

CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIONS:
DEPICTIONS OF ARCHITECTURE IN ROMAN STATE RELIEFS

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ABSTRACT

ELIZABETH WOLFRAM THILL: Cultural Constructions: Depictions of Architecture in
Roman State Reliefs

(Under the direction of Monika Truemper)

Architectural depictions are an important window into crucial conceptual connections between architecture and culture in the Roman Empire. While previous scholarship has treated depictions of architecture as topographic markers, I argue that architectural depictions frequently served as potent cultural symbols, acting within the broader themes and ideological messages of sculptural monuments. This is true both for representations of particular historic buildings (identifiable depictions), and for the far more numerous depictions that were never meant to be identified with a specific structure (generic depictions). This latter category of depictions has been almost completely unexplored in scholarship. This dissertation seeks to fill this gap, and to situate architectural depictions within scholarship on state reliefs as a medium for political and ideological expression.

I explore the ways in which architectural depictions, both identifiable and generic, were employed in state-sponsored sculptural monuments, or state reliefs, in the first and second centuries CE in and around the city of Rome. My work is innovative in combining the iconographic and iconological analysis of architectural depictions with theoretical approaches to the symbolism of built architecture, drawn from studies on acculturation (“Romanization”), colonial interactions, and imperialism. I present a comprehensive

analysis of the architectural depictions of six case studies: the Trajanic Arch at Beneventum, the Column of Trajan, the Great Trajanic Frieze, the Anaglypha Reliefs, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and the panels from a lost arch of Marcus Aurelius. By integrating a close analysis of the architectural depictions within the study of the themes of these monuments, I connect the depictions of buildings to ideas of identity, urbanism, and the supremacy of Rome. I demonstrate how depictions of elaborate, sophisticated buildings celebrate the particular architectural glory of Rome, and associate Rome closely with the phenomenon of urbanism. In contrast, the illustration of strange, primitive architecture for Rome's enemies underscores their inferiority, as well as the impermanence of their way of life. Architectural depictions thus serve as an essential source of information for the study of culture, architecture, imperialism, and ideology in Rome at the height of her multi-cultural empire.

To Stephen.

This is both of ours, with all my love.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xxvi
Chapter	
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Architectural Depictions in Roman State Relief: State of Research.....	5
J. Maier (1985): <i>Architektur in Römischen Relief</i>	7
M.D. Grunow (2002): “Architectural Images in Roman State Reliefs, Coins, and Medallions: Imperial Ritual, Ideology, and the Topography of Rome”	9
D. Quante-Schöttler (2002): <i>Ante aedes: Darstellung von Architektur in Römischen Reliefs</i>	12
A New Methodology and Approach to the Study of Architectural Depictions.....	15
Identifiable vs. Generic Depictions.....	15
A New Methodology for Evaluating Architectural Depictions: Specificity.....	17
Bridging the Theoretical Gap between Actual and Depicted Architecture.....	20
Architectural Depictions in State Reliefs: Definition, Patronage, and Reception.....	26
Procedure.....	31
1 ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS IN PRE-TRAJANIC STATE RELIEFS.....	36

	Looking Beyond Identification: The Valle-Medici Reliefs.....	37
	Architectural Depictions: Trends in Pre-Trajanic State Reliefs.....	49
2	ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTUM.....	53
3	COLUMN OF TRAJAN.....	67
	Military Architecture: The Emperor and Architecture on the Column of Trajan.....	69
	Civilian Architecture on the Column of Trajan.....	73
	A Tale of Two Cities: Civilian Settlements in Scenes LXXIX and XCIX-CI.....	74
	Architectural Types in the Civilian Architecture of the Column of Trajan.....	83
	Dacian Architecture on the Column of Trajan.....	89
	A Tale of Two Non-Cities: Dacian Settlements in Scenes XXV and CXIX-CXXII.....	92
	Architectural Types in the Dacian Architecture of the Column of Trajan.....	96
4	GREAT TRAJANIC FRIEZE.....	110
	The Monumental Battle Frieze in the Arch of Constantine.....	111
	Arch and <i>Adventus</i> on the Great Trajanic Frieze.....	115
	The Huts and Barbarian Landscape on the Great Trajanic Frieze.....	121
	Huts and the Enemy.....	121
	Violence in the Village.....	127
	Architectural Depictions and the Date of the Great Trajanic Frieze.....	131
	Architectural Depictions on Possible Fragments of the Great Trajanic Frieze.....	134

5	ANAGLYPHA RELIEFS.....	141
	The Anaglypha Reliefs: Facts and Assumptions.....	143
	The Background Buildings of the Anaglypha Reliefs.....	148
	Specificity and the Foreground of the Anaglypha Reliefs.....	156
	The Date of the Anaglypha Reliefs.....	164
	Rome, the Senate, and the Anaglypha Reliefs.....	168
6	COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS.....	172
	Two Settlements (Scenes I and XX) on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.....	173
	Prototypes and Beyond in the Architectural Depictions on the Columns.....	176
	Innovations in the Depicted Architecture on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.....	184
7	MARCUS AURELIUS PANELS.....	187
	Problems of Reconstruction for the Marcus Aurelius Panels.....	187
	Depicted Architecture on the Marcus Aurelius Panels.....	191
	A Possible Architectural Depiction on a Marcus Aurelius Panel.....	203
	The Sliding Scale of Architecture on the Marcus Aurelius Panels.....	211
	CONCLUSIONS.....	228
	Results of Case Studies.....	229
	Architectural Depictions in State Reliefs: A Development in Symbolism.....	238
	Beyond State Reliefs: Architecture and Policy in the Roman Empire.....	245

Architectural Depictions: Future Research.....	249
APPENDIX A: CATALOG OF ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS IN CASE-STUDIES.....	257
APPENDIX B: SURVEY OF DISTRIBUTION OF ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS IN STATE RELIEFS.....	290
FIGURES.....	300
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	423

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

1.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple.....	301
2.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of podium stairs, pier, and statue base (?).....	301
3.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; elongated façade.....	302
4.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of column shaft and ashlar masonry.....	303
5.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of podium steps and column base.....	303
6.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of column capitals, entablature, and pediment.....	304
7.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of acroterion.....	304
8.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of pediment.....	305
9.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple.....	305
10.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of podium, altar, and column bases.....	306
11.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of column capitals and entablature.....	306
12.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of façade. Note socle course and ashlar masonry.....	307
13.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of pediment and sima.....	307
14.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of acroterion.....	308
15.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of pediment and sima.....	308

16.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of flank. Note podium, socle course, and ashlar masonry.....	309
17.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of flank. Note entablature, antefixes, and tile roof.....	309
18.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of flank. Note column capital.....	310
19.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple.....	311
20.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple; detail of podium steps and column base.....	312
21.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple; detail of column capitals, door, and architrave.....	312
22.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple; detail of columns, door, and pediment.....	313
23.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple; detail of pediment.....	313
24.	Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple; detail of tile roof and sima.....	314
25.	Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of tile roof with decorated sima and pedimental sculpture	314
26.	Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment with steps and column base.....	315
27.	Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of round roof with decorated sima.....	315
28.	Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of round structure with gated entrance and columns.....	316
29.	Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of wall with door.....	317
30.	Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of wall with oak wreath.....	317
31.	Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of building with blank pediment.....	318

32.	<i>Ara Pacis Augustae</i> . “Aeneas” Panel.....	318
33.	<i>Ara Pacis Augustae</i> . “Aeneas” Panel; detail of temple.....	319
34.	Hartwig Relief.....	320
35.	Hartwig Relief. Detail of pediment.....	320
36.	Arch of Titus. Spoil Relief; detail of arch.....	321
37.	Basilica Aemilia Reliefs. Construction scene. Note tower and gate (right).....	322
38.	Praeneste Ship Relief.....	322
39.	Arch at Beneventum. Urban (southwest) face.....	323
40.	Arch at Beneventum. Rural (northeast).....	323
41.	Arch at Beneventum. <i>Adventus</i> Panel (Panel 1).....	324
42.	Arch at Beneventum. Reception Panel (Panel 2).....	325
43.	Arch at Beneventum. Consuls Panel (Panel 5).....	326
44.	Arch at Beneventum. Consuls Panel; detail of Victory on arch [R3.B1] and pediment [R3.B3]. Note shield with lightning bolt.....	326
45.	Arch at Beneventum. Capitoline Triad Panel (Panel 6). Note lightning bolt in Jupiter’s hand.....	327
46.	Arch at Beneventum. Triumphal Frieze; detail of corner below Capitoline Triad Panel.....	327
47.	Arch at Beneventum. Triumphal Frieze; corner below Capitoline Triad Panel.....	328
48.	Arch at Beneventum. Triumphal Frieze; detail of temple [R5.B1].....	329
49.	Arch at Beneventum. Triumphal Frieze; detail of temple [R5.B1].....	329
50.	Arch at Beneventum. Triumphal Frieze; detail of section with arch [R5.B2], below Capitoline Triad Panel.....	330

51.	Arch at Beneventum. Harbor Panel (Panel 3). Note gods in upper left corner.....	330
52.	Column of Trajan. Scenes LXXXI-LXXXII; harbor scene with architectural background. Arrow marks (damaged) lighthouse.....	331
53.	Arch at Beneventum. Bridge Crossing Panel (Panel 11).....	332
54.	Arch at Beneventum. Bridge Crossing Panel; detail with bridge [R4.B1].....	332
55.	Column of Trajan. Scene XI; military construction.....	333
56.	Column of Trajan. Scene X; <i>adlocutio</i> from platform with rectangular hatching suggesting stone construction.....	333
57.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXXXVII; <i>adlocutio</i> from platform with rectangular hatching.....	334
58.	Column of Trajan. Scene XX; Trajan inside stone fortifications.....	335
59.	Column of Trajan. Scene XXIV; Trajan presented with Dacian heads by auxiliaries outside stone fortifications.....	336
60.	Column of Trajan. Scene XLVI; Trajan receiving suppliants outside stone fortifications.....	336
61.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; civilian settlement.....	337
62.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; temples [R6.B1, R6.B2], portico [R6.B3], and zigzagging path.....	338
63.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; upper temple [R6.B2]. Note cult statue, Ionic capitals, and grated window.....	338
64.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; portico [R6.B3] around upper temple [R6.B2], with crowning statuary of arch [R6.B4] in front. Note tile roof, Ionic capitals and grated windows of portico.....	339
65.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; lower temple [R6.B1].....	339
66.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; arch [R6.B4] with crowning statuary.....	340
67.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; harbor mole beneath arch [R6.B4].....	340

68.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; vaulted structures [R6.B5, R6.B6].....	341
69.	Column of Trajan. Scene XXXIII; civilian settlement. Note arch with crowning statuary, lower left.....	341
70.	Column of Trajan. Scene XXXIII; arch with crowning statuary.....	342
71.	Column of Trajan. Scene XXXIII; crowning statuary of <i>quadriga</i> on top of arch.....	342
72.	Column of Trajan. Scene CI; arch [R7.B11] with crowning statuary of two trophies (upper left). Note remains of pylon along left edge.....	343
73.	Column of Trajan. Scene CI; detail of crowning statuary of trophies on top of arch [R7.B11].....	343
74.	Column of Trajan. Scenes C-CI; civilian settlement at Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube.....	344
75.	Column of Trajan. Scene XCIX; military settlement on left bank of river with Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube [R7.B1] on right.....	344
76.	Column of Trajan. Scene IC; Trajan sacrificing with Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube [R7.B1] in background.....	345
77.	Column of Trajan. Scene IC; detail of Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube [R7.B1].....	345
78.	Column of Trajan. Scene C; civilian fortifications [R7.B2], gateway [R7.B4], and interior buildings [R7.B3, R7.B5].....	346
79.	Column of Trajan. Scene C; civilian settlement.....	346
80.	Column of Trajan. Scene XXXIII; stone amphitheater.....	347
81.	Column of Trajan. Scene CI; wooden and stone amphitheater [R7.B6].....	347
82.	Column of Trajan. Scenes LXXX-LXXXI; civilian settlement. Note angled building on left.....	348
83.	Column of Trajan. Scene III; civilian settlement.....	348

84.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXXVI; civilian settlement. Note arch to left of theater.....	349
85.	Column of Trajan. Scene XXV; Dacian settlement.....	350
86.	Column of Trajan. Scene XXV; detail of fortifications [R8.B4], gateway structure [R8.B7], and interior buildings [R8.B8, R8.B9].....	351
87.	Column of Trajan. Scene XXV; detail of palisade [R8.B2] and burning wooden building on stilts [R8.B3].....	351
88.	Column of Trajan. Scenes CXIX-CXX; Dacian settlement.....	352
89.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXX; detail of fortifications and gateway structure.....	352
90.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXX; detail of fortifications and tower building.....	353
91.	Column of Trajan. Scenes CXX-CXXI; detail of palisade, fortifications, tower building (right).....	353
92.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXXI; detail of fortifications and cylindrical building.....	354
93.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXIX; detail of interlocking fortifications [R9.B1].....	354
94.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXIX; detail of Dacians burning buildings.....	355
95.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIV; round fortification and rock-cut canal.....	356
96.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXI; Dacian tower building and fortifications.....	357
97.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXXIV; royal tumulus (?) outside of Dacian stronghold. Note Dacian buildings, zigzagging path, and Dacian tumulus (top) with Roman soldiers removing treasure.....	358
98.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXXIV; detail of Dacian tumulus.....	358
99.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXII; stone cylindrical building.....	359

100.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXVII; wooden palisade and boxed entrance structure. Note trapezoidal molding.....	359
101.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXVII; detail of Dacian fortifications above palisade. Note trapezoidal molding.....	360
102.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXIV; Dacian stronghold. Note stones beneath Trajan (far bottom), <i>murus Dacicus</i> construction (middle), and post-building (top, between towers).....	360
103.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXIV, Dacian stronghold. Detail of contrasting construction materials: ashlar (bottom) and <i>murus Dacicus</i> (top).....	361
104.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXVI; climax of battle against Dacian stronghold. Note change in construction material of walls (bottom left).....	362
105.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXVI; detail of change in construction material of walls.....	362
106.	Column of Trajan. Scene CXXXII; Dacian fortifications with timber interior.....	363
107.	Great Trajanic Frieze. Section 1; <i>adventus</i> scene.....	363
108.	Great Trajanic Frieze. Section 4; prisoner presentation scene.....	364
109.	Great Trajanic Frieze. Section 4. Note shield against tree (bottom), helmet behind rear of horse (middle), and bucket on tree branch (top).....	365
110.	Cancellaria Reliefs. Relief A.....	365
111.	Cancellaria Reliefs. Relief A.....	366
112.	<i>Ara Pacis Augustae</i> . South Frieze.....	366
113.	Cancellaria Reliefs. Relief B.....	367
114.	Cancellaria Reliefs. Relief B.....	367
115.	MIR 260; Trajanic <i>adventus</i> design.....	368

116.	MIR 496; Trajanic <i>profectio</i> design.....	368
117.	Great Trajanic Frieze. Section 4; detail of left hut [R11.B1].....	368
118.	Great Trajanic Frieze. Section 4; detail of right hut [R11.B2].....	369
119.	Column of Trajan. Scene CLI; battle in Dacian village.....	369
120.	Relief in Louvre showing battle in Dacian village.....	370
121.	Dacian River Relief.....	370
122.	<i>Tropaeum</i> at Adamklissi. Metope 35.....	371
123.	Column of Trajan. Scene XXXI; Dacian river crossing.....	371
124.	Column of Trajan. Scene XXXVIII; battle around Dacian wagons. Note goddess (upper left) and wagons (upper right).....	372
125.	Column of Trajan. Scene XI; construction scene. Note three shields on ground (bottom center).....	372
126.	Column of Trajan. Scene XI; construction scene. Note headdress on ground (bottom right).....	373
127.	Column of Trajan. Scene XX; construction scene. Note shields on ground and helmets on poles.....	373
128.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Drawing of <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief.....	374
129.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Drawing of Tablet Relief.....	374
130.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of <i>adlocutio</i>	375
131.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of <i>adlocutio</i>	375
132.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of platform [R12.B2]. Note <i>rostra</i> (right).....	376
133.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of temple [R12.B3] and platform [R12.B2]. Note temple steps and platform <i>rostra</i> (bottom center).....	376

134.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of arch [R12.B1].....	377
135.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of arch [R12.B1].....	377
136.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of temple [R12.B3].....	378
137.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of temple [R12.B3].....	378
138.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of temple capitals [R12.B3].....	379
139.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of <i>alimenta</i> group with arched façade [R12.B4] in background.....	379
140.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of platform [R12.B5] under <i>alimenta</i> group.....	380
141.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of arched façade [R12.B4].....	380
142.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of arched façade [R12.B4].....	381
143.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of keystones of arched façade [R12.B4].....	381
144.	Anaglypha Reliefs. <i>Adlocutio</i> Relief; detail of arched façade [R12.B4], fig tree, and Marsyas statue.....	382
145.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of fig tree and Marsyas statue with bases [R13.B1, R13.B2].....	382
146.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of bases of fig tree [R13.B1] and Marsyas statue [R13.B2].....	383
147.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of procession and arched façade [R13.B3].....	383
148.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of arched façade [R13.B3].....	384
149.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of temples [R13.B4, R13.B6], arch [R13.B5], and platform with <i>rostra</i> [R13.B7].....	384
150.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of temples [R13.B4, R13.B6] and arch [R13.B5].....	385

151.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of Ionic temple [R13.B4] and arch [R13.B5].	385
152.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of Ionic temple [R13.B4] and arch [R13.B5].	386
153.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of temples [R13.B4, R13.B6] and arch [R13.B5].	386
154.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of arch [R13.B5] and Corinthian temple [R13.B6].	387
155.	Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of platform with <i>rostra</i> [R13.B7].	387
156.	Arch of Constantine. Constantinian Frieze; detail of basilica.	388
157.	MIR 358. Trajanic <i>alimenta</i> Design 1 (emperor and female figure type).	388
158.	MIR 355. Trajanic <i>alimenta</i> Design 2 (personification and single child type).	388
159.	MIR 345. Trajanic <i>alimenta</i> Design 3 (emperor and children type).	389
160.	MIR 366. Trajanic <i>alimenta</i> Design 4 (<i>Italia Restituta</i> type).	389
161.	MIR 184. Trajanic design showing victory statue.	389
162.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene I; frontier settlement.	390
163.	Column of Trajan. Scene I; frontier settlement.	390
164.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene I; first building [R14.B2] of frontier settlement.	391
165.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene I; second building [R14.B4] (with surrounding palisade [R14.B3]) of frontier settlement. Note larger palisade [R14.B1] in background.	391
166.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene I; third building [R14.B6] (with surrounding palisade [R14.B5]) of frontier settlement. Note perishable construction material.	391

167.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene I; (damaged) fourth building [R14.B7] (with surrounding palisade [R14.B8]) of frontier settlement.....	392
168.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene VII; destruction of barbarian settlement.....	392
169.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene LXXXII; military construction.....	393
170.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene XCIV; military construction. Note soldiers in upper right.....	393
171.	Column of Trajan. Scenes LIX-LX; chiastic composition linking destruction of Dacian architecture with Roman construction. Note three soldiers in far upper right.....	394
172.	Column of Trajan. Scene LX; detail of three soldiers as "floating" heads.....	394
173.	Column of Trajan. Scenes LX-LXI; military construction and encampment.....	395
174.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene LXXX; military encampment.....	395
175.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXI; wagon train after encampment.....	396
176.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene XLIX; emperor on blank platform.....	396
177.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene LV; emperor on pegged platform.....	397
178.	Column of Trajan. Scene LXXI; Roman <i>testudo</i> attack against barbarian fortification.....	397
179.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene LIV; Roman <i>testudo</i> attack against barbarian fortification.....	398
180.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene XI; barbarian siege tower struck by lightning outside of Roman fortification.....	398
181.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scenes XX-XXI; barbarian hut juxtaposed with Roman tent.....	399
182.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scenes CI-CII; barbarian women in front of Roman fortification, juxtaposed with barbarian.....	400

183.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scenes CI-CII; barbarian women in front of Roman fortification, juxtaposed with barbarian huts.....	400
184.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene LXXXV; barbarian woman juxtaposed with Roman architecture.....	400
185.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene CIV; barbarian women and children herded towards Roman fortification.....	401
186.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Rider Panel.....	402
187.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. <i>Adlocutio</i> Panel.....	403
188.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Prisoners Panel.....	404
189.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Supplication Panel.....	405
190.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. <i>Rex Datus</i> Panel.....	406
191.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. <i>Rex Datus</i> Panel; detail of building [R19.B2].....	407
192.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Donation Panel.....	408
193.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Triumph Panel.....	409
194.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Triumph Panel; detail of temple [R21.B1].....	410
195.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Triumph Panel; detail of Corinthian capital of temple [R21.B1].....	410
196.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Triumph Panel; detail of arch [R21.B2].....	411
197.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. <i>Profectio</i> Panel.....	412
198.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. <i>Adventus</i> Panel.....	413
199.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. <i>Adventus</i> Panel; detail of temple [R23.B1].....	413
200.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel.....	414
201.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of temple [R24.B1].....	415

202.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of Corinthian capital of temple [R24.B1].....	415
203.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of temple [R24.B1] pediment, center.....	416
204.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of left side of temple pediment [R24.B1].....	416
205.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of right side of temple pediment [R24.B1].....	416
206.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of building with hunting statuary [R24.B2].....	417
207.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. <i>Lustratio</i> Panel.....	418
208.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. <i>Lustratio</i> Panel; detail of Features 1-4 (in red).....	419
209.	Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene XXX; <i>lustratio</i> scene.....	419
210.	Column of Trajan. Scene VII; <i>lustratio</i> scene.....	420
211.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. <i>Lustratio</i> Panel without later restorations.....	420
212.	Marcus Aurelius Panels. <i>Lustratio</i> Panel; schematic reconstruction of depicted architecture.....	421
213.	Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome. Panel IV; siege against two cities. Note foreign architecture in upper right corner.....	422

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BMCRE = *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*

MIR = *Moneta Imperii Romani*

LTUR = *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

ILS = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*

INTRODUCTION

In 1996, the European Monetary Institute held a contest to choose the design of the new Euro banknotes.¹ The winning design followed the theme *Ages and Styles of Europe*, a survey of European architectural styles from the Classical (Greek and Roman) Period to the Modern Period.² In the words of the European Central Bank, “The idea was to choose a theme that stressed the common cultural heritage of the nations of Europe and carried a clear European message worldwide.”³ Strikingly, all of the buildings depicted on the banknotes were required to be fictional.⁴ This was to avoid the problem that had

¹ European Central Bank 2007, 9-33. The contest judging process included an initial selection by 14 experts in marketing, design and art history, followed by a poll of 2,000 people conducted by European Omnibus Survey Gallup Europe. The Council of the European Monetary Institute made the final selection of a design by R. Kalina.

² In the final stage of the design contest, two themes were still in contention: *Ages and Styles of Europe* and *Abstract Theme and Security*. A shortlist of five designs was drawn up for each of the two themes and submitted for further polling.

³ European Central Bank 2007, 18. The Theme Selection Advisory Group (1995, 5) specified that the symbols on the new Euro banknotes “should project an easily identifiable message which unequivocally spells ‘Europe’ at a glance.” Architectural monuments beat out 17 other themes originally suggested by the Theme Selection Advisory Group, including landscapes, myths, maps of Europe through the ages, and cosmology. The themes of *Cities which Played an Important Role in the Development of Europe* and *Monuments* were rejected over concerns of national bias (Theme Selection Advisory Group 1995, 36). Buildings were also suggested as a background to the theme of *The ‘Founding Fathers’ of the European Union* in order to “reinforce the symbolic value of the objectives/ideals of the EU” (Theme Selection Advisory Group 1995, 41).

⁴ Theme Selection Advisory Group 1995, 7, 37; Hymans 2004, 22; Kaelberer 2004, 168; Fornas 2008, 134; Marunowski 2008, 58-9. The Feature Selection Advisory Group (1995, 2-8) recommended that the banknotes should depict parts of real buildings, while still attempting to minimize national bias. The Banknote Working Group required changes to the original design to make sure that the depicted buildings could not be mistaken for any historical structures (European Central Bank 2007, 30). The concern to avoid any national (or gender) bias is a pervasive theme in the literature of the European Central Bank (Feature Selection Advisory Group 1995; Theme Selection Advisory Group 1995; Hymans 2004, 20; European Central Bank 2007). In fact, the primary factor acting in favor of Kalina’s design, which was ranked only

risen immediately in the consideration of another proposed theme, that of *Monuments*: intense conflict over which national building would be featured on which denomination of bank note.⁵ The depiction of the Parthenon on the €10 bill and the Eiffel Tower on the €200 bill, even if it followed a chronological logic, implied far too much about the perceived relative worth of Greece and France in the new European Union.

The furor over the Euro banknotes exemplifies the potential of architectural depictions to evoke powerful emotional responses. The Euro banknotes also demonstrate how architectural depictions can be used to construct cultural narratives. Specific building forms were chosen in the winning design for their symbolic values: the windows and gateways (specifically arches) that appear on one side of the banknotes symbolize the spirit of European openness, while the bridges on the other side represent the connections among the various member states.⁶ Both of these architectural types, however, also evoke technological achievement, a particular point of pride for modern Europe.⁷ A focus on historic architectural styles, furthermore, creates a specific story, whereby all of Europe

second in popularity in interviews with future Euro users, appears to be that 76% of interviewees “felt that Kalina’s banknotes better expressed the idea of ‘Europe’; only a few said it reminded them of a particular region or specific country” (European Central Bank 2007, 24). For the architectural styles/periods represented on the various denominations, see Feature Selection Advisory Group 1995; European Central Bank 2007, 19.

⁵ The following monuments were suggested for the *Monuments* theme: Stonehenge, the Parthenon, the Pantheon, “the Cathedrals,” the London Houses of Parliament, the Eiffel Tower, and the Atomium. The Theme Selection Advisory Group (1995, 37) specifically called attention to the problem that only seven of the member states could be represented through this theme. This remark misses an odd aspect of the suggested monuments: only six countries are in fact represented, and the country that is represented twice, the United Kingdom, is not part of the Euro system. It is probably not coincidental, furthermore, that the structure suggested for the €500 bill, the (relatively unknown) Atomium, is in Brussels, the capital of the European Union.

⁶ Hymans 2004, 19; Kaelberer 2004, 168-69; Fornas 2008, 127; Marunowski 2008, 58. This was a later addition to the design; originally different building types were envisaged for each denomination (Feature Selection Advisory Group 1995, 16-22). The motif of the fictional arched bridge was repeated by Kalina in his subsequent design for the new banknote series for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Hymans 2004, 23).

⁷ Fornas 2008, 135.

shares a common cultural history that begins with the original unifying force on the continent: the Roman Empire, represented by the classical architecture on the €5 bill.⁸ As the European Union expands, this story becomes less of a pleasant historical gloss and more of a politically charged conceit.⁹

The images chosen for the Euro coins add a further dimension to the story. The reverses of Euro coins vary according to the minting country, with each member state being free to choose its own imagery.¹⁰ Notably, eight countries chose a total of 16 national buildings to appear on their coins.¹¹ San Marino chose five different buildings, two of which appear twice; Slovakia chose a building that was never actually built. This not only demonstrates the popularity of architectural depictions as cultural symbols—the nationalistic assertiveness of the state-specific architecture seems to undermine the spirit of border-effacing unity espoused by the fictive architecture of the banknotes. As the Greek debt crisis currently mounts, raising concerns about the future of the Euro and the

⁸ Kaelberer 2004, 164, 170; Fornas 2008, 134-35. A similar story is implied by the symbol for the Euro, €: “The euro symbol was inspired by the Greek letter epsilon, reflecting the cradle of European civilisation” (European Central Bank 2007, 10). For the importance of themes of European unity on the Euro banknotes, see Theme Selection Advisory Group 1995, 3-4, 26, 34; Fornas 2008; Marunowski 2008. For the role of the Euro in creating a European identity, see Hymans 2004; Kaelberer 2004; Fornas 2008; Marunowski 2008.

⁹ Kaelberer 2004, 170; Fornas 2008, 136. For instance, as of 2007 the list of countries scheduled to adopt the Euro included Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, and Slovakia. None of these countries emphasize the Roman Empire in their national histories. The ease of incorporating new countries within the symbolism of the Euro banknotes was cited as an advantage of the *Flora and Fauna and their Natural Environment* theme (Theme Selection Advisory Group 1995, 27). The cited disadvantage to this same theme smacks of snobbery: “Newly independent countries in other continents have portrayed animals on their banknotes because, at least in part, they have little else to incorporate into a design” (Theme Selection Advisory Group 1995, 28).

¹⁰ Kaelberer 2004, 168 n. 22; European Central Bank 2007, 28; Marunowski 2008, 59. Hymans’ (2004) interpretation of the Euro as a symbol of a new European identity is criticized by Fornas (2008, 124), who argues that Hymans focuses on Euro banknotes, without taking the nationalist tendencies of the Euro coins sufficiently into account.

¹¹ Hymans 2004, 18; Fornas 2008, 129-30, 134; European Central Bank 2012, 23 March. The numbers grow to 11 countries and 27 buildings if one takes into account €2 commemorative coin series.

European Union, one may ask which architectural depictions tell the true story of nationalism and the European Union: the unifying fiction of the banknotes,¹² or the nationalist individuality of the coins.

The currency of the European Union serves as a cogent example of the employment of architectural depictions as cultural symbols. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the Roman Empire. As is the case for the Euro banknotes, architectural depictions in the Roman world could encapsulate and represent cultures, evoke ideas of technological achievement, and illustrate distinctive geographic areas. They could also “tell stories” about cultures. Depictions of specific Roman buildings or building types highlighted and reinforced associations between Roman culture and sophisticated urbanism. Depictions of the architecture in territories conquered by Rome often portrayed defeated, non-Roman peoples as rural, primitive, and subject to destruction. These methods of depicting architecture made manifest a “worldview” whereby Rome was superior, not only militarily, but also culturally.

In this work, I explore the ways in which architectural depictions were employed in state-sponsored sculptural monuments, or state reliefs, in the first and second centuries CE in and around the city of Rome. I argue that architectural depictions frequently served as potent cultural symbols, acting within the themes and ideological messages of sculptural monuments. This is true both for representations of particular historic buildings, and for the far more numerous depictions that were never meant to be identified with a specific structure. Architectural depictions thus are an important window

¹² See e.g. Fornas 2008, 134: “This abstract unity [of the Euro] may be criticized as a magical gesture barely hiding the lack of substantial identity traits anchored in deep-seated popular sentiments of this top-down EU economic project.”

into crucial conceptual connections between architecture and different cultures in the Roman Empire.

I.1 ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS IN ROMAN STATE RELIEFS: STATE OF RESEARCH

Depictions of architecture are one of the most striking features of art in the Roman Empire, and as such have seen extensive study. Scholarship on architectural depictions implicitly tends to divide such depictions into two broad categories. The first category, illustrations of particular historical buildings, will be referred to here as “identifiable” depictions. The second category, depictions that do not seem to represent any particular building, will be referred to as “generic” depictions.

Previous scholarship on architecture depictions has varied greatly, based on the media studied. Work on wall painting, for example, has focused on depictions of generic architecture (architectural frames, backdrops, villa scenes, etc.), since this is by far the most common form of architecture in this medium.¹³ The main concerns of such studies have included (a) the connection between Roman and Hellenistic painting traditions, and the possibility that such architecture represents a Roman artistic “innovation;” (b) the relationship between real and “fantasy”/imagined architecture; and (c) the impetus for and significance of the architectural subjects included in the paintings. Architectural depictions in both painting and mosaics also have been studied as reflections of lost

¹³ For recent studies of architectural depictions in wall-painting, see e.g. Picard 1977; Bergmann 1986; Bisconti 1989; Tybout 1989; 2001; Knauer 1990; Trunk 1992; Eristov 1994; Clarke 1996; van de Meer 1998; La Rocca 2000; 2004a; Fragaki 2003; Thagaard Loft 2003; Leach 2004; Mazzoleni et al. 2005; Hinterhöller 2007.

triumphal and cartographic artistic traditions, with a theoretical emphasis on ideas of cultural appropriation of both natural and conquered landscapes.¹⁴

In contrast, scholarship on architectural depictions in state reliefs and on coins has focused almost exclusively on depictions that can be identified and connected to particular historical buildings.¹⁵ The aims of these studies vary, but they are generally more concerned with the reconstruction of the historical building than with the depictions themselves. Some studies seek to reconstruct historical buildings based on their depictions; one example can be seen in the scholarship of the so-called Temple of Divine Trajan in Rome, whose reconstructions have relied heavily on supposed depictions on Trajanic coins.¹⁶ Other studies seek to interpret imperial building campaigns based on which buildings are depicted on coin issues.¹⁷ Still other studies aim to identify particular depicted buildings, in order to better understand the monuments of which the depictions are a part. For example, the identification of the buildings in the Anaglypha Reliefs as those of the Forum Romanum, rather than those of the Forum of Trajan, has weighed heavily in the debate over what historical events are depicted in these reliefs, as well as the chronology and original location of the reliefs (see ch. 5).

¹⁴ Bergmann 1992; 2001; Holliday 1997; 2002 (critically reviewed by Hölscher 2005); La Rocca 2000; 2004a; Lusnia 2006.

¹⁵ The bibliography on architectural depictions in both state reliefs and coins is vast. A good summary of the major works can be found in Grunow 2002, and it would serve little purpose to revisit the same list in detail here. Specific bibliography for architectural depictions will be presented throughout this dissertation. For representative scholarship on architectural depictions on coins, see e.g. Hill 1965; Abaecherli Boyce 1966; Donaldson 1966; Fuchs 1969; Handler 1971; Price 1976; Trell 1976; Price and Trell 1977; Robertson 1980; Packer 1981; Fishwick 1984; Kleiner 1989; 1992b; Weigel 1989; Bayet 1993; 1994; Cox 1993; Panvini Rosati 1994; Desnier 1997; Zanker 1997; Burnett 1999; Tameanko 1999; Alföldi 2001; Beckmann 2005b; Elkins 2006; Grunow Sobocinski 2006; Zolischian 2007; Hefner 2008; Elkins 2010.

¹⁶ For reconstructions of the Temple of Divine Trajan based on coins, see Hill 1965, 155, 157-60; Boatwright 1987, 88-9, 92; Packer 1997a, 467; Claridge 2007b, 70-1, 73, 91-3.

¹⁷ Hill 1965; 1970; 1980b; 1980a; 1981; 1983; 1987.

Approaches focusing on the identification of particular depicted buildings usually assume a good deal of intentional visual correlation between the depictions and the physical three-dimensional structures they illustrate. The detailed depiction of an octastyle temple on the Valle-Medici Reliefs, for example, is assumed to have been a faithful representation of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, and discussions of the pediment of this temple are based almost exclusively on its depiction (see ch. 1).¹⁸ While some studies have engaged with compositional issues that may have interfered with a strictly realistic depiction of a building,¹⁹ the overarching assumption remains that artists typically intended buildings to be identifiable whenever possible.

Three recent studies have attempted to move beyond particular historical and topographical questions related to individual monuments, and have devoted themselves instead to the examination of the wider phenomenon of architectural depictions in Roman state reliefs. These studies are illustrative of the broader work that can be done in this area, and will serve as an important springboard for my analysis.

I.1.1 J. MAIER (1985): *ARCHITEKTUR IN RÖMISCHEN RELIEF*

Maier's study explores the extent to which architectural depictions in Roman state reliefs can be used to reconstruct the historical buildings that they represent. His study covers 29 architectural depictions, derived from 22 reliefs from 17 monuments. His study deals primarily with state relief, although he also includes the Tomb of the Haterii and

¹⁸ Zanker 1968, 14, 18-20, 22; 1988, 200-1; Hölscher 1988, 378; Kuttner 1995, 20; Fishwick 2003 (2007), 70; Meneghini 2007a, 48-50.

¹⁹ Turcan-Déléani 1958; Maier 1985; Zanker 1997; Grunow 2002; Quante-Schöttler 2002; Hefner 2008.

often draws on coins as *comparanda*. Maier restricts his study to those depictions that in his opinion can be identified as representations of particular historical structures.

Maier begins his study with a summary survey of the textual and physical evidence for 19 ancient structures that have identifiable ancient depictions. These structures include 17 in Rome, the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens, and the Bridge over the Danube built by Apollodorus of Damascus. He classifies these structures as sacred or profane, and with or without extant archaeological remains. Maier then presents the known depictions in relief for each of these buildings, describing each example in detail and organizing the depictions according to the building identified.

After presenting the reliefs, Maier discusses how various features of the buildings under consideration are portrayed in relief. He notes which building features are frequently represented and how consistently; when possible, he also compares the manner in which these features are depicted with any archaeological evidence for these features. His main goal is to explore whether there are consistent patterns in how depictions of buildings varied from the actual structures they sought to represent. Having suggested several such patterns, such as the reduction in number of columns to save space, or the exaggeration of the proportions of the pediment, he then attempts to extrapolate from the depictions a detailed reconstruction of the represented buildings.²⁰

Maier assumes a good deal of intended fidelity between the depictions and the actual buildings represented. His conclusions regarding the obvious sculptural departures from architectural reality are related mostly to composition: for example, pediments on

²⁰ For a similar approach to depictions of architecture on coins, see Hefner 2008.

depictions of temples are exaggerated so that the statues could be seen and the building identified more clearly. Since Maier is mostly concerned with the buildings that the depictions represent, rather than the depictions themselves or their reliefs, he does not address at length any questions of chronology,²¹ provenience, or iconography.

I.1.2 M.D. GRUNOW (2002): “ARCHITECTURAL IMAGES IN ROMAN STATE RELIEFS, COINS, AND MEDALLIONS: IMPERIAL RITUAL, IDEOLOGY, AND THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ROME”

Grunow’s unpublished dissertation explores how identifications of depicted buildings could be integral to the ideological messages of the monuments that include these depictions. Her study deals primarily with state reliefs, but also draws significant support from coins and medallions. She specifically addresses reliefs from at least 26 monuments (including the Column of Trajan and the Arches of Septimius Severus at Rome and Leptis Magna, although she mentions these last three monuments only briefly).²² All but three sculptural monuments covered are in Rome.²³

Grunow argues against the idea that the significance of architectural depictions is limited to questions of topography and reconstruction. She provides an overview of previous scholarship on architectural depictions, discussing past approaches and attitudes towards the material, including the focus on identifiable depictions. In particular she questions the traditional division between studies of architectural depictions in relief and those on coins and medallions, and argues that the three media are in fact similar

²¹ Maier does provide dates for the reliefs in the appendix, without detailed argument.

²² Grunow does not present a catalog, so it is not clear exactly what monuments or how many coins and medallions are included in her analysis.

²³ The three monuments outside Rome that are covered by Grunow’s study are the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna, and the Arch of Galerius at Thessaloniki.

(although not identical), both in terms of message and of composition and technique.²⁴

Her study thus fully integrates coins with reliefs.

Grunow takes a new approach to the study of architectural depictions by proposing a methodology for determining whether or not a building was intended to be identifiable. She identifies six categories of methods employed by artists to allow a viewer to recognize a building:

1. identifying legends
2. distinctive architectural features
3. sculptural iconography
4. juxtaposition with identifiable structures
5. scene type and participants
6. ancient sightlines from the represented buildings to the relief²⁵

Grunow makes the important point 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,” even in cases where identification was crucial.²⁶ Grunow discusses the various uses, combinations, and media for each category of identifying features. She ultimately argues that the vast majority of architectural representations, at least in the three media that she discusses, were intended to be identified (although she does not give any numerical basis for this conclusion).

After outlining her methodology, Grunow turns her attention to identifiable buildings. She presents a chronological discussion of various reliefs where the particular temples included would have had important dynastic significance: the depictions of

²⁴ Grunow (2002, 10) goes so far as to argue that “coins and medallions, therefore, are essentially small portable reliefs struck in metal.”

²⁵ Grunow 2002, 15.

²⁶ Grunow 2002, 16.

specific temples, she argues, connected the reliefs to the actual temples themselves, and thus to earlier successful imperial projects. For example, she argues that the Valle-Medici Reliefs should be assigned to the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, and that the Augustan Temple of Mars Ultor depicted in the reliefs was crucial to the dynastic message of that altar. Grunow argues further that under Antoninus Pius there was a change in the emphasis of the depicted architecture, from recalling a particular building to serving as a unifying compositional background for scenes of the emperor and heir sacrificing together.

Grunow also discusses how the high frequency of depictions of buildings in the city of Rome called attention to the importance of Rome, both for the general populace and for the emperor in particular. She presents by dynasty the various buildings in Rome that are depicted in relief, coins, and medallions, and discusses the possible significance of the choices of building to depict. For example, she argues that under Domitian, architectural depictions were popular, both in relief and in coins, because they called attention to the extensive rebuilding program throughout the city.

In her analysis, Grunow assumes that the only differences between identifiable and unidentifiable images lies in the inclusion or omission of various features, with any included features always rendered as faithfully to their subject as possible. For example, she argues (contra A. Kuttner) that the temple on the Boscoreale Cup with Tiberius cannot be the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus because the depiction has Ionic columns, while the actual building had Corinthian; in other words, if the artists had

bothered to include the columns of a specific temple, they necessarily would have rendered them in the correct order.²⁷

Although Grunow acknowledges the existence of architectural depictions that were not intended to be identified as a particular building, her broader theoretical concern with the frequency and significance of the inclusion of particular historical buildings ultimately restricts her discussion to depictions that can be identified. In this her study is similar to that of Maier. Interestingly, in her subsequent work, Grunow has placed more focus on generic depictions, with firmer emphasis on the idea that not all depicted buildings were meant to be identified.²⁸

I.1.3 D. QUANTE-SCHÖTTLER (2002): *ANTE AEDES: DARSTELLUNG VON ARCHITEKTUR IN RÖMISCHEN RELIEFS*

Quante-Schöttler's study examines the compositional development of architectural depictions in state reliefs over time. Although Quante-Schöttler cites Maier as the starting point for her work, she criticizes his study for its exclusive consideration of identifiable architectural depictions and its lack of chronological considerations. She organizes her own discussions of the reliefs chronologically, from Augustus through Constantine, in order to differentiate between dynasties and to trace developments over time. She also emphasizes the importance of considering the entire content of the reliefs,

²⁷ Grunow (2002, 100 n. 3) ultimately concludes that although the temple on the Boscoreale Cup was meant to represent a particular building, that building cannot be safely identified at this point. Kuttner (1995, 127) argues that the eagle-and-globe pediment can only be associated with Jupiter, and that the temple must be the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline.

²⁸ In her analysis of the *Ludi Saeculares* coinage of Domitian, Grunow (Sobocinski) (2006) argues that the identification of particular temples and locations in Rome as the setting for various rituals was secondary to a message that Domitian had performed the complete set of rituals throughout the city. Similarly, one of the conclusions of her article on the Temple of Fortuna Redux and the *Porta Triumphalis* (Grunow Sobocinski 2009) is that many representations of triumphs in fact employ generic architecture, as befits a ritual that processed through many different parts of the city.

as well as their original physical and historical contexts, as opposed to analyzing the architectural depictions in isolation. When possible, she discusses the identification of a given depiction; when a safe identification is not possible, she still attempts to discuss the significance of the depiction. She also analyzes briefly individual building types, the frequency of their representation, and their use with certain narrative contents, as well as the development of individual elements for the building types.

Quante-Schöttler argues that the inclusion of architectural depictions as topographic indicators in state reliefs should be considered an innovation of Roman art, since it is not found in Greek reliefs. She discusses the possible sources of inspiration for this innovation, including triumphal painting, the tradition of Second Style wall paintings, and a Roman artistic concern for “realistic” or “historical” appearance for illustrated events. She emphasizes that while the architectural depictions of Roman state reliefs could represent non-historical buildings (such as what she identifies as the Temple of the Penates on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*), nevertheless they were generally intended to represent specific buildings.

The majority of Quante-Schöttler’s study consists of an overview of the reliefs according to emperor or dynasty. She systematically describes not only the various architectural features of the depictions, but also the place of the depictions within the broader composition and action of the relief. She also includes a brief synthesis of the various identified depictions of the Temple of Vesta and the *Porta Triumphalis* in Rome, as examples of the variation in depictions of individual buildings, even in cases where the buildings depicted were distinctive and easily identified. Finally, she summarizes the various ways in which important architectural features of temples are generally depicted.

Quante-Schöttler concludes that under Augustus, architectural depictions were used only occasionally and are relatively simple. By the early Julio-Claudian period, however, buildings were sculpted in full relief and with an abundance of architectural detail. The Neronian and Flavian periods are marked by some attempts to render the buildings on an appropriately larger scale than the human figures. She argues that depictions of architecture reached a peak in the Trajanic period (although she does not consider the Column of Trajan to any length); in this period, the architecture is depicted very summarily, and serves primarily as a compositional frame for the emperor. She concludes that under Hadrian depictions of architecture apparently declined in importance, before a revival under Marcus Aurelius, characterized by an interest in using architecture to create different planes of relief.

Since her primary interest is the compositional development of the depictions, Quante-Schöttler limits her discussion primarily to state reliefs, particularly those with depictions of temples. While Maier, and to a lesser extent Grunow, focus on nearly complete, well-known reliefs, Quante-Schöttler also incorporates many recently excavated, smaller relief fragments with architectural depictions, for a total of 34 monuments, including some private reliefs such as the Tomb of the Haterii and the Lararium of L. Caecilius Iucundus in Pompeii. Although Quante-Schöttler does not restrict her study to identifiable buildings, her interest in the unidentifiable buildings primarily is limited to studying their composition, rather than their significance. For the most part, furthermore, the buildings Quante-Schöttler considers to be unidentifiable are not so much generic, as simply too damaged or decontextualized to be safely identified by the modern scholar.

In summary, the studies of Maier, Grunow, and Quante-Schöttler represent a step forward in the study of architectural depictions in state relief, in that they attempt a comprehensive examination, rather than limiting their discussion to the significance of a particular monument or historical building. Nevertheless, all three authors are still primarily concerned with identifiable buildings, and none specifically explores generic buildings. This study attempts to fill this gap.

I.2 A NEW METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS

This analysis starts with a basic premise: that the multitudes of architectural depictions known from Roman art were included in their respective monuments because they served important cultural functions. These functions went beyond clarifying the illustrated scene, indicating topography, or simply taking up space. The sheer frequency of architectural depictions in all media of Roman art, and the prominence often accorded to these depictions, suggests the cultural power of such depictions. Since the vast majority of these depictions are not identifiable, identity can only be one potential aspect of this power.

I.2.1 IDENTIFIABLE VS. GENERIC DEPICTIONS

The process—to the extent to which a specific process is ever employed—of establishing whether or not a given depiction was meant to be identifiable is often not straightforward. Of the six means of rendering a depiction identifiable distinguished by Grunow, only two, in my opinion, are truly reliable for state reliefs. Legends are

obviously applicable only for coins. Ancient sightlines are prohibitively speculative, given that the original locations of most state reliefs and buildings in Rome are not known with any degree of precision. While Grunow suggests that particular actions or scene types may have been associated with only one location, she is able to provide few examples, and ultimately admits that at best this is usually supplementary evidence.²⁹ As will be seen in subsequent chapters, much the same situation pertains for juxtaposition of structures, in that few, if any, convincing examples can be demonstrated. This leaves only distinctive architectural features and sculptural iconography. These are the two primary means that will be employed in this study. Even for sculptural iconography, it is sometimes debatable whether or not depicted sculptural decoration is truly distinctive.

For state reliefs, the idea that not all depictions were meant to be identifiable is rarely even mooted. In many cases where a depiction cannot be identified, the general assumption is that modern scholars lack the necessary information to make the identification, not that no identification was ever intended. A clear example can be seen for the Arch of Beneventum, in the interpretation of the temple that features the lightning-shield in the pediment (see ch. 2). This depiction has been identified with various historical temples to Jupiter or Mars, despite no clear evidence that the depiction was ever meant to be associated with a particular historical building.

This focus in scholarship on identifiable depictions has some advantages. The connection between a depiction and a building known from the literary or archaeological records can offer evidence for important problems in the study of Roman topography, architecture, sculpture, and even religion (e.g. the development of the imperial cult). On a

²⁹ Grunow 2002, 51.

more emotive level, the chance to see images of monumental buildings that have disappeared long ago is particularly enticing. While this focus is understandable, it has had the unfortunate effect of relegating an important class of depictions, those of generic architecture, to the background of scholarship.

This tight focus on identifiable buildings has also meant that, far from being exhausted by centuries of scholarship, the topic of architectural depictions in state reliefs still presents a wealth of material that is underexplored or even unexplored entirely. The necessity of leaving aside questions of topography and architectural reconstruction for generic depictions, furthermore, forces one to ask different questions of the material. These questions can then be used to reevaluate identifiable depictions as well.

I.2.2 A NEW METHODOLOGY FOR EVALUATING ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS: SPECIFICITY

Evaluating generic architecture requires a different approach than evaluating identifiable depictions, since the very features of identifiable depictions that attract the most attention—elaborate sculptural decoration, distinctive architectural forms—are by definition not present. A new methodology must be developed that allows for a systematic evaluation of all depicted architecture, in order to determine which aspects of that architecture were considered important enough to include and potentially emphasize. This in turn may lead to questions of *why* those aspects were considered important, an issue undoubtedly related to the function of a given depiction.³⁰

³⁰ In his examination of the advertising campaign launched to encourage smooth adoption of the Euro, Marunowski (2008, 55) defines “communion” as “a fundamental technique of argumentation, one that refers to a state of being in which individuals and social groups are drawn together on the basis of shared values and beliefs. The goal of establishing communion with respect to a particular audience is to generate a sense of community among its members.” He then outlines a process for identifying how communion is

Architecture is not depicted randomly. Behind each depiction, there is a choice of which features to include and which to emphasize. In some cases, specific features can be included or emphasized that have nothing to do with the identification of any building, but are connected conceptually to specific types of architecture. For example, the inclusion of a colonnaded façade and a pediment indicates that a depicted structure should probably be understood as a Greco-Roman temple, since colonnaded pedimental façades are architectural features associated with such temples. This holds true even if the depicted pediment is blank. Adding a prominent stepped podium to the temple makes it explicit that the depiction represents a specifically Roman building type. A depiction, in other words, can be specific without being identifiable.

Certain aspects of a depicted structure are often manipulated in order to make the structure specific and facilitate the depiction serving some function within its context. For instance, in the example given above, a depicted temple may be specified as a Roman temple in order to emphasize particularly Roman religious aspects of the scene of which the temple is part. The following list presents the most important aspects of a depicted building that can be specified or tailored or specified in accordance with the function of a given depiction. The list proceeds from the most general aspects to the most particular:

1. Construction material (e.g. stone³¹ masonry)
2. Building type (e.g. temple)

employed; this process starts with “a general appraisal of the... artifact under scrutiny” and proceeds with questions: (a) “What elements have been selected for presentation?”; (b) “Which elements stand out or are most salient?”; (c) “What values, if any, do the selected elements espouse?” The coincidence between Marunowski’s method and my own was a happy discovery of my research, one which offers the potential for further exploration.

³¹ In this study I do not distinguish between construction in stone and construction in concrete (which in Roman architecture was traditionally faced in stone), in part because such a distinction is not possible in depicted architecture, in part because the connotations of both types of construction would be very similar.

3. Form and structural (i.e. non-decorative) features (e.g. tetrastyle podium temple with central door)
4. Decoration
 - a. Embellishments (e.g., molding, column fluting, fasciae)
 - b. Column order
 - c. Figural ornaments
 - i. Without human figures
 - ii. With human figures

These various aspects can appear in various combinations and can be emphasized to differing degrees. For example, two different depictions of an honorary arch can include the same statuary, but the statuary may be enlarged in one depiction. This must also be taken into consideration in the analysis of a depiction, beyond the mere presence or absence of features.

The number, combination, and nature of aspects that are specified for a given depiction—e.g., the extent to which a depiction is specific—will be referred to in this analysis as the “specificity” of the depiction. A wall that is marked with hatching and has no other distinguishing features would have a low specificity: only construction material (1). An amphitheater with stone hatching and elaborate molded decoration would have a higher specificity: construction material (1), building type (2), and decoration (embellishments) (4.a). An honorary arch with Doric/Tuscan³² columns and statues of captured barbarians would have a very high specificity: construction material (1), building type (2), decoration (column order, figural decoration with human figures) (4.b, 4.c.ii).

³² In this study I also do not differentiate between Doric and Tuscan column orders, since any such distinction is rarely, if ever, fully clear in depicted architecture.

The most specific buildings would obviously be identifiable buildings. Rendering a depiction identifiable sometimes can be achieved by very simple means, in the cases of very distinctive historical buildings. For example, a depiction of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus could be rendered identifiable through building form (a colonnaded façade with three doors) alone. Similarly, it is conceivable that narrative or juxtaposition to other identifiable buildings could render a very general structure identifiable. In practice, however, identifiable buildings tend to have a very high specificity; i.e., they have numerous distinctive, specific features, typically including figural statuary, that tie them to a historical building.

Founding the interpretation of a depiction on an analysis of its specificity has several advantages. In the first place, it provides a common basis for comparison of both identifiable and generic depictions. It is also applicable to depictions whose categorization as identifiable or generic is a matter of dispute, and indeed may provide insight into that very question. Specificity can also be analyzed for depictions that, although clearly meant to be identifiable, can no longer be associated with a particular historical building, either because of damage or, more commonly, a modern lack of crucial background information. Similarly, the specificity of a depiction is contained within a depiction itself, and thus can be analyzed independent of context. While contextualization is always desirable, this is useful for fragmentary reliefs.

I.2.3 BRIDGING THE THEORETICAL GAP BETWEEN ACTUAL AND DEPICTED ARCHITECTURE

The aspects of depicted architecture that make up an analysis of its specificity were chosen for two reasons. From a logistical standpoint, they are the aspects of

depicted architecture that experience has shown vary frequently. On a more theoretical level, however, these are the aspects whose variance often holds great significance for the function of the depiction.

Different types of architecture have their own connotations within a given context. By including features specific to a certain type of actual architecture, a depiction can appropriate those same connotations. Evoking those connotations can be an important part of the contextual function of a depiction. It makes sense, then, that the same architectural features that have been identified as significant for actual architecture often are manipulated in depicted architecture. Theoretical approaches to the symbolism of actual architecture thus can help in understanding the symbolism of depicted architecture.

To return to the list of features that make up the specificity of a depiction: the construction material of actual architecture has been shown to hold great cultural significance in certain situations. In 20th century Western Cameroon, for example, elites strategically adopted—or rejected—new European construction techniques, demonstrating the potential role of such techniques in negotiations of identity and power.³³ Similarly, building types and forms are often imbued with powerful cultural symbolism and can serve as a marker of cultural identity. Scholarship on the compulsory relocation of Crow Indians to reservations in the 1880s has documented the importance of the forced adoption of “civilized” architectural patterns (specifically rectilinear rather than circular forms) in official plans for the tribe’s acculturation.³⁴ Beyond structural considerations such as construction material and building form, architectural style and

³³ Malaquais 1999.

³⁴ Carter et al. 2005.

decoration can carry heavy symbolic weight. This can be seen clearly in debates over the use of local or imported architectural styles for American embassies in the Middle East, which have highlighted imperialist tensions in the area.³⁵

As these examples show, the importance of symbolic links between architecture and culture can take on particular significance in imperialist interactions.³⁶ Culturally charged architecture has been cited as an assertive sign of dominance on the part of the occupying power; as a sign of acculturation on the part of the occupied elite; as a means of resistance in the face of perceived occupation; and everything in between. A common thread in all of these interpretations is the use of architecture to assert cultural difference. While one certainly should not draw overly neat equivalencies between modern colonialism and the Roman Empire, the latter was clearly involved in the conquest and administration of foreign territories and people. As such, any sense of Roman identity, what it meant to be Roman, was shaped within a context of interaction with non-Romans, including their architecture. Without saying that Roman imperialism and the experiences in French-colonial Africa are interchangeable, studies of the intersections of architecture, culture, and imperialism across multiple chronological and geographical regions can still help frame thinking about depictions of architecture in Roman art.

³⁵ Loeffler 1990; Robin 1992; Isenstadt 1997; see also Lutz 2006.

³⁶ The topic of architecture and cultural symbolism is obviously immense, even if one only considers colonial contexts. I have found the following scholarship particularly useful in framing my thinking on architecture and culture. For discussion of architecture and culture in colonial Africa, see Malaquais 1994; 1997; 1999; Myers 1997; Reid et al. 1997; Le Roux 2004; Babou 2005; McLaren 2005. For colonial North and South America, see Blackman 1976; Low 1995; Atkin and Herselle Krinsky 1996; Carter et al. 2005; Nair 2007; Riggs 2007. For colonial India, see Metcalf 1984; Scriver 2001; 2006. For Jewish architecture in Europe, see Davidson Kalmar 2001; Kadish 2002. For American embassies, see Loeffler 1990; Robin 1992; Isenstadt 1997; Lutz 2006.

The extensive study of the cultural symbolism of actual architecture has not been matched by a concomitant interest in depicted architecture. Potential cultural symbolism may be mentioned in passing in descriptive studies of particular architectural depictions, but a targeted exploration of the cultural impact of architectural depictions is rarely undertaken. Three articles are worth mentioning in this context. H. Liu has argued that the water mills depicted in several imperial paintings of the Northern Song Dynasty in China call attention to imperial patronage of the sciences; the extreme technical precision in the rendering of the mills recalls not only carefully cultivated hydro-engineering expertise, but also the social and cosmic order achieved by beneficial imperial rule.³⁷ In her discussion of the construction scenes in the ceiling murals in the Umayyad Palace at Qusayr ‘Amra, H. Taragan argues that such images should not be interpreted as literal representations related to the construction of the palace, but are instead part of a long artistic tradition connecting rulers who undertake architectural projects with greatness and religiously sanctified rule.³⁸ G. Esperdy has traced how architects and designers behind the fictive architecture of Hollywood movie sets in the 1930s consciously attempted to “better” American taste in architecture by exposing their lower-class audiences to the cutting edge of conceptual architectural design.³⁹ These articles act as inspirational examples of more conceptual approaches to depictions of architecture,

³⁷ Liu 2002.

³⁸ Taragan 2008. Technically the Qusayr ‘Amra murals represent architectural activity, rather than architecture itself; no completed structures are shown.

³⁹ Esperdy 2007. Admittedly, it is debatable whether studio movie sets should be considered depicted architecture in the strictest sense. Movie sets are an architectural fiction, however, and in spirit are very comparable to architecture depicted in paintings or sculpture, in that they represent, rather than serve as, architectural structures. Like depicted architecture, movie sets can be manipulated easily to serve some sort of alternative purpose, without too much concern for structural logistics. Architectural magazines specifically celebrated the fact that “movies offered an opportunity for imaginative, even fantastic, architectural exploration since set design was unburdened by exigencies of program and construction” (Esperdy 2007, 199).

rather than a focus on topography or reconstruction.⁴⁰ This present study thus combines approaches to the cultural symbolism of actual architecture with the systematic analysis of architectural depictions within Roman state reliefs.

I use “culture” here in a broad sense that incorporates (a) the customary practices, activities, and beliefs that can be associated with a particular society; and (b) the material consequences and symbols generated by participation in those practices, activities, and beliefs. The Roman Empire obviously incorporated numerous different cultures. Nevertheless, there were certain practices, beliefs, and their material manifestations that came to be associated strongly with Rome, both the physical city and the more abstract concept. The adoption, appropriation, and evocation of these beliefs and their material correlates could signal participation in Roman culture, although this process was rarely, if ever, simple.⁴¹ To the extent that such participation in Roman culture in turn signaled loyalty to Rome, such cultural participation overlapped the interests of the elite in the capital.

The elite in Rome would have had an interest in strengthening loyalty to Rome for all inhabitants of the Roman Empire, including and perhaps especially those in the capital. One way of accomplishing this may have been to encourage a common sense of Roman identity. By Roman identity, I mean the sense of belonging to, and sharing

⁴⁰ A focus on reconstructing lost ancient architecture from depictions is hardly restricted to the study of the ancient Mediterranean; for Tibet, see Alexander 2002; for Kashmir, see Pal 1982; Goepper et al. 1996; for Indonesia, see Tjoa-Bonatz et al. 2009.

⁴¹ Discussion of issues of cultural identity and the adoption of Roman cultural practices in the Roman has taken place primarily in the context of scholarship on “Romanization.” For an introduction to such scholarship, particularly the Roman West, see Haselgrove 1984; Millett 1990; Webster and Cooper 1996; Woolf 1997; 1998; 2011; Grahame 1998; Laurence and Berry 1998; Fentress 2000; Keay and Terrenato 2001; van Enckevort 2005; van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007; Oltean 2007; Revell 2008.

interests with, a certain group of people (other “Romans”). Roman identity need be only one of many identities a given individual may have adhered to or privileged at any time, but it was certainly an important one, and a concept that cannot be dismissed. Promoting a wide sense of Roman identity in the capital could reinforce social cohesion, and with luck reassure the peaceful support of official policies and directives. Put another way, the cultivation of a common view that Rome, and everything associated with the city, was uniquely magnificent and worth protecting could bolster support for the elites (including the emperor) who were entrusted with the care of the city. Illustrating the superiority of Roman architecture, for example, could enhance the prestige of the elite class and campaigns that provided that architecture. Highlighting the disadvantages of rejecting Roman identity would reinforce this approach. It is against a backdrop of these concepts of Roman culture and identity that I see architectural depictions contributing to authoritative visions of what it meant to be Roman, as expressed in state reliefs.

In interpreting the architectural depictions of state reliefs as potentially symbolic, I am indebted to the work of scholars such as T. Hölscher, S. Settis, and P. Zanker, scholars who have rejected a long tradition of treating state reliefs as impartial records of historical events and who instead have emphasized the role of state reliefs as vehicles for complex political and ideological messages.⁴² My own research fits comfortably within this well-established tradition. As discussed above, research on architectural depictions generally has been unaffected by such theoretical approaches, however. This study will seek to correct this lapse, integrate the study of architectural depictions within more

⁴² For scholarship emphasizing the political aspects of state relief, see e.g. Torelli 1982; Hölscher 1984b; 1991a; 1991b; 1999; 2000; 2002; 2004; 2006; Settis 1988; 2005; Zanker 1988; Elsner 1991; 2000; Rehak 2001; Uzzi 2005; Dillon 2006.

theoretical approaches, and provide a new body of evidence for the political messages of state reliefs.

I.2.4 ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS IN STATE RELIEFS: DEFINITION, PATRONAGE, AND RECEPTION

This study emerged from an interest in a broad phenomenon crossing multiple media and time periods across the Roman Empire: the prevalence of architectural depictions in Roman art. Necessity requires a focus for this current project on a particular medium, time, and place. This study will address depictions of architecture in state relief sets up in Rome and its immediate surroundings in the 1st – 2nd c. CE.

State reliefs are a particularly stimulating medium for the use of architectural depictions, since they allow for intriguing questions of how architectural depictions were employed for politicized or ideological purposes within the milieu of the Roman state. State reliefs are a complicated medium, however; the very term “state reliefs” requires some definition. In this study, I use the term “state reliefs” to refer to large-scale sculptural monuments that meet three criteria:

1. the subject matter of the monument focuses on official personages, events, or concerns;
2. the monument was set up in a publicly accessible space;
3. the monument was set up by groups or individuals acting in the capacity of official positions of authority.

While such definitions can serve as useful theoretical principles to guide analysis,⁴³ in reality it is often difficult to determine many of these aspects with certainty for a monument. Most sculpture is not found in situ with an inscription specifying the patron

⁴³ See also e.g. Hölscher 1988, 351; Kampen 1995, 46; Hölscher and Borg 2002, 259; Uzzi 2005, 17. Torelli (1982, 1) simply refers to “a class of monuments we conventionally call ‘historical reliefs’.”

of the monument. Nevertheless, for most monuments reasonable suppositions can be made. The subject matter obviously is contained within the reliefs themselves. The scale, style, and quality of the reliefs can suggest whether the reliefs belonged to an official public monument, based on comparisons with monuments that do have inscriptions and known proveniences. More simply, furthermore, the categorization as state reliefs for the particular monuments that are the focus of this study has not been subject to debate, and mention will be made when necessary of any debatable classification for *comparanda*.

Beyond a general agreement that state reliefs are erected by an official entity, issues of patronage and agency—who exactly was responsible for what aspects and components of a given monument—have become hotly debated topics for state reliefs. Various theories have emphasized the agency of different parties, including: the emperor himself; the imperial court; the senate, at least the nominal patron of most state reliefs; and the artists who designed and/or executed the monuments.⁴⁴ Most of these theories must revert to almost pure speculation, especially regarding the division of labor involved in the design and execution of the monuments. It is precisely this level of agency that has figured most prominently in discussions of architectural depictions.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ While earlier scholarship tended to assume that the emperor worked as a sort of “grand puppet master,” overseeing and approving every aspect of public monuments, more recent scholars have explored state reliefs as a means of communication with the emperor, particularly by the senate; see e.g. Mayer 2002; 2010; Marlowe 2004; Seelentag 2011. Regarding the design and layout of the sculptural monuments, some analyses have focused on the idea of a “Master” designer (e.g. Apollodorus of Damascus for the Column of Trajan; Lepper and Frere 1988; Bianchi Bandinelli 2003), and others on the role of the sculptors who actually carved the reliefs (Coulston 1988; Beckmann 2003; 2005a; 2005-06; 2011).

⁴⁵ Scholars, for instance, often have interpreted what they regard as oddities in the architectural depictions on the Column of Trajan as the result of confusion on the part of the sculptors (e.g. Turcan-Déléani 1958, 154; Richmond 1982, 5-6; Lepper and Frere 1988, 32, 55-6, 63, 67, 158; Coulston 1990a, 44). Rockwell (1985) argued that architectural backgrounds could be carved separately from the human figures by specialist sculptors, but this idea is unconvincing and has not been taken up by subsequent scholars.

Within this study, the analysis of a given monument will always take into account any specific agents that can be reconstructed directly from an ancient source; for example, if the patron of a monument is recorded in the dedicatory inscription. In order to avoid undue speculation, however, questions of the precise agency of individual aspects of a given monument (i.e. who designed or dictated the inclusion of what) will be avoided, unless they have direct bearing on the interpretation of the architectural depictions (see ch. 5). Instead, the neutral term “the production team” will be used to refer to anyone and everyone involved in the conception, design, and execution of the monuments.

Related to questions of patronage are questions of audience and reception. As is the case for patronage, there is (unfortunately) very little evidence for these aspects of ancient monuments. To some extent a reconstruction of the intended audience of a message may be attempted based on the nature of the message and means of its dissemination (e.g. the location and context of a monument, the specific imagery employed). This is very difficult in practice, however. While the ideological messages of the monuments theoretically are contained within the reliefs themselves, furthermore, the viewers themselves are no longer available for direct examination of any kind. We have, in short, only one (fragmentary) side of the conversation.

On the whole, in this study the audience of a given sculptural monument will be considered in a very general and actual sense, envisioned as those most likely to see the monument; i.e. the residents of and visitors to Rome (or Beneventum, in the case of the

Arch at Beneventum).⁴⁶ These viewers at the very least would be familiar with the architectural practice around them. More specific targeted audiences (e.g. the emperor in particular, Roman citizens) will be discussed when relevant (see ch. 5). In the same vein, although the understanding of and reaction to a given monument would probably be dissimilar for different individuals and social groups,⁴⁷ this subject will be considered explicitly only in certain germane situations. Focus for the most part will be on the messages expressed, not whether or how those messages were understood or received.

One issue of reception that is distinctly important for depictions of architecture in Roman state reliefs is the issue of visibility. This issue is magnified for the towering Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, for which it continues to be a subject of extensive debate.⁴⁸ Visibility also should be considered for other monuments, however, especially for finely carved details of the architectural depictions, such as column capitals

⁴⁶ I will not consider here the problem of potentially restricted access to monuments, since the physical setting (the more direct evidence for access patterns) of most of the monuments covered in this study is unclear. Instead, I assume that the monuments were intended to be viewed by a broad audience.

⁴⁷ For a synthetic discussion and bibliography of important work in reception theory and Roman art, see Kampen 2003, 381 with associated notes. For explorations of viewers and reception of state relief in particular, see Hölscher 1984b; Huet 1996; Zanker 1997; Elsner 2000; Clarke 2003. The studies of women on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Beard 2000; Zanker 2000b; Dillon 2006) can serve as an illustrative example of competing interpretations of different viewers' reactions to a particular aspect of a monument.

⁴⁸ Discussions of visibility for the columns have ranged from the logistical to the theoretical. An example of the former approach can be found in Beckmann's (2011, 89-106) suggestion that certain scenes of the Column of Trajan were borrowed for the Column of Marcus Aurelius not for their content, but because those scenes were at a height that could be seen easily from surrounding buildings (see ch. 6). De Angelis (2011), in contrast, has focused on more theoretical issues, interpreting the visibility of monuments such as the Column of Trajan in light of the ancient concepts of μέγεθος and ἀκρίβεια. For extensive discussion of the problems (both logistical and conceptual) for the visibility of the Column of Trajan frieze, see Galinier 2007, 134-63; see also Coulston 1988, 13-4, 18, 30-3, 51, 107-11; 1990b, 296, 299, 301, 303-4; Settis 1988, 87, 202-6; 2005, 65, 68-70; Hölscher 1991a, 262-63; 2000, 90-1; 2002, 139-40; Claridge 1993, 22; Packer 1997a, 113; Coarelli 2000, 19-21; Zanker 2000c, vii; Clarke 2003, 35; Dillon 2006, 259; Wolfram Thill 2011, 285. For discussion of the problem of visibility for the Column of Marcus Aurelius frieze, see Coulston 1988, 383-84, 387-88, 390; Pirson 1996, 171; Hanoune 2000, 206-7; Hölscher 2000, 90-1; Beckmann 2003, 29-30, 194-202; Clarke 2003, 43-5; Coarelli 2008, 46.

or pedimental sculpture.⁴⁹ While the question of visibility of state reliefs is an immense topic that cannot be discussed in detail here, I follow the policy of most scholarship, and presume that the details of architectural depictions are purposeful, with the potential to play a role in the intended effect and messages of their monuments.⁵⁰ To do otherwise seems an unnecessarily pessimistic rejection of a potentially rich source of information about the ancient world.⁵¹

Depictions of architecture in state reliefs are usually studied in the context of larger monuments of which they are a part, where they typically are given only slight attention. The three specialized studies of architectural depictions in state reliefs, on the other hand, take a comprehensive, survey approach, focusing on phenomena (e.g. composition, dynastic architecture) as they cover a large number of monuments and length of time. In contrast, I will take a case study approach, presenting in-depth studies of the function of the architectural depictions of six monuments. By focusing my attention on individual monuments, I can situate my analysis within pre-existing discourses on important examples of state reliefs. More importantly, I can better explore

⁴⁹ While the issue of visibility has become a point of obsession in studies of the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, it rarely is considered explicitly for other monuments. A rare exception is Rehak's (2001, 194) discussion of the temple and cult statues depicted in the so-called Aeneas Panel of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*: "Even though the details described here may have been too small for most Augustan viewers to appreciate from ground level in front of the Ara Pacis, it is obvious from the careful work that the sculptors knew what they intended to represent, and in antiquity the addition of paint might have enhanced the contrast between exposed flesh and drapery." Although appeals to color often appear in discussion of visibility for the Columns (e.g. Coulston 1988, 109; 1990b, 303-4; Coarelli 2000, 27; Clarke 2003, 35), suggestions of paint on state reliefs most often are based on imagination rather than actual evidence.

⁵⁰ See e.g. Torelli 1982; Coulston 1990a; Hölscher 1999; Beard 2000; Hanoune 2000; Zanker 2000b; Grunow 2002; Quante-Schöttler 2002; Dillon 2006.

⁵¹ Torelli (1982, 2-3) takes a particularly strong stance on this issue: "While reading a relief...there is no room for fortuitous, meaningless figures or images. What we consider casual almost constantly reveals our inability, due to the present state of the monument or of our sources, to understand the message implied by the obscure or apparently banal detail." Although a position that every detail is *necessarily* significant may go too far, it is reasonable to approach all details as *potentially* significant.

how the respective sets of architectural depictions on the reliefs contribute to and work within the messages of these monuments.

The six monuments, enumerated below, were selected for several reasons. In the first place, they are familiar, well-studied monuments with numerous architectural depictions. Important information for the monuments, such as general context and major themes, are known, or at least the subject of established debate. Thus, these monuments can serve as “test cases” for my hypothesis, by offering a chance to analyze how architectural depictions serve as cultural symbols and interact with established themes for the monuments. They also present opportunities to demonstrate how an innovative approach to architectural depictions can provide new information, even if the depictions themselves are already well-known.

Secondly, these monuments together represent a certain range of architectural depictions, from purely generic to some clearly identifiable structures. While the monuments themselves and their identifiable depictions are well known, their generic architectural depictions are not. The three previous dedicated studies of architectural depictions either do not include these examples or, in the case of the several monuments that feature primarily generic depictions, omit these monuments entirely, or address them only in passing. The six monuments covered in this study thus present an enticing combination of well-known reliefs with understudied architectural depictions.

I.2.5 PROCEDURE

Chapter 1 introduces an overview of architectural depictions in state reliefs from the origins of the principate to the reign of Trajan. The architectural depictions of these

periods are primarily identifiable and have seen extensive study. This chapter will focus therefore on trends that will prove important for the analysis of the less-studied depictions of later periods.

Chapters 2-4 focus on the Trajanic Period. This period is widely recognized as presenting a crucial shift in Roman state reliefs in general, including the representation of architecture. While this shift typically is characterized as one related to composition of depictions, I argue that more important is an explosion in the use of architecture for symbolic purposes. In particular, it is in this period that one can first see a significant concern with using depicted architecture to differentiate between Roman and non-Roman culture.

Chapter 2 presents the first case study, the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum. I explore the architectural depictions on the arch in the context of the monument as a whole, to demonstrate how those depictions play an important role in the contrast drawn between domestic/urban and foreign/rural concerns. I also question the extent to which many depictions on the arch can be considered identifiable, despite the widely-held assumption that they represent recognizable buildings. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the Column of Trajan, which, with its hundreds of depictions, represents the best example of the thematic potential of generic architecture. This architecture is employed to illustrate the benefits of allegiance to Rome, and the dangers of barbarian resistance. The Great Trajanic Frieze, analyzed in Chapter 4, demonstrates how even a handful of generic structures can play an important role within a complex monument.

Chapters 5-7 explore how the generic architecture emphasized in the Trajanic period was integrated with identifiable depictions to create new and complex sets of depicted architecture. Chapter 5 investigates how the precise identification of the depicted architecture of the Anaglypha Reliefs may not have been as crucial as scholarship traditionally assumes. I emphasize the evocation of Rome in general, rather than the particular topography of the Forum Romanum. Chapter 6 presents the Column of Marcus Aurelius as evidence for the continued significance of generic depictions and the importance of details such as construction material. The Marcus Aurelius Panels, discussed in Chapter 7, represent an intriguing spectrum of structures, ranging from generic platforms to some of the most famous buildings in Rome.

Chapter 8 assesses comprehensively the significance of architectural depictions in the previous chapters. As mentioned above, this study is part of a much larger research project that also included, among others monuments, the Arches of Septimius Severus and Constantine at Rome, which have to be largely omitted here, however, because of restrictions of space and time. They will be mentioned briefly as potential lines of future research, together with other artistic media, such as coins, wall-painting, and mosaics.

The final component of this study is a catalog (Appendix A). A more detailed explanation of the catalog is presented at the beginning of the catalog itself. Here it is sufficient to outline the three primary components of the catalog:

1. A numbered list of all reliefs⁵² and depicted architectural structures covered in detail in the work.

⁵² Within the catalog, the general term “relief” is used interchangeably to refer to a relief, panel, or delineated section of frieze. For example, the *Adlocutio* Relief of the Anaglypha Reliefs, the *Adventus*

In this dissertation each relief and depicted structure is assigned a number. The numbers for the reliefs are presented within the main text. The numbering system for the depicted structure can be correlated with the figures for each relief: in the figures, each structure is clearly assigned a number, proceeding from left to right and top to bottom across the relief. The catalog numbers for the reliefs and depictions are then included in the main text whenever a given depiction is discussed. This is to avoid a common problem in studies of architectural depictions, namely that it is sometimes difficult to understand precisely which depiction is being discussed at a given time.⁵³

2. Tables outlining the specificity for each depicted structure.

These tables present a systematic, organized description of which features are included for each depicted structure. As such, they offer a succinct point of comparison for different depictions and reliefs.

3. Tables listing identifications in scholarship for each depicted structure.⁵⁴

Not every suggested identification for each depicted structure will be discussed within the main text. The identification of every structure is explicitly not the goal of this study; many depicted structures have seen numerous identifications, and “wading through” all of them would distract from the main arguments of this study. This table presents sufficient and convenient reference for the various identifications of a depiction. From a conceptual point of view, this table also calls attention to the varying identifications offered for supposedly identifiable structures, as well as the

Panel on the Arch at Beneventum, and the town in Scene LXXIX of the Column of Trajan are all referred to as “reliefs” in the catalog.

⁵³ Scholars, for example, sometimes refer broadly to “the arch in the *adventus* scene” etc. for the Arch at Beneventum, despite the fact that the arch has two scenes that have been identified as showing an *adventus*, each with a depicted arch [R1.B1, R3.B1]. Other common sources of confusion are situations where an author refers to a depiction by its historical identification, or assumes two separate depictions represent the same building and fails to distinguish between the depictions; both situations commonly occur for the two depictions of arched façades that are both identified as the Basilica Iulia on the Anaglypha Reliefs [R12.B4, R13.B3].

⁵⁴ As mentioned several times, the literature on the monuments covered in this study is considerable, and while completeness is an aspiration, the tables cannot claim to include every identification ever suggested for every depiction. Instead, for each relief, the identification table presents all identifications (even those mentioned in passing) offered in major discussions of the depiction.

(summarized) reasoning behind those identifications. My own identification of a depiction, if applicable, will be given in the main text.

This catalog is meant to supplement the discussion of the main text and to provide a basis for further research.

The catalog and analysis of the architectural depictions are based primarily on published literature and illustrations. Where possible, my analysis has been supplemented by my own photographs and on site examination of the monuments and casts, to clarify and illustrate details that are often not visible in presentations of entire scenes.

CHAPTER 1:
ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS IN PRE-TRAJANIC STATE RELIEFS

The architectural depictions of Roman state reliefs from before the Trajanic period have been relatively well-studied. This is in part because these early architectural depictions are much more striking than those of later periods: they take up a greater share of the surface area of the reliefs, are often less encumbered by overlapping figures, and present a wealth of decorative detail. More importantly, the pre-Trajanic depictions are almost all identifiable. This has made them appealing not only to scholars of architectural depictions, but also to those interested in the topography and reconstruction of various historical buildings, including the monuments from which the depictions and their reliefs are derived.

In the interest of brevity and clarity, the individual depictions of pre-Trajanic state reliefs will not be dealt with in detail here. In the first place, many of the monuments with architectural depictions are highly controversial; debates over the precise chronology and original location of the various reliefs can distract from the study of the architectural depictions themselves. Secondly, these monuments and in particular their depictions have been studied exhaustively, so little can be expected to be added here by revisiting the monuments individually and in depth. The focus in this study is on themes and ideological messages of all architectural depictions, identifiable as well as generic, and not on details of reconstruction, topography, or so on. Therefore, the following discussion

focuses on trends in pre-Trajanic architectural depictions, and does not provide in-depth, case study analyses of individual monuments.

1.1 LOOKING BEYOND IDENTIFICATION: THE VALLE-MEDICI RELIEFS

The most striking feature of pre-Trajanic architectural depictions is a clear focus on identifiable buildings. Buildings are rendered in huge scale and minute detail, and pediments overflow with particularized sculpture. This has led scholars to focus on analyzing which buildings are represented and why. Common explanations have included the accurate representation of specific historic events,⁵⁵ or concerns for emphasizing dynastic connections (e.g. by representing Julio-Claudian emperors in sacrifice before famous Augustan buildings).⁵⁶ The identification of a depiction, however, was only one aspect of its meaning. A brief overview of the Valle-Medici Reliefs can demonstrate how the significance of depicted architecture can extend beyond identification, even for monuments where that identification is clear and emphasized.

The best and most famous examples of this kind of detailed representation are the three depicted temples on a series of reliefs that probably come from the same area, near

⁵⁵ For this issue on the Valle-Medici Reliefs, see e.g. Albertson 1987, 447: “[Identifiable] background facades...serve to identify the foreground event, and thus the sculptor was compelled to create within a limited space an instantly recognizable monument.” Or Torelli 1982, 72: “the action is perfectly localized by the introduction of topographic symbols, represented by the temple structures, sculptured with great care so that they may easily be recognized.” For the continuation of this mindset, see Fuchs 2011.

⁵⁶ For example, La Rocca (1994a), arguing that the Valle-Medici Reliefs are the remnants of an altar set up in celebration of Claudius’ triumphant return to Britain, sees the depicted buildings as connected by common ties to the Imperial cult and, crucially, Claudius’ birthday. Grunow (2002, 67-73, 164-67), in contrast, believes the reliefs are the remnants of the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, and interprets the depiction of Augustan temples as a less cosmological, more literal dynastic statement on the part of later Julio-Claudian rulers.

the chiesa di Santa Maria in via Lata.⁵⁷ Following a period of reuse in the Tetrarchic *Arcus Novus*, two of the reliefs were immured in the Villa Medici, while the third was found in excavations between 1923 and 1933.⁵⁸ These reliefs are thought to derive from a single Julio-Claudian monument; this monument has seen various identifications, but typically is reconstructed, based on similarities with the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, as a monumental altar.⁵⁹ Since the support of any particular identification for this altar is not a necessary point for this study, I will use the most neutral nomenclature for the reliefs, the Valle-Medici Reliefs.⁶⁰

The first step in any discussion of architectural depictions should be an analysis of what features are included and how they are rendered. The largest temple of the Valle-Medici Reliefs is Corinthian octastyle, shown frontally (fig. 1).⁶¹ The podium is included and shown as a series of seven stairs. These are closed on the right by a pier, crowned with what may be a statue base; both elements feature molded decoration (fig. 2).⁶² The

⁵⁷ For the Valle-Medici Reliefs, see Ryberg 1955, 66-75; Lattimore 1974; Koeppel 1982; 1983, 72-8, 98-116; Torelli 1982, 63-88; Cordischi 1985; Albertson 1987; La Rocca 1994a; Grunow 2002, 67-73; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 26-54; Fuchs 2011.

⁵⁸ La Rocca 1994a, 267.

⁵⁹ Following initial attributions to the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, the Valle-Medici Reliefs traditionally were assigned to the so-called *Ara Pietatis Augustae*, until Koeppel (1982) effectively called into question the existence of such a monument. Subsequent identifications of the original monument have included the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* (Torelli 1982, 63-88; Rehak 1990; Grunow 2002, 67-73), a monument commemorating Claudius' return from Britain (La Rocca 1994a), and a monument celebrating Nero's return to Rome in 59 CE following his providential rescue of Rome from his mother (Fuchs 2011). For a review of scholarship on the identification of the original monument of the Valle-Medici Reliefs, see Grunow 2002, 67-9.

⁶⁰ See Koeppel 1983, 72-8, 98-116; Fuchs 2011. Fuchs (2011, 139 n. 5) seems to criticize Quante-Schöttler (2002) slightly for referring to the reliefs as "Die Reliefs der *Ara Pietatis*" without providing support for that identification; for an opposing view, see Grunow 2002, 68 n. 24.

⁶¹ Although it appears frontal, the façade of the octastyle temple is still slightly angled against the background (although not as much as the other temples; Rehak 1990, 184-85); one long side of the temple may have been shown to some extent.

⁶² Koeppel 1983, 101; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 35; for an opposing view, see Maier 1985, 80.

façade of the temple is elongated vertically, particularly in the column shafts (figs. 1, 3). Ashlar masonry above a plain socle can be seen on the façade between the two outer columns on the left (figs. 3, 4).⁶³ No clear evidence for a door, analogous to those on the other two temples, can be seen behind the colonnade (figs. 1, 3).⁶⁴

Care has been taken to articulate the various parts of the column bases, which combine finely carved scotia and torus moldings on top of a low, square plinth (fig. 5). The column shafts are fluted with flattened arrises. The Corinthian capitals are executed relatively simply; although each capital is made up of numerous leaves, the leaves themselves are flattish and schematically rendered (fig. 6). The columns support an entablature divided into an architrave with three fasciae, a plain frieze, and a row of dentils. The cornices are decorated with moldings and modillions, although no sima is preserved. The single, rather large corner acroterion represents a flying Victory on a flat base (fig. 7). Seven figures (three standing, two sitting, and two lounging, according to position within the pediment) fill the pediment (figs. 1, 6, 8). Based on these figures and the octastyle form, this temple traditionally has been identified as the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus.⁶⁵

⁶³ Albertson (1987, 448, n. 37) sees the use of channeling to demarcate the blocks on the Valle-Medici octastyle and hexastyle temples as a reflection of actual late-republican or Augustan architecture; see also Rehak 1990, 185.

⁶⁴ The question of whether or not the octastyle temple originally included a door is a matter of some debate. Koeppl (1983, 98) describes the temple as “mit geöffneten Türflügeln” without providing specific support. Quante-Schöttler (2002, 36) records faint traces of three fasciae of an architrave(?) behind the central intercolumniation. I have not been able to confirm her observations to my own satisfaction through examination of the casts in the Museo della Civiltà Romana and the Museo dell'Ara Pacis, or of photographs, including my own and in several publications (Quante-Schöttler 2002, does not include images). The most convincing image that I could identify was a detailed view of the façade published by Koeppl (1983, fig. 15), but even here the fasciae are far from certain.

⁶⁵ See e.g. Ryberg 1955, 69; Pollini 1983, 573; Smith 1983, 227; Hölscher 1984a, 743; 1988, 378; Albertson 1987, 447; Rehak 1990; La Rocca 1994a, 273; Grunow 2002, 71-2; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 37;

The second largest temple is Corinthian hexastyle and shown in a three-quarter view, although the façade stays nearly frontal (fig. 9). The podium of this temple is the best preserved of all the examples, with a small altar inserted in the center of the bottom four of 15 steps (fig. 10). These steps end on the right side in a flat space that probably represents a pier enclosing the central staircase (fig. 9).

Like the octastyle temple, the hexastyle façade features elongated proportions, particularly of the column shafts. The columns are similar, although not identical to, the columns of the octastyle temple in their bases, shafts, and capitals (figs. 10, 11). Behind the columns, however, the façade is decorated with a plain socle and the rectangular hatching of ashlar masonry (fig. 12). A large blank door with a molded lintel can be seen behind the three central intercolumniations (fig. 9). The entablature of the hexastyle temple is also similar to that of the octastyle temple, with the addition of dentils on all sides of the cornice (fig. 13). A single acroterion, a striding armored figure possibly representing one of the Korybantes, stands directly on a large ornamental sima (fig. 14).⁶⁶ The pedimental arrangement is strikingly different from that of the octastyle temple: the center is occupied by a mural crown on a throne, flanked by two lounging figures, with crouching beasts in the corners (figs. 9, 13, 15). This iconography has been connected to

Fuchs 2011, 142. Torelli (1982, 72-4, 77-8), who identifies the depiction as the Temple of Divine Augustus on the Palatine, has been the main voice of dissent; this identification is specifically rejected by all of Torelli's primary reviewers (Pollini 1983; Smith 1983; Hölscher 1984a; see also La Rocca 1994a, 273).

⁶⁶ Koeppel 1983, 102; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 31.

the cult of Magna Mater, and the temple identified as the Palatine Temple of Magna Mater restored by Augustus.⁶⁷

The flank of the temple stretches to the left and is overlapped by two sacrificial attendants and a bull (fig. 9). Several features of the façade are extended to the flank, including the socle, ashlar hatching, and entablature (figs. 16, 17). The podium of the temple can be seen represented as a flat space marked by a molding (fig. 16). An excised column capital appears between the left attendant and the head of the bull (fig. 18). A tile roof, in which three rows of pan and cover tiles, as well as palmette antefixes, are articulated, runs along the length of the flank (fig. 17).

The relief with the third temple, an Ionic tetrastyle structure, is the most fragmentary (fig. 19). Enough of the temple is preserved to show that it also featured an elongated façade and a podium, with at least eight steps. While the column shafts are similar to those of the other two temples, the column bases are smaller in scale and have more delicate molding (fig. 20). The Ionic capitals are extremely compressed, but the egg-and-dart of the echinus and the interior curves of the volutes are still carefully articulated (fig. 21). As in the hexastyle temple, the central intercolumniation overlaps a large open door with a molded lintel, but in this case the façade does not have rectangular hatching or socle (figs. 19, 21, 22). The entablature, pediment, and carved sima are very similar to that of the hexastyle temple (fig. 22). Any acroteria that may have existed are lost. The pedimental sculpture represents a battle scene, where the figures' positions are adapted to fill the triangular space (figs. 22, 23). This pedimental arrangement is

⁶⁷ See e.g. Ryberg 1955, 69; Torelli 1982, 71-2, 77; Koeppl 1983, 75; Albertson 1987, 447; Hölscher 1988, 378; Rehak 1990; La Rocca 1994a, 273; Grunow 2002, 71; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 31; Fuchs 2011, 143-44.

considered unusual for a Roman temple, and the identity of this temple is debated.⁶⁸ The flank of the temple is no longer preserved, but a tile roof with articulated pan and cover tiles extends to the right of the façade (fig. 24). Differences in the architectural features of the tetrastyle temple compared to those of the other two temples has led several authors to argue that the smaller temple represents a Republican structure.⁶⁹

The association of these depictions with specific, actual temples was obviously a crucial factor in the inclusion of the depictions in the original monument. There are other aspects of the rendering of the depictions beyond their identity, however, that could have added to their impact.

In the first place, the temples are all depicted in a way that emphasizes their identity as *Roman* temples. Podium temples with frontal stairs have long been recognized in scholarship as a distinctively Roman architectural form. The tall façades and high podia of the depictions evoke the emphasis on façade and height stressed in monumental temples in Rome; the elongated depicted columns in particular recall the soaring effect of the 50 foot shafts of the Temple of Mars Ultor. The depictions, in other words, capture something of what must have been the effect of standing at the base of a monumental temple in Rome (figs. 3, 22). The rendering of the depicted façades accentuates that the

⁶⁸ Identifications of this temple have varied widely, and have included the Temple of Fides on the Capitoline, the Temple of Victory on the Palatine, the Temple of the Penates on the Velia, and even the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus; the most extensive discussion is that of Rehak (1990, 181), but see also Ryberg 1955, 70; Lattimore 1974; 1975; Torelli 1982, 80; Koeppl 1983, 75-6; La Rocca 1994a, 277, 281-82; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 46; Fuchs 2011, 144-45. Lattimore (1974, 58) ultimately finds the temple pediment so strange that he suggests it is a depiction of a legendary temple. For the idea that the historical Roman temple depicted on the Valle-Medici reliefs featured a re-located pediment from a Greek temple, see Rehak 1990, 179; La Rocca 1994a, 277; Fuchs 2011, 154. For the historical practice of using Greek pediments on Roman temples, see La Rocca 1985.

⁶⁹ Lattimore 1974, 57; Rehak 1990, esp. 185; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 43; Fuchs 2011, 154.

sacrifices illustrated on the reliefs take place within a specific religious landscape, that of imperial Rome.

Great care has been taken to show the luxurious, elaborate decoration of the temples. Although the delicate molded bases, intricate capitals, immaculate fluting, and copious dentils of the depictions may have reflected the appearance of actual temples, these features could have done little to clarify the identity of the depicted temples; the repetition of many features for all the three depictions underscores this point. Similarly, the ashlar masonry of the walls and the tile roofs could not be identifying criteria. Taken together, however, all of these details recall the extravagant architectural luxury that was coming to characterize Rome in the Julio-Claudian period.⁷⁰ One should remember that in the early first century CE, the monumental temple, particularly on the scale favored by Augustus and his family, was a relatively new phenomenon and still something worth celebrating. As the famous passage in Suetonius attests, this architectural luxury was also particularly associated with Augustus.⁷¹ The elaboration of the depicted temples in the Valle-Medici reliefs therefore might be a Julio-Claudian dynastic statement in and of itself.

One may argue, of course, that all of these details simply record features of the actual temples the depictions represent. As several scholars have stressed, however, Roman artists rarely seem to have been overwhelmed by a spirit of documentary accuracy and precision in their depictions of buildings. It must be kept in mind,

⁷⁰ I do not mean to imply that the three depictions represent temples built in the Julio-Claudian period, only that the manner in which they are depicted is meant to evoke the general impression of Rome in that period.

⁷¹ Suet. *Aug.* 28. See also Hölscher 2002, 127. Augustus' boast about transforming Rome into a city of marble is also reported in Cass. Dio 56.30.3.

furthermore, that the majority of viewers of these reliefs, in contrast to the archaeologists who study them, would know what the depicted buildings looked like. The detail of the architrave with three fasciae, while fascinating to scholars seeking to reconstruct the Temple of Mars Ultor, probably offered little specific information to the ancient viewer. Pedimental sculpture and context would be the primary means of identification.⁷² The cumulative effect of all these details, however, had the potential for great thematic impact.

One should note the interplay between sameness and variety in the three depictions. All three temples are depicted in a similar enough fashion to create the impression of a densely populated yet unified religious landscape. The message is that Rome has not only one major temple, but an entire landscape of beautiful temples. Rome can also lay claim to all of the gods whose temples are gathered together in her landscape. This impression of divine abundance is encouraged by variation within the depictions themselves.

A surprising amount of variety has been achieved, given the relatively narrow parameters of Roman temple architecture.⁷³ Remarkably, each temple features a different number of columns. Two different column orders are included, despite the marked Roman preference for Corinthian in actual architectural practice (especially by the Augustan period). Even without knowing which temples to which gods are represented,

⁷² Grunow (2002, 22) notes that the temple of the Valle-Medici Reliefs is the only depiction of an octastyle temple in her corpus of study. While she stresses that even in this case column number alone could not ensure the identification of a depiction, since there were several octastyle temples in Rome, she (2002, 23, 23 n. 25) does suggest that the coincidence in column number between the depiction and actual temple may represent particular care taken on the part of the production team.

⁷³ Whatever their original setting or monumental form, the Valle-Medici Reliefs were certainly part of a decorative frieze. As Ridgway (1966, esp. 192-93) has described in her seminal article, such friezes require variation within their inherent repetition in order to hold the viewer's interest.

furthermore, the three different sets of pedimental sculpture are immediately distinguishable in terms of style. The sculpture of the octastyle temple is rigid, upright, without any action, featuring gods (Mars, Venus, Fortuna) specifically associated with the ideology of the Roman state (fig. 8). The sculpture of the hexastyle temple also has no action, but is made up of exotic symbols and wild eastern beasts (figs. 1, 13, 15). The sculpture of the tetrastyle temple, on the other hand, presents a Greek-style battle scene full of figures with twisting poses (figs. 15, 23).⁷⁴ Significantly, the three different cultural spheres evoked by these different pediments—Roman, eastern, and Greek—correspond with three of the main geographic spheres of the empire.

This could all be the result of happy coincidence. More probably, the variation in style of the pediments may be the byproduct of the actual temples selected and the deities they represented, a selection that may have been intended to show the geographical and cultural range encompassed by Rome. Regardless of the motivation behind the choice of depicted temples, however, once that choice was made, a separate decision would have to be made as to the particular means through which those temples would be depicted. While scholars assume that the depicted pedimental sculpture in the Valle-Medici reliefs accurately reflects the pedimental compositions of actual temples,⁷⁵ there is scarce evidence to confirm this hypothesis. For all we know, the production team may have had relatively wide latitude in what aspects of the actual temples they chose to emphasize in

⁷⁴ Lattimore 1974, 57.

⁷⁵ Albertson 1987, 447; Rehak 1990, 181; Kuttner 1995, 20; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 38. Lattimore (1974, 56) is the most cautious: “As for the designs of the pedimental sculpture [of the octastyle and hexastyle temples], it can only be said—in the absence of any corroborative evidence—that both compositions are appropriate to the temples involved, and both exemplify the Roman approach to the decoration of temple pediments: static, symmetrical, and strongly centralized, full of symbolic rather than narrative content.” For another (somewhat) cautious approach, see Kuttner 1995, 24.

their depictions, including for the pedimental sculpture. It is conceivable that the style of the pedimental compositions was manipulated significantly in the depictions of the Valle-Medici Reliefs to play up the cultural variety of the gods evoked.

The fact that three different temple sizes are represented also seems unlikely to be coincidental. Numerous scholars have observed the general lack of concern in Roman art for accuracy in column number; different representations of the same historical temple, even the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, can feature different numbers of columns (see ch. 7). Thus on the Valle-Medici Reliefs column number could have been manipulated easily for the sake of variety, without doing injury to the identity of the depiction. The same can be said for column order. As will be seen in chapter 5, column order, like column number, was not applied stringently in architectural depictions. For what it is worth, the particular pattern in column order in the Valle-Medici Reliefs (two Corinthian temples and one Ionic) is the same found in another later collection of temples on the Anaglypha Reliefs. All this variation in architectural features would heighten the sense of Rome's architectural complexity and richness.

The emphasis on luxury and variation could have been augmented if the monument originally included additional architectural depictions. E. La Rocca has proposed that seven other fragments with architectural depictions, discovered in excavations at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, may belong to the same monument as the Valle-Medici Reliefs, based on striking similarities in style and execution.⁷⁶ Several of these fragments feature architectural elements notably similar to those shown on the Valle-Medici Reliefs. One fragment shows part of a tile roof, a decorated sima, and

⁷⁶ La Rocca 1994a, 282-86; see also Quante-Schöttler 2002, 47-54; Fuchs 2011, 140-42.

pedimental sculpture (fig. 25).⁷⁷ Another fragment is made up of six steps, presumably of a podium, topped by what appears to be part of a column base (fig. 26).⁷⁸ A third fragment shows a different roof, this one of a round structure, with overlapping petal tiles, a decorated sima, and elaborately molded architraves (fig. 27).⁷⁹ This roof probably belongs with the largest fragment, which consists of the bottom part of a round structure (fig. 28).⁸⁰ The door of this structure is framed by two columns, both deeply fluted; one of them preserves a molded base and plinth. Based on the round shape, La Rocca identifies this structure as the Temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum.⁸¹ Two other fragments show parts of quadratic masonry walls: one fragment includes part of a door (fig. 29),⁸² and the other features part of an oak wreath, identified as the mark of the Palatine House of Augustus (fig. 30).⁸³ These fragments follow the pattern of elaborate, varied (particularly the round structure), and, if La Rocca is correct in his interpretations, identifiable architecture.

The last fragment identified by La Rocca as belonging to the Valle-Medici Reliefs is a simple pedimental building in three-quarter view (fig. 31).⁸⁴ Although the building features ashlar hatching, the pediment notably is blank. This would suggest that the

⁷⁷ La Rocca 1994, no. 6, 284; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 50.

⁷⁸ La Rocca 1994a, no. 2, 284; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 50.

⁷⁹ La Rocca 1994a, no. 1, 282; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 49.

⁸⁰ La Rocca 1994a, no. 1, 282; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 47-9.

⁸¹ La Rocca 1994a, 282; see also Quante-Schöttler 2002, 48; Fuchs 2011, 145.

⁸² La Rocca 1994a, no. 4, 284; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 51.

⁸³ La Rocca 1994a, no. 3, 284; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 50-1.

⁸⁴ La Rocca 1994, no. 5, 284; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 51-2.

fragment belongs to the Trajanic period or later. La Rocca's solution, that it is a Julio-Claudian representation of the back of a building, seems strange and is not very convincing without comparative examples.⁸⁵ Quante-Schöttler rejects this fragment as belonging to the same monument as the Valle-Medici Reliefs and other fragments, for various reasons.⁸⁶ Ultimately, identifiable architecture cannot be used to date any fragments conclusively: while identifiable architecture is more dominant before the Trajanic period, it does not disappear with Trajan and thus cannot be used as an independent, definitive dating criterion, although it can be important supporting evidence (see ch. 4). As Quante-Schöttler points out, however, there are other independent reasons for separating this fragment from the others.⁸⁷ It is on a smaller scale than the other fragments; the rendering of the three-quarter view is flat and awkward; the hatching is irregular; and the outline of the pediment is simplistic compared to the other fragments, even for the back of a building. Thus, the generic rendering of the fragment serves as one line of evidence among many that confirm that this fragment should be dissociated from the other reliefs.

The observations above are not meant to be definitive, but merely are intended to illustrate the sort of possible avenues of exploration that can be pursued for identifiable depictions beyond establishing their identity. The same avenues will be employed in later chapters, for identifiable and generic depictions alike.

⁸⁵ La Rocca 1994a, 284. I am not aware of any other representation of the rear of a building in Roman art, although admittedly this would be difficult to identify.

⁸⁶ Quante-Schöttler 2002, 52.

⁸⁷ Quante-Schöttler 2002, 52.

1.2 ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS: TRENDS IN PRE-TRAJANIC STATE RELIEFS

Beyond their importance for methodological discussions, the Valle-Medici Reliefs exemplify two major trends for architectural depictions in state relief before the Trajanic period. The first is their emphasis on elaborate, luxurious, permanent architecture. This trend can be traced back to the Augustan period: one example is the temple in the so-called Aeneas Panel of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (figs. 32, 33).⁸⁸ Like the temples of the Valle-Medici Reliefs, the temple on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* is shown in three-quarter view with a strong emphasis on the façade, which is open to reveal the all-important cult statues. The temple on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* shares several additional features with the those of the Valle-Medici Reliefs, such as elaborate molding, the Corinthian order (with pilasters rather than columns), pedimental statuary (generic sacrificial instruments⁸⁹), acroteria, a tile roof, and ashlar masonry. While these could be expected for a temple in the imperial period, they do not seem in keeping with a building representing the earliest history of Rome.⁹⁰ Instead of reflecting historical accuracy—whatever its exact identity, the temple on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* can be considered pseudo-historical at best—these features carry the new Augustan architectural splendor into the ancient past, drawing another line of connection between Augustus and early

⁸⁸ This temple is often identified as the Temple of the Penates at Lavinium; see e.g. Ryberg 1955, 41; Lattimore 1974, 58; Torelli 1982, 37; Zanker 1988, 204; Holliday 1990, 550; Elsner 1991, 53; Kuttner 1995, 128; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 22; Fuchs 2011, 145. Rehak (2001, 194, 197), who argues that the panel depicts the swearing of an oath by Numa, identifies the shrine as an abstract structure, where Jupiter and Dis represent the pantheon witnessing and guaranteeing the oath.

⁸⁹ Holliday (1990, 550) sees the augural *litui* in the depicted pediment as one of many symbolic references to augury for the *Ara Pacis Augustae*.

⁹⁰ As Rehak (2001, 190, 194) notes, this apparent sophistication also contrasts with the rendering of the altar, which is shown specifically (and unusually) as a rustic pile of rocks.

Rome.⁹¹ Although the early shrine is relatively simple compared to the depictions of later temples, it nevertheless presents a consciously recreated past where Rome was always architecturally sophisticated.

Both the Valle-Medici Reliefs and the temple of the *Ara Pacis*, then, demonstrate the ideological importance of conspicuously sophisticated depicted architecture. Another later example of elaborate architecture is the so-called Hartwig Relief, commonly dated to the Flavian period.⁹² In the depicted temple of this relief, the detailed pedimental sculpture recalls the full pediments of the Valle-Medici temples (figs. 34, 35). The temple in the Hartwig Relief also features elaborate molding and details such as modillions, finely worked capitals (in this case Doric/Tuscan), and deeply drafted quadratic masonry. Once again, it is emphasized that the depicted structure is elaborate, expensive, and permanent.

The depicted arch in the Spoil Relief of the Arch of Titus presents a similar picture (fig. 36).⁹³ The molded decoration here is even more elaborate, including a frieze with individual rosettes. The pilasters are fluted and the sides of the arch marked with ashlar masonry, an unusual feature for depicted arches. The arch also includes both generalized and specific sculpture. The former category consists of a Victory in the spandrel, and the latter of two *quadrigae* and a standing figure crowning the arch. This specific sculpture presumably recalls the shared Judaic triumph of Vespasian and Titus

⁹¹ Zanker 1988, 204.

⁹² For the so-called Hartwig Relief, see Koeppl 1980; Torelli 1987; Paris 1988; Paris and Gazda 1994; Gazda and Haeckl 1996; Cappelli 2000; Grunow 2002, 73-9; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 81-92; Bald Romano et al. 2009.

⁹³ For the panel reliefs of the Arch of Titus, see Pfanner 1983. The identification of the depicted arch on the Arch of Titus is problematic; see Grunow 2002, 42 n. 68, 102, 102 n. 8, 172, 172 n. 58; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 59-69.

(where the young Domitian would have appeared on foot). Once again, a building is represented in great detail, with an emphasis on luxury and permanence.

The second exemplary aspect of the Valle-Medici reliefs is the prominence of identifiable depictions. The following represent major reliefs with identifiable architecture that are commonly dated to the pre-Trajanic period:⁹⁴

1. The Sorrento Base (and associated reliefs)⁹⁵
2. The (lost) model for the Boscoreale Cup with Tiberius⁹⁶
3. The so-called Aeneas Panel on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (pseudo-historical structure)
4. The Valle-Medici Reliefs
5. The relief with a decastyle temple in the Vatican⁹⁷
6. The Hartwig Relief
7. The Spoil Relief on the Arch of Titus

This corpus can be compared to the few potential examples of generic architecture in state reliefs from the Pre-Trajanic era: the wall and gate on the Basilica Aemilia Reliefs (fig. 37), the stone tower on the Ship Relief from Praeneste (fig. 38), the small gate in the corner of the Forum Transitorium Frieze, and the platforms, barely visible, on the Tiberius Boscoreale Cup and Relief B of the Cancelleria Reliefs.⁹⁸ These depictions may

⁹⁴ The exact date of many of these reliefs is controversial. Nevertheless, for my present purposes it is sufficient if the reliefs generally are agreed to be pre-Trajanic.

⁹⁵ The Sorrento Base and a series of similar reliefs are all thought to be modeled after a lost state relief in Rome; see Ryberg 1955, 49-55; Scrinari 1968-69; Micheli 1987; Hölscher 1988, 375-78; 2007, 112-14; Micheli 2001; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 24-6; Cecamore 2004.

⁹⁶ Kuttner 1995. For the relationship between the Boscoreale Cups and a lost prototype in relief, see also Hölscher 1996. For the identification of the depicted temple, see *supra* n. 27.

⁹⁷ Albertson 1987; Grunow 2002, 38-9; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 70-80.

⁹⁸ While both the Basilica Aemilia Reliefs and the Praeneste Ship Relief are debated monuments, they cannot be discussed in detail here; both, however, are sufficiently close to my criteria for state reliefs to warrant mention in this context, and both are certainly pre-Trajanic. For the Basilica Aemilia Reliefs, see Furuhausen 1961; Hölscher 1988, 380-82; Albertson 1990; Kampen 1991; Kränzle 1994; Ertel and Freyberger 2007; Freyberger et al. 2007; Zappalà 2008. For the Praeneste Ship Relief, see Heidenreich

have once been identifiable through context, but their rendering nevertheless is unspecific, although emphasis is placed on sophisticated forms. These examples serve as exceptions that prove the rule that identifiable depictions of impressive historical architecture were the dominant trend in state reliefs before the Trajanic period.

1935-36; Hölscher 1988, 363, with bibliography. None of the reliefs mentioned here (with the exception of the Tiberius Boscoreale Cup) is included in the targeted studies of architectural depictions in state reliefs (Maier 1985; Grunow 2002; Quante-Schöttler 2002). The tower on the Praeneste Ship Relief probably is meant to be one of the deck towers sometimes mounted on ships for various purposes from the Hellenistic period onwards (Heidenreich 1935-36, 338; Starr Jr. 1940, 374; Murray 2012, 148). Although none of the sources I have seen address this issue, it seems unlikely that such towers were made of stone, as depicted on the relief. If the actual towers were in fact made of lighter material, then the depiction of the tower on the Ship Relief as made of stone, with large arched gateways and merlons, provides another example of the tendency towards impressive stone constructions in depictions of architecture. Two towers, much less prominent but similarly hatched as stone and with merlons, appear on one of the ships on the Augustan frieze found in the Porticus Octaviae (Hölscher 1988, 366, no. 200).

CHAPTER 2:

ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTUM

The Arch at Beneventum presents an intriguing point of departure for an exploration of architectural depictions in Trajanic state relief. At first glance, the images of the arch seem to fit well within the same tradition as the Valle-Medici Reliefs, where the emperor is represented among major buildings in Rome; despite obvious compositional differences between the monuments, the overall approach and message appears to be the same. An analysis of the depicted architecture in the context of the arch as a whole, however, reveals a very different picture.

The Arch at Beneventum was erected outside the ancient city of Beneventum, along the newly constructed *Via Traiana* that ran from Beneventum to Brundisium.⁹⁹ Today the arch is still preserved in situ. The attic inscription records that the arch was dedicated by the Senate and People of Rome to the Emperor Trajan.¹⁰⁰ The inscription of the arch does not mention the occasion for its erection, but traditionally scholars have

⁹⁹ For discussion of the Arch at Beneventum as a whole, see e.g. Petersen 1892; Domaszewski 1899; Hassel 1966; Richmond 1969; Fittschen 1972; Rotili 1972; Lorenz 1973; Gauer 1974; Simon 1979-80; Molin 1994; Torelli 1997; Simon 1998; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 114-36; Heitz 2005-06; Speidel 2005-06; Töpfer 2008. This project is not the proper venue for an extensive discussion of the debated identifications of the figures and subjects of the various panels on the arch. For my current purposes, it is sufficient to refer to those identifications that, at this time, have earned the widest consensus. Different interpretations will be cited only where the interpretation of the architecture is intimately dependent upon the reading of the overall scene. The nomenclature employed here for the panels is my own.

¹⁰⁰ *CIL* IX.1558, reproduced in Hassel 1966, 1.

connected the arch to Trajan's renowned promotion of the *alimenta* program¹⁰¹ or the recent construction of the new major road.

The inscription is dateable by imperial titulature to 114 CE. There has been debate, however, as to whether this date refers to the laying of the foundation stone or the completion of the arch. Some scholars have identified two bearded figures in the attic as Hadrian, and have suggested that Hadrian completed the attic or made other modifications.¹⁰² F. Hassel has pointed out, however, that the dates of the inscriptions for the Column of Trajan and the *Aqua Traiana* match the inauguration dates recorded in the *Fasti Ostienses*; he argues that a similar situation should be assumed for the Arch at Beneventum.¹⁰³ While by no means unassailable, this argument seems reasonable. The identifications of Hadrian, furthermore, are far from certain, and it seems unnecessary, in the absence of hard evidence, to introduce extensive Hadrianic influence to what appears *prima facie* to be a firmly Trajanic project. The Arch at Beneventum therefore is dated here to the Trajanic, not the Hadrianic, period.

¹⁰¹ Possibly introduced under Nerva but greatly expanded under Trajan, the imperial *alimenta* program was intended to support the children of Italy. The program provided one-time loans to landed estates of Italian towns, with the interest on the loans providing income (in perpetuity) for the distribution of funds to a select group of children. While the exact purpose and workings of the *alimenta* are debated, what does appear clear from two fragmentary tablets is that a certain number of children were enrolled in each town, with different rates of payment for boys, girls, and legitimate and illegitimate children. For background on the *alimenta*, see e.g. Duncan-Jones 1964; Garnsey 1968; Patterson 1987; Bossu 1989. For full bibliography, and a convincing argument that the *alimenta* should not be connected to modern concepts of poverty relief, see Woolf 1990.

¹⁰² For identifications of the bearded figures in the Consuls and Bridge Crossing Panels as Hadrian, see Petersen 1892, 252; Domaszewski 1899, 184-86; Strong 1907, 216, 218; Hamberg 1945, 66, 70-1; Hassel 1966, 18-19; Richmond 1969, 231; Rotili 1972, 79; Gauer 1974; Kleiner 1992a, 228; Molin 1994, 720. For arguments against, see esp. Fittschen 1972, 743, 762-64, 776-77, also Koeppel 1969, 168; Simon 1979-80, 10; Torelli 1997. For Hadrianic interventions, see Richmond 1969; Gauer 1974; Kleiner 1992a, 228. Richmond (1969) has suggested, based on his interpretation of the overall program of the arch, that the entire monument has Hadrianic themes. For a refutation of a Hadrianic date for any part of the arch, see Hassel 1966; Fittschen 1972; Simon 1979-80, 3; Molin 1994; Torelli 1997; Simon 1998, 189.

¹⁰³ Hassel 1966, 7-9; see also Hamberg 1945, 68.

The most striking features of the Arch at Beneventum are its large figurative façade panels. Each main face of the arch features six panels: two on each pier and two in the attic (figs. 39, 40). Additional figural scenes are found in the smaller Triumphal Frieze that runs below the attic, and in the two larger reliefs in the passageway of the arch; one depicts a sacrifice, and the other commemorates the *alimenta* program.

Four panels and the Triumphal Frieze incorporate depictions of architecture. These architectural depictions have been only of secondary interest to scholarship on the arch in general, which has treated the depictions primarily as a means to indicate the location, and therefore the subject, of the various events presented in the panels. The idea that the identifications of the buildings were integral to their purpose also pervades analyses of the arch within targeted studies of architectural depictions in state reliefs. In her exhaustive description of the architectural depictions on the Arch, D. Quante-Schöttler goes so far as to suggest that not all buildings may have been meant to have been identifiable.¹⁰⁴ She ultimately concludes, however, that the identity of the majority of the buildings was critical to their intended effect, namely to clarify the topics of the various panels.

M. Grunow's brief analysis moves beyond identifications within each panel of the arch: she argues that the presentation of the emperor against a backdrop of known buildings in Rome emphasized the emperor's relationship to the capital city (and by extension the senate), especially in the context of his frequent travels.¹⁰⁵ Her analysis,

¹⁰⁴ Quante-Schöttler 2002, 114-36. Grunow (2002, 42 n. 68, 59, 112 n. 36) also concedes the difficulty in securely identifying the architecture, but ultimately concludes that most buildings were meant to be identified.

¹⁰⁵ Grunow 2002, 108-13.

however, still presumes that the identification of the buildings would have been crucial for their significance. Neither Quante-Schöttler nor Grunow, furthermore, take into consideration the generic bridge on the attic of the rural side of the arch.¹⁰⁶ When the monument as a whole is considered, the rendering and distribution of the depiction can be seen to be significant beyond any specific identifications, illustrating contrasts between urban/Roman and rural/provincial on the arch.

The arrangement of the Arch of Beneventum reliefs is one of the most noted and interesting aspects of the monument. The topics of the reliefs on the urban (southwest¹⁰⁷) side of the arch, closest to Rome and Beneventum, deal with the emperor's interactions with cities (fig. 39). The topics of the rural (northeast) side deal with the emperor's interactions with Italy and the provinces (fig. 40).

Architecture is depicted in three out of six main panels on the urban side. The arch in the *Adventus* Panel [R1.B1] generally has been unidentified or seen as symbolic, based on the identification of the subject of the scene as an *adventus*, a scene type associated with arches (fig. 41). In the Reception Panel, a series of personifications stand in front of a columned building decorated with a weapons frieze [R2.B1] (fig. 42). Since E. Petersen's 1892 identification, there has been wide (albeit not complete) consensus that this building represents the Curia in the Forum Romanum. This theory, however, is

¹⁰⁶ Grunow (2002, 112) specifically states that "all the architectural representations, including the one in the triumphal frieze, are located on the east [sic—see infra n. 107] side of the arch, and most likely depict specific locations in Rome."

¹⁰⁷ The two main sides of the Arch at Beneventum are rarely identified by their cardinal directions. Rotili 1972, specifies the urban and rural sides as the southwest and northeast sides, respectively. That this is correct can be checked easily in Google Streetview. The main sides are mislabeled, however, in Torelli 1997, figs. 1-2, an error that seems to have been followed by subsequent publications.

based exclusively on the identifications of the figures in front of the building, specifically a bearded figure as the *Genius Senatus*.¹⁰⁸

In the Consuls Panel, Trajan is greeted by a group of figures, including both personifications and two (smaller) consuls (figs. 43, 44). The scene takes place in front of a continuous architectural backdrop that includes an arch [R3.B1], a masonry wall(?) [R3.B2], and a pedimental façade [R3.B3]. The depicted structures of this panel have been identified as various structures on the Capitoline Hill, based primarily on the subject of the facing Capitoline Triad Panel, which shows the gods of the Capitoline Triad without any architectural setting (fig. 45).¹⁰⁹

In addition, architecture appears in the far west corner of the northwest section of the Triumphal Frieze, directly adjacent to the urban side, in the form of a small temple [R5.B1] that serves as both the point of departure and ultimate destination of the depicted procession (figs. 46-49). This effect is achieved by the position of the temple at the very corner of the larger arch: the main façade of the temple appears to be part of the beginning of the procession on the urban side; the flank of the temple, on the other hand, appears on the adjacent short side of the arch, at the end of the procession (figs. 48, 49).¹¹⁰ This temple has been identified as the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the

¹⁰⁸ Grunow 2002, 59; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 122.

¹⁰⁹ Some scholars (Petersen 1892, 251; van Domszowski 1899, 175) have argued that the arrangement of the Capitoline triad in this panel paralleled the arrangement of cult statues within the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome. If so, this would perhaps be a subtle but direct reference to the physical temple. Koeppl (1969, 168-69, 188) argues that the gods specifically evoke the Capitolium, without discussion of cult statues; he raises the possibility that the other gods represented in the panel may also have been worshiped on the Capitoline.

¹¹⁰ Grunow Sobocinski (2009, 138-39) argues that generic architecture here serves to create the impression that the triumphal frieze proceeds in an “infinite loop.” For the importance of generic architecture in depictions of triumphs, see Grunow Sobocinski 2009, *infra* ch. 7.

Capitoline, based on the subject of the frieze and the appearance of the temple at the end of the procession.¹¹¹ In addition, S. Muscettola has called attention to the remains of a depicted arch in the Triumphal Frieze [R5.B2], directly in front of the triumphal *quadriga* and below the Capitoline Triad Panel (fig. 50).¹¹² This depicted arch is so badly preserved that it cannot be considered in detail here, except to note its inclusion on the urban side of the monument.

Architecture and urbanism are not only depicted on the urban side, but are also alluded to by the subjects of the middle row of panels on that side. The Veterans Panel evokes Trajan's establishment of urban colonies for veterans. The presence of Diana and Silvanus in this panel calls attention to the fact that urbanism is established specifically in the setting of the rural wilderness, but this wilderness is represented abstractly (see below). In the Harbor Panel, the harbor setting is also represented through patron deities, although rocky ground is indicated (fig. 51).¹¹³ The topic of a harbor would evoke Trajan's impressive construction projects to facilitate trade, such as the *Via Traiana* and the harbor at Ostia.¹¹⁴ Despite allusions to architecture and construction in both panels,

¹¹¹ Hassel 1966, 20; Hannestad 1986, 181; Molin 1994, 722; Simon 1998, 190. Grunow Sobocinski (2009, 138-39) considers the depiction to be generic.

¹¹² Adamo Muscettola 1992; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 138-39.

¹¹³ For identification of the setting as the *portus Tiberinus*, where the three depicted gods had temples, see e.g. van Domaszewski 1899, 182-83; Strong 1907, 217-18; Fittschen 1972, 772-73; Lorenz 1973, 20; Simon 1979-80, 8; Torelli 1997, 158-59. For identification of the setting as the harbor at Ostia, see Hassel 1966, 16; Hannestad 1986, 182; Kleiner 1992a, 227. Simon (1979-80, 8; 1998, 198) sees these figures as statues. Simon (1998, 198) also points out that the lictors in the scene carry axes in their *fasces*, suggesting that the scene takes place outside the city.

¹¹⁴ Richmond 1969, 235; Fittschen 1972, 772; Lorenz 1973, 20; Hannestad 1986, 182.

architecture is not specifically depicted in either.¹¹⁵ This is particularly strange in the case of the harbor, a topic frequently associated with architecture, as seen several times on the Column of Trajan, including multiple river harbors (fig. 52; see ch. 3). It may be that in the Harbor Panel a figure-based composition was employed to parallel the composition of the Veterans Panel. The end result is that, while construction was a prevailing theme on the Arch at Beneventum, (depicted) architecture itself was reserved for Rome.

The same phenomenon may come into play for the setting of the Capitoline Triad Panel. Whatever allegorical act is represented by Jupiter's offering of a lightning bolt to Trajan, it is likely that it does not take place literally in Rome, but instead in some unspecified higher plane.¹¹⁶ This would help explain why the action is broken up over two panels (fig. 39). This lack of architecture in the Capitoline Triad Panel is all the more striking when compared with the Reception Panel below it. The compositions of the two panels are quite similar (a group of three figures, two on the left and a slightly differentiated third on the right, standing in the frontal plane with other figures in low relief in the background), yet in the Reception Panel, the panel dealing with human organizations, the architecture completely (and oddly) takes up the entire background (figs. 42, 45). Again, this suggests a connection between architecture and the city of Rome.

¹¹⁵ Some scholars (Hassel 1966, 17, n. 104; Hannestad 1986, 182) have seen these gods as reflecting the layout of particular temples in Ostia.

¹¹⁶ Hamberg 1945, 73. Cf. van Domaszewski 1899, 175, who sees the scene as taking place in the open area of the *area Capitolina*. It seems strange, even within van Domaszewski's interpretation, that this particular topographic location would be left blank, when all other locations in Rome are indicated in some way. One must also consider the idea that the gods are meant to represent or evoke the actual cult statues within the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; see *supra* n. 109.

In contrast to the numerous depictions on the urban side, architecture appears in only one panel on the rural side. In the Bridge Crossing Panel, a female personification kneels before a standing Trajan and attendants, while additional figures enter the scene via a small wooden bridge [R4.B1] (figs. 53, 54; see below). Two water gods and a tree fill out the scene. The compositional focus of the scene is very much on the human figures, which surround and nearly hide the bridge. While the significance of the bridge will be discussed further below, it is enough to note here that architecture appears much more frequently and more prominently on the urban side than on the rural side.¹¹⁷ In addition, the architecture depicted on the urban side is complex and ornamented, with stone construction indicated through both arches and masonry hatching. The architecture on the rural side, in contrast, is a simple wooden bridge. A dichotomy is thus created, between elaborate, complex, permanent architecture on the side of the arch associated with Rome and Beneventum, and a notable lack of architecture on the side associated with the farther reaches of the empire. In the two bottom panels of the rural side (the Oath and Auxiliaries Panels), which depict interactions at the borders, trees emphasize the natural, wild, specifically non-urban nature of the world outside the Roman Empire.¹¹⁸ This is not an abstracted wilderness, as in the Veterans Panel on the urban side, but a literal one.

It is important to note that the depicted architecture on the arch is primarily generic, although scholars have attempted numerous identifications. The arches in the *Adventus* and Consuls Panels [R1.B1, R3.B1] have no clearly unique features. The shield

¹¹⁷ That architectural backgrounds are clustered on the urban side of the arch has been emphasized already by e.g. Grunow 2002, 112; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 115. The significance of this grouping, however, is generally underexplored, and explained through the particular scenes depicted on the various panels.

¹¹⁸ Torelli 1997, 149-50.

pediment in the Consuls Panel [R3.B3] may be specific, but is not definitively so (fig. 44); the lack of a pediment in the Reception Panel [R2.B1] is remarkable. The two depicted friezes in the Reception and *Adventus* Panels [R2.B1, R3.B3] may have been meant to identify their respective structures, but both friezes are small and de-emphasized, and their decorations are hardly unusual. The tiny temple of the Triumphal Frieze [R5.B1] is identified, if at all, only through its scene type. The lack of consensus as to the identity of a single depiction on the arch, despite over a century of scholarship, should cast doubt on any theory that securing the identifications of the buildings was a high priority for the production team of the arch.

Notably, all buildings on the urban side (except the possible wall [R3.B2]) are complicated architectural types that would take expertise to construct in three dimensions. The depicted buildings are also highly decorated. The inclusion of two friezes is particularly noteworthy, since friezes are very rare in architectural depictions. The scenario that has seen the greatest consensus, whereby all of the depictions on the arch refer specifically to historical buildings, would suggest a situation where (a) one third of the actual buildings depicted on the arch happened to have distinctive friezes; and (b) the production team broke with tradition and used those friezes to identify the buildings, even to the exclusion of all other identifying signs in the Reception Panel. This seems unlikely. A more plausible explanation would be that the production team had a particular interest in emphasizing ornate, urbane decoration for the various buildings, and chose friezes as a means to this end.

Similarly, the lightning bolt motif in the shield of the pediment [R3.B3] in the Consuls Panel may derive from an actual building, but it is striking how closely it echoes

the lightning bolt that is the focus of the Capitoline Triad Panel (figs. 43-45). It may be that the lightning motif was selected to decorate a depiction and tie the two panels together, rather than to evoke a particular building. Shields with “almost identical” lightning bolts appear several times on the Great Trajanic Frieze, leading A.-M. Leander Touati to suggest (albeit tentatively) that “If workshop affinities could be deducted from these likenesses [in lightning bolts], they would imply a particularly close relation between the Frieze and the arch at Benevento.” Shields with lightning bolts thus clearly existed as an independent motif that was employed without any particular significance.¹¹⁹ Returning to the Consuls Panel, the tile roof of the temple is also included, squeezed in along the curve of the upper edge of the panel.¹²⁰ A tile roof could not hope to help indicate an identity for the building, but it does speak to the level of sophistication of the depicted building.

What seems to have been stressed on the urban side of the Arch at Beneventum, then, was the appearance of elaborate architecture, not the identity of particular buildings. This distribution of relatively generic architecture creates a powerful, generalized, abstracted association between architecture and Rome. This is particularly apparent in the *Adventus* Panel, where the entrance of the emperor into Rome is indicated in part by a

¹¹⁹ Leander Touati 1987, 57, with further examples of shields with lightning bolts (e.g. the Cancelleria Reliefs). Interestingly, several helmets on the Great Trajanic Frieze feature small weapons friezes similar to that on the building [R3.B3] in the Consuls Panel; for the helmets and a brief history of weapons friezes, see Leander Touati 1987, 59, 59 n. 310.

¹²⁰ Quante-Schöttler (2002, 134-35) identifies the rectangular hatching above the pedimental façade [R3.B3] as a continuation of the wall [R3.B2] that appears behind the arch [R3.B1] (see also Koeppl 1969, 136 n. 7). The size and shape of the hatching, however, differs inside and outside the curve of the arch (fig. 44). Grunow Sobocinski (2009, 140) believes the hatching above the pediment represents battlements and also connects them to the wall. In my opinion the hatching above the temple façade is best explained as the tile roof of the building.

single generic arch [R1.B1] and an architectural backdrop (see ch. 4).¹²¹ The emperor's return to Rome is also a return to architecture.

The one anomaly in this pattern, whereby architecture is reserved logistically for the urban side and thematically for Rome, is the bridge in the Bridge Crossing Panel [R4.B1] on the rural side (figs. 53, 54). The depiction is strictly generic, and suggested identifications have depended on the interpretation of the personifications. A common interpretation has been to see the bridge as a means of indicating the identity of the two water gods,¹²² but any such indication would seem oblique at best. M. Torelli, among others, has identified the woman as *Italia*, with the men (two of whom are *togati*) entering the scene as representing new citizens brought from afar to restore a depopulated Italy.¹²³ In this scenario the bridge is a generalized structure emphasizing the crossing of borders into Italy. K. Fittschen's identification of the kneeling woman as Dacia, in contrast, entails him interpreting the men as citizen colonists coming to populate the

¹²¹ Torelli (1997, 156) notes only that the *ingressus* is "symbolized by an arch," but does not take this further; see also Fittschen 1972, 767 n. 111; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 117-19.

¹²² For Petersen (1892, 242), the bridge designates that the left-hand god represented the Danube, which was famously crossed in the Dacian Wars, while the right-hand god represents lesser tributaries. Van Domaszewski (1899, 185, followed by Strong 1907, 219; Hamberg 1945, 74; Rotili 1972, 79) thought that the bridge indicates that the left-hand god represents the Euphrates, which the Roman army crossed, and the right-hand god the Tigris, which they did not. Simon (1979-80, 8; 1998, 200) sees the bridge as differentiating the left-hand river god from the right-hand sea god. The sea god is indicated by rocky ground referring to harbors; both bridge and rocky ground would evoke the many construction projects undertaken by Trajan. Her argument that the man coming over the bridge and holding a scroll represents the *curator aquarum*, and the other two men his *adiutores*, is not convincing, however.

¹²³ Torelli 1997, 153-54, 166-67; see also Simon 1979-80, 8; 1998, 198. Torelli draws support from compositional and thematic parallels between the kneeling personification of the Arch at Beneventum and the personification of the *Italia Restituta* Type on coins of 111 CE (MIR 349, 366, 367, 368, 369; Woytek 2010, 370, 378-79). The close connection between this type, whose reverse legend includes *ITALIA REST* in ex., and the *alimenta*, can be seen from MIR 352, where the *Italia Restituta* design is combined with the legend *ALIM ITAL* in ex., probably a mistake. Torelli (1997, 153) neatly solves the problem of the two water gods on the panel by identifying the god on the left as a river god, and the god on the right as a sea god; for Simon's refinement of this theory, see *supra* n. 122.

region, and the famous bridge as that built over the Danube by Apollodorus of Damascus.¹²⁴

The identification of the kneeling personification and her supporting figures remains open to discussion.¹²⁵ The main theme of the panel, however, seems understandable. Trajan interacts in some positive, helpful way with a female personification, who probably does not represent a single, specific province¹²⁶ (such personifications typically wear distinctive costume and may have attributes), but instead a broader area or concept, such as *Italia*, or perhaps the area beyond the *limes*.¹²⁷ The presence of a tree and two water gods suggest a theme of borders of civilization.¹²⁸ The men crossing the bridge [R4.B1] should, therefore, be people who cross borders (and perhaps cultures). The notable contrast in dress and focus on the togate figure suggest that this group consisted of both citizens and non-citizens, and that the presence of

¹²⁴ Fittschen 1972, 759-65. For similar interpretations of the kneeling personification as Dacia, see Petersen 1892, 242; Hassel 1966, 18; Rotili 1972, 106-7; Lorenz 1973, 46-7; Gauer 1974, 314, 320; Simon 1979-80, 8; Leander Touati 1987, 22 n. 55. This interpretation is undermined by the presence of two water gods. The explanation that they represent various (relatively unknown) tributaries of the Danube (Hassel 1966, 18; Fittschen 1972, 760; Gauer 1974, 320) is unconvincing, as is Petersen's (1892, 242) related argument that the left-hand god represents the Danube, as indicated by the bridge, and the right-hand god represents tributaries (see *supra* n. 122). For further argument against the Dacia interpretation, see Simon 1979-80, 8; 1998, 189; Torelli 1997, 166-67.

¹²⁵ Mesopotamia (van Domaszewski 1899, 184-86; Strong 1907, 218; Ryberg 1967, 35 n. 39; Richmond 1969, 231-32; Rotili 1972, 79) and Armenia (Hamberg 1945, 69-70) have also been suggested as identifications. A recently conquered province, however, does not fit well either with the generally hopeful tone of the Bridge Crossing Panel, or the lack of overt references to recent military activities on the arch as a whole. Distinctive costumes and dejected appearances are standard issue for recently conquered provinces.

¹²⁶ Torelli (1997, 166-67) argues from a thematic perspective that the subjects of the arch are all non-specific, and that Fittschen's Dacia interpretation is thus too tied to historical events.

¹²⁷ Hölscher (2002, 144) suggests the kneeling figure may represent the entire inhabited world (or *Italia*)

¹²⁸ Torelli (1997, 153) argues that the tree in the Bridge Crossing Scene evokes the wilderness. Notably, the foot of the personification rests against the tree, perhaps implying that she is on the same side as the wilderness. This would imply the personification is related to the provinces, rather than *Italia*.

citizens was important. In the broadest sense, citizens are entering an area under Trajan's auspices.

In such a scene, the bridge [R4.B1] could indicate more than a literal river crossing. It could also evoke associations between bridges and the expansion into new territory across a long, difficult border.¹²⁹ One of the most famous bridges in this sense would be the bridge across the Rhine into Germania in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*.¹³⁰ This bridge and the engineering expertise that made it possible are described in great length; the speed with which the bridge is constructed—and then purposely destroyed—are unmistakably aggressive and expansionist (even though Caesar himself did not stay in the area). The entire *Bellum Gallicum*, furthermore, is replete with examples that tie Roman engineering, and specifically the skill to quickly make bridges, with military success, while the barbarians, unable to make bridges, repeatedly drown in large numbers attempting to swim rivers.¹³¹ Notably Trajan, who took the title *Germanicus*, was in the capital of Germania Superior at the time of his accession, and there were deliberate actions taken during the early part of his reign to further the integration of the area, including the granting of municipal and market rights to various towns.¹³²

¹²⁹ The long visual tradition of this connection between bridges and triumph can be seen in a provincial relief from Cherchel, probably dating to the time of Caracalla. The relief shows a triumphal procession with a *ferculum*, on top of which rests a model of a bridge, complete with crossing soldiers and carts (Torelli 1982, 124, pl. 5.6; La Rocca et al. 2008, no. 1.2.17, 140). The procession also includes a *tabula ansata* reading “Pons Mulvi. / Expeditio / imperatoris / in Germa / nium.”

¹³⁰ Caes. *B Gall.* 4.17-19.

¹³¹ E.g. Caes. *B Gall.* 2.9.4-5, 2.23.1-2, 5.58.6; Wolfram Thill in preparation. See also ch. 4.

¹³² van Enckevoort 2005. While only a suggestion, it is worth noting that the two water gods could be seen as representing the Rhine and the Danube, and thus the river borders of the northern empire.

Apollodorus' famous Bridge over the Danube would be another obvious (and more immediate) example connecting bridges with conquest and the expansion, both military and cultural, of the Roman Empire. This bridge appears on the Column of Trajan frieze (Scenes XCIX-C), along with numerous other illustrations of the Roman army constructing and crossing bridges, both built and pontoon. A bridge, perhaps Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube, also appears on Trajanic coins.¹³³ In short, the bridge in the Bridge Crossing Panel need not be "just a bridge" emphasizing a river crossing, nor *the* bridge over the Danube. Instead it could be a multivalent symbol incorporating border crossings, connotations of conquest in foreign lands, the skillful engineering technology used by the Romans both in conquest and in peace, and the link between the spread of Roman citizenship and the spread of Roman architecture. In sum, it is not fortuitous that the only architecture to appear on the rural side of the Arch is a bridge, a symbol of the crossing from non-urban to urban, barbarous to civilized, non-Roman to Roman.

¹³³ E.g. MIR 314 (Woytek 2010, 351).

CHAPTER 3:
COLUMN OF TRAJAN

The architectural depictions on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius differ in several respects from those discussed previously.¹³⁴ The most obvious is their sheer number. While most monuments include less than 10 buildings, the Column of Marcus Aurelius features at least 51 architectural structures and the Column of Trajan has 326.¹³⁵ This allows a broad quantitative analysis not possible for other monuments. In addition, the setting of the depicted action of the monuments, far outside of Rome in provincial towns and battlefields, allows direct comparisons between architecture associated with and distanced from Rome. Finally, the vast majority—if not all—of the depicted

¹³⁴ The following discussion of the architectural depictions on the Column of Trajan draws on work conducted for my Master's Thesis at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (Wolfram 2007, with select results published subsequently in Wolfram Thill 2010; 2011). This thesis presented a comprehensive qualitative and quantitative study of the architectural depictions on the Column of Trajan, and in particular involved the compilation of a catalog of all the architectural depictions on the frieze. All statistics presented here for the Column of Trajan are derived from this catalog, which has been published in abbreviated form on the *AJA*'s website (www.ajaonline.org) under "Supplemental Data," in association with Wolfram Thill 2010. This current analysis presents a valuable opportunity for further exploration of many of the architectural depictions on the frieze, as well as integration within the wider discussions that are the concern of this study.

¹³⁵ The Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius differ greatly in their level of preservation. While the damage to the former monument is relatively minimal, large swatches of the latter have been heavily damaged and sometimes restored (Beckmann 2003, fig. 1.5; Coarelli 2008; Wolfram Thill 2011, fig. 12). This makes precise quantitative analysis for the Column of Marcus Aurelius difficult, but broad trends nevertheless can be discerned (Wolfram Thill 2011, 229). Any specific figures for that column, however, should always be considered with caution.

structures on the columns are generic. This preponderance of generic architecture has led studies of architectural depictions generally to ignore the two columns altogether.¹³⁶

The architectural depictions of the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius make interesting comparanda for the better studied, often identifiable depictions of other monuments. The following chapter on the Column of Trajan will combine the sort of scene-based analysis applied in other chapters with quantitative analyses of the monument as a whole. It will be seen that broader symbolic themes traced in previous chapters are applicable to architectural depictions of the Column of Trajan as well, and that the depictions of this monument can enhance greatly our understanding of the uses, functions, and significance of architecture in Roman state reliefs.

One of the best preserved monuments in Rome today, the Column of Trajan was dedicated by the Senate and People of Rome in 113 CE.¹³⁷ It towered over one end of the new Forum of Trajan, a lavish complex that celebrated Trajan's victories in the two Dacian wars. The column was surrounded by a narrow peristyle positioned between two large rooms (possibly at one time libraries) and the Basilica Ulpia.¹³⁸ The dedication

¹³⁶ The three monographs on architectural depictions in state reliefs (Maier 1985; Grunow 2002; Quante-Schöttler 2002) do not discuss the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius to any great length, if at all. Targeted studies of the architectural depictions on the columns tend to focus on compositional, typological, or anthropological concerns: for the Column of Trajan, see Turcan-Déléani 1958; Coulston 1990a; Antonescu 2009; for the Column of Marcus Aurelius, see Mielke 1915; Drexel 1918; Behn 1919a; 1919b; Hanoune 2000.

¹³⁷ The bibliography on the Column of Trajan is vast. For an overview of the monument as a whole, see e.g. Cichorius 1896; 1900; Lehmann-Hartleben 1926; Richmond 1982; Coulston 1988; 1990b; Lepper and Frere 1988; Settis 1988; Baumer et al. 1991; Koeppl 1991; 1992; 2002; Claridge 1993; 2007a; Davies 1997; Lancaster 1999; Coarelli 2000; Hölscher 2002; Dillon 2006; Depeyrot 2007; Galinier 2007; Diaconescu 2008; Packer 2008; Stevenson 2008.

¹³⁸ For discussion of the setting of the Column of Trajan and the Forum of Trajan, see e.g. Zanker 1970; Packer et al. 1983; Meneghini 1993; 2001; 2002; 2007b; Meneghini et al. 1996; Packer 1997a; 1997b;

inscription of the column states that it served as a monument to the amount of the height and work accomplished, possibly a reference to the large amount of soil excavated to provide sufficient surface area for the new forum.¹³⁹

The most striking feature of the Column of Trajan is undoubtedly the figurative frieze that winds around and up the entire length of the monument. This frieze depicts, in broad and often repetitive fashion, scenes representing the two Dacian Wars, from Rome's initial invasion to the deportation and consolidation following the final defeat of Decebalus, the Dacian leader. Hundreds of architectural depictions are integrated within this frieze, from the very first elements of the frieze to some of its last. These architectural depictions can be largely divided into three main categories: (1) architecture associated with the Roman army (military architecture); (2) architecture associated with peaceful provincial towns in alliance with Rome (civilian architecture); (3) architecture associated with hostile Dacian forces (Dacian architecture).

3.1 MILITARY ARCHITECTURE: THE EMPEROR AND ARCHITECTURE ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

I have discussed the crucial symbolism of the military fortifications on the Column of Trajan in two separate articles,¹⁴⁰ and will only summarize my arguments here. On the frieze, all military fortifications associated with the Roman army are

2003; 2008; La Rocca 1998; 2004b; Lancaster 1999; Liverani 1999; Davies 2000; Gros 2000; Claridge 2007a; 2007b; Galinier 2007. The odd, constricted setting of the column would have exacerbated obvious problems of visibility; see *supra* n. 48.

¹³⁹ Hölscher (2002, 132) has related the inscription to important themes for Rome of dominance over nature and conquest through engineering.

¹⁴⁰ Wolfram Thill 2010; 2011.

depicted as made of stone, whether the fortifications are completed or still under construction (fig. 55). This is despite the obvious logistical consideration that constructing stone forts while on campaign would hardly be feasible. This choice of stone construction emphasizes the permanence, strength, and superiority of the Roman presence in Dacia.

The use of stone architecture in a military setting is not limited to the military fortifications, however. In seven different scenes Trajan appears in a military context on a stone built platform, either standing addressing the troops, or seated holding council with his officers or receiving supplications (figs. 56. 57).¹⁴¹ These platforms appear strictly outside of civilian contexts, in scene types closely associated with the Roman army. The prevalence and importance of platforms in state reliefs, coupled with the oddity of the quadratic masonry depicted here, demand further exploration.

The basic form of these platforms is a rectangular block (Scenes XXVII, LXXV, CXXXVII). The examples of Scenes LXXVII and CIV are wider with a crowning molding. In Scene X, a ramp is added to the back of a larger version of the basic type (fig. 56), while the back of the platform in Scene XIV is staggered, perhaps representing steps. Scene VI features a second block used as a seat. Four platforms appear independent of any architecture, while two appear in front of fortifications and one inside a camp.¹⁴² There is no apparent connection between platform form, scene type, and relation to surrounding architecture; instead these aspects seem to be related to compositional needs.

¹⁴¹ Trajan standing addressing the troops: Scenes X, XXVII, LXXVII, CIV, CXXXVII; seated holding council: Scene VI; seated receiving supplications: Scene LXXV.

¹⁴² Platforms without other architecture: Scenes VI, X, LXXVII, CIV; in front of fortifications: Scenes LXXV, CXXXVII; inside camp: Scene XXVII.

Five out of seven platforms appear in scenes from the First Dacian War (in the lower half of the column); platforms nevertheless appear throughout the frieze as one of the first (Scenes VI, X; fig. 56) and last (Scene CXXXVII; fig. 57) examples of architecture on the frieze.

Most importantly, all of these platforms are marked by the same rectangular block hatching seen on camp and fortification walls, as well as on civilian buildings.¹⁴³ In general, however, scholarship has not discussed this striking aspect of the platforms.¹⁴⁴ This is despite the fact that logistically it makes no more sense to create stone platforms while on campaign than it does to create stone fortifications. Platforms, furthermore, are common in state reliefs and coins, and none outside the Column of Trajan are depicted particularly as made of stone; if any construction material is specified, it is wooden pegs. I argue that this strange construction technique for the Column of Trajan platforms is not accidental or incidental, but instead should be seen in the same light as the military fortifications. If the production team desired to harness the evocative power of stone construction, this technique could be employed for platforms just as for larger structures such as fortifications.

These platforms, in fact, connect Trajan in particular both to military architecture in general and to the connotations of permanence and stability of stone construction.

¹⁴³ Baumer 1991, 280-81.

¹⁴⁴ Scholars generally acknowledge that the platforms appear to be made of stone: Lepper and Frere (1988, 57) describe the example in Scene VI as a “high stone-built (?) tribunal;” Coarelli describes the same feature as “a masonry dais” (2000, 51) and the example in Scene X as “a stone dais” (2000, 54). The incongruity, however, between structure and construction material is rarely discussed. Baumer (1991, 280-81) is one exception: he argues that the platforms needed to be pictured with rectangular masonry, rather than the more logical turf, in order to be recognizable as tribunals. He suggests that specific comparisons to the tribunals in the Forum Romanum 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.

Even setting aside the platforms, Trajan frequently appears in conjunction with military architecture. He can be seen inside stone camps or fortifications in a dozen instances (fig. 58);¹⁴⁵ he appears nine more times directly in front of military architecture (figs. 59, 60)¹⁴⁶ and six times in close association with architecture but without physical contact.¹⁴⁷ Many of these instances may be related to the depicted events or to compositional clarity, but the overall frequency is nevertheless striking.

The fact that Trajan appears 31 times in association with the depiction of stone construction in a military context could not fail to associate him with the same civilizing and stabilizing implications implied by the construction. In Scene XXXIX, for example, Trajan meets with Dacian supplicants inside of a camp currently under construction, where legionaries carry notably large, prominent blocks and use stone cutting tools. 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 up severed Dacian heads (fig. 59). While there may have been a general interest in associating Trajan with military construction, the use of stone for the platforms suggests that the production team was interested in exploiting the specific connotations of stone construction for their portrait of their emperor. The first and most prominent stone platform (Scene VI) even constitutes Trajan's first appearance on the frieze.

¹⁴⁵ Scenes VIII, XIII, XX, XXVII, XXXIX, LIII, LXXIII, CIII, CV, CXIV, CXXV, CXLI.

¹⁴⁶ Scenes XVI, XXIV, XLVI, L, LI, LXI, LXVI, LXXV, CXXXVII.

¹⁴⁷ Scenes XIV, XVII, XXV, LVIII, LXXXIX, XCVI.

3.2 CIVILIAN ARCHITECTURE ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

The frieze of the Column of Trajan depicts 10 assemblages of civilian architecture in settlements under the control of the Roman Empire.¹⁴⁸ These civilian assemblages 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. I have argued briefly elsewhere that the sophisticated, stone architecture of the civilian settlements, which often serves as a backdrop of scenes of sacrifice with Trajan or provisioning the army, demonstrates the prosperity and permanence that is the reward for loyalty to Rome.¹⁴⁹ I expand that line of argument here, exploring precisely what types of buildings are included in the civilian settlements, and how this might draw specific connections to Rome.

I will begin my discussion of civilian architecture by presenting two case studies of civilian assemblages on the frieze. The first, Scene LXXIX, begins a long journey undertaken by Trajan at the opening of the Second Dacian War. In this journey the emperor moves through numerous civilian settlements as he makes his way further towards enemy territory. Scene LXXIX is notable for its sophisticated building types, and traditionally has been securely identified as Ancona—or Brindisi. As will become obvious, such identifications may be suspect. The second civilian assemblage presented here, Scenes XCIX-CI, closes Trajan's journey. This settlement has been overshadowed

¹⁴⁸ Scenes III, XXXIII, XXXVI, LXXIX, LXXX-LXXXI, LXXXIII, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII, XCI, XCIX-CI; Wolfram 2007, table 6.

¹⁴⁹ Wolfram Thill 2010, 35-6; 2011, 287.

by the elaborate bridge that takes up the middle of the composition, and which has been identified as the famous Bridge over the Danube built by Apollodorus of Damascus, Trajan's engineer. The outpost settlement of Scenes XCIX-CI draws on many of the same building types seen in other civilian settlements, but with important modifications that draw a contrast between the sophisticated towns long assimilated to Roman culture, and the newly founded town on the edge of enemy territory. After these case studies, I will then integrate these settlements within a broader quantitative discussion of civilian architecture on the Column of Trajan frieze.

3.2.1 A TALE OF TWO CITIES: CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS IN SCENES LXXIX AND XCIX-CI

The civilian settlement of Scene LXXIX is one of the most famous of the frieze, having undergone close scrutiny in attempts to identify its location (fig. 61). The depicted town is critical for arguments that the architectural depictions on the frieze are meant to represent particular topographic realities. Most scholars have accepted C. Cichorius' early identification of this town as Ancona, based on what he thought was a temple to Venus.¹⁵⁰ 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. F. Coarelli presents historical support for Brindisi.¹⁵¹ It is worth asking,

¹⁵⁰ For the acceptance of Cichorius' identification, see Davies 1920, 4; Coulston 1988, 26; Lepper and Frere 1988, 130; Winkler 1991, 271; Grunow 2002, 42; Hölscher 2002, 135; Stevenson 2008, 57-8. Coulston (1988, 26) considers this identification to be one of only two on the frieze that "can be determined with any surety;" Davies (1920, 4) ranks it as one of three.

¹⁵¹ Coarelli 2000, 137. For discussion of this problem and various attempted solutions, see Turcan-Déléani 1958, 155; Coulston 1988, 26 with associated notes; Lepper and Frere 1988, 130-31. Claridge (1993, 20) takes a different approach to this conundrum, arguing not that the depiction is inaccurate, but instead that the inclusion of the arch indicates that the frieze postdates both the construction of the Arch at Ancona and the Column of Trajan itself. It is notable that scholars are ready to insist on the identification of the town based on the fidelity of a particular detail, namely the cult statue, but will then resort to logical acrobatics to explain away details (namely the statues on the arch) that may strike the casual observer as being equally significant.

however, whether the architectural depictions of the Scene LXXIX settlement can be separated from a phenomenon seen in other settlements, where elements seem to have been chosen primarily to evoke the prosperity of Roman culture.

Scene LXXIX immediately follows the Victory and trophies that mark the end of the First Dacian War and the beginning of the Second. Two temples [R6.B1, R6.B2] are shown along the far left of the scene (fig. 62). The upper temple [R6.B2], with an Ionic tetrastyle façade and a (pseudo?)peripteral colonnade,¹⁵² has two specific features: a prominent female cult statue in the central frontal intercolumniation¹⁵³ and a large grated window along the flank (fig. 63). The capitals, molded bases, and grated windows of the temple are echoed in the colonnaded precinct [R6.B3] that surrounds the building (fig. 64). The lower temple [R6.B1] is a Roman podium temple with a tetrastyle Corinthian façade (fig. 65). Both temples include more prominent and detailed molding than any previous building on the frieze, along with tile roofs. To the right of the temples is a monumental arch [R6.B4] (figs. 66, 67), which stands on a rounded mole at the end of a zigzagging path. The arch is topped by three male statues rendered in fine detail (figs. 64, 66). The scene is completed by vaulted structures with tile roofs [R6.B5, R6.B6] (fig. 68).

Four elements suggest that Scene LXXIX is meant as a topographic portrait of an actual town: the inclusion of a cult statue (fig. 63), the statues above the arch [R6.B4]

¹⁵² 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. Excavations have shown the Temple of Venus at Ancona was Corinthian hexastyle (Grunow 2002, 21 n. 20); see *infra* n. 326.

¹⁵³ The cult statue naturally should be understood as standing in the *cella*.

(figs. 64, 66), the zigzag path (figs. 62, 65), and the rounded harbor mole (fig. 67).¹⁵⁴ It is not clear how helpful any of these elements would be in identifying the depicted town. While the cult statue is a unique feature for the frieze, her pose and attributes are rather generic.¹⁵⁵ The upper temple [R6.B2] itself, like the temple [R6.B1] below it, is not unusual and lacks any identifying pedimental sculpture (figs. 62, 63, 65);¹⁵⁶ it is not evident whether the large grated window (fig. 63) has any significance beyond providing compositional variation.

The inclusion of crowning statuary on the arch [R6.B4] likewise has been seen as important for the identification of the scene. Arches with statues, however, also appear in Scenes XXXIII (figs. 69-71) and CI [R7.B11] (this example is poorly preserved, with only the statuary remaining; figs. 72, 73). The former settlement has only strictly generic structures, and the only non-generic structure in the latter is the exceptional Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube [R7.B1]. For both arches, the statues (a *quadriga* and trophies, respectively) are too generic to illicit firm identification (figs. 71, 73). The three arches [R6.B4, R7.B11] with statues, furthermore, seem to have compositional and symbolic significance. All three arches directly follow towns (figs. 61, 69, 74) and mark the beginning of distinct campaigns in the wars. The statuary may help characterize its surroundings: the triumphal *quadriga* appears in a long-established and clearly Roman town with strong fortification walls and a stone amphitheater (figs. 69-71); the heroic male nudes are found in a town with an urbane, Mediterranean flavor, evident in the Ionic

¹⁵⁴ Lepper and Frere 1988, 1988; Grunow 2002, 42.

¹⁵⁵ For the difficulty in identifying cult statues in such situations, see Grunow 2002, 29.

¹⁵⁶ Grunow (2002, 11) identifies the arrangements of four prostyle columns and a *cella* door in the central intercolumniation as "normative" features for the depictions of temples in Roman art.

peripteral temple [R6.B2] and the cult statue that wears gauzy Hellenistic dress (figs. 61-68); and the trophies top an arch [R7.B11] in barbarian territory (figs. 72-74). All of this argues against seeing the arches as particular topographic markers.

Returning to Scene LXXIX, the zigzag path and harbor mole may have been meant to indicate the hilly 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 compact vertical composition of the scene. Zigzag paths appear elsewhere on the column as a compositional element without any clear geographic significance,¹⁵⁷ and a harbor mole is hardly a conclusive architectural feature. This particular mole may be a solution to the problem encountered earlier in the frieze in Scene XXXIII, where an arch (also with crowning statuary) in a parallel compositional position (following a town and at the beginning of a boat journey) ends abruptly and illogically directly in the water (figs. 61, 69).¹⁵⁸

The architectural elements that make up the settlement in Scene LXXIX are common architectural types. Arches, paths, moles, and vaulted buildings were common features of Roman harbor towns—so common that they could hardly have been much help in indicating the identity of the depicted settlement. The depicted Roman podium temple [R6.B1] is so general that it could have added little to any impression gained from the more detailed upper temple [R6.B2], the type of which was fairly common in the 2nd c. CE (fig. 62). Even the combination of the two types of temples would not be that

¹⁵⁷ Scenes XIV, L, CXXIV; see Scene III for a curving (rather than zigzagging) path.

¹⁵⁸ For evidence that the Column of Trajan was carved in situ, with teams of carvers moving from bottom to top (and generally making less compositional mistakes as they went along), see Coulston 1988, 55, 81, 97-101; 1990b, 300-3, 306-7; Beckmann 2005-06, 225-29, 233-34.

unusual in the Roman world.¹⁵⁹ None of these depicted elements, in other words, would have given their respective town an unambiguous identity. The overall impression gained from the combination of these generic elements would have been clear, however: a cultured, wealthy, established Roman town, in an area with a time-honored urban tradition.

Naturally, drawing on common architectural types for a given settlement does not necessarily preclude it from being identifiable. Background knowledge of the history of the wars may have aided the viewer in locating a scene, and it is possible that the selection of elements and details included for the Scene LXXIX town could have been related to the physical layout of a historic port. This relationship probably should be conceived as one of inspiration, however, rather than faithful reproduction. It seems safe to theorize that in their choice of constituent elements, the production team was influenced both by a general sense of an actual town and by immediate compositional needs. Details could be added or altered, perhaps to evoke the actual town, but also to add variation to the repetitive vignettes of harbor settlements on the frieze.¹⁶⁰

Throughout the frieze, in fact, the selection of which elements to include seems to have been motivated by a desire to (a) provide variety and (b) to indicate relative levels of sophistication for settlements. The unique features (cult statue, multiple temples) of the town in Scene LXXIX may have marked the settlement as compositionally important, the starting point of the half of the frieze dedicated to the Second Dacian War. The exalted level of sophistication, perhaps augmented by features evocative of Mediterranean

¹⁵⁹ Coulston 1990a, 48.

¹⁶⁰ For the importance of variety on the column, see Coulston 1988, 54. See also *supra* n. 73.

culture, would have been fitting for the starting point of a journey that would move progressively from established urban civilization into new barbarian territory.

The repeated elements of the civilian settlements, and the fine-tuned manipulation of those elements to provide variation and progression, can be seen clearly in the settlement of Scenes XCIX-CI (fig. 74). This settlement closes Trajan's journey through friendly towns into hostile barbarian territory, and includes a highly detailed representation of Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube [R7.B1], considered in its time to be one of the engineering wonders of the Roman world (figs. 76, 77).¹⁶¹ This depicted bridge is the only certain identifiable structure on the frieze of the Column of Trajan. Notably, the bridge stretches over an extended length of two scenes and looks nothing like any other architectural structure on the frieze.

This identification of the bridge [R7.B1] has led scholars in turn to see the settlement to the right as Drobeta, based on topographical logic rather than force of representation.¹⁶² Even if the bridge is completely identifiable, however, it does not follow that the town near the bridge was meant to be identifiable as well. Indeed, it would be strange if the small historic town at the end of a bridge in far-flung provincial territory would have held any significance for the residents of the capital, regardless of the fame of the bridge.

In Scenes XCIX-CI, the architectural feature of the bridge clearly links the Roman military to the loyal indigenous populations: the whole tableau is framed by

¹⁶¹ For identifications of the depicted bridge as Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube, see e.g. Turcan-Déléani 1958, 150; Gauer 1977, 13; Coulston 1988, 26; Lepper and Frere 1988, 149-51; Coarelli 2000, 162.

¹⁶² Davies 1920, 4; Ryberg 1955, 125; Coulston 1988, 26; Winkler 1991, 271; Coarelli 2000, 163.

parallel fortifications, with Trajan positioned between analogous groups of legionaries on one bank and indigenous civilians on the other. On the left river bank stands the first settlement, presumably marked as a legionary outpost by its inclusion of a large tent (a feature elsewhere associated strictly with military activity) and the presence of only legionaries outside the fortification walls (fig. 75). In contrast to the tent, the two structures on either side appear to be proper buildings, with windows and gabled, tile(?) roofs. Just as the tent may serve to mark the occupation as military in nature, these buildings may be intended to suggest a more permanent settlement.

In contrast to the military settlement on the left bank, the occupation on the right seems to be civilian (fig. 74). This settlement shares many of the same elements as earlier, more sophisticated towns, including fortification walls [R7.B2], a large arched gate [R7.B4], generic buildings, an amphitheater [R7.B6], a large portico with molded columns [R7.B9], and a monumental arch [R7.B11]. Only two buildings [R7.B3, R7.B5] are inside the city walls: these buildings are notable for their irregular shapes and roof lines, as well as a construction method indicated by studs or pegs, rather than hatching for stone or wooden planks (fig. 78).¹⁶³ The monumental gate in the center of the fortifications has an arched entranceway framed by standard Doric/Tuscan columns, but the boxy element above the gate, with arched windows and a hipped roof, is unlike that of any proceeding gateway. As in Scene XXXIII, an amphitheater sits immediately to the right of the fortifications (figs. 70, 79). While the earlier amphitheater was clearly made of stone (fig. 80), at least part of the second amphitheater appears to be wooden, since it has triangular supports in the upper stories instead of the rounded arches that make up the

¹⁶³ Davies (1920, 4) refers to this as “quaint Daco-Roman architecture.”

ground floor (fig. 81).¹⁶⁴ As in previous examples,¹⁶⁵ multiple perspectives allow a view of both the external façade and the interior seating. The depiction of the town is closed on the far right by a monumental arch [R7.B11] attached to a block of hatching [R7.B10], presumably indicating the town walls (figs. 72-74).¹⁶⁶ The arch itself is poorly preserved, but two crowning trophy statues are still visible.

Directly adjoining the amphitheater to the right are two buildings [R7.B7, R7.B8], the second of which [R7.B8], with its narrow, elongated form and tall entrance, recalls the building that separated Scene LXXX from LXXXI in a previous harbor town (figs. 79, 82). Like its predecessor, the narrow building [R7.B8] of Scene C is joined to its immediate right by a roofed colonnade [R7.B9]; the Doric/Tuscan capitals of this building, although simpler in form than their Corinthian counterparts in Scenes LXXX-LXXXI, are rendered with a comparable level of detailed care. Despite the smaller scale of the architecture, the alignment of the two structures [R7.B8, R7.B9] creates a direct parallel to the layout seen in the earlier settlement, and indeed serves an analogous function, as the backdrop to the interaction between Trajan and the local inhabitants (figs. 74, 82). 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 right foreground of the composition.

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

¹⁶⁵ Cf. the amphitheater of Scene XXXIII and the (Roman-style) theater of Scene LXXXVI.

¹⁶⁶ The composition of this arch and possible wall is confused, or at least confusing. If the hatching does represent the city walls, this would be their second appearance in a relatively short interval.

One may debate to what extent a viewer was supposed to consciously register the 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 probably is 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 reflects the repeated service of a convenient architectural backdrop for a panorama of gathered people. The very incongruity of the placement of the structures in Scene C—what architectural feature are the buildings supposed to represent?—reinforces this point.

Scene C strongly resembles its predecessor Scene LXXXI in composition, architecture, and theme (figs. 74, 82). Just as the costume of the indigenous population in Scene C is more clearly provincial, even foreign, than the Romanesque togas of Scene LXXXI, the architecture in Scene C is reduced in scale, form, and extent compared to that of Scene LXXXI. There has been a clear progression, from the sophisticated harbor to the more rudimentary interior settlement. Yet, in the end, both scenes depict Trajan interacting with an indigenous population as they demonstrate their loyalty, and both scenes do so against a similar architectural backdrop made up of building types associated with the amenities of urban life in the Roman Empire. Through the use of easily recognized symbols of Roman culture, both settlements express the themes of peaceful urban life and the benefits of Roman rule.

Going further, the entire arrangement of the civilian settlement in Scene C can be seen as a string of stock architectural building blocks: (a) fortification walls with interior

buildings; (b) external round(ish) entertainment building; (c) a pair of external generic buildings, in this case the “angled elongated building with colonnade;” (d) monumental arch (fig. 74). This can be compared directly to the arrangement of the town in Scene XXXIII, which also reads (a) + (b) + (c) + (d) (fig. 69); or with the arrangement of the town in Scene III, which reads (c) + (b) + (a) + (d) (fig. 83). The very nature of these buildings as repeated stock elements calls into question any attempt to see in them topographical significance.

In all three towns, these elements are modified, particularly in scale and construction method, to fit their specific setting and use. As has been seen, in the town of Scene LXXIX details such as elaborate molding, a traditional cult statue, and gauzily draped sculpture make evident the prosperity of that town and its firm place within the Roman cultural fold. In the newly established settlement around Apollodorus’ Bridge over the Danube, the use of pegged construction, wooden amphitheater, and trophies as crowning statues all underline the provincial nature of the settlement.

3.2.2 ARCHITECTURAL TYPES IN THE CIVILIAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

While the topographical accuracy of the depictions of civilian settlements on the Column of Trajan is doubtful, the depictions nevertheless are 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.¹⁶⁷ In Vitruvius’ discussion, fortification walls, towers, and gates are treated first, followed by streets and civic and religious buildings.

¹⁶⁷ Anderson Jr. 1997, 187; see also Carter 1989, 32.

The civic buildings include *fora*, *basilicae*, treasuries, prisons, *curiae*, theaters, colonnades, baths, *palaestrae*, harbors, and shipyards.¹⁶⁸ Although this list may strike modern scholars as unsystematic,¹⁶⁹ it is notable that, with some discrepancies, Vitruvius' litany could serve as a catalog for the architectural types shown in the civilian settlements, which feature a wide range of architectural features and building types.

According to my analysis, 16 different architectural types are present in the depictions of civilian settlements.¹⁷⁰ For 14 of these types, all examples can be clearly classified as Roman;¹⁷¹ in addition, only one out of the 13 monumental arches on the frieze (the poorly preserved example of Scene CXXVI) could not be definitively classified as Roman.¹⁷² 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 associated on the frieze specifically with Roman culture.

Some of these architectural types, such as porticoes, temples, and fortifications, were general aspects of urban life that did not necessarily carry uniquely Roman

¹⁶⁸ Carter 1989, 32; Anderson Jr. 1997, 187.

¹⁶⁹ Anderson Jr. (1997, 187), for example, argues that "the selection of buildings treated and of those omitted is at best odd."

¹⁷⁰ Architectural types in the Column of Trajan civilian settlements: altar; amphitheater; arch; bridge; bridge (pontoon); building; feature; gateway; *horreum*; lighthouse; portico; quay; temple; theater; tower; vaults. For definition of types, see Wolfram 2007, 23-7.

¹⁷¹ In the compilation of my catalog, each architectural structure was classified as "Roman," "Dacian," or "unclear," depending on what cultural influences were apparently dominant for the structure. For a classification of "Roman," the structure needed to be (1) a clearly Roman architectural type, (2) part of an urban landscape incorporating buildings of clearly Roman architectural types, or (3) associated with the Roman army. A parallel classificatory scheme was employed to distinguish "Dacian" architectural structures (Wolfram 2007; Wolfram Thill 2010, 28).

¹⁷² 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 structure was classified as unclear.

associations (although features could be added to temples to give them specific Roman forms). Others, such as theaters, lighthouses, and storage facilities, had their origins in other Mediterranean cultures but were quickly adopted into the repertoire of Roman building types and often refined (concrete, vaulting etc.). 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.

Fortifications appear in six out of 10 civilian settlements depicted on the column (figs. 69, 78, 83). All of these fortifications are indicated as made of stone. In terms of composition, the fortification walls of the civilian settlements serve to delineate a settlement, even when they are reduced, as in Scene LXXXVI, to lateral frames. When fortification walls are depicted frontally and enclosing buildings (e.g. Scenes III, XXXIII, XCIX-CI), these walls form an easily recognizable visual unit. In the Roman Empire from the time of Augustus onwards, fortification walls became less of a necessity and more of a means for a town to display an assertion of status.¹⁷³ 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.¹⁷⁴ The inclusion of formal ashlar fortification walls for the early civilian settlements on the frieze (Scenes III, XXXIII) thus can be seen as a marker of status for these settlements.

The monumental arch is one of the most common architectural types in the civilian settlements (figs. 66, 70). Smaller versions appear as “filler” elements in the

¹⁷³ MacDonald 1986, 82; Gros 1996, 26, 39-40; Rakob 2000, 75-6; Zanker 2000a, 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*.”

¹⁷⁴ Gros 1996, 39-40, 45; Zanker 2000a, 30.

backdrops of three harbor settlements (Scenes III, XXXIII, LXXXVI; fig. 84). Larger examples help structure the frieze by marking the beginning of major campaigns.¹⁷⁵ In two extended sacrifice scenes between Trajan and the local population (Scenes LXXXIII, XCI), an arched structure provides the only architectural setting for the scene. A monumental arch also appears as part of the famous Bridge over the Danube (Scene XCIX; fig. 75). In general, arches are not given much decoration, except for the three examples with crowning statuary discussed above.

Monumental arches on the frieze are as ubiquitous and important as they 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.”¹⁷⁶ Outside Rome, arches bore added significance: in established provinces, arches were flashy symbols of loyalty to Rome, while in newly conquered territories they affirmed Roman victory and continual presence.¹⁷⁷ The arches on the Column of Trajan, with their unambiguous forms and symbolic messages, should most certainly be seen in the same light.

Porticoes are another prevalent architectural type, with seven identifiable examples (figs. 64, 79, 82). By the time the Column of Trajan was erected, porticoes had become universal accoutrements of cultured, prosperous towns in the Roman Empire.¹⁷⁸

W. MacDonald argues that porticoes even established “the framework for a common

¹⁷⁵ Scenes III, XXXIII, LXXIX, XCIX-CI, and CXXXV; Coulston 1990b, 298-99. The arch in Scene CXXXV is associated with a military, not civilian, settlement.

¹⁷⁶ Gros 1996, 56; see also MacDonald 1986, 13, 75-80.

¹⁷⁷ MacDonald 1986, 82, 84; Gros 1996, 62, 64; Anderson Jr. 1997, 265; Perkins and Nevett 2000, 219, 225, 232; Zanker 2000a, 30; Frakes 2009.

¹⁷⁸ MacDonald 1986, 43; Gros 1996, 96; Anderson Jr. 1997, 247-49; Hurst 2000, 112.

imagery of cultural and political allegiance.”¹⁷⁹ On the frieze, porticoes serve much the same purpose as they did in actual cities, to suggest sophistication and to delineate and organize space, at the same time as they provided ordered, rhythmic visual backgrounds.

Some of the remaining architectural types that occur less frequently on the frieze are equally notable for their clear connotations. Three quays are portrayed on the frieze as lines of arches with water running through them, recalling the magnificent harbors that the Roman mastery of *opus caementicium* had made possible (figs. 52, 84). The most famous of these harbors were the Trajanic constructions at Ostia and Ancona; 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.¹⁸⁰ The quays are also part of the general focus of the frieze on harbors: six out of 10 provincial settlements are harbor towns.¹⁸¹ The lighthouse of Scene LXXXI can be seen as another easily recognizable reminder of Roman accomplishments in managing a naval empire (fig. 52).

The three temples [R6.B1, R6.B2] on the frieze (Scenes LXXIX, LXXXVI), with their lavish molding and easily recognizable forms, would suggest both the opulence and piety of the Roman Empire (fig. 62). Likewise the theater in Scene LXXXVI would

¹⁷⁹ MacDonald 1986, 48. While Anderson Jr. is correct in stressing the importance of porticoes 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.

¹⁸⁰ Rakob 2000, 75.

¹⁸¹ Admittedly, one may argue that most frontier settlements in this area were located along the Danube, and that the choice to depict most settlements as harbors 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. Regardless, the focus on the features connected to the role of these settlements as harbors is notable.

speak specifically to the cultured aspirations of its setting (fig. 84).¹⁸² Tacitus makes special mention of the inclusion of temples and a theater for Camulodunum in Britannia, although H. Hurst points out the difficulty in evaluating whether this reflects an accurate description of Camulodunum or Tacitus' cultural expectations.¹⁸³

The inclusion on the frieze of two different amphitheaters [R7.B6], meanwhile, is striking (figs. 80, 81). Scholars have long viewed amphitheaters as a particularly Roman building type. J. Anderson Jr. declares the amphitheater “[a] uniquely Roman creation.”¹⁸⁴ P. Zanker argues that “in a socio-political sense there is no building more ‘Roman’ than the arena.”¹⁸⁵ 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.¹⁸⁶

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. In addition, an imperial monopoly on the donation of games in Rome itself may have granted the amphitheater form connotations of imperial benevolence in the minds of

¹⁸² For the symbolic importance of theaters in colonies, see e.g. Rakob 2000, 73; Zanker 2000a, 37. Zanker (2000a, 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.

¹⁸³ Tac. *Ann.* 12.32; Hurst 2000, 106-7.

¹⁸⁴ Anderson Jr. 1997, 279.

¹⁸⁵ Zanker 2000a, 38.

¹⁸⁶ Zanker 2000a, 37.

many. The amphitheaters [R7.B6] on the Column of Trajan thus would have been vivid symbols of the benefits of connections to Rome.

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. The result is a parade of settlements embracing Roman rule and culture, as demonstrated by their adoption of Roman costume, religious practices, and—crucially—architecture. While all these aspects demonstrate loyalty to Rome, the architecture also clearly illustrates a level of safety and prosperity that is the reward of that loyalty.¹⁸⁷ This message is not bombastic: the column does not present a series of identical, completely unrealistic urban wonderlands. Instead the message is fine-tuned, varying the level of sophistication to illustrate a “historical” process of settlements growing over time in their sophistication and adherence to Roman culture.¹⁸⁸

3.3 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 Roman counterparts. Numerous types of barbarian architecture depicted on the frieze are unfamiliar, both in

¹⁸⁷ Hölscher 2002, 137.

¹⁸⁸ In his discussion of the inventive Trajanic numismatic type that shows a secure, seated Germania (as opposed to a downtrodden captive Germania under Domitian), Seelentag (2011, 90-1) argues that “[Trajan’s] bringing of peace and prosperity to the nations was an innovative issue in imperial representation—and it was apt to contend with other established practices, namely waging war against these nations.” The Column of Trajan presents an interesting solution to this problem: Trajan interacts positively with areas that are already pacified, emphasizing the connection between their acceptance of Rome and their peace, while at the same time he wages destructive war against resisting Dacians. The settlement near Apollodorus’ Bridge over the Danube (Scenes XCIX-CI) is all the more important, since it represents the clearest example of a settlement pacified by Trajan’s wars (although it is depicted as already pacified).

the repertoire of Roman art and in the archaeological record. Despite this unfamiliarity, scholarship has nevertheless treated the representations of Dacian architecture, as with all architecture on the frieze, as endeavors at topographic precision within the frieze.¹⁸⁹

Much can be learned from the general manner in which Dacian architecture is depicted. Throughout the column, Roman constructions, be 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 would have been uniquely challenging, given that, in reality, the contrast between Roman and Dacian settlements in the Balkans was not that vast. At the time of the Dacian Wars, there were numerous Dacian urban centers that boasted many of the cultural amenities otherwise associated with Rome or the East.¹⁹⁰ The sheer size and complexity of the largest Dacian fortifications are impressive still today, and even smaller settlements typically had well-maintained defenses. The stronghold at Brad featured a paved marketplace, while numerous fortresses, of which Sarmizegetusa is a

¹⁸⁹ For a discussion and criticism of this mindset, see Coulston 1988, 22, 25, 151-52; 1990a, 46. For this mindset in practice, see e.g. Davies 1920; Coulston 1988, 22-3; Lepper and Frere 1988, 2, 19, 27, esp. 73, 105-6, 118-20; Stefan 2005, 600-25; Diaconescu 2008; Antonescu 2009.

¹⁹⁰ The archaeology of Dacia, including the fortified strongholds known as *davae*, is still a developing, contested field; see e.g. MacKendrick 1975; Glodariu 1976; Gudea 1979; Bâzu 1980; Muşat 1980; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1981; MacKenzie 1986; Diaconescu 1997; Oltean and Hanson 2003; 2007; Diaconescu 2004; Hanson and Haynes 2004; Lockyear 2004; Oltean 2004; 2007; Stefan 2005; Diaconescu 2008. For the purposes of this analysis, it is not important whether the *davae* were “urban” or “proto-urban,” whether they are evidence of a centralized social organization or unrelated independent strongholds, whether they were all destroyed in the Dacian Wars or unaffected by a relatively temporary Roman occupation. What is important here is that some Dacian strongholds had features associated elsewhere with sophisticated urban settlements.

prime example, had paved streets and a complex water supply system of pipes and settling tanks. Like the Romans themselves, the Dacians were not shy about borrowing from other Mediterranean cultures: trade goods and influences from multiple cultures, including the Scythians, Thracians, Celts, Greeks, and Romans, were plentiful and existed side by side with local goods and styles. All of this meant that on the eve of the Roman invasion, there would have been much in Dacian strongholds that a resident of the Roman Empire could have found familiar.¹⁹¹

These similarities would have posed complications for anyone wishing to emphasize the differences between Roman and Dacian barbarian culture. For the remainder of the stereotyped barbarian west, the contrast was clear: Roman culture was urban and advanced, while barbarians were simplistic and primitive. This was relatively easy to depict pictorially. Regarding Dacia, any vaguely 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.

Previous scholarship has highlighted throughout the length of the frieze 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.¹⁹² This sort of contrast, however, is not limited to depictions of military maneuvers and strategy. The rendering

¹⁹¹ Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971, 110-11; MacKendrick 1975, 66; Glodariu 1976, 1; Haynes and Hanson 2004, 14.

¹⁹² Coulston 1988, 28, 91-2; 1990b, 296-98; Settis 1988, 163-66.

of architecture also falls within this theme of differentiating Roman from Dacian, to the disadvantage of the latter. A survey of the Dacian architecture on the frieze demonstrates that in their presentation of construction techniques and building types, the production team of the column seems to have been concerned primarily with serving a greater thematic purpose, rather than accurately reproducing the architecture of Dacia. At the same time, the production team did develop—indeed, presumably invented—a consistent architectural typology for the Dacian enemy, one that is integral to understanding the frieze.

3.3.1 A TALE OF TWO NON-CITIES: DACIAN SETTLEMENTS IN SCENES XXV AND CXIX-CXXII

The Column of Trajan frieze features 14 assemblages of architecture associated primarily with Dacian culture.¹⁹³ As for the civilian architecture, I first will present two case studies of these assemblages, followed by a more general quantitative and qualitative analysis of Dacian architecture on the frieze.

The first overtly Dacian architecture (Scene XXV) directly follows the initial appearance of Dacians on the frieze (Scene XXIV) (fig. 85). This architectural tableau 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 that are vaguely similar to features seen in the civilian 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

¹⁹³ Scenes XXV, XXX, LVII-LVIII, LXII, LXVI-LXXII, LXX, LXXI-LXXII, LXXIV-LXXV, LXXVI, XCIII, CXI, CXIII-CXVI, CXIX-CXXII, CXXIV-CXXV, CXXXII, CL-CLIII; see Wolfram 2007, table 8.

will be seen, are characteristic of the depiction of Dacian architecture on the frieze, and are established here early in the frieze.

Between Trajan and the main Dacian fortifications in Scene XXV run a series of poles, ditches, and spikes (cavalry traps?) representing military defenses [R8.B5].¹⁹⁴ The fortifications [R8.B4] themselves are depicted as a double wall with a monumental gateway and merlons (fig. 86). While the foremost wall is shown with clearly hatched rectangular blocks, the back wall is blank. The gateway [R8.B7], on the other hand, has horizontal hatching resembling wooden planks, marked by circular studs or pegs. Unlike the gateways of the civilian settlements, this gateway features a rectangular entrance and a gabled pediment. Above the walls stand posts topped by the skulls of what are presumably Roman soldiers.¹⁹⁵ Behind the skulls stand two structures that do not conform to previous architecture on the frieze: a small square building [R8.B8], hatched as stone, rises on stilts, next to a round wooden palisade [R8.B9] that does not explicitly surround anything. The whole concoction is further identified as Dacian by the dragon and plaque standards flying above,¹⁹⁶ 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 on the frieze but also the first specific depiction of wooden buildings. The two buildings [R8.B3, R8.B6] within a wooden palisade [R8.B2] outside the fortifications [R8.B4] are marked by both their unusual shapes and material. The left building [R8.B3] resembles a modern

¹⁹⁴ Lepper and Frere (1988, 72) see the depiction of these defenses as the product of a particularly careful and elaborate description in Trajan's (now lost) *Dacica*.

¹⁹⁵ Coulston 1988, 151. The Roman identity of the skulls is indicated by their wearing tiny helmets.

¹⁹⁶ Coulston 1990a, 46; Coarelli 2000, 69.

barn, but stands on stilts (fig. 87), while the building on the right [R8.B6] 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. 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.

This scene nevertheless features a compositional combination of architectural elements that is similar to those seen in the arrangements of three civilian settlements (Scenes III, XXXIII, XCIX-CI): (a) fortification walls [R8.B4] with interior buildings; (b) external round building [R8.B9]; (c) a pair of external generic buildings [R8.B3, R8.B6] (figs. 69, 74, 83, 85). All of these elements, however, have been modified in such a way as to mark them as distinctly different; 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 destruction of these buildings, meanwhile, not only underscores the imminent downfall of the barbaric culture they represent, but would have been an arresting turn in the story.¹⁹⁷

The Dacian settlement of Scenes CXIX-CXXII 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 (figs. 88, 89, 91, 92). Seven buildings are shown congregated within the wide outer circuit of fortification walls [R9.B1] (Scene

¹⁹⁷ For the destruction of Dacian architecture on the Column of Trajan, see Wolfram Thill 2011.

CXIX). The fortification walls, apparently representing a series of interlocking fortifications, feature both blank walls and standard rectangular hatching and merlons (figs. 88, 93). All of the towers and interior buildings have plank hatching, pegs, or both (fig. 94). Two pegged buildings [R9.B5, R9.B8] have tall entrances below a single square window; their closest parallels are the three stone buildings outside the fortified settlement of Scenes LXXXIX-XC. One of the buildings [R9.B5] has a grated window (the only grated window associated with Dacian architecture on the frieze). Two cylindrical buildings [R9.B7, R9.B9], also with tall entrances and single square windows, are included. While the level of architectural concentration depicted in Scenes CXIX-CXXII 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 civilian settlements friendly to Rome.

The exact relationship between the space inside and outside the main fortifications [R9.B1] 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 pattern on the frieze whereby Dacian fortresses employ multiple lines of fortifications.¹⁹⁸ The fortification walls [R9.B1] of Scenes CXIX-CXXII curve and rise to indicate the hilly terrain (although the ground line itself remains mostly static; figs. 89, 92). Inside the fortifications are two tower buildings [R9.B12, R9.B14] with pegs, planked roofs, and wide windows, along with a wooden palisade [R9.B13] (figs. 89, 91). At the far end of the fortifications, a single building [R9.B15] combines the position of rectangular examples with the form and features of the

¹⁹⁸ Scene XXV, CXI, CXIII-CXVI.

cylindrical buildings outside the fortifications (figs. 88, 92). As will be seen, these idiosyncratic architectural features are common from Dacian architecture on the frieze, and may reflect to a limited extent actual architectural practice in Dacia.

These scenes present the greatest concentration and variety of Dacian buildings on the frieze, with 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 [R9.B1] (see below). 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.¹⁹⁹ As in the other destruction scenes, the destruction of Dacian architecture is equated expressly with the destruction of Dacian civilization.²⁰⁰

3.3.2 ARCHITECTURAL TYPES IN THE DACIAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

Specifically Roman architectural types are completely absent from the depictions of hostile Dacian settlements on the frieze. Instead, more general structures are combined with new 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.

¹⁹⁹ Wolfram Thill 2010, 38; 2011, 291, 294, 296-97. For discussion of the liquid in the cauldron and the narrative of this scene, either poison or the last water rations, see Coulston 1988, 21, 23-4, 29; 1990b, 297; 2003, 404, 404 n. 67; Lepper and Frere 1988, 168-69; Hölscher 1991b, 293; Koeppel 1992, 96-7; La Rocca 1994b, 27; Coarelli 2000, 192; Diaconescu 2004, 122-23; Haynes and Hanson 2004, 14; Wolfram Thill 2011, 294 n. 28.

²⁰⁰ Wolfram Thill 2011.

Fewer architectural types are present in Dacian architecture than in Roman architecture: only 11 different types can be clearly identified in the Dacian architecture, compared to 16 for Roman. Of these 11 types, only 4 (as opposed to 14 for Roman architecture) are limited to structures classified as Dacian. Furthermore three of these types—the round building, the round palisade, and the tower building—are really particularized forms of larger architectural types. The fourth architectural type, the canal, is a *unicum* (Scene LXXIV; fig. 95).²⁰¹ Dacian structures tend to be simpler than their Roman counterparts, with fewer added details and with a more limited range of features. Nevertheless, particular features and details are employed to develop and characterize distinct architectural types and variations that are associated specifically with the Dacian settlements.

The “Dacian Gateway” variant of the gateway architectural type is seen in various forms throughout the frieze (figs. 88, 89). 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 [R8.B7] (Scene XXV; fig. 86), and more schematically in the Dacian stronghold in Scene LXXI. Variations in the basic type arise through the addition of various features, including square bastions and different numbers and types of windows.²⁰² The two gateways of the sixth Dacian stronghold [R9.B10, R9.B11] (Scenes CXIX-CXX) feature wide windows on both visible sides of their bastions, a feature characteristic of tower buildings (figs. 88, 89).

²⁰¹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 116, 119; Hölscher 1991b, 288-89.

²⁰² Scenes XCIII, CXI, CXIX, CLI.

Related to the Dacian gateway is the tower building (figs. 90, 91, 96). These gabled buildings are characterized by especially wide windows on two visible sides, and by their position behind fortification walls. They often include additional smaller windows. This type may appear first in the schematic forms of Scene LXXVI, but is clearly present in the fourth (Scene CXI; fig. 96), fifth (Scenes CXV-CXVI), sixth [R9.B2, R9.B5] (Scenes CXIX-CXXII; figs. 90, 91) and seventh (Scenes CXXIV-CXXV) Dacian strongholds. These towers may in fact indicate a particular stronghold: if so, the proposed sequence of the frieze would illustrate Dacian preparations for defense (Scene CXI), initial Roman attack (Scenes CXV-CXVI), Dacian despair and abandonment of the stronghold (Scenes CXIX-CXXII), and the Roman conquest thereof (Scenes CXXIV-CXXV). If these are indeed the same stronghold, it is tempting to suggest an identification of Sarmizegetusa, the Dacian capital, especially since Scene CXXIV seems to show the discovery and capture of Dacian treasure, as well as perhaps a royal tumulus (figs. 97, 98).²⁰³ All of these strongholds, however, are depicted very differently, making the collapsing of their identities into a single location difficult.

There appears to be a special relationship on the frieze between Dacian architecture and round or cylindrical forms (figs. 86, 92, 94, 95, 97). The round palisade [R8.B9] behind the Dacian defenses [R8.B4] (Scene XXV; fig. 86) is an early example of this phenomenon. All eight cylindrical buildings on the frieze are Dacian. The squat

²⁰³ Coarelli (2000, 197) suggests that the round building outside of the Scene CXXIV stronghold is a tumulus for the Dacian kings. Other authors limit their description to the basic form of the building (Lepper and Frere 1988, 169; Koeppel 1991, 99). 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 casts in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome break along the middle of this structure, as unfortunately do Coarelli's (2000, pl. 152-53) photographs of the column itself. The two halves of the structure are not even on the same page in Koeppel's (1991, 199-200) and Lepper and Frere's (1988, pl. 93-4) publications of the frieze.

“tumulus” structure outside the seventh Dacian stronghold (Scene CXXIV) seems to be a particular variation of the cylindrical type (figs. 97, 98),²⁰⁴ but the rest of the examples fall into two similar categories. The first category, with features projecting from the roof, stone hatching, and a distinct trapezoidal molding, is limited to Scene LXII (fig. 99); the second type, without hatching and with the same arrangement of entrance and window seen in rectangular buildings, appears only in Scenes CXIX-CXXII [R9.B7, R9.B9, R9.B15] (figs. 92, 94). Both categories share the same ridged roof and crowning boss.

The identity of the stone cylindrical structures in Scene LXII is a mystery (fig. 99). Some scholars have seen these buildings as shrines to the Roman dead,²⁰⁵ but several features suggest they represent Dacian architecture: (a) their general form—a tall cylinder with conical roof—appears only once more on the frieze, in a clear Dacian context; (b) the cylindrical buildings in Scene LXII share more specific unique features with those of Scenes CXIX-CXXII [R9.B7, R9.B9, R9.B15], specifically a roof with ridges and a crowning boss; (c) the inverted trapezoid molding above the doors in Scene LXII is also seen on the open rectangular gateways of three probable Dacian fortifications (Scenes LIII, LXII, LXVII) and the entrance structure of a definitively Dacian palisade (Scene LXVII) (figs. 100, 101); (d) while buildings associated with Roman culture on the frieze conform almost exclusively to familiar types and features, no convincing comparanda, either on the frieze or in all of Roman art or architecture, have been suggested for the confusing features (perhaps ladders or vents) emerging from the roofs. F. Lepper and S. Frere also have proposed that the cylindrical buildings might be Dacian religious shrines,

²⁰⁴ Supra n. 203.

²⁰⁵ Lepper and Frere 1988, 104.

Royal Tombs, or housing for stolen Roman standards.²⁰⁶ Coulston suggests they may be temples or domestic structures.²⁰⁷ In sum, 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 of the mysterious Dacian architecture, meant to elicit the same reaction of wonder seen on the faces of the legionaries wandering among the buildings in this scene.

The combination of wooden palisade with a wide, open, rectangular entrance structure also seems to be a “distinctly Dacian” phenomenon on the frieze (fig. 100).²⁰⁸ Taking a step back, palisades in general can be associated with Dacian architecture on the frieze. Although quantitatively there are nearly as many Roman palisades as Dacian, seven of the nine Roman palisades occur in the first two scenes of the frieze. Palisades associated with Roman influence, furthermore, are typically small, while the three Dacian palisades in Scenes LXVI-LXXI are major constructions. The prominent entrance structures in these last three examples clearly set them apart from the rest of the palisades on the frieze, although the individual depictions of the entrance structures vary considerably.

Stilted structures (Scenes XXV, LVIII) are a definitively Dacian feature, although again their individual forms vary greatly (figs. 86, 87). Less certain Dacian forms include the elongated building with posts, seen clearly in Scene CXIV (fig. 102) and possibly again in Scene CXV. The general arrangement of a single square window above a

²⁰⁶ Lepper and Frere 1988, 104.

²⁰⁷ Coulston 1988, 154; 1990a, 47.

²⁰⁸ Lepper and Frere 1988, 106; for further discussion, including the lack of archaeological correlates to these types of palisades, see Coulston 1988, 151; 1990a, 46.

rectangular door likewise seems to be found primarily in Dacian architecture (figs. 89, 92-94, 97), although it also is employed for several Roman and ambiguous buildings. Dacian gabled buildings with rectangular entrances but without windows appear in Scenes XXIX, CLI, and three times in Scene LXXVI.

The prominence of fortifications associated with Dacian architecture seems to make evident 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.”²⁰⁹ Dacian fortifications 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 blocking, merlons, roundels, gateways, and wooden towers (figs. 69, 75).²¹⁰ The most obvious 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 often extend across multiple scenes (e.g. Scenes XCIX-CI). Dacian fortifications can also feature several lines of walls, either parallel or interlocking.

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 to the production team. It

²⁰⁹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 108.

²¹⁰ Coulston 1988, 151; 1990a, 41.

is notable that the depictions of Dacian architecture do not take the form of random or incoherent congregations of fantastically wild architecture. Rather, what is suggested is 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 settlement, 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 (see below).

Just as there are characteristically Dacian architectural types on the frieze, in one sequence there appears to be a characteristic Dacian construction material. I have outlined elsewhere the close connection between wooden construction for Dacian buildings and stone construction for Roman.²¹¹ One construction technique that can be classified neither as strictly stone nor strictly wooden, however, is the polygonal masonry and roundels of Scenes CXIII-CXVI (figs. 102, 103). Archaeology has shown that Dacian military construction surrounding many strongholds constituted of a distinct type known as *murus Dacicus*, a technically sophisticated and visually distinctive construction method that “seems to demarcate 'high-status' settlements” in Dacia.²¹² This technique consisted of walls of timber-and-rubble cores faced with monumental ashlar skins; it is distinguished from the similar *murus Gallicus* by rows of stabilizing transverse timber cross-beams, as well as the ashlar skins that protected the walls against battering rams and

²¹¹ Wolfram Thill 2010, 38; 2011, 286.

²¹² Lockyear 2004, 36-37, 42.

fire.²¹³ 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.²¹⁴

It is remarkable that in the climactic encounter between Roman forces and a Dacian fortress in Scenes CXIII-CXVI, this all important ashlar skin is missing (figs. 102, 103). Attention is instead drawn to the interior construction, which is shown in fine detail:²¹⁵ disorganized masses of individually delineated, sharply angled, irregular shapes are interrupted by neat lines of roundels, perhaps representing the timber cross-beams.²¹⁶ All of this contrasts sharply with the six regular blocks squeezed into the bottom of the scene, directly below Trajan's feet (Scene CXIV; fig. 103). Yet in the fortifications immediately preceding (Scene CXI) and following (Scenes CXIX-CXXII), the walls of what is presumably the same fortress appear with masonry intact (fig. 96).²¹⁷ Even within the same siege the fortification walls appear suddenly as if made of ashlar (Scene

²¹³ Coulston 1988, 152, 154; 1990a, 47; Lepper and Frere 1988, 108, 144, 165-67, 270; Oltean 2007, 209. Richmond (1982, 41) makes no distinction and sees the construction represented on the column as *muris Gallicis*.

²¹⁴ There has been a strange idea in scholarship that the more "advanced" Dacian stone fortifications on the column represent works by Roman engineers for Decebalus as part of ceasefires under Domitian and Trajan (Rossi 1971, 144; Coulston 1988, 151; 1990a, 46; Lepper and Frere 1988, 64, 265). 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, 14-5), and there is no evidence for Roman influence in the depictions themselves.

²¹⁵ 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.

²¹⁶ Coulston (1988, 153; 1990a, 47) does not see any significance for the roundels, since he believes they are used elsewhere in Roman camps as a purely decorative technique.

²¹⁷ 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.

CXVI),²¹⁸ probably to emphasize the mighty task of the Roman soldiers tearing down the walls (figs. 104, 105).²¹⁹

Coulston suggests that this 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.”²²⁰ 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 that otherwise would have remained unseen. Similarly, in 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 *murus Dacicus* typically featured ashlar skins on both sides of its walls (fig. 106). Nowhere on the column do similar interior timber features appear on Roman fortifications, despite the implied inclusion of these features (in the form of roundels) on the exteriors.

One must wonder why the choice was made to emphasize the interior of the Dacian fortifications in Scenes CXIII-CXVI, which perhaps not coincidentally seems to comprise a crucial point of the frieze.²²¹ This may be a flashy display of (particularly military) competency or understanding, although this would not clarify why this

²¹⁸ Lepper and Frere 1988, 167.

²¹⁹ Wolfram Thill 2011, 295-96 n. 29.

²²⁰ Coulston 1988, 153-54; see also 1990a, 46.

²²¹ Coulston’s (1988, 154; 1990a, 47) 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 Scenes CXIX-CXXII.

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. I would argue that, more importantly, this masonry would 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.²²² 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 Romans fortifications.

The development of specific architectural types and construction techniques to represent barbarian culture on the frieze does not of course indicate that the production team of the Column had any 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 architecture. 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 incomplete and poorly understood. Given that modern awareness of the column has such a long history in comparison to

²²² Scenes XXXII, XCIV, CXXXIII-CXXXV.

Romanian archaeology, furthermore, one must always consider how much effect the depictions on the column 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.

As has been seen, “the depiction of Dacian stone walls in the ashlar style actually suits building practices at these sites better than it does contemporary Roman fortifications.”²²³ There is also general correspondence between the many tower buildings on the frieze and the frequency of rectangular towers in the Dacian archaeological record.²²⁴ Elaborate canals, furthermore, are features that, while an odd attribute for barbarians, nevertheless appear on the frieze and are recorded archaeologically at Sarmizegetusa (fig. 95).²²⁵ In particular, the emphasis on round plans, particularly the prominent round palisade [R8.B9] behind the fortification walls [R8.B4] of Scene XXV (figs. 85, 86), is intriguing in light of the three round monumental structures of the sanctuary area at Sarmizegetusa.²²⁶ These would have been remarkable constructions: the largest featured a palisade-like arrangement of 108 stone pillars and 30 stone blocks in 3 concentric rings. One can imagine word of such features reaching the production team of

²²³ 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 unusually happened to be employed for the unique northern barbarian culture with an indigenous tradition of stone masonry—seems too great to be believed.

²²⁴ For the archaeology of towers in Dacia, and their possible connection to elite residences, see Coulston 1990a, 47; Lockyear 2004, 36, 42, 45-8; Stefan 2005, 601; Oltean 2007, 209.

²²⁵ Stefan 2005, 76-81.

²²⁶ For plans and descriptions of the round structures of the main sanctuary in Sarmizegetusa, see Diaconescu 2004, 125; Lockyear 2004, 57-59; Stefan 2005, 42-7, 52-8. The chronology of Sarmizegetusa is not well understood, but scholars generally accept that the settlement was abandoned shortly after the Dacian Wars.

the Column. Similar sanctuaries featuring round structures are found in other Dacian strongholds, and may have been related to agricultural fertility.²²⁷

The structures on the frieze are certainly not unambiguous reproductions of archaeological features, and naturally one may argue that the production team of the Column would have had no direct experience with the interiors of Dacian cities. There are multiple lines of evidence, however, that the production team did have recourse to and drew upon a (at least vaguely) knowledgeable source regarding actual Dacian architecture. The best evidence is the demonstrable understanding of the position and fortifications of the mountain strongholds, seen, for example, in the evocation of *murus Dacicus* in Scenes CXIII-CXVI, and in the curving walls and multiple lines of fortifications in Scenes CXIX-CXXII. The unusual inclusion of a canal (Scene LXXIV) provides further support for this argument. The coincidence between round forms in depicted Dacian architecture and in monumental Dacian sanctuaries is more difficult to pinpoint as significant, but it is plausible that the production team could have been inspired in part by verbal descriptions or depictions in triumphal contexts²²⁸ of the notable circular monuments at Sarmizegetusa.

²²⁷ Lockyear 2004, 57-63, 69. In reference to the four elaborate stone cylindrical buildings in Scene LXII, Coulston (1988, 153; 1990a, 47) notes that “[r]ound sanctuaries with columns and solar discs existed at numerous Dacian sites;” he does not, however, see any connection between these phenomena and the frieze. He (1990a, 47-8) sees more inspiration in the round timber huts also attested in the archaeological record.

²²⁸ For the inclusion of architectural depictions in triumphs and triumphal painting, see Torelli 1982, 119-25; Coulston 1988, 165; Hölscher 1991b, 293-94; 2006, 37, 39; Holliday 1997, 129-30, 134-37; La Rocca 2000, 63; Settis 2005, 75-7; Favro 2006, 25-6. For the influence of triumphal paintings on the Column of Trajan, see Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, 2, 29; Torelli 1982, 119-25; Coulston 1988, 124, 131-32; 1990b, 295; 2003, 420-21; Settis 1988, 94-96; Hölscher 1991b, 293-94; Coarelli 2000, 11; Koeppl 2002, 248; Beckmann 2003, 111-113.

Why the production team would exploit actual Dacian architectural practice is open to speculation. By including indigenous architecture, the production team added to an impression of the documentation of the exotic locales dominated by the Roman army.²²⁹ Massive fortifications gave the frieze an appearance of historicity, highlighted the accomplishments of the army, and justified the time and cost spent in the wars. Complex indigenous architecture beyond the fortifications contributed to this picture. 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. The Dacian architecture on the frieze is the accomplishment of an inferior enemy, the glory of which is now appropriated by Rome.²³⁰

What is avoided in these depictions is as intriguing as what is included. Specifically, Dacian strongholds are represented as impressive but limited: most importantly, they are never depicted as urban. 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 elaborate houses, and sanctuaries populated by monumental structures, are not clearly present on the frieze, despite the fact that these probably would have been the most likely features to impress themselves on the memories of the many participants in the Dacian Wars available for consultation in Rome. Architecture within the strongholds on the frieze is indeed noticeably scarce: only 14 Dacian structures (not counting tower buildings, whose height,

²²⁹ For the importance of exotic conquest for the frieze, see Coulston 1988, 37; 2003. For a similar function of triumphal paintings, see also Holliday 1997, 132-34; Hölscher 2006, 37. For the importance of the display of exotica from around the empire in Rome, see Hope 2000, 83.

²³⁰ For the Roman appropriation of Dacian glory in general, see Coulston 1988, 44; Settis 2005, 85.

windows, and position suggest a more military function connected to the fortifications themselves) appear within strongholds, eight of them in Scenes CXIX-CXXII.

All of this seems more than can possibly be ascribed to coincidence. 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 latter. The choices made in the depictions of civilian occupations 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. On the frieze, Dacian architecture is complex but still relatively primitive, a fitting challenge for the Roman army but ultimately doomed to conquest. The depicted Dacian architecture was thus a crucial part of a carefully contrived presentation of war, both in general and in Dacia in particular, on the Column of Trajan frieze.

CHAPTER 4:

GREAT TRAJANIC FRIEZE

Among the *spolia* in the Arch of Constantine are four sections of a monumental battle frieze.²³¹ Casts of the four sections have shown that they can be fitted together continuously to recreate an 18 m segment of a once longer monument. This monument is still poorly understood and heavily debated. While the general topics of the preserved sections of the frieze are obvious, the date and original location of the monument are not. Even the most common nomenclature for the monument, the Great Trajanic Frieze, is controversial. Given that central topics such as provenience and date are disputed, the three depictions of architecture incorporated within the preserved sections have hardly been the focus of studies of the monument.²³² At the same time, because of their generic nature, the architectural depictions are also neglected in specialized studies. The architectural depictions of this monument, however, can contribute greatly to our understanding both of the monument and important scene types in the art of the Roman state.

²³¹ For studies of the Great Trajanic Frieze in general, see e.g. Pallottino 1938; Koeppl 1969; Gauer 1973; Leander Touati 1987; Philipp 1991; Hölscher 2002.

²³² See e.g. Leander Touati's (1987, 13) initial description of the frieze: "Sky and landscape are given but a trifling role;" see also Leander Touati 1987, 22. Gergel (1989, 482) groups the Dacian huts together with trees and rocky ground as "topographical elements."

4.1 THE MONUMENTAL BATTLE FRIEZE IN THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

Two sections of the frieze (henceforth Sections 1 and 3) are incorporated on the middle passageway of the Arch of Constantine, one on each side, with two sections (Sections 2 and 4) displayed on the short sides of the attic.²³³ Each section is made up of two marble slabs. The assembled portion of the frieze includes two scene types that are presented contiguously.²³⁴ On the left, an *adventus* scene (Section 1, slab I) shows the emperor, crowned by a Victory and accompanied by an Amazonian figure²³⁵ and numerous soldiers (one of which is possibly the personification of Honos²³⁶), moving towards the right (fig. 107). The remainder of the preserved frieze (Sections 1-4, slabs II-VIII) is devoted to an extended battle scene between Roman soldiers and barbarians. A mounted, charging emperor dominates the center of the battle (Section 3, slab V). The scene is punctuated on the right by the presentation of severed heads and prisoners (Section 4, slab VII) (fig. 108), followed by a tree.

Based primarily on content—a battle against Dacians—the frieze has been dated to either the Domitianic or the Trajanic period.²³⁷ This question of date is one of the few

²³³ My numbering system for the four sections follows Leander Touati 1987, in which the eight preserved slabs are numbered left to right according to their position in the reconstructed frieze. Section 1 (slabs I-II) is preserved in the east passageway wall of the Arch of Constantine; Section 2 (slabs III-IV) on the east short side of the attic; Section 3 (slabs V-VI) in the west passageway wall; Section 4 (slabs VII-VIII) on the west short side of the attic.

²³⁴ For discussion of the problems of the narrative connections between the two preserved scenes of the Great Trajanic Frieze, see Leander Touati 1987, 30-4; Brilliant 1990, 240; Tortorella 1992, 340.

²³⁵ See *infra* n. 249.

²³⁶ Leander Touati 1987, 15-6, 42.

²³⁷ The extent to which most Roman state reliefs consistently distinguished between different ethnicities in the depiction of barbarians is debatable. While earlier scholars recognized fine-tuned, identifying characteristics for various ethnicities, for example for Germanic versus Sarmatian tribes on the Column of Marcus Aurelius and the Marcus Aurelius Panels (e.g. Stuart Jones 1906, 257-58), modern scholarship has shied away from such distinctions (e.g. Leander Touati 1987, 71). The importance of ethnic distinctions

areas where the architectural depictions have been called into play, with W. Gauer arguing that they point to a Domitianic date for the frieze.²³⁸ This argument will be addressed below, but it has not seen much subsequent discussion.²³⁹ The imperial portraits of the frieze have been re-cut to represent Constantine, and at first glance offer little help in the question of dating. In her landmark monograph on the frieze, however, A.-M. Leander Touati convincingly demonstrates that the original portraits most likely represented Trajan, based on the relative ease with which a portrait of Trajan, as opposed to Domitian, could be re-cut to represent Constantine as found on the frieze.²⁴⁰ This current analysis accepts Leander Touati's argument, and subscribes to the current consensus that the frieze should be dated to the Trajanic period.²⁴¹ For the sake of simplicity, the common nomenclature of "the Great Trajanic Frieze" will be employed as well, with the acknowledgement that any terminology based on chronology is potentially problematic for a monument of uncertain date.²⁴²

appears to have varied with context. For symbolic distinctions in the representations of barbarians, particularly in the Trajanic period, see Hölscher 1978; 1999; 2002, esp. 137; Coulston 2003; Heitz 2005-06; 2006; 2009. Regardless of whether the barbarians on the Great Trajanic Frieze were specifically meant to be Dacians, their rendering (e.g. hair, costume, weapons) find the closest parallels in the Column of Trajan, and thus argue for a date close to the Trajanic period.

²³⁸ Gauer 1973, 340. Gauer's (1973) argument for a Domitianic date is based primarily on what he perceives as differences between the political themes of the Column of Trajan and the Great Trajanic Frieze: the Column of Trajan presents images of the emperor in consort with his soldiers, while the image of the all-powerful emperor on the Great Trajanic Frieze evokes the *deus et dominus* politics of Domitian.

²³⁹ Leander Touati (1987), for example, does not directly discuss Gauer's arguments, for which she is criticized briefly by Gergel (1989, 483).

²⁴⁰ Leander Touati 1987, 91-5, followed by Gergel 1989, 483; Brilliant 1990, 240 (with some reservation); Hannestad 1992, 113.

²⁴¹ See e.g. Toynbee 1948, 163; Holloway 1985, 265; Philipp 1991, 12; Hannestad 1992, 113; for an opposing argument see Gauer 1973.

²⁴² Gauer 1973, 320.

Regarding the original setting of the frieze, Leander Touati has shown from the thickness of the slabs and the finishing of the figures that the frieze was designed for a non-load bearing position high above eye-level.²⁴³ Not much else can be gathered from the sculpture itself. The most common hypothesized setting for the frieze is the Forum of Trajan,²⁴⁴ but this is based primarily on the fact that the Forum of Trajan is the only sufficiently impressive setting known from the Trajanic period that could potentially accommodate such a grand monument. Assigning the Great Trajanic Frieze to the Forum of Trajan, furthermore, raises numerous questions, such as why the same subject apparently was celebrated twice in the same time and place (on both the frieze and the Column of Trajan).²⁴⁵ Another important question is how to understand the removal of the frieze segments from the forum to the Arch of Constantine, since the Forum of Trajan is known from literary sources to have been intact and apparently overwhelmingly impressive when Constantius II visited it in 357 CE.²⁴⁶ Ultimately, the association between the frieze and the Forum of Trajan is far from certain, and the original location of the frieze must remain an open question.

²⁴³ Leander Touati 1987, 85-90; Brilliant 1990, 239.

²⁴⁴ E.g. Stuart Jones 1906, 225; Toynbee 1968, 294; Zanker 1970, 513-16; Leander Touati 1987, 90-1; Brilliant 1990, 239; Philipp 1991, 12; Hannestad 1992, 114; Tortorella 1992, 341; Packer 1997a, 113, 445; Hölscher 2002, 141; Coulston 2003, 415. For arguments against restoring the frieze in the Forum of Trajan, see Gauer 1973, 336, 345; Holloway 1985, 266-67. Gauer (1973) favors the Forum of Caesar as the original setting for the frieze; Holloway (1985) argues the frieze comes from an eastern city (see *infra* n. 279).

²⁴⁵ Petersen 1906, 522; Toynbee 1948, 164; Gauer 1973, 320, 325. Leander Touati (1987, 34) suggests that the Great Trajanic Frieze acted as a legible summary of the more detailed story of the Column of Trajan.

²⁴⁶ Gauer 1973, 337; Holloway 1985, 266. The question of the mechanisms by which the various *spolia* were found, selected, and incorporated into the Arch of Constantine is a vast topic with its own extensive bibliography, and cannot be addressed here.

The original location obviously depends in part on the posited size of the complete frieze. The original length of the frieze is unresolved. The frieze clearly continues to the left of the *adventus* scene, and to the right of the last preserved panel of the battle.²⁴⁷ Numerous relief fragments have been identified as once belonging to the frieze, based on the scale, style, content, and sometimes find spot of the fragments. Only two of these fragments, both featuring depicted architecture, will be considered in detail here. Regardless of how many (if any) of the proposed fragments were once part of the Great Trajanic Frieze,²⁴⁸ what is clear is that the original monument was very large and included multiple scene types.

The sections of the frieze preserved in the Arch of Constantine feature three architectural depictions. The *adventus* scene in Section 1 includes part of the span of an arch [R10.B1], now only partially preserved (fig. 107). Section 4 incorporates two huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] (figs. 108, 109). All three architectural depictions appear behind a crowd of human figures: only the span of the arch and the roofs of the huts can be seen. The arch is mentioned in discussions of the *adventus* scene type in state reliefs and coins; the huts, as stated above, have been cited as evidence for the chronology of the frieze. On

²⁴⁷ Toynbee 1948, 163; Gauer 1973, 328; Leander Touati 1987, 16, 26; Philipp 1991, 13; Tortorella 1992, 339. Citing parallels in Cancelleria Relief B and the Beneventum Arch, Koeppel (1969, 189-90) suggests that a deity or deities may have stood to the left of the *adventus* scene and answered Trajan's gesture of greeting.

²⁴⁸ In her systematic analysis of all proposed fragments of the Great Trajanic Frieze, Leander Touati (1987, 96-111) concludes that the majority of the fragments, particularly those in the Villa Borghese, were once part of the frieze; see also Hölscher 2002, 141. One problem with this line of reasoning, however, is our limited understanding of how many and what types of monuments were erected in Trajanic Rome. The Column of Trajan, the Great Trajanic Frieze, and the Extispicium Relief, if all correctly dated to the Trajanic period, represent three known monumental reliefs, and imply the existence of others, unless we assume that every Trajanic monument was preserved into the modern period. The Villa Borghese fragments thus could belong to a lost monument similar but not identical to the Great Trajanic Frieze. While I am inclined to be cautious about assigning the various fragments to the frieze, I will still discuss some of the fragments here, both because the fragments have become an integral part of scholarship on the frieze, and because the fragments can still contribute to our understanding of architectural depictions in the Trajanic period, regardless of their original monument.

the whole, however, the architectural depictions are left out of considerations of the thematic messages or effects of the frieze.

4.2 ARCH AND *ADVENTUS* ON THE GREAT TRAJANIC FRIEZE

The *adventus* scene of Section 1 conforms to the standard design for such scenes in state reliefs (fig. 107). The emperor is on foot in a stance implying movement and with his hand outstretched. He is led by a striding Amazonian figure, either Roma or Virtus.²⁴⁹ A full-scale Victory hovers slightly off the ground behind the emperor, her arm raised to crown him. The arch [R10.B1] on the Great Trajanic Frieze generally has been identified as one of these standard elements of *adventus* scenes, and dismissed from further study. The arch takes on much greater significance, however, when situated within the development of *adventus* scenes in general.

On the Great Trajanic Frieze the city is symbolized by architecture.²⁵⁰ The architecture is neither extensive nor specific. In fact, it is not even apparent from the extant frieze that the city to which the emperor returns is in fact Rome, since the striding Amazonian figure in front of him could be the topographically-neutral Virtus, and numerous scenes on the Column of Trajan depict the emperor's entrance to provincial cities. The arch [R10.B1], however, stands in as an elegant shorthand for Roman urbanism in general. The emperor returns not just to the broad concept of Rome, but specifically to a *city*.

²⁴⁹ The identification of this Amazonian figure, in both this and other *adventus* scenes, is notoriously difficult. Roma and Virtus are the obvious candidates. For the identification of the figure in the Great Trajanic Frieze as Roma, see Hamberg 1945, 56; as Virtus, see Koeppel 1969, 160, 189; Leander Touati 1987, 15-6.

²⁵⁰ Hamberg 1945, 58; Leander Touati 1987, 53. The lack of helmets for anyone involved in the procession also emphasizes the urban setting of the scene (Leander Touati 1987, 52).

The scene in the Lower *Adventus* Panel of the Arch at Beneventum is very similar to that of the Great Trajanic Frieze (figs. 41, 107). Both present the emperor against a background of crowded figures, in a procession that moves to the left. In the Beneventum example, all participants wear civilian dress, and no deities are present in that particular panel, although numerous personifications wait to greet the emperor in the Reception Panel on the other pylon (fig. 39). Like the *adventus* of the Great Trajanic Frieze, the Beneventum *adventus* employs a generic arch [R1.B1] to indicate and symbolize the emperor's return to the city. The identity of the city is more definite, but only because the Arch at Beneventum is fully preserved and the other panels help clarify the "narrative." The arch [R1.B1] itself is purely symbolic and has no specific topographical significance.

In addition, several scenes on the Column of Trajan depict the emperor's arrival in provincial towns (fig. 82).²⁵¹ These arrivals are presented as purely "historical" occurrences, without any deities or personifications. Beyond the general emphasis on Roman architecture (all of it generic) in these provincial towns, Scenes LXXXIII and XC feature a prominent arched structure. In the latter scene, the arched structure is the only architecture present and stands in for the entire settlement. Thus the Great Trajanic Frieze, Arch at Beneventum, and Column of Trajan all provide examples of *adventus* scenes, each of which incorporates urban architecture. The *adventus* scene in state reliefs appears to be a staple of the Trajanic period, and can be associated with generic arched structures.

²⁵¹ Scenes XXXV, LXXXI, XC; Koeppl 1969, 175-79. In Scene XXXV, the first arrival scene, Trajan does not appear to enter the fortified settlement behind him; he is framed, however, by the arched gateway of the settlement.

The representation of the city in the *adventus* scenes of Trajanic state reliefs stands in stark contrast to that seen in the immediate predecessors, the Cancellaria Reliefs. The topics of the Cancellaria Reliefs are debated extensively, and no interpretation has gained broad consensus.²⁵² Based on its emphasis on movement, Relief A is generally thought to show either an *adventus* or a *profectio* (figs. 110, 111).²⁵³ The most convincing interpretation for Relief A is that of T. Hölscher, who argues in favor of an *adventus* scene.²⁵⁴ His following arguments are particularly substantial: (a) before the end of the 2nd c. CE, Victories, such as that seen to the far left of Relief A, are associated both in state reliefs and coins with the emperor's return to city, but never with his departures; (b) the gesture made by the emperor also appears on coins in the context of the emperor's return, but not in representations of a *profectio* until the 3rd c. CE; (c) the gesture made by the *Genius Senatus* is also made by a figure on the south frieze of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, an earlier monument associated with the emperor's return (fig. 112); (d) Nerva never left the city after he became emperor, meaning that the post-Domitianic version would have lacked historical background.²⁵⁵ If Hölscher's interpretation is

²⁵² For the Cancellaria Reliefs, see e.g. Magi 1945; Toynbee 1957; Koeppel 1969, 138-44, 172-74; 1984, 5-8, 28-33; Bergmann 1981; Pfanner 1981; Hölscher 1992; D'Ambra 1994; Fehr 1998; Baumer 2007; 2008. Part of the confusion over the topics of the Cancellaria Reliefs arises from the imperial portraits, which were re-cut from that of Domitian following his *damnatio memoriae* in 96 CE. Bergmann (1981) has demonstrated convincingly that both the portraits of Nerva (Relief A) and Vespasian (Relief B) were originally portraits of Domitian. This naturally undermines interpretations that see Relief B as representing Domitian greeting his father (e.g. Magi 1945; Toynbee 1957; Koeppel 1969, 172-74; Hannestad 1986, 132-39).

²⁵³ For interpretations of Relief A as commemorating an *adventus*, see Magi 1945; Simon 1960; Hölscher 1992; Fehr 1998; Baumer 2007; 2008; for a *profectio*, see Toynbee 1957; Koeppel 1969, 138-44; 1984, 29; Hannestad 1986, 132-39.

²⁵⁴ Hölscher 1992, 302-3.

²⁵⁵ Hölscher (1992, 303) argues that the imagery of Relief A would still be applicable to Nerva, because the original Domitianic *adventus* culminated in the dedication of a wreath to Jupiter, a ritual that Nerva repeated. To these arguments of Hölscher for an *adventus*, I would add a few tentative observations. It would seem strange if a goddess at least reminiscent of Roma would urge the emperor out of the city. Numerous female goddesses, furthermore, appear in *adventus* scenes, such as the Trajanic coin type (see

correct, Relief A would represent the first extant representation of the *adventus* scene type in state reliefs.

Since the far left panel of the reliefs is missing, the original presence of an arch in Relief A cannot be excluded. Hölscher suggests that either an arch or divinity may have served as the destination of the procession, although he favors a divinity.²⁵⁶ If there were an arch, the distance (both spatial and conceptual) between the emperor and the architecture would be much greater on Relief A than in either the *Adventus* Panel of the Arch at Beneventum or the Great Trajanic Frieze (figs. 41, 107, 110). As seen for the Column of Trajan, the emperor's close compositional relationship to and general association with architecture is significant.

Relief B of the Cancelleria Reliefs, furthermore, provides circumstantial evidence that architecture is unlikely for Relief A. On Relief B, the city of Rome is represented by the enthroned Roma, elevated on a platform, surrounded by standing Vestal virgins (fig. 113).²⁵⁷ The city is conceptualized and depicted through personifications of special religious aspects; even its borders are anthropomorphized in the youth with his foot on the *cippus* (fig. 114).²⁵⁸ This reliance on personifications to represent the city is all the

main text this chapter; fig. 115) and the *Adventus* Panel of the Marcus Aurelius Panels (see ch. 7; fig. 198); the later example includes a striding Amazonian figure with a shield. In both the Trajanic *profectio* coins and the *Profectio* Panel, in contrast, only male figures appear. For the dangers of projecting later depictions of such scenes on the Cancelleria Reliefs, see D'Ambra 1994, 74.

²⁵⁶ Hölscher 1992, 303; see also Fehr 1998, 719-20.

²⁵⁷ Koeppel 1969, 172; Hölscher 1992, 298; Fehr 1998, 723; Baumer 2008, 190.

²⁵⁸ The identity of this figure is debated; for a convenient table of identifications, see Baumer 2007, 100. The most common hypothesis, that he is the *Genius Populi Romani* (e.g. Toynbee 1957; Baumer 2007), does not sufficiently explain the object under his foot. The suggestion that the object represents an altar, whose crooked appearance underscores the longevity and permanence of the cult (Fehr 1998, 721; Baumer 2007, 103) fails to justify fully why the divinity is stepping on the object, which seems to bespeak an attribute of the figure. The most convincing interpretation of the object is that of Koeppel (1969, 172; see also 1984, 33), who sees it as a *cippus* and the youth as the personification of the *pomerium*. Despite the

more striking, given that many of the suggested topics of Relief B—the founding of a cult, the restoration of the destroyed Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a *lustratio* in connection with a census²⁵⁹—are all topics where one might expect to find architecture depicted.²⁶⁰ This reliance on personifications speaks against the inclusion of an arch in the *adventus* scene of Relief A; the Amazonian figure of Relief A, who, based on the seated Roma in Relief B, probably is to be understood as Roma,²⁶¹ likely served with the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* as the representation of the city in that relief. All of this demonstrates a conceptualization of the city of Rome in the Cancellaria Reliefs that is strikingly different from that seen in the Trajanic period.

The *adventus* scenes of the Arch at Beneventum and the Great Trajanic Frieze, taken together with the evidence of the Cancellaria Reliefs, suggest that the generic arch was first introduced to the *adventus* scene type in state reliefs in the Trajanic period. Interestingly, the *adventus* first becomes a clearly defined numismatic type under Trajan as well (fig. 115).²⁶² The mounted emperor rides to the right, led by a female figure and

fact that his logic is very different from Koeppl's, Fehr's (1998) solution, that the figure is Terminus, also includes a god of borders. Although Fehr (1998, 721) identifies the object as an altar, a *cippus* could also be a reasonable attribute of Terminus. Baumer (2007, 103), who interprets the youth as the *Genius*, also sees topographic significance in the object, as an altar to Mars on the Campus Martius.

²⁵⁹ Founding of a cult: (to the imperial family) Simon 1960, (to Minerva) Hölscher 1992; restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome: Fehr 1998; census *lustratio*: Baumer 2007; 2008. For associations between the *lustratio* and architecture, see ch. 7.

²⁶⁰ The highlighting of borders, plus the likelihood that whatever event is commemorated in Relief B probably was connected to a homecoming of the emperor, has led Hölscher (1992, 301-2) to suggest that Relief B has some of the flavor of an *adventus*.

²⁶¹ Regardless of whether the Amazonian figure in Relief A was meant to represent Roma or Virtus, the presence of Roma in Relief B would mean that the Amazon in Relief A at the minimum would recall Roma. D'Ambra (1994, 78) suggests that the ambiguity between Roman and Virtus may be intentional.

²⁶² MIR 259, 260. Koeppl 1969, 181-82; Woytek 2010, 120, 322.

followed by several soldiers and a nude Mars on foot.²⁶³ The reverse legend—ADVENTVS AVG above, SPQR OPT PRINCIPI in ex.—makes the subject explicit. Notably, this design was minted only for a very limited period of time (c. 106-107 CE) and did not appear on any normal denominations. Instead it was used strictly on presentation pieces (Ar-*multiplum*, Ae-medallion) commemorating Trajan's return from the Second Dacian War. This is striking, given the contemporary emphasis on *adventus* scenes in Trajanic state reliefs.

Why did the *adventus* scene type not gain the popularity in Trajanic coins that it saw in state relief? The basic design of the *adventus* coins could not have been inherently problematic, since it was used later with only slight modification (the substitution of an armored Mars²⁶⁴ for the leading female figure) as a *profectio* design (fig. 116). This modified design, paired with a legend consisting of some variation of PROFECTIO AVGVSTI, was minted on all major denominations for a maximum period of October 113 to late 115 CE.²⁶⁵ It is perhaps not surprising that the *profectio* would prove a popular subject for coins, which would circulate far outside Rome,²⁶⁶ while the *adventus*, with its focus on homecoming and the city, would be more popular on state reliefs set up within Rome and her environs. The mounted emperor design may have been unsuccessful

²⁶³ For identification of the nude figure as a soldier, see Strack 1931, no. 118; Mattingly 1936, 68; Koeppel 1969, 181-82. Woytek (2010, 120, 322) correctly sees this figure as Mars.

²⁶⁴ This figure has traditionally been identified as a human soldier (see Mattingly and Sydenham 1926, 262; Strack 1931, 218, no. 208; Mattingly 1936, 102-3; Woytek 2010, 406, 431, 436). Woytek (personal communication) now agrees with me, however, that this figure should be seen as Mars.

²⁶⁵ MIR 430, 486, 496, 508, 515. Koeppel 1969, 180; Woytek 2010, 146, 406, 431, 436, 440, 442.

²⁶⁶ As for state reliefs, the question of audience targeting is hotly debated for coins, with the added complications that coins, unlike state reliefs, appeared in different denominations and were quite literally exported and circulated across the empire from Rome. For the debate on audience targeting in Roman coins, see e.g. Metcalf 1993; Hekster 2003; Kemmers 2005; 2006; Beckmann 2009; Woytek 2009; Elkins 2010.

as an *adventus* type, however, because it did not place sufficient emphasis on a crucial component of the *adventus* concept, namely the city. In no Trajanic coin type do figures interact with architecture more complex than a platform. Without the possibility of architecture (for whatever reason), the numismatic type may have been felt insufficient in the expression of the fundamental concept of the *adventus*. The arch of the *adventus* not only clarified the action: it was a necessary conceptual component.

At the very least, the numismatic *adventus* scene under Trajan demonstrates that the arch cannot be taken as a natural development in the evolution of the *adventus* scene. The inclusion of an arch, however, was a graceful solution in state reliefs to both indicate and emphasize the nature of the event, the re-entry of the emperor to the world of the city. The use of a generic arch allowed expansive symbolism for the *adventus*, rather than the thematically limited historicity of a particular city gate.

4.3 THE HUTS AND BARBARIAN LANDSCAPE ON THE GREAT TRAJANIC FRIEZE

The barbarian huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] of the Great Trajanic Frieze are some of the most interesting and overlooked features of the frieze (figs. 108, 109, 117, 118). Squeezed into a narrow space in the upper registrar, the huts are barely visible in their current position in the attic of the Arch of Constantine, and are almost as invisible in scholarship. The huts nevertheless can contribute greatly to our understanding of the Great Trajanic Frieze, illustrating important thematic, chronological, and developmental aspects of the monument.

4.3.1 HUTS AND THE ENEMY

Far from being incidental background elements, the huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] immediately characterize the depicted barbarian habitation as primitive and ephemeral. Beyond the general recognizable shape of the huts, care has been taken to indicate that the construction material is some sort of simple, undressed reed (figs. 117, 118).²⁶⁷ The end of each reed is carefully indented, to show that the rods represent hollow reeds, rather than solid branches (fig. 117). Sprouting elements shoot off randomly from various stalks. Single bands of twisted rope hold the reeds together. The huts, therefore, are specifically depicted as made of the simplest construction material and techniques. While none of the huts are shown on fire (at least in the extant sections of the frieze), they are made of the most perishable materials and are clearly temporary in nature.

The two huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] are part of numerous elements that illustrate the barbarian landscape in which the battle takes place. The natural landscape is indicated through the inclusion of four trees²⁶⁸ interspersed between figures throughout the upper register of the frieze, and by the curve of rocky ground between the charging horses that signifies mountainous terrain (figs. 108, 109, 118). This rocky ground is awkwardly integrated within the scene, serving a more illustrative than narrative purpose. The trees partially frame the battle scene, from the tree near the *adventus* to the tree that runs the length of the right extant end of the frieze. This emphasis on the natural setting functions in much the same way as the trees on the Arch at Beneventum (and the Marcus Aurelius Panels; see ch. 7): to highlight the wild, untamed, non-urban nature of the barbarian

²⁶⁷ For the symbolic importance of details on the Great Trajanic Frieze, see Leander Touati 1987, 38-41.

²⁶⁸ Leander Touati 1987, 17-9, 24, 26.

world.²⁶⁹ The huts work within this same concept: they illustrate that this barbarian world, despite its wild aspects, is still an inhabited world.

The quotidian detail of the bucket hanging from the branch of the tree along the right edge of Panel 4 seems out of place in the epic battle scene of the frieze (fig. 109). The bucket, however, adds important nuance to the characterization of the barbarian village. The bucket, simple and clearly not meant to last for as a permanent monument, indicates that the village is *currently* inhabited. The bucket shows that the barbarian village is not some relic of the barbarian past. The bucket also succinctly indicates that the village does not enjoy the sort of hydraulic infrastructure enjoyed by the inhabitants of most Roman cities, but especially by Rome. This characterization of the hydraulic situation of the barbarian village would be particularly ironic, given the water overflowing from the fountains in Rome, brought to the capital by engineering marvels such as the newly built Aqua Traiana. Additionally, some actual Dacian settlements did have impressive hydraulic systems, as depicted on the Column of Trajan (Scene LXXIV; fig. 95). The bucket may derive from the genre of idyllic pastoral landscapes, where items are frequently shown hanging in trees. If so, this would be an interesting source of inspiration for a monumental battle frieze.

The trees, simple huts [R11.B1, R11.B2], and bucket on the Great Trajanic Frieze do more than just indicate the setting of the action (fig. 109). Together they characterize the barbarian world, and therefore the barbarians themselves, as wild and primitive. This characterization does not exist in a vacuum, furthermore, but in comparison to the

²⁶⁹ Leander Touati (1987, 17 n. 35) draws connections between the trees on the Great Trajanic Frieze and the Arch at Beneventum; she sees them as specific species “defining the different regions depicted.”

superior Roman world. The Great Trajanic Frieze employs stereotypes of both Roman and barbarian architecture and sets them against each other to create a clear contrast. On the frieze, Roman architecture, exemplified by the shorthand of the arch [R10.B1] of the Roman city, is sophisticated, urban, and associated with victory and peace. Barbarian architecture is primitive, ephemeral, and associated with defeat and change.

If the Great Trajanic Frieze was in fact set up in the Forum of Trajan, then the contrast between Roman and barbarian architecture would be even more acute: the lavish architecture of the Forum, resplendent with brightly colored marbles and soaring columns and built to last for all time, would make the reed-built barbarian huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] seem all the more temporary and pathetic. The Extispicium Relief, which was discovered in one of the hemicycles of the Forum of Trajan, featured a detailed depiction of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the style of the Valle-Medici Reliefs;²⁷⁰ if this relief and the Great Trajanic Frieze both were set up in the Forum of Trajan, then the extravagant depicted architecture of the Extispicium Relief would be a further point of contrast for the simple huts. While the Forum of Trajan would make a particularly striking contrast, any architectural setting in Rome that could accommodate the Great Trajanic Frieze would be impressive relative to barbarian huts. No comparisons with the exterior setting would be necessary, furthermore. The contrast between Roman and barbarian architecture is built into the frieze itself.

²⁷⁰ For the Extispicium Relief, see Ryberg 1955, 128-31; Koeppel 1969, 146-48; Gauer 1973, 335-36; Leander Touati 1987, 110; Leocini 1988; Tortorella 1988; Grunow 2002, 53, 109-11, 168-69; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 136-55. Currently housed in the Louvre, the relief is dated to the Trajanic period based on its style and its discovery in one of the hemicycles of the Forum of Trajan (the portrait of Trajan is a later restoration). Only partially preserved, the relief once depicted the ritual reading of entrails, with the imperial party standing in front of a large temple. Today only the steps and colonnaded façade behind the figures are preserved. The façade features three closed doors, indicating that the depicted temple represents the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline. A line drawing records the highly detailed sculpture of the pediment, but this section of the relief is now lost.

This use of generic architecture to illustrate the comparative superiority of Rome and inferiority of barbarian culture is very similar to what has been discussed for the Column of Trajan. It is notable, therefore, that the barbarian architecture on the Great Trajanic Frieze looks nothing like the barbarian architecture on the Column of Trajan.²⁷¹ None of the 88 Dacian architectural structures on the Column of Trajan frieze are huts. Some are relatively simple wooden structures, but even these are specifically depicted with plank and peg construction and relatively complex features such as rectangular doors, windows, and gabled roofs. This difference in the rendering of barbarian architecture is all the more striking, given that the treatment of the barbarians themselves (e.g. their costume, hair, weapons) is one of the greatest points of correspondence between the two monuments.

Better *comparanda* for the huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] on the Great Trajanic Frieze can be found on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Beyond general shape, shared features for the huts on both monuments include roofs divided into multiple tiers and the use of ropes as articulating devices. The similarities, however, are not limited to compositional features. As will be discussed for the Column of Marcus Aurelius (see ch. 6), on the Great Trajanic Frieze the simple huts help characterize the enemy as completely and obviously inferior. In the Great Trajanic Frieze, the barbarians are portrayed as exposed and helpless, wounded, sprawling, panicking, fleeing, dying. Dacians lack proper military equipment, both offensive and defensive, and many are specifically illustrated with gaping, often bloody wounds. At least in the extant portion of the frieze, the barbarians never mount any counterattack or even half-way organized act. The action of the only

²⁷¹ Leander Touati (1987, 25 n. 66) notes the differences between the architectural depictions on the two monuments only in passing.

upright and armed barbarian at first glance appears directed towards a fellow barbarian, not a Roman soldier (fig. 108). The message of the Great Trajanic Frieze is one of total and almost effortless dominance of the Roman army over a desperate enemy.²⁷²

This again can be contrasted to the Column of Trajan, where the Dacians fit the stereotype of the noble enemy: Dacian warriors put up spirited, if ultimately unsuccessful resistance (fig. 119), are shown engaging in higher-level activities such as planning and exhortation, and three times are granted the relative honor of suicide.²⁷³ The differences in the architectural depictions between the Column of Trajan and the Great Trajanic Frieze can be understood in the same light. The relatively complex indigenous architecture of the Column of Trajan presents a barbarian enemy that is difficult to conquer. The simple huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] of the Great Trajanic Frieze, in contrast, contribute to a picture of a simple, inferior enemy.

The difference in Dacian architecture between the Column of Trajan and the Great Trajanic Frieze is cited by Gauer as support for his theory that the Great Trajanic Frieze is in fact a Domitianic monument.²⁷⁴ His line of reasoning is simple: the huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] do not resemble the Dacian architecture on the Column of Trajan, but do look like the huts on the Column of Marcus Aurelius; therefore the Great Trajanic Frieze, like the Column of Marcus Aurelius, must represent a fight against the

²⁷² Gauer 1973, 325-26; Leander Touati 1987, 17, 25, 28, 39-40; Philipp 1991, 13, 15, 17, 21, 28; Schäfer 1995, 3-4.

²⁷³ Dacians planning defenses of fortifications: Scene CXII; *adlocutio* of Decebalus: Scene CXXXIX; Dacians committing suicide: Scenes CXX-CXXI, CXL, CXLV.

²⁷⁴ Gauer 1973, 340; see also a passing remark of Petersen 1906, 522.

Sarmatians; therefore the frieze must be Domitianic, since Domitian, not Trajan, fought against the Sarmatians.

Gauer's argument has several flaws, in particular its assumption of a great deal of interest in ethnographic accuracy on the part of the production team. Firstly, even if one assumes such concern for ethnographic specificity, Gauer's Sarmatian theory privileges ethnographic discernment in architecture, a relatively limited aspect of the frieze, over the costume, hair, weapons, and so forth of the barbarians themselves, all of which conform better to the barbarians in the Column of Trajan than those of the Column of Marcus Aurelius.²⁷⁵ Secondly, the evidence that Roman art always distinguished carefully between different barbarian ethnicities is not definitive, and thatched huts are hardly an unusual, necessarily distinctive architectural type. There is no indication that the depicted architecture on the Great Trajanic Frieze is meant to be an accurate representation of any particular landscape. Leander Touati has called attention to the general disregard on the Great Trajanic Frieze for realistic application of details (e.g. in costume, weaponry, horse decoration), with details selected and applied for thematic effects instead.²⁷⁶ In the end, Gauer's theory cannot be sustained. Instead, thematic differences between the Column of Trajan and the Great Trajanic Frieze are a better explanation for the discrepancies in architectural depictions.

4.3.2 VIOLENCE IN THE VILLAGE

²⁷⁵ Supra n. 237.

²⁷⁶ See e.g. Leander Touati 1987, 53: "The Frieze's details compose a factual world which is not conceived with the primary concern of recreating reality, but with creating an artistic framework, adapted to assure constant associations to the restricted number of notions which constitute the message. The latter is principally of representational nature with but few direct references to history;" see also Leander Touati 1987, 63, 78.

The architectural depictions on the Great Trajanic Frieze contribute greatly to the broader themes of the monument, but the barbarian huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] are not purely thematic elements. They also specify the setting, and therefore type, of battle: a battle in a barbarian village. This represents the earliest extant example of this type of battle in state reliefs. On the (potentially slightly earlier) Column of Trajan, battles involving architecture take place, with only one exception, in a siege context, against or within fortifications. Violence directed towards Dacians themselves takes place only once in the context of a village, in one of the last scenes of the column (Scene CLI of 153 scenes) and within the narrative of the conclusion of the wars and consolidation of the territory (fig. 119). Simple Dacian habitations are depicted, but only in scenes where the focus is on the destruction of architecture, not the destruction of Dacians themselves; any Dacians present are always physically separated from their architecture (fig. 85).²⁷⁷ In contrast, the Column of Marcus Aurelius features numerous scenes where terrible violence against barbarian men, women, and children is set specifically within the context of a barbarian village, with the humble barbarian huts often set on fire by Roman soldiers.

The Great Trajanic Frieze does not follow either of these patterns exactly. Within the village, indicated by the huts and the tree with the bucket, slain barbarians are trampled under Roman horses, and a standing barbarian is menaced by the spear of a charging Roman soldier. The Dacian, however is not actually slain; in fact, he is the only Dacian on the frieze to be upright, unfettered, and fully armed (fig. 108). The only other erect Dacian stands adjacent as a prisoner, with his arms pinned behind his back. This relatively favorable situation of the two Dacians, and the calm, stable stance of the

²⁷⁷ Wolfram Thill 2011, 305.

Roman soldiers, sets the village battle of the Great Trajanic Frieze thematically between the Column of Trajan and the Column of Marcus Aurelius. As on the Column of Trajan, the battle in a barbarian village takes place in the context of resolution and consolidation. As on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the scene includes violence against barbarians themselves, although not clearly against living persons, and only against men, not women and children (see ch. 6). The previously slain bodies under the hoofs of the horses and the three decapitated heads held up by Roman soldiers²⁷⁸ nevertheless make clear the sorry fate of the resisting barbarians (figs. 108, 109).

Like the arch [R10.B1] in the *adventus* scene, the barbarian huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] as the setting for a battle on the Great Trajanic Frieze represent an innovation in state reliefs, at least as far as extant evidence suggests. Both arch and huts thus illuminate the innovative nature of the Great Trajanic Frieze. The setting of a village also helps situate the Great Trajanic Frieze relative to other monuments of state reliefs, in terms of the varied representations of the treatment of the barbarian enemy. The very inclusion of barbarian huts in the battle of the Great Trajanic Frieze is thus intriguing.

The depicted huts also demonstrate how the Hellenistic epic battle scene was adapted to the needs and interests of a Roman context, and connect the Great Trajanic Frieze to important traditions of Roman state reliefs. Scholarship has emphasized the many elements of the Great Trajanic Frieze that bespeak Hellenistic models, such as the emperor charging on his rearing horse and the crowded composition of overlapping,

²⁷⁸ The presentation of barbarian heads is one of the most notable similarities between the Great Trajanic Frieze and the Column of Trajan (Scenes XXIV, LXXII). For discussion, see Toynbee 1948, 163; Leander Touati 1987, 24 n. 62; Coulston 1988, 41-3, 88, 354; 1990b, 299; Lepper and Frere 1988, 179; Coarelli 2000, 66, 102, 182. The Column of Marcus Aurelius also features the presentation of decapitated barbarian heads (Scene LXVI).

twisting figures.²⁷⁹ The Alexander Mosaic, commonly seen as a copy of a now lost Hellenistic painting, has been held up as a particularly close comparandum for the frieze.²⁸⁰ This emphasis on Hellenistic models has created a sense that the Great Trajanic Frieze is somehow an outlier, derived from and representative of a different tradition than other Roman state reliefs.

Landscape elements, particularly architectural depictions, were relatively rare in Greek art before the Roman period.²⁸¹ On the Great Trajanic Frieze, in contrast, the setting of the action is given a good deal of attention. The barbarian huts and trees indicate a setting in the wilderness of barbarian territory, and the rocky ground is even more specific, indicating that the action takes place in Dacia, famous for its dangerous mountainous terrain. Despite its drastically different style from other state reliefs, the Great Trajanic Frieze maintains an interest in depicting (vaguely) historic, as opposed to strictly generic or mythological, events or situations.²⁸² While the battle of the Great Trajanic Frieze was probably not identifiable as one particular battle, the context of the battle was nevertheless very specific: one of the emperor's recent battles in an enemy village in mountainous barbarian territory, identifiable as Dacia. The architectural

²⁷⁹ Hamberg 1945, 60; Toynbee 1948, 163; Gauer 1973, 324-25; Leander Touati 1987, 28, 30, 43 n. 172, 49, 54, 61, 76; Smith 1989, 216-17. Holloway (1985, 266-67) even suggests that the panels of the Great Trajanic Frieze may have been brought from the Greek East; for criticism see Leander Touati 1987, 76 n. 412.

²⁸⁰ Philipp 1991. Philipp's study explores how superficially common compositions between the Alexander Mosaic and the Great Trajanic Frieze nevertheless reveal subtle differences in the arrangement of figures that suggest different conceptions of leadership.

²⁸¹ For discussion of landscape elements in Greek art, see e.g. Oliver-Smith 1961; Cheilik 1965; Richter 1970; Childs 1978; 1991; Gigante 1980; Harrison 1981; Waywell 1984; Carroll-Spillecke 1985; Pedley 1987; Ridgway 1997; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999; Halm-Tisserant 2001; Hedreen 2001; Lynch 2006.

²⁸² Leander Touati 1987, 33.

depictions thus highlight how, despite its supposedly Greek style, the Great Trajanic Frieze fits very well within the canon of Roman state reliefs.

4.3.3 ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS AND THE DATE OF THE GREAT TRAJANIC FRIEZE

Finally, the architectural depictions of the Great Trajanic Frieze have not received their due attention in terms of their potential to help to date the frieze. Sufficient evidence exists for Flavian state relief, particularly from the reign of Domitian, to demonstrate that the employment of architectural depictions was very different from that of the Trajanic period. As has been seen, all the extant Flavian examples of major depicted buildings are strictly identifiable (the one generic structure is the platform beneath Roma in Relief B of the Cancelleria Reliefs). The so-called Hartwig Relief, for instance, presents another sacrifice relief with highly detailed pedimental sculpture, similar to the Valle-Medici Reliefs (figs. 34, 35). The triumphal arch squeezed into the Spoil Relief of the Arch of Titus also has crowning statuary that marks it as a triumphal arch celebrating the victories of Vespasian and Titus (fig. 36). More importantly, in the Flavian period architecture had not yet become an indispensable feature of state reliefs. The chariot relief of the Arch of Titus does not include any architecture, despite its clear associations with the city. Both of the Cancelleria Reliefs most likely show topics that by their very nature involve a city, yet the backgrounds to both reliefs are markedly empty.

During the Trajanic period, in contrast, there was a heightened interest in the use of architecture, particularly generic depictions, to illustrate, characterize, and even embody cultures, both Roman and non-Roman. As has been seen, a clear divide is drawn

between a superior, urban Roman world and an inferior, rural barbarian world. The generic arch [R10.B1] and huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] of the Great Trajanic Frieze fit well within this pattern. At the same time, they fit poorly within the typical scheme of architectural depictions in the Domitianic period. The lack of architectural depictions in earlier Greek art, furthermore, suggests that the architectural depictions of the Great Trajanic Frieze are a product of their time, rather than a derivation of an older model. In sum, the architectural depictions provide further evidence that the Great Trajanic Frieze should be dated to the Trajanic period.

A natural question to ask is whether the architectural depictions can clarify the chronology between the Column of Trajan and the Great Trajanic Frieze. One could imagine that the Great Trajanic Frieze presents a more stereotypical version of barbarian architecture, completed either before knowledgeable sources familiar with Dacian architecture returned to Rome, or before there was any real interest in representing complex Dacian architecture. The fact that the depictions fit so closely within the contrasting treatments of barbarians on the two monuments, however, suggests that the distinctions in the architecture are primarily thematic, rather than chronological.

These thematic differences nevertheless may help elucidate a relative chronology. When Trajan defeated the Dacians and returned to Rome in triumph in 102 CE, the conflict had lasted less than two years but was still celebrated as a great victory, as the erection of the *Tropaeum* of Trajan at Adamklissi and Trajan's adoption of the title *Dacicus* at this time make clear. Crucially, no one at that time would have known that the conflict was not over, and that there would be a Second Dacian War. The Great Trajanic Frieze may have been conceived and even executed (at least in part) following the quick

victory of the First Dacian War. The area that would become the Forum of Trajan had begun to be cleared already under Domitian,²⁸³ so the frieze could have been intended for whatever complex was planned for or underway in that area at the close of the First Dacian War.

By the end of the Second Dacian War in 107 CE, in contrast, the conflict had dragged out for five additional years. While the First Dacian War had been relatively straightforward, the Second involved the Roman army working its way into the heart of the mountains of Transylvania with great effort, expense, and probably loss of life. The wars had also resulted at this point in the full annexation of rich new territory, securing the vast wealth needed to finance a monument such as the Column of Trajan. Thus the situation in Rome following the conclusion of the Second Dacian War may have encouraged themes of triumph through great effort and persistence over a difficult enemy, with the ultimate goal of incorporation. This would have encouraged a portrayal of the enemy as complex and challenging, as well as the themes of incorporation seen on the column.

Without further evidence regarding the original location of the Great Trajanic Frieze, any theories regarding precise chronology will remain speculative. In the end, depictions of architecture add to, rather than solve, the question of why two monuments of such differing styles and concepts were erected at approximately the same time to celebrate the same topic.

²⁸³ Meneghini 2007b, 83.

4.4 ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS ON POSSIBLE FRAGMENTS OF THE GREAT TRAJANIC FRIEZE

In addition to the four sections preserved in the Arch of Constantine, numerous fragments of relief have been attributed to the Great Trajanic Frieze. These attributions are generally based on style, content, and, when relevant, find spot. Based on these fragments and analogy with the Column of Trajan, scholars have suggested that the Great Trajanic Frieze once contained a series of additional scenes, producing a total effect that, like the column, gave (at least the appearance of) a narrative of the Dacian Wars.²⁸⁴ Two of the numerous fragments commonly attributed to the Great Trajanic Frieze contain architectural depictions. These fragments raise the question of possible uses of architecture in other sections of the frieze, beyond what is preserved in the Arch of Constantine.

One relief fragment depicts barbarian architecture. Currently housed in the Louvre, the relief shows a battle in a barbarian village (fig. 120).²⁸⁵ A single hut stands in the background of a scene where a Dacian warrior, preserved only in the head and arm, raises his sword; the head of a Roman soldier floats in the scene as well, but it is not clear how this figure should be connected to the action of the Dacian warrior. The similar subject matter and presence of a hut has led some scholars to connect this relief to the Great Trajanic Frieze.

Leander Touati has demonstrated convincingly, however, that this piece is a modern work, perhaps inspired by but definitely separate from the Great Trajanic

²⁸⁴ See e.g. Gauer 1973; Leander Touati 1987, 96-111; Hölscher 2002, 141.

²⁸⁵ Leander Touati 1987, 108-10

Frieze.²⁸⁶ Both the hut and especially the crest of the soldier's helmet are cut to fill the irregular edges of the marble; if the relief were a fragment of a larger composition, then the design would overlap the edges. Leander Touati suggests that the relief represents a 19th century composition, executed on a slab of presumably ancient marble as a presentation piece, in a time that saw a craze for all things Roman. The depicted hut of this relief thus has more to say about 19th century French conceptions of civilization vs. barbarity than it does about ancient Roman views on the same topics.

The hut in the back of this relief does offer further circumstantial evidence that the relief is a modern piece. The undifferentiated roof and square window with shutter on the hut find no parallels on the Great Trajanic Frieze or the Column of Marcus Aurelius.²⁸⁷ The shuttered window is particularly suspicious, since huts, both on the Column of Marcus Aurelius and off, are strictly simple, without any complex features beyond doors. The hut in the Louvre is nevertheless closely connected to the Great Trajanic Frieze, since it also features the distinctive sprouting elements seen on the huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] on the frieze (figs. 117, 120). The relief in the Louvre thus appears to be the product of someone intimately familiar with the details of the Great Trajanic Frieze, particularly the huts. Since the details of the huts are nearly impossible to see from ground level in their current position, furthermore, this implies some sort of access to casts, photographs, or scaffolding.

²⁸⁶ Leander Touati 1987, 108-10. Other scholars have treated the relief as genuine, but without supporting arguments (e.g. Petersen 1906, 522; Toynbee 1948, 163; Gauer 1973, 319, 332; Koeppel 1985, 192-93; Giroire and Roger 2007, no. 116).

²⁸⁷ For the issue of the undifferentiated roof, see Leander Touati 1987, 109. Leander Touati (1987, 109 n. 591) feels that the hut is closer to the huts on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, but these too have differentiated roofs, and at some point all huts look alike. Much more distinctive (and requiring up-close inspection to be visible) are the sprouting elements included in both the hut in the Louvre and those on the Great Trajanic Frieze (see main text).

The final fragment that will be discussed here (henceforth the Dacian River Relief) is now in the Villa Medici, and shows a mounted barbarian partially submerged with his horse in swiftly flowing water (fig. 121).²⁸⁸ The topic, scale, and find spot (the Forum of Trajan) have led scholars to suggest both a Trajanic date and a connection with the Great Trajanic Frieze. Leander Touati concludes that the relief was in fact once part of the same monument, based primarily on similarities in rendering of the Dacian himself and the ornaments of his horse.²⁸⁹

In the far upper part of the fragment can be seen several elements that appear to represent some sort of wooden lattice. Straight and curved slats cross each other vertically, horizontally, and diagonally, with pegs at the junctions. It is unclear what these elements represent. Suggested identifications include a boat or a bridge.²⁹⁰ Based on the slim comparative evidence of the Column of Trajan, neither a boat nor a bridge seems likely, since neither can explain the curved elements. A bridge also seems unlikely given the topic of the relief. As discussed previously, barbarians are often distanced conceptually from bridges: an innate inability of barbarians to build bridges, an inability that also leads to their death, is a common trope of Roman literature and art, and barbarians are never depicted in close association with bridges.

²⁸⁸ Leander Touati 1987, 106-7 with bibliography.

²⁸⁹ Leander Touati 1987, 107.

²⁹⁰ Bridge: Strong 1907, 164-65; Wace 1907, 233; Hölscher 2002, 141; boat: Gauer 1973, 332-34. Koeppl (1985, 150) and Leander Touati (1987, 106) present both options without favoring either. The latticework was originally restored (awkwardly) as a bridge (Wace 1907, 243 fig. 1; Gauer 1973, 333). Early scholars (Strong 1907, 164-65; Wace 1907, 233; contra Turcan-Déléani 1958, 153) identified the supposed bridge as Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube.

For whatever reason, Dacians are closely associated, however, with wagons.²⁹¹ Dacian wagons appear in a surprisingly high percentage of the metopes of the *Tropaeum* of Trajan at Adamklissi (fig. 122).²⁹² As will be discussed further, Dacian wagons also feature in one prominent scene on the Column of Trajan (Scene XXXVIII). While the wagon wheels on the metopes and the Column of Trajan are hardly an exact match for the elements on the Dacian River Relief—the wheels on the former monuments tend to have more spokes, arranged in a starburst pattern—they do feature pegs/bosses at the intersection of the spokes. Wagon wheels would also explain the puzzling curved elements in the Dacian River Relief, which are difficult to reconcile with a bridge or a boat.

The Dacian River Relief probably represents a conflation of two notable episodes illustrated on the Column of Trajan. Both take place in a sequence that has been interpreted as showing the Dacian invasion of the Roman province of Lower Moesia.²⁹³ Scene XXXI depicts a series of Dacian riders attempting, most unsuccessfully, to cross a river (fig. 123). As on the Dacian River Relief, the foreparts of the horses rear dramatically out of the water. This scene is an excellent example of the *topos* of barbarians drowning in rivers. The scene is unique for the frieze; in fact, barbarians only ride horses in two other scenes on the Column of Trajan, one of which represents the flight and suicide of Decebalus (Scenes CXLII-CXLV).

²⁹¹ Coulston 2003, 403-4.

²⁹² E.g. Metopes IX, XXXV, and XXXVII (Florescu 1965).

²⁹³ The sequence of scenes that scholars interpret as referring to the Dacian invasion of Lower Moesia is unusually specific for the Column of Trajan frieze, and includes several unique or uncommon scenes. For the best discussions of the relationship between historical reality and representation on the Column of Trajan, see Hölscher 2002; Dillon 2006.

Only a few scenes later in Scene XXXVIII, a battle rages between Dacian warriors and Roman cavalry; the battle is arranged in a crescent shape around three wagons along the top border (fig. 124). The wagons are loaded with Roman goods, including shields, *gladii*, an amphora, and a kylix. The wagons seem to be in the Dacians' possession: the Dacians are grouped around the wagons, a Dacian *draco* standard flies above the wagons, and a pile of dead Dacian bodies lies nearby. This scene has been interpreted as the Roman seizure of booty from the Dacian invasion of Lower Moesia.²⁹⁴ The importance of the scene is marked by the presence of the goddess Nox, one of only three divine appearances on the frieze. The fact that both the river crossing and battle around wagons are unique scenes on the frieze, and occur in close proximity to each other, suggests that they may reflect historical events of the Dacian Wars; these events may have similarly inspired the use of both motifs in the Dacian River Relief. Like the drowning barbarian, however, the vulnerable barbarian wagon train can be traced back as a motif to Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*, where it is sometimes combined with river crossings.²⁹⁵ Even if historical events were the inspiration for these Trajanic representations, the events are depicted through the use of established *topoi* for barbarians.

Although the Dacian River Relief probably does not include any depicted architecture, it can still contribute to our understanding of the conceptual relationships

²⁹⁴ Coarelli 2000, 83-4.

²⁹⁵ In the first book of the *Bellum Gallicum*, the Helvetii are specifically described as loading their possessions into wagons in their attempted journey to new territory (Caes. *B Gall.* 1.3, 1.6). Later they are unable to cross the Rhone (1.8); when they make an attempt to cross the slow-moving Saone via rafts and boats (*ratibus ac lintribus iunctis*, 1.12.1), Caesar successfully attacks the barbarians that he describes as *impeditos*, presumably in part by baggage (1.12.3). The Roman army, in contrast, successfully defends their baggage trains throughout the *Bellum Gallicum* (e.g. 2.19).

between barbarians and architecture in official Roman monuments. It is notable that a topic of the Dacian rider struggling within a river was chosen to be represented on two separate monuments (the Column of Trajan and whatever monument once included the Dacian River Relief), probably within a short temporal and spatial range. While this could be due to the historical importance of an actual event, it is probably related as well to the thematic power of the subject. This topic derives its message from the barbarians' lack of architecture: if they possessed the necessary engineering expertise to construct bridges, then the barbarians would not die needlessly in the water. The contrast to the successful bridge building of the Romans, particularly over the Danube but also historically over the Rhine, would be immediate and obvious. The repetition of the visual manifestation of this concept speaks to that concept's importance and power.

While neither of the fragments discussed here actually provides evidence for further architectural depictions, these fragments do raise the question of possible additional uses of architecture on the Great Trajanic Frieze (the Dacian River Relief, if part of the frieze, engages in a tradition about the lack of architecture). One further observation on the question of further architecture in the frieze should be made at this point. Near the tree at the far right edge of Section 4 (slab VIII) and behind the rear of the horse can be seen a helmet and shield, both disassociated from any soldier; the helmet in fact seems to float in mid-air (fig. 109). These two elements may indicate that a scene of construction or road-building once continued to the right of the battle.²⁹⁶ Shields set on the ground leaning against trees are features of construction scenes on the Column of

²⁹⁶ Hölscher (2002, 141) has stated that such a scene existed in this position, although he does not specify the basis for this conclusion. Leander Touati (1987, 26) restores an advancing soldier for the shield and helmet.

Trajan (Scenes XI, XX, LV, LXIX, LXXIII, CXXVII), where they figure in a motif of legionaries working in safety without helmets (but in armor). In Scene XI, shields set on the ground appear alongside what appears to be the headdress of a *signifer* (figs. 125, 126); in Scene XX, a pair of shields rests on the ground in front of two helmets on poles (fig. 127).

This is not firm evidence for a construction scene on the Great Trajanic Frieze, especially since the “floating” helmet would be difficult to integrate smoothly or coherently into any scene. Furthermore, since such helmets and shields appear on the Column of Trajan in the construction of not only fortifications and bridges, but also of roads, the restoration of a construction scene for the Great Trajanic Frieze cannot guarantee that any architecture was depicted, although the theme of engineering obviously would remain. Without further evidence, one can only emphasize that the set of architectural depictions and questions of their significance for the Great Trajanic Frieze must remain open to possible expansion.

CHAPTER 5:

ANAGLYPHA RELIEFS

The Anaglypha Reliefs are some of the best known and most debated of Roman state reliefs.²⁹⁷ Discovered in 1872 in excavations in the Forum Romanum, the reliefs were removed from their settings in the base of a medieval tower and are currently housed in the Curia, only a few meters from their find spot. The ancient senate house thus has been transformed into a display case, indicating the continue importance of the Anaglypha Reliefs. All of the figures' heads were destroyed long ago, making it difficult to date the reliefs based on commonly cited features such as hairstyles or portrait styles. The subject matter of the reliefs, presenting an unsettling mixture of common and unusual scenes and elements, also does not help to safely determine the date. Finally, the physical form of the reliefs—carved on both sides, with cuttings for a metal grating along the top edge—presents numerous unfamiliar aspects.²⁹⁸ Thus the date, purpose, original

²⁹⁷ For general discussion of the Anaglypha Reliefs, see e.g. Brizio 1872; Henzen 1872; Visconti 1873; Nichols 1877, 60-78; Middleton 1892, 345-48; Petersen 1895; Spalding Jenkins 1901; Hülsen 1904, 84-9; Carter 1910; Seston 1927; Hammond 1953; Rüdiger 1973; Torelli 1982, 89-118; Pollini 1983; Smith 1983; Hölscher 1984a; Koeppel 1986, 4-5, 17-24; Grunow 2002, 113-21; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 155-73.

²⁹⁸ One of the oddest aspects of the Anaglypha Reliefs is that each relief was originally made up of eight slabs of irregular sizes (only seven are preserved from the Tablet Relief; shown clearly in diagram form in Rüdiger 1973, fig. 1). Various scholars have suggested in passing that these slabs were originally intended for another monument (e.g. Hammond 1953, 131; Rüdiger 1973, 161; Koeppel 1986, 17.

location, and architectural setting of the Anaglypha Reliefs remain mysterious and highly debated.²⁹⁹

Among the most intriguing features of the Anaglypha Reliefs are their extensive architectural depictions, which seem to imply a correlation between the settings of the events depicted on the reliefs and the setting of the reliefs themselves. Since their discovery, it has been assumed that the architectural depictions on the reliefs represented the surrounding buildings, i.e. the Forum Romanum.³⁰⁰ Early scholarship on these depictions focused on a series of topographical problems, attempting to identify the depictions as actual historic buildings and to use the resultant reconstructions of the Forum to locate “floating” monuments (such as the *Lacus Curtius*).³⁰¹ More extensive excavation has put many (but not all) of these questions to rest, and more recent scholarship has employed the depicted buildings to answer questions of the date and subject matter of the reliefs.

Because the Anaglypha Reliefs and their depicted architecture are so well known and have been discussed so extensively, there are numerous assumptions that through repetition have come to be treated as “facts,” but which may need to be re-examined.

²⁹⁹ Scholarship cannot even agree on a standard name for these reliefs. The terms “Anaglypha” and “Plutei” are both employed, usually with either “Hadriani” or “Traiani.” I use the term Anaglypha only because it is more common, and I avoid appending any chronological indicator, since the chronology of the reliefs is so debated.

³⁰⁰ This close conceptual relationship between the Anaglypha Reliefs and the Forum Romanum is symbolized nicely by the choice of the *Adlocutio* Relief as the cover image for the *LTUR* volume (*II*) that includes the main articles on the Forum Romanum.

³⁰¹ See e.g. Brizio 1872, 316; Nichols 1877, 70, 75-7. As early as 1901, Spalding Jenkins (1901, 71) could assert a common consensus that the architectural depictions of the Anaglypha Reliefs were only of interest from a topographic perspective. The continued concern for the topographic value of the depictions can be seen from the reliefs receiving a dedicated article in the *LTUR* (Torelli 1999), which Torelli (1999, 95) specifically attributes to the architectural depictions. Nichols (1877, 75-7) presents an illustrative example of the early use of the Anaglypha Reliefs to pinpoint the topography of various “floating” monuments of the Forum, including the Marsyas statue, *Lacus Curtius*, and various podia.

Therefore, I outline here what is actually known about the reliefs and their depictions, to make some of these assumptions explicit. I then will analyze the various debates about the Anaglypha Reliefs and the role that depicted architecture can play in understanding these monuments.

5.1 THE ANAGLYPHA RELIEFS: FACTS AND ASSUMPTIONS

Unearthed near the Colonna di Foca, the Anaglypha Reliefs were discovered reused in the base of a medieval tower.³⁰² It has never been doubted that the reliefs belonged together, because of their common dimensions, style, and repeated elements. Each relief is carved on both sides, with a figural scene on one side (figs. 128, 129), and a procession of the three sacrificial animals of the *suovetaurilia* on the other. Cuttings for a metal grate/railing along the top of both reliefs, coupled with the fact that the panels are carved on both sides, quickly led to the suggestion that together the Anaglypha Reliefs formed some sort of perimeter. What this perimeter surrounded, however, remains unclear.

The first Anaglypha Relief (henceforth the *Adlocutio* Relief) features two main compositional groups (fig. 128). The group on the left is easily recognizable as an *adlocutio*, one of the most common scenes in state reliefs and on coins. The group on the right is less clear, but has been associated with the institution of the *alimenta*, based on comparisons to similar reliefs on coins (see below). At first glance this pairing of compositional groups seems to suggest the odd situation of the emperor appearing twice

³⁰² Brizio 1872, 309; Henzen 1872, 274; Visconti 1873, 3; Guiliiani and Verduchi 1987, 79-83 (with illustrations).

in the same scene: once standing on the platform [R12.B2] in the *adlocutio* group, and once sitting enthroned in the *alimenta* group. This seeming contradiction, coupled with the fact that the figures in the *alimenta* group all stand together on a low base [R12.B5], has led many scholars to interpret the *alimenta* group as a statue group.³⁰³

Architecture forms the backdrop to both groups. The speaker of the *adlocutio* stands on a high platform [R12.B2], with a sloping ramp in the back and *rostra* on the front (figs. 130-133). Behind the speaker stand an arch [R12.B1] (figs. 130, 131, 134, 135) and a temple [R12.B3] (figs. 130, 131, 133, 136-138), with an open space to the right. Beyond this open area is the *alimenta* group on a low platform [R12.B5] (figs. 139, 140), with an arched façade [R12.B4] (figs. 139, 141-144) behind. The audience of the *adlocutio* extends from the front of the speaker's platform [R12.B2] across the arched façade (figs. 128, 144). At the far right of the relief are a tree and a Marsyas statue, both on their own base [R12.B6, R12.B7] (fig. 144).

The second Anaglypha Relief (henceforth the Tablet Relief), in contrast, features a single subject. Men carry bundles of what appear to be tablets, moving in a procession to deposit these bundles in a pile before a figure who leans forward, extending a torch towards the pile (fig. 129). This scene has been interpreted nearly unanimously as representing the burning of tax records. The far left of the relief is taken up with the same combination of tree and Marsyas (on bases [R13.B1, R13.B2]) seen on the *Adlocutio* Relief (figs. 145, 146). Behind the procession is an arched façade [R13.B3] (figs. 147, 148). Immediately to the right are two temples [R13.B4, R13.B6] joined by an arch [R13.B5], which form the background to the tablet pile and figure with the torch (figs.

³⁰³ See infra n. 341.

149-154). The far right of the Relief is lost, but a platform with *rostra* [R13.B7] is preserved along the edge, with traces of a seated figure (of debated gender) on the platform (figs. 149, 155).

The backgrounds of both reliefs have been identified as depictions of the Forum Romanum, based on three lines of reasoning: (a) the reliefs were found in the Forum Romanum; (b) the layout of the depicted buildings can be associated with the layout of known buildings in the Forum Romanum; and (c) both panels feature a depiction of the statue of Marsyas, known from literary sources to have stood in the Forum Romanum.³⁰⁴ While there has been general consensus that the Tablet Relief depictions represent buildings on the south side of the Forum Romanum, two theories have emerged for the buildings of the *Adlocutio* Relief.³⁰⁵ The “north” or “opposite” theory, favored by earlier scholars, holds that the depictions represent buildings on the north side of the Forum Romanum (i.e., opposite the buildings on the Tablet Relief).³⁰⁶ The “south” or “continuous” theory, in contrast, argues that the depictions represent buildings on the south side of the Forum Romanum.³⁰⁷ In this latter theory, which has gained wide acceptance, the repetition of the arched façade-tree-Marsyas motif guides the viewer to

³⁰⁴ See e.g. Visconti 1873, 30-2; Hammond 1953, 137; Torelli 1982, 99-106; Smith 1983, 227. Textual sources locate the Marsyas statue *pro rostris*, creating topographical problems for the depictions of the Anaglypha Reliefs. Brizio (1872, 317), for example, suggests that the statue had been moved before the time illustrated in the Anaglypha Reliefs; Visconti (1873, 29-30) thinks the entire Comitium was moved. For discussion of the Marsyas statue and its debated topography, see Brizio 1872, 317; Visconti 1873, 29-30; Spalding Jenkins 1901, 75-7; Torelli 1982, 99-106; Smith 1983, 227; Coarelli 1999; Habetzeder 2010.

³⁰⁵ This is laid out especially clearly in Hammond 1953, 137-40. Originally the reliefs were thought to depict all four sides of the Forum Romanum (Brizio 1872, 313-14).

³⁰⁶ Brizio 1872, 313-17; Henzen 1872; Visconti 1873, 9, 27; Petersen 1895, 8; Spalding Jenkins 1901, 79-80.

³⁰⁷ Nichols 1877, 67, 69-70; Middleton 1892, 347; Carter 1910, 315; Seston 1927, 165; Hammond 1953, 138-39; Rüdiger 1973, 163-64; Torelli 1982, 92; Smith 1983, 227; Koeppl 1986, 17; Grunow 2002, 46; Hölscher 2002, 142; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 167; Coarelli 2007, 58-9.

see the depictions on both reliefs as one continuous background. Nevertheless, despite the current broad consensus regarding the continuous theory, the identifications of several buildings remain debated.

There are various important assumptions about the architectural depictions on the Anaglypha Reliefs that have become embedded in discussions of the Reliefs. The first is that the reliefs form a complete set.³⁰⁸ This assumption is crucial to interpretations that see the reliefs as a pair depicting the entire landscape of at least the south side of the Forum. This, however, creates difficulty in reconstructing the original setting of the reliefs: if they were an enclosure for a particular area, for example, what made up the other sides of the enclosure?

The second assumption is that the content of the reliefs is somehow related to their context—and therefore the backdrops must show the Forum Romanum.³⁰⁹ This line of thinking can fall prey to circular reasoning. The reliefs were clearly not in their original context when they were found,³¹⁰ and the Arch of Constantine provides obvious evidence of heavy reliefs being moved long distances across the city. While it is possible that the Anaglypha Reliefs were originally set up in the Forum Romanum, it is by no

³⁰⁸ Esp. Brizio 1872, 311-12; Hammond 1953, 133; Rüdiger 1973, 164-65. While the assumption that the Anaglypha Reliefs were a complete set rarely is stated directly, the idea of additional associated reliefs, to my knowledge, has not been explicitly suggested. Hölscher (1984a, 743) briefly wonders how the two reliefs alone would have been configured to form any sort of perimeter.

³⁰⁹ This assumption is taken to the farthest lengths by theories that put weight on sightlines between the buildings in the Forum Romanum and their depictions on the Anaglypha Reliefs (Hülsemann 1904, 89; Carter 1910, 316; Seston 1927, 178; Kleiner 1992a, 250; Hölscher 2002, 142). This idea is developed most fully by Grunow (2002, 52, 58, 161-64), who presents sightlines as a possible ancient means of identifying the depicted buildings of the reliefs.

³¹⁰ Middleton 1892, 345; Petersen 1895, 3-4; Hammond 1953, 129-31, esp. 130 n. 9; Torelli 1982, 89, 108-9; Guilianni and Verduchi 1987, 79-80. The reliefs were originally thought to be *in situ* (Henzen 1872, 274; Visconti 1873, 4, 35; Nichols 1877, 60).

means assured. The discovery in the Forum Romanum cannot be used, therefore, to positively identify the depictions as showing the Forum Romanum (even if some necessary relationship between physical and depicted settings could be assumed). Similarly, as will be seen, the identification of the depictions with the Forum Romanum is not so certain that they can physically associate the Reliefs with the Forum.

Finally, it has been assumed that the purpose of the architectural depictions of the Anaglypha Reliefs is to indicate the topographic setting of the depicted scenes.³¹¹ This presupposes that the buildings would have been clearly identifiable, and indeed this supposition has never been questioned. The continued debate about the identification of the various buildings, however, suggests that the matter may not be so simple. A new approach is needed. Indeed, if one sets aside all the aforementioned assumptions and takes a close look at the depicted buildings themselves, independent from the archaeology of the Forum Romanum, then identification as particular historical buildings no longer appears to be the primary purpose for the depictions. I argue instead that broader themes explain their inclusion and rendering better.

³¹¹ This idea is made explicit as early as Brizio 1872, 311. Nichols (1877, 62) refers to the architectural depictions as “a background of architectural and other objects indicating the locality of the scenes represented.” Hammond (1953, 136) is more specific, arguing that “[t]hese [buildings] are all so realistically dealt with that they must be meant to localize the scenes and interpret them... despite [the artist’s] ‘short-hand’ treatment, he has clearly sought to show distinguishing features which would make them identifiable.” Hammond does not provide, however, clear and convincing examples of these “distinguishing features.” Torelli (1982, 96) goes still further: “[The architecture’s] presence is didactic, to show the site of the momentous acts performed according to the emperor’s will, and therefore we find a series of strange devices, all intending to render clear the topography and avoid confusion.”

5.2 THE BACKGROUND BUILDINGS OF THE ANAGLYPHA RELIEFS

Despite the numerous identifications suggested for the various depicted structures on the Anaglypha Reliefs, only three structures include possibly distinctive features. Two of the platforms, one on each relief, include *rostra*: the platform or podium under the speaker in the *Adlocutio* Relief [R12.B2] (fig. 132) and the platform (barely preserved) under the seated figure in the Tablet Relief [R13.B5] (fig. 155). The *rostra* on the depicted platforms are indeed specific, but it is notable that both platforms are in the foreground, not truly integrated with the other depicted buildings in the background.

The only distinctive, potentially specific elements in the architectural background are the sculpted keystones in the shape of horned lion heads seen on the arched façade of the *Adlocutio* Relief [R12.B4], a building currently identified as the Basilica Iulia (but previously as the Basilica Aemilia) (figs. 139, fig. 141-143). Given a lack of clear archaeological evidence, it is speculative to say whether the depicted keystones corresponded to actual keystones, or were distinctive enough to identify the depicted structure as the Basilica Iulia (or any other building).³¹² Visual evidence is also of little

³¹² Despite the fact that the sculpted keystones are often cited as a crucial distinctive feature of the depicted Basilica Iulia, descriptions of the keystones vary: lion masks or griffins (Brizio 1872, 312); lion heads (Visconti 1873, 9; Rüdiger 1973, 164; Koeppel 1986, 19; Grunow 2002, 58); chimaera heads (Hammond 1953, 139 n. 36); *leocornia* (Torelli 1982, 95, 113 n. 59; 1999, 95; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 166). According to my examination, the keystones are sculpted as feline heads with open mouths and ridged, curved horns sweeping back along the crown of the head (fig. 143). Hammond (1953, 139 n. 36) follows Brown to suggest that the heads were meant to function as “the identifying sign of the building.” Torelli (1982, 95, 113 n. 59) cites Hammond in stating that the *leocornia* keystones would have made the depicted building “easily recognizable.” In his article on the Anaglypha Reliefs for the *LTUR*, Torelli (1999, 95) continues to call the building “ben riconoscibile dai *leocornia*,” see also Grunow 2002, 58; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 166. In a footnote, Torelli (1982, 113 n. 59) reports that he was told personally by F. Coarelli that fragments of *leocornia* were recovered somewhere in the Forum Romanum excavations but remain unpublished. Grunow (2002, 58) and Quante-Schöttler (2002, 166) both stress the keystones as prime examples of correlation between an architectural depiction and the archaeological record, but both authors cite only the footnote by Torelli as evidence for the archaeological existence of the keystones. The keystones are not mentioned in Coarelli’s 2007 (71-4) (admittedly brief) discussion of the Basilica Iulia. As of 2007, then, there has not been any real published evidence that the

help, since basilicas are rarely depicted in state reliefs. Two arched façades that are depicted on the Arch of Constantine have been identified as basilicas. The *Rex Datus* Panel, originally from the lost arch of Marcus Aurelius, may show a provincial basilica [R19.B2];³¹³ it does not feature keystones, but the arched openings are hardly rendered in an architecturally detailed, or indeed realistic manner. The other arched façade comes from the Constantinian Frieze, in a scene depicting Constantine seated on a platform with the Tetrarchic Five Column monument behind him.³¹⁴ This arched façade, which has been identified as the Basilica Iulia, also lacks keystones, but here the depicted architecture is rendered schematically (fig. 156). No keystones are preserved for the arched façade of the Tablet Relief [R13.B3], so even that point of comparison is lost (figs. 129, 147). In short, the sculpted keystones of the Anaglypha *Adlocutio* Relief have no clear comparanda, and may or may not have indicated the identity of the depiction.

Notably, neither the two arches [R12.B1, R13.B5] nor the three temples [R12.B3, R13.B4, R13.B6] on the Anaglypha Reliefs have any distinctive features, particularly sculpture (figs. 134-137, 149-151, 153, 154). M. Torelli has suggested that this unusual lack of sculpture was motivated by a concern to avoid confusion within the composition.³¹⁵ It is not clear, however, why sculptural decoration would have been confusing on the temples [R12.B3, R13.B4, R13.B6] and arches [R12.B1, R13.B5], but not on the arched façade/basilica [R12.B4]. While arches are frequently depicted without

leocornia fragments even existed, let alone that they should be associated in any way with the Basilica Iulia.

³¹³ *Infra* n. 444.

³¹⁴ This arched façade has traditionally been interpreted as the Basilica Iulia (e.g. Grunow 2002, 50), based on relative positions for the depictions of the Tetrarchic Five Column Monument, the speaking platform/*rostrum*, and the triple-bay Arch of Septimius Severus.

³¹⁵ Torelli 1982, 96.

sculpture, the omission of pedimental sculpture is more unusual, especially for depictions of historical buildings.³¹⁶ The standing emperor's head in the *Adlocutio* Relief crosses into the pediment of the temple [R12.B3] behind him, but this could have been avoided if undesirable (figs. 133, 136), and anyway is not applicable to the temples in the Tablet Relief [R13.B4, R13.B6] or the arches of either relief [R12.B1, R13.B5].³¹⁷ Whatever the motivation, the lack of clarifying detail reduces the recognizability of the depicted buildings, and suggests, therefore, that such recognizability was not the top priority.

The form of the arch in the *Adlocutio* Relief [R12.B1] is also notable, if in fact it represents the triple bay Augustan arch that stood south of the Temple of Divine Caesar on the Forum Romanum (figs. 131, 134, 135).³¹⁸ In arguing for such an identification, Torelli maintains that “the sculptor has overlooked only the two lower side-passages, that were out of view and not necessary to the understanding of the representation.”³¹⁹ While

³¹⁶ In sculpture, depicted temple pediments are almost always provided at the minimum with a circular element, either a wreath or a *patera*, often with ribbons. This holds true for both private (funerary) sculpture and public state reliefs (e.g. the Temple of the Penates on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*; fig. 33). The two exceptions that come to mind are the blank pediments in the temples of Column of Trajan Scene LXXIX (fig. 62).

³¹⁷ Grunow (2002, 54-5) suggests that the positioning of the emperor in front of the pediment was intended to have the temple act as a “kind of full-body frame” for the protagonist. She points out that the absence of pedimental sculpture would have made this compositional choice possible, but one may also look at the matter the other way round: that the desire for this framing composition drove the omission of pedimental sculpture. The latter scenario, coupled with the depiction of the temple as pentastyle and without steps, would again indicate the subordination of building identification to other concerns.

³¹⁸ The identity of this arch is highly debated. Ancient literary sources indicate that the Senate voted to honor Augustus with at least three arches. Four Augustan coin types (two provincial) depict arches (Rich 1998, 98-100). It is difficult to connect literary and numismatic evidence with the archaeological record, however, and it is not even clear how many of these arches were actually built. In their identifications of the arch [R12.B1] of the *Adlocutio* Relief as an arch of Augustus, scholars are often vague as to which arch is meant, although most imply the arch south of the Temple of Divine Caesar. It does not matter, for the purposes of this paper, which particular Augustan victories were commemorated by the arch south of the Temple of Divine Caesar; what is important here is that the arch clearly was triple bay in form. Scholarship on the various arches of Augustus is extensive in and of itself, but specific and succinct discussion (with bibliography) can be found in e.g. Holland 1946; 1953; Nedergaard 1988; 1993; Rich 1998, esp. 97-115.

³¹⁹ Torelli 1982, 95; for further discussion of this problem, see Hammond 1953, 140 n. 38; Grunow 2002, 40; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 170. For the necessary identifying features of the arch, see also *infra* n. 320.

this may be broadly true, the triple bay form of the arch, probably an innovation in its time, was hardly incidental, and it is striking (if the depiction does represent the Augustan arch) that the production team would have omitted both the statuary and the most notable formal features of the arch.³²⁰ It may have been that the production team simply was following a generalized building type of “arch,” but, like the lack of sculpture, this suggests that recognizability of the depictions was not an overriding concern. A similar argument may be made regarding the omission of the distinctive podium of the supposed Temple of Castor and Pollux [R12.B3] to the right of the arch (fig. 133).³²¹

Numerous scholars have seen the Ionic order of the left temple on the Tablet Relief [R13.B4] as distinctive, identifying the depiction as the Temple of Saturn, the only major Ionic temple known from the Forum Romanum (figs. 149-152).³²² The possibilities for variation in column order, however, were limited in Roman architecture, both real and depicted. If the production team wanted to introduce variety into the rhythm of the

³²⁰ Augustan coins depict both single and triple bay arches. Rich (1998, 97-115) argues that the single bay coins were minted before the final design of the triple bay arch in Rome was completed. It is not clear, however, as Rich points out in detail, which Augustan arch(es) the various coins depict; nor should we assume that coins would accurately represent the arch anyway. The latest design (*BMCRE* 77), minted in Rome, notably shows a triple bay arch. The numismatic depictions emphasize elaborate sculpture and also include some text. These features, coupled with the minting date (made explicit in the legends), would have helped with the identification of the arch, specific building form aside. None of these techniques for promoting identification is employed on the arch [R12.B1] on the *Adlocutio* Relief.

³²¹ Torelli (1982, 95) dismisses this omission as irrelevant; see also Quante-Schöttler 2002, 168. The temple [R12.B3] oddly is also depicted as pentastyle (fig. 136). Some scholars (Stucchi 1958, 67, 70; Grunow 2002, 40, 54) have suggested that both arch [R12.B1] and temple needed to be constricted due to lack of space, perhaps to emphasize the *adlocutio*. It is not clear, however, if a clear identification of the buildings was paramount, why the production team would not have simply narrowed the adjacent gap, regardless of whether it supposedly represents the Vicus Tuscus (Hammond 1953, 139 n. 37; Rüdiger 1973, 164). For the idea that the pentastyle form is a mistake, see Brizio 1872, 312; Visconti 1873, 7; Nichols 1877, 68; Stucchi 1958, 70; Smith 1983, 227; cf. Quante-Schöttler 2002, 157 n. 595.

³²² Nichols 1877, 66; Hülsen 1904, 88; Rüdiger 1973, 165; Torelli 1982, 95; 1999, 96. Quante-Schöttler (2002, 163-64) points out that the temple [R13.B4] on the Tablet Relief is in fact the only evidence for the appearance of the Temple of Saturn before the 3rd c. CE, when the building was restored. The Ionic capitals of the restoration have features of late-republican Ionic capitals, however, and she ultimately concludes that the Tablet Relief is a reliable source for the appearance of the temple in the 2nd c. CE.

depictions on the Anaglypha Reliefs,³²³ or simply to differentiate between two adjacent temples [R13.B4, R13.B6], they would have had only three orders from which to choose, hardly producing boundless combinations. It would be natural to select the most common temple order, Corinthian, for the majority of the temples (those framing the scene) [R12.B3, R13.B6]. Doric/Tuscan would have been an odd choice for the remaining temple, given the rarity of the Doric/Tuscan order in imperial temples, and the (perhaps more natural) choice of that order for the arched façades [R6.B4, R13.B3]. The only possible order remaining would be Ionic. The Ionic order of the depiction [R13.B4], in other words, may have been inspired by the Temple of Saturn, but there are other logical ways to arrive at that choice of order.

The Ionic order, furthermore, while not common in depictions in state reliefs, is not unknown, as the Valle-Medici Reliefs attest. In her development of a methodology for identifying buildings in state reliefs and coins, M. Grunow ultimately dismisses column order as a definitive means of identification:

The Ionic order was used often enough that it cannot be considered exceptional... Thus, while the column style on a structure and the column style of a representation should match, in and of itself column style may be considered supporting evidence rather than a primary justification for identification.³²⁴

Besides the temple on the Valle-Medici Reliefs (figs. 19, 22), examples of Ionic temples in state reliefs include the temple on the Tiberius Boscoreale Cup, the temple in the Triumphal Frieze on the Arch at Beneventum [R5.B1] (figs. 48-50), and one of the two

³²³ For the possible importance of variety, see *supra* n. 73. As mentioned above, the combination of two Corinthian temples and one Ionic is also seen in the preserved sections of the Valle-Medici Reliefs.

³²⁴ Grunow 2002, 21; see also Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 138. In her corpus of architectural depictions (N = unknown), Grunow (2002, 21 n. 19) calculates that slightly more than half of temple representations (in both state reliefs and coins) are depicted as Corinthian, leaving temples of unclear order, Ionic order temples, and a single Doric/Tuscan example (the Hartwig Relief) to make up the remaining half.

temples in Scene LXXIX of the Column of Trajan [R6.B2] (figs. 62, 63).³²⁵ In fact, in every scene in state reliefs where two temples appear together, one of them is Ionic. The Marcus Aurelius Panels are the only monument with more than one temple where all the temples [R21.B1, R23.B1, R24.B1] are Corinthian. The Ionic order of the temple on the Tablet Relief [R13.B4] thus should not be considered extraordinary or even distinctive.

Thus, with the tenuous possible exceptions of the two arched façades (one with sculptural decoration [R12.B4] and one that potentially could have had matching decoration [R13.B3]), none of the seven buildings in the background of the Anaglypha Reliefs are distinguished by any degree of specificity, in building form or decoration. The background buildings are not independently identifiable. Instead, they are potentially identifiable only through their juxtaposition with other buildings, and through their relationship to the foreground elements of free-standing statuary and platforms with *rostra* [R12.B2, R13.B7]. Each of these means will be discussed in turn.

The most frequent means of identifying the background buildings of the Anaglypha Reliefs is through their juxtaposition with each other. In her methodology for identifying buildings, Grunow in fact uses the Anaglypha Reliefs as her prototype for identification through juxtaposition.³²⁶ In many cases, the identification of one building serves as a lynch pin, with the other identifications following from their relative position to that building: for example, the Ionic temple on the Tablet Relief [R13.B4] is identified as the Temple of Saturn, and the Corinthian temple [R13.B6] therefore as the Temple of

³²⁵ Grunow (2002, 21 n. 20) notably presents these three Ionic depictions, which she believes can be identified with actual temples, as the only examples where the depicted order does not match the order of the actual temple.

³²⁶ Grunow 2002, 40; see also Quante-Schöttler 2002, 99.

Vespasian and Titus, which stood next to the Temple of Saturn on the Forum Romanum. Identifications have varied, however, in which depiction on the Anaglypha Reliefs serves as this lynch pin for subsequent identifications.³²⁷ This initial identification, furthermore, is sometimes justified independently (e.g. the Ionic order of the Tablet Relief temple [R13.B4], the keystones of the arched façade on the *Adlocutio* Relief [R12.B4]). More often, however, the initial identification is not explained in full detail or is really dependent on a cluster of buildings, starting with the assumption that the Anaglypha Reliefs depict the Forum Romanum. The entire combination, taking in all the buildings, seems to be necessary to make an identification of any one building.

It is notable that the building combinations on the Anaglypha Reliefs are not an indisputable match for any section of the Forum Romanum.³²⁸ The continued debate, lasting since 1872, as to the identity of several buildings is enough to make this evident. Just as none of the depicted background buildings is particularly distinctive or specific, neither is the arrangement of buildings. Indeed, the buildings represent some of the most common building types depicted in Roman art: temple, arch, and arched façade. If someone set out to depict a continuous backdrop of generic, urban buildings, these three types are the most likely buildings that he would use. Indeed, these buildings appear in

³²⁷ It is telling to look at part of Grunow's description (2002, 40) of the phenomenon of juxtaposition: "Moreover, one identifiable building can compensate for several obscure or abbreviated buildings. Identifying some of the more blatantly distorted buildings—such as the single-bay representation of the triple-bay Arch of Augustus and the five-columned representation of the octastyle Temple of Castor and Pollux from the Anaglypha—can only be done by interpreting architectural juxtapositions." It is not clear in the case of the Anaglypha Reliefs which depiction is the key "identifiable" building.

³²⁸ Torelli (1982, 131) claims that "The forum in the background is accurately described;" Smith (1983, 227) writes that the buildings "are all easily identifiable." The confusion surrounding the depictions suggests that such sentiments must surely be an oversimplification.

numerous combinations in the anonymous towns of the Column of Trajan (e.g. a colonnade, an arch, and a pedimental building in the provincial town of Scene LXXXVI).

The arrangement of buildings on both Anaglypha Reliefs also serves to delineate and emphasize different aspects of the depicted scene. On the *Adlocutio* Relief, the close grouping of platform [R12.B2], arch [R12.B1], and temple [R12.B3], followed by open space, draws attention to the speaker and his attendants, while the long arched façade [R12.B4] connects the audience of the *adlocutio* to the *alimenta* group (figs. 129, 130).³²⁹ No architecture appears behind the Marsyas statue and tree (fig. 128). Similarly, on the Tablet Relief the arched façade [R13.B3] provides a common backdrop for the procession of tablet bearers, while the two temples [R13.B4, R13.B6] and arch [R13.B5] neatly frame the action of the official burning of the pile of records, with the figure with the torch outlined beneath the open space of the arch (figs. 147, 149). Again, no architecture appears behind the Marsyas statue and tree (fig. 145). This may be a clever use of the buildings of the Forum Romanum, or it may be that the desire to mark off distinct elements of the depicted scenes drove the composition of building types. For instance, there would have been few building types available if the production team hoped to frame the elongated audience of the *Adlocutio* Relief and the procession of the Tablet Relief each with a single architectural unit. Furthermore, a desire for symbolic impact may have motivated the combination of tax records and the *alimenta* group with arched façades reminiscent of basilicas, buildings associated with the logistics of the state apparatus, regardless of any concern for depicting the Basilica Iulia.

³²⁹ Grunow (2002, 54-5) calls attention to the employment of architecture as a compositional frame, but she sees this as a potential advantage of using a varied landscape such as the Forum Romanum as a backdrop, rather than as an independent phenomenon; see also Kuttner 1995, 46. Grunow (2002, 118) suggests that the lack of potential variation in the Forum of Trajan may have motivated the production team to depict Hadrian's burning of debt records in the Forum Romanum (see main text).

In fact, all of the building types presented in the Anaglypha Reliefs had important cultural connotations in and of themselves. The temples would evoke religious sanction; the basilica(s), the law; the arches, honor and military triumph; the platforms, particularly with *rostra*, Republican ideals of rule through oratory. All of these would provide a fine setting for the representation of imperial action directed towards free citizens.

5.3 SPECIFICITY AND THE FOREGROUND OF THE ANAGLYPHA RELIEFS

The foreground elements of the Anaglypha Reliefs feature much more obvious elements that create specificity. Only two of these foreground elements are major structures (as opposed to statue bases). The *rostra* decorating the two platforms [R12.B2, R13.B7] are certainly specific elements (figs. 132, 155). These platforms have been identified as several known podia decorated with *rostra* in the Forum Romanum, including the podium near the Temple of Divine Caesar and the podium near the Comitium.³³⁰ The Tablet Relief platform [R13.B7] is too poorly preserved for much to be said about it. Several observations, however, can be made regarding the speaker's platform in the *Adlocutio* Relief [R12.B2].

On the *Adlocutio* Relief, the distinctive elements of the *rostra* are attached to a relatively standard building type. Platforms appear frequently in Roman art in the context

³³⁰ The histories of the various platforms with *rostra* in the Forum Romanum are debated; see e.g. Torelli 1982, 97-8; Coarelli 1983, 119-60; Ulrich 1994; Purcell 1995; Pina Polo 2005; Stamper 2005, 109-11; Coarelli 2007, 51-4, 64-5. Following the burning of the *Curia Cornelia* in 52 BCE, the original podium with *rostra* was moved from its original site as part of the former Comitium to a spot at the far western end of the Forum Romanum, probably under the direction of Iulius Caesar. Whether Augustus also had some influence on this restoration is open to doubt; the term *Rostra Augusti* is attested only once, in a 2nd c. CE jurist (Pomp. Dig. 1.2.9.43; Purcell 1995, 336). Augustus did set up the captured *rostra* of the ships of Actium somewhere in the vicinity of the Temple of Divine Caesar, but exactly how this was done and on what structure is unclear.

of imperial action, albeit typically without *rostra*. Beyond functioning as a handy compositional device separating emperor from subjects, the platform had come to function as a signature element of particular scene types depicting imperial action. *Adlocutio* scenes, complete with platforms, had begun on coins under Caligula;³³¹ more recently, seven separate *adlocutiones* had appeared on the Column of Trajan (figs. 56, 57). By the time of the Anaglypha Reliefs, the *adlocutio* had become a standardized scene type that showed relatively little variation in composition, and which always included a platform. The *adlocutio* on the Anaglypha Reliefs was built of these traditional elements, but added the localizing detail of the *rostra*. This addition of *rostra* to the *adlocutio* platform [R12.B2], as well as to the platform of the Tablet Relief [R13.B7], would evoke the speaking platforms of the late republican-early imperial Forum Romanum, but within the context of an established scene type and composition (at least for the *adlocutio* platform).

The most specific elements of the Anaglypha Reliefs are free-standing statuary. Three compositional elements—all set, like the platforms with *rostra* [R12.B2, R13.B7], in the foreground—have been suggested to represent statuary: the Marsyas, the fig tree, and the *alimenta* group.

Of these three potential examples, only the Marsyas has been universally accepted as a statue (figs. 144-146). Besides the Marsyas statue that stood from republican times on the Forum Romanum, other Marsyas statues were set up in the fora of provincial towns.³³² While early scholarship attempted to use the Anaglypha Reliefs to identify the

³³¹ *BMCRE* 33-35.

³³² *Supra* n. 304.

original location of the historic Marsyas statue³³³—or used theories about the original location of the Marsyas statue to identify the depicted buildings—more recent scholarship has focused on the symbolism of the statue, namely its associations with *libertas*.³³⁴ This vein of scholarship has pointed out the thematic concurrence between the burning of tax records and the *alimenta*, both institutions of imperial munificence that freed Roman citizens from want. The Marsyas statue could thus serve as a thematic rather than topographic marker, recalling themes of liberty, instead of a particular location within the Forum Romanum.³³⁵

The depicted fig trees are more debated. The most famous historical fig tree is the *ficus Ruminalis*, known from literary sources to have stood somewhere on the Forum Romanum, probably near the Comitium. This has been the most popular identification for the depicted trees.³³⁶ The depicted trees, however, stand on a base [R12.B6, R13.B1] similar to that depicted beneath the Marsyas statues [R12.B7, R13.B2]. The *ficus*

³³³ The Anaglypha Reliefs were used as late as 2011 to position the Marsyas statue (with fig tree) within the digital *Rome Reborn* model of the Forum Romanum (Frischer 2012).

³³⁴ Brizio 1872, 317; Nichols 1877, 71; Seston 1927, 167-70; Torelli 1982, 105-6; Smith 1983, 227; Habetzeder 2010, 175. Carter (1910, 314 n.1) argues that the symbolism of Marsyas statues in provincial towns cannot be extrapolated to Rome. For extensive discussion and bibliography on the Marsyas statue, see Torelli 1982, 99-105; Coarelli 1999.

³³⁵ Although not disputing the existence of a Marsyas statue in the Forum Romanum, Torelli (1982, 96; 1999, 95) argues for an ideological meaning for the statue and denies its topographical significance, primarily because he places the Marsyas statue near the Comitium and therefore out of sequence in his identification of the depicted buildings on the reliefs; for a direct rebuttal, see Smith 1983, 227. See also Rüdiger 1973, 164.

³³⁶ Brizio 1872, 316-17; Visconti 1873, 27; Spalding Jenkins 1901, 77; Hammond 1953, 137; Stucchi 1958, 66; Rüdiger 1973, 164; Torelli 1982, 95, 98-9; 1999, 95; Koeppl 1986, 19, 21; Kuttner 1995, 44; Coarelli 2007, 58; for opposing views, see Nichols 1877, 72-3; Middleton 1892; Hülsen 1904, 88; Smith 1983, 227. In his series of *LTUR* articles on the various Forum Romanum fig trees, Coarelli (1995a; 1995b; 1995c) identifies the tree(s) on the Anaglypha Reliefs specifically as the *ficus Navia*, which he equates with the *ficus Ruminalis*. Other identifications include: a fig tree mentioned by Pliny as standing near the *Lacus Curtius* (Nichols 1877, 73; Middleton 1892, 346; see Torelli 1982, 98-9 for general discussion of this tree) and an (otherwise unrecorded) bronze tree made to go with the Marsyas statue (Smith 1983, 227).

Ruminalis seems to have been (at least at one time) a living tree, leading some scholars to suggest that the depicted bases are either some sort of planter, or a protective perimeter fence (perhaps the Anaglypha Reliefs themselves).³³⁷ There is no major differentiation between the bases of the Marsyas statue and the bases of the tree, however (fig. 146),³³⁸ and it is not clear that the structures beneath the trees are not a base. Some scholars have suggested that by Imperial times the living tree had been replaced by a sculpted tree. A third possibility should be raised however: that the *figus Ruminalis* was depicted on the Anaglypha Reliefs with a base like a statue to call attention to its symbolic significance and to visually connect it with the thematically important Marsyas statue.³³⁹

The final potential statue depicted on the Anaglypha Reliefs is the *alimenta* group of the *Adlocutio* Relief. The figures in question are on a platform [R12.B5] and consist of a (now faceless) togate figure, seated on a throne, who extends his hand to a standing woman (fig. 139). Although only partially preserved, the rest of this composition can be convincingly reconstructed based on coin reverses and marks on the relief: the woman originally held a small child between herself and the emperor, with her other hand guiding a child standing on her right. This composition can be seen clearly in the reverse

³³⁷ Brizio 1872, 317; Rüdiger 1973, 164; Torelli 1982, 117 n. 112; 1999, 95; Koeppel 1986, 19; Boatwright 1987, 186 n. 14. Middleton (1892, 346) identifies the depicted structure [R12.B6, R13.B1] as a fence, perhaps similar to the Anaglyphs Reliefs, surrounding the living fig tree near the *Lacus Curtius*. Smith (1983, 227) sees the structure as a statue base for a bronze tree.

³³⁸ Pace Boatwright 1987, 186 n.14. The base of the tree and the base of the Marsyas statue do have slightly different moldings, but this is probably not significant. The base of the Marsyas statue [R12.B7, R13.B2] appears to have six sides (and the base of the fig tree [R12.B6, R13.B1] only four), but it is not clear that this is not simply awkward rendering, and anyway does not mean that the base under the fig tree is not a base. The actual Marsyas statue may have had a hexagonal base, or the hexagonal shape may be providing variation between the base(s) of the Marsyas and fig tree(s). On both reliefs, the top of the base under the tree slopes up almost imperceptibly towards the tree. This may indicate that it is some sort of planter, but it may also be an attempt to give the illusion of depth relative to the Marsyas statue.

³³⁹ The use of high bases to indicate an allegorical use of the Marsyas and fig tree was first suggested by Spalding Jenkins (1901, 77), but has not been taken up since.

design of a series of Trajanic coins (henceforth Design 1) issued in 111-113 C.E. to celebrate the institution of the *alimenta* (fig. 157).³⁴⁰ The numismatic and sculptural compositions are remarkably similar, including a distinction in scale between the seated emperor and the standing female. In the numismatic design, however, the figures and throne rest on a ground line, not a base.

M. Hammond famously argued that both the coins and the *Adlocutio* Relief depict a historical statue that stood in the Forum Romanum and commemorated Trajan's institution of the *alimenta*.³⁴¹ Hammond develops a typology for numismatic depictions of seated emperors, whereby a first category of coins represent the emperor in an idealized or divine mode, while the second category, distinguished by the elevation of the emperor on a high platform, depicts the emperor engaged in historicized acts. Hammond argues that the first category depicts statues, based on three lines of reasoning: (a) Tiberian coins showing a seated, radiate Augustus near an altar³⁴² were issued at the same time as the dedication of a statue to the Divine Augustus by Tiberius and Livia; (b) cult statues must have existed for other divine emperors; (c) another Tiberian type showing Tiberius in a similar guise (but laureate instead of radiate)³⁴³ was minted at the same time that a statue was set up in the Forum of Caesar by Asian cities grateful for recent tax

³⁴⁰ Design 1: MIR 357, 358, 447, reverse legend SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI, ALIM ITAL in ex., SC in field (Woytek 2010, 374, 413)

³⁴¹ Hammond 1953, . For the theory that the *alimenta* group represents a statue, see also Brizio 1872, 319-20; Hülsen 1904, 86-7; Carter 1910, 317; Rüdiger 1973, 165, 168; Torelli 1982, 91; 1999; Koeppl 1986, 20; Kuttner 1995, 45, 49-51; Grunow 2002, 114 n. 40; Hölscher 2002, 142; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 159.

³⁴² *BMCRE* 74.

³⁴³ *BMCRE* 70.

remissions. Hammond cites as support the remains of statues of seated emperors from around the Roman Empire.

Although his theory has found wide acceptance, Hammond's argument is not convincing. His interpretation of the Divine Augustus coins is possible, but hardly definitive. This representation, of a radiate emperor with an altar, is anyway a far cry from the image on the Trajanic coins and the Anaglypha Reliefs. The employment of the supposed cult statue motif at the same time for the living Tiberius, furthermore, would seem to undermine any particular associations between the seated emperor design and a cult statue. Hammond's assertion that the numismatic representation of Tiberius represents a particular statue in Rome is undermined by the very evidence he cites in support, since the statue base from Puteoli thought to be a copy of the statue in Rome is for a standing figure.³⁴⁴ In the end, Hammond does not provide a single definitive example where a particular seated statue of the emperor known from the archaeological record can be connected to a coin type. As he admits, he also fails to identify any criteria within the numismatic examples for which coins represent statues.³⁴⁵ All Hammond really demonstrates is that the enthroned figure was a common but varied motif employed for both living and divine emperors and their relatives, and was found in both coins and sculpture.

³⁴⁴ Hammond 1953, 163-64. The base features personifications of 14 Asian cities (all labeled) and an inscription honoring Tiberius. Kuttner (1995, 41) follows Hammond's identification of the coin and the base in Puteoli, although she sees the base as supporting a seated figure.

³⁴⁵ Hammond 1953, 168: "No single element in coin types which show the emperor in super-human guise can guarantee that a statue served for the prototype." Kuttner (1995) also fails to identify any criteria for identifying which coins depict statues.

A rejection of Hammond's arguments is only one warning against the interpretation of the *alimenta* group of the Anaglypha Reliefs as a historical statue. The Trajanic numismatic design in question (Design 1) was only one design in a set of four that commemorated the *alimenta*. A second design (Design 2) depicted a standing emperor with two children; a third design (Design 3) featured a standing female personification with one child; the fourth design (Design 4) showed a kneeling female personification with two children appealing to a standing Trajan (figs. 157-160).³⁴⁶ All four designs appeared in the same period (111-113 CE), and featured several repeated elements. Design 1, for example, combines the two appealing children of Designs 2 and 4 with the arrangement of child and personification of Design 3, replacing the cornucopia of Design 3 with a second child. None of these four designs depict bases. This is in contrast to numerous other Trajanic numismatic designs that apparently did depict statues and indicated this through the inclusion of statue bases (fig. 161).³⁴⁷ There is nothing in the four numismatic *alimenta* designs that singles out the one design as depicting a statue, and not an abstract design.

All of this suggests that the Trajanic coins did not depict a pre-existing Trajanic statue. This means that the only evidence for the existence of the statue group supposedly shown on the *Adlocutio* Relief would be the *Adlocutio* Relief itself. There is abundant

³⁴⁶ Design 2: MIR 345, 376, reverse legend COS V P P SPQR OPTIMO PRINC, ALIM ITAL in ex. (Woytek 2010, 368-69, 383). Design 3: MIR 354-56, 382-83, 395, 444-46, reverse legend SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI, ALIM ITAL in ex., SC in field (Woytek 2010, 372-73, 385, 372-73). Design 4: MIR 349, (352), 366, 367, 368, 369, reverse legend SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI, ITALIA REST in ex., SC in field (Woytek 2010, 370, 378-79). The close relationship between the *alimenta* and the *Italia Restituta* types is particularly apparent in MIR 352, most likely a mistake, where the *Italia Restituta* design is combined with the legend ALIM ITAL in ex.

³⁴⁷ Trajanic numismatic types with reverse designs featuring statue bases: statue of Hercules: MIR 72-3, 99-101, 138, 143, 164, 192-3 (examples with and without base), 457, 595; statue of emperor crowned by victory (fig. 161): MIR 184; cult statue in temple: MIR 230A, 253, 302; equestrian statue: MIR 848 (Woytek 2010).

evidence for relief sculpture and numismatic designs employing similar compositions in the Trajanic and early Hadrianic periods. One should consider the idea that the Anaglypha representation is symbolic rather than documentary,³⁴⁸ illustrating a concept of imperial generosity portrayed as a statue (or simply set apart by a base), rather than an actual statue group in the Forum Romanum. This might explain the relatively small platform/base [R12.B4], and the ambiguity of the four men standing to the far right, who could act as the audience either of the *adlocutio* or of Trajan's generosity in the *alimenta*,³⁴⁹ and thus link the two ideas together (fig. 144).

Both the fig tree and the *alimenta* group, then, are not indisputable statues. Instead, they may be thematic concepts depicted in the guise of statues on bases, possibly to mark them visually and set them apart from the rest of the action. Thus they cannot serve as evidence for the topographic precision of the Anaglypha Reliefs. Even if such statues did exist, furthermore, one must ask why those particular statues were selected, out of the probable hundreds of statues set up in the Forum Romanum at any given time. It is most likely not for their topographic value. Rather, the *alimenta*, the *ficus Ruminalis*, and the Marsyas statue all have links to the concept of freedom also illustrated in the debt record burning of the Tablet Relief. The theme of imperial generosity and the resulting freedom for citizens would tie together the *alimenta* group, the fig tree(s), the statue of Marsyas, and the debt record burning, and perhaps the *adlocutio*, which may illustrate the announcement of any one of the many financial programs Hadrian instituted upon his

³⁴⁸ Henzen (1872, 278-79) and Seston (1927, 164) argued that the *alimenta* group had nothing to do with statuary, but should be considered purely symbolic. Petersen (1895, 6-7) believed that a fictional statue was represented. Middleton (1892, 346) saw the group as illustrating the historical institution of the *alimenta* program.

³⁴⁹ For the idea that these four men look past the *alimenta* group to the *adlocutio*, see Brizio 1872, 320; Petersen 1895, 6; Rüdiger 1973, 165, 167; contra Visconti 1873, 9.

return to Rome as emperor.³⁵⁰ As will be seen, this abstract virtue of imperial generosity may help elucidate the primary debates in which the architectural depictions have figured prominently: the controversy over the historical location of the record burning and date of the Anaglypha Reliefs.

5.4 THE DATE OF THE ANAGLYPHA RELIEFS

The date of the Anaglypha Reliefs has continued to excite controversy since the discovery of the monuments.³⁵¹ Style and iconography suggest a date in the reign of either Trajan or Hadrian,³⁵² but neither style nor iconography is sufficient to distinguish further between the two periods. Scholars thus have turned to content to narrow the date for the reliefs. This has not provided an easy solution. While the best known burning of

³⁵⁰ Ancient sources record that Hadrian not only canceled debts, but also increased the allowances of the children enrolled in the *alimenta* program, an act commemorated in Hadrianic coin reverses closely resembling the *alimenta* group on the *Adlocutio* Relief (*BMCRE* 1160-62; Hammond 1953, 141, 170-72). Torelli (1982, 91; 1999, 95) argues that the *adlocutio* on the Anaglypha Reliefs announces a *congiarium*, not the *alimenta*, since there are no children in the audience, and children are considered a *sine qua non* for *alimenta* representations (see also Rüdiger 1973, 166; Hölscher 2002, 142). Since my interpretation focuses on imperial generosity, it does not matter much exactly what sort of generosity (*congiarium* or *alimenta*) is being announced in the *adlocutio*. However, it is worth noting several points: (a) children *were* included in the *Adlocutio* Relief, on either side of the female figure in the *alimenta* group; (b) while *alimenta* scenes eventually were standardized, at the time of the Anaglypha Reliefs (the Trajanic or Hadrianic period) such scenes were relatively new, and in fact the only possible previous extant scene in state reliefs is on the passageway of the Trajanic Arch at Beneventum. This scene, while it does include many children, is hardly an exact situational parallel to the scene on the *Adlocutio* Relief. It may be that at the time of the Anaglypha Reliefs there was still ongoing experimentation in how to represent the *alimenta*. This would hardly be surprising, since the *alimenta* had been set up as an imperial institution under Nerva at the earliest. The *alimenta* scene on the Arch at Beneventum, furthermore, is highly symbolic, which would be in keeping with the abstract *alimenta* of the *Adlocutio* Relief. The more realistic, logistical representations of the *alimenta* may simply be a later approach to depicting a (now established) imperial institution.

³⁵¹ This in spite of Carter's (1910, 310) pronouncement that "In the almost forty years since these reliefs came to light, the historian and the student of art have largely solved their problems. The deeds are the deeds of Trajan and the art is the art of his age."

³⁵² Visconti (1873) argued that the reliefs dated to Domitian's reign, but this idea has found almost no subsequent acceptance (or real exploration). Smith (1983, 228) raises the possibility that the reliefs could date to the time of Marcus Aurelius (who also canceled debts), but ultimately finds this unlikely.

(debt) records occurred under Hadrian, literary and epigraphic evidence clearly locate that event in the Forum of Trajan. Scholarship has posited three different scenarios to resolve the seeming tension between the Hadrianic debt record burning and the apparent depiction in the Anaglypha Reliefs of the Forum Romanum:

1. The depicted record burning is not the Hadrianic event, but a different event that did take place in the Forum Romanum, under either Domitian, Trajan, or Marcus Aurelius.³⁵³
2. The depicted record burning is the Hadrianic event, but the textual sources are mistaken: the event took place in the Forum Romanum.³⁵⁴
3. The depicted record burning is the Hadrianic event, which did take place in the Forum of Trajan, but on the Anaglypha Reliefs the setting has been changed to the Forum Romanum.³⁵⁵

As will be seen, each of these suggested scenarios has its own difficulties, and all directly implicate the architectural depictions of the reliefs.

Both external and internal evidence suggests that a Trajanic date should be rejected for the Anaglypha Reliefs. Textual, epigraphic, numismatic (and possibly

³⁵³ For a Trajanic date of the execution and content of the Reliefs, see Henzen 1872, 281; Nichols 1877, 64-5; Middleton 1892, 346-47; Spalding Jenkins 1901, 70-1; Hülse 1904, 85; Hassel 1966, 33-4 n. 175; Torelli 1982, 107-8; Pollini 1983, 573; Koeppl 1986, 4, 20; Hölscher 2002, 141-42; Coarelli 2007, 58. Carter (1910, 317) suggests that the reliefs are Hadrianic in date, but depict Trajanic events. For specific rejection of a Hadrianic date based on the Forum Romanum vs. the Forum of Trajan debate, see Spalding Jenkins 1901, 68; Hassel 1966, 33 n. 175; Torelli 1982, 90; Koeppl 1986, 4. For dates outside the Trajanic-Hadrianic range see *supra* n. 352.

³⁵⁴ Brizio 1872, 326-27.

³⁵⁵ Seston 1927, 170-71; Hammond 1953, 146, 180; Rüdiger 1973, 173; Kleiner 1992a, 250; Grunow 2002, 118-21; for an opposing view, see Boatwright 1987, 189-90. Kleiner (1992a, 250) suggests the location of the event may have been changed so that, by reflecting the physical buildings around them, the events of the Anaglypha Reliefs would take on a more realistic appearance. Grunow (2002, 118-19) suggests that the setting may have been changed for a combination of logistical and ideological concerns: (a) with its unified background of columned facades and without a distinctive temple, the Forum of Trajan would be difficult, if not impossible, to render as an identifiable setting; (b) in contrast, the Forum Romanum had a variety of buildings, making it more easily recognizable and providing more opportunities for symbolic (Temple of Saturn behind the burning of debt records) and compositional (emperor in front of sacred buildings, plebians before secular) fine-tuning.

sculptural) sources make much of the fact that Hadrian canceled debts and burned the records. The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* chronicle the debt remission and set the act itself of burning the records specifically in the Forum of Trajan.³⁵⁶ Cassius Dio also records this remission of debts.³⁵⁷ The burning of debt records in the Forum of Trajan is further confirmed by an inscription, found in the Forum of Trajan, which honors Hadrian as the emperor *qui primus omnium principum et solus remittendo...debitum fiscis*.³⁵⁸ The use of the phrase *primus omnium principum et solus* suggests strongly that Hadrian initiated the remission of debts as an imperial practice; it would be especially odd if Trajan had pursued a similar policy only a few years before. Numismatic evidence further celebrates Hadrian's debt cancelations. Two different designs on *sestertii* from early in Hadrian's reign depict a figure extending a torch towards a pile of records.³⁵⁹ In one design the figure is alone; in the other, a group of three figures watches, raising their hands in a gesture of praise. The so-called Chatsworth Relief, typically dated stylistically to the Hadrianic period, also preserves a scene where men move in procession while

³⁵⁶ [A]d colligendam autem gratiam nihil praetermittens infinitam pecuniam, quae fisco debebatur, privatis debitoribus in urbe atque Italia, in provinciis vero etiam ex reliqui[i]s ingentes summas remisit syngrafis in foro divi Traiani, quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur, incensis (SHA *Hadr.* 7.6). Text is taken from Hohl 1965. For discussion see Hammond 1953, 141; Smith 1983, 227; Boatwright 1987, 187.

³⁵⁷ Cass. Dio 69. 8.i (2).

³⁵⁸ *CIL* VI.967 (= *ILS* 309). The portion of the inscription recording the debt remission reads *qui primus omnium principum et / solus remittendo sestertium novies / milies centena milia n(ummum) debitum fiscis / non praesentes tantum cives suos sed / et posteros eorum praestitit hac / liberalitate securos*. For discussion of the inscription, see Borrmann and Henzen 1876, 177; Hammond 1953, 142; Dessau 1954, 81; Smith 1983, 227. The inscription as a whole is recorded in medieval manuscripts; in addition, a fragment was recovered in the Forum of Trajan in 1812. The report of the fragment compares the letters, which were once filled with bronze, to the inscription of the Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome, but is otherwise vague as to the style or size of the lettering (Borrmann and Henzen 1876, 177; Dessau 1954, 81). The original context of the inscription is thus unclear.

³⁵⁹ *BMCRE* 1206-1210.

carrying records.³⁶⁰ All of these lines of evidence come together to paint a picture of an important, apparently innovative debt cancelation by Hadrian that was commemorated through numerous different means. There is strong external evidence, then, to accept a Hadrianic date at the earliest for the Anaglypha Reliefs, since Hadrian was the first emperor to burn debt records, the most likely act depicted in the Tablet Reliefs.

Given the preponderance of evidence that the first imperial burning of debt records took place under Hadrian and in the Forum of Trajan, the persistence of theories postulating a Trajanic date for the Anaglypha reliefs is perhaps surprising. It demonstrates, however, the powerful influence of the architectural depictions and the overarching assumption that they represent the Forum Romanum. The supposed tension between action and setting may be resolved or lessened, however, if one considers the various forces that may have driven the inclusion of the architectural depictions of the Anaglypha Reliefs in the first place. It must be reconsidered, in other words, whether or not the right questions have been asked so far for the architectural depictions.

My arguments above—that the architectural depictions are not specific, and that their identification with actual architecture was not the driving force in their representation—are not meant to assert that the buildings depicted on the Anaglypha Reliefs were not inspired by the Forum Romanum, or that the depicted events were not meant to have taken place there. But I argue that as far as the depicted architecture is concerned, the lack of specificity suggests that what was most important was the presentation of an elaborate urban architectural landscape. This landscape was populated

³⁶⁰ Rüdiger 1973, 171; Torelli 1982, 109; Koeppl 1985, 171-72; Boatwright 1987, 189; Kleiner 1992a, 251; Kuttner 1995, 46; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 173-77.

with building types that had strong connotations of important aspects of Roman political life: religion, law, and oratory. An elaborate urban backdrop, in the current visual language, would have drawn immediate associations between the depicted events and the city of Rome as a whole, above and beyond any more particular links with the Forum Romanum. What was most important, in other words, may have been that the events depicted took place in, and in the spirit of, Rome.

In my interpretation, it would not matter whether the actual burning of debt records took place in the Forum Romanum or the Forum of Trajan: multiple events could be connected by their symbolic themes and gathered together in front of a common background, which, while evocative of the Forum Romanum, more importantly emphasized the connection between the emperor and Rome. This sort of connection seems to have been particularly troubled for Hadrian, who spent most of his time outside of the capital. My interpretation thus rejects any scenarios that interpret the depicted setting of the historic debt burning specifically in the Forum Romanum. Instead, I see the setting as a broad concept of urban Rome, neither a particular historical nor a fictive location for the depicted events.

5.5 ROME, THE SENATE, AND THE ANAGLYPHA RELIEFS

One may ask *cui bono* in evoking and emphasizing the broad setting of Rome for an imperial action. While admittedly there is no direct evidence on this topic, it can be profitable to speculate on the intended impetus and audience of the Anaglypha Reliefs. Scholars have recently emphasized the constant process of negotiation between senate

and emperor, where the senate reminded the emperor of its expectations of his behavior, by praising him for that same type of behavior.³⁶¹ Most sculptural monuments, furthermore, at least nominally were commissioned by the senate. It could be that the emphasis on the connection between Rome and imperial action in the Anaglypha Reliefs was a coded reminder (or wishful thinking) on the part of the senate, to recall to a traveling, Graecophile Hadrian where his duties lay.³⁶² E. Marlowe interprets a Tetrarchic monument in a similar fashion: the extant base from the Five-Column Monument, set up by the senate in Rome, depicts all four Tetrarchs together, presumably in Rome, despite the fact that such an event had never occurred.³⁶³ Marlowe sees this as an appeal by the senate to return Rome to its proper place as the center of imperial life, at the expense of the new Tetrarchic capitals. The Anaglypha Reliefs—a depiction of imperial gifts specifically to the citizens of Rome and originally Italy, set against a backdrop of urban, Roman magnificence—may be a similar appeal to the emperor not to forget his special duties to Rome.³⁶⁴

It is also interesting that most of the elements chosen to be represented in the foreground of the Anaglypha Reliefs have connections to the republican period. While

³⁶¹ E.g. Mayer 2002; 2010; Marlowe 2004, 24-33, 245-49; Noreña 2011, 51; Seelentag 2011.

³⁶² The question of the authorship and driving forces behind the Anaglypha Reliefs has been underexplored, and the senate is generally left out of the discussion. Torelli (1982, 108; 1999, 95) has briefly argued that the act of burning tax records, which would have had direct impact on the power of the senate relative to the imperial *ficus*, is purposely placed near the older speaker's platform and the Curia, the dual strongholds of the senate; see also Hölscher 2002, 142. Given the generalized renderings of the buildings, such precise topographical associations are in my opinion too strong, but the general theme of senatorial power could still be evoked more generally in the platforms with *rostra*.

³⁶³ Marlowe 2004, 26-33.

³⁶⁴ Torelli (1982, 91) briefly points out the intimate connection between the depictions on the Anaglypha Reliefs and the citizens of Rome. For the sometimes tense relationship between the emperor and the city of Rome, see Hope 2000.

they may have acquired subsequent connotations, both the Marsyas statue and the *figus Ruminalis* (or any of the fig trees that stood of the Forum Romanum) had their roots deep in the republic. Similarly, the first podium to be decorated with *rostra* dated to the heyday of the senate, and all subsequent similar platforms presumably would have retained strong connotations of rule through oratory, a traditional senatorial domain. Despite being set up in the high imperial period, then, the Anaglypha Reliefs had a strong republican flavor. The repetition of the Marsyas and fig tree (and perhaps the platforms with *rostra* [R12.B2, R13.B7]) makes little sense as a topographic indicator, but does make sense if these elements were acting as a symbol reflecting on the significance of depicted events.

The *alimenta* “statue” may also have had strong senatorial connotations. At the time of Trajan and Hadrian, the most likely period for the execution of the Anaglypha Reliefs, the *alimenta* was a relatively new imperial institution, having been set up for the first time, possibly under Nerva, but more probably in the early reign of Trajan.³⁶⁵ The *alimenta* as a social institution, however, had a long history: local elites, many of them senators, often set up private alimentary schemes for their dependents.³⁶⁶ The easy discussion of such a scheme by Pliny the Younger in a letter to a friend³⁶⁷ suggests that alimentary schemes were a well-known feature of elite life. By commemorating the imperial *alimenta*, the senate would not only be celebrating an institution that applied

³⁶⁵ Supra n. 101.

³⁶⁶ For private alimentary schemes and their connection to the imperial institution, see e.g. Duncan-Jones 1964, 128; Patterson 1987, 126-27; Woolf 1990, 208-10.

³⁶⁷ Plin. *Ep.* VII, 18.

specifically and only to the local area of Italy, but they also would be presenting the emperor taking on the role of a local elite.

Finally, it is notable that the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (albeit a problematic source) specifically situate the debt remission in the broader context of numerous beneficial public fiscal acts pursued by Hadrian following the unpopular execution of four senators at the beginning of his reign.³⁶⁸ These acts included the cancelation of expenses in the provinces, an increase of the allotment to children enrolled in the *alimenta* program, and, notably, gifts to individuals, either to restore their senatorial standard of living or to allow them to run for public office. The Anaglypha Reliefs may thus commemorate correct imperial behavior, especially towards the senate, behavior that came in historical context of atonement for incorrect behavior.

If one works from the (admittedly speculative) premise that the senate sponsored and directed the creation of the Anaglypha Reliefs, then the transference of the debt record burning from the new, lavish imperial forum to a setting evocative of the senate and its traditional stronghold of the Forum Romanum, but more importantly their greater stronghold of Rome in general, would have had great significance. This would help explain the generalized renderings of the buildings: what was important were not the particular identities of individual buildings, but the special spirit of Rome evoked by an urban backdrop.

³⁶⁸ Supra n. 356.

CHAPTER 6:

COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS

The Column of Marcus Aurelius is a difficult monument to evaluate.³⁶⁹ Heavily damaged and without an extant inscription, the exact date and original setting of the column are debated, although it obviously stood on the Campus Martius, probably in the vicinity of the Temple of Divine Marcus and Faustina, known only from literary sources.³⁷⁰ The precise topic of the figural frieze is also unclear, but it is generally understood to depict campaigns waged by Marcus Aurelius against barbarians across the Rhine and Danube. The monument is clearly modeled after the Column of Trajan, repeating not only the figural frieze but also the structural feature of the internal spiral staircase, as well as specific compositional elements, such as the Victory writing on a shield at the midpoint of the Column.

Like its predecessor, the Column of Marcus Aurelius is a valuable and underexplored resource in the study of architectural depictions. The architectural depictions of the column are exceptional not only in their great number and focus on generic buildings outside of Rome: they also present a unique opportunity for a direct

³⁶⁹ For general discussion, see e.g. Petersen et al. 1896; Morris 1952; Becatti 1955; Caprino et al. 1955; Dobiás 1962; Jordan-Ruwe 1990; Wolff 1990; Pirson 1996; Huet and Scheid 2000; Beckmann 2003; 2005a; 2005-06; 2011; Claridge 2005; Dillon 2006; Coarelli 2008; Ferris 2009; Kovács 2009; Depeyrot 2010a; 2010b.

³⁷⁰ For the related problems of the date and topics of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, see Jordan-Ruwe 1990, 67-9; Wolff 1990; Hölscher 2000, 94; Beckmann 2003, *passim*; 2011, 19-36; Coarelli 2008, 32-6; Kovács 2009, 159-68. 181-275. For the setting of the column, see e.g. Coulston 1988, 18, 390; Hanoune 2000, 207; Beckmann 2003, 1-2, 23; 2011, 37-54; Clarke 2003, 45-7; Coarelli 2008, 12-32.

comparison between a monument and its prototype. While the architectural depictions of the Column of Marcus Aurelius frequently draw on those of the Trajanic column, the later depictions deviate from their models in several crucial aspects. The similarities and differences between the depictions of the monuments thus can provide a unique window into the changing uses of architectural depictions in Roman state reliefs.

Following the same approach employed for the Column of Trajan, I will begin my analysis of the architectural depictions of the Column of Marcus Aurelius with a short case study of two settlements. I will then proceed to a broader analysis of the architectural depictions on the monument as a whole, drawing on a comprehensive analysis of all preserved architectural depictions on the frieze.³⁷¹

6.1 TWO SETTLEMENTS (SCENES I AND XX) ON THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS

There are many obvious differences between the depicted architecture on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Architecture on the Column of Trajan is significantly more frequent³⁷² and more varied than on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which features only nine different architectural types. Of these nine types, fortifications, boat bridges, platforms, and huts clearly dominate. Tents, typically large and occasionally surrounded by ditches, play a much more prominent role on the later column as well.³⁷³ While the Column of Trajan puts great emphasis on construction scenes and prosperous

³⁷¹ This quantitative analysis was undertaken in connection with my research for Wolfram Thill 2011.

³⁷² Coulston 1988, 383; Pirson 1996, 140, 149; Grunow 2002, 134; Beckmann 2003, 197; Hölscher 2006, 96.

³⁷³ Tents with ditch (possibly representing a *vallum*): Scenes VIII, XXXI, XXXIX (Hanoune 2000, 206, 210; Wolfram Thill 2011, 299).

civilian settlements, both types of scenes are rare on the later monument, which features only two construction scenes and at most three peaceful civilian settlements, one of which is clearly copied from the Column of Trajan (see below).³⁷⁴ In fact, the largest preserved concentrations of buildings on the Column of Marcus Aurelius are either modeled directly on the Column of Trajan (Scenes I-II) or are barbarian villages subject to destruction (Scenes VII, XX).³⁷⁵

Scenes I-II on the Column of Marcus Aurelius represent buildings along the frontier (fig. 162). These depictions are so similar to those on the lower spirals on the Column of Trajan that M. Beckmann has suggested that the bottom scenes of the Column of Marcus Aurelius are based on a direct sketch of their Trajanic counterparts (figs. 162, 163).³⁷⁶ The first building on the Column of Marcus Aurelius [R14.B2] is made of stone, with a tile roof, prominent lintel, and columns on both sides of the rectangular doorway (fig. 164). One window is over the door, and another on the flank. The second building [R14.B4] also is made of stone and has a tile roof and a window over the door (fig. 165).

³⁷⁴ Construction scenes: Scenes LXXXII, XCIV. For discussion see Coulston 1988, 383-84; Pirson 1996, 140; Hanoune 2000, 207-8; Grunow 2002, 134; Kovács 2009, 175; Beckmann 2011, 162; Wolfram Thill 2011, 300, 300 n. 47. Scene XCVIII has also been interpreted as a depiction of Roman military construction, but is more likely a destruction scene (Wolfram Thill 2011, 300 n. 47). Possible civilian settlements: Scenes II, XL, CXIII. Scenes XL and CXIII are both heavily restored. In its present state, Scene XL shows a battle in front of an urban backdrop, an unusual combination of battle and town not found elsewhere on either column. Scene CXIII, as preserved, seems to show a river rushing through a fortification. Again, this has no real parallel on either column, although it may be a confused combination of the canal and reservoir/fortification in Scene LXXIV of the Column of Trajan (fig. 95). It is by no means assured that the restored scenes on the Column of Marcus Aurelius preserve original motifs. See also Wolfram Thill 2011, 299 n. 41.

³⁷⁵ For the significance of architectural destruction on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, see Wolfram Thill 2011.

³⁷⁶ Beckmann 2003, 30; 2011, 89-98; see also Coulston 1988, 384. Bartoli's 1675 illustrations of the first spiral of the Column of Marcus Aurelius (reproduced in Depeyrot 2010a, 92) do seem to be based in part on the Column of Trajan: for Scene I they show only three buildings, all made of stone. For further discussion of the opening sequence on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, see Ferris 2009, 155; Beckmann 2011, 89-91; Wolfram Thill 2011, 301, 304.

Unlike the previous building [R14.B2], the second building [R14.B4] is surrounded by a wooden palisade [R14.B3]; the palisade has a rectangular entrance with a heavy frame and a slightly open door.

At this point the sequence begins to deviate significantly from its prototype. The third building [R14.B6] repeats the same general form as the previous two, with a window over the door and on the flank (fig. 166). This building also has a palisade [R16.B5], but with an arched entrance surrounded by a braided(?) frame and with an open door. The building, its roof, and its palisade are all hatched with closely placed parallel lines forming half-round tubes. The tubes on the building and roof run vertically and close together, and are set in staggered tiers, three on the building and two on the roof. In contrast, the tubes in the palisade are wider, run horizontally, and are interrupted by thick posts. The third building and its palisade thus appear to be made of some sort of perishable material, be it wood, wattle, reeds, or something in that vein. The fourth building in the sequence [R14.B7] is almost entirely obliterated, but one can still see some rectangular hatching, a tile roof, and windows above the door (now lost) and on the flank (fig. 167). A wooden palisade [R14.B8] around the building can just be discerned. A larger wooden palisade [R14.B1] runs behind all four buildings (fig. 162). The rest of the scene to the right is too poorly preserved for detailed analysis, but it appears to adhere closely to the scenes on the Column of Trajan.

Unlike Scenes I-II, the cluster of buildings in Scene VII does not have a direct model on the Column of Trajan. The scene shows the slaughter of barbarians next to the destruction of a cluster of five huts [R15.B1, R15.B2, R15.B3, R15.B4, R15.B5] (fig. 168). All of the huts are marked by parallel vertical hatching, similar to the hatching in

the perishable buildings of Scene I [R14.B5, R14.B6]. The hatching of the huts is interrupted in several places by horizontal braids. All huts have rounded roofs, and three huts [R15.B1, R15.B3, R15.B4] have open arched entrances. It is striking that this tight cluster of five buildings is one of the two largest collection of buildings on the frieze, and is made up entirely of nearly identical, simple, barbarian architecture.

6.2 PROTOTYPES AND BEYOND IN THE ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS ON THE COLUMNS

The broad differences in the depicted architecture of the two columns are easily identifiable. What is equally intriguing, however, are the subtler changes that were made even when specific sequences or buildings on the Column of Trajan were mimicked on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. These demonstrate that the production team of the later monument was aware of the significance of the architectural depictions, and made conscious decisions regarding the depictions and their details.

Many of the mimicked scenes and elements on the two columns are obvious, much-cited examples, such as the opening sequence along the frontier, the Victory with Shield, and the siege by *testudo*.³⁷⁷ Beckmann has demonstrated that many mimicked scenes were selected primarily according to their position on the shaft of the Column of Trajan: either along the lower spirals, near the central Victory, or at a height corresponding to the roofline of the surrounding buildings.³⁷⁸ Many of these mimicked scenes include architecture, although it is unclear whether this is due to chance, design, or

³⁷⁷ Settlement along the frontier: Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius Scenes I-III. Victory with shield: Column of Trajan Scenes LXXVIII-LXXVIX, Column of Marcus Aurelius Scenes LV-LVI. *Testudo* and barbarian fortification: Column of Trajan Scene LXXVI, Column of Marcus Aurelius Scene LIV.

³⁷⁸ Beckmann 2011, 89-106.

because these scenes were visually striking. The opening spirals of both columns, for example, present a sequence of frontier buildings, followed by a settlement and bridge crossing (see below). Each of the two *testudo* scenes also includes a prominent barbarian fortification.

In particular, the two construction scenes on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Scenes LXXXII, XCIV) seem to have been inspired by examples on the Column of Trajan. In the two Aurelian scenes, all the soldiers wear segmented armor and do not wear helmets, a marked feature of construction scenes on the Column of Trajan (figs. 55, 169, 170).³⁷⁹ All the soldiers engaged in construction on the Column of Marcus Aurelius also have short beards or no beards at all, an unusual phenomenon for that column but the standard on the Column of Trajan. Beckmann, however, has rejected these examples as quoted scenes, pointing to the lack of coherent interaction in the scenes on the Column of Marcus Aurelius between the soldiers and the markedly sketchy background architecture.³⁸⁰ Beckmann argues instead that the construction scenes of both columns drew independently on a common, but now lost, model. While K. Lehmann-Hartleben effectively demonstrated the reliance on stock figures and poses for the Trajanic construction scenes,³⁸¹ the common (and illogical) costume of the soldiers on both columns suggests that the Column of Marcus Aurelius production team was reproducing specific elements of the Trajanic examples.

³⁷⁹ Beckmann 2011, 162. All but three of the Column of Trajan soldiers involved in construction wear segmented armor, despite the fact that heavy armor is an unlikely costume for such activity (Coulston 1988, 68).

³⁸⁰ Beckmann 2011, 162. Coarelli (2008, 302), in contrast, calls the legionaries “another textual quote from Trajan’s Column” but does not present any supporting argument. Coulston (1988, 384) sees particular figures in the Aurelian construction scenes as copied from Trajanic examples.

³⁸¹ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, 12; see also Coulston 1988, 29, 145; 1990a, 42.

Even more telling are the five helmeted soldiers that enter to the right of the second construction scene on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Scene XCIV) (fig. 170). Three of those soldiers are grouped together behind a stretch of rocky ground, in an arrangement so tightly packed that two of the men appear as floating heads. These three soldiers recall the three oddly positioned legionaries peering over rocky ground above the construction in Scene LX of the Column of Trajan (figs. 171, 172). From a compositional perspective, the three Trajanic soldiers are part of a chiasmic arrangement, where two smaller helmeted groups and two large bare-headed groups conceptually link a scene of destruction of wooden Dacian architecture on the left with a scene of Roman construction in stone on the right.³⁸² From a narrative perspective, however, the three Trajanic soldiers are confusing. In the Column of Marcus Aurelius example, the basic composition—three helmeted heads and rocky ground to the right of a scene of construction—has been maintained, but additional figures have been added to make (some) sense of the scene. The general peculiarity of the three soldiers grouped behind the rocky ground, and the Trajanic use of the arrangement in a larger, complicated chiasmic composition, suggests that the Trajanic example probably was not drawn from a general model. This in turn implies that the Column of Marcus Aurelius construction scene was composed using elements borrowed directly from the Column of Trajan, not from a separate (now lost) model.

There are other elements around this particular construction scene on the Column of Trajan that were borrowed as well. In addition to the general topic, the soldiers' dress, and the three "floating" soldiers, the construction scenes of the Columns

³⁸² Wolfram Thill 2011, 297.

of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius share several vague poses for the soldiers engaged in construction: the soldier carrying a beam over his shoulder, the soldier raising a mallet to strike, and the hunched soldier reaching directly forward with both arms. Other borrowed elements, however, are architectural. The completed camp next to the camp under construction on the Column of Trajan has an open gate with no lintel and unusually large, prominent tents; in front of the camp stand Trajan and a group of soldiers (Scenes LX-LXI) (fig. 173). Scene LXXX on the Column of Marcus Aurelius repeats this motif, with a completed camp with open gateway and prominent tents forming the backdrop to the emperor grouped with two companions (fig. 174). The two scenes are by no means identical: the narratives are not the same, and the Column of Marcus Aurelius example adds a soldier inside the camp and another figure standing in the entrance. Both scenes feature unusual elements, however, that suggest the later example is derivative.

Most obviously, the example on the Column of Marcus Aurelius is the only instance on that Column where tents appear inside of a completed camp. The tent in the Trajanic camp is unusually large and prominent, but a close parallel appears in the tent of Scene XXI on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The composition following the Trajanic fortification—soldiers leading a pair of oxen and then a pair of horses, both pulling wagons, with another pair of oxen above (Scene LXI; fig. 175,)—can be found in the midst of a procession on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Scene XCIII). Notably, this procession leads directly to the construction scene with the three “floating” soldiers (Scene XCIV). The camp on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Scene LXXX) also comes only one scene before the other construction scene on the frieze (Scene LXXXII), where the soldier in the upper left corner is particularly close to the soldier on the far right of the

Trajanic construction scene (Scene LX; fig. 170; fig. 173,). This figure wears segmented armor, short hair and beard, and moves to the right with his arms bent peculiarly at a ninety degree angle.

All of this suggests that a particular series of scenes on the Column of Trajan was the source for numerous elements on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, including the only construction scenes and completed camp on that monument. This means that a significant additional portion of the architecture on the Column of Marcus Aurelius was derived directly from the Column of Trajan, in particular scenes dealing with military construction. This lessens the sense that the construction scenes on the Column of Marcus Aurelius held particular significance for that monument, since they are borrowed alongside less impressive elements such as wagons and particular combinations of animals.

The construction scenes also demonstrate that the Trajanic architecture is not copied unaltered. The architecture under construction on the Column of Marcus Aurelius notably lacks the rectangular hatching, and coherent form, of its Trajanic forebears. In fact, the architecture is barely visible (figs. 170, 171). The arch and wall(?) to the right of the second construction scene (Scene XCIV) may demonstrate some attempt to indicate elaborate architecture, but it may also be part of the attempt to make sense of the of the three floating soldiers (fig. 171). The production team of the Column of Marcus Aurelius either did not perceive, or much more likely chose not to repeat, the message of the Roman army creating a new and permanent presence in barbarian territory, expressed through architecture and so important to the Column of Trajan.

With the exception of the completed camp in Scene LXXX, the construction material of the borrowed architecture always is changed, usually from stone to perishable material. This change can be seen most broadly in the switch from stone to pegged construction for the emperor's platforms. While the Column of Marcus Aurelius repeats several elements of the *adlocutio* motifs of the Column of Trajan (figs. 56, 57), the Aurelian platforms under the emperor's feet are either left blank or have pegs (figs. 176, 177).³⁸³ This sort of temporary construction is more realistic for active campaigning, but the switch in construction material also indicates that the connotations of permanence and supremacy that the stone construction of the Trajanic platforms bring to their scenes were no longer considered desirable.

The construction material has also been changed for the barbarian fortification under Roman *testudo* attack.³⁸⁴ In the Trajanic example (Scene LXXVI), the fortification wall is left blank except for a line of roundels (fig. 178). On the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Scene LIV), the wall features a combination of parallel diagonal hatching and horizontal braids (fig. 179), recalling the hatching of the third building and palisade [R14.B5, R14.B6] in the opening sequence (Scene I) (fig. 166). This emphasis on simplistic perishable material creates an aura of vulnerability for the barbarian fortification. This vulnerability is heightened not only by the double *testudo*, but also by the flaming torches and boiling cauldrons flung down on the Roman attackers. Besides illustrating the simplistic weapons of the defenders, the torches would recall those that Roman soldiers use elsewhere on the frieze to burn barbarian huts (fig. 168), and both

³⁸³ Blank platforms: Scene XXXVII, XLIX, XCVI; pegged platforms: Scene LV, LXXVI, C. The omission of pegs in some cases may be due to problems of preservation.

³⁸⁴ Hölscher 2000, 99-100; Ferris 2009, 157; Beckmann 2011, 100-2.

inflammable materials raise the possibility of the fortification itself catching on fire. Such a prospect would also be raised by comparisons with another siege scene lower down on the column, where a wooden barbarian siege tower is engulfed in flames outside of the Romans' impregnable stone fortification (Scene XI; fig. 180,). The perishable barbarian fortification in Scene LIV would also stand in stark contrast to the secure Roman fortifications in the spiral below, which feature high stone walls, merlons, and an arched gateway with massive closed doors (Scenes XLIX-L).³⁸⁵ Thus the addition of simple hatching in exchange for the subtler roundels of the model drastically emphasizes the barbarians' vulnerability and desperation.

In addition, the perishable buildings [R14.B5, R14.B6] in the Column of Marcus Aurelius opening sequence (Scene I; figs. 162, 166) does not present the same sense of a secure, established frontier suggested by the exclusively stone buildings of the Column of Trajan sequence (Scene I). Details of the perishable construction material are carefully rendered, such as the posts in the palisade [R14.B5] and the tiers of the walls and roof. This suggests that the organic construction was planned, not an afterthought or an ad hoc addition. The motif of arched entrance with open door is found elsewhere on the column on all barbarian huts except one, further linking the building [R14.B6] with barbarian architecture.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁵ Ferris 2009, 155-56.

³⁸⁶ Only one hut on the frieze is shown specifically with a closed door (Scene XX), while Roman fortifications often specifically feature massive closed doors (e.g. Scenes XLIX-L) or no doors at all (e.g. Scene XI). The open door may possibly function much like the undone hair and dress of the barbarian women, as a symbol of exposure and vulnerability (for this phenomenon with women, see Zanker 2000b; Dillon 2006). The barbarians, in other words, cannot defend effectively or even close their huts; the huts are left easily accessible to the Roman enemy.

The use of barbaric construction material and techniques for one of the four similar buildings in the depiction of the frontier points to a different conception and characterization of the frontier than that seen on the Column of Trajan. On that monument, the palisades, forts, watchtowers, and piled logs of Scenes I-II effectively convey the rough, mysterious flavor of the frontier, while, at the same time, the use of stone for the buildings projects a sense of security for the frontier.³⁸⁷ The addition of the perishable buildings [R14.B5, R14.B6] in Scene I on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, on the other hand, makes that frontier seem even more wild and distant. This makes sense within the broader themes of the monuments: the Column of Trajan commemorates the incorporation of new territory, meaning that by the end of the story the frontier settlement would no longer be the frontier, since it would be enclosed by new territory; the frontier on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, on the other hand, will remain the frontier, permanently facing barbarian territory. In other words, the frontier on the Column of Trajan represents what is now an internal border, while the frontier on the Column of Marcus Aurelius represents an external border. Since that border had in actuality recently been over-run, it might have been desirable to make that border seem as strange and far away as possible.

More broadly, the depiction of all barbarian architecture as perishable and simple stands in contrast to the portrayal of Dacian architecture on the Column of Trajan, where complicated architectural types and stone fortifications were employed to present the Dacians as a unique, challenging, yet still inferior enemy. These changes in construction material, from the Trajanic models to their reflections on the Column of Marcus Aurelius,

³⁸⁷ Wolfram Thill 2010, 34.

emphasize the primitiveness and vulnerability of barbarian architecture, but without a related emphasis on the permanence of Roman architecture and presence in the area. This can be related to the general themes of the monuments: while on the Column of Trajan the Roman army is seen as triumphing over a difficult enemy through expertise and *labor*, the Column of Marcus Aurelius presents a picture where the Roman army easily overcomes pathetic, inferior barbarians.³⁸⁸ The Romans are a punishing, not an occupying presence on the later Column. The depicted architecture of the Column of Marcus Aurelius highlights the fact that the message of that monument is clearly not the message of pacification and establishment seen on its predecessor, but instead one of dominance over a vulnerable, inferior enemy.

6.3 INNOVATIONS IN THE DEPICTED ARCHITECTURE ON THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS

Moving away from its model, the Column of Marcus Aurelius utilizes an innovative technique to contrast barbarian with Roman: the direct juxtaposition of Roman and barbarian architecture. This technique is almost never employed on the Column of Trajan. On that monument, Dacian and Roman architectural structures generally appear in discrete, separate assemblages. One of two exceptions notably is Scenes LIX-LXII (fig. 171), where, as mentioned above, a chiastic composition links wooden Dacian architecture with stone Roman architecture; this scene is followed by a one where the four cylindrical Dacian buildings (see ch. 3) appear above a Roman camp, separated by a clear ground line. The other exception is Scene CXIV, where the six stone blocks beneath

³⁸⁸ For the Column of Marcus Aurelius and patent barbarian inferiority, see e.g. Coulston 1988, 383; Pirson 1996, esp. 158; Hölscher 2000, 95, 97; Beckmann 2003, 206-7; Ferris 2009, 153-57; Wolfram Thill 2011, 299-308.

Trajan's feet can barely be counted as architecture (fig. 103). On the Column of Marcus Aurelius, in contrast, massive stone Roman architecture is set directly adjacent to primitive, wooden barbarian architecture, encouraging comparison.

The first potential example of architectural juxtaposition is the perishable buildings [R14.B5, R14.B6] of Scene I, where the barbarian style architecture is not so much set next to Roman architecture as incorporated within it. The next instance is the stone Roman fortification and wooden barbarian siege tower in the Lightning Miracle (Scene XI) (figs. 136, 180). Here the juxtaposition is obviously demanded by the event depicted, but is nonetheless striking. In Scene XX, a primitive hut on fire appears next to a substantial Roman tent, of the kind that often stands in for architecture on the later frieze (fig. 181). The best example, however, is Scene CII, where an immense stone fortification with the emperor inside is positioned directly next to three barbarian huts in flames (figs. 182, 183). The numerous arched entrances of the Roman fortification are echoed in the three exaggerated arched entrances of the huts, urging comparisons. This same general arrangement is repeated in Scene CX, where a stone Roman fortification directly abuts a barbarian hut.

Another related innovation on the Column of Marcus Aurelius is the relationship between architecture and barbarian women and children. Several scenes on the frieze pair violence against barbarian architecture with violence against barbarian women.³⁸⁹ In Scenes VII and XX, barbarian women are positioned in front of huts as they flee from attacking Roman soldiers. In other scenes, a connection is drawn between barbarian women and Roman architecture. This often interacts with the phenomenon of

³⁸⁹ Pirson 1996, 142-43; Zanker 2000b; Beckmann 2003, 58; Dillon 2006; Wolfram Thill 2011, 305.

juxtaposition. In Scene LXXXV, a woman and a girl sit in a cart led by Roman soldiers, with an arch with merlons in the background (fig. 184). In Scene CIV, a group of women and small children are herded, and in one case dragged, from a barbarian hut on the left towards a stone Roman fortification on the right (fig. 185). If the women and children represent the future of the barbarian race,³⁹⁰ than that future is being contrasted with, chased, and dragged towards Roman architecture, a symbol of Roman culture.

In the aforementioned Scenes CI-CII, a woman and small girl recoil from the violence of the Roman soldiers against a barbarian man and the three huts (figs. 182, 183). In doing so, the woman and girl practically move into one of the open gates of the Roman fortification, with their bodies overlapping the fortification and the woman's hand guiding the little girl towards the entrance. As if the message of entry were not clear enough, the fortification has five gaping entrances, there are stairs providing easy access in the entrance nearest the women, and another figure enters another entrance to their left. This is perhaps the most encouraging message regarding barbarians on the frieze: an invitation to flee to the safety of Roman architecture and culture. The invitation is rather insistent, however, given its context of violence and deportation, and no clear illustration of the peaceful adoption of Roman culture, as on the Column of Trajan, is developed on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

³⁹⁰ Dillon 2006.

CHAPTER 7:

MARCUS AURELIUS PANELS

The Marcus Aurelius Panels present one of the most interesting assortments of architectural depictions in Roman state reliefs.³⁹¹ The panels present a broad spectrum of settings, from the wilderness of barbarian territory to the urban abundance of Rome. In this the panels combine two categories of architectural depictions: the identifiable architecture stressed in Julio-Claudian and Flavian reliefs, and the generic depictions favored by Trajanic reliefs. Nevertheless, the architectural depictions of the Panels have been studied primarily from a topographic point of view, in order to identify the location, chronology or both of the depicted events. This approach, while valuable in its own right, has neglected the broader impact of the architectural depictions and their place within the development of architectural depictions in state reliefs.

7.1 PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION FOR THE MARCUS AURELIUS PANELS

The 11 extant Marcus Aurelius Panels present numerous problems of reconstruction that complicate the study of their architectural depictions. Eight of the panels were incorporated into the attic of the Arch of Constantine at the time of its

³⁹¹ For general discussion of the Marcus Aurelius Panels, see e.g. Stuart Jones 1906; Wegner 1938; Hamberg 1945, 78-99; Ruysschaert 1962-63; Ryberg 1967; Angelicoussis 1984; Grunow 2002, esp. 129-34; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 208-40; Grunow Sobocinski 2009.

construction.³⁹² In this process, their imperial portraits were re-cut to those of Constantine.³⁹³ E. Petersen connected the eight panels in the Arch of Constantine with three panels preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, based on the common dimensions, frames, individual portraits, and carving of all 11 panels.³⁹⁴ The three Conservatori panels are much better preserved, having spent centuries incorporated within the walls of a building (eventually the Church of S. Martina) near the Curia.³⁹⁵ Crucially, these three panels retain their original imperial portraits of Marcus Aurelius.

Although the question of the date of the panels was resolved broadly over a century ago, scholars continue to debate numerous other problems for the panels. The overarching question has been whether or not all 11 panels belonged to one monument or to two.³⁹⁶ Early scholarship favored the theory of two monuments, based, broadly speaking, on perceived stylistic differences among the various panels, supplemented by the different fates of the panels in the late antique period. More recent scholarship has tended to see the perceived stylistic differences as the product of different scene types or artists, and has favored the reconstruction of a single monument, usually a triumphal arch, for all 11 panels. Related to the central problem of one or two monuments are issues of the exact date, form, layout, and location of the original monument(s).

³⁹² Marcus Aurelius Panels in the Arch of Constantine: *Adlocutio*, *Adventus*, Donation, *Lustratio*, Prisoners, *Profectio*, *Rex Datus*, Supplication.

³⁹³ Hamberg 1945, 78; Angelicoussis 1984, 142; Koeppel 1986, 47; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 208. The portraits of Constantine were in turn lost, and replaced in the 18th century CE with portraits of Trajan, following the contemporary belief that the reliefs were Trajanic.

³⁹⁴ Petersen 1890.

³⁹⁵ Marcus Aurelius Panels in the Palazzo dei Conservatori: Rider, Sacrifice, Triumph.

³⁹⁶ For an excellent review of the development of scholarship on the Marcus Aurelius Panels, particularly the question of one vs. two arches, see Angelicoussis 1984, 159-74; see also Ryberg 1967, 1-8; Blanck 1969, 484-87; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 208-10.

Since the current analysis focuses on the architectural depictions on the various panels, the resolution of these debated issues is not crucial here. All 11 panels almost certainly share a common broad chronology, with a secure terminus post quem of the start of Marcus Aurelius' reign, and a terminus ante quem of the death of Commodus. The Roman fondness for symmetry and the odd number of remaining panels makes it nearly certain that the 11 panels do not form a complete set (or sets); any guess, however, as to how many panels are missing, let alone potential topics shown on such panels, is primarily speculative.³⁹⁷ The general assumption that the panels were once part of a monumental arch or arches is highly probable, albeit not assured.

Whether or not all 11 panels belonged to a single monument, their close similarities (particularly in frame and dimensions) strongly suggest that they belong to the same broad concept or program. The architectural depictions in fact can be used as a test case, to see if general patterns can be found that unify the panels or, alternatively, suggest that the panels can be divided into two clear groups indicative of two original monuments.

Beyond questions of the original context of the panels, the interpretation of the panels is also problematic, and more pressing for the current analysis. As for most state reliefs, interpretations of the panels fall along a spectrum, from those that stress historic

³⁹⁷ Angelicoussis (1984, 175-89) presents a statistical calculation of the original number of panels, taking as a starting point the number of times that the emperor faces right or left in the preserved panels. This calculation is based on two unproven assumptions: (a) the panels belonged to an arch; (b) the main protagonist of the panel always faced towards the passageway of the arch (contra Brilliant 1969, 91-2). The second assumption is based on comparisons with the Arch at Beneventum, the only relevant monument extant, and a limited foundation for comparison. These calculations, furthermore, lead to a total of 24 panels and her reconstruction of a *quadrifrons* arch with paired parallel narratives featuring Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, each performing various imperial actions. This reconstruction is itself without parallel, raising serious questions about the validity of her underlining assumptions. While her reconstruction is possible, in other words, it stands on tenuous grounds.

aspects and seek to identify specific events in the Germanic wars, to those that see the panels as depicting a series of purely generic scenes exemplifying a suite of imperial virtues.³⁹⁸ The potential historic aspects of the panels will be addressed below in the course of the discussion of the architectural depictions.

It should be noted here, however, that opinions on the historicity of the panels tend to guide the reconstruction of the order, and therefore numbering, of the panels. While the position of some topics in the apparent narrative is relatively clear, others are less certain and can be rearranged easily depending on which historic events (with what relative dates) are identified. Such reconstructed narratives suffer further from the possibility of the missing panels. In order to avoid undue speculation, in this analysis I will group and number the panels, not by stylistic differences or potential narrative order, but by composition of the architectural depictions, in part because the composition and architectural depictions are certain aspects of the panels.³⁹⁹ Since the exact imperial virtues exemplified in the panels, another common basis for nomenclature, are often debated as well, my nomenclature for the panels⁴⁰⁰ will adhere as much as possible to undisputed aspects, such as scene type or important compositional elements.

³⁹⁸ Angelicoussis 1984, 143-44.

³⁹⁹ In a footnote, Grunow (2002, 133 n. 104; see also Stuart Jones 1906, 262-63) opens the door for dividing the panels according to urban vs. rural setting, and calls for other means of grouping the panels beyond stylistic differences.

⁴⁰⁰ Any nomenclature used in this text for the Marcus Aurelius Panels is my own, and henceforth will not be specially demarcated as such.

7.2 DEPICTED ARCHITECTURE ON THE MARCUS AURELIUS PANELS

One Marcus Aurelius Panel does not include any architecture, but is nevertheless significant for how this lack of architecture functions within the context of the other panels. The Rider Panel (fig. 186) shows the mounted emperor confronting two kneeling barbarians, who raise their arms in a stereotypical gesture of appeal. A crowd of Roman soldiers, some mounted, accompany the emperor, while others present the barbarian supplicants. The upper field of the panel is filled by two *vexilla* alternating with two massive oak trees. Despite its exceptional lack of architecture, the panel does adhere broadly to a compositional trend seen in many of the panels: the composition is divided into two vertical sections, one given over to the emperor and his entourage, and the other to the participants with whom he interacts. In other panels this division is clearer, with the two parts allotted more equal space and the division carried into the upper register. Nevertheless, in the Rider Panel two distinct groups of actors, the mounted imperial party and the group involved in the presentation of the barbarians, can be discerned.

In four panels, architecture is represented only by a prominent podium, on which the emperor either stands or sits. In the *Adlocutio* Panel (fig. 187), the two groups consist of Marcus Aurelius, who stands with a companion on a short platform [R16.B1], and the crowd of facing soldiers below. As in the Rider Panel, these two groups are not very distinct. Two standards and several spears fill out the upper part of the composition. Positioned in the far right corner of the panel, the platform is shown in three-quarter view and is relatively short, with varied molding along both its base and crown. A line of four round pegs runs along each side of the edge of the platform.

The combination of molding, suggesting construction in stone, and pegs, implying temporary construction in wood, seen in this platform [R16.B1] and all other platforms on the Marcus Aurelius Panels is puzzling. As was seen in chapter 1, military platforms on the Column of Trajan are depicted as made of stone through hatching and occasionally molding, despite the fact that logically they should be temporary structures (figs. 56, 57); the platforms [R12.B2, R13.B7] in the Anaglypha Reliefs represent permanent civilian structures, and feature molding as their only indication of construction material (figs. 132, 155); the platforms on the Column of Marcus Aurelius either have pegs suggesting wooden construction or no indication of construction material at all (figs. 176, 177). It may be that at the time of the Marcus Aurelius Panels, pegs had become a necessary feature for the proper depiction of platforms,⁴⁰¹ but molding could still be added to the examples in the Marcus Aurelius Panels to make the platforms seem more permanent and impressive. This hypothesis obviously privileges the significance of the molding over the pegs, and the exact opposite, that the pegs were added to the molding to emphasize the temporary nature of the platforms, could also be true. For now the significance, if there was any, of the construction material of the platforms on the Marcus Aurelius Panels must remain an open question.

The Prisoners Panel (fig. 188) presents a very similar composition to that of the *Adlocutio* Panel, but here the two groups are more differentiated. The emperor and his attendant again stand on a low platform [R17.B1]. In front of the platform a group of Roman soldiers drag forward two struggling barbarian prisoners. The calm vertical lines

⁴⁰¹ The examples of platforms without pegs on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (supra n. 383) should not be given too much weight, since the often schematic renderings on the column frequently leave out various important features, such as the third sacrificial animal in the *lustratio* scene (Scene XXX; see infra main text). Pegs, furthermore, are small, shallow protrusions that easily could have been lost to the destructive forces that have ravaged the column.

of the emperor and his attendant contrast sharply with the varied, active diagonal elements of the prisoner group.⁴⁰² This contrast between order and apparent chaos is carried into the upper register: three upright *vexilla*, presumably planted in the ground (no bearers are visible), rise straight above the group on the platform, while the space above the prisoner group is filled by diagonal spears and a curving tree (now only partially preserved).⁴⁰³ Once again, the platform is relatively low, set directly in the corner, and shown in three-quarter view. Its decoration includes a molded base and crown, as well as three pegs running along both sides of the two depicted edges.

The Supplication Panel (fig. 189) presents a variation on the basic layout of emperor on platform with group in front. This time the platform [R18.B1] is much taller, and instead of standing, the emperor is seated on a *sella castrensis*. The crowd of Roman soldiers is confined to the background; in the foreground, an older barbarian, his hand raised in appeal, leans on a much younger but equally distressed companion. Some division between the two groups is reflected in the upper field by the three ramrod-straight standards behind the soldiers and the *vexillum* behind the emperor. The platform again has a molded crown and base, and originally four pegs at each edge (the bottom right corner is restored without pegs). Unlike the other two platforms [R16.B1, R17.B1], these pegs appear on only one side of the platform [R18.B1] edge. The platform is shown frontal, with beveled edges.

Two panels combine platforms with a background of generic architecture. In the *Rex Datus* Panel (fig. 190) a barbarian leader stands directly in front of a platform

⁴⁰² Hamberg 1945, 92-3.

⁴⁰³ Ryberg 1967, 58.

[R19.B1], with his back turned to the emperor on the platform. Comparisons with numismatic examples indicate that the barbarian leader has received the emperor's blessing of authority (perhaps originally symbolized by a crown), and is now presented to an audience.⁴⁰⁴ Since the *Rex Datus* Panel adheres to the same rough compositional division as the previous panels, the platform has been reduced to allow space for the barbarian leader who, from a compositional standpoint, belongs to the imperial group. The platform is not only reduced in width (although not noticeably in height), but is also noticeably more simple. Molding, although still present along the top and bottom edges, is barely visible. Pegs are more prominent: rather than being confined to the vertical edges, the pegs are placed in two lines of three towards the middle of each of the two faces of the platform.

The upper register of the panel includes both *vexilla* and images of gods set on upright staffs. These are gathered into two clusters, each of which is positioned in front of a large open arch. These arches are part of a sizeable building [R19.B2] that runs parallel to the scene and takes up the entire background of the panel (although it is clearly demarcated from the frame; figs. 190, 191). The wall of the building is marked by rectangular hatching indicating stone construction, in addition to the two arches. The very top zone of the building is marked off by a projecting tiled cornice, above which appears a narrow row of eight six-paneled windows. This row is capped by the slant of a tile roof. On both cornice and roof the pan and cover tiles are articulated carefully, forming two distinct rows on the roof. The building is hardly rendered realistically. The proportions

⁴⁰⁴ E.g. *Rex Parthis Datus* coins of Trajan (MIR 594; Woytek 2010, 280-1); see also Ryberg 1967, 44. Angelicoussis (1984, 149) argues that the panel does not depict the actual investiture ceremony, but instead the presentation of a previously-crowned vassal king to the Roman troops.

are elongated, probably due to compositional need, and the windows are improbably small and cramped. The rectangular hatching interacts with the arched entrances in an unbelievable fashion, giving the impression that the arches were cut out of a solid stone wall. No keystones or structural features are indicated for either arch. The identification of this building will be discussed below.

The Donation Panel also combines a platform [R20.B2] with a backdrop of generic architecture (fig. 192). This panel does not follow the same pattern as the other panels with platforms: instead, the platform extends across the entire panel, with the emperor seated at the center. Another figure, presumably a smaller seated Commodus, has been excised from the platform immediately to the right of the emperor.⁴⁰⁵ Four standing figures remain on the platform, arranged in a hemicycle around the emperor. The two in the background are positioned strangely high; this rendering, coupled with the base on which one figure stands, has led some scholars to suggest that they represent statues, and thus potential topographic markers.⁴⁰⁶ The base is not original, having been added to fill the space and resolve the composition created by Commodus' removal. Without any bases it is difficult to see how the figures would have been recognizable as statues, and it is a simpler solution to see them as living humans, rather than potential topographic markers.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ Angelicoussis 1984, 155-58; Koeppel 1986, 72; Kleiner 1992a, 291-92; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 234.

⁴⁰⁶ For discussion of the identification of the two figures as statues, see Blanck 1969, 488; Angelicoussis 1984, 157-58. Ryberg (1967, 67), who seems to think the object beneath the right figure is original, argues that platforms are included to raise the figures to a height above the emperor, thus avoiding an isocephalic composition; see also Koeppel 1986, 72.

⁴⁰⁷ The smaller scale of these two figures relative to the emperor has been seen as a further indication that they represent statues. Their smaller scale is made more obvious, however, by the space left open by Commodus' removal. The emperor is in fact on a larger scale than all of the other figures in the scene.

While the other platforms [R16.B1, R17.B1, R18.B1, R19.B1] are fully in the foreground, the platform of the Donation Panel [R20.B2] is partially hidden by six figures (three men, one woman, and two children), who stand on the ground in front of it. The physicality of the platform is also acknowledged to an unusual extent: one man places his hand on the edge of the platform, and above him a figure (perhaps an official or servant) leans forward to give him the donation. Although significantly larger than the other platforms, the platform in the Donation Panel retains many of the same decorative features, including elaborate crown and base molding, as well as lines of pegs. Since the platform is frontal, the pegs cannot follow the edges: instead, the lines are inserted at irregular intervals between the figures, with seven in the longest line.⁴⁰⁸

The upper register of the panel is taken up by a Corinthian colonnade [R20.B1]. Six slender columns are capped by an architrave with rich, varied molding. The architrave continues into the frame on both sides, implying the extension of the building past the view granted by the panel. Each capital is fully carved and has a double astragal annulet. The figures' heads are situated generally in the five intercolumniations, each of which is decorated with a garland that is attached to the capitals.

Although he is seated, his head is on the same level as those of the standing figures to his left and right; his height when seated also approximates the height of the platform, the upper edge of which is at head level for the figures receiving donations. His torso is noticeably broader than that of any other figure as well. Scale, therefore, is not a good indication that the two back figures represent statues. Indeed, their rendering—including scale, costume, and pose—is not very different from that of the figure to the emperor's direct left, who stands on the main platform [R20.B2] just like the attendant handing out the donation. The placement of the two back figures on a higher level probably represents an inelegant attempt in a narrow space at depicting a group encircling the emperor.

⁴⁰⁸ Given the care taken to make the pegs visible, and the fact that the platform [R20.B2] represents a substantial structure, it is tempting to see the pegs as significant, specifying that the platform is one of the temporary structures traditionally erected for public donations. On the other hand, the platform also has rich molding suggesting construction in stone, so its implied construction material remains unclear.

The next category of panels, represented by only one example, does not include a platform but does have a backdrop of generic architecture. The Triumph Panel shows the emperor riding in a triumphal *quadriga*, with a small Victory hovering above him (fig. 193). The open space next to the emperor was once filled by another passenger, undoubtedly Commodus.⁴⁰⁹ Leading the chariot are two additional figures, one of whom blows a trumpet as he moves through an arch [R21.B2]. The Triumph Panel follows the familiar pattern of a vaguely defined vertical division into left and right sections, with the imperial group, marked by the Victory, occupying most of one section, and the horses and other human figures making up the other section.

In the Triumph Panel, however, these sections are distinguished through the use of architecture in the upper register. The imperial group is marked by a tetraprostyle temple [R21.B1] in three-quarter view above the emperor (figs. 193-195). The temple rests on a tall podium, whose central stairs, framed by protruding piers, are clearly indicated. The stairs extend past the left pier underneath the single flank column; this almost certainly results from confusion in the repairs made after Commodus' removal.⁴¹⁰ A massive half-open door with pegs and a molded architrave appears behind the central intercolumniation. Each column stands on a sumptuous molded base and features a composite capital, again with a double astragal annulet. The columns are capped by a molded architrave, and a tile roof is visible along the flank. While the roof ends below the frame, the pediment of the temple extends awkwardly into the frame, at a different angle

⁴⁰⁹ Koeppel 1969, 153; Angelicoussis 1984, 152.

⁴¹⁰ Ryberg 1967, 17; Angelicoussis 1984, 152; Kleiner 1992a, 294.

from the adjacent roof. Notably, the pediment is blank. A single lateral column/pilaster with a Corinthian capital appears next to the Victory.

The right half of the Triumph Panel is taken up by a large arch [R21.B2], turned outward along the frame to allow the triumphal procession to pass beneath it (figs. 193, 196). One of the pylons extends the entire length of the panel from frame to frame, while the other pylon ends behind the horses. Both pylons have engaged Corinthian columns on the exterior, and engaged Doric/Tuscan columns on the interior supporting the span of the arch. The interior length of the right pylon is made up of three components: (a) a tall socle extending to the level of the horse's raised hoof; (b) a pilaster ending in a molded base at the height of the horse's nose; and (c) a Doric/Tuscan column. The exterior Corinthian column, in contrast, can be traced along the full length of the pylon, past both the other column and pilaster, merely to fade away into the frame without any base. This strange, overly complicated rendering of the pylon may be due to uncertainty as to how to extend the pylon for the length of the frame, with the goal of giving the impression that the procession was moving through the arch. The vault of the arch also cuts into the lower fasciae of the molded architrave, further evidence of less than realistic rendering in the arch.

The final category of panels includes specific, identifiable architecture in their backgrounds. The *Profectio* Panel depicts the emperor moving in a procession from the city (fig. 197). The imperial section of the composition is taken up in the lower register by the emperor and his group of togate followers, one of which has been identified as the

Genius Senatus.⁴¹¹ In the other half, a group of soldiers with horses look at the emperor expectantly and move towards the right. At their feet lounges a half nude personification, leaning on a wheel and gesturing to the emperor. Based on similarities with Trajanic coin types representing the (labeled) *Via Traiana*, the personification can be identified as representing a road.⁴¹²

A large *quadrifrons* arch [R22.B1] takes up much of the background. Although it begins on the left, above the imperial party, it crosses over to the right half of the composition above the soldiers, thus connecting the two groups. The arch is shown in an awkward three-quarter view. Like the arch of the Triumph Panel [R21.B2], this arch [R22.B1] has engaged Corinthian columns (with the double astragal annulet) on the exterior, and interior Doric/Tuscan columns supporting the spans. The columns of the left pier are strangely oblique, perhaps to avoid crossing behind the head of the figure behind Marcus Aurelius. The front span is wreathed with garlands. The spandrels of the front façade carry flying Victories with shields (much more easily seen on the right). The arch is also crowned by statuary above the front façade, namely a trophy with crouching captive at the corner, a standing captive with bound hands, and four elephants. Because of the sharp angle of the façade relative to the panel frame, the statuary is markedly cramped, and only the head and part of a leg of the last two elephants is visible.

The *Adventus* Panel combines elements of the Triumph and *Profectio* Panels. The bottom register of the *Adventus* Panel is taken up by a single group centered around the

⁴¹¹ Hamberg 1945, 83; Koeppel 1969, 136; Kleiner 1992a, 288.

⁴¹² Hamberg 1945, 83. *Via Traiana* personification types: MIR 397, 398, 437[H], 466, 476, 477, 478, 546 (Woytek 2010, 391-92, 408, 420-1, 426-7, 457-58). In another, rarer coin type celebrating Trajan's restoration of the Circus Maximus, the circus is also personified as a lounging half-nude figure leaning on a wheel (MIR 184; Woytek 2010, 113-14, 272-23).

emperor (fig. 198). Mars stands to his left, and an Amazonian figure, most likely Roma (but possibly Virtus),⁴¹³ stands in a parallel stance to his right. Two female figures, one with a cornucopia and one wearing a veil, stand in the background. A flying Victory with a garland hovers directly over the four left-hand figures. The upper register is filled by a temple [R23.B1] and arch [R23.B2], in the same arrangement as in the Triumph Panel. This arrangement, coupled with the Victory over the four left figures and the greater spacing between the emperor and the Amazonian goddess, creates a sense of division into two groups, although this is not as clear if only the figures are taken into account.

Like the temple in the Triumph Panel [R21.B1], the temple in the *Adventus* Panel [R23.B1] is shown in the upper left corner in three-quarters view. This temple also is a tetraprostylos with a single flank column, although this time the flank column is clearly depicted as an engaged pilaster, and the wall marked with rectangular hatching (figs. 198, 199). The capitals are Corinthian, rather than composite, but they still have the double astragal annulet. Again a door appears in the central intercolumniation, but this door is less elaborately decorated and is completely closed. Above the high, elaborately molded architrave of the temple, the roof is given more space and is shown with rows of pan and cover tiles clearly demarcated; it crosses into the frame on the far left. The pediment is still small, but is filled with miniature, schematically rendered sculpture: a central standing female figure, flanked on the left by a globe and the right by a wheel, with

⁴¹³ For identification of this figure as Roma, see e.g. Hamberg 1945, 80; Ryberg 1967, 69-70; Kleiner 1992a, 291. For identification of this figure as Virtus, see e.g. Toynbee 1968, 294; Koeppel 1969, 150; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 218.

reclining figures in the corners. This iconography marks the temple as the Temple of Fortuna Redux.⁴¹⁴

Although in the same relative position as the arch in the Triumph Panel [R21.B2], the arch of the *Adventus* Panel [R23.B2] is shown as *quadrifrons*. The form and three-quarter view copies that of the arch in the *Profectio* Panel [R22.B1], including the orientation to the right (figs. 197, 198). The crucial difference is that in the *Profectio* Panel the arch [R22.B1] is positioned next to the left frame, whereas the arch of the *Adventus* Panel [R23.B2] is on the right. The result is that the arch in the *Adventus* Panel emerges nonsensically like a ghost from the middle of the panel. The *Adventus* Panel also repeats the trick, seen in the Triumph Panel (figs. 193, 198), of extending one pylon of the arch to the bottom of the frame, in order to imply movement through the arch. On the *Adventus* Panel, however, this trick is reduced to the reproduction of a tall socle in the bottom right corner; this base shows no clear connection to the thin column above it, and as a result no clear sense of movement through the arch is achieved. Like its cousin in the *Profectio* Panel [R22.B1], the arch of the *Adventus* Panel [R23.B2] has Corinthian columns on the exterior and Doric/Tuscan columns supporting the spans, with a garland on the front span and high architraves above. The Corinthian capitals lack the double astragal annulet, but these are exaggerated in the Doric/Tuscan capitals. Notably, the arch lacks any sculpture.

In the Sacrifice Panel, the composition again is divided into two, with the emperor and his togate entourage (including the *Genius Senatus*) on the left, and the sacrificial

⁴¹⁴ Ryberg 1967, 29; Grunow 2002, 32; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 104, 220-21; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 145.

attendants on the right (fig. 200). The emperor performs a sacrifice on a tripod altar, with two buildings [R24.B1, R24.B2] in the background. Once again, the arrangement of the two buildings helps divide the composition.⁴¹⁵ Above the emperor rises a tall, tetrastyle Corinthian temple [R24.B1], depicted frontally and with a prominent closed door in each of the three intercolumniations (fig. 201); the central intercolumniation and door are wider. The Corinthian capitals feature a double astragal annulet (fig. 202), and the raking cornices of the pediment are surmounted by carved *sima*. The two corner acroteria are lost, but the ridgepole is still topped by a *quadriga*. Most notably, the pediment of the temple is nearly overflowing with sculpture (figs. 201, 203-205). The top center is filled with the seated Capitoline Triad, above an eagle with widely spread wings. The Triad and eagle are flanked by numerous figures, including gods driving chariots and groups of three figures performing some sort of task. Between the forum, the doors, and the pediment, this temple can only represent the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline.

The building on the right [R24.B2] is less easy to identify. It takes the form of a stone wall marked with rectangular hatching and with four and a half engaged pilasters in front (figs. 200, 206). The pilasters feature unusual, vaguely Doric/Tuscan capitals, each with a rectangular echinus divided into three fasciae by double astragal moldings. The columns are capped by a tall architrave, on top of which stand six statues in profile, representing three pairs of humans fighting beasts. The tail of one statue and the edge of the architrave extend past the frame, but the far right pilaster is truncated instead. It is not clear, therefore, if the building is meant to extend past the frame.

⁴¹⁵ Ryberg 1967, 24.

7.2.1 A POSSIBLE ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTION ON A MARCUS AURELIUS PANEL

The final panel, the *Lustratio* Panel, is perhaps the most complicated (fig. 207). Its topic is relatively unusual in extant state reliefs from Rome, appearing elsewhere only on the republican (so-called) Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, the Suovetaurilia Relief in the Louvre, and the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.⁴¹⁶ The composition of the panel makes an unusual (and not entirely successful) attempt to express the circular motion of the ritual through the arrangement of the animal victims, so that the sheep seems to be emerging from and the sow retreating into the panel.⁴¹⁷ The turned backs of the trumpeters help with this illusion.

At first glance, the panel appears to lack any architecture. Closer inspection, however, reveals four mysterious vertical features that appear behind the standards and require explanation (figs. 207, 208). In addition, the two floating wreaths and ribbons in the upper field are so unusual as to be highly suspicious; they too are in need of

⁴¹⁶ For *lustratio* scenes in general, see Ryberg 1955, 104-19. Column of Trajan *lustratio* scenes: Scenes VII, LIII, CIII; Column of Marcus Aurelius: Scene XXX. Scene VI on the Column of Marcus Aurelius has also been identified as a *lustratio* scene (Hamberg 1945, 97 n. 222; Ryberg 1955, 113-14; 1967, 42 n. 27; Angelicoussis 1984, 146 n. 19; Depeyrot 2010a, 107-8), based almost entirely on parallels with the opening sequence of the Column of Trajan. The Aurelian scene is terribly damaged, too damaged, in my opinion, to support any real identification, especially given the tendency on the Aurelian Column to mix and mangle elements of different scene types (see *infra* n. 422). Only a fortification wall is preserved currently in Scene VI. Bartoli's 1675 drawing (reproduced in Depeyrot 2010a, 107) already records a good deal of damage to the scene, but the procession shown moving through the arched gateway does not appear to be a *lustratio*; in fact, a mounted soldier on a horse in front of the procession would not leave any room for the sacrificial animals to appear.

Baumer (2007; 2008) has presented an intriguing interpretation that Cancelleria Relief B represents, or at least recalls, a *lustratio* undertaken in connection with a census undertaken by Domitian as *censor perpetuus*. While this interpretation has not yet seen broad discussion, it deserves consideration. Four of Baumer's arguments are particularly compelling: (a) the arrangement of the three figures with particularly wide strides, one of whom is turned with his back to the viewer as in the *Lustratio* Panel, is meant to indicate circular movement; (b) in laying his hand on the shoulder of the figure with equestrian footwear, the emperor echoes the gesture of the man acting as a witness on the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus; (c) a special interaction between the emperor and a member of the equestrian order makes sense in a context of a census, since the equestrian could be raised to senatorial rank, thus strengthening the senate; (d) Vespasian, but not Nerva, also oversaw a census, perhaps explaining why both Cancelleria Reliefs were not re-cut to Nerva. The lack of animals remains a major obstacle to this interpretation, however.

⁴¹⁷ Ryberg 1967, 38.

explanation.⁴¹⁸ It has been suggested that these features are the remnants of an excised depicted structure. I expand on these suggestions here to present a new hypothetical reconstruction of the *Lustratio* Panel, which posits that the composition of the panel originally included prominent architecture, specifically a large arch.

The inclusion of architecture in the *Lustratio* Panel would help make sense of the narrative of the panel. The most rudimentary meaning of *lustrare* is “to move round,” and the *lustratio* by definition involved the ritual circumambulation of a group or place to be sanctified.⁴¹⁹ It would be surprising if the *Lustratio* Panel left out every indication of the focus of the ritual,⁴²⁰ and compositional parallels suggest further that architecture served as the object being circumambulated. In the single *lustratio* scene on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Scene XXX),⁴²¹ it is not clear what is being sanctified (fig. 209). This scene is schematically rendered and not overly concerned with the particulars of the ritual; it is missing the crucial third animal of the sow, as well as well-defined

⁴¹⁸ Identifications of the wreaths include “a specially festive attribute” (Hamberg 1945, 98) and generalized symbol of victory, added to balance the composition of the pendent *Profectio* Panel (Ryberg 1967, 41-2); for further discussion see Angelicoussis 1984, 146 n. 18. Such interpretations are not convincing, however. If such wreaths were in fact standard attributes of the emperor, one would imagine that they would appear elsewhere.

⁴¹⁹ My thanks to Dr. James Rives for sharing with me his own expertise concerning the *lustratio* and *suovetaurilia*, as well as the entries on these subjects that are being prepared under his supervision for the forthcoming Encyclopedia of Ancient History.

⁴²⁰ Architecture is not included in the sacrifice scene on the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, but circular motion is also not apparent in this representation of the ritual. The illustrations of the *lustratio* on the Column of Trajan are much closer parallels to the *Lustratio* Panel, both in terms of composition and chronology. If Cancelleria Relief B does include a *lustratio* (supra n. 416), then this would be another example of a *lustratio* without the inclusion of central architecture, and one that does include some attenuated indication of circular movement.

⁴²¹ Supra n. 416.

circumambulation.⁴²² The closest parallels to the *Lustratio* Panel come from the Column of Trajan. The *lustratio* of Scene VIII is particularly close to the *Lustratio* Panel, sharing several specific details: (a) the manner in which the attendants grip and lead the sheep and sow; (b) the way in which the position of these animals adds to the sense of circular movement; (c) the elevated position in which the trumpeters hold their trumpets; (d) the pairing of a standards with *phalerae* and an eagle (fig. 210).⁴²³ On the Column of Trajan every *lustratio* scene includes a camp, which plays an important compositional role as the object of circumambulation.

The four aforementioned features in the *Lustratio* Panel, which are marked in red on figure 208, are all positioned behind standards. Features 1 and 2 appear behind the left standard. The left edge of Feature 1 is hidden by the standard, but the straight right edge can be traced from the head of the axe-wielding attendant, up past the edge of the mural crown, to directly below the *imago*. Feature 2 runs directly parallel to but slightly behind Feature 1. Its right edge rises from the hood of the *signifer* to directly below the thick break running horizontally across the panel, where the edge flares outwards to the right, to form something looking like a tiny inverted trapezoid. Feature 2 then ends abruptly at the break. Features 3 and 4 appear behind the right standard. The left edge of Feature 3 runs straight from the point between the bald head and the bottom element of the

⁴²² Cf. Hamberg 1945, 97: “*Lustratio exercitus* was a sacrifice of purification, comprising a circumambulation of the camp or area to be cleansed and an offering of three animals, the *suovetaurilia*. Thus there were two principal elements, neither of which could be entirely excluded in a genuinely realistic reproduction of the ceremony.” See also Ryberg 1955, 114; 1967, 38. It is not clear whether the soldiers in the bottom register of Scene XXX are part of the ritual or simply marching to the next scene on the right. The presence of a boat bridge and a horse in the bottom left corner, in addition to the more active striding stances of the soldiers above the bridge, gives the impression that Scene XXX represents a marching scene that has been altered to include a *lustratio*.

⁴²³ Scene VIII notably is the lowest *lustratio* scene on the Column of Trajan and could have been seen easily from ground level.

standard, up to the wings and tail of the crowning eagle. Feature 4 overlaps Feature 3. The left edge of Feature 4 can be traced running behind all four of the standard disks to the top cross bar. The right edge of Feature 4 runs parallel, from the bottom half-sphere to the major break. Four knobs, two on each side, stick out of Feature 4 at the level of the second highest disk. The bottom left knob is thicker than the others, and the upper left is slightly disconnected from the rest of the feature.

In order to explain these features, scholars have argued that everything above the major break is a restoration (fig. 211),⁴²⁴ that the upper part of the wreaths represent incorrect reconstructions added to what were originally garlands, and that the two parallel elements (the first consisting of Features 1 and 2 and the second of Features 3 and 4) were once the gateposts of a camp, based on comparisons with *lustratio* scenes on the Column of Trajan.⁴²⁵ Scene LIII of the Column of Trajan features the procession moving through a camp gate with narrow posts. The crucial feature of all Column of Trajan *lustratio* scenes, however, is the camp walls, around which the procession moves, and for which there is no parallel in the *Lustratio* Panel. D. Quante-Schöttler suggests therefore that a masonry superstructure was once included above the gateway, in the part of the panel that is now lost.⁴²⁶ While such an arrangement is possible, it would seem unusual

⁴²⁴ von Gonzenbach 1968, 309; Koeppel 1986, 66; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 211. Hamberg (1945, 98) only mentions the restoration of the upper part of the wreaths. Evidence for the restoration of the upper part of the panel includes: (a) the upper register is unusually empty for the Marcus Aurelius Panels, irrespective of the wreaths; (b) the eagle and cross bar are awkward and cut in deeper relief than the rest of the standard; (c) the leaves in the wreaths are rendered differently above and below the break, with the leaves below being more heavily notched.

⁴²⁵ Ryberg 1967, 38 n. 6; Koeppel 1986, 66; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 211-12. Strong (1907, 294) simply assumes the procession in the *Lustratio* Panel is moving around a camp, without further explanation.

⁴²⁶ Quante-Schöttler 2002, 212. It is not immediately clear why masonry hatching would not be included for the full length of the wall. Ryberg's (1967, 38 n. 6) observation that the camp wall is shown without hatching in the *lustratio* of Scene CIII on the Column of Trajan is only partially correct: the wall is in fact

and potentially confusing. If Quante-Schöttler is right, and the wreaths are really garlands attached to the fortification wall,⁴²⁷ this may have aided the viewer in recognizing the structure of the wall.

There are several factors arguing against the gatepost reconstruction. The reconstruction of gateposts would not explain why the two vertical elements are divided vertically (into Features 1 and 2, and Features 3 and 4; fig. 208). It also does not take into account that the right garland in the *Lustratio* Panel hangs noticeably lower than the left. In contrast, the series of garlands in the Donation Panel all hang at the same level (fig. 192). Neither of these considerations is particularly damning. More problematic is the fact that the two gateposts are almost fully hidden behind the standards. In Quante-Schöttler's reconstruction, the inverted trapezoid capping Feature 2 and the knobs of Feature 4 represent the excised remains of capitals and their decoration.⁴²⁸ This would mean that the gateposts would barely clear the standards. When one also takes into consideration the lack of masonry hatching in the lower part of the reconstructed wall, it becomes even more difficult to imagine how the architecture in the background would have been comprehensible.

I propose here an alternative reconstruction that fits the evidence better. Several lines of evidence suggest that a large arch formed part of the original composition of the *Lustratio* Panel. The *Lustratio* Panel, taking into account everything below the major

blank behind and to the right of the musicians, but it is hatched to their left. One may argue that the inclusion of masonry behind the figures in the Marcus Aurelius Panel would over complicate the composition, but this does not answer the question of how the wall would be clearly comprehensible with only minimal rendering *and* partial hatching.

⁴²⁷ Quante-Schöttler 2002, 212. von Gonzenbach (1968, 309) and Koeppel (1986, 70) make a similar suggestion, but do not specify what type of building supported the garlands.

⁴²⁸ Quante-Schöttler 2002, 211.

horizontal break (fig. 211), shares several key features with other panels. Firstly, garlands appear in three panels: three times hanging from architecture (Donation, *Profectio* and *Adventus*) and one time held by a Victory with ribbons (*Adventus*) (figs. 192, 197, 198). In two out of the three examples, the architecture supporting the garland is an arch [R22.B1, 23.B2]. The arrangement of the two garlands in the *Lustratio* Panel is broadly reminiscent of the reverse V shape of those in the arch of the *Profectio* Panel [R22.B1] (fig. 197). Secondly, the overlap of two straight, vertical elements finds comparisons in the combination of exterior Corinthian and interior Doric/Tuscan columns in the arches of the *Profectio* and *Adventus* Panels [R22.B1, R23.B2]. Finally, the turn and position of the trumpeters in the *Lustratio* Panel is very similar to the turn and position of the trumpeter in the Triumph Panel,⁴²⁹ who moves through an arch [R21.B2] (fig. 193).

In my reconstruction in figure 212, a large arched opening once spanned from Feature 4 to near the right frame of the panel. Features 3 and 4 originally were overlapping columns; as Quante-Schöttler suggested, the knobs are the filed down remains of the capital, perhaps the double astragal annulets seen in several of the other panels (and spaced widely in the Sacrifice Panel; fig. 206). A small nub of stone between Figure 4 and the left garland is left over from the span of the arch springing upwards from the capital (fig. 208). A parallel column, the point of attachment for the right end of the right garland, could have been excised from along the right frame of the panel, behind the *vexillum*: the odd bundle of spears, pointing the wrong way, could have been a reconstruction cut from the former relief of the column in order to avoid leaving blank

⁴²⁹ Ryberg 1967, 19 n. 24.

space (fig. 207).⁴³⁰ This column would have been easier to excise than any columns appearing behind the complicated and obstructing standards.

The two garlands decorated the span of the arch, in the same general arrangement as in the *Profectio* Panel. On the *Profectio* Panel, the left garland hangs slightly lower, following the slant of the façade and helping with the illusion of perspective (fig. 197). On the *Lustratio* Panel, the right garland hangs slightly lower, indicating that the arch was meant to open towards the left, like the arches in the Triumph and *Adventus* Panels [R21.B2, R23.B2]. Regardless of whether the procession was meant to pass under the arch, this would have helped give the impression of the crucial circular movement to the right. The arch of the *Lustratio* Panel may have shared the same *quadrifrons* form and three-quarter view as the arches of the *Profectio* and *Adventus* Panels [R22.B1, R23.B2]; the second span would run from Features 1 and 2 (exterior and interior overlapping columns, respectively) to Features 3 and 4. This rendering could hardly have been very coherent, but the renderings of other arches on the Marcus Aurelius Panels are also not very convincing, more indebted to compositional needs than realistic depiction.

Without a fuller understanding of the history of the Marcus Aurelius Panels once they were separated from their original context, it is impossible to know when or why the arch disappeared from the *Lustratio* Panel. Possible scenarios include that after the upper part of the panel was lost, the panel was restored in its current configuration because an

⁴³⁰ The bundle of spears is odd, but does not necessarily demand explanation (Ryberg 1967, 39 n. 9). A second example appears to the left in the same panel. There remains, however, an odd abundance of spears in the panel, far too many for the number of soldiers shown (Ryberg 1967, 39). The direction of the right bundle of spears implies that the soldier bearing them, if he carried them as usual over his shoulder, was facing left or walking backwards against the stream of the procession. This could be the result of attraction to the surrounding composition, a desire to emphasize the movement back and to the right, or some combination thereof.

arch was no longer desirable, an arch was too difficult to recreate, or the original design was not known or recognizable. In order to clean up the scene, all remaining traces of the arch, which would no longer be understandable, would have been removed to the greatest possible extent without damaging the foreground figures.

In the end, the exact reconstruction of the architecture of the *Lustratio* Panel is not as important as the acknowledgement that the panel included architecture. An extensive, but now lost, architectural structure in the upper register would make sense of one of the most puzzling aspects of Features 1-4, namely why they are included in the first place, only to be hidden behind the standards. If they originally were part of a structure extending into the upper register, then their near invisibility behind the standards in the lower register would be less of a concern. Architecture would also add a crucial element to the narrative. All of this suggests that the *Lustratio* Panel originally included architecture, perhaps a monumental city gate, around which the procession moved.

The exact nature of the architecture would of course affect interpretations of the panel, particularly regarding its position within any broader narrative.⁴³¹ Fort gateposts would imply a setting in the field, while a monumental gateway would suggest that the ritual was part of the proceedings following the emperor's return to the capital.⁴³² The *Tabulae Iguvinae* record that rituals related to the *lustratio* were connected with city

⁴³¹ For the fluidity of the *lustratio* ritual within a possible historic narrative of the panels, see Angelicoussis 1984, 146.

⁴³² Somewhere between the battlefield and Rome might also be a possibility. The Column of Trajan shows two scenes where a narrative of sacrifice, conducted by the emperor with the provincial population, is paired with a large arch. In Scene LXXXIII, the provincial population processes through the arch towards the sacrifice. In Scene XCI, the emperor conducts the sacrifice within an arched structure.

gates,⁴³³ and Tacitus mentions the lustration of the *Area Capitolina* with *suovetaurilia*, later sacrificed to the Capitoline Triad.⁴³⁴ Ultimately, however, while it is likely that there was some architecture in the panel, this architecture is unknown, and the *Lustratio* Panel will not be considered in the rest of this analysis.

7.3 THE SLIDING SCALE OF ARCHITECTURE ON THE MARCUS AURELIUS PANELS

For most state reliefs, the depicted architecture is located either entirely in Rome (e.g. the Valle-Medici Reliefs, the Anaglypha Reliefs) or entirely outside the capital (e.g. the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius). The architecture on the Marcus Aurelius Panels spans this whole wider geographic and cultural range, from the wilderness of barbarian territory to the heart of the capital. Few monuments cover as broad a spectrum in architecture, from an absence of architecture, to purely generic structures, to famous identifiable monuments. The Marcus Aurelius Panels thus present an interesting chance to explore the full range of architectural depictions within the same sculptural program.

In the Marcus Aurelius Panels, the barbarian world is characterized both by a notable lack of architecture and an emphasis on wilderness. The Rider Panel presents the mounted emperor in action (fig. 186); although technically not a battle, the scene evokes the context of battle, and presumably takes place as Romans push deep within barbarian

⁴³³ Poultney 1959; Weiss 2010. A *suovetaurilia* could also be performed to purify a city or an area for the construction of a temple (Ryberg 1955, 33).

⁴³⁴ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53.

territory.⁴³⁵ Here there is no architecture at all. Instead, the thick, curving trees emphasize that the barbarian world is a world of untamed nature.⁴³⁶

While the Rider Panel depicts an interaction between the emperor and his enemy, the *Adlocutio* Panel represents a quintessential interaction between the Roman emperor and his soldiers, one of the few military scene types not to involve the enemy (fig. 187).⁴³⁷ Although the action of this panel takes place in a military context (as indicated by the dress of emperor and soldiers), the context is more fully controlled by the Roman army. Fittingly, the composition of the scene is ordered and made up of strong verticals that emphasize the strength and discipline of the army.⁴³⁸ The architecture of the platform [R16.B1] adds to this sense of stability, order, and control. *Adlocutio* scenes frequently include platforms, but sometimes do not;⁴³⁹ the inclusion of the platform, therefore, cannot be taken for granted. The two standards extend the order of strong verticality to the upper half of the panel. The upper register is still relatively open, with plenty of room for trees or any other indication of setting. The setting, however, is not emphasized, despite the fact that logically the *adlocutio* would take place in a setting not that dissimilar to that of the Rider Panel.

⁴³⁵ Angelicoussis 1984, 147.

⁴³⁶ For a similar use of trees on the Arch at Beneventum, see ch.2. Strong (1907, 293) points out in passing that the trees form a “natural arch,” through which the emperor seems to be riding; this may be a compositional coincidence, or it may be an adaptation of the victorious motif of moving towards the right through an arch, seen in the Triumph and *Adventus* Panels.

⁴³⁷ Hamberg 1945, 86, 93; Ryberg 1967, 55-6.

⁴³⁸ Hamberg 1945, 86.

⁴³⁹ For example: Column of Trajan *adlocutio* scenes with platform: Scenes X, XXVII, CIV, CXXXVII; without platform: XLII, LIV; Column of Marcus Aurelius *adlocutio* scenes with platform: Scenes LV, LXXXVI, XCVI, C; without platform: IV, IX, XXI (also a prisoner presentation scene), LXXXIII. For the relationships between the *adlocutio* scenes on the Columns, see most recently Beckmann 2011.

The Prisoners Panel sets the platform architecture and vertical order of the Roman army in direct contrast to the chaos and wildness of the barbarian world, symbolized both by the struggling barbarians and by the curving trees (fig. 188). The trees are unnecessary for the action, as well as for the composition; the upper register could have been left blank or filled instead by standards. The inclusion of the trees, however, has great symbolic impact. With the *vexilla*, the trees highlight the distinction and contrast between the Roman world and the barbarian, picking up on motifs seen in the Rider and *Adlocutio* Panels. This distinction is important for a panel that portrays the inferior barbarian world being physically dragged towards the superior Roman world, represented here in part by architecture.

The Prisoners Panel presents the reluctant—and therefore improper—submission of the barbarian world to the Roman. The Supplication Panel, on the other hand, illustrates the willing, proper version of this submission. Fittingly, here the emperor appears on a high and impressive platform [R18.B1] (fig. 189). Again, the strong vertical lines emphasize the strength and order of the Roman army, while the diagonals and curving lines of the barbarians emphasize their disorder and weakness.⁴⁴⁰ Rather than specifying the setting of the action, the upper register is filled with standards extending the strong verticals of the Roman army.⁴⁴¹ The presence of the standards behind the surrendering barbarians creates the impression that the barbarians are surrounded by and subsumed within the Roman sphere. Like the *adlocutio*, the supplication must have taken

⁴⁴⁰ Hamberg 1945, 90, 93; Ryberg 1967, 62-3.

⁴⁴¹ Hamberg 1945, 90. Some scholars (Angelicoussis 1984, 149; Kleiner 1992a, 289) have seen the lack of trees in this panel as indicating that the setting of the action is not the battlefield, but instead in a camp.

place somewhere on the front lines in barbarian territory, but within immediate zones of Roman control. It is the latter aspect rather than the barbarian territory that is emphasized.

The type of platform seen in the *Adlocutio*, Prisoners, and Supplication Panels was undoubtedly a feature of life on the front lines of the Roman army. They were also a staple of several different scene types, including *adlocutio* and supplication scenes, although notably not of prisoner presentation scenes, at least on the Columns. Regardless, the military platforms [R16.B1, R17.B1, R18.B1] in the Marcus Aurelius Panels help emphasize the order and stability of the Roman army. The occurrence of built architecture also creates a sense of enduring presence for the Roman military, even in hostile territory. The use of platforms on the *Adlocutio* and Supplication Panels without any indication of setting highlights this architectural presence, while downplaying the wilderness presumably around them.

The *Rex Datus* Panel also features a platform [R19.B1] (fig. 190). Unlike the topics of the Rider Panel and other panels with platforms, the action of the *Rex Datus* Panel takes place in the Roman, rather than barbarian, world; the granting of a client king theoretically can take place only in an area under firm Roman control. This message of a peaceful setting is reinforced by the soldiers' lack of armor. Fittingly for a peaceful setting in the Roman world, the *Rex Datus* scene takes place in front of a striking architectural backdrop.

The massive size and complexity of the building [R19.B2] suggest the impressive stability of Roman culture. Great care has been taken to stress the relative urbanity of the

building.⁴⁴² The arches are tall (probably to accommodate the standards) and emphasized. While the arched forms renders the rectangular hatching redundant, in terms of indicating construction material, the hatching also makes the building more impressive and underlines its permanence. The added details of the numerous windows and tiled cornice and roof emphasize the sophistication of the building. None of these features, however, make the building identifiable. The building may represent an important structure (perhaps a *praetorium* or basilica) in a military camp or provincial town;⁴⁴³ the arches and especially the windows suggest that this is a usable well-lit building, and the angle of the cornices indicate a sloping roof without a pediment for the side facing the viewer. Regardless of the building type, what would be immediately obvious was that the building was impressive (double-storied, with stone construction, numerous windows, and a tile roof) and permanent, an example of the advanced architectural technology made possible by Rome.

As I. Ryberg has argued, the building [R19.B2] represents the strong Roman presence, indeed the Roman authority, in what was once barbarian territory:

[In the *Rex Datus* Panel] the emphasis is not on the fighting strength of the Roman armies—the soldiers are not in armor and have no weapons—but on their loyalty to the emperor and dependability, which constitutes the solidity of the empire. The stone-walled structure, the

⁴⁴² Grunow (2002, 133) calls this building [R19.B2] “utilitarian,” “completely lacking decorative touches,” and “austere.” While the building is simple relative to the highly decorated structures in the capital, it is still massive and impressive compared both to the blank backgrounds of the other panels set in military contexts, and to the simple huts that typically characterize barbarian architecture in Roman art (especially on the Column of Marcus Aurelius).

⁴⁴³ Identifications of this building [R19.B2] include a *praetorium* (Ryberg 1967, 45; Angelicoussis 1984, 150), a military basilica, possibly serving as a *praetorium* (Grunow 2002, 133, 149), and a *principia* (Quante-Schöttler 2002, 213). Hamberg (1945, 87) notes only that the scene takes place within a camp (see also Strong 1907, 294; Ryberg 1967, 43) or provincial town. If this scene represents a particular historic event, then background information may have allowed some viewers to identify the setting and building, but this is doubtful.

firm planted standards...the high tribunal that lifts the emperor above the level of both soldiers and vassal king, all combine to create an impression of irresistible strength. But this theme is joined with another equally important, the protection provided by the emperor and the army to the peoples who accept the suzerainty of Rome.⁴⁴⁴

Regardless of where any historic investiture ceremony actually took place, the ceremony is presented here in a peaceful, established, and permanent Roman world.⁴⁴⁵

In the *Rex Datus* Panel, the rustic dress of the participants make clear that the action takes place outside of Rome. The strange, unspecific form of the building [R19.B2] helps create this sense of the far afield and exotic. The togas and *sella curulis* of the Donation Panel, in contrast, suggest a setting in the capital, an impression furthered by the sophisticated architecture in the background (fig. 192).⁴⁴⁶ Like the building in the *Rex Datus* Panel [R19.B2], the colonnade in the Donation Panel [R20.B1] is not specific enough to indicate a particular location independently. It does, however, evoke the prosperity and urbanity of the capital, presumably secured in part through the imperial generosity displayed in the donation itself.

This rich but generic backdrop creates a contrast to both the architectural wilderness of barbarian territory and the relative simplicity of peaceful regions outside the capital. The relationship between the emperor and his subjects represents a similar contrast: while Marcus Aurelius remains at a distance from barbarian suppliants, dispensing mercy and justice, in Rome he is encircled by his subjects, providing through his attendant the more tangible benefit of money. The unusual closed composition of the

⁴⁴⁴ Ryberg 1967, 49.

⁴⁴⁵ For the importance of the concepts of peace and security for the *Rex Datus* Panel, see Angelicoussis 1984, 150.

⁴⁴⁶ For the location of the donation in Rome, see Angelicoussis 1984, 155-57.

architecture, stretching the entire width of the panel, enhances the sense that the emperor and his people are all enclosed together within the same space. This can be contrasted with the *Rex Datus* Panel, where the emperor and barbarian leader clearly stand outside the building [R19.B2] (which has been separated carefully from the frame).⁴⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it may be that the similar, and relatively unusual, architectural backdrop of the two panels may have been meant to link the two panels conceptually. Both represent gifts of the emperor to the people.

As in the Donation Panel, the topic of the Triumph Panel, the remaining panel that features a backdrop of purely generic architecture, specifies the setting as Rome (fig. 193). The two buildings in this panel [R21.B1, R21.B2] have been identified as the Temple of Fortuna Redux and the Elephant Arch of Domitian, monuments famously paired together in a poem of Martial.⁴⁴⁸ The latter monument is known for its crowning statuary of an elephant *quadriga*, and has been connected with the *Porta Triumphalis*. These identifications are based on associations between those buildings and triumphs, and the appearance of those buildings on other Marcus Aurelius Panels. It is notable, however, that neither the temple [R21.B1] nor the arch [R21.B2] in the Triumph Panel is given any specific decoration.⁴⁴⁹ This seems strange if they were meant to be identifiable

⁴⁴⁷ Grunow 2002, 133, 149.

⁴⁴⁸ Mart. 8.65. Grunow (2002, 42 n. 68) and Quante-Schöttler (2002, 226) specifically reject the identification of the arch in the Triumph Panel [R21.B2] as the Elephant Arch of Domitian, arguing that the Domitianic arch is depicted elsewhere in the panels as *quadrifrons*. For discussion of the extensive topographic debate regarding the historic Temple of Fortuna Redux, the Arch of Domitian, and the so-called *Porta Triumphalis*, see esp. Grunow Sobocinski 2009, ; see also Stuart Jones 1906, 260-63; Ryberg 1967, 29-33; Grunow 2002, 41; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 217; Coarelli 2007, 312.

⁴⁴⁹ Quante-Schöttler 2002, 226-27; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 137.

as particular buildings, given the detailed relief decoration of the chariot in the same panel, and the inclusion of particularizing statuary for the same buildings in other panels.

It may have been that by the time of the Marcus Aurelius Panels, those two historic buildings were so identified with the triumph ceremony that their depictions needed no decoration to be recognized.⁴⁵⁰ There is little evidence outside of the Marcus Aurelius Panels themselves, however, to support this hypothesis. Neither the Temple of Fortuna Redux nor the Domitianic arch has been located in the topographic or archaeological record. The two buildings are only specifically associated with each other once, in Martial's poem.⁴⁵¹ Although several depictions (some fragmentary) of both buildings are preserved,⁴⁵² no extant illustration shows the two buildings together. A frequently cited medallion from the reign of Marcus Aurelius shows the Domitianic arch with crowning statuary and a generic temple nearby,⁴⁵³ but the pairing of a temple and arch is hardly a surprising architectural combination. What is more likely is that those two buildings types were logical choices to decorate the background of a scene of triumph, such as the medallion and Triumph Panel. The temple would highlight the religious nature of the event, and the connotations of the arch and victory are obvious.

The triumph would also not need a specific architectural setting: what was important was that it took place in one city only, the capital of Rome. An indication of a

⁴⁵⁰ Ryberg 1967, 20; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 227-28.

⁴⁵¹ Grunow 2002, 41.

⁴⁵² For depictions of the Temple of Fortuna Redux, see Grunow 2002, 31 n. 49, 31-33; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 104-5; Grunow Sobocinski 2009.

⁴⁵³ Hamberg 1945, 82; Ryberg 1967, 30-1; Koeppl 1969, 152; Angelicoussis 1984, 151, 185; Grunow 2002, 41, 130; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 150-51. For identification of the depicted temple in the Aurelian medallion as the Temple of Fortuna Redux, see Ryberg 1967, 31; Koeppl 1969, 152; Grunow 2002, 31 n. 49, 41, 50, 130; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 104; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 151.

particular location within Rome may have in fact been undesirable for the Triumph Panel. The triumph was by definition a journey and procession, one that wound its way throughout the city.⁴⁵⁴ Selecting one particular temple or one particular part of the city, in what was supposed to be a ritual bringing the entire city together, may have been undesirable. Similarly, although the triumphal process passed by numerous temples to various gods, the true patron of the ritual was Jupiter Optimus Maximus, whose temple in this case is depicted in a separate panel. It may have been inappropriate to highlight another god by including their temple in the depiction of a triumph. It is likely, therefore, that the temple [R21.B1] and arch [R21.B2] of the Triumph Panel are generic structures, chosen for their religious and victorious associations to portray the urbanity that represented Rome.⁴⁵⁵

The *Profectio* and *Adventus* Panels, in contrast, feature identifiable depictions. The *Profectio* Panel depicts the Elephant Arch of Domitian with the elephant *quadriga* [R22.B1] (fig. 197).⁴⁵⁶ The arch is made identifiable on the Marcus Aurelius Panel through its unusual form and its highly distinctive crowning statuary. This crowning statuary of the arch is mentioned in the poem of Martial and depicted on several coin types. There are also flying Victories in the spandrels, but such decoration in that position was relatively common and could not have helped identify the arch. Instead, the Victories

⁴⁵⁴ Grunow (2002, 42 n. 68) points out the “lack of a consistent architectural setting for images of triumph” in Roman art, and suggests that this may be related to the importance of movement within the ritual (2002, 49; see also Grunow 2002, 48-9; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 136). She still maintains (2002, 42 n. 68), however, that “it seems clear that a variety of places along the triumphal route must have been represented, including the much-debated *Porta Triumphalis*.”

⁴⁵⁵ Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 137, 139.

⁴⁵⁶ For the identification of the depicted arch [R22.B1] as the Elephant Arch of Domitian, see e.g. Ryberg 1967, 29-32; Angelicoussis 1984, 185; Grunow 2002, 20 n. 15; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 150.

may have been included to symbolize the emperor's future success.⁴⁵⁷ The rather awkward rendering of the arch may have been caused in part by an effort to turn the façade so that the Victory was clearly visible.

This particular arch may have been included in the *Profectio* Panel as a topographic marker indicating the road (the Via Flaminia) that the emperor traveled in leaving the city for the northern campaigns.⁴⁵⁸ The road itself is depicted as a personification, perhaps because there was no other clear precedent in Roman art for indicating roads, perhaps to emphasize the road's welcome of the emperor. The personification is too generic to indicate a particular road, however, and the arch may have clarified her identity. The topographic theory is appealing, since the elephant arch is also specifically included in the aforementioned contemporary medallion celebrating Marcus Aurelius' (eventually aborted) return from the north. If the arch still retained its associations with Domitian, it may have been especially appropriate for the depiction of a *profectio* to Germania.

More simply, however, the Elephant Arch may have been the most easily identifiable arch in the city of Rome, and thus the easiest shorthand to indicate the emperor's departure from that particular city. The statuary of the depicted arch [R22.B1] is strangely cramped, if the identification of the depiction as a particular arch were crucial to an understanding of the panel (although this may be a casualty of the awkward rendering). *Profectio* and *adventus* scenes are notoriously difficult to distinguish without

⁴⁵⁷ Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 150.

⁴⁵⁸ This presumes, of course, that the Elephant Arch of Domitian was located on or near the *Via Flaminia*, which, while a reasonable theory, has not been proved. For the use of the depicted arch [R22.B1] as a topographic marker, see Grunow 2002, 132; Grunow Sobocinski 2009.

the aid of numismatic legends,⁴⁵⁹ and since the program incorporating the panels included both scene types, a distinction between the types would be important. In all of the earlier extant sculptural examples, architecture is associated with either *adventus* scenes, or *profectio* scenes from cities other than Rome. This of course may be an etic distinction—state reliefs are never conveniently labeled by scene type—but assuming the distinction to be relevant, it would have been important to indicate that the arch [R22.B1] behind the emperor in the *Profectio* Panel was in Rome, and not another provincial city. The *quadrifrons* form and elephants of the Arch of Domitian may have made it the most distinctive arch available.⁴⁶⁰ That the arch [R22.B1] is meant to stand in for the city of Rome itself is suggested by the grouping of the togate figures, including the *Genius Senatus*, beneath it.

In the *Adventus* Panel, it is a temple [R23.B1] that is given sufficient details to render it identifiable, namely as the Temple of Fortuna Redux in Rome (figs. 198, 199). The clue to the identity of the depicted temple is its pedimental sculpture: while the sculpture is schematically rendered, the combination of a female figure and flanking round objects was probably unique enough to be easily recognizable as the attributes of Fortuna. The inclusion of this temple does not necessarily mean that the primary purpose of the depiction was to illustrate the emperor's historic return past this particular temple. The symbolism of this temple alone would be enough to justify its inclusion in an

⁴⁵⁹ Ryberg 1967, 33; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 149. An example of this difficulty can be seen in the interpretations of Cancelleria Relief A; see supra n. 253. Koeppl's (1969) methodology for distinguishing the two scene types has not been followed by subsequent scholarship

⁴⁶⁰ Grunow (2002, 20 n. 15) notes that, in her extensive study of architectural depictions in state reliefs, the Elephant Arch of Domitian is the only arch ever to be depicted so that it can be identified. The same arch appears not only on numerous coins, but also on the Constantinian frieze of the Arch of Constantine.

adventus scene.⁴⁶¹ Even if the emperor did pass the actual temple in his return, this does not mean that this was the primary impetus that drove the inclusion of the temple in the panel.

The arch in the *Adventus* Panel [R15.B2], like the arch in the *Profectio* Panel [R14.B1], has been identified as the Elephant Arch of Domitian, based on the *quadrifrons* form shared by both depictions, as well as traditional associations between the Domitianic arch and the Temple of Fortuna Redux.⁴⁶² There is little in the arch of the *Adventus* Panel [R23.B2], however, to suggest such an identification. The *quadrifrons* form can be explained simply as a direct copy of the composition of the arch in the *Profectio* Panel [R22.B1]. The nonsensical rendering of the arch in the *Adventus* Panel [R23.B2] within the surrounding composition speaks strongly for this scenario. The composition of the panel, furthermore, is basically the same as the Triumph Panel, including the socle of the arch at the bottom right corner to indicate movement. In their design of the *Adventus* Panel, the production team seems simply to have cobbled together elements that also appear in other panels. While the similar compositions of the *Adventus* and *Profectio* arches [R23.B2, R22.B1] would associate the two structures, the fact that elephants are not included in the *Adventus* Panel, despite there being more room for them than on the *Profectio* Panel, suggests that this arch [R23.B2] is not the Elephant Arch of

⁴⁶¹ Koeppel 1969, 193.

⁴⁶² For the opinion that the depictions in the *Profectio* and *Adventus* Panels [R22.B1, R23.B2] are meant to represent the same arch, see Stuart Jones 1906, 261 n. 6; Ryberg 1967, 28-9; Kleiner 1992a, 292; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 149-51. For the identification of the depicted arch in the *Adventus* Panel [R23.B2] as the Elephant Arch of Domitian, see e.g. Toynbee 1968, 294; Angelicoussis 1984, 185; Grunow 2002, 20 n. 15, 44; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 149-51.

Domitian, but most likely, despite its *quadrifrons* form, a generic arch symbolizing victory and Rome.⁴⁶³

The Sacrifice Panel presents the greatest collection of potentially identifiable buildings in the Marcus Aurelius Panels (although two is not such a remarkable collection) (fig. 200). These identifiable buildings [R24.B1, R24.B2] form the entire backdrop of the panel. The temple R24.B1] is clearly identified as the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline by its unique form (three doors with a widened central intercolumniation) and its extensive, distinctive statuary. If the panels were originally arranged in a clear narrative order, then this would have aided in the identification, since the sacrifice at the Capitoline was the well-known climax of the triumphal ritual. The multiple lines of identification suggest that the identity of this temple was very important for the message of the panel, which is hardly surprising. Beyond identification, the extremely detailed representation of the pediment may be an attempt to co-opt the symbolism of the actual pedimental sculpture.⁴⁶⁴ It may also represent a desire to connect the Sacrifice Panel to the grand tradition of sacrifice reliefs, such as the Valle-Medici Reliefs (figs. 1, 9, 19), where the detailed pedimental sculpture is one of the most striking features of the reliefs.

The building with the hunting sculpture [R24.B2] cannot be identified and is more difficult to understand, but this is probably due to our own ignorance, rather than a lack of clarity in the relief itself. Nevertheless, it cannot be taken for granted that the building

⁴⁶³ Grunow Sobocinski (2009, 152) suggests that the elephant statues were omitted because they were not necessary for the identification of the depiction, but this is not very convincing.

⁴⁶⁴ Contra Ryberg (1967, 26), who argues that the extensive pedimental sculpture is included simply to balance the crowded composition in the lower register. Other panels also have crowded compositions, however, and relatively open upper registers.

was ever identifiable. The depicted structure is without clear comparanda, especially in its crowning statuary. The hunting theme is unusual in this context, but associations of hunting with victory or triumphal games may explain its inclusion, either in actual statuary or in the panel.⁴⁶⁵ The scene may therefore allude to two important rituals, sacrifice and public games, that closed the emperor's triumphant return to the city.

The structure [R24.B2] has been identified as a portico or precinct wall around the Capitoline sanctuary, based on the identification of the temple [R24.B1],⁴⁶⁶ but the fact that the structure ends abruptly makes the latter identification suspicious. It is somewhat unclear why either precinct wall or portico, if either is what is depicted, would have been included in the panel, but it is probably related to compositional needs, specifically the clear preference throughout the panels to divide the composition between the imperial entourage and the rest of the participants. This could explain why the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was not simply extended across the width of the panel, but was instead truncated from its historical hexastyle arrangement to the depicted tetrastyle: the temple needed to be associated specifically with the emperor.⁴⁶⁷ Once this compositional choice was made, there was probably a limited choice of (particularly neutral) structures to fill the remaining gap. The inclusion of statuary for this structure helps further the overall impression of a wealth of elaborate urban architecture, the perfect setting for the climax of the emperor's activities, in the physical and spiritual heart of the capital Rome.

⁴⁶⁵ Blanck (1969, 488) suggests that the sculptures may evoke *ludi* given by the emperor.

⁴⁶⁶ Ryberg 1967, 25; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 233.

⁴⁶⁷ Ryberg 1967, 24. For the depiction of the historically hexastyle Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus as tetrastyle in this representation, see Stuart Jones 1906, 262; Hamberg 1945, 95-6; Ryberg 1967, 24; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 146. For the consistent physical association in depictions between the emperor and temples, both in the Marcus Aurelius Panels and beyond, see Grunow 2002, 52-3. For the use of architectural backdrops to separate the emperor from the bloody part of sacrifice, see Grunow 2002, 63.

Taken together, the architectural depictions on the Marcus Aurelius Panels represent a wide spectrum, from simple to complex, from purely generic to clearly identifiable, from the barbarian wilderness to the very heart of Rome, from platforms set up on temporary military campaigns to the most famous building in the Roman Empire. This range is much wider than for any other extant sculptural program, and presents intriguing examples for a variety of uses of architectural depictions.

In terms of generic vs. identifiable depictions, the spectrum can be organized according to the following (the panels with an intact Marcus Aurelius portrait are marked in bold; see below):

<i>Architectural Depictions</i>	<i>Panels</i>
1. Absence of architecture	Rider
2. Platforms only	<i>Adlocutio</i> , Prisoners, Supplication
3. Complex generic structures	Donation, <i>Rex Datus</i> , Triumph
4. Combination of generic and identifiable structures	<i>Adventus</i>
5. Identifiable structures only	<i>Profectio</i> , Sacrifice ⁴⁶⁸

Outside of the capital (Rider, *Adlocutio*, Prisoners, Supplication, *Rex Datus*), generic structures are the rule. Inside the capital, elaborate but generic buildings are used when a particular location or topographic association is not necessary or desirable (Donation, Triumph). Identifiable buildings are employed when the opposite is true, when the import of the panel is dependent in part on the location or associations of a particular building (*Adventus*, *Profectio*, Sacrifice). This variety indicates several key points regarding the use of architectural depictions in state reliefs. It reinforces the idea that identifiable buildings were located in, and were the special privilege of, Rome. It also demonstrates

⁴⁶⁸ The categorization of the Sacrifice Panel within this scheme naturally depends on whether or not one sees the building with hunting statuary [R24.B2] as identifiable.

further that topographic precision was not the only concern for architectural depictions, even for depictions of the capital itself.

The range of building types and decoration also varies between the panels. As on the Column of Trajan, but in contrast to the Column of Marcus Aurelius, this range sets up a higher level of architectural sophistication for regions loyal to Rome; unlike the Column of Trajan, this range culminates in the lavish buildings of Rome itself. Once again, architecture creates a sense of Roman achievement and permanence, seen clearest in the complex, stone building [R19.B2] in the *Rex Datus* Panel.⁴⁶⁹ The closer to the heart of the capital the panels move, the more elaborate, complex, and lavish the buildings become. M. Grunow has argued for the significance of the fact that in all of the panels where the topic strongly implies a location in Rome (*Adventus*, Donation, *Profectio*, Sacrifice, Triumph), architectural backgrounds further contextualize the action.⁴⁷⁰ She sees this as reinforcing the emperor's special relationship with the capital.

The fact that all of the panels (setting aside the damaged *Lustratio* Panel) can be integrated within the same pattern of architectural depictions,⁴⁷¹ irrespective of artistic style, portraiture, or history of reuse, provides support for the theory that the Marcus Aurelius Panels were once part of the same series. Looking at the architectural depictions, no clear distinctions arise that suggest or support the separation of the panels

⁴⁶⁹ In drawing attention to the general lack of elaborate architecture in the scenes not set in Rome, Grunow (2002, 133) argues that the architectural backgrounds of some panels draw a distinction between the permanence of the city of Rome and the ephemeral world outside Rome; she includes the platforms, however, in the latter category.

⁴⁷⁰ Grunow 2002, 131-33.

⁴⁷¹ It should be kept in mind that the extant Marcus Aurelius Panels cannot be thought of as a complete set representing a closed range of architectural depictions, since the missing panels could have disrupted the picture presented by the extant evidence. Archaeologists are always limited by the available evidence, however, and the general trends presented by the extant panels are clear.

into two separate groups. The patterns in the architectural depictions cross over all of the panels to present one overarching concept. This is strong, albeit not definitive, evidence that the Marcus Aurelius Panels come from the same monument.

In their varying employment of generic and identifiable architectural depictions, the Marcus Aurelius Panels present an intriguing combination of different trends. Some panels employ the generic architecture that was popular in the Trajanic period, as well as on the contemporary Column of Marcus Aurelius. Other panels, particularly the Sacrifice Panel, rely on the sort of identifiable backgrounds seen in the Valle-Medici Reliefs. These earlier trends had never fully disappeared from state reliefs, of course: the Extispicium Relief, for example, was Trajanic and featured a large identifiable temple with a detailed pediment. The Marcus Aurelius Panels, however, are the best example of the combination of generic and identifiable depictions, employed within the same sculptural program in order to illustrate distinctions among purely barbarian territory, territory under Roman control, and the heart of Rome. Given the notoriously different but contemporary styles and approaches seen in the Marcus Aurelius Panels and the Column of Marcus Aurelius, this blending of styles in architectural depictions should not be surprising.

CONCLUSIONS

The modern depictions of architecture on the Euro currency share intriguing features with their ancient predecessors in Roman state reliefs. The gateways and bridges on the European banknotes intentionally paint a picture of Europe as stable, open, and connected; the individual member states are brought together by a common, unifying history that culminates in the European Union. Likewise, the architectural depictions of state reliefs represented the Roman Empire as urban, sophisticated, prosperous, peaceful, and permanent, unified under a shared architectural canon. As on the Euro banknotes, this was accomplished in part through generic architectural structures that recalled a way of life, rather than a particular structure.

Like the European Union, the Roman Empire was not a static entity. Individual personalities and dynasties came and went in the upper echelons of power. The relationships among various social groups, particularly the emperor, senate, and army, were in a continual state of flux and renegotiation. The territory under Roman control (or attempted control) expanded and contracted in various directions, bringing Rome into contact and conflict with an ever-changing array of peoples and cultures. State reliefs were erected and functioned within this mutable world. New themes could always be introduced to the medium and out-of-date motifs abandoned. While some broad themes—the virtue of the emperor, the superiority of Rome—remained constant in state reliefs, the means by which these themes were expressed needed to adapt to changing situations.

Architectural depictions functioned within this mutable world. One of the great advantages of architectural depictions as cultural symbols was their wide applicability and flexibility. Depictions of architecture could be adapted to address current socio-political concerns, while still participating in a long-standing discourse on the relationship between Rome and urbanism. Although architectural depictions and their uses varied from monument to monument, over time broad patterns emerged that reflected the shifting situations of the Roman Empire and the concerns of those in power.

Previous studies of architectural depictions in Roman state reliefs have traced developments in composition⁴⁷² and the uses of depictions of historical buildings over time.⁴⁷³ What is still needed is a comprehensive analysis of changes in the employment of architectural depictions, both identifiable and generic, for symbolic purposes. The case studies examined in this work can provide the basis for just such an analysis. I will outline first the specific results of each case study, before presenting a more synthetic analysis of the symbolism of architectural depictions in state reliefs.

C.1 RESULTS OF CASE STUDIES

The greatest variety in architectural depictions begins in the Trajanic period. The Arch at Beneventum, the Column of Trajan, and the Great Trajanic Frieze all provide distinctive sets and uses of architectural depictions. The three contemporary monuments thus provide evidence for the varied employment of depictions of architecture, even in a brief span of time and with similar compositions.

⁴⁷² Maier 1985; Quante-Schöttler 2002.

⁴⁷³ Grunow 2002.

Previous scholarship has not recognized fully the important role played by depicted architecture on the Arch at Beneventum. Scholars have analyzed the architectural depictions within their individual scenes, seeing them as identifiable topographic markers situating the emperor in particular locations in Rome. Even broader observations that depicted architecture is clustered on the urban side of the arch tend to stop there, and do not address the necessary correlate, that architecture is almost absent on the rural side, and the significance of that absence. The single depicted structure on the rural side, a bridge [R4.B1], has not been integrated or even mentioned within discussions of the other urban architectural depictions, probably because the bridge is generic (although it is sometimes identified as Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube), and identifications of the depicted buildings on the urban side have been central to earlier analysis of the architecture.

I have argued that there is little evidence to support the assumption that the architectural depictions on the Arch at Beneventum were meant to be identifiable. Rather, the depicted architecture is primarily generic, and in general does not indicate topography: scene types, events, and locations are designated through action, participants, and personifications. This lack of topographic precision does not diminish the impact of the architectural depictions. Instead, the depictions have important cultural functions, recalling strong associations between Rome, sophisticated architecture, and urbanism. Architecture and urbanism are central themes of the arch as a whole, articulated both through allusions to major Trajanic architectural projects and through depicted architecture. The presence of depictions of elaborate architecture on the urban side of the arch, and the absence on the rural side, demonstrate a conceptual connection between

such architecture and Rome. The bridge [R4.B1] in the Bridge Crossing Panel also speaks to the expansion of the ideals of Roman architecture and urbanism into new territory. The depicted architecture on the Arch of Beneventum, in other words, addresses larger issues than the question of which entrance to Rome Trajan utilized on a particular historical occasion.

Similarly, the architectural depictions of the Column of Trajan, despite their generic nature, are much more than incidental background filler or geographic signposts, of interest only to historians of the Dacian Wars. Instead the depictions are part of a wider discourse on architecture and culture. The emperor is closely associated with architecture, particularly architecture in stone: this helps create a sense of stability, order, and permanence for Trajan, and demonstrates that architecture is looked upon favorably by the emperor. Depictions of Roman architectural types in civilian contexts illustrate the idealized spread of Roman culture in the provinces. This is accomplished through the complex manipulation of numerous details throughout an extended portion of the frieze.

The most unique architectural depictions, however, are the depictions of Dacian architecture. The Column of Trajan presents the only extant example in state reliefs where an entire architectural suite is developed for a barbarian culture. While sometimes verging on the fantastic, the Dacian architectural typology is coherent and for the most part believable; there is even evidence that it is inspired by, if not faithful to, aspects of actual architectural practice in Dacia. Notably, the Dacian architecture is given the same care and attention to detail seen in the military architecture and civilian settlements friendly to Rome. As a result, a complex barbarian architectural typology is developed that characterizes the resisting population as both a dangerous enemy and a doomed one.

The three categories of depicted architecture on the column—military, civilian, and barbarian—work together to send a clear message of Roman superiority and dominance.

Although the architectural depictions on the Great Trajanic Frieze are far less prominent than their contemporaries on the Arch at Beneventum or the Column of Trajan, and have received even less attention from scholarship, they are nevertheless important, both to an understanding of their monument and to broader patterns in state reliefs. The depictions highlight the innovative nature of the Great Trajanic Frieze, demonstrating influential developments on the monument in two major scene types. The use of an arch [R10.B1] to symbolize the city in the *adventus* scene represents an important innovation in the early development of a central scene type, and a notable break with the iconography of the Flavian version of the same scene. The barbarian huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] indicate that the battle on the frieze takes place near a village, possibly the first extant example of this battle type (the only example that might possibly be earlier, but if so not by much, is one of the last scenes on the Column of Trajan). Again, this represents a notable departure from previous battle scenes in Greek and Roman monumental reliefs, which before the Trajanic period took place against blank, unspecific backgrounds. While the battle scenes of the Column of Trajan and the Great Trajanic Frieze share the innovation of adding a setting to the action, the presence of barbarian living space in the latter makes the settings quite different in tone. The very inclusion of depicted architecture in the Great Trajanic Frieze is thus noteworthy, given the absence of such architecture in the previous tradition of its constituent scenes.

The use of generic architecture in particular also confirms a Trajanic, rather than, as proposed in the literature, a Flavian date for the frieze. At the same time, the

architectural depictions also highlight thematic differences between the Great Trajanic Frieze and the Column of Trajan, despite their shared commemoration of the Dacia Wars. Some aspects, such as the presence of barbarian architecture and its contrast with generic Roman architecture, are evidence of similar techniques and messages employed in both monuments. Other aspects of the depictions, such as the form of the architecture, highlight important differences, both technical and thematic, between the monuments. Specifically, the simple huts [R11.B1, R11.B2] of the Great Trajanic Frieze characterize the barbarians as manifestly inferior enemies, easily overcome by the triumphant, superior Romans. This is in contrast to the Column of Trajan, where barbarian architecture, specifically the fortresses, serves as an additional obstacle to be overcome by Roman skill. The architectural depictions thus demonstrate for the Column of Trajan an interest in the documentation of an exotic, challenging enemy, an interest not as evident in the Great Trajanic Frieze. Unlike the architecture on the Column of Trajan, the barbarian architecture of the Great Trajanic Frieze is not tailored to a particular enemy.

In contrast to the previously understudied architecture of the Great Trajanic Frieze, the buildings depicted on the Anaglypha Reliefs have undergone intense study. Previous scholarship has focused on the topographic function of the architectural depictions, arguing that their sole purpose was to specify the location of the depicted events. Close analysis of the specificity of the depictions—independent of the assumption that they were meant to reproduce the buildings of the Forum Romanum—demonstrates that the identities of the buildings were not, in fact, emphasized or even made clear. This indicates that symbolic functions of the architecture were equally, if not more, important than any topographic concerns. The generality of the depictions allowed them to stand for

more than particular buildings on the Forum Romanum. The building types depicted, and the arrangement of an expansive architectural background, were associated with and meant to evoke Rome, both literally and figuratively, beyond any connections to the Forum Romanum.

By rejecting the insistence on the topographical accuracy of the architectural depictions, my interpretation makes it easier to accept historical evidence for dating the Anaglypha Reliefs to the Hadrianic period. The Tablet Relief commemorates the first emperor's innovative burning of tax records (even though the historical event occurred in the Forum of Trajan); the *Adlocutio* Relief probably depicts the announcement of related financial programs. The inclusion of Marsyas, the *figus Ruminalis*, and an *alimenta* motif, all set apart on bases, connects the multiple events thematically, by relating them to the imperial generosity that ensured the *libertas* of Roman citizens. The setting of these events in an architectural landscape reminiscent of the Forum Romanum places the events in a senatorial context, and gives a senatorial sheen to the presentation of the emperor as orator and financial benefactor, traditional senatorial roles. At the same time, the generalization of the architectural depictions emphasizes the importance of Rome as a whole, perhaps as a senatorial appeal to an errant emperor. Seeking to pinpoint the identification or inspiration for particular buildings of the Anaglypha Reliefs thus is to understand only one facet of these intriguing architectural depictions.

The architectural depictions of the Column of Marcus Aurelius highlight the critical role that details can play in the thematic effect of architectural depictions. The clearest examples can be seen in elements adopted and adapted from the Column of Trajan. The relatively casual borrowing from the Column of Trajan of the two scenes

showing construction of military architecture, alongside other minor elements and without the characteristic stone hatching for the fortifications, fits within a pattern whereby Roman architecture is less important on the Column of Marcus Aurelius than on its model. This is only one example of the alteration of construction material in borrowed scenes, where elements emblematically shown as stone on the Column of Trajan are rendered more realistically as constructed of perishable (or unspecified) materials on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. This setting-aside of the theme of permanent Roman architecture makes sense within the context, both historical and thematic, of the Antonine monument. When the monument was erected the Roman army had not established an extensive presence in Germania, and the themes of the monument are concerned with retaliation and suppression, rather than incorporation and assimilation. The changes from the Column of Trajan to the Column of Marcus Aurelius thus demonstrate how the production team was aware of and made choices regarding the details of architectural depictions, and how simple alterations in employment and details, such as construction method, can drastically alter the effect and message of architectural depictions.

Beyond specific scenes, the barbarian architecture on the Column of Trajan is also not adopted wholesale on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, but is carefully transformed to serve the needs of the later monument. The simplicity and perishable construction material of all barbarian architecture on the Column of Marcus Aurelius emphasizes the inferiority and vulnerability of barbarian culture. The enemy is not presented as an exotic, potentially valuable object of conquest. Instead, barbarian architecture and its relationship to Roman architecture characterize the enemy as lacking in variety or complexity, subject to violent destruction in the midst of their architecture.

The distinction between Roman and barbarian architecture is more drastic on the Aurelian Column. With the single exception of a building [R14.B6] in a representation of liminal space, there is no illustration of different levels of acculturation or progression towards Roman culture. Buildings are clearly Roman-military or barbarian; the Roman structures that are included are all impenetrable, sophisticated structures, which stand in stark contrast to the simple, vulnerable barbarian huts. This contrast is drawn all the more clearly by the novel technique, introduced on this column, of directly juxtaposing barbarian architecture with Roman. Barbarian women serve as a link between the two poles of this contrast. Associated with barbarian architecture and imbued with connotations of fertility and future generations, barbarian women are set side by side with and even drawn into Roman architecture, and by implication Roman culture. This is not a gradual process whereby exterior peoples willingly accept the Roman way of life and the benefits it supplies. Instead the relationship between barbarian women and Roman architecture functions in a way similar to images of violence and (implied rape) of barbarian women by Roman soldiers,⁴⁷⁴ as a symbol of the violent appropriation of the barbarian future.

Despite the close chronology shared by the Column of Marcus Aurelius and the Marcus Aurelius Panels, there are clear differences in the architectural depictions on the two monuments. No barbarian architecture is shown on the panels. In enemy territory, architecture, however simple, serves as a marker of Roman permanence and authority. The two Aurelian monuments also differ in that, while the architecture of the column frieze is strictly generic and set outside of Rome, the Marcus Aurelius Panels also include

⁴⁷⁴ Dillon 2006; see also Beard 2000; Zanker 2000b.

depictions, both generic and identifiable, of buildings in the capital. This results in a greater variety in building types and a spectrum that runs from purely generic to identifiable structures.

Within scenes in Rome, generic architecture on the panels creates a sense of urban wealth and sophistication. In addition, connotations—both topographical and thematic—of particular monuments are employed through identifiable depictions to add a clear symbolic context to scenes. This complex scheme involving both generic and identifiable depictions creates a rich visual and ideological tapestry, and should be regarded as a significant feature of the panels. The patterns in the architectural depictions also serve as a point of connection among the various panels, suggesting that the panels derive from a single monument.

The analysis of architectural depictions is thus an important tool in the study of state reliefs, but this analysis must be thematic as well as compositional. Without contextualizing the depicted architecture within the themes of the monuments as a whole, for example, the vastly different renderings of Dacian architecture in the Great Trajanic Frieze and the Column of Trajan can suggest that the two monuments belong to diverse periods. Similarly, an analysis of the composition or identity of the architectural depictions of the Marcus Aurelius Panels would suggest almost nothing about the relationships of the panels together as a group. What is needed, and what I have presented in these case studies, is a synthetic approach that sees the architectural depictions not as individual elements to be analyzed separately as historical curiosities, but as constituent elements of broader themes of the monuments.

C.2 ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS IN STATE RELIEFS: A DEVELOPMENT IN SYMBOLISM

Although the results just demonstrated are derived from the study of particular monuments, they can form the basis for a broader survey of developments in the changing symbolic functions of architectural depictions in Roman state reliefs. The following brief overview integrates the architectural depictions of my case studies within the larger picture of known state reliefs from Rome through the 2nd century CE.

Definitive examples of depicted architecture in state reliefs before the time of Augustus are practically non-existent. The entire category of republican state reliefs is admittedly a much debated topic, but some observations concerning early architectural depictions can nevertheless be made. The Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus uses Doric/Tuscan pillars as framing elements at its four corners, but these are not part of a building; in the census scene, the pillar has the appearance of being part of the scene, since the figure of the seated official passes in front of the pillar, but this effect is perhaps unintentional, given that the tail of the horse also overlaps a pillar in the sacrifice scene, which logically would take place outdoors. The other major monuments known from the republican period, the frieze of the Monument of Aemilius Paullus at Delphi and the reliefs commonly known as the Bocchus Monument, do not include depicted architecture.

The Basilica Aemilia Reliefs represent the first use of architecture within a scene in Roman state reliefs: a generic stone wall under construction, complete with gate and tower, illustrating the founding of a city. The architecture is more symbolic than illustrative, since the men move heavy stone blocks into place by hand, despite the fact that the wall already features an impressive arched gateway, complete with voussoirs, and a tower with arched windows. Thus in its earliest appearance in state reliefs, architecture

is symbolic and associated with urbanism and the establishment of the Roman way of life.

Identifiable buildings, particularly temples, dominate the limited catalog of architectural depictions in state reliefs of the first century CE. Distinctive sculptural programs were often included in architectural depictions of this period and rendered in a high-degree of detail, suggesting that the depictions reflected and were meant to evoke specific historic buildings. State reliefs thus became a medium whereby building programs, both current and past, could be celebrated and used for specific purposes. On the Valle-Medici Reliefs, the Julio-Claudian emperor was shown moving within a landscape of Augustan buildings, thus appropriating the connotations of those buildings in order to emphasize dynastic ties to Augustus. The total effect of the numerous depicted buildings was important too, however: by appearing surrounded by a series of elaborate, sophisticated buildings, the emperor engaged with Augustus' larger architectural legacy, the transformation of Rome into a magnificent world capital.

Through the numerous depictions of identifiable buildings, the pre-Trajanic emperors were represented attending to the needs of the capital within the capital. Various aspects of that capital, such as its luxurious architecture and rich religious landscape, could be highlighted through the depictions. The focus was very much on the physical city of Rome, both past and present. This architectural representation of Rome's physical form operated within a tradition of state reliefs that emphasized the emperor's religious duties within the city.⁴⁷⁵ The depicted temples, like their three-dimensional

⁴⁷⁵ Hölscher 1984b; 1988; 1992; 2007; Zanker 1988.

counterparts, represented the physical, permanent manifestation of the execution of those duties.

Some sense of the growing importance of depicted architecture in Roman state reliefs of this period can be gleaned from a comparison of the main friezes of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* and the Valle-Medici Reliefs, ascribed to a similar monument. The large frieze of the former monument is densely crowded with figures in procession, but that procession is not contextualized by any depictions of architecture. Instead it is allowed to exist outside of firm temporal or spatial limits. In contrast, depicted architecture plays a critical role in the Valle-Medici Reliefs, despite their obvious debt to the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. The events represented are given a clear physical and temporal context: Rome after the monumental changes of Augustus. The emperor exists and serves within the capital. Architectural depictions thus provide insight into subtle changes in how the role of the emperor was conceptualized and represented.

Despite the extensive building program undertaken by the Flavian emperors in Rome, this interest in architecture is not reflected clearly in contemporary state reliefs (although it is noticeably prominent in the private funerary monument of the Tomb of the Haterii).⁴⁷⁶ Depicted architecture plays a negligible role in both the Cancelleria Reliefs and the Forum Transitorium Frieze. The arch depicted on the Arch of Titus follows the emphasis on elaborate architecture seen in the Julio-Claudian period, but the depiction is squeezed into the edge of the scene, and architecture is not employed in the small triumphal frieze of the same monument. The detailed, impressive temple in the Hartwig Relief resembles its Julio-Claudian predecessors of the Valle-Medici Reliefs and hints at

⁴⁷⁶ For the role of architectural depictions in Domitianic coins, see *supra* n. 28.

a similar role for depicted architecture, but unfortunately not enough of the later monument is preserved to say much more about the prominence, or lack thereof, of architecture on that monument. In the Flavian period, therefore, architectural depictions generally continue the trends seen in the previous Julio-Claudian dynasty; if anything, the employment of architectural depictions decreases in importance.

The Trajanic period saw a revolution in architectural depictions in state reliefs. While identifiable architecture had dominated the first century of depictions in state reliefs, the reign of Trajan was characterized by a new development: the pervasive, almost relentless, employment of generic architecture in state reliefs. Identifiable architecture did not disappear, but such depictions were joined by literally hundreds of generic structures. The number and types of structures that could be depicted also expanded drastically. Before the Trajanic period, temples were by far the most frequently depicted structure. In contrast, from the Trajanic period alone there are depictions of amphitheaters, harbors, fortifications, a lighthouse, porticoes and more. Even more intriguing is an entirely new phenomenon, the depiction of buildings associated with the enemies of Rome. These made possible a new contrast, between the architectural worlds inside and outside of Rome. The focus moved from Rome as the physical city, with particular architectural landmarks, to Rome as the conceptual *city*.

This revolution in architectural depictions coincides with important political, social, and cultural changes in Rome. Several scholars, most prominently T. Hölscher, have identified reflections of socio-political change in the state reliefs of the Trajanic period: focus shifted from the emperor performing religious rites in the capital to the

emperor overseeing civic and military activities both inside and outside Rome.⁴⁷⁷ While previous emperors were primarily represented sacrificing and processing, Trajan is shown leading in battle, overseeing the establishment of settlements in military and civilian contexts, reviewing the state of the *limes* and army recruitment, guaranteeing treaties, and much more, in addition to the more traditional imperial activities. He attends to the needs not only of the senate and people of Rome represented as general groups, but also of merchants in Rome, soldiers of all types including auxiliaries and veterans, the children of Italy, and distant provincials. In short, the position of the emperor is now represented as a series of secular actions directed towards citizens across the empire. The practice of commemorating these actions through emblematic scenes in state reliefs expanded drastically as well in this period, if the greater number of reliefs preserved from the Trajanic period is a reliable indication of production rates.

Socio-political changes in this period also affected the architectural depictions within the state reliefs, not only through the introduction of new scene types, but also through a change in the ideological themes expressed through depicted architecture. Trajan came to power only a short while after a coup had brought a violent end to the second familial dynasty in a row. He was the first emperor to be adopted from outside the imperial family, and even his adopted father Nerva could not claim strong genealogical connections to previous rulers. From Trajan until Marcus Aurelius, any dynastic claims of the so-called adopted emperors would be based more on symbolism than on literal ties. Trajan's inability or disinterest in establishing dynastic claims to the preceding Julio-

⁴⁷⁷ Hölscher 1984b; 1991a; 1991b; 1999; 2002; see also Settis 1988; 2005; Seelentag 2004; 2011; Heitz 2005-06. For the argument that the shift towards civic roles for the emperor can be traced to the late Flavian period, see Hölscher 1992.

Claudian and Flavian dynasties may have undermined the utility of depictions of their famous building projects. It is notable that of the two identifiable architectural depictions traditionally dated to the Trajanic period, neither are dynastic projects. The Extispicium Relief shows the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a temple that did not belong to a specific dynasty but instead to all of Rome. Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube on the Column of Trajan [R7.B1] was a new Trajanic construction.

Trajan, furthermore, was also the first emperor who was born in the provinces. That this was even possible reflected the continuously evolving notion of what it meant to be Roman. Great numbers of provincial elites and former soldiers were gaining citizenship, and at the same time the practice of establishing veteran colonies continued to bring Roman citizens—and Roman architectural practice—into the provinces.⁴⁷⁸ In addition, under Trajan the very territory of the Roman Empire was pushed to its widest extent. Roman architectural practice represented a convenient cultural umbrella under which everyone in the Roman Empire could gather peacefully. The generic depicted architecture first accentuated under Trajan fit nicely within this more inclusive interpretation of Roman identity. A provincial town could not be marked as and understood as Roman through the inclusion of the Temple to Magna Mater on the Palatine, but this effect could be achieved by depicting the town with a generic but still distinctively Roman podium temple.

At the very least, the association between the emperor and generic, but still distinctively Roman, architecture was a clearly different approach to representing the

⁴⁷⁸ For an excellent targeted discussion of this phenomenon in the Trajanic period, see van Enckevort 2005. For the conceptual importance of urbanism under Trajan, see Zahrnt 2002; Heitz 2005-06.

emperor's relationship with Rome. This also fits the history of Trajan's rule. Even when he was declared emperor in 98 CE, Trajan failed to hasten to the capital, instead remaining in Germania until 99 CE. He continued to spend extensive time away from Rome, personally conducting wars in two different far-flung realms, and even dying abroad. Trajan was clearly concerned with Rome and Italy, as his numerous programs dedicated to those regions in particular (e.g. the Forum and Markets of Trajan in Rome, the *Aqua Traiana* for Rome, the *Via Traiana* from Beneventum to Brundisium, the harbor at Ostia, the *alimenta* for children in Italy, etc.) attest. Nevertheless, a new approach, which could express the emperor's relationship to the capital in some way other than depicting him physically within it, would be necessary for the commemoration of many events of Trajan's reign.

The aforementioned suggestions represent some general reasons why generic architecture may have been adopted and remained popular for state reliefs under Trajan in particular. Depictions of generic architecture were not limited to the Trajanic period, however. The continuing popularity of architectural depictions, both identifiable but especially generic, can be traced to the power and flexibility of those depictions as cultural symbols. Carefully generalized architecture could evoke simultaneously both particular locations, such as the Forum Romanum, and the broader idea of Rome the capital city, as has been seen for the Anaglypha Reliefs. The simplistic huts of the Column of Marcus Aurelius helped illustrate ideas of retribution and dominance over an enemy too pitiful to be welcomed within the Roman Empire. Generic structures could demonstrate the order and permanence of the Roman army in currently or recently hostile territory, while identifiable buildings could still celebrate the emperor's relationship with

the capital; this is demonstrated clearly in the Marcus Aurelius Panels. Despite the considerable differences between the Roman Empire in the Trajanic and late Antonine periods, architectural depictions continued to be a valuable means of succinctly speaking volumes about different cultures.

C.3 BEYOND STATE RELIEFS: ARCHITECTURE AND POLICY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

I have demonstrated that architectural depictions can contribute greatly to our understanding of the themes and values of particular sculptural monuments and of state reliefs in general. The results of the study of architectural depictions in state reliefs also can be applied to broader questions regarding the uses, both literal and abstract, of architecture in the Roman Empire, and the role of architecture in the conceptualization of cultural identities. Depictions of architecture were constant and adaptable elements of Roman state reliefs, from the Augustan to the Constantinian periods and beyond. These architectural depictions are too important a cultural phenomenon to be dismissed as compositional filler or references to particular locations within Rome. They are windows into how Romans conceptualized, reacted to, and related to architecture. The depictions can help us reconstruct not only buildings, but ancient attitudes towards architecture.

In state reliefs in and around Rome, depictions of elaborate, sophisticated, luxurious buildings were not only associated with Rome the capital city, but could embody Rome herself. The mere presence of an arch, even a generic arch, could symbolize the entire city. The same distinctive building types that had come to characterize Rome in actual architectural practice—monumental arches, refined

colonnades, lavish temples—came to characterize Rome in depicted architecture. Through the inclusion of these same architectural types and styles, depicted provincial towns or military outposts could be shown as aligned with Rome and sharing the Roman way of life. The spread of Roman culture could be illustrated. Rome was urbanism, and urbanism was Rome. This represents not just an artistic convention, but a way of thinking about the abstract concepts of what Rome represented and what represented Rome.

In his introduction to his manual on Roman architecture, H. von Hesberg eloquently describes the strong connection between architecture and Roman communal identity.⁴⁷⁹ He points to the emphasis on architecture in Roman literature; the critical role played by distinct architectural patterns in Roman cities, both conquered and newly founded; and the uniquely wide range of distinctive building types in the Roman architectural canon. Notably, von Hesberg sees the abundant depictions of architecture in Roman art as another aspect of this same phenomenon.

Von Hesberg emphasizes that distinctively Roman architecture formed the setting in which much of social interaction in the Roman Empire took place.⁴⁸⁰ Although von Hesberg is speaking primarily about actual architecture, depicted architecture also surrounded inhabitants of the Roman Empire, particularly in and around Rome in the 2nd century CE. Through the increasingly pervasive appearance of architectural depictions in major public monuments, depictions of architecture were woven into the physical, visual, and social fabric of Rome and her surroundings. All of these different venues for depicted

⁴⁷⁹ von Hesberg 2005, 11-5.

⁴⁸⁰ von Hesberg 2005, 13; see also Revell 2008, esp. 13.

architecture must have been shaped by and influenced the ways in which architecture was conceptualized by those who lived within such an environment.

Within this broader phenomenon, the architectural depictions of state reliefs not only speak to prevailing attitudes towards architecture, but reveal something of the official attitudes of the ruling class (both the senate and the imperial apparatus) that oversaw both the production of state reliefs and the management of the Roman Empire. Such attitudes undoubtedly affected much more than decisions regarding the content of state reliefs. For example, the emphasis on depictions of elaborate architecture surely drew on and reinforced the ancient social tradition that saw vast quantities of wealth expended on monumental building projects in Rome as a means of expressing elite identity. In his dissertation, N. Elkins sees as significant the chronological coincidence between the increasing importance of monumental building projects as a means of asserting familial status in mid-late republican Rome, and the blossoming of depictions of architecture in coins and wall-painting at that time.⁴⁸¹ The new role of architecture in public elite identity, he argues, can be seen not only in the buildings themselves, but in depicted architecture as well. Similarly, I argue that the use of luxurious urban building types to symbolize the peace and prosperity of Roman rule on the Column of Trajan adds nuance to the message of Trajan's lavish architectural expenditure in the Forum of Trajan, by visually extending the emperor's protective generosity into the provinces.

The conceptual equivalency between Rome and urbanism evident in state reliefs drastically affected Roman approaches to the management of provinces, not only in the construction of certain building types and city layouts, but also in the idea of founding

⁴⁸¹ Elkins 2010. I thank Dr. Elkins for kindly sharing his dissertation with me.

cities as a mark of Roman presence. Indeed, one could argue that managing provinces through the establishment of a network of urban centers is a reflection of the same attitudes towards architecture conveyed in depictions of architecture in state reliefs. If Rome was urbanism and vice versa, then the absence of urbanism was the absence of Rome and her culture. Certainly logistical factors influenced the choice of city centers as the means of governing territories. But the practice of establishing cities for the administration of provincial territory should also be seen as reflecting a particular attitude towards architecture.⁴⁸² Logistical concerns for organizing and establishing territorial control, for example, can explain why the colony of *Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa* was established in the hostile territory of Dacia immediately following the Dacian Wars. Such concerns are poor explanatory factors, however, for why one of the first buildings that the settlers constructed was a large wooden amphitheater.⁴⁸³ Perhaps the distinctly Roman architectural type served as a crucial conceptual sign of the establishment of Roman presence in the area,⁴⁸⁴ carrying, in other words, the same message as the two depicted amphitheaters on the Column of Trajan.

The above observations are necessarily preliminary, but they are meant to demonstrate that ancient attitudes towards architecture, particularly urbanism, had consequences that spread from depictions on individual monuments to the administration

⁴⁸² For the variation and importance of city centers as administrative units across the empire, see Perkins and Nevett 2000.

⁴⁸³ For the amphitheater at *Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa*, see Bota et al. 1995; Diaconescu 2004, 99-103. While it may be that amphitheaters in colonies or legionary fortresses were built to house military exercises, these buildings do not seem to have been necessary for such exercises (Welch 2007, 72-101) and need not have been one of the first public structures built in a colony. The practical applications of amphitheaters, furthermore, need not preclude their acting as cultural symbols.

⁴⁸⁴ Welch (2007, 72-101) has suggested that the earliest stone amphitheaters in Campania served as demonstrations of loyalty to and cultural affiliation with Rome.

of an entire empire. As a means of exploring these attitudes, architectural depictions, both in state reliefs and other media of Roman art, offer numerous new avenues of further research and understanding. Additional case studies could explore how the use of architectural depictions in the Roman Empire varied according to chronology, geography, medium, or agent. The investigation of architectural depictions in state reliefs is only the beginning.

C.4 ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS: FUTURE RESEARCH

The conclusions of this study give rise to numerous questions that can serve as the basis for future research. These questions can only briefly be mentioned here but are certainly worthy of further detailed investigation and discussion.

- How do architectural depictions and their uses change in later state reliefs?

Practicality has limited this study to monuments of the first two centuries of the empire, but the importance of architectural depictions continued in the state reliefs of the late empire. The Arches of Septimius Severus at Rome and Leptis Magna, the Arch of Constantine at Rome, the Arch of Galerius at Thessaloniki, and the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius I in Constantinople all include depictions of architecture. While these monuments continue many earlier architectural motifs, they also introduce new building types and uses of architecture. For example, the sieges that take up a considerable portion of the reliefs panels on the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome are directed against clearly urban cities with dense architecture (fig. 213). The relative amount of space devoted to sieges, as well as the representation of an urban enemy, are obviously very

different from the earlier sieges of the Column of Trajan. Similarly, the Constantinian Frieze on the Arch of Constantine employs the siege motif, previously restricted to the representation of foreign enemies, to depict a battle against a civil foe. The base of the Obelisk of Theodosius I includes a depiction of a circus, a building type that is frequent on coins, mosaics, and small-scale funerary monuments, but which does not appear elsewhere in state reliefs. There is thus ample material for a study of the continually changing uses of architectural depictions in state reliefs of the turbulent later empire.

- What can quantitative methods reveal about architectural depictions in state reliefs?

The case study approach undertaken in this study is obviously only one of many possible methods by which to study architectural depictions. Quantitative analyses in particular could answer very different questions. Through my catalogs of depictions of architecture on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, for example, I was able to determine whether Roman or barbarian architecture was more common on the friezes, and by how much; relative percentages for various construction types in Roman and barbarian architecture; the distribution of depicted structures according to position on the friezes, both physically and within the “narrative;” and associations between architecture and particular scene types.⁴⁸⁵ With some caveats, which will be outlined below, these same sort of questions could be expanded to architectural depictions across a wider range of monuments.

⁴⁸⁵ Wolfram 2007; Wolfram Thill 2010; 2011.

For instance, I.S. Ryberg's study of sacrifice scenes⁴⁸⁶ could serve as the starting point for an analysis of the numerical importance of architectural depictions for this scene type (i.e., how many include buildings, what buildings are shown, how does this vary over time, etc.). A similar study could be carried out for illustrations of triumphs. Alternatively, a study could be conducted to see if the use of architectural depictions is more frequent under certain emperors or dynasties, beyond the aforementioned expansion under Trajan. This could then be correlated to the use of architectural depictions in coins (the other state-sponsored medium) and with actual building programs of the same time period. The reign of Hadrian seems a particularly promising candidate for this sort of analysis, since a relatively large number of sculptural monuments survive from his rule, and his building program in Rome has been well-studied. One could expand the analysis outside of Rome, to see if architectural depictions were more frequently employed in state reliefs in different parts of the empire.

Any quantitative analyses would face several specific problems, however. The first challenge would be to compile a dataset of all known state reliefs within given parameters, say the 1st c. BCE- 2nd c. CE in Rome. The Column of Trajan, and to a lesser extent the Column of Marcus Aurelius, lend themselves to quantitative analysis for several reasons, not the least of which is that they are a distinct, closed set, standing in a public place. Tracking down a significant proportion of known state reliefs, even within a narrow set of parameters, would be a different endeavor entirely.

At the present moment, no comprehensive dataset of known state reliefs is publically available. The University of Heidelberg currently houses a major research

⁴⁸⁶ Ryberg 1955.

project on state reliefs: the *Manfred Lautenschläger Forschungsprojekt* on "Politik und Monument im griechischen und römischen Altertum," under the direction of T.

Hölscher.⁴⁸⁷ This project is planned to include a multi-authored two-volume handbook entitled *Römische Staatsdenkmäler*, overseen by T. Hölscher; a monograph entitled "The Fight for Public Memory. Political Monuments in Ancient Greece, Etruria and the Roman Empire," by T. Hölscher; and a database, overseen by F. Stilp and K. Töpfer. In compiling the database associated with this project, the scholars involved have addressed questions of locating, identifying, and classifying fragmentary state reliefs, critical work for any numerical analysis of architectural depictions in state reliefs. At the present time, however, this database has not seen full publication.

Even once a dataset of state reliefs was compiled for a numerical analysis of architectural depictions, the problem of categorization would loom large. Again, the two columns serve as a counter example, in that their dates are relatively certain and the number of depictions is large enough that debated classifications make up a relatively small percentage of the total. In contrast, the date of many, if not most, fragmentary reliefs is uncertain or debated. The date is only one category that would have to be determined for each relief included in the dataset: other aspects include whether or not fragments should be considered part of the same monument (i.e., the Villa Borghese fragments and the Great Trajanic Frieze) and whether enough of the background in a relief is preserved to evaluate the presence or absence of architecture. At the same time, the sample size is small enough, particularly for individual periods, that any discrepancies in categorization could have a compounded effect on final results. Since each of these

⁴⁸⁷ <http://www.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/hps/klarch/hoelscher/lautenschlaeger/index.html>.

decisions would be a potential source of error or disagreement, with the possibility of strongly influencing the final results, the rationale for each decision would have to be made clear and potentially verifiable.

This is not to say that such an analysis would not be possible. If a clear methodology and an extensive enough dataset could be achieved, these could be the basis for answering numerous quantitative research questions. That such analysis could be fruitful can be seen from a cursory sample of known state reliefs, collected from major compilations (primarily G. Koeppel's 1983-1992 series in the *Bonner Jahrbücher*, which is admittedly somewhat outdated but sufficient for present purposes) and presented in Appendix B. This preliminary catalog reveals a notable increase in the relative frequency of state reliefs that employed architectural depictions, starting in the Trajanic period but continuing to the end of the second century CE.⁴⁸⁸ Sacrifice and *adlocutio* scenes also tend to dominate those scenes that include architectural depictions. While further work would undoubtedly refine this collection, it demonstrates that broad trends can be identified through quantitative methods. The collection, however, also calls attention to another potential source of bias, namely that there may be a tendency to date any relief with architecture to the Trajanic or Hadrianic periods. Further quantitative analysis may justify or call into question this tendency.

- How do architectural depictions in state reliefs relate to architectural depictions in other media?

The architectural depictions found in state reliefs did not arise from or operate within a cultural vacuum. Instead, depictions of architecture were a common and constant feature of Roman art, appearing in every media and at every level of society. By situating the architectural depictions of state reliefs within this broader tradition, such depictions can shed light on the interaction between public and private art and on different attitudes towards architecture and identity. Coins are an obvious point of comparison, but mosaics, wall-painting, and funerary sculpture offer other areas of research as well.

One line of research would be to explore whether the depiction and uses of building types, such as the circus, varies by media. The pre-Trajanic Oppian Hill Fresco, the single extant example of large-scale scenic painting in a public space in Rome,⁴⁸⁹ notably illustrates a harbor city and offers a unique point of comparison for architectural depictions in state reliefs, with possible implications for the study of triumphal painting and ancient cartography. Other media also cover a greater chronological range than do state reliefs, allowing an analysis of depicted architecture over a more extended period of time, particularly including the republican period. The architectural landscapes of the so-called Second Style wall-painting, the sudden expansion in architectural depictions on coins in the mid-late republic, and ancient literary descriptions of republican triumphal paintings with depictions of architecture all could figure into a study of architectural depictions in the republican period and their connection to later state reliefs.

⁴⁸⁹ van der Meer 1998; Caruso and Volpe 2000; La Rocca 2000; 2001; 2004a.

- How do architectural depictions in state reliefs at Rome relate to architectural depictions in other places and cultures?

Another approach to the study of architectural depictions would be to explore potential geographical differences. Public monuments were set up across the Roman Empire by various different groups and individuals, and it would be interesting to see what patterns emerged in the use (if any) of depicted architecture on these monuments. Similarly, numismatists have noted long ago that architecture is never depicted on coins anywhere before the Roman republic; yet as soon as a city or territory was incorporated into the empire, many began to mint coins with depictions of architectural structures, including both their own notable buildings and those in Rome.⁴⁹⁰ The cultural implications of this phenomenon, particularly regarding the use of depicted architecture in connection with Rome, are huge.

The relative frequency of architectural depictions in the Roman Empire also deserves exploration in comparison with other earlier and contemporary cultures beyond the empire. Depictions of architecture are frequent in Near Eastern art of various periods, particularly in Assyria and Lycia, but are comparatively rare in the Greek world. This last aspect is particularly important, since so much of Roman art is connected to a Greek artistic tradition. A cross-cultural study could ask interesting questions regarding the origins of architectural depictions in Roman art and the relationship between Roman art and other artistic traditions. This could even include a study of the influence of the tradition of depicted architecture in the Roman Empire on later societies, as suggested by

⁴⁹⁰ Donaldson 1966; Muehsam 1966; Fuchs 1969; Handler 1971; Price 1976; Price and Trell 1977; Burnett 1999; Tameanko 1999; Simon 2000; Chrétien-Happe 2004.

the architectural depictions on monuments such as the Napoleonic Vendôme Column in Paris and the Karlskirche in Vienna, and on the Euro currency.

This study is intended to serve as an introduction to the exploration of the socio-political and cultural symbolism of architectural depictions. This topic promises many avenues of exploration, and will contribute to a better understanding of art, architecture, and society in the ancient Roman world.

APPENDIX A

CATALOG

OF ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS IN CASE-STUDIES

Catalog Key

- A. Number
 - a. Structures are labeled generally from the left/top to the right/bottom of the panel.
 - b. If any question arose as to whether or not two elements were part of the same structure, then those elements were cataloged as two separate architectural units. This was in order to capture the greatest range of detail and maintain the highest degree of precision, and to avoid speculation about whether two elements belonged to the same structure.
- B. Specificity (see Introduction)
 - 1. Construction material
 - 2. Building type
 - 3. Form, structural (i.e. non-decorative) features
 - 4. Decoration
 - a. Embellishments (e.g., molding, column fluting, fasciae)
 - b. Column order
 - c. Figural ornaments
 - i. Without human figures
 - ii. With human figures
- C. Identification
 - a. Identifications of depictions are given in historical order.
 - b. If one scholar specifically accepts and cites another scholar's previous identification, then the two identifications are combined. Otherwise identifications are given separately.
- D. Reasoning
 - a. Several general categories of lines of reasoning were identified:
 - i. *Archaeological* (|A|): connection drawn between depicted structure and recovered archaeological remains (i.e. Ionic temple of

Anaglypha Reliefs connected to Ionic capitals of Temple of Saturn in Forum Romanum)

- ii. *Depictions* (|D|): identification of depicted structure depends on other known depictions of a historic structure
- ii. *Historical* (|H|): identification of depicted structure depends on historical events or situations
- iii. *Iconographic* (|I|): identification of depicted structure depends on iconographic elements within the depiction
- iv. *Methodological* (|M|): identification of depicted structure depends on a particular methodology
- iv. *Narrative* (|N|): identification of depicted structure depends primarily on the identification and interpretation of the overall scene
- v. *Pictorial* (|P|): identification of depicted structure depends on the way it is represented within its own scene
- vi. *Topographic* (|T|): identification of depicted structure depends on known or theorized locations of historic buildings
- vi. *Stated*: (|S|) no specific supporting reasons for the identification of the depicted architecture are outlined; (), when provided, indicate my best estimate as to the reasoning behind the given identification, based on context within the broader discussion
- iv. Further explanation is provided where helpful
- b. Where the identifications of multiple structures in a given panel are dependent on the identification of a single structure, the main line of reasoning is recorded for that primary structure, with references given for the other dependent structures.
 - i. R1 refers to Relief 1, etc.
 - ii. B1 refers to building #1, etc., of the same panel
- c. Counter-arguments to a particular identification are marked with **Vs**.

Beneventum Arch

DATE: 114 CE

FIND SPOT (DATE): in situ

CURRENT LOCATION: Benevento

Relief 1: *Adventus* Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: *adventus*

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 1

COMPOSITION: single structure, integrated within scene; figures in front of structure

BUILDING TYPES: arch

Table 1.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	arch (2)	stone (1) single passageway (3) embellishments (4.a) Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b)

Table 1.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	arch	arch in Forum Romanum	van Domaszewski 1899, 190	[N]
		<i>Porta Triumphalis</i>	Koeppel 1969, 162, 165	[S] (narrative?)
			Vs. Fittschen 1972, 767 n. 111	[S]
			Fittschen 1972, 767 n. 111	[S]
		N/A: purely symbolic	Quante-Schöttler 2002, 117-19	[P]: generalized rendering; the arch is not important, but only indicates scene type
			Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 139	[P]: generalized rendering
			followed with some reservation by Torelli 1997, 175 n. 47	van Domaszewski could also be right
		entrance to Rome	Lorenz 1973, 13	[N]: historic <i>adventus</i> of 99 CE
			Gauer 1974, 321	[N]: historic <i>adventus</i> of 99 CE
			Hannestad 1986, 182	[S] (narrative?)

Relief 2: Reception Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: reception

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 1

COMPOSITION: continuous architectural backdrop; figures in front of structure

BUILDING TYPES: façade (columnar - temple?)

Table 2.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	façade (columnar - temple?)	four columns; central half-open door (3) embellishments (4.a) Corinthian capitals (4.b) <i>frieze: paterae, bucrania</i> (4.c.i)

Table 2.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	façade (columnar - temple?)	Curia in Forum Romanum	Petersen 1892, 257	[N]: identification of figures
			van Domaszewski 1899, 179	[N], [A] (not fully specified)
			Koeppel 1969, 165	[S]
			Richmond 1969, 234	[S] (narrative?)
			Fittschen 1972, 770, n. 114	[N], [A] (not specified)
			Rotili 1972, 79	[S] (narrative?)
			Hannestad 1986, 181	[S] (narrative?); “not certainly identified building”
			Kleiner 1992a, 227	[S] (narrative?)
			Torelli 1997, 156, 175 n. 48	[N]
			Vs. Grunow 2002, 59	[M]: all identifications based on those of figures
			Vs. Quante-Schöttler 2002, 122	[M]: identification based on figures; [D]: depiction does not resemble Augustan coins; [H]: unlikely that such a building would be depicted and identified in such a way, namely with so little identifying detail
		Temple of Divine Vespasian and Titus	Hassel 1966, 14	[N]: scene takes place in Forum Romanum; [A]: <i>bucrania</i> , <i>paterae</i> frieze suggests Temple of Divine Vespasian and Titus

			Vs. Fittschen 1972, 770 n. 114	[M]: Hassel's identification derived from attempts to recognize historical events
		Basilica Aemilia	Lorenz 1973, 13	[S] (narrative)
		basilica or Curia	Simon 1998, 196	[S] (narrative)
		Temple of Minerva in Forum Transitorium	Quante-Schöttler 2002, 121-25	[A]: "anonymous drawing" (now lost?) shows Temple of Minerva with sacrificial instrument frieze; [N], [H]: Trajan entering via Nerva's forum would show <i>pietas</i>

Relief 3: Consuls Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: *adventus*

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 3

COMPOSITION: continuous architectural backdrop; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: arch, façade (columnar - temple?), unknown

Table 3.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	arch (2)	stone (1) single passageway (3) embellishments (4.a) Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b) <i>spandrels</i> : Victory (4.c.ii)
2	unknown	stone (1)
3	façade (columnar - temple?)	two columns; central half-open door; pediment (3) embellishments; tile roof (4.a) composite capitals (4.b) <i>frieze</i> : weapons; <i>pediment</i> : shield with lightning motif, greaves in corners (4.c.i)

Table 3.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	arch	entrance to <i>Area Capitolina</i>	van Domaszewski 1899, 177	[S] (narrative?)
		<i>Porta Triumphalis</i>	Hassel 1966, 19	see B3
			Koeppel 1969, 136 n. 7, 166, 188	[A]: remains of <i>quadrifrons</i> arch found near Sant'Omobono sanctuary

			Vs. Torelli 1997, 160	D : <i>Porta Triumphalis</i> is shown elsewhere as a triple-bay arch; T : no Servian Wall in that area in Trajanic period
		Trajanic entrance arch to Capitoline sanctuary	Fittschen 1972, 777-78 (followed by Quante-Schöttler 2002, 132)	see B3; D : perhaps arch built by Trajan and shown on coins
		honorary arch or <i>Porta Triumphalis</i>	Lorenz 1973, 39	S (narrative)
		entrance to Rome	Gauer 1974, 323	N : historic <i>adventus</i> ; = R1.B1 (addition of Victories on arch due to entrance as victor, as opposed to entrance as just new emperor in R1)
		honorary arch set up for Trajan in 100 CE	Simon 1979-80, 10; 1998, 203	N : goddess with mural crown identified as Fortuna; location of scene therefore placed at Porta Capena near Temple of Fortuna Redux
		entrance to <i>clivus Capitolinus</i>	Torelli 1997, 160	S (narrative?)
		arch (not currently identifiable)	Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 140-41	P : specifying details included
2	unknown	<i>temenos</i> wall of Capitoline sanctuary	van Domaszewski 1899, 177	S (narrative)
		base of Capitoline hill, below Tarpeian Rock	Koeppel 1969, 136 n. 7	see B1
		substructure for Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Fittschen 1972, 777 (followed by Quante-Schöttler 2002, 130-32)	see B3
			Torelli 1997, 160	S (narrative?; other structures?)
			Vs. Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 140	P : battlements included above pedimental façade (B3)
		Servian Wall	Simon 1979-80, 10; 1998, 203	see B1
		fortification wall (not currently identifiable)	Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 140-41	P : specifying details included
3	façade (columnar - temple?)	Temple of Jupiter Custos	van Domaszewski 1899, 177	N : relationship to B1, B2
			Strong 1907, 216	S

			Vs. Quante-Schöttler 2002, 129-30	[H]: Temple of Jupiter Custos is built by Domitian; unlikely that Trajanic monument would feature Domitianic project, given efforts by Trajan to separate himself from Domitian
		extra-urban temple of Mars	Hassel 1966, 19	[N]: position relative to B1; [I]: decoration suggests Mars
			Gauer 1974, 323	[N]: position relative to B1 suggests extra-urban location; [I]: decoration suggests Mars—temple on Campus Martius?
		one of two temples mentioned by Josephus as standing near the <i>Porta Triumphalis</i>	Koeppel 1969, 167	see B1
		Temple of Jupiter Feretrius	Fittschen 1972, 777 (followed by Torelli 1997, 161; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 130-32)	[N]: Trajan enters Capitoline sanctuary (see R1); [I]: bearded figure could be Mars or Romulus, but probably Romulus, because then B3 can be Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, and B2 the Capitoline substructure; pediment and frieze iconography fit Temple of Jupiter Feretrius
		Temple of Mars or double-temple to Honos and Virtus near Porta Capena	Simon 1979-80, 10; 1998, 203	see B1; [I]: weapons frieze appropriate to both (could be <i>spolia</i> from Syracuse for original dedication of Temple of Honos and Virtus)
		Temple of Mars	Hannestad 1986, 185	[N], [I]: decoration suggests Mars; bearded figure originally identified as Mars, only later changed to Hadrian
		Capitolium	Kleiner 1992a, 228	[S] (narrative?)
		temple (not currently identifiable)	Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 140-41	[P]: specifying details included

Relief 4: Bridge Crossing Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: personification (kneeling)

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 1

COMPOSITION: single structure, integrated within scene; figures in front of structure

BUILDING TYPES: bridge

Table 4.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	bridge (2)	wood (1)

Table 4.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	bridge	symbol marking which of two river gods represents the Danube (vs. tributaries)	Petersen 1892, 242	[N]: kneeling personification identified as Dacia
		symbol marking which of two river gods represents the Euphrates (vs. the Tigris)	van Domaszewski 1899, 185 (followed by Strong 1907, 219; Hamberg 1945, 74)	[N]: kneeling personification identified as Mesopotamia; [H]: depicted bridge crossing recalls historical crossing of Euphrates
		Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube	Fittschen 1972, 760	[N], [H]: kneeling personification identified as Dacia
			Vs. Simon 1979-80, 8	[S] (narrative)
		generalized structure emphasizing the crossing of borders into Italy	Torelli 1997, 153-54	[N]: kneeling personification identified as <i>Italia</i>
		symbol marking which of two water gods represents a river	Simon 1998, 200	[N]: kneeling personification identified as <i>Italia</i> ; [H]: Trajan built many bridges and harbors (rough ground under other water god represents harbors/moles built by Trajan)

Relief 5: Triumphal Frieze

FRIEZE COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: triumph

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 2

COMPOSITION: multiple structures, integrated within scene; figures in front of structure

BUILDING TYPES: arch, temple

Table 5.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	temple (2)	stone (1) stepped podium; two corner columns (3) embellishments; tile roof (4.a) Ionic capitals (4.b) <i>pediments</i> : wreath and ribbons (4.c.i)
2	arch (2) (<i>damaged</i>)	N/A: see main text

Table 5.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	temple	Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Ryberg 1955, 150-51	D : depiction matches description of Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus
			Hassel 1966, 20	S (narrative?)
			Hannestad 1986, 181	S (narrative?)
			Molin 1994, 722	S (narrative?)
			Simon 1998, 190	S (narrative?)
		generic architecture	Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 138-39	P : no identifying features; N : triumph procession does not have set route, locations

Column of Trajan

DATE: 113 CE

FIND SPOT (DATE): in situ

CURRENT LOCATION: Rome

Relief 6: Civilian Settlement (Scenes LXXVII-LXXIX)

SCENE COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: journey

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 6

COMPOSITION: multiple structures, integrated within scene; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: arch, portico, temple (x2), unknown (x2)

Table 6.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	temple (2)	podium; four façade columns; central door (3) embellishments; socle; tile roof (4.a) Corinthian capitals (4.b)
2	temple (2)	stepped platform; four façade columns, three flank columns/pilasters; central door (3) embellishments; socle; grated window; tile roof (4.a) Ionic capitals (4.b) <i>cult statue</i> : female with raised arm (4.c.ii)
3	portico (2)	solid exterior wall with internal colonnade; three interior columns (3) grated windows; tile roof (4.a) Ionic capitals (4.b)
4	arch (1)	stone (1) single passageway (3) embellishments (4.a) Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b) <i>crowning statuary</i> : three male nudes, each with raised arm (4.c.ii)
5	unknown	tile roof (4.a)
6	unknown	series of four vaults (3) tile roof (4.a)

Table 6.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
2	temple	Temple of Venus at Ancona	Davies 1920, 4	S
			Turcan-Déléani 1958, 159-60	
			Coulston 1988, 26	H : literary sources mention Temple to Venus in Ancona
			Lepper and Frere 1988, 130	H , P : literary sources mention Temple to Venus in Ancona, seem to describe it as standing on hill
			Grunow 2002, 21 n. 20	S
			Vs. Coarelli 2000, 136-37	P : no evidence that cult statue is Venus; H : B6 = naval installations, not present at Ancona
4	arch	Arch of Trajan at Ancona	Coulston 1988, 26	A : “conforms” to remains of arch found at Ancona
			Lepper and Frere 1988, 130	S (topography with B2?)
			Claridge 1993, 20	S (archaeological? historical?)
			Grunow 2002, 41-2	S (topography with B2?)

Relief 7: Settlement at Bridge over the Danube (Scenes C-CI)

SCENE COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: sacrifice; reception

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 11

COMPOSITION: multiple structures, integrated within scene; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: amphitheater, arch, bridge, building (x4), fortifications, gateway structure, portico, unknown

Table 7.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	bridge (2)	stone and wood (1) series of wood arched spans and walkway above five stone piers (3)
2	fortifications (2)	stone (1)
3	building	wood (pegs) walls; pegged roof (1) two stories; door; two windows; sloping roof (3)
4	gateway structure (2)	two stories; single arched entrance; three arched windows; hip roof (3) Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b)
5	building	wood (pegs) walls; plank roof (1) two stories; door; two windows; irregularly sloping roof (3)
6	amphitheater (2)	stone and wood (1) three stories (bottom with arched entrances; middle with triangular construction; top with post construction); internal stairs (3)
7	building	plank roof (1) window (3)
8	building	plank roof (1) two stories; door; window (3) embellishments (4.a)
9	portico (2)	four columns (3) Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b) embellishments (4.a)
10	unknown	stone (1)
11	arch (2)	stone (1) single passageway (3) <i>crowning statuary</i> : two trophies (4.c.i)

Table 7.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	bridge	Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube	Ryberg 1955, 127	S
			Turcan-Déléani 1958, 154	D : conforms to literary descriptions, depictions on coins; A : conforms to remains in Danube

			Coulston 1988, 26	D : conforms to literary descriptions, depictions on coins; A : conforms to remains in Danube
			Lepper and Frere 1988, 148	S (archaeological?)
			Coarelli 2000, 162	A : conforms to remains in Danube

Relief 8: Dacian Settlement (Scene XXV)

SCENE COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: architectural destruction

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 9

COMPOSITION: multiple structures, integrated within scene; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: building (x3), defenses, fortifications, gateway structure, palisade (x2), unknown

Table 8.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	unknown	<i>unclear</i>
2	palisade (2)	wood (1)
3	building	wood (pegs) walls; plank roof (1) door; three windows; stilts (3)
4	fortifications (2)	stone (1) two lines of parallel walls (3)
5	defenses (2)	polls; ditches with spikes; moat (3)
6	building	wood (pegs) walls; plank roof (1) two stories; door; two windows (3)
7	gateway structure (2)	wood (pegs) (1) single rectangular entrance; pediment (3) Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b)
8	building	stone (1) window; stilts; gabled roof (3)
9	palisade (2)	wood (1) round; single open entrance (3)

Relief 9: Dacian Settlement (Scenes CXIX-CXXII)

SCENE COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: architectural destruction; suicide

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 15

COMPOSITION: multiple structures, integrated within scene; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: building (x6), cylindrical building (x3), fortifications, gateway structure (x2), palisade, tower building (x2)

Table 9.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	fortifications (2)	stone (1) multiple interlocking lines of walls (3)
2	tower building (2)	wood (1) window (3)
3	building	plank roof (1) gabled roof (3)
4	tower building (2)	wood (pegs) walls; plank roof (1) two windows; gabled roof (3)
5	building	plank roof (1) two stories; two windows; door; gabled roof (3) grated window (4.a)
6	building	wood (pegs) (1) gabled roof (3)
7	cylindrical building (2)	wood (pegs) (1) cylindrical; two stories; door; window (3) ridged roof; crowning boss (4.a)
8	building	wood (pegs) walls; plank roof (1) two stories; two windows; door (3)
9	cylindrical building (2)	wood (pegs) (1) cylindrical; two stories; door; window (3) ridged roof (4.a)
10	gateway structure (2)	plank roof (1) rectangular entrance; two stories; two windows; gabled roof (3)
11	gateway structure (2)	wood (pegs) (1) rectangular entrance; two stories; two windows; gabled roof (3)
12	building	wood (pegs); plank roof (1) two windows (3)
13	palisade (1)	wood (1)
14	building	plank roof (1) two windows; gabled roof (3)
15	cylindrical building (2)	cylindrical; two stories; door; window (3) embellishments; ridged roof; crowning boss (4.a)

Great Trajanic Frieze

DATE: Trajanic? (see main text)

FIND SPOT (DATE): reused in Arch of Constantine

CURRENT LOCATION: in Arch of Constantine, Rome

Relief 10: Section 1

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: *adventus*

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 1

COMPOSITION: single structure, integrated within scene; figures in front of structure

BUILDING TYPES: arch

Table 10.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	arch (2)	stone (1) single passageway (3) embellishments (4.a)

Table 10.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	arch	<i>Porta Triumphalis</i>	Gauer 1973, 327	S
			Tortorella 1992, 339	S
		gates of Rome	Leander Touati 1987, 13	S (narrative?)

Relief 11: Section 4

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: battle (prisoner presentation)

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 2

COMPOSITION: multiple structures, integrated within scene; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: hut (x2)

Table 11.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	hut (2)	reed (1) round (3)
2	hut (2)	reed (1) round (3)

Anaglypha Reliefs

DATE: Hadrianic? (see main text)

FIND SPOT (DATE): Forum Romanum (1872)

CURRENT LOCATION: Curia in Forum Romanum

Relief 12: *Adlocutio* Relief

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: *adlocutio*

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 7

COMPOSITION: architectural background; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: arch, façade (arched – basilica?), platform; platform (statue base[?]), temple

Table 12.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	arch (2)	stone (1) single passageway (3) embellishments (4.a) Corinthian capitals (4.b)
2	platform (2)	sloping ramp in back (3) embellishments (4.a) one <i>rostrum</i> (4.c.i)
3	temple (2)	five columns; four steps (3) embellishments (4.a) Corinthian capitals (4.b)
4	façade (arched – basilica?)	stone (1) eight columns (3) embellishments (4.a) Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b) <i>sculpted keystones</i> : horned lion heads (4.c.i)
5	platform (statue base?)	embellishments (4.a)
6	platform (statue base?)	embellishments (4.a)
7	platform (statue base)	hexagonal shape? (3?) embellishments (4.a)

Table 12.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	arch	Janus arch	Brizio 1872, 313-14	[T]: all four sides of Forum Romanum shown; relationship to other buildings

		entrance arch to Forum	Visconti 1873, 27	[T]: relationship to other buildings
		unknown	Petersen 1895, 8	[T]: see B2 ⁴⁹¹
		Arch of Augustus ⁴⁹²		
		(unspecified)	Nichols 1877, 68-9	[T]: see B3
			Middleton 1892, 346	[S] (topographic?)
			Carter 1910, 316	[T]: see B4
			Hammond 1953, 139	[T]: see B4
			Torelli 1982, 95	[T]: see B4
			Kleiner 1992a, 248	[S]
			Grunow 2002, 40	[T]: relationship to other buildings
			Coarelli 2007, 59	see B4
		Arch of Augustus between Temple of Divine Caesar and Temple of Castor and Pollux	Stucchi 1958, 67, 70	[P]: combination of <i>rostra</i> , temple, and arch repeated at edges of both reliefs; shown with only one arch because sculptor cramped the scene (see five columns of B3)
			Rüdiger 1973, 164	[P], [A], [T]: shown at angle to Temple of Castor and Pollux (see B3)
		either Augustan arch or part of Porticus Iulia	Koeppel 1986, 17	[S]
		<i>arcus (Dalmaticus) Augusti</i>	Torelli 1999, 95	[S]
		Parthian Arch of Augustus south of Temple of Divine Caesar	Quante-Schöttler 2002, 169	[T]: see B4
		unknown arch over <i>clivus Argentarius</i>	Spalding Jenkins 1901, 80	[T]: see B2
		arch in Severan Wall	Hülßen 1904, 88	[S] (topographic?)
2	platform	speaker's platform at	Brizio 1872, 316	see B1

⁴⁹¹ As discussed in the main text, identifications of the Anaglypha reliefs' buildings are often tied to the topography of the Forum Romanum: typically, one particular depiction/building serves as the "lynch pin," with subsequent identifications following from other depictions'/buildings' positions relative to that lynch pin depiction/building. Where possible I have attempted to identify the lynch pin building for a scholar's identifications.

⁴⁹² The arch of the *Adlocutio* Relief [R12.B1] has been identified numerous times as an arch of Augustus. There were, however, numerous known arches set up (or at least voted for) Augustus (see main text), and scholars have not always been specific as to which historic arch they mean when identifying the depicted arch. I assume that, in most cases, scholars are referring to the Augustan arch excavated south of the Temple of Divine Caesar, next to the Temple of Castor and Pollux, since this arch would fit in with the "continuous" theory of the reliefs' depictions. I thus have grouped all the identifications with an arch of Augustus together. Nevertheless, in the interest of accuracy and clarity I have retained the different terminology employed by the various scholars.

		west end of Forum Romanum ⁴⁹³	Visconti 1873, 27	see B1
			Nichols 1877, 67, 70	S
			Middleton 1892, 346	I : presence of <i>rostra</i>
			Petersen 1895, 8	I : presence of <i>rostra</i> ; T : relationship to other buildings
			Spalding Jenkins 1901, 79	I : presence of <i>rostra</i>
		speaker's platform associated with Temple of Divine Caesar	Carter 1910, 316	T : see B4
			Seston 1927, 166 n.1	D : comparisons to Severan Marble Plan; P : distinguished from R13.B7 by different molding
			Hammond 1953, 140	T : see B4
			Stucchi 1958, 67	see B1
			Rüdiger 1973, 165	S
			Torelli 1982, 97-8	A : excavations show platform in Forum Romanum in front of Temple of Divine Caesar → must be speaker's platform with <i>rostra</i> established by Augustus
			Koeppel 1986, 17	S
			Boatwright 1987, 186	S
			Kuttner 1995, 45	S
			Torelli 1999, 95	N , H : issues of imperial <i>ficus</i> announced on imperial speaker's platform, while issues having to do with the senate take place in front of older speaker's platform (see R13.B7)
			Grunow 2002, 50	S
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 167-68	S (topographic?)
			Coarelli 2007, 59	see B4
3	temple (2)	Curia in Forum Romanum	Brizio 1872, 315-16	see B1
			Visconti 1873, 27	see B1
			Petersen 1895, 8	T : see B2
			Spalding Jenkins 1901, 79	T : see B2
			Hülßen 1904, 88	S (topographic?)

⁴⁹³ As for the arch of the *Adlocutio* Relief [R12.B1], scholars are not always very specific or clear when identifying the speaker's platforms with *rostra* [R12.B2]. Again, I have made my best guess as to which historic platform is meant, based on the context of the argument.

			Vs. Carter 1910, 313	A : does not match recovered remains of Curia, which did not have columns; D : Augustan coins that show columns do not represent Curia
			Vs. Hammond 1953, 138, n.33	D , A : depiction does not match Augustan coins (which do show Curia) or Domitianic reconstruction
		Temple of Divine Caesar	Nichols 1877, 68	T : see B4; D : matches depictions on Augustan, Hadrianic coins
		Temple of Castor and Pollux	Middleton 1892, 346	S (topographic?)
			Carter 1910, 316	T : see B4
			Hammond 1953, 139	T : see B4
			Stucchi 1958, 67	see B1
			Rüdiger 1973, 164	T : south side of Forum shown
			Torelli 1982, 95; 1999, 95	T : see B4
			Smith 1983, 227	S
			Koeppel 1986, 17	S
			Kleiner 1992a, 248	S
			Grunow 2002, 50	S
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 167-68	S (topographic?)
			Coarelli 2007, 59	see B4
4	façade (arched – basilica?)	Basilica Aemilia	Brizio 1872, 316	see B1
			Visconti 1873, 9, 27	see B1
			Petersen 1895, 8	T : see B2
			Spalding Jenkins 1901, 79	T : see B2
			Hülsen 1904, 88	S (topographic?)
			Vs. Carter 1910, 314-15	T , H , A : Marsyas near Lacus Curtius, Lacus Curtius location cannot be pictured in such a relationship to Basilica Aemilia
			Vs. Torelli 1982, 92	A , P : Basilica Aemilia had Porticus Gaii et Lucii in front of it, with Tuscan columns
		Basilica Iulia	Nichols 1877, 67	T , P : doubling of Marsyas/tree suggest “continuous” theory
			Middleton 1892, 346	S

			Carter 1910, 315	[T], [A], [P]: number of arches on façades on both reliefs match number of arches of Basilica Iulia seen if Marsyas statue stands near Lacus Curtius
			Hammond 1953, 139	[T]: “continuous” theory: R6 shows south side of Forum Romanum
			Stucchi 1958, 67	see B2
			Rüdiger 1973, 164	see B3
			Torelli 1982, 95; 1999, 95	[T]: see B4; [I], [A?]: <i>leocornia</i>
			Koeppel 1986, 19	[S]
			Kleiner 1992a, 248	[S]
			Grunow 2002, 58	[P]: architectural form; [T]: juxtaposition with other buildings (on Forum Romanum); [I], [A?]: <i>leocornia</i> ; [A]: found in location connected by sightlines to actual Basilica Iulia
			Coarelli 2007, 59	[T]: south side Forum Romanum shown; relationship to other buildings
5	platform (statue base?)	praetor’s tribunal	Vs. Spalding Jenkins 1901, 80	[P]: R13.B3 = Basilica Iulia; arches are rendered too differently between R12.B4 and R13.B3 to represent the same building
		(theoretical) statue base	Visconti 1873, 8, 27	[I]: no <i>rostra</i>
		statue base of real statue	Petersen 1895, 6	[P]: no entrance ramp
			Hülse 1904, 86-7	[D]: statue seen on coins
			Carter 1910, 317	[P]: real statue
			Torelli 1999, 95	[S]
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 159	[S]
6	platform (statue base?) ⁴⁹⁴	some sort of stage	Seston 1927, 154	[S]
		base of real <i>figus Ruminalis</i>	Brizio 1872, 316-17	see B1
		fence around base of (living) tree (not the <i>figus Ruminalis</i>) near Lacus Curtius	Middleton 1892, 346	[T]: tree mentioned in Pliny
			Vs. Spalding Jenkins 1901, 77	nothing in reliefs themselves to suggest this

⁴⁹⁴ Since the Marsyas and fig tree both appear twice with bases, it is probable that the identification of the same base/feature on one relief would apply to its equivalent on the other relief. I have, however, cataloged an author’s identification for a given feature only for the context/relief specifically mentioned.

		indication of “allegorical use” of <i>figus Ruminalis</i>	Spalding Jenkins 1901, 77	S ; see B7
		fence around base of (living?) <i>figus Ruminalis</i> , near Lacus Curtius	Rüdiger 1973, 164	S
		molded plant container	Torelli 1982, 117 n. 112	S
		molded stone base for bronze statue of a tree (not <i>figus Ruminalis</i>) made to go with Marsyas statue	Smith 1983, 227	S
		enclosure for <i>figus Ruminalis</i> (nothing further specified)	Koeppel 1986, 19	S
			Boatwright 1987, 186 n.14	P : base is simpler than that for Marsyas statue (R6.B7)
		base of <i>figus Ruminalis</i> (nothing further specified)	Torelli 1999, 95	S
		enclosure around tree (nothing further specified)	Quante-Schöttler 2002, 159	S
7	platform (statue base)	base of Marsyas statue	Brizio 1872, 317	see B1
			Visconti 1873, 9	S
			Rüdiger 1973, 164	S (topographic)
			Koeppel 1986, 20	S
			Torelli 1999, 95	S
		indication of “allegorical use” of Marsyas statue	Spalding Jenkins 1901, 77	S ; see B6

Relief 13: Tablet Relief

PANEL COMPLETE: no

SCENE TYPE: burning of tablets

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 7

COMPOSITION: architectural background; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: arch, façade (arched – basilica?), platform, platform (statue base[?]) (x2), temple

Table 13.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	platform (statue base?)	embellishments (4.a)
2	platform (statue base)	hexagonal shape? (3?) embellishments (4.a)
3	façade (arched – basilica?)	stone (1) six columns (3) embellishments (4.a) Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b)
4	temple (2)	six columns (3) embellishments (4.a) Ionic capitals (4.b)
5	arch (2)	stone (1) single passageway (3) embellishments (4.a)
6	temple (2)	six columns (3) embellishments (4.a) Corinthian capitals (4.b)
7	platform (2)	embellishments (4.a) two <i>rostra</i> (4.c.i)

Table 13.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	platform (statue base?)	indication of “allegorical use” of <i>figus Ruminalis</i>	Spalding Jenkins 1901, 77	S ; see B2
		fence around real tree (not <i>figus Ruminalis</i>)	Hülse 1904, 88	S
		molded plant container	Torelli 1982, 117 n. 112	S
		enclosure for <i>figus Ruminalis</i> (<i>nothing further specified</i>)	Koeppel 1986, 21	S
		base/enclosure around tree (<i>nothing further specified</i>)	Quante-Schöttler 2002, 160	S
2	platform (statue base)	base of Marsyas statue	Visconti 1873, 10 Koeppel 1986, 21	S S
		indication of “allegorical use” of Marsyas statue	Spalding Jenkins 1901, 77	S ; see B1
3	façade (arched – basilica?)	Basilica Iulia	Brizio 1872, 318	T : all four sides of Forum Romanum shown; relationship to other buildings

			Visconti 1873, 10, 13, 27, 33-4	see B4
			Nichols 1877, 66	A : connection to Doric/Tuscan capitals excavated in Forum Romanum
			Middleton 1892, 347	S (relationship to other buildings?)
			Spalding Jenkins 1901, 80	T , P : two different basilicae shown; R12.B4 = Basilica Aemilia
			Hülßen 1904, 88	S (topographic?)
			Rüdiger 1973, 165	T : south side of Forum Romanum shown
			Torelli 1982, 92, 95	P : Marysas, fig tree shown in same order of → can not be Basilica Aemilia (see R12.B4)
			Koeppel 1986, 21	S
			Kleiner 1992a, 249	S
			Torelli 1999, 96	S
			Grunow 2002, 44	S
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 166	A , P : same building as R12.B4 (see R12.B4)
			Coarelli 2007, 59	see B7
		Basilica Aemilia	Stucchi 1958, 67-8	P : combination of platform with <i>rostra</i> , temple, and arch repeated at outside edges of both reliefs; D : resembles depictions on coins
4	temple	Temple of Saturn	Brizio 1872, 318	see B3
			Visconti 1873, 33	T : relationship to other buildings
			Nichols 1877, 66	A : connection to Ionic capitals excavated in Forum Romanum
			Middleton 1892, 347	S (archaeological?)
			Spalding Jenkins 1901, 80	T , P : two reliefs show four sides of Forum Romanum; B4 + B6 + lost Temple of Concord would fill out the remaining space (now lost) of R13
			Hülßen 1904, 88	S (archaeological)
			Rüdiger 1973, 165	T : see B3; A : Temple of Saturn next to <i>clivus Capitolinus</i>
			Torelli 1982, 95; 1999, 96	A : Temple of Saturn only Ionic temple on Forum Romanum
			Koeppel 1986, 21	S (archaeological?)
			Kleiner 1992a, 249	S

			Grunow 2002, 44	S
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 164	A : connection to Ionic capitals excavated in Forum Romanum
			Coarelli 2007, 58-9	T : see B7; A : Ionic order
		Temple of Divine Caesar	Stucchi 1958, 68-9	T : see B3; A : Temple of Divine Caesar had Ionic capital
5	arch	porch of the Tabularium	Brizio 1872, 318	see B3
			Nichols 1877, 66	S (relationship to other buildings?)
			Spalding Jenkins 1901, 81	T ; P : set back in relief, so probably behind Temple of Divine Vespasian and Titus (see B6)
			Hülßen 1904, 88	S (topographic?)
			Vs. Rüdiger 1973, 165	P : Tabularium is too high up to be included within same plane as other architecture
		Porta Pandana at entrance to <i>clivus Capitolinus</i>	Visconti 1873, 33	see B4
			Vs. Spalding Jenkins 1901, 81	T : Porta Pandana located elsewhere
		arch of Tiberius	Middleton 1892, 347	S
			Vs. Spalding Jenkins 1901, 80-1	T , A : sources, remains indicate arch of Tiberius stood somewhere where it couldn't be depicted between the Temples of Saturn and Divine Vespasian (see B4, B6)
		Arch of Augustus between Temple of Divine Caesar and Temple of Castor and Pollux	Stucchi 1958, 69	T : see B3; P : Temple of Divine Caesar and Temple of Castor and Pollux hide arch's side bays
		(possible) way for stone-mason to indicate transition to east side of the Forum	Rüdiger 1973, 165	S
		<i>arcus in clivo Capitolino</i>	Torelli 1982, 95; 1999, 96	T : see B4, B6; P : arch shown without lateral supports to show that it is in background
			Koeppel 1986, 21	S
			Grunow 2002, 44	S
		arched entrance to Capitoline	Coarelli 2007, 58	see B7
6	temple	Temple of Concord	Brizio 1872, 318	see B3
			Vs. Spalding Jenkins 1901, 80	Temple of Vespasian and Titus is too important to leave out (see infra)

		Temple of Vespasian and Titus	Visconti 1873, 33	T : see B4
			Middleton 1892, 347	S (archaeological?)
			Spalding Jenkins 1901, 80	see B4; H : Temple of Vespasian and Titus is too important to leave out
			Hülse 1904, 88	S (archaeological)
			Rüdiger 1973, 165	T : see B3
			Torelli 1982, 95; 1999, 96	T : see B4; A : Corinthian hexastyle
			Koeppel 1986, 21	S (archaeological?)
			Kleiner 1992a, 249	S
			Grunow 2002, 44	S (archaeological?)
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 164	S (archaeological? topographic?)
			Coarelli 2007, 58	T : see B7; A : Corinthian order
7	platform	speaker's platform at west end of Forum	Visconti 1873, 32	T : see B3
			Nichols 1877, 66, 70	S
			Seston 1927, 166 n.1	P : distinguished from R12.B2 by different molding
			Torelli 1982, 98	I : statue of draped seated goddess; would have been replaced by statues shown on Arch of Constantine
			Coarelli 2007, 58	T : south side Forum Romanum shown; relationship to other buildings
		Rostra Iulia	Koeppel 1986, 21	S
		Rostra of Augustus	Boatwright 1987, 186	S
			Torelli 1999, 95	H : see R12.B2

Column of Marcus Aurelius

DATE: Antonine (TPQ 161 CE [start of Marcus Aurelius' reign])

FIND SPOT (DATE): in situ

CURRENT LOCATION: Rome

Relief 14: Frontier Settlement (Scene I)

SCENE COMPLETE: no (damage)

SCENE TYPE: frontier

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 8

COMPOSITION: multiple structures, integrated within scene; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: building (x4); palisade (x3)

Table 14.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	palisade (2)	wood (1)
2	building	stone (1) two stories; door; two windows (3) embellishments; tile roof (4.a)
3	palisade (2)	wood (1) open entrance (3)
4	building	stone (1) two stories; door; window (3) embellishments; tile roof (4.a)
5	palisade (2)	wood/reeds (1) arched entrance with door (3)
6	building	wood/reeds (1) two stories; door; two windows (3) wood/reed roof (4.a)
7	building (<i>damaged</i>)	stone (1) two stories; two windows (3) tile roof (4.a)
8	palisade (2) (<i>damaged</i>)	wood (1)

Relief 15: Barbarian Settlement (Scene XX)

SCENE COMPLETE: no (damage)

SCENE TYPE: battle

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 5

COMPOSITION: multiple structures, integrated within scene

BUILDING TYPES: hut (x5)

Table 15.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	hut (2)	wood/reeds (1) arched entrance with door; rounded roof (3)
2	hut (2)	wood/reeds (1) rounded roof (3)
3	hut (2)	wood/reeds (1) arched entrance with door; rounded roof (3)
4	hut (2)	wood/reeds (1) arched entrance with door; rounded roof (3)
5	hut (2)	wood/reeds (1) rounded roof (3)

Marcus Aurelius Panels

DATE: Antonine (TPQ 161 CE [start of Marcus Aurelius' reign] – TAQ: 192 CE [Commodus' death])

FIND SPOT (DATE):

- reused in Arch of Constantine: R16, R17, R18, R19, R20, R22, R23
- reused in Church of S. Martina, Forum Romanum (as of reign of Pope Leo X): R21, R24

CURRENT LOCATION:

- Arch of Constantine: R16, R17, R18, R19, R20, R22, R23
- Palazzo dei Conservatori: R21, R24

Relief 16: *Adlocutio* Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: *adlocutio*

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 1

COMPOSITION: single structure, integrated within scene; no figures in front of structure

BUILDING TYPES: platform

Table 16.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	platform (2)	unclear: pegs (wood), molding (stone) (1) embellishments (4.a)

Relief 17: Prisoners Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: presentation of prisoners

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 1

COMPOSITION: single structure, integrated within scene; no figures in front of structure

BUILDING TYPES: platform

Table 17.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	platform (2)	unclear: pegs (wood), molding (stone) (1) embellishments (4.a)

Relief 18: Supplication Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: supplication

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 1

COMPOSITION: single structure, integrated within scene; no figures in front of structure

BUILDING TYPES: platform

Table 18.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	platform (2)	unclear: pegs (wood), molding (stone) (1) embellishments (4.a)

Relief 19: *Rex Datus* Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: *rex datus*

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 2

COMPOSITION: architectural background; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: façade (arched – basilica?); platform

Table 19.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	platform (2)	unclear: pegs (wood), molding (stone) (1) embellishments (4.a)
2	façade (arched – basilica?)	stone (1) two arched openings; row of eight six-paneled windows (3) tile roof and cornice (4.a)

Table 19.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
2	façade (arched – basilica?)	<i>principia</i> of Castra Praetoria	Stuart Jones 1906, 263	[N]: <i>adlocutio</i> addressed to imperial guard in Rome
		camp portico	Strong 1907, 294	[S] (narrative?)
		camp <i>praetorium</i>	Ryberg 1967, 45	[N]: presence of <i>simulacra</i> of gods
			Angelicooussis 1984, 150	[S] (narrative?)
		camp <i>principia</i>	Koeppel 1986, 65	[S]
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 213	[S] (narrative?)
		military basilica (possibly serving as a praetorium)	Grunow 2002, 133	[S] (narrative?)

Relief 20: Donation Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: donation

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 2

COMPOSITION: architectural background; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: façade (columnar); platform

Table 20.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	façade (columnar)	six columns (3) embellishments (4.a) Corinthian capitals (4.b)
2	platform (2)	unclear: pegs (wood), molding (stone) (1) embellishments (4.a)

Table 20.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	façade (columnar)	colonnade (not currently identifiable)	Stuart Jones 1906, 264	S
			Grunow 2002, 132 n. 103	S
		Basilica Ulpia	Ryberg 1967, 76	[H]: historical sources say <i>congiarium</i> with Commodus took place in Basilica Ulpia
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 236	[H]: historical sources say <i>congiarium</i> with Commodus took place in Basilica Ulpia
		general structure	Angelicoussis 1984, 157-58	[H], [P]: imperial donations had no fixed venue, therefore any interest in topographic precision would require inclusion of more details
		Temple of Divine Antoninus Pious	Vs. Angelicoussis 1984, 157-58, 157 n. 74	[A], [P]: depiction does not resemble Temple of Divine Antoninus Pious; [P]: depiction is too general for topographic precision; [A], [H]: steps of Temple of Divine Antoninus Pious could not accommodate distribution of funds to large crowd

Relief 21: Triumph Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: triumph

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 2

COMPOSITION: architectural background; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: arch, temple

Table 21.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	temple (2)	four façade columns; one flank column; podium with stairs and buttresses; central half-open door (3) embellishments; tile roof (4.a) composite capitals (4.b)
2	arch (2)	stone (1) single passageway (3) embellishments (4.a) Corinthian, Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b)

Table 21.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	temple	Temple of Jupiter Custos	Stuart Jones 1906, 265	S
		Temple of Bellona	Ryberg 1955, 157; 1967, 20	T : Temple of Bellona stood outside of <i>pomerium</i> , near <i>Porta Triumphalis</i> (see B2)
		Temple of Fortuna Redux	Koeppel 1969, 153	H : Martial poem says Domitianic <i>adventus</i> goes through arch, which must be <i>Porta Triumphalis</i> , and by Temple of Fortuna Redux
			Vs. Quante-Schöttler 2002, 227	D : details of R21.B1 does not match depiction of Temple of Fortuna Redux in other panel (R23.B1)
		unidentifiable temple	Quante-Schöttler 2002, 229	T : arch [B2] is <i>Porta Triumphalis</i> , but that arch cannot be located topographically
		generic temple	Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 137	P : no specifying details included
2	arch	arch on <i>clivus Capitolinus</i>	Stuart Jones 1906, 265	S

			Vs. Ryberg 1967, 19-20	P : position of the arch within the scene is based on compositional needs, not to indicate topography
		<i>Porta Triumphalis</i>	Ryberg 1955, 157; 1967, 19	D : comparisons with depicted procession on Arch of Titus
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 227	N , H , P : arch is depicted in such a generic manner, that it must represent a well-known historic arch
		<i>Porta Triumphalis</i> (Elephant Arch of Domitian)	Koeppel 1969, 153	H : Martial poem says Domitianic <i>adventus</i> goes through arch, which must be <i>Porta Triumphalis</i>
			Vs. Grunow 2002, 42 n. 68	D : Domitianic arch is represented as quadrifrons in other panels (see R22.B1, R23.B2)
			Vs. Quante-Schöttler 2002, 226	D : Domitianic arch is represented as quadrifrons in other panels (see R22.B1, R23.B2)
		generic arch	Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 137	P : no specifying details included

Relief 22: *Profectio* Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: *profectio*

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 1

COMPOSITION: single structure, integrated within scene; figures in front of structure

BUILDING TYPES: arch

Table 22.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	arch (2)	stone (1) quadrifrons (3) embellishments (4.a) Corinthian, Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b) <i>spandrels</i> : Victory; <i>crowning statuary</i> : one trophy, two prisoners (one sitting under trophy, one standing, both with hands bound), four elephants (4.c.ii)

Table 22.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	arch	Elephant Arch of Domitian	Ryberg 1967, 29-32	P : arch is the same arch as R23.B1; D : elephant statuary matches other known depictions of Domitianic arch
			Angelicooussis 1984, 185	D : elephant statuary matches other known depictions of Domitianic arch
			Grunow 2002, 20 n. 15, 28 n. 38; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 150	D : elephant statuary matches other known depictions of Domitianic arch; T : historic arch may be located near Via Flaminia
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 217	D : elephant statuary matches other known depictions of Domitianic arch
		<i>Porta Triumphalis</i> (Elephant Arch of Domitian)	Koeppel 1969, 136, 154; 1986, 56	P : elephant statuary, <i>quadrifrons</i> form; H : Martial poem says Domitianic <i>adventus</i> goes through arch, which must be <i>Porta Triumphalis</i>

Relief 23: *Adventus* Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: *adventus*

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 2

COMPOSITION: architectural background; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: arch, temple

Table 23.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	temple (2)	stone (1) four façade columns; one engaged flank column; central closed door (3) embellishments; tile roof (4.a) Corinthian capitals (4.b) <i>pediment</i> : reclining figure, globe, standing central female figure, wheel, reclining figure (4.c.ii)
2	arch (2)	stone (1) quadrifrons (3) embellishments (4.a) Corinthian, Doric/Tuscan capitals (4.b)

Table 23.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	temple	Temple of Fortuna Redux	Stuart Jones 1906, 260, 262	[H]: direction of Marcus Aurelius' return from field; [I]: pedimental sculpture consistent with Fortuna Redux
			Ryberg 1967, 29	[I]: pedimental sculpture consistent with Fortuna Redux; [D]: pedimental sculpture matches that of other depictions of Temple of Fortuna Redux, some with numismatic legends
			Toynbee 1968, 294	[S]
			Koeppel 1969, 148; 1986, 70	[I]: pedimental sculpture consistent with Fortuna Redux
			Grunow 2002, 31 n. 49, 32, 50; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 145	[I]: pedimental sculpture consistent with Fortuna Redux; [D]: pedimental sculpture matches that of other depictions of Temple of Fortuna Redux, some with numismatic legends
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 104	[I]: pedimental sculpture consistent with Fortuna Redux; [D]: pedimental sculpture matches that of other depictions of Temple of Fortuna Redux
2	arch	Elephant Arch of Domitian	Stuart Jones 1906, 260	[H]: see B1
			Ryberg 1967, 29-32	[T]: arch stands next to Temple of Fortuna Redux, known from Martial poem to stand near Domitianic arch
			Toynbee 1968, 294	[S]
			Angelicoussis 1984, 185	[P]: quadrifrons form matches depiction of R22.B2
			Grunow 2002, 20 n. 15; Grunow Sobocinski 2009, 149-51	[T]: association with Temple of Fortuna Redux; see B1
		<i>Porta Triumphalis</i> (Elephant Arch of Domitian)	Koeppel 1969, 148, 154	[P]: elephant statuary, <i>quadrifrons</i> form; [H]: Martial poem says Domitianic <i>adventus</i> goes through arch, which must be <i>Porta Triumphalis</i>

Relief 24: Sacrifice Panel

PANEL COMPLETE: yes

SCENE TYPE: sacrifice

NUMBER OF STRUCTURES: 2

COMPOSITION: architectural background; figures in front of structures

BUILDING TYPES: façade (columnar), temple

Table 24.1

	TYPE	SPECIFICITY
1	temple (2)	four columns, with widened central intercolumnation; three closed doors (3) embellishments; carved sima (4.a) Corinthian capitals (4.b) <i>akroteria</i> : two corner akroteria (form unclear), <i>quadriga</i> on ridgepole; <i>pediment</i> : corner group of two working figures, goddess driving chariot, standing Hercules, eagle, seated Juno, seated Jupiter, seated Minerva, standing female figure, two standing figures, god driving chariot, corner group of three working figures (4.c.ii)
2	façade (columnar)	stone/concrete (1) five engaged columns (3) embellishments (4.a) modified Doric-Tuscan capitals (4.b) <i>crowning statuary</i> : man spearing lion, man spearing bear, man spearing bull (4.c.ii)

Table 24.2

	TYPE	IDENTIFICATION	CITATION	REASONING
1	temple	Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Hamberg 1945, 78, 94-6	[I]: three doors, pedimental sculpture
			Ryberg 1955, 157; 1967, 25-6	[I]: three doors, pedimental sculpture
			Angelicooussis 1984, 154	[S] (narrative?)
			Koeppel 1986, 25	[S] (narrative?)
			Albertson 1987, 449	[S] (iconography?)
			Kleiner 1992a, 294	[I]: three doors
			Grunow 2002, 33	[I]: pedimental sculpture, three doors
			Quante-Schöttler 2002, 232	[I]: pedimental sculpture, three doors
2	façade (columnar)	portico surrounding <i>Area Capitolina</i>	Ryberg 1955, 157; 1967, 25	[S]
		precinct wall of <i>Area Capitolina</i>	Quante-Schöttler 2002, 233	[P]: building looks like a wall

APPENDIX B

SURVEY OF DISTRIBUTION OF ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS IN STATE RELIEFS

The following presents an attempt to catalogue, based on major surveys in literature, a wide range of state reliefs, both with and without architectural depictions, from Rome in the 1st c. BCE – 2nd c. CE. This is not meant to be comprehensive, but instead is intended to illustrate some of the difficulties and potential rewards of attempting a quantitative analysis of architectural depictions in state reliefs.

As discussed in the main text, the identification of state reliefs is often a difficult subject. In the following list, I include several examples of small-scale reliefs that have been identified as private decoration, but which scholars generally agree closely reflect public monuments that are now lost. For fragmentary reliefs, I have only taken into consideration those fragments where a sufficient part of the background was preserved to determine if some architecture was present on the fragment. This immediately brings to mind two important caveats: (a) fragments without any background (i.e., heads that have come free from the rest of the relief) comprise a significant portion of the fragments presented in surveys; (b) the best one may say for fragments without architecture in the background is that architecture was not employed in that particular section of the relief. While figures in the Trajanic period in particular tend to stand in front of, rather than next to, buildings, this does not hold true for other periods. One may imagine our impression of the use of architecture in the *Adventus* or Triumph Panels of the Marcus Aurelius Panels, for example, if only the lower left corners of those reliefs were preserved. Unless

an argument for different fragments belonging to the same monument was explicitly made in the main text, I cataloged a separate entry for each fragment. Monuments or fragments with architectural depictions are given in bold.

RELIEF	CURRENT LOCATION	DATE (CITATION)	SCENE TYPE	COMPOSITION	ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS
REPUBLICAN					
“Bocchus Monument”	Palazzo dei Conservatori, (Inv. no. 2749-52); Kunst-historisches Museum, Munich (Inv. no. 1576)	Republican	trophies; riders	trophies, riders against blank background	none
“Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus”	Glyptothek, Munich (Inv. no. 239); Louvre (MA 975)	Republican	census; sacrifice; allegory	processing figures, sea creatures against blank background	none (pillars frame scene; see main text)
Praeneste Ship Relief	Musei Vaticani	Republican (see main text)	procession (?) of ships, cavalry	ship, rider against blank background	ship tower (see main text)
AUGUSTAN					
Temple of Apollo Sosianus Frieze	Musei Capitolini (Inv. Nr. 2776, 2777, 2778, 1788, 1786)	Augustan	battle; sacrifice; triumph;	standing figures in front of blank background	none

Basilica Aemilia Reliefs	Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme	Augustan (see main text)	construction	figures constructing wall	wall with gate
<i>Ara Pacis Augustae</i>	Museo dell'Ara Pacis	Augustan	procession; sacrifice; seated personifications	processing figures in front of blank background; figures sacrificing with building in background	temple
Sorrento Base	Museo Correale, Sorrento	Augustan (see main text)	assembly of deities	figures processing, standing in front of buildings	colonnade; house?; temple
Boscotreale Cups	Louvre	Augustan (Kuttner 1995)	presentation of barbarians (with deities); sacrifice; triumph	figures seated, processing in front of blank background; figures sacrificing with building in background	platform; temple
Relief with Victory and trophy	Museo Nazionale Romano (Inv. no. 125890)	Augustan (Hölscher 1988, 370)	Victory assembling trophy	standing figure in front of blank background	none
Frieze with sacrifice scene	Musei Vaticani (Museo Gregoriano Profano; Inv. no. 1156-1157)	Augustan (Hölscher 1988, 396-98)	sacrifice	processing figures in front of blank background	none
Trophy frieze	Palazzo dei Conservatori (Inv. no. 2426)	Augustan (Hölscher 1988, 364-66)	trophies	trophies and sacrificial instruments against blank background	ship towers

Frieze with sacrifice scene	Ince Blundell Hall (Garden Temple 277)	Augustan (Koeppel 1983, 86)	sacrifice	figures processing towards altar in front of blank background	none
Relief with battle scene	Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme (Inv. no. 36163)	Augustan (Koeppel 1983, 88)	battle	single torso in front of overlapping shields	none
Relief with battle scene	Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme (no Inv. no.)	Augustan (Koeppel 1983, 88, 90)	battle	horse, rider, and shields	none
JULIO-CLAUDIAN					
Valle-Medici Reliefs (including fragments published in La Rocca 1994; see main text)	Villa Medici, Rome; Museo dell'Ara Pacis; Fornici del Teatro di Marcello	Julio-Claudian (see main text)	procession; sacrifice; seated personifications	figures standing in front of buildings	House of Augustus?; at least five temples
Suovetaurilia Relief	Louvre (MA 1096)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 125-26)	sacrifice	figures processing towards two altars in front of blank background (two trees behind altars)	none
Frieze with orators	Palazzo dei Conservatori (Inv. no. 1399)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 95-6)	procession?	standing figures in front of blank background	none
Frieze with triumphal procession	Museo Nazionale, Naples (Inv. no. 6722 [7516])	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 97)	triumphal procession	standing figures in front of blank background	none

Procession frieze with <i>flamen</i>	Villa Medici, Rome (east façade)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 104-6)	procession	standing figures in front of blank background	none
Procession frieze with <i>Lares</i> bearer	Villa Medici, Rome (east façade)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 106)	procession	standing figures in front of blank background	none
Relief with seated Vestals	Museo Nuovo Capitolino (Inv. no. 2391)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 114-16)	ceremonial banquet?	seated figures in front of blank background	none
Frieze with emperor and personifications	Villa Medici, Rome (garden façade)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 119-22)	assembly of personifications	standing figures in front of blank background	none
Relief with Victory and shield	Villa Medici, Rome (garden façade)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 122-23)	Victory writing on shield	kneeling figures in front of blank background	none
Relief with suovetaurilia	Louvre (MA 1907)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 128)	sacrifice	processing figures in front of blank background	none
Frieze with battle scene	Palazzo Ducale, Mantua (Inv. no. 186)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 129-33)	Battle	mounted and foot soldiers fighting in front of blank background	none
Relief with battle scene	Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme (Inv. no. 13130)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 133)	Battle	horse head and shield in front of tree	none
Relief with standing soldiers	Louvre (MA 1079)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1989, 43-4)	unknown	figures standing in front of blank background	none

Fragment from lost arch of Nero	Museo Centrale Montemartini (Inv. no. 11123)	Julio-Claudian (Quante-Schöttler 2002, 55-8)	triumphal procession	figures processing through arch	arch
Relief with decastyle temple	Musei Vaticani (Museo Gregoriano Profano; Inv. no. 9506); Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme (Inv. no. 165)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 135-39); Flavian (Quante-Schöttler 2002, 70-80)	sacrifice?	standing figures in front of building	temple
FLAVIAN					
Arch of Titus Reliefs	<i>In situ</i>, Rome	Flavian	triumphal procession	figures processing in front of blank background, through arch	arch
Forum Transitorium Frieze	<i>In situ</i>, Rome	Flavian	mythological scenes	figures processing, standing in front of blank background	gateway
Cancellaria Reliefs	Musei Vaticani (Museo Gregoriano Profano; Inv. no. 13389/90/91, 13392/93/94/95)	Flavian (see main text)	procession	processing, seated figures in front of blank background	platform
“Hartwig Relief”	Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme (no Inv. no.)	Flavian (see main text)	sacrifice	standing figure in front of building	temple

Frieze with triumphal procession	Musei Vaticani (Inv. no. 1022)	Flavian (Koeppel 1984, 22)	triumphal procession	processing figures in front of blank background	none
Relief with lictor	Villa G. Tittoni, La Manziana	Flavian (Koeppel 1984, 43)	procession?	processing figure in front of blank background	none
Relief with <i>togatus</i>	Louvre (MA 976)	Flavian (Koeppel 1984, 46)	procession?	processing figure in front of blank background	none
TRAJANIC					
Relief with working soldiers	Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme (Inv. Nr. 52263)	Late-Flavian or Trajanic (Koeppel 1985, 157-58)	work/ construction	figures working in front of reeds and tree	none
Column of Trajan	<i>In situ</i>, Rome	Trajanic	see main text	figures in front of buildings, landscape	see main text
Great Trajanic Frieze	Arch of Constantine, Rome	Trajanic (see main text)	<i>adventus</i>; battle with prisoner presentation	standing figures in front of buildings, landscape	arch; huts
Arch at Beneventum	<i>In situ</i>, Beneventum	Trajanic	see main text	figures in front of buildings, landscape	arches; bridge; colonnaded façade; temple; unknown
Villa Borghese reliefs with soldiers	Villa Borghese, Rome (Atria VII, X, XXV)	Trajanic (see main text)	unknown	standing figures in front of blank background	none
Dacian River Relief	Villa Medici, Rome (garden façade)	Trajanic (see main text)	barbarian in river	mounted figure and horse in river	none

Extispicium Relief	Louvre (MA 978, 1089); Collection Valentin de Courcel, Paris	Trajanic (see main text)	sacrifice	standing figures in front of building, blank background	temple
Relief with seated goddess	Villa Albani (Inv. no. 9)	Trajanic (Koeppel 1985, 164-66)	seated personification	seated figure with architecture in background	<i>only steps preserved</i>
Relief with sacrifice scene	Musei Vaticani (Museo Gregoriano Profano; Inv. no. 9481)	Trajanic (Koeppel 1985, 166-67)	sacrifice	standing figures in front of building	<i>only column preserved</i>
Forum of Caesar relief fragments	Musei Capitolini (Magazin)	Trajanic (Koeppel 1985, 197-202; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 101-13)	unknown	unknown	masonry wall; steps; temple
Uffizi Sacrifice Relief	Uffizi (Inv. no. 321)	Trajanic (Koeppel 1985, 167-69); Hadrianic/Antonine (Quante-Schöttler 2002, 197-203)	sacrifice	standing figures in front of buildings	temple / colonnade (?); building with two gabled wings
Antonine					
Anaglypha Reliefs	Curia, Forum Romanum	Hadrianic (see main text)	<i>adlocutio</i>; tablet burning	figures standing, processing in front of buildings	arches; colonnaded façades; platforms; temples; statue bases

Hadrianic Tondi	Arch of Constantine, Rome	Hadrianic (Koeppel 1986, 26-35; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 177-78)	hunt; <i>profectio</i>; sacrifice	standing figures in front of building, blank background	arch; unknown (Hercules Tondo)
Arco di Portogallo Reliefs	Palazzo dei Conservatori (Inv. no. 832, 1213)	Hadrianic (Koeppel 1986, 38-43; Quante-Schöttler 2002, 187-96)	<i>adlocutio</i>; apotheosis	figures sitting, standing in front of buildings	funeral pyre; temple
<i>Adventus</i> Relief	Musei Capitolini	Hadrianic (Quante-Schöttler 2002, 179-81)	<i>adventus</i>	standing figures in front of building	arch
“Chatsworth Relief”	Chatsworth Collection	Hadrianic (see main text)	tablet burning	processing figures in front of buildings	<i>only steps and column preserved</i>
Relief with goddesses	Louvre (MA 392)	Hadrianic (Koeppel 1986, 46-7)	assembly of goddesses	standing figures in front of blank background	none
Villa Torlonia Supplication Relief	Villa Torlonia	Hadrianic (Quante-Schöttler 2002, 182-86)	supplication	figures standing, kneeling in front of building	<i>only pilasters and columns preserved</i>
Frieze with sacrifice scene	Musei Vaticani (Inv. no. 539)	Hadrianic - Antonine (Koeppel 1986, 43-5)	sacrifice	standing figures in front of blank background	none
Column Base of Antoninus Pious	Musei Vaticani (Inv. no. 5115)	Antonine	apotheosis; <i>decursio</i>	figure lying in front of structure; riding figures in front of blank background	obelisk

Column of Marcus Aurelius	<i>In situ</i> , Rome	Antonine	see main text	figures in front of buildings, landscape	see main text
Marcus Aurelius Panels	Palazzo dei Conservatori; Arch of Constantine, Rome	Antonine (see main text)	see main text	standing figures in front of buildings, blank background	arches; colonnade; platforms; temples; unknown
Relief with sacrifice scene	Louvre (MA 1098)	Antonine? (Koeppel 1986, 76-80)	sacrifice	standing figures in front of building	<i>only 2 columns preserved</i>
UNKNOWN DATE					
Mattei Sacrifice Relief	Louvre (MA 992)	Julio-Claudian (Koeppel 1983, 140); Flavian (Quante-Schöttler 2002, 98); Trajanic (Wace 1907, 247); Hadrianic (Ryberg 1955, 131)	sacrifice	standing figures in front of building	temple; distyle building

FIGURES



Figure 1: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 2: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of podium stairs, pier, and statue base (?) (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 3: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; elongated façade (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 4: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of column shaft and ashlar masonry (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 5: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of podium steps and column base (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 6: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of column capitals, entablature, and pediment (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 7: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of acroterion (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 8: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Octastyle temple; detail of pediment (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 9: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 10: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of podium, altar, and column bases (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 11: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of column capitals and entablature (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 12: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of façade. Note socle course and ashlar masonry (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 13: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of pediment and sima (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 14: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of acroterion (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 15: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of pediment and sima (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 16: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of flank. Note podium, socle course, and ashlar masonry (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 17: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of flank. Note entablature, antefixes, and tile roof (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 18: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Hexastyle temple; detail of flank. Note column capital (casts in Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 19: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple (Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 20: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple; detail of podium steps and column base (Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 21: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple; detail of column capitals, door, and architrave (Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 22: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple; detail of columns, door, and pediment (Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 23: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple; detail of pediment (Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 24: Valle-Medici Reliefs. Tetrastyle temple; detail of tile roof and sima (Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).

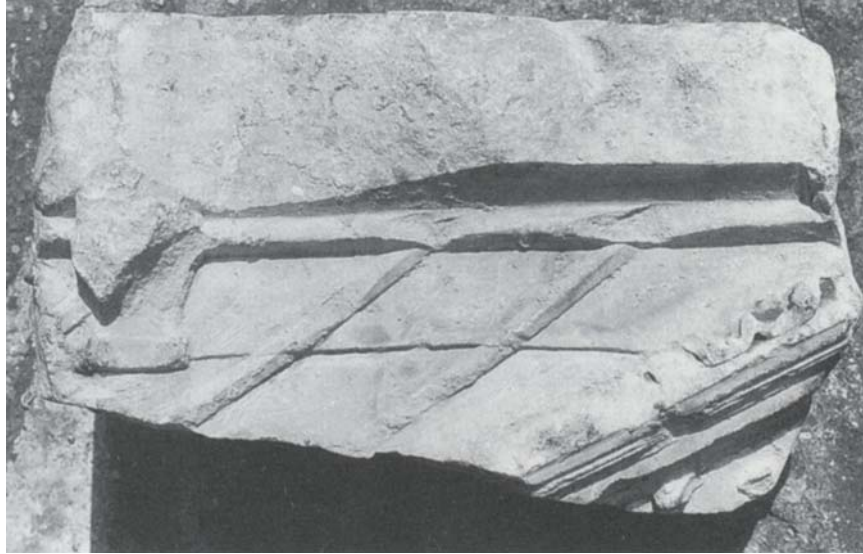


Figure 25: Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of tile roof with decorated sima and pedimental sculpture (La Rocca 1994, fig. 20).

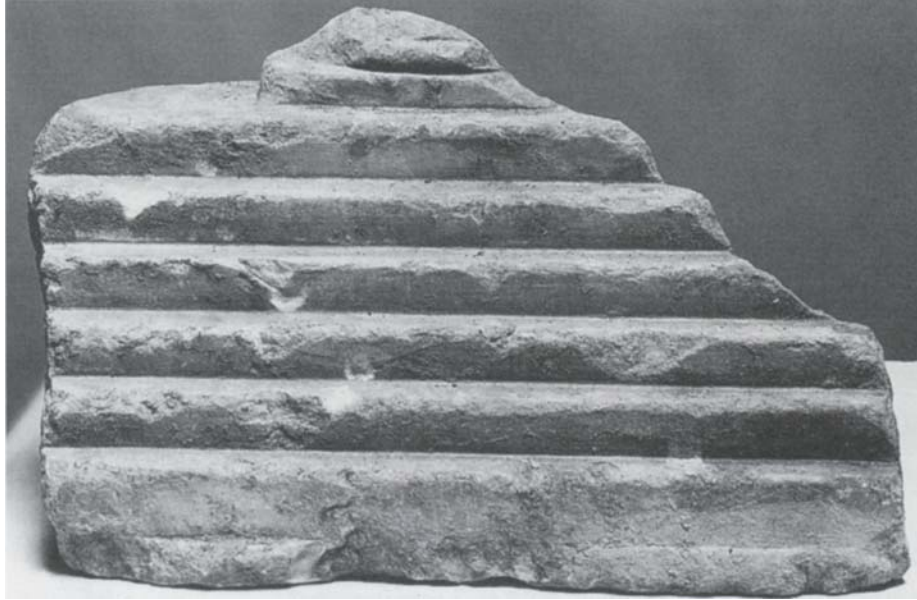


Figure 26: Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment with steps and column base (La Rocca 1994, fig. 24).



Figure 27: Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of round roof with decorated sima (La Rocca 1994, fig. 18).



Figure 28: Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of round structure with gated entrance and columns (La Rocca 1994, fig. 19).



Figure 29: Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of wall with door (La Rocca 1994, fig. 23).



Figure 30: Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of wall with oak wreath (La Rocca 1994, fig. 22).

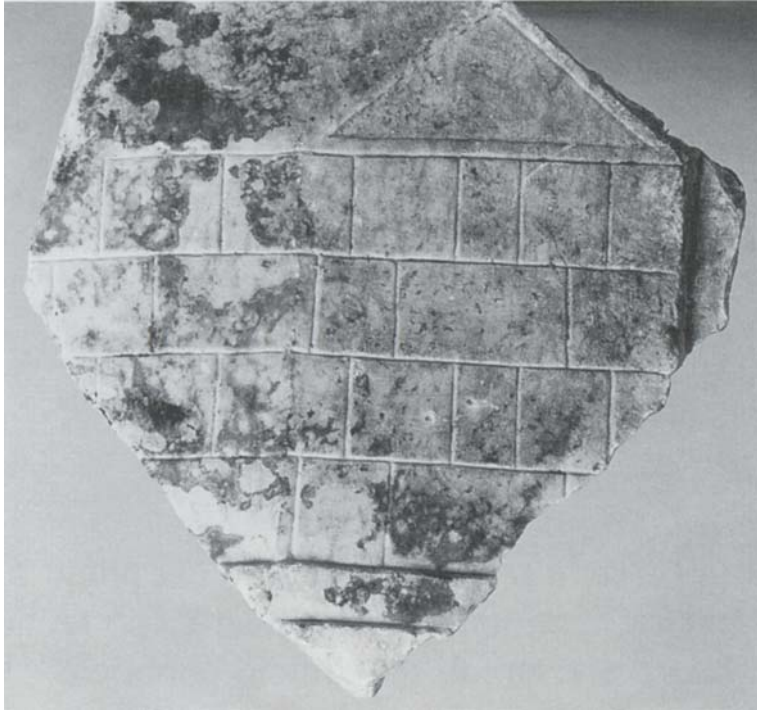


Figure 31: Fragmentary reliefs associated with the Valle-Medici Reliefs. Fragment of building with blank pediment (La Rocca 1994, fig. 21).



Figure 32: *Ara Pacis Augustae*. "Aeneas" Panel (Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 33: *Ara Pacis Augustae*. “Aeneas” Panel; detail of temple (Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 34: Hartwig Relief (casts in Kelsey Museum; photo by author).



Figure 35: Hartwig Relief. Detail of pediment (cast in Kelsey Museum; photo by author).



Figure 36: Arch of Titus. Spoil Relief; detail of arch (photo by author).



Figure 37: Basilica Aemilia Reliefs. Construction scene. Note tower and gate (right) (Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo; photo by author).



Figure 38: Praeneste Ship Relief (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

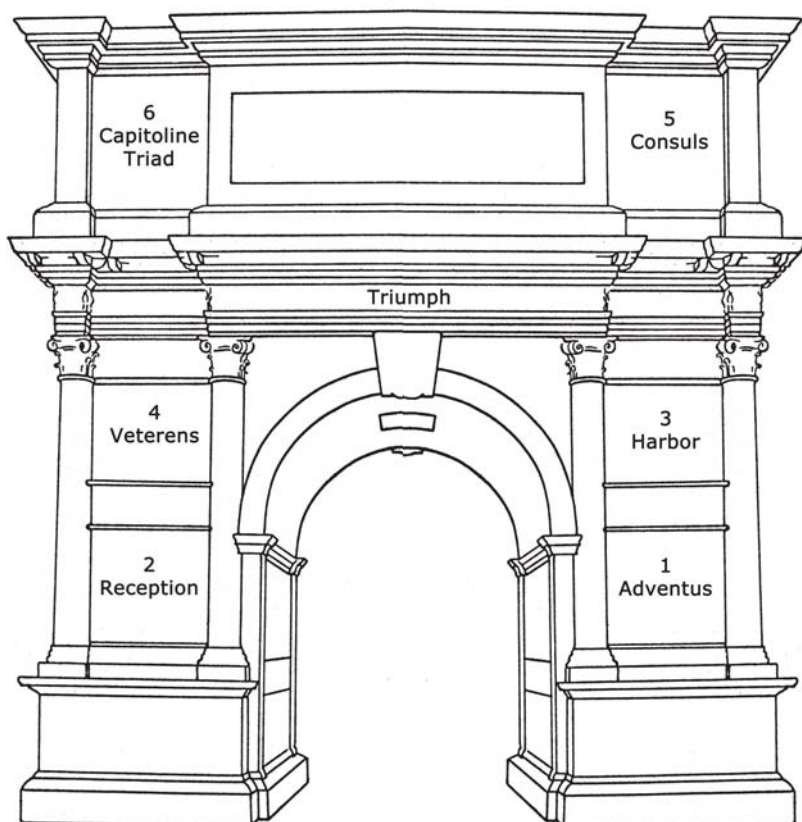


Figure 39: Arch at Beneventum. Urban (southwest) face (outline after Fittschen 1972, fig. 33; labels by author).

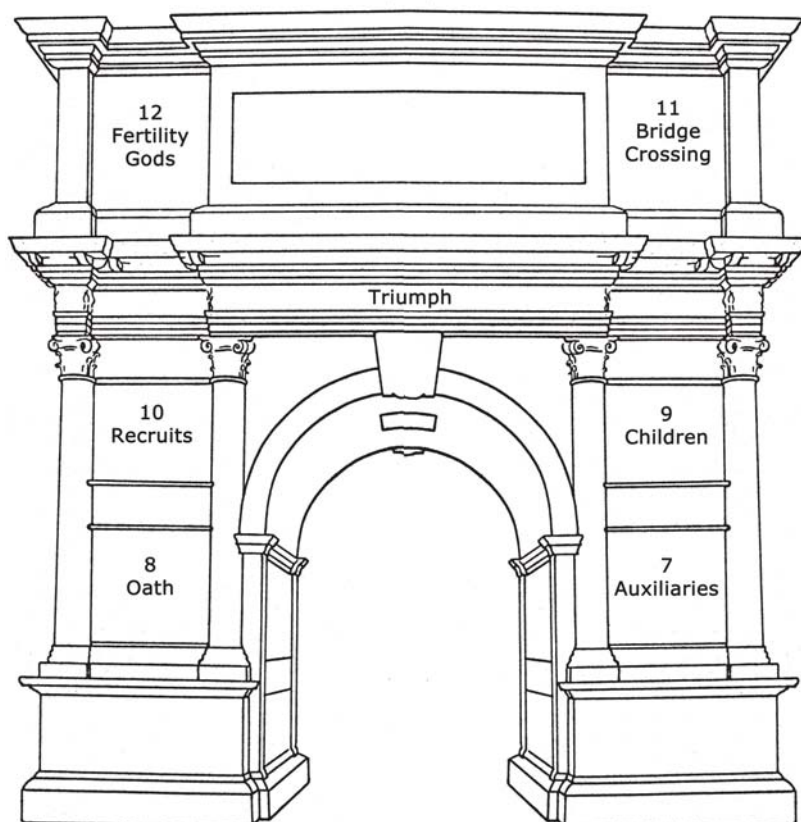


Figure 40: Arch at Beneventum. Rural (northeast) face (outline after Fittschen 1972, fig. 33; labels by author).

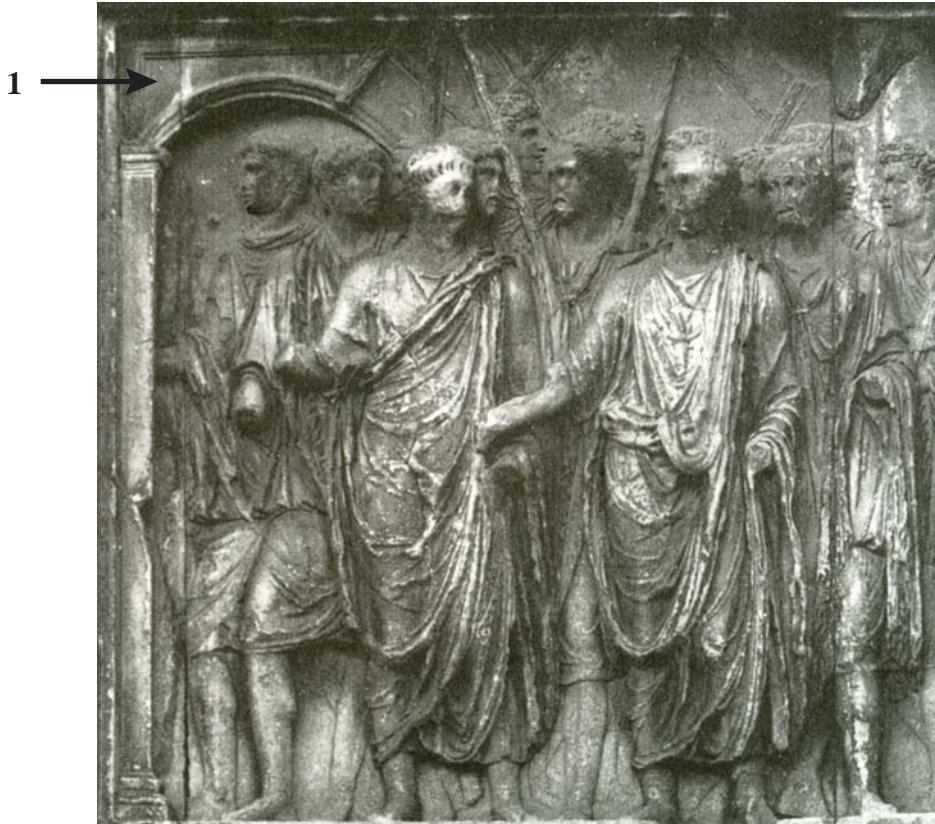


Figure 41: Arch at Beneventum. Adventus Panel (Panel 1) (Rotili 1972, pl. 84).

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Figure 42: Arch at Beneventum. Reception Panel (Panel 2) (photo in public domain).

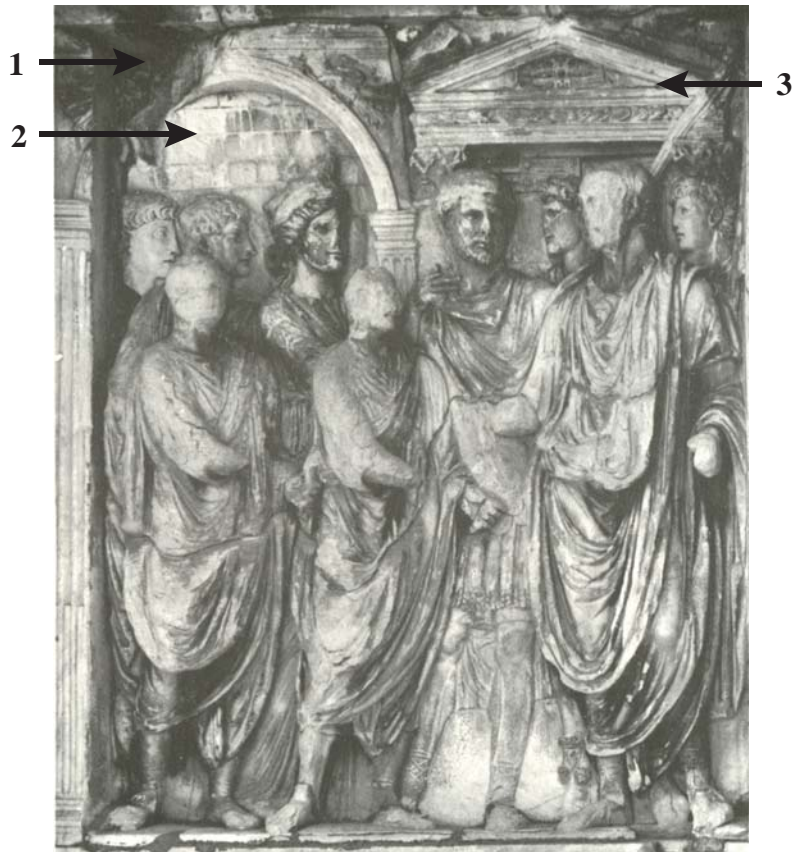


Figure 43: Arch at Beneventum. Consuls Panel (Panel 5) (Rotili 1972, pl. 129).



Figure 44: Arch at Beneventum. Consuls Panel; detail of Victory on arch [R3.B1] and pediment [R3.B3]. Note shield with lightning bolt (Hassel 1966, pl. 17.4).



Figure 45: Arch at Beneventum. Capitoline Triad Panel (Panel 6). Note lightning bolt in Jupiter's hand (Rotili 1972, pl. 135).

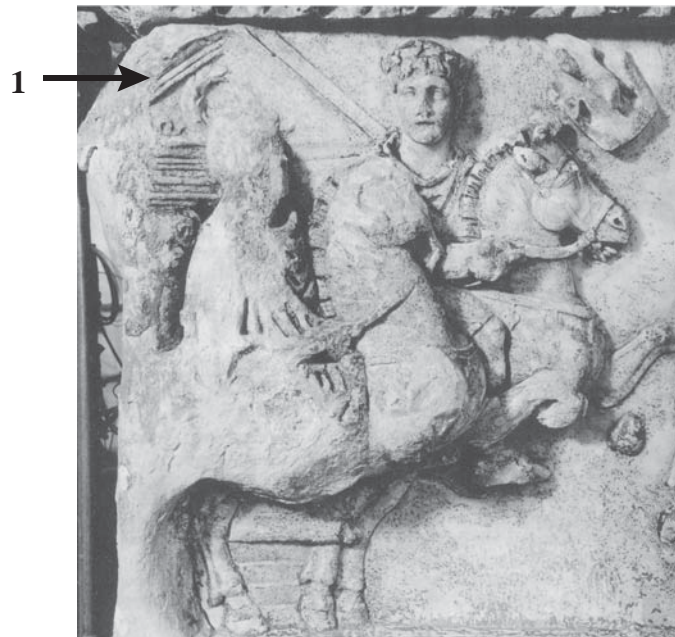


Figure 46: Arch at Beneventum. Triumphal Frieze; detail of corner below Capitoline Triad Panel (Muscettola 1992, fig. 4).



Figure 47: Arch at Beneventum. Triumphal Frieze; corner below Capitoline Triad Panel (Rotili 1972, pl. 8).



Figure 48: Arch at Beneventum. Triumphal Frieze; detail of temple [R5.B1] (Muscettola 1992, fig. 3).



Figure 49: Arch at Beneventum. Triumphal Frieze; detail of temple [R5.B1] (Muscettola 1992, fig. 2).

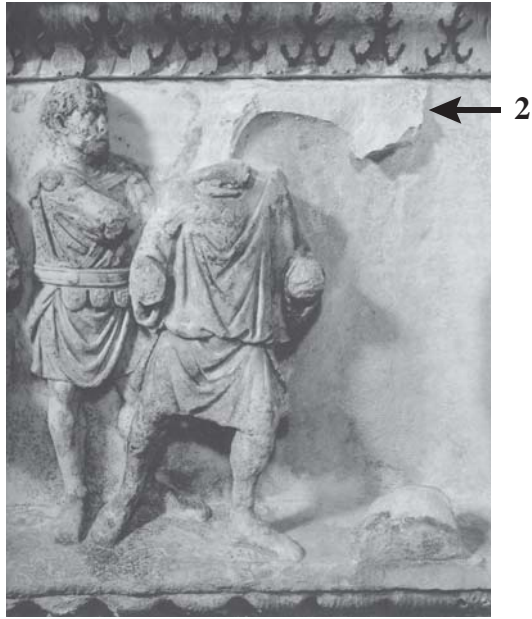


Figure 50: Arch at Beneventum. Triumphal Frieze; detail of section with arch [R5.B2], below Capitoline Triad Panel (Muscettola 1992, fig. 5).



Figure 51: Arch at Beneventum. Harbor Panel (Panel 3). Note gods in upper left corner (Rotili 1972, pl. 103).



Figure 52: Column of Trajan. Scenes LXXXI-LXXXII; harbor scene with architectural background. Arrow marks (damaged) lighthouse (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

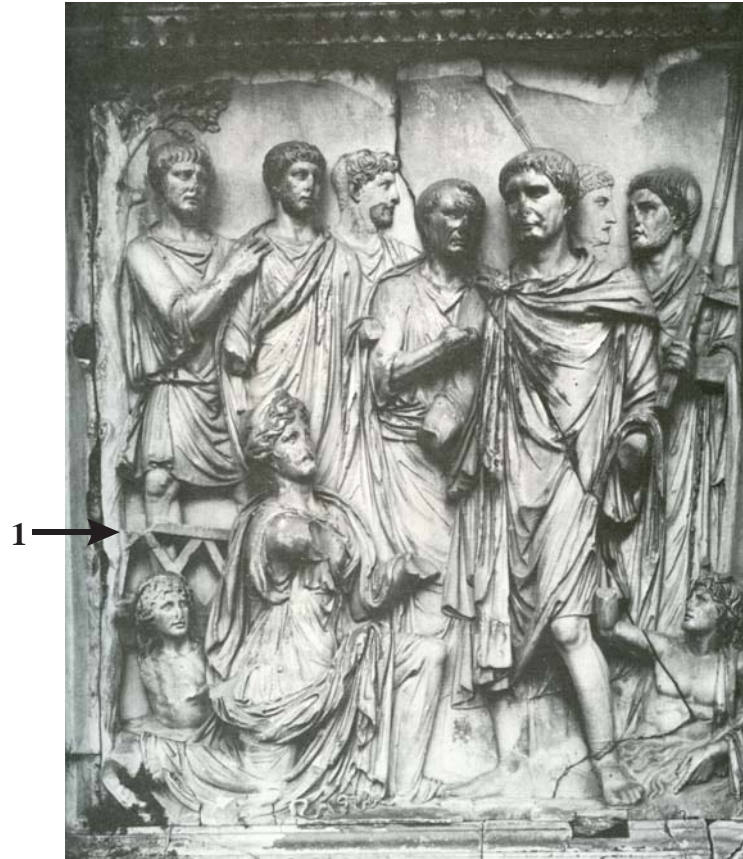


Figure 53: Arch at Beneventum. Bridge Crossing Panel (Panel 11) (Rotili 1972, pl. 120).

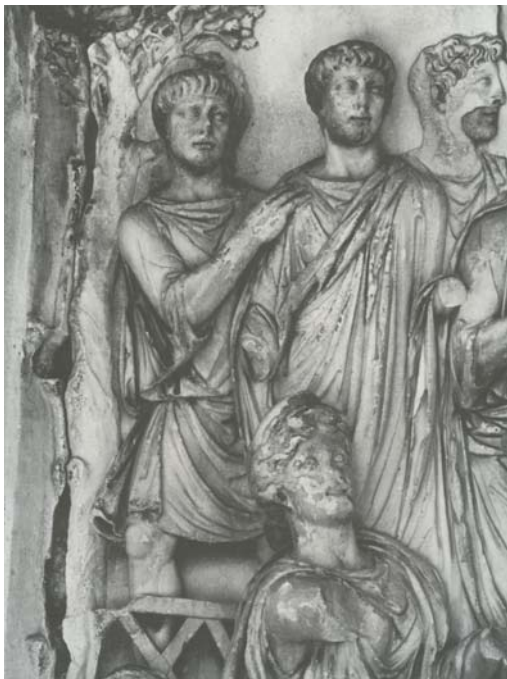


Figure 54: Arch at Beneventum. Bridge Crossing Panel; detail with bridge [R4.B1] (Rotili 1972, pl. 124).



Figure 55: Column of Trajan. Scene XI; military construction (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 56: Column of Trajan. Scene X; *adlocutio* from platform with rectangular hatching suggesting stone construction (Coarelli 2000, pl. 10).



Figure 57: Column of Trajan. Scene CXXXVII; *adlocutio* from platform with rectangular hatching (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 58: Column of Trajan. Scene XX; Trajan inside stone fortifications (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

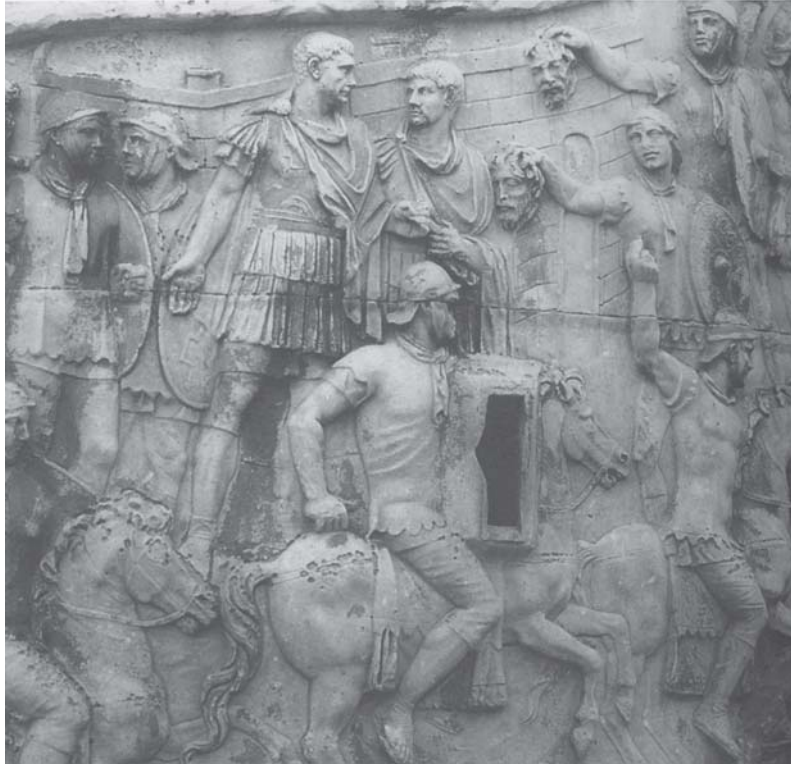


Figure 59: Column of Trajan. Scene XXIV; Trajan presented with Dacian heads by auxiliaries outside stone fortifications (Coarelli 2000, pl. 22).



Figure 60: Column of Trajan. Scene XLVI; Trajan receiving suppliants outside stone fortifications (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

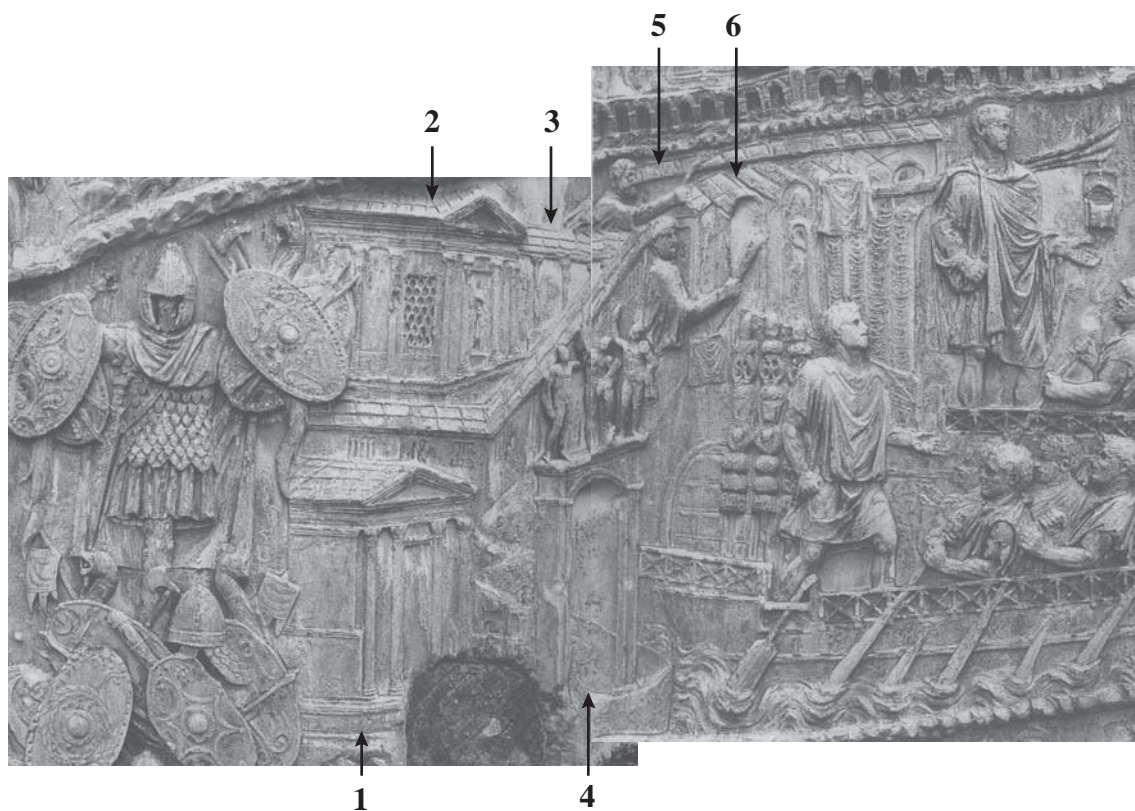


Figure 61: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; civilian settlement (after Coarelli 2000, pls. 92-3).



Figure 62: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; temples [R6.B1, R6.B2], portico [R6.B3], and zigzagging path (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 63: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; upper temple [R6.B2]. Note cult statue, Ionic capitals, and grated window (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 64: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; portico [R6.B3] around upper temple [R6.B2], with crowning statuary of arch [R6.B4] in front. Note tile roof, Ionic capitals and grated windows of portico (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 65: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; lower temple [R6.B1] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 66: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; arch [R6.B4] with crowning statuary (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 67: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; harbor mole beneath arch [R6.B4] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 68: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIX; vaulted structures [R6.B5, R6.B6] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

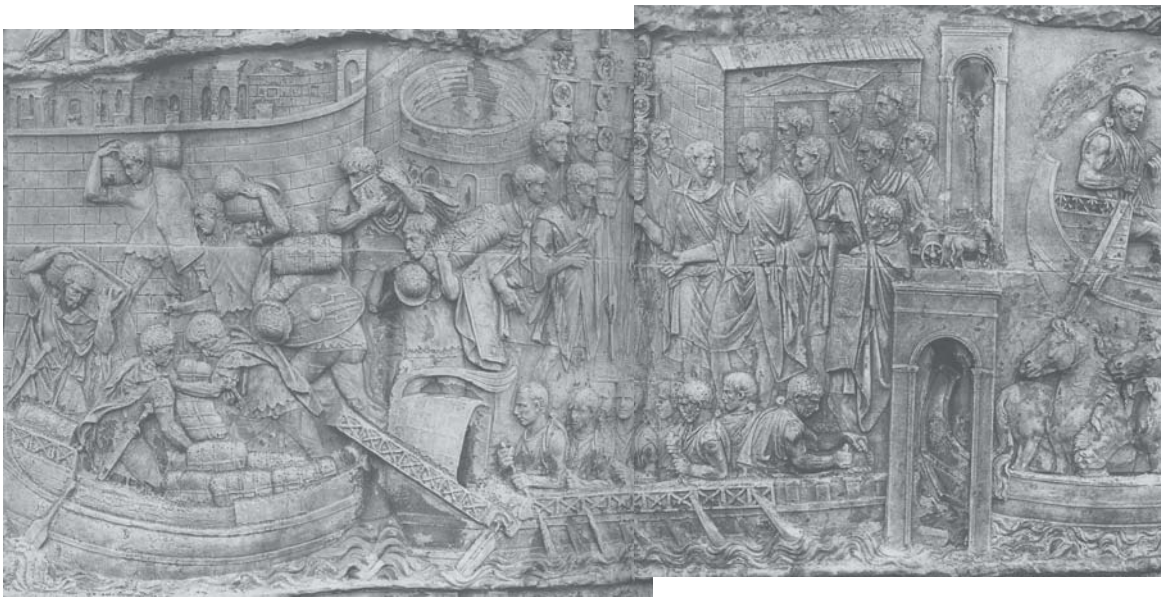


Figure 69: Column of Trajan. Scene XXXIII; civilian settlement. Note arch with crowning statuary, lower left (after Coarelli 2000, pls. 32-3).



Figure 70: Column of Trajan. Scene XXXIII; arch with crowning statuary (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 71: Column of Trajan. Scene XXXIII; crowning statuary of *quadriga* on top of arch (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 72: Column of Trajan. Scene CI; arch [R7.B11] with crowning statuary of two trophies (upper left). Note remains of pylon along left edge (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 73: Column of Trajan. Scene CI; detail of crowning statuary of trophies on top of arch [R7.B11] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

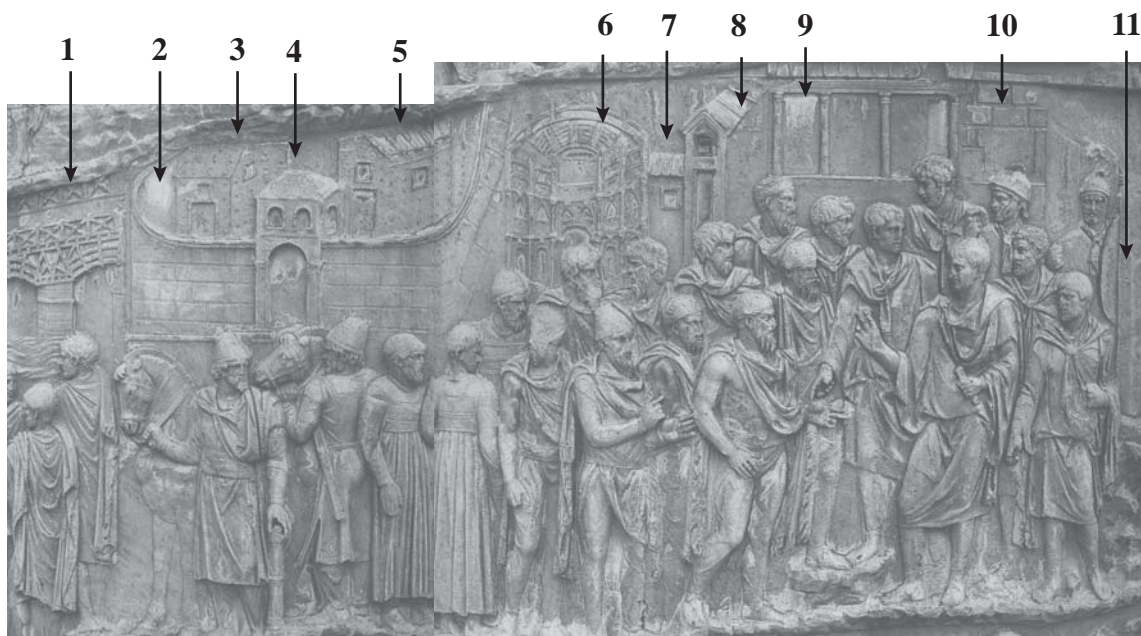


Figure 74: Column of Trajan. Scenes C-CI; civilian settlement at Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube (after Coarelli 2000, pls. 120-21).



Figure 75: Column of Trajan. Scene XCIX; military settlement on left bank of river with Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube [R7.B1] on right (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 76: Column of Trajan. Scene IC; Trajan sacrificing with Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube [R7.B1] in background (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 77: Column of Trajan. Scene IC; detail of Apollodorus' Bridge over the Danube [R7.B1] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 78: Column of Trajan. Scene C; civilian fortifications [R7.B2], gateway [R7.B4], and interior buildings [R7.B3, R7.B5] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 79: Column of Trajan. Scene C; civilian settlement (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 80: Column of Trajan. Scene XXXIII; stone amphitheater (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 81: Column of Trajan. Scene CI; wooden and stone amphitheater [R7.B6] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 82:
Column of Trajan.
Scenes LXXX-
LXXXI; civilian
settlement. Note
angled building on
left (Coarelli
2000, pl. 95).



Figure 83: Column of Trajan. Scene III; civilian settlement (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 84: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXXVI; civilian settlement. Note arch to left of theater (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

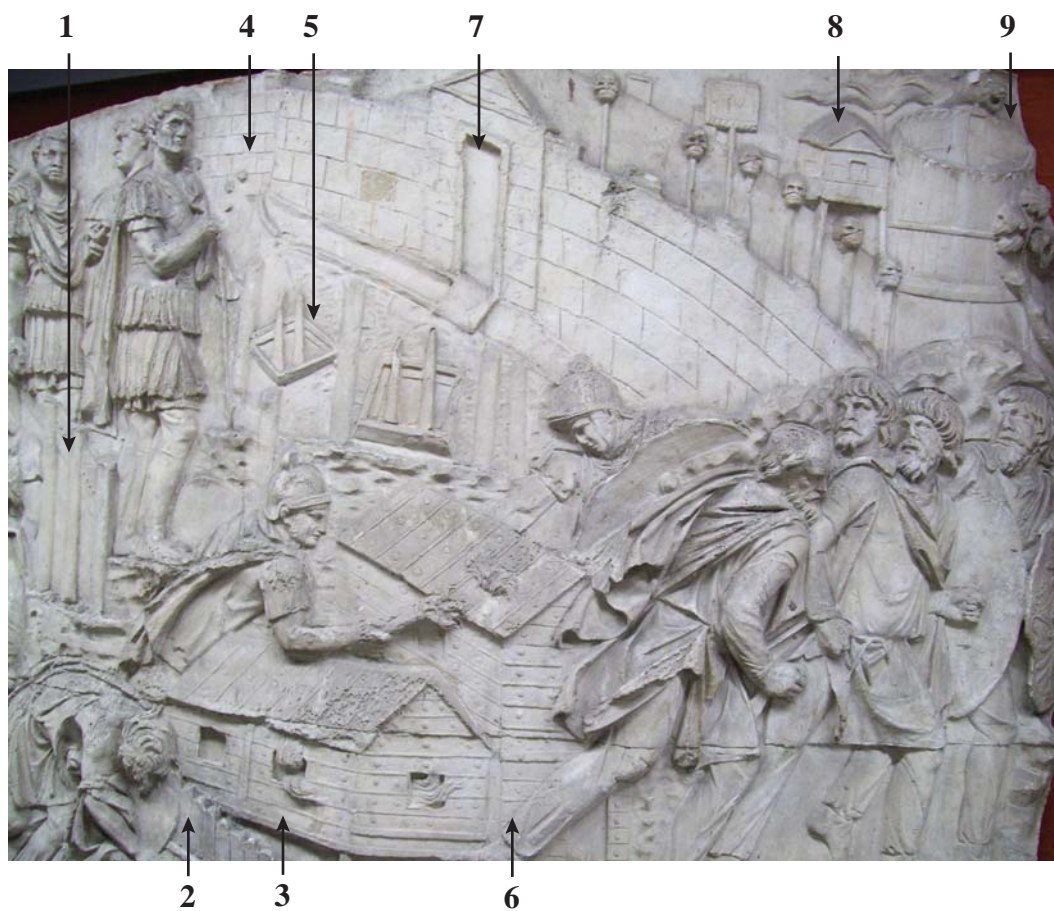


Figure 85: Column of Trajan. Scene XXV; Dacian settlement (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 86: Column of Trajan. Scene XXV; detail of fortifications [R8.B4], gateway structure [R8.B7], and interior buildings [R8.B8, R8.B9] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 87: Column of Trajan. Scene XXV; detail of palisade [R8.B2] and burning wooden building on stilts [R8.B3] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

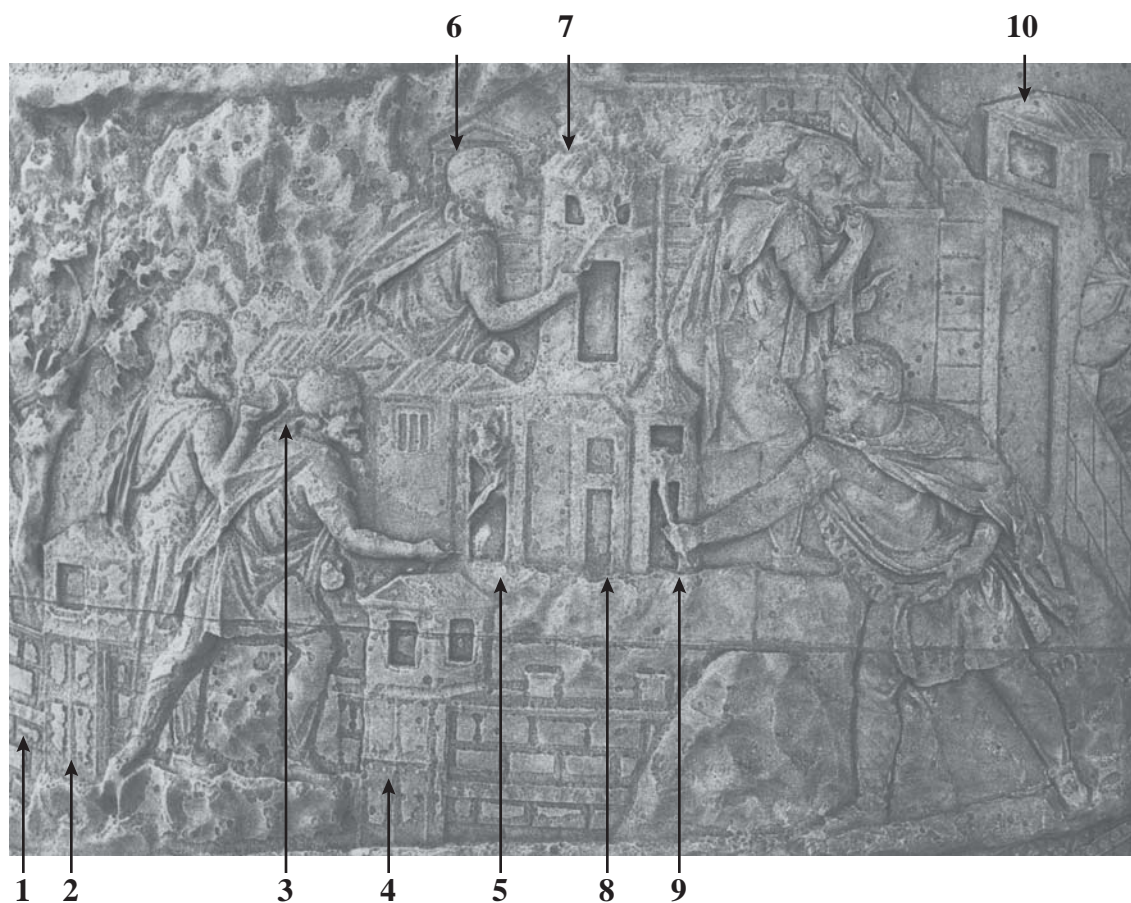


Figure 88: Column of Trajan. Scenes CXIX-CXX; Dacian settlement (Coarelli 2000, pl. 146).



Figure 89: Column of Trajan. Scene CXX; detail of fortifications and gateway structure (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 90: Column of Trajan. Scene CXX; detail of fortifications and tower building (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 91: Column of Trajan. Scenes CXX-CXXI; detail of palisade, fortifications, tower building (right) (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

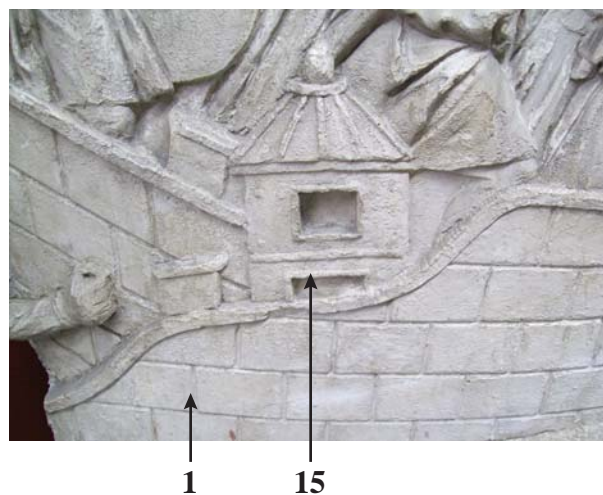


Figure 92: Column of Trajan. Scene CXXI; detail of fortifications and cylindrical building (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 93: Column of Trajan. Scene CXIX; detail of interlocking fortifications [R9.B1] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 94: Column of Trajan. Scene CXIX; detail of Dacians burning buildings (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 95: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXIV; round fortification and rock-cut canal (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 96: Column of Trajan. Scene CXI; Dacian tower building and fortifications (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 97: Column of Trajan. Scene CXXIV; royal tumulus (?) outside of Dacian stronghold. Note Dacian buildings, zigzagging path, and Dacian tumulus (top) with Roman soldiers removing treasure (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 98: Column of Trajan. Scene CXXIV; detail of Dacian tumulus (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 99: Column of Trajan. Scene LXII; stone cylindrical building (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 100: Column of Trajan. Scene LXVII; wooden palisade and boxed entrance structure. Note trapezoidal molding (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 101: Column of Trajan. Scene LXVII; detail of Dacian fortifications above palisade. Note trapezoidal molding (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 102: Column of Trajan. Scene CXIV; Dacian stronghold. Note stones beneath Trajan (far bottom), *muris Dacicus* construction (middle), and post-building (top, between towers) (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 103: Column of Trajan. Scene CXIV, Dacian stronghold. Detail of contrasting construction materials: ashlar (bottom) and *murus Dacicus* (top) (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 104: Column of Trajan. Scene CXVI; climax of battle against Dacian stronghold. Note change in construction material of walls (bottom left) (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 105: Column of Trajan. Scene CXVI; detail of change in construction material of walls (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 106: Column of Trajan. Scene CXXXII; Dacian fortifications with timber interior (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 107: Great Trajanic Frieze. Section 1; *adventus* scene (Leander Touati 1987, pl. 5).



Figure 108: Great Trajanic Frieze. Section 4; prisoner presentation scene (Leander Touati 1987, pl. 14).



Figure 109: Great Trajanic Frieze. Section 4. Note shield against tree (bottom), helmet behind rear of horse (middle), and bucket on tree branch (top) (Leander Touati 1987, pl. 16).



Figure 110: Cancelleria Reliefs. Relief A (Museo Gregorio Profano; photo by author).



Figure 111: Cancelleria Reliefs. Relief A (Museo Gregorio Profano; photo by author).



Figure 112: Ara Pacis Augustae. South Frieze (Museo dell'Ara Pacis; photo by author).



Figure 113: Cancellaria Reliefs. Relief B (Museo Gregorio Profano; photo by author).



Figure 114: Cancellaria Reliefs. Relief B (Museo Gregorio Profano; photo by author).



Figure 115: MIR 260; Trajanic *adventus* design (Woytek 2010, pl. 52.260m2).



Figure 116: MIR 496; Trajanic *profectio* design (Woytek 2010, pl. 101.496f2).



Figure 117: Great Trajanic Frieze. Section 4; detail of left hut [R11.B1] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 118: Great Trajanic Frieze. Section 4; detail of right hut [R11.B2] (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 119: Column of Trajan. Scene CLI; battle in Dacian village (Coarelli 2000, pl. 176).



Figure 120: Relief in Louvre showing battle in Dacian village (Leander Touati 1987, pl. 50.3).



Figure 121: Dacian River Relief (Leander Touati 1987, pl. 48).



Figure 122: *Tropaeum* at Adamklissi.
Metope 35 (Florescu 1965, fig. 214).



Figure 123: Column of Trajan. Scene XXXI; Dacian river crossing (Coarelli 2000, pl. 30).



Figure 124: Column of Trajan. Scene XXXVIII; battle around Dacian wagons. Note goddess (upper left) and wagons (upper right) (Coarelli 2000, pl. 39).



Figure 125: Column of Trajan. Scene XI; construction scene. Note three shields on ground (bottom center) (cast in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 126: Column of Trajan. Scene XI; construction scene. Note headdress on ground (bottom right) (cast in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 127: Column of Trajan. Scene XX; construction scene. Note shields on ground and helmets on poles (Gilliver 1999, fig. 34).

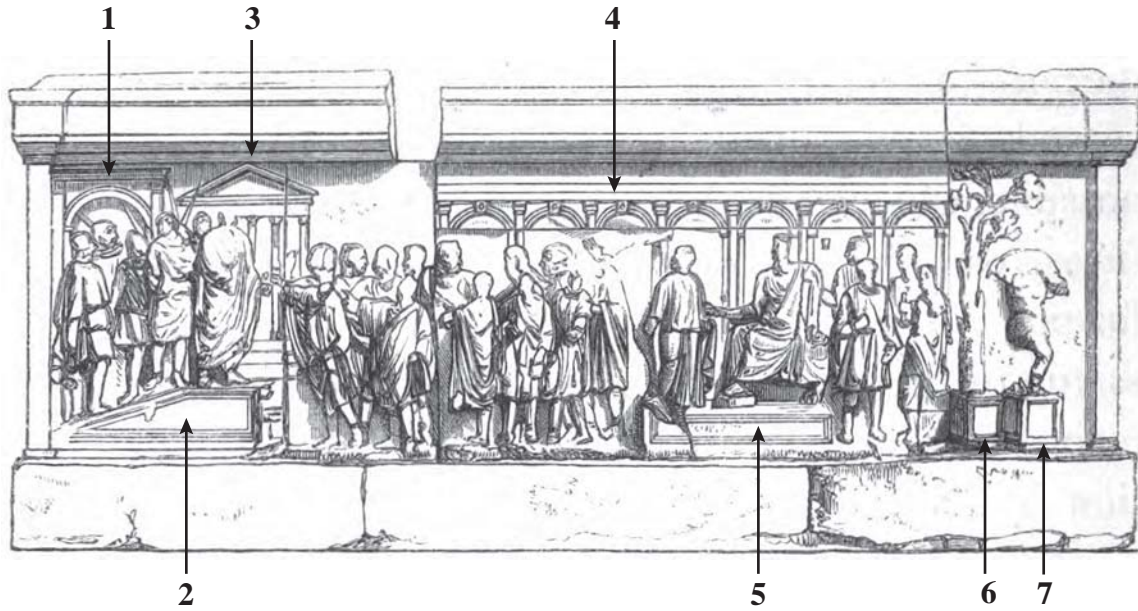


Figure 128: Anaglypha Reliefs. Drawing of *Adlocutio* Relief (after Nichols 1977, 62).

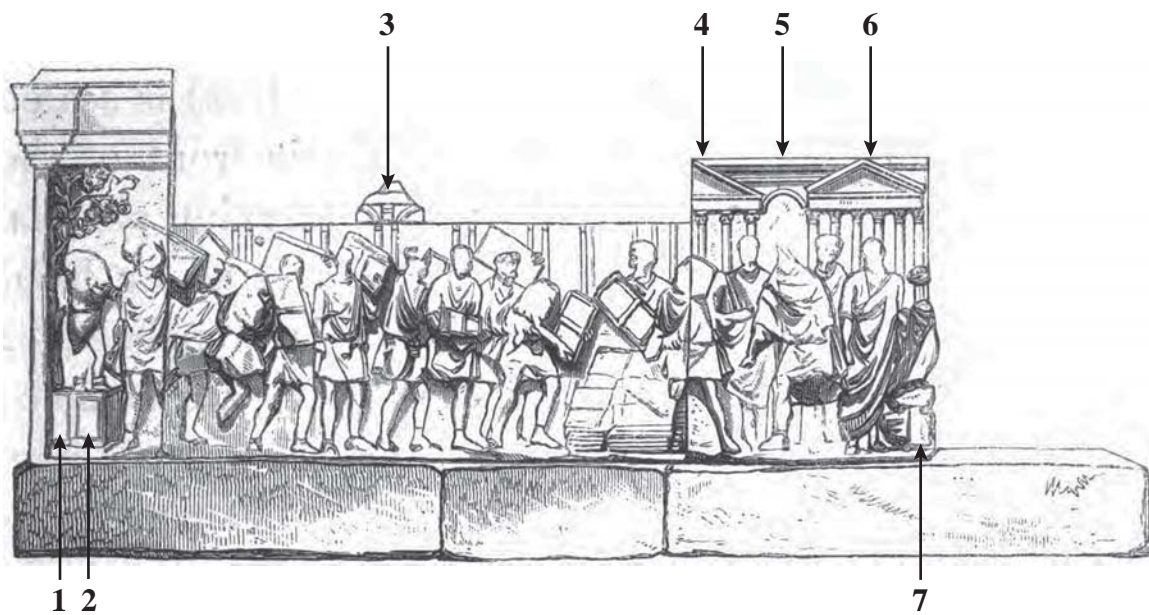


Figure 129: Anaglypha Reliefs. Drawing of Tablet Relief (after Nichols 1977, 63).



Figure 130: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of adlocutio (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 131: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of *adlocutio* (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 132: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of platform [R12.B2]. Note rostra (right) (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 133: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of temple [R12.B3] and platform [R12.B2]. Note temple steps and platform rostra (bottom center) (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 134: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of arch [R12.B1] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 135: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of arch [R12.B1] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 136: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of temple [R12.B3] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 137: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of temple [R12.B3] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 138: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of temple capitals [R12.B3] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 139: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of *alimenta* group with arched façade [R12.B4] in background (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 140: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of platform [R12.B5] under *alimenta* group (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 141: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of arched façade [R12.B4] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 142: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of arched façade [R12.B4] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 143: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of keystones of arched façade [R12.B4] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 144: Anaglypha Reliefs. *Adlocutio* Relief; detail of arched façade [R12.B4], fig tree, and Marsyas statue (with bases [R12.B6, R12.B7]) (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 145: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of fig tree and Marsyas statue with bases [R13.B1, R13.B2] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 146: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of bases of fig tree [R13.B1] and Marsyas statue [R13.B2] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 147: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of procession and arched façade [R13.B3] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 148: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of arched façade [R13.B3] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 149: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of temples [R13.B4, R13.B6], arch [R13.B5], and platform with rostra [R13.B7] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 150: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of temples [R13.B4, R13.B6] and arch [R13.B5] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 151: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of Ionic temple [R13.B4] and arch [R13.B5] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 152: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of Ionic temple [R13.B4] and arch [R13.B5] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 153: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of temples [R13.B4, R13.B6] and arch [R13.B5] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 154: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of arch [R13.B5] and Corinthian temple [R13.B6] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 155: Anaglypha Reliefs. Tablet Relief; detail of platform with rostra [R13.B7] (Curia, Forum Romanum; photo by author).



Figure 156: Arch of Constantine. Constantinian Frieze; detail of basilica (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 157: MIR 358. Trajanic *alimenta* Design 1 (emperor and female figure type) (Woytek 2010, pl. 79.358a).



Figure 158: MIR 355. Trajanic *alimenta* Design 2 (personification and single child type) (Woytek 2010, pl. 78.355b-2).



Figure 159: MIR 345. Trajanic *alimenta* Design 3 (emperor and children type) (Woytek 2010, pl. 76.345f1).



Figure 160: MIR 366. Trajanic *alimenta* Design 4 (*Italia Restituta* type) (Woytek 2010, pl. 81.366b).



Figure 161: MIR 184. Trajanic design showing victory statue (Woytek 2010, pl. 31.184a1).

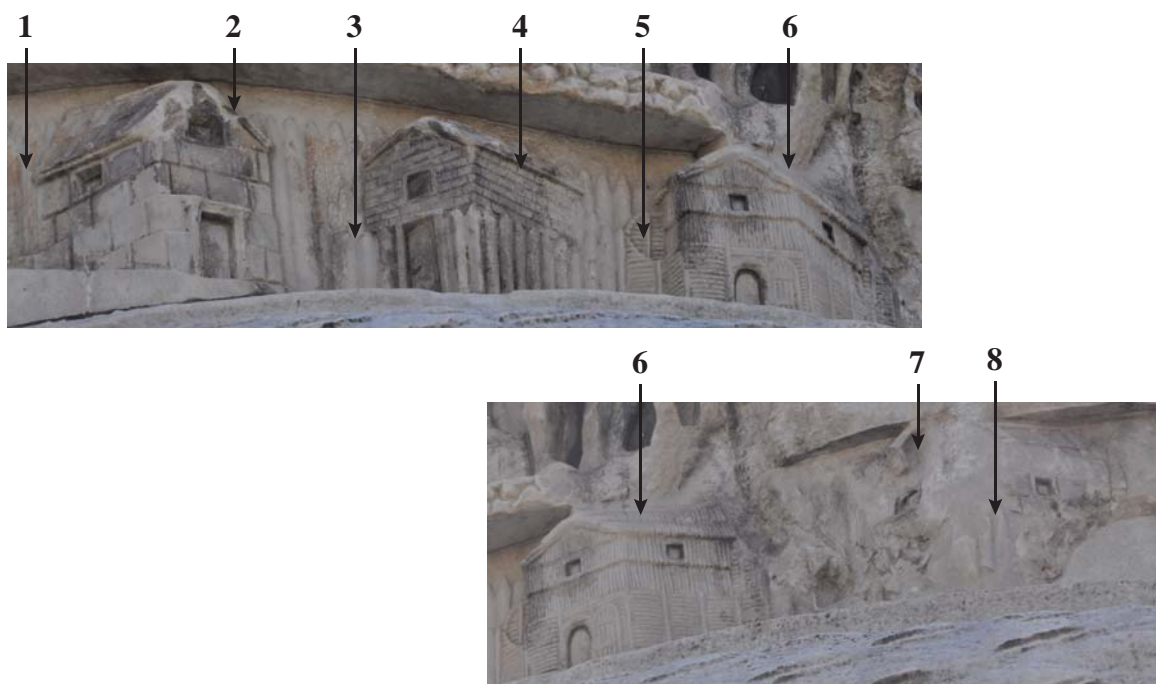


Figure 162: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene I; frontier settlement (photo by E.C. Robinson).



Figure 163: Column of Trajan. Scene I; frontier settlement (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 164: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene I; first building [R14.B2] of frontier settlement (photo by E.C. Robinson).



Figure 165: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene I; second building [R14.B4] (with surrounding palisade [R14.B3]) of frontier settlement. Note larger palisade [R14.B1] in background (photo by E.C. Robinson).



Figure 166: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene I; third building [R14.B6] (with surrounding palisade [R14.B5]) of frontier settlement. Note perishable construction material (photo by E.C. Robinson).



Figure 167: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene I; (damaged) fourth building [R14.B7] (with surrounding palisade [R14.B8]) of frontier settlement (photo by E.C. Robinson).

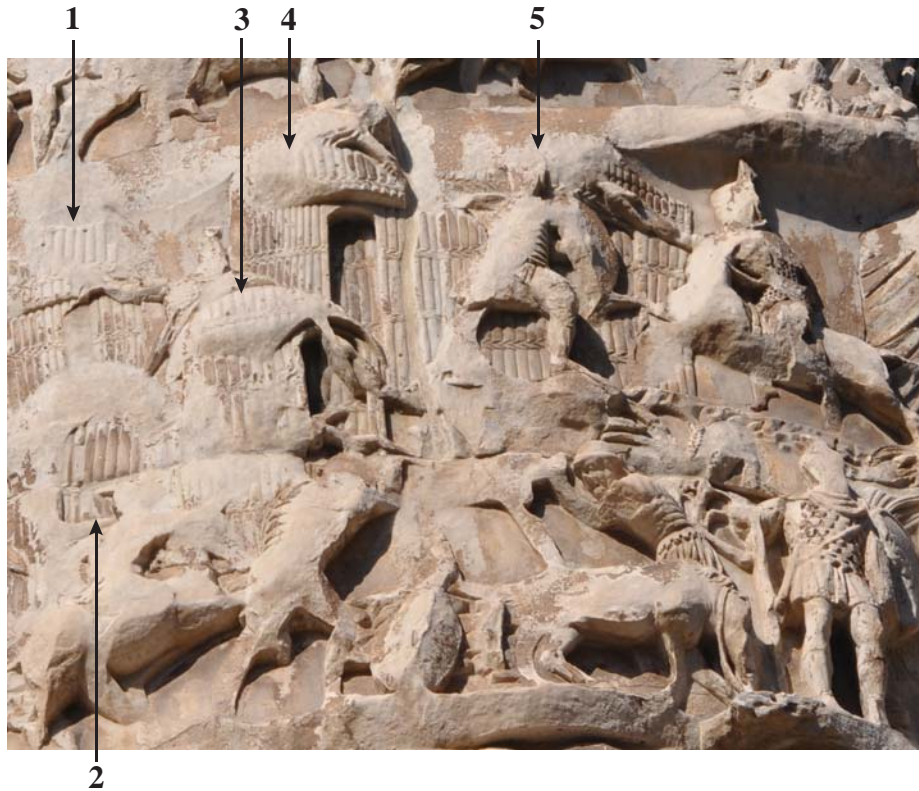


Figure 168: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene VII; destruction of barbarian settlement (photo by E.C. Robinson).



Figure 169: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene LXXXII; military construction (Coarelli 2008, 283).



Figure 170: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene XCIV; military construction. Note soldiers in upper right (Coarelli 2008, 302).



Figure 171: Column of Trajan. Scenes LIX-LX; chiastic composition linking destruction of Dacian architecture with Roman construction. Note three soldiers in far upper right (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).



Figure 172: Column of Trajan. Scene LX; detail of three soldiers as "floating" heads (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

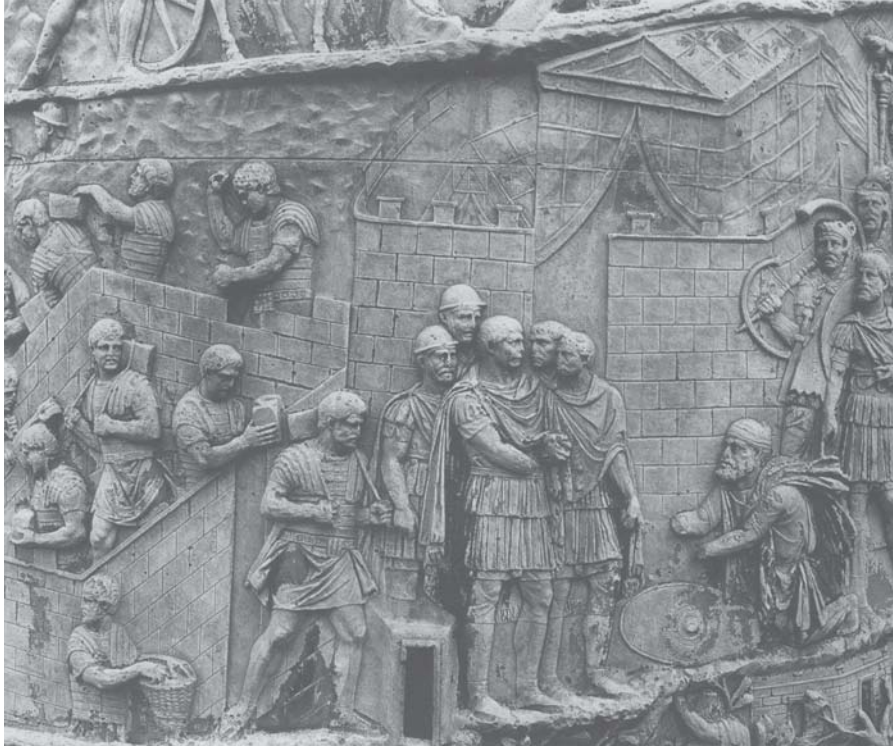


Figure 173: Column of Trajan. Scenes LX-LXI; military construction and encampment (Coarelli 2000, pl. 62).



Figure 174: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene LXXX; military encampment (Coarelli 2008, 280).



Figure 175: Column of Trajan. Scene LXI; wagon train after encampment (Coarelli 2000, pl. 63).



Figure 176: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene XLIX; emperor on blank platform (Coarelli 2008, 208).

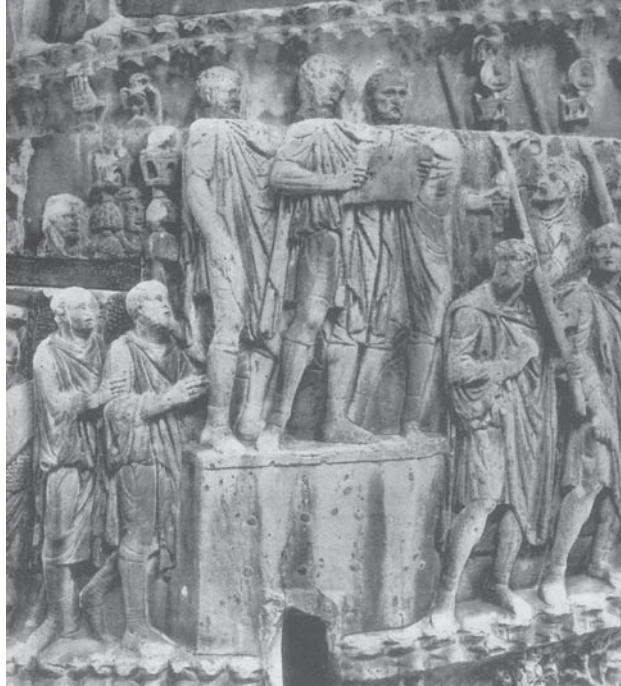


Figure 177: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene LV; emperor on pegged platform (Coarelli 2008, 222).



Figure 178: Column of Trajan. Scene LXXI; Roman *testudo* attack against barbarian fortification (casts in Museo della Civiltà Romana; photo by author).

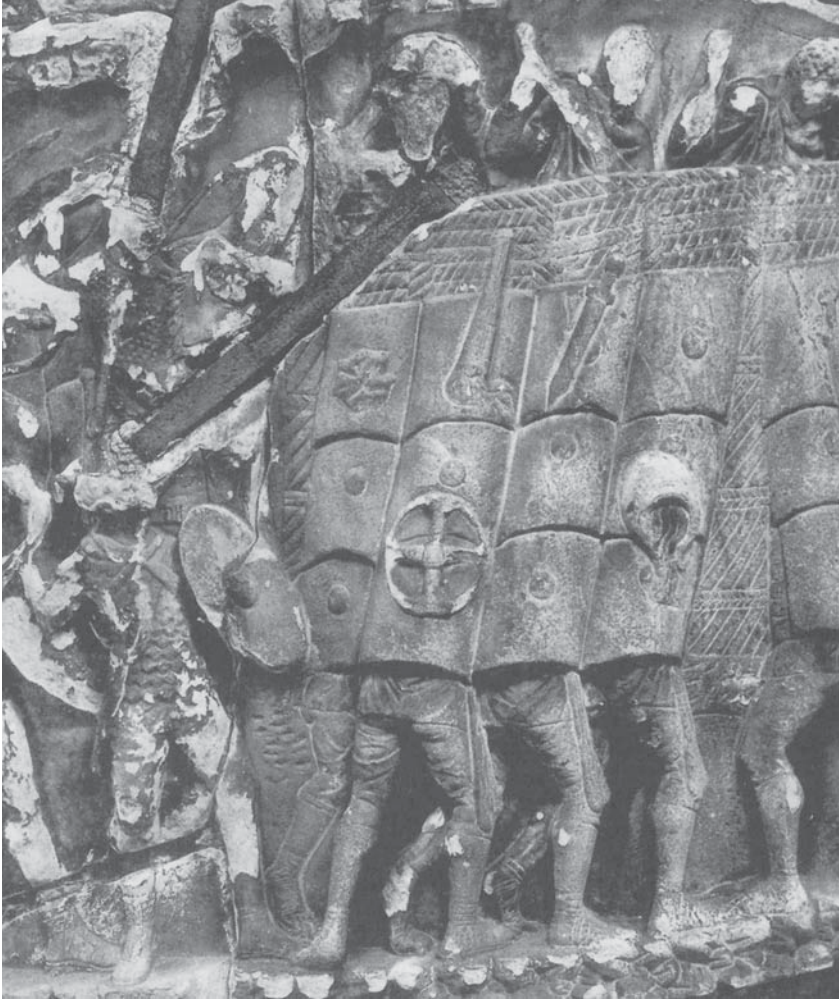


Figure 179: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene LIV; Roman *testudo* attack against barbarian fortification (Coarelli 2008, 222).



Figure 180: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene XI; barbarian siege tower struck by lightning outside of Roman fortification (photo by E.C. Robinson).



Figure 181: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scenes XX-XXI; barbarian hut juxtaposed with Roman tent (Coarelli 2008, 154).

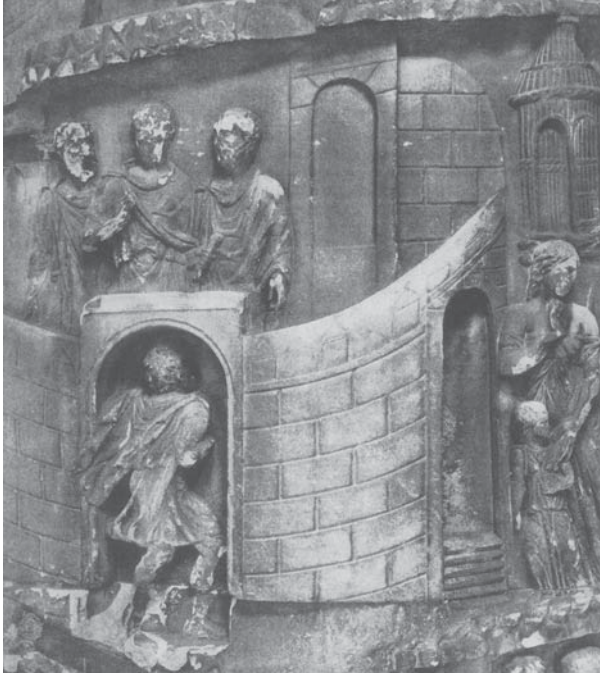


Figure 182: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scenes CI-CII; barbarian women in front of Roman fortification, juxtaposed with barbarian huts (Coarelli 2008, 316).

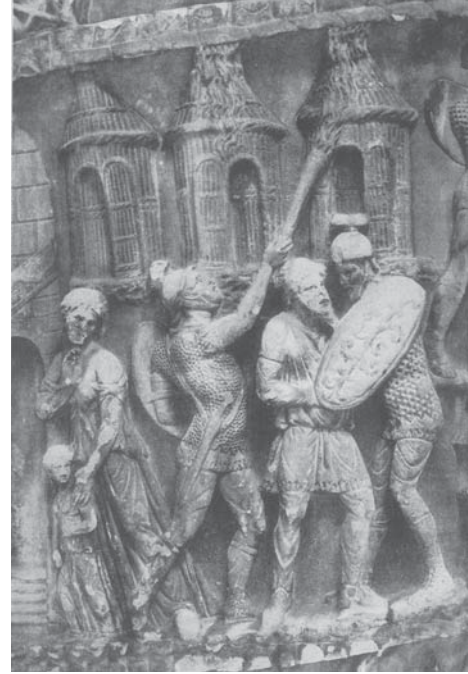


Figure 183: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scenes CI-CII; barbarian women in front of Roman fortification, juxtaposed with barbarian huts (Coarelli 2008, 317).

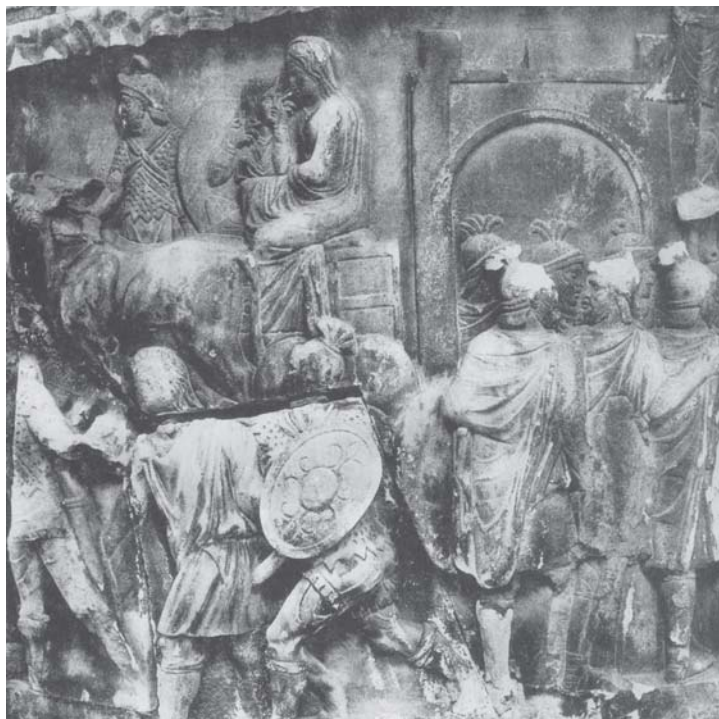


Figure 184: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene LXXXV; barbarian woman juxtaposed with Roman architecture (Coarelli 2008, 288).



Figure 185: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene CIV; barbarian women and children herded towards Roman fortification (Coarelli 2008, 322).



Figure 186: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Rider Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 2a).

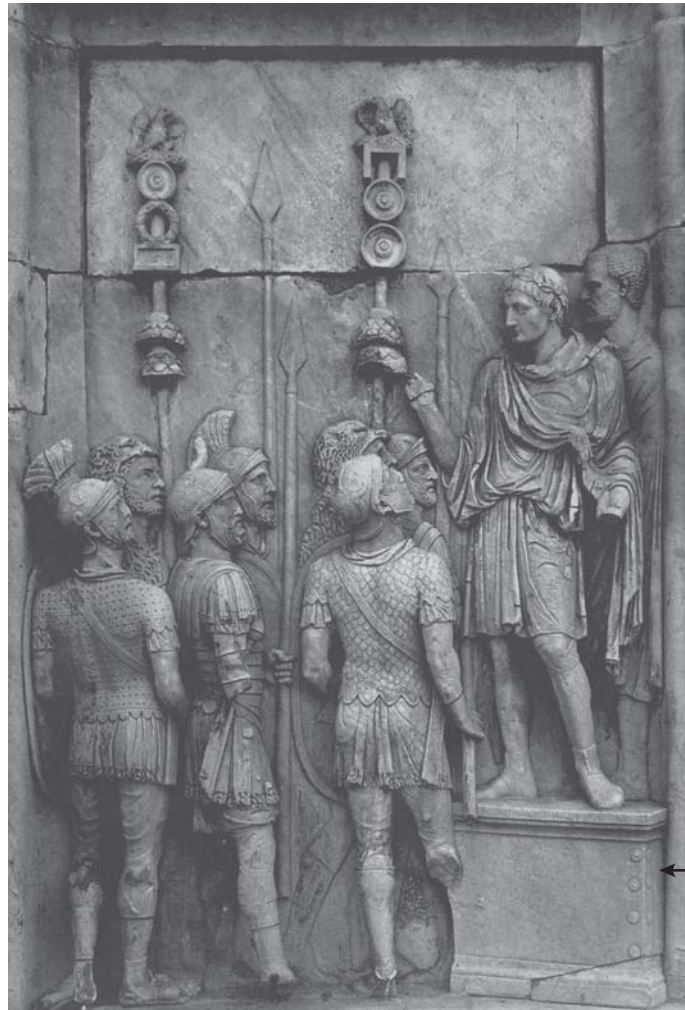


Figure 187: Marcus Aurelius Panels. *Adlocutio* Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 37a).

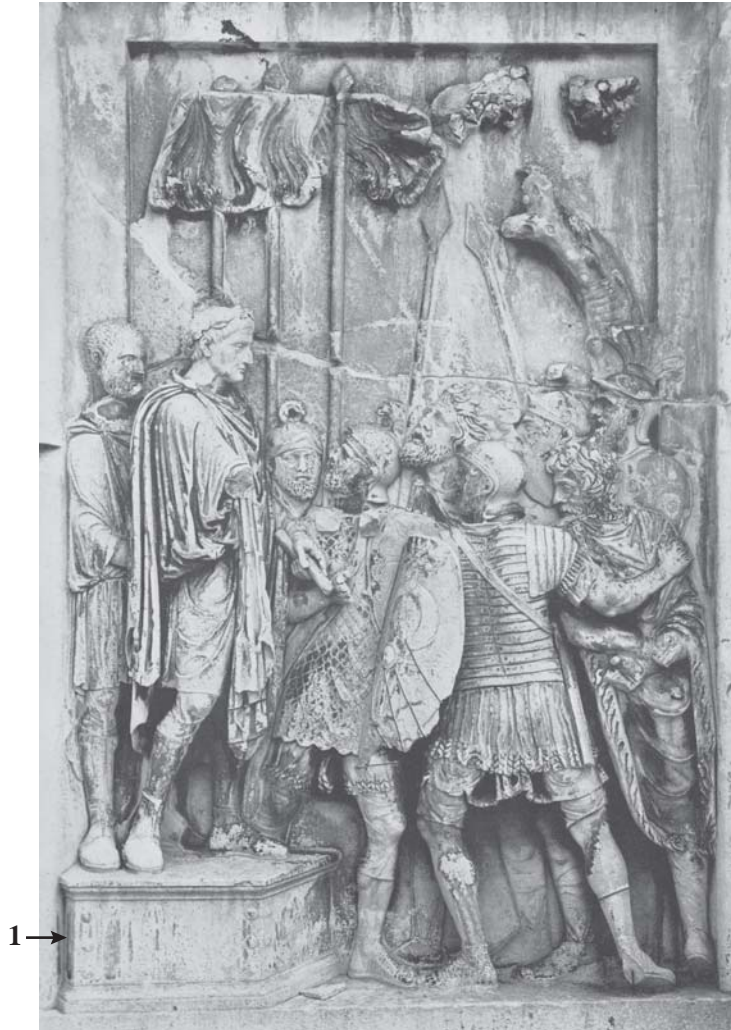


Figure 188: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Prisoners Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 40).



Figure 189: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Supplication Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 44).

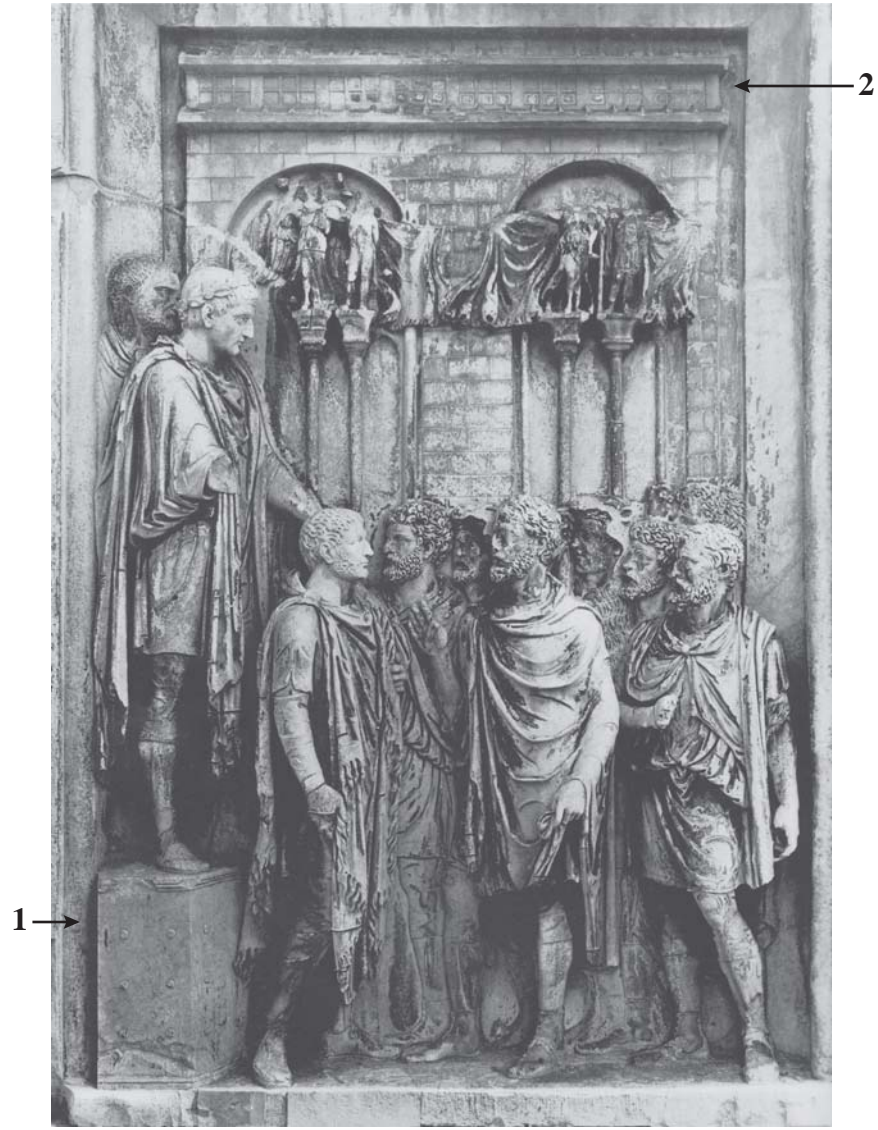


Figure 190: Marcus Aurelius Panels. *Rex Datus* Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 32).

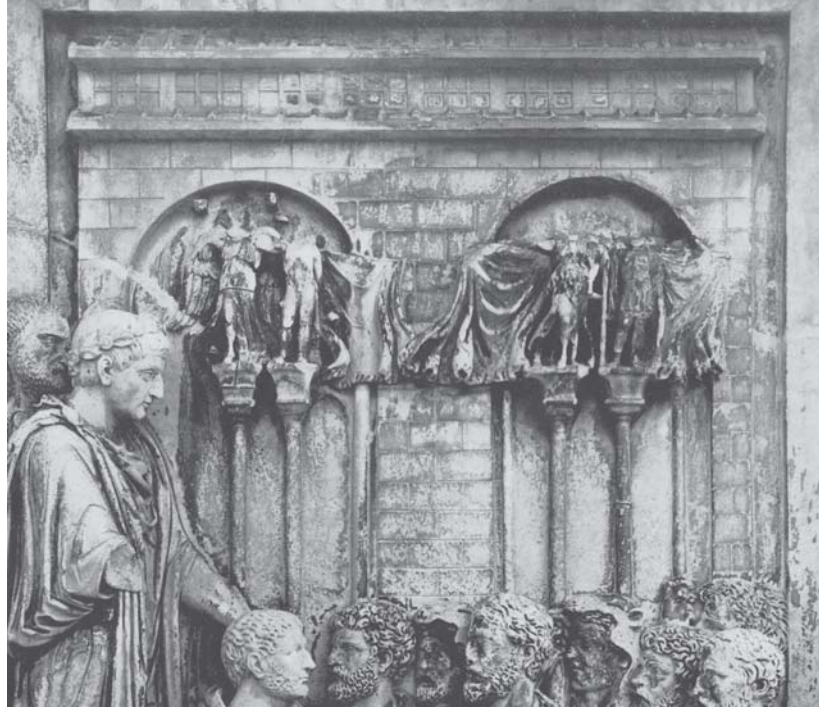


Figure 191: Marcus Aurelius Panels. *Rex Datus* Panel; detail of building [R19.B2] (after Ryberg 1967, fig. 32).

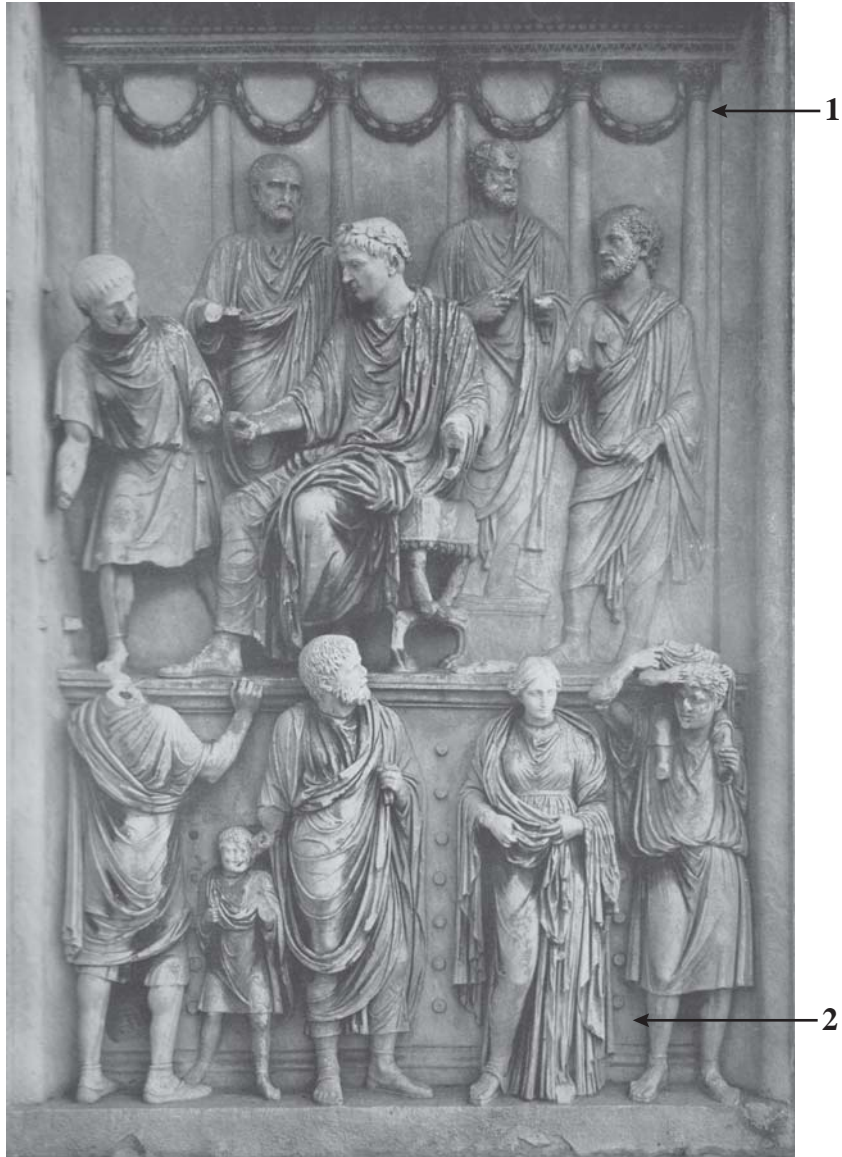


Figure 192: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Donation Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 49).



Figure 193: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Triumph Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 9a).

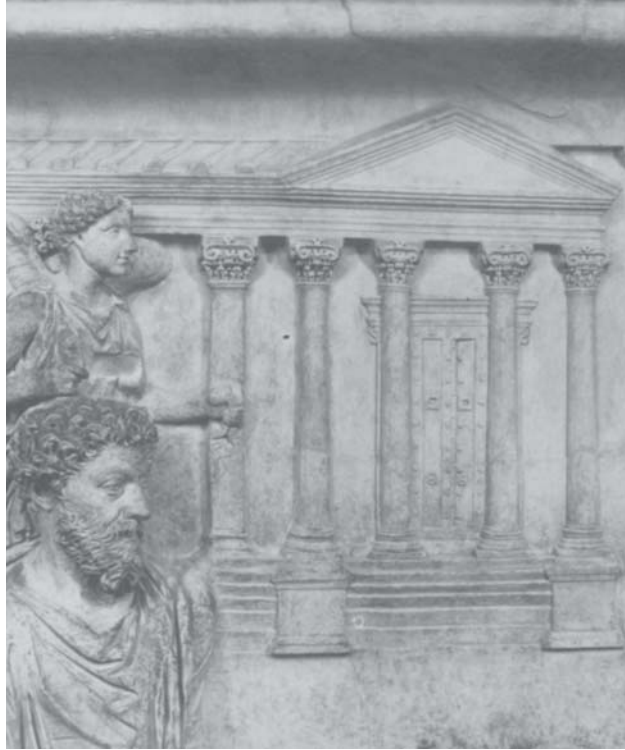


Figure 194: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Triumph Panel; detail of temple [R21.B1] (La Rocca 1986, pl. 32.1).



Figure 195: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Triumph Panel; detail of Corinthian capital of temple [R21.B1] (La Rocca 1986, pl. 2.6).



Figure 196: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Triumph Panel; detail of arch [R21.B2] (La Rocca 1986, pl. 35.1).

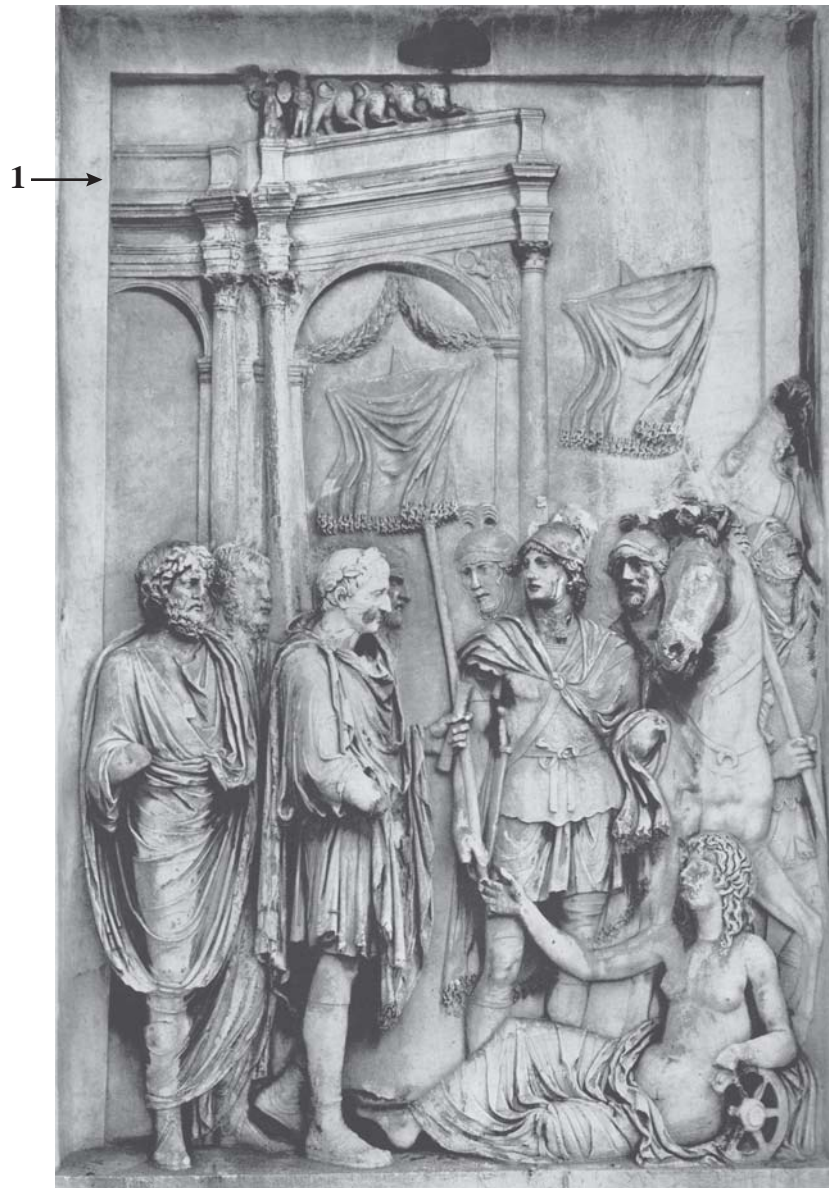


Figure 197: Marcus Aurelius Panels. *Profectio* Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 18).

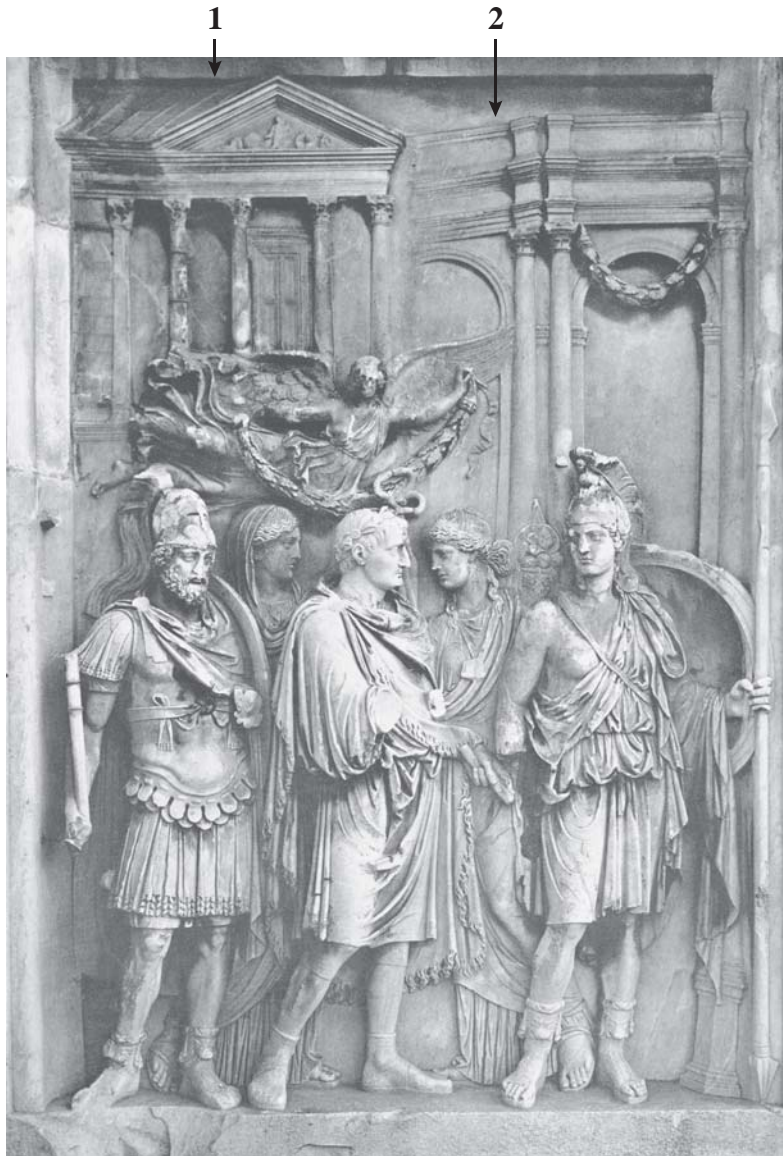


Figure 198: Marcus Aurelius Panels. *Adventus* Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 19).



Figure 199: Marcus Aurelius Panels. *Adventus* Panel; detail of temple [R23.B1] (Ryberg 1967, fig. 20).



Figure 200: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 14a).



Figure 201: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of temple [R24.B1] (La Rocca 1986, pl. 38).



Figure 202: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of Corinthian capital of temple [R24.B1] (La Rocca 1986, pl. 2.7).



Figure 203: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of temple [R24.B1] pediment, center (La Rocca 1986, pl. 39.1).



Figure 204: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of left side of temple pediment [R24.B1] (La Rocca 1986, pl. 39.2).



Figure 205: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of right side of temple pediment [R24.B1] (La Rocca 1986, pl. 40.2).



Figure 206: Marcus Aurelius Panels. Sacrifice Panel; detail of building with hunting statuary [R24.B2] (La Rocca 1986, pl. 40.1).



Figure 207: Marcus Aurelius Panels. *Lustratio* Panel (Ryberg 1967, fig. 27).

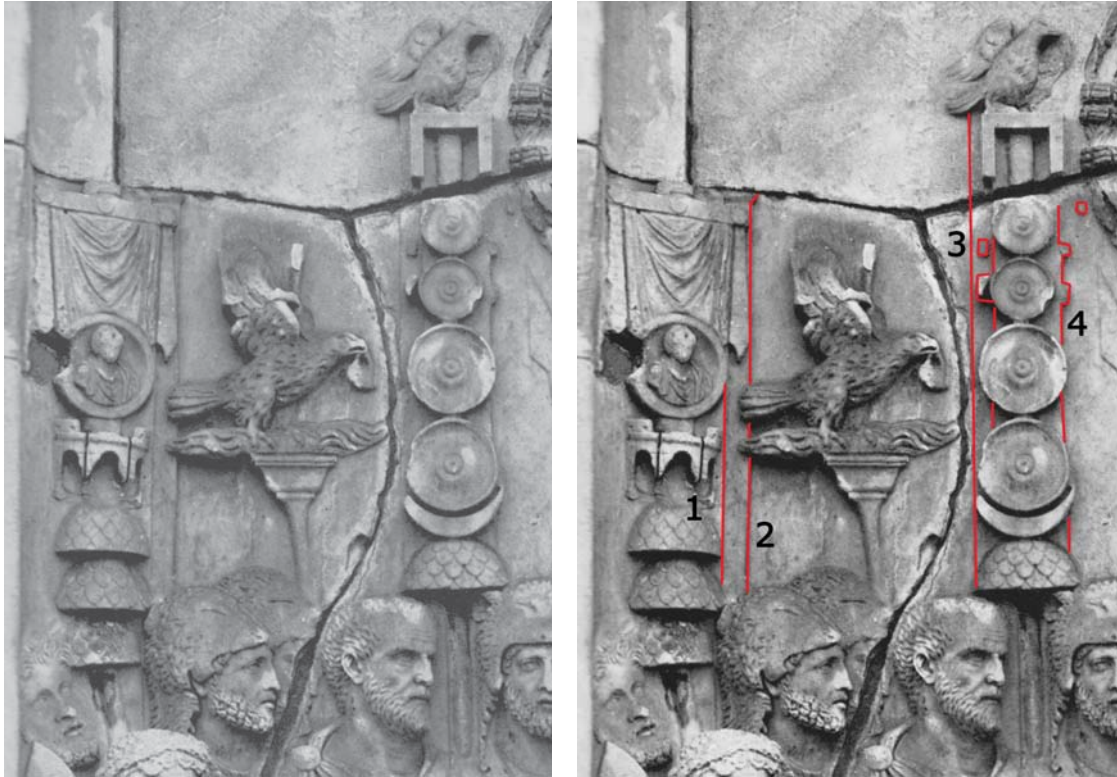


Figure 208: Marcus Aurelius Panels. *Lustratio* Panel; detail of Features 1-4 (in red) (after Ryberg 1967, fig. 27).



Figure 209: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Scene XXX; *lustratio* scene (Coarelli 2008, 173).



Figure 210: Column of Trajan. Scene VII; *lustratio* scene (Coarelli 2000, pl. 8).



Figure 211: Marcus Aurelius Panels. *Lustratio* Panel without later restorations (after Ryberg 1967, fig. 27).



Figure 212: Marcus Aurelius Panels. *Lustratio* Panel; schematic reconstruction of depicted architecture (after Ryberg 1967, fig. 27).



Figure 213: Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome. Panel IV; siege against two cities. Note foreign architecture in upper right corner (photo by author).

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