (FIGURE 18.A).²²⁷ These arches are echoed by multiple larger arches in the buildings above and the arched windows in the central theater's *scaena frons* (FIGURE 18.B). Unusually, the fortification walls are not given much prominence, appearing only to frame the edges of the architecture; a monumental arched gate is nevertheless included on the scene's left. This scene has been identified as Dalmatian Salona,²²⁸ once again based more on historical probability than the actual representation.²²⁹

This Fifth Harbor Settlement is by far the most elaborate encountered on the frieze, and serves as a backdrop for the entire scene before it. All of the buildings feature either columns or arches, and all roofs are depicted as tiled; particularly notable are a

²²⁶ The format of the narrative is, after all, a decorative frieze, which as Ridgway (1966, especially 192-93) has noted, requires variation within its inherent repetition in order to hold the viewer's interest. For the importance of variety on the Column, see Coulston 1988, 54.

²²⁷ Lepper and Frere 1988, 135.

²²⁸ Davies 1920, 4; Lepper and Frere 1988, 136. Lepper and Frere (1988, 135-36) again assume a good deal of correspondence between the depiction on the Column and the situation on the ground at Salona.

²²⁹ Coulston 1988, 26-27.

portico with Corinthian columns surrounding a garden, a small but noticeable freestanding arch (FIGURE 18.B), and one building which appears to be marked as a temple by its tile roof, elaborate molding, and four Ionic²³⁰ columns (FIGURES 18.C-D). The freestanding Roman theater is given special prominence and clearly dominates the scene. The outside of the *scaena frons* is rendered in great detail, with Ionic and Corinthian columns in the lower story and a second story made up of eight arched openings. The side of the theater turns to show three stories of exterior arches, while the interior seats and orchestra are again visible.²³¹

None of the architectural elements in this scene are particularly unusual or indicate a specific location. The layout of the architectural backdrop, furthermore, seems to be determined primarily by the human figures before it. The fortification walls, for example, are reduced to framing features in order to allow the scene to spread across a peaceful urban backdrop. The temple is shown constricted and frontal, probably not because it is significantly less important than the temples of the Third Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXIX), but instead to adapt to this scene's horizontal (rather than vertical) composition. The inclusion of a temple as part of a depiction of the town's center is itself significant, since it evokes the traditional Roman union of public space and religious architecture.²³² The odd porch building on the far right may be explained as an attempt to accommodate its specific features above the angled curve of the city wall (FIGURE 18.D). The arc of the theater's *cavea*, finally, outlines and directs the gaze to the focal

²³⁰ Lepper and Frere (1988, 135), see the temple as having Corinthian columns but close inspection of the capitals reveal them to be Ionic. Coulston (1990b, 294) is critical of what he sees as several errors on Lepper and Frere's part (mostly related to human figures), which he believes stem from their reliance on photographs, rather than the casts or the Column itself (see also *infra* n. 377).

²³¹ Coulston 1990a, 48.

²³² For a discussion of this tradition, see Zanker 2000c, 33-35.

point of the sacrifice. The overall sense is one of crowded, prosperous urban life, set as a background to imperial religious observance.

5.2.4: SECOND COLLECTION OF ALTARS (XCI)

This scene is notable for its inclusion of Roman architecture within a composition illustrating the loyalty of the provincial population (FIGURE 19).²³³ In this it repeats on a grander scale the pattern established in the First Collection of Altars (Scene LXXXIII). Here Trajan is greeted eagerly by the Dacian *populus* and participates in a sacrifice performed by a mixed crowd of Romans and Dacians.²³⁴ This ritual takes place directly outside a peculiarly rendered structure,²³⁵ which has been seen as an “oddly shaped shrine.”²³⁶ Regardless of its exact identity, the structure presents a prominent arched shape framed by columns, and is clearly rendered in stone.²³⁷ The presence of so many altars (six in all) indicates that the setting is “clearly a religious site of major importance,” perhaps specifically “a focus of loyalty” associated with the imperial cult.²³⁸

²³³ Winkler (1991, 276) has argued that the inclusion of architecture in many scenes of sacrifice invokes the complicity of the gods in Roman attempts to protect their culture.

²³⁴ Winkler 1991, 273; Coarelli 2000, 151.

²³⁵ At first glance the structure resembles a monumental gateway or arch: the right side of the structure seems to suggest an arched passageway, with single columns on two different planes and two figures clearly standing inside the structure. The left side does not show the structure as connected to any building or fortification, however, and a tiled roof and two rows of stone work are clearly visible, features incongruous with other depictions of freestanding arches on the frieze.

²³⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 138.

²³⁷ It is true that below these upper two rows, the vertical hatching lines disappear, leaving horizontal divisions that are evocative of wood. This omission is one of the few instances best interpreted as sheer sloppy sculpting, rather than as significant.

²³⁸ Lepper and Frere 1988, 138. Lepper and Frere (1988, 139) point out that such cults usually occurred in the “more civilised end of the province.” Traditionally this scene has been associated with the battlefield at Tapae (Coarelli 2000, 151).

It is not clear whether or how this sacrificial site is supposed to be connected to the previous Second Fortified Settlement (Scene LXXXVIII). The common theme of imperial sacrifice within a Roman architectural setting nevertheless connects this smaller settlement of mixed but loyal population to the larger proceeding Fifth Harbor Settlement of Scene LXXXVI; both take their part within the larger imperial world and express their loyalty to Rome, despite the increasing remoteness as Trajan moves deeper into the province. One may even suggest that the harbor of Scene LXXXVI serves as an example of what the smaller interior population could achieve, should they maintain their loyalty to the beneficial force of Rome.

5.2.5: SETTLEMENT AROUND APOLLODORUS' BRIDGE (Scenes XCIX-CI)

This provincial town also sets a background of urban buildings behind scenes of indigenous loyalty. The centerpiece of this scene is clearly the famous Bridge of Apollodorus across the Danube,²³⁹ which was considered in its time to be one of the engineering wonders of the Roman world.²⁴⁰ The identification of this bridge has in turn led scholars to equate the settlement to the right of the bridge with Drobeta,²⁴¹ again based on logic rather than force of representation.²⁴² In this scene the architectural feature of the bridge itself clearly links the Roman military to the loyal indigenous populations: the whole scene is framed by parallel fortifications, and on the one side of

²³⁹ Turcan-Déléani 1958, 150; Gauer 1977, 13; Coulston 1988, 26; Lepper and Frere 1988, 149-51; Coarelli 2000, 162.

²⁴⁰ This bridge was one of only three Trajanic construction projects outside Rome to be featured on a coin (Boatwright 2002, 260).

²⁴¹ Davies 1920, 4; Winkler 1991, 271.

²⁴² Gauer 1977, 14.

the bridge stand legionaries in formation, while across the bridge stand only indigenous civilians, with Trajan in between.

On the left hand bank stands the first settlement, presumably marked as a legionary outpost by its inclusion of a large tent (a feature shown elsewhere associated strictly with military activity). The presence of only legionaries outside the fortification walls reaffirms the settlement's military association. The two structures on either side of the tent, however, appear to be proper buildings, with gabled, tiled (?) roofs and windows. Just as the tent may serve to mark the settlement as military in nature, these buildings may be intended to suggest a more permanent settlement.

In contrast to the settlement on the left bank, the occupation on the right river back seems to be associated with civilian life. The settlement itself is shown in much less detail than the harbors before it, but again, the same elements of fortification walls, a large arched gate, generic buildings, an amphitheater, a large portico with molded columns, and a monumental arch all appear. Only two buildings are inside the city walls: these buildings are notable for their irregular shapes and roof lines, as wells as a construction method indicated by studs or pegs, rather than hatching for ashlar or wooden planks (FIGURE 20.A).²⁴³ The monumental gate in the center of the fortifications features standard Tuscan-Doric columns framing the arched entranceway, but the boxy structure with arched windows and a hipped roof above the gate is unlike any of the proceeding monumental gateways. As before, an amphitheater sits immediately to the right of the fortifications, but this time at least part of the amphitheater appears to be wooden, with triangular supports in the upper stories instead of the rounded arches which

²⁴³ Davies (1920, 4) refers to this as “quaint Daco-Roman architecture.”

make up the ground story (FIGURE 20.B).²⁴⁴ As in previous examples, multiple perspectives allow a view of both the external façade and the interior seating. The scene is closed on the right by a monumental arch attached to a block of hatching presumably indicating the town's walls (in a second appearance?). The arch itself is poorly preserved, but two crowning statues of trophies are visible above the drum join.

Directly adjoining the amphitheater to the right are two buildings, the second of which, with its narrow, elongated form and tall entrance, recalls the building that separated Scene LXXX from Scene LXXXI in the Fourth Harbor Settlement (FIGURES 21.A-B, 57.C). Like the example of the Fourth Harbor Settlement, the narrow building in Scene C is joined to its immediate right by a roofed colonnade, whose Tuscan-Doric capitals, although simpler in form than their Corinthian counterparts in the Fourth Harbor Settlement, are rendered with a comparable level of detailed care (FIGURES 21.C-D). Despite the smaller scale of the architecture and cramped position in the upper register, the alignment of the two structures creates a direct parallel to the layout seen in the Fourth Harbor Settlement, and indeed serves an analogous function, as the backdrop to the interaction between Trajan and the local inhabitants. Trajan's pose, furthermore—a frontal stance with raised right hand and slightly raised right leg, balanced by a raised left hand holding an object—repeats the pose seen in the figure in the analogous position in Scene LXXXI, at the far frontal right of the composition.

One may debate, especially given the height of these scenes along the shaft of the Column, the degree to which the audience was supposed to consciously register the

²⁴⁴ Several authors characterize the amphitheater as wooden (Davies 1920, 4; Coulston 1988, 25; Lepper and Frere 1988, 152; Coarelli 2000, 164), but no source addresses the vaulted arches of the lower story. Lepper and Frere (1988, 152) suggest that the wooden construction indicates that the settlement is a legiary fortress.

specific parallel compositions of “angled elongated building with colonnade.” Instead, this phenomenon should probably be viewed in the same light as the other similarities between the scenes. Trajan’s pose in Scene C is probably not meant to draw some specific connection to the figure in Scene LXXXI, but rather repeats a stock pose useful at that point of the composition. In the same way, the employment of the particular architectural combination in Scenes LXXXI and C probably reflects the repeated service of a convenient architectural backdrop for a panorama of gathered people.

Going further, the entire arrangement of the civilian settlement in Scene C can be seen as a string of stock architectural elements—(a) fortification walls with interior buildings, (b) the (exterior) entertainment building, (c) the monumental arch—which happens to include, according to compositional need, (d) the “angled elongated building with colonnade” combination (compare the arrangements of the First and Second Harbor Settlements (Scenes III and XXXIII); FIGURES 22.A-C). These elements are modified, particularly in scale and construction method, to fit their specific setting and use. In the Third Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXIX), details such as elaborate molding, a traditional cult statue, and nude statues make evident that town’s prosperity and firm place within the Roman cultural fold. Here in the newly established Settlement around Apollodorus’ Bridge, the use of pegged construction, wooden amphitheater, and trophies as the crowning statues of the arch all underline the civilian settlement’s provincial nature. The very nature of these buildings as repeated stock elements, furthermore, calls into question any attempt to see in them topographical significance.

Scene C thus strongly resembles its predecessor Scene LXXXI in composition, architecture, and theme. Just as the costume of the indigenous population in Scene C is

more clearly provincial, even foreign, than the Roman-esque togas of Scene LXXXI, the architecture in Scene C is reduced in scale, form, and extent from that of Scene LXXXI. There has been a clear progression, from the sophisticated harbor to the more rudimentary interior settlement. Yet both scenes depict Trajan in interaction with an indigenous population as they express their loyalty, and both scenes do so against a similar architectural backdrop, one specifically made up of building types associated with the amenities of urban life in the Roman Empire. The themes of peaceful urban life enjoying the benefits of Roman rule are again expressed, utilizing easily recognized symbols of Roman culture.

5.3: ARCHITECTURAL TYPES IN THE CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS

While the topographical accuracy of many of the depictions of civilian settlements on the Column of Trajan is doubtful, the depictions are nevertheless based on the reality of civic architecture in the Roman Empire. For “a summary of all the essential elements with which one can construct a Roman urban environment,” scholars have traditionally turned to Vitruvius’ treatise on architecture.²⁴⁵ In Vitruvius’ discussion, fortification walls, towers, and gates are treated first, followed by streets and civic and religious buildings. These include *fora* and *basilicae*, treasuries, prisons, *curia*, theaters, colonnades and porticos, baths, *palestrae*, harbors, and shipyards.²⁴⁶ These are in general

²⁴⁵ Anderson Jr. 1997, 187; see also Carter 1989, 32. Regarding colonies, scholars take a similar view towards Virgil’s description of the newly founded Carthage in *Aeneid* Book 1 (Rakob 2000, 75); it is notable that this passage contains a similar list of building types to that found in Vitruvius. MacDonald (1986, 111) notably adds *horreum* to his modern list of architectural types indispensable to a proper ancient city.

²⁴⁶ Carter 1989, 32; Anderson Jr. 1997, 187.

public architectural types associated with the civic elite:²⁴⁷ amphitheaters are mentioned only once by Vitruvius, and J. Anderson Jr. calls attention to the omission of *insulae*, *tabernae*, and shops in Vitruvius' treatise.²⁴⁸ Vitruvius also pays little attention to the arrangement of streets,²⁴⁹ in comparison to the importance placed on this civic aspect by modern scholars.²⁵⁰ Although this list may strike modern scholars as unsystematic,²⁵¹ it is notable that, with few discrepancies, Vitruvius' litany could serve as a catalog for the architectural types shown in the Column of Trajan's civilian settlements. "Taken together," argues W. MacDonald, "these buildings were essential to a distinctive architectural creation, the specifically Roman town."²⁵²

The preceding survey of the civilian settlements on the Column of Trajan frieze demonstrates their wide range of architectural features and building types. According to my catalog, sixteen different architectural types are present in these depictions of civilian settlements (TABLE 7). When one considers these sixteen architectural types within the scope of the entire frieze, fourteen are represented only by architectural units classified as Roman;²⁵³ in addition, only one out of the frieze's thirteen monumental arches (the poorly preserved example of Scene CXXVI) could not be definitively classified as

²⁴⁷ Anderson Jr. 1997, 188.

²⁴⁸ Anderson Jr. 1997, 187-88. MacDonald (1986, 122) argues that shops should be considered the most common type of public building.

²⁴⁹ Anderson Jr. 1997, 187.

²⁵⁰ MacDonald 1986, 5; Anderson Jr. 1997, 187.

²⁵¹ Anderson Jr. (1997, 187), for example, argues that "the selection of buildings treated and of those omitted is at best odd."

²⁵² MacDonald 1986, 132.

²⁵³ For the classifications employed in the catalog, see Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Table 7: Architectural Types Present in Civilian Settlements (see Chapter 3 for definition of terms)

ARCHITECTURAL TYPES PRESENT IN CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS	Total Architectural Units for Frieze	Percentage of Total Architectural Units for Frieze	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Architectural Type classified as Roman	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Architectural Type classified as Dacian	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Architectural Type classified as Unclear
1. altar	12	***	12 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
2. amphitheater*	2	***	2 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
3. arch	13	***	12 92.31%	0 ***	1 ***
4. bridge	14	***	12 85.71%	0 ***	2 14.29%
5. bridge (pontoon)	2	***	2 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
6. building*	92	28.22%	58 63.04%	32 34.78%	2 ***
7. feature	7	***	5 71.43%	1 14.29%	1 14.29%
8. gateway	8	***	3 37.50%	5 62.50%	0 ***
9. horreum*	6	***	6 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
10. lighthouse*	1	***	1 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
11. portico*	8	***	8 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
12. quay	3	***	3 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
13. temple*	3	***	3 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
14. theater*	1	***	1 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
15. tower	14	***	3 21.43%	11 78.57%	0 ***
16. vaults*	1	***	1 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***

* : Architectural Types comprising buildings proper (independent edifices)

*** : number of architectural units too small to yield a statistically significant percentage greater than 10%

Roman.²⁵⁴ Eight of these architectural types comprise buildings proper (i.e. independent walled structures); of these eight, only the generic category of “Building” includes any examples classified as Dacian. In other words, there is not only a wide range of architectural types present in the depictions of civilian settlements, but many of these types seem to be specifically associated on the frieze with Roman culture.

The dominance of Roman classifications for many of the architectural types is not surprising, given the close thematic relationship, both modern and ancient, between many of these architectural forms and Roman culture. Some of these architectural types, such as porticos, temples, and fortifications, were general aspects of urban life which did not necessarily carry uniquely Roman associations (although two out of three temples on the frieze²⁵⁵ depict specific Etrusco-Italic forms). Others, such as theaters, lighthouses, and storage facilities, had their origins in other Mediterranean cultures but were quickly becoming Roman specialties. Finally, some architectural types, such as vaulted structures, monumental arches, and amphitheaters, had become unequivocal signatures of Roman culture, both in Italy and in the provinces.

²⁵⁴ The arch in Scene CXXVI is nearly obliterated, making any analysis (or photographic illustration) difficult. Unlike all other monumental arches on the frieze, it appears to stand outside a Dacian fortification. While this arch is logically associated with Roman architecture, in order to avoid any spurious classifications, this architectural unit was classified as Unclear.

²⁵⁵ I consider the upper temple in the Third Harbor Town (Scene LXXIX) and the temple in the Fifth Harbor Town (Scene LXXXVI) to represent Etrusco-Italic forms, since both as depicted appear to be prostyle. The third temple (Third Harbor Town (Scene LXXIX)) is not specifically Etrusco-Italic, although it is admittedly debatable whether this is significant. The building enclosed by a portico in the Fourth Harbor Town (Scene LXXXI) is also possibly a temple, given its surroundings, but its form does not allow any certain identification.

5.3.1: ARCHITECTURE AND ASSIMILATION IN THE PROVINCES

The relationship between urban architecture and provincial assimilation to Roman rule and culture has seen a great deal of scholarly discussion, and is too broad of a topic to be dealt with in depth here. For this analysis it is important to note that the predominant culture of the Roman Empire was an urban culture, which the Roman armies and administration brought with them to the provinces they controlled. In the Eastern Empire, where urban living had a long and well established history, assimilation to the Roman Empire nevertheless left its architectural mark.²⁵⁶ Inclusion into the Roman Empire rendered some previously practical architectural forms, such as city fortifications, ostentatious;²⁵⁷ it introduced to other architectural forms new meaning, as with the monumental honorific arch,²⁵⁸ and it established new architectural forms, such as the basilica or amphitheater.²⁵⁹ With the advent of the Empire, the explosion of large urban projects, in the guise of gifts to, for, or in the spirit of the Emperor himself, produced a particular Roman architectural flavor even in well established cities such as Athens or Antioch.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ MacDonald 1986, 23, 180-81; Walker 1997. Walker (1997, 73-74, also 75-76) draws a strong connection between these architectural changes and the Roman administration: "The names given to the structures at Athens and Cyrene, today as in antiquity, reflect the *romanitas* of these buildings, and it is known from epigraphic evidence that the Roman authorities were involved in their funding and, at Cyrene, their maintenance."

²⁵⁷ Gros 1996, 26, 52; Zanker 2000c, 30.

²⁵⁸ Gros 1996, 56.

²⁵⁹ For the development and spread of the basilica form, see Gros 1996, 235-60; for examples of basilicas in the Eastern provinces, see Gros 1996, 245-48; Walker 1997, 73. For the development and spread of the circus, see Gros 1996, 346-61; for examples of circuses in the Eastern provinces, see Gros 1996, 355.

²⁶⁰ Walker 1997.

In the Western provinces, the lack of any indigenous urban culture meant that the connection between urban architecture and Rome was particularly strong. The Roman managerial apparatus was an urban one, and therefore established urban centers throughout the Western provinces in order to facilitate their managerial assimilation into the Empire.²⁶¹ Whether or not this included any conscious program of cultural assimilation is a matter of debate,²⁶² but it is apparent that Western indigenous elite participated in the same game of urban amplification as did their Eastern counterparts, and they did so using particularly Roman forms.²⁶³ The architecture of the Western provinces often shows a preference for Roman-Italic forms, rather than their Greek counterparts (basilicas rather than *stoae*,²⁶⁴ podium rather than purely peripteral temples,²⁶⁵ free-standing rather than excavated theaters²⁶⁶) and a free adoption of many forms that did not find wide popularity in the East (amphitheaters²⁶⁷ and circuses,²⁶⁸

²⁶¹ Ward Perkins 1970, 2, 5; Haselgrove 1984, 45; Millett 1990, 7; Drummond and Nelson 1994, 141, 183; Hurst 2000, 105, 108, 113.

²⁶² While it is true that, for most Romans, “the proper mode of civilised existence was urban” (Carter 1989, 31), the extent to which Romans were concerned with spreading that belief to provincials is debated. For the view that urbanization was coupled with conscious efforts towards cultural assimilation, see Anderson Jr. 1997, 183-84. Hurst’s (2000, especially 108) description of the development of colonial fortress sites in Britannia is only one example arguing against Anderson Jr.’s position; for a strongly opposing view to that of Anderson Jr., see Ward Perkins 1970, 2. For a more neutral position, see MacDonald 1986, 132.

²⁶³ Ward Perkins 1970, 2; MacDonald 1986, 176-77, 253; Hurst 2000, 110, 112. As Ward Perkins (1970, 23) points out, “the fact that the type could be so convincingly echoed in a modest vicus...shows how deeply rooted this basilica-forum plan became in Gallo-Roman architectural thinking.”

²⁶⁴ Ward Perkins 1970, 2-3, 5; Carter 1989, 32; Gros 1996, 248; Anderson Jr. 1997, 250; Zanker 2000c, 36.

²⁶⁵ Ward Perkins 1970, 2-3, 16-17; MacDonald 1986, 119; Barton 1989, 75; Gros 1996, 151-60.

²⁶⁶ Ward Perkins 1970, 12-13.

²⁶⁷ Brothers 1989, 113; Gros 1996, 334-35, 342; Anderson Jr. 1997, 279.

²⁶⁸ Brothers 1989, 120; Gros 1996, 351, 355; Rakob 2000, 75.

particularly as opposed to stadiums²⁶⁹).²⁷⁰ This particular preference should be kept in mind when considering the architectural types present in the civilian settlements on the frieze.

5.3.2: ARCHITECTURAL TYPES AND ASSIMILATION ON THE FRIEZE

In light of the connection between urban architectural amenities and Roman culture, it is interesting to consider what architectural types do and do not appear on the Column of Trajan's frieze. The employment of some types seems predictable, given their prominent role in Roman urban life, yet other types seem to appear with disproportionate frequency. Some of the most common features of urban life do not appear at all. The choice of which types of building to represent, and when, appears for the Column's frieze to be determined by compositional needs, the power of a type's associations, and the ease with which various building types could be rendered recognizable.

Fortifications appear in six out of ten civilian settlements depicted on the Column. All of these fortifications are indicated as ashlar. Ashlar fortifications in general are a common feature of the frieze: in addition to the six examples associated with civilian settlement, ten other Roman fortifications appear, comprising not quite half of all examples of ashlar fortifications on the frieze.²⁷¹ In terms of composition, the fortification walls of the civilian settlements serve to delineate a settlement, even when

²⁶⁹ Gros 1996, 357.

²⁷⁰ Ward Perkins 1970, 4. Ward Perkins (1970, 2) points out that this distinction becomes much more apparent under the Empire.

²⁷¹ Roman ashlar fortifications comprise a slightly larger sample than their Dacian counterparts (fifteen as opposed to twelve examples), while nearly twenty percent of examples (six in total) are neither clearly Roman nor Dacian, and were classified as Unclear.

they are reduced, as in the Fifth Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXXVI), to lateral frames. When fortification walls are depicted frontally enclosing their settlements' buildings (e.g. First and Second Harbor Settlements (Scenes III and XXXIII), Settlement around Apollodorus' Bridge (Scenes XCIX-CI)), these walls form an easily recognizable visual unit, even for a viewer several meters below the scene.

In the Roman Empire from the time of Augustus onwards, furthermore, fortification walls became less of a necessity and more of a means of displaying a settlement's assertion of status.²⁷² This can be seen clearly in the effort spent on building or expanding fortifications and monumental gateways in lower Gaul and Italy, areas where warfare was absent for centuries.²⁷³ The inclusion of formal ashlar fortification walls for the early civilian settlements on the frieze (First and Second Harbor Settlements (Scenes III and XXXIII)) thus can be seen as a marker of these settlements' *urbitas* and status. On the other hand, the omission of fortification walls for some settlements (Third and Fourth Harbor Settlements (Scenes LXXIX and LXXX)) and their inclusion for others (Second Fortified Settlement (Scene LXXXVIII), Settlement around Apollodorus' Bridge (Scenes XCIX-CI)) could make a powerful statement about the relative level of peace enjoyed by these communities.²⁷⁴

The Monumental Arch is one of the most common architectural types in the civilian settlements. Smaller versions appear as "filler" elements in the backdrops of three harbor settlements (First, Second, and Fifth (Scenes III, XXXIII, and LXXXVI);

²⁷² Gros 1996, 26, 39-40; Rakob 2000, 75-76; Zanker 2000c, 30. Gros (1996, 42) argues that these walls and their gates constitute "une sorte de prolepse ou d'anticipation de toutes les valeurs de l'*urbanitas*"; see also MacDonald 1986, 82.

²⁷³ Gros 1996, 39-40, 45; Zanker 2000c, 30.

²⁷⁴ For a similar argument regarding the symbolic importance of Carthage's absence of city walls, see Rakob 2000, 75-76.

FIGURES 16.B, 18.B, 22.A-B). Larger examples help structure the entire narrative of the frieze by marking the beginning of offensive campaigns (First Harbor Settlement (Scene III; FIGURES 1.C, 22.A) and Settlement around Apollodorus' Bridge (Scenes XCIX-CI); Scene XXXV preserves another example without an associated civilian settlement) and defensive campaigns (Second and Third Harbor Settlements (Scenes XXXIII and LXXIX); FIGURE 16.D).²⁷⁵ In both Collections of Altars (Scenes LXXXIII and XCI) an arched structure provides the only architectural setting for the scene (FIGURE 19). A monumental arch also appears as part of the famous bridge of Apollodorus (Scene XCVIII). In general, arches are not given much decoration, although three examples preserve crowning statuary; two of these latter arches initiate the two defensive campaigns (Scenes XXXIII and LXXIX), while the third arch (Scene CI) begins the final offensive campaign.

In short, monumental arches on the frieze are as ubiquitous and important as they apparently were within actual Roman cities. P. Gros, referring to tangible Roman cities, calls monumental arches “l'un des éléments les plus représentatives de la monumentalité proprement romaine,” crucial features “dans une conception programmatique et officielle de l'urbanisme de représentation.”²⁷⁶ Outside of Rome arches took on added significance: in established provinces, arches were flashy symbols of loyalty to Rome, while in newly conquered territories they affirmed Rome's victory and continual presence.²⁷⁷ Since the honor of an arch's dedication was eventually limited to the

²⁷⁵ Coulston 1990b, 298-99.

²⁷⁶ Gros 1996, 56. MacDonald (1986, 13) calls monumental arches “necessary trappings of empire” and argues (1986, 75) that monumental arches “were deeply embedded in urban experience both functionally and symbolically.” For the extensive use of arches in Roman cities, see MacDonald 1986, 75-80.

²⁷⁷ MacDonald 1986, 82, 84; Gros 1996, 62, 64; Anderson Jr. 1997, 265; Zanker 2000c, 30.

imperial family,²⁷⁸ such arches also played an important role in “la diffusion capillaire de l’idéologie impériale” throughout Italy and the provinces.²⁷⁹ The arches on the Column of Trajan should most certainly be seen in the same light, with their unambiguous forms and symbolic message. It is interesting that nowhere on the frieze, however, do monumental arches serve their most important logistical function within a living city, to organize and monumentalize the street system,²⁸⁰ nor do the frieze’s arches frequently feature crowning statuary.

Porticos are another prevalent architectural type, with seven identifiable examples (FIGURES 23.A-D). Porticos are also the most common architectural form whose use is restricted on the frieze to the depictions of civilian settlements. By the time of the Column of Trajan, porticos had become universal accoutrements of cultured, prosperous towns in the Roman Empire.²⁸¹ In particular, J.C. Anderson Jr. argues that “the *porticus* was a basic form in Roman architecture, inspired by and in turn informing the Roman concept of the city center, the forum,”²⁸² MacDonald argues that porticos established “the framework for a common imagery of cultural and political allegiance.”²⁸³ On the frieze, porticos serve much the same purpose as they did in actual cities, to connect their

²⁷⁸ Gros 1996, 59.

²⁷⁹ Gros 1996, 59; see also Anderson Jr. 1997, 265, Zanker 2000c, 32. The identical arches decreed by the Senate to be set up in Rome, Syria, and Germany in honor of Germanicus are an early but emblematic example of this phenomenon, with notable victorious overtones (Gros 1996, 59).

²⁸⁰ For the original connection between triumphal arches and triumphal routes, and their later importance as visual landmarks, see Anderson Jr. 1997, 264-65. For their role in articulating intersections, see MacDonald 1986, 9.

²⁸¹ MacDonald 1986, 43; Gros 1996, 96; Anderson Jr. 1997, 247-49; Hurst 2000, 112.

²⁸² Anderson Jr. 1997, 249. While Anderson Jr. is correct in stressing the importance of porticos in Roman urban architecture, his argument (1997, 248) that “[a] *porticus* has the effect of turning every architectural context in which it was used into a visual simulacrum of a Roman forum” is too strong.

²⁸³ MacDonald 1986, 48.

surroundings to a sophisticated culture and to delineate and organize space, while providing calm, rhythmic visual backgrounds.²⁸⁴ This familiar, repetitive visual scheme may have aided the viewer in recognizing the presence of porticos in the higher scenes, although some examples (such as the far left example of the Fourth Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXXI)) are admittedly obscure even in photographs of the scene. It is notable, however, that in this particular example a very obvious portico is repeated to the immediate right.

The remaining architectural types which occur less frequently on the frieze are equally notable for their clear connotations and representations. Three quays are portrayed on the frieze as lines of arches with water running through them (FIGURES 24.A-D;). Besides being easily identifiable, these quays would recall the magnificent harbors that the Roman mastery of *opus caementicium* had made possible.²⁸⁵ The most famous of these harbors are Trajanic constructions at Ostia and Ancona;²⁸⁶ in Roman Carthage, the monumental quay was one of the prominent public structures (along with the theater, amphitheater, and circus) which defined the four quarters of the city.²⁸⁷ The quays are also part of the frieze's general focus on harbors: six out of ten provincial settlements are harbors.²⁸⁸ The lighthouse of the Fourth Harbor Town (Scene LXXXI)

²⁸⁴ For the functions, both visual and practical, of porticos in ancient cities, see MacDonald 1986, 48; Gros 1996, 95-96; Anderson Jr. 1997, 247-49.

²⁸⁵ For the importance of concrete in Roman constructions, see Carter 1989, 36; Adam 1994, 125; Gros 1996, 37; Anderson Jr. 1997, 145-147.

²⁸⁶ Boatwright 2002, 267.

²⁸⁷ Rakob 2000, 75.

²⁸⁸ Admittedly, one may argue that most frontier settlements were located along the Danube and that this choice merely reflects topographic reality. To some extent this would only reinforce the point: since Roman proficiency in harbors made possible and encouraged these types of settlements, these towns

can be seen similarly as an easily recognizable reminder of Roman accomplishments in managing a naval empire. The ancillary buildings in the harbors (FIGURES 25.A-B, E) and the seven *horrea*, with their repetitive form and distinctive narrow entrances (FIGURES 25.C-E), should be viewed in a similar light, as reminders of Rome's distinction in provisioning her empire.

In the Roman provinces, the inclusion of a temple of Roman type, furthermore, was a declaration of a town's inclusion in the Empire, "a visible symbol of the changed status of the place."²⁸⁹ The three temples (Third Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXIX), Fifth Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXXVI)), with their lavish molding and recognizable forms, would suggest the opulence and piety of the Roman empire. Likewise the theater of the Fifth Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXXVI) is as identifiable as nearly any feature on the frieze, and would speak specifically to the cultured aspirations of its sponsors.²⁹⁰ Tacitus makes special mention of the inclusion of temples and a theater for Camulodunum in Britannia, although Hurst points out the difficulty in evaluating whether this reflects an accurate description of Camulodunum or Tacitus' cultural expectations.²⁹¹

represent this proficiency on the frieze. Regardless, the focus on the features connected to these settlements' roles as harbors is notable.

²⁸⁹ Barton 1989, 75; see also MacDonald 1986, 119. This was true even in the Greek East and North Africa, areas which had their own traditional styles of monumental temples (Barton 1989, 83). Gaul and Britain were more likely to retain their own particular flavor of religious architecture (Barton 1989, 86-87, MacDonald 1986, 121).

²⁹⁰ For the symbolic importance of theaters in colonies, see Rakob 2000, 73; Zanker 2000c, 37. Zanker (2000c, 38) argues that the particular Roman theater type with vaulted substructures allowed a symbolic reproduction of the Roman societal order within the audience; while this is probably true, his argument that the architectural type was "invented with this sort of socio-political engineering in mind" seems less believable.

²⁹¹ Hurst 2000, 106-07.

The inclusion on the frieze of two different amphitheaters, meanwhile, is striking. Anderson Jr. declares the amphitheater “[a] uniquely Roman creation.”²⁹² P. Zanker goes farther, arguing that “in a socio-political sense there is no building more 'Roman' than the arena.”²⁹³ As with theaters, for amphitheaters:

[t]heir outward appearance and vast feat of engineering were a vivid expression of the much touted values of urban life under the Roman empire. Accordingly, these buildings also possessed an explicitly Roman character in terms of their social and cultural background.²⁹⁴

At the most basic level, an amphitheater was a major undertaking that made a statement about the prosperity and status of a given community. On a cultural level, amphitheaters and their gladiatorial contests marked participation in a major component of Roman tradition.²⁹⁵ Importantly for the frieze, amphitheaters had a distinct, clearly recognizable form. In addition, an imperial monopoly on the giving of games in Rome itself may have granted connotations of imperial benevolence to the amphitheater form in the minds of the Column’s viewers, the majority of whom would have been residents of the capital.

In summary, every civilian settlement on the Column of Trajan frieze includes at least one, but more often multiple, architectural types associated with Roman urbanity and prosperity. These types conform to the normal set of recognizable structures found in Roman cities and, as will be seen, in their visual representations. Several architectural features crucial to ancient urban life are missing from the frieze, however, namely streets,

²⁹² Anderson Jr. 1997, 279; see also Brothers 1989, 113.

²⁹³ Zanker 2000c, 38.

²⁹⁴ Zanker 2000c, 37.

²⁹⁵ Brothers 1989, 97-98; Gros 1996, 317, 333; Zanker 2000c, 37-38.

basilicas, municipal buildings, and baths.²⁹⁶ As will be discussed in Chapter 7, streets in general are not often depicted in Roman art. For the latter three architectural categories, it is important to note that all of these types, even if they were depicted on the frieze, would be difficult to identify from any distance. Of these three, only the basilica had any sort of standardized form or appearance,²⁹⁷ and even basilicas are generally identifiable in Roman state relief only by their association with more unique monuments, usually those of the Roman Forum.²⁹⁸ The frieze's lack of these building types should therefore probably be seen as a casualty of the difficulty in rendering or identifying these entities, rather than a reflection of provincial topography.

5.3.3: CONSTRUCTION AND STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE FRIEZE'S CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS

Most buildings in the civilian settlements of the frieze do not conform to any specific architectural form. These generic buildings are nevertheless important for their presentation of construction method and architectural details. As with buildings of a determinable architectural form, the generic buildings of the civilian settlements are characterized by a prevalence of stone construction and specific structural features indicating a sophisticated level of construction. This emphasis, whether or not it reflected the reality of the frontier, would have made a powerful statement about the

²⁹⁶ For the importance of basilicas and municipal buildings for a Roman city, see Anderson Jr. 1997, 252; Zanker 2000c, 36. For the importance of baths—"both architecturally and socially, one of the most important features of Roman life"—see Anderson Jr. 1997, 271; see also MacDonald 1986, 115; Zanker 2000c, 39.

²⁹⁷ MacDonald 1986, 114, 121, 210-217.

²⁹⁸ For the aid of context in identifying the buildings of the Forum in state relief, see Grunow 2002, 41.

superiority and permanence of Roman culture, especially, as will be seen, when compared to barbarian architecture, either fictive or factual.

By the time of the Column of Trajan, Roman architecture was an architecture of stone and concrete. From early days in Italy every type of building, including domestic but particularly public architecture, could be and was constructed in stone.²⁹⁹ Although Rome was originally slow in adopting the use of marble and other cut stone, by the time of Augustus an entire wharf was installed by the Tiber to accommodate the stonecutters and importation of stone.³⁰⁰ As Augustus' famous boast demonstrates,³⁰¹ Roman architecture became one characterized, despite varied internal construction materials, by an outward appearance of cut stone, especially marble.³⁰² At the time of the Column of Trajan's construction, imperial architects were beginning to experiment with exposed brick facades; the lasting influence of the appearance of cut stone can be seen, however, in the continual application of stucco over walls whose original appearance featured decorative patterns in different types of brick.³⁰³

While the costs of importing stone always remained high,³⁰⁴ an imperial monopoly and interest in the quarrying and transport of precious stone³⁰⁵ eventually

²⁹⁹ Anderson Jr. 1997, 139. For the particular adaptability of the later *opus vittatum*, see Adam 1994, 139.

³⁰⁰ Anderson Jr. 1997, 166-67.

³⁰¹ Anderson Jr. 1997, 166-67. Augustus' boast is reported in Suetonius *Div Aug* 28; Cassius Dio 56.30.3.

³⁰² Anderson Jr. 1997, 168. For the imitation of cut stone masonry, see *supra* n. 172.

³⁰³ Adam 1994, 133. For this phenomenon in the provinces, see Adam 1994, 144.

³⁰⁴ Anderson Jr. 1997, 171.

³⁰⁵ Anderson Jr. 1997, 171, 174, 176, 179.

supported a regular Mediterranean-wide trade.³⁰⁶ The broad employment of cut stone architecture and decoration was thus made possible through imperial munificence, Roman technical efficiency (stone was quarried in standardized sizes³⁰⁷), and the empire-wide peace which allowed transport.³⁰⁸ In terms of structure, *opus caementicium* added new possibilities to Roman architecture and ensured that “the arch and the vault executed in concrete became one of the fundamental design principles in the repertoire of the Roman architect.”³⁰⁹ This in turn led to “a truly and distinctively Roman sort of monumental architecture,” which combined the structural possibilities of concrete with the exterior aesthetic of stone.³¹⁰

This distinctive Roman monumental architecture was not limited to Rome and its immediate environs, but spread throughout the colonies.³¹¹ The particular concern for stone construction can be seen in Roman Carthage, where, despite an apparent symbolic concern to obliterate the architectural memory of the Punic predecessor,³¹² remnants of the Punic city nevertheless were scavenged on a massive scale for building material when local stone sources proved insufficient.³¹³ More stone was imported for official monuments (including the amphitheater), so that these structures could be rendered in

³⁰⁶ Anderson Jr. 1997, 177-78.

³⁰⁷ Adam 1994, 128, 135, 141-42; Anderson Jr. 1997, 179.

³⁰⁸ Anderson Jr. 1997, 179.

³⁰⁹ Anderson Jr. 1997, 147; see also MacDonald 1986, 127, 173-74; Carter 1989, 36; Adam 1994, 125, Gros 1996, 37.

³¹⁰ Anderson Jr. 1997, 147; see also MacDonald 1986, 250.

³¹¹ Adam 1994, 135, 141-42.

³¹² Rakob 2000, 78, 82. For a similar phenomenon at Corinth, see Romano 2000, 85.

³¹³ Rakob 2000, 77.

opus reticulatum, a construction technique which the Punic spoils did not anticipate and for which they were therefore unsuitable.³¹⁴

This Roman emphasis on stone construction was of course more striking in areas, such as the Western provinces, where no previous tradition of such building materials existed.³¹⁵ While local construction techniques for domestic architecture in these areas often remained the same, typically effort was made to open quarries or otherwise obtain enough material so that the new public monuments could adhere to Roman standards.³¹⁶

Secure construction was the rule. Frontier posts might have to settle for less, but in most towns well-built public buildings were found whose solid fabric suggested security, strength, and permanence. Surely this contributed to a sense of being in civilized places, places clearly differentiated from those of the supposed...barbarians...who (if they were not nomads) lived in primitive shelters and lacked all public amenities.³¹⁷

Although this may be a slight overstatement, the fact that timber buildings would have to be renewed periodically while the new stone structures did not could not possibly have gone unnoticed by even the densest provincial. There is some evidence that in more militarized areas the replacement of timber buildings with stone was carried out by the army itself,³¹⁸ recalling the depictions of legionary construction seen on the Column.

The superiority and permanence of the Roman advance and subsequent influence is embodied in the prominence of cut-stone construction in the Column's depiction of

³¹⁴ Rakob 2000, 79-80. Rakob (perhaps without justification) expands (2000, 79-80) this importation to include Italian artisans to work the stone. It is notable that in less ideologically charged situations, such as in Pompeii, the similar problem of reusing polygonal masonry remnants in new reticulate construction was resolved by simply returning to the use of polygonal masonry itself (Adam 1994, 128).

³¹⁵ For the particular dominance of *opus vittatum* in Gaul, see Adam 1994, 135-36, 142.

³¹⁶ Ward Perkins 1970, 4.

³¹⁷ MacDonald 1986, 142.

³¹⁸ Hurst 2000, 112-13.

civilian settlements. Nearly all prominent buildings in the civilian settlements are depicted as specifically built of stone. The only exceptions are the buildings of the Settlement around Apollodorus' Bridge (Scene IC; FIGURES 20.A-B, 21.A) and possibly the tall building of the Fourth Harbor Town (Scene LXXX; FIGURE 21.B), which is nevertheless marked by several luxurious detailed features. As mentioned previously, the inclusion in Scene IC of pegged buildings and a partially wooden amphitheater is probably a deliberate statement about the settlement's relative level of sophistication; the architectural forms employed nevertheless speak to this settlement's civic aspirations. The settlement of Scene IC thus may be seen as the exception which proves the rule regarding the importance of stone construction for the civilian architecture.

For the majority of the civilian architecture, this stone construction is indicated by incised rectangular blocks, the same hatching technique used for the surrounding fortification walls (FIGURE 4.B). Rounded arches, possible only in stone (or in concrete with stone facing),³¹⁹ are significantly repeated and emphasized in nearly every civilian settlement. Columns, although possible in wood, likely indicate construction in stone as well,³²⁰ especially those with elaborately carved Corinthian capitals.³²¹ Notably, rectangular hatching is often omitted from the walls of buildings with features already evocative of stone, such as columned façades or arches; the hatching is almost always included, on the other hand, in buildings lacking these features. Thus for the temples of the Third Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXIX) and the theater of the Fifth Harbor

³¹⁹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 63, 67; Gros 1996, 37; Anderson Jr. 1997, 147-48.

³²⁰ MacDonald 1986, 169.

³²¹ For the role of Rome (and particularly Augustus) in expanding and propagating the use of the Corinthian order, see Barton 1989, 80-81. For the significance of the Corinthian order to Rome, see MacDonald 1986, 191; Walker 1997, 72.

Settlement (Scene LXXXVI) columns and detailed molding are included but hatching is absent. In the Second Harbor Settlement (Scene XXXIII), three out of four buildings without arches are hatched (the single example missing hatching is also the least prominent), but only three out of seven structures with arches are similarly marked (FIGURES 16.A-C). As the amphitheater in this scene demonstrates, hatching was nevertheless combined at times with features evocative of stone to underscore the stone construction of a given structure (FIGURE 16.C).

These types of features associated with stone construction are also notably restricted on the frieze to the civilian settlements. As indications of “common membership in an urban society under the care of Rome,”³²² columns have been seen as “suffused with imperial content,”³²³ “posses[ing] unrivaled symbolic authority.”³²⁴ One hundred percent of buildings with arched or round openings and buildings with Ionic or Corinthian columns are classified as Roman.³²⁵ Only one structure associated with Dacian influence features Tuscan-Doric columns, as opposed to twenty-two examples associated with Roman influence. Several other features on the frieze appear only on architectural units associated with Roman influence: tiled roofs cover only buildings classified as Roman, and only one of seven grated windows appears on a structure associated with Dacian culture. Nearly eighty percent of buildings with complicated

³²² MacDonald 1986, 201.

³²³ MacDonald 1986, 201.

³²⁴ MacDonald 1986, 168.

³²⁵ For the role of Rome (and particularly Augustus) in expanding and propagating the use of the Corinthian order, see Barton 1989, 80-81. For the significance of the Corinthian order to Rome, see MacDonald 1986, 191, Walker 1997, 72.

molding can be classified as Roman.³²⁶ Sixty percent of buildings with multiple stories are associated with Roman influence, and sixty percent of buildings with square windows are classified as Roman. Over seventy percent of buildings with a single square window are examples of Roman architecture. Roman structures on the frieze, in other words, are also generally more complicated or elaborate architecturally than their Dacian counterparts.

5.4: CONCLUSION

This emphasis on stone construction adds to the general pattern whereby peaceful, assimilated settlements of the outer provinces appear on the Column in the guise of a typical Roman city. In the same vein as the sacrificial rituals taking place in front of the architectural backdrops, specific architectural types are employed to stress those settlements' participation in the universal culture of the Empire. These same types also make apparent the affluence this participation has brought for the province. Subtle differences between the architecture of mature settlements and their recently established counterparts indicate how far the former settlements have come, and what heights the latter settlements can reach. Although vague in terms of topography, the architectural depictions of civilian settlements on the Column of Trajan send a clear message: willing participation with the Roman Empire will bring prosperity and peace. As will be seen, an equally powerful warning about the consequences of resistance is delivered at the same time by the depictions of Dacian architecture

³²⁶ For the importance of molding in Roman public buildings, see MacDonald 1986, 170-72.

CHAPTER 6:
DEPICTIONS OF DACIAN ARCHITECTURE
ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

The depictions of architecture associated with Dacian culture on the Column of Trajan frieze are in many ways more difficult to approach than their counterparts associated with Rome. For several architectural features (in particular the fortifications³²⁷), even the basic distinction of whether an example should be considered Dacian or Roman is almost entirely reliant on what narrative event the scholar considers the scene to illustrate.³²⁸ Many of the types of barbarian architecture depicted on the frieze, furthermore, are unfamiliar, both in the repertoire of Roman art and in the archaeological record. This very unfamiliarity has inspired much modern curiosity, if not in depth discussion. Despite the possible thematic implications of this architecture, modern scholarship has nevertheless treated the representations of Dacian architecture, as with all architecture on the frieze, as endeavors at topographic precision within the frieze's narrative.³²⁹

There is much that can be learned from the general manner in which Dacian architecture is depicted on the frieze. Throughout the Column, Roman constructions, be

³²⁷ Coulston 1988, 151; 1990a, 46.

³²⁸ See for example Lepper and Frere's discussion (1988, 119) of the stronghold in Scene LXXV. For other examples, see Coulston 1990a, 41.

³²⁹ For a discussion of this mindset, see Coulston 1988, 22, 25, 151; 1990a, 46. For direct criticism, see Coulston 1988, 152; 1990a, 46. For this mindset in practice, see Davies 1920; Coulston 1988, 22-23; Lepper and Frere 1988, 2, 19, 27, especially 73, 105-06, 118-20; Stefan 2005, 600-25.

they towns or military fortifications, are consistently portrayed in a manner which emphasizes their particular Roman nature and the strengths of Roman culture. In contrast, Dacian constructions are consistently depicted in a manner that highlights their barbarism. Together these approaches draw the greatest contrast between the supposed backwoods chaos of the Dacians and the urban sophistication of Rome. This line of attack would have been uniquely challenging, given that, in reality, the contrast between Roman and Dacian civilization was not as vast as Roman imperial propaganda may have desired.

6.1: THE DACIAN DIFFERENCE: THE UNIQUE CHALLENGES OF DACIAN SOCIETY FOR ROMAN DEPICTIONS OF BARBARISM

For much of the Western Empire the contrast between the Roman and indigenous ways of life was immediate and obvious. While most of northwestern Europe was populated by small tribal villages of earthen huts, Rome was a thriving metropolis that set the empire's standard for an urban culture.³³⁰ Since there was no indigenous parallel in the northwestern provinces for either the city or its cultural mindset, Rome developed municipalities from scratch in the West from which to govern.³³¹ The stamp of urbanity in the West was therefore the stamp of Rome.³³²

Dacia, however, was different. Centuries before the Trajanic wars, Dacia had developed what many scholars would categorize as an urban society.³³³ Starting in the

³³⁰ Carter 1989, 31, 40.

³³¹ Millett 1990, 7.

³³² Carter 1989, 31, 40.

³³³ Muşat 1980, xxix; MacKenzie 1986, 77. For a discussion of this problem, see Stefan 2005, 109-11.

third century BCE, a “few large nucleated settlements” came to dominate the otherwise dispersed territory of the Carpathian Mountains.³³⁴ Scholars have argued that “[t]here is sufficient evidence to prove that at least part of the strongholds ...namely the ones that date to the 1st-2nd centuries A.D., comply, in point of functionality, with the criteria set for urban settlements.”³³⁵ These settlements, which have been associated with the Dacian term *davae*,³³⁶ included purely defensive fortifications as well as occupations positioned to control important resources and “politically and socially important areas.”³³⁷ The distribution of the *davae* suggests a definitive hierarchical settlement pattern, with larger fortifications often surrounded by smaller settlements, as can be seen for Sarmizegetusa.³³⁸ Many scholars point to this settlement hierarchy as evidence of a unified, hierarchical political system;³³⁹ at the time of Trajan, the central authority of this feudal-like system of differentiated elite³⁴⁰ culminated, according to classical sources, in the monarch Decebalus, who ruled from his capital fortress of Sarmizegetusa.³⁴¹

³³⁴ Lockyear 2004, 36-37, 40; see also Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 81-2.

³³⁵ Bâzu 1980, 21.

³³⁶ MacKenzie 1986, 63.

³³⁷ MacKenzie 1986, 63; see also Lockyear 2004, 36.

³³⁸ Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 102; MacKendrick 1975, 58; MacKenzie 1986, 70, 77; Lockyear 2004, 51.

³³⁹ Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 102; see also MacKendrick 1975, 56; Bâzu 1980, 21; Muşat 1980, xxix; MacKenzie 1986, 78. For dissenting opinions see MacKenzie 1986, 102; Lockyear 2004, 70.

³⁴⁰ MacKendrick 1975, 68; Bâzu 1980, 12-3, 15-17; MacKenzie 1986, 64, 84, 87, 97-9, 102; Lockyear 2004, 70. This is consistent with the classical sources, such as Dio, which distinguish between a ruling class (*tarabostes, pilleati*) and the cast of free common people (*comati, capilati*; MacKenzie 1986, 30). Many scholars have connected these two classes to the depiction of Dacians on the Column, traditionally seeing the capped Dacians as representing the elite (FIGURE 14.A).

³⁴¹ Haynes and Hanson 2004, 14.

These urban centers or fortresses have been seen by archaeologists as functioning as “a city seat, the center of a political unit,”³⁴² in the same vein as the *polis* of the Mediterranean.³⁴³ Archaeological evidence suggests that the *davae* were not only military fortifications but also centers of economic, political, and religious life.³⁴⁴ Many *davae*, especially Sarmizegetusa, show marked internal domestic differentiation,³⁴⁵ usually with one much larger house at the top of the settlement.³⁴⁶ The major sanctuaries in some *davae* not only suggest the role of *davae* as religious centers,³⁴⁷ but also testify to the Dacian ability to produce indigenous monumental architecture in stone.³⁴⁸

The urban centers of Dacia also boasted many of the cultural amenities otherwise associated with Rome or the East.³⁴⁹ The sheer size and complexity of the largest fortifications³⁵⁰ is impressive even today, and at one time even smaller settlements typically had well-maintained defenses.³⁵¹ The *dava* at Brad featured a paved *agora*,³⁵² while many fortresses, of which Sarmizegetusa is a prime example, had paved streets and

³⁴² MacKenzie 1986, 61.

³⁴³ Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 101.

³⁴⁴ Bârză 1980, 14; MacKenzie 1986, 63-64.

³⁴⁵ Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 104; MacKendrick 1975, 56, 70, 73.

³⁴⁶ Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 104; MacKenzie 1986, 69.

³⁴⁷ MacKenzie 1986, 64.

³⁴⁸ Stefan 2005, 34-58.

³⁴⁹ MacKenzie 1986, 33; Haynes and Hanson 2004, 15.

³⁵⁰ Bârză 1980, 17.

³⁵¹ Lockyear 2004, 41.

³⁵² MacKenzie 1986, 73.

a complicated water supply of pipes and settling tanks.³⁵³ Trade goods and influences from multiple cultures, including the Scythians, Thracians, Celts, Greeks, and Romans,³⁵⁴ were plentiful and existed side by side with local goods and styles.³⁵⁵ Like the Romans themselves, the Dacians were not shy about borrowing from supposedly more sophisticated Mediterranean cultures; this meant that on the eve of the Roman invasion, there would have been much in Dacian culture that a Roman could have found familiar.³⁵⁶

These similarities would have been problematic for anyone wishing to emphasize the differences between Roman and barbarian culture. For the remainder of the barbarian West the contrast was clear: Roman culture was urban and advanced, while barbarians were simplistic and primitive. Crucially for imperial art, this was relatively easy to depict pictorially: for the individual figure, standard Hellenistic tropes of the defeated barbarian already existed, while in terms of barbarian cities, none existed, and depiction was therefore moot. With regard to Dacia, any relatively accurate differentiation between Rome and barbarian culture would have to be subtler, but, for that very reason, even more important. The problem of conveying this differentiation clearly through a visual medium appears to have occupied the production team of the Column of Trajan, with very interesting and telling results.

³⁵³ Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 104.

³⁵⁴ Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 110.

³⁵⁵ Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 105; MacKenzie 1986, 65.

³⁵⁶ Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 110-11; MacKendrick 1975, 66; Glodariu 1978, 1; Haynes and Hanson 2004, 14.

6.2: BARBARIANS AND ROMANS ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN FRIEZE

Previous scholarship has demonstrated throughout the length of the Column a concern for emphasizing the superiority of Rome in contrast to the Dacian threat. J.C.N. Coulston and S. Settis, for example, have demonstrated how balancing compositions of parallel scenes repeatedly contrast Roman reward with Dacian defeat.³⁵⁷ In these parallel compositions and elsewhere, the most common embodiment of Roman values is the Roman military. I. Richmond called the Column “a memorial to that army,” with the army consistently portrayed as efficient, disciplined, and relentless.³⁵⁸ Organization and speed are prevaillingly emphasized, the former, for example, in the repeated scenes of construction, the latter in the great jumps over landscape and time represented in cross-country excursions.³⁵⁹ The construction scenes also demonstrate the army’s technical knowledge and efficiency, with fortifications inexorably rising seemingly from one moment to the next.³⁶⁰ All of these virtues combine with courage in the scenes of battle and marching, where the Roman army calmly and relentlessly moves in orderly rows from left to right, from the bottom to the top of the Column’s spiral (e.g. Scenes IV-VI, XXII-XXIV, XXXVI-XXXVII).³⁶¹

These virtues are thrown into higher relief in contrast with the depiction of Dacian combatants, who are never shown producing anything and who advance and retreat in

³⁵⁷ Coulston 1988, 28, 91-92; Settis 1988, 163-66; Coulston 1990b, 296-98.

³⁵⁸ Richmond 1982, 3; see also Coulston 1988, 38; Lepper and Frere 1988, 27, 89.

³⁵⁹ Coarelli 2000, 28 n. 135.

³⁶⁰ Lepper and Frere 1988, 27, 86; Coulston 1990a, 39; Hölscher 1991a, 264; Williams 1998, 175; Hölscher 2002, 137.

³⁶¹ Coulston 1988, 20; Dillon 2006, 258.

disorderly chaos (e.g. Scenes XXIV-XXV, XXIX-XXX, XL-XLI, XCIII-XCIV).³⁶²

While Roman forces press on in formation (e.g. Scenes IV-VI, XXI-XXIV), Dacian forces sneak through the woods (Scene LXVI) and swarm whatever they are attacking (e.g. Scenes XXXII, XCIV). Most Dacian actions are shown as ineffectual, underhanded or even comical (e.g. Scene XXXI),³⁶³ and for most of the frieze any evidence of larger intentions or planning is absent.³⁶⁴ The best example of this contrast between Roman and barbarian can be seen in Scenes LXIV and LXIX-LXXI (FIGURE 26), where rows of Roman forces advance over a tangled mass of Dacian bodies, towards an equally chaotic throng of retreating Dacian soldiers.³⁶⁵

I would argue that this sort of contrast does not limit itself to depictions of military maneuvers and strategy. The rendering of architectural construction also falls within this general theme of differentiating Roman from Dacian, to the disadvantage of the latter. Throughout the Column imperial constructions are consistently portrayed in such a way as to emphasize Roman features, while Dacian constructions are depicted equally regularly as primitive, strange, and barbaric. The most obvious contrast is in building materials: Dacian structures are primarily represented as timber, Roman structures almost invariably as stone. A survey of the Dacian architecture on the frieze demonstrates that in their presentation of construction typologies and techniques, the

³⁶² Hölscher 2002, 137.

³⁶³ Köppel (2002, 253-54) sees this episode of Scene XXXI in particular as contrasting Roman preparation (seen in the many bridge crossing scenes) with Dacian chaos, to the extent that here the latter seems comical.

³⁶⁴ Rossi 1978, 19. The notable exception to this rule is the Fourth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXI). While the inclusion of such a scene is extremely important, it nevertheless does not break the general pattern of ineffectual action for Dacians. It is possible that some sort of battle rally is also implied in the Third Dacian Stronghold (Scene XCIII), but again this is ineffectual.

³⁶⁵ For the impact of this general arrangement of conqueror over conquered tumult, particularly regarding messages of victory through labor, see Hölscher 2004, 44.

production team of the Column seems to be concerned primarily with serving a greater thematic purpose, rather than accurately reproducing the architecture of Dacia.

6.3: THE DACIAN ARCHITECTURE ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

In my analysis of the Column of Trajan frieze, I distinguished fourteen assemblages of architecture which I see as intended to represent areas associated primarily with Dacian culture (TABLE 8). As for the survey of the civilian settlements, the following survey of the assemblages of Dacian architecture is intended to illustrate many of the analytical themes raised by these depictions, in order to provide a foundation for the comprehensive discussion presented in the next section. This survey follows the same procedure as in the survey of the assimilated civilian settlements: I present examples of specific depictions of Dacian architecture, in order to demonstrate the different architectural types and construction methods employed, as well as the thematic or analytical concerns raised for these depictions. As before, the survey is organized according to settlements or apparent narrative units.

6.3.1: FIRST DACIAN DEFENSIVE LINE AND THE FIRST DESTRUCTION TABLEAU (Scene XXV)

The first overtly Dacian architecture occurs directly following the initial appearance of Dacians on the frieze (in Scenes XXIV-XXV). This depiction (FIGURE 58.A) is notable for several features, especially in light of its role as the introduction to Dacian architecture in general: (a) the architecture is explicitly militaristic; (b) several features are included which are vaguely similar to features seen in the civilian

Table 8: Major Assemblages of Dacian Architecture on the Column of Trajan

	Assemblage of Dacian Architecture	Scene(s)	Number of Architectural Units
1.	First Dacian Defensive Line and the First Destruction Tableau	XXV	9
2.	Second Destruction Tableau	XXX	1
3.	Third Destruction Tableau	LVII-LVIII	6
4.	Four Cylindrical Buildings	LXII	6
5.	A Series of Dacian Defenses	LXVI-LXXII	13
	Ballista Stations and First Palisade	LXVI-LXVII	6
	Second Palisade	LXX	3
	First Dacian Stronghold and Third Palisade	LXXI-LXXII	4
6.	Water Supply and Second Dacian Stronghold	LXXIV-LXXV	6
7.	Fourth Destruction Tableau	LXXVI	6
8.	Third Dacian Stronghold	XCIII	3
9.	Fourth Dacian Stronghold	CXI	4
10.	Fifth Dacian Stronghold	CXIII-CXVI	10
11.	Fifth Destruction Tableau and Sixth Dacian Stronghold	CXIX-CXXII	17
12.	Seventh Dacian Stronghold	CXXIV-CXXV	6
13.	Wooden Defenses	CXXXII	2
14.	Final Destruction Tableau	CL-CLIII	10

settlements; (c) several other features mark the settlement as strange and barbaric; (d) the scene includes the vivid destruction of Dacian architecture by Roman soldiers. Many of these aspects, as will be seen, are characteristic of the depiction of Dacian architecture on the frieze, and are here established early in the frieze's narrative.

Between Trajan and the main Dacian fortifications run a series of poles, ditches, and spikes, presumably representing cavalry traps (FIGURE 27.A).³⁶⁶ The fortifications themselves are depicted as a double wall with a monumental gateway and merlons (FIGURE 27.B). While the foremost wall is depicted with clearly hatched rectangular blocks, the back wall is blank. The gateway, on the other hand, has horizontal hatching resembling wooden planks, marked by circular studs or pegs (FIGURE 27.C). Unlike the gateways of the civilian settlements, this gateway features a rectangular entrance and a gabled pediment.³⁶⁷ Above the walls stand posts topped by the skulls of what are presumably Roman soldiers, since they wear tiny helmets (FIGURE 27.D).³⁶⁸ Behind the skulls and between the walls stand two structures that do not conform to previous depictions of architecture on the frieze: a small square building, hatched as stone, rises on stilts, next to a round wooden palisade which does not explicitly surround anything (FIGURE 27.E). The whole concoction is further identified as Dacian by the dragon and

³⁶⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 72. Lepper and Frere (1988, 72) see the depiction of these defenses as a product of a particularly careful and elaborate description in Trajan's *Dacica*.

³⁶⁷ Lepper and Frere (1988, 72) describe this gateway as "very much like the portal of a Greek temple," and see the pediment in particular as indicative of stone construction for the fortifications as a whole. They do not discuss the construction material of the gateway itself.

³⁶⁸ Coulston 1988, 151.

plaque standards flying above (FIGURE 27.E),³⁶⁹ which repeat the standards seen immediately to the left of Trajan above the battling Dacians of the previous scene.

This scene represents not only the first appearance of Dacian architecture but also the first specific depiction of wooden buildings. The two buildings within a wooden palisade outside the fortifications are marked by both their unusual shapes and their material (FIGURE 28). The left building resembles a modern barn, but stands on stilts, while the building on the right is unusually large, with two stories and a tall entrance. Both buildings are denoted as clearly wooden by the horizontal hatching and pegs on their walls and roofs, a technique seen on the gateway above. Both are also clearly on fire, with tongues of flame leaping out of windows and one roof. Roman soldiers with torches glower over the buildings, while a Dacian warrior, presumably from the previous battle, seems to crumple face down against the palisade.

On the one hand, this scene features a similar compositional combination of architectural elements seen in the arrangements of the First and Second Harbor Settlements (Scenes III and XXXIII) and the Settlement around Apollodorus' Bridge (Scenes XCIX-CI): this includes gated fortifications, two generic exterior buildings with other features inside the walls, and a distinctive (round) structure (FIGURES 22.A-C). All of these elements, however, have been modified in such a way as to mark them as distinctly different from the viewer's previous experience, both on and to some extent beyond the frieze; the settlement, in other words, has been given a Dacian twist. For the gateway and exterior buildings, this includes the indication of wood as a construction material. The unfamiliar architectural forms, clearly distinct from the regular Roman canon, further distance the buildings from the viewer's everyday experience. The

³⁶⁹ Coulston 1990a, 46; Coarelli 2000, 69.

destruction of these buildings, meanwhile, underscores the imminent downfall of the barbaric culture they represent.

6.3.2: THIRD DESTRUCTION TABLEAU (Scenes LVII-LVIII)

This appearance of Dacian architecture is set against its own destruction (FIGURE 29.A). The square structure on stilts fired by the soldier recalls the edifice inside the First Dacian Defensive Line (Scene XXV; FIGURES 29.B-C); this example, however, has no hatching and features a door opening out to thin air. The wooden construction underneath Trajan alternates between open balustrades over narrow supports and closed palisades situated on rocky ground. This structure vaguely resembles the Roman bridges assembled on the frieze by legionaries (e.g. Scenes XII, XVI, XIX; FIGURE 30),³⁷⁰ but is nevertheless rendered with a much different form, with palisades, lofty supports, and an entranceway on stilts. These supports feature square buttressing that recalls, but clearly does not reproduce, classical columns. Above Trajan's head is placed a fortification with an arched gateway, set on a hill in a manner evocative of actual Dacian fortifications. Completing the scene's frame to the left is further destruction, where two soldiers set fire to a tall building and wooden palisade (FIGURES 29.D-E). The form of the building recalls the structure in the Second Destruction Tableau (Scene XXIX; FIGURE 55); while the previous example was indicated as stone, this building is marked with emphatic horizontal plank hatching and pegs.

This incidence of destruction cannot be meant to reproduce faithfully a real situation, since the one soldier illogically sets fire to the same structure over which Trajan is riding and beneath which three other soldiers are passing. Overlapping the second

³⁷⁰ Lepper and Frere 1988, 102.

burning palisade (Scene LVIII) to the right are Roman legionaries engaged in the construction of what appears to be a stone fortification (Scene LX; FIGURE 31). The parallelism between this scene and the destruction of the previous scene is heightened by the upper register: above the burning structures and the curving ground line, a large group of Dacians gesture in despair and look towards the Roman construction, while in a similar position above the Roman construction, three somewhat oddly positioned legionaries watch over the work and glance towards the fire. The chiastic arrangement of large, bareheaded groups with smaller, helmeted detachments further intertwines the scenes.

6.3.3: FOUR CYLINDRICAL BUILDINGS (Scene LXII)

These buildings are unequivocally among the most intriguing for the frieze (FIGURE 58.B).³⁷¹ The four³⁷² cylindrical structures, which rise behind a particularly high, jagged ground line, all feature hatching for stone masonry (FIGURE 32). Their most peculiar feature is their conical roofs, with ridges radiating from a crowning doorknob-shaped boss, and two tapering crescent projections.³⁷³ The molding resembling a fasciaed architrave below each roofline is repeated on the lintel of the rectangular

³⁷¹ Lepper and Frere (1988, 104) see these buildings as well as reflecting a careful description in Trajan's *Dacica*.

³⁷² Lepper and Frere (1988, 104) incorrectly count three structures, probably due to their reliance on reproduced plates, which makes sorting out occurrences of identical buildings difficult (for a criticism of this reliance by the authors, see *supra* 193).

³⁷³ Lepper and Frere (1988, 104) believe these features are sky-lights.

entrances, with the uppermost fasces forming an inverted trapezoid, and on the monumental gateway of the fortress set on a hill in the far upper right of the scene.³⁷⁴

The identity of these cylindrical structures is a mystery. Nothing overtly similar has been found in the archaeological record.³⁷⁵ While some scholars have seen these buildings as shrines to the Roman dead,³⁷⁶ their strange form and features almost certainly mark them as Dacian architecture.³⁷⁷ As has been seen, buildings associated with Roman culture on the frieze conform almost exclusively to familiar types and features. While these cylindrical structures may represent some unprecedented Roman memorial whose fame would have rendered the scene comprehensible to an ancient viewer, it is more likely that these buildings are part and parcel of the strange Dacian architecture, meant to elicit the same type of wonder from the frieze's viewers as that seen on the faces of the legionaries wandering among the buildings in this scene.

6.3.4: A SERIES OF DACIAN DEFENSES (Scenes LXVI-LXXII)

This series is distinguished by the repetitive use of a specific type of wooden palisade and gateway to close the compositions of battle scenes. The first battle in this series is part of a larger composition which depicts, from left to right, a Roman fortification in stone, a large wooden Roman ballista station, a smaller wooden Dacian ballista station, and a much smaller Dacian fortification in stone with a wooden palisade

³⁷⁴ Lepper and Frere 1988, 105.

³⁷⁵ Coulston 1988, 154.

³⁷⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 104.

³⁷⁷ Lepper and Frere (1988, 104) also propose identifications of Dacian religious shrines, Royal Tombs, or housing for stolen Roman standards. Coulston (1988, 154; 1990a, 47) suggests they may be temples or domestic structures.

below.³⁷⁸ This arrangement sets up a contrast between Roman and Dacian architecture and the skills they imply. The ballistae stations, for example, are contrasted sharply in both elaboration and size (FIGURES 33.A-B): the Roman defenses comprise piles upon piles of stacked logs which completely surround their operators, while the Dacian operators are perched above an almost comically small palisade.

Forming the right frame of the composition are two separate architectural defenses. In the upper register stand fortifications with large rectangular hatching, while a wooden palisade below ends illogically without surrounding or restricting access to anything. This sense of architectural nonsense is continued in the palisade's construction technique: the wooden palisade is interrupted by a blocky rectangular gateway with a wide entrance and a flat roof, with the gateway marked with the rectangular hatching of stone masonry (FIGURE 33.C). The molding of the two entrances to the stone fortification is particularly interesting, since it repeats the fasces and trapezoidal form of the fortification and cylindrical buildings in Scene LXII. This does not necessarily indicate that these fortifications are meant to be the same location; rather it suggests that this type of molding is employed to characterize Dacian architecture in general. Unlike preceding examples, the molding in the current scene also features columns with true capitals, the only instance of columns for any Dacian architecture on the frieze.

6.3.5: WATER SUPPLY AND SECOND DACIAN STRONGHOLD (LXXIV-LXXV)

The water supply system depicted at the beginning of these scenes is particularly interesting (FIGURE 34). The Roman soldiers drinking from the canal in Scene LXXIV

³⁷⁸ For the mirrored arrangement of the ballista operators, as well as the technical rendition of this scene, see Coulston 1988, 61.

and those moving towards the circular feature above³⁷⁹ have traditionally been interpreted as symbolizing the Roman conquest of the area's natural resources,³⁸⁰ but it is striking that this natural resource is being supplied by engineering, and not necessarily Roman engineering. The canal is cut into the rock, which suggests an indigenous structure, despite the fact that hydro-mechanical engineering and water supply were generally the special province of Rome.

The Second Dacian Stronghold (Scene LXXV) is shown as a long wall with rectangular hatching and two gates with wooden towers.³⁸¹ The main indication that this fortification is meant to be a Dacian structure is the presence of elaborate wooden siege engines³⁸² to the right of the fortifications (FIGURE 35), presumably meant to indicate the Roman military technology and expertise by which the capture of this Dacian stronghold was affected. The scene as a whole, furthermore, seems to confirm the identification of the fortifications with the Dacian *populus*: the Dacians on the right supplicate Trajan, who sits in a triumphant pose to receive their pleas, while Roman soldiers move goods out of the fortress. Nothing in the fortifications themselves, however, suggests a particular Dacian identification: the form, hatching, and even gates conform to types seen

³⁷⁹ While the circular feature with ashlar hatching has been thought to be a reservoir (Lepper and Frere 1988, 116, 119), the inclusion of defensive merlons and the sacks which the soldiers are carrying towards the feature seem to suggest that the feature is instead another fortification. This of course, does not clarify whether the feature should be considered Dacian or Roman: Lepper and Frere (1988, 116, 119) see it as Dacian, based primarily on its round form.

³⁸⁰ Hölscher 1991b, 288-89; see also Dillon 2006, 261.

³⁸¹ Lepper and Frere (1988, 119) are tempted to associate this stronghold with Sarmizegetusa (see also Coarelli 2000, 130), but characteristically comment that "The features here do not correspond at all well with the very remarkable ones found at that site, so that the description of them in the *Dacica* would have to have been quite unbelievably ambiguous to give rise to such fantasies."

³⁸² Coarelli 2000, 131. Lepper and Frere (1988, 118-19) seem to interpret these features as watch towers, and even suggest that they may be meant to represent different Dacian strongholds.

elsewhere on the frieze in Roman camps.³⁸³ It is particularly notable that in this scene of restrained triumph no buildings, Dacian or otherwise, appear within the fortification, and no explicit destruction occurs.

6.3.6: FIFTH DACIAN STRONGHOLD (Scenes CXIII-CXVI)

This most famous example of Dacian architecture on the frieze stretches over three extended scenes and is one of the longest set pieces of the frieze (FIGURES 58.C-D). The importance placed on the capture of this particular stronghold has led most scholars to see this stronghold as Sarmizegetusa;³⁸⁴ if one must pick a single candidate from all the highly varied strongholds identified as the Dacian capital in scholarship, this example is probably the most likely.³⁸⁵

The primary Dacian fortifications in this battle (Scenes CXIV-CXVI) are marked by a curious method of construction. Instead of rectangular hatching, polygonal lines interspersed with double rows of roundels represent the walls, which curve towards and away from the foreground and follow the rugged line of terrain (FIGURES 36.A-B). Lepper and Frere see this as an attempt to represent the *muris Dacicus* construction method, which they assume was presumably described in great detail by Trajan in his *Dacica*.³⁸⁶ This is the first and last appearance of this construction technique on the

³⁸³ Lepper and Frere 1988, 118.

³⁸⁴ Lepper and Frere 1988, 164; Stefan 2005, 101.

³⁸⁵ This stronghold is oddly enough one of the very few on the frieze *not* identified by Coarelli (2000, 181) as the capital, but rather as the beginning of a series of conquests eventually culminating in the capture of the capital.

³⁸⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 165. This hatching has also been seen as patchwork repairs following the forced dismantling of Dacian fortifications at the end of the first Dacian Wars (Coulston 1988, 153; 1990a, 47); for a not entirely definitive argument against this suggestion, see Coulston 1988, 153.

frieze, and it is interesting that it appears in the paradigmatic depiction of a siege. After curving up to meet the top of the spiral, the line of the wall continues along above the heads of a series of Roman forces (Scenes CXIV-CXV; FIGURE 14.B). The polygonal hatching and a single line of roundels make clear the line of the walls, while allowing the majority of the scene to be devoted, as in non-siege battles, to the depiction of Roman legionaries and auxiliaries, including archers.³⁸⁷

In stark contrast to the visual pandemonium of the surrounding wall, the facades of the towers incorporated into the fortifications and the tower buildings behind the walls are rendered without any hatching, but with pegs included (FIGURES 36.B-E). Windows of different sizes and number provide visual variety. Behind the fortification walls on the left side of the fortifications can be seen a long, rectangular building whose gabled planked roof line follows the curve of the wall (FIGURE 36.F). The short end of the building is presented as a tall, blank opening with a defined pediment, while the building's flank is divided by a series of posts. A line of smaller squares, two per division, appear directly under the roofline. Where the walls curve down behind a line of attacking Dacians, a second elongated structure with posts and a gabled plank-and-peg roof is barely visible above one Dacian soldier (Scene CXIV; FIGURE 36.G).

In front of the last tower (Scene CXVI), the architecture abruptly shifts and the narrative becomes confusing. The wall coming in towards the tower is hatched in the polygonal-and-roundel pattern. The wall then apparently turns out towards the foreground at a sharp angle, revealing an interior face of ashlar masonry (FIGURE 36.I), before curving back, still hatched with rectangular blocks, up towards the top of the

³⁸⁷ Coulston 1988, 154.

spiral.³⁸⁸ Roman soldiers, moreover, appear inside and outside the wall, attacking the wall from both sides with *dolabrae* (FIGURE 36.J). The wall zigzags back behind the soldiers, then turns sharply up towards the spiral's top, while behind this wall line flee Dacian soldiers, including Decebalus, with blocks falling on Roman soldiers below (FIGURE 36.H).³⁸⁹

This abrupt shift in construction material is unprecedented for the Column frieze, but it is mostly likely directly related to the action of breaking down the wall. The production team may have feared that the soldiers' actions would be incomprehensible if the wall were not clearly identified, or, as other scholars may suggest, they may have blindly reproduced a pre-existing model. The shift in construction material, however, also clearly delineates a crucial shift in the course of the battle, with the stone masonry further emphasizing the strength of the obstacles overcome by the Roman army. The return to ashlar masonry also occurs directly above and below (FIGURE 37) depictions of ashlar walls which have been interpreted as representing the same fortifications depicted in this current stronghold (the Fourth and Sixth Dacian Strongholds (Scenes CXI and CXXII)).

6.3.7: FIFTH DESTRUCTION TABLEAU AND SIXTH DACIAN STRONGHOLD (Scenes CXIX-CXXII)

This destruction scene is unique in its variety and concentrated collection of Dacian architecture, as well as its depiction of the Dacians themselves setting fire to their own buildings. Seven buildings are shown congregated within the wide outer circuit of

³⁸⁸ Lepper and Frere 1988, 167.

³⁸⁹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 167.

fortification walls (Scene CXIX; FIGURE 38.A). The fortification walls have returned here to the standard rectangular hatching and merlons, and seem to trace a series of interlocking fortifications. All of the towers and interior buildings feature plank hatching or pegs: five have pegs, three have planked roofs, and two have planked walls (FIGURES 38.A-D). Two buildings have tall entrances below a single square window (FIGURE 38.C); their closest parallels are the three stone buildings outside the Small Fortified Settlement (Scenes LXXXIX-XC), but the current examples have pegs instead of blocks. One of these buildings, furthermore, has a grated window (the only grated window associated with Dacian architecture on the frieze).

Two cylindrical buildings, also with tall entrances and single square windows, are included amongst the more generic structures (FIGURE 38.D). These cylindrical buildings repeat the form, ridged roofs, and doorknob cap of the Four Round Buildings of Scene LXII (FIGURE 32), but lack the latter examples' stone hatching, molded lintels, and crescent projections. While the level of architectural concentration depicted in this scene is usually reserved for civilian settlements associated with Roman culture, the employment of these unusual cylindrical forms and pegged construction prevents the cityscape from appearing too similar to the more assimilated civilian settlements, and no distinctly Roman architectural forms are present. The pathos and desperation of the scene is heightened by the Dacians themselves, who participate in the destruction of their own civilization.

The exact relationship between this Fifth Destruction Tableau and the Sixth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXX-CXXII) is not clear: in the foreground the two locations appear to be detached, while in the background their fortifications connect and run one in

front of the other. This arrangement may replicate a broader Dacian practice on the frieze of employing multiple lines of fortifications (cf. Dacian Defenses (Scene XXV), Fourth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXI), possibly the Fifth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXIII-CXVI)). The fortification walls of the Sixth Dacian Stronghold are marked with rectangular hatching and merlons, curving and rising to indicate the hilly terrain (although the ground line itself remains mostly static; FIGURES 39.A-B). Inside the right end of the fortifications are two more tower buildings with pegs, planked roofs, and wide windows, along with a wooden palisade (FIGURE 39.C). At the far end of the fortification, a single tower building combines the position of rectangular examples with the form and features of the cylindrical buildings outside the fortifications (Scene CXIX).

The combination of the Fifth Destruction Tableau and Sixth Dacian Stronghold presents the greatest concentration and variety of Dacian buildings on the frieze, with (as will be seen) the three most distinctly Dacian architectural forms—the rectangular gateway with gabled bastion, the tower building with wide windows, and the cylindrical building—appearing both inside and outside the fortification walls. This architectural concentration plays an important role in a mirrored composition, where the destruction of Dacian architecture at Dacian hands is reflected over the axis of the fortification walls in the destruction of the Dacians themselves, probably by suicide.³⁹⁰ As in the other destruction scenes, the destruction of Dacian architecture is equated here with the Dacian civilization.

³⁹⁰ For a discussion of the liquid in the cauldron and the narrative of this scene, see Lepper and Frere 1988, 168-69. Coarelli (2000, 192) writes that the liquid being doled out from the cauldron “is certainly poison” (see also Coulston 1988, 29; 1990b, 297). Others (including Lepper and Frere) have seen this scene as the distribution of the last water rations (Lepper and Frere 1988, 69). Regardless of the nature of the liquid, the sprawling Dacian bodies, particularly in the pathetic *pieta*, make clear its effects.

6.3.8: WOODEN DEFENSES (Scene CXXXII)

Here again are paired examples of Roman and Dacian defenses, recalling the earlier Series of Dacian Defenses (Scenes LXVI-LXXII). This scene is almost chaotically rendered, but the basic elements are nevertheless distinguishable (FIGURE 40.A). To the left, Dacian forces flee from a curiously rendered fortification: the exterior face of the fortification wall is hatched as if for stone, but merlons are absent and some care has been taken to depict the interiors of the walls as composed of layers of stacked logs. These walls seem to fade into piles of logs at the right edge of the fortifications. On the opposite side of the river are Roman defenses, inside of which two legionaries work on miniature ships (FIGURES 40.A-B). Unlike the opposing Dacian construction, these Roman defenses do not seem to be fortifications proper: they are constructed of piles of logs, and there is no indication of ashlar masonry or permanent occupation. They are most similar to the ballista stations of the Series of Dacian Defenses (Scene LXVI). The pairing of wooden constructions in this scene may represent some confusion in the execution of the scene, as some scholars have suggested.³⁹¹ I believe, however, that this pairing may be meant to illustrate the different uses to which similar defenses are put by opposing forces: the Dacians characteristically abandon their architecture and flee pointlessly, while Romans as usual use their technical skill to produce new creations.

6.3.9: FINAL DESTRUCTION TABLEAU (Scenes CL-CLIII)

It is interesting that it is Dacian, not Roman, architecture which comprises the final nine architectural units on the frieze. In Scene CL, Dacians are led by Roman

³⁹¹ Lepper and Frere (1988, 173) characteristically see these defenses as confused renderings of some detailed description in the *Dacica*.

soldiers towards a schematically rendered but emphatically planked wooden building. To the right (Scene CLI; FIGURE 41.A), Romans battle Dacians and their allies in front of the closest example to a linear Dacian cityscape found on the frieze. A wooden palisade, rather than stone fortification walls, surrounds four structures. Two of the remaining buildings have unusually delineated plank-and-peg hatching and extraordinary rooflines, but both preserve the (by now familiar) combination of tall door below a square window.

The final architecture of the frieze (Scene CLII; FIGURE 41.B) comprises four generic rectangular buildings and a single intervening wooden palisade. All of the buildings are hatched with rectangular blocks; two have planked roofs. Three Roman soldiers raise torches towards the buildings, although unusually for destruction scenes on the frieze no building is specifically depicted as on fire. To the right the Dacian population (Scene CLIII), including children, moves with their livestock away from the destruction of their former life and towards their new role as resettled subjects of the Roman Empire.

6.4: ARCHITECTURAL TYPES OF THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN'S DACIAN ARCHITECTURE

As can be seen clearly from the above survey, specifically Roman architectural types are completely absent from the depictions of Dacian settlements on the frieze. Instead, more general structures are combined with new Dacian architectural categories to paint a picture of a barbarian civilization. In most cases this allows Dacian architecture and settlements to be clearly differentiated from Roman military bases or civilian settlements, and also facilitates comparison between these categories.

6.4.1: DACIAN ARCHITECTURAL TYPES ON THE FRIEZE

In general, fewer architectural types are present in Dacian architecture than in Roman (TABLE 9): only twelve different types can be clearly identified in the Dacian architecture, compared to sixteen for the Roman. Of these twelve types, only four (as opposed to fourteen for the Roman architecture) are limited to architectural units classified as Dacian. Furthermore three of these types—the round building, the round palisade, and the tower building—are really subcategories or particular forms of a larger architectural type. The fourth architectural type, the canal, has been discussed above. As has been seen in the analysis of the civilian settlements, Dacian structures tend to be simpler than their Roman counterparts, with fewer added details and with a more limited range of features. Particular features and details are nevertheless employed to develop and characterize distinct architectural types and variations associated specifically with the Dacian settlements.

The “Dacian Gateway” variant of the gateway architectural type is developed gradually along the frieze. Constant and defining features include a tall rectangular (as opposed to arched) entrance and a gabled roof. These basic elements appear in the first depiction of Dacian architecture of the frieze (the First Dacian Defensive Line (Scene XXV; FIGURE 42.A), and more schematically in the First Dacian Stronghold (Scene LXXI; FIGURE 42.B). The Third Dacian Stronghold (Scene XCIII; FIGURES 42.C-D) preserves this basic design in one gateway, but adds a square bastion with single window to a second. By the Fourth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXI; FIGURE 42.E) this bastion has been elongated and given additional windows, although the largest window still appears only on one side. The gateway of the Sixth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CX; FIGURES

Table 9: Architectural Types Present in Dacian Architecture (see Chapter 3 for definition of terms)

ARCHITECTURAL TYPES PRESENT IN DACIAN ARCHITECTURE	Architectural Units	Percentage of Total Architectural Units for Frieze	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Architectural Type classified as Roman	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Architectural Type classified as Dacian	Number (Percentage) of Architectural Units for Architectural Type classified as Unclear
1. building	92	28.22% ***	58 63.04%	32 34.78%	2 ***
2. building (round)	8	***	0 ***	8 100.00%	0 ***
3. building (tower)	6	***	0 ***	6 100.00%	0 ***
4. camp	46	14.11% ***	46 100.00%	0 ***	0 ***
5. canal	1	***	0 ***	1 100.00%	0 ***
6. defenses	8	***	5 62.50%	3 37.50%	0 ***
7. feature	7	***	5 71.43%	1 14.29%	1 14.29%
8. fortifications	32	***	14 43.75%	12 37.50%	6 18.75%
9. gateway	8	***	3 37.50%	5 62.50%	0 ***
10. palisade	18	***	9 50.00%	9 50.00%	0 ***
11. palisade (round)	1	***	0 ***	1 100.00%	0 ***
12. tower	14	***	3 21.43%	11 78.57%	0 ***

*** : number of architectural units too small to yield a statistically significant percentage greater than 10%

42.F-G) has returned to the square bastion of the Third Dacian Stronghold, but has added wide windows on both visible sides, as for a tower building. This same arrangement seems to be repeated in the Seventh Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXXIV), but as an independent structure. The Final Destruction Tableau (Scene CLI; FIGURE 42.H) returns to the most basic form.

Related to the Dacian gateway is the tower building. These gabled buildings are characterized by especially wide windows on two visible sides, and by their position behind the fortification walls; they often include additional smaller windows. This type may appear first in the schematic forms of the Fourth Destruction (?) Scene (Scene LXXVI; FIGURE 43.E), but is clearly present in the Fourth (Scene CXI; FIGURE 43.B), Fifth (Scenes CXV-CXVI; FIGURE 43.A), Sixth (Scenes CXXI-CXXII; FIGURES 43.C-D) and Seventh (Scenes CXXIV-CXXV) Dacian Strongholds. These towers may in fact be used to indicate a particular stronghold within the narrative: the proposed sequence would illustrate Dacian preparations for defense, initial Roman attack, Dacian despair and abandonment of the stronghold, and the Roman conquest thereof. If these are in fact the same stronghold, it is tempting to suggest an identification of Sarmizegetusa, especially since Scene CXXIV seems to show the discovery and capture of Dacian treasure, as well as perhaps a royal tumulus.³⁹² All of these strongholds, however, are depicted very differently, making the collapsing of their identities into a single location difficult.

³⁹² Coarelli (2000, 197) suggests that the round building outside of the Seventh Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXXIV) is a tumulus for the Dacian kings. Köppel (1991, 99) describes this structure only as “ein großer, runder Bau mit flachem Kuppeldach zum Vorschein.” Lepper and Frere (1988, 169) likewise limit their description to a “domed tower-like building.” Although a unique form on the frieze, the structure has no further distinguishing features besides its unmarked roof. As intriguing as this structure is, it is nearly impossible to see clearly without the use of scaffolding: the primary casts in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome break along the middle of this structure, as unfortunately do Coarelli’s (2000, 196-97 Plates 152-53) photographs of the Column itself. The two halves of the structure are not even on the same

There appears to be a special relationship on the frieze between Dacian architecture and round or cylindrical forms. The round palisade behind the Dacian Defenses (Scene XXV), for example, is a unique occurrence on the frieze. The eight cylindrical buildings on the frieze are all Dacian: the squat “tumulus” structure outside the Seventh Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXXIV) seems to be a particular variation of the cylindrical type, but the rest of the examples fall into two similar categories. The first category, with crescent projections, stone hatching, and a distinct molding, is limited to Scene LXII (FIGURE 32); the second type, without hatching and with the same arrangement of entrance and window seen in rectangular buildings, appears only in the Fifth Destruction Tableau and Sixth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXIX-CXXII; FIGURES 38.A, D). Both categories of cylindrical building have the same ridged roof and doorknob boss. The cylindrical form is particularly important, since of all the architectural types on the frieze it is the most obvious indication of Dacian associations for a settlement, since it is the least likely to be mistaken for a Roman structure.

The combination of wooden palisade with a boxed entrance also seems to be a “distinctly Dacian” phenomenon on the frieze (FIGURES 45.A-C).³⁹³ Palisades in general can be associated with the frieze’s Dacian architecture: although there are in total nearly as many palisades which can be classified as Roman as there are palisades classified as Dacian, seven of the nine Roman palisades occur in the first two scenes of the frieze. The other two examples (Scenes XVII and XLVIII-XLIX) seem to serve particular roles

page in Köppel’s (1991, 199-200) and Lepper and Frere’s (1988, Plates XCIII-XCIV) publications of the frieze.

³⁹³ Lepper and Frere 1988, 106; see also Coulston 1988, 151; 1990a, 46. For the lack of archaeological correlates to these types of palisades, see Coulston 1988, 151; 1990a, 46.

within their respective scenes. Palisades associated with Roman influence, furthermore, are typically small (FIGURES 1.A-B), while the three palisades of the Series of Dacian Defenses (Scenes LXVI-LXXI) are major constructions. The boxed entrance in these last three examples clearly sets them apart from the rest of the palisades on the frieze, although the individual depictions of the boxed palisades vary considerably.

Less certain Dacian forms include the elongated building with posts, not patently paralleled in archaeology³⁹⁴ but seen clearly in the Fifth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXIV) and possibly again in the same fortification (Scene CXV). As will be discussed shortly, this building type may appear as well in Scene CII, perhaps to indicate Dacian associations for a fortification. The general arrangement of a single square window above a rectangular door seems to be primarily found in Dacian architecture, although it is also employed for several ambiguous buildings and Roman *horrea* (in the latter case the doors are noticeably narrow). Dacian gabled buildings without windows but with entrances that are too wide and short for *horrea* appear in the Second Destruction Tableau (Scene XXIX), Final Destruction Tableau (Scenes CLI), and three times in the Fourth Destruction Tableau (Scene LXXVI). Stilted structures are a definitively Dacian feature, although their individual forms vary greatly.

Although specifically Dacian examples of fortifications do not make up even half of the total fortifications on the frieze, the prominence of the fortifications associated with Dacian architecture seems to bespeak a particular connection on the frieze between major fortifications and Dacian culture. Lepper and Frere note that “there is a distinct family-likeness about all these Dacian strongholds, both in reality and as portrayed on the

³⁹⁴ Lepper and Frere 1988, 165.

Column.”³⁹⁵ Dacian fortifications in general nevertheless do not differ greatly on the frieze from the fortifications of the Roman military or the civilian settlements. All categories of fortifications are shown with ashlar blocking, merlons, roundels, gateways, and wooden towers.³⁹⁶ The most prominent difference between Dacian and Roman fortifications is the greater size of the former: while Roman fortifications are typically restricted to part of a single scene, Dacian fortifications are used to link whole runs of scenes together.

6.4.2: EMPLOYMENT OF DACIAN ARCHITECTURAL TYPES ON THE FRIEZE

By most likely inventing and clearly employing specifically Dacian architectural types and features, while studiously avoiding Roman types, the production team of the Column powerfully differentiated Dacian settlements from the assimilated civilian settlements and Roman military constructions. This accomplishment is made all the more impressive since, unlike for Roman examples, there would have been few guiding precedents for the depictions of barbarian architecture available for the production team. The foreign-looking architectural types must have helped to emphasize the differences between Dacian and Roman cultures, as well as call attention to the exotic landscape recently conquered and appropriated by Rome.³⁹⁷

The depictions of Dacian architecture do not take the form of random or incoherent congregations of fantastically wild architecture. Rather, what is suggested is

³⁹⁵ Lepper and Frere 1988, 108.

³⁹⁶ Coulston 1988, 151; 1990a, 41.

³⁹⁷ For the importance of exotic conquest for the frieze, see Coulston 1988, 37. Hölscher (2006, 37) notes that the “aim to give concrete information on war campaigns developed precisely in the period when Rome's imperialistic ambitions expanded, when wars were conducted in increasingly distant lands, of which the population of Rome had no personal experience.”

the conscious and systematic development of particularly Dacian architectural types that could be easily recognized as such. Not only do these types form a coherent typology (as seen above), but they also seem to have been employed in much the same spirit as their Roman counterparts: namely, in order to make evident the cultural associations of a town, independent of the narrative. There is even some suggestion that this was carried out in the same manner, by reference to actual notable Dacian architectural practices.

That these architectural types were intended to be recognizable as Dacian, independent of their particular setting within the narrative, can be seen in two cases where specifically Dacian architectural forms seem to have been employed in conjunction with features of Roman architecture to indicate a pacified but still barbaric landscape. In the Second Fortified Settlement (Scene LXXXVIII; FIGURE 46.A),³⁹⁸ the strange gateway within the palisade is now recognizable as a Dacian architectural type, but one inserted not into a fortification but into a colonnade; columns in general and colonnades in particular appear frequently in association with Roman culture on the frieze but are absent in depictions associated with the Dacians. The buildings on the outskirts of the town have the combination of single window and entrance seen on the facades of many Dacian buildings, but these buildings are more varied (one building has an unusually wide door, one building has a window within its pediment, and one building has a second window) than their specifically Dacian counterparts, in addition to being

³⁹⁸ Note the description of this settlement by Lepper and Frere (1998, 137): “The site...is shown as a fortified town of some pretensions to elegance... Yet we are in a less safe and civilised area... We are back in the military zone.”

hatched in stone. The open entrance seen here is also a feature associated with Roman camps,³⁹⁹ without any Dacian parallels.

This settlement seems to combine, therefore, Dacian elements with Roman, just as the population sacrificing in the Second Collection of Altars (XCI) to the settlement's immediate right is made up of representatives in Roman and Dacian dress. This seems to suggest that these architectural variants were meant to be recognized as representative of their particular cultures, even in combination. The addition of Roman elements to Dacian or vice versa would have great symbolic impact. For example, the men who greet Trajan in front of the Second Collection of Altars are notably all dressed as Dacians and accompanied by their children, an arrangement usually seen only in scenes of forced resettlement. Both children and architecture stand unmolested here: these Dacians have accepted and adopted Roman culture,⁴⁰⁰ demonstrated not only in their sacrificial rites but also in their architecture, and have thus ensured a peaceful future for their people.

The second instance of mixed architectural associations, the fortification in Scenes CI-CII, has no internal architecture which might identify it as either Roman or Dacian (FIGURE 46.B)⁴⁰¹ The inclusion of a Dacian style gateway, however, suggests that this settlement is supposed to be seen as at least partially associated with Dacian culture. The colonnaded building outside the fortification appears to be some sort of portico, but its gabled, open end suggests that it may be a building similar in form to the long posted building of the Fifth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXVI). This latter structure,

³⁹⁹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 137.

⁴⁰⁰ Winkler 1991, 273, 277; Coarelli 2000, 150; Dillon 2006, 259.

⁴⁰¹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 156; Coarelli 2000, 164. Lepper and Frere (1988, 161) see this fortification as a purely Roman creation, symbolizing, in conjunction with the neighboring Roman fort, "Roman preparedness."

however, was clearly executed with posts, rather than columns, and columns are elsewhere associated almost exclusively with Roman architectural units. The presence of a securely built Roman camp (indicated by the tent) and Roman soldiers engaged in sacrifice suggests some sort of Roman association for this fortification. This scene may illustrate a Dacian fortification captured and now taken over by the Roman army; if this is in fact correct, the columned building would still be ambiguous, since it could represent either a Dacian building or a Roman addition reflecting their appropriation of the stronghold.

6.4.3: CONSTRUCTION AND DESTRUCTION

While there is no black and white distinction made between Roman and Dacian construction techniques on the frieze, there are general trends which can be distinguished (TABLE 5). One hundred and fifty-four Roman architectural units, nearly fifty percent of the total architecture on the frieze and over eighty percent of all units classified as stone, are depicted as stone structures. In contrast, only twenty-two Dacian architectural units appear as stone, comprising only seven percent of all architectural units for the frieze and only twelve percent of all stone units. Even if one accounts for the greater preponderance of Roman architectural units on the frieze, the distinction remains: nearly seventy percent of units associated with Roman culture are stone, compared to barely over twenty-five percent of Dacian structures. Conversely, forty-nine Dacian architectural units are clearly wooden, with only thirty-six Roman examples; if one discounts bridges, palisades, and siege engines, which are logically only shown as wooden for both sides, there are thirty-nine Dacian architectural units left, but only eleven Roman. Looking only at

buildings, there are five wooden examples with Roman associations, but twenty-eight with Dacian. In total, wooden structures make up nearly fifty-six percent of all Dacian architectural units and sixteen percent of Roman.

While the depiction of stone construction is relatively constant, wooden construction is often exaggerated in architectural units associated with Dacian culture. The burning buildings in Scene XXV both have clearly indicated planks and pegs, on both the walls and the roof; the left hand building also has slats (FIGURE 28). The same features are seen in the burning Dacian building in Scene LIX (FIGURES 29.D-E). In contrast, for the provincial buildings of the Settlement around Apollodorus' Bridge (Scene C; FIGURE 20.A), pegs are clear but the horizontal hatching for the planks is faint. Likewise the planking in the wooden *horreae* of Scene CVIII (although admittedly poorly preserved; FIGURE 25.E) is much less distinct than that of the Dacian buildings in the Fifth Destruction Tableau (Scene CXIX; FIGURE 38.B) and the Final Destruction (Scene CLI; FIGURE 41.A). The employment of wooden construction for structures associated with Roman culture is also clearly linked to the narrative: the first specifically wooden Roman building does not appear until Scene C, at the beginning of a sequence of increasing barbarism as Trajan moves into Dacian territory. The first Dacian wooden building, in contrast, appears in Scene XXV.

Just as the practical benefits of stone masonry lent the technique an air of permanence and cultural advancement, the practical disadvantages of timber as a construction technique may have made wooden buildings seem inferior, primitive, and more transitory in comparison. On the frieze, the distinction between ashlar masonry on the one hand and wooden construction on the other underscores the permanence of

Roman culture and the ephemeral nature of Dacian resistance. The fact that many of these Dacian buildings are on fire only heightens this impression. It should go without saying that no structure associated with Rome is shown in the least distress on the frieze, but it is striking that twenty-two Dacian structures, one fourth of all Dacian architectural units, are shown either on fire or associated with destruction. Both Romans and Dacians are shown inflicting this damage, but while the Roman soldiers are also shown constructing new architecture, Dacians only destroy or abandon their buildings, or at most fruitlessly defend them. The one instance in which any Dacian attempt at construction is even implied is Scene LXVI-LXVII,⁴⁰² and there it is specifically wooden construction. In fact, Roman construction and Dacian destruction takes up nearly the same percentage of the total architecture of the frieze, comprising the second and third most common architectural scene types, respectively.⁴⁰³

One construction technique that can be classified neither as ashlar masonry nor strictly wooden construction is the polygonal masonry and roundels of the Fifth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXIII-CXVI; FIGURES 36.A-F). Archaeology has shown that Dacian military construction surrounding the *davae* constituted a distinct type, namely walls of timber-and-rubble cores faced with monumental ashlar skins.⁴⁰⁴ This technique, referred to as *muris Dacicis*, is distinguished in the archaeological record from the similar *muris*

⁴⁰² Hölscher 1991b, 291.

⁴⁰³ Scenes featuring construction comprise 13.50% of the architectural units of the frieze, while scenes featuring the destruction of architecture comprise 12.20%. Scenes focusing on travel comprise 19.02% of the frieze's architectural units.

⁴⁰⁴ Coulston 1988, 152; Lepper and Frere 1988, 108; Coulston 1990a, 47. For examples of this construction, see Coulston 1988, 154.

*Gallicus*⁴⁰⁵ by rows of stabilizing transverse timber cross-beams,⁴⁰⁶ as well as the ashlar skin which protected the walls against battering rams and fire.⁴⁰⁷ This technique of facing with cut stone blocks seems to derive from direct contact with the Hellenistic kingdoms, and was developed centuries before Roman engineers came to Dacia under Domitian's treaty.⁴⁰⁸ As will be discussed shortly, the inclusion of this particular type of polygonal masonry seems to argue implicitly for some connection to actual fortifications in Dacia.

It is remarkable that in the climactic encounter between Roman forces and a Dacian fortress at the Fifth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXIII-CXVI), this all important ashlar skin is missing.⁴⁰⁹ Attention is instead drawn to the walls' interior construction, which is shown in fine detail:⁴¹⁰ disorganized masses of individually delineated, sharply angled, irregular shapes are interrupted by neat lines of roundels, perhaps representing the all important timber cross-beams.⁴¹¹ The shapeless rubble is echoed in the rounded rock,

⁴⁰⁵ Richmond (1982, 41) makes no distinction and sees the construction represented on the Column as *muris Gallicis*.

⁴⁰⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 109, 165, 144.

⁴⁰⁷ Coulston 1988, 152; Lepper and Frere 1988, 109, 165-67, 270; Coulston 1990a, 47.

⁴⁰⁸ There has been a disturbing idea running through the scholarship (Rossi 1978, 144; Coulston 1988, 151; Lepper and Frere 1988, 64, 265; Coulston 1990a, 46) that the more "advanced" Dacian stone fortifications on the Column represent works by Roman engineers for Decebalus under Domitian and Trajan's ceasefires. The extensive use of ashlar masonry for fortifications in Dacia clearly dates back to the first century BCE (Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 102; Lepper and Frere 1988, 270; Haynes and Hanson 2004, 14-15), and there is no evidence for Roman influence beyond the prejudices of some scholars.

⁴⁰⁹ Remnant references to the ashlar skin may remain, in the blunt battering rams (if that is in fact what the three machines in are Scene CXIV are), which would be more effective against an ashlar wall than a rubble construction (Lepper and Frere 1988, 166-67).

⁴¹⁰ This technique of depicting only the otherwise hidden interior part of an element is also seen in the defensive pit traps of Scene XXV (Lepper and Frere 1988, 72), another Dacian military feature.

⁴¹¹ Coulston (1988, 153; 1990a, 47) denies any significance for the roundels, since he believes they are used elsewhere in Roman camps as a purely decorative technique; he instead sees the masonry as reflecting the primitive associations of Republican polygonal masonry in Italy.

rather than ashlar blocks, which a Dacian hurls towards the Romans below, the only instance of a defender throwing a rock (as opposed to a block) on the frieze (FIGURE 36.E). All of this contrasts sharply with the six regular ashlar blocks squeezed into the bottom of the scene, directly below Trajan's feet (Scenes CXIV; FIGURE 47.A). Yet in the fortifications immediately preceding (Fourth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXI; FIGURE 47.C)) and following (Sixth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXIX-CXXII; FIGURE 47.B)), the walls of what is presumably the same fortress appear with ashlar masonry intact.⁴¹² As has been seen, even within the same siege the fortification walls of the Fifth Dacian Stronghold appear suddenly as if made of ashlar (Scene CXVI).⁴¹³

Coulston suggests that the particular use of polygonal masonry may derive from the supposedly primitive early fortification walls of Italy, as a technique "perhaps considered by the artists to have been appropriate for adversaries who, unusually for northern barbarians, were known to build with stone."⁴¹⁴ The production team, however, seems to be making a special effort to call attention to the interior of the Dacian fortress walls, an area of important distinction between Roman and Dacian construction techniques but one which otherwise would have remained unseen. Similarly, in the Wooden Defenses of Scene CXXXII, when the cut stone walls of the Dacian defenses turn to reveal their interior sides, those sides are specifically depicted as being made of timber, despite the fact that *muris Dacicis* typically featured ashlar skins on both sides

⁴¹² Lepper and Frere 1988, 167. Richmond (1982, 40) inexplicably interprets the former structure as made of turf, and the latter specifically of ashlar, although he does not specify his reasons for this distinction.

⁴¹³ Lepper and Frere 1988, 167.

⁴¹⁴ Coulston 1988, 153-54; see also 1990a, 46.

of its walls.⁴¹⁵ As noted before, nowhere on the Column do similar interior timber features appear on Roman fortifications, despite their implied inclusion on the exteriors.

One must wonder why the choice was made to depict the interior of the Dacian fortifications in this single instance,⁴¹⁶ which perhaps not coincidentally seems to comprise a crucial point of the narrative. This may be a flashy display of (particularly military) competency or understanding, either of the production team or their sources, although this would not clarify why this technique was used only for this one instance. It may also be a visual choice, meant to highlight and distinguish the climax of the various assaults on Dacian strongholds. This masonry may point out a weakness for Dacian military technology, which in this particular case would lead to the Dacian downfall in the face of superior military skill. This may be compared to the use of stone to evoke strength and impregnability in the several depictions of Roman legionaries under siege (Scenes XXXII, XCIV, CXXXIII-CXXXV; FIGURES 7.H, 48). Regardless of its specific intentions, the use of polygonal masonry for the climax of Dacian strongholds would characterize these fortifications as primitively barbaric, strange, and above all different from the Romans.

6.5: CONSIDERING THE DACIAN DIFFERENCE: REALITY AND REPRESENTATION IN THE DEPICTION OF DACIAN ARCHITECTURE

The development of specific architectural types to represent barbarian culture on the frieze does not of course indicate that the production team of the Column had any

⁴¹⁵ Lepper and Frere 1988, 270.

⁴¹⁶ Coulston 1988, 154; 1990a, 47. Coulston's (1988, 154; 1990a, 47) own explanation, that the walls serve to link the series of scenes together, is really more of an observation about the composition and does not address the parallel use of ashlar masonry in the Sixth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXIX-CXXII).

interest or ability to mirror Dacian culture in particular. There are several lines of evidence, however, which suggest that the production team was somewhat familiar with specific peculiarities of Dacian culture. I would argue that the production team seems to have consciously chosen to acknowledge and utilize some aspects of Dacia's unique architectural tradition, while at the same time ignoring other aspects—particularly Dacia's indigenous urbanity—in order to draw the greatest contrast between Dacian and Roman civilizations.

It is extremely difficult to assess the extent to which the Dacian architecture on the frieze may have been inspired by actual Dacian architectural practice. The archaeological record in general for Dacia is still frustratingly incomplete and poorly understood, making it nearly impossible to determine whether the buildings seen on the frieze have any basis in actual Dacian architecture. The generic rectangular forms and perishable construction methods of many of the frieze's buildings, furthermore, would make such structures difficult to recognize archaeologically. Given that modern awareness of the Column has such a long history in comparison to Romanian archaeology, furthermore, one must always consider how much effect the Column's depictions may have had in interpretations of the archaeological record. There are nevertheless subtle but intriguing hints that the production team was not limited to their imaginations when concocting the particularities of the Dacian architecture for the frieze.

The most general correspondence may be between the frieze's many tower buildings and bastioned gateways and the frequency of rectangular towers in the Dacian archaeological record.⁴¹⁷ More specific correspondence is found in archaeological

⁴¹⁷ For the archaeology of towers in Dacia, see Coulston 1990a, 47; Stefan 2005, 601.

evidence in Dacia for structures on stilts,⁴¹⁸ a striking feature of the frieze. Artillery stations are neither a common feature of depictions of barbarians nor of the archaeological record of the Northern provinces, but are present both on the frieze and around at least one Dacian *dava*.⁴¹⁹ Elaborate canals are also features that, while an odd attribute for barbarians, are nevertheless recorded archaeologically at Sarmizegetusa.⁴²⁰ The long posted building(s) on the frieze bring to mind the several monumental structures with rows of andesite pillars discovered in the sanctuary area of Sarmizegetusa.⁴²¹ In particular, the emphasis on round plans, especially in the prominent round palisade behind the First Dacian Defensive Line (Scene XXV), is intriguing in light of the three round monumental structures of Sarmizegetusa's sanctuary area.⁴²² These would have been remarkable structures: the largest featured a palisade-like arrangement of one hundred and eight stone pillars and thirty stone blocks⁴²³ in three concentric rings.⁴²⁴ One can imagine word of such features reaching the production team of the Column.

The structures on the frieze are certainly not unambiguous reproductions of archaeological features, and one may still argue, of course, that the Column's production team would have had no direct experience with the interiors of Dacian cities and most

⁴¹⁸ Lepper and Frere 1988, 72.

⁴¹⁹ Stefan 2005, 601.

⁴²⁰ Stefan 2005, 76-81.

⁴²¹ For plans and descriptions of these buildings, see Stefan 2005, 40-41, 52-58. Stefan (2005, 101) sees the example in Scene CXIII as recalling galleries over the capital's paved streets.

⁴²² For plans and descriptions of these round structures, see Stefan 2005, 42-47, 52-58. In reference to the Four Cylindrical Buildings (Scene LXII), Coulston (1988, 154; 1990a, 47) also notes that "[r]ound sanctuaries with columns and solar discs existed at numerous Dacian sites, notably Gradistea-Muncelului;" he does not, however, see any connection between these phenomena and the frieze. He (1990a, 47-48) sees more inspiration in the round timber huts also attested in the archaeological record.

⁴²³ Stefan 2005, 44.

⁴²⁴ Stefan 2005, 46.

likely no recourse to information on the subject. This latter argument, if true, would seem strange, considering the wealth of detail found elsewhere in the Column and the detailed understanding of the position and fortification lines of the mountain strongholds. It is notable, furthermore, that the production team, if there was a void in their understanding, did not choose to fill that void on the marble with the more simple barbarian huts found on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Nor did they employ typically Roman urban buildings. The Dacian buildings that do appear are almost always specifically timber, and are more often than not bizarre, with exaggerated apertures and platforms of stilts—but they are still elaborate buildings, not on par with but comparable to Roman structures.

What is avoided in these depictions is as intriguing as what is included. With the possible exception of the canals, many of the more expressly urban features found in the archaeological record of Dacia, such as paved meeting spaces, dense congregations of large elaborated houses, and sanctuaries populated by monumental structures, are not present on the frieze, despite the fact that these would probably have been the most likely features to impress themselves on the memories of the many participants in the Dacian Wars available for consult in Rome. Architecture within the frieze's strongholds, which presumably represent the Dacian *davae*, is indeed noticeably scarce: only fourteen Dacian architectural units (not counting tower buildings, whose height, windows, and position suggest a more military function connected to the fortifications themselves) appear within strongholds, eight of them in the Fifth Destruction Scene and Sixth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXIX-CXXII). "The depiction of Dacian stone walls in the ashlar style,"

furthermore, “actually suits building practices at these [*davae*] sites better than it does contemporary Roman fortifications,”⁴²⁵ but is notably applied less rigorously.

All of this seems more than can possibly be ascribed to coincidence. Instead of wandering blindly, the production team appears to have consciously drawn distinctions between Roman and Dacian settlements, although without any strict adherence to reality: in fact, they studiously neglected to depict any sort of Dacian urban landscape at all. Certainly no accurate comparison of the Dacian strongholds to the average Roman colony was attempted. Given the relative amenities of many Dacian and provincial towns, such a comparison may not have been favorable to the colony.

6.6: CONCLUSION

Dacian settlements are never depicted as urbanized on the Column of Trajan frieze, despite an indigenous urban culture in Dacia which would have been readily apparent to anyone coming in contact with the *davae*. Instead, Dacian architecture for the most part is sparse, with strangely shaped structures and noticeably primitive and wooden construction. The choices made in the depictions of civilian buildings are paralleled by a similar paradox in military architecture, where massive Dacian fortifications are revealed to be timber-and-rubble, while ephemeral Roman camps are depicted consistently as stone.

By including indigenous architecture, the production team added to an impression of the documentation of the exotic locales dominated by the Roman army.⁴²⁶ Massive

⁴²⁵ Coulston 1988, 152; see also 1990a, 47. Coulston (1988, 152) believes that for the Dacian fortifications “[t]his partial correspondence of artistic convention and actual building practice may perhaps be ascribed to coincidence.” This coincidence—that ashlar masonry happened to be unusually employed for the unique barbarian culture with an indigenous tradition of stone masonry—seems too great to be believed.

fortifications, furthermore, would highlight the accomplishments of the army, while at the same time perhaps justifying the time and cost spent in the wars.⁴²⁷ Nevertheless, Dacian architecture is clearly not set on the same level as Roman architecture on the frieze. The Dacian architecture on the frieze should probably be seen as the accomplishment of an inferior enemy, the glory of which is now appropriated by Rome.⁴²⁸ The general relationship between Dacians and architecture on the frieze can perhaps be captured in the depiction of the Dacians themselves (Scenes XXIV, LVI), as severed heads held up against the backdrop of permanent Roman fortifications (FIGURES 15.C, 49).

⁴²⁶ For a similar function of triumphal paintings, see Holliday 1997, 134.

⁴²⁷ For a similar role of triumphal paintings, see Holliday 1997, 132-33.

⁴²⁸ For the Roman appropriation of Dacian glory in general, see Coulston 1988, 44; Settis 2005, 85.

CHAPTER 7: WIDER APPLICATIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This chapter is intended to demonstrate in a broad manner how the Column's architectural depictions can be included in further research, beyond analyses of the frieze itself. I believe that the architectural depictions can inform more universal discussions, not only regarding the representation of architecture in Roman art, but also regarding the ways in which ancient Romans represented and conceptualized both their own culture and the cultures with which they interacted. The discussion of this chapter is not intended as a thorough exploration of any of the above topics. Rather, these suggestions demonstrate how the architectural depictions on the Column of Trajan can be incorporated in analyses covering various chronological periods, media, and subjects. Although such analyses are obviously beyond the scope of this thesis, it is hoped that in the future the results of this thesis may encourage and facilitate research on these topics and others like them, by making more explicit a previously neglected aspect of the Column of Trajan frieze.

7.1: REPRESENTING ROMAN URBANISM

The depictions of civilian architecture on the Column of Trajan fall within a “tradition of representing urban centers by focusing on their most prominent public elements.”⁴²⁹ This tradition produces an easily recognizable artistic phenomenon:

[W]ishing to bring out effectively the civilized, Roman nature of a town, [the artist] represents its chief buildings behind a gated wall, pressing them close to each other and concentrating on their more prominent and therefore most recognizable features. The result, though not abstract, approaches the allusive power and mnemonic grip of an ideogram.⁴³⁰

Elements are chosen for emphasis not only for their potential to be recognized, but for their civilized and particularly Roman connotations as well. Accordingly the elements most commonly depicted are “familiar municipal building types,”⁴³¹ which appear as “widely reproduced architectural symbols.”⁴³² On the one hand, in order to function within an urban icon, these symbols must be recognizable as a type,⁴³³ but their very repetition as symbols dilutes their power to identify a location.⁴³⁴ As has been seen, the architecture of the frieze’s civilian settlements reinforces this artistic tradition of representing cities, employing the tradition for symbolic impact, but without concern for specifying actual locations.

⁴²⁹ MacDonald 1986, 15-16.

⁴³⁰ MacDonald 1986, 15; see also Turcan-Déléani 1958, 160; La Rocca 2000, 59, 61; Favro 2007, [6]. For the particularly Roman aspect of such depictions, see McConnell 1999, 57.

⁴³¹ MacDonald 1986, 15-16; see also Carter 1989, 32.

⁴³² MacDonald 1986, 16-17.

⁴³³ Favro 2007, [2].

⁴³⁴ Favro 2007, [4]. Favro (2007, [3]) generally argues that “specificity of urban representation was...of limited concern in the creation of icons.”

These urban icons should be distinguished from depictions of the architecture in Rome itself: although architecture in the capital comprises most of the architectural depictions in Roman state art,⁴³⁵ Rome is never depicted in totality.⁴³⁶ Instead, individual buildings or collections thereof are rendered in very high detail (including in particular features such as pedimental sculpture), probably with the intention to render those specific buildings recognizable (FIGURES 50.A-C).⁴³⁷ Thus while the civilian architecture on the frieze is depicted using Roman features and architectural types, it is not depicted in the same manner or probably with the same concern to be identified as one sees in depictions of the capital. This suggests further that the architectural depictions of the Column of Trajan should be connected with the thematic interests of the artistic canon employed for Roman provincial towns. D. Favro specifically employs the architectural depictions of the Column of Trajan to illustrate that the greater importance of these urban images lay not in particular identifications, but in messages regarding the nature and benefits of Roman urbanism.⁴³⁸

The architectural depictions on the Column of Trajan cannot only elucidate the compositional logistics of how urban landscapes were depicted in the Roman world, but

⁴³⁵ Grunow 2002, 1.

⁴³⁶ Favro 2007, [12-21]; the one possible exception is the *Forma Urbis Romae*, which is a particular monumental work and does not conform to the patterns discussed above (Favro 2007, [21]).

⁴³⁷ For the means by which such buildings are rendered identifiable, see Grunow 2002, especially 15. This is not the same as rendering the buildings accurately: Grunow (2002, 16) argues that “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.” For discussion of how such images “can be specific (i.e., recognizable) without being accurate as a documentary record of the original structure” (Grunow 2002, 19), see Grunow 2002, 15, 18-19, 33.

⁴³⁸ Favro 2007, [7].

also how these urban landscapes were conceptualized and employed.⁴³⁹ On the one hand, an understanding of the broader artistic tradition can clarify the precedent behind and the symbolic impact of the Column of Trajan's civilian settlements. At the same time, the frieze's settlements can then inform the study of this canon and the uses to which it was put. Comparisons to other specific examples of urban landscapes, furthermore, can potentially call attention to and clarify the symbolic import of those works as well.

7.1.1: THE OPPIAN HILL FRESCO

The fresco recently discovered underneath the Baths of Trajan on the Oppian hill is a particularly interesting work to consider in light of the Column of Trajan's architectural depictions. The fresco is similar to the Column of Trajan in being a large, well executed work of art situated within presumably elite settings. Furthermore, the Oppian Hill fresco, since its discovery, has seen similar obsession with providing a positive identification as an actual ancient city.⁴⁴⁰ The similarities between the Oppian Hill fresco and the architectural depictions on the Column of Trajan can shed light not only on their respective chances for identification, but also on the larger artistic tradition and the conceptualization of the Roman city.

Like the civilian settlements on the Column of Trajan, the fresco presents a collection of elaborate, urban buildings arranged within prominent city walls (FIGURE

⁴³⁹ For the connection between conceptualization and artistic representation for Roman cities in general, see Grunow 2002, 1; Favro 2007, [11].

⁴⁴⁰ La Rocca 2000, 63, 68-71; Favro 2007, [7]. This fresco has even been seen as a depiction of Rome itself (for discussion, see Fentress 2000, 12). Favro (2007, [12-21]) points out that Rome is almost never depicted in such a holistic manner.

51.A).⁴⁴¹ Details for these walls include ashlar masonry and monumental gateways, while for the buildings columns, capitals, and windows are depicted. At the center of the composition (as preserved) are a freestanding theater, a temple, and several porticos (FIGURE 51.B). Mastery of water is also indicated in the depiction of a bridge and canal, while baths are noticeably absent. Unlike the Column, however, the fresco also includes the main city streets and rows of what have been interpreted as houses, as well as what La Rocca sees as an older acropolis, which has no grid plan; no humans, furthermore, are present in the fresco. La Rocca argues that the depiction evokes an older Hellenistic city which has undergone renovations under the empire.⁴⁴²

La Rocca connects this fresco to cartographic influences, arguing that the composition cannot be explained by purely artistic interests, but is meant to include specific identifiable features.⁴⁴³ He admits, however, that at this point identification is impossible;⁴⁴⁴ for now, scholars must be satisfied with the fresco as a “vedute di città che rappresentassero la gloria e l'opulenza dell'Italia antica.”⁴⁴⁵ In its inclusion of multiple porticos and specific harbor constructions, the Oppian Hill fresco bears not only striking resemblance to another harbor depiction discovered nearby (FIGURE 52),⁴⁴⁶ but also to the several harbor settlements on the Column of Trajan (some of which also feature a theater and temples), particularly the Fourth Harbor Settlement (Scenes LXXX-LXXXI; FIGURE

⁴⁴¹ La Rocca 2000, 57-59.

⁴⁴² La Rocca 2000, 59.

⁴⁴³ La Rocca 2000, 63, 68.

⁴⁴⁴ La Rocca 2000, 69-71.

⁴⁴⁵ La Rocca 2000, 71.

⁴⁴⁶ La Rocca 2000, 65-66. This relief, which was discovered beneath the Baths of Trajan in the seventeenth century but is now lost, is preserved in engravings (La Rocca 2000, 65).

57.C). It would seem strange if all these depictions were meant to represent the same town. Rather, it seems that these depictions rely on commonly understood elements to evoke the idea of “a prosperous harbor town.” While it is still possible that some specific identification of a particular city was intended for any or all of these images, their very similarity makes this less likely.

Just as the Oppian Hill fresco calls attention to precedents for the employment of prominent public buildings on the Column of Trajan frieze, smaller generic buildings on the frieze also seem to have arisen out of a particular tradition as well. The Avezzano Relief⁴⁴⁷ looks strikingly similar to the Second Harbor Settlement (Scene XXXIII; FIGURES 16.A-B), in the emphasis on stone construction, encircling fortification walls with a prominent arched gateway, and the repetition of small generic buildings with an abundance of arched openings (FIGURE 53). The Column of Trajan frieze can therefore speak not only to the specific inclusion of public buildings as a feature of Roman urban landscapes, but to the more general makeup of these landscapes as well.

7.1.2: TRIUMPHAL AND CARTOGRAPHIC PAINTINGS

The image of the city seems to have figured prominently in the Roman visual language of conquest and the ownership of space and people. It has been argued that “omniscient bird’s eye panoramas,” often employed for cities, evoked ideas of possession and victory, and that such views were “exploited ...in propagandistic military art to succinctly convey conquest.”⁴⁴⁸ Beyond the specific use of overhead views, triumphal

⁴⁴⁷ La Rocca 2000, 64-65.

⁴⁴⁸ Favro 2007, [3]; see also La Rocca 2000, 63. La Rocca (2000, 63) includes the Column of Trajan, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and the Arch of Septimius Severus as his examples demonstrating this

paintings and cartographic itineraries have been connected in scholarship both to the use of architecture in representations of conquest and to the Column of Trajan. Although no ancient triumphal or cartographic painting survives, similarities in the subject matter between these genres and the Column have encouraged scholars to use the latter to reconstruct the artistic appearance of the former. It seems, however, that thematic similarities may be more important, and less speculative, than aesthetic similarities between the media.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, some scholars have argued for triumphal paintings as a source of stylistic inspiration for the Column of Trajan frieze.⁴⁴⁹ This is based primarily on similarities in the subject matter:⁴⁵⁰ as reconstructed from literary sources, the two main themes of triumphal painting seem to have been battles and conquered cities,⁴⁵¹ with landscapes also represented.⁴⁵² These *oppidorum simulacra*⁴⁵³ could include both literal and allegorical representations of the captured territories and cities.⁴⁵⁴ I would argue that the possible similarities in the uses of architecture on the triumphal paintings and the Column of Trajan are not limited to subject matter or execution, but include similarities in purpose and theme as well.

phenomenon. For the influence of military maps in the employment of this perspective scheme, see Holliday 1997, 139.

⁴⁴⁹ Supra n. 6.

⁴⁵⁰ Settis 1988, 94-96; Coulston 1990b, 295; Hölscher 1991b, 294; Köppel 2002, 249; Settis 2005, 75; Hölscher 2006, 37.

⁴⁵¹ Holliday 1997, 135.

⁴⁵² Holliday 1997, 130, 134.

⁴⁵³ Holliday 1997, 137.

⁴⁵⁴ Holliday 1997, 130.

A relatively common element of life in Rome,⁴⁵⁵ triumphal paintings acquainted the Roman *populus* with the novel territories and peoples brought under the control of the ever expanding empire,⁴⁵⁶ while justifying the expenditure of these expeditions.⁴⁵⁷ T. Hölscher sees this former aspect of triumphal paintings as particularly important, and connects this “aim to give concrete information on war campaigns,” executed through the use of “spectacular and vivid details, ” with the expansion of Rome’s armies into increasingly remote areas.⁴⁵⁸ Historical reports indicate that such commissioned images of conquered territories and cities took the form of scenes of a city’s capture, schematic maps of islands with battles included, and even representations of the whole of Italy.⁴⁵⁹ These paintings could be of monumental size and were often put on long term display.⁴⁶⁰ The Column of Trajan and triumphal paintings can therefore be seen as engaging in a common visual language, not necessarily one of composition, but instead one of symbolism, where the physical territory and architecture of a culture could stand for the conquest of the society as a whole.

The tradition of cartographic depictions seems to have shared in and influenced this language. Abridged depictions of cities are thought to have played an important role in representing geography in painted itineraries, which symbolically delineated the area

⁴⁵⁵ Holliday 1997, 132.

⁴⁵⁶ Holliday 1997, 130, 134.

⁴⁵⁷ Holliday 1997, 132-33.

⁴⁵⁸ Hölscher 2006, 37.

⁴⁵⁹ Holliday 1997, 129, 135-37; La Rocca 2000, 63; Settis 2005, 75-77.

⁴⁶⁰ Holliday 1997, 134-35.

controlled by the Roman Empire.⁴⁶¹ Scholars draw a distinction between the supposedly more documentary *chorographia* and the fanciful *topographia*, the latter reflected in the Nile landscape at Palestrina.⁴⁶² Many of the historical examples of monumental triumphal depictions of geographic entities mentioned in literary sources have been considered by scholars to have been cartographic art,⁴⁶³ probably in the stylistic tradition of *topographia*.⁴⁶⁴ The Column of Trajan architectural compositions, on the other hand, although not photographic, are in no way fanciful, suggesting the influence of the elusive *chorographia*.

Since none of these historical examples are preserved, it remains difficult to judge the particular stylistic or compositional influence of such works on the Column of Trajan. The depictions of civilian settlements on the Column seem to be so consistent with more general trends in the representations of Roman towns, that it would be difficult to discern the particular influence of triumphal paintings or pictorial itineraries. For all these media, however, the spirit—the appropriation of vivid and exotic architecture as an appropriation of foreign cultures—echoes each other clearly. Just as the Column of Trajan’s architectural depictions are a more reliable source of information for attitudes towards architecture than for actual structures, so they are better employed as explorations of the general phenomena of triumphal paintings and itineraries, rather than their logistical appearance.

⁴⁶¹ La Rocca 2000, 62-63; La Rocca 2004, 23; Favro 2007, [9]. The use of the terms *graphé* and *pinax* in ancient sources indicates that these itineraries included images as well as texts (La Rocca 2004, 23).

⁴⁶² Holliday 1997, 137-38; La Rocca 2000, 63; 2004, 24.

⁴⁶³ Holliday 1997, 137.

⁴⁶⁴ La Rocca 2004, 25.

7.2: REPRESENTING THE BARBARIAN

The Dacian architecture on the Column of Trajan is more unique than its Roman counterparts, not only for the possible references to Dacia in particular, but also because indigenous architecture was not previously a common feature of imperial Roman art. Nevertheless, this employment of architecture seems to have had a significant impact in the representation of the barbarian in Roman state relief. While my suggested comparisons for the civilian architecture have so far looked across media and backwards in time, the most intriguing potential comparisons for the uses of barbarian architecture for the Column of Trajan naturally concern succeeding monuments, particularly other examples of state relief.

7.2.1: THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS

The most obvious point of comparison for the Column of Trajan is its direct successor, the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Like the Column of Trajan, the Column of Marcus Aurelius has been plagued by debates over the relationship between representation and historicity: scholars have debated in particular whether or not the many differences between the two monuments, especially in the depictions of the barbarian enemy, reflect actual differences in the nature of the wars.⁴⁶⁵ As for its predecessor, targeted discussion of the architecture on the Column of Marcus Aurelius

⁴⁶⁵ Pirson 1996, 139-41; Dillon 2006, 244. For the view that the different depictions of barbarians reflect actual differences in the nature of the wars themselves, see Pirson 1996, 171-77; Zanker 2000b, 171-173. For criticism of this approach and an argument for an appreciation of the thematic and symbolic aspects of the representations, see Dillon 2006, especially 244.

has tended to focus on the structural and ethnic legitimacy of the depictions.⁴⁶⁶ The differences in the employment of architecture in the two friezes, however, can contribute significantly to the more thematic discussions for the monuments.

The most obvious difference in the architectural depictions is the drastic reduction in the importance of architecture, particularly construction scenes, for the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which has only two depictions of building activity and features pegged (rather than stone) tribunals (FIGURE 54.G).⁴⁶⁷ There are also important differences, furthermore, in the depictions of indigenous architecture. On the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the barbarian architecture is portrayed as primitive thatched huts, present only in scenes of their unimpeded destruction (FIGURES 54.A-E).⁴⁶⁸ To some extent this contrast with the Column of Trajan reflects an easily realizable historical reality, in that the Germanic tribes did not build architecture on the same scale or level of sophistication as the Dacians. It is notable, however, that indigenous architecture is nevertheless included.

The omission of military architecture and inclusion of barbarian architecture may both be connected to arguments by F. Pirson, who suggests that the Roman army is portrayed on the Column of Marcus Aurelius as victorious through inevitable superiority, accomplishing their victory without effort over a patently inferior enemy.⁴⁶⁹ The reduction in construction can be interpreted within the general lack of emphasis on the

⁴⁶⁶ Hanoune 2000, 205, 208-10. This includes the interpretative replacement of turf for stone for all fortifications depicted with rectangular hatching (Hanoune 2000, 208).

⁴⁶⁷ Pirson 1996, 140; Grunow 2002, 134. Pirson (1996, 149) attributes this in part to an interest to clarify the action without the distraction of architecture.

⁴⁶⁸ Hanoune 2002.

⁴⁶⁹ Pirson 1996, 151-170, especially 158. For the particular role of destruction scenes, see Pirson 1996, 144.

technical expertise for the Roman army. Indigenous architecture, on the other hand, seems to have played a role in characterizing the barbarian enemy, not as a worthy opponent, as in the Column of Trajan, but as a blatantly inferior one.

It is also notable that the destruction of architecture is again used on the Column of Marcus Aurelius to illustrate the destruction of the barbarian civilization. The employment of this motif is not identical for both monuments, however. On the Column of Trajan, architectural destruction has more of a symbolic, rather than illustrative, force. Although Dacians themselves are often compositionally situated near the destruction of their buildings, exact chronological and spatial relationships are not clear. In the First and Third Destruction Tableaus (Scenes XXV and LVIII), the Dacian men watch the destruction, but some spatial separation is implied; their background seems to be differentiated from that of the Roman soldiers, with whom they do not interact. In the Second Destruction Tableau (Scene XXXI; FIGURE 55), the chiasmic composition clearly relates, but at the same time differentiates, the restrained handling of Dacian women from the building's destruction. Dacians are not even present in the Final Destruction Tableau (Scene CLII). On the Column of Marcus Aurelius, however, the destruction of architecture (e.g. Scenes XX, XLVI) is interspersed with the graphic humiliation and execution of barbarians, including women and children (FIGURES 54.C-F).⁴⁷⁰ The destruction of architecture is not symbolically independent; rather, it is reduced to a more literal role, as another aspect of the violence of war.

7.2.2: THE ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS IN ROME

⁴⁷⁰ Pirson 1996, 142, 166-67.

It would also be interesting to compare the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome to the Column of Trajan, in terms of its employment of architectural depictions. Like the Column of Trajan, but unlike the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the Arch of Septimius Severus commemorates a war waged against an urbanized enemy, and features prominent depictions of that enemy's architecture. More specific similarities include the emphasis on representations of besieged cities with impressive fortifications, and on military architecture (here represented by elaborate siege engines) as the technology which will defeat them (FIGURES 56.A-G). The checker board element in Panel II, and perhaps the fortification behind it, may represent the specific, if schematic, inclusion of a Roman camp (FIGURE 56.B). As has been seen for the Dacian architecture on the Column of Trajan, there appears to have been some attempt on the Arch of Septimius Severus to capture the indigenous flavor of the architecture; this can perhaps be seen in the conical tower in Panel I, the flat roofed and pillar-like buildings in Panel III, and especially in the structure with crowning orb in Panel IV (FIGURES 56.A, D-G).⁴⁷¹ Unlike the Column of Trajan, however, the enemy cities are represented as fully urbanized, with fortifications crowded with varied sophisticated buildings. The Arch, therefore, represents a return to the employment of elaborate architecture to characterize an enemy, but with crucial modifications from the Column of Trajan.

⁴⁷¹ This arrangement of tower and orb, incidentally, looks very much like the towers along the fortification walls in the Oppian Hill fresco (FIGURES 51.A-B).

CHAPTER 8:
CONCLUSION: THE ROLE OF THE ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS
ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

The architecture depicted on the Column of Trajan plays an important role in emphasizing the distinct and vivid contrast on the frieze between Roman and Dacian civilization. Roman architecture is consistently portrayed as opulent, superior and permanent. Dacian architecture, on the other hand, is portrayed with equal consistency as strange, inferior, and endangered. These contrasts are achieved through the use of specific architectural types, contrasting construction methods, and dissimilar narrative contexts. These broad patterns are striking, and suggest a conscious and deliberate effort executed throughout the length of the frieze.

Although scholarship has traditionally focused on the topographic or documentary significance of the architectural depictions, these do not seem to be the architecture's primary concern or purpose. The architecture is not fantastic, but nor is it a slave to reality: the architectural types employed are general and ubiquitous features, which seem to be chosen to create varying compositions and to illustrate a settlement's relative level of sophistication and its relationship to Rome. As such, these depictions cannot be taken as reliable indices of the topographic or structural information available to the production team. Rather, the architecture on the frieze should be seen as reflecting the choices made regarding how to represent different civilizations. Most important was the architecture's

role in illustrating the relative superiority and stability of Roman culture, and the prosperous peace which it could bring.

On the frieze, architecture serves to illustrate the virtues of the Roman military, particularly organization, technical expertise, and strength. The superiority and permanence of the Roman advance is embodied, especially for the army, in the prominence of cut stone construction for Roman architectural features. The employment of stone masonry, rather than more realistic techniques such as wood or earth, for all Roman fortifications creates a sense of permanence and potency: just as the constructions of the army are imposed permanently on the Dacian landscape, so too are the Roman army itself and the culture it brings. Trajan and Roman soldiers interact frequently with architecture, both as a destructive force in the case of Dacian structures, and as a constructive force, demonstrating in their skills as builders the superior abilities and virtues by which the conquest of Dacia will be accomplished and made eternal.

In the civilian sphere, architecture serves as one of the indications that a given town has accepted Roman rule and profited from Roman culture. For established civilian settlements, this architecture primarily takes the form of stone buildings, with emphasis on architectural types and features closely associated with Rome, such as columns and arches. Some of these architectural types, like porticos and theaters, are general features of ancient city life, illustrating the urbanity and prosperity presumably generated and ensured through the settlements' relationship with Rome. Other architectural types, such as amphitheaters, harbors with elaborate arched installations, and monumental arches, have strong associations with Roman culture and technology in particular. These settlements are not carbon copies of each other: rather, the use of architectural types and

construction techniques is varied to signal the relative levels of sophistication for various settlements.

Just as architecture is used to associate a civilian settlement with Roman culture, architecture is employed to distance a settlement from Roman culture and make clear its associations with Dacian culture. Instead of the familiar forms and advanced construction techniques seen in Roman settlements, Dacian settlements are marked by the consistent use of strange, clearly un-Roman architectural forms, often executed in primitive timber construction. On the one hand, the inclusion of indigenous Dacian architecture, particularly stone fortifications, calls attention to the achievements of the barbarians, and therefore to the consequently greater accomplishments of the army that overwhelms them. Such architecture also encourages comparisons between Dacian settlements and civilian settlements assimilated to Rome, but always to the disadvantage of the former. No strict adherence to reality, however, is apparent: in particular, no urban landscape is depicted for the Dacians, and a concern to carefully distinguish Dacian fortifications from Roman examples sometimes overrides the otherwise accurate representation of Dacian fortifications as stone built.

The architecture on the frieze not only contrasts the relative levels of sophistication for Roman and Dacian culture, but it also illustrates the consequences of certain types of behavior and serves as a warning for the future. Peaceful, assimilated towns of the outer provinces appear on the Column as typical Roman cities, with their luxurious amenities and permanent stone construction readily apparent. Often this urban landscape serves as a background for scenes of loyalty to the Roman Empire and her emperor, in the form of Roman religious rituals or provisioning the army. In contrast,

Dacian settlements are depicted as empty, chaotic, and in times of extreme distress, either burning to the ground or on the eve of doing so. The message sent by this contrast would be clear: loyalty to the Roman state brought civilization, prosperity, and peace, while barbaric resistance brought destruction and death.

All of these factors demonstrate that the depictions of architecture should be considered one of the tools employed in developing the broader themes and messages of the Column; in particular, the architectural depictions have great importance for the demonstration of the skills of the Roman army, as well as in the contrasting of barbarian forces to the superiority of Roman culture. This allows the architectural depictions to take on significance outside of the analysis of the Column of Trajan itself: rather than being limited to reconstructing the logistics of one particular conquest, these depictions can be incorporated within the broader study of Roman imperial art, as a novel means of demonstrating and conceptualizing victory and appropriation. As a symbol of urbanity on the frieze, the architectural depictions can also be analyzed as a reflection of how Romans viewed and made use of the relationship between architecture, urbanism, and their own civilization. It is hoped that this thesis will encourage the inclusion of the Column of Trajan's architectural depictions within such future analyses of Roman art and archaeology.

FIGURES REFERENCED IN TEXT

Unless Otherwise Noted:

All pictures are the author's own.

All author's photos of scenes of the Column of Trajan are taken from the casts in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome.

All author's photos of the Villa Medici Reliefs are taken from the casts in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome.

All author's photos of the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome are taken from the arch itself.

Figure 1.A-C: Division of Architectural Depictions into Architectural Units



Figure 1.A: Two architectural units
(Scene I)



Figure 1.B: Four architectural units
(Scene II)



Figure 1.C: Fortifications with three architectural units (Scenes III-IV)

Figure 2:
Example of *Horreum*
(Scene II)



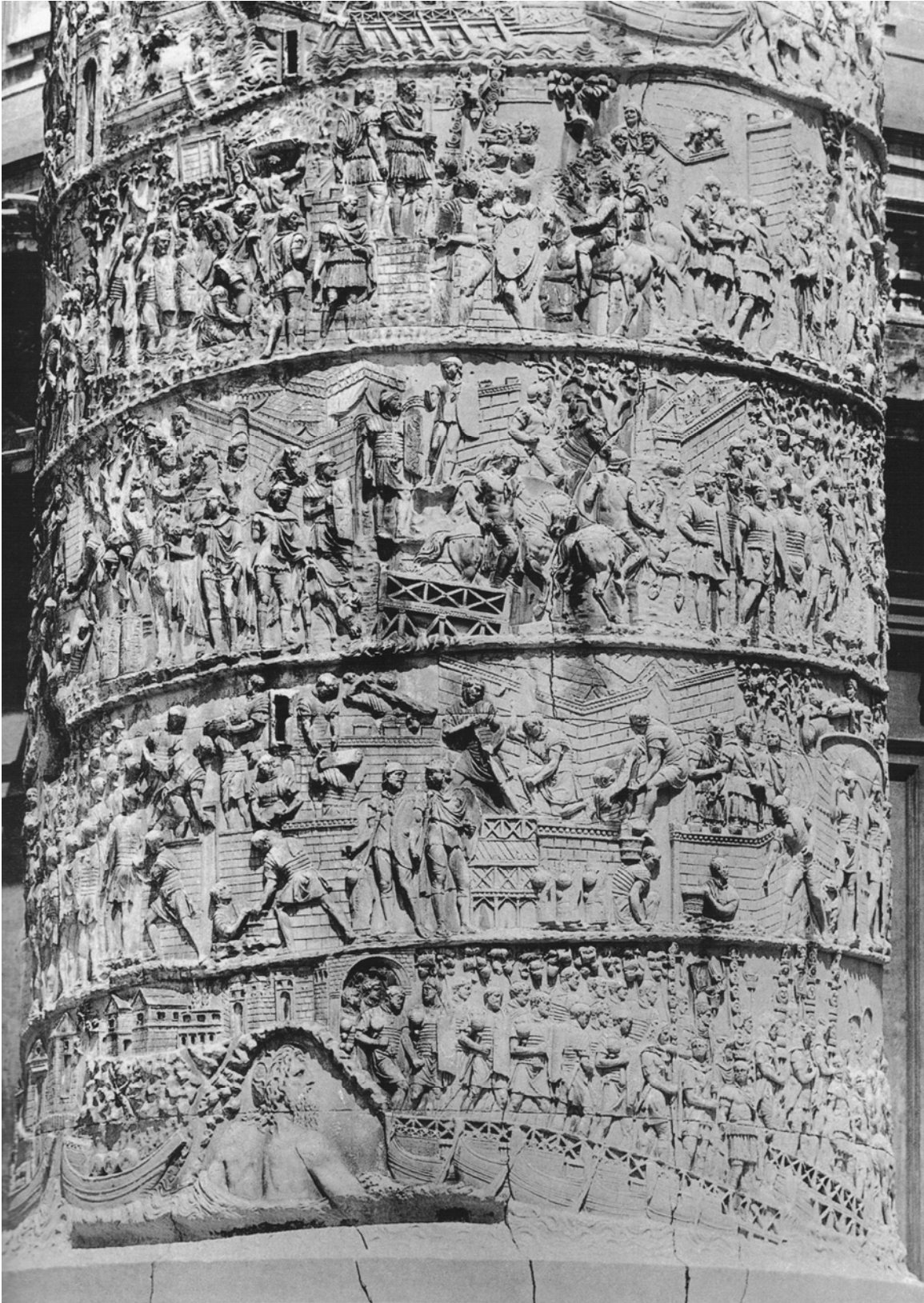


Figure 3: Lower spirals of Column of Trajan frieze (note prominence of military architecture; Hölscher 2004: 129 Abb. 114)

Figure 4.A-B: Rectangular Hatching on Column of Trajan



Figure 4.A: Rectangular hatching in Military Architecture (camp wall; Scene VIII)



Figure 4.B: Rectangular hatching in Civilian Architecture (Scene III)

Figure 5: Scene suggested to show soldiers cutting turf (Scene XX)



Figure 6.A-E: Depictions of Roman Soldiers Digging



Figure 6.A: Scene XI



Figure 6.B: Scene LII



Figure 6.C:
Scene XII



Figure 6.D: Scene LVI



Figure 6.E:
Scene LXV

Figure 7.A-H: Problems in Scale of Construction Material



Figure 7.A: Scene XI



Figure 7.B: Scene XI



Figure 7.C: Scene LX



Figure 7.D:
Scene LX



Figure 7.E:
Scene CXXVII



Figure 7.F Scene XI



Figure 7.G: Scene LXV



Figure 7.H: Besieged Roman soldiers defending themselves with blocks
(Scene CXXXIV)



Figure 8.A-B: Problems in Scale for Construction Scenes



Figure 8.A: Scene XI



Figure 8.B: Scene XII

Figure 9.A-I: Roundels on the Column of Trajan



Figure 9.A: Scene XII



Figure 9.B: Scene XVII



Figure 9.C: Scene XII



Figure 9.D: Scene XCIII



Figure 9.E: Scene CVIII



Figure 9.F: Scene XXII



Figure 9.G: Scenes XII-XIII



Figure 9.H: Scene XIII



Figure 9.I: Scene XLIII



Figure 10: Roundels following line of arch (Scene XXI)



Figure 11: Baskets paired with stone working tools (Scene XXXIX)





Figure 12:
Architecture conveying
idea of “the Frontier”
(Scene I)

Figure 13:
Trajan addressing troops
from stone tribunal
(Scene X)



Figure 14.A-B: Employment of Detail for Differentiation on the Column of Trajan

Figure 14.A:
Different Dacian social
classes
(Scene CXI)



Figure 14.B:
Eastern auxiliary archers
(Scene CXV)

Figure 15.A-C: Trajan and Military Architecture

Figure 15.A:
Scene XX



Figure 15.B:
Scene XLVI

Figure 15.C:
Scene XXIV
(Coarelli 2000: 66
Plate 22)



Figure 16.A-E: Second Harbor Settlement (Scene XXXIII)



Figure 16.A: Buildings inside fortifications (Scene XXXIII)



Figure 16.B: Buildings inside fortifications (Scene XXXIII)

Figure 16.C:
Amphitheater
outside fortifications
(Scene XXXIII)



Figure 16.D:
Storage facilities (?)
and two monumental
arches at edge of
harbor
(Scene XXXIII)



Figure 16.E:
Quadriga statuary
crowning bottom
monumental arch
(Scene XXXIII)

Figure 17.A-G: Third Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXIX)



Figure 17.A:
Two temples
(Scene LXXIX)



Figure 17.B: Crowning statuary of
monumental arch (Scene LXXIX)



Figure 17.C:
Base of monumental arch on
rounded harbor mole
(Scene LXXIX)



Figure 17.D:
Upper temple
(Scene LXXIX)

Figure 17.E:
Lower temple
(Scene LXXIX)



Figure 17.F:
Precinct surrounding
upper temple
(Scene LXXIX)



Figure 17.G:
Vaulted structures at edge of
harbor
(Scene LXXIX)

Figure 18.A-D: Fifth Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXXVI)



Figure 18.A: Trajan sacrificing in
front of architectural backdrop
(Scene LXXXVI)



Figure 18.B: Theater *scaena frons* (Scene LXXXVI)



Figure 18.C: Buildings to right of theater (note temple-like building on right; Scene LXXXVI)

Figure 18.D: Buildings to right of theater (note roof of temple from left; Scene LXXXVI)



Figure 19: Trajan performs a sacrifice with the local population at the Second Collection of Altars (Scene XCI; Coarelli 2000: 150 Plate 106)



Figure 20.A-B: Settlement around Apollodorus' Bridge (Scenes XCIX-CI)



Figure 20.A:
Plank-and-peg
buildings within
fortifications
and gateway
(Scene C)



Figure 20.B:
Wooden and
stone
amphitheater
(Scene C)

Figure 21.A-D: Combination of “Angled Elongated Building with Colonnade”



Figure
21.A:
Settlement
around
Apollodorus
Bridge
(Scene C)



Figure 21.B:
Fourth
Harbor
Settlement
(Scene
LXXXI)



Figure 21.C.: Portico in Settlement around Apollodorus Bridge (Scene C)



Figure 21.D: Portico in Fourth Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXXI)

Figure 22.A-C: Compositional Elements in the Civilian Settlements



Figure 22.A: First Harbor Settlement (Scene III)

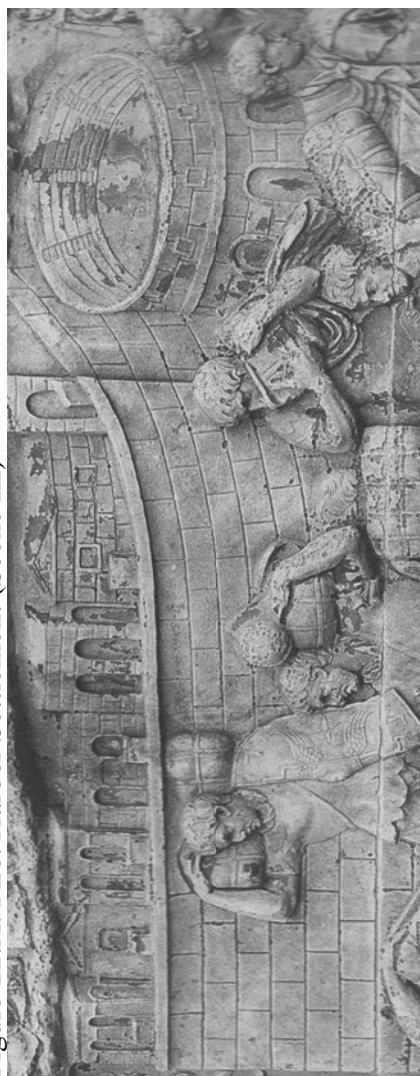


Figure 22.B: Second Harbor Settlement (Scene XXXIII; Coarelli 2000: 76-77 Plates 32-33)



Figure 22.C:
Settlement around
Apollodorus'
Bridge (Scene C)
(Right: Coarelli
2000: 164 Plate
120)

Figure 23.A-D: Porticos in the Civilian Settlements



Figure 23.A: First Harbor Settlement
(Scene III)



Figure 23.B: Third Harbor Settlement
(Scene LXXIX)



Figure 23.C: Fourth Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXXI)



Figure 23.D: Fifth
Harbor Settlement
(Scene LXXXVI)

Figure 24.A-D: Quays in Civilian Settlements



Figure 24.A: Fourth Harbor Settlement
(Scene LXXX)



Figure 24.B: Fourth Harbor Settlement
(Scene LXXX)



Figure 24.C: Fourth Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXX)



Figure 24.D: Fifth Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXXVI)

Figure 25.A-E: Logistical Support Facilities



Figure 25.A: Scene XXXIII



Figure 25.B: Scene LXXIX



Figure 25.C: *Horreum* (Scene II)



Figure 25.D: *Horrea* (Scene II)



Figure 25.E: Logistical support facilities, including two *horrea* (Scene CVIII)

Figure 26: Organized Roman soldiers engaging chaotic Dacian forces (Scene LXX)



Figure 27.A- E: First Dacian Defensive Line (Scene XXV)



Figure 27.A:
Cavalry Traps
(Scene XXV)

Figure 27.A- E: First Dacian Defensive Line (Scene XXV)



Figure 27.B: Main fortifications (Scene XXV)



Figure 27.C: Fortifications Gateway (Scene XXV)



Figure 27.D:
Heads (with
helmets)
of Roman
soldiers on spikes
(Scene XXV)



Figure 27.E:
Structures
and standards
behind
fortifications
(Scene XXV)

Figure 28: First Destruction Tableau (Scene XXV)



Figure 29.A-E: Third Destruction Tableau (Scenes LVII-LVIII)

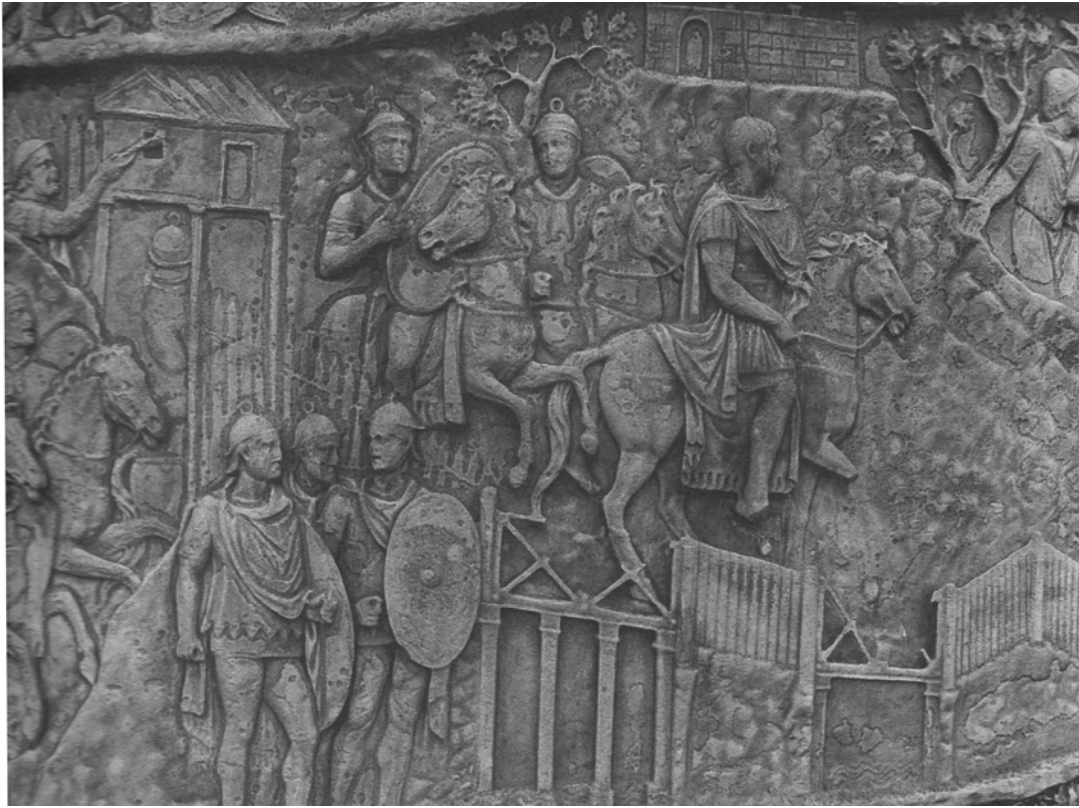


Figure 29.A: Scene LVII (Coarelli 2000: 103 Plate 59)



Figure 29.B: Scene LVII



Figure 29.C:
Scene LVII



Figure
29.D:
Scene
LIX



Figure 29.E: Plank and Peg hatching
(Scene LIX)

Figure 30:
Bridge under construction
by Roman legionaries (Scene XVI)



Figure 31: Roman Camp under Construction (Scene LX; Coarelli 2000: 105 Plate 61)



Figure 32: Dacian Cylindrical Building (Scene LXII)



Figure 33.A-C: Series of Dacian Defenses (Scenes LXVI-LXXII)



Figure 33.A: Roman Ballista Station
(Scene LXVI)

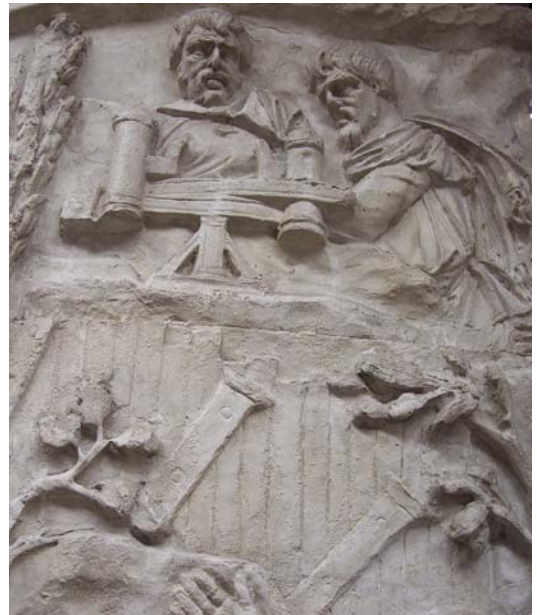


Figure 33.B: Dacian Ballista Station
(Scene LXVI)



Figure 33.C: Palisade and Fortifications (Scene LXVI; Coarelli 2000: 119 Plate 75)

Figure 34: Water supply system and Second Dacian Stronghold
(Scenes LXXIV-LXXV; Coarelli 2000: 129 Plate 85)



Figure 35: Roman siege engines
outside Second Dacian Stronghold
(Scene LXXV)



Figure 36.A-J: Fifth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXIII-CXVI)



Figure 36.A: Polygonal masonry of fortification walls (Scene CXIV)



Figure 36.B: Fortification walls (Scene CXIV)



Figure 36.C: Tower (Scene CXIV)



Figure 36.D:
Tower (Scene CXIV)



Figure 36.E: Tower and fortification walls (Scene CXIII)



Figure 36.F: Long posted building (Scene CXIV)



Figure 36.G: Long posted building (Scene CXIV; Coarelli 2000: 186 Plate 142)



Figure 36.H: Dacians attack Roman soldiers (Scene CXVI)

Figure 36.I: Change in masonry technique for fortification walls of Fifth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXVI)



Figure 36.J: Roman soldiers attack fortification walls of Fifth Dacian Stronghold from both sides (Scene CXVI)

Figure 37: Alignment of Dacian Strongholds (Bandinelli 2003: 36 Plate 32)



Upper Spiral (not fully shown): mass suicide of Sixth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXXII)
Middle Spiral: Fifth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXVI)
Lower Spiral: Fourth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXI)

Figure 38.A-D: Fifth Destruction Tableau (Scene CXIX)



Figure 38.A: Scene CXIX



Figure 38.B: Plank and Peg Construction (Scene CXIX)



Figure 38.C: Rectangular building with plank and peg construction (Scene CXIX)



Figure 38.D: Cylindrical building with plank and peg construction (Scene CXIX)

Figure 39.A-C: Sixth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXX)



Figure 39.A:
Sixth Dacian Stronghold
(Scene CXX)



Figure 39.B: Mass suicide (?) (Scene CXX)



Figure 39.C:
Mass suicide (?)
(Scene CXX)

Figure 40.A-B: Wooden Defenses (Scene CXXXII)

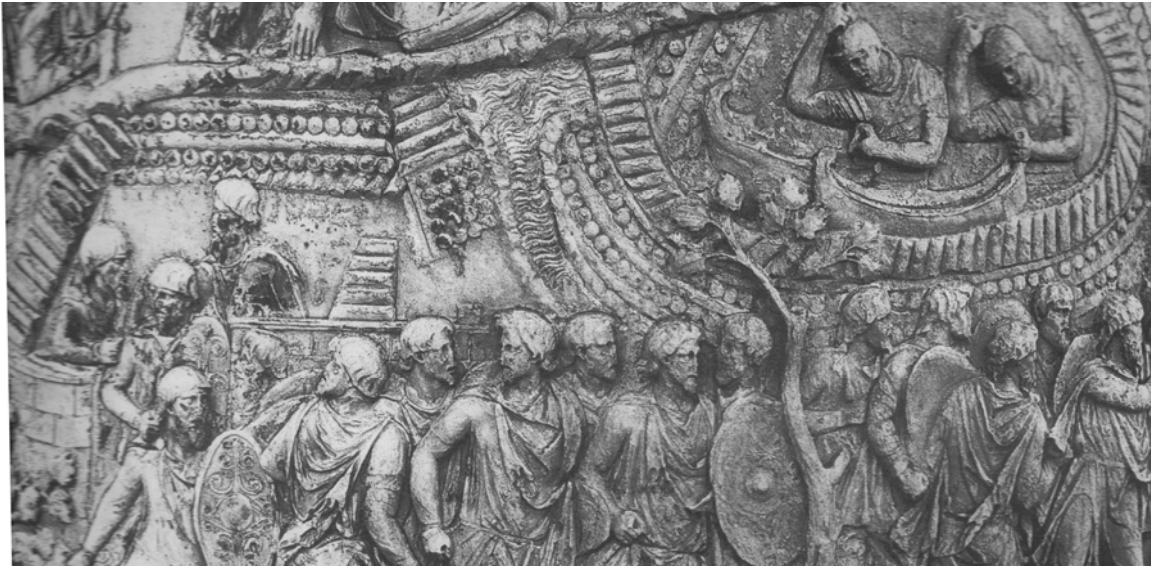


Figure 40.A: Dacian defenses (Scene CXXXII; Coarelli 2000: 203 Plate 159)



Figure 40.B: Roman defenses (Scene CXXXII)

Figure 41.A-B: Final Destruction Tableau (Scenes CL-CLIII)



Figure 41.A: Scene CLI



Figure 41.B: Scene CLII

Figure 42.A-H: Dacian Gateways



Figure 42.A: First Dacian
Defensive Line (Scene XXV)



42.B: First Dacian Stronghold (Scene LXXI)



42.C: Third Dacian Stronghold
left gateway (Scene XCIII)



42.D: Third Dacian Stronghold
right gateway (Scene XCIII)



Figure 42.E: Fourth Dacian Stronghold
(Scene CXI)



Figure 42.F: Sixth Dacian Stronghold
(Scene CXX)



Figure 42.G: Sixth Dacian Stronghold
(Scene CXX)



Figure 42.H: Final Destruction Tableau
(Scene CLI)

Figure 43.A-E :Dacian Tower Buildings



Figure 43.B: Fourth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXI)



Figure 43.C:
Sixth Dacian
Stronghold
(Scene CXX)



Figure 43.A: Fifth Dacian
Stronghold (Scene CXVI)



Figure 43.D: Sixth Dacian
Stronghold (Scene CXX)

Figure 43.E: Another Dacian Tower Building ?
(Fourth Destruction Tableau; Scene LXXVI)



Figure 44.A-B: Dacian Towers in Fortifications



Figure 44.A: Fifth Dacian Stronghold
(Scene CXIII)



Figure 44.B: Sixth Dacian Stronghold
(Scene CXIX; note roundels in fortifications)

Figure 45.A-C: Dacian Boxed Palisades



Figure 45.A: Series of Dacian Defenses
First Palisade
(Scene LXVII; Coarelli 2000: 119 Plate 75)



Figure 45.B: Series of Dacian Defenses
Second Palisade (Scene LXX)



Figure 45,C: Series of
Dacian Defenses
Third Palisade
(Scene LXXII)

Figure 46.A-B: Mixed Architectural Assemblages



Figure 46.A: Second Fortified Settlement (Scene LXXXVIII)



Figure 46.B: Fortification (Scenes CI-CII; Coarelli 2000: 166 Plate 122)

Figure 47.A-C: Ashlar Comparisons to Polygonal Masonry of Fifth Dacian Stronghold (Scenes CXIII-CXVI)



Figure 47.A: Fifth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXIV)



Figure 47.B: Sixth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXX)



Figure 47. C: Fourth Dacian Stronghold (Scene CXI)

Figure 48: Roman legionaries under siege (Scene XXXII)



Figure 49: Dacian Heads in front of Roman fortifications (Scene LVI)



Figure 50 A.C: Depictions of Architecture in Rome (Villa Medici Reliefs)



Figure 50.A: Depiction of temple in three-quarter view, with podium and altar, fluted Corinthian columns, door, pedimental sculpture, and *akroteria* (note hatching on walls)

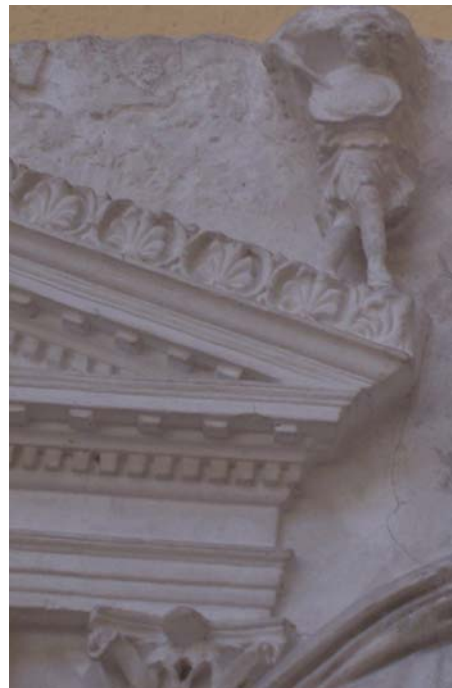


Figure 50.B:
Akroteria from temple in Figure 50.A



Figure 50.C:
Pedimental
sculpture for
two temples



Figure 51.A-B: Oppian Hill Fresco Discovered under Trajan's Baths (La Rocca 2004: 28)



Figure 51.A: Oppian Hill Fresco



Figure 51.B: Close-up of Oppian Hill Fresco showing fortification walls, theater, porticos, canal, generic buildings

Figure 52: Depiction of Harbor
(the original relief, which was discovered beneath the Baths of Trajan in the seventeenth century but is now lost, is preserved in engravings; La Rocca 2004, 29)

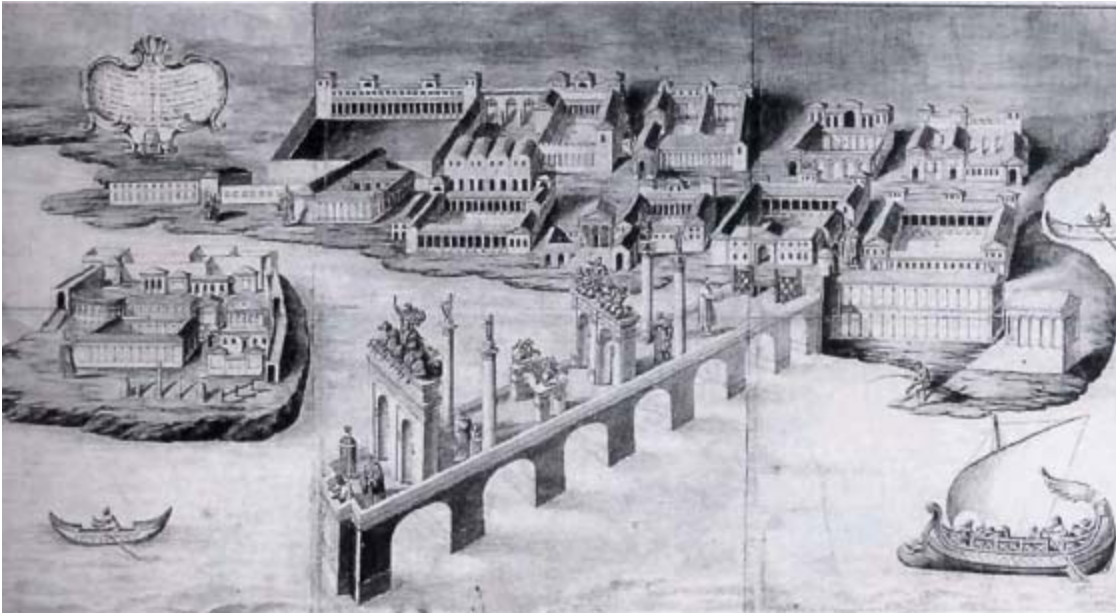


Figure 53: Avezzano Relief
(in Chieti, Museo Nazionale; picture of cast in Museo della Civiltà Romana:
La Rocca 2000: 64 Fig. 10)

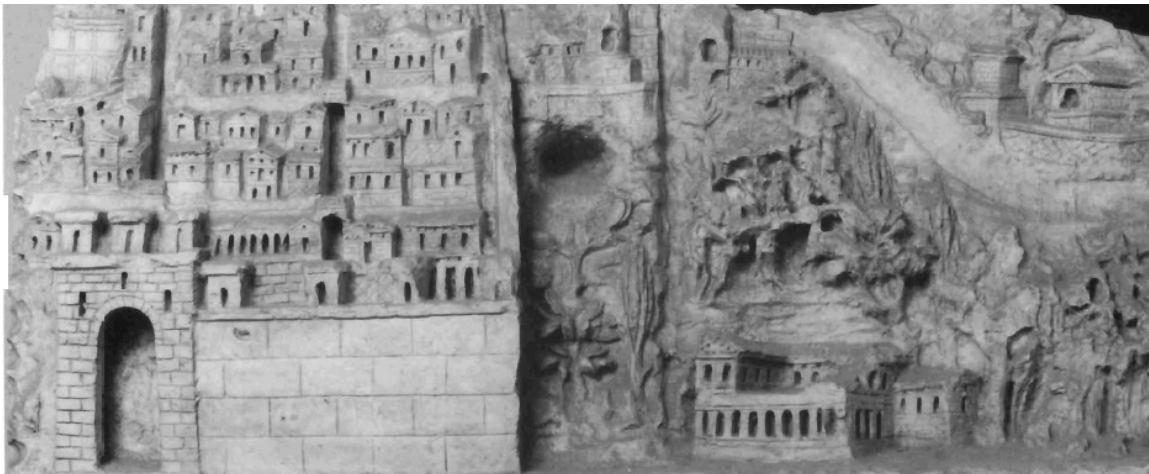


Figure 54.A-G: Depictions of Architecture on the Column of Marcus Aurelius

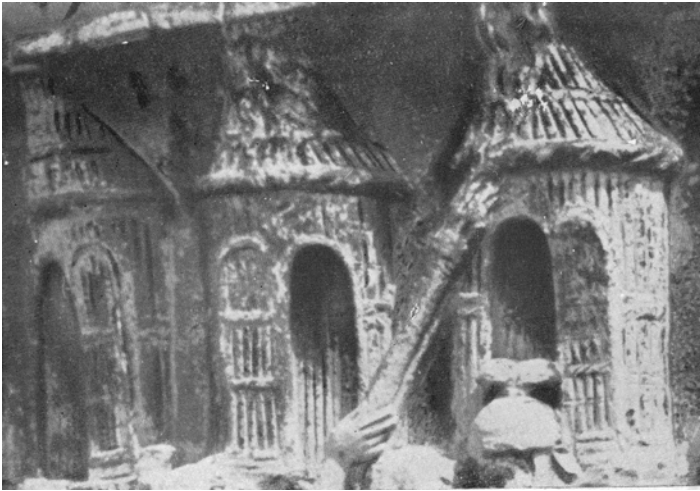


Figure 54.A: Barbarian huts
(note torch; Scene CII;
Caprino et al 1955: Tav S)

Figure 54.B: Destruction of
abandoned huts
(Scene VII; Caprino et al 1955:
Tav VII Fig. 14)

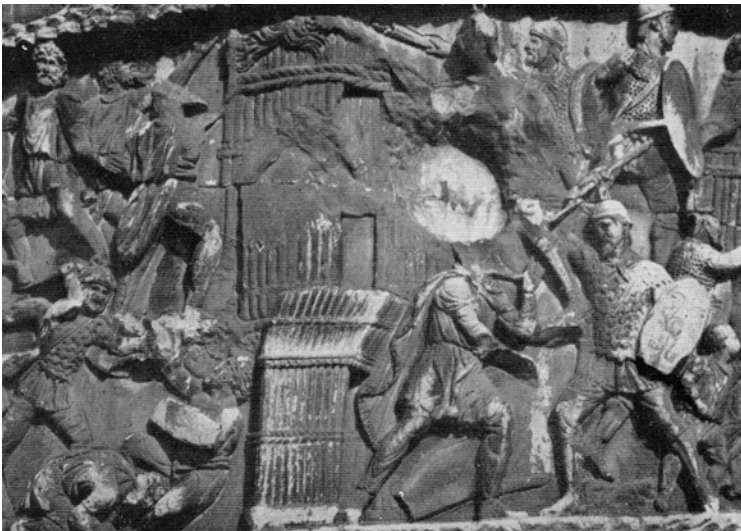
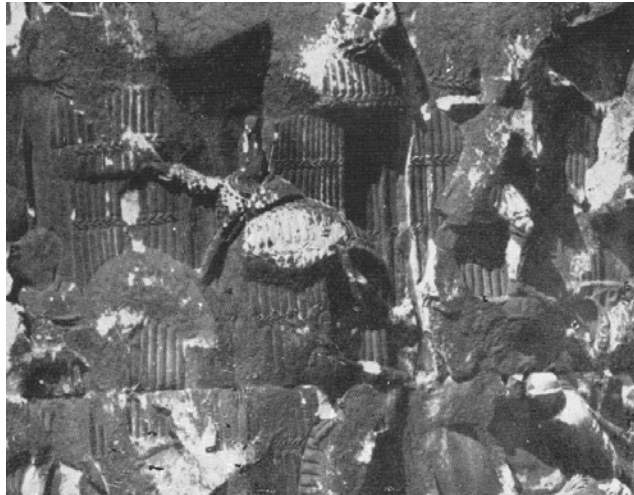


Figure 54.C: Pillaging of
village (Scene XX;
Caprino et al 1955:
Tav XIV Fig. 29)



Figure 54.D: Pillaging of
village and rape of women
(Scene XX
Caprino et al 1955: Tav XV
Fig. 30)



Figure 54.F: Scene XLIII
(Caprino et al 1955: Tav XXVII Fig. 55)



Figure 54.E: Scene XLIII
(Caprino et al 1955: Tav XXVII
Fig. 54)



Figure 54.G:
The emperor Marcus Aurelius
addresses his troops
(Scene LV; Caprino et al
1955: Tav F

Figure 55: Architectural Destruction on the Column of Trajan
(Second Destruction Tableau; Scene XXX; Coarelli 2000: 73 Plate 29)



Figure 56.A-G: Depictions of Architecture on the Arch of Septimius Severus, Rome



Figure 56.A: Panel I (potential indigenous architecture circled)

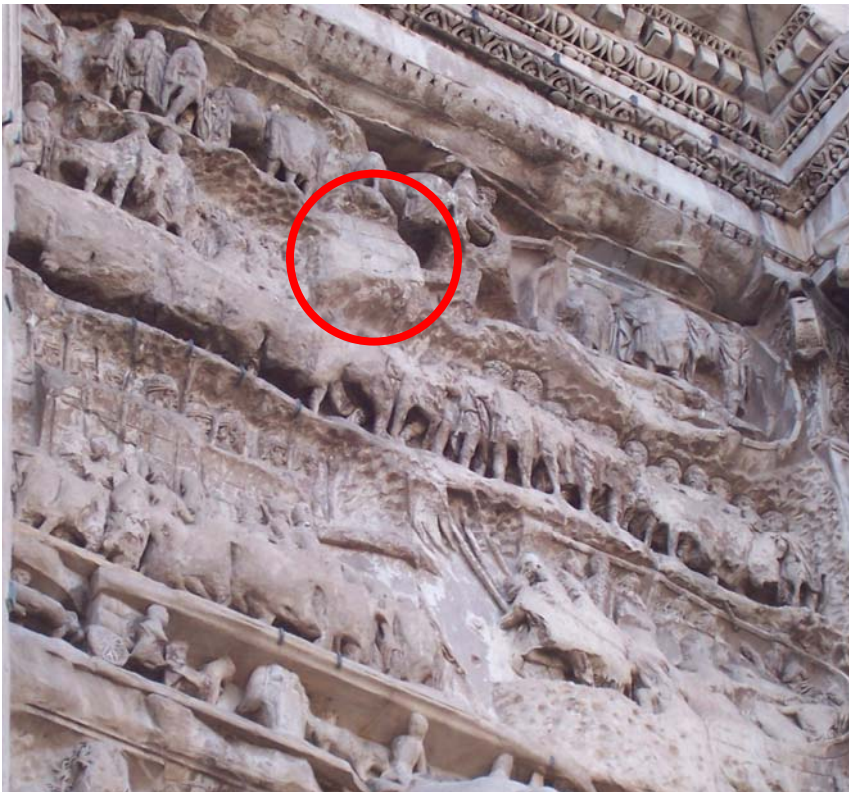


Figure 56.B:
Panel II
(potential outline of
Roman camp
circled)



Figure
56.C:
Panel
III

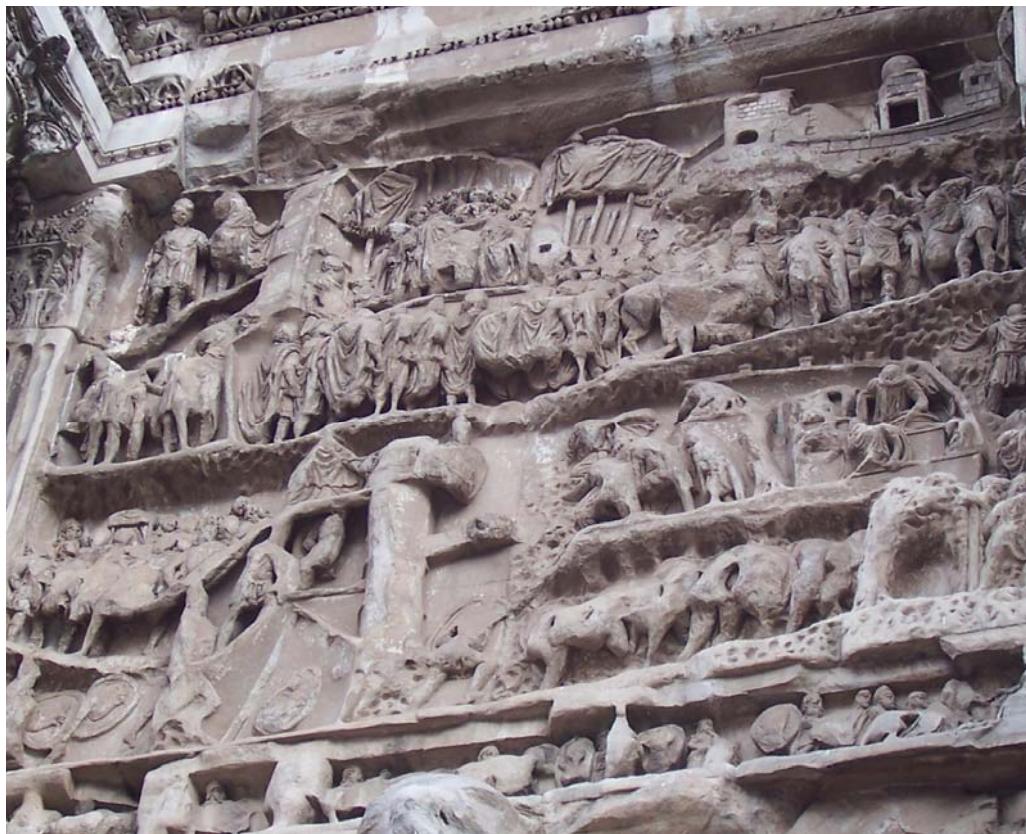


Figure
56.D:
Panel
IV



Figure 56.E:
Roman siege engine
and local fortified city (Panel IV)



Figure 56.F: Roman
siege engine
(Panel IV)

Figure 56.G: Potential indigenous
architecture (Panel IV)



Figures 57.A-D: Civilian Settlements

Figure 57.A: First Harbor Settlement (Scene III; Coarelli 2000: 48 Plate 5)



Figure 57.B: Second Harbor Settlement (Scene XXXIII; Coarelli 2000: 76-77 Plates 32-33)

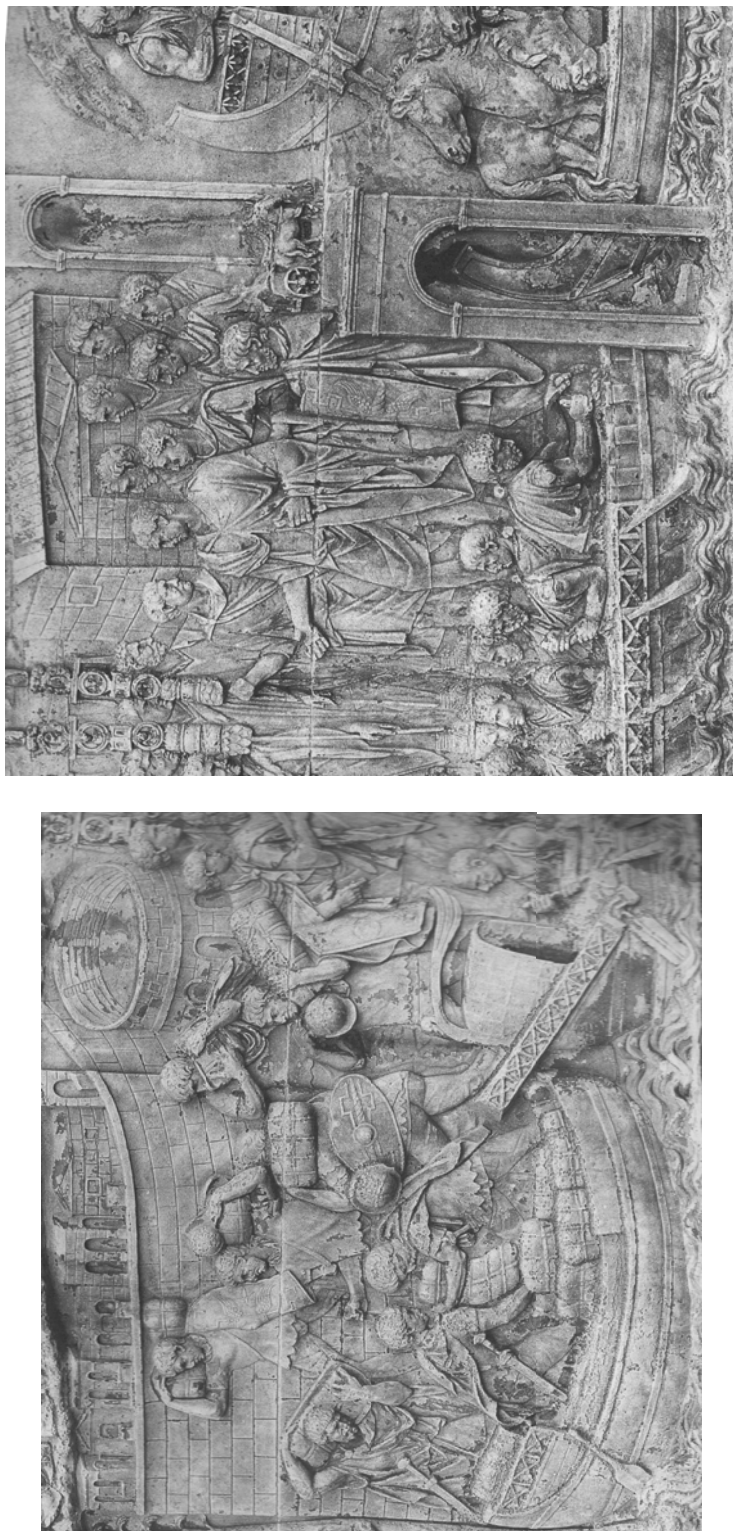


Figure 57.C: Fourth Harbor Settlement (Scenes LXXX-LXXXI; Coarelli 2000: 138-39 Plates 94-95)

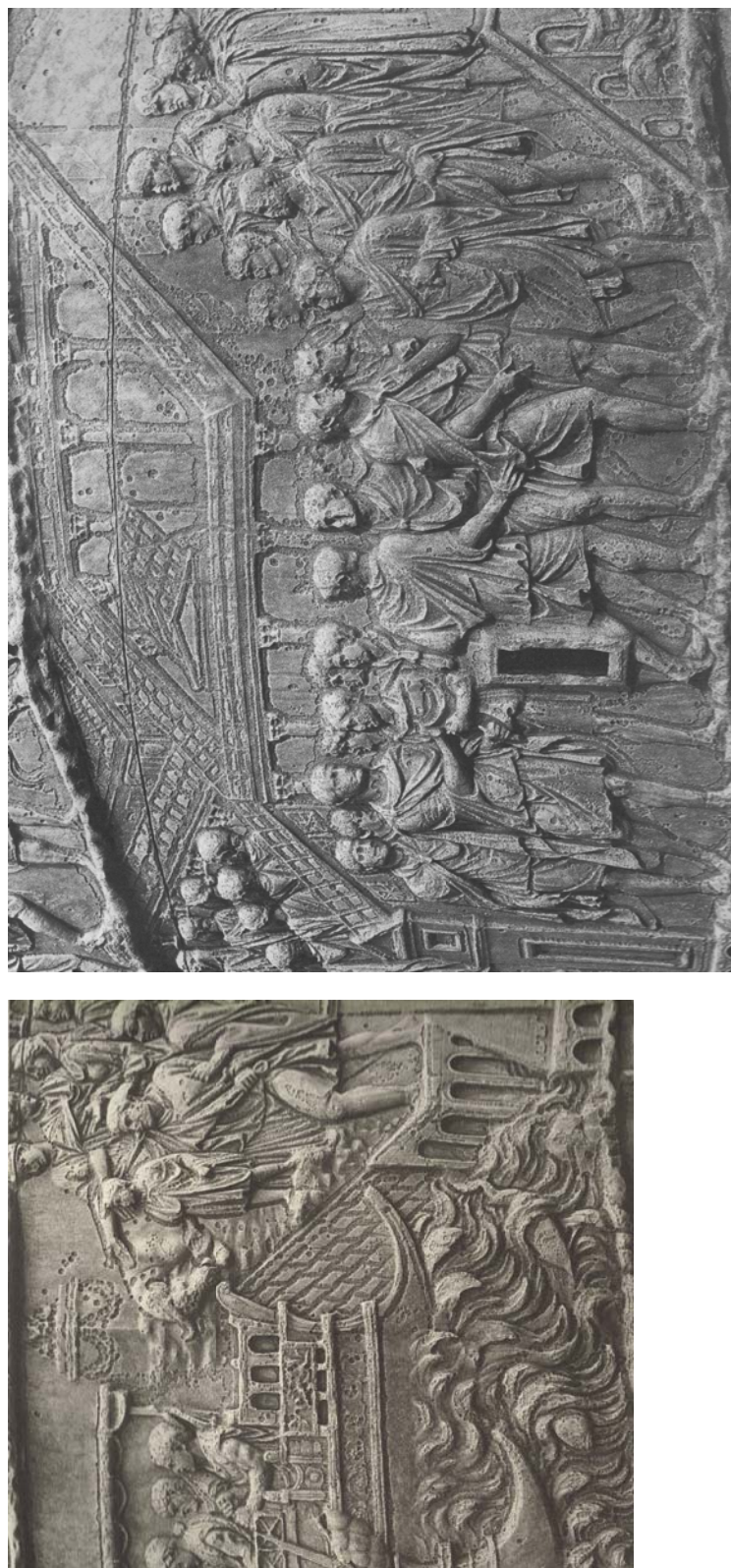


Figure 57.D: Fifth Harbor Settlement (Scene LXXXVI; Coarelli 2000: 145 Plate 101)



Figure 58.A-D: Dacian Architectural Assemblages

Figure 58.A: First Dacian Defensive Line and the First Destruction Tableau
(Scene XXV; Coarelli 2000: 69 Plate 25)



Figure 58.B: Four Cylindrical Buildings (Scene LXII; Coarelli 2000: 108-9 Plates 64-65)

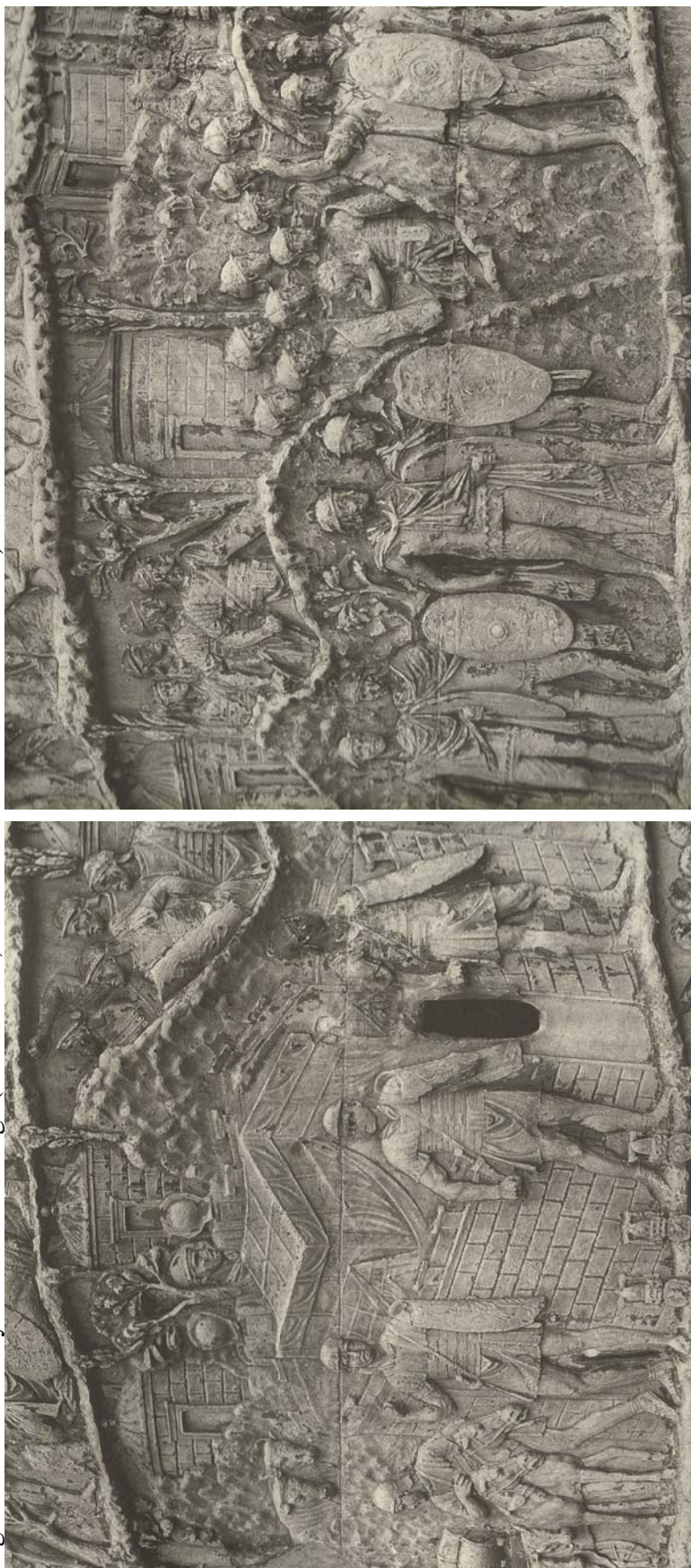


Figure 58.D: Fifth Dacian Stronghold Part 1 (Scenes CXIII-CXIV; Coarelli 2000: 182-83 Plate 138-39)



Figure 58.D: Fifth Dacian Stronghold Part 2 (Scenes CXV-CXVII; Coarelli 2000: 186-87 Plates 142-43)



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