

Spatial narratives in ancient Rome

On the configuration of historical space in the
urban topography of the Republic and early Empire

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1. Introduction

In our post-industrial landscape, places of historical significance are often separated from their surroundings and provided with an interpretation of the site's past. Whether it is marked by a simple inscription, a monument or a commemorative route, sightseers are offered a carefully thought-out and structured account of a particular history.¹ Consequently, the past can be segregated from the present in modern-day topography. In a thought-provoking article, cultural geographers Maoz Azaryahu and Kenneth Foote examine how narratives of history have been configured at historical sites and memorial spaces.² They focus not on the meaning of those places, but on the narrative theory underlying 'spatial narratives', stories configured in landscape. Central to their article is the discussion of three different strategies which can be deployed to spatially organise historical narratives.³ The history of a particular person, site or event can be narrated from a single point or place, by arranging a linear and sequential chronology, or by creating a complex configuration over a large area.⁴ The concept of spatial narratives, also termed landscape narratives, was not invented by Azaryahu and Foote.⁵ However, their discussion of different narrative strategies opens up new ways of looking at configurations of space. It not only provides an insight into the ways landscape can serve as a medium for storytelling, but also demonstrates that historical sites can be analysed in a methodical manner. Their theory may therefore prove useful for studying the configuration of commemorative space by *past* societies, too. It invites historians to consider whether spatial narratives were also constructed in earlier times.

The ancient Roman Empire is famous for its myths and military prowess, both eagerly commemorated by its inhabitants. Like us, the Romans erected monuments to celebrate their history and preserve the memory of honourable ancestors. Yet contrary to many modern sites of commemoration, the lines between the historical past and contemporary present were inevitably blurred in the ancient capital. As Alain Gowing puts it, 'for Romans the past wholly

¹ Maoz Azaryahu and Kenneth R. Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium: on the configuration of spatial narratives of time at historical sites', *GeoJournal* 73 (2008) 179-194, at 191-193.

² Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 179-194; On spatial narratives, see also Matthew Potteiger and Jamie Purinton, *Landscape narratives: design practices for telling stories* (New York 1998).

³ Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 179.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 184 (table 1).

⁵ See Potteiger and Purinton, *Landscape narratives*.

defined the present, and to forget – to disconnect with – the past, at either the level of the individual or of the state, risked the loss of identity and even extinction'.⁶ Hence, the act of remembering received great emphasis within Roman society. Over the course of Rome's history new monuments constantly emerged in the cityscape while older monuments fell into disrepair or were restored and provided with new contexts. Such changes in the monumental fabric of Rome could inspire new interpretations of the past. A case in point is the period of the late Republic and early Empire, as it saw many alterations of the cityscape and a shift in the reception of Roman history by ancient writers.⁷ Perhaps the theory of Azaryahu and Foote can add something new to the study of Rome's urban landscape.

1.1 Historiography

In recent decades, scholars have extensively studied the interaction between collective memory and the monuments and literature of the late Republic and early Empire, in particular the Augustan era. It has resulted in important insights into the politics of representation and the Roman culture of remembering. On a methodological level, however, progress has been limited. Before I expand on this issue, it may be useful to give an overview of the significant work that has been done over the past thirty years.

Art historian Paul Zanker is one of the first scholars to have studied the relationship between visual imagery and the transformation of Roman society.⁸ He argues that Augustus incorporated a coloured version of Rome's mythical and Republican past into a literary and visual narrative that presented his reign as a new golden age.⁹ Around the same time, classicist T.P. Wiseman published a thought-provoking article in which he explores how monuments influenced the representation of history in late Republican and early imperial literature.¹⁰ Both

⁶ Alain Gowing, *Empire and memory: the representation of the Roman Republic in imperial culture* (Cambridge 2005) 2.

⁷ The cultural changes that occurred during this period are much discussed in modern scholarship. See for instance the following collections of essays: K. Raaflaub and M. Toher ed., *Between Republic and Empire: interpretations of Augustus and his principate* (Berkeley 1990); T. Habinek and A. Schiesaro ed., *The Roman cultural revolution* (Cambridge 1997); Karl Galinsky ed., *The Cambridge companion to the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge 2005).

⁸ Paul Zanker, *The power of images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor 1990) 336.

⁹ Zanker, *The power of images*, 193, 201.

¹⁰ T.P. Wiseman, 'Monuments and the Roman annalists' in: I.S. Moxon, J.D. Smart and A.J. Woodman ed., *Past perspectives: studies in Greek and Roman historical writing* (Cambridge 1986) 87-101, at 88-90,

Zanker and Wiseman, then, argue that art and architecture were central to the Roman perception of the past. Neither, however, explicitly set out a method of analysing the complex interrelationship of the many monuments in Rome's urban landscape.

Other notable developments in the study of Roman monuments occurred in the nineties. Jaś Elsner, for instance, has published multiple studies of *ekphrasis* and the interaction between viewer and art.¹¹ His work focuses on the ancient spectator's perception. Architectural historian Diane Favro largely follows the line set out by Zanker, but emphasises that the urban landscape was always changing. Moreover, many Republican monuments contradicted the Augustan message.¹² The conflict between different perceptions of the past is also highlighted in a study by classicist Catherine Edwards. Influenced by Wiseman, she explores divergent interpretations of Rome's topography in Roman literary sources.¹³ Although both Edwards and Favro discuss conflicting messages in Roman literature and the urban landscape, respectively, their work has not led to a methodology with which the intricate connections between Rome's monuments can be disentangled.

A decade later, the relationship between the memory of the Republic and the new political order of the principate remains a much discussed topic. In a recent study of Roman literature and topography, classicist Alain Gowing demonstrates that the need to commemorate the Republic diminished as the principate came to acquire its own history.¹⁴ Jennifer Rea takes a similar interdisciplinary approach in her study of the transformation of the Palatine and Capitoline in the 20's B.C.¹⁵ Her conclusions are similar to those of Zanker and Favro: the changes Augustus made to the urban environment emphasised unity and restoration. Reminders of the late Republic were overshadowed by references to more favourable chapters in Roman history, placing Augustus in a positive light.¹⁶

99; See also Nicholas Purcell, 'Rediscovering the Roman Forum', *Journal of Roman Archaeology (JRA)* 2 (1989) 156-166.

¹¹ Jaś Elsner, *Art and the Roman viewer: the transformation of art from the pagan world to Christianity* (Cambridge 1995); Jaś Elsner ed., *Art and text in Roman culture* (Cambridge 1996); Elsner's most recent monograph on this subject is: *Roman eyes: visibility and subjectivity in art and text* (Princeton 2007).

¹² Diane Favro, *The urban image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge 1996) 171.

¹³ Catherine Edwards, *Writing Rome: textual approaches to the city* (Cambridge 1996).

¹⁴ Gowing, *Empire and memory*, 2, 154-158.

¹⁵ Jennifer A. Rea, *Legendary Rome. Myth, monuments, and memory on the Palatine and Capitoline* (London 2007).

¹⁶ Rea, *Legendary Rome*, 83-84.

Because Rea's case studies comprise urban areas with a rich history, rather than confined configurations, her treatment of the relationship between topography and collective memory reveals methodological problems that have been insufficiently addressed in modern scholarship. These problems concern the selection and interpretation of sources in an attempt to reconstruct the influence of monuments and landscape on collective memory. The interpretation of a particular configuration of space heavily depends on the elements that one chooses to include in the analysis of such a configuration. As Catherine Edwards notes, many layers of history coexisted within the city.¹⁷ Although this appears to be acknowledged by many scholars, the selection of sources is often subjective. Series of dots are connected to form a picture, yet the dots that do not fit the image's outline are left out. As described above, a major effort has been made to reconstruct the meaning of combined monuments. These studies yielded important insights, but how can we be sure that interpretations by modern scholars are correct when there is a fundamental flaw in our selection of evidence?

The selective approach has its merits because it extracts meaning from smaller areas of Rome and succeeds in identifying the major themes that were present in the urban topography. However, this approach can also be deceiving. Firstly, it leads to a fragmentation of the cityscape that may not have been perceived as such by the Romans themselves. Topographical elements that appear arbitrary to us or fall outside the scope of the identified theme could still have influenced the way in which the theme was constructed, as well as how it was perceived by its audience. Secondly, the relationship between selection and interpretation becomes problematic. Are we selecting our sources because the resulting interpretation makes sense, or because we truly have reason to isolate and exclude certain elements from the topographical narrative?

It is important to take into account that overlapping layers of history can influence the perception of one another. This problem is not limited to the study of ancient history; in modern-day Rome, remnants of different times coexist as well. However, as Azaryahu and Foote argue, we now have certain strategies with which we can organise different kinds of configurations in our landscape. Could it be that the ancient Romans, too, purposely structured urban space to convey narratives? This idea might not be too far-fetched. On a universal level, people organise information in a way that makes sense to them. Perhaps such organisational principles not only apply to literature, but also to urban space. Azaryahu and

¹⁷ Edwards, *Writing Rome*, Introduction, esp. 10-12.

Foote's article offers insights into the ways that space can be used to present a historical narrative. It invites us to develop a more systematic approach for studying the relationship between Rome's topography and collective memory, which may result in a deeper understanding of the methods used by the Romans to configure space. Furthermore, it could help scholars of ancient history determine the relevance of particular monuments for their interpretation. Hence, the central question of this thesis is whether it is possible to discern single-point, sequential, and complex spatial narratives in late Republican and early imperial Rome.

1.2 Sources and approach

In order to gather as much information on specific monuments as possible, I will make use of different types of evidence. In the first place, I will examine various literary sources. Although ancient authors can provide valuable information, they each had their own agenda. Moreover, it is often unclear how they obtained their knowledge. Secondly, I will rely on archaeological remains. Decay and urban development have destroyed many traces of ancient Rome's urban landscape. Still, archaeology can help pinpoint the location of monuments and reveal architectural details. The third type of evidence is numismatic. Coins can provide schematic depictions of monuments and can be dated fairly accurately, although they were sometimes minted before the monument was constructed. Consequently, they inform us about a monument's conception, rather than its realisation. Lastly, I will occasionally rely on epigraphic evidence. Unfortunately the context of inscriptions is not always known. Each type of source material can be relevant to the study of monuments, as long as its limitations are kept in mind.

Modern concepts and theories have the potential to improve our understanding of history. However, they should be considered in a historical context which can greatly differ from our modern frame of reference. Indeed, the theoretical framework of Azaryahu and Foote cannot be applied to ancient Rome without careful consideration of the differences between modern and pre-modern commemoration. These differences will be discussed in the next chapter, as well as the concepts and definitions that are relevant to the study of spatial narratives in ancient Rome. I will also propose a method with which the relationship between different monuments can be assessed. In the remaining chapters I shall test this method and focus on the question whether the Romans constructed spatial narratives. To this end, I selected a

number of case studies which I will compare to the three different narrative strategies discussed by Azaryahu and Foote.

In chapter three, I will examine the monument that commemorated the assassination of Julius Caesar and determine whether it was a single-point narrative. I have selected Caesar's monument because today the single-point narrative strategy is often used to commemorate deaths and assassinations. Chapter four will focus on the Roman triumph. Modern-day sequential narratives are arranged along routes, as was the triumph. The chapter's central question will be whether the route and display of the triumphal procession can be considered a sequential narrative, despite their ephemeral character. Chapter five will revolve around complex narratives. The Forum Romanum with the Temple of Divus Iulius will prove an interesting case study. Although the Forum was filled with Republican monuments, Augustus constructed new buildings and reorganised the area. Did he combine different times and themes into a complex narrative?

Over the last three decades, scholars have extensively argued that the topography of Rome underwent major changes during the late Republic and early principate, and that monuments played an important part in commemorating the past. The general consensus is that the building programmes of the emperors were an attempt to create a cohesive cityscape that conveyed certain messages. Although our knowledge of the connection between Roman memory and topography has increased, we still lack the tools to examine *how* messages were constructed. The study by Azaryahu and Foote may offer a useful way forward. It is the purpose of this thesis to test if their theoretical framework can be applied to the ancient capital and to find out whether the Romans constructed spatial narratives.

2. Spatial narratives: theoretical framework

Roughly two millennia of change and development separate our society from imperial Rome. Time and technology have brought us to the Digital Age, in which high mobility and mass-media shape our perception of the world and, consequently, our history. Information on almost every topic imaginable is readily available, especially to those with access to the internet. Knowledge of history is generally well-preserved through education, art and literature, documentaries and films. National Days of celebration play a part in keeping the past alive as well. Since the twentieth century 'visiting and experiencing' the past at museums, festivals and historical sites has become increasingly popular, drawing in large numbers of tourists.¹⁸ The emphasis on sensory perception also finds expression in the 'moment of silence', when a population collectively commemorates a national trauma. Although their motives and means may have differed, the Romans too made a conscious effort to preserve the past. It is necessary to account for the differences between modern and pre-modern commemoration before examining whether Azaryahu and Foote's theory of spatial narrative strategies is applicable to ancient Rome. In this chapter I will discuss these differences, taking into consideration the peculiarities of Roman society. I shall also propose a method with which narrative configurations can be discerned in the topography of ancient Rome. However, first the concepts and definitions that are central to an understanding of spatial narratives will be discussed.

2.1 Narrative space

Of course the first question that needs to be addressed is: 'what are spatial narratives?' In essence, they are stories told through space. This means that 'space' is the primary medium of communication, a concept that requires some clarification. It is conventionally considered to be a three-dimensional area in which movement can take place. The implications of this quality, as well as the relationship between 'space' and 'place', have been much discussed in

¹⁸ For a detailed study of the 'performance' of history by objects and people, see: Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination culture: tourism, museums, and heritage* (Berkeley 1998); Susan A. Crane, 'The conundrum of ephemerality' in: Sharon MacDonald ed., *A companion to museum studies* (Oxford 2006) 98-109, esp. 102; Andrea Witcomb, 'Interactivity' in: MacDonald, *A companion to museum studies*, 353-361, esp. 359.

the social sciences and humanities over the past four decades.¹⁹ In an essay on the concept of 'space' in Roman literature, Andrew Riggsby puts forward a notion that may prove useful to the current thesis: space may consist of a number of places which are distinct, yet comparable at a basic level.²⁰ It is the relationship between these distinct places that can give space structure.²¹ Rome, for instance, was in 7 B.C. divided into fourteen administrative regions.²² Together, these different but comparable regions constituted the 'space' of Rome. Of course, the distinction between space and place is dependent on scope:²³ the Roman Forum can be considered as space, filled with places such as the Curia and the Rostra; but when the scope is broadened, the Forum can be seen as a place within the space of Rome, just as Rome was one of many cities within the Italian Peninsula. Consequently, the extent of narrative space has to be determined before any spatial narrative can be analysed.

According to Riggsby, the places within a space may have a common denominator, as well as individual characteristics.²⁴ For example, all places within the Roman Forum fell within public space. At the same time, the Temple of Concord on the Forum could be considered sacred, while the Curia had strong political connotations. It is important to stress that the relational and individual properties depend on particular conceptions and contexts.²⁵ The sacred quality of the Temple of Concord, for instance, may be deemed irrelevant within the context of public space: 'sacred' falls outside of the dichotomy between 'public' and 'private'. Thus, when attempting to discern and analyse spatial narratives it is necessary to examine the context, as well as the relational and individual properties of the places involved. The relation between different places and objects impact the narrative on a structural level, while their individual characteristics can imbue the narrative with meaning. As the subject of this thesis is

¹⁹ Y.-F. Tuan, *Space and place: the perspective of experience* (Minneapolis 1977) is by many regarded as a key publication on the subject of 'space'; see also: David Harvey, *Social justice and the city* (Georgia 1973); Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford 1991); for a brief discussion of the concept's use in the humanities, see Peter Burke, *What is cultural history?* (Cambridge 2008) 71-72.

²⁰ Andrew M. Riggsby, 'Space' in: Andrew Feldherr ed., *The Cambridge companion to the Roman historians* (Cambridge 2009) 152-165, at 152-153.

²¹ Riggsby, 'Space', 152-153.

²² Lothar Haselberger, *Rome's urban metamorphosis under Augustus*, supplement of JRA 64 (Portsmouth 2007) 224-231.

²³ Riggsby, 'Space', 152-153.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 153.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 154.

the configuration of spatial narratives, I shall mainly focus on relational properties, further discussed in the second half of this chapter.

As with any medium, space offers both challenges and opportunities for conveying a message. Books and films, for example, are particularly well-suited for chronological accounts: the process of reading or watching is itself subject to temporality. Visual or spatial media, on the other hand, tend to depict a single moment in time. Their narrative quality lies in capturing the essence of a story, often by showing an image that represents or symbolises the plot.²⁶ However, there is a grey area between temporal media and visual or spatial media. Objects in space have to be seen and read in order to notice them and their possible relationship.²⁷ This means that the act of reading an environment is temporal, at least to a certain extent. It is therefore possible to narrate a story chronologically in space by configuring meaningful objects in a particular sequence.²⁸ Visual and directional cues can be used to direct the gaze of the viewer.²⁹

2.2 Monuments

Throughout this thesis, meaningful elements in the landscape will be termed 'monuments'. To the Romans, a monument (*monumentum*) was that which preserved memory. It could be a building, statue, tomb or painting, but also a literary work or small token of remembrance.³⁰ The definition of 'monument' in this thesis, however, is slightly different. The term will refer to three types of structures and places. Firstly, monuments can be durable structures which were erected for the sole purpose of commemoration. Tombs, commemorative columns, triumphal arches and most statues belong to this category. Although in ancient Rome these monuments were often erected to advertise the individual, family, or state, they nevertheless served the purpose of preserving memory. Secondly, 'monuments' can refer to buildings that have a practical as well as commemorating function. Their main purpose was of practical nature, but they came to be associated with certain events, eras or persons of Roman history. These associations could either grow over time, or they could be tied to the building's patron or

²⁶ Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 182-183.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ Ibidem, 191.

³⁰ Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin dictionary* (Oxford 1879).

circumstances that led to its construction. Two of the many buildings that fall into this category are the Rostra and the Temple of Concord on the Roman Forum.³¹ Lastly, monuments can be topographical features or landmarks that have significant memories attached to them. It appears that the Romans merely used the term ‘monumenta’ when referring to man-made structures or items. However, ancient literature makes clear that topographical features could, in fact, preserve memory. The Palatine and the Capitoline are two notable examples: since the earliest history of Rome they played an important role in the mythology and development of the city.³² Of course, these are natural features. They were not *erected* with the express purpose of preserving memory. Yet natural monuments, too, could hold meaning and thus be part of a spatial narrative. Hence, my definition of ‘monuments’ includes all elements in the landscape which were connected to the collective memory. If spatial narratives are to be discerned in ancient Rome, then the city’s many monuments constituted their building blocks.

2.3 Lieux de mémoire

Now that the concepts of ‘space’ and ‘monuments’ have been discussed, it is necessary to consider the narrative qualities of monuments. In this thesis, the term ‘narrative’ holds a broad meaning: it refers to stories, statements and messages which concerned either past or contemporary events, persons, or ideologies. This definition is useful in the current context because it covers different ways in which collective memory can be perpetuated or expanded.

At modern sites of commemoration, narratives are often made explicit by texts and inscriptions.³³ Although inscriptions were used in ancient Rome, too, they generally were formulaic, merely noting the patron, his magistracy and sometimes the commemorated occasion. Moreover, inscriptions that specifically referred to the site of its monument were relatively rare.³⁴ There are also very few examples of *elaborate* explanatory texts.³⁵ Yet text

³¹ On the Rostra: Lothar Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, supplement of JRA 50 (Portsmouth 2002) 216; P. Verduchi, s.v. ‘Rostra Augusti’, *LTUR* IV, 214-217; On the Temple of Concord: Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 97; A.M. Ferroni, s.v. ‘Concordia, aedes’, *LTUR* I, 316-320. Both monuments shall be discussed in chapter three and five of this thesis.

³² The Palatine and Capitoline are the subject of many studies. See, for instance: Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 30-43 and 69-96; Rea, *Legendary Rome*.

³³ Maoz Azaryahu, Kenneth E. Foote and Marie-Laure Ryan, *Space, place and story: Toward a spatial theory of narrative* (Forthcoming).

³⁴ Rare, but not unheard of: a notable exception was an Augustan monument at Actium. Its inscription referred to the battle that took place there. A discussion of the monument can be found in: Carsten

was not the only medium used to convey meaning: many Roman monuments were adorned with pictorial reliefs. Such visual narratives may complicate the modern interpretation of monuments somewhat, as it requires knowledge of Roman iconography.³⁶ Both text and image could convey the meaning of monuments, but why was it so important to the ancient Romans to preserve the past in durable materials?

The meaning of monuments and the story they tell is strongly rooted in the collective memory of the group they belonged to. Although the Romans acknowledged the existence of a shared memory (*memoria publica*), the term 'collective memory' is a modern invention.³⁷ It was first coined in an influential study by the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who argues that groups within a society can have memories. These collective memories have a large influence on the individual's perception of the past.³⁸ The idea has been further explored by French historian Pierre Nora, among others. He draws a sharp distinction between memory and history: the former is a product of society, ever-changing, easy to manipulate, selective and established in the tangible present; the latter, on the other hand, is the problematic reconstruction and representation of a vanished past. As a product of society and intellectual discourse, history is subject to analysis and criticism.³⁹ It 'belongs to everyone and to no one, whence its claim to universal authority'.⁴⁰ History examines continuity, progression and connections. 'Memory is absolute, while history can only conceive the relative'.⁴¹ According to Nora the dichotomy results in enmity: history aims to suppress and demolish memory.⁴² Yet for the Romans, such a sharp distinction between history and memory did not exist. Any attempt to preserve the past was regarded as *historia*, including works that

Hjort Lange, *Res publica constituta. Actium, Apollo and the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment* (Leiden 2009) 159-167.

³⁵ An exception is the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti (RG)*. This inscription, attached to the Mausoleum of Augustus, gave a fairly detailed account of the emperor's reign. Although the original inscription is lost, copies have survived in Ankara and Antalya.

³⁶ Zanker, *The power of images*, remains an excellent study of Roman iconography.

³⁷ On the Roman concept of *memoria publica*: Gowing, *Empire and memory*, 15.

³⁸ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago 1992).

³⁹ Pierre Nora, 'Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire', *Representations* 26 (1989) 7-24, at 8-9.

⁴⁰ Nora, 'Between memory and history', 9.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibidem*, 8-9.

modern observers would label as fiction. In the Roman world of thought, *historia* ensured that memories of the past would not die.⁴³

Nora argues that the acceleration of history in our modern society led to the desire to anchor memory in space: when the realisation hits that memory is about to disappear, monuments and other forms of commemoration serve as symbols of memories and containers of identities.⁴⁴ He terms such places 'lieux de mémoire'.⁴⁵ However, the same fear of forgetfulness is apparent in Roman society, as evidenced by the frantic efforts to preserve the past and the individual as well as Roman identity in tradition, monuments, and literature. This cannot have been merely a reaction to the decline of traditional values, as occurred in the late Republic; nor to the trauma of the civil war or the introduction of imperial government, although these major events certainly were reflected in the cityscape.⁴⁶ Rather, the centrality of commemoration was deeply embedded in Roman society. At least three interconnecting factors contributed to the importance of memories. In the first place, the Romans defined their identity by means of the past.⁴⁷ That is to say, Roman society would lose its frame of reference if the past was forgotten. This is connected to the second contributing factor: by honouring the actions and qualities of their ancestors, the Romans established a standard to live up to.⁴⁸ When traditional values were in decline by the end of the Republic, many Romans feared the disappearance of memories and collapse of society as they knew it.⁴⁹ Consequently, and in line with Nora's theory, they felt an increased need to create *lieux de mémoire*. The third contributing factor was of political nature. The Romans realised that memories could be a threat to the established order. As a result, control over memories became a crucial part of political authority.⁵⁰ Thus, social identity, societal values, and political power were all deeply

⁴³ Gowing, *Empire and memory*, 9-12.

⁴⁴ Nora, 'Between memory and history', 8, 12.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 7.

⁴⁶ Gowing, *Empire and memory*, 18-21.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 2.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 14, 23; The sentiment finds expression in Livy, *Praef.* 9-10, and Sal. *Jug.* 4.6: 'Of course they did not mean to imply that the wax or the effigy had any such power over them, but rather that it is the memory of great deeds that kindles in the breasts of noble men this flame that cannot be quelled until they by their own prowess have equaled the fame and glory of their forefathers', trans. John C. Rolfe, *Loeb classical library* (1931).

⁴⁹ Livy *Praef.* 5-6, 9-12; Gowing, *Empire and memory*, 2-3, 23.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, 2, 18; R. Morstein-Marx, *Mass oratory and political power in the late Roman Republic* (Cambridge 2004) 101-103, who analyses the late Republican struggle between the Senate and the plebeians regarding the memory of the Temple of Concord.

connected to commemoration of the past. It is not surprising, then, that the Romans attached great value to their history.

2.4 Spatial configurations

According to Azaryahu and Foote, the spatial and temporal characteristics of an event can limit the suitable narrative structures.⁵¹ Small-scale events that occurred within a relatively short time span may be narrated differently than long-term and complex events.⁵² However, their study focuses on events that are commemorated on-site. One of their case studies, for instance, is the Gettysburg National Military Park in Pennsylvania, where visitors can follow a tour that leads them in chronological order past locations that were significant to the battle of 1863.⁵³ At on-site configurations it is indeed likely that the spatial characteristics of the event influence the narrative configuration. Yet sometimes commemoration is organised elsewhere, at a place that is otherwise significant to the event. The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, for example, is located in Berlin. Its location is not specifically tied to one particular event of the Second World War, but was chosen as a suitable place to commemorate Jewish war victims.⁵⁴ The Arc de Triomphe in Paris is another notable example. Presumably, in both cases the nation's capital was chosen because the subject of commemoration transcends one localised place, and because the capital represents the country as a whole. While on-site commemoration is arguably most common in today's society, the ancient Romans often translated local memories of broader significance to their capital. Augustus' victory in Egypt, for example, was commemorated in Rome with the construction of a sundial in 10 B.C.⁵⁵ When

⁵¹ Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 183, 191.

⁵² Ibidem.

⁵³ Ibidem, 187-188.

⁵⁴ <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de> (accessed June 2014).

⁵⁵ At the time of the victory, Augustus was known as 'Octavian'. He did not receive the title of 'Augustus' until 27 B.C. Although technically incorrect, in this thesis I will solely refer to him as 'Augustus' for consistency's sake. The sundial, part of the emperor's building programme on the Campus Martius, was a colossal obelisk that he had brought from Heliopolis. An inscription on the base of the obelisk refers to the victory in Egypt (*CIL* VI 702); On the monument: E. Buchner, s.v. 'Horologium Augusti', *LTUR* III, 35-37; Haselberger, *Rome's urban metamorphosis*, 168-178; On the building programme on the Campus Martius: Jaś Elsner, 'Inventing imperium: texts and the propaganda of monuments in Augustan Rome' in: Idem, *Art and text in Roman culture*, 32-53, esp. 38-39; Diane Favro, 'Making Rome a world city' in: Karl Galinsky ed., *The Cambridge companion to the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge 2005) 234-263, at 247; Haselberger, *Rome's urban metamorphosis*, 168-178.

commemoration is not organised on-site, it is of course quite difficult to structure the narrative in a way that mirrors the particular spatial characteristics of the commemorated event.

2.5 Methodology

Azaryahu and Foote's discussion of narrative strategies concerns deliberate configurations of space. Such configurations could consist of one narrative element (single-point), or multiple elements (sequential and complex).⁵⁶ However, if the ancient Romans consciously constructed spatial narratives they had to incorporate them into a cityscape that was already filled with monuments. This makes it difficult for scholars of ancient history to analyse the relationship between different narrative elements. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that the Romans were aware of the historical landscape and would take its implications into consideration when organising a spatial narrative. In the first place, older monuments could be incorporated into a new narrative, or the new narrative could be incorporated into a pre-existing configuration. These are two sides of the same coin: the difference seems merely one of emphasis, yet may prove significant for the way in which the Romans remembered their past and dealt with their present. In the second place, old and new narrative configurations could co-exist without being connected to one another. That is to say, they were *intended* as unrelated and isolated narratives. Yet how can we determine whether narrative elements in the Roman cityscape were connected to one another?

A useful method for determining the relationship between monuments is to examine their relational properties. First of all it is important to establish the date of construction of all monuments in the area under consideration, as well as the responsible parties. Such information may help identify both unitary building programmes and nearby monuments of earlier date. If the same party, patron or imperial administration was responsible for the construction of multiple monuments in an area, this may indicate a localised building programme or spatial narrative. The next step is to examine monuments in the vicinity that did not meet this criterion. Were they perhaps restored or maintained by that same patron or administration? This may suggest the intention to establish a link between the old and the new, the past and the present. The configuration of monuments can provide a hint too:

⁵⁶ Elements may be configured relative to each other, as well as relative to the landscape. In the case of 'single-point configurations' it refers to a monument's relative position in the (urban) landscape.

deliberate sightlines could guide the gaze of the viewer and connect seemingly unrelated monuments. The term 'deliberate' here refers to spatial alignment, or the views offered by columns and through arches. Further clues may be provided by similarities in visual language and architectural style. While these outward characteristics can also be considered as individual properties, correlations of this kind suggest cohesiveness.

Although relational properties can be indicative of a monumental configuration, they are not individually conclusive. However, when monuments in a given area share multiple relational characteristics, it strongly suggests the presence of a deliberate configuration. Similarly, when few or none of the relational properties can be discerned, it suggests an isolated, single-point narrative.

This chapter has explored the key concepts of spatial narratives and the qualities and characteristics that may help identify monumental configurations in the cityscape of ancient Rome. It provides the necessary tools to distinguish single-point spatial narratives from configurations that encompassed multiple monuments. In the next chapter, I shall examine whether the monument that was erected in commemoration of Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C. was constructed as a single-point narrative.

3. Single-point narratives: Caesar's monument

In our modern-day landscape, single-point configurations are the most prevalent and well-known category of spatial narrative. Consisting of a simple marker or solitary monument, they tend to narrate a historical event in few words. For this reason they are also termed 'declamatory narratives'.⁵⁷ According to Azaryahu and Foote, single-point configurations have certain characteristics. The narration of the event is often summarised and expressed with rhetorical eloquence in formal or formulaic prose.⁵⁸ Not infrequently, the monument is fenced off from the surrounding area to demarcate narrative space.⁵⁹ Death sites are particularly well-suited for this narrative strategy because the commemorated event is localised.⁶⁰ Declamatory narratives can also be used to convey the plot of a more complex event, for example because the location of the monument is especially meaningful to that event or because the narrative is told from a vantage point that oversees the area of action.⁶¹ The central question of the current chapter is whether single-point narratives existed in the cityscape of ancient Rome, and if so, whether they possessed characteristics that are similar to those of modern declamatory narratives.

In urban landscapes with a high monumental density, it can be difficult to discern narrative configurations. Hence, in the previous chapter I listed a number of relational properties with which the connection between different monuments can be assessed: the patron of the monument, its date of construction or restoration, sightlines, and visual language. When a monument does not share the particularities of these characteristics with nearby monuments, it can be inferred that it was a single-point configuration. That is, the story was narrated at one location by a single monument. The secondary purpose of this chapter is to test the viability of this method. Naturally, the best way of doing so is by applying it to a case study, preferably of a monument in a complex environment: relational properties are relevant only when there are possible connections to examine. Because modern single-point narratives are commonly configured at death sites, a prominent Roman funerary monument is a logical starting point for a study of this type of configuration in the ancient city. In this chapter I shall discuss the

⁵⁷ Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 183.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 184.

monument that was erected in the Roman Forum in commemoration of Julius Caesar's death, a funerary monument situated in a public space amongst many other monuments (figure 1). Its location makes a careful examination of the area and relational properties mandatory. The timeframe of this case study falls between the monument's construction in 44 B.C. and its incorporation into the Temple of Divus Iulius in 32 or 31 B.C.

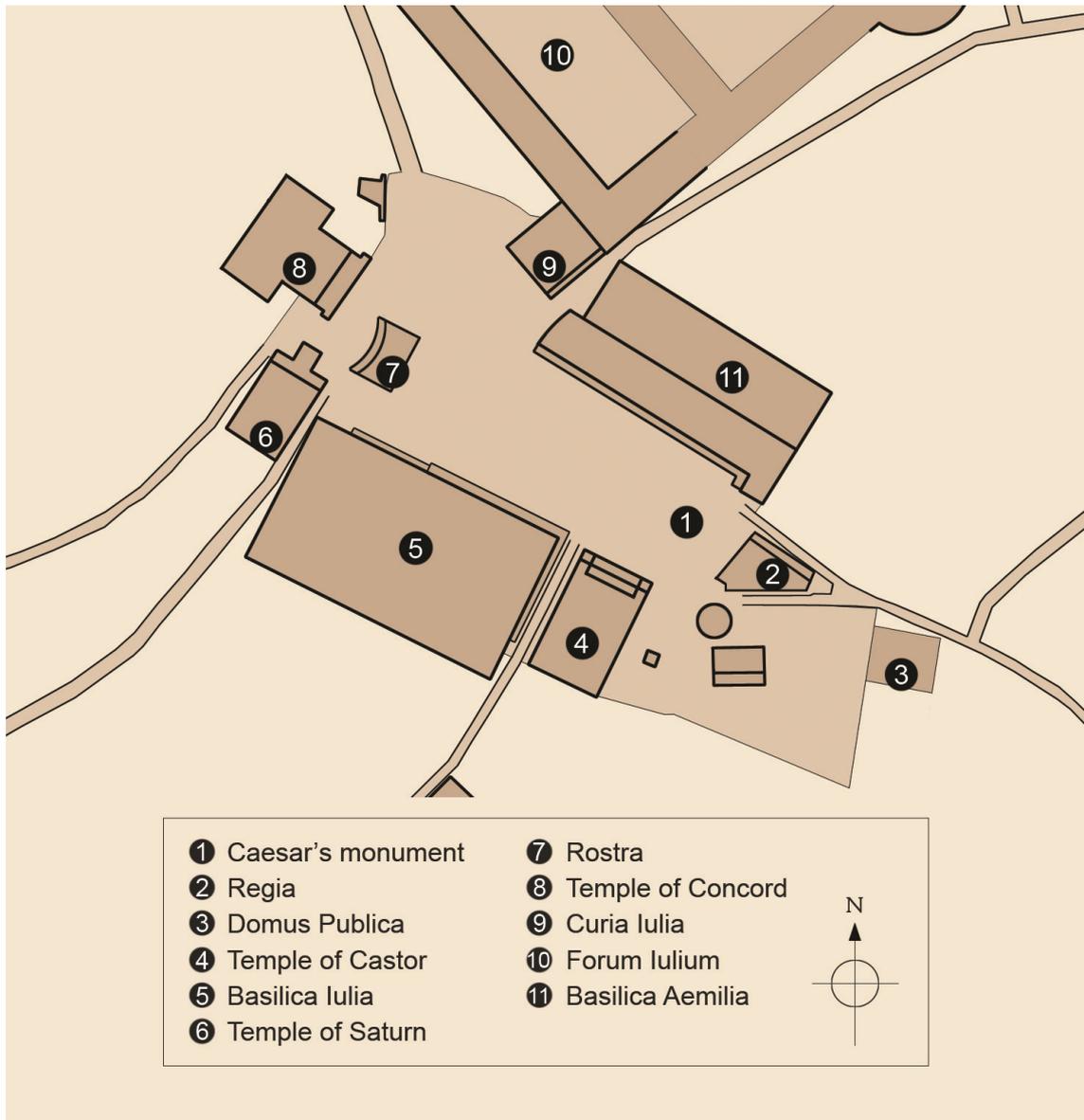


Figure 1: overview of the Forum Romanum, ~44 B.C. – 31 B.C. After: Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*.

3.1 The context

Before I turn to the relational properties of Caesar's monument, it is necessary to discuss its context. On 17 March 44 B.C., two days after the assassination of Julius Caesar, the senate convened at the Temple of Tellus. The outcome of that meeting aptly illustrates the precarious political situation of the late Republic: striking a careful balance, the senate refused to denounce Caesar's murderers, yet decreed that the late dictator would receive the extraordinary honour of a public funeral.⁶² On the day of the cremation the body of Caesar was carried to the Forum.⁶³ There, on the Rostra, Marc Antony delivered the eulogy.⁶⁴ The body was supposed to be cremated on the Campus Martius, near the tomb of Caesar's daughter Julia.⁶⁵ Yet the crowd, which mainly consisted of plebeians and veterans, was so incited by Antony's speech that it called for a different location. According to ancient sources the people suggested the Theatre of Pompey, where Caesar was assassinated, as well as the Capitoline. Because the pyre's fire could spread to the theatre or temples, respectively, the crowd was prevented from executing this plan. Eventually the people chose a spot in the Forum, opposite the Rostra and in front of the Regia.⁶⁶ It is unclear whether this decision was made solely by the people, or whether magistrates also played a part.⁶⁷

In a recent article on the history, topography and ideology of Caesar's monument, Geoffrey Sumi presents a reconstruction of the events that followed Caesar's assassination and cremation.⁶⁸ Shortly after the funeral, the people erected a simple monument at the site of the

⁶² Geoffrey S. Sumi, 'Topography and ideology: Caesar's monument and the Aedes Divi Iulii in Augustan Rome', *The Classical Quarterly* 61 (2011) 205-229, at 207.

⁶³ Suet. *Iul.* 84.3 mentions that 'magistrates and ex-magistrates' carried Caesar's body. However, App. *B. Civ.* 2.143 claims that it was done by Caesar's father-in-law, Piso, while Dio 44.35.4 states that it was Antony who carried the body. These three accounts are not mutually exclusive, as both Antony and Piso were magistrates.

⁶⁴ On the Rostra: Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 216; P. Verduchi, s.v. 'Rostra Augusti', *LTUR* IV, 214-217; Dio 44.35, 44.50; On Antony's speech: Dio 44.36-49; Suet. *Iul.* 84.1-2; App. *B. Civ.* 2.143-146.

⁶⁵ Suet. *Iul.* 84.1.

⁶⁶ Suet. *Iul.* 84.3; App. *B. Civ.* 2.148.616.

⁶⁷ According to App. *B. Civ.* 2.148 and Dio 44.50.1-2 the crowd decided to cremate Caesar in the Forum. Cf. Suet. *Iul.* 84.3: 'the bier on the rostra was carried down into the Forum by magistrates and ex-magistrates; and while some were urging that it be burned in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and others in the Hall of Pompey, on a sudden two beings with swords by their sides and brandishing a pair of darts set fire to it', trans. J. C. Rolfe, *Loeb classical library* (1913-1914).

⁶⁸ Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 205-229.

funeral pyre, perhaps at the direction of the popular leader Amatius.⁶⁹ It is variously described by ancient sources as a column or altar, indicating that the initial monument consisted of both, or either.⁷⁰ In late April of the same year the monument was destroyed by consul Dolabella.⁷¹ A second column was then put in place at the instigation of Caesar's veterans and likely with the support of Augustus, who had arrived in Rome on 6 May 44 B.C.⁷² Roman biographer Suetonius (c. 69 - 121 A.D.) describes the column as twenty-foot tall and made of Numidian marble, inscribed with the words *Parenti Patriae* ('to the Father of the country'), an honorary title granted to Caesar.⁷³ Interestingly, the inscription did not refer to Caesar by name. Neither did it list the offices he held, which was rather unusual in ancient Rome. If Suetonius' account is correct, the inscribed title was deemed sufficient to keep Caesar's memory alive.

At some point, the column appears to have been replaced by an altar: an *aureus* minted by Augustus in 36 B.C. depicts an altar, which is situated to the left of a building that has been identified as the Temple of Divus Iulius (figure 2). This temple was built at the site of Caesar's monument, although its construction did not commence until 32 or 31 B.C. – the coin predates

⁶⁹ Both Dio 44.51.1, referring to 44.50.1, and Suet. *Iul.* 85.1 credit the crowd, while App. *B. Civ.* 3.3.7 mentions Amatius; Dio and Appian both situate the monument at the site of the pyre, while Suetonius situates it 'in the Forum'.

⁷⁰ Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 213. Column: Suet. *Iul.* 85.1, Cic. *Att.* 14.15.1.2. Altar: Dio 44.51.1, App. *B. Civ.* 2.148 and 3.3.7; In a letter from Brutus and Cassius to Antony, the monument is referred to as an altar as well: Cic. *Fam.* 11.2.2. The term 'altar' may have been used to indicate the activities that took place at the monument: according to Suet. *Iul.* 85, App. *B. Civ.* 3.3.5 and Dio 44.51.1-2, people swore oaths and made sacrifices at the monument.

⁷¹ Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 212-213; Cic. *Att.* 14.15.1.2, who notes that even the site of the destroyed monument was re-paved. According to Dio 44.51.2 the monument was destroyed by the 'consuls', plural, indicating that Marc Antony may have been involved as well.

⁷² The theory of the existence of a second column is primarily based on the letter from Brutus and Cassius to Antony, dated 1 June 44 B.C., preserved in Cic. *Fam.* 11.2.2, in which they express their concern at rumours that Caesar's veterans were planning to replace the monument; Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 213.

⁷³ Suet. *Iul.* 85; On Caesar's title: Dio 44.4.4; Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 212-213, makes the convincing argument that the column described by Suetonius concerns the second monument (which replaced the destroyed monument) because of its elaborate appearance: an inscribed marble column would have taken time to construct and is therefore unlikely to have been erected shortly after the funeral. Less convincing is Sumi's theory, based on Cic. *Att.* 16.16.3, that the second column was adorned with a statue of Caesar: the excerpt describes that Augustus held a *contio* in November 44 B.C. at the Temple of Castor in which he swore an oath to follow in his father's footsteps and pointed his hand 'toward the statue'. However, there is no reason to infer that Augustus pointed in the direction of Caesar's monument. Moreover, in October 44 B.C. a statue was erected on the Rostra by Antony in Caesar's honour, inscribed with the words 'Parenti optime merito' (Cic. *Fam.* 12.3.1). It is more likely that the statue mentioned in Cic. *Att.* 16.16.3 refers to the statue erected by Antony.

the temple.⁷⁴ Indeed, excavations at the site have unearthed a podium (the rostrum) with a semicircular niche in which the remains of a small circular structure, identified as an altar, have been preserved.⁷⁵ Thus, the numismatic and archaeological evidence strongly suggest that Caesar's monument was eventually incorporated into the temple's rostrum.⁷⁶ Perhaps this can be confirmed through a literary source. According to Graeco-Roman historian Cassius Dio (c. 150 – 235 A.D.), the consuls of 42 B.C. laid the foundation of a hero-shrine to Caesar at the location of the funeral pyre.⁷⁷ 'Hero-shrine' is generally interpreted by modern scholars as the Temple of Divus Iulius, while 'foundation' is regarded as the structural foundation, constructed in celebration of Caesar's official deification in January 42 B.C.⁷⁸ However, Dio's statement might instead refer to the construction of the *altar* that was later incorporated in the temple's podium, as this would correspond to the numismatic and archaeological evidence.



Figure 2: aureus minted in 36 B.C.; M. Crawford, *Roman Republican coinage* (Cambridge 1974) 540/1.

⁷⁴ Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 103-104; Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 212-213, 219, 221-222; Because the altar is depicted to the left of the temple, while it was eventually constructed in front of the temple, it can be inferred that the temple was not yet built when the coin was minted.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, 219, 222.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, 213, 222.

⁷⁷ Dio 47.18.4; The consuls of 42 B.C. were of course the triumvirs: Octavian (Augustus), Antony and Lepidus.

⁷⁸ This interpretation is followed by: P. Gross, s.v. 'Iulius, Divus, Aedes', *LTUR* III, 116-119; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 103-104; Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 218.

Although the incorporation into the temple falls outside the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that there were three subsequent monuments of Caesar. All three monuments commemorated Caesar at the spot of the funeral pyre, and were thus tied to both the location and the event of Caesar's cremation. A cursory examination of Caesar's monument, then, reveals some similarities with modern declamatory narratives. It was a solitary funerary monument, adorned with a brief inscription that referred to the commemorated person. Yet it cannot be determined whether it was a single-point narrative without studying its relationship to nearby monuments.

3.2 Relational properties

Now that the context and history of Caesar's monument have been discussed, its relational properties can be examined to assess whether the monument constituted a narrative in its own right, or whether it was part of a larger narrative. To this end I have studied the particularities of the monuments in the Forum and surrounding area, including their patron, date of construction, purpose, appearance, and relative location.⁷⁹

To map possible connections, the first question that requires answering is whether the party responsible for the construction of Caesar's monument also erected or restored monuments in the vicinity. Here, it is important to keep in mind the different phases of the monument's existence, as there was more than one party involved.

The initial monument of Caesar was the Forum's only monument erected by plebeians. Although there were other monuments that had historical ties with the plebs, such as the Temple of Concord, it was highly unusual for the people of Rome to be patron, or initiating party.⁸⁰ Moreover, the plebeians not only erected the initial monument of Caesar, they also chose its location: ancient sources make clear that the monument was deliberately erected at the site of the funeral pyre, and that the location of the pyre was chosen by plebeians, too.⁸¹

⁷⁹ 'Surrounding area' includes some structures on the slope of the Capitol and behind Caesar's monument, where sightlines can reasonably be expected due to proximity or elevation.

⁸⁰ On the relationship of the plebeians with the Temple of Concord: Morstein-Marx, *Mass oratory and political power*, 101-103.

⁸¹ See n. 66 and n. 69 above.

The column which replaced the initial monument may have been constructed with support of Augustus.⁸² He perpetuated the commemoration of Caesar at the spot where the cremation had taken place, thereby honouring the decision of the people. Since Augustus was not responsible for the choice of location, his control over the monument as a narrative element was restricted. In contrast to the plebs, Augustus was involved in nearby building projects. In the first place he completed all projects in the Forum that were initiated, but left unfinished, by Caesar.⁸³ Although it was Augustus' decision to become involved, his freedom was limited: he could not choose the nature or location of these projects because the groundwork was already in place. In the second place, Augustus personally initiated multiple projects in the Forum. However, these post-date the construction of Caesar's monument in 44 B.C. and its incorporation into the Temple of Divus Iulius in 32 or 31 B.C. by a rather large margin.⁸⁴ Moreover, he did not become sole-ruler until 29 B.C., coincidentally the year in which the temple was dedicated. Any monument erected prior to that year had to be approved by the senate and Augustus' fellow consuls. This, too, may have limited his options. For these reasons it is unlikely that Augustus, at the time when Caesar's column was erected, conceived a spatial narrative that connected his later building programme to the monument. The relational property of shared patron, then, was not present in the case of Caesar's monument prior to the dedication of the temple. This increases the likelihood that it was a single-point narrative, although other relational properties should be taken into consideration as well; spatial narratives are not necessarily composed by a single party.

Another relational property that may help determine the type of narrative is the presence of sightlines. Hence, I will attempt to assess whether lines of view were deliberately established or obscured between Caesar's monument and nearby monuments. The analysis of visual connections will be tentative, as I lack the resources to take into account the spatial

⁸² Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 213.

⁸³ The projects were: the Curia Iulia (begun in 44 B.C., finished in 29 B.C.), and the Basilica Iulia (dedicated in 46 B.C., but completed by Augustus at a later point in time). The Rostra was completed by Caesar, but incorporated into a new Rostra by Augustus; Dio 44.5.1-2 and 51.22.1; *RG* 19.1 and 20.3; Suet. *Aug.* 29.4; P. Verduchi, s.v. 'Rostra Augusti', *LTUR* IV, 214-217; John R. Patterson, 'The city of Rome: from Republic to Empire', *The Journal of Roman Studies (JRS)* 82 (1992) 186-215, at 193-194.

⁸⁴ While the construction of the temple began in 32 or 31 B.C., it was not dedicated until 29 B.C. The projects initiated by Augustus were: the Arch of Augustus (19 B.C.), the Temple of Divus Iulius (32-29 B.C.), the Miliarium Aureum (post-20 B.C.), and possibly the Porticus Gai et Luci; The history of the latter remains controversial: Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 204; D. Palombi, s.v. 'Porticus Gai et Luci', *LTUR* IV, 122-123; cf. Barbara Ackroyd, 'The porticus Gai et Luci. The porticus Philippi and the porticus Liviae', *Athenaeum* 88 (2000) 563-580, at 563-571.

dimensions of monuments and terrain; a 3D-reconstruction of the Forum between 44 B.C. and 29 B.C. is not available at this time.⁸⁵ An important aspect of this relational property is *why* the monument was situated at its particular spot. Was the location of Caesar's monument chosen because its significance would be enhanced or complemented by monuments in the vicinity?

Although the location of the monument was tied to the event it commemorated, it would be too easy to state that the spot was chosen simply because it was where Caesar was cremated: the crowd not only erected the monument, they also determined the spot of the funeral pyre. The question is, then, why Caesar was cremated in the Forum, instead of in the Campus Martius. Ancient sources describe that the crowd considered burning Caesar's body at the Capitoline, or in the Theatre of Pompey.⁸⁶ Graeco-Roman historian Appian (c. 95 – 165 A.D.), for instance, wrote that 'the people returned to Caesar's bier and bore it as a consecrated thing to the Capitol in order to bury it in the temple and place it among the gods'.⁸⁷ This indicates that the Capitoline was considered a suitable place to pay homage to Caesar. It suggests a certain level of deliberation. Although the ultimate location of the funeral pyre was third choice, it was preferred to the tomb in the Campus Martius. What may have motivated this decision? Of course it is possible that this spot was chosen for its convenience. After all, it was an open space near the Rostra where the eulogy was given. According to Sumi, however, the choice of locale could also have had a more significant meaning. In the first place, the northwest part of the Forum, near the Curia and the Rostra where Antony held the eulogy, was at the time associated with the aristocracy. The opposite end of the Forum, near the Temple of Castor, was associated with the plebs because it had increasingly become the stage of *contiones* and *comitia*.⁸⁸ The crowd's decision, then, to burn the body in the plebeian side of the Forum may indicate a deliberate attempt of the people to claim ownership of Caesar's memory.

Sumi gives another possible motive for the crowd's decision to cremate Caesar's body in the southeast part of the Forum.⁸⁹ At the time of his death Caesar was Pontifex Maximus, head

⁸⁵ In recent years, an effort has been made to develop digital reconstructions of ancient cityscapes. Important work has been done by the Experiential Technologies Center at UCLA under the direction of Diane Favro. For other contributions, see Lothar Haselberger and John Humphrey ed., *Imaging ancient Rome: documentation, visualization, imagination*, supplement of JRA 61 (Portsmouth 2006).

⁸⁶ Dio 44.50.2; Suet. *Iul.* 84.3; App. *B. Civ.* 2.148.2.

⁸⁷ App. *B. Civ.* 2.148.2, trans. Horace White, *Loeb classical library* (1913).

⁸⁸ Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 209.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, 210-211.

of the state religion. The Regia was the headquarters of this office, and the Domus Publica, which stood directly behind the Regia, was the Pontifex Maximus' official residence.⁹⁰ Consequently, the location of the funeral pyre likely emphasised Caesar's position as head of the state religion.⁹¹ But perhaps there is more to it. In his description of the cremation, Appian explicitly refers to the Regia as the 'ancient palace of the kings of Rome', which had been the building's function during the monarchical period.⁹² Moreover, the people hailed Caesar as king in January 44 B.C.⁹³ Sumi convincingly argues that the crowd may have honoured Caesar as a monarch by choosing the Regia as the funeral's backdrop.⁹⁴ It is likely, then, that the people deliberately chose the cremation's location for its symbolical significance, whether their motives were political, religious or regal.⁹⁵ The monument inherited these connotations, since it was erected at the spot of the funeral pyre.

The sightlines from Caesar's monument to the Rostra on the aristocratic end of the Forum, the Regia, and possibly the Domus Publica suggest that the plebeians intended to convey a story, or at least use the connotations of these other monuments in order to enhance or complement the significance of Caesar's funeral and monument. Although some may argue that this indicates a connection between multiple monuments, the sightlines do not rule out that Caesar's monument was a single-point narrative. Firstly, it is to be expected that the people wanted to commemorate Caesar at a location that was significant to him, or at least to their perception of him. It may come as no surprise, then, that the surroundings of the funerary monument can be related to Caesar. Secondly, and more importantly, complex configurations are generally used to narrate complex events which spanned large areas or long periods of time. The narrative of Caesar's monument, however, was straightforward. As a funerary monument, it referred to Caesar's death, cremation and status. A complex configuration would not have been necessary to carry this message. In this case, the surroundings of the monument highlighted the narrative, rather than adding temporal or spatial dimensions to it.

⁹⁰ Ibidem, 211; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 214-215; R.T. Scott, s.v. 'Regia', *LTUR* IV, 189-192; Idem, s.v. 'Domus Publica', *LTUR* I, 165-166.

⁹¹ Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 211.

⁹² App. *B. Civ.* 2.148.3.

⁹³ Suet. *Iul.* 79.1-2; Plut. *Caes.* 60.2; App. *B. Civ.* 2.108.3.

⁹⁴ Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 211.

⁹⁵ Ibidem.

Urban renovations can result in new sightlines or associations. Consequently, when an area is restructured to accommodate a new monument it may suggest that a narrative configuration was created. Although Caesar initiated a reconfiguration of the entire Forum in 52 B.C., an effort eventually completed by Augustus,⁹⁶ this was not necessarily connected to Caesar's funerary monument. The restructuring was well on its way at the time of Caesar's death, and thus when the monument was erected. Furthermore, the fact that it was a funerary monument indicates that its location was linked to the event of Caesar's cremation rather than to his restructuring of the Forum. Still, it is possible that the monument was indirectly affected by Caesar's building programme. Caesar's motive to rearrange the Forum appears political in nature: he undid many efforts of his predecessor and adversary, Sulla.⁹⁷ Caesar was popular amongst the plebs, while Sulla had been an Optimate who acted in the interest of the Senate. Their respective political stances were reflected in their building efforts. After Sulla had prohibited popular tribunes access to the old Rostra, at the time located in front of the Curia, Caesar moved the Rostra to the opposite corner, between the Temple of Saturn and the Temple of Concord.⁹⁸ The crowd's decision to cremate Caesar in the plebeian side of the Forum, on the same axis as the Rostra, can be seen as an acknowledgement of Caesar's efforts on their behalf. The monument, then, would have been a tentative reminder of Caesar's popular politics and reconfiguration of the Forum.

A breach of tradition in order to connect a new monument to an old monument may indicate the intent to make a statement. In this case, it was rather unusual for a funerary monument to be placed within Rome's sacred boundary, the *pomerium*. A few other notable persons in Roman history, such as P. Valerius Poplicola, had received the same honour.⁹⁹ As with Caesar, the honour was always granted at the request of the Roman people. For this reason, one of the messages of the monument was that Caesar had been loved by the people.¹⁰⁰ Although this particular breach of tradition added meaning to the monument, it did not create a link to any other nearby monument. Consequently, the unusual location of

⁹⁶ N. Purcell, s.v. 'Forum Romanum (Republican period)', *LTUR* II, 325-336; Idem, s.v. 'Forum Romanum (Imperial period)', *LTUR* II, 336-342; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 129-130; Patterson, 'The city of Rome', 190-194, esp. 193-194; see also n. 83 above.

⁹⁷ Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 209-210.

⁹⁸ Ibidem; Cic. *Clu.* 110.

⁹⁹ Poplicola died at the end of the sixth century B.C.; Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 208-209.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, 209.

Caesar's monument *intra pomerium* should be considered as an individual characteristic, rather than a relational property.

Since similarities in visual language and architectural style can serve as a link between different monuments, appearance can be considered a relational property. Although it is unclear whether the initial monument was a column, an altar, or both, we know that it was erected shortly after the funeral.¹⁰¹ Hence, it is unlikely that the crowd put much thought in its style, or that they adapted its appearance to nearby monuments. The column which replaced the initial monument is a different matter. As stated above, Suetonius describes it as a twenty-foot tall column, made of Numidian marble and inscribed with the words *Parenti Patriae*.¹⁰² This column was erected after 1 June 44 B.C., but the exact date is unknown. Interestingly, in October 44 B.C. Antony erected a statue of Caesar on the Rostra inscribed with the words *Parenti optime merito*.¹⁰³ At some point, both monuments coexisted and stood directly opposite of each other. Not only were they linked by line of sight, both statues were dedicated to Caesar and referred to his honorary title.¹⁰⁴ Because the sequence of events is unclear, the question remains whether this visual link was established by Antony or by Caesar's veterans and Augustus. Of course, the connection was not part of the original plan: the first monument was destroyed five or six months before Antony erected the statue.

3.3 Evaluation and conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to determine whether single-point narratives existed in ancient Rome. At the same time, it served as a test of methodology: can relational properties indicate whether multiple monuments were linked to one another. Caesar's monument was an interesting case study. Its history and the context of its construction suggest that it was a declamatory narrative. It was a single monument that commemorated a single, localised event. Moreover, it shared characteristics with modern declamatory narratives, as it was a funerary monument bearing a brief inscription.

¹⁰¹ See n. 69 above.

¹⁰² Suet. *Jul.* 85.

¹⁰³ Cic. *Fam.* 12.3.1.

¹⁰⁴ For the political connotations of the connection between both monuments: Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 216.

The analysis of the monument's relational properties revealed a more complex picture. First of all, the people's influence on both the location and meaning of the monument was unmistakable. With their decision to cremate Caesar within the *pomerium* and in the plebeian side of the Forum they sent a strong message: he had been loved by the people of Rome. The pyre's proximity to the Regia emphasised his elevated status as Pontifex Maximus and popular leader. Here, then, two relational properties are at odds with one another: although the monument did not share its patron with nearby structures, its location suggests that a deliberate connection was made between Caesar, the Forum's plebeian space, and the regal and religious connotations of the Regia. I have argued that the existence of relevant sightlines did not mean that Caesar's monument was part of a complex configuration. The main reason for this is that the monument's narrative remained rather simplistic, as it focused on Caesar's life and death, whereas complex configurations generally tell stories about events that took place in a large area or spanning a long period of time.

Other relational properties proved ambiguous, too. Caesar's renovation of the Forum, for instance, took place prior to the construction of the monument, yet still played a part in the placing and meaning of the monument. Similarly, the sightline and visual connection between Caesar's monument and the statue erected by Antony on the Rostra in October 44 B.C. was not part of the plebs' original plan, but may have affected the narrative once the link was established. The main problem is that the current methodology does not provide a way to weigh the importance or relevance of relational properties. Furthermore, it attempts to generalise, while the context and properties of each monument were unique and Rome's cityscape was constantly subject to change. Simply put, few of the relational properties discussed in this chapter were unequivocal. As a result, the methodology depends heavily on interpretation, while it was the aim to develop a more objective approach. It remains to be seen whether this is a structural problem pertaining to the methodology, or a result of limitations imposed by this case study.

Despite its problems, the methodology allowed for a reasonably systematic examination of Caesar's monument and the surrounding area. Although the analysis did not rule out that the monument shared relational properties with nearby structures, it neither revealed a web of mutually complementing monuments which together narrated a complex event. Furthermore, it showed that Caesar's monument resembled modern declamatory narratives in form, function, and style: it consisted of a simple marker that served to commemorate the deceased,

bearing a brief inscription which referred to the person's life and significance. I would therefore argue that Caesar's monument was a single-point narrative, at least until it was incorporated into the Temple of Divus Iulius in 32 or 31 B.C.

Future studies could examine this type of narrative in a non-urban environment. An interesting case study would be the monument that Augustus erected to commemorate the battle of Actium. It was situated on a hill, overseeing the area where this large naval battle had taken place. A cursory glance, then, suggests that it resembled modern single-point narratives.

In the next chapter I shall examine the narrative structure of the Roman triumph during the Republic and early Empire. The discussion will focus on the general itinerary through Rome's urban landscape and on the triumphal display.

4. Linear landscape narratives: the Roman triumph

Historical narratives are generally structured around causality and chronology.¹⁰⁵ They describe an event from beginning to end. As discussed in chapter two, certain media, such as books and films, are particularly suited for this type of narrative. The temporality of reading and watching provides structure and a sense of immersion, almost mimicking historical time as the narrative follows the course of events. It is not as easy to achieve these effects in spatial narratives. Due to the three-dimensional nature of the medium, representations of different story-elements coexist in the landscape. This means that synchronicity lies at the base of the narrative structure, instead of chronology.¹⁰⁶ However, Azaryahu and Foote have observed that time and progression can be suggested through the configuration of narrative space and by using visual and directional cues.¹⁰⁷ One way of doing this is by configuring the narrative linearly, linking time and space in a sequence that is tailored to a particular event.¹⁰⁸ Although the preferred sequence is often chronological, a thematic order can be used instead.¹⁰⁹

Because progression and the passing of time are most easily expressed in a linear fashion, it may come as no surprise that modern sequential narratives are generally configured by placing monuments along a path, or conversely, by arranging a path along monuments.¹¹⁰ Entrance gates and fences are often used to guide the experience of visitors.¹¹¹ This type of spatial narrative can be used to retrace the footsteps of historical figures or to imbue a journey with moral and spiritual significance, one notable example being the pilgrimage.¹¹² Linear configurations can also be deployed to narrate complex cultural developments or overarching historical events, thereby ordering and simplifying the story.¹¹³ Despite the inherent synchronicity of spatial narratives, the action of walking along a trail, past numerous monuments, can be compared to flipping the pages of a book or watching successive scenes of a film. A well-organised linear configuration can invest the spatial narrative with a clear sense of time and progression, thereby conveying history in a coherent manner.

¹⁰⁵ Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 180, 183.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, 180, 191.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, 184-186; Azaryahu et al, *Space, place and story*.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem.

¹¹⁰ Ibidem; Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 183.

¹¹¹ Ibidem, 184; Azaryahu et al, *Space, place and story*.

¹¹² Ibidem.

¹¹³ Ibidem.

The question arises whether sequential narratives existed in ancient Rome. Did the Romans construct linear configurations in the urban landscape to preserve the temporal structure of commemorated events, or to invest them with a thematic order? The cityscape likely imposed certain restrictions on feasible spatial configurations. Azaryahu and Foote note that ‘some [sequential narratives] are highly structured while others allow visitors great flexibility’.¹¹⁴ Flexible narratives are quite suitable for an open urban environment, such as ancient Rome, because they do not interfere with urban life and visitors are free to deviate from the path. In modern cities these take the form of tours, often narrating the history of the city or a notable figure by guiding visitors past numbered monuments.¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, the concept of tourism in the ancient world is a largely unexplored subject, and at this time there is no evidence for the existence of narrative tours in ancient Rome.

Unlike flexible narratives, strict configurations are difficult to maintain in an urban environment because they tend to hinder traffic. I use the word ‘maintain’ deliberately: what if such spatial configurations are temporary? Arguably, durable monuments are most often used to narrate history in a landscape. Yet commemoration can also be tied to an event. When such an event is recurrent, it serves the same purpose as monumental configurations: keeping a collective memory alive by utilising the landscape. The Roman triumph was such a recurrent event and, as I will argue, Rome’s cityscape was integral to the narrative of this ancient celebration. In this chapter I will examine whether the triumphal narrative was configured linearly along a path to preserve the thematic or temporal order of the celebrated event. And if so, to what extent did it share characteristics with sequential narratives in our modern day landscape?

4.1 Context and sources

The Roman triumph was an ancient victory celebration, granted by the senate to commanders who had achieved military success.¹¹⁶ In the second century B.C., the Greek historian Polybius

¹¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹¹⁵ On practical considerations concerning the freedom of movement of visitors: Azaryahu et al, *Space, place and story*; Azaryahu and Foote, ‘Historical space as a narrative medium’, 184.

¹¹⁶ For the history of the Roman triumph: Hendrik Simon Versnel, *Triumphus: an inquiry into the origin, development and meaning of the Roman triumph* (Leiden 1970); Larissa Bonfante Warren, ‘Roman triumphs and Etruscan kings: the changing face of the triumph’, *JRS* 60 (1970) 49-66; Tanja Itgenshorst,

described it as ‘a spectacle in which generals bring right before the eyes of the Roman people a vivid impression of their achievements’.¹¹⁷ Indeed, the captives and battlefield trophies that were carried in the triumphal procession emphasised the general’s military might, while newly conquered territories were represented by tableaus and rich collections of booty. For the Roman triumph, the periphery of the *oikoumene* was transferred to the heart of the Empire.¹¹⁸ A detailed narrative of conquest was presented in Rome, even though the battle had taken place elsewhere.

The spectacle clearly intrigued ancient writers, as it is the most thoroughly discussed Roman celebration in our primary sources.¹¹⁹ The period that is best represented falls between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D. While Roman historian Livy (c. 60 B.C. - A.D. 17) provides ample details about the triumph for the third and second centuries B.C., a rich corpus of other sources proves useful for the period from the late Republic to the beginning of the second century A.D.¹²⁰ The discussion in this chapter will therefore focus on triumphs held between the third century B.C. and A.D. 71, the year in which Titus and Vespasian celebrated a triumph that is exceptionally well-documented by the Romano-Jewish historian Josephus (c. A.D. 37 - 100).

Ancient sources reveal that the Roman triumph existed at the intersection of Rome’s political, religious and military domain. During the Republic, nepotism and political rivalries could decide whether the senate allowed a victorious general to celebrate a triumph. With the transition to the principate, the underlying political dynamic changed. Triumphs became the prerogative of the imperial family, turning it into a celebration of dynastic succession and a

Tota illa pompa: der Triumph in der römischen Republik. Katalog der Triumphe von 240 bis 19 vor Christus (Göttingen 2005).

¹¹⁷ Polyb. 6.15.8, trans. Mary Beard, *The Roman triumph* (Cambridge 2007) 31.

¹¹⁸ Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 1, 32-33.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 59-61.

¹²⁰ Livy, books 21-45 deal with the period 219-167 B.C.; For a more detailed overview of ancient literary sources on the triumph: Ida Östenberg, *Staging the world: spoils, captives, and representations in the Roman triumphal procession* (Oxford 2009) 14-18; For an excellent critique of discrepancies between ancient sources and modern interpretations thereof: Beard, *The Roman triumph*. The data provided by literary works can often be compared to the primary epigraphic source, the *Fasti Triumphales*. This collection of marble tablets, set up in the Forum Romanum around 12 B.C., gives a chronological overview of the triumphs held between 753 B.C. and 19 B.C. In the sixteenth century, a large number of fragments belonging to the *Fasti Triumphales* were excavated near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. A reconstruction can be seen in the Palazzo dei Conservatori of the Capitoline Museums.

tool for propaganda.¹²¹ Religion, too, was of central importance to the triumph: in the Roman mindset, victory could not be achieved without the goodwill of the gods.¹²² This belief found expression in the formal proceedings of the triumph, which will be discussed below.¹²³ The complex relation between triumphal politics, Roman religion, and military custom makes it difficult to do justice to the celebration's many facets, especially in a short chapter on the triumph's narrative structure. Although the current study necessitates a focus on similarities, rather than differences, there can be no doubt that every triumphal celebration was unique.¹²⁴

Modern scholars have approached the Roman triumph from various angles. The celebration has been extensively analysed as an ancient ritual, an expression of political dominance, a public performance and, most recently, as a temporary museum exhibition.¹²⁵ These different approaches are by no means mutually exclusive. Indeed, the overall scholarly consensus is that the triumph was a powerful narrative of Roman conquest and imperialism. Most discussions focus on origin, custom, form and meaning, while the narrative structure of the triumph is left implicit. The main exception is a recent publication by Ida Östenberg, who argues that the sequence of triumphal display heightened the dramatic effect of the procession.¹²⁶ Whether the triumphal narrative linked time and space in a sequential manner has not been examined. To answer this question I shall discuss both the story itself and its narrative structure, for meaning and sequence were entwined.¹²⁷

¹²¹ The political schemes are expressed in: Cic. *Att.* 5, 6, 7; Cic. *Fam.* 2, 3, 8, 15; Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 6.30.2-3; Livy 3.63.5-11; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 190-205, 211-218; Miriam R. Pelikan Pittenger, *Contested triumphs: Politics, pageantry and performance in Livy's Republican Rome* (Berkeley 2008) provides an excellent analysis of the political intrigue and machineries surrounding Republican triumphs, esp. 295-298; Itgenshorst, *Tota illa pompa*, 67-69; On the role of the triumph in imperial politics and dynastic succession: Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 271, 295-305.

¹²² Steven H. Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a museum: power, identity, and the culture of collecting* (Oxford 2012) 34.

¹²³ Itgenshorst, *Tota illa pompa*, 195; Pelikan Pittenger, *Contested triumphs*, 36, 128-129; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 191, 198-201, 298.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, 82, 104-105; Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 12.

¹²⁵ Ancient ritual: Bonfante Warren, 'Roman triumphs and Etruscan kings', 49-66; Versnel, *Triumphus*. Expression of politics: Itgenshorst, *Tota illa pompa*; Pelikan Pittenger, *Contested triumphs*. Public performance: Östenberg, *Staging the world*. Temporary museum exhibition: Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a museum*, 33-34.

¹²⁶ Östenberg, *Staging the world*; In a publication on triumphs in the late Antiquity, Michael McCormick briefly discusses the narrative sequence of Titus and Vespasian's triumphal route: Michael McCormick, *Eternal victory: triumphal rulership in late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the early medieval West* (Cambridge 1986) 14-16.

¹²⁷ Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 11.

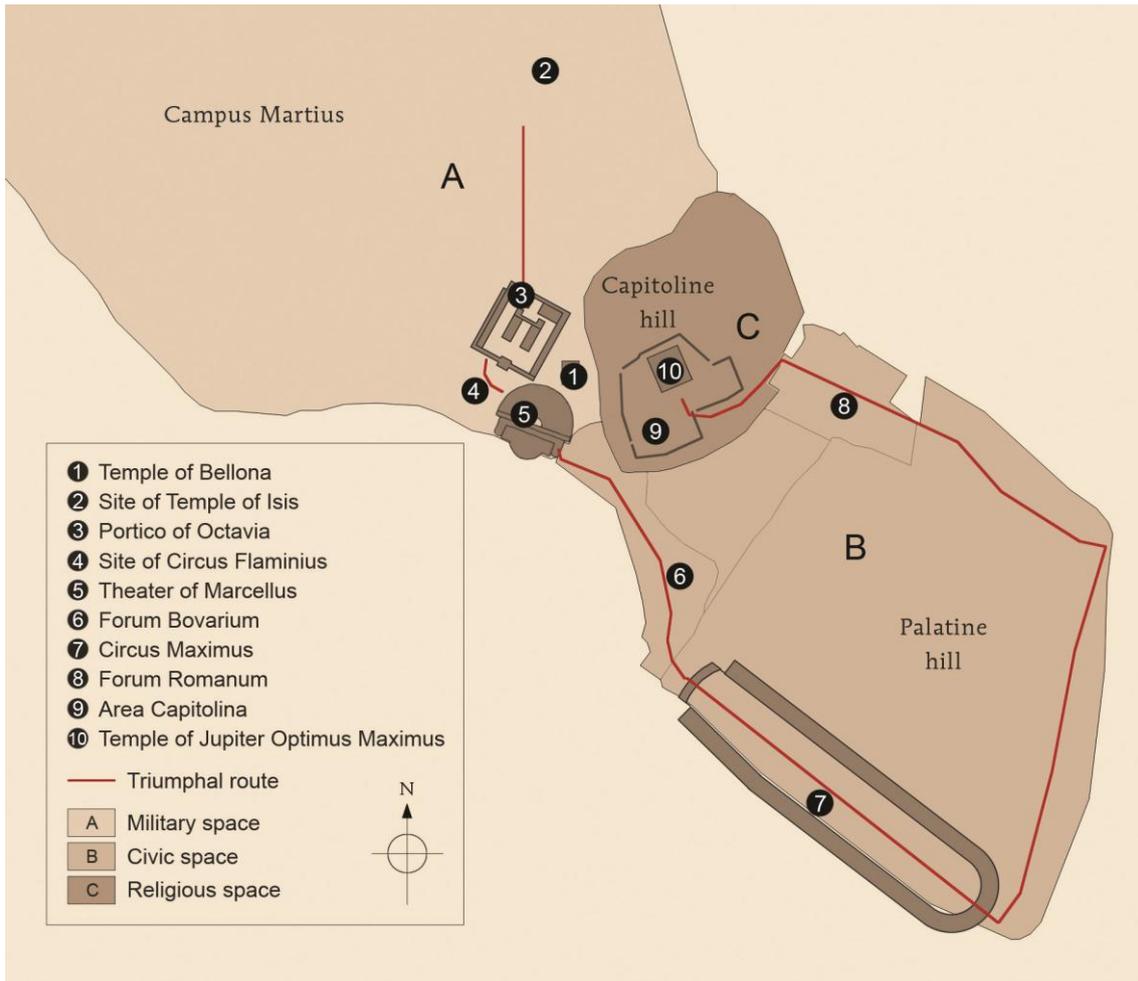


Figure 3: schematic overview of the triumphal route (based on the general modern consensus). After: Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, and Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 235.

4.2 The configuration of the triumphal narrative

The triumphal narrative existed on two related, yet separate levels. In the first place, there was the triumphal route which was embedded in the urban landscape. Secondly, the procession itself was arranged in a particular sequence. Both layers of the triumphal narrative were ingrained in the Roman tradition and highly ritualised.¹²⁸ This does not mean that the triumph was not subject to change. Although rituals require structure and reiteration to be

¹²⁸ Ibidem, 10.

recognisable, they also reflect cultural values and perceptions of the world.¹²⁹ Thus, as Rome and the outside world changed, so did the triumph.¹³⁰

4.2.1 The route

The processional route (figure 3) can be considered the first layer of the triumphal narrative, possessing its own sequence and meaning. To the dismay of modern scholars, not a single ancient literary source provides information on the full itinerary. Worse still, some accounts are incongruous.¹³¹ This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to trace the route of any specific triumph in detail. Of course this does not mean that the triumphal route was completely reinvented on every occasion. On the contrary, the sources are fairly consistent in their descriptions of the itinerary's general outline.¹³² For this reason, I shall focus my discussion on the route's main features.

Triumphal processions started on the Campus Martius, a large plain outside of Rome's *pomerium*.¹³³ This area was consecrated to Mars and traditionally served as an exercise ground for the army.¹³⁴ As such, it had strong military connotations. The triumphal preparations indicate that, at least during the Republic, the military character of this area was relevant to the celebration.¹³⁵ For instance, upon his return to Rome the victorious general made a formal address to the senate at the Temple of Bellona, goddess of war, which was located on the Campus Martius.¹³⁶ He then remained in the area until his request for a triumph had been

¹²⁹ Ibidem, 12; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 82, 93, 104-105.

¹³⁰ Ibidem; Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 12.

¹³¹ As demonstrated by Mary Beard in her analysis of ancient descriptions of the triumphal route: Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 93-105.

¹³² Ibidem, 81-82, 105.

¹³³ J. BJ. 7.123-57 mentions the Campus Martius as the starting point of the triumph of Titus and Vespasian; Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, 'Der Triumph – erinnere Dich, daß Du ein Mensch bist' in: Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp and Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp ed., *Erinnerungsorte der Antike: die römische Welt* (München 2006) 258-276, at 262-263; Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 13; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 92, 94, 105, although she remains cautious; M. Andreussi, s.v. 'Pomerium', *LTUR* IV, 96-105.

¹³⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 4.22, 5.13.2; Gel. 15.27; Livy 2.5.2; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 74.

¹³⁵ On the legal proceedings: Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 12-13; Versnel, *Triumphus*, 191, argues that the triumphing general was not allowed to cross the *pomerium* prior to the triumphal celebration because his *imperium* did not extend to the civil sphere; cf. Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 100, who points out that this tradition was, in all likelihood, not always respected.

¹³⁶ Hölkeskamp, 'Der Triumph', 262; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 66-67, 74-77; A. Viscogliosi, s.v. 'Bellona, aedes in circo', *LTUR* I, 190-192; T.P. Wiseman, s.v. 'Campus Martius', *LTUR* I, 220-224;

reviewed and granted.¹³⁷ The first stage of the triumphal route thus had a distinctly military character.

Once the procession moved off, it passed through the *porta triumphalis*.¹³⁸ There are many theories about the purpose and location of this triumphal gate, but little evidence to support them.¹³⁹ The only ancient source who provides concrete information is Josephus, in his description of the triumph of Titus and Vespasian:

*'All the soldiery marched out, while it was still night, in proper order and rank under their commanders, and they were stationed on guard not at the upper palace but near the Temple of Isis. For it was there that the emperor and prince were resting that night. At break of day Vespasian and Titus emerged, garlanded with laurel and dressed in the traditional purple costume, and went over to the Portico of Octavia. (...) After the prayers, Vespasian briefly addressed the assembled company all together and then sent the soldiers off to the traditional breakfast provided by the emperors. He himself meanwhile went back to the gate which took its name from the fact that triumphs always pass through it. Here he and Titus first had a bite to eat and then, putting on their triumphal dress and sacrificing to the gods whose statues are set up by the gate, they sent off the triumphal procession, riding out through the theaters so that the crowds had a better view.'*¹⁴⁰

The excerpt gives crucial information on both the triumphal route and the function of the *porta triumphalis*. In the first place, 'went back' indicates that the gate stood between the Temple of Isis and the Porticus Octaviae, both located on the Campus Martius.¹⁴¹ Secondly, the words 'at break of day' and 'breakfast' suggest that this part of the account took place at the beginning of the day. Furthermore, Josephus remarks that Titus and Vespasian made their

Itgenshorst, *Tota illa pompa*, 195; Pelikan Pittenger, *Contested triumphs*, 36, 128-129; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 201.

¹³⁷ Hölkeskamp, 'Der Triumph', 261; cf. Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 100, 202; Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 12-13.

¹³⁸ J. BJ. 7.130.

¹³⁹ No archaeological traces have been positively identified. For theories on the location and purpose of the gate: Versnel, *Triumphus*, 132-63; Hölkeskamp, 'Der Triumph', 263; F. Coarelli, s.v. 'Porta Triumphalis', *LTUR* III, 333-334; Bonfante Warren, 'Roman triumphs and Etruscan kings', 53; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 96-101 reviews a number of theories.

¹⁴⁰ J. BJ. 123-131, trans. Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 93-94.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 99-100; This contradicts the tentative modern consensus, which is that the *porta triumphalis* was in fact the Porta Carmentalis, located near the twin Temple of Fortuna and Mater Matuta and the southern slope of the Capitol: see n. 139 above, esp. Hölkeskamp, 'Der Triumph', 263.

preparations and *sent off* the procession at the triumphal gate. Based on this contemporary account, then, the gate was located on the Campus Martius and marked the spot where the triumph was set in motion.¹⁴² Interestingly, Azaryahu and Foote remark that gates are frequently used to signal the starting or ending points of sequential narratives.¹⁴³ The *porta triumphalis* functioned similarly, marking the beginning of the triumphal procession and narrative.

From the military space of the Campus Martius, the procession moved into the civic space of the city proper. This second phase of the celebration was the middle of the triumphal narrative. The itinerary becomes somewhat difficult to reconstruct at that point due to the ambiguity of evidence. Even so, several sources reveal that the triumph moved through circuses and theatres.¹⁴⁴ The likely candidates were the Circus Flaminius, the Theatre of Marcellus and the Circus Maximus, although not every triumph necessarily incorporated all three of them.¹⁴⁵ The Circus Flaminius and the Theatre of Marcellus were situated on the border of the Campus Martius and the city centre. This suggests that these places signified the transition from military to civic space, thereby marking the beginning of the narrative's second phase. In addition to the theatres, Rome's market area and the Forum Romanum were also crossed.¹⁴⁶ These large and relatively open spaces offered room for a substantial audience. They were the most bustling areas of Rome and, as such, reinforced the public character of the celebration. It was the perfect opportunity for the triumphator to present his victory and spoils to the people of Rome and to reassert his social and political position. As a blatant exposition of power and conquest, the second stage of the triumphal narrative told a story of Roman superiority to a predominantly Roman crowd.

¹⁴² Cf. *ibidem*, 262-263; Many scholars, including Hölkeskamp, consider the Circus Flaminius as point of departure.

¹⁴³ Azaryahu et al, *Space, place and story*; Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 184, 191.

¹⁴⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 14.13.2-3; J. *BJ.* 7.131; Plut. *Aem.* 32.1.

¹⁴⁵ The well-attested route of the Flavian triumph ran through the Forum Holitorium, the Forum Bovarium, the Circus Maximus and the Roman Forum. It may have also included the Circus Flaminius and the Theatre of Marcellus; Hölkeskamp, 'Der Triumph', 263; Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 13; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 101-102; Ena Makin, 'The triumphal route, with particular reference to the Flavian triumph', *JRS* 11 (1921) 25-36, at 33-34; cf. Fergus Millar, 'Last year in Jerusalem: monuments of the Jewish War in Rome' in: J. Edmondson, S. Mason and James Rives, *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (Oxford 2005) 101-128, at 104-106.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*; Makin, 'The triumphal route', 34-35; Hölkeskamp, 'Der Triumph' 263; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 94; Plut. *Aem.* 32.1.

The final phase of the triumph took place on the Capitoline, a hill towering above the Campus Martius as well as the Forum area. This geographical landmark figures prominently in the works of ancient writers, such as Livy and Tacitus, and has received much scholarly attention.¹⁴⁷ According to the Roman historical tradition, the Capitoline Hill had never fallen into enemy hands.¹⁴⁸ It was therefore seen as a safeguard of Rome and her vast *imperium*, symbolising the ambition to rule over an eternal empire.¹⁴⁹ At the same time it was the moral and religious heart of the Roman Empire.¹⁵⁰ On the southern summit lay the Area Capitolina, a large sacred precinct surrounding the Temple of Juppiter Optimus Maximus.¹⁵¹ This temple, allegedly constructed by the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, was consecrated to the Capitoline Triad: Juppiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, and Minerva.¹⁵² Arguably the most sacred building of Rome, it was the final destination of the Roman triumph.¹⁵³ There, the triumphator made a sacrifice to the gods, displaying his *pietas*. It showed acknowledgement of divine assistance in his victory and simultaneously served as a thank-offering.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, the items of the conquered that were carried in the procession were deposited at the temple.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, the ancient building was decorated with such an abundance of statues and trophies that occasionally some had to be removed.¹⁵⁶ The display of so many riches, especially those of religious nature, confirmed the superiority of the Roman deities.¹⁵⁷ As can be read in the excerpt of Josephus above, sacrifices to the gods were also made at the start of the triumph. The celebration's culmination, however, took place at the Capitoline. For the climax of the triumphal route's narrative the attention shifted from the victorious general to the gods of Rome.

¹⁴⁷ Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 74-82 and 82-85 for a discussion of the Capitoline in the work of Tacitus and Livy, respectively; Rea, *Legendary Rome*, 44-64 thoroughly discusses the Capitoline in the Augustan era; Fernande Hölscher, 'Das Capitol – das Haupt der Welt' in: Hölkeskamp ed., *Erinnerungsorte der Antike*, 75-99, esp. 81-89.

¹⁴⁸ Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 86.

¹⁴⁹ Ibidem, 69, 71, 86-87; Rea, *Legendary Rome*, 45.

¹⁵⁰ Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 69; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 78.

¹⁵¹ Ibidem, 53.

¹⁵² Ibidem, 155; Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 70; S. De Angeli, s.v. 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, aedes (fasti tardo-republicane e di età imperial)', *LTUR* III, 148-153; Over the course of Rome's history, the Temple of Juppiter Optimus Maximus has been rebuilt several times.

¹⁵³ Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 155; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 92-100; Hölkeskamp, 'Der triumph', 262-263; Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 71, 75.

¹⁵⁴ Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a museum*, 35.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem, 34; Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 71; Livy 2.22.6, 6.4.2, 6.29.8-10; Plin. *Nat.* 37.7.1.

¹⁵⁶ Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 71; Suet. *Cal.* 34.1; Livy 40.51.3.

¹⁵⁷ Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a museum*, 125.

The thematic sequence of the route reflected a distinctly Roman narrative of conquest, as it connected the military and religious aspects of victory to corresponding sections of Rome's urban landscape. Although the civic segment of the route may seem unrelated to conquest, it was relevant nonetheless. It was the public nature of the celebration that made the triumph a valuable political tool, during the Republic as well as the principate. The prospect of such an honour proved a great incentive to aspire victory.¹⁵⁸

Modern linear narratives often have a clear starting point and end-point to indicate the intended sequence. For the Roman triumph, the *porta triumphalis* and the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus functioned similarly. However, there is a notable difference: the triumphal route was ordered thematically, whereas modern sequential narratives tend to narrate a chronological progression. Yet the processional route was only the first layer of the triumphal narrative. In fact, the route's tripartite thematic division between Rome's military, civic and religious domain can be considered as the overarching configuration. It confined the triumphal procession whose participants walked through a highly structured spatial narrative. The procession had its own story to tell and was, as we shall see, configured in a different manner.

4.2.2 The procession

The narrative of each procession was told by its constituent parts. Yet, similar to the route, the sequence of these elements transcended the individual triumph.¹⁵⁹ Of course, a typical feature of any procession is that its participants form a line. The configuration of triumphs was therefore intrinsically linear. Furthermore, the triumphal procession consisted of two sections: the first part showed material objects, while the second part consisted of persons. This distinction was made by the Romans, too.¹⁶⁰

The display of material objects began with items of military nature. First in line were battle-standards of the subdued enemy. These were considered as proof of conquest, while the number of standards reflected the magnitude of the victory.¹⁶¹ Thus, the opening display of the procession announced that a conquest had been made. Next in line, at least since 200

¹⁵⁸ Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 197.

¹⁵⁹ Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 10.

¹⁶⁰ The Romans made a sharp distinction between spoils and captives, and both categories had to be included in a triumph: *ibidem*, 268-269.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 40.

B.C., were representations of subdued cities. The tower-shaped models expressed the enemy's strength and, as such, emphasised the feat of conquest.¹⁶² A similar message was carried by the heaps of conquered weapons, and sometimes even siege equipment, which were shown in conjunction with the city-representations.¹⁶³ So far, the items on display were tangible yet abstract tokens of victory. However, combat was depicted in more detail by *tableaux vivants*.¹⁶⁴ Paintings or tapestries formed the décor to actors and sculptures imitating consecutive battle scenes.¹⁶⁵ Thus, the combat story was told chronologically.

Once the battle was recounted, the narrative moved to the profits of conquest. After all, the riches of Rome's adversaries could only be plundered once victory had been achieved. Various sorts of riches, mostly spoils, were carried in the procession.¹⁶⁶ Firstly, there were monetary assets and precious metals.¹⁶⁷ Often emphasised and possibly exaggerated by literary sources, their economic value was in some cases awe-inspiring.¹⁶⁸ Also on parade were statues and paintings. These were appreciated primarily as spoils and trophies, while their artistic value was of marginal importance.¹⁶⁹ Then there were valuable items and materials such as exotic furniture and textiles, pearls, and gems.¹⁷⁰ The display of the triumphal procession advertised the conquered riches of foreign lands, often introducing new items to the people of Rome.¹⁷¹ Moreover, it increased the wealth of the Roman Empire and the glory of the triumphator.¹⁷² While battle-standards, city models and military spoils narrated the conquest itself, the luxury items on display showed the Roman people the profits of their military exploits.

Representations of conquest were followed by captives, the triumphator and his army. The introduction of the antagonists and heroes in the second part of the procession made for a

¹⁶² Ibidem, 214-215.

¹⁶³ Ibidem 22-24 (arms), 41-46 (siege equipment), 214 and 44-45 (tower-models).

¹⁶⁴ Ibidem, 247, 249; According to App. *Pun.* 9.66, the tableaux were positioned behind the city-representations, yet other sources do not explicitly mention their position in the procession.

¹⁶⁵ Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 253-254.

¹⁶⁶ Ibidem, 127, 266.

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem, 58-60, 71; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 150-151, 161; Although coins were generally mentioned after the piles of weapons, Livy describes a reverse order on two occasions: Livy 39.5.14-17, 39.7.1-2.

¹⁶⁸ For instance: Livy 10.46.5-7 and 14-16; Livy 33.23.7, 34.52.5-7; Plut. *Fab.* 22.4-5; Plut. *Luc.* 37.4; Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 19.16.3-4; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 39-40, 161.

¹⁶⁹ Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 79, 87-88; cf. Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 159-161.

¹⁷⁰ Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 91-92, 97-105 (furniture), 105-108 (pearls and gems).

¹⁷¹ Ibidem, 9, 91.

¹⁷² Ibidem, 272-273.

compelling story. The majority of the captives were selected on account of their appearance.¹⁷³ Rank and descent, however, were the most important qualities. Naturally, kings and their relatives were the most valuable and sought-after prisoners.¹⁷⁴ Ancient writers often make note of these highborn captives, and eagerly mention that great names such as Perseus, Jugurtha, Arsinoë and Vercingetorix were once paraded through the streets of Rome.¹⁷⁵ For maximum effect, these captives walked in front of the triumphator. This sequence stressed the importance of his victory and established a direct link between vanquished and vanquisher.¹⁷⁶ The triumphator himself was seated in a chariot, which elevated him above the rest of the procession. As the central figure, he was the visual and narrative climax of the triumphal procession.¹⁷⁷ The Roman army followed closely behind the general, just as it had followed him in battle.¹⁷⁸ The final piece of the procession consisted of Roman battle-standards, reaffirming the message of conquest.¹⁷⁹ Mirroring the enemy banners in front, they were a fitting conclusion to the triumphal narrative.

The triumphal narrative did not solely rely on visual imagery. While the general and his army were apparently self-explanatory, foreign elements in triumphal processions were identified by written placards (*tituli*). These announced the specifics of spoils, representations and captives, thereby conveying relevant information to the spectators.¹⁸⁰ It is worth mentioning that in modern spatial narratives usually 'significant places and moments are announced with signs and interpretive displays'.¹⁸¹ The explanatory signs used in triumphal processions indicate that a deliberate attempt was made to narrate the story of the military campaign to the people of Rome.

The procession presented a very detailed narrative of conquest. The first part was configured chronologically: mimicking the actual course of events it showed the subdued cities, their strength, and the fate of the conquered, followed by the profits of victory. The second part of the procession was configured rather thematically, with its dichotomy between

¹⁷³ Ibidem, 152-155; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 123; Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.66; J. *BJ.* 7.138.

¹⁷⁴ Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 153; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 120-122.

¹⁷⁵ Perseus: Livy 45.39.7. Jugurtha: Plut. *Mar.* 12.2; Livy *Per.* 67. Arsinoë and Vercingetorix: Dio 40.41.3, 43.19.4.

¹⁷⁶ Sen. *Ep.* 71.22; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 138; Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 131-135.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem, 131, 263-264.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem, 262-263; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 241-242.

¹⁷⁹ Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 34-35, 38-41.

¹⁸⁰ Ibidem, 263; Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a museum*, 117.

¹⁸¹ Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 191.

captives and conquerors. It is important to note that the sequence of the procession was merely a template; deviations were no exception, and the items on display were tied to the specific conquest that was being celebrated.

The triumphal procession was confined to the route and could not deviate from its predetermined path. Yet this restriction was not imposed on its audience. The spectators could see the narrative passing by in an ordered sequence if they remained stationary.¹⁸² However, it is likely that they were free to reposition themselves along the route; perhaps they could even follow the procession as it moved through the city. This layer of the narrative structure was thus quite flexible.

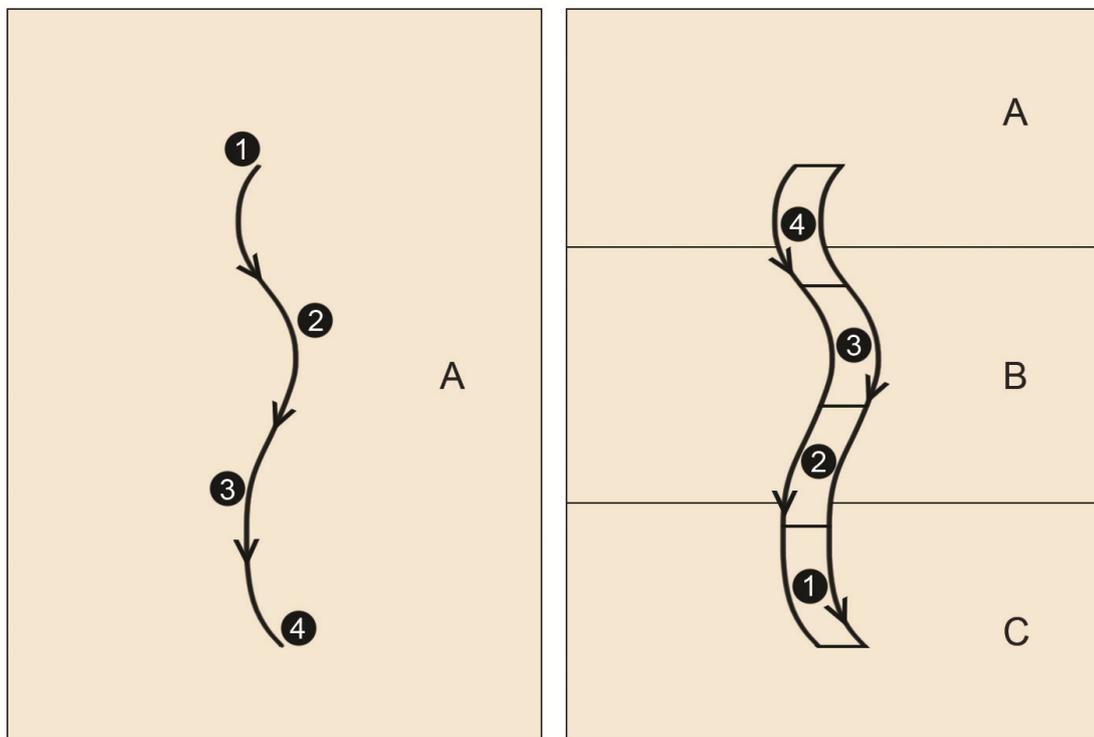


Figure 4: To the left, a schematic depiction of Azaryahu and Foote’s basic model of a sequential narrative, which is a path that leads the visitor past numerous monuments (1-4) within a particular environment (A). To the right, a schematic overview of the triumphal procession’s configuration. The items on display (1-4) move along with the procession and are ordered sequentially; the procession as a whole is incorporated into a tripartite division of the cityscape (A, B and C).

¹⁸² As discussed earlier in this chapter, the theatres of Rome were an important element of the triumphal route and could hold a substantial audience (see n. 144 and n. 145 above).

4.3 The Roman triumph as a sequential narrative

Every triumph was tied to a particular victory and thus had its own story to tell. Rivalries, politics and practicalities surely played a part as well in the specifics of each celebration. Nevertheless, many triumphs fell within the parameters of both the route and the sequence of display.

The configuration of the triumphal narrative consisted of two layers: the route through the city, and the triumphal procession itself (figure 4, right). The itinerary had a clear starting and ending point and crossed the military, civic and religious domain of the urban landscape. Each element of this tripartite division was relevant to the narrative of victory. The procession was entwined with the route, yet narrated a victory-specific story. Spoils, captives, and the triumphator with his army conveyed a clear message of conquest. In accordance with the nature of a procession, these elements were arranged linearly. Furthermore, their sequence corresponded chronologically as well as thematically to the commemorated victory.

Azaryahu and Foote define sequential spatial narratives as stories that are configured linearly along a path, preserving the temporal or thematic order of the commemorated event (figure 4, left).¹⁸³ Among the features that are currently used to guide visitors are gates and explanatory signs.¹⁸⁴ With the *porta triumphalis* and *tituli*, the Roman triumph possessed similar characteristics. Yet the analysis of Azaryahu and Foote does not extend to temporary spatial configurations, much less to configurations that were in motion, such as processions. Nor do they refer to linear narratives that were not configured at the site of the event, but elsewhere. However, they note that ‘some forms of historical re-enactment and performance art do, perhaps, strive toward a high level of locational or geographical verisimilitude, but these are relatively rare, as well as ephemeral’.¹⁸⁵ In the first place, the Roman triumph was, among other things, a ritual and performance.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, it connected detailed representations of victory to the cityscape, thereby circumventing the need to celebrate the conquest at the site of the victory. Lastly, the triumph was ephemeral, similar to performance art, yet recurred through many centuries. These characteristics did not inhibit the sequential

¹⁸³ Azaryahu and Foote, ‘Historical space as a narrative medium’, 183-186; Azaryahu et al, *Space, place and story*.

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem; Azaryahu and Foote, ‘Historical space as a narrative medium’, 184.

¹⁸⁵ Ibidem, 191; Azaryahu et al, *Space, place and story*.

¹⁸⁶ On the triumph as a ritual and performance: Östenberg, *Staging the world*, 7-12; Beard, *The Roman triumph*, 58-61.

configuration of the triumph. Rather, they indicate that the triumph was *more* than a linear spatial narrative. This means that studies of rituals and recurring public festivals, as well as theories of landscape narratives, should be taken into account when analysing the Roman celebration.

In this chapter I have argued that the narrative structure of the triumph had certain characteristics in common with modern sequential spatial narratives. The theory of Azaryahu and Foote helped to disentangle the multi-layered narrative structure of the triumph. Moreover, it shows that sequential configurations of space are not unique to our own time. The Romans, too, used their landscape as a narrative medium. Like us, they employed a deliberate strategy to convey and structure stories in a linear fashion. It made the triumphal narrative intelligible to spectators, while simultaneously establishing a powerful synergy between the narrative and the symbolic significance of the landscape.

Still, many aspects remain unexplored. How were victory monuments related to the route, for instance? An interesting case study would be the arch of Scipio Africanus, erected in 190 B.C., which spanned the Capitoline road and marked the entrance to the Area Capitolina.¹⁸⁷ Its location suggests that triumphs had to pass through it; perhaps it even marked the ending point of the route. How did other types of monuments along the itinerary affect the narrative, or even its configuration? Analyses of individual triumphs should take such monuments, where possible, into account. It is also worth noting that the triumph was not the only recurring procession in ancient Rome. The funeral procession can perhaps be approached from a similar angle, as it shared many features with the triumph. Future studies may reveal whether tours or other persistent forms of sequential narratives were established in ancient times, too.

¹⁸⁷ Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 89, 125.

5. Complex narratives: the monumental cityscape

In the previous chapters I have discussed rather straightforward configurations of space. Yet single-point markers or sequential configurations cannot always adequately narrate the history of a site. Some events are too complex, for instance because they covered a large area or because multiple significant moments overlapped in time or space.¹⁸⁸ Such intricate historical narratives, often concerning large battles or significant cultural developments, require a configuration that simplifies the event's spatial and temporal interconnections to convey a coherent account.¹⁸⁹

Azaryahu and Foote discern three types of complex narratives in the present-day landscape. Firstly, there are configurations that utilise the landscape by narrating different parts of the story from a number of vantage points. This type, 'geographical point-to-point narratives of significant places', is suitable for sites where multiple layers of history coexist, or even overlap.¹⁹⁰ The configuration can emphasise the most important aspects of the site's history and at the same time establish a connection between them.¹⁹¹ In this chapter I will refer to it as 'vista narrative' for convenience sake. Another type of complex narrative discussed by Azaryahu and Foote are thematic narratives. Such configurations can connect different events and periods to form a coherent narrative. The overarching theme serves as the glue that binds together ostensibly separate narratives.¹⁹² Lastly, there are configurations that present a 'chronological narrative of significant moments'. Similar to sequential narratives, monuments are arranged chronologically along a path. However, only key elements of the story are highlighted.¹⁹³ It can perhaps be argued that the Roman triumph, discussed in the previous chapter, was a chronological narrative, rather than sequential. The procession only showed representations of distinct moments and themes of victory: the conquest itself, crucial combat scenes, the booty, captives and the conqueror. Then again, the combination of these elements constituted a full account of victory. In that sense, every phase of the actual conquest was represented. In the end it does not matter much whether the triumph was a

¹⁸⁸ Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 187; Azaryahu et al, *Space, place and story*.

¹⁸⁹ Ibidem; Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 187.

¹⁹⁰ Ibidem; Azaryahu et al, *Space, place and story*.

¹⁹¹ Ibidem; Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 187.

¹⁹² Ibidem, 188-189; Azaryahu et al, *Space, place and story*.

¹⁹³ Ibidem; Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 187.

chronological or a sequential narrative: both categories are characterised by a linear configuration which preserves the temporal or thematic order of the event, and the triumph was the closest thing to such a configuration in ancient Rome. The discussion in this chapter will therefore focus on vista- and thematic narratives.

Numerous scholars have studied the elaborate and coherent building programmes that once covered large sections of Rome.¹⁹⁴ The extravagant architectural projects mainly date to the late Republic and the imperial period, as consecutive rulers aimed to outdo their predecessors and leave their mark on the cityscape.¹⁹⁵ Can such building programmes be considered as complex spatial narratives? And can we differentiate between different types of complex narratives in ancient Rome? The high density of monuments in the imperial capital and the limitations of available source material make it difficult to answer these questions. While some monumental configurations were well-defined, such as the Imperial Fora, others were incorporated into a pre-existing built-up environment. This presents scholars of ancient history with the challenge of identifying the relationship between building programmes and pre-existing monuments in the vicinity. In order to establish whether complex thematic narratives existed in ancient Rome, I will attempt to tackle this problem: as with single-point narratives, the relational properties discussed in chapter two may help determine the connection between monuments, or lack thereof.

The development of the Forum Romanum during the reign of Augustus will prove an interesting case study. Although Caesar's monument started out as a single-point narrative, as discussed in chapter three, it quickly acquired additional significance when Augustus focused his building efforts on the Forum area. However, before I turn to the rather complex monumental environment of the Forum Romanum I will briefly discuss vista narratives in ancient Rome.

5.1 Vista narratives: the Capitoline

The vista narratives discussed by Azaryahu and Foote consist of multiple vantage-points; each vista shows one element of the narrative. Such a network of organised panoramas most likely

¹⁹⁴ For instance: Gowing, *Empire and memory*; Favro, *The urban image*; Rea, *Legendary Rome*; Zanker, *The power of images*.

¹⁹⁵ Penelope Davies, *Death and the emperor: Roman imperial funerary monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge 2000) 61.

did not exist in ancient Rome. Although the city was built on seven hills, it would be far-fetched to claim that these vistas together constituted an organised spatial narrative.¹⁹⁶ Then what about individual hills? Perhaps it is possible to argue that the Capitoline Hill was a vantage point overseeing a complex narrative. After all, the symbolism of this geographical landmark, discussed in the previous chapter, was deeply embedded in Roman tradition.¹⁹⁷ In Republican times the hill towered above the Forum Bovarium, Velabrum, Campus Martius, and Forum Romanum. These areas, especially the latter two, were important locations throughout the history of Rome. Between 46 B.C. and A.D. 113 the view from the hill became even more interesting. During this period, no less than five fora were constructed at the foot of the Capitoline.¹⁹⁸ These Imperial Fora were positioned adjacent to one another, each carrying a message tied to the ideology of its patron.¹⁹⁹ Due to its central position, the Capitoline hill offered a magnificent view of Rome's historical landscape. Does that mean that the Capitoline served as a vista narrative?

Perhaps certain monuments, either on the ground-level or on the hill's summit, were positioned with the Capitoline vantage-point in mind, but how can modern scholars discern such connections? Literary and archaeological sources provide little information on the intentions of patrons. Furthermore, the criteria established in chapter two, which are intended to reveal the relationship between monuments, are of limited use: the Capitoline hill, by its very definition, offered countless sightlines. Moreover, a thorough study of the relationship between the Capitoline and any monument would require an analysis of an extensive geographical area in which many different patrons left their mark. For these reasons it is simply not feasible to determine whether the Capitol was the focal point of any *deliberate* configuration of space. That does not mean that such natural vantage-points serve no purpose in the commemoration or preservation of collective memory. On the contrary, they can convey a powerful narrative of history. Yet their panoramas evolve organically as cities develop over time. The complexity of the story they tell is intrinsic, rather than deliberate. As a result, the narrative lacks coherence. It is therefore doubtful whether Azaryahu and Foote's theory of

¹⁹⁶ Among the legendary seven hills are not included the Collis Hortulorum and the Ianiculum.

¹⁹⁷ See also: Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 69-71.

¹⁹⁸ The fora were: Forum of Caesar (technically Republican), Forum of Augustus, Forum of Vespasian (also known as the Forum of Peace), Forum of Nerva (Forum Transitorium) and the Forum of Trajan.

¹⁹⁹ On the Imperial Fora: James C. Anderson Jr., *The historical topography of the Imperial Fora*, Collection Latomus 182 (Brussels 1984); Paul Zanker, *Forum Augustum: das Bildprogramm* (Tübingen 1968); Zanker, *The power of images*; Gowing, *Empire and memory*.

spatial narratives is applicable to geographical vistas of ancient Rome. Their theory does, however, confirm the powerful narrative conveyed by top-down city views, and the vistas of the ancient world were no exception to that.

5.2 Thematic narratives: the Forum Romanum

In chapter three I have established that Caesar's monument on the Forum Romanum served as a single point narrative between 44 and 31 B.C. Yet new monuments appeared over the course of time, while pre-existing structures were destroyed, renovated or replaced. Before his death, Caesar planned to restructure the entire Forum area. Few of his plans were completed by the time of his assassination, however, and the bulk of the effort fell upon his heir, Augustus. Hence, significant changes were made to the layout and appearance of the Forum during Augustus' triumvirate and principate (43 B.C. – A.D. 14).²⁰⁰ The question arises whether he created a complex narrative. In order to answer this question it is necessary to examine the relationship between the different monuments on the Forum Romanum at the time of his reign (figure 5).

In January 42 B.C., almost two years after his assassination, Julius Caesar was formally deified. Augustus subsequently vowed to build a temple in the Forum in his honour. The Temple of Divus Iulius was dedicated on 18 August 29 B.C., shortly after Augustus' return from Actium and one day prior to the anniversary of his consulship (43 B.C.). Interestingly, Caesar's monument was incorporated into the temple's rostrum. By examining whether the temple shared relational properties with nearby monuments between 29 B.C. and Augustus' death in A.D. 14, I can determine if it was part of a complex narrative on the Forum Romanum during Augustus' reign.

²⁰⁰ N. Purcell, s.v. 'Forum Romanum (Republican period)', *LTUR* II, 325-336; Patterson, 'The city of Rome', 193-194; Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 209; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 129-130.

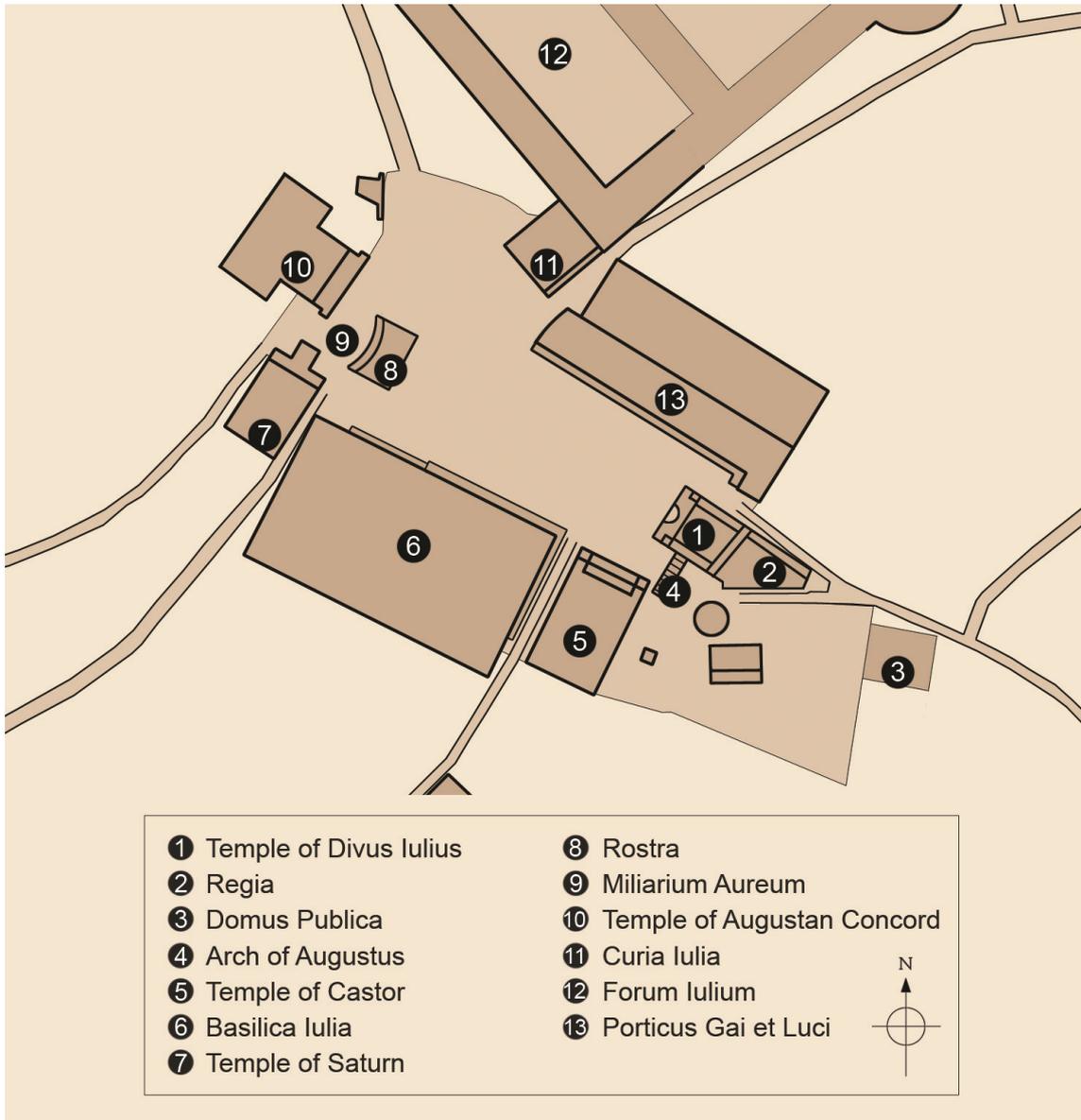


Figure 5: overview of the Forum Romanum, ~29 B.C. – A.D. 14. After: Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*.

5.2.1 Relational properties

The first step is to establish which monuments Augustus erected or restored in the vicinity, and whether they were connected to the Temple of Divus Iulius through sightlines. To begin with, Augustus completed several projects on the Forum Romanum that were planned by Caesar: the Rostra, the Basilica Iulia and the Curia Iulia. The latter was completed in 29 B.C., the year in which the Temple of Divus Iulius was dedicated, but could not be seen when

standing in front of the temple.²⁰¹ Both the Basilica Iulia and the Rostra, however, were connected to the temple by line of sight. They were important elements of Caesar's reconfiguration of the Forum. As such, the view from the temple reminded spectators of Caesar's building efforts. Since Augustus was responsible for the completion of these structures, the view added to his own reputation as well.

Augustus was also indirectly involved with the restoration of two pre-existing monuments: Tiberius, Augustus' stepson, rebuilt the ancient temples of Concord and Castor in 7 B.C. and A.D. 6, respectively. He dedicated both in his own name and the name of Drusus, his deceased brother.²⁰² Interestingly, the rebuilt Temple of Concord now honoured *Augustan* Concord, thereby establishing a direct link between the princeps and the goddess of harmony. This was not a coincidence, since the temple was dedicated on 16 January A.D. 10, exactly thirty-seven years after he received the title 'Augustus'.²⁰³ Both buildings were connected to the Temple of Divus Iulius by sightlines, although their restoration took place more than two decades after Caesar's temple was dedicated.

Apart from the Temple of Divus Iulius, Augustus erected four monuments on the Forum.²⁰⁴ Firstly, there was the Chalcidicum. This portico of unknown date was located adjacent to the Curia Iulia and adorned the entrance of either the Curia, or the Forum Iulium.²⁰⁵ Due to its location, it is unlikely that the Chalcidicum could be seen when standing at Caesar's temple. Then there was the Columna Rostrata, of which the exact location is unknown. It was erected

²⁰¹ On the Rostra: P. Verduchi, s.v. 'Rostra Augusti', *LTUR* IV, 214-217; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 216; The Basilica Iulia was completed by Augustus, then burnt down in ~12 B.C. and was rebuilt by Augustus: *RG* 20.3; Suet. *Aug.* 29.4; C.F. Giuliani and P. Verduchi, s.v. 'Basilica Iulia', *LTUR* I, 177-179; cf. Ackroyd, 'The Porticus Gai et Luci', 566; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 66; On the Curia Iulia: *RG* 19.1; Dio 51.22.1; E. Tortorici, s.v. 'Curia Iulia', *LTUR* I, 332-334; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 99.

²⁰² The Temple of Concord was originally vowed in 367 B.C. and destroyed at least once, perhaps in 9 B.C.: Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 97; A.M. Ferroni, s.v. 'Concordia, aedes', *LTUR* I, 316-320; Dio 55.1.1; Ov. *Fast.* 1.647-648. The Temple of Castor was first dedicated in 484 B.C. by the son of Postumius. It was destroyed twice before Tiberius rebuilt it: Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 83-84; I. Nielsen, s.v. 'Castor, aedes, templum', *LTUR* I, 242-245.

²⁰³ Geoffrey S. Sumi, 'Monuments and memory: the aedes Castoris in the formation of Augustan ideology', *The Classical Quarterly* 59 (2009) 167-186, at 184.

²⁰⁴ I have excluded the Porticus Gai et Luci, supposedly erected by Augustus, because there is much controversy about whether it existed, and if so, where it was located. For a useful overview of the debate concerning this building: Ackroyd, 'The Porticus Gai et Luci', 563-571, who tentatively concludes that there is no evidence that the portico ever existed as an independent building.

²⁰⁵ *RG* 19; F. Zevi, s.v. 'Chalcidicum', *LTUR* I, 265-266; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 99, 135.

in 36 B.C., in celebration of Augustus' naval victory over Sextus Pompey.²⁰⁶ The third monument was the Miliarium Aureum, or 'golden milestone', erected in 20 B.C. at the intersection of Rome's thoroughfares in celebration of the princeps' efforts to improve Rome's infrastructure.²⁰⁷ It was located behind the Rostra, and as such could not be seen from the temple either. Lastly, Augustus constructed a triumphal arch in 19 B.C. This monument commemorated the retrieval of Roman battle standards that had been captured by the Parthians at the battle of Carrhae (53 B.C.), as well as Augustus' diplomatic victory in the East.²⁰⁸ It was located adjacent to the Temple of Divus Iulius, resulting in a clear sightline between the two monuments.

In summary, by the year A.D. 6, almost every building in the Forum was connected to the Julio-Claudian family. The arch honoured Augustus, while the adjacent temple celebrated his father. Together with the Basilica Iulia and the Rostra, which were connected to both men, as well as the two temples restored by Tiberius, the Forum became a collection of buildings closely linked to Augustus and his relatives. And these were only the buildings that could be seen from the temple; the Curia Iulia, the Chalcedicum, Columna Rostrata and the Miliarium Aureum were Augustan structures, too. Since the Temple of Divus Iulius offered a clear view of the Forum, it is quite likely that the connection between Caesar, Augustus, and the new Forum was not lost on spectators. Caesar had laid the foundation, Augustus brought it to completion, and Tiberius was ready to take over. So far, then, the Forum conveyed the narrative of a dynasty. Let us not forget, though, that these buildings were erected over a period of almost four decades. The Forum evolved, as did Rome and her politics.

Sightlines and corresponding patrons are not the only indicators of a narrative configuration. If the surrounding area was restructured to accommodate a new monument, this suggests that the selected location was of particular importance. In the case of the Temple of Divus Iulius, there is evidence that the western wall of the Regia was altered. As a result, the temple fitted between the Regia and the pre-existing monument of Caesar.²⁰⁹ From this it can be deduced that Augustus deemed the location of the temple important to such an extent that

²⁰⁶ Ibidem, 130; App. *B. Civ.* 5.130.

²⁰⁷ Dio 54.8.4; Diane Favro 'Pater urbis: Augustus as city father of Rome', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 (1992) 61-84, at 72, 77.

²⁰⁸ Dio 54.8.3; Verg. *Aen.* 7.606; E. Nedergaard, s.v. 'Arcus Augusti (a. 29 a.C.)' and 'Arcus Augusti (a. 19 a.C.)', *LTUR* I, 80-85; Patterson, 'The city of Rome', 194; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 51.

²⁰⁹ P. Gros, *Aurea templa. Recherches sur l'architecture religieuse de Rome à l'époque d'Auguste* (Rome 1976) 86; Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 222, esp. n. 85.

it justified the modification of an ancient monument. What made that particular spot on the Forum so important? A clue might be provided by another relational property: a breach of tradition in order to link monuments may indicate the intention to make a statement. The temple's rostrum was fitted with a semi-circular niche to accommodate the pre-existing monument of Caesar.²¹⁰ This feature seems to have been unique to the rostrum of the Temple of Divus Iulius. Whether or not the niche was a breach of architectural tradition, it established a deliberate connection between the monument and the Temple of Divus Iulius. Indeed, the incorporation of the altar was so important, that it was worth adjusting the wall of the Regia. Augustus did not demolish and replace Caesar's monument, but instead chose to preserve it and complement it with a temple. Finally, let us not forget the importance of the Regia in deciding the location of the first monument of Caesar (chapter three). Augustus established a physical connection between the Regia, the temple, and the monument.²¹¹ It is rather fitting that the building that celebrated the apotheosis of his adoptive father was connected to the headquarters of the Pontifex Maximus. This function was at the time of the temple's dedication held by Lepidus, but taken over by Augustus in 13 B.C. Indeed, during the entirety of his reign Augustus placed great emphasis on religion and *pietas*.²¹²

The visual language of the Temple of Divus Iulius and its surrounding monuments may provide further clues whether Augustus configured a spatial narrative. It is impossible to present a thorough analysis of the style and architecture of the Forum's many buildings in this brief chapter, but there is one correlation that stands out in particular. Augustus decorated the speaker's platform of the new temple with beaks of ships that he captured at Actium.²¹³ Similarly, the Rostra at the exact opposite end of the Forum was decorated with the beaks of ships captured in Republican naval battles.²¹⁴ The beaks not only provided a visual link, but also corresponded thematically.²¹⁵ The connection expressed an important element of Augustan ideology: by winning the battle of Actium, Augustus had saved the Republic. Both rostras, then, were decorated with trophies that symbolised the preservation of the Republic, yet both

²¹⁰ Ibidem, 205, 222; P. Gros, s.v. 'Iulius, Divus, Aedes', *LTUR* III, 116-119; Haselberger, *Mapping Augustan Rome*, 103.

²¹¹ Ibidem; Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 222, esp. n. 85.

²¹² John Scheid, 'Augustus and Roman religion: continuity, conservatism, and innovation' in: Karl Galinsky ed., *The Cambridge companion to the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge 2005) 175-193, esp. 177 and 187-192.

²¹³ Dio 51.19.1; Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 221-222.

²¹⁴ Ibidem; P. Verduchi, s.v. 'Rostra Augusti', *LTUR* IV, 214-217.

²¹⁵ Sumi, 'Topography and ideology', 222.

referred to different historical events.²¹⁶ This is precisely the kind of link that one would expect to see in a complex narrative configuration.

Another link between the Forum's monuments was, as noted above, the Julio-Claudian name. This is particularly notable in the restored temples of Castor and Augustan Concord. According to Geoffrey Sumi, the temple of Castor became an important element of the Augustan ideology.²¹⁷ The foundation myth of the temple connected the Dioscuri, who were considered demigods, to a major victory of the early Republic. Furthermore, it was a central location for popular politics during the late Republic. These favourable associations made the temple a fitting symbol of dynastic succession.²¹⁸ The symbolic significance was reinforced by tying the monument to the names of Tiberius and Drusus, who were, like the Dioscuri, brothers.²¹⁹

The connection between the Dioscuri and Tiberius and Drusus was also reflected in the Temple of Augustan Concord, both thematically and visually. Since the temple was dedicated in the names of the imperial brothers, it suggested harmony between them. Significantly, Castor and Pollux were considered the model of this value. Moreover, two male figures, strongly reminiscent of the Dioscuri, were depicted on the façade of the Temple of Augustan Concord. Sumi argues that these figures were either Tiberius and Drusus in the guise of Castor and Pollux, or statues of the Dioscuri themselves.²²⁰ Consequently, both the Temple of Augustan Concord and the Temple of Castor expressed a connection between the Dioscuri and Drusus and Tiberius. The two temples were also linked visually, as they were decorated in a similar style.²²¹ It conveyed a message of harmony within the family of Augustus, thereby promoting the continuation of his dynasty.

The Forum is an excellent example of how the Romans incorporated pre-existing monuments into new narratives. Caesar's monument was provided with a new context when it was incorporated into the Temple of Divus Iulius. Similarly, the connotations of the temples of Castor and (Augustan) Concord changed when Tiberius took it upon himself to restore and

²¹⁶ Ibidem.

²¹⁷ Sumi, 'Monuments and memory', 186.

²¹⁸ Ibidem.

²¹⁹ Ibidem, 184; Haselberger, *Rome's urban metamorphosis*, 210-211.

²²⁰ Sumi, 'Monuments and memory', 184-185; Erich S. Gruen, 'Augustus and the making of the principate' in: Karl Galinsky ed., *The Cambridge companion to the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge 2005) 33-51, at 48.

²²¹ B.A. Kellum, 'The city adorned: programmatic display at the aedes Concordiae Augustae' in: Raaflaub ed., *Between Republic and Empire*, 276-207, at 277; cf. Nielsen, 'Castor, aedes, templum', *LTUR* I, 245.

rededicate them. It illustrates how important it is to examine if and how monuments were linked to one another.

5.2.2 The Forum as an evolving narrative

It appears that the Forum served as an evolving narrative that was continually adjusted to fit the agenda of different periods of Augustus' reign. First, it was important to express his support of Caesar, and to demonstrate that he could be a hero of the people, too. To this end he completed Caesar's building projects, kept Caesar's monument intact and incorporated it into a temple when his adoptive father was formally deified. As it was important to keep the notion of the Republic alive, he decorated the rostrum of the new temple with the beaks of ships and erected the Columna Rostrata, thereby stressing his role in ending the civil war. Moreover, it suggested that he could be compared to heroes of the Republic. As Augustus consolidated his power, his focus shifted to self-promotion. Hence, the Arch of Augustus and the Miliarium Aureum were constructed. These monuments stressed various aspects and achievements of Augustus' rulership. By the end of his reign, his succession became a pressing matter. This corresponds to Tiberius' restoration of the temples of Castor and Augustan Concord. It suggested harmony within the imperial family and signalled that Tiberius was a likely candidate to become the new princeps of the Roman Empire. By A.D. 6 the Forum narrated the story of Augustus' reign.

Yet does such an evolving narrative fit the model of Azaryahu and Foote? According to them, 'a thematic approach to the construction of spatial narratives serves both to highlight and to separate issues, periods and perspectives while maintaining that they belong to one and the same story'.²²² Augustus' building efforts in the Forum can be divided into three rough categories: monuments that referred to Caesar and the Republic; monuments that highlighted Augustus' reign and achievements; and monuments that referred to the matter of his succession. In this sense, the Temple of Divus Iulius was part of a complex thematic narrative about Augustus' reign. Yet was it Augustus' intention to emphasise and separate these different elements in order to create a 'grand narrative'? This question is difficult to answer, if only because 'intention' is a subjective notion. Since the different stages of the Forum's development correspond to different phases of his reign, it seems unlikely that the building

²²² Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 188.

programme was intended as an overarching narrative from the outset. Rather, it appears that changes to the Forum were made in response to particular political needs. Furthermore, no attempt was made to *explicitly* tie the monuments together into a narrative of his reign. For this reason, the Forum does not entirely fit the model of Azaryahu and Foote. Nonetheless, the area could be read as a complex thematic narrative by A.D. 6. As Augustus' contemporaries stood on the steps of the Temple of Divus Iulius, they likely picked up on many of the connections. After all, the changes Augustus made were relevant within the context of their time.

6. Conclusion

With the strong focus of recent studies on the meaning and function of Rome's monuments and building programmes, I set out to examine the underlying narrative structures with the aim of improving our methodology, as well as our understanding of the ways in which the ancient Romans used space as a medium. With modern strategies of spatial storytelling as point of departure, I raised the question whether single-point, sequential and complex spatial narratives existed in late Republican and early imperial Rome. To this end, I compared three case studies to each of these narrative strategies.

Today, the most common form of spatial narrative consists of a solitary monument that briefly recounts the commemorated event.²²³ Because this type of configuration is particularly suitable for honouring the dead, the first case study focused on the monument that was erected in the Forum Romanum in 44 B.C. in commemoration of Julius Caesar. It was a single marker that bore a brief inscription of Caesar's honorary title. As such, it closely resembled modern single-point narratives in form, function and style. The analysis of the monument's relational properties proved ambiguous: on the one hand, sightlines and visual links suggest that the monument was connected to the Regia and the Rostra. On the other hand, these connections did not result in a complex narrative, as the story still recounted a brief and localised event. This indicates that Caesar's monument was a single-point narrative of which the location was deliberately chosen for its significance to the story.

Modern sequential narratives preserve the temporal or thematic order of the commemorated event through a linear configuration. Visual and directional cues, such as entrance gates and signs, may be used to guide visitors.²²⁴ The ancient Roman triumph was configured in a similar fashion. The route was signalled by an entrance gate and was ordered thematically, crossing military, civic and religious space. The procession's narrative of conquest followed a chronological as well as thematic sequence, and was made explicit through explanatory signs. Based on these similarities, the Roman triumph resembled linear narratives as described by Azaryahu and Foote. The main difference, however, was the temporary yet recurring nature of the celebration; consequently, it was a sequential narrative which shared characteristics with rituals and performances.

²²³ Azaryahu and Foote, 'Historical space as a narrative medium', 183.

²²⁴ *Ibidem*, 184.

Particularly intricate historical events may require a configuration that simplifies the story. Thematic spatial narratives, for instance, combine different periods and events into a single story by using an overarching theme.²²⁵ With this in mind, the changes Augustus made to the Forum Romanum over the course of his reign proved an interesting case study. The analysis of relational properties revealed that ostensibly unrelated monuments were connected through their patron, line of sight, and narrative theme. This indicates that the Forum could eventually be read as a complex thematic narrative of Augustus' reign. Yet the analysis also suggests that this story was not designed in its entirety from the outset, nor was it explicitly communicated. It was an evolving and suggestive narrative configuration, continually adapted in response to Augustus' political needs. This is notably different from modern complex narratives, which are commonly established after the commemorated event has come to pass. Perhaps a future study can examine whether confined and uniform building programmes, such as the Forum of Augustus, more closely resembled modern complex narratives.

Based on the case studies of this thesis, it can be tentatively concluded that single-point, sequential and complex spatial narratives existed in late Republican and early imperial Rome. In particular, both Caesar's monument and the Roman triumph reflected the narrative structure of the commemorated event. Although the comparison between the Forum Romanum and modern complex thematic narratives was less conclusive, it showed that Augustus reconfigured this area around a unifying theme. Despite the differences between ancient and modern commemoration, the case studies indicate that the ancient Romans used organisational principles similar to our own when using space as a medium for storytelling.

Unfortunately, the methodology of analysing relational properties has its shortcomings and may require further development. It was intended to provide a systematic way of examining Rome's urban landscape and assessing connections between monuments. As it turned out, shared relational properties rarely indicate unequivocal connections. It thus remains the task of the historian to interpret and weigh the relevance of interconnections. Luckily, this is already part of our job description. The methodology can still be of use, though, as it helps organising information of areas with a high monumental density and forces a thorough and systematic approach. That being said, it would be helpful to have more 3D-reconstructions at our disposal. Many details of the cityscape, such as sightlines and the visual impact of monuments, escape us simply because we lack the tools to appreciate the city's spatial

²²⁵ Ibidem, 188.

dimensions. The technology is available and there is a large body of archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources to base such reconstructions on. An interdisciplinary effort to create three-dimensional representations would certainly be beneficial to the study of spatial narratives in the ancient world.

The knowledge that the ancient Romans had strategies for conveying narratives in urban space contributes to the study of ancient history in a number of ways. In the first place, it demonstrates the importance of spatial and temporal awareness. This means that more attention should be given to the relational properties of monuments. To give an example, the Forum Romanum in the age of Augustus was previously rather misunderstood. It was seen as a remnant of the Republic that hardly played a role in Augustus' renovation of Rome. One scholar even remarked that 'in general, after the erection of the Temple of Divus Julius on the site of Caesar's cremation in 29 B.C., and the new rostra in front of it, the interventions of Augustus in the Forum Romanum seem to have been limited'.²²⁶ Yet as I have demonstrated, Augustus continually adjusted the Forum and established new connections in the process. These links are easily overlooked when the scope of study is limited to a single monument, or a self-imposed selection of monuments. By using the methodology of relational properties, such connections become visible and can then be weighed and interpreted.

In the second place, analysing the monumental landscape in terms of spatial narratives improves our understanding of the mechanisms and strategies used by the ancient Romans to represent and preserve collective memory. As the current study has shown, they made an effort to convey spatial narratives in a coherent manner. This suggests deliberate design decisions which took into account both the viewer's perception and the structure and complexity of the commemorated event. It is therefore time for scholars of Roman historiography to broaden their scope and look beyond written sources: Roman *historia* found expression in space as well as literature. A start can be made by examining whether narrative space was described in literary works, and if so, whether there was a correlation between the two media.

As the findings of this study demonstrate, the concept of spatial narratives can be applied outside of cultural geography. Indeed, the organisational principles that we use today to express history in landscape transcend our own time. This has an important implication: if pre-modern cultures consciously configured space to reflect past events, this should be taken into

²²⁶ Patterson, 'The city of Rome', 194.

account when we construct spatial narratives *at those sites*. It would be valuable to preserve the original configuration as much as possible, or at least make visitors aware of pre-existing narratives. Of course, further study is necessary to establish whether such configurations were also constructed outside of ancient Rome; that is to say, outside of the imperial capital, in different times or in different cultures. A core question is if, and how, spatial narratives developed over time. An interesting topic in this regard would be the medieval *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, as these pilgrim tours appear to have been unique at the time and bring to mind modern sequential narratives.²²⁷ The few but illustrative examples of spatial narratives provided by the current study also invite other questions; how did subsequent rulers handle narratives established before their time? And how did open versus confined configurations influence the narrative, and the viewer's perception thereof? Much work is left to be done.

In ancient Rome, the past was not separated from its surroundings. Instead, it was an integral part of the cityscape. Similar to a frame tale, the city contained stories within stories; perhaps sometimes confusing, but carefully crafted. Many narratives remain to be read and, hopefully, future studies will reveal more of their intricate designs.

²²⁷ On the topic of medieval pilgrimage, see: Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: continuity and change* (Woodbridge 1998); Nine Robijntje Miedema, *Die 'Mirabilia Romae': Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte* (Tübingen 1996).

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