

READING THE MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS IN ROME

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ABSTRACT

READING THE MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS IN ROME

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This thesis focuses on the Mausoleum of the first Roman Emperor Augustus in Rome. It studies the Mausoleum as a Roman monument highly laden with symbolic meanings and functions. Built at the age of transition from Republic to Empire, the symbolic meanings and functions of the Mausoleum evolved and expanded within time. The thesis exposes and highlights the formation, evolution and expansion of the symbolic meanings and functions of the Mausoleum in parallel to the transformation of the Roman Republic to the Empire during the Augustan period.

Keywords: Augustus, Mausoleum, Augustan Rome, Funerary Architecture, Monument.

ÖZ

AUGUSTUS'UN ROMA'DAKİ ANIT MEZARININ BİR OKUMASI

ÖZDENGİZ BAŞAK, Meral

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Suna GÜVEN

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Bu tez, ilk Roma İmparatoru Augustus'un Roma'daki Mozolesi'ne odaklanmıştır. Tez, Mozole'yi zengin sembolik anlam ve işlevler taşıyan bir Roma anıtı olarak inceler. Cumhuriyet'ten İmparatorluk'a geçiş döneminde inşa edilmiş olan Mozole'nin sembolik anlam ve işlevleri zaman içinde dönüşmüş ve genişlemiştir. Tez, Mozole'nin sembolik anlam ve işlevlerinin oluşumu, dönüşümü ve genişlemesini Augustus döneminde Roma Cumhuriyeti'nin İmparatorluk'a dönüşüm sürecine paralel olarak inceler ve ortaya serer.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Augustus, Mozole, Augustus Dönemi Roma'sı, Mezar Mimarisi, Anıt.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On the 19th of August 14 BCE, the first Roman emperor Augustus (Fig. 1), died at Nola, near Naples. His body was brought to Rome with a great procession and given a *funus imperatorum*. After being cremated, remains of the body were placed in the Mausoleum which Augustus had built in *Campus Martius* at the beginning of his reign.



Figure 1. Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta.

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augustus_of_Prima_Porta [Last accessed 20.08.2019]

The dimensions of the Mausoleum were immense. A circular structure topped by a tumulus, it had a diameter of about 90 meters, and reached an estimated height of almost 45 meters. Writing in the age of Augustus, the Greek geographer and historian Strabo, described the Mausoleum as “the most noteworthy” building in *Campus Martius*.¹ It was the largest structure ever built by Augustus, and remained the largest tomb in the Roman world until the construction of Hadrian’s Mausoleum. Its size obviously exceeded utilitarian requirements, *i.e.* housing the ash urns of a deceased man and his family members.

In the Roman world, funerary monuments were not only built to provide a resting place for the remains of the deceased, but were also a means of public display and communication. They were memorials built to commemorate their patrons the way they wished to be remembered. Thus Romans wanted their tombs to be seen. To make them visible, they built their memorials at locations such as along roads leading in or out of cities, at crossroads or close to bridges, and on elevated grounds in the topography. Augustus’ grand Mausoleum, located between the river Tiber and the *Via Flaminia*, dominated the open fields of *Campus Martius* and all northern approaches to the city, for all to see.

Not only the size, but also the timing of the construction of the Mausoleum is noteworthy. Even though the exact dates are a matter of controversy, what is known is that Augustus was only at the beginning of his thirties at the time of construction, not having consolidated his power yet. Scholars argued that his poor health caused him to act early.² However the construction of the Mausoleum predates his serious illnesses.³ The idea of death indeed may not have been away from his mind, though

¹ Strabo, *Geographica*, 5.3.8.

² For references see Konrad Kraft, “Der Sinn des Mausoleums des Augustus,” *Historia*, Vol. 16, (1967): 189.

³ It is attested by several ancient sources that Augustus’ health was fragile starting from his youth. Suetonius (*Div. Aug.*, 81) writes that “Augustus survived several dangerous illnesses at different periods. The worst was after his Cantabrian conquest”. This gives the date of after 24 BCE when he returned from Spain. Dio’s (53.30) date for the most serious illness is close to that of Suetonius, as after his eleventh consulship, *i.e.* 23 BCE. Dio draws a very serious picture stating that there was

not because of his poor health but rather due to the fact that he was born in the middle of the Civil War, as a member of a family having an important share in the turmoil of the period. Many of the prominent figures of the time who had taken side in this power struggle had either been killed on the battle field, assassinated, or had committed suicide. His great-uncle and adoptive father Julius Caesar's assassination must have had the greatest impact on young Octavius, among others. Even though, in lack of evidence, the question of whether the Mausoleum was a funerary structure about an expected early death or a monument of an ambitious young man looking forward to a bright future cannot be answered with certainty, it is a fact that Augustus lived long, reaching almost the age of seventy six.

Constructed at an early phase of his life, the Mausoleum co-existed and co-operated with Augustus throughout his long reign, and continued to exist after the death of its patron, as a monument of a deified emperor. With the fall of Rome, another phase of its existence began. Starting with the plunders of Goths in the early fifth century, followed by long periods of neglect and subsequent re-functionings the Mausoleum was finally reduced to ruins.



Figure 2. Mausoleum of Augustus, exterior view, current state.

Source:

<http://v2.cache6.c.bigcache.googleapis.com/static.panoramio.com/photos/original/43685054.jpg>
[Last accessed 20.11.2018]

“...no hope of his recovery...he arranged all his affairs as if he were at the point of death”. These are after the proposed construction date of the Mausoleum, to be discussed in Chapter 2.

Today the remains can be seen at the center of Mussolini's Piazza Augusto Imperatore, between the Via del Corso and the Via di Ripetta of modern Rome. Having lost the crowning tumulus, all of the facings and decorations, the remains, consisting of two concentric bulky cylinders, almost hidden from gaze under the vegetation grown on top, and sunken in the middle of the modern piazza, give little away of the past glory of the monument (Fig. 2).

In its current state, the Mausoleum may not be one of the most favoured attraction points of Rome, a city that has so many others to offer her visitors. Yet, even if not a touristic attraction at the moment,⁴ the Mausoleum has been an attraction of scholarly interest for long, starting from the Renaissance up until today. Scholarly interest in the Mausoleum stems foremost from its capacity of reflecting its patron Augustus and his age.

The Augustan age was a seminal period in Roman history. It marked the transition from the Republic to the Empire. At the time Augustus was born, Rome was restless. The ongoing power struggle, heated with civil wars from time to time, had been shaking the Republican system, and the welfare of Rome for decades already. With the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BCE, Rome entered another period of instability. Upon the assassination of his adoptive father, Octavius, at the age of only nineteen, stepped into the political arena. Having inherited his adoptive father's name, money, *clientela* and army, he emerged as one of the assertive figures in the ongoing power struggle. A year later, at the unprecedented age of twenty, he became consul and secured a place in the Senate. In the same year, after a period of rivalry among themselves, Octavius, as the heir of Caesar and now a consul, sat down with his rivals, the two prominent Caesarian leaders Marcus Antonius and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, on a river island in Bononia (today's Bologna) in Gaul.⁵ While their armies were waiting ready at the banks of the river, they signed an

⁴ Here, it should be noted that restoration works of the Mausoleum and a re-designing project of the surrounding modern piazza are under way.

⁵ From here on *in passim* William E. Dunstan, *Ancient Rome* (Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield Pub, 2011), 186-197.

alliance, and marched together on Rome. In Rome, helplessly, on November 27, 43 BCE, a bill was signed recognizing the triumvirate as an organ of government furnished with unlimited emergency powers.⁶

The triumvirate started off with an enormous vengeance against the assassins of Caesar, that became finalized with the defeat of the Republican forces in the battle at Philippi in Macedonia in 42 BCE; mainly a victory of Antonius, with a minor contribution of Octavius, ill at the time, while Lepidus was left to secure order in the mainland. Then the two victors divided the provinces, the western to be ruled by Octavius and the eastern by Antonius, leaving only Africa and Numidia to Lepidus. The alliance, though, soon slipped into conflict, each of the triumvirates looking for more power. Lepidus, having the weakest position, became eliminated from the triumvirate early, in 36 BCE. However, the power struggle between Octavius and Antonius, who had started to live in Alexandria having allied with Cleopatra, the Ptolemaic queen of Egypt - the richest independent land of Eastern Mediterranean, lasted a little longer, culminating to a sea battle at Actium, Greece, in 31 BCE. Octavius with his collaborator Agrippa, from land and sea, besieged Antonius' navy, which had been largely supplied by Cleopatra. Nevertheless, Antonius and Cleopatra having lost much of their forces, managed to break through the blockade and fled to Alexandria. Octavius followed. And when he returned to Rome in 29 BCE, he had made the mighty and rich Egypt a province of the Romans, while having left back Antonius and Cleopatra lying side by side in their final resting places. Having eliminated his rivals, Octavius was now in control as the sole power. He had ended the series of civil wars and saved Rome from destruction. Two years later, Rome in gratitude, gave him the title Augustus. Augustus ruled the Roman world, for four more decades until his death. At the time of his death Rome had become an Empire.

The transformation of Rome from a Republic to an Empire was a process, not marked by a single event, but came about as the result of the accumulation of a series of happenings and changes. The process had started during the early years of the civil war, culminating during the reign of Augustus. Built at this age of transition from

⁶ It has become called as the 'Second Triumvirate' by modern scholars, the first being that of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus.

Republic to Empire, the symbolic meanings and functions of the Mausoleum evolved and expanded in parallel. This thesis focuses on the Mausoleum of Augustus. It studies the Mausoleum as a Roman monument highly laden with symbolic meanings. It exposes and highlights the formation, evolution and expansion of the symbolic meanings and functions of the Mausoleum during the Roman era, with a particular focus on the Augustan period.

The main discussion of the thesis is organized into four chapters, besides an 'Introduction – Chapter 1' and a 'Conclusion – Chapter - 6'. The body of discussions comprising the four chapters has a two part structure. The first part, that corresponds to Chapter 2, presents the 'physical and factual' aspects of the subject to establish the basis for the following discussions on 'meanings'. As such, it provides a picture of the current state of knowledge on the Mausoleum, exposing what is 'factual' and what is 'hypothetical' of the 'knowns' on the subject.

The second part focuses on the symbolic meanings and functions, organized into three thematic chapters, corresponding to Chapters 3, 4, and 5. This organization, besides the thematic, has an underlying chronological order. The chapters roughly correspond to three temporal phases of the monument's existence, and of Augustus' life. Yet it should be noted that neither the thematic nor the temporal divisions are meant to strictly separate and limit the discussions. The discussions expand beyond when necessary, and form a complex unity.

Each of the three chapters begins with a brief introduction on the theme, followed by discussions on the Mausoleum. Chapter 3, 'Space of *Auctoritas*', focuses on the initial phase of the Mausoleum. It explores the symbolic meanings and functions of the Mausoleum, as a monument built by Augustus, at the beginning of his rule, as a private citizen proclaiming his power and superiority, which he had formulated as having exceeded all others in *auctoritas*. Chapter 4, 'Space of *Imperium Romanum*', explores how the Mausoleum of Augustus was transformed into an imperial monument, and the role it played in the formation and dissemination of the imperial ideology. And Chapter 5, 'Space of *Deificatio*', studies the monument within the context of Augustus' death and deification.

The main idea of the thesis is inextricably linked to the organization of the discussion. In other words, the thematic organization reflects the main idea. Implicit in the thematic organization of the chapters is the envisioning of the Mausoleum as a monument operating within a space and time matrix. The term 'monument' has been derived from the Latin 'monumentum', and 'monumentum' from 'monere', which means 'to remind' or 'to warn'.⁷ A 'monument' in its basic and oldest sense is a memorial; *i.e.* a work of art or architecture that commemorates a person or event; or as Riegl had delicately formulated, that keeps "particular human deeds or destinies (or a complex accumulation thereof) alive and present in the consciousness of future generations".⁸ As such, a monument, by its very definition, plays with time and space. A monument is experienced in real time and space, yet its content references beyond the physically experienced now and here, through which it constructs and communicates meaning. Elsner, in the same vein, defines 'monumentality' as the "conceptual and rhetorical space a monument occupies in the environment of its observers".⁹ In other words a monument constructs its virtual space and time beyond the physical; here 'virtual' is utilized as in Kunze's words, "the presence of what is not literally present".¹⁰ The thesis does not provide an inquiry or discussion on these concepts, but builds a framework upon them to understand how Augustus' Mausoleum constructed and communicated meaning, within a spatial and temporal context, both physical and virtual.

⁷ Meriam Websters Dictionary (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/monument>); Edmund Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire, Architecture in the Antonine Age*, (Oxford/New York: Oxford Uni. Press, 2007), 2.

⁸ Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development", (1996 - original publication 1928), 69. https://marywoodthesisresearch.files.wordpress.com/2014/03/riegl_the-modern-cult-of-monuments_sm.pdf

⁹ Jaś Elsner, "Inventing Imperium: Texts and the Propaganda of Monuments in Augustan Rome," in *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, ed. by Jaś Elsner (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1996), 48.

¹⁰ Donald Kunze, "Architecture as Reading: Virtuality, Secrecy, Monstrosity," *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-), Vol. 41, No. 4 (Summer, 1988): 28.

There are limitations to this thesis. Even though it focuses on a single monument, a comprehensive approach broadens the subject into many related areas, all requiring further research that was not intended to be carried out and presented to the fullest in each case. Moreover, the literature on Augustus is immense, making it difficult to handle. And the Mausoleum, once a relatively less studied monument has now become an object of increasing interest, having produced a remarkable literature itself. Even though the thesis has aimed not to be repetitive but rather to provide a distilled discussion, the existence of the immense literature, and foremost the controversial and unresolved matters, made felt the need to represent and address previous studies. As such, from time to time, the discussions became inevitably repetitive, and also synthetic. Yet the thesis has been written with the hope of being original in its thematic organization of the discussion. In addition, it presents the latest state of knowledge on the subject. It is meant to be a contribution to the subject with its comprehensive approach and reassessments in light of the current state of knowledge.

CHAPTER 2

THE PHYSICAL: THE MONUMENT PROPER, *USTRINUM* and SURROUNDINGS

There are many unknowns about the actual appearance of the Mausoleum, its surroundings, the date of its construction, and *Ustrinum* the related structure. The archaeological remains leave several questions open. There is no ancient visual material that has survived, if ever existed. Ancient sources provide only the minimal. Before starting to explore the 'meaning', the 'form' has to be reconstructed, and the 'facts' need to be laid down. This chapter aims to establish the factual and the physical aspects of the subject in order to form a basis for further discussions on the 'meanings'. In this way, while presenting the current state of knowledge, it provides a picture of what is 'factual' and what is 'hypothetical' on the subject.

2.1. Ancient Sources on the Mausoleum

Ancient sources provide a considerable amount of information both on Augustus and the period.¹¹ However, information on the Mausoleum is extremely limited.

The only description of the monument proper comes from the Greek geographer and historian Strabo. This constitutes the primary source on the appearance of the Mausoleum. Strabo was a contemporary of Augustus, and had

¹¹ For ancient sources on Augustus see Peter A. Brunt and John M. Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus* (London: Oxford Uni. Press, 1967), 7-8; Arnold H. M. Jones, *Augustus* (New York: Norton, 1971), 168-174; Dunstan, *Ancient Rome*, 220-221. For inscriptions belonging to the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius see Victor Ehrenberg and Arnold H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

made several visits to Rome.¹² As an eyewitness his description is extremely valuable. Thus it is worthy to be quoted here in full length, and not just the sentences describing the monument proper as it is done usually, but together with the preceding part that sets the Mausoleum into its physical context:

The Campus Martius contains most of these, and thus, in addition to its natural beauty, it has received still further adornment as the result of foresight. Indeed, the size of the Campus is remarkable, since it affords space at the same time and without interference, not only for the chariot races and every other equestrian exercise, but also for all that multitude of people who exercise themselves by ball-playing, hoop-trundling, and wrestling; and the works of art situated around the Campus Martius, and the ground, which is covered with grass throughout the year, and the crowns of those hills that are above the river and extend as far as its bed, which present to the eye the appearance of a stage-painting – all this, I say, affords a spectacle that one can hardly draw away from. And near this campus is another campus, with colonnades round about it in very great numbers, and sacred precincts, and three theaters, and an amphitheater, and very costly temples, in close succession to one another, giving you the impression that they are trying, as it were, to declare the rest of the city a mere accessory. For this reason, in the belief that this place was holiest of all, the Romans have erected in it the tombs of their most illustrious men and women. The most noteworthy is what is called the Mausoleum, a great mound near the river on a lofty foundation of white marble, thickly covered with ever-green trees to the very summit. Now on top is a bronze image of Augustus Caesar; beneath the mound are the tombs of himself and his kinsmen and intimates; behind the mound is a large sacred precinct with wonderful promenades; and in the center of the Campus is the wall (this too of white marble) round his crematorium; the wall is

¹² The exact dates of Strabo's birth and death are unknown. The latest conclusion is that the date of his birth might have been around 64-50 BCE, and his death some time after 23 CE (Daniela Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London/New York: Routledge, 2000), 2). On the other hand, the dates of Strabo's visits to Rome are a matter of controversy. It is generally agreed that his first visit was about 44 BCE, and that he was in Rome again in 35 BCE, and/or in 31 BCE /29 BCE. The duration of his visits are unknown, but assumed to be long. According to these dates he may have witnessed the construction of the Mausoleum. The description of the Mausoleum, however, clearly belongs to a later period. According to H. L. Jones his last visit to Rome was in 7 BCE, and after that he did not return to Rome, and died in his hometown *Amaseia* (modern Amasya, Turkey). This date would mean that he would have seen the Mausoleum long before Augustus' death. However, this view has been challenged lately by Dueck. Dueck suggests that he may have stayed a long time after 7 BCE in Rome, even perhaps until his death. She also proposes the dates of writing of the *Geographica* as 18–24 CE, in contrast to Jones' date of 7 BCE. If correct, Strabo's account may belong to a much later date, most probably after Augustus' death. See Jones, *Augustus*, Introduction, and Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 2-3, 85-86, 145-150.

surrounded by a circular iron fence and the space within the wall is planted with black poplars.¹³

The Roman historian Suetonius (69/75 – after 130 CE), who has devoted a whole chapter on Augustus in his *De Vita Caesarum*, mentions the Mausoleum only briefly. Yet the information is valuable. He tells that Augustus “had built this [the Mausoleum] himself during his sixth consulship, between the *Via Flaminia* and the Tiber, at the same time converting the neighbourhood into a public park”.¹⁴ He also mentions the *Res Gestae*, while writing about Augustus’ will, that Augustus “wished to have [it] engraved on bronze and posted at the entrance to the Mausoleum”.¹⁵

The Greek historian Cassius Dio (ca. 150 – 235 CE) is an important source on Augustus.¹⁶ In his several volumes on Roman history, Augustus’ life comprises an extensive part but unfortunately, Dio does not give any description of the Mausoleum. Nevertheless he provides a detailed account on Augustus’ funeral. He is also one of the main sources on the burials that took place in the Mausoleum. In addition, Suetonius’ information on the *Res Gestae* as part of Augustus’ will reappears in Dio.¹⁷

Ammianus Marcellinus, the Roman historian writing in the fourth century, is the one who for the first time mentioned the obelisks that stood in front of the Mausoleum: “And subsequent generations have brought over other obelisks, of

¹³ Strabo, *Geographica*, 5.3.8.

¹⁴ Suetonius, *Div. Aug.*, 100.

¹⁵ Suetonius, *Div. Aug.*, 101.

¹⁶ His account on Augustus is not considered as being without faults. His sources are unknown and he himself admits that he had difficulties in finding out the truth about some events (Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 8). Yet his work is still regarded as the “fullest” (John Carter, “Introduction,” in *Cassius Dio, Roman History: The Reign of Augustus*, trans. by Ian Scott-Kilvert (London: Penguin Books, 1987).

¹⁷ Dio, 56.33.

which one was set up on the Vatican, another in the gardens of Sallust, and two at the Mausoleum of Augustus”.¹⁸

2.2. The Spatial and Temporal Coordinates of the Mausoleum – The Origin

2.2.1. Location

The Mausoleum of Augustus was built in northern *Campus Martius*, i.e. the Field of Mars (Fig. 3).¹⁹ The exact borders of the *Campus* are uncertain, and have changed throughout the history of Rome.²⁰ In its widest extent, covering an area of ca. 250 hectares, it comprised the entire plain within the bend of the river Tiber, bordered by the Pincian Hill on the east, and the Quirinal and Capitoline hills on the southeast and south. In Augustan time, according to the regions of the city reorganized by Augustus, *Campus Martius* was divided between *Regio VII*, i.e. *Via Lata (Flaminia)*, and *Regio IX*, i.e. *Circus Flaminius*.²¹ For the purpose of this discussion, *Campus Martius* will be regarded as the region between the *Via Flaminia* and the Tiber, reaching *Porta Flaminia* on the north, and the Capitoline Hill and the

¹⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Later Roman Empire*, 17.4.16.

¹⁹ On the topography and history of *Campus Martius* see Lawrence Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Uni. Press, 1992), 65-67; Filippo Coarelli, *Rome and Environs, An Archaeological Guide* (Berkeley: Uni. of California Press, 2007), 261-266; Samuel B. Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford Uni. Press, Humphrey Milford, 1929) 91-94. See also Paul Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos: Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 9-12; Jon Albers, “Das Marsfeld. Die Entwicklung der urbanen Struktur aus topographischer traditioneller und rechtlicher Perspektive,” in *Das Marsfeld in Rom: Beiträge der Berner Tagung vom 23./24. November 2007*, Vol. 4, ed. by J. Albers, G. Grasshoff, M. Heinzelmann, M. Wäfler (Bern: Bern Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science, 2008), 13-26.

²⁰ On the borders and the uses of the name *Campus Martius* designating different areas see Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 65; Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 91; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 261-262.

²¹ The exact line of division between the two regions of VII and IX is uncertain but, was parallel to the *Via Flaminia*, possibly along it (Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 65).

Forum Boarium on the south. It should also be noted that *Campus Martius* was outside the *pomerium*, i.e. the sacred boundary of the city, in Augustan time.²²



Figure 3. Aerial view showing the location of the Mausoleum of Augustus and the corresponding area of *Campus Martius* in modern Rome.
Source: Adapted from Google Earth [Last accessed 20.08.2019]

²² Most of the *Campus Martius* became included within the *pomerium* by the time of Claudius and then Hadrian, though leaving Augustus' Mausoleum and the *Tarentum* outside. Richardson states that the northern part of the *Campus Martius* must have been reserved for important rites that still had to be performed outside the *pomerium*. On the boundaries of the *pomerium* see Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 293-296.

The level of *Campus Martius* was only 3-8 meters above the Tiber, thus the area had always been prone to floods.²³ The floods had formed a fertile yet a marshy plain over time that was not suitable for building activities. Despite the floods, the southern and central *Campus Martius* became urbanized during the last two centuries of the Republic. However, the northern part remained mainly empty up to the time of Augustus. As such, the name *Campus*, meaning ‘open field’ in Latin, would be more suitable to the northern, rather than to the central and southern parts during late Republic.

The Mausoleum was built on the northern tip of *Campus Martius* where the *Via Flaminia* and the river Tiber came close to each other, with a distance of only ca. 250 meters in between. *Via Flaminia* was the main land connection of Rome to northern Italy.²⁴ The *Flaminia (Lata)*²⁵ started at the foot of the *Capitol* by the *Porta Fontinalis*,²⁶ extended to north through *Campus Martius* in a straight line, and crossed the Tiber by *Pons Milvius*.²⁷ On the other side of the bridge the *Via Cassia*

²³ On the floods of the Tiber in ancient Rome see Gregory S. Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007). Maps of Augustan Rome produced by Aldrete, combining topographical analysis with historical evidence, clearly demonstrate the extent and severity of the floods that affected *Campus Martius*.

²⁴ The *Via Flaminia* was built by the censor of 220 BCE, C. Flaminius for whom the road was named after (Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 562; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 425).

²⁵ The section of the road within the city, i.e. between the *Porta Flaminia* (at the modern Piazza del Popolo) in the Aurelian Wall and the *Porta Fontinalis*, was named *Via Lata* from the fourth century CE onwards (Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 564). The modern *Via del Corso* overlies the ancient *Via Lata*.

²⁶ It is a port only known from one literary source (Livy, XXXV.10.12) and three inscriptions. Its exact location is unknown but assumed to be in the Servian wall, at the start of the *Via Flaminia*. It is thought to have existed during the Empire as a well-known locality (Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 408, 562; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 13, 426).

²⁷ The bridge was most probably built at the same time with the *Via Flaminia*. It was first mentioned in 207 BCE. The structure of today, although heavily restored, is basically that of 109 BCE as repaired by the censor of that year, M. Aemilius Scaurus (Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 426, 433).

branched off and the *Via Flaminia* passing over the mountains ended in *Ariminum* (modern Rimini).²⁸

The river Tiber was another vital artery that connected Rome to northern Italy and to the rest of the world by the port of Ostia, at the Tyrrhenian Sea. Boats coming from north or south landed between *Trans Tiberim* and the *Aventine* in the south, and at *Campus Martius* in the north. The former main landing areas were the *Portus Tiberinus* and the *Emporium*, both existing during Augustan time. These were the two big ports enabling larger vessels to land and upload their cargos. Favro cites a mole that dates back to the late first century BCE, developed farther north at *Campus Martius* to serve the extensive building projects of Agrippa and Augustus in the region.²⁹ This mole was located at Tor di Nona of modern Rome, and thus still at some distance to the Mausoleum of Augustus.³⁰

On the other hand, it is known that there existed a baroque port called di Ripetta on the Tiber during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, located much closer to the Mausoleum.³¹ Even though it is difficult to trace a history of the Porto di

²⁸ T. Ashby and A. L. Fell, "The Via Flaminia," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 11, (1921): 125-190, still presents the most thorough study on the *Via Flaminia* especially in regard to its topography through whole Italy.

²⁹ Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1996), 112, 185.

³⁰ Favro does not provide the exact location of the mole. However from her references in her footnotes it can be discerned that she is most probably referring to the mole discovered at the Tor di Nona. Lanciani tied the mole to the remains discovered under the church of S. Apollinaris that he identified as a *Statio Marmorum*. Favro referring to Lanciani, attests the use of the mole as a dock for the construction works of Agrippa and Augustus (*Urban Image*, 185, also fn.102 for references including Lanciani). However, Palmer rejects Lanciani's proposal of the *Marmorum*. On the mole, *marmorum*, and references on the subject see Palmer, "Studies of the Northern Campus Martius in Ancient Rome," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. Vol. 80, No. 2, (1990): 50-51.

³¹ On the order of Pope Clement XI, it was designed by Alessandro Specchi and built between 1703-1705 with baroque style curved steps descending to the river, influenced by the design of the Spanish Steps. It served as the main unloading area for the products coming from north Italy. As its traffic decreased within time, a bridge was built over it in 1878, and the port was demolished completely in 1889/1890 as roads were being constructed along the Tiber. The modern Ponte Cavour replaced the old bridge. It is still standing today close to the Mausoleum. For a detailed study of the port see Tod A. Marder, "The Porto di Ripetta in Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 39, No. 1, (March 1980): 28-56.

Ripetta back to the ancient times, literary evidence coming from Tacitus suggests the existence of a landing in the vicinity of the port temporally very close to the Augustan era.³² Moreover a postern in the Aurelian Walls *ca.* fifty meters south of the Mausoleum exactly where the later Porto di Ripetta would be built, and two roads joining at this postern,³³ can be considered as indications of a port in that very spot.³⁴ This particular location must have been especially suitable for a landing, for it was located above the section of the river where dangerous currents appeared.³⁵

Another evidence of a landing close to the Mausoleum comes from the drawings discovered in the 1930's on the pavements in front of the Mausoleum. The drawings of two gables and a section of a Corinthian capital, have been identified by Haselberger as of Hadrian's *Pantheon*.³⁶ Since the Mausoleum was located very close to the Tiber, the stones transported by the river from the quarry must have been brought here first, roughly given shape according to the drawings on the pavement, and then carried to the Pantheon. It is probable that the same landing served first the construction of the Mausoleum. The canal, discovered by Buchner³⁷ at the Mausoleum and interpreted as being used for the transportation of the obelisks from the river must have been connected to the same landing.

³² While describing how Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso entered the city from north by Tiber in 20 CE, Tacitus (*Annales*, 3.9) writes that Piso brought "his vessel to shore at the tomb of the Caesars". The cited tomb here must be the Mausoleum of Augustus (Marder, "Porto di Ripetta," 29).

³³ One of the roads was running straight down from the *Porta Flaminia* and another one was branching off from the *Via Lata* approaching the Tiber perpendicularly.

³⁴ Marder, "Porto di Ripetta," 29.

³⁵ Marder, *ibid.*, 29.

³⁶ See Lothar Haselberger, "Antike Bauzeichnung des Pantheon Entdeckt," *Antike Welt*, Vol, 25, No. 4, (1994): 323-339.

³⁷ See Edmund Buchner, "Ein Kanal für Obeliskten: Neues vom Mausoleum des Augustus in Rom", *Antike Welt*. Vol. 27, (1996): 161-168.

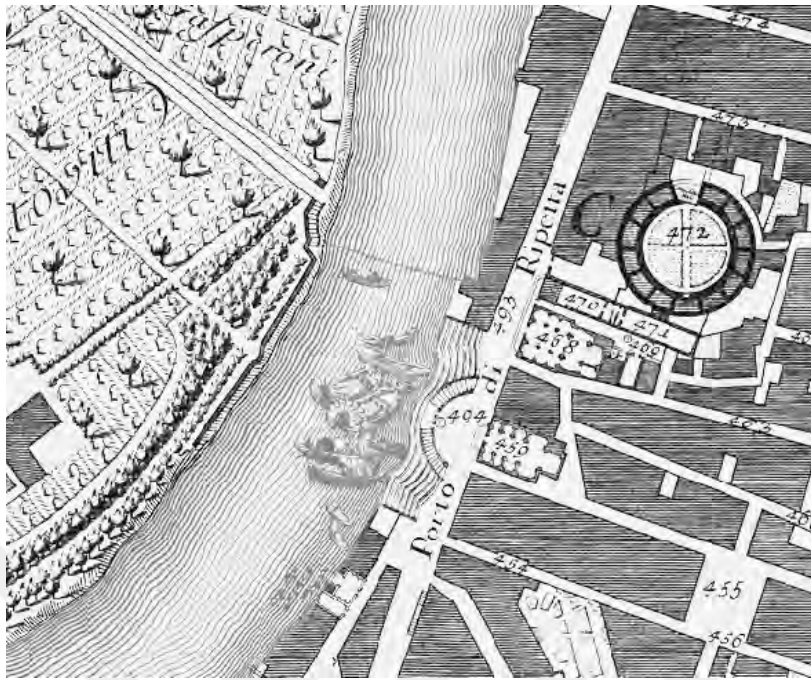


Figure 4. Detail of the 1748 Map of Rome, by Giambattista Nolli, showing the baroque port, Porto Ripetta, and the Mausoleum of Augustus.

Source: *The Interactive Nolli Map Site*, <http://nolli.uoregon.edu/default.asp>
[Last accessed 15.11.2017]

Given the evidence it seems probable that a landing area, even if not a proper port but a simpler facility, right at the spot of the much later Porto di Ripetta existed during Augustan times (Fig. 4). This landing must have served the construction of the Mausoleum. After the constructions were finished, the boats coming down from the north and from Ostia may have continued to land here. Thus this very spot must have functioned as an entrance gate to *Campus Martius* right at the foot of the Mausoleum.

The whole area of *Campus Martius* became highly urbanized in subsequent periods. This led to the destruction of the Republican and Augustan levels to a great extent. With the remains having been buried under the modern city, the study of the architectural topography of the area has become very difficult. Therefore it should be noted that there are many unknowns in regard to the surrounding area of the Mausoleum and the entire *Campus Martius*.

2.2.1. Date of Construction

The exact dates of construction are a subject of scholarly debate. There is no inscription, or any other material evidence that has come to light providing a date. All the discussions are based on three ancient literary sources, i.e. Suetonius, Dio, and Virgil.

Suetonius states that “He [Augustus] had built this [the Mausoleum] during his sixth consulship”³⁸, which corresponds to the year of 28 BCE. Evidently a building of such enormous dimensions, and a complex structure could not have been finished in a single year. In great probability the construction lasted at least 3-4 years.³⁹ In addition, it is not clear whether Suetonius’ date is that of the beginning or the end of the construction.⁴⁰

Virgil, on the other hand, in his *Aeneid*, while writing about the burial of Augustus’ nephew Marcellus in 23 BCE, calls out to the river: “Tiber, as you glide past the newly made tomb (*tumulus recens*) what a cortege shall you see”.⁴¹ Virgil’s wording of “the newly made tomb” (*tumulus recens*) comprises another point of scholarly debates.⁴² It has been interpreted by some as such that the building was

³⁸ Suetonius, *Div.Aug.*, 100. The full sentence in Latin: “*Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto consulatu exstruxerat circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicat.*”

³⁹ See Kraft, “Sinn des Mausoleums des Augustus,” 191. He compares the Mausoleum of Augustus to that of Hadrian whose construction lasted 5-9 years. It should be noted that Hadrian’s Mausoleum was larger and more complex than Augustus’ Mausoleum.

⁴⁰ Kraft postulates that when a single date is given it generally refers to that of completion. For details and references including counterviews see Kraft, “Sinn des Mausoleums des Augustus,” 192.

⁴¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.873.

⁴² See Kraft, “Sinn des Mausoleums des Augustus,” 191, fn.14, including references. Cf. Susan. L. F. Brangers, *The Mausoleum of Augustus*, PhD Thesis (Allen R. Hite Art Institute, Uni. of Louisville, Kentucky, 2007), 32.

newly finished by 23 BCE. However, it could also be understood as referring to the fresh burial of Marcellus, rather than to the Mausoleum proper.

The third and last literary source on the subject is Dio. On Marcellus' death, Dio writes that "...placed his body in the tomb which he was building".⁴³ Dio's statement, in contrast to that of Virgil, stresses the fact that the Mausoleum was not finished by the year of 23 BCE.

Evidently, the reliability of the literary evidence is questionable. Suetonius was writing almost a hundred years after the construction of the Mausoleum, and Dio two hundred. The sources of both Suetonius and Dio are unknown. And neither Suetonius nor Dio is regarded flawless.⁴⁴ Moreover scholarly views on grammatics and vocabulary differ in critical points, making an assessment of the much debated wordings difficult. Virgil, on the other hand, is not a historian but a poet, and his writings can be considered as having artistic intentions rather than factual.

One of the main scholarly discussions on the date of the Mausoleum has been offered by Kraft.⁴⁵ According to Kraft, the Mausoleum's main structure might have been completed by the year of 28 BCE together with the surrounding public park as stated by Suetonius,⁴⁶ but works on decoration may have required some more years confirming Dio's wording.⁴⁷ As for the begining of the construction, Kraft has

⁴³ Dio, 53.30.5.

⁴⁴ For Suetonius see Michael Donderer, "Zur Datierung des Augustus-Mausoleums", *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vol. 78, (January 2010): 76. Donderer also provides examples of numeric mistakes in other sources.

⁴⁵ Kraft, "Sinn des Mausoleums des Augustus," 189-206.

⁴⁶ Kraft finds Suetonius's expression of "during his sixth consulship" more reliable than that of Virgil's use of imperfect tense (*ibid.*, 192).

⁴⁷ For details and also references of opposing views see Kraft, *ibid.*, 192-193 and fn. 15. Cf. Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 247: "dated by Suetonius to 28 BCE, but evidently not finished by 23 BCE"; Axel Boethius and John B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 197: the construction "started in 28 BCE and it was ready for use in 23 BCE."

proposed a pre-Actium date, *i.e.* before 32 BCE, as a political act against Marcus Antonius.

Leaving Kraft's pre-Actium date as a political act to be discussed further in Chapter 3, here two more recent studies, namely that of Brangers and Donderer,⁴⁸ are worthy to mention in opposition to Kraft's proposal, which had been widely accepted until lately.⁴⁹ Both Brangers and Donderer, based upon argumentations of the supposed inadequate financial and political circumstances of Augustus before the victory of Actium, propose a much later date for the beginning of the construction, namely after Augustus' return from Egypt to Rome in 29 BCE, as the victor of the triple triumph of Dalmatia, Actium and Egypt, and with the enormous funds of the latter.

The debates on the construction dates clearly lack positive evidence, thus are destined to remain speculative and undecisive. The archaeological remains of the Mausoleum do not provide much help on the issue either. Nevertheless, Hesberg assesses the ornamentation of the Mausoleum from a stylistic and typological point of view as Early Augustan rather than Late.⁵⁰ On the other hand, he notes that the inscription of Augustus' grandson Gaius Caesar, who died in 9 BCE, was placed in position contemporary with the Doric entablature itself. The doric entablature on the upper part of the Mausoleum was most probably one of the last features to have been finished during the construction of the Mausoleum. Therefore, Hesberg states that the decoration may have been completed not later than 8 BCE.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Brangers, *Mausoleum of Augustus*, 32-38 and Donderer, "Datierung des Augustus-Mausoleums," 69-78.

⁴⁹ Even though not necessarily with a reference given to Kraft parallel views are expressed, or simply the dates of 32/31 BCE are given without explanation in several sources, e.g. Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 36-37; Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Uni. Press, 1996), 352, Henner von Hesberg, "Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," in *Das Mausoleum des Augustus: Der Bau und seine Inschriften*, ed. by Henner von Hesberg and Silvio Panciera (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), 54-55.

⁵⁰ See Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 41-45.

⁵¹ Hesberg, *ibid.*, 54.

2.3. Description of the Mausoleum

2.3.1 Archaeological Remains

With the end of the Roman era, the Mausoleum became exposed to neglect and damage. First it was plundered by Goths starting at early fifth century. Following a long period of neglect it re-functioned as a fortress, vineyard, lime-kiln, garden museum, amphitheater, and a workshop for casting sculptures, each causing further damage to its original state. Finally in 1907, it was converted into a concert hall with a capacity of 3500 people, known as the Augusteo. With the Fascist era, the Mausoleum became a monument of attraction, as a political symbol for the Fascist ideology. During this period, with the orders of Mussolini, the Augusteo and the surrounding buildings were demolished, and excavation and restoration works were carried out, exposing what had remained from the Mausoleum (Figs. 5, 6, and 7).



Figure 5. View of the concert hall Augusteo during the demolition of the surrounding buildings.

Source: <http://heritage-key.com/blogs/bija-knowles/vanished-rome-turns-facebook>
[Last accessed 23.12.2018]



Figure 6. Aerial view of Piazza Augusto Imperatore, after the demolition of the concert hall Augusteo and the surrounding buildings in 1930's by the decree of Mussolini.

Source: <http://www.mediterraneanonline.it/2011/01/27/roma-verra-restaurato-il-mausoleo-augusto/>
[Last accessed 23.12.2018]



Figure 7. View of the Mausoleum of Augustus, after the removal of the later additions.

Source: Hesberg and Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus*, 1994, *Tafel 1-b*.

In addition, Mussolini had the Piazza Augusto Imperatore constructed around the Mausoleum, which was completed in 1940. The piazza was surrounded with buildings, decorated with inscriptions and images presenting the Fascist ideology using symbols of the Roman past and the Museo dell'Ara Pacis (Figs. 8, and 9).

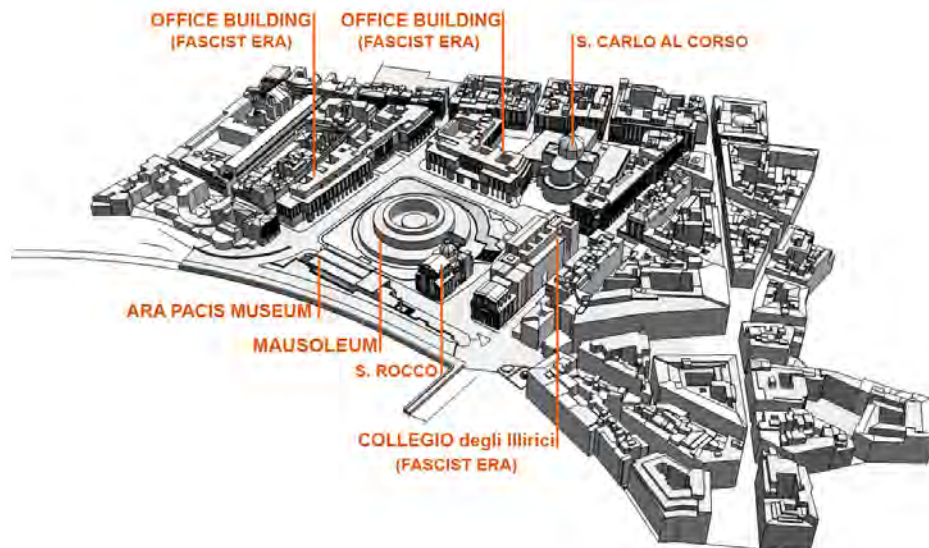


Figure 8. Model drawing showing the surrounding buildings of the Mausoleum of Augustus in the Piazza Augusto Imperatore.

Source: Model adapted from <http://rome.landesserve.com/contact.html> [Last accessed 18.12.2018]



Figure 9. Aerial view of Piazza Augusto Imperatore with the old Ara Pacis Pavillion designed by Vittorio Ballio Morpurgo and built in 1938.

Source: <http://intranet.arc.miami.edu/rjohn/Hadrianic.htm> [Last accessed 23.12.2018]



Figure 10. Aerial axonometric view of the Mausoleum in the Piazza Augusto Imperatore, current state.

Source: Adapted from Google Maps [Last accessed 20.11.2018]

Today, the archaeological remains of the Mausoleum are to be seen at the very center of the modern piazza between the Via del Corso and the Via di Ripetta (Fig. 10). The remains sit approximately six meters below the surrounding street level. The remains from the outside can be basically described as two concentric cylinders, the inner one being higher than the outer. On top of the cylinders there are cypress trees and bushes planted, to simulate the original appearance of the Mausoleum, as it had been described by Strabo. The outer cylinder has been preserved to a height of about 9 meters and the inner of about 15-16 meters. The walls have lost their facings. A vaulted entrance passage cuts through the circular walls of the cylinders and leads to an unroofed inner area. At the center of this circular inner area stands another circular and roofed structure composed of an annular corridor surrounding a small, rectangular burial chamber. This central core is a modern reconstruction built with ancient materials.⁵²

⁵² Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 5.



Figure 11. Model of the ruins of the Mausoleum of Augustus.
Source: Hesberg and Panciera, Das Mausoleum des Augustus, 1994, Tafel 3-c.



Figure 12. Aerial axonometric view of the Mausoleum of Augustus, actual state.
Source: Adapted from Google Maps [Last accessed 10.11.2019]

A model of the ruins provides a better understanding of the remains (Fig. 11). It shows what has been hidden today under the earthen-fill and the over grown trees. A comparison between the aerial photograph of the ruins of today and that of the

model exhibits the different states of the central area, demonstrating that only the foundations of the central core had originally survived (Figs. 11 and 12). In the model, the remains of the complex structural system between the outer most three circular walls can be seen clearly, though some parts are concealed under the surviving roof.

2.3.2. Ideas on the Original Appearance

The remains present a considerable amount of information about the original plan of the Mausoleum. However, the destruction of the upper parts makes its section and elevation difficult to reconstruct. Until today, several attempts have been made to reconstruct the outward appearance of the Mausoleum. The interest in the Mausoleum of Augustus dates back to the Renaissance, when architects became interested in the classical works of antiquity.

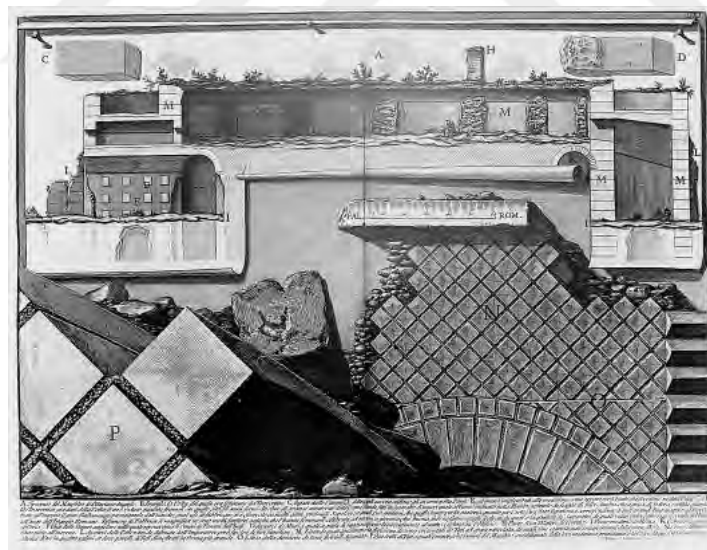


Figure 13. Engraving by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778), showing the opus reticulatum of the Mausoleum of Augustus, *Le Antichità Romane*, Vol. II, 1756.

Source: <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=IFN-2000054&I=108&M=imageseule>
[Last accessed 23.12.2018]

Baldassare Peruzzi and Giovanni Francesco da Sangallo studied parts of remains of the Mausoleum that came to light during the construction works at the

Church of San Rocco. Their measurements and sketches provide valuable information on parts of the Mausoleum that have not survived (Figs. 13 and 14).



Figure 14. Engraving by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778), showing the Mausoleum of Augustus and related objects. *Le Antichita Romane*, Vol. II, 1756.

Source: <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=IFN-2000054&I=109&M=imageseule> [Last accessed 23.12.2018]



Figure 15. Detail of the fresco “The Vision of the Cross” by Gianfrancesco Penni, Giulio Romano and Raffaellino del Colle from Raphael's workshop, 1520-1524, the Hall of Constantine, Palace of the Vatican. The background shows the Mausoleum of Hadrian at the center and the Mausoleum of Augustus with an obelisk in front of it, at the right.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Raphael_Vision_Cross.jpg [Last accessed 30.09.2019]

Having lost its original appearance by continuous damages and re-functionings, the Mausoleum aroused the imagination of artists and architects, who produced hypothetical drawings and engravings of its plan and looks .(Figs. 15 – 19).

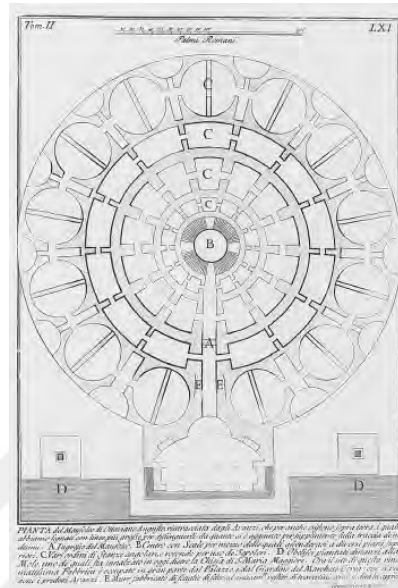


Figure 16. Hypothetical plan of the Mausoleum of Augustus by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778), *Le Antichità Romane*, Vol. II, 1756.

Source: <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=IFN-2000054&I=107&M=imageseule>
[Last accessed 24.12.2018]

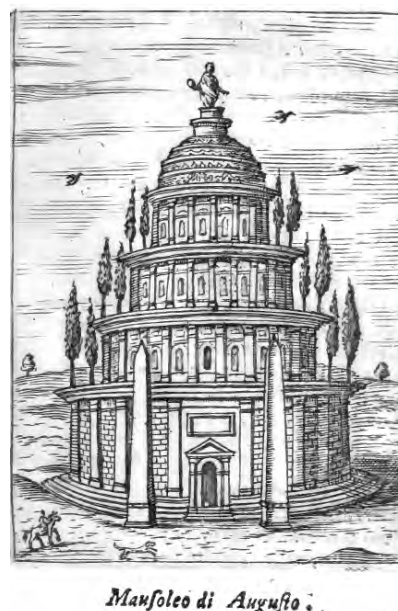


Figure 17. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Augustus by Pancrazio Capelli, *Roma antica e moderna, o sia, Nuova descrizione di tutti gl' edificj antichi e moderni, tanto sagri, quanto profani della città di Roma*, Vol. II, 1750 (first published in 1739).

Source: Internet Archive (digitized in 2009 with funding from Getty Research Institute).
<http://www.archive.org/details/romaanticaemoder02cape> [Last accessed 23.12.2011]



Figure 18. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Augustus by Luigi Canina (1795-1856), *Vedute dei Principali Monumenti di Roma Antica*, 1851.

Source: Internet Archive (digitized in 2010 with funding from Getty Research Institute).

<http://www.archive.org/details/vedutedeiprincip00caniiala>

[Last accessed 23.12.2011]

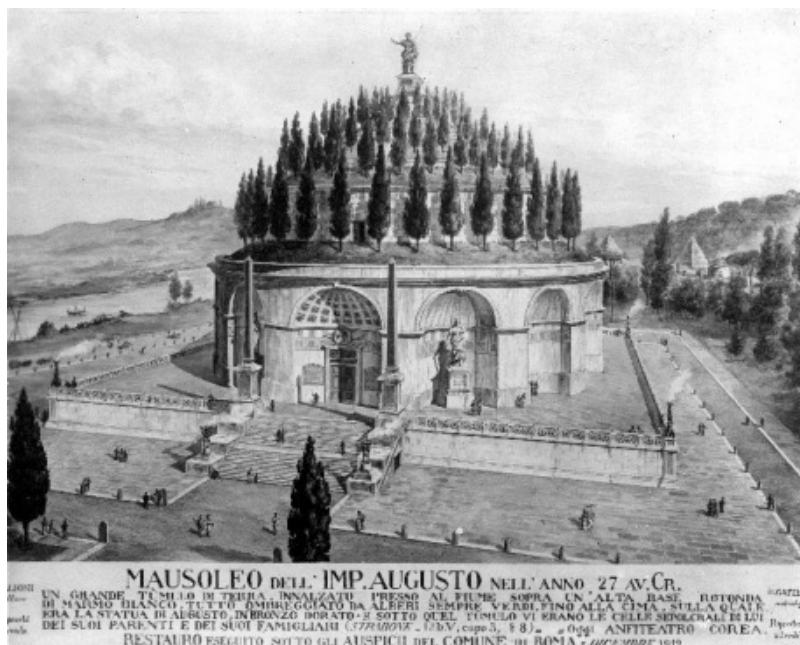


Figure 19. A reconstruction drawing of Augustus' Mausoleum by V. Bellioni under the instructions of archaeologist G. Gatteschi, 1912.

Source: <http://takeawalkinrome.wordpress.com/page/2/>

[Last accessed 24.12.2018]

Modern scholarly works on the reconstruction of the Mausoleum date back to the 1920's. Based upon limited excavations, Giglioli (in 1926), Fiorilli (in 1927), and Cordingley and Richmond (in 1927) published ideas on the original appearance of the Mausoleum (Figs.20, 21, and 22).

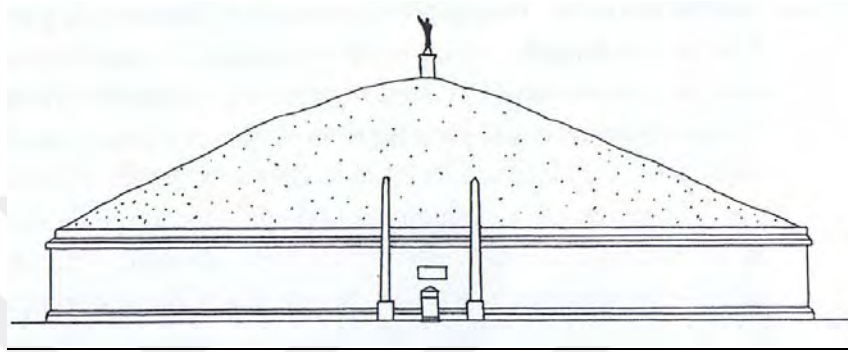


Figure 20. Mausoleum of Augustus, proposed reconstruction after Giglioli (1926).
Source: Johnson, "Mausoleum of Augustus," 221, Fig.3.

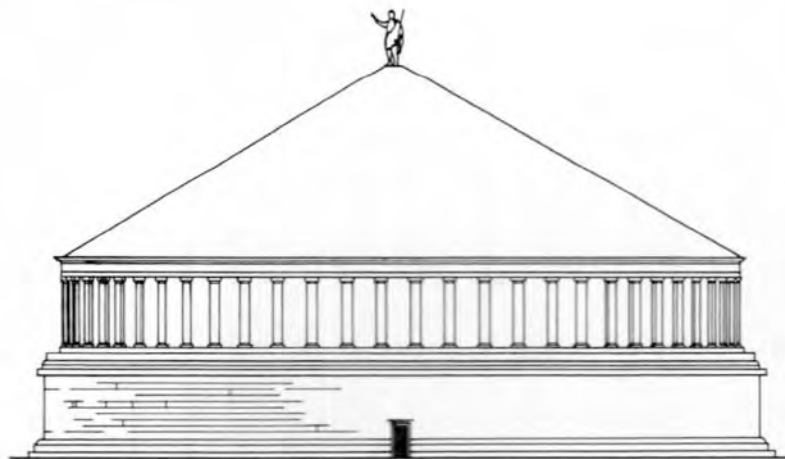


Figure 21. Mausoleum of Augustus, proposed reconstruction by Fiorilli (1927).
Source: Colvin, Architecture and the After-Life, Fig.38-A.

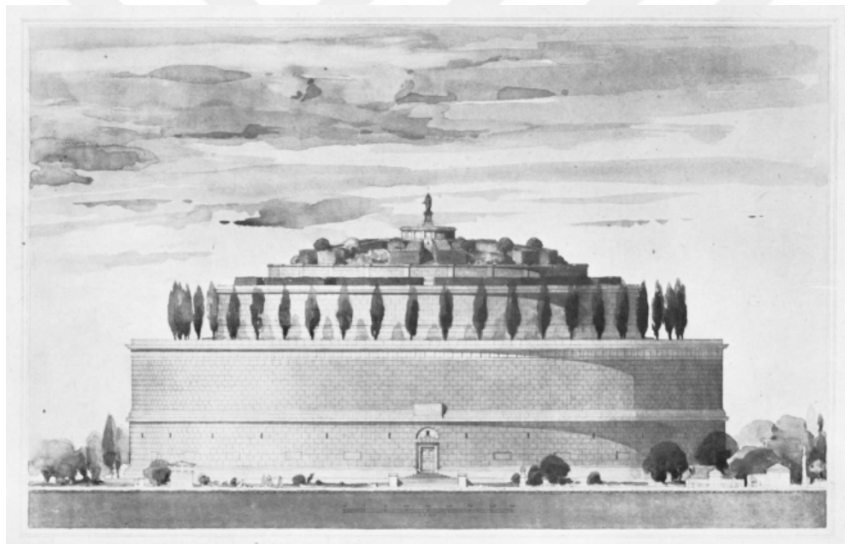
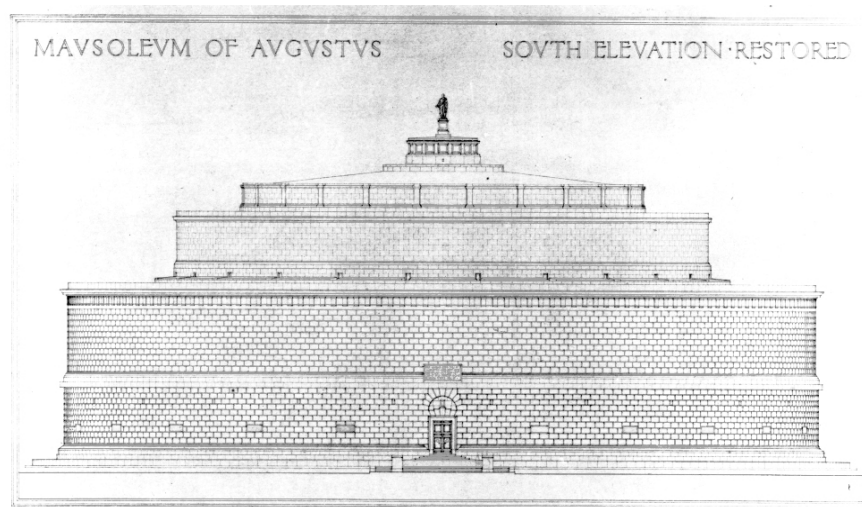


Figure 22. Mausoleum of Augustus, proposed reconstruction by Cordingley and Richmond (1927), showing the south elevation with and without trees.

Source: Cordingley and Richmond (1927, Fig.3 and Plate XIII)

As later excavations provided more information, Gatti put forward several reconstructions with some variations (Figs. 23, and 24). In his first three proposals of 1934, he suggested that the third circular wall, as numerated starting from the outermost, rose up forming a smaller cylinder on the upper part of the Mausoleum, decorated with or without pilasters (Fig. 23). Later in 1938, he revised his proposal in

which the fourth instead of the third wall formed the upper cylinder, maintaining the pilasters (Fig. 24). This reconstruction became widely accepted until the publication of Hesberg in 1994.

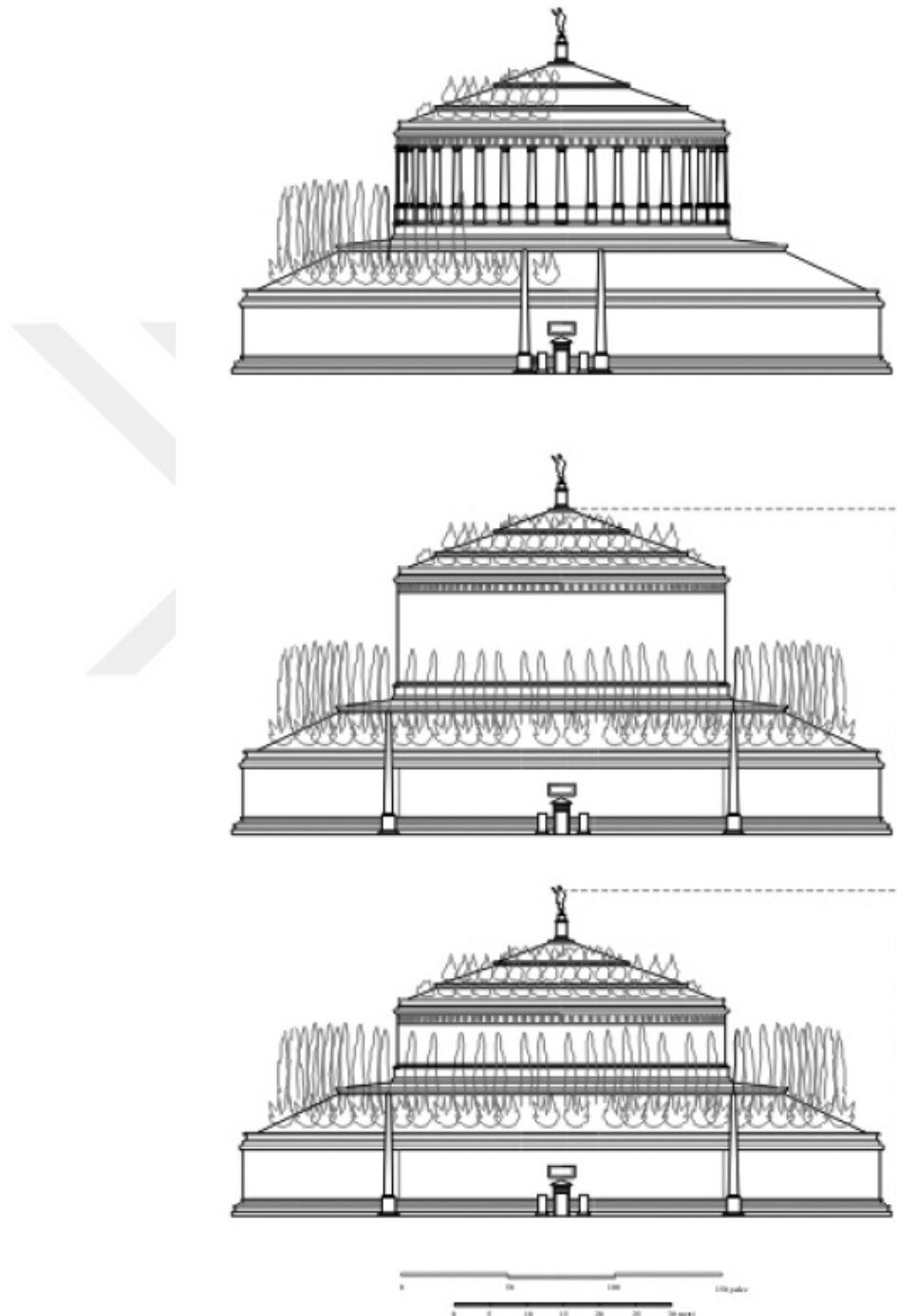


Figure 23. Mausoleum of Augustus, proposed reconstructions by Gatti (1934).
Source: https://www.comune.roma.it/PCR/resources/cms/documents/Augusto_Imperatore.pdf
[Last accessed 25.07.2019]

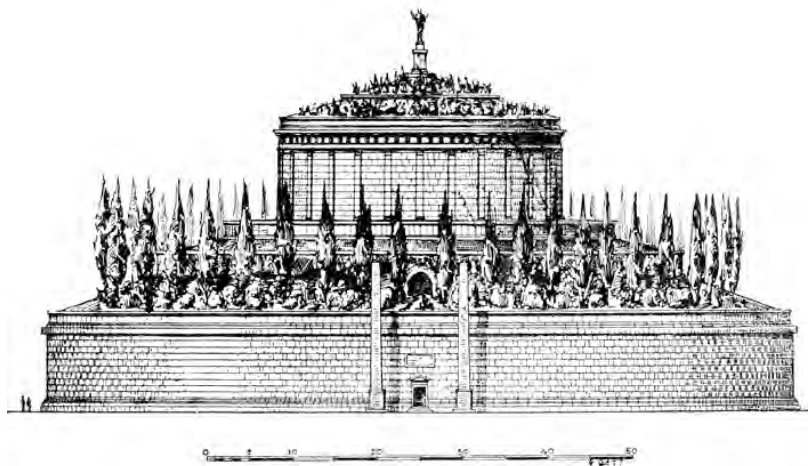


Figure 24. Mausoleum of Augustus, proposed reconstruction by Gatti (1938).
 Source: <http://www.chart.ac.uk/chart2005/papers/pollini.html> [Last accessed 20.10.2019]

The most recent proposal on the reconstruction of the Mausoleum is that of Hesberg (Figs. 25, 26, and 27). Based on a thorough analysis of the archaeological remains, previous works, especially that of Gatti, and Peruzzi's drawings,⁵³ Hesberg provides a detailed study on its reconstruction.⁵⁴

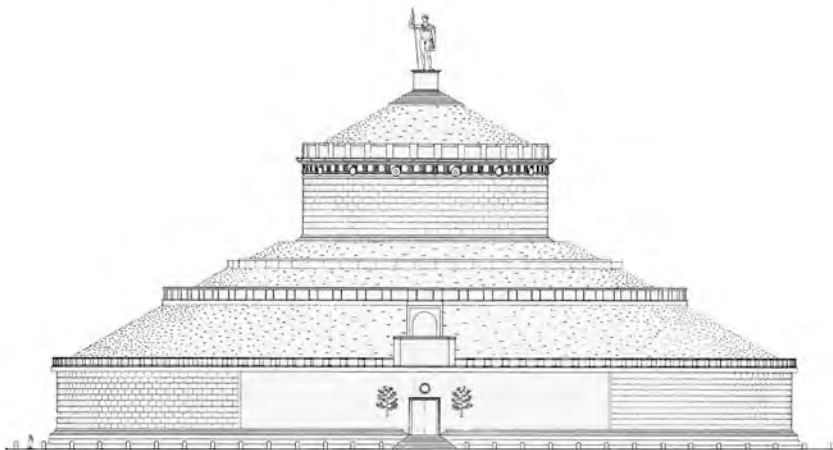


Figure 25. Mausoleum of Augustus, proposed reconstruction by H. von Hesberg - 1.
 Source: Hesberg and Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus*, 194, Abb. 47.

⁵³ On Peruzzi's drawings see Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 9-10. Hesberg evaluates Peruzzi's drawings as highly reliable.

⁵⁴ See Hesberg, *ibid.*, 4-61.

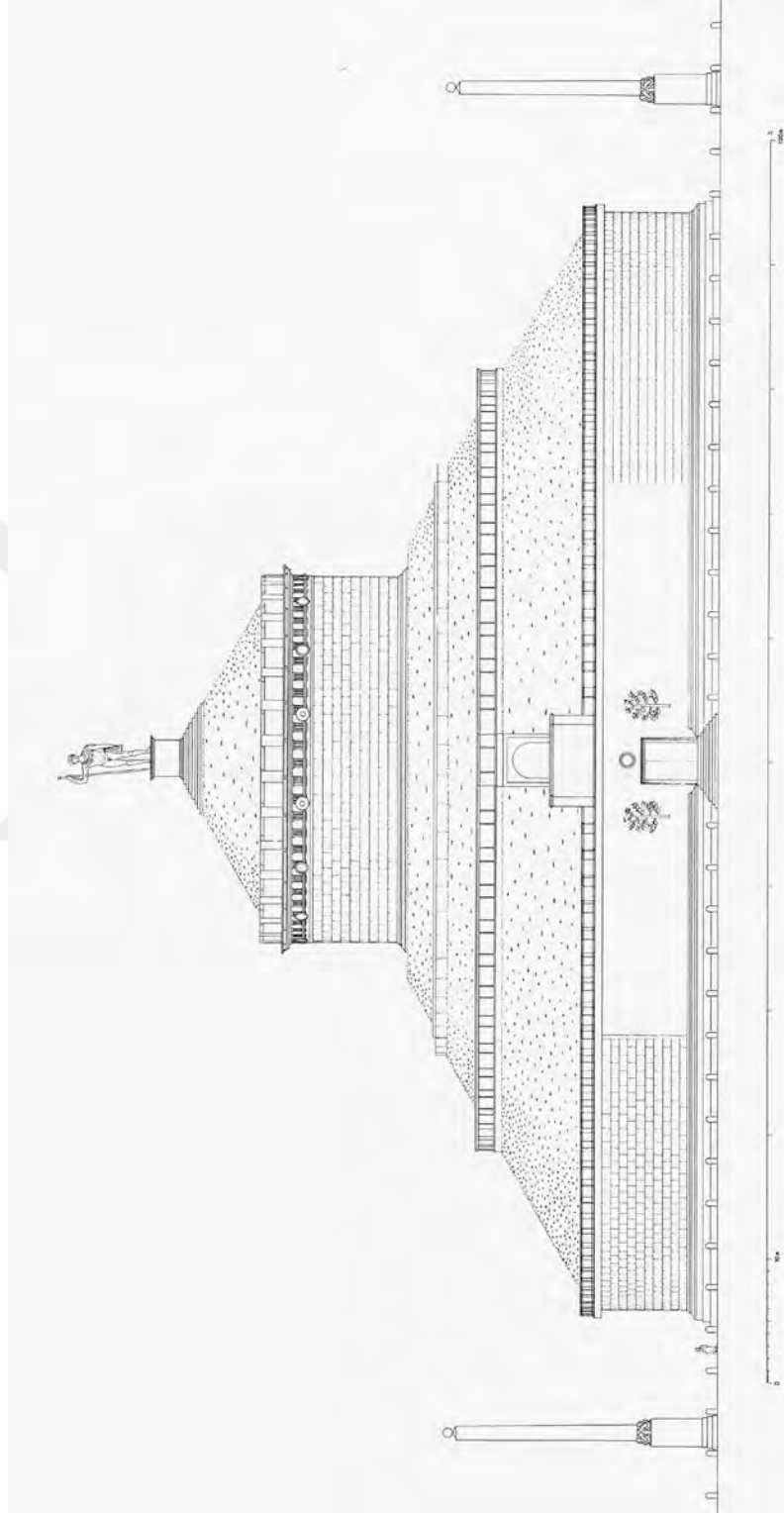


Figure 26. Mausoleum of Augustus, proposed reconstruction by H. von Hesberg -2.
 Source: *Hesberg and Panciera (1994, p. 196, Abb. 49)*

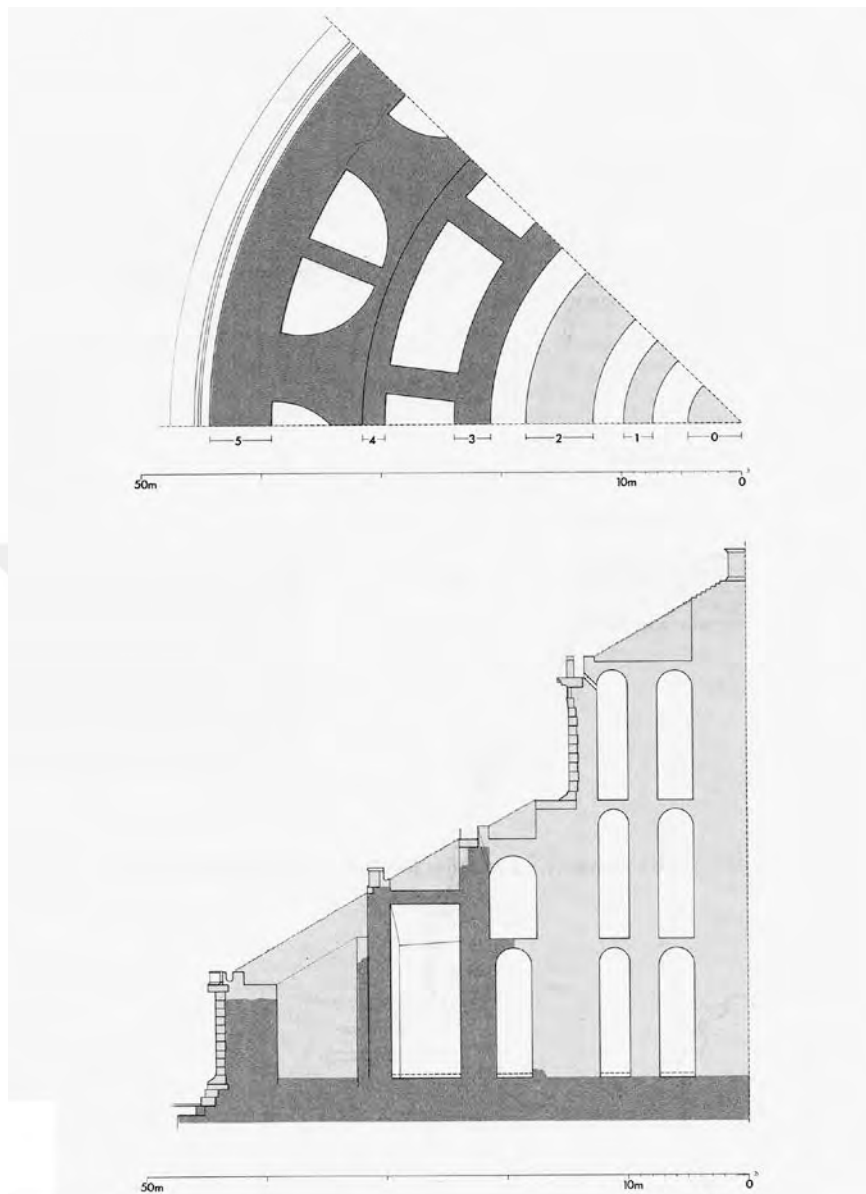


Figure 27. Mausoleum of Augustus, proposed reconstruction by H. von Hesberg, plan and section.

Source: Hesberg and Panciera, Das Mausoleum des Augustus, 194, Abb. 1, 2.

The following is the description of the Mausoleum as proposed by Hesberg, meant to be read with the accompanying figures of 25, 26, 27 and 28. Attested by the ruins, the plan consists of five concentric walls around a central core. The walls are numerated from inside to outside as '0' to '5'.⁵⁵ The diameter of the outermost wall, *i.e.* no '5', is *ca.* 87 meters, excluding its facing. The plan of the Mausoleum can be

⁵⁵ The numeration started with Gatti.

considered in two parts: the outer walls of '5' - '3' are inter-connected by radial partitions forming inaccessible spaces in between, and the walls of '2' - '0' stand unconnected in plan forming the accessible interior spaces of the annular corridors and burial chambers.

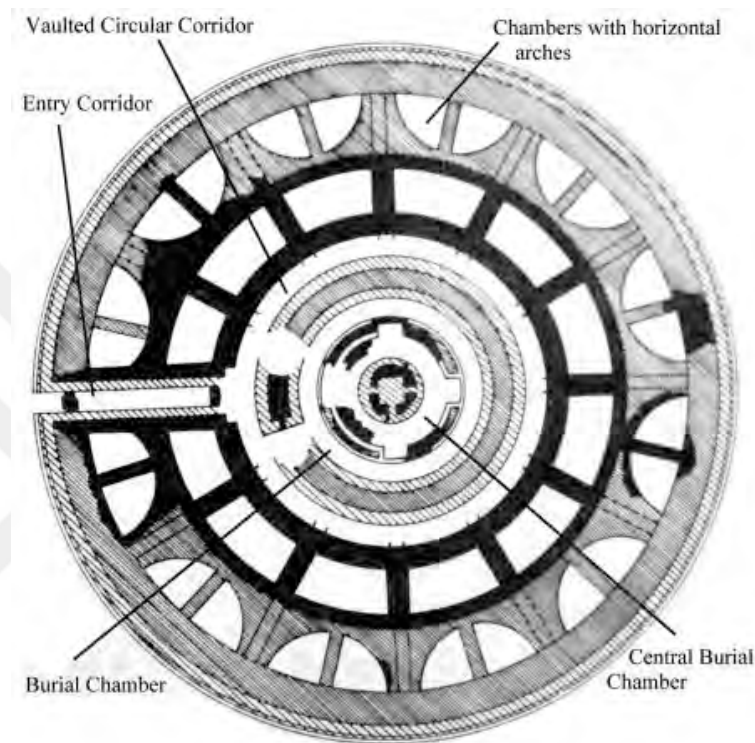


Figure 28. Plan of the Mausoleum of Augustus.
 Source: Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, 153, fig.14.

Between the walls of '5' and '4', there are twelve semicircular spaces, each re-divided by into twenty four quadr-circular chambers. These chambers were open on top and filled with earth.⁵⁶ The space between the walls '4' and '3' are also divided by radial partitions forming twelve chambers. These chambers are roofed by vaults resting on the partition walls. The roof has survived to a great extent providing a clear idea of its original state. The chambers are inaccessible and thought to have

⁵⁶ The existence of the earth-filling has been proven by the remains of the material discovered during excavations in the chambers containing pre-Augustan ceramic pieces (Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 6).

been left empty.⁵⁷ The entrance passage, measuring 4,90 meters in width without its facing and 3,25 meters with the travertine cladding, cuts through the walls of '5' to '3', and reaches the annular corridor between the walls of '3' and '2'. The axis of the entrance passage is blocked by wall '2', forcing a turn either to the right or left to reach one of the two entrances that led into the next annular corridor between the walls '2' and '1'. Through a single opening in wall '1', located on the same axis of the main entrance, the innermost annular corridor is accessed. Since the walls '2' - '0' were destroyed down to their foundations and a modern reconstruction was built upon, the identification of the original state of the central section is difficult. The three shallow niches that can be seen today in wall '1', oriented towards the cardinal points, are in fact modern reconstructions and there is no information available on their actual existence.⁵⁸ The last annular corridor surrounds a central pier, i.e. no '0', which has a travertine filling, and contains a rectangular chamber. Each side of this rectangular chamber measures 2,90 meters from inside. This small chamber most probably contained the ashes of Augustus.

The remains provide some clues about the upper structure and the elevation, yet leaving much unknown. Hesberg's proposal for the section and elevation reflect the two part ground plan. His reconstruction, regarding the outer appearance of the Mausoleum, basically consists of two concentric cylinders. The walls '5'-'3' form the outer cylinder filled and topped by earth, while walls '2'-'0' constitute the higher inner cylinder that is surmounted by a second earthen mound. The central pier rises high above all to carry the statue of Augustus. Following Gatti, Hesberg considers the fact that the wall '2' having the largest width of 5,70 meters, as a proof that it was meant to carry more weight, and thus confirming the rise of it to form the outer wall of the inner cylinder.

⁵⁷ As noted by Hesberg, due to the absence of any trace of a wooden formwork, Cordingley and Richmond thought that they might have been filled with earth, but no remains of such a filling have been identified so far (Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 6 and fn. 28).

⁵⁸ Hesberg states that the literature is "silent" on the original state of this inner section of the Mausoleum (*ibid.*, 29, fn. 172).

Based on a surviving part of a vault between the walls '3' and '2', and the apparent traces on the innerside of wall '3', the walls '3' and '2' are thought to have been connected by a concentric vault forming the roof of the annular corridor in between them. The height of the vault is 11,50 meters which also corresponds to that of the entrance passage. Hesberg proposes similar concentric vaults of the same height connecting the walls of '2', '1' and '0' and repeats them on two additional upperstories.⁵⁹ Hesberg estimates a total height of 45 meters for the Mausoleum.

The mausoleum was built of Roman concrete. The archaeological remains and Hesberg's reconstruction reveal a complex structure, concealed by the simple outer form of two concentric cylinders and the earthen mound. Compared to its enormous dimensions, the Mausoleum contained considerably small interior spaces. Hence, the main structural problem here was evidently not to span large openings, but to create an outward appearance of the desired form and dimensions. The stability and weight problems that would be caused by the height, and the extra weight added by the earthen mound had to be solved in particular. In contrast to the massive outer look of an earthen mound, the desired form and dimensions were achieved by a relatively lighter inner structure. The hollow vaulting system proposed by Hesberg, did not only lighten the structure but also provided stability, both for the rising central pier, and for the whole, with its tapered form that transferred structural forces to the ground with a buttressing system similar to that of gothic structures in principle. And the lateral arches on the outmost ring must have acted together as a compression ring counteracting the outward thrust caused by all the forces transferred to the ground. The unknown architect, certainly has to be credited for the successful structural solution.

As for the finishing materials, in some places of the ruins *opus reticulatum* surfaces of the concrete walls are still to be seen. The exterior facade of the Mausoleum, and the interior walls of the accessible spaces were faced with travertine. In addition, Hesberg proposes a marble area on the outer facade flanking

⁵⁹ Hesberg remarks that a modular vaulting system having the same dimensions might have been practicle for enabling the re-use of the same formwork in the upperstories ("Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 7).

the entrance with a total width of 90 meters, based on remaining fragments of marble blocks - mostly with inscriptions, and traces on the outer wall of the Mausoleum.⁶⁰ According to Hesberg, the floors were most probably covered with marble, of which some dark colored plates facing the *caementicium* ground of the innermost burial chamber have survived.⁶¹

On the other hand, not much has remained of the decoration of the Mausoleum. Few blocks of a doric entablature, one with a lion head and floral coffers, a fragment of a laurel relief, and a piece of a shield known as *clipeus virtutis*, are worthy to mention here (Figs. 29 and 30).⁶² The latter two are of utmost importance to be discussed further in detail in the following chapters.



Figure 29-a.



Figure 29-b.

Figure 29-a. Doric cornice with a lion head from the Mausoleum of Augustus.

Source: Hesberg and Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus*, Tafel 10-a.

Figure 29-b. Fragment of the laurel relief from the Mausoleum of Augustus.

Source: Hesberg and Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus*, Tafel 6-e.

⁶⁰ For details of the marble facade see Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 13-15.

⁶¹ Hesberg, *ibid.*, 29.

⁶² For a list of remaining pieces see Hesberg, *ibid.*, 57-61.



Figure 29-a.



Figure 29-b.

Figure 30-a. Fragment of the relief of *clipeus virtutis* from the Mausoleum of Augustus.

Source: Hesberg and Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus*, Tafel 5-b.

Figure 30-b. A complete example of a *clipeus virtutis* from Arles.

Source: Hesberg and Panciera *Das Mausoleum des Augustus*, Tafel 5-a.

2.3.3. Complementary Elements of the Mausoleum

2.3.3.1. The Statue

The existence of a statue of Augustus on top of the Mausoleum is known from Strabo's description.⁶³ Strabo remarks that it was made of bronze, but does not provide any further details. It was most probably plundered by the Goths in the fifth century, and therefore has not survived. The Greek word *eikon*⁶⁴ used by Strabo for the statue is a general term designating any sort of image from two dimensional to three dimensional, thus giving no hint for its actual appearance, though it can be assumed to have been colossal to match the enormous dimensions of the Mausoleum.

⁶³ Strabo, *Geographica*, 5.3.8.

⁶⁴ The modern word 'icon' is derived from *eikon* (John Pollini et al. "Problematics of Making Ambiguity Explicit in Virtual Reconstructions: A Case Study of the Mausoleum of Augustus," in *Theory and Practice, Proceedings of the 21st Annual Conference of CHArt: Computers and the History of Art* (London: British Academy, 2005).

Both Gatti and Hesberg depicted a single standing figure of Augustus on top of the Mausoleum in their reconstruction drawings.⁶⁵ On the other hand, a recent study conducted by Pollini has produced different ideas.⁶⁶ A three dimensional digital model of the Mausoleum, especially the views of it from the ground level have revealed that a single statue even if colossal would have been lost with respect to the immense dimensions of the monument. Therefore, instead of a single statue, Pollini proposes a *quadriga*, i.e. a four-horse chariot.

Pollini substantiates his proposal with further evidence. He points out that the *quadriga* symbolizes deification in funerary context. It is also known that *quadrigae* were placed on top of funerary pyres. Dio writes that Augustus' funeral procession included a triumphal *quadriga* carrying an effigy of Augustus.⁶⁷ It has been proposed that the Mausoleum of Hadrian for which Augustus' monument is considered to have functioned as a model, was topped by a *quadriga* too.⁶⁸ The Mausoleum at Halicarnassos, another monument associated with Augustus' Mausoleum, was also crowned by a *quadriga* image of the Carian Satrap Mausolos.⁶⁹ Augustus himself was depicted in the very center of his forum as a *triumphator* in a *quadriga*.⁷⁰ In

⁶⁵ It should be noted that Hesberg leaves the determination of the typology to the experts ("Rekonstruktion des AugustusMausoleums," 28).

⁶⁶ See Pollini et al., "Problematics of Making Ambiguity Explicit in Virtual Reconstructions," and John Pollini, *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion, and Power in the Visual Culture of Ancient Rome* (Norman, Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma, 2012), 142.

⁶⁷ Dio, 56.34.2. See also Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*, 21.

⁶⁸ See Pollini et al., "Problematics of Making Ambiguity Explicit in Virtual Reconstructions". For evidence see Mary Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*. Princeton (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 173. The *quadriga* is mentioned in a fragment considered to be of Cassius Dio, as quoted in *Excerpta Salmasiana* (frag. 114, Mueller, 1841:581). Cf. John of Malalas (*HJ* 665, n113). This evidence has been disputed; see Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 337; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 249; Penelope J. E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2000), 36, fn.89.

⁶⁹ Pliny, *Hist.Nat.*36.4.

⁷⁰ Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*, 186.

addition Pollini mentions the *quadriga* images of Augustus on the arches at the *Ponte Milvio* and *Ariminum* commemorating his restoration of the *Via Flaminia*.⁷¹ An Augustan coin depicts this image of *quadrigae* on the arch of *Ponte Milvio*.⁷² Moreover, on the reverse side of a *denarius* from the Actium series, Augustus appears standing on a *quadriga* as a *triumphator*, holding a laurel branch in his hand.⁷³ Thus, Pollini's proposition from both an architectural and symbolic point of view seems plausible.

2.3.3.2. Obelisks

It is known from ancient sources that a pair of obelisks flanked the entrance of the Mausoleum.⁷⁴ The first ancient writer who mentioned them was Ammianus Marcellinus.⁷⁵ Since Pliny, in his discussion on the obelisks of Rome,⁷⁶ and Strabo,⁷⁷ in his description of the Mausoleum, omitted them, it was generally assumed that they were erected at a later period. However, Buchner dates their erection to the Augustan time.⁷⁸ Excavations of 1995 and 1996 carried out by Buchner revealed

⁷¹ Dio (53.33.2) uses the same word "*eikon*" for these statues (Pollini et al. "Problematics of Making Ambiguity Explicit in Virtual Reconstructions").

⁷² For references see Pollini et al., *ibid.*, fn. 27.

⁷³ Jane C. Reeder, "The Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, the Underground Complex, and the Omen of the Gallina Alba," *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 118, No. 1 (1997): 91.

⁷⁴ For the basic information and bibliography on the obelisks see Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (New York: Praeger, 1961), 155 and Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 248, 275.

⁷⁵ Dio, 17.4.16.

⁷⁶ Pliny, *Hist.Nat.* 36.69-74.

⁷⁷ Strabo, *Geographica*, 5.3.8.

⁷⁸ See Buchner, "Ein Kanal für Obelisken," 166-67.

their locations, as well as the existence of a canal and a mole (Fig.31). According to Buchner, the canal and the mole were opened temporarily for the transportation of the two obelisks of the Mausoleum, alongside the twin obelisks of the Meridian and the Circus Maximus.

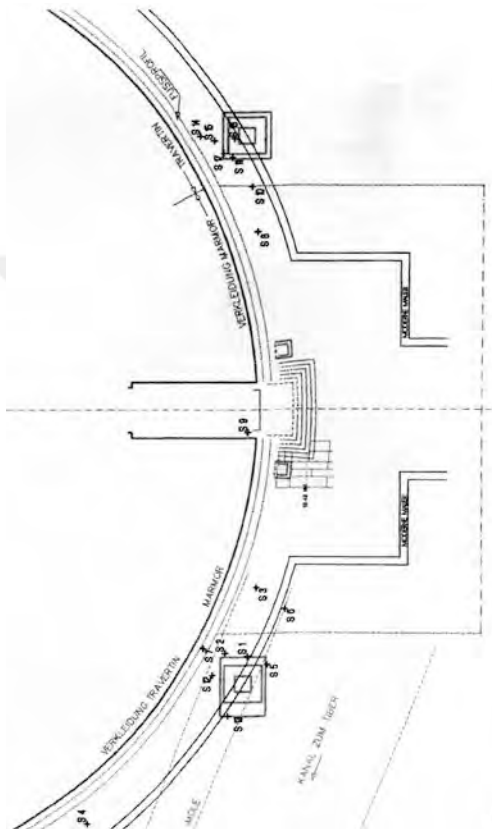


Figure 31. Sketch of Buchner showing the locations of the two obelisks, a canal and a mole thought to have been used for the transportation of the obelisks, and the foundations of two pillars flanking the entrance that most probably carried the *Res Gestae* inscription.
Source: Buchner(1996, p. 163, Abb. 3)

The obelisks were discovered in the 16th century and re-erected in Rome at different locations.⁷⁹ Therefore their appearances are known. They are of red granite,

⁷⁹ One of them was excavated in 1519 during the work on the Via di Ripetta. It lay along the west side of the Mausoleum behind the church of S. Rocco until it was removed in 1586 and re-erected in the Piazza dell'Esquilino in 1587. The other one was discovered at the same time, but left behind the church where it became buried under earth and rubble. It was rediscovered in 1781 during work on the hospital of S. Rocco and was taken to the Piazza del Quirinale to be re-erected. The work was completed in 1786 (Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 155; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 275).

and have a height of ca. 14 meters (Figs.32 and 33).⁸⁰ Because they have no inscriptions they are thought to have been made specifically for that location.⁸¹



Figure 32. Obelisk of Augustus' Mausoleum, re-erected in Piazza dell Esquilino in front of the church of S. Maria Maggiore in 1587.

Source: Wikipedia.org, http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Obelisco_Esquilino, Photo by Martin Knopp [Last accessed 18.11.2018]



Figure 33. Obelisk of Augustus' Mausoleum, re-erected in Piazza dell Quirinale in 1786.

Photo: Author, November 2016.

⁸⁰ On their appearances and dimensions regarding their original state in Augustan time see Buchner, "Ein Kanal für Obeliskten," 161-68, esp. 162.

⁸¹ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 275.

2.3.3.3. The *Res Gestae*

It is known both from Suetonius⁸² and Dio⁸³ that one of the four sealed rolls to be opened after Augustus' death contained a record of his accomplishments that he ordered to be inscribed on bronze, and to be posted at the entrance of his Mausoleum. The record is known as the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, i.e. 'The Achievements of the Divine Augustus'. The original inscription has disappeared. Nevertheless three copies of the original text were found in Galatia in Anatolia: a Latin and a Greek version, known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, at the temple of Rome and Augustus in Ancyra (modern Ankara), a Latin version in Antioch of Pisidia (modern Yalvaç) and a Greek version in Apollonia (modern Uluborlu). Although some parts of the copies are damaged or missing, it has been possible to put together the entire text from the three surviving copies.⁸⁴ Buchner, during his excavations in 1995 and 1996, discovered foundations of two pillars that are thought to have carried the *Res Gestae* inscription, on the travertine pavement in front of the Mausoleum (Fig. 30).⁸⁵

2.3.4. The Tumulus and its Landscape

The huge earthen mound of the Mausoleum must have been one of the most striking elements of the whole design. It is unthinkable that such an immense earthen mound would have been left bare. Indeed, Strabo tells that the mound was "thickly

⁸² Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 101.4.

⁸³ Dio, 56.33.

⁸⁴ For further details and for the whole text in Latin and its English translation see Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.

⁸⁵ See Buchner, "Ein Kanal für Obelisken," 167-68.

covered with evergreen (*aeithalesi*) trees to the very summit.”⁸⁶ (5.3.8). The landscape design of the earthen mound must have constituted a vital part of the overall impact of the Mausoleum. However, it is the most neglected feature in the discussions on the monument.⁸⁷

Kellum provides evidence for Augustus’ interest in landscape design.⁸⁸ Pliny cites the friendship between Augustus and C. Matius Calvena, who was a horticulturist and according to Pliny, “invented the art of clipping arbours”.⁸⁹ When a palm tree, according to Suetonius, “pushed its way between the paving stones in front of his home he had it transplanted to the inner court beside his household gods, and lavished care on it”.⁹⁰ Again from Suetonius we learn that Augustus’ house was “modest enough and remarkable less for their statuary and pictures than for their landscape gardening”.⁹¹ Not only the gardens of Augustus’ house on the Palatine, but also his wife Livia’s villa at Prima Porta,⁹² with its famous laurel grove and the frescoes of the Garden Room,⁹³ testify to both Augustus’ and his wife’s interest in nature and landscape design.

⁸⁶ Strabo, *Geographica*, 5.3.8.

⁸⁷ Hesberg addresses the issue briefly. See Hesberg, “Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums,” 21. It is only Pollini so far who has argued it in more detail. See Pollini et al., “Problematics of Making Ambiguity Explicit in Virtual Reconstructions,” and Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*, 252-256.

⁸⁸ See Barbara A. Kellum, “The Construction of Landscape in Augustan Rome: The Garden Room at the Villa ad Gallinas,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 76, No.2, (June 1994): 211-224.

⁸⁹ *Hist.Nat.* 12.6.

⁹⁰ *Div.Aug.* 92.

⁹¹ *Div.Aug.* 72.

⁹² Also known as the *villa ad Gallinas Albas*. It was most probably part of Livia’s dowry.

⁹³ On the Garden Room of the Villa at the Prima Porta see Kellum, “The Construction of Landscape in Augustan Rome,” 211-224.

Cypress trees are planted on the ruins today, based on Gattis's reconstruction of 1938. Cypresses were associated with burial places.⁹⁴ However, the idea of cypress trees has been disputed by scholars lately, mainly on the grounds that the cypresses would grow high hiding Augustus' statue, and the monument's upper cylinder with its inscriptions and decorations from sight.⁹⁵ The present situation of the ruins with the over grown cypress trees supports the argument.

In the absence of any evidence, other than Strabo's account, the landscape of the earthen mound cannot be reconstructed. Yet, it is greatly probable that the plants were not chosen solely for their aesthetic effects but also for their symbolic significance. The Romans attached symbolic meanings to plants. Kellum, notes that Augustus "was well aware of the evocative value of plants and trees".⁹⁶ Pollini and Hesberg, have suggested the use of laurel and oak on the earthen mound of the Mausoleum,⁹⁷ due to their symbolic meanings and associations with Augustus. It is probable that several types of plants were used, for as noted by Pollini, Strabo uses the word *aeithalesi*, addressing the plants as a group instead of naming them individually.⁹⁸ A sophisticated landscape design with a variety of plants sounds logical, adding to the grandeur of the Mausoleum.

⁹⁴ On the ancient sources see Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 27.

⁹⁵ Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 27); Pollini et al., "Problematics of Making Ambiguity Explicit in Virtual Reconstructions".

⁹⁶ Kellum, "The Construction of Landscape," 211).

⁹⁷ Hesberg, *ibid.*, 27; Pollini et al., "Problematics of Making Ambiguity Explicit in Virtual Reconstructions".

⁹⁸ His proposal seems plausible especially if we consider the fact that Strabo mentions only a few sentences further the "black poplars" around the *Ustrina* specifically (5.3.8).

2.4. Surroundings of the Mausoleum

Excavations have revealed that there was a travertine pavement in front of the Mausoleum.⁹⁹ The exact dimensions of the area it covered is unknown. Hesberg proposes that only the entrance area corresponding to the width of the marble facade of the Mausoleum was paved.¹⁰⁰ In addition there must have been roads leading to the Mausoleum, though not known today.

On the other hand, it is known both from Strabo¹⁰¹ and Suetonius¹⁰² that there was a public garden adjacent to the Mausoleum. Strabo locates it behind the monument. If so, it must have covered the northern area of the Mausoleum, opposite the entrance. The area it covered is unknown. Gardens around funerary structures were common.¹⁰³ Strabo mentions “wonderful promenades”,¹⁰⁴ yet there is no further information on its arrangement.

2.5. *Ustrinum* of Augustus

As the site of cremation, the *Ustrinum* is a structure closely related to the Mausoleum, and thus is a concern of this study. Yet, little is known about its location

⁹⁹ According to Hesberg it belongs to post-Augustan level, most probably that of Domitian. See Hesberg, *ibid.*, 31. Cf. Buchner, “Ein Kanal für Obeliskten,” 168. Buchner’s latest excavations show that there are no different levels but only one belonging to Augustan time. The level was raised only once with the addition of a single step for the placement of the *Res Gestae* pillars.

¹⁰⁰ Hesberg, “Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums,” 31.

¹⁰¹ *Geog.* 5.3.8.

¹⁰² *Div. Aug.* 100.

¹⁰³ On funerary gardens see Jocelyn. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (New York: Cornell Uni. Press, 1971), 94-100; Nadine Brundrett, “Roman Tomb Gardens: The Construction of Sacred Commemorative Landscapes,” *The Brock Review* Vol. 11, No. 2 (2011): 51-69.

¹⁰⁴ *Geog.* 5.3.8.

and original appearance. The only information comes from Strabo. Strabo writes that it was in the center of *Campus Martius*, and that there was a wall of white marble around it, surrounded by a circular iron fence, and with black poplars planted within the wall.¹⁰⁵ Archaeological evidence supporting this description has not come to light, thus the exact location and form of the *Ustrinum* are debated.¹⁰⁶

In 1777, a travertine pavement (ca. 50m²), an alabaster urn, and six travertine *cippi* were discovered by R. Venuti on the eastern side of the Mausoleum, in the area of Piazza S. Carlo al Corso. The *cippi* were inscribed with the names of members of Augustus' family,¹⁰⁷ and three of them had the formulaic phrase *hic crematus est*¹⁰⁸. Based on these findings, R. Lanciani (1845 – 1929) identified the site as that of Augustus' *Ustrinum*, and proposed a plan for the *ustrinum* modeled on the remains of two other structures, mainly consisting of three concentric square enclosures, in the Piazza Montecitorio, thought to be the *ustrina* of the Antonines.¹⁰⁹ Since then, Augustus' *Ustrinum*, as a structure square in plan with concentric walls, has appeared

¹⁰⁵ *Geog.* 5.3.8.

¹⁰⁶ For discussions on Augustus' *Ustrina* see Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 33-35 and Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 33-35.

¹⁰⁷ They were the three sons of Germanicus (the son of Augustus' stepson Drusus), his daughter (Julia Livilla), Tiberius (the son of Drusus), and a certain Vespasianus (Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary*, 545). Some of the dates of the deaths are known and they correspond to a period after Augustus. For detailed documentation and discussion on the inscriptions of the *cippi* see Silvio Panciera, "Il Corredo Epigrafico del Mausoleo di Augusto," in *Das Mausoleum des Augustus: Der Bau und seine Inschriften*, ed. by Henner von Hesberg and Silvio Panciera (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), 148-16.

¹⁰⁸ Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary*, 545. The phrase *hic crematus est* means "cremated here". Some of the *cippi* were inscribed with the phrase *hic sita* (or *situs*) *est* meaning "lies here".

¹⁰⁹ The first one was discovered by Bianchini under the Casa della Missione, in 1703. The building having an orientation like that of the columns of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, enclosed an area of 30 m². The two inner ones of the three concentric walls forming the building, were of travertine, and the outer consisted of a travertine kerb on which stood pillars of the same material with an iron grating between them. A second similar structure was discovered to the north-east of the first one in 1907. Lanciani suggested that the first one might have been the *Ustrina* of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, and the second one of Marcus Aurelius (Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary*, 545).

on the maps of *Campus Martius*, to the east of the Mausoleum, parallel to the *Via Flaminia*.

However, Lanciani's proposal has been proven to be problematic within time. Later excavations of 1930s, did not confirm the proposal regarding the form of the *Ustrinum*, though uncovering some rectilinear structures and pavements in the area. Hesberg provides a detailed evaluation of the findings.¹¹⁰ According to Hesberg, the remains are neither parallel to the *Via Flaminia*, nor to the eastern boundary of the precinct of the Mausoleum as suggested by Lanciani, and seem to consist of layers belonging to different periods. He suggests that a paved area and a surrounding enclosure having a U-shape, might have provided space for cremations and funerary rites. The findings, including the *cippi* discovered earlier, point to the possibility that the site might have been used in relation to the Mausoleum by the Julio-Claudians. It is probable that some of the names from the long list of the burials that took place in the Mausoleum were cremated here, and the complex was formed with additions over a certain period of time.

Furthermore, the findings next to the Mausoleum, contradict Strabo regarding both location and form. The description of Strabo points to a circular form, and a location at the center of *Campus Martius*. In fact, the so-called *Ustrina* of the Antonines, which provided the model for Lanciani's proposal, are regarded today not as the actual structures that served cremations but as commemorative altars erected afterwards, based on the argumentation that the marble remains that survived could never withstand the enormous heat caused by an imperial cremation.¹¹¹ This leaves the question of what Augustus' *Ustrinum* looked like open. Here, it can only be speculated that, similar to the case of the Antonines, the site of Augustus' cremation

¹¹⁰ Hesberg states that the documentation consisted only of a small plan. For a detailed discussion on the subject see Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 34.

¹¹¹ See Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2009), 13 and Mary T. Boatwright, "The Ara Ditis-Ustrinum of Hadrian in the Western Campus Martius and Other Problematic Roman Ustrina," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 89, No. 3, (July 1985): 485, 497. Boatwright argues for the identification of the remains in the Western *Campus Martius* as the *Ustrina* of Hadrian and concludes that they represent two distinct structures, a canal and an altar tomb of monumental size, and not an *Ustrinum*. For a detailed discussion on the now called Altars of the Antonines see Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 165-171.

might have been memorialized later, and that Strabo's description belongs to this commemorative structure. In fact, the black poplars, mentioned by Strabo, in the close vicinity of the cremation, can be considered as the indication of a later arrangement.

Meanwhile, Jolivet has proposed a new location at Montecitorio, following Strabo corresponding to central *Campus Martius*.¹¹² Jolivet draws an axis connecting Augustus' Mausoleum, the Gnomon-Obelisk, and the Pantheon, siting the *Ustrinum* on the axis, at a central point surrounded by the altars of the Antonines. This location does not only comply with Strabo, but also provides an explanation for the concentration of the commemorative altars and columns of successive emperors at the particular area on Montecitorio.¹¹³ Jolivet's proposition is tempting, yet lacks physical proof at the moment.

As a conclusion, it can be stated that the area to the east of the Mausoleum may have served as the cremation site for several members of the Julio-Claudians, but most probably not for Augustus himself. A separate *Ustrinum* reserved for Augustus, at a deliberately chosen location, somewhere in the center of *Campus Martius* as stated by Strabo, seems more likely.

2.6. Burials in the Mausoleum

Presenting a complete list of the burials that took place in the Mausoleum is difficult. Ancient sources, if they ever mention burials, are not always clear on the subject. And the archaeological evidence, *i.e.* the surviving ash urns and inscriptions, is fragmentary.¹¹⁴ Panciera has published all the inscriptions, and provided the most

¹¹² For Jolivet's proposal see Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 167-168, Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 35), and Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 34.

¹¹³ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 34. These include the two altars and columns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, and an unidentified altar.

¹¹⁴ Some *cippi* with inscriptions discovered in the vicinity are also thought to be related to the burials in the Mausoleum.

detailed discussion on the burials, including both the positively proven and the possible ones.¹¹⁵ A detailed discussion on each name here would be only repetitive. Instead, a short list without claiming to be complete and flawless, would suffice to give a general picture about the usage of the Mausoleum during and after Augustus' time serving the present discussion. In this regard, the burials, in a chronological order, are as follows:

Marcellus (23 BCE) - nephew, son-in-law and heir designate
 Agrippa (12 BCE) - collaborator, friend and son-in-law
 Octavia (11 BCE) - sister
 Drusus Maior (9 BCE) - stepson
 Lucius Caesar (2 BCE) - grandchild
 Gaius Caesar (4 BCE) – grandchild
 AUGUSTUS (14 CE)
 Germanicus (19 CE) – son of Drusus Maior
 Drusus Caesar (23 CE) – son of emperor Tiberius
 Livia (29 CE) – wife
 Agrippina Maior (33 CE) – daughter of Agrippa, mother of emperor Caligula
 Nero Caesar (31 CE) – son of Germanicus
 Tiberius (37 CE) – stepson – Emperor (Julio-Claudian)
 Claudius (54 CE) – Emperor (Julio-Claudian)
 Claudia Augusta (63 CE) – daughter of Nero - probably
 Poppaea (65 CE) – wife of Nero
 Vespasian (79 CE) – Emperor – (Flavian)
 Nerva (98 CE) – Emperor – (Antonine)

¹¹⁵ Panciera, “Il Corredo Epigrafico del Mausoleo di Augusto,” 66–147. See also Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 154; Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 38; Paul MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1960), 154-56; Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven and London: Yale Uni. Press, 1991), 48; Brangers, “*Mausoleum of Augustus*,” 81-82. They give only brief information. Johnson (*Roman Imperial Mausoleum*, 199) provides a list, without references.

CHAPTER 3

SPACE OF *AUCTORITAS*



Figure 34. Aureus of Augustus, Reverse, Spain, 25/22 BCE.
Source: <http://www.coinarchives.com> [Last accessed 20.08.2019]

The Mausoleum built at an early phase of his life, co-existed and co-operated with Augustus throughout his rise to sole power, which he had articulated as “exceeding everyone in *auctoritas*”. This chapter studies the Mausoleum in relation to Augustus’ power struggle as a monument expressing his *auctoritas*.

3.1. The *Auctoritas* of Augustus

Around the beginning of Octavius’ political career, initiated immediately upon his great-uncle and adoptive father Julius Caesar’s assassination in 44 BCE, Cicero wrote in a letter to Atticus that the young Octavius had “too little *auctoritas*”.¹¹⁶ Five and a half decades later, Augustus ended his *Res Gestae* by

¹¹⁶ (16.14.2); quoted by Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 16-7.

stating that he had “excelled all in *auctoritas*” although possessing “no more *potestas* than others”.¹¹⁷

Potestas was the most general Latin term designating formal legal power.¹¹⁸ Another, and more specific term used for legal power was *imperium*, regarded as the highest form of *potestas*. *Imperium*, in its widest sense, was the right of command within the Roman state,¹¹⁹ denoting both military and civilian executive powers.¹²⁰

Imperium and *potestas* were the formal transactional powers employed to operate the government. On the other hand, *auctoritas*, which held a significant place in the political, military, and religious thinking and practice of the Romans,¹²¹ was not a legally formulated power; and elusive by its very nature was relatively difficult to define. The familiarity of its modern derivation ‘authority’ should not be misleading here, for it was in essence a concept very Roman at the time, especially in relation to political power, puzzling the Greek Dio, who could not translate it into his own language.¹²² Basically it can be understood as the power to influence or

¹¹⁷ The original in Latin (*Res Gestae*.34.3): “*Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt.*”

¹¹⁸ Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, 83. *Potestas* is derived from the verb *possum* meaning ‘able’; with the addition of the suffix *-tas* it becomes meaning ability, faculty, power.

¹¹⁹ John. S. Richardson, “Imperium Romanum: Empire and the Language of Power,” *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 81, (1991): 1. The word *imperium* is derived from *imperare* meaning to command, to rule. (Richardson, 2).

¹²⁰ All magistrates, including the ones possessing *imperium*, had *potestas*. Among the magistrates, the consuls and the *praetors* held *imperium*. Through their *imperium* they executed civil and military duties. The civil duties mainly included matters of public finance and foreign affairs, juristical responsibilities such as interpreting and executing laws, and legislative ones such as proposing laws to be voted by the assemblies. On the other hand, the military *imperium* gave them the right and power to command armies. The promagistrates, namely the proconsuls and the *propraetors*, also held absolute *imperium* in their provinces, but were deprived of it within the *pomerium*, and even within whole Italy during late Republic. See Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, 83) and Dunstan, *Ancient Rome*, 43.

¹²¹ Cicero wrote on the concept. See Edwin S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus’ Res Gestae*, *Historia Einzelschriften*, Heft 54 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1987), 42) and Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 15-17.

¹²² Dio. 55.3.

direct.¹²³ As such, in contrast to *potestas* or *imperium*, which provided one with the power to give orders to be obeyed, *auctoritas* was rather a ‘soft’ power, suggestive and directional, yet potent, making one’s views to be accepted and followed, without the thread of a compelling force.¹²⁴

The highest political power of the Roman state, *i.e.* the Senate, by definition an advisory body, operated not on the grounds of transactional powers but on *auctoritas*.¹²⁵ And the *auctoritas* of the Senate was the cumulative of the *auctoritas* of its members. The *auctoritas* of a man rested upon several criteria. On one hand, in the strictly hierarchical Roman society, it depended on one’s high social status that basically meant one’s distinguished ancestry and wealth, and in fact both were very related. In Roman society, the patricians formed the highest class, followed by the equestrians, and all the rest were ranked below. Though there could be exceptions, generally to be a senate member one had to be a patrician, as such they formed the highest ruling class of the Romans. On the other hand, *auctoritas* derived from one’s achievements and their recognition by others. As such, as remarked by Galinsky, *auctoritas* was not merely a given, but needed to be constantly re-acquired and validated.¹²⁶ All together these formed the criteria used to weigh the *auctoritas* of a man in the Roman society.¹²⁷

¹²³ *Auctoritas* is derived from the word *auctor*, a term that can be traced back to the Twelve Tables, and which denotes a guarantor such as, the guarantor of the validity of a sale, or the validity of the legal acts of a minor, or the mover or backer of a proposal (Brunt, *Res Gestae*, 84; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 12-13).

¹²⁴ Mommsen, similarly, described *auctoritas* as “more than advice and less than a command, an advice which one may not safely ignore”, as quoted by Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought* (1961. Reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 2006): 122.

¹²⁵ Cicero (*De leg.*3.28): “*Cum potestas in populo auctoritas in senatu sit*”; also Cicero (*De rep.*2.57); See Balsdon John Percy V. D., “Auctoritas, Dignitas, Otium,” *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (May 1960): 43; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 13-16. In theory, the Senate was only an advisory council of the magistrates; however, in practice the magistrates were expected to do what it advised (Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, 84).

¹²⁶ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 15. Galinsky further remarks that “*auctoritas* is not a static or self-contained attribute but exists for an individual only to the degree that society recognizes it or renews it” (Galinsky, *ibid.*, 29).

Cicero's comment above indicates that at the beginning, Octavius had lot to prove. Octavius was *ignobili loco natus*, i.e. his family was not of *nobilitas*, for his father was a *homo novus*, i.e. the first to have become a consul in his family of equestrian origin,¹²⁸ a matter used by his rivals in counter propaganda.¹²⁹ As such, at the start of his life Octavius did not seem to have the best chances of rising high. Yet Julius Caesar's adoption opened the doors and provided him the means, i.e. a powerful name, money and an army, for a jump start.¹³⁰ Great achievements, and in recognition of them, great honors followed. He lists the honors he received in the last two paragraphs of the *Res Gestae*.¹³¹ At the very end of the *Res Gestae*, noting that he was at the time of writing seventy six years old, chronologically goes back to his sixth and seventh consulships, and lists: For having extinguished civil wars and while in complete control of affairs having transferred the Republic from his power to the dominion of the senate and people of Rome, he was given the honorific title of *Augustus* by the decree of the senate; the door-posts of his house were wreathed with laurel leaves and a civic crown was fixed over the door; a golden shield [*clipeus virtutis*] was set in the *Curia Julia* with an inscription stating that it was given by the Senate and people of Rome on account of his courage, clemency, justice and piety;

¹²⁷ As such then, the concept of *auctoritas* comes very close to the concept of *dignitas*. See Balsdon "Auctoritas, Dignitas, Otium." According to Balsdon, Augustus could have used the word *dignitas* instead of *auctoritas*, but refrained from doing so because of its negative association with Caesar. Galinsky (*Augustan Culture*, 16), besides *dignitas*, points to its relation to *fides*, *gravitas* and *libertas*.

¹²⁸ See Dietmar Kienast, *Augustus: Prinzeps und Monarch* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1982), 2. On nobility in the Roman society see Peter. A. Brunt, "Nobilitas and Novitas," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 72, (1982). See also Suetonius (*Div.Aug.1-4*) who provides a detailed account of Augustus' ancestry, both paternal and maternal. Even though Suetonius does not disguise the relatively humble beginnings, he gives special effort to draw a picture of an old, famous, wealthy, and respected family with honorable members.

¹²⁹ Including Marcus Antonius. See Suetonius, *Div.Aug.2*, 4.

¹³⁰ On the legacy of Caesar see Kienast, *Augustus: Prinzeps und Monarch*, 1-37.

¹³¹ *Res Gestae*, 34-35.

and lastly, at his thirteenth consulship, he received the title of *pater patriae* to be inscribed in the porch of his house, in the *Curia Julia* and in the *Forum Augustum* under the chariot which was set in his honor. This was how he “excelled all in *auctoritas*”.¹³²

Augustus’ power did not rest solely upon his *auctoritas*. He possessed extensive legal powers, to be discussed in the next chapter. As a matter of fact, Augustus did not disguise his legal powers, mentioning them several times in the *Res Gestae*.¹³³ Yet his choice of ending his account with a statement of his superiority in *auctoritas*, demonstrates its significance for Augustus and assumably for his audience. It was evidently not any of his legal powers, needed to execute governmental affairs, but the supremacy of his *auctoritas* that he wanted to represent as his attribute differentiating him from, and elevating above all others. This was what made him, not just one of a powerful governmental executive, but a leader. This was the essence of his power that his leadership rested upon.¹³⁴ And as such the *Res Gestae*, the long account of all his deeds culminating, not chronologically but hierarchically, in the list of the honors he received, becomes an explanation of his *auctoritas* acquired by his great achievements.

¹³² *Res Gestae*, 35.

¹³³ On the subject see Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, 40; Zvi Yavetz, “The *Res Gestae* and Augustus’ Public Image,” in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, ed. by Fergus Millar and Erich Segal (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 10-11; Ronald T. Ridley, *The Emperor’s Retrospect: Augustus’ Res Gestae in Epigraphy, Historiography and Commentary*, *Studia Hellenistica*, 39 (Leuven – Dudley, MA: Peeters Publ., 2003), 90-91. Ridley also cites counter-ideas of some scholars.

¹³⁴ For Galinsky (*Augustan Culture*, 14), *auctoritas* defined the *modus operandi* of Augustus’ rule. Cf. Rowe who opposes the idea of the supremacy of the concept of *auctoritas* in relation to Augustus’ rule claiming that modern scholars have given *auctoritas* a significance that never existed for Romans. According to Rowe, “*Auctoritas* in the sense of the emperor’s personal influence is a hapax; it is never used in this sense in connection with Augustus or any other emperor.” He interprets the phrase “*auctoritate omnibus praestiti*” of the *Res Gestae*, based on its Greek version “*axiōmati pánton diénegka*”, as “I prevailed by the express will of all”, thus Augustus would be referring not to his own *auctoritas*, but to the *auctoritas* of his subjects. Rowe delivered a talk on the subject of which an abstract is available online: <http://apaclassics.org/images/uploads/documents/abstracts/rowe.pdf>

3.2. *Auctoritas* and the Monument

Display of power by means of architecture is a well attested phenomenon. It should be noted that expression of power also brings back power. Below is an exploration of how the Mausoleum was utilized within the reciprocal process of expressing and gaining power by Augustus. The discussion rests upon the idea that the Mausoleum was conceived as a private monument, constructing and displaying the self image of Augustus. As such, the following sub chapters track the initial ideas of Augustus, starting with inquiries on his choice of form, location and timing of the construction, proceeding with a reading of the Mausoleum proper. They are meant all together to present a picture of the Mausoleum's symbolism intended at its initial phase.

3.2.1. The *Auctoritas* of Place

Burial within the *pomerium* was prohibited.¹³⁵ The location of Augustus' Mausoleum has been mostly discussed in relation to the problem of *pomerium*, considering it was located within it. However, as stated in Chapter 2, *Campus Martius*, and certainly the northern part, lay outside the *pomerium* during Augustan time. The problem of the location was not the *pomerium* but the *Campus Martius* itself. During Late Republic the élite of Rome were building their monumental tombs, along the roads leading in/out of the city, mainly on the *Via Appia* and some on the *Via Flaminia*,¹³⁶ but not on the *Campus Martius*. Evidence illustrates that burial in *Campus Martius* was a privilege granted only by senatorial decree.

¹³⁵ Sanitary precautions and fear of defilement must have been the reasons (Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 48). It was first recorded in the Twelve Tables, the Roman Legislation compiled in the fifth century BCE. Long after Augustan period, in 381 CE, the law has been renewed in an edict of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius (Johnson, *Roman Imperial Mausoleum*, 25).

¹³⁶ For examples see Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 477; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 235; Martina Schwarz, *Tumult Italia Tellus: Gestaltung, Chronologie und Bedeutung der römischen Rundgräber in Italien*, Internationale Archäologie, Band 72 (Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2002), 193-6. Coarelli writes that only the remains of the tomb of Bibulus have survived, however, Schwarz provides other examples.

In 43 BCE, the Senate bestowed the honors of public burials (*funus publicum*) to the two co-consuls of Aulus Hirtius and Vibius Pansa, who had fallen in the battle of Mutina, fighting against Marcus Antonius. Their tombs were located in *Campus Martius*. The remains of Hirtius' tomb have been identified.¹³⁷ It was a humble structure, surrounded by a brick wall covering an area of only six square meters. Obviously, it was not the humble structure itself, but the place that bestowed honor to the deceased.¹³⁸ Before that of Hirtius, Sulla's is the first burial that can be firmly proven, who had died in 78 BCE.¹³⁹ As Lucullus, a politician close to Sulla, died in 56 BCE, the people of Rome wanted to honor him with a burial in *Campus Martius* too; but since no preparations were done he was buried in Tusculum.¹⁴⁰ And when Julius Caesar's daughter Julia was buried by the people of Rome in *Campus Martius*, Domitius, a member of the Senate, objected stating that "it was sacrilegious for her to be buried in the sacred spot without a special decree."¹⁴¹ Later Julius Caesar himself found place in his daughter's tomb in *Campus Martius*.¹⁴² It is noteworthy that the

¹³⁷ The dedicatory inscription of Pansa's tomb was uncovered nearby the remains of Hirtius' tomb beneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria, yet the actual structure has not been found. On both tombs see Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 274; Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 345; Henrik Gerding, *The Tomb of Caecillia Metella: Tumulus, Tropaeum and Thymele* (Lund, 2002), 165-166; Digital Augustan Map (map entries 11 and 12). Cf. Gerding (*Tomb of Caecillia Metella*, 165), who argues that the remains do not belong to the original tomb of Hirtius but to a later reconstruction.

¹³⁸ Hesberg, "Das Mausoleum des Augustus: der Vater des Vaterlandes und sein Grabmal," in *Erinnerungs Orte der Antike: Die Römische Welt*, ed. by Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp and Karl Joachim Hölkeskamp (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2006), 345.

¹³⁹ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 25. He had been given the privilege by *senatum consultum* in 78 BCE. Livy (*Per.* 90.1); Plutarch (*Sulla* 38.4). The location is unknown today. Lucan (2.222) describes its location as *medio campo*. Caracalla later searched for and restored it (Dio 78.13.7.). See Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 360-361.

¹⁴⁰ Plutarch, *Luc.* 43.

¹⁴¹ Dio, 39.64.1.

¹⁴² Upon Julius Caesar's assassination, a pyre was erected in *Campus Martius* near the tomb of Julia; however, his body was cremated in the *Forum Romanum* totally unexpected in a chaos (Suetonius, *Iul.* 84.1). His remains were later deposited "in the family tomb" (Dio 44.51.1) which must have been

burials, except that of Julia which caused objection, were all of generals. These were apparently not the only burials in the history of *Campus Martius*. Strabo writes that “the Romans had erected in it [*Campus Martius*] the tombs of their most illustrious men and women.”¹⁴³ And Appian refers to *Campus Martius* as a place “where only kings were buried.”¹⁴⁴

There seems to have been two reasons of rendering a burial in *Campus Martius* an honorable privilege requiring the consent of the Senate. One is that it was public land,¹⁴⁵ and secondly, as Domitius’ remark above testifies, it was regarded sacred, a sacredness stemming from the mythical and religious associations of the area. Starting with Sulla, parts of the *Campus* was sold to private ownership, though largely remaining public land.¹⁴⁶ Augustus is known to have possessed land in the *Campus*.¹⁴⁷ The exact location is unknown but most probably it was the very area of the Mausoleum. As such, then Augustus had solved the problem ingeniously. He built his Mausoleum on private land, not needing a senatorial decree, yet located on *Campus Martius* still being able to benefit from all the honorable associations of the place.¹⁴⁸ It should also be noted that the evidence above indicates that burial in

the tomb of his daughter. On the *Tumulus Iuliae* see Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 402); Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 542.

¹⁴³ *Geographica*, 5.3.8.

¹⁴⁴ *B.Civ.* 106.

¹⁴⁵ The last king Tarquinius Superbus possessed fields on the fertile plain of the *Campus* (Livy, 2.5.2.), and with the establishment of the Republic, the area became public property (*ager publicus*) (Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 66).

¹⁴⁶ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 66.

¹⁴⁷ The inscription on a *cippi* (CIL 6.874=ILS 5935) recovered in the vicinity of the Pantheon indicates that Augustus had bought land in *Campus Martius*; however, the location of the land is unknown. See Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 65.

¹⁴⁸ Richardson (*New Topographical Dictionary*, 247) notes that the area was perhaps technically not within the limits of the *Campus*, but adjacent to it making association possible.

Campus Martius by senatorial decree was a posthumous honor. In retrospect it can be assumed with great certainty that Augustus would have been bestowed with the honor after his death, yet at the time of construction he was alive and his story was still unfolding. Another ingenuity of the location was that it was on the *Via Flaminia*. As such, Augustus was following the Roman practice of locating his tomb alongside a road leading into the city, but at the same time on a spot in *Campus Martius*, where great names including those of the recent past such as Sulla and Julius Caesar were buried.

Strabo's description cited earlier draws a lively picture of the *Campus*.¹⁴⁹ It was a significant public region housing numerous religious, military, political, and recreational functions, some not allowed within the *pomerium* taking advantage of the area's location outside the boundaries.

Among the many, the military functions come forward. The fields were devoted to god Mars, hence the name.¹⁵⁰ There was a very ancient altar of Mars, *i.e.* the *Ara Martis*, in central *Campus Martius*.¹⁵¹ Since armed forces were forbidden to cross the *pomerium* into the city, the fields of the God War served as a camping and training area for troops. And the victorious generals waited, before being allowed to cross the *pomerium* for their triumphal processions to take place within the city, at *Villeingia Publica*¹⁵² west of the *Ara Martis*, while offering sacrifices at the altar of Mars. Augustus himself most probably paused here as he marched on Rome with his troops in 43 BCE to convince the Senate for his unprecedented young consulship,¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ *Geographica*, 5.3.8.

¹⁵⁰ Ovid, *Fast.* 2.859.

¹⁵¹ On *Ara Martis* see Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 245); Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 263; Digital Augustan Map (map entry:49).

¹⁵² See Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 263-264; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 11-12; Digital Augustan Map (map entry:48).

¹⁵³ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 12.

and later before his ultimate triple triumph of 29 BCE. The *Circus Flaminius*¹⁵⁴ in southern *Campus Martius* was the place where the triumphal processions started and spoils of war were displayed. And around the *Circus Flaminius* many temples were concentrated dedicated by triumphators as victory monuments commemorating their military successes.¹⁵⁵ To the list of victory monuments around *Circus Flaminius* can be added the *Porticus Octavia* and the *Porticus Phillipi*.¹⁵⁶ The porticoes while commemorating the victories of their patrons also attracted the public with their art works on display.¹⁵⁷

Besides the military, the more urbanized central and southern *Campus Martius* housed several significant civic functions, especially electoral. The above mentioned *Villa Publica* was also the place where the *census* was dispensed and foreign ambassadors not allowed to cross the *pomerium* were received. In the *Saepta Julia*,¹⁵⁸ west of *Villa Publica*, the *comitia centuriata*¹⁵⁹ and the *comitia tributa* were assembled at which magistrates were elected. The *Circus Flaminius* housed also civic functions. *Concilia plebis* gathered here. It also served as a market place, and a

¹⁵⁴ See Digital Augustan Map (map entry 37); Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 12-14.

¹⁵⁵ Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 67; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 267. According to Richardson and Coarelli the concentration was most probably due to the fact that the triumphal processions started at *Circus Flaminius*. Coarelli provides a list of the temples.

¹⁵⁶ On the triumphal purposes of the porticoes, starting from the *Porticus Octavia* to the imperial *fora* see John R. Senseney, "Adrift toward Empire: The Lost Porticus Octavia in Rome and the Origins of the Imperial Fora," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 70, No. 4, (December 2011): 421-441.

¹⁵⁷ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 16.

¹⁵⁸ See Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 460-61; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 264, 289-90; Digital Augustan Map (map entry:16).

¹⁵⁹ Since traditionally the voting assemblies (*comitia centuriata*) represented the Romans as they arrayed for war, for the election of the consuls and censors, meetings outside the *pomerium* had to be conducted (Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 11).

place for funerary orations.¹⁶⁰ The theater of Pompeius together with the adjacent *porticus* and the *curia*, constituted another significant complex in southern *Campus Martius*.¹⁶¹ Pompeius' theater was the first permanent structure in Rome for theatrical and gladiatorial performances, traditionally not allowed within the *pomerium*. As a result of all these building activities over the centuries, the southern and partly the central *Campus Martius* had become a significant public center, merging civic and military, as well as recreational functions at the time Augustus started to build his Mausoleum.

The western end of the *Campus* was another area where some cult centers were concentrated. The *Tarentum*, located close to the Tiber,¹⁶² was believed to give passage to the underworld by means of a volcanic fissure.¹⁶³ An underground altar dedicated to the infernal gods Dis and Proserpina¹⁶⁴ had been built there and the *Ludi Saeculares*, marking the hundred years cycle of Rome, were celebrated at the location. Augustus revived the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 BCE, as part of his moral and political renewal program.¹⁶⁵ To the south of the *Tarentum*, there was a horse training and racing track called *Trigarium*, where horse chariot races of the *Ludi Saeculares* and ceremonies dedicated to god Mars took place.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 13.

¹⁶¹ See Digital Augustan Map (map entries 25, 26, 27); Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 16-20.

¹⁶² See Digital Augustan Map (map entry 3); Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 263.

¹⁶³ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 10.

¹⁶⁴ On the altar of Dis Pater and Proserpina see Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 110; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 263; Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 152.

¹⁶⁵ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 10-11. On the Secular Games see Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 26-8; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 100-106; on their Etruscan origins see John F. Hall, "The Saeculum Novum of Augustus and its Etruscan Antecedents," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. II*, Vol. 16, No. 3, (1986): 2564-2589.

¹⁶⁶ See Digital Augustan Map (map entry 6); Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 401-402; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 263.

To the list can be added several ancient sanctuaries contributing to the religious significance of *Campus Martius*, including the Temple of Apollo (Medicus),¹⁶⁷ and the Temple of Bellona, the goddess of war.¹⁶⁸ The Temple of Vulcan, was located probably in the same area.¹⁶⁹ It was believed to have been built by Romulus as a meeting place for the Senate.¹⁷⁰ And there were the temples in the complex of the *Area Sacra* of *Largo Argentina* north to the *Circus Flaminius*.¹⁷¹ Temples of foreign cults not allowed within the *pomerium* found place in *Campus Martius* as well.

On the other hand, one of the mythical associations of the *Campus Martius* may have been favoured by Augustus particularly. According to the legend, Romulus, the founder of Rome, while inspecting his army in a marshy area called *Palus Caprae*, in central *Campus Martius*, disappeared in fog caused by a sudden storm, and after, he was never again seen on earth.¹⁷² This was considered as the apotheosis of Romulus. Augustus had associated himself with Romulus.¹⁷³ His house

¹⁶⁷ See Digital Augustan Map (map entry 33); Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 264; Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 15-16.

¹⁶⁸ See Digital Augustan Map (map entry 34); Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 83; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 264, 267.

¹⁶⁹ See Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 583-584; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 264, 267, 283.

¹⁷⁰ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 11.

¹⁷¹ See Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 67; Rehak *Imperium and Cosmos*, 14-5; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 264.

¹⁷² Livy, 1.16. There was another version of the legend according to which Romulus was cut into pieces by opponent senators, and the parts of his body were hidden under the cloaks of his murderers never to be found (Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 11).

¹⁷³ Before Augustus, Sulla had associated himself with Romulus, and his location of burial may be considered in this regard. Julius Caesar had also associated himself with Romulus. See Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 139-140.

was on the Palatine where the hut of Romulus once stood.¹⁷⁴ Augustus had enlarged the territories of Rome just like Romulus.¹⁷⁵ And above all, as the restorer of *Res Publica*, he could be considered as the new founder of Rome. Dio writes that when the Senate wanted to give him an honorific title in 27 BCE, Octavius “had set his heart strongly on being named Romulus,” but to prevent suspicions about him desiring kingship, he took the title Augustus.¹⁷⁶

Augustus’ choice of location, at the very tip of northern *Campus Martius*, presented various advantages. Here the *Via Flaminia* and the river Tiber came very close to each other, providing great visibility from both of the northern approaches to the city. The *Via Flaminia* provided accessibility from land, and if the existence of a port in the vicinity of the Mausoleum proposed in the previous chapter is taken, then it was also accessible from the river. It was built here to be seen and to be easily reached. But more than that, the authority of the place bestowed authority to the monument.

3.2.2. The *Auctoritas* of Antecedent

Augustus’ choice of form for his tomb has been intriguing scholars for long. The main questions are whether the Mausoleum was the first of its kind or following an established typology, and what the possible antecedents were. The monumental tombs being built during Late Republic presented a great variety in style and form. And as a man of great resources and travel experiences, Augustus was not confined to Roman Italy, but could look at the whole Mediterranean basin for a model. Augustus had a wide spectrum to choose from, yet he decided to build a tumulus type for himself. The reason of his choice of form is of primary concern in understanding Augustus’ initial intentions, and his model holds a key to the answer.

¹⁷⁴ Dio, 53.16.

¹⁷⁵ Paul Rehak, “Aeneas or Numa? Rethinking the Meaning of the Ara Pacis Augustae,” *The Art Bulletin*. Vol. 83, No 2, (June 2001): 199.

¹⁷⁶ Dio, 53.16.

Several antecedents have been proposed so far. Some looked to North Africa for models. One of the models proposed is the *Sema* of Alexander the Great in Alexandria.¹⁷⁷ The theory is highly attractive and has been embraced widely,¹⁷⁸ for there is plenty of evidence for Augustus' deep admiration of Alexander.¹⁷⁹ The Macedonian hero as the conquerer of the *oikoumene*, was a perfect model for the ambitious generals of the Late Republic. Before Augustus, Pompeius 'Magnus',¹⁸⁰ Julius Caesar, and Augustus' rival Antonius had associated themselves with Alexander.¹⁸¹ It is known that Augustus had seen the *Sema* in 30 BCE, following the Battle of Actium in Alexandria.¹⁸² However, the problem with the theory is that, it cannot be verified, for the *Sema* has been lost. Neither its location nor its form are

¹⁷⁷ After his death in Babylon in 323 BCE, Alexander's mummified body was carried and buried three times. The last resting place alongside the burials of the Ptolemies in Alexandria, built by Ptolemy IV Philopator, is the focus of interest here. Nicholas J. Saunders dates the last tomb to ca. 215 BCE (Saunders, *Alexander's Tomb: The Two Thousand Year Obsession to Find the Lost Conqueror* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 69).

¹⁷⁸ For references and discussions on the subject see Filippo Coarelli and Yvon Thébert, "Architecture funéraire et pouvoir : réflexions sur l'hellénisme numide," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité T. Vol. 100, No. 2.* (1988): 761-818; Jane C. Reeder, "Typology and Ideology in the Mausoleum of Augustus: Tumulus and Tholos," *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 70, No. 2, (October 1992): 274-278; Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 54-55, 60; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 47, 50-51, also briefly Colvin, *Architecture and the After Life*, 47-48.

¹⁷⁹ On Augustus and Alexander among others see Dietmar Kienast, "Augustus und Alexander," *Gymnasium*, Vol. 76, (1969): 430-456; Sarolta A. Takács, "Alexandria in Rome," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* Vol. 97, (1995): 263-276; Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*, 166-74.

¹⁸⁰ Meaning 'Great', a reference given to Alexander the Great (Palmer, "Studies of the Northern Campus Martius," 2).

¹⁸¹ On *imitatio Alexandri* by the late Republican generals, and additional bibliography on the subject see Kienast "Augustus und Alexander," 430-456; Palmer, "Studies of the Northern Campus Martius," 2-3; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 51; Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*, 162-5.

¹⁸² After the battle at Actium having followed Antonius to Alexandria, the city that he spared because Alexander had founded it, Augustus visited the tomb. And when he was asked whether he would like to see the remains of the Ptolemies besides the mummified body of Alexander, he famously replied "I wished to see a king, not corpses". (Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 18; Dio, 51.16).

known.¹⁸³ Attempts to reconstruct its form based on scarce literary¹⁸⁴ and visual evidence¹⁸⁵ along with discussions on the meanings of the name 'Sema',¹⁸⁶ have not yielded convincing results. The latest ideas on its form have concentrated on a rectangular and tall structure surmounted by a pyramidal roof.¹⁸⁷ On the other hand, it has been suggested that the tomb of Alexander may have been modeled on

¹⁸³ Strabo (17.1.8): "The *Sema* also, as it is called, is a part of the royal palaces. This was the enclosure which contained the burial-places of the kings and that of Alexander..."; Diodorus (18.28): "There [Alexandria] he [Ptolemy] prepared a precinct worthy the glory of Alexander in size and construction."; Zenobius (*Proverbia*, III.94): "Ptolemy (Philopator) built in the middle of the city a *mnema*, which is now called the *Sema*, and he laid there all his forefathers together with his mother, and also Alexander the Macedonian." See on the tomb and its location most recently Saunders, *Alexander's Tomb* and Andrew Chugg, "The Sarcophagus of Alexander the Great," *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (April 2002): 8-26.

¹⁸⁴ Lucan (*Phars.* 8.694-697): "...Cum tibi sacro Macedon servetur in antro / Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescant, / Cum Ptolemaeorum manes seriemque pudendam / Pyramides claudant indignaque Mausolea..."; and on Julius Caesar's visit to the *Sema* (10.19-20): "...Effossum tumulis cupide descendit in antrum. Illic Pellaei proles vaesana Philippi...". The interpretations of scholars on the wordings of Lucan such as "antro", "effossum tumulis", "descendit", combined with the information coming from the sources on location, vary ranging from some sort of an underground burial, to tumulus, and pyramid. The reliability of Lucan is also questionable. For details and earlier references see Reeder, "Typology and Ideology," 276-77. Johnson interpreted Lucan as describing a "pyramidal" structure for Alexander's tomb (Mark. J. Johnson, "The Mausoleum of Augustus: Etruscan and Other Influences," in *Etruscan Italy: Etruscan Influences on the Civilizations of Italy from Antiquity to the Modern Era*, ed. by John F. Hall, 216-239 (Provo, Utah: Museum of Art, Brigham Young University, 1996), 230). See also Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 54; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 50-51. Most recently Saunders, *Alexander's Tomb*, 74-75, and Chugg "Sarcophagus of Alexander," 275-77. On the other hand, Kienast ("Augustus und Alexander," 440) considers the visit of Julius Caesar to the *Sema* as a fabrication of Lucan. It should also be noted that Lucan's wordings as a poet could be interpreted more likely as having artistic intentions rather than providing factual information.

¹⁸⁵ Alleged representations of Alexandria on lamps, tesserae, terra-cottas, mosaics, sarcophagi etc. are thought to have included depictions of the *Sema*. For details and earlier references see Reeder, "Typology and Ideology," 277. See also Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 54, fn.16. Most recently Saunders, *Alexander's Tomb*, 72-74; Chugg, "Sarcophagus of Alexander," 277.

¹⁸⁶ There have been ideas that the word 'Sema' designated tumulus. For details and earlier references see Reeder, "Typology and Ideology," 276. Cf. Andrew Erskine, "Life after Death: Alexandria and the Body of Alexander," *Greece and Rome*. Vol. 49, No. 2, (Oct. 2002): 166-67; Saunders, *Alexander's Tomb*, 67-68.

¹⁸⁷ See Chugg, "Sarcophagus of Alexander," 287. Saunders (*Alexander's Tomb*, 75) mentions it, but regards it as a tenuous argument.

Macedonian tumuli, under one of which Alexander's family was buried.¹⁸⁸ However, attested by visits, the burial chamber of the *Sema* was accessible, in contrast to the Macedonian tumuli.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, it has been argued that the *Sema*, may not have been a plain earthen tumulus like the Macedonians, but may have exhibited a sophisticated design with more articulated architectural features on the exterior, under the influence of Hellenistic funerary architecture.¹⁹⁰

On the other hand, Coarelli and Thébert revived the idea that the two Numidian royal tombs of modern Algeria, *i.e.* the Médracen (first half of the second century BCE), and the 'Tombeau de la Chrétienne' (end of the second up to the first half of the first century BCE) were intermediaries between the *Sema* and Augustus' Mausoleum.¹⁹¹ In this widely referenced theory, Coarelli and Thébert argued that the two Numidian royal tombs, exhibiting features unseen in North African funerary

¹⁸⁸ See Reeder, "Typology and Ideology," 277; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 50. The tumulus type of burial has a long history in Macedonia. Around the ancient capital of Aigai (modern Vergina) there are more than a hundred small tumuli, some dating back to 1000 BCE. The one called the Great Tumulus covered a heroon and three tombs most probably of the royal family. One of the three burials may have belonged to Alexander's father Philip II, or according to another theory to Archiadaus, Alexander's half-brother. The tombs consisted of vaulted chambers masked with facades resembling to some extent temple fronts. Interestingly, the tombs and the heroon were covered by an earthen mound later. See Janos Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age: A Study of Selected Tombs from the Pre-Classical to the Early Imperial Era* (Toronto: Uni. of Toronto Press, 1990), 104-109. It is also noteworthy to mention that Alexander's army constructed an earthen mound some forty meters high in Bactria to commemorate Alexander's old friend Demaratus, who had died there in 327 BCE (Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, 15).

¹⁸⁹ Besides Augustus (Suetonius, *Div.Aug.*18; Dio, 51.16), and possibly Julius Caesar (Lucan, *Phars.*10.19-20), Caligula (Suetonius, *Cal.*52.1), and Caracalla (Herodian, 4.8.9) visited the tomb. Dio (76.13.1) writes that Septimus Severus sealed up the tomb so that no one in the future could view Alexander's body and the books he placed in the tomb taken from all the other sanctuaries. On ancient visitors see Saunders, *Alexander's Tomb*, 79-94.

¹⁹⁰ See Reeder, "Typology and Ideology," 278 and Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 50. Both disregard a prominent Egyptian influence. Cf. Fedak, *Monumental Tombs*, 130; Chugg, "Sarcophagus of Alexander," 275-78.

¹⁹¹ Coarelli and Thébert, "Architecture funéraire." For the predecessors of the idea see Michael Eisner, "Zur Typologie des Mausoleen des Augustus und des Hadrian," *Römische Mitteilungen*, Vol. 86, (1979): 322, fn.21; Reeder, "Typology and Ideology," 275. The theory has surfaced lately in Saunders, *Alexander's Tomb*, 75-78.

architecture, could not be explained within the native tradition.¹⁹² The Numidian kings, having modeled their rule on the Hellenistic model, may have also used Hellenistic architecture as a model. Based on Gatti's reconstruction, Coarelli and Thébert saw similarities between Augustus' Mausoleum and the Numidian. They claimed that the two levels of Augustus' Mausoleum were merged into one in the Numidian tombs. Regarding the Mausoleum of Augustus to be modeled on the *Sema* they concluded that these royal Numidian tombs were also reflecting the architecture of Alexander's tomb. The theory, though widely embraced, is problematic, for the preassumption of Augustus' Mausoleum to have been modeled on the lost *Sema* forms a vicious circle, not helping much in the discussion. In addition, the resemblance of the Numidian monuments to Augustus' Mausoleum is tenuous, and has become even more so with Hesberg's astylar reconstruction. As long as the appearance of Alexander's tomb cannot be reconstructed, it cannot be positively stated whether, and if yes how, the Mausoleum of Augustus was architecturally related to the *Sema*.

More recently Davies looked for an antecedent once again in Egypt, namely in the *Pharos* of Alexandria.¹⁹³ She postulated that solutions to the structural requirements of Augustus' tomb had been found in Egypt, presenting a line of argumentation starting with the pyramids, culminating in the *Pharos*. It is known that the *Pharos* was influential on various works of architecture in the Graeco-Roman world including funerary monuments.¹⁹⁴ It is questionable, however, whether there was a need to look at Egypt, for concrete vaulting was firmly established in Rome at

¹⁹² Cf. Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, 26-27.

¹⁹³ See Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 55-60.

¹⁹⁴ Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, 133.

the time.¹⁹⁵ A further problem here again is that the *Pharos* is another lost structure, and the comparisons are based on hypothetical reconstructions.¹⁹⁶

Reeder, on the other hand, looked at Greece for a model. In her frequently referenced article, Reeder classified the Mausoleum as a “tower type”, and focused on the upper drum of the structure with columns, mainly relying on Gatti’s reconstruction.¹⁹⁷ Considering this upper part as a ‘round temple’ or a ‘*tholos*’, she looked for possible antecedents in the circular buildings of Greece, namely in the *Arsinoeion* of Samothrace, the Sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, and the *Philippeion* of Olympia. However Hesberg’s convincing astylar reconstruction has weakened Reeder’s theory, if not totally.

Two theories have attempted to link the Mausoleum to models in Anatolia. One model suggested is the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, built for the Carian Satrap Mausolus and his wife Artemisia around 350 BCE. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus consists of a rectangular podium above which stood a temple like structure surmounted by a pyramidal roof, and was richly decorated with sculptures and reliefs.¹⁹⁸ The architectural resemblance between Augustus’ tumulus and Mausolus’ monument, even in respect to Gatti’s reconstruction, is slim. The greatest physical similarity might be the crowning statues of both. On the other hand, Strabo’s naming of Augustus’ tomb as ‘Mausoleum’ was a reference given to the tomb of the Carian

¹⁹⁵ Lynne C. Lancaster, *Concrete Vaulted Construction in Imperial Rome: Innovations and Context* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 20005), 5. In the same vein see also Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 38-9.

¹⁹⁶ Davies compares a section drawing of the Mausoleum with that of the *Pharos*, consisting of superimposed vaults, calling attention to the resemblance between the both. However, the upper structure of the Mausoleum consisting of vaults is mainly hypothetical, and so is the section drawing of the *Pharos*. See Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 57.

¹⁹⁷ Reeder, “Typology and Ideology.” Before Hesberg’s detailed publication of 1994, his reconstruction had appeared for the first time in Paul Zanker, *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (U.S.A.: The Uni. of Michigan Press, 1988), 74, fig.59, followed by others. Reeder had seen the reconstruction of Hesberg in Zanker, but preferred that of Gatti, though noting that the full publication of Hesberg should be waited for the details (Reeder, “Typology and Ideology,” 270, and fn.32).

¹⁹⁸ On the monument see Fedak, *Monumental Tombs*, 71-74; Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, 30-42.

Satrap.¹⁹⁹ The tomb of Mausolus, considered as one of the seven wonders of the world had become an authoritative monument architecturally, hence a reference given to it might have elevated the status of Augustus' Mausoleum; however, there seems to be no benefit for Augustus to get associated with the Carian Satrap further.

An older theory was that of Holloway who proposed that Augustus looked to the tumuli of Troy, formed by the concentration of stratified remains of archaic settlements but believed to be the tombs of Trojan princes.²⁰⁰ The Augustan poet Virgil, in his *Aeneid*, had revived the story of the Trojan hero Aeneas, escaping from Troy to Italy and becoming the ancestor of Remus and Romulus, thus of Romans.²⁰¹ It is known that Augustus linked his ancestry to Aeneas making use of the theme widely. And Virgil's epic, in a verse of which the Trojan tumuli were mentioned, became very popular at the time.²⁰² However, there is no evidence that the 'tumulus' was particularly associated with Aeneas or Troy by the Romans, and especially when thought that tumuli were abundant in Italy, specifically around Rome, and in the extended area of the entire Mediterranean region. Moreover there is no evidence of any further reference given to Aeneas or Troy in the Mausoleum.

¹⁹⁹ The tomb at Halicarnassus was called *Mausoleion* in Greek referring to its patron Mausolus. The name 'Mausoleum' in time has been dissociated from the Carian Satrap and has become a generic term used for typologically different funerary monuments. It is generally thought that the term 'Mausoleum' for Augustus's tomb was first used by Strabo (*Geographica*, 5.3.8); e.g. Thomas, *Monumentality*, 180. Yet, there are views claiming that it was used before for Alexander's tomb. On the issue and counter-views See Thomas, *Monumentality*, 180-181, for references fn. 23 and 24). Using the specific name of a well known building for a subsequent structure, had become a new practice in the first century BCE. A resemblance in architectural form between two buildings was not necessary, but a relation in function was sufficient (Thomas, *Monumentality*, 181). Thomas provides examples, such as Pulcher's "Propylaea" referring to Athenian Acropolis, and Cicero's transfer of the Athenian names "Lyceum", "Academy", or "Museum" to his villas.

²⁰⁰ Ross Holloway, "The Tomb of Augustus and the Princes of Troy." *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 70, (1966): 171-173.

²⁰¹ There are different versions of the story. On different endings of Aeneas' story see John F. Hall, "The Original Ending of the Aeneas Tale: Cato and the Historiographical Tradition of Aeneas," *Syllecta Classica*, Vol. 3, (1992): 13-20.

²⁰² Zanker, *Power of Images*, 193-94; Karl Galinsky, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. by Karl Galinsky (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3.

Surprisingly less attention has been paid to homeland Italy that provides plenty of examples of funerary tumuli. Funerary tumuli were common in Etruria and Latium, mainly starting from the 7th and 6th centuries, until slowly disappearing after 400 BCE.²⁰³ Archaeological evidence shows that during the Late Republic, the tumuli appeared once again in the Roman funerary scene.²⁰⁴ The Late Republican tombs consisting of an earthen mound enclosed by a low retaining wall at their base evolved within time, forming the widespread typology of circular aristocratic tombs of the early Empire, employed up to the 2nd century. Even though the possible Etruscan origins of Augustus' tumulus have been pointed out by several scholars over a period of almost a century,²⁰⁵ the relation of the Mausoleum to the tumulus type circular tombs of the Late Republic and Early Empire has not been fully explored. Johnson most recently noted the similarities between Augustus' Mausoleum and the genre, but did not pursue the subject further.²⁰⁶ Instead, he arrived at a synthesis that brought Holloway's theory back to Italy, proposing a link

²⁰³ Boethius and Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, 80-81. On tumuli see Boethius and Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*; Toynbee, *Death and Burial*; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs*; Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*; Johnson, *Mausoleum of Augustus*. Boethius traces back the origins of these tumuli to Greece and the Near East, including Asia Minor and Cyprus, rejecting the idea of Italic origins (*Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, 77). However, Rehak (*Imperium and Cosmos*, 43) points to pre-Etruscan origins, dating back to Proto-Villanovan phase. Today the tumuli can be seen at Caere, Populonia, Veii, Chiusi, Vulci, Tarquinia, Praeneste, Lavinium. Among them the Banditaccia necropolis of Caere (modern Cerveteri), only ca. 45 kilometers from Rome, is worthy to mention for its well preserved examples. These tombs mainly consisted of a circular retaining wall at the base, and an earthen mound on top covering burial chambers carved out of tufa. The burial chambers were imitations of the rooms of houses, and passageways cut into the mounds gave access to the chambers (Johnson, *Mausoleum of Augustus*, 227). Similarly, the tomb of 'dei Carri' at Populonia was comprised of an earthen mound and a base wall of irregular stone masonry. The burial chambers beneath the mound however, were not carved out but built (Johnson, *Mausoleum of Augustus*, 227).

²⁰⁴ Schwarz, *Tumuli at Italia Tellus*, 12; Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten*, 94; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs*, 124.

²⁰⁵ For instance Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, (1971).

²⁰⁶ Johnson, *Roman Imperial Mausoleum*, 21-2.

to the tumulus of Aeneas' heroon at Lavinium.²⁰⁷ The remains of a tumulus at Lavinium, excavated in the early 1970's are thought to be of the heroon of Aeneas,²⁰⁸ which had been mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.²⁰⁹ According to Johnson not Troy but Lavinium was referenced in Augustus' Mausoleum.

Even though the similarities in general between Augustus' Mausoleum and the tumulus type circular tombs of Late Republic and Early Empire were evident, chronological problems have troubled scholars. The prevailing idea for a long time was that Augustus' Mausoleum predated all, initiating the typology.²¹⁰ Furthermore, the variety in terms of general form, place of the earthen mound within the overall design, interior arrangement, material, technique and size, presented by the examples, added to the complexity of the problem. To name a few varying examples, the two so-called tombs of the Horatii on the Via Appia,²¹¹ for instance, consisted only of an

²⁰⁷ The idea goes back to Boethius (*Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, 239-40, fn. 214).

²⁰⁸ The tumulus consisted of an earthen mound enclosed by a low circle of retaining stones. It dates back to the seventh century BCE, surmounted by a fourth century heroon. In the fourth century, a porch was added, facing a road with thirteen altars. Aeneas was worshiped as "Pater Indiges" or "Indiges" at Lavinium. It is probable that Lavinium claimed Trojan descent before Rome (Tim J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 BC)* (1995, Reprint, New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 68. On the remains, the heroon and worship of Aeneas see Paolo Sommella, "Das Heroon des Aeneas und die Topographie des antiken Lavinium," *Gymnasium*, Vol. 81, (1974): 273-297; Karl Galinsky, "The Tomb of Aeneas at Lavinium," *Vergilius*, Vol. 20, (1974): 2-11; Ross Holloway, *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium* (1994, Reprint, New York: Routledge, 2003). Cf. Cornell (*The Beginnings of Rome*, 68) who objects the identification of the remains.

²⁰⁹ 1.64.4-5: "And for him the Latins made a hero shrine with this inscription "God the Earth Father who directs the stream of the river Numicus." There are those who say that this monument was built by Aeneas for Anchises [his father] in the year before this battle when the old man died. It is an earth affair, not large, and around it trees are set out in rows: well worth seeing."

²¹⁰ Holloway, *Princes of Troy*; Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 144, 156), followed by many. Cf. Reeder, "Typology and Ideology," 266-7, Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 45.

²¹¹ The first tomb of the Horatii had a diameter of 28 meters with a retaining wall only one meter high. The earthen cone has been preserved up to 6 meters (Schwarz, *Tumulus Italia Tellus*, 186-87). The second tomb of the Horatii was smaller with a diameter of 18-19 meters. The base wall was two meters high. No burial chamber (Schwarz, *ibid.*, 187-88). Johnson notes that the absence of the burial chambers may mean that the burials took place in the ground prior to the construction of the tumuli (*Mausoleum of Augustus*, 222).

earthen mound enclosed by a low retaining wall at the base and no burial chamber. Some others, still simple in design, had a much higher circular base wall, and were crowned by an earthen mound, such as the Casal Rotondo.²¹² Whereas, the tomb of Caecillia Metella²¹³ exhibited a more complex design, consisting of a tall drum raised above a rectangular podium.²¹⁴ The drum may have been crowned by a relatively small earthen mound, though not positively proven.²¹⁵ A hollow central shaft rising high through the entire structure, with two passages leading into the shaft, reflected the complexity of the interior. These differences led to differing ideas of classification and origin.²¹⁶

The dating of the examples present great difficulties. However, several publications, especially that of Schwarz, who catalogued over hundred tombs under focus, make a reassessment of the chronology possible.²¹⁷ The discussions are

²¹² See Schwarz (*ibid.*, 188-9).

²¹³ On the tomb see Gerding (*Tomb of Caecillia Metella*); also Schwarz (*ibid.*).

²¹⁴ The podium measured *ca.* 30X30 meters. The drum's diameter was close to a hundred Roman feet. The original monument has been preserved up to a height of *ca.* 23 meters; the upper part was added in Medieval times (Gerding, *ibid.*, 26).

²¹⁵ See Gerding (*ibid.*, 74-75).

²¹⁶ See Gerding (*ibid.*, 18-19). He provides his own definitions under the headings of 'circular tomb', 'tumulus', 'tumulus on *krepis*', and 'cylindrical tomb'. Gerding (*ibid.*, 85-88) states that the relatively tall cylindrical tombs should be distinguished from the tumuli on *krepis*, and that they represent different concepts and origins. Eisner (*Zur Typologie der Grabbauten im Suburbium Roms* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1986), 164, 213; "Typologie des Mausoleen," 321) subdivides the group under the heading of tumuli into two groups: the '*ebenerdige*' and the ones '*mit rechtwinkligem Podium*'. As for the origins, the simple tumuli have been linked to Etruscan precedents. See Toynbee (*Death and Burial*, 143). However tombs with taller drums with or without a rectangular podium, could not be linked to any earlier examples from Italy. According to some scholars, they had appeared quite suddenly in an already advanced stage, therefore some argued Hellenistic influences. See Gerding (*ibid.*, 88).

²¹⁷ See most recently Schwarz (*ibid.*, 115, 139-268), providing dates of one hundred catalogued tombs. See Eisner, *Typologie der Grabbauten*, esp. 200-211, 213-219, and also "Typologie des Mausoleen," 321. Gerding (*ibid.*, 152-161) presents a comprehensive list of Roman cylindrical/tumulus tombs with suggested dates for each by several scholars. For a brief account on the tombs in a chronological order see Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten*, 94-113. Holloway ("Princes of Troy"), Johnson ("Mausoleum of Augustus"), Rehak, (*Imperium and Cosmos*, 44-46) provide brief discussions on the dates of some of the tombs.

concentrated on certain tombs, critical in relation to the construction date of Augustus' Mausoleum. One of them is the tomb of Caecillia Metella on the Via Appia. Even though it has been suggested as pre-Augustan by some, the extensive study of Gerding dates it between 30-20 BCE, possibly closer to 30.²¹⁸ The close dating of the tomb to the Mausoleum of Augustus is noteworthy; nonetheless, it renders it as contemporary rather than pre-Augustan. Another one under focus is the Torrione di Micara at Tusculum.²¹⁹ It has been identified as the tomb of Licinius Lucullus (died 56 BCE); however this identification is not secure.²²⁰ Eisner dates it to the mid of the first century BCE, based on assessment of its physical features. Schwarz, most recently, has proposed a date between Late Republican and Early Augustan.²²¹ The Casal Rotondo on the Via Appia, may have been built shortly before the Mausoleum of Augustus; Eisner dates it to *ca.* 40-30 BCE, but a later date

²¹⁸ For an extensive discussion on its date see Gerding (*ibid.*, 43-72). Cf. Eisner (*ibid.*, 201, 203, 215), and Schwarz (*ibid.*, 183-85).

²¹⁹ The discussions on the tomb present some confusion. Holloway, while arguing that no tomb could be dated as pre-Augustan, described it "almost as large as the Mausoleum" giving a dimension of 83 meters for its diameter (*ibid.*, 171). However, the tomb has a diameter of only c.28 meters. Moreover there is no tomb that has such a large diameter, except the two imperial Mausolea. The largest ones have a diameter around 40 meters. This mistake seems to have been repeated in subsequent publications, such as Toynbee (*ibid.*, 154), Rehak (*ibid.*, 44). Johnson (*ibid.*, 222-24), confuses the Torrione di Micara at Tusculum, with Torrione on the Via Praenestina, a tomb with a diameter of *ca.* 41 meters, referring to it as the one discussed by Holloway. This series of confusions is significant because it indicates that the discussions on the dates have been carried on without a close study of the tombs sometimes.

²²⁰ George McCracken ("The Villa and Tomb of Lucullus at Tusculum," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (1942): 325-40) identified the tomb, combining information from ancient literary sources and archaeological evidence, including the remains of a villa which he also identified as that of Lucullus. A travertine block on the exterior which was meant to carry an inscription has been left empty. McCracken argues that it may have borne a painted inscription (*ibid.*, 333). Gerding (*ibid.*, 166) argues that the tomb was never finished and used. See also Holloway (*ibid.*, 171).

²²¹ See Eisner ("Typologie des Mausoleen," 201, 213), and Schwarz (*ibid.*, 222). For the previously proposed dates see Gerding (*ibid.*, 152). Cf. Holloway ("Princes of Troy," 171). Holloway, mentioning a brick facing at the interior, implies that it should be dated to a later time. However, it seems that the brick work belongs to some partition walls which are most probably a later addition. For details see Gerding (*ibid.*, 166-167).

has also been proposed.²²² Schwarz dates five additional tombs as pre-Augustan, one at Altino (Veneto), a second one at Aquaviva (Latium), another at Gubbio (Umbrien), and two on the *Via Appia* in Rome.²²³ One of the tombs from the *Via Appia* had a rectangular podium, the others were of the tumulus and cylindrical type. It should also be noted that Schwarz has classified around fifteen tombs, that could not be dated exactly, as Late Republican and Early Augustan. There is a possibility that some of them were built before the Mausoleum of Augustus.

The difficulty of dating all the above tombs securely as pre-Augustan is evident. However, announcing the Mausoleum as the first example of the genre is also a conclusion hastily arrived. The evidence is pretty suggestive in terms of the existence of examples pre-dating the Mausoleum.

Moreover, Schwarz has demonstrated a chronological development in terms of complexity and design, that ease the earlier mentioned difficulties arising from the variations within the genre.²²⁴ The scheme of development presented by Schwarz begins with plain earthen mounds of which the width exceeds the height, and without burial chambers, continuing with ever higher rising retaining walls encircling the tumulus and with burial chambers, ending with taller circular *opus caementicium* towers, raised on a rectangular podium. Throughout this evolution, the earthen mound, which was the defining element of the genre at the beginning, diminishes in size and dominance, becoming a rudiment on top of the cylindrical tower, at the end disappearing all together. Schwarz notes that the development did not follow a single line but parallel ones, with different solutions provided to similar problems faced by the builders. This scheme of evolution from the simple to the complex further supports the idea of the Mausoleum with all its intricacies not being the initiator but follower of the typology.

²²² See Eisner (*ibid.*, 201, 213); Schwarz (*ibid.*, 189) agrees. For the later date see the list of Gerding (*ibid.*, 153).

²²³ See Schwarz (*ibid.*, 143, 163, 185, 191).

²²⁴ For a conclusive summary of the development see Schwarz (*ibid.*, 48-9).

Prior to the reconstruction of Hesberg, the assumed columnar upper part based on Gatti, differentiated the Mausoleum greatly from the genre, giving way to arguments of considering it a separate development.²²⁵ The astylar reconstruction of Hesberg however, along with other details, presents great similarity to the genre. It is especially noteworthy that the upper tyre of Augustus' Mausoleum, once considered a *tholos*, but now without the earlier assumed columns, matches almost exactly the appearance of the cylindrical tower type tombs of the genre. The similarities are not confined to outward appearance. Analyses reveal that several features of the Mausoleum, such as the central pier, the burial chambers, and its structure, can be linked to examples of the genre.²²⁶ Hence, the Mausoleum, once considered a separate case, has become closely related to the typology.

As such, the picture that has emerged here is that the Mausoleum of Augustus followed a funerary typology already established in homeland Italy. The choice of a traditional typology matches Augustus' conservatism and traditionalism, a well established trait of his.²²⁷ He was the protector of *mos maiorum*,²²⁸ recognizing the authority of the antecedent. In the *Res Gestae* he writes:

²²⁵ The tombs of the genre were astylar, except for a few examples from Campania which have been generally regarded as regional variations. On the Campanian variations, such as the 'Le Carceri Vecchie' at S. Maria di Capua Vetere, see Eisner (*Typologie der Grabbauten*, 218-219), and Schwarz (*Tumulat Italia Tellus*, 56-57); also Colvin (*Architecture and the After-Life*, 29) mentions it. Eisner, describing the Mausoleum as "incompatible" with the rest of the genre, argued that it may have had different origins than the tombs of the private citizens, and pointed to the Hellenistic ruler tombs as plausible sources. For details Eisner, "Typologie des Mausoleen," 321-322, also the extensive footnote in Eisner, *Typologie der Grabbauten*, 214, fn.802. Eisner provides references for the predecessors of his ideas. Eisner also argues that the Mausoleum of Hadrian was quite distinct from the other examples of the genre, and that the two imperial Mausolea were considerably different from each other too. Thus, he considers not only the Mausoleum of Augustus, but also that of Hadrian as a separate development. His reconstruction of Hadrian's Mausoleum, except the pilasters at the corners of the rectangular podium, is astylar in contrast to other proposals. He notes that some other aspects of Hadrian's Mausoleum differentiate it from the genre rather than the pilasters.

²²⁶ For a parallel discussion see Johnson, "Mausoleum of Augustus". Studies of the cylindrical/tumulus tombs by Eisner (*Typologie der Grabbauten*), Hesberg (*Römische Grabbauten*), Schwarz (*Tumulat Italia Tellus*) provide the evidence.

²²⁷ See among others Walter Eder, "Augustus and the Power of Tradition: The Augustan Principate as Binding Link Between Republic and Empire" in *Between Republic and Empire*, ed. by Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher (Berkeley: Uni. of California Press, 1990) 71-122.

By new laws passed on my proposal I brought back into use many exemplary practices of our ancestors which were disappearing in our time, and in many ways I myself transmitted exemplary practices to posterity for their imitation.²²⁹

Nevertheless, the Mausoleum clearly presents a leap in size and elaboration. It is an aggrandizement and appropriation of the typology, adapted to reflect Augustus' greatness, to be discussed further below.

3.2.3. The *Auctoritas* of Great Achievements

The above discussion on the antecedents have focused on the architectural form. It has been argued that the Mausoleum of Augustus belonged to the tumulus type circular tombs of the Late Republic. Yet, the question of 'why Augustus had chosen specifically this typology' still remains open. Related are the questions of 'why the tumulus was revived' and 'what the meaning attached to the tumulus during late Republic was'. The answers are vital for a reading of the symbolism of the Mausoleum at this initial phase.

Military connotations may have been the reason for the revitalization of the tumuli after several hundred years. Gerding notes that the extraordinary conditions of the battlefield often resulted in mass burials in forms of earthen mounds and barrows, which may have been echoed in the tumuli of the Late Republic.²³⁰ Literary sources provide evidence for the erection of earthen mounds in the military context. Tacitus tells how Germanicus, the nephew of the emperor Tiberius, in 14 CE visited the site

²²⁸ Meaning 'the way of the ancestors'.

²²⁹ *Res Gestae*, 8.5.

²³⁰ Gerding, *Tomb of Caecillia Metella*, 82. For references see *ibid.*, 82, fn.495-96. On the commemoration of Roman soldiers, and particularly for burials at the battlefield see Valerie M. Hope, "Trophies and Tombstones: Commemorating the Roman Soldier," *World Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No.1, (June 2003): 79-97. Péter Forisek ("An Extraordinary Military Sacrifice in Florus? A Note on Florus, Epitome II.24." *Acta Antiqua*. Vol. 43, (2003): 107-112) provides information on various types of actions and trophies including burning enemy's weapons or throwing them into the river, as well as forming mounds of weapons.

of the Varian defeat of six years earlier, and buried the remains of the fallen soldiers forming an earthen mound.²³¹ On the other hand, the mass graves of fallen soldiers may not have been exactly what a victorious general would have liked to remind in his tomb. Yet again Tacitus, and also Florus, tell cases at which earthen mounds were raised in meaning and form more like trophies rather than graves. Both Tiberius and Drusus, following their victories, had raised mounds, adorned with arms, spoils, and inscriptions of the names of the conquered enemies.²³²

The burial tumulus is archaic. It is primitive. Its message is universal and timeless. And its potency lies precisely in its simplicity. Adolf Loos, in the 20th century still recognizes the message and potency of the mound grave:

When we find a mound in the woods, six feet long three feet wide, raised to a pyramidal form by means of a spade, we become serious and something in us says: someone was buried here. That is architecture.²³³

This simplicity yet potency perfectly matches the harsh realities of the battlefield. When the simple tumuli evolved into architectonically elaborate monuments, the integrated earthen mound must have evoked the primal act of returning the body or its remains to earth, an evocation that might have been appealing to the Romans, and

²³¹ Tacitus (*Ann.*I.61) writes: “And so, six years after the fatal field, a Roman army, present on the ground, buried the bones of the three legions; and no man knew whether he consigned to earth the remains of a stranger or a kinsman, but all thought of all as friends and members of one family, and, with anger rising against the enemy, mourned at once and hated. At the erection of the funeral-mound the Caesar [Germanicus] laid the first sod, paying a dear tribute to the departed, and associating himself with the grief of those around him.” Yet, the earthen mound was destroyed by the enemy later. Tacitus continues (*Ann.* II.7): “Still, they had demolished the funeral mound just raised in memory of the Varian legions, as well as an old altar set up to Drusus. He [Tiberius] restored the altar and himself headed the legions in the celebrations in honor of his father; the tumulus it was decided not to reconstruct.”

²³² Florus (II.XXX.23): “Drusus was sent into the province and conquered the Usipetes first, and then overran the territory of the Tencturi and Cathi. He erected, by way of a trophy, a high mound (*tumulum*) adorned with the spoils and decorations of the Marcomanni.”; (Tacitus, *Ann.*II.18): “After proclaiming Tiberius *Imperator* on the field of battle, the troops raised a mound, and decked it with arms in the fashion of a trophy, inscribing at the foot the names of the defeated clans.”

²³³ Quoted by Edwin Heathcote, *Monument Builders: Modern Architecture and Death* (West Sussex: Academy Editions, 1999), 9; the original source is Loos, “Architecture”, *Safran*, 1910:56.

to Augustus himself. For the Romans, sprinkling a little earth on the body of the deceased was the least to do if nothing else could be done.²³⁴ In the *De Legibus* Cicero remarks that a burial place was not considered a true grave and was not protected by religious laws, until covered by earth.²³⁵ And Vergil in the *Aeneid* wrote, “Meanwhile in earth we lay our comrades fallen; for no honor else in Acheron have they.”²³⁶

As argued in Chapter 2, the construction of the Mausoleum likely began after Augustus’ return to Rome in 29 BCE, as the sole victor of the long lasting power struggle and the conquerer of Egypt. Upon his return he celebrated his triple triumph of Illyrium, Egypt, and Actium, of three days.²³⁷ Both the timing of construction and the military connotations of the typology suggest a strong affiliation between the Mausoleum and the theme of triumph. As such, the Mausoleum then can be seen as a triumphal monument celebrating the victor,²³⁸ rising high on the fields of the god war Mars, a place itself particularly rich in military and triumphal connotations as presented earlier. The southern and partially central *Campus Martius* had already been filled with triumphal monuments. Now on the northern tip, stood Augustus’ monument, at a distance to and higher than all. If taken that it was topped by a

²³⁴ Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 43.

²³⁵ De Legibus, 2.57. Quoted by Gerding, *Tomb of Caecillia Metella*, 17, fn.455.

²³⁶ “*Interea socios inhumataque corpora terrae mandemus; qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est.*” The verse has been recognized by Schwarz, *Tumulat Italia Tellus*, 76.

²³⁷ Suetonius, *Div.Aug.* 22; Dio.51.21.

²³⁸ The triumphal theme of the Mausoleum has been noted earlier. Davies (*Death and the Emperor*, 63-7) noting the difficulty of determining prototypes, sees in the later examples of the trophies at La Turbie in France and Adamklissi in Rumania similarities to the Mausoleum of Augustus. Yet both examples are evaluated here as weak in terms of similarities. Brangers (*Mausoleum of Augustus*, 63-65), on the other hand, follows Davies but argues that prototypes could be found in Rome. Her proposal is based upon her reading of the upper part of the Mausoleum as a tholos topped by the statue of Augustus that she associates with other tholoi form victory monuments in Rome. Neither Davies nor Brangers do present a discussion on the possible military connotations of the Late Republican tumulus tombs. See also Dietrich Boschung, “Tumulus Iulorum – Mausoleum Augusti: Ein Beitrag zu seinen Sinnbezügen,” *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars Bern*. Vol. 6, (1980): 38-41.

quadriga, as suggested by Pollini, the triumphal message of the Mausoleum becomes enhanced. And the theme of victory was put explicit when the two obelisks, spoils of Egypt, were erected flanking the entrance of the Mausoleum, almost one and a half decades later. The Mausoleum presented Augustus as a triumphator.

The martial character of the Roman world is apparent. Military achievements brought Rome power and prosperity, hence great honors to the triumphators. Not much known, or at least not mentioned, is the fact that Augustus had written memoirs, comprising thirteen books.²³⁹ They are mainly lost, except few fragments that have survived in other sources.²⁴⁰ From what has survived, it can be inferred that the memoirs were mainly concentrated on his military career,²⁴¹ covering the period up to the end of the Cantabrian Wars of 26/25 BCE.²⁴² It has been argued that the practice of writing memoirs stemmed from the competitive environment of Late Republican nobility that emphasized personal achievements as an indicator of social standing and prestige.²⁴³ Augustus was particularly following the examples of Sulla and Julius Caesar, who had earlier composed memoirs focused on their military achievements.²⁴⁴ Their memoirs meant to commemorate them as great triumphators.

²³⁹ The volume edited by Cristopher Smith and Anton Powell, *The Lost Memoirs of Augustus and the Development of Roman Autobiography* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009) constitutes a rare collection of studies on the memoirs of Augustus.

²⁴⁰ On the fragments see Cristopher Smith, "The Memoirs of Augustus: testimonia and fragments," in *The Lost Memoirs of Augustus*, ed. by Cristopher Smith and Anton Powell (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009), 1-15.

²⁴¹ Alexander Thein, "Felicitas and the Memoirs of Sulla and Augustus," in *The Lost Memoirs of Augustus*, ed. by Cristopher Smith and Anton Powell (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009), 102.

²⁴² Suetonius, *Div. Aug.*, 85.

²⁴³ Tim J. Cornell, "Cato the Elder and the Origins of Roman Autobiography," in *The Lost Memoirs of Augustus*, ed. by Cristopher Smith and Anton Powell (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009), 15. Cornell notes that writing memoirs was particularly a Roman practice, with not much evidence from the Greek world. See *ibid.*, 15, fn.6.

²⁴⁴ Before Sulla and Caesar, the memoirs of the prominent names of the post-Gracchan generation, including M. Aemilius Scaurus, P. Rutilius Rufus, Q. Lutatius Catulus are known (Cornell, *ibid.*, 15; Thein, *ibid.*, 87).

Most of the memoirs of Augustus are lost but his *Res Gestae* has survived in entirety, providing further evidence of the significance of military achievements. The *Res Gestae* starts, with the very sentence stating that Augustus had raised an army at the age of nineteen, followed by four paragraphs on his military achievements, and the honors and titles he had received thereof.²⁴⁵ In the fourth, Augustus notes that he was twenty one times saluted *imperator*, a title that he made use of widely. Upon his first reception of the title in 43 BCE, when he was only twenty years old, he issued immediately a coin with the inscription of *IMP(erator)*; and from there on many others followed.²⁴⁶ The theme of military achievements reappears several times in the following paragraphs of the *Res Gestae*. Augustus clearly wanted to be recognized as a triumphator.

The context of Actium is crucial for a better understanding of the meaning of the Mausoleum. In Chapter 2, it was mentioned that Kraft had proposed a pre-Actium date for its construction, as a political act against Marcus Antonius to be discussed later. Here is the place. During the fierce propaganda war before Actium, Augustus had acquired the will of Antonius, opened it illegally and read to the Senate.²⁴⁷ In the will it was stated that Antonius recognized Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar, made extensive settlements upon his own children by her, and he wanted to be buried next to the Egyptian queen in Alexandria. The content of the will, causing enormous outrage in Rome, was regarded as proof of the already circulating rumors that Antonius had the intention to move the capital to Alexandria. According to Kraft, the construction of the Mausoleum was a reaction to Antonius' will, demonstrating Augustus' loyalty to Rome.²⁴⁸ Yet, even if a post Actium date is

²⁴⁵ *Res Gestae* 1.1-4.

²⁴⁶ On the coins see Michael Grant, *Roman History from Coins: Some Uses of the Imperial Coinage to the Historian* (London: Cambridge at the University Press, 1968), 19-20.

²⁴⁷ Dio, 50.3-4.

²⁴⁸ Kraft, "Sinn des Mausoleums Augustus."

accepted opposed to Kraft, the Mausoleum can still be seen as a show of Augustus' loyalty, now not just promised but proven. And his loyalty was further emphasized by the Romanness of his tomb, though aggrandized and appropriated, following a traditional typology; again a counterpoint to Antonius' succumb to Eastern influences, being widely criticized.²⁴⁹ This was the tomb of a true Roman.

Wallace-Hadrill remarks that Actium, which was the culmination of a long lasting struggle for individual dominance, "took on the colours of a battle for the traditional values and freedoms of the Roman citizens."²⁵⁰ According to Wallace-Hadrill, during the propaganda war before and after, Actium was turned into something more than a battle, into a myth – a myth of how Roman values, ideals, gods, morals, *i.e.* all what made up Rome became under the threat of barbarism and corruption, though not caused so much by Antonius - a "victim" himself, a "man unmanned", a "Roman un-Romanned", but more by "the evil incarnate in Cleopatra."²⁵¹ It was a war between "the Roman and the alien."²⁵² Yet, the threat was not just external, but also more of a damaging kind, *i.e.* internal, brothers slaying brothers – a civil war rendering Romans defenseless.²⁵³ As such, Actium acquired the meaning of rescuing Rome from a total destruction, and preservation of all the traditions Rome had been standing for. And in the myth, Augustus emerges as the saviour.²⁵⁴ *Res Gestae*, reiterates and reinforces. In the two last paragraphs of the *Res*

²⁴⁹ On Antonius' succumb to Eastern influences in comparison to Augustus' traditionalism, among others, see Richard Beacham, "The Emperor as Impresario: Producing the Pageantry of Power," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. by Karl Galinsky (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 152-60.

²⁵⁰ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*. (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1994), 1. See on the meaning and significance of Actium *ibid.*, 1-9.

²⁵¹ Wallace-Hadrill, *ibid.*, 6-7.

²⁵² Wallace-Hadrill, *ibid.*, 7. Wallace-Hadrill provides literary evidence.

²⁵³ Wallace-Hadrill, *ibid.*, 8.

²⁵⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, *ibid.*, 8.

Gestae, already cited above, Augustus remarks that he had extinguished the civil wars and restored the *Res Publica*, followed by the list of honors he received thereof.

Two archaeological findings among the remains of the Mausoleum, *i.e.* the piece of the shield - *clipeus virtulis*, and the laurel fragment, provide evidence that the honors bestowed by the Senate and the people of Rome mentioned in the *Res Gestae* were recalled in the Mausoleum. The archaeological evidence of *clipeus virtulis* is clear in meaning. The *clipeus virtulis* was made known to the whole Roman world by means of coins.²⁵⁵ The laurel fragment, on the other hand, may be a reference to the laurel leaves decorating the door-posts of his house, the honor Augustus had received as mentioned above in the *Res Gestae*. Unfortunately the scarcity of the surviving decorative pieces hinder further elaboration of the subject. Nevertheless, though minimum, the evidence indicates that the Mausoleum represented Augustus not merely as a triumphator but much more than that, as the saviour of Rome. The context of Actium, in which the Mausoleum had emerged, supports the reading.

Another lost element of the Mausoleum is the landscape of the crowning tumulus. As remarked earlier, it is greatly probable that the plants were not chosen solely for aesthetic effects but also for symbolic significance. The landscape cannot be reconstructed yet some speculation is possible. Both Pollini and Hesberg has put forward the idea that oak might have been one of the trees planted on the tumulus,²⁵⁶ referencing to the *corona civica* (civic crown),²⁵⁷ made of oak,²⁵⁸ mentioned earlier

²⁵⁵ On the coins see Grant, *Roman History from Coins*, 21.

²⁵⁶ Pollini, *Case Study of the Mausoleum of Augustus*; Hesberg, *Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums*, 27.

²⁵⁷ The *civica corona* was a crown originally awarded as the second highest military decoration to a Roman soldier who saved the lives of fellow citizens by slaying an enemy in a battle.

²⁵⁸ Pollini (*Case Study of the Mausoleum of Augustus*) notes that the civic crowns were made of different types of oaks. The most common type, as represented in the portraits of Augustus and his successors, was the *Quercus robur* (common oak). However, since the *Quercus robur* is not an ever-green tree, he suggests that it must have been *Quercus ilex* that was planted on the Mausoleum. Pollini supports his idea stating that according to Pliny the Elder (*Historia Naturalis*, 16.11), *corona civica* was first made of *Quercus ilex*. For further details on the discussion see also Pollini, *ibid.*, fn.18. On

to have been awarded to Augustus.²⁵⁹ Pollini also proposes the laurel, for already mentioned associations above. The ideas cannot be proven, yet are plausible.

If oak was indeed planted it would also reference Jupiter, as the sacred plant of the god.²⁶⁰ And Augustus was associated with Jupiter.²⁶¹ Jupiter was the god that granted *imperium*,²⁶² hence occupied a significant role in the triumphal processions of a victorious *imperium* holder.²⁶³ In addition, Ovid notes that only Augustus shared a name with Jupiter, for the title ‘Augustus’ was related to augury through which the divine will of Jupiter was made known.²⁶⁴

As for the laurel, even if the idea of it as part of the landscape is speculative, the archaeological evidence is firm. Laurel did not only decorate the door posts of Augustus’ house on the Palatine, but there was also the well known laurel grove at Livia’s Villa at Prima Porta, pointing to Augustus’ close relation to the evocative

the other hand, Hesberg, (“Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums,” 27) gives reference to Virgil (Aeneid, 11.828) who mentions the sacred oak trees around the tomb of the Latin king Dercennus, as an example of the usage of oaks in funerary context. Hesberg also notes that the groves of oak trees on the hills were regarded especially sacred (*ibid.*, 27, fn. 162).

²⁵⁹ *Res Gestae* 34.2; Dio 53.16.4.

²⁶⁰ Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 92) raises the question of why the Romans gave crowns made of oak leaves and wonders whether it was because oak was sacred to Jupiter and Juno.

²⁶¹ On Augustus and Jupiter, see among others, Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 296-7, 314-16; Barbara A. Kellum, “Sculptural Programs and Propaganda in Augustan Rome: The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine,” in *Roman Art in Context: An Anthology*, ed. by Eve D’Ambra (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993), 204.

²⁶² Richardson (“*Imperium Romanum*,” 2-4) argues that the origins of *imperium* was not to be found in constitutional law but in religion. Although the magistrates were elected by the *comitia centuriata*, their *imperium* was only enacted by the formalities of *lex curiata* that gave the magistrates the right to receive auspices confirming Jupiter’s acceptance. So the magistrates were elected by people but their *imperium* was a gift of god.

²⁶³ Richardson, *ibid.*, 2.

²⁶⁴ *Fasti* 1.591-616; quoted by Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*, 16.

plant. The laurel was a symbol of victory, hence a crown of it would be carried by a triumphator at his triumphal procession.²⁶⁵ During his triple triumph of 29 BCE, Augustus can be assumed as customarily wearing a laurel crown while another one of oak was being held above his head by a slave.²⁶⁶ In a fragment of a frieze of the Actian Victory Monument at Nikopolis Augustus is also shown holding a laurel branch in his hand at his triumph.²⁶⁷ Laurel was the symbol of Apollo, the patron god of Augustus. Augustus had been associated with Apollo for long already.²⁶⁸ Both Jupiter but foremost Apollo were significant gods within the context of Actium. They helped Augustus at the battle. Upon return to Rome after Actium, at the very time of the construction of the Mausoleum, Augustus was also building a temple for Apollo, that he had vowed before war. The temple, known as that of the Actian Apollo,²⁶⁹ was located on the Palatine and directly connected to Augustus' house, a close relationship unprecedented in Rome. A bolt of lightning that struck Augustus' house was considered as a sign for the location of the temple to be constructed. The decorative program of the temple celebrated Apollo, the victorious god of Actium.²⁷⁰ Apollo had given victory to Augustus at Actium, and Augustus was now living close to the god on the very hill of Rome. It is noteworthy that the Temple, both in terms of

²⁶⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, *ibid.*, 17; Pollini, *Case Study of the Mausoleum of Augustus*.

²⁶⁶ Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*, 251.

²⁶⁷ See Pollini, *ibid.*, 192, Fig. IV.29.

²⁶⁸ Augustus had dressed up as Apollo in the 'Feast of the Twelve Gods', a private banquet of Augustus (Suetonius, *Div.Aug.* 70). Suetonius tells that the banquet caused a public scandal, that took place at a time of food shortage. Antonius made use of it in his propaganda war.

²⁶⁹ Kellum, "Temple of Apollo," 79, Propertius, 4.6.67.

²⁷⁰ Kellum, *ibid.*, 79.

its decoration and overall design, was traditional, like its contemporary Mausoleum.²⁷¹

If the speculations on landscape are taken, together with the archaeological evidence of the laurel, the Mausoleum communicated the divine support of Augustus, interlinked with triumphal connotations. The theme of divine support is present in the memoirs of Augustus as well. The few fragments that have survived provide anecdotes involving omens, dreams, and other supernatural signs.²⁷² Supernatural signs were considered as symptoms of *felicitas*, the luck that was received due to one's virtues.²⁷³ Great achievements, foremost military, made men eligible for divine support, and divine support signified that the gods were on their side.²⁷⁴ The supernatural help usually appeared at critical moments during a war. *Felicitas*, was a personal blessing of gods that enabled a general to be successful on the battlefield.²⁷⁵ The memoirs depict Augustus as favoured by gods. Augustus won the wars by divine support, and divine support would help Augustus to continue to serve Rome. A close

²⁷¹ See Kellum (*ibid.*) and Galinsky (*Augustan Culture*, 213-224) on the archaizing character of the temple and its decoration.

²⁷² In regard to the inclusion of the supernatural, Augustus' memoirs are likened to the memoirs of Sulla rather than those of Caesar that were generally devoid of such elements. See Thein, "Felicitas", 87-111; T. Peter. Wiseman, "Augustus, Sulla and the Supernatural," in *The Lost Memoirs of Augustus*, ed. by Cristopher Smith and Anton Powell (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009), 111-125.

²⁷³ Thein, *ibid.*, 88. Thein notes that *felicitas* was different than the other form of luck, *i.e. fortuna* which he describes as 'capricious'.

²⁷⁴ Barbara Levick, *Augustus: Image and Substance* (Harlow: Longman – Pearson, 2010), 203. Levick notes that "the Princeps needed to convince his men that they were on the winning side, that is that the gods were for them."

²⁷⁵ Thein, *ibid.*, 88. Thein provides the example of Sulla. Sulla presented himself as the embodiment of *felicitas*, even adding to his name the title '*Felix*'. The word *felicitas*, on the other hand, does not appear in the surviving fragments of Augustus' memoirs. Thein remarks "Augustus borrowed from Sulla, but did so in silence" (*ibid.*, 89).

relation to the gods rendered one more effective in serving and protecting his men.²⁷⁶ This was a justification for Augustus' leadership for the future as well.²⁷⁷

Romans also established a relation to the gods, by claiming descent from a particular deity. Evans notes that the claim was mostly made by families that had newly acquired power rather than the *gentes maiores*.²⁷⁸ That of the *Julii* was Venus, propagated widely by means of coins, inscriptions, literature and architecture,²⁷⁹ and used as a justification by Julius Caesar for his rule.²⁸⁰ Caesar also incorporated Aeneas, the son of Venus, into the lineage of the *Julii*. The name *Julii* came from Junus, the son of Aeneas. This way he made the ancestor of all Romans the ancestor of his family.²⁸¹ Augustus promoted this lineage as well. The theories of Holloway and Johnson, proposing the tumuli of Troy or the one in Lavinium, as architectural models for the Mausoleum have been argued to be weak earlier. However, not as architectural models, but as further possible associations beside the more explicit, a reference through Troy or Lavinium may have been invoked in the Mausoleum. If so, Augustus would be portraying his distinguished ancestry in his Mausoleum, declaring his high social status. And the story of Aeneas and the fall of Troy had

²⁷⁶ Levick, *ibid.*, 203.

²⁷⁷ Thein notes that the embodiment of *felicitas* rendered the leader 'charismatic', a trend that can be traced back to Scipio Africanus and Hellenistic models (*ibid.*, 88). According to Wiseman, Augustus in his autobiography made clear that it was not wealth or birth that brought success but the help of gods, and that was what marked out the charismatic leader (Wiseman, *ibid.*, 113).

²⁷⁸ Jane DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor: Uni. of Michigan Press, 1992), 39 cites the Fabii, Caecilii, Memmii along the Julii as the few families to have such claims. Only the Fabii were one of the six families that controlled Rome in the early Republican times.

²⁷⁹ The gens Julia was claiming to have divine origins at least starting from the second century BCE. For evidence coming from coins see Evans (*ibid.*, 39).

²⁸⁰ Evans, *ibid.*, 41.

²⁸¹ Evans *ibid.*, 40.

acquired a new dimension with Virgil, in which the glorious future of Rome was tied to the *Julii* and Augustus.²⁸²

Augustus' high social standing was reflected by his choice of typology for his Mausoleum as well. Colvin notes that there were conventions regarding the types of tombs in relation to social status.²⁸³ The cylindrical tombs of the Late Republic and Early Empire were used by the aristocrats. As such Augustus was following the architectural tradition of the Roman nobility. It has been argued that the tumulus typology was introduced for its military connotations. The military was a part of the lives of the aristocrats. Here, an inquiry into the ownerships of the tombs in relation to the military careers of their patrons would be revealing. However, due to the difficulties of the identification of the tombs, such an inquiry has not been carried out within the limits of this thesis.

And size mattered. So did the use of exquisite materials. Favro notes that Romans considered large size and rich materials as qualities of superior status.²⁸⁴ A comparison between the tombs of the genre illustrates the strikingly outstanding position of the Mausoleum in terms of size (Fig. 35). Marble was an exquisite material not yet widely employed in Rome at the late first century BCE, hence attracting attention, foremost for its highly praised shine and reflectiveness.²⁸⁵ Buildings of marble were described as of *magnificentia*.²⁸⁶ Augustus enabled the import of marble in large quantities to Rome,²⁸⁷ and increased the number of marble buildings in the cityscape. To the grandeur of the Mausoleum can be added a fine

²⁸² Zanker, *Power of Images*, 193.

²⁸³ See Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, 96.

²⁸⁴ Favro, *Urban Image*, 183.

²⁸⁵ Favro, *ibid.*, 186. On use of marble in Augustan time see *ibid.*, 182-87.

²⁸⁶ Favro, *ibid.*, 183.

²⁸⁷ See Favro, *ibid.*, 185.

decoration, hinted by the few surviving fragments, and assumed should be a beautiful landscape adorning the tumulus. The construction of the huge Mausoleum, with its intricate structure, marble finishing, fine decoration and landscape, was a display of power in itself. It reflected the wealth and organizational capabilities of its patron.

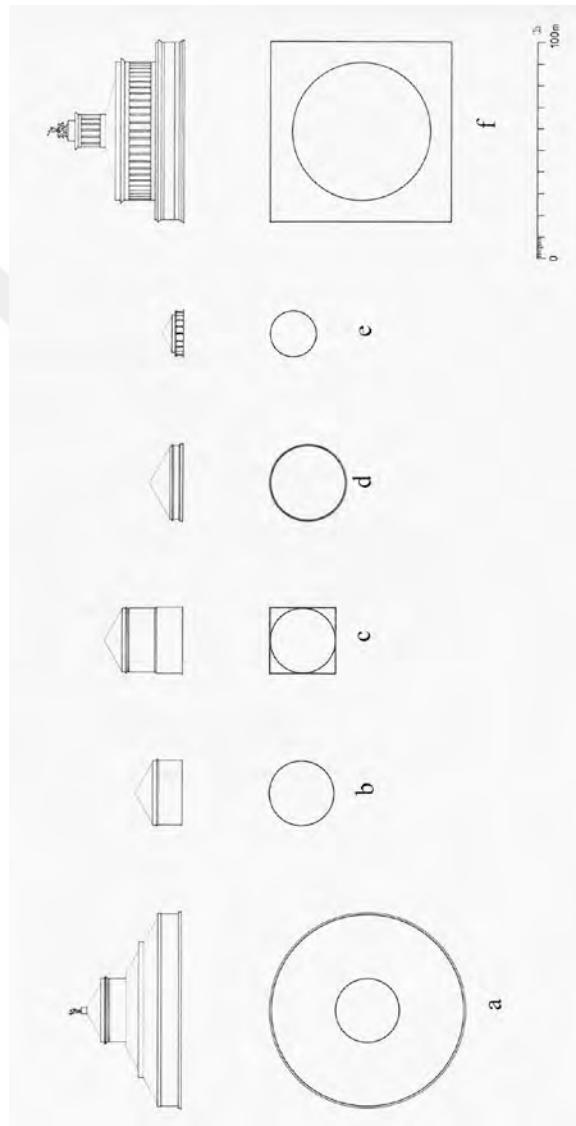


Figure 35. Size comparison of tombs in and around Rome.
a: Augustus' Mausoleum, **b:** Tomb of Munatius Plancus, **c:** Tomb of Caecilia Metella, **d:** Tomb of Lucilius Paetus,
e: 'Carceri Vecchie' in Capua, **f:** Hadrian's Mausoleum
Source: Hesberg and Panciera (1994, p. 198, Abb. 51)

If a post-Actium date is accepted, the extensive construction of the Mausoleum must have been financed by the booties of war. Egypt was the richest province added to the Roman dominion. It should be noted that Egypt had not become just another province, but was given a special status with Augustus as the

pharaoh having absolute control of it. The Mausoleum must have visualized for the public the riches of Egypt, now of Rome. As such it displayed both the wealth and power of its patron, and at the same time his great service to Rome.

At this point, an analogy between Augustus' Mausoleum and his house, both as personal reflections, is tempting. Augustus' house on the Palatine was modest, both in scale and materials, as described by Suetonius²⁸⁸ and attested by the archaeological remains.²⁸⁹ Cicero notes, "The Roman people despise luxury in the private sphere, but appreciate magnificent display in public."²⁹⁰ It was not yet the time of imperial palaces; Augustus was living humbly in his private sphere, in accordance with *mores*. Yet the Mausoleum was the public display of Augustus, in all its grandeur. Personal achievements were praised by the public and commemorated as exemplary merits for the future generations.²⁹¹

The Mausoleum was an utterly bold statement of Augustus. At the time of his return to Rome, Augustus had started to use a seal with a portrait of Alexander, his model.²⁹² With vivid memories still in mind of his visit to the *Sema*, where he got to see the mummified body of his hero who had died at the very age of this encounter, he might have started to feel closer than ever to Alexander. Augustus' remarkable military achievements justified his affiliation with the great conqueror. After all, Augustus made the city founded by Alexander the domain of the Romans. And having extinguished the civil wars and preserved Rome from destruction, he had given Rome a re-birth, a second life. He was the second founder of Rome, the second Romulus. Augustus evidently felt the right to make the bold statement. The Mausoleum communicated Augustus' greatness, surpassing that of all others. This

²⁸⁸ *Div.Aug.*, 72. On the house of Augustus See Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*, 26-28.

²⁸⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, *ibid.*, 26.

²⁹⁰ Quoted by Werner Eck, *The Age of Augustus* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2007), 139.

²⁹¹ Cornell, "Origins of Roman Autobiography," 15.

²⁹² Suetonius, *Div.Aug.*50; Kienast, "Augustus und Alexander," 435, Takács, "Alexandria in Rome," 265; Galinsky, *Augustan Rome*, 48.

declaration of greatness did not only address the past, but also the future. This was his own proclamation of his capacity and right to rule.



CHAPTER 4

SPACE OF *IMPERIUM ROMANUM*



Figure 36. Aureus of Augustus, Reverse, Rome, after 27 BCE.

Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/julio-claudians/2128317390/> [Last accessed 20.08.2019]

The enormous spatial expansion of Rome's dominion and the accumulation of extraordinary powers in the hands of one man, entailed several transformations: The transformation of the Republic into an Empire, the transformation of Rome from a Republican center into an Imperial, and the transformation of Augustus into an emperor. This chapter studies the Mausoleum of Augustus within the context of these transformations.

4.1. From *Res Publica* to *Imperium Romanum*

Augustus came out from the Battle of Actium as the *de facto* sole power. Legislative powers followed.²⁹³ In 27 BCE, with the 'First Settlement', he was given

²⁹³ See Dunstan, *Ancient Rome*, 221-224; from here on in *passim*.

the right to hold consulship each year,²⁹⁴ and the administration of a vast area of provinces comprising Gaul, Spain and Syria, for ten years. Egypt was already in his own right of rule as the acknowledged successor of the Ptolemies. The 'Second Settlement' of 23 BCE, expanded Augustus' power for life, and with the unprecedented formulations of *imperium proconsulare maius* and *tribunica potestas*. The *maius* in the title of *imperium proconsulare maius*, indicated that his *imperium* was superior to others, which gave him direct military control over all provinces, the right to override governors in senatorial provinces, and to hold his *imperium* within the *pomerium* of Rome.²⁹⁵ The *tribunica potestas*, on the other hand, granted Augustus the executive powers of the tribune of the plebs, even though he was traditionally not allowed to be a tribune as a patrician by adoption of Julius Caesar. *Tribunica potestas* enabled Augustus to summon the Senate and the *Concilium Plebis* (Plebeian Assembly), propose and veto laws, and to protect the interests of the plebeians; the latter helping him to create the image of a ruler eager to outreach the ordinary citizens.

Augustus' power, besides his *auctoritas*, rested on these two unprecedented legislative formulations of *tribunica potestas* and *imperium maius*.²⁹⁶ The Republican system was based on distributed power and multiple sources of decision.²⁹⁷ However now, all power was overhanded to one man.

²⁹⁴ In the Republican tradition the consulship was given only for one year and was shared by two consuls.

²⁹⁵ The superior *imperium* given to Augustus had time limits, yet automatic renewals enabled him to keep it until his death (Dunstan, *Ancient Rome*, 223).

²⁹⁶ Dunstan, *ibid.*, 223. Dunstan also notes that Augustus, usually keeping the *maius imperium* in the background, brought forth the *tribunica potestas*, even marking his reign chronologically by the years he possessed this position, a practice followed by his successors.

²⁹⁷ John A. Crook, "Augustus: Power, Authority, Achievement," in *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume X: The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.-A.D. 69*, ed. by Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1996), 113.

During Augustus' rule the Roman dominion reached a peak, encompassing the whole Mediterranean region, from the Atlantic in the west, to Armenia in the east.²⁹⁸ Augustus, doubling the Roman territory, represented himself as the conqueror of the whole *oikoumene*, i.e. the inhabited world.²⁹⁹ Agrippa visualized the immense geographical expansion of Rome in his huge world map, that he put on display in *Porticus Vipsania*.³⁰⁰ And roads were being built connecting this vast geography to Rome.³⁰¹ The *Milliarium Aureum* (the golden milestone), put up in the *Forum Romanum* by Augustus in 20 BCE as the superintendent of the thoroughways, marked the starting point of the roads of Italy, from where distances were measured.³⁰² All roads were leading to Rome. And at the same time, Strabo was composing his *Geographica* that conceptualized the *oikoumene* with Rome at its center.³⁰³ The new world was becoming, more and more, united and connected around Rome, politically, conceptually and even physically.

The Roman Republic was evolving into an Empire. We own the terms 'republic' and 'empire' to the Romans, nevertheless their meanings have shifted and expanded within time. *Res publica*, from which the term 'republic' has been derived, denoted differing meanings in relation to the context.³⁰⁴ Its literal translation is

²⁹⁸ On the Roman territory of Augustan age see Dunstan, *Ancient Rome*, 235-241.

²⁹⁹ Dunstan, *ibid.*, 235. On *oikoumene* see Andrew Lintott, "What Was the Imperium Romanum?", *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 28, No. 1, (April 1981): 53-4. Lintott notes that for Augustus the Roman Empire didn't mean simply the total of the territory ruled by the Romans but was "the world itself".

³⁰⁰ Favro, *Rome a World City*, 244.

³⁰¹ Lintott, *ibid.*, 65.

³⁰² For ancient sources and bibliography see Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 342.

³⁰³ Katherine Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 216, 223. Clarke provides a detailed study on Strabo's world and space conception centered around Rome.

³⁰⁴ On *res publica* see Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, esp.5-7.

‘public affairs’, ‘public matter’. It has also been translated as ‘commonwealth’. In these usages it could denote the ‘state’ in general, without referring to any specific political or governmental system, as it was used even for the Roman Empire. However, it was also used specifically to denote the governmental system between the Kingship and Empire. As such it denoted basically a non-monarchical system, similar to its modern meaning. In retrospect, Dio notes that when the power of both the people and the senate was transferred into the hands of Augustus a monarchy was established.³⁰⁵

The meaning of ‘*imperium*’, on the other hand, acquired a “territorial sense” during the late Republic and early Empire, as noted by Richardson.³⁰⁶ At the same time, the term ‘*imperium romanum*’ appeared denoting the collective power of Rome, instead of the power of an individual *imperium* holder.³⁰⁷ Broadly, *imperium romanum*, or more specifically *imperium populi Romani*, was the power that the Romans implemented on other peoples.³⁰⁸ It denoted the Roman power, and at the same time the Roman territory. Richardson points to the fact that this expansion in the meaning coincided with the accumulation of power (*imperium*) in the hands of a single individual, *i.e.* Augustus.³⁰⁹

While all power became concentrated in the hands of Augustus, however, there was no term suitable for his unprecedented position. Tacitus writes “Yet the State had been organized under the name neither of a kingdom nor a dictatorship, but

³⁰⁵ Dio, 51.17.

³⁰⁶ Richardson, “Imperium Romanum,” 1. According to Richardson the shift in meaning started earlier, and its expansion into a territorial sense became normal usage during the second half of the first century CE.

³⁰⁷ See Richardson, *ibid.*, 5-7.

³⁰⁸ Lintott, “What Was Imperium Romanum,” 53.

³⁰⁹ Richardson, *ibid.*, 7.

under that of principate.”³¹⁰ Republican sentiments would not tolerate a ‘kingship’. And ‘dictatorship’ evoked bad memories. The solution was to denote Augustus as the *princeps civitatis*, i.e. the ‘first citizen’ or just shortened, the *Princeps*.³¹¹

The geographical expansion ran parallel with centralization. At the center of the vast Roman territory, encompassing diverse peoples and cultures, was a city and a man, holding it together.

4.2. From a Private Monument to an Imperial Monument

The Mausoleum had emerged in the plain of *Campus Martius* as a private monument and a family tomb of an ambitious young man within the context of Actium, as discussed in the previous chapter. The following discussion tracks the transformation of the Mausoleum from a private monument to that of an imperial, enlarging the spatial and thereof the conceptual context of the monument in three phases. The discussion first focuses on the Mausoleum proper. Secondly it studies the Mausoleum in relation to its immediate physical surrounding, as part of the monumental complex that became formed in northern *Campus Martius* comprising the *Ara Pacis* and the Gnomon-Obelisk. At last, the spatial context is enlarged encompassing the city of Rome and beyond.

4.2.1. From Family to Dynasty: A Monument of a Dynasty

The immense dimensions of the Mausoleum of Augustus provided plenty of space for burials. Throughout the three decades between the time of its construction and the death of Augustus, the Mausoleum received several ash urns of family members and friends, listed earlier. Family tombs were not unusual during late

³¹⁰ *Ann.*1.9.

³¹¹ On the term *Princeps* see Dunstan, *Ancient Rome*, 15.

Republic,³¹² yet the family of Augustus was not one of the usual. The unprecedented accumulation of the extraordinary powers in Augustus' hands, elevated the status of his family which was brought under the spotlight. The eyes of the public were on the lives and deaths of the members of the Princeps' family.

The first urn the Mausoleum received was that of Marcellus, the son of Augustus' sister Octavia and his son in law. Passing down one's position and family power, i.e money and *clientale*, was the usual conduct; however, in Augustus' case this would mean the monarchical leadership of the Roman Republic.³¹³ Thus, to prevent any possible reactions of the late Republican nobility who would not tolerate any succession of dynastic connotations, Augustus had to handle the issue with great delicacy. On the other hand, not having a son to pass down his legacy, Augustus was left with the other male descendants of his family. Taking into regard the political sensibilities of the time, Augustus never openly designated a heir, yet from time to time promoted young members of his family who would become understood by the public as the chosen successor. Marcellus seems to have been one of them. Augustus married his nephew, who was only seventeen at the time, to his daughter Julia, and initiated a political career for him. Marcellus became consul ten years before the required age.³¹⁴ In the year of 23 BCE Augustus fell seriously ill, starting to arrange his affairs as if awaiting death.³¹⁵ Dio states that at the time, everybody was expecting Marcellus to be his first choice of successor.³¹⁶ Augustus recovered. Yet these speculations must have urged him, upon recovery to bring "his will into the

³¹² Archaeological remains of family tombs date back to about the third century BCE. One well known example is the tomb of the the Scipios on the *Via Appia* in Rome, dating back to the first half of the third century BCE, but continued to be used up to the first century CE. On the tomb see Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 103-104, 113.

³¹³ Eck, *Age of Augustus*, 150.

³¹⁴ Dio 53.28.

³¹⁵ Dio 53.30.

³¹⁶ Dio 53.30.

Senate with the intention of reading it aloud, so as to inform the world that he had left no successor to the empire”.³¹⁷ Later the same year, Marcellus fell ill too, but did not recover. He was given a public funeral with a eulogy delivered by Augustus and his remains were deposited in the Mausoleum. Augustus also finished the construction of a theater started by Julius Caesar naming it Marcellus as a memorial to his nephew, and gave orders that a curule chair alongside a golden image and a crown to be placed in the theater among the magistrates during Roman Games,³¹⁸ to make him present in spirit at the festivities.³¹⁹ And Virgil in his *Aeneid*, commemorated the young man’s death with highly praising verses.³²⁰

A decade later, Agrippa’s death followed. A best friend and collaborator of Augustus, Agrippa had risen to the position of being the most powerful man in Rome after the *Princeps*, capable of replacing him when needed.³²¹ Augustus also established family ties with Agrippa marrying him to his widowed daughter Julia.³²² When Agrippa died in 12 BCE, Augustus placed his ashes in the Mausoleum, even though he already had a tomb chosen for himself in *Campus Martius*,³²³ perhaps in

³¹⁷ Dio (53.31). Dio states that the reading never took place for no one consented to it (53.31.2). The reason might be that it would have been regarded as an ill-omen.

³¹⁸ Dio (53.30).

³¹⁹ He was *curule aedile* at the time of his death and was responsible for overseeing the Games, thus his presence was indicated by carrying in those emblems.

³²⁰ *Aeneid* (6.854-888). Virgil movingly described the deep mourning of the Romans upon the death of Marcellus, and portrayed him as a young man who would have made the Roman race so powerful that even the gods would have grown envious if he had been allowed to live.

³²¹ Eck, *Age of Augustus*, 152.

³²² Agrippa was asked to divorce his wife and marry Julia (Eck, *ibid.*, 152).

³²³ Dio, 54.28.

the very area of his construction activities.³²⁴ His burial in Augustus' Mausoleum on the one hand can be considered as an honor; however, on the other hand, it might have been an attempt to prevent Agrippa's individual memorialization, making it dependent to, and ranked below Augustus.

A year later, in 11 BCE, Augustus's sister Octavia died. Augustus arranged her a funeral with unprecedented honors. According to Dio,³²⁵ her body was laid in state behind a curtain in the Temple of Divus Julius and two eulogies, one by Augustus himself and one by Tiberius, were delivered instead of the usual conduct of one. Dio also states that her death was honored by public mourning and the senators changed their dress.³²⁶

Drusus Maior, son of Augustus' wife Livia from her former husband, died in 9 BCE during a military campaign at the border of Germania. At the time he was a consul and a very popular commander favoured by troops. The remains of his body, conveyed back to Rome, found the final resting place in Augustus' Mausoleum following a public funeral at *Forum Romanum*, again with two eulogies being delivered. He was also honored by statues, an arch and a cenotaph at the bank of the Rhine where he had died.³²⁷

Apparently in search of candidates for passing down his legacy, Augustus adopted his two grandsons by Julia and Agrippa, namely Lucius and Gaius Caesar, while their father was still alive, with a public ceremony.³²⁸ The early onset of the two boys' public lives continued, with them joining colleges of priests and becoming

³²⁴ The location of the tomb is unknown. For theories of a location in *Campus Martius* see Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 477, and the Digital Augustan Map (map entry:5).

³²⁵ Dio, 54.35.

³²⁶ Dio, 54.35.

³²⁷ Suetonius, *Div.Claud.*1.3; Dio, 55.2.

³²⁸ Eck, *Age of Augustus*, 152.

equestrian youth leaders (*principes iuventutis*) for which coins were issued.³²⁹ And they became the youngest consuls in Roman history after Augustus.³³⁰ However, the two princes, one short after the other, died unexpectedly early at military campaigns that they had participated for their training; Lucius at Massilia (modern France) in 2 CE and Gaius at Limyra (modern Turkey) in 4 CE. Their bodies were conveyed to Rome and both were given public funerals. Finally their ashes were placed in the Mausoleum. These were the last burials before Augustus' death.

With each death the Mausoleum became the focal point of ostentatious funerary ceremonies, with the participation of the public. The funerals of the Roman élité, did not only serve religious beliefs and customs, but were at the same time public events that attracted crowds, and provided a good opportunity for self-advertisement and display of power.³³¹ It should be noted that, as opportunities of self-advertisement and ceremonial display of power, aristocratic public funerals became a rarity in Augustan time, reserved mostly for Augustus' family.³³²

The engagement of the public with the deceased members of the family did not end with their funerals and burials. Epigraphic evidence indicates that the deceased young men were granted posthumous honors, decreed by the Senate, including the erection of altars and annual ceremonies, some taking place at their

³²⁹ See for the coins Eck (*ibid.*, 155, Plate 15.2).

³³⁰ On Lucius and Gaius Caesar see Eck (*ibid.*, 152-156).

³³¹ On Roman funerals as public events and as means of self-advertisement, among others, see John Bodel, "Death on Display: Looking at Roman Funerals," in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, ed. by Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon (London: Yale Uni. Press, 1999), 259-281.

³³² Geoffrey Sumi, *Ceremony and Power: Performing Politics in Rome Between Republic and Empire* (2005. Reprint, USA: The University of Michigan Press, 2008), 253. Sumi cites Dio (54.12.2), who writes that Augustus was lavish in awarding a great many men with public funerals. However Sumi rightfully remarks that, all such funerals known of this period are those of the imperial family members.

tomb, *i.e.* the Mausoleum.³³³ Some of these altars may have been located in the vicinity of the Mausoleum,³³⁴ perhaps in the adjacent park.

The commemorative rituals and ceremonies of the deceased family members of Augustus did not only take place in Rome but also in the provinces. A cenotaph was built for Drusus Maior, at the bank of the Rhine where annual ceremonies were performed.³³⁵ Drusus' son Germanicus, was granted with honorific arches by the Senate, at various locations in the provinces. One was located close to his father's cenotaph, where annual commemorations took place. For Gaius, at his place of death at Limyra, was a cenotaph built as well. It is probable that he was commemorated annually at his cenotaph, as was the case with the others. These ceremonies, incorporated into the calendar, became part of the daily lives of the citizens, both in Rome and the provinces. As such, Rome and its provinces became periodically united, with the family of Augustus at the very center.

And in Rome, the exterior of the family tomb of Augustus changed with every burial. Inscriptions and statues of the deceased were added to the Mausoleum (Fig. 37).³³⁶

³³³ The main sources are the *Tabula Hebana*, the *Tabula Siarensis*, and the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, that are fragmentary inscriptions announcing the decrees of the Senate. For references see Simon Price, "From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: The Consecration of Roman Emperors," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. by Simon Price and David Cannadine (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 70.

³³⁴ Hesberg, "Mausoleum des Augustus," 354.

³³⁵ Suetonius (*Div.Claud.* 1.3), Dio (55.2). A cylindrical structure raised above a rectangular podium, known as the 'Drususstein' at Mainz, is thought to be the monument mentioned. If the identification is correct, then the similarity of the monument to the cylindrical tomb typology of the Late Republic and Early Empire is noteworthy.

³³⁶ Fragments of inscriptions have survived. See Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," including illustrations. According to Hesberg ("Mausoleum des Augustus," 354), the abundance of marble fragments found during the excavations and in the vicinity of the Mausoleum suggest the existence of statues.

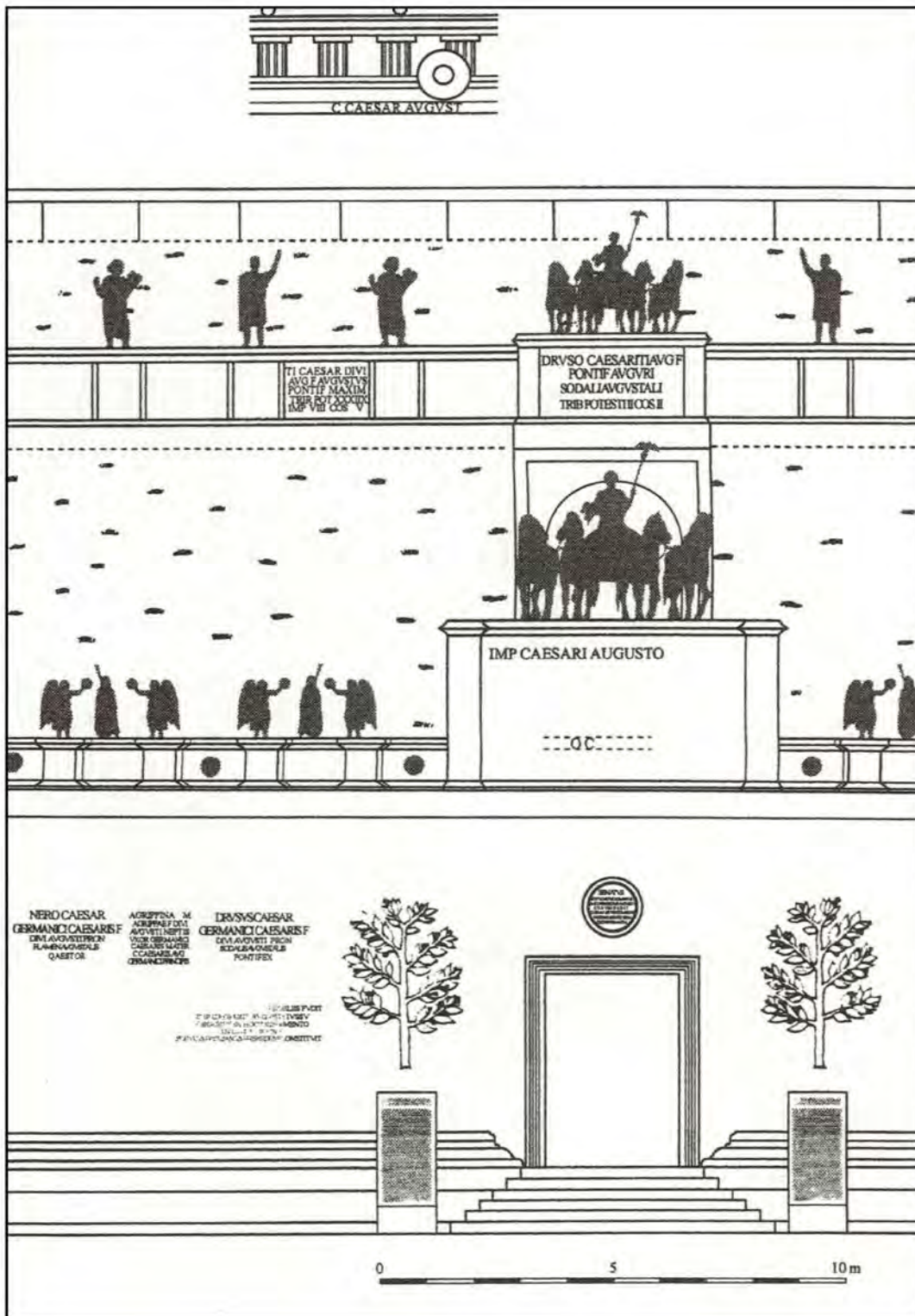


Figure 37. Reconstruction drawing of the entrance facade of Augustus' Mausoleum showing proposed placements of statues, reliefs, and inscriptions.

Source: Hesberg, *Mausoleum des Augustus*, 347, Abb. 46.

Hesberg provides ideas on their locations.³³⁷ The statues, most probably, stood right above corresponding inscriptions. The blocks of inscriptions were inserted into the marble surface flanking the entrance. On them, names (*titulus*) and accounts of achievements (*elogia*) were inscribed.³³⁸ Augustus is known to have composed a laudatory for Drusus Maior, to be displayed on the Mausoleum.³³⁹ Archaeological evidence indicates that on the architrave of the Doric entablature an inscription was placed with the name of Gaius Caesar,³⁴⁰ perhaps with that of his brother Lucius next to it. Shields of the two brother's equestrian youth leaderships (*principes iuventutis*) accompanied these inscriptions.³⁴¹ There was also the huge inscription of Tiberius' son Drusus that may have been inserted right above the entrance vault, mimicing a triumphal arch.³⁴² The holes on the finishing of the lower cyclinder of the Mausoleum may be traces of fixtures that hold once emblems, shields, arms and trophies.³⁴³ The bronze inscriptions of the achievements of Drusus Minor and Germanicus, on the other hand, may have been placed on pillars,

³³⁷ See Hesberg, "Mausoleum des Augustus," 352-4.

³³⁸ See Hesberg, ("Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 13-15). Hesberg ("Mausoleum des Augustus," 352) states that the surviving fragments of inscriptions show variations in complexity and elaboration. He also notes that the surviving fragments suggest that the female members of the family were given smaller spaces and did not have *elogia*.

³³⁹ Suetonius, Claudius, 1.3.

³⁴⁰ See Hesberg ("Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 25). Hesberg states that the inscription was most probably painted in red, and it was experimented that it could be read from a distance of ca. 70 meters.

³⁴¹ Hesberg, "Mausoleum des Augustus," 352.

³⁴² Hesberg, "Mausoleum des Augustus," 352.

³⁴³ Hesberg, "Mausoleum des Augustus," 354. Triumphal arches were decorated similarly.

somewhere close to the entrance,³⁴⁴ as that of Augustus would become added upon his death.

In this way, the Mausoleum proper and its environs became a focal point for the commemoration of Augustus' family. While their ash urns were deposited in the interior, the deceased were memorialized on the exterior of the Mausoleum, to be seen by the public. Yet, Augustus was selective. He left instructions in his will that his daughter and granddaughter, both named Julia, to be excluded from burial in the Mausoleum.³⁴⁵ Unfortunately, very little is known on the surroundings of the Mausoleum and the adjacent park, preventing to elaborate more in detail how the memorialization of Augustus' family was choreographed, and hence experienced by the public. Hesberg's reconstruction concentrates the commemorative inscriptions, statues, shields and emblems, arms and trophies, and texts of achievements on, and around, the entrance façade. The two obelisks flanking the entrance, the pillars of *Res Gestae*, though added after Augustus's death, together with those proposed for Drusus Minor and Germanicus, emphasized the entrance of the circular monument. A travertine pavement is known to have existed at this entrance area, as mentioned earlier. Strabo's location of the adjacent park behind the monument indicates that the front was left free from obstruction. This frontal arrangement suggests an axial approach, yet there is no information on the roads leading to the Mausoleum. On the other hand, the circularity of the Mausoleum must have invited the public to observe the monument from every angle around.

The adjacent park must have attracted people. A beautifully designed landscape can be assumed here, perhaps including plants with special meanings and associations from Augustus' repertoire, matching the symbolism of the vegetation adorning the tumulus. On Augustus' repertoire, the landscape frescoes of the Garden Room of Livia's house at the Prima Porta may be helpful. Kellum notes that every plant from which a triumphal crown could be made was included in the frescoes, *i.e.* oak, myrtle, ivy, and pine, but most densely laurel in all its forms of trees and shrubs,

³⁴⁴ Hesberg, "Mausoleum des Augustus," 353.

³⁴⁵ Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 101.

and with its domestic and wild varieties.³⁴⁶ Kellum also notes that oak was given prominence. In addition, on the frescoes were depicted palm trees, a symbol of victory, and known to have been planted in Augustus' house on the Palatine.³⁴⁷ There were also small plants and flowers in the frescoes, such as iris, hart's-tongue fern, ivy, and violets,³⁴⁸ that can be assumed to have been planted in the park as well. The landscape reliefs of the *Ara Pacis*, that stood in the vicinity of the Mausoleum, may give an idea of the plant varieties used in the park as well, going to be mentioned in the following discussion on the monument below. Yet there seems to be a common repertoire. The repeated use of the same plants in spaces related to Augustus, must have enhanced the plants' symbolic associations with the *Princeps*.

On the other hand, there is no information available on the layout of the park, such as whether the landscape was structured or left natural. Kellum notes that the frescoes in Livia's villa pictured a landscape that united the "disordered with the ordered."³⁴⁹ There is evidence of formally structured landscape designs. Kellum mentions the regularly organized planters around the Temple of *Divus Iulius* built by Augustus in *Forum Romanum*.³⁵⁰ Toynbee provides the particular example of a plan of a funerary garden inscribed on two marble slabs from the Archaeological Museum at Perugia, depicting regular rows of dots presumably representing trees, and square and rectangular areas most probably of lawns or flower-beds.³⁵¹ In addition, Brundrett notes the Porticus of Pompey, and of later periods the Forum of Peace and

³⁴⁶ Kellum, "Landscape in Augustan Rome," 218-9.

³⁴⁷ Kellum, *ibid.*, 218-9.

³⁴⁸ Kellum, *ibid.*, 215.

³⁴⁹ Kellum, *ibid.*, 217.

³⁵⁰ Kellum, *ibid.*, 213.

³⁵¹ See Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 98-9. Toynbee specifies the names of the owners but not a date.

the Temple of Divus Claudius having regularly structured layouts.³⁵² Nevertheless, the case of the park of the Mausoleum remains elusive.

Strabo's "wonderful promenades" suggest leisurely wanderings in the park. The park may have included fountains and sculptures as well, in addition to the natural landscape. While the entrance area probably displayed a formal character, encouraging a solemn approach, the park may have softened the atmosphere. Here, the citizens, indulged in the beauty of the landscape, may have found the opportunity to walk around in a more leisurely way, contemplating both the monument and the altars of the deceased family members of the *Princeps* that might have been located in the park. Yet the park should not be understood merely as a public space for the enjoyment of the beauties of nature. Funerary gardens had a sacral character having roots in the relationship of the Roman religious beliefs and nature. Trees and groves were houses of the gods. And following a burial the site was considered sacred, called *locus religiosus*.³⁵³ Toynbee also notes that the funerary gardens could be understood as the reflection of the idyllic *Elysium* on earth.³⁵⁴ The notion of *Elysium* in Augustan age attained a new meaning. The ruler of *Elysium* was Saturn, and during the golden mythical past of Saturn people lived a pastoral life blessed by gods and in harmony with nature. The peace and prosperity brought by Augustus became a theme in literature and the arts, especially by Virgil, elaborated as a new Golden Age, symbolized with flourishing nature.³⁵⁵ The landscape of the park, together with that of the tumulus, may have been intended to evoke this Golden Age of Augustus.

In size and elaboration, the Mausoleum reflected the supreme position of Augustus' family, yet in terms of dynasty this was an ambiguous period. Augustus

³⁵² Brundrett, "Tomb Gardens," 58.

³⁵³ Brundrett, "Tomb Gardens," 52. Brundrett provides details and references.

³⁵⁴ Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 95.

³⁵⁵ See Brundrett, "Tomb Gardens," 57.

never institutionalized a law of succession.³⁵⁶ His constant search for an heir to hand down his legacy had to be disguised under Republican traditions. Yet, the ambiguity ended with the succession of Tiberius, son of Augustus' wife Livia from her former husband, and brother of Drusus Maior who had died earlier. Augustus had appointed Tiberius openly as heir in his will³⁵⁷ and following his funeral the Senate officialized the succession.³⁵⁸

After Augustus only emperors and their family members were buried and cremated in the *Campus*.³⁵⁹ The Roman Empire was ruled until the death of Nero (d. 68 CE) by the Julio-Claudians, the two families of Augustus and Livia.³⁶⁰ The Mausoleum, officially called *Tumulus Iuliorum*,³⁶¹ continued to serve as the burial place of the succeeding emperors and their families. Tiberius (d.37 CE) and Claudius (d.54 CE) were buried in the Mausoleum. The infamous names Caligula (d.41CE) and Nero (d.68 CE), however, were not. After the Julio-Claudians, the Mausoleum, served the Flavian emperor Vespasian (d.79 CE) and the Antonine, Nerva (d.98 CE). That of Nerva was the last burial known to have taken place in the Mausoleum. The family tomb of Augustus had become a dynastic monument. Yet the surmounting statue of Augustus always reminded that it was built for him. Every one else had become subordinated under Augustus. The fact that the Mausoleum was continued to be used by the succeeding emperors, indicates that the particular names did not have

³⁵⁶ Dunstan, *Ancient Rome*, 279.

³⁵⁷ Suetonius, *Div.Aug.*101; Dio, 56.32.

³⁵⁸ The events are recorded in detail by Tacitus (*Ann.*1.1-15).

³⁵⁹ Price, "Consecration of Roman Emperors," 68.

³⁶⁰ Livia's son Tiberius from her first marriage was a Claudian by birth, and Augustus passed down the name Julian that he received through his adoption by Julius Caesar.

³⁶¹ Hesberg, "Mausoleum des Augustus," 357; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 76.

an objection to their subordination under Augustus, who once had received the title *Pater Patriae*, and called the *Princeps*.

Dio states that as Augustus' Mausoleum became full, Hadrian built a new one for himself near the river Tiber, close to the Aelian bridge.³⁶² A widely accepted reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Hadrian has not been proposed yet.³⁶³ The monument awaits further study. Yet the knowns on the monument reveal great similarities between the Mausoleum of Hadrian and that of Augustus. When Hadrian wanted to build one for himself, it was the Mausoleum of Augustus that provided the model for an imperial tomb. Augustus' Mausoleum had set the model, that of Hadrian followed. And the impact of these two first Mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian, on the imperial funerary architecture continued into the Christian era.³⁶⁴

4.2.2. From War to Peace: A Monumental Complex for the Empire

Almost fifteen years after the construction of the Mausoleum had started, two other monuments were erected in its vicinity, in northern *Campus Martius*: an altar and an Egyptian obelisk (Fig. 38). Our knowledge of the architectural topography of the area in Augustan time is limited, though it is generally assumed that it was mainly empty. If so, without any obstruction in between, the three monuments would become visually linked creating the opportunity of forming a narrative together. The

³⁶² Dio, 69.23. On the Mausoleum of Hadrian, see Rowland. S. Pierce, "The Mausoleum of Hadrian and the Pons Aelius," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 15, (1925): 75-103; Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 336-338; Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 249-251; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 360-362; Eisner, "Typologie des Mausoleen des Augustus und des Hadrian,"; Boatwright, *Hadrian*, 161-181; Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, 49-50; Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 34-40; Schwarz, *Tumult Italia Tellus*, 179-180; Johnson, *Roman Imperial Mausoleum*, 31-40.

³⁶³ The reconstruction proposals from the fifteenth century onwards depict the Mausoleum of Hadrian with columns and pilasters surrounding the drums, however there is no evidence for that. The drums were most probably astylar (Colvin, *ibid.*, 49). For a reconstruction without columns and pilasters, see Eisner, *ibid.* Cf. Johnson, *ibid.*, 36.

³⁶⁴ Johnson (*ibid.*) has published a detailed study on the subject. See also Davies (*Death and the Emperor*) who studied the funerary as well as commemorative monuments erected in Rome between the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

spatial and symbolic relations of the three monuments have been widely explored before.³⁶⁵ Here, the aim is not to repeat the previous studies, in length and detail, but rather, to provide a retuned assesment of the subject in light of the latest discussions, with a focus on the evolving symbolism of the Mausoleum in relation to the two other monuments.

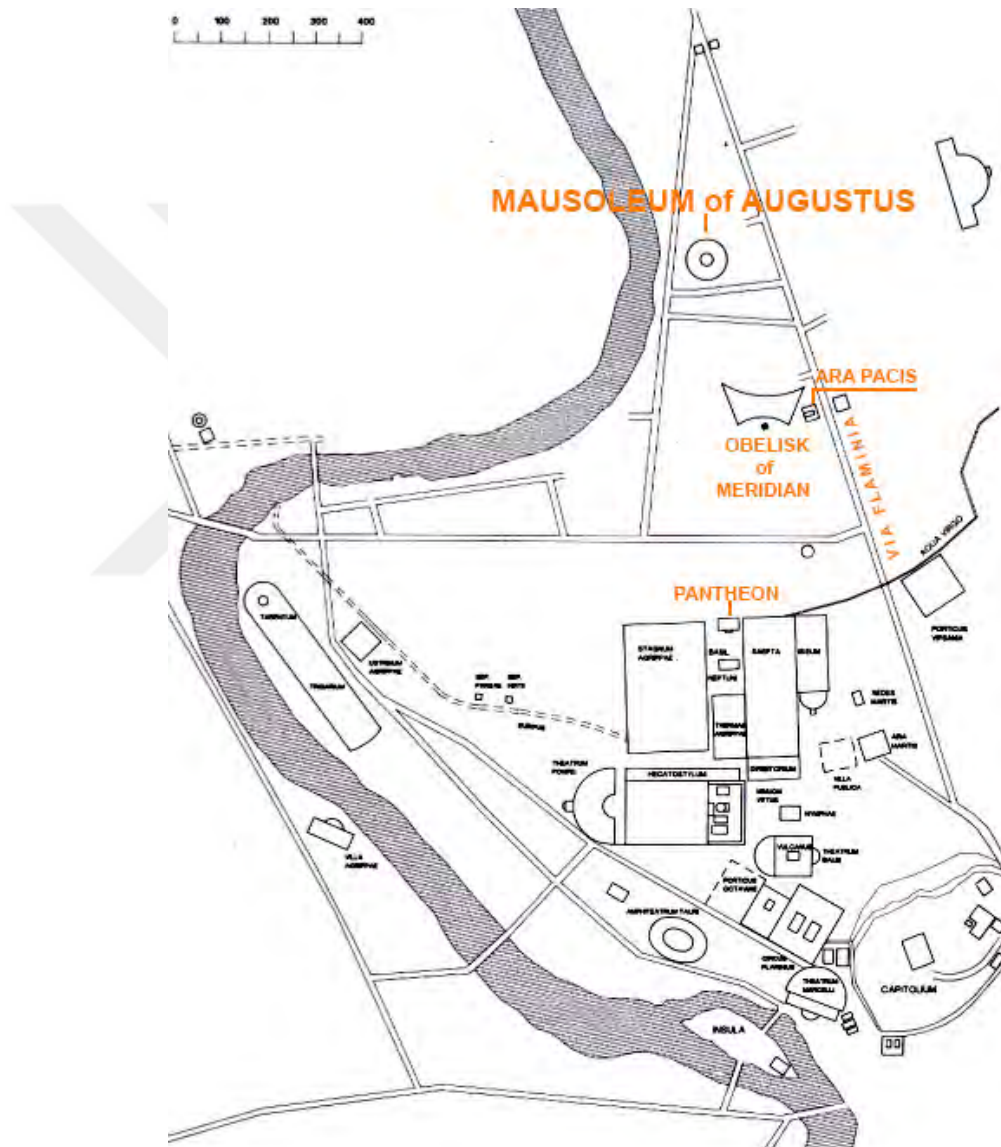


Figure 38. Northern *Campus Martius* during Augustan time.

Source: Adapted from <http://www.pompey.cch.kcl.ac.uk/>

³⁶⁵ Among many others see Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, who has dedicated a whole volume to the subject.

The altar, identified as the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, i.e. the Altar of Augustan Peace,³⁶⁶ is a well known monument in its reconstructed form, today relocated and on display, encapsulated within the Museo dell'Ara Pacis, built next to the ruins of the Mausoleum. Originally the monument stood not next to but at a distance to the south of the Mausoleum, on the western side of *Via Flaminia* that bordered *Campus Martius* on the east.³⁶⁷ It is thought to be the monument mentioned in the *Res Gestae* where Augustus writes that an altar of 'Augustan peace' was decreed by the Senate to be consecrated next to *Campus Martius* in honor of his successful return from Spain and Gaul.³⁶⁸ It was constituted on the 4th of July, 13 BCE, and was consecrated on the 30th of January 9 BCE.³⁶⁹

The monument is a roughly square structure measuring 11.60 x 10.50 meters in plan and 6.30 meters in elevation. Raised on a low podium, it consists of a wall, enclosing an open air altar. The enclosure wall has two openings on its slightly longer sides, in regard to its original location one on the east providing entry from *Via Flaminia*, and one on the west from *Campus Martius*. On the western entrance there are steps rising from the ground of *Campus Martius* to the interior floor of the altar. Made of Luna marble it is heavily decorated.³⁷⁰ Its walls are bordered by a cornice on

³⁶⁶ On the monument see Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 30-32; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 299-302. It was first identified as the Ara Pacis by Friedrich von Duhn in 1879 (Coarelli, *ibid.*, 299). There is general consensus on the identification. However, there are opposing views; see Stefan Weinstock, "Pax and the Ara Pacis," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 50, Issue 1-2, (November 1960): 44-58 and Michael Schütz, "The Horologium on the Campus Martius Reconsidered," *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Vol. 24, (2011): 85.

³⁶⁷ First remains were discovered in 1568 under Palazzo Peretti (today Almagià). First systematic excavations were undertaken in 1903 and finalized in 1937-38. The remains were reassembled and relocated in the former pavillion built next to the Mausoleum in 1938 (Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 299).

³⁶⁸ *Res Gestae*, 12. Also mentioned by Dio (54.25). Dio writes that the Senate had first proposed an altar in the Senate building but Augustus declined the honor.

³⁶⁹ Weinstock, *ibid.*, 48; Coarelli, *ibid.*, 299.

³⁷⁰ For a detailed description of the decoration among others see Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 100-133. The description here is taken from Rehak.

top,³⁷¹ an Ionic molding on base, and rectangular pilasters with Corinthian acanthus capitals at corners. The wall surfaces, both inside and outside, are divided horizontally into two parts, by a string of lotus and palmette motives on the interior and of a swastika meander on the exterior. All the upper and lower registers are carved with reliefs. Along the lower register of the interior runs a wooden fence relief, and the upper is decorated with sacrificial imagery of hanging garlands of fruits, *bucrania*, and *paterae*. The base of the altar bore female figures not to be seen in its current restoration.³⁷² On the exterior, the lower registers are carved with floral and animal decorations. Here, scrolling acanthus stems, turning into grapes, ivy, roses, laurel, and oak leaves are depicted. Small creatures, such as swans, bird nests, snakes, lizards, frogs / toads, butterflies and other insects, are concealed among this rich vegetation. The upper registers on the exterior bear figural scenes. On north and south, two long processions as if moving towards west are depicted. They include men, women and children, comprising in total almost one hundred figures.³⁷³ On the eastern and western walls, flanking the entrances, are mythological and allegorical scenes to be seen.

The function and symbolism of the monument has been studied widely. The literature is immense and continues growing. However, there are shortcomings. Even though the monument is well known to us in its restored state, there are missing parts in the relief panels leading to difficulties of identification, and it has been claimed that the restoration bears errors.³⁷⁴ Furthermore all in white today, the monument was once rich in color. The colors, not visible anymore, must have been a vital element of

³⁷¹ The plain cornice that can be seen today is a modern restoration (Rehak, *ibid.*, 100).

³⁷² See Rehak, *ibid.*, 101.

³⁷³ See Rehak, *ibid.*, 120.

³⁷⁴ On the restoration errors see Rehak, *ibid.*, 98, 121-2. Rehak also notes that as early as the second century CE changes may have been done to the figures.

its symbolism, and must have had a significant impact on its overall appearance and readability of the decoration, a venue not much explored yet.³⁷⁵

The literature on the monument presents different ideas of identification of the figures, and in relation different readings.³⁷⁶ As for the identifications, Augustus and Agrippa have been recognized on the southern processional frieze firmly.³⁷⁷ Livia, other family members, senators, priests and priestesses, foreign queens and kings are thought to have been included in the processions on both sides.³⁷⁸ Besides the difficulties of identification, there is no consensus on the meaning of the processional friezes, partly in relation to the question of whether the scenes represent a precise historical moment or whether they are generic.³⁷⁹ The identifications of the figures in the allegorical and mythological scenes flanking the entrances on the eastern and western ends are as follows, including the varying ideas: Roma on the north-eastern; Tellus / Pax / Itali / Venus / Ceres on the south-eastern;³⁸⁰ Romulus and Remus on the north-western;³⁸¹ Aeneas / Numa on the south-western.³⁸² There is, however, a general agreement on that the rich floral and animal decorations on the lower

³⁷⁵ A project conducted on the occasion of the 2000th anniversary of Augustus' death in 2014, presented to the public images of the monument with its restored colors. See Ergin (2018:9-24) on the colors of the Ara Pacis, as a rare study on the subject.

³⁷⁶ See among many others, Weinstock, "Pax," 44-58; Pollini, *Republic to Empire*; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 96-137; "Aeneas or Numa," 190-208; Peter. J. Holliday, "Time, History, and Ritual on the Ara Pacis Augustae," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 72, No.4, (December 1990): 542-557.

³⁷⁷ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 124.

³⁷⁸ See Rehak, *ibid.*, 125-32.

³⁷⁹ Among others see Holliday, "Time, History, and Ritual," 542-557; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 142.

³⁸⁰ See Rehak, *ibid.*, 108-113.

³⁸¹ See Rehak, *ibid.*, 113-5.

³⁸² See Rehak, *ibid.*, 115-20. Numa is proposed by Rehak. See Rehak, "Aeneas or Numa," 190-208.

registers are meant to evoke the fertility and prosperity brought about by the Golden Age of Augustus, representing almost an earthly heaven.³⁸³ The relevance of the sacrificial imagery at the interior surrounding the altar is also clear. The missing female figures from the restored altar, on the other hand, have been proposed to have represented the personifications of the pacified provinces.³⁸⁴

All the differing ideas on the symbolism of the *Ara Pacis* can not be represented here. And considering the many unknowns, a precise reconstruction of its symbolism seems not possible. Nevertheless, what emerges from the vast corpus is a monument of complex and multi-layered symbolic implications. Among them certain themes come forward, to be mentioned in relevance to the present discussion. The foremost are the themes of peace and transition, intricately related. The theme of peace, *i.e.* *pax*, is mainly grounded on its identification as the Altar of *Pax*, mentioned in the *Res Gestae*. In the *Res Gestae*, immediately following the mention of the *Ara Pacis* as an honor granted by the Senate, Augustus states that the gateway of Janus traditionally would be shut when peace on land and sea was secured by victories, and that it had been shut only twice in Rome's history before, but during his rule three times.³⁸⁵ Augustus' statement links the *Ara Pacis* with the concept of peace that is attained by military victories. In other words peace was conditional. The altar celebrated the *pax* brought by Augustus to the Roman world. Yet *pax* was achieved through victories.³⁸⁶ In this sense, the monument represented the transition from war to peace.

It is highly probable that the Altar was located where Augustus entered the *domi* on his return from Spain and Gaul. Torelli locates it precisely one mile to the

³⁸³ For instance Holliday, "Time, History, and Ritual," 545.

³⁸⁴ See Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 101-3.

³⁸⁵ *Res Gestae*, 13.

³⁸⁶ On *pax* through victory see Weinstock, "Pax," 45; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 142; Pollini, *Republic to Empire*, 178-90.

north of the *pomerium*.³⁸⁷ The one mile distance to the *pomerium* marked the line of shift of a magistrate's *imperium militare* to the *imperium domi*.³⁸⁸ If Torelli is right then the idea of transition from war to peace was represented also by its location.³⁸⁹

The architectural design of the *Ara Pacis* with its openings on its two ends further evokes the theme of transition, and specifically that of from war to peace. The design has been linked to the notion of *janus*,³⁹⁰ as referenced by Augustus in the *Res Gestae*. Janus, generally depicted with two faces, was the god of transitions, gates, beginnings and ends. And as an architectural element a *janus* served as a symbol of transition from one state to another, as in the case of the *janus* in the *Forum Romanum* that was basically an 'index of war and peace', which was closed during peace and opened during war.³⁹¹

The strong triumphal connotations of the Mausoleum has been pointed out in the previous chapter. The Mausoleum, whose construction most probably begun in the period following immediately the triple triumph of Illyrium, Egypt and Actium in 29 BCE, represented Augustus as a triumphator. At the time, in honor, the Senate had also decreed the erection of a triumphal arch of Augustus, decorated with trophies, in the *Forum Romanum*.³⁹² After that Augustus never celebrated another triumph. On his return from Spain and Gaul he accepted only the honor of the erection of the *Ara*

³⁸⁷ Mario Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1982), 29-30. Torelli's location is frequently referenced in sources. On the other hand, Torelli does not provide any information leaving the question of how he has achieved this conclusion open. It should be noted that there are many unknowns of the precise line of the *pomerium* in Augustan time.

³⁸⁸ Livy, 3.20.6-7; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 98.

³⁸⁹ Cf. Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 98. Rehak notes that Augustus was granted the right to keep his *imperium* within the *pomerium* starting from 30 BCE. Thus he argues that the location marked the shift of *imperium* for others, but not for Augustus; it marked the continuity of Augustus' *imperium*.

³⁹⁰ See Rehak, *ibid.*, 99-100.

³⁹¹ Rehak, *ibid.*, 100.

³⁹² Dio, 51.19. Dio notes that another triumphal arch was to be erected at Brundisium.

Pacis. Wallace-Hadrill reminds that the equivalent monument to *Ara Pacis* normally would have been a triumphal arch.³⁹³ *Ara Pacis*, however, was deprived of any battle scene or blatant triumphal imagery,³⁹⁴ in contrast to a triumphal arch. Here the focus was now on *pax*. The *Ara Pacis* presented a paradise like, peaceful world, the Golden Age brought about by Augustus. Nevertheless the theme of triumph may not have been absent altogether from the monument, if the female figures that decorated the altar represented the personifications of the pacified provinces as has been proposed. *Pax* in the Roman context meant pacification of other peoples.

Pollini points out that after the establishment of the Principate in 27 BCE, and having acquired the title of ‘Augustus’, there happened a change in the imagery of Augustus in the state art and coinage.³⁹⁵ According to Pollini, the earlier Alexander and god like images of the period between 31 to 29 BCE disappeared, and became replaced by images representing Augustus more as an “ideal and idealized civic leader.”³⁹⁶ In relation, it is noteworthy that Augustus, as noted by Suetonius, terminated his memoirs with the Cantabrian Wars of 26/25 BCE.³⁹⁷ Rich has pursued the question of the significance of terminating the memoirs with the Cantabrian Wars.³⁹⁸ Rich argues that the Cantabrian were the last wars at which Augustus held personal command, hence provided the appropriate ending for his memoirs which

³⁹³ Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*, 70.

³⁹⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*, 70; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 162.

³⁹⁵ See Pollini, *Republic to Empire*, 174-8.

³⁹⁶ Pollini, *ibid.*, 174. Pollini divides the portraits of Augustus into five types calling the last one the ‘*Princeps* type’.

³⁹⁷ Suetonius, *Div. Aug.*, 85.

³⁹⁸ See John Rich, “Cantabrian Closure: Augustus’ Spanish War and the Ending of his Memoirs,” in *The Lost Memoirs of Augustus*, ed. by Christopher Smith and Anton Powell (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009), 145-173.

dealt with his own achievements. After that of the Cantabrian, wars were conducted not directly by Augustus but under his auspices as the *Princeps*, by others.³⁹⁹ Augustus himself, following the years of the construction of his Mausoleum, had transformed from an individual *imperium* holder to a statesman. The *Ara Pacis* was the monument of the statesman.

The Egyptian obelisk, on the other hand, was brought to Rome in 10 BCE from Heliopolis, together with an identical one, and was re-erected approximately ninety meters to the west of *Ara Pacis*.⁴⁰⁰ Today it stands relocated in Piazza di Montecitorio. It is of red granite reaching a height over 20 meters, and was crowned by a gilded bronze globe with a spike finial, now in Museo dell Terme in Rome. An inscription at its pedestal reads “Caesar Augustus, Imperator, son of a god, Pontifex Maximus, Imperator twelve times, Consul eleven times, Tribune fourteen times, with Egypt given to the power of the Roman people, (Augustus) gave this gift to the sun.”⁴⁰¹

A spoil of the land of pharaohs, this exotic object, must have materialized in the eyes of the public the triumph of Augustus over Egypt, as it was also verbalized in its inscription. The transportation and erection of the 20 meters tall object that weighed ca. 230 tons was a demonstration of Augustus’ power in itself.⁴⁰² And it must have created a spectacle for the public who had not seen an obelisk before for it

³⁹⁹ Rich, *ibid.*, 159.

⁴⁰⁰ Amm. Marcell. 17.4.12; Pliny *Hist.Nat.* 36.71; Strabo, *Geographica*, 17.1.27. See Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 366-367; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 299. It was excavated in 1748 near a house at Piazza del Parlamento, repaired with fragments from the columna Antonini, and reerected in the Piazza di Montecitorio where it stands today.

⁴⁰¹ The original in Latin reads “IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. AUGUSTUS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS IMP. XII COS XI TRIB. POT. XIV AEGYPTO IN POTESTATEM POPULI ROMANI REDACTA SOLI DONUM DEDIT” (CIL VI.702).

⁴⁰² Pliny (*Hist.Nat.*, 36.70) provides information about its transformation siting that Augustus had put the ship used for the transportation on display at Puteolanum, an important port on the trade route to Egypt (Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 80).

was Augustus who brought obelisks for the first time to Rome.⁴⁰³ The obelisks flanking the entrance of the Mausoleum were most probably brought at the same time. A symbol of the power of Egyptian pharaohs had now become that of the Romans.⁴⁰⁴ Augustus was now the pharaoh of Egypt, and the relocation of the obelisks pointed to the shift of power. Their presence in Rome, as well as their absence in Egypt, must have reminded Rome's new position. On the other hand, exotic to the eyes of the citizens of Rome, the obelisks acquired a Roman look that must have been foreign to an Egyptian. The Gnomon-Obelisk was raised on a pedestal in contrast to its original state in Egypt where obelisks were erected directly above the ground. The Latin inscription on the pedestal assigned a new meaning to the obelisk, than that of the hieroglyph on its shaft. And it was crowned by a globe with a spike finial. This was now a Roman obelisk.

Obelisks were associated with the sun cult in Egypt. To the Egyptians they were religious symbols capturing and monumentalizing the rays of sun.⁴⁰⁵ Augustus' dedication of the obelisk to the Roman sun god Sol in the inscription testifies to his awareness of the association.⁴⁰⁶ Furthermore, Sol had been assimilated into Apollo, and Apollo who helped Augustus in the Battle of Actium, as mentioned earlier, was

⁴⁰³ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 80.

⁴⁰⁴ Romans associated obelisks with the ruler's power. Pliny (HN 36.14.64): "Monoliths...were made by the kings, to some extent in rivalry with one another" (Anne Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*. Leiden: Brill, 1972, 13). The twin-obelisk in the Circus Maximus carried also an Egyptian inscription that was quoted by Ammianus Marcellinus (17.4.18-23) as "To Ra who has given Ramses the entire world to rule" (Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 92).

⁴⁰⁵ See Rehak, *ibid.*, 92-93.

⁴⁰⁶ Romans recognized this association. See Molly Swetnam-Burland, "The Montecitorio Obelisk as Solar Aymbol," in *New Light on the Relationship between the Montecitorio Obelisk and Ara Pacis of Augustus*, ed. by Bernard Frischer. *Studies in Digital Heritage*, 1, 1, Article 2, (March 2017): 41-5. Ammianus Marcellinus (17.4.7): "An obelisk is a very pointed stone, rising gradually somewhat in the shape of a turning post to a lofty height; gradually it grows slenderer, to resemble a sunbeam..." . Also see Pliny, *Nat.Hist.* 36.14.64; Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 77; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 92.

his patron god.⁴⁰⁷ Hence, Apollo and Augustus were linked by the theme of victory in the symbolism of the obelisk.

Augustus utilized the association of the obelisk to the sun further.⁴⁰⁸ Pliny writes that a “marvelous function” was “added” to the obelisk of “observing the shadows of the sun, and thus the lengths of both days and nights.”⁴⁰⁹ Excavations conducted by Buchner and Rakob between 1979 and 1981, brought, at the basement of a building at Via di Campo Marzio no: 48 close to the original location of the obelisk, a portion of a travertine pavement strip, *ca.* 7.5 meters long and *ca.* 5.4 meters wide, to light.⁴¹⁰ On its central axis was a line extending to the north marked with short cross-lines, accompanied by Greek names of the twelve zodiac signs and Greek letters designating the names of the four seasonal winds, in bronze.⁴¹¹ Today, it has been identified as a meridian, *i.e.* a time measuring device that would mark the noon of each day of the year.

⁴⁰⁷ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 93.

⁴⁰⁸ *Hist.Nat.*36.72. Utilizing obelisks for sundials may have originated in Egypt. See Roulet, *Egyptianizing Monuments*, 45.

⁴⁰⁹ The translation is that of Robert Hannah’s (“The Horologium of Augustus as a Sundial,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Vol. 24, (2011): 87). The full passage reads: “To the [obelisk] which is in Campus [Martius] the divine Augustus has added a marvelous purpose, that of observing the shadows of the sun, and thus the lengths of both days and nights. A stone pavement was laid out in accordance with the height of the obelisk, equal to which was the shadow at the sixth hour on the day of the full winter solstice, and it would from day to day gradually decrease, and then again would increase, along lines, which were inserted of bronze, a thing worth knowing, and due to the ingenuity of Facundus Novius, the mathematician. He added on the apex a gold ball, at the top of which the shadow would be concentrated into itself, when otherwise the apex would spread diffusely, the theory, they say being derived from the human head.”

⁴¹⁰ Lothar Haselberger, “A Debate on the Horologium of Augustus: Controversy and Clarifications,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology*. Vol. 24, (2011): 54.

⁴¹¹ Haselberger, *ibid.*, 54-55.

Before today's generally agreed upon identification as a meridian, Buchner proposed, the obelisk being its gnomon,⁴¹² a full sundial, a bat-wing shaped in 1976 prior to the excavations, and a circular wind-rose shaped later in 1994, both covering an extensive paved area.⁴¹³ A full sundial, in contrast to a meridian, would indicate each hour, each day, and all equinoxes, solstices and zodiacs of the calendar. The most attractive point of Buchner's proposal, based on his calculations, was that on September 23, *i.e.* Augustus' birthday and the autumnal equinox, the shadow of the obelisk's tip, *i.e.* the globe with its spike finial, travelling on an autumnal equinox line would reach the center of the Ara Pacis. And on December 21, *i.e.* the winter solstice, the shadow would extend towards the Mausoleum marking the sign of Capricorn, *i.e.* the time of Augustus' conception. As such the Mausoleum, the *Ara Pacis Augustae* and the obelisk - sundial would be connected by the moving shadow, giving way to readings of multi layered narratives.

Buchner's highly tempting proposal, welcomed earlier with great enthusiasm, has been contested throughout the last decades,⁴¹⁴ mainly on two grounds: first, lack of physical evidence, and second, precision. Lack of physical evidence rightfully renders Buchner's extensive sundial in its either form hypothetical.

⁴¹² The recognition of the obelisk as the gnomon mentioned by Pliny dates back to early 16th century. See Haselberger (*ibid.*, 16, fn.:3).

⁴¹³ Proposals of a sundial and/or meridian date back to the seventeenth century. See Haselberger (*ibid.*, 49-52); also Peter Heslin, "Augustus, Domitian and the So-Called Horologium Augusti," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 97, (2007): 2-3. Buchner based his proposal on his studies of existing sundials, Vitruvius' writings, the excavation documents from 1748 when the obelisk was re-discovered, the obelisk itself and the globe which crowned the obelisk. For his first proposal see Edmund Buchner, *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus: Nachdruck aus RM 1976 und 1980 und Nachtrag über die Ausgrabung 1980/1981* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1982). For a list of Buchner's publications on the subject see Heslin, *ibid.*, 1, fn.1.

⁴¹⁴ It was first opposed by E. Rodriguez-Almeida (see Heslin, *ibid.*, 1) and then by Michael Schütz, "Zur Sonnenuhr des Augustus auf dem Marsfeld," *Gymnasium*, Vol. 97, (1990): 432-457, followed by Heslin (*ibid.*). See also Schütz, "The Horologium Reconsidered," 78-86; Heslin "The Augustus Code: A Response to L. Haselberger," *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Vol. 24, (2011): 74-77. In defense of Buchner, see Haselberger, "Debate on the Horologium," 323-339. For a revised proposal of Buchner's see Hannah, "Horologium of Augustus," 87-95. See also Tamsyn Barton, "Augustus and Capricorn: Astrological Polyvalency and Imperial Rhetoric," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 85 (1995): 33-51 and Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 80-95.

The arguments on precision, on the other hand, claim that the shadow of the obelisk would not extend long enough to reach the center of the *Ara Pacis* on September 23, and that the shadow of the tip would diminish to a size almost impossible to be observed.⁴¹⁵ Furthermore, it has been noted that the shadow would point to *Ara Pacis* not only on the autumnal equinox but on many other days, hence the autumnal equinox, which was also Augustus' birthday, would not become exclusively emphasized.⁴¹⁶

Paradoxically, the arguments on 'precision' are themselves bound to be imprecise, even though claiming otherwise.⁴¹⁷ The original location and level of the *Ara Pacis* are well documented.⁴¹⁸ However, the discussions brought forth the many unknowns of the obelisk. Neither the exact height⁴¹⁹ nor the exact position⁴²⁰ of the

⁴¹⁵ See Schütz, "Horologium on the Campus Martius," 432-457. Schütz argues that both the height and the position of the gnomon-obelisk were not taken correctly by Buchner. Based on his calculations in relation to the discovered meridian-line and a re-assessment of the excavation documents from the Renaissance and later, Schütz locates the obelisk about four meters to the south-west of Buchner's with a height of ca. 2,5 meters taller. The corrections to the position and height of the obelisk also replace the autumnal equinox line, yet not significantly. Schütz also states that the equinox lines, both Buchner's and his, do not correspond to the central axis of the *Ara Pacis* but reach only the west entrance at an angle. Cf. John Pollini and Nicholas Cipolla, "Observations on Augustus' Obelisk, Meridian, and Ara Pacis, and their Symbolic Significance in the Bildprogramm of Augustus," in *The Horologium of Augustus: Debate and Context*, ed. by Lothar Haselberger, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series Number 99 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Thomson-Shore, 2014), 59-60.

⁴¹⁶ Heslin ("Domitian and the So-Called Horologium," 14), claims that the shadow would point to the *Ara Pacis* on every afternoon of every day. Hannah ("Horologium of Augustus," 94), however, in response to Heslin states that there would certainly be days when the shadow would not point to *Ara Pacis*, such as in mid-winter.

⁴¹⁷ In the same vein see Pollini and Cipolla, "Observations on Augustus' Obelisk," 55, 58.

⁴¹⁸ Moretti surveyed the *Ara Pacis*, and in 1948, published a superimposed plan of modern Palazzo Fiano-Almagià with the footprint of the altar. This plan is considered fairly accurate (Bernard Frischer, "The Computer Simulations and Solar Alignments," in *New Light on the Relationship between the Montecitorio Obelisk and Ara Pacis of Augustus*, ed. by Bernard Frischer. Studies in Digital Heritage , 1, 1, Article 2, (March 2017): 22; Pollini and Cipolla, *ibid.*, 55.

⁴¹⁹ Pollini and Cipolla, *ibid.*, 58.

⁴²⁰ The first excavation of the obelisk in 1748 is well documented. However the documentation is not sufficient cartographically to locate the monument in relation to modern Rome, and it has not been re-

obelisk are known. There is also controversy on the date of the excavated meridian pavement. Previously dated to the Flavian period, recently it has been dated to the Augustan.⁴²¹

Added to the debates are two digital simulations, one of Pollini and Cipolla, and one of Frischer and Fillwalk.⁴²² The simulations, by use of different softwares, visualized the moving shadow of the obelisk and the path of sun, reaching differing results. Pollini and Cipolla, focused on the shadow of the obelisk, and exclusively on Augustus' birthday, *i.e.* September 23, tracking its movement in relation to the autumnal equinox line and the western entrance of *Ara Pacis*. Their observation was that the shadow penetrated the western entrance into the monument close to its central axis on Augustus' birthday.⁴²³

excavated since then (Frischer, *ibid.*, 22-3; Pollini and Cipolla, *ibid.*, 214:55). On the other hand, Buchner has carried out corings in the area that provide some additional information on the location of the obelisk, yet they are unpublished (Frischer, *ibid.*, 23).

⁴²¹ Dated to the Flavian period it was considered as a reconstruction that of an Augustan one. On the levels see Haselberger, "Debate on Horologium," 55-57 and Heslin, "Domitian and the So-Called Horologium," 1-20. On the symbolic and political aspects of the Domitian reconstruction see Heslin, *ibid.*, 16-18. Cf. Paolo Albéri Auber "Reconstructing Augustus' Montecitorio Obelisk: A Gnomonist's Point of View," in *The Horologium of Augustus: Debate and Context*, ed. by Lothar Haselberger, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series Number 99 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Thomson-Shore, 2014), 62-76; Auber dates it to the Augustan period.

⁴²² For an interactive online simulation of Frischer and Fillwalk see: <https://cgi.soic.indiana.edu/~vwahl/VirtualMeridian/WebGL/index.html>
For several online videos of Frischer on the simulation and other related issues of the subject see: <https://vimeo.com/frischer>
For publications on the simulations see Pollini, *Republic to Empire*, 213-16; Pollini and Cippola, "Observations on Augustus' Obelisk," 53-61; Bernard Frischer and John Fillwalk, "New Digital Simulation Studies on the Obelisk, Meridian, and Ara Pacis of Augustus," in *The Horologium of Augustus: Debate and Context*, ed. by Lothar Haselberger, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series Number 99 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Thomson-Shore, 2014), 77-90; Frischer *et al.*, "Computer Simulations," 22-37. Frischer has also announced a forthcoming work, which was not available at the time of this writing.

⁴²³ Pollini, *Republic to Empire*, 213-15; "Observations on Augustus' Obelisk," 54-5. Pollini suggests that the piercing of the shadow of the obelisk into the *Ara Pacis* was analogous to sexual penetration. The penetration of the shadow of the obelisk, a phallic symbol, into the *Ara Pacis*, a female gendered monument, on the birthday of Augustus, would evoke themes of birth and rebirth. See Pollini, *Republic to Empire*: 215-16.

Whereas Frischer and Fillwalk carried out a series of more extensive and detailed studies. They did not only focus on Augustus' birthday but to the entire year. Moreover, they looked not only at the alignment of the obelisk's shadow with the western entrance of *Ara Pacis*, but also that of the sun and the *Ara Pacis*, and of the sun and the obelisk, as would have been visible from certain axial sightlines. In their simulations they observed that, in contrast to Buchner's claim and Pollini – Cipolla's simulation, the shadow of the obelisk did not reach precisely the center of *Ara Pacis* on September 23 but the western steps, and did so on 50 other days.⁴²⁴ And when added all the other alignments observed, the number of days of a solar or shadow event in a year reaches a total ranging from 239 to 254, with more than one in some days.⁴²⁵

The fact that the shadow of the obelisk would point the western entrance of the *Ara Pacis* not only on Augustus' birthday but on several other days, has been noted earlier by others, mentioned above. However, the contribution of Frischer and Fillwalk to the matter is that they have not only visualized it, but gave it a meaning instead of claiming the phenomenon as the proof of failure of the theory that related the obelisk to *Ara Pacis* by means of its moving shadow, with an exclusive focus on Augustus' birthday. Frischer and Fillwalk have argued that the intention may not have been to emphasize a single day but to achieve a "cumulative effect," to create "a recurrent light and shadow show of alignments" in *Campus Martius*.⁴²⁶ And this solar spectacle was not only comprised of the alignment of the shadow with the western entrance of *Ara Pacis*, but also included the alignments of the sun with the crowning globe of the obelisk and the *Ara Pacis*.

All arguments, including the digital simulations, are based on assumptions about the position and the height of the obelisk. Among the ongoing discussions the

⁴²⁴ The alignments are observed between February 25 and March 21, and September 27 and October 21 (Frischer, "Computer Simulations," 34-5; Appendix 5).

⁴²⁵ Frischer, *ibid.*, 36-37.

⁴²⁶ Frischer, *ibid.*, 36.

study of Frischer and Fillwalk is the latest and most detailed. Frischer and Fillwalk also claim, having been able to access the unpublished excavation documents of Buchner, to have derived information supporting their positioning of the obelisk.⁴²⁷ Furthermore, their simulations incorporate variants enabling to test interactively the result of changes in the height and position of the obelisk, within certain limits.⁴²⁸ As such they were able to address the problem of precision to a certain extent. In addition, they confirmed their results, using the same archaeological data, with two different softwares, though each having their own limitations.⁴²⁹

Since no sudden jump can be expected from one day to the other in the path of the sun, naturally any choreography of alignment of a certain day will have preceding and succeeding days of additional almost exact or very close alignments. Here what becomes crucial then is that, as indicated by Frischer, the existence of a marker or inscription, pointing out the particular alignment on a culturally meaningful date to bring it forth among the others.⁴³⁰ Such evidence does not exist.

Despite the controversies on the issues of whether and precisely how by light and shadow the three monuments were linked, their proximity and spatial geometric relation point to a deliberate co-arrangement. At the time of the erection of the altar and the obelisk, the Mausoleum was already standing in northern *Campus Martius*. The altar's location, commemorating Augustus' return from the western provinces, can be justified, and especially if Torelli is taken to be accurate. However, there is no known justification of the positioning neither of the obelisk nor the meridian, in the middle of the empty plain of northern *Campus Martius*. Even though being not known to us is not a proof for the absence of any reason, it is still suggestive that the intention was putting the monuments into relation with each other. Their geometric

⁴²⁷ Frischer, *ibid.*, 22-23.

⁴²⁸ For details see Frischer, *ibid.*, 23, 24-25.

⁴²⁹ On the softwares and their comparison see Frischer, *ibid.*, 24-26.

⁴³⁰ Frischer, *ibid.*, 30-31.

relations testify. The *Ara Pacis*, in its original location, was positioned parallel to the *Via Flaminia*. The obelisk, on the other hand, was erected almost precisely on the central axis of *Ara Pacis* and parallel to the altar. When a line is extended towards the north from the obelisk, approximately to the center of the Mausoleum, is a right triangle formed, the obelisk being located at the intersection of the two perpendicular sides. Without the obelisk, a geometric relation between the *Ara Pacis* and the Mausoleum can not be established. This spatial geometric relationship seems to be the reason of the positioning of the obelisk at this particular point in the empty fields of northern *Campus Martius*. The parallel alignment of the obelisk to the *Ara Pacis*, deviates it 15° from north. The meridian, however, is directed towards true north, as technically expected. Therefore it has been argued that the meridian was added later, not being part of the initial plan.⁴³¹ On the other hand, the ninety meters distance of the obelisk to the *Ara Pacis* has been argued not to be random but deliberate, in relation to the sun and shadow alignments between the two monuments. Frischer, based on their digital simulations, notes that the ninety meters distance was optimum, maximizing the sun and shadow alignments, while at the same time the visual relationship was kept strong between the obelisk and the *Ara Pacis*. The precise chronological relationship of the meridian to the obelisk remains unknown. Nevertheless, Frischer and Fillwalk's study suggests that the solar program was most probably planned from the beginning on.

The above discussion reveals that the intention behind the placement of the obelisk in its particular location in *Campus Martius* was to create a relationship between the three monuments. On the other hand, a reconstruction of the sun-shadow program with its specificities and precise symbolism is not possible at the current state of knowledge. As long as no other evidence surfaces, the total effect of a repeating series of sun-shadow alignments as suggested by Frischer seems possible. Frischer pointed out the lack of a marker that would differentiate a particular date. However,

⁴³¹ Frischer, *ibid.*, 80. Frischer and Fillwalk in their digital simulations have tested different distances. When the obelisk was moved 50 meters closer to the *Ara Pacis* the number of alignments decreased considerably. At a distance of 50 meters farther, however, the number of lost and gained alignments balanced each other not changing the total number. Nevertheless the visual relationship between the two monuments at this longer distance becomes weak. See Frischer, *ibid.*, 79-80.

even if not by means of a physical marker, particular dates may have been signified by means of ceremonials and ritulas. As such while the ‘solar park’ as called by Frischer, presented a sun-shadow spectacle throughout the year, at certain dates alignments may have accompanied ceremonies and rituals performed at the *Ara Pacis*, visualizing the cosmic harmony.

Even though the specificities of the solar program at *Campus Martius* remain largely unknown, the existence of a Meridian is testified by archaeological evidence. The Meridian was a scientific time measurement device that must marvelled by itself the public. The inscription of the Gnomon-Obelisk notes the title *Pontifex Maximus* of Augustus. Augustus had acquired the position in 12 BCE, around the time of the planning of the *Ara Pacis* and two years before the erection of the Gnomon-Obelisk. One of the responsibilities of a *Pontifex Maximus* was to oversight the calendar. The last adjustment to the calendar was made by Julius Caesar. Nevertheless, due to neglect during the civil wars following Caesar’s death, the calendar had become off track again at the time Augustus acquired the position of *Pontifex Maximus*. As the *Pontifex Maximus*, Augustus adjusted the calendar. The adjustments were completed in 9/8 BCE.⁴³² It is noteworthy that, the origin of the Gnomon-Obelisk, Heliopolis, was a center of worship of the Sun God, and a famous place of knowledge of the calendar.⁴³³

On the other hand, the idea or at least the inspiration behind putting the three monuments into relation, an odd combination both in form and function, *i.e.* a huge round tomb topped by an earthen mound adorned with vegetation, a relatively small cubic altar of marble heavily decorated in carving and color like a jewel of the finest, and a slender, high rising pin of granite of pure geometry, brought with great effort from an exotic land, still needs further explanation. The Greco-Roman world does not provide a direct precedent, and certainly not with an obelisk. In addition, the *Ara*

⁴³² Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 79.

⁴³³ Jennifer Trimble, “Pharaonic Egypt and the Ara Pacis in Augustan Rome” *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics*. Paper No. 090701, (September 2007), 37.

Pacis itself is unprecedented in its design as well. Certain features of the *Ara Pacis* have been linked to Hellenistic and Italic examples, however, the monument remains unique in terms of its overall design.⁴³⁴

Lately, models for the *Ara Pacis* have been suggested from Egypt. Vittozzi has seen parallels between the *Ara Pacis* as a cubic structure with *acroteria*⁴³⁵ at its upper corners, and the Egyptian so-called horned altars that disseminated during the Hellenistic period in Egypt in relation to Greco-Roman cults.⁴³⁶ Vittozzi particularly brings forth one example, namely the horned altar of the Karnak temple complex. The horned altar was located in the eastern area of the Karnak complex, in a topographical relation to the so-called ‘sole obelisk’ and the so-called ‘Contra-Temple’ that became restored by Domitian later. Obelisks were normally erected in pairs but that of Karnak stood alone, hence the name. The Karnak temple complex was dedicated to the sun cult and the shadow of the obelisk visualized the presence of the Sun God and his movement in the sky. Vittozzi also argues that the Egyptian altar’s horns symbolized the two mountains from in between every morning the Sun God rose in the eastern horizon. According to Vittozzi, the *Ara Pacis* was a monumentalized version of the horned altar, reminding that Frischer and Fillwalk’s digital simulations demonstrated similar alignments during sunrise between the *Ara Pacis* and the sun. Vittozzi’s argumentation is interesting for it does not only propose a partial model for the *Ara Pacis*, but also a model for the whole solar park in the *Campus Martius*. Vittozzi also notes Augustus’ particular interest in the ‘sole obelisk’ of Karnak, as known from Ammianus Marcellinus.⁴³⁷ Augustus had wished to bring it to Rome, yet didn’t.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁴ See Rehak, *ibid.*, 98-9), Trimble, *ibid.*, 6-12.

⁴³⁵ The *Ara Pacis* is represented with *acroteria* on its corners on coins. See Giuseppina C. Vittozzi, “Egyptological Reflections on the *Ara Pacis*,” in *New Light on the Relationship between the Montecitorio Obelisk and Ara Pacis of Augustus*, ed. by Bernard Frischer, *Studies in Digital Heritage*, 1, 1, Article 2, (March 2017): 38.

⁴³⁶ See Vittozzi, *ibid.*, 37-41.

⁴³⁷ 17.4.12-15; Vittozzi, *ibid.*, 38.

On the other hand, Trimble relates the *Ara Pacis* to other models in Egypt, namely to the Middle and New Kingdom jubilee chapels.⁴³⁹ Even though they date to earlier periods they were still standing in the Egyptian topography during Augustan time. The similarities in form and function are striking. These were neat and compact cubical structures nearly square in plan raised on a low podium, with two axial doors. Stairs on one or both sides led to the doors on the two ends. The entrance walls were partitioned into three sections vertically, *i.e.* the opening in the middle, flanked by walls on both sides. The walls were further divided horizontally into two like those of the *Ara Pacis*. Inside, at the center was the ritual focal point that could be circumambulated.⁴⁴⁰ Usually part of a temple complex, the chapels were located on specific routes of ritualistic processions, and were related in function and meaning to the ruler's religious and political legitimacy. They celebrated the pharaoh's happy rule, many commemorating the pharaoh's thirtieth year of reign. Trimble cautiously notes that if Augustus' first consulship of 43 BCE is taken and the interruptions disregarded, then not the dedication but the constitution date of the *Ara Pacis* in 13 BCE, similarly marks the thirtieth year of Augustus's political power.⁴⁴¹ Trimble also draws parallels with Egyptian examples regarding the reliefs of the *Ara Pacis*. Trimble remarks that while the Republican imagery in Rome was strictly masculine and adult, figural reliefs that decorated the exterior walls of sacred buildings of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, presented examples of dynastic imagery including women and children.⁴⁴² Moreover, late Egyptian temple art offers many examples of

⁴³⁸ It was brought later. Today it stands in front of the St. John Lateran. See Vittozzi, *ibid.*, 38.

⁴³⁹ Trimble, "Egypt and the Ara Pacis."

⁴⁴⁰ Trimble notes the differences of the focal points between that of the *Ara Pacis* and those of the Egyptian examples in relation to the differences of the religious practices (*ibid.*, 17).

⁴⁴¹ Trimble, *ibid.*, 20. Trimble also notes that the Gnomon-Obelisk brought to Rome by Augustus was originally erected to celebrate Psammetichus II's thirty year jubilee. Yet Trimble is doubtful that this was known in Rome.

⁴⁴² See for examples Trimble, *ibid.*, 25.

combination of figural and sacred plant reliefs, with plants depicted below and figures above.⁴⁴³

The proposed Egyptian models do not rule out the Hellenistic or Italic sources, as also noted both by Vittozzi and Trimble. The *Ara Pacis* was not a *replica* of a single model, but was a novel Augustan creation that drew on various sources. The obelisks conspicuously conferred the presence of Egypt in the monumental complex in the *Campus Martius*. The venue explored by Vittozzi and Trimble, on the other hand, demonstrates the possibility of a stronger presence of Egypt than recognized before. On the other hand, an Egyptian motif has been recognized in the decoration of the Mausoleum earlier, namely a *corona atef* between coffers on a marble cornice fragment.⁴⁴⁴

The three monuments in the northern *Campus Martius* communicated with each other. The *Ara Pacis* brought the theme of *pax*, to the fields of Mars, on which the triumphal Mausoleum of Augustus was rising high. The prosperity and fertility brought by Augustan *pax* was depicted by the rich vegetational reliefs of the *Ara Pacis*, frozen timelessly. And the landscape of the tumulus and the funerary park of the Mausoleum were the living manifestations. As the Mausoleum was turning into a commemorative monument of the *Princeps*' family members and collaborators with each burial, the *Ara Pacis* depicted them alongside Augustus, tying them all together to the bringing about the Golden Age. The Gnomon-Obelisk of the Meridian together with the two obelisks in front of the Mausoleum recalled the conquest of Egypt. Wallace-Hadrill remarks that the conquest of Egypt had attained a broader meaning within time, becoming the symbol of "Augustus' termination of the civil war, his defeat of the forces of barbarism and tyrannical evil."⁴⁴⁵ Augustan *pax* was achieved

⁴⁴³ See for examples Trimble, *ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁴⁴ Reeder, "Typology and Ideology in the Mausoleum of Augustus," 274-5.

⁴⁴⁵ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 76 (1986): 68.

through victory. The geographical references of the monumental complex, stretching from Egypt to Spain and Gaul, marked the area of Augustan *pax*. The Gnomon-Obelisk at the center visualized the cosmic harmony of the worldly rule of Augustus.

4.2.3. From a Republican to an Imperial Center: The Monument and the City of Rome

As the new center of the *oikoumene*, the eyes of the world were turned on Rome. However this was not yet the city of marble that Augustus was going to leave behind, but that of brick he had found, as famously cited by ancient authors.⁴⁴⁶ The transformation of the city of Rome during Augustan age is a broad subject, widely studied.⁴⁴⁷ Here the attempt will be confined to provide a brief discussion focused on the Mausoleum, within the broader context of the city.

Augustus' Mausoleum was located on the northern approach to the city of Rome. Coming from north, while crossing the river Tiber by the bridge of *Ponte Milvio*, the statue of Augustus, on top of the honorific arch, greeted the visitors. From there the *Via Flamina* continued towards the city in a straight line. Several tombs lined up the road, though most of them were located on the *Via Appia*, the famous southern approach. Even though generally regarded to be of secondary importance in relation to the *Via Appia*,⁴⁴⁸ the *Via Flaminia* seems to have been of major

⁴⁴⁶ Suetonius (18.3) and Dio (51.30).

⁴⁴⁷ Favro (esp. *Urban Image*; also "Pater Urbis: Augustus as City Father of Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 51, No.1, (March 1992): 61-84; "Reading the Augustan City," in *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, ed. by Peter J. Holliday, (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1993), 230-257; "Rome a World City," 234-263) and Haselberger (*Urbem Adornare: Die Stadt Rom und ihre Gestaltumwandlung unter Augustus* (Journal of Roman Archaeology – Supplement, 2007, and Lothar Haselberger *et al Mapping Augustan Rome* (Journal of Roman Archaeology – Supplement, 2002)) have published extensive studies on the architectural topography and the transformation of Augustan Rome.

⁴⁴⁸ For instance, Ashby and Fell, "Via Flaminia," 125, Ridley, *The Emperor's Retrospect*, 81.

significance to Augustus. It is the only road cited in the *Res Gestae* as being repaired by Augustus with his own undertaking.⁴⁴⁹

The straightness of the *Via Flaminia*, stretching almost four kilometers, has been pointed out by Haselberger.⁴⁵⁰ The straight run of the *Via Flaminia* contrasted the winding roads of Rome. Rome was being frequently compared to the cities of the Hellenistic East, such as Pergamon, Antioch but especially to Alexandria.⁴⁵¹ Diodorus around 30 BCE, ranked Alexandria as the first among the cities of the *oikoumene*.⁴⁵² Alexandria, like the other Hellenistic cities, presented with its gridal plan regularity that was highly praised, and it was adorned with extensive public spaces and sumptuous buildings. Rome, however, with its narrow, winding, and unsafe streets, decaying open spaces and structures, and dull architecture lacked the magnificence, monumentality, and beauty that would match its new status.⁴⁵³

The *Via Flaminia*, as noted by Haselberger, provided a monumental axiality⁴⁵⁴ that Rome was lacking in general. When continued on this axial approach

⁴⁴⁹ *Res Gestae*, 20.5. It has been argued that there were in great probability other roads constructed or repaired by Augustus on his own expense. Dio (53.22) remarks that after the *Via Flaminia*, other roads were also repaired “either at public expense or at that of Augustus”, though he finds it “impossible to distinguish between the two funds” (Ridley, *Emperor’s Retrospect*, 80). Favro notes that since ancient Rome was a consuming rather than a producing city, its connection to the world was vital (*Urban Image*, 111). Repairment of the main roads of Italy constituted one of the first actions of Augustus’ large-scale building program initiated in 27 BCE. Even though he called on others to join him (Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 30; Dio, 53.22), few followed. The legend of “*quod viae munitae sunt*” on Augustan coins refers to his efforts of road construction (Ridley, *ibid.*, 81). In relation, Ridley (*ibid.*, 80-81, 93) raises the question of why only the *Via Flaminia* but not any other road was mentioned in the *Res Gestae*. In answer to Ridley, Haselberger, notes that the *Via Flaminia* outshone all others for running a long distance in a perfectly straight line, a monumental axiality that no other road presented (*Urbem Adornare*, 106).

⁴⁵⁰ Haselberger, *Urbem Adornare*, 106.

⁴⁵¹ On the comparison see Favro, 2005:234; 1996:42) and Haselberger, *Urbem Adornare*, 40-54.

⁴⁵² Diodorus (17.52.5). Quoted by Haselberger, *Urbem Adornare*, 40. On comparison to Hellenistic cities also see Favro, “Rome a World City,” 234.

⁴⁵³ Favro, “Rome a World City,” 234; 1996:42; *Urban Image*, 230.

⁴⁵⁴ Haselberger, *Urbem Adornare*, 106.

one would arrive at the Mausoleum of Augustus. The artificial mound of the Mausoleum on the west side of the road, was almost as high as the Pincian Hill on the east side.⁴⁵⁵ As such one would pass in between two low hills while entering the outskirts of the city. And here the statue of Augustus on the Mausoleum, would greet once more the visitors from high above.

From this point, the *Campus Martius* would open up. Augustus' above mentioned interest in the *Via Flaminia* was most probably related to his plans of the *Campus*. As noted earlier, in contrast to the more urbanized southern and central parts, northern *Campus Martius* was still empty at the time. Prone to floods, *Campus Martius* was not suitable for construction. There had been attempts to protect the *Campus* from floods earlier, however, it was Augustus' allocation of resources and his organizational capabilities that yielded notable results.⁴⁵⁶ Even though the floods could never be prevented entirely, the precautions taken, together with the construction of a new aqueduct by Agrippa, i.e. the *Aqua Virgo*,⁴⁵⁷ made the area more suitable for urban development.

Out of the city and empty, as called by Favro an "urban *tabula rasa*,"⁴⁵⁸ the area provided, for Augustus and his collaborators, opportunities to employ their plans, which the densely built *urbs* did not. Augustus undertook constructions around the *Circus Flaminius* in southern *Campus Martius*, restoring old ones and adding new ones.⁴⁵⁹ Agrippa, on the other hand, concentrated on central *Campus Martius*,

⁴⁵⁵ Hesberg, "Mausoleum des Augustus," 344.

⁴⁵⁶ For the efforts of flood control during the Republican and Augustan era, including drainage improvements, raising the ground with fill, canals and channel modification plans, building embankments and administrative offices formed for the oversight of the river, see Aldrete, *Floods*, 166-203.

⁴⁵⁷ See on *Aqua Virgo* Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, esp. 235, 257, 265, 448.

⁴⁵⁸ Favro, "Rome a World City," 256.

⁴⁵⁹ See Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 265.

where he had acquired the land of Antonius after Actium.⁴⁶⁰ Here, Agrippa finished the constructions of the *Saepta* and the *Divorum* begun by Julius Caesar, and built newly the *Pantheon* and his Baths with its adjacent pool, *i.e.* the *Stagnum Agrippae*.⁴⁶¹ The above mentioned *Aqua Virgo*, reaching the city underground, continued on arches from the slopes of the Pincian Hill to the *Campus* and did go underground again near the *Saepta*, providing the water for Agrippa's bath complex.⁴⁶² The newly added buildings mainly followed the orientations of the earlier Republican temples in the area, creating an ordered, orthogonal layout, contrasting the organic urban structure of the existing *urbs*.⁴⁶³

On the other hand, when a line was drawn right to the north of Agrippa's closely packed buildings in central *Campus Martius*, the area above it only contained the Mausoleum of Augustus on its very tip, and the *Ara Pacis* and the Gnomon-Obelisk with its Meridian a bit further south to the Mausoleum. To our knowledge the rest of the area was mainly empty. The open fields may have been kept as public land for the earlier mentioned military activities not allowed within the *pomerium*. As such, a contrast emerges between the northern *Campus* and the highly urbanized central and southern parts. Strabo's description confirms. Strabo divides the *Campus* into two parts, one of an extensive open area covered with grass and providing ample space for chariot races, equestrian exercises, as well as for various sportive activities of the public, and a second *Campus* filled with remarkable buildings.⁴⁶⁴ Then the monumental complex of Augustus, comprising his Mausoleum, the *Ara Pacis*, and the Gnomon-Obelisk with its Meridian, can be envisioned extending out within a

⁴⁶⁰ Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 265.

⁴⁶¹ Coarelli, *ibid.*, 265.

⁴⁶² Coarelli, *ibid.*, 448.

⁴⁶³ Favro, "Rome a World City," 257.

⁴⁶⁴ *Geographica*, 5.3.8.

vast green landscape, presumably with some roads and paved areas in between, providing the opportunity to be observed all together without any obstruction. The city was full of monuments yet none had been arranged in such a relation and setting. Within the dense *urbs*, obviously no monument could afford that of an ample space, and certainly not all three together.

It was as if the whole of northern *Campus Martius* formed the backdrop of Augustus' monumental complex. Strabo, notes the natural beauty of the area.⁴⁶⁵ The landscape of the tumulus and the adjacent park of the Mausoleum, can be envisioned blending in with the greenery of the open fields of the *Campus*, forming a combination of the "disordered with the ordered" like in the frescoes of Livia's villa at Prima Porta, as been quoted earlier from Kellum.⁴⁶⁶ On the other side of the *Via Flaminia*, there were *horti*, formerly first of Pompeius, then of Antonius, and now of Augustus.⁴⁶⁷ And on the slopes of the Pincian hill were villas, terraces and gardens of the wealthy.⁴⁶⁸ They were started to be build during the late Republic by the competing wealthy classes, and now they all had the view of Augustus' monumental complex.⁴⁶⁹

As such the area both to the west and to the east of the *Via Flaminia*, provided a soft transition from the countryside into the densely built *urbs*. This was the area of first encounter with the city when coming from north. The axial line of the *Via Flaminia* provided a monumental approach to the city, passing through the natural and man made landscapes on both sides, adorned with the impressive

⁴⁶⁵ *Geographica*, 5.3.8.

⁴⁶⁶ Kellum, "Construction of Landscape," 217.

⁴⁶⁷ Favro, *Urban Image*, 260.

⁴⁶⁸ On the villas on the Pincian Hill see Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 235.

⁴⁶⁹ The remains of a large terrace complex that is thought to have belonged to a villa or *hortus*, dating back to the early Empire, is directed precisely towards the Mausoleum (Hesberg, "Rekonstruktion des Augustus Mausoleums," 36).

monuments of Augustus. The monumental complex of Augustus stretched along the western side of the *Via Flaminia*, easily observable from the slightly higher running road. In this way, the imperial narrative of the monumental complex focused on Augustus, explored in the previous discussion, unfolded slowly while moving along the *Via Flaminia* towards the city. The sun-shadow spectacles of the monumental complex must have added further attraction, and the time measurement device, *i.e.* the Meridian with its exotic Gnomon-Obelisk must have marvelled the visitors at the entrance of the city. This was an entrance matching the new Rome of the new world.

Favro draws attention to the fact that Rome didn't have a hard and definite edge delimiting the city.⁴⁷⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, surprised by the difficulty of determining the limits of the city, described Rome as if expanding indefinitely,⁴⁷¹ a description certainly corresponding to the northern approach of the city under focus here. The physical conditions of Rome matched the conceptual. For the Augustan poet Ovid, the extent (*spatium*) of Rome was the extent of the world.⁴⁷²

Strabo remarks that the Mausoleum of Augustus was the most noteworthy structure in the *Campus*.⁴⁷³ With its size the Mausoleum did not only dominate the funerary topography of the city, but was one the largest structures of Augustan Rome. The Mausoleum was higher than the pediment of the Temple of Venus on top of Pompeius' theater, to the south in *Campus Martius*.⁴⁷⁴

The Masuoleum, located on the northern tip of the *Campus Martius*, had generated the development of the monumental complex comprising the *Ara Pacis*

⁴⁷⁰ Favro, "Rome a World City," 258. Favro notes that at the center within the expanding Roman territory, where peace was established, Rome was not concerned of any attack (*ibid.*, 259).

⁴⁷¹ *Ant. Rom.* 4.13.4-5. Quoted in full by Favro, *ibid.*, 258.

⁴⁷² *Fasti*, 2.684. Quoted by Favro, *ibid.*, 259. Favro translates '*spatium*' as 'circuit', here instead 'extent' has been preferred.

⁴⁷³ *Geographica*, 5.3.8.

⁴⁷⁴ Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 38.

and the Gnomon-Obelisk with its Meridian. The monumental complex seems to have further generated development in the vicinity, in subsequent periods. It has been suggested that the *Ara Providentiae*, known from coins to have resembled the *Ara Pacis*, was erected by Tiberius across the *Via Flaminia* in the area known as *Campus Agrippae*, on the same axis of the *Ara Pacis*, pairing Augustus' altar.⁴⁷⁵ And almost two and a half centuries later in 274, Aurelius dedicated his Temple of *Sol Invictus* in *Campus Agrippae*. Salzman has argued that the temple, celebrating the victories of Aurelius over Zenobia in 272 and Tetricius in 274, was located along the axial line of the Gnomon-Obelisk and the *Ara Pacis* across the *Via Flaminia*, following the theme of the association of Augustus' victories in the East with Sol.⁴⁷⁶

Going back to Augustan time, it has also been suggested that a spatial and symbolic relationship was intended between the Mausoleum and its contemporary the *Pantheon* of Agrippa in central *Campus Martius*. The two buildings were located on an almost perfect north-south axis. Both were circular in plan, and the rectangular entrance porch of the *Pantheon* faced the entrance façade of the Mausoleum at the north.⁴⁷⁷ Dio wrote that the building was called the '*Pantheon*', and that it housed many statues of gods, including that of Mars and Venus.⁴⁷⁸ We also learn from Dio that, Agrippa wanted to put a statue of Augustus in it, and name the building after

⁴⁷⁵ It is a controversial matter. Its location was first suggested by Schied-Brois, followed by Coarelli. However, Frischer is doubtful. See for references and Frischer's reservations Frischer, "The Ara Providentiae as Solar Marker?" in *New Light on the Relationship between the Montecitorio Obelisk and Ara Pacis of Augustus*, ed. by Bernard Frischer. *Studies in Digital Heritage*, 1, 1, Article 2, (March 2017): 68-72.

⁴⁷⁶ For a detailed discussion see Michele. R. Salzman, "Aurelian's Temple of Sol Invictus in Rome" In *New Light on the Relationship between the Montecitorio Obelisk and Ara Pacis of Augustus*, ed. by Bernard Frischer. *Studies in Digital Heritage*, 1, 1, Article 2, (March 2017): 72-75.

⁴⁷⁷ Agrippa's *Pantheon* has been replaced by that of Hadrian. Agrippa's *Pantheon*, hidden underneath of Hadrian's, was formerly thought to be a rectangular structure facing south. However, the latest reassessments backed up by excavations, propose a circular cella with a rectangular porch on its north. On the issue with references see Darryl Phillips, "The Civic Function of Agrippa's Pantheon," *Latomus*, Vol. 75, (2016): 650-51.

⁴⁷⁸ Dio, 53.27.

him; yet upon Augustus' refusal of the honors, he instead, placed a statue of Julius Caesar inside, and one of himself and another of Augustus on the porch outside.⁴⁷⁹ In addition, Dio notes that it may have been named as the '*Pantheon*' due to the many statues of gods it housed, or rather he thought that it was named so because of its circular form that resembled the heavens.⁴⁸⁰ Dio himself was puzzled by its naming which is a sign that the name was not related to the function of the building. However, based on Dio's account the building has been generally considered to be a temple, either dedicated to all the gods - though there was no Roman precedent of it, or a shrine/dynastic cult center of Augustus, his family and/or the *gens Julii*.⁴⁸¹ Recently, Phillips has disputed its identification as a temple or cult center, and argued that the building had a civic function, namely housing senate meetings that had to be held outside the *pomerium* enabling the attendance of *imperium* holders not allowed to cross the sacred boundary of the city.⁴⁸² Phillips' line of argumentation can not be represented within the limits of the current discussion,⁴⁸³ but it should be noted that it has been considered convincing, and will be followed here.

The earlier identification of a shrine for Augustus, his family, and the gods of the *gens Julii*, together with its positioning in the *Campus* and its architectural form, gave way to readings of symbolic relations between the *Pantheon* and Augustus' Mausoleum.⁴⁸⁴ Furthermore, the site of the *Pantheon* in central *Campus Martius* was

⁴⁷⁹ Dio, 53.27.

⁴⁸⁰ Dio, 53.27.

⁴⁸¹ For references see Phillips, "Civic Function," 652.

⁴⁸² Phillips, *ibid.*, :655,664-67. Phillips proposes that it was specifically built to replace the *Curia* of Pompey (*ibid.*, 667). On the other hand, the *Pantheon* was identified as a *templum* by Pliny (*Hist.Nat.*, 36.38). Phillips notes that decrees of the Senate could only be granted in a *templum*, i.e. a space ritually defined by augury. In that meaning the *Pantheon* was a *templum* but not a shrine dedicated to the worship of any god. On the issue of *templum* see *ibid.*, 660-1, 666, 667, 674-5.

⁴⁸³ For the detailed discussion see Phillips, *ibid.*, 650-76.

⁴⁸⁴ For references see Phillips, *ibid.*, 652.

considered to be the marshy area of Romulus' deification. Davies, for instance, in consideration of the topographical significance and taking the *Pantheon* as a shrine, dwelt on the idea of the change of state from mortal to immortal; the mortality reminded by the Mausoleum, and the immortality by the statue of Augustus on the porch of the *Pantheon*, waiting to join the gods inside.⁴⁸⁵ According to Davies, the whole scheme was intended to explicitly foretell that Augustus was going to be deified like Romulus, in reward of his services to Rome.

The recently proposed civic function of the *Pantheon*, however, necessitates a reevaluation of the subject. Phillips dismisses the idea of an intended association between the *Pantheon* and the Mausoleum altogether. He argues that instead of looking for a relation between the *Pantheon* and the Mausoleum which was at a considerable distance to the north, the *Pantheon* should be considered within the spatial context of its immediate surrounding, *i.e.* the public buildings of Agrippa, and that of Pompey right to their south.⁴⁸⁶ And according to Phillips, within this context the *Pantheon* followed the northern orientation of the adjacent *Saepta Julia*, rather than being intentionally oriented towards the Mausoleum.⁴⁸⁷

Despite all the literature on the issue, the initial intentions of Agrippa and Augustus remain unknown. However, whether specifically intended or not, an axial relation was established between the *Pantheon* and the Mausoleum, and even though the distance between the two structures was more than seven hundred meters, the sight line was not obstructed by any other larger building. As such, when standing on the porch of the *Pantheon*, next to the statues of Augustus and Agrippa, one would have a clear view of the whole northern *Campus Martius*, with the Mausoleum directly at the north. Phillips notes that the porch had steps on both sides leaving the front open so that a *rostrum*, *i.e.* a speakers's platform was formed, and the area in

⁴⁸⁵ See Davies, *Death and Emperor*, 140-42.

⁴⁸⁶ Phillips, *ibid.*, 653-54.

⁴⁸⁷ Phillips, *ibid.*, 667.

front of the building provided plenty of space for large gatherings of audience.⁴⁸⁸ The *Pantheon* of Agrippa was finished between 27 and 25 BCE.⁴⁸⁹ This corresponds to a time frame when Augustus was strongly claiming to have restored the *Res Publica*, and was stressing the continuities of political traditions. Within this historical context, as remarked by Phillips, an interpretation of the *Pantheon* as a dynastic shrine would be out of time.⁴⁹⁰ Yet the statues inside and on the porch, directly associated the building with Augustus, his best man, and his family including his divine ancestry. Phillips notes that the buildings in *Campus Martius* linked Augustus and his family to the political institutions of the *Res Publica*, “propagating his image as the leading man in Rome.”⁴⁹¹ Then the Mausoleum that could be seen from the *Pantheon*, representing Augustus exactly as the greatest of men who had saved Rome, would just enhance the implicit message of the *Pantheon*. Even if it was not intended as part of an initial plan, at the end it was there to be read. As Rome was becoming filled with buildings and monuments associated with Augustus and his family, an Augustan narrative was being formed. Approximately one and a half decades later the *Ara Pacis* and the Gnomon-Obelisk became added to the scenery of northern *Campus Martius*, bringing in a broadened imperial narrative, with multitude of sub-messages.⁴⁹² The southern *Campus Martius* was filled with triumphal monuments of competing figures of the Late Republic, spatially disorganized and symbolically disunited. Northern *Campus Martius*, however, presented an organized space and a unified message focused on Augustus, and not just to be observed from the *Via Flaminia* on the east or the river Tiber on the west, but also from central *Campus*

⁴⁸⁸ Phillips, *ibid.*, 674 and fn.:118, 119.

⁴⁸⁹ Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 286.

⁴⁹⁰ Phillips, *ibid.*, 653.

⁴⁹¹ Phillips, *ibid.*, 655.

⁴⁹² Even though Phillips rejects the idea of a relation between the Mausoleum and the *Pantheon*, he provides a brief symbolic reading that connects the *Pantheon* with the *Ara Pacis* and the Gnomon-Obelisk. See *ibid.*, 676.

Martius on the south, lined with significant public buildings, including the *Pantheon*.⁴⁹³

Pantheon's own symbolism may have contributed to the imperial narrative of the northern *Campus Martius*. After all, it was the assembly building of the highest governmental organ of the Empire. It included an 'imperial collection'. Dio writes that the *Pantheon* had received spoils from the Actian wars.⁴⁹⁴ Pliny provides particular examples of its decoration. The statue of Venus inside was adorned with earrings made of a famous pearl of Cleopatra.⁴⁹⁵ Some column capitals were of Syracusan bronze.⁴⁹⁶ And made by Diogenes of Athens, caryatids were placed on columns, symbolizing Roman domination.⁴⁹⁷ The symbolism of the circularity of Agrippa's *Pantheon*, on the other hand, awaits further study. It was built to house the meetings of a large number of senate members.⁴⁹⁸ The circular plan might have been preferred to provide a suitable form and ample space for the large gatherings. On the other hand, its circularity may have had a symbolic meaning in relation to the concept of world dominion as well. MacDonald, in his monograph on the *Pantheon*, points to such a symbolism.⁴⁹⁹ MacDonald's study focuses on the later *Pantheon* of Hadrian,

⁴⁹³ Phillips notes that with the construction of the *Forum Augustum*, and the Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 BCE, and with Augustus acquiring the right to keep his *imperium* within the *pomerium*, the senate meetings were transferred to these new spaces. Nevertheless, the *Pantheon* continued to serve certain civic functions, during and after Augustan time. See *ibid.*, 655, 669-75.

⁴⁹⁴ Dio.51.22; Phillips, *ibid.*, 660.

⁴⁹⁵ Pliny, *Nat.Hist.*9.121; Phillips, *ibid.*, 660.

⁴⁹⁶ Pliny, *Nat.Hist.*34.13; Phillips, *ibid.*, 660.

⁴⁹⁷ Pliny, *Nat.Hist.*36.38; Phillips, *ibid.*, 660, 668.

⁴⁹⁸ The number of the Senate members had risen from 300 to 600 in 61 BCE. In 29 BCE there were 1000 members. Augustus brought the size down to 600 in 18 BCE. On the number of the Senate members and references see Phillips, *ibid.*, 665.

⁴⁹⁹ See William L. MacDonald, *The Pantheon: Design, Meaning, and Progeny* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Uni. Press, 1976), 85-92.

regarding the building as a temple. In addition his reading of the symbolic meaning of the building includes the Hadrianic dome with its *oculus*. The roof of the Agrippan *Pantheon*, however, is unknown. Nevertheless MacDonald's association of the circular form with dominion may be relevant to Agrippa's circular plan as well.⁵⁰⁰ Agrippa, who had visualized the Roman dominion in his grand world map, may have wanted to symbolize it also in his Senate building. It is noteworthy that the imperial narrative of the northern *Campus Martius*, besides Augustus, included Agrippa, the second man of the Empire. The significant public buildings lining the southern edge of the northern *Campus Martius* were his constructions. The *Pantheon* particularly commemorated his name, even preserved later by Hadrian. His statue stood next to that of Augustus on its porch. He was made present in the iconography of the *Ara Pacis*. And upon his death he found place in Mausoleum, though leaving the question of whether it was an honor or a subordination to Augustus given the fact that he had prepared a tomb for himself, as mentioned earlier.

Sight lines with the Mausoleum and its companions the *Ara Pacis* and the Gnomon-Obelisk were maintained from the bordering areas of the northern *Campus Martius*. On the other hand, the monumental complex became linked conceptually to a broader region within the city without the presence of direct sight lines. Prior to the *Ara Pacis*, in 19 BCE, an altar had been erected in honor of Augustus' return from the East, close to the *Porta Capena* on the *Via Appia*, dedicated to *Fortuna Redux*, the goddess who enabled safe returns.⁵⁰¹ The *Ara Fortuna Redux* can be thought as conceptually pairing the *Ara Pacis* that marked the point of Augustus' return from the western provinces. As such, Augustus' returns, both from the East and West, were memorialized on the two main approaches of the city at its two ends.

⁵⁰⁰ MacDonald's reading goes beyond worldly dominion including cosmic ideas in relation to his consideration of the building as a temple and the symbolism of the dome providing the observation of the moving light penetrating through its *oculus*.

⁵⁰¹ Dio, 54.10. See on the altar Platner and Ahsby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 218; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 214.

On the other hand, the theme of obelisks flanking the entrance of the Mausoleum together with the Gnomon-Obelisk of the Meridian, was repeated at several locations, and not only in Rome, but also in Alexandria. Augustus had relocated eight obelisks in total, of which four were re-erected in Rome, and four in Alexandria.⁵⁰² The fourth one in Rome was identical with the Gnomon-Obelisk, bearing the same inscription.⁵⁰³ It was set up in the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus*.⁵⁰⁴ Together they marked two points at the opposite ends of the city in south and north. In Alexandria, two of the four obelisks were re-erected in front of the *Caesareum*, the imperial cult center both of Caesar and Augustus. The locations of the other two of Alexandria have not been identified positively. However it is known that, one of them was brought to Rome later by Caligula, and re-erected on the *spina* of the circus *Gai et Neronis*.⁵⁰⁵ The act of re-locating the obelisks had become a signature of Augustus' power, inscribed both in Rome and Alexandria. They together recalled Augustus' victory over Egypt, and through Augustus, proclaimed the power of *Imperium Romanum*. And the two obelisks in front of the Mausoleum, unmistakably reminded whose honor and success it was. The Mausoleum, Rome, and Alexandria abroad, were connected around one theme, in terms of both a repeating visual form and a concept.

With the addition of the inscriptions of the *Res Gestae* in front of the Mausoleum, following Augustus' death, the monument became directly linked to the provinces. The copies of the *Res Gestae* preserved in Ancyra, Antioch of Pisidia, and

⁵⁰² On the obelisks relocated by Augustus see Roulet, *Egyptianizing Monuments*; Takács, "Alexandria in Rome," 270; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*, 86-88.

⁵⁰³ See Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 367; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 324). It was moved to Piazza del Popolo where it stands today.

⁵⁰⁴ Circus Maximus was related to the sun-cult. The chariots' movement around the *spina* was associated with the movement of the heavenly bodies around the sun (Roulet, *Egyptianizing Monuments*, 43).

⁵⁰⁵ See Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 370-371; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 355. It stands today in the Piazza S. Pietro in Vatican.

Apollonia, started with the introduction that read “A copy is set out below of ‘The achievements of the Divine Augustus, by which he brought the world under the empire of the Roman people, and of the expenses which he bore for the state and people of Rome’; the original is engraved on two bronze pillars set up at Rome.”⁵⁰⁶ The exportation of the text of the *Res Gestae* to the provinces marked the territory of the *Imperium Romanum*, with Rome at its center housing the Mausoleum. And the Greek visitor Strabo’s naming of Augustus’ tomb as ‘Mausoleum’, in reference to one of the seven wonders of the world located in the Hellenistic East, pointed to the monument’s global significance. The Mausoleum was communicating with the world outside Rome.

⁵⁰⁶ *Res Gestae*, Introduction.

CHAPTER 5

SPACE OF DEIFICATIO



Figure 39. Consecratio Coin of *Divus* Augustus, Reverse, by Tiberius, 34/37CE.

Source: [http://wildwinds.com/coins/ric/augustus/RIC_0082\[tib\].2.jpg](http://wildwinds.com/coins/ric/augustus/RIC_0082[tib].2.jpg) [Last accessed 20.08.2019]

Upon the death of Augustus, and after three decades of its construction, the Mausoleum finally received the ashes of its patron. Yet, Augustus was not an ordinary mortal; he acquired the title of *divus* through the process of *deificatio*. This chapter examines the Mausoleum, and the *Ustrinum* - place of cremation, within the context of Augustus' death and deification.

5.1. From *Divi Filius* to *Divus*

Sometime around 14 CE during a ceremony in *Campus Martius*, according to Suetonius,⁵⁰⁷ an eagle circled around Augustus, then flew to the nearby temple [Pantheon] and sat on the first letter 'A' of Agrippa's name. At the very moment a lightning melted the initial letter of 'Augustus' name on an inscription of a statue of his. Augustus interpreted this as a sign that death was approaching. Even though the

⁵⁰⁷ *Div. Aug.* 97.

anecdote is only a spice to the story, Augustus was aware of his old age. During his last years, Tiberius was given increasingly more power to run the state alleviating Augustus' load.⁵⁰⁸

In 14 CE, Augustus accompanied Tiberius on a journey to Beneventum.⁵⁰⁹ As Tiberius continued on to Illyricum, Augustus turned back to return to Rome. Yet, before arriving in Rome, he fell seriously ill, and made a stop at his house in Nola, Campania. Messengers were sent to Tiberius. On the 19th of August, with Livia and Tiberius at his bedside, Augustus died. He was thirty five days short from his seventy sixth age. Augustus' body was carried, with stops in between, from Nola to Rome, by most distinguished men. Rome was entered at night and the body was placed in the vestibule of Augustus' house on the Palatine. The next day, the Senate assembled and Augustus' will was opened. The funeral followed. Augustus' body was cremated in *Campus Martius*, and finally his remains were placed in his Mausoleum. Short after, the Senate announced Augustus' deification. He now had become a *divus*.

The idea of deification was not foreign to the Romans. They had encountered it in the East before. Alexander the Great had been deified. Romans had their own examples as well. Romulus has been mentioned earlier. Hercules⁵¹⁰ and Aeneas⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁸ Dunstan, *Ancient Rome*, 275, 280; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, 157.

⁵⁰⁹ The information on Augustus' death from here on is taken from Suetonius (*Div.Aug.*97-101), and Dio (56.30-34, 46). It should be noted that there are discrepancies between the two accounts. They are combined here.

⁵¹⁰ Hercules was very popular in Roman Italy (Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 250). In Rome, the altar dedicated to Hercules was called *Ara Maxima* - the Greatest Altar, and was located in the *Forum Boarium* (Price, "The Place of Religion: Rome in the Early Empire," in *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume X: The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.-A.D. 69*, ed. by Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1996), 815). Diodorus Siculus (4.38), tells that suffering from a poison Hercules sent men to Delphi to ask Apollo what to do. Apollo replied that Hercules should be taken and that a huge pyre should be built next to him. Hercules having given up for himself climbed up the pyre. A lightning from the heavens put the pyre on fire. It was so wholly consumed so that not a single bone of Heracles was left. This was considered as the sign that he passed from the domain of men into the company of the gods, in compliance with the oracle of Delphi.

⁵¹¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I.64) tells that when Aeneas was killed at the battle in Lavinium his body was seen nowhere, thereof it was concluded that it had been taken to the domain of the gods. Yet he also notes that some believed that it was perished in the river next to the battlefield. A hero shrine was erected with the inscription "To the father and god of this place, who presides over the waters of

were two others. Yet these were of the mythical past. The human sphere of the current time did not present any further. This was the case, perhaps not so much due to a theological problem, but rather a political issue.⁵¹² Since in addition to the past examples of deification, the Roman mind was attuned with the idea of interaction between the two worlds of the humans and the gods. All their religious thinking and practices testify to this. Tracing one's ancestry back to a god or a mythical hero was also a Roman practice as mentioned earlier. However, it should be noted that this is not to say that the acceptance of a human being, known in real life becoming a god, did not present any difficulties, or that the reception of the idea was the same in the whole of the society;⁵¹³ the reality was more complex, yet the intricacies of the issue fall out of the scope of this thesis. What matters is that the practice took hold, having been carried out seriously. And, the political aspect of the issue is more relevant to the current discussion, to be emphasized here.

Deification meant the elevation of one's status above others, incomparably. And this did not comply with the Republican system. That Julius Caesar was the first name to have been deified confirms this. At the time, the Republican system was in great turbulence, and Caesar had acquired an extraordinary position as 'dictator for life'. He had already received exceptional honors during his lifetime, that continued after his death,⁵¹⁴ and culminated in his deification. A few months after his death, during the games organized in honor of Caesar's victories, a comet appeared that was interpreted as his soul in the heavens,⁵¹⁵ as it was believed that great men became

the river Numicius". Livy (I.2) writes that "He was buried, by whatever name human and divine laws require him to be called on the banks of the river Numicius. They call him Jupiter Indiges."

⁵¹² On a related discussion on modern conventions of religion differing that of the Romans, shedding light to the notion of emperor worship see Ittai Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 4-8.

⁵¹³ For instance Cicero (*Phillippics*, 1.13) and Seneca (*Apocolocyntosis*) were critical.

⁵¹⁴ On the divine honors of Caesar see Price, "Consecration of Roman Emperors," 71-2.

⁵¹⁵ Pliny, *Nat.Hist.* 2.93-4.

stars in the heavens.⁵¹⁶ And finally, almost two years later in 42 BCE, the Senate announced Caesar's deification, decreeing at the same time the building of a temple of *Divus Julius*.⁵¹⁷ So was the cult of Julius Caesar officially initialized.

Augustus considerably owed his power and position to Caesar's legacy, as mentioned earlier. Caesar's deification elevated the status of Augustus further. Augustus had now become a *Divi Filius*, an unprecedented status. Augustus made use of Caesar's deification widely. And so would Tiberius, later with that of Augustus. The deification of the predecessor was used for self advertisement and justification of power.

Caesar's deification had opened the way, yet that of Augustus set the model. With the solid change of the political system, deification became a practice followed by subsequent emperors. From Augustus up to the first Christian emperor Constantine, thirty six of sixty emperors, and twenty seven of their family members were deified, receiving the title of *divus*.⁵¹⁸

5.2. The Monument of a *Divus*

The Mausoleum had opened its doors for burials earlier, yet it was surely Augustus for whom it was built. It is highly probable that Augustus had his place of cremation prepared beforehand as well.⁵¹⁹ Below first, the funeral of Augustus is presented and discussed in two phases, *i.e.* the ceremonial up to the cremation, followed by the cremation itself, as the two climactic events in the history of the

⁵¹⁶ See Price, *ibid.*, 76.

⁵¹⁷ Appian, *Civil War* ii.616; Dio47.18-19.

⁵¹⁸ Price, "Consecration of Roman Emperors," 57.

⁵¹⁹ The description of Strabo most probably belongs to a structure built afterwards, to commemorate the place of cremation, as discussed earlier. Nevertheless, it is plausible that Augustus who had built his Mausoleum beforehand and left instructions for his funeral, had made preparations for his site of cremation as well.

Mausoleum and the *Ustrinum*. And lastly there is provided a brief discussion on the posthumous commemoration of Augustus.

5.2.1. Funerary Procession: *Res Gestae* in Action

Augustus did not only design his tomb, but also his funeral (*funus*). One of the four scrolls accompanying his will to be opened upon his death, contained instructions for his funeral.⁵²⁰ Leaving instructions for one's funeral was not unusual for the Roman élité.⁵²¹ The chaotic events at Julius Caesar's funeral,⁵²² might have particularly motivated Augustus to follow the practice. But surely this was not all. He was preoccupied with his commemoration.

The late Republican funerals of the élité were conducted in similar way.⁵²³ They usually started at the house of the deceased, from where the body was carried, accompanied by a cortège (*pompa funebris*), to the *Forum Romanum*. In the *Forum* the body and/or the wax effigy of the deceased was put to display on the *rostra*, from where a eulogy was delivered. A significant feature of such a funeral was the parade of the masks of ancestors, made of wax.⁵²⁴ The masks, kept in cabinets in the atriums of houses, were put on by people resembling the deceased in posture, who also wore

⁵²⁰ Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 101; Dio, 56.33.

⁵²¹ Sumi, *Ceremony and Power*, 256.

⁵²² See Suetonius (Caesar 84-85), and Appian (*BC.2.143-148*). According to Suetonius, a pyre was erected in *Campus Martius* near the tomb of Julia; however, his body was cremated in the *Forum Romanum* totally unexpected. While some were urging that it be burned in the Temple of Jupiter of the Capitol, and some in the Hall of Pompey, all of a sudden two *beings* with swords emerged in the crowd and set the bier carrying Julius Caesar's body on fire with torches. The chaos continued. The populace, with torches in their hands, ran to the houses of Brutus and Cassius and after being repelled they slew Helvius Cinna, mistaken for being Cornelius Cinna, who had made a bitter accusation of Caesar before. They set his head upon a spear and paraded it in the streets.

⁵²³ See Price, "Consecration of Roman Emperors," 59-70.

⁵²⁴ On the display of the ancestral masks at funerals see Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 47-48; Susan Walker, *Memorials to the Roman Dead* (London: British Museum Publications, 1985), 11-12; Bodel, "Death on Display," 259-81.

outfits matching the rank of the deceased. These enactors walked with the *pompa* and sat on the *rostra* during the delivery of the eulogy that mentioned the virtues, good deeds and accomplishments of the deceased. As such, while the deceased was being praised verbally, the display of the ancestral masks formed a visual backdrop representing the individual as a member of a *gens*. The more significant the ancestral lineage meant the higher the status of the deceased, and vice versa. And the high status of the *gens*, bestowed honors and status upon the following generations. After the ceremony in the *Forum*, the body was conveyed to the site of cremation. Following the cremation, the remains were gathered and finally deposited in a tomb.

Ancient literary sources provide information on Augustus' funeral.⁵²⁵ The funeral of Augustus followed that of the Roman élite, yet exceeding them in various ways.⁵²⁶ Before Augustus, Sulla was given an ostentatious public funeral.⁵²⁷ Caesar's funeral, though having slid into chaos, was a more recent example. Augustus made arrangements for the funerals of his family members and close friends who had predeceased him. The funerals of his nephew and son-in-law Marcellus, his collaborator Agrippa, his sister Octavia, Livia's son Drusus, and his grandchildren Lucius and Gaius, followed the established traditions yet exhibiting considerable modifications at the same time. They are considered as models for Augustus' subsequent funeral.⁵²⁸

Augustus' funeral must have been carried out according to his instructions, probably with some additions by the Senate known to have discussed extra honorific

⁵²⁵ Dio (56.3-46), a much shorter account by Suetonius (*Div.Aug.*,100), also mentioned briefly by Tacitus (*Ann.*,1.8).

⁵²⁶ Price, "Consecration of Roman Emperors," 62; Gradel, *Emperor Worship*, 282; Sumi, *Ceremony and Power*, 253.

⁵²⁷ See esp. Appian (*BC*.1.105-106), also Plutarch (Sulla.38).

⁵²⁸ For a discussion comparing these funerals to that of Augustus see Sumi, *ibid.*, 254-256 and Price, *ibid.*, 62-70.

motions to be included.⁵²⁹ The following account of the funeral of Augustus comes mainly from Dio, who provides the most detailed one among the others.⁵³⁰

Augustus' body, covered in a coffin, was put on a couch of ivory and gold, that was spread with a pall of purple and gold. The couch was conveyed from his house on the Palatine to the *Forum Romanum*. Effigies of Augustus were included in the cortège. Dio cites three. One in a triumphal dress, carried from his house by magistrates assigned for the following year, was directly put onto his coffin. A second one in gold was brought from the Senate house and a third was placed on a triumphal chariot. The effigies were followed by images of Augustus' ancestors, except that of Julius Caesar who had been deified.⁵³¹ Notably, the ancestral images were not confined to the family members, but extended to include, as stated by Dio, the distinguished Romans of the past. Dio mentions only two by name, *i.e.* Romulus and Pompey, but in great probability the list must have been inclusive of all the *summi viri* of Roman history.⁵³² Moreover, all nations added by Augustus to the empire were represented by images in the cortège.⁵³³ As the cortège arrived in the *Forum Romanum*, the couch was placed on the *rostra* of orators. Here, two eulogies were delivered, one by Tiberius' son Drusus from the very *rostra*, and one by

⁵²⁹ On the honorific motions proposed by the Senate before the funeral see Suetonius (*Div.Aug.*100); Tacitus (*Ann.*1.8); Dio (56.42). The sources do not provide a full picture about which of those proposals were accepted or rejected. Nevertheless, there is no reason to think that the Senate made changes to the original plans of Augustus, but only added new components to the ceremonial. As such the resulting funeral must have been a combination of the two, but predominately remaining that of a design of Augustus.

⁵³⁰ Dio, 56.34-46.

⁵³¹ Similarly Augustus' image would be banned from funerals due to his deification (Dio, 56.46).

⁵³² Price, "Consecration of Roman Emperors," 65: *fn.*14. In the funeral of Tiberius' son Drusus, not masks but busts were carried starting with Aeneas, followed by all the kings of Alba and then Romulus.

⁵³³ Dio (56.34). Tacitus writes that a senator named Lucius Arruntius proposed, additional honorific motions for the funeral in the Senate during the discussions, that placards bearing the names of every people conquered by Augustus should be paraded before the body of Augustus in the procession.

Tiberius himself from the *rostra* of the *Julii* across the *Forum*. Following the delivery of the eulogies, the cortège proceeded to *Campus Martius*, the place of cremation, passing through *Porta Triumphalis*.⁵³⁴ The whole Senate was present in the cortège, as were the members of the equestrian order and their wives, the Praetorian guard, and as put by Dio “indeed virtually all who were in Rome at the time.”⁵³⁵

This description of the funeral by Dio, presents a picture of a ceremony aggrandized and adapted suitably for the man of the highest status of the Roman world. The ceremony must have gained meaning also from the architectural settings and locations. Unfortunately sources provide little on the issue. Yet the few available are worth to dwell on to put the ceremonial, at least to some degree, into its spatial context for a better understanding of the inherent symbolism of the entire event. Here, a detailed reconstruction of the whole ceremonial in relation to its architectural topography is not intended, for it has been done before,⁵³⁶ and in the lack of evidence it is open to speculation after a certain point. Nevertheless, some relevant features are worth to bring forth.

The ceremony customarily started at the house of the deceased. During his lifetime Augustus had resided on an elevated ground overlooking the city on the Hill of Palatine, side by side with Apollo whose temple he had built adjacent to his own house. From here, the cortège with Augustus’ body and his effigy, descended to the *Forum Romanum*. The distance was not long, but the route taken is not known. Whatever the route, streets filled with spectators, mourning or just curious, can be

⁵³⁴ Dio notes that it was decreed by the Senate for the cortège to pass through the Porta (56.42). Suetonius cites the action among the motions proposed in the Senate to be included in the funeral (*Div.Aug.*100); similarly see Tacitus (*Ann.*1.7).

⁵³⁵ Dio, 56.42.

⁵³⁶ For a relatively detailed reconstruction of Augustus’ funeral in relation to architectural topography see Sumi, *Ceremony and Power*, 256-261. Here, Favro’s work “Death in Motion: Funeral Processions in the Roman Forum,” (*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 69, No. 1, (March 2010): 12-37) is worth to mention, in which not that of Augustus but three Roman funerals are reconstructed in their architectural settings with a focus on kinetic and sensual experiences.

imagined. Tacitus also notes that troops were out on the day, apparently for security reasons.⁵³⁷ Most probably even more people had concentrated in and around the area of the *Forum Romanum*. *Forum Romanum* was the customary place of public funerals, as stated earlier. Even though Augustus had a *Forum* of his own, he had not diverged from the traditional practice. On the other hand, the *Forum Augusti* may not have been excluded from the ceremonial entirely. It is probable that Augustus' effigy on the triumphal chariot, for which Dio does not specify an origin, along with the images of the *summi viri* and the *gens Julii* displayed at the funeral, were borne from the *Forum Augusti*, known to have housed similar images.⁵³⁸ Even if not directly brought in from there, it must not have been difficult for the spectators to make a mental connection between the images paraded at the funeral and their counterparts in the *Forum Augusti* nearby.

The route taken from the *Forum* to the *Campus Martius* is again not known. Dio only specifies the *Porta Triumphalis* on the route. The exact location of the *Porta* is a matter of dispute, thus leaving the question of the route open. However, the *Porta* is significant in terms of its symbolism, for this was the gate used during triumphal processions. Having passed through the *Porta*, the cortège headed to the place of cremation. If Jolivet's proposition on the location of the *Ustrinum* as discussed in Chapter 2 is taken, then the walk must have ended somewhere in central *Campus Martius*, corresponding to today's Piazza Montecitorio, without proceeding further.⁵³⁹

The whole route, starting from the house of Augustus on the Palatine up to the place of cremation, must have been carefully planned. It is tempting to think that, the route was designed to pass by various symbolically laden locations and buildings, related to Augustus. As such, the motion of the cortège would connect the imprints of Augustus dispersed in the city, forming a whole. The Augustan narrative of Rome

⁵³⁷ *Ann.* 1.8.

⁵³⁸ Sumi (*Ceremony and Power*, 258), thinks similarly.

⁵³⁹ Sumi (*ibid.*, 260) taking the location of the *Ustrinum* next to the Mausoleum, suggests a route continuing along the *Via Flaminia*.

would be re-created by action, and experienced with heightened emotions of the occasion. Montecitorio, the propable place of cremation, rises slightly above the flatland of *Campus Martius*, providing a view towards Augustus' Mausoleum on the north, together with the monumental complex developed in front. Jolivet's location of cremation suggests an axial line starting from the Mausoleum, passing through the Gnomon-Obelisk and ending at Montecitorio. The gaze of the cortège then, having experienced the Augustan narrative on route according to this scenario here, would be directed towards the monuments of Augustus at north including his Mausoleum at the farthest point. Now, the motion would have stopped, and it would be the time to contemplate the view in stillness and solemnity. The view, with all the potency of the symbolism of the monuments, would constitute the epitome of the narrative.

Gradel interprets the *Res Gestae*, as a means of justification of Augustus' deification.⁵⁴⁰ Here, his line of thoughts are relevant and revealing. The *Res Gestae*, was read at the Senate assembled upon the death of Augustus, alongside his will and his instructions for the funeral. Gradel notes that the will and the instructions corresponded to a customary practice and structure, but the *Res Gestae* did not. The *Res Gestae* have been compared to *elogia*⁵⁴¹ or *laudatio funebris*⁵⁴² before, but remained in some ways unprecedented. It was unprecedented, according to Gradel, because "no man had ever before presented his own case for divinity after his death."⁵⁴³ Written in the first person, the *Res Gestae* differed from *elogia* and *laudatio funebris*, which were composed by others and not in the first person.⁵⁴⁴ As

⁵⁴⁰ See Gradel, *Emperor Worship*, 280-82. For a parallel discussion, see Brian Bosworth, "Augustus, the *Res Gestae* and Hellenistic Theories of Apotheosis," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 89, (1999): 1-18. Bosworth traces the theory back to Wilamowitz, see for references, esp. *ibid.*, 12. Bosworth, argues that Augustus' *Res Gestae* suggested an analogy to a Hellenistic precedent, i.e. Euhemerus' Zeus, and that analogy was implemented to justify Augustus' deification.

⁵⁴¹ Short biographical inscriptions placed on statues.

⁵⁴² The praising biographical speeches delivered at funerals.

⁵⁴³ Gradel, *Emperor Worship*, 282.

⁵⁴⁴ Gradel, *ibid.*, 282.

such the impressive list of all his accomplishments, honors and benefactions was the explanation of, and justification for, receiving divinity.⁵⁴⁵ Augustus apparently, even though having refused the honor during his lifetime allowing his worship only in the provinces and only along Roma, wanted to be deified posthumously in Rome.⁵⁴⁶ Religious authority rested with the Senate. The Senate had granted divinity before to Julius Caesar. Now Augustus was presenting his case to the Senate. And he had not left it to Tiberius, as noted by Gradel.⁵⁴⁷ Augustus was still in control.

Augustus had designed his Mausoleum, composed the *Res Gestae* and planned his funeral. They all complemented each other. In Chapter 3 it was discussed that the greatness of Augustus was visualized in the Mausoleum. And the *Res Gestae* put it in detail verbally. Now the funeral, once again, presented Augustus' greatness. His military achievements were specifically reminded by the images of all the nations added by Augustus to the empire. He was represented as a triumphator by two wax effigies, one in a triumphal dress and the other on a triumphal chariot. If as proposed above, the effigy of Augustus on the triumphal chariot together with the images of the *summi viri* and *gens Julii* were borne from *Forum Augusti*, a triumphal monument itself that also housed the Temple of Mars, then the triumphal connotations would be further emphasized. And the funerary cortège passed through the *Porta Triumphalis* as if it was a triumphal procession, probably headed by the statue of Victory.⁵⁴⁸ Yet, the third effigy brought in from the Senate, recalled Augustus as a Statesman. The masks of the ancestors portrayed him not solely as a member of the *gens Julii* but as a member of the *summi viri* of the whole of Roman history, a lineage suitable only for a *Pater Patriae*. All this matched the content and

⁵⁴⁵ Gradel (*ibid.*, 282) thus sees the placement of the *Res Gestae*, as a text justifying Augustus' deification, at the temple in Ancyra, totally fitting.

⁵⁴⁶ For a discussion on the issue see Gradel, *ibid.*, 276-280.

⁵⁴⁷ Gradel, *ibid.*, 281.

⁵⁴⁸ Suetonius (*Div. Aug.* 100) mentions the statue of Victory, as been suggested to be included by the Senate. Tacitus and Dio do not mention.

purpose of the *Res Gestae*. To the list can be added the eulogies delivered during the ceremony, reciting all the achievements, benefactions and virtues of Augustus.⁵⁴⁹ The *Res Gestae* also includes a long list of buildings erected by Augustus, many of which constituted the architectural setting and part of the experience of the funeral. As such, the *Res Gestae* was enacted by the funeral, in action, and also orally and spatially. And the funeral, performed with the active participation of the people of Rome, was the acknowledgement of Augustus' case by all. On the very day of his death, so writes Suetonius,⁵⁵⁰ Augustus summoned a group of friends asking them whether he had played his part well in the farce of life, adding the theatrical tag,

“Please clap your hands, if I have given cause,
And send me from the stage with your applause.”

The authenticity of the anecdote is debatable, yet what is not is that the whole city of Rome was present to bid farewell to her *Pater Patriae*, while he was stepping down from the earthly stage.

5.2.2. Cremation: From Material to Immaterial, Round and Up⁵⁵¹

Having arrived at *Campus Martius*, Augustus' body was going to be cremated. Cremation was customary; it had become the practice during the Late Republic and Early Empire.⁵⁵² Yet, that of Augustus was about to differ than what was usual, going to result in his deification.

⁵⁴⁹ Dio recites Tiberius' eulogy in length. See Dio, 56.35-41. However he does not offer information on the content of that of Drusus.

⁵⁵⁰ *Div.Aug.*99. Cf. Dio (56.30).

⁵⁵¹ The heading is inspired from Eve D'Ambra, “The Imperial Funerary Pyre as a Work of Ephemeral Architecture,” in *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual*, ed. by Björn C. Ewald and Carlos F. Noreña (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2010), 303: “...creating a vortex of energy that spiraled round and round but aimed only upward”.

⁵⁵² Cremation and inhumation co-existed in Roman Italy throughout its history, from period to period one or the other becoming dominant. For the distribution of cremation and inhumation up to the time

The cremation had to be carried out in an open area to prevent any danger for the environs.⁵⁵³ As such, a location in *Campus Martius* was an appropriate choice. But more than that, cremation at *Campus Martius* must have been an honorific privilege, just like burial was. Foremost it was the site of Romulus' deification. Augustus had lived in a house on the Palatine, where Romulus had once resided, and now he was about to be cremated where Romulus had been deified.

At the site, a wooden structure, *i.e.* a pyre (*rogus*), was assembled.⁵⁵⁴ Ancient sources do not provide information on Augustus' pyre, yet the accounts of Dio⁵⁵⁵ on Pertinax's pyre, and of Herodianus⁵⁵⁶ on that of Septimus Severus, can give an idea of how it looked like. The two accounts describe a rectangular tower of multiple stories, each getting smaller as rising up. Their exteriors looked like actual buildings, and were decorated with gold-embroidered textiles, ivory figures, colored paintings, and statues, with a chariot on top.⁵⁵⁷ The images of pyres on *consecratio* coins confirm these descriptions.⁵⁵⁸ Even though it is possible that the imperial pyres changed within time, taking into account the fact that the funerary ceremonials

of Augustus see Glensy Davies, "Burial in Italy up to Augustus," in *Burial in the Roman World*, ed. by Richard Reece and John Collis (London: CBA Research Report 22, 1977), 13-19. Both Pliny (*Hist.Nat.* 7.187), and Cicero (*de Leg.* 2.22.56) mentioned that inhumation was the primitive rite, citing that the Cornelii retained inhumation as a family tradition and that Sulla was the first of the Cornelii to have been cremated (Davies, *ibid.*, 17).

⁵⁵³ For instance see Appian (*BC.* 2.21) for the cremation of Clodius that caused a fire.

⁵⁵⁴ This chapter benefits largely from D'Ambra, "Ephemeral Architecture," 289-308.

⁵⁵⁵ 75.4.

⁵⁵⁶ *Hist.Aug.*, 4.2.6-11.

⁵⁵⁷ See on the appearance and decorations of the pyres D'Ambra, "Ephemeral Architecture," 293-301).

⁵⁵⁸ D'ambra, *ibid.*, 291.

present common features over a long period of time, it seems to be safe to think that Augustus' pyre may not have been much different from the later examples.⁵⁵⁹

In addition to the accounts on the pyres of Pertinax and Septimus Severus, there is information available on monumental Hellenistic predecessors, that describe them adorned with prows of ships, statues, hunting and battle scenes, animal figures, and arms.⁵⁶⁰ Even though sources lack information on the contents of the decorations of the Roman examples, following D'Ambra, it may be assumed that the sculptures and paintings may have depicted the emperor himself and important events of his life, his ancestors of his *gens* or of the *summi viri*, and mythological scenes, especially the deifications of Romulus and Hercules - relevant to the occasion.⁵⁶¹

The depiction of Romulus would have been particularly meaningful on Augustus' pyre, for all the earlier cited associations. Hercules, on the other hand, provided the example of a deification on a pyre.⁵⁶² During the Actium years Marcus Antonius had claimed descent from Hercules.⁵⁶³ However, after Actium, Augustus associated himself with Hercules. Hercules was incorporated into the iconography of Augustus' Temple of Apollo on the Palatine.⁵⁶⁴ Horace compared Augustus to Hercules in his poetry,⁵⁶⁵ and so did Tiberius in his eulogy.⁵⁶⁶ Even if Hercules's

⁵⁵⁹ In the same vein see D'Ambra, *ibid.*, 293.

⁵⁶⁰ See D'Ambra, *ibid.*, 296-97.

⁵⁶¹ D'Ambra, *ibid.*, 298.

⁵⁶² D'Ambra, *ibid.*, 296-98); Price, "Consecration of Roman Emperors," 75.

⁵⁶³ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 223.

⁵⁶⁴ On a terracotta plaque from the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, Hercules is depicted across Apollo and a tripod between them. Kellum ("Temple of Apollo," 76-79) interprets the scene, in accordance with the tradition, as a struggle won by Apollo over Hercules, reminding Augustus' victory over Antonius. Cf. Galinsky (*Augustan Culture*, 222-24) who interprets the scene depicting not a struggle but a reconciliation between Apollo and Hercules.

⁵⁶⁵ On Horace and Hercules see Galinsky, *ibid.*, 254, 314, 316).

⁵⁶⁶ Dio, 56.36.

representation on Augustus' pyre is speculative, Augustus' *Ustrinum* seems to have recalled Hercules, by means of the poplar trees mentioned by Strabo, that were associated with Hercules.⁵⁶⁷ Moreover temples of Hercules were usually circular, as was the *Ustrinum* of Augustus.⁵⁶⁸

Finally, the bier carrying Augustus' body must have been placed on the pyre, most probably inside it concealed from view.⁵⁶⁹ The interior must have been filled with flammable materials, and aromatic substances to produce nice scents during the cremation.⁵⁷⁰ Then, according to Dio, the priests, followed by the knights, marched around it, and the infantry of the Praetorian Guard circled it at a run and threw onto it all the triumphal decorations which they had received from the emperor.⁵⁷¹ Now had come the time; the centurions took torches and set fire to the pyre from below.⁵⁷²

This must have been one of the most intense moments of the ceremony. A spectacle for the senses, but also an emotional moment, marking the ultimate farewell to Augustus' material being. The family, friends and foes, all the people of Rome, must have been watching.

In her article on pyres, D'Ambra provides a lively description of the spectacle.⁵⁷³ The pyre was of wood. In addition to wood, the decorations included the

⁵⁶⁷ Hesberg, "Mausoleum des Augustus," 349.

⁵⁶⁸ On the circularity of Hercules temples John W. Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2005), 70.

⁵⁶⁹ Herodianus (*Hist.Aug.*, 4.2.8), notes that the body of Severus was lifted up to the second storey of the pyre. According to D'Ambra ("Ephemeral Architecture," 293), the doors on the second stories of the pyres as depicted on some coins were used to place the body inside the structure.

⁵⁷⁰ For detailed information on the interiors of the pyres, flammable materials, and fragrances, including ancient sources and further references see D'Ambra, *ibid.*, 303-308

⁵⁷¹ Dio, 56.42.

⁵⁷² Dio, 56.42.

⁵⁷³ D'Ambra, "Ephemeral Architecture," 299-300, *in passim*.

materials of gold, ivory, textile, and wax. As the fire started from the inside of the pyre, the wax decorations must have glowed first, then began to melt. Other materials must have followed, catching fire one by one; first the textiles, then the ivory, golden and wooden decorations. At the same time, the aromatic substances must have started to give away their scents. Then must have come the moment when the whole structure caught fire, leaving the scene to an immense tower of light and heat, reaching the skies.

Dio mentions an eagle to have been released from the pyre bearing the emperor's spirit to heavens.⁵⁷⁴ And when a senator testified as to have witnessed Augustus' soul ascending in the same way of the case of Romulus and Proculus, the Senate declared his deification.⁵⁷⁵ The eagle, in an upward moving position, became to be depicted on the reverse sides of *consecratio* coins of Augustus, issued by Tiberius. Alongside those with an eagle, from the mid second century onwards, *consecratio* coins with pyres were issued as well.⁵⁷⁶ It is noteworthy that no coin of the Mausoleum has been found so far; it is probable that such a coin never existed. Even though the reason for that in general remains a puzzle, it seems that within the context of deification, the Mausoleum was not a suitable symbol. The Mausoleum was the place where the mortal remains of the emperor were deposited. However, deification happened during cremation. The transformation from the material to the immaterial being was enacted by fire on the pyre.⁵⁷⁷ As the mortal remains of the emperor were being consumed by flames, the soul was released. Here ascension was

⁵⁷⁴ Dio, 56.42. Since Suetonius does not cite the eagle it has been debated by some that it was a later addition to the story. See Price, "Consecration of Roman Emperors," 95.

⁵⁷⁵ Dio, 56.46. Proculus was a senator to whom Romulus had expressed his wish to be worshipped as Quirinius.

⁵⁷⁶ D'Ambra, "Ephemeral Architecture," 291.

⁵⁷⁷ In all the three cases of Hercules, Aeneas and Romulus, the sign of deification was the total disappearance of the body. In the cases of the emperors, even though a total consummation of the remains by fire was not possible, it still seems that the decomposition of the body was a prerequisite of deification.

key. Romans largely believed that the abode of the dead was in the underworld, while the gods resided in the heavens.⁵⁷⁸ The eagle escaping from the top of the burning pyre up to the sky, visualised for the observers, the ascension of the soul to the abode of the gods.

While the fire was consuming Augustus' body, the Mausoleum to the north was awaiting the remains of its patron. The two hills, Montecitorio and the artificial mound of the Mausoleum faced each other in the flat topography of the *Campus*. The Mausoleum was built to house the material remains of Augustus. Its materiality promised a secure resting place and endurance. The discussion above has pictured pyres as monumental and exquisitely decorated structures, as it has been argued to be the case with that of Augustus as well. Though assembled with such effort, pyres were meant not to last, but to be demolished. D'Ambra, inspiringly calls them "ephemeral works of architecture."⁵⁷⁹ Here, the Mausoleum and the pyre emerge as counter-structures, in terms of their temporality and materiality. The intended temporariness of the pyre contrasts the intended permanence of the Mausoleum. The Mausoleum was intended to be always present in the cityscape of Rome, while the pyre was to be perished. Yet, pyres did not perish from memory entirely. Their depiction on the *consecratio* coins, starting from the mid second century onwards, memorialized the exquisite structures. Their remembrance was not bound to lasting materiality, but to the significance of the event.

The priests, knights, and Praetorian infantry had circumambulated the pyre. Now on the hill at central *Campus Martius*, an immense fire was whirling high up to the skies, dematerializing the first Roman emperor to release his soul to the heavens. At some distance to the north, the circular mound of the Mausoleum, was going to keep the memory of the departed Augustus forever, with his statue on its very summit, alluding to a place somewhere between the earth and the heavens.

⁵⁷⁸ The ideas of the Romans on afterlife present variety, yet generally confirm the statement here. See Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 33-9.

5.2.3. Memory

Accompanied by the most distinguished knights, Livia waited five days at the site of cremation.⁵⁸⁰ The remains of Augustus were then gathered, and placed in his Mausoleum.⁵⁸¹ According to the law, men mourned Augustus' death for a few days, but women throughout the entire year.⁵⁸² The mourning by law, may not have been necessarily by heart. Dio notes that at the time there were not many who mourned genuinely, but became so later.⁵⁸³ Dio's account, though mentioning circulating criticisms, stresses the praises for Augustus.⁵⁸⁴ Tacitus, however, critical as usual, cites the harsh views and commentaries more.⁵⁸⁵ The memory of Augustus was not flawless and pristine.

At the same time of the announcement of Augustus' deification, the Senate decreed a temple⁵⁸⁶ for his cult. He also received rites and priests, and Livia, named Julia and Augusta, was appointed as the priestess.⁵⁸⁷ The Senate granted further honors. Augustus' birthday would be celebrated by the consuls with games such as

⁵⁷⁹ D'Ambra, ("Ephemeral Architecture"); starting with the very heading of the article.

⁵⁸⁰ Dio, 56.43. The five days must have been needed for the fire to cease. Since the remains were to be collected, extinguishing the fire artificially may not have been an option. The long duration of the fire indicates that the pyre of Augustus must have been huge.

⁵⁸¹ Dio, 56.43.

⁵⁸² Dio, 56.43.

⁵⁸³ Dio, 56.43.

⁵⁸⁴ See Dio, 56.43-46.

⁵⁸⁵ See *Ann.*I.8-10.

⁵⁸⁶ Tacitus, *Ann.* I.10. Dio, 56.46.

⁵⁸⁷ Dio, 56.46. *Ann.* I.10.

Ludi Martiales and the tribunes would have charge of the Augustalia.⁵⁸⁸ The Senate also placed a golden image of Augustus lying on a couch in the Temple of Mars.⁵⁸⁹ Dio notes that even though the above honors were decreed by the Senate, Livia and Tiberius were behind the decisions.⁵⁹⁰ Livia also organized a three day festival in honor of Augustus in his house that became repeated in the following years.⁵⁹¹ The house at Nola in which Augustus had died was dedicated to him as a precinct.⁵⁹² And the temple, decreed by the Senate, was built by Livia and Tiberius, in Rome.⁵⁹³ The imperial family promoted the cult of Augustus eagerly. And the cult of Augustus, starting with his lifetime, disseminated in the provinces.⁵⁹⁴

Some of the rituals and ceremonies were held in his Mausoleum, most probably both at its exterior and interior. While the exterior was the public face of the monument, its interior must have been more of a private space, not open to the access of the public. The doors of the Mausoleum can be assumed to have been opened only occasionally for burials, ceremonies and rituals, and only for family members, distinguished names, and religious officials. Unfortunately there is no information on the conduct of the rituals and ceremonies performed particularly in the Mausoleum. The remains suggest a dark – perhaps only torch-lit, cold and silent interior; almost an underworld. The human movement was directed by straight passages and circular corridors, relatively narrow but monumentally high and roofed by vaults. The circular

⁵⁸⁸ Dio, 56.46.

⁵⁸⁹ Dio, 56.46.

⁵⁹⁰ Dio, 56.47.

⁵⁹¹ Dio, 56.46.

⁵⁹² Dio, 56.46.

⁵⁹³ Dio, 56.46.

⁵⁹⁴ Dio, 56.46.

corridors have attracted scholarly attention.⁵⁹⁵ Archaeological evidence is not clear on whether they were the first examples or whether there were Roman predecessors.⁵⁹⁶ Even though their origins are debated they are generally thought to have served ritualistic purposes, namely circumambulation (*decursio*).⁵⁹⁷ The Greco-Roman world provides examples of the practice.⁵⁹⁸ The pyre of Augustus was also circumambulated as mentioned above.

The political aspect of the issue of deification has been briefly addressed earlier, so it has been noted that the theological aspect was intricate, left out of the discussion. What is going to be pointed out here is that deification meant, foremost, veneration and commemoration. The rituals and festivals inscribed into the Roman calendar, both in Rome and the provinces, guaranteed the posthumous remembrance of Augustus, and made it part of the temporal experience of the lives of the people. As such a connection between the departed *Princeps* and the living citizens was maintained. Deification was an honor of the highest kind, an elevation of status above all others, ideally at least, to be received for one's extraordinary accomplishments. And that was Augustus's proclamation in his Mausoleum and the *Res Gestae*. Accounts such as those of Dio and Tacitus, recording the criticisms, testify to the complexities of reality. Yet the Mausoleum and the *Res Gestae* present Augustus the way he wanted to be remembered. The permanence of the words

⁵⁹⁵ For discussions with further references See Reeder, "Typology and Ideology," 265-307, and Schwarz, *Tumulat Italia Tellus*, 37-9.

⁵⁹⁶ Schwarz, (*Tumulat Italia Tellus*, 37-9). Schwarz notes that similar corridors appeared a decade later in other tombs of the genre. However there are examples that cannot be dated firmly, though temporally close to Augustus' Mausoleum. Cf. Reeder, "Typology and Ideology". Reeder, who looked for models for the Mausoleum of Augustus in Greece, and taking the corridors as first examples of their kind in Roman architecture, has linked the circular corridors to the Sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, which had a subterranean circular labyrinth. She also stresses that the Asclepius at Epidaurus was a hero cult center, and argues that the Mausoleum of Augustus was also conceived as a ruler cult sanctuary.

⁵⁹⁷ See Reeder, *ibid.*, 265-307; Reeder provides earlier references. For references see also Schwarz, *ibid.*, 37.

⁵⁹⁸ There is literary evidence. See Reeder, *ibid.*, 296-7; Schwarz, *ibid.*, 37.

inscribed in bronze, and the architecture in stone, were meant to perpetuate his memory, overcoming the oblivion of death. They all spoke of the greatness of Augustus. After all it was the remembrance of the accomplishments of one that brought true immortality. Polybios writes:

Accordingly, because the reputation for virtue of good men is continuously being renewed, the glory of those who performed something noble becomes immortal, while the repute of those who performed services for the fatherland becomes well known to many and is transmitted to posterity.⁵⁹⁹



⁵⁹⁹ Polybios (6.54.3). Quoted by Pollini, *Republic to Empire*, 19.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The first Roman Emperor was born on the 23rd of September, 63 BCE, in Rome. Upon birth, he was given the name 'Gaius Octavius' after his father. When adopted by his great uncle Julius Caesar in 44 BCE, he acquired the name 'Julius Caesar' and became 'Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus'. Following the deification of his adoptive father in 42 BCE, he added 'Divi Filius' to his name, becoming 'Gaius Julius Caesar Divi Filius'. In 38 BCE he replaced his *praenomen* Gaius and *nomen* Julius with *Imperator*, officially changing his name to 'Imperator Caesar Divi Filius'. In 27 BCE, the Senate honored him with the title of 'Augustus', and from there after he was 'Imperator Caesar Divi Filius Augustus' until his death. And finally upon his death he turned into 'Divus Augustus', to be remembered and venerated by generations to come.

The story of Augustus' metamorphosis is, at the same time, the story of the transformation of the Roman state into an Empire. As was the story of the Romans linked to the story of Augustus, the story of the Mausoleum was linked to both. This thesis has presented a reading of the Mausoleum of Augustus, as a symbolically laden monument, within the context of the parallel transformations of Augustus and the Roman state.

Reading a Roman monument from the 21th century presents difficulties. And not just for the lost evidence, but more than that because of the difficulties of penetrating the Roman mind. Meaning is culturally bound. The premise at the onset was that a monument's spatial and temporal references may expand beyond the physical and immediate, creating its own virtual space and time. In the world of the Romans, the boundary between the physical and the virtual was elusive and permeable. In Rome, the city of the living and the dead were separated by an invisible boundary. The *pomerium* was not tangible, yet was real as any. It was

determined by ritual action, consulting the gods. Gods drew an invisible line around the city, and the citizens regarded it with seriousness. Even though the citizens of Rome kept their dead out of the *pomerium*, their memories were kept alive. The city of the living was encircled by the memorials of the dead. The dead were absent from the sphere of the living, but were made present in the urban topography of the city.

Long before his death, Augustus' commemorative tomb took an imposing place in the cityscape of Rome. As Octavius came back from Egypt in 29 BCE, pretty much alive in contrast to his rival Antonius, and Antonius' ally Cleopatra, paradoxically built a tomb for himself as one of his first undertakings in Rome. He was young, and the future must have looked bright considering his enormous success. One of the primary messages of the monument at this initial stage was not intrinsic to its physical form and features, but to the very act itself. Its meaning was to be understood within the historical context, namely the Actium. It was an answer to Antonius who wished to be buried in Alexandria, and now indeed was. The tomb of Augustus in Rome, was referencing the burial of Antonius across the Mediterranean in Alexandria. The audience though obviously was not Antonius anymore, but the citizens of Rome, who for a long time had felt the thread of destruction coming from the East, with the alliance from within. Octavius had returned, having made Egypt a Roman province, and having ended the long lasting civil war. He had saved Rome. The Mausoleum commemorated Augustus' great achievements, foremost military. The timing of construction, the typology and location of his tomb connoted triumphal messages. The Mausoleum was prospective, as much as it was retrospective. The commemoration of Augustus' achievements of the recent past, was a justification of his rule for the future.

The typology of the Mausoleum acknowledged the authority of tradition. Past had authority. Being Roman meant to do things the way the ancestors did. In contrast to Antonius, Augustus built his tomb in Rome, and in a Roman way. Yet Augustus' position was unprecedented. The Roman past did not provide a suitable model. Augustus' Mausoleum, drawing on tradition, presented novelty, in terms of its size and elaboration, matching the extraordinary position of Augustus. Perhaps the most universal and timeless message of the tomb was its size. Augustus' greatness was

reflected in the size of his tomb. Even when looked from today at the Roman funerary topography, the grand scale of the Mausoleum points to a shift in the power structure of the time. Reflecting Augustus' outstanding position unmistakably, the size of the Mausoleum remained unrivaled until the construction of a second imperial Mausoleum. The Mausoleum of Augustus set the model for the future imperial funerary architecture.

The meaning of the Mausoleum was not fixed for all times at its conception. As it continued to exist alongside Augustus, its meaning evolved and expanded. Even though Augustus always stressed the continuation of the Republican values and political practices, the formulation of 'Principate' rested upon his central position in the political, social, and religious life of the Romans. His central position, and his monopolization of power tied the future of the Roman people to the future generations of Augustus' family. Hence the lives and deaths of the family members of the *Princeps* became public matters. The burials preceding that of Augustus, turned the Mausoleum and its close environs into a commemorative space of the *Princeps* family. While the family members became memorialized on the exterior and in the vicinity of the Mausoleum by means of statues, inscriptions and altars, ceremonials and rituals united the Roman citizens, both in Rome and the provinces, in mourning and remembrance around Augustus and his family. Augustus had built his tomb as a *privatus*. It was not the aspirations of the Roman public, but his own that gave birth, and form to the Mausoleum. Yet the line between the private and the public was slim in the Roman world. The achievements of citizens were celebrated publicly, in gratitude, and as encouraging models for the future generations. The Mausoleum, though a private monument in essence, was meant to communicate with the public. As Augustus family members became more and more public figures, the Mausoleum itself turned more and more into a public monument. The surrounding funerary garden, invited the citizens of Rome to contemplate the monument.

The Roman world was in contact with a wider geography, including Egypt, for a long time. The encounter with the larger geography brought about reciprocal

cultural assimilations and appropriations. Literature on Roman art and architecture has become more and more acknowledging and addressing the cultural fluidities that gave shape to Roman creations, breaking the assumption of a self contained Roman world. Yet the expansion of the Roman domain that reached a peak during Augustan time, brought a new dimension to the encounter with other geographies. It was not just simply the 'other' anymore, but the 'other' was now part of the Roman 'self'. The definition of the 'self' is dependent on the definition of the 'other'. The spatial expansion of the Roman world, encompassing the 'other', necessitated and catalyzed a new self-definition of the Romans.

The self-definition and thereof the self-expression of Augustus in the years of the construction of the Mausoleum, was mainly determined by the Late Republican atmosphere of fierce competition of the Roman aristocrats seeking power. Augustus having come out of the long lasting power struggle as the victor, in his Mausoleum, expressed his superiority that he had formulated at the the end of his *Res Gestae* as having excelled all others in *auctoritas*.⁶⁰⁰ Approximately one and a half decades later, the erection of the Altar of Augustan Peace and the Gnomon-Obelisk in its vicinity, expanded the physical and conceptual space of the Mausoleum. The Gnomon-Obelisk erected at the intersection of the axial lines of the *Ara Pacis* and the Mausoleum linked the three monuments, visually and conceptually. Now the Mausoleum was not standing alone on the northern tip of *Campus Martius* but had become part of a monumental complex extending towards south. While its physical space in the city expanded, so did the meaning of the Mausoleum, becoming part of a broader narrative.

Augustus had built his Mausoleum as a triumphator, right after he had celebrated his triple triumph of Dalmatia, Actium and Egypt. The Mausoleum, at this initial stage, was about the *imperium* of Augustus. The monumental complex however, was about *imperium romanum*. The *imperium* of Augustus now meant the *imperium* of all Romans. The geographical references of the monumental complex stretched from Egypt in the east, to Spain and Gaul in the west. This was the area on

⁶⁰⁰ *Res Gestae*, 34.3.

which the Romans exercised their power. This was the area of *imperium romanum*. And it was the geography of *Pax Romana*, as implied by the *Ara Pacis*.

Prior to the erection of the obelisks the presence of Egypt was not made manifest blatantly in visual terms. The reference given to the conquest of Egypt was rather contextual that must have been easily understood by the contemporaries of Actium. As stated earlier, the obelisks flanking the entrance of the Mausoleum most probably were brought to Rome at the same time with the Gnomon-Obelisk. The erection of these three obelisks, approximately fifteen years after the beginning of the construction of the Mausoleum, made Egypt present in Rome conspicuously. In addition a more subtle reference was given in the architecture of the *Ara Pacis*, and in the whole assemblage of the monumental complex.

Egyptian imagery had infiltrated the Roman world already in various forms and meanings. Yet here, the presence of Egypt gained a new meaning, that of predominantly imperial. Together with the Greek and Hellenistic elements incorporated, the monumental complex in *Campus Martius* displayed a case of ‘imperial collection’. Now dominating a vast geography, Rome had the power of bringing in the science, expertise, materials, and ideas of other lands, peoples, and cultures. They had become the property of Rome. The obelisks were removed physically from another land, and re-erected in Rome. The science and expertise of Heliopolis was put into the service of Rome. Visual and symbolic ideas were taken from Hellenistic East and Egypt, giving form and meaning to one of the most admired jewels of Roman art and architecture, the *Ara Pacis*. Yet, none of the physical objects or ideas were left or used in their original state or meaning. They were appropriated to serve new functions and meanings, within the new political, cultural, and physical context of Rome. The process of appropriation, on the other hand, didn’t mean a total break with original meanings and functions, but rather a distortion and adaptation. A certain continuation was maintained. In some ways this can be seen as the incorporation of other cultures into that of the Romans. Yet at the end they were all Romanized in the monumental complex of *Campus Martius*. As were the spatial references of the monumental complex broad, so were the temporal. The proposed models for the *Ara Pacis* were not of the contemporary Hellenistic or

Egyptian worlds, but of their classical pasts. And so were the Pharaonic obelisks themselves. Rome was dominating, in space and time, a vast and deep world. And the cosmic space and time, visualized by the various repeating solar alignments, were in harmony with that of the Roman's. This was the new self-definition of Rome, now an Empire.

The transformation of the Republic to the Empire was a process that became to be understood in retrospect. Augustus and his contemporaries did not have a template in their hands. Their creations, as much as drawing on Roman models of the past, looked for inspirations and solutions in a vast geography and deep time. The result was the creation of a novel art and architecture that answered the needs of the new conditions. As much as the Mausoleum itself was a combination of tradition and novelty, so was the monumental complex in northern *Campus Martius*. In contrast to the scattered commemorative structures of the individuals of the Late Republic in the city, in northern *Campus Martius* a vast area was reserved to the commemoration of Augustus, his family, and his collaborator. The Mausoleum of Augustus dominated the monumental complex, competing at the same time with the largest structures of the city. While the Roman world was geographically expanding, it was becoming more and more centered around Augustus and Rome. An Augustan narrative became created step by step leaving its imprint in the whole city. The monumental complex of northern *Campus Martius*, starting with the construction of the Mausoleum, demonstrated the formation and evolution of the Augustan narrative.

With death, Augustus' physical presence in Rome ended. His body was reduced into ash and bone by ritual action, and his soul was released to the heavens. Augustus had already during his lifetime occupied almost a space between that of the humans and the gods. As early as 42 BCE, he had become the son of a god attaining the unprecedented title of *Divi Filius*. The later title Augustus similarly alluded to god like attributes. The *quadriga* statue crowning the high rising mound of the Mausoleum, depicted Augustus about to leave the earth. Now having received the mortal remains of Augustus, the Mausoleum was meant to keep the memory of Augustus alive in the cityscape of Rome.

The question of audience, on the other hand, remains open. Unfortunately, except that of Strabo's minimal account, there is no information available on the reception of the Mausoleum by the Roman public of any period. The above study reveals that, both as a single edifice and as part of a broader context, the Mausoleum was a monument of complex symbolism, that presented the possibility of various multi-layered readings. The meaning of a monument is reconstructed by its audience. The audience of the Mausoleum didn't change only at different periods, but was not heterogeneous at any given time either. The perception and interpretation of the various implications of the Mausoleum must have differed in relation to the background of the audience. Hence, it can be assumed that all of the above suggested meanings of the Mausoleum may not have been explicit for the whole Roman public of any time, and its reception may have varied accordingly.

With the end of the Roman times, the discussion of this thesis reaches its limits. However, by means of further research, it has the potential to be expanded into the afterlife of the Mausoleum.⁶⁰¹ Such an expansion would be fruitful to explore how the meanings and functions of the Mausoleum transformed in relation to its changing context and audience within time.

Today, the Mausoleum, reduced to ruins, exists within a new physical and cultural context of modern Rome. In a city layer upon layer, it emerges from below, as the material evidence of a lost past. Its basic significance lies in its 'historical' value.⁶⁰² And not just because of the scarcity of evidence that has survived, but because of its capacity to represent the past. Right at this point, the Mausoleum's commemorative function is re-evoked and its claim of immortality becomes proven. Yet the monument needs a translator for its modern audience. The above reading of the Roman monument, has been an attempt made from the 21st century.

⁶⁰¹ Brangers (*Mausoleum of Augustus*, 83-134) provides a discussion on the afterlife of the Mausoleum.

⁶⁰² See Riegl, "Modern Cult of Monuments" on the concepts of 'historical value' and 'historical monument'.

This thesis has focused on a single Roman monument of a mighty man. It was basically an exploration of how the monument functioned. As such, its subject was a physical object. Yet, at the end, it was all about the presence of what was physically not present.



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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

İlk Roma İmparatoru Augustus, M.Ö. 19 Ağustos 14'de Napoli yakınlarındaki Nola'da öldüğünde, bedeni Roma'ya getirilmiş, büyük bir cenaze töreniyle yakılarak, külleri yönetiminin ilk yıllarında *Campus Martius*'ta inşa etmiş olduğu Mozole'sine yerleştirilmiştir. Augustus dönemi, Roma'nın Cumhuriyet'ten İmparatorluk'a geçiş sürecini yansıtır. Yönetiminin başlarında, henüz genç bir yaşta inşa etmiş olduğu Mozole Cumhuriyet'ten İmparatorluk'a geçiş sürecine tanıklık etmiştir. İlk Roma İmparatoru Augustus'u doğrudan yansıtmaya kapasitesine sahip bir anıt olması bakımından Mozole her zaman araştırmacıların ilgi kaynağı olmuştur. Bu tez, Augustus'un Mozolesi'ne odaklanmıştır. Bu çalışmada Mozole zengin sembolik anlam ve işlevler taşıyan bir Roma anıtı olarak incelenmiştir.

Cumhuriyet'ten İmparatorluk'a geçiş döneminde inşa edilmiş olan Mozole'nin sembolik anlam ve işlevleri zaman içinde dönüşmüş ve genişlemiştir. Tez, Mozole'nin sembolik anlam ve işlevlerinin oluşumu, dönüşümü ve genişlemesini Augustus döneminde, Roma Cumhuriyeti'nin İmparatorluk'a dönüşüm sürecine paralel olarak inceler ve ortaya serer.

Tezin 'Giriş' (1. Bölüm) ve 'Sonuçlar' (6. Bölüm) bölümleri haricindeki ana tartışmasını oluşturan dört bölüm, iki kısma ayrılmıştır. Birinci kısım, 2. Bölüm'e karşılık gelmektedir. Bu bölümde, daha sonraki 'anlam' tartışmalarına temel oluşturması amacıyla, Mozole hakkındaki olgusal bilgiler sunulmuştur. İkinci kısım ise 3., 4., ve 5. Bölümlere karşılık gelmektedir. Bu kısımdaki tartışma Mozole'nin sembolik anlam ve işlevlerine odaklanmıştır. Mozolenin sembolik anlam ve işlevlerinin dönüşümü üç tematik başlık altında incelenmiştir. Bu tematik yapılanma aynı zamanda genel bir kronolojik düzenlemeye karşılık gelmektedir.

3. Bölüm, Mozole'nin ilk inşa edildiği döneme odaklanmıştır. Bu dönem Augustus'un tek başına iktidar gücünü elde etme sürecine karşılık gelmektedir.

Augustus bunu, *Res Gestae*'nin sonunda herkesten fazla “*auctoritas*” sahibi olmak biçiminde tanımlamıştır. Bu bölümde Mozole'nin sembolik anlam ve işlevleri ‘*auctoritas*’ kavramı paralelinde incelenmiştir.

4. Bölüm, Augustus'un politik gücünü konsolide ettiği döneme denk gelmektedir. Artık Cumhuriyet bir İmparatorluk'a dönüşmektedir. Bu dönüşümün paralelinde Augustus'un kişisel Anıt Mezarı da bir İmparatorluk anıtına evrilir. İmparatorluk kavramı ‘*Imperium Romanum*’ başlığı altında ifade edilerek, bu paralelde Mozole'nin anlamsal ve işlevsel değişim süreci ele alınmıştır.

5. Bölüm, kronolojik olarak Augustus'un yaşamının sona erdiği döneme odaklanmıştır. Burada Mozole, ‘*Deificatio*’ başlığı altında, Augustus'un ölümü ve tanrılaştırılması bağlamında incelenmiştir.

Günümüz Roma'sında Mozole'nin kalıntıları, Mussolini'nin faşist idaresi döneminde inşa edilmiş olan Augusto Imperatore Meydanı'nın merkezinde yer almaktadır. Roma Dönemi'nin sona ermesiyle beraber, 5. yüzyılda Gotların yağmalamasıyla Mozole'nin tahribatı başlamış, izleyen yüzyıllarda ilgisizlik ve yeniden işlevlendirmelerle bu tahribat devam etmiştir. Bugün Augusto Imperatore Meydanı'ndaki, günümüz yol kotundan yaklaşık altı metre aşağıda, ağaç ve bitkilerle kaplanmış, iç içe geçmiş iki büyük ve hantal silindir görünümündeki kalıntılar, Mozole'nin eski ihtişamı hakkında fazla bir ipucu vermemektedir. Oysa Mozole Augustus döneminde Roma'yı ziyaret etmiş olan Yunanlı tarihçi ve coğrafyacı Strabo'nun tarifine göre *Campus Martius*'taki en dikkat çekici yapıdır. Strabo, dünyanın yedi harikasından biri olan Karya Satrabı Mausolos'un anıt mezarına atıfla Mozole olarak adlandırdığı yapıyı, beyaz mermerden yüksek bir altyapı üzerinde, bitkilerle örtülmüş bir tümülüs olarak tanımlar ve anıtın tepesinde Augustus'un bir heykelinin yer aldığını belirtir. Ne yazık ki Strabo'nun bu kısa tarifi dışında Mozole'nin antik dönemdeki özgün görünümüne dair başkaca yazılı veya görsel bir kaynak günümüze ulaşmamıştır.

Mozole Rönesans'tan itibaren araştırmacıların ilgi kaynağı olmuş, özgün görünümüne dair günümüze kadar çeşitli öneriler sunulmuştur. Mozole'nin özgün görünümüne dair geliştirilen önerilerin sonuncusu Henner von Hesberg'e aittir. Hesberg'in 1994'te yayımladığı çalışması, arkeolojik kalıntılar ile eski kaynak ve

önceki önerilerin detaylı incelenmesi sonucunda geliştirilen rekonstrüksiyonu sunar. Bu tezdeki tartışma Hesberg'in önerisi üzerine temellenmiştir. Mozole özgün durumunda yaklaşık 90 metre çapında dairesel bir plana sahipti. Yüksekliği ise yaklaşık 45 metre olarak tahmin edilmektedir. Kalıntılar anıtın planına dair yeterli bilgi vermekle beraber, üst bölümlerin yıkılmış olması nedeniyle yapının kesiti ve görünüşü hakkında kesin bir bilgi sahibi olmak mümkün değildir. Hesberg'in önerisi, öncekiler gibi, üst yapı hakkında kısmi olarak varsayımda bulunmaktadır. Mozole'nin planı eş merkezli beş dairesel duvardan oluşmaktadır. Bu duvarlardan dıştan ilk üçü radyal duvarlarla küçük bölümlere ayrılmıştır. Bu bölümlerin girişi yoktur. En dıştaki dizi toprak dolgu ile doludur. Dıştan '3' ile '4' ve '4' ile '5' numaralı duvarlar arasında ise dairesel koridorlar vardır. İçteki koridor, bir merkez çekirdeği sarmalar. Bu çekirdek içindeki küçük mekan büyük olasılıkla Augustus'un küllerinin muhafaza edildiği odadır. Dıştan '4' nolu duvar yükselerek, dış cephede algılanabilen ikinci bir silindir oluşturur. Çekirdek ise tahminen 45 metreye kadar yükselmekte ve Augustus'un heykelini taşımaktaydı. Pollini heykelin bir *quadriga* olduğunu önermiştir. Yapının üzerini kaplayan tümülüsün Strabo'nun sözünü ettiği bitki örtüsü hakkında elimizde bir bilgi yoktur. Hesberg ve Pollini Augustus'la ilgili sembolik anlamları nedeniyle defne ve meşenin kullanılmış olabileceğini düşünmektedirler. Kaynaklardan öğrendiğimize göre, yapının girişinin iki yanında Mısır'dan getirilmiş iki obelisk yer almaktaydı. Augustus'un ölümünü takiben ise, vasiyeti üzerine, *Res Gestae* yazıtı bronz üzerine işlenerek iki sütun üzerinde yine giriş bölgesine yerleştirilmişti.

Augustus doğduğunda, Roma Cumhuriyeti süregiden iç savaşlar nedeniyle sarsıntı ve karmaşa içindeydi. Augustus, büyük amcası Jül Sezar'ın öldürülmesi üzerine M.Ö. 44'de Sezar'ın varisi olarak henüz 19 yaşındayken politika sahnesine atıldı. O zamanki adıyla genç Oktavius, Sezar'dan miras aldığı isim, parasal kaynaklar ve ordu ile kısa zamanda güç kazanmaya başladı. Henüz 20 yaşında Senato'yu ordusuyla tehdit ederek elde ettiği konsüllüğü takiben, Marcus Antonius ve Marcus Aemilius Lepidus'la beraber Roma Cumhuriyeti'nin üçlü yönetiminde yer aldı. Ancak üçlü yönetimin paydaşlarının işbirliği uzun sürmedi. Aralarındaki politik güç rekabeti M.Ö. 31'de Actium'da Markus Antonius ve

Kleopatra'yı yenmesi üzerine Augustus'un zaferiyle sonuçlandı. Augustus M.Ö. 29'da Roma'ya, rakiplerini yenmiş, Roma'yı uzun zamandan beri tehdit eden iç savaşa son vermiş ve Akdeniz'in en zengin ve köklü ülkesi Mısır'ı bir Roma eyaleti haline getirmiş olarak döndü.

Mozole'nin kesin inşa tarihi bilinmemekle beraber, tezde Augustus'un Actium'daki zaferi ardından Roma'ya dönüşünde inşa edildiği görüşü ağırlıklı olarak kabul edilmiştir. Actium öncesi Markus Antonius'la Augustus arasında yürütülen sert propaganda savaşı sırasında Augustus, Markus Antonius'un vasiyetini ele geçirerek Senato'da okumuştur. Vasiyette Kleopatra'nın çocuklarına büyük kaynaklar aktarıldığı gibi Markus Antonius İskenderiye'de gömülme isteğini dile getirmekteydi. Bu, bir süredir dolaşan başkentin Roma'dan İskenderiye'ye taşınacağı söylentilerini körüklemiş ve Roma'da büyük tepkiyle karşılanmıştı. Actium yıllarında Markus Antonius, Romalılığını kaybetmiş, yabancı etkiler altında bir figür, Augustus ise Roma'ya bağlı gerçek bir Romalı olarak, iki karşıt pozisyonda konuşturulmuşlardı. Konrad Kraft, Mozole'nin Actium öncesi, Markus Antonius'un vasiyetine cevap olarak inşa edildiğini ileri sürmüştü. Bu tezde kabul edilen Actium sonrası tarih, Kraft'ın önerdiği anlamı kaybettirmez. Augustus, zaferini takiben, Roma'da inşa ettiği mezarıyla Roma'ya olan sadakatini gözler önüne sermiştir. Mozole'nin bu anlamı tarihsel bağlamı içinde dönemin Roma vatandaşları için açık bir mesaj olsa gerektir.

Mozole'nin mimari öncülleri üzerine yürütülen tartışmalar literatürde önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Bu tartışmalarda Mozole için İskenderiye'deki anıtsal Deniz Feneri'nden, Büyük İskender'in mezarına, Anadolu'daki Truva tümülüslerinden Halikarnas Mozolesi'ne kadar çeşitli mimari model ve ilham kaynakları önerilmiştir. Bu tartışmalar, Mozole ile önemli benzerlikler sergileyen İtalya'daki dairesel planlı tümülüs mezar yapılarının, Augustus'un anıtından sonra inşa edilmeye başladığı görüşü üzerine temellenmiştir. Oysa Martina Schwarz'ın 2002'de söz konusu anıt mezarlar üzerine yayımladığı katalog çalışması bu kronolojik varsayımı değiştirmektedir. Schwarz'ın çalışması bu anıt mezarların Augustus'un Mozolesi öncesinde inşa edilmeye başladığını göstermiştir. Bu durumda Augustus, Roma seçkinlerinin kullana geldiği geleneksel bir anıt mezar tipolojisini tercih etmiş

olmaktadır. Augustus'un politik, sosyal, kültürel ve dinsel hayattaki bilinen gelenekçi tutumuyla özdeşleşen bir tavidir bu. Öte yandan, Augustus'un elde ettiği yeni pozisyon, yeni bir ölçek ve detayları beraberinde getirmiştir. Augustus'un Mozolesi, örneklerinden çeşitli detayları ve büyüklüğüyle göze çarpan biçimde ayrılır. Mozole gelenekten temel alan yenilikçi bir anıttır. Mozole, gücün eşit dağıtıldığı Cumhuriyet sisteminden, tek elde toplandığı İmparatorluk sistemine geçiş sürecini dönemin Roma'daki anıt mezarlar dünyasında görselleştirir. Augustus, gerçek bir Roma'lı olarak mezarını Roma'da ve geleneksel bir formda inşa etmiş, ancak herkesi aşan gücünü gözler önüne sermiştir. Augustus'un Roma'nın kurtarıcısı olarak pozisyonu özeldir. O, Roma'nın kurucusu Romulus'la ve büyük fatih İskender'le kıyaslanmakta ve özdeşleştirilmektedir.

Öte yandan tezde Geç Cumhuriyet ve Erken İmparatorluk dönemi dairesel planlı tümülüs anıt mezarlarının askeri çağrışımlar taşıdığı öne sürülmüştür. Mozole'nin inşa edildiği *Campus Martius*, savaş tanrısı Mars'a adanmış bir alandır. Roma'nın kutsal sınırları dışındaki bu alan *pomerium*'un içinde izin verilmeyen askeri faaliyetler için kullanılmaktadır. *Campus Martius*, askeri faaliyetlerin dışında, barındırdığı çeşitli politik, dinsel, ve rekreatif işlevleriyle de Roma'nın önemli bir bölgesidir. Augustus'un kendisini özdeşleştirdiği Romulus'un tanrılar katına yükselme mitinin gerçekleştiğine inanılan alan da buradadır. Tezde *Campus Martius*'ta gömülmenin Senato'nun kararıyla bağışlanan bir onur olduğu örnekleriyle tartışılmıştır. Augustus, Mozolesi'ni *Campus Martius*'un kuzey ucunda, büyük olasılıkla kendisine ait bir arazi üzerinde Senato kararına gerek duymadan, Tiber nehri ile *Flaminia* yolunun birbirlerine çok yaklaştığı bir noktada inşa etmiştir. Kente kuzey yaklaşımına hakim, görünürlük ve ulaşılabilirlik bakımlarından avantajlı bu konum, aynı zamanda *Campus Martius*'un sağladığı prestij ve çağrışımlardan yararlanma olanağı sunmaktadır. Bunlar arasında, özellikle tipolojisi, lokasyonu ve Actium zaferinin oluşturduğu tarihsel bağlam göz önünde bulundurularak Mozole'nin muzaffer bir generalin zafer anıtı olarak *Campus Martius*'ta yükseldiği öne sürülmüştür. Anıt mezar bu aşamada ölümden ziyade gelecekle ilgilidir. Augustus'un politik gücünü konsolide etmeye çalıştığı bu dönemde, Mozole başta askeri olmak üzere Augustus'un Roma'ya hizmet ettiği başarılarını simgeleştirmek

yoluyla gücünü ortaya koymakta, başka bir deyişle ‘*auctoritas*’ını anıtlıştırmaktadır. Augustus’un ‘*auctoritas*’ı, onun Roma’yı gelecekte yönetmeye devam etmesinin meşru zeminini oluşturur.

Augustus’un Mozolesi’nin sembolik anlam ve işlevleri inşa edildiği bu ilk dönemden sonra evrilerek zenginleşmeye ve genişlemeye devam etmiştir. Augustus’un Actium’da elde ettiği *de facto* pozisyon, yasal düzenlemelerle desteklenmiştir. Özellikle M.Ö. 27 ve 23’de Cumhuriyet döneminde benzeri olmayan düzenlemelerle Augustus bütün politik gücü elinde toplamıştır. Augustus döneminde Roma idaresinin kapsadığı topraklar dönemin doruk noktasına ulaşmıştır. Bu coğrafi genişleme paralelinde, Roma ve Augustus merkezinde yeni bir dünya ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır. Gücün odaklandığı Augustus devletle özdeşir artık. Onun *imperium*’u Roma’nın *imperium*’udur. Roma’nın imparatorluğa evrildiği bu dönemde Mozole de bir imparatorluk anıtına evrilir.

Augustus’un eşsiz konumu ailesinin konumunu da özelleştirmiştir. Augustus’tan önce yaşamı sona eren aile bireyleri Mozole’de yer bulmuş, Mozole’nin cephesi ve yakın çevresi, aile bireylerini anan heykel, yazıt ve sunaklarla donanmıştır. Ayrıca aile bireyleri Senato kararıyla ritüel ve törenlerle de anılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu törenlerin bir kısmı Mozole’de gerçekleşmektedir. Mozole’nin çevresinde bir park olduğu yazılı kaynaklardan bilinmektedir. Mezar yapıları çevresinde bir bahçe oluşturmak Roma’da alışılmış bir uygulamaydı. Ancak Augustus’un Mozolesi’ni çevreleyen parkın, Roma halkının kullanımına açık bir alan olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu süreç içinde Mozole kamusal bir anıta dönüşmektedir. Roma halkı Augustus’un ailesinin bu merkezi konumunu takvimde işaretlenmiş anma törenleriyle zamansal olarak deneyimlerken, kent içindeki anıt mezar da fiziksel varlığıyla bunu simgelemektedir. Yaşamı süresince açıkça bir varis belirlemekten kaçınan Augustus’un ölümü üzerine belirsizlik sona erer. Augustus, eşi Livia’nın önceki evliliğinden olan oğlu Tiberius’u varis olarak belirlemiştir. Tiberius ve izleyen imparatorlar ile onların aile üyelerinin Mozole’ye gömülmesi ile Mozole bir hanedan mezarına dönüşür. Augustus’un Mozolesi’nin dolması üzerine Hadrianus yeni bir Mozole inşa ederken, bir imparatorluk anıt mezarının nasıl olması gerektiği cevabını Augustus’un örneğinde bulur.

Mozole'nin inşaatının başlamasından yaklaşık on beş yıl sonra yakınına inşa edilen *Ara Pacis* anıtı ile Mısır'dan getirilip dikilen büyük Obelisk ile *Campus Martius*'un bu kuzey bölgesinde bir anıt kompleksi ortaya çıkar. Obelisk, *Ara Pacis* ile Mozole'nin merkez akslarının kesişiminde konumlandırılarak bu üç anıt arasında bir mekansal geometrik ilişki kurulmuştur. Yazılı kaynaklar ile arkeolojik verilerin ortaya koyduğu üzere, Obelisk'e aynı zamanda zaman ölçme işlevi yüklenmiştir. Ayrıca, bu üç anıt arasında güneş ve gölge hizalanmalarıyla bir ilişki kurulduğu düşünülmektedir. Bu üç anıt Augustus'a odaklanan yeni bir simgesel kurgu ortaya koymuştur.

Ara Pacis'in yapımına MÖ 13'de, Augustus'un Galya ve Hispania'dan Roma'ya zaferle dönüşünün anısına Senato tarafından karar verilmiş, MÖ 9'da da anıt kutsanmıştır. *Ara Pacis*, Augustus'un Batı eyaletlerinden zaferle dönüşü anısına inşa edilmiş olmakla beraber, burada tema barıştır. Ancak Roma dünyasında barış ya da *pax*, Roma'nın başka halklar ve topraklar üzerinde hakimiyet kurması anlamını taşımaktadır. Bu anlamıyla barış ancak savaş ve zafer yoluyla elde edilebilir. Mozole zafer temasını vurgularken, Mısır'dan bir ganimet olarak Roma'ya getirilmiş olan Obelisk de Mısır'ın fethini simgeler. *Ara Pacis*'in vurguladığı *pax*, Mozole ve Obelisk ile simgelenmiş olan zafer yoluyla elde edilmiştir.

Bugün Roma kent dokusunun kanıksanan birer elemanı haline gelmiş olan obeliskleri Roma'ya ilk getiren Augustus'tur. Obelisklerin Roma'ya getirilmesi, fiziksel zorlukları göz önüne alındığında başlı başına bir güç gösterisidir. Ancak daha da önemlisi, obeliskler Mısır'da firavunun gücünü simgelerler. Mısır'ın güç sembollerinin bu yer değişimi, güç merkezinin yer değişimini gözler önüne serer. Roma merkezli bu yeni dünyada Mısır Roma'nın hakimiyetindedir. Obeliskler aynı zamanda Mısır'da güneş tanrısına adanmışlardır. Roma'daki yeni konumunda büyük Obelisk'e verilen işlevler bu çağrışımı muhafaza eder. Obelisk'in kaidesindeki Latince yazıtta da Augustus'un bu anıtı güneş tanrısına adadığı ifade edilmiştir. Güneş tanrısı Sol aynı zamanda tanrı Apollo ile ilişkilendirilmiştir. Apollo, Augustus'a Actium zaferini kazanmasında yardım etmiş, Augustus, bir yıldırım düşmesi sonucu tahrip olan Palatin tepesindeki konutunun bir bölümünde Apollo'ya adanmış bir tapınak inşa etmiştir. Konutu ile tapınak arasındaki bu yakın bağlantının

Roma'da daha önce bir örneği görülmemiştir. *Res Gestae*'den öğrendiğimize göre, Augustus'un evinin girişi, Roma'ya hizmetlerinin onuruna Senato kararıyla defne dallarıyla süslenmişti. Defne, hem zaferi hem de Apollo'yu simgeleyen bir bitkiydi. Mozole'nin günümüze ulaşabilmiş az sayıdaki süslemeleri arasında defne dalı kabartmaları işlenmiş bir mermer parçası dikkat çeker. Mozole'nin süslemeleri arasında yer almış olduğu anlaşılan bu defne kabartmaları, Augustus'un evinin girişini süsleyen defne bitkisine gönderme yaptığı gibi, Apollo'yu da çağrıştırmış olsa gerektir. Apollo ile bu yakın ilişki, kuzey *Campus Martius*'ta oluşturulan anıtsal kompleksin merkezinde yer alan Obelisk ile bir kez daha vurgulanmıştır. Augustus, tanrıların yardımıyla Roma'ya barış getirmiştir ve yine tanrıların yardımıyla Roma'yı yönetmektedir. Tanrılar tarafından seçilmiş olması edindiği benzersiz politik gücünü meşrulaştırdığı gibi, Roma'ya da parlak bir gelecek vaadi sunar. Nitekim *Ara Pacis*, Augustus'un getirdiği Roma barışı ile başlayan Altın Çağ'ı simgeler.

Augustus Mozole'yi, muzaffer bir general olarak başarılarını ve gücünü simgelemek üzere inşa etmişti. Mozole'nin inşasından yaklaşık on beş yıl sonra ise, oluşturulan bu anıt kompleksinde vurgu Roma dünyasına getirilen barış üzerindedir. Augustus artık bir general değil, devlet adamıdır. Ve Augustus'un askeri gücü Roma'nın askeri gücüyle özdeşleşmiştir. Anıt kompleksinin doğuda Mısır, batıda Galya ve Hispani'ya verdiği coğrafi referanslar, Roma dünyasının genişleyen sınırlarını belirler.

Roma'ya yabancı unsurlar olan obelisklerin Mısır'la ilişkisi açıktır. Öte yandan son yıllarda Vittozzi ve Trimble gibi araştırmacıların çalışmaları *Ara Pacis* sunağının da Mısır'la güçlü bir ilişkisi olabileceğini göstermektedir. Benzersiz bir anıt olan *Ara Pacis*, Yunan ve Hellenistik örneklerle daha önce ilişkilendirilmişti. Vittozzi ve Trimble'in çalışmaları mimari tasarım ve süslemeleri bakımından *Ara Pacis*'e model olabilecek Mısır'dan örnekler sunmuştur. Bu çalışmalar ışığında *Ara Pacis*, tek bir modelin kopyası değil, farklı coğrafyalar, kültürler ve dönemlerden beslenmiş özgün bir yapıt olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu özelliğiyle yeni Roma'nın bir 'imparatorluk' anıtıdır. Genişleyen sınırlar içindeki malzeme ve nesneler, sanatsal ve mimari fikirler, bilim ve teknoloji artık Roma'nın kullanımındadır. Ancak Roma bunları olduğu gibi kopyalamaz. *Ara Pacis* örneğinde olduğu gibi Romalılaştırır.

Heliopolis'ten getirilmiş olan büyük Obelisk bile olduğu gibi bırakılmamıştır. Obeliskler Mısır'da doğrudan zeminden yükselirken, Roma'da bir kaide üzerine oturtulmuş, tepesine de bir küre yerleştirilmiştir. Kaide üzerindeki Latince yazıt ise, Obelisk'in gövdesindeki hiyeroglifin yerini almıştır. Kuzey *Campus Martius*'taki bu üçlü yapılanma imparatorluğa evrilen yeni Roma'nın anıt kompleksidir.

Augustus dönemi Kuzey *Campus Martius*'u hakkındaki bilgiler sınırlı olmakla beraber alanın bu dönemde yapılaşmadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Burası, Roma'nın kuzeyle bağlantısını sağlayan *Flaminia* yolu ile Tiber nehrinden gelindiğinde ziyaretçileri kentin girişinde karşılayan ilk bölgedir. *Flaminia*, Roma'nın kıvrımlı sokaklarına karşıt, yaklaşık dört kilometrelik düz bir hatta ilerler. Haselberger bu düz hattın kente, Geç Cumhuriyet – Erken İmparatorluk dönemi Roma'sının henüz sahip olmadığı anıtsal bir giriş sağladığını vurgular. Bu hat boyunca ilerleyen bir ziyaretçi, kentin girişinde Mozole'nin fiziksel büyüklüğüyle hakim olduğu açık bir yeşil alanla karşılaşır. Kuzey *Campus Martius*, kırsalla kent arasında yumuşak bir geçiş sağlar. Mozole'yi taçlandıran heykel, Augustus'un varlığını hemen gözler önüne serer. Ziyaretçi kente doğru ilerlemeye devam ettikçe *Ara Pacis* ve Obelisk'in oluşturduğu Augustus merkezli simgesel imparatorluk anlatısını okuma fırsatını bulur. Bu üçlü kompleks, Augustus merkezli yeni Roma'nın simgesel anlatım öğelerinin erken bir örneğini oluşturur.

Augustus'un ölümü ile Mozole yeni bir anlam kazanır. Daha önce aile fertlerinin cenazelerini düzenlemiş olan Augustus, kendi cenazesi için de direktifler bırakmıştır. Augustus'un cenaze töreni, Geç Cumhuriyet dönemi Roma seçkinlerinin cenaze geleneği üzerine temellenmiş olmakla beraber, özel konumuna uygun bir ihtişam ve özel düzenlemeler sergiler. Cenazede yaşamı boyunca Roma'ya yaptığı hizmetler ve elde ettiği başarılar gözler önüne serilir. Bütün Roma halkının aktif katılımı ile Augustus'un büyüklüğü bir kez daha vurgulanır.

Öte yandan, Augustus'un cenazesinin en önemli bölümlerinden birisi bedeninin yakılma törenidir. Ölü bedeninin yakılması dönemin olağan uygulaması olmakla beraber, Augustus'un ki daha önce olmayan bir sonuç doğuracaktır. Augustus'un bedeninin yakılma töreni onun tanrılaştırılma ritüeli olarak gerçekleşir. Ateş ile bedeni küle dönüşürken, ruhu göğe yükselir. Bu göğe yükseliş yakılma töreni

için inşa edilen ahşap kulenin tepesinden göğe salınan kartalla görselleştirilir. Roma dünyası için ‘tanrılaştırma’ Doğu coğrafyasından ve kendi mitolojik geçmişlerinden tanıdık bir kavram olmakla beraber, uygulamanın güncel bir örneği yoktu. Konunun pratik ve teolojik yönleri bir yana bırakılırsa, her şeyden önce Cumhuriyet’in eşit güç dağılımı anlayışıyla bağdaşmayan bir uygulamaydı. Nitekim bir bireyin tanrı ilan edilmesi onun herkesten üstün bir konuma yerleştirilmesi demektir. Bu açıdan, ilk örneğin Sezar olması şaşırtıcı değildir. Sezar henüz sağlığında, elde ettiği olağanüstü konum paralelinde, bazı sıradışı onurlarla payelendirilmişti. Ölümünden yaklaşık iki yıl sonra ise Senato tanrısallığını resmen ilan etti. Sezar’ın tanrı katına yükselmesi genç Oktavius’u da ‘tanrının oğlu’ olarak öncülü olmayan, benzersiz bir statüye kavuşturdu. Şimdi ölümü üzerine kendisi de tanrılar katında yerini alacaktı. Tanrı mertebesine erişmek kişinin yaşamı boyunca elde ettiği başarı ve verdiği hizmetlere bağlıydı. Augustus’un cenazesi son bir kez, tüm halkın da katılımı ile onun bu mertebeye layık olduğunu göstermişti. Augustus’un kendi kaleme aldığı ve yaptığı işlerin bir dökümünü sunan *Res Gestae* bunu yazılı olarak ifade ediyordu ve şimdi ölümü üzerine, onun isteği doğrultusunda Mozolesi’nin önündeki iki sütun üzerinde zamana karşı bronzun kalıcılığı ile direnecekti. Augustus’un yeryüzündeki fiziksel varlığı sona ererken Mozolesi onun anısını yaşatacaktır.

Augustus, Mozolesi’ni Geç Cumhuriyet döneminin politik güç kavgaları ve iç savaş atmosferi içinde inşa etmişti. Güç mücadelesinden zaferle çıkmasını anıtlıştırmıştı. Mozole inşa edildiği bu ilk dönemde geçmişe referans verdiği kadar geleceğe de dönüktü. Augustus’un gücünü ve üstünlüğünü kişisel bir anıtı olarak gözler önüne sererken, onun Roma dünyasını yönetme iddiasının da meşru zeminini simgeliyordu. Zaman içinde Augustus’un politik gücünü konsolide etmesi ve Roma’nın bir imparatorluğa evrilmesiyle, Augustus’un kişisel anıtı bir imparatorluk anıtına dönüştü ve yeni şekillenen imparatorluk anlatısının bir parçası oldu. Ölümü üzerine ise imparatorluğun ve yeni Roma’nın kurucusunun anısını zamana karşı canlı tutacaktı. Mozole bugün modern Roma’da varlığını sürdürmektedir. Eski ihtişamını kaybetmiş bir harabe de olsa, geçmişin anılarını günümüze taşıyarak ‘anıt’ görevini sürdürmekte, araştırmacıların tarihi okuması için beklemektedir. Bu tez 21. yüzyıldan yapılan bir okuma çalışmasıdır.

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